

Doctoral Thesis
STUDENTS FROM KOŠICE AT FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES
BEFORE AND DURING THE REFORMATION PERIOD IN THE TOWN

by
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Introduction

This dissertation provides a quantitative and descriptive analysis of the students from Košice, a town in present day Eastern Slovakia, formerly in the Northern part of the Hungarian Kingdom, who attended universities from the end of the fourteenth until the sixth decade of the seventeenth century. The totality of individuals studied will be referred to as “group” throughout the text of this dissertation, based on the two common factors that each of them shared, namely origin from or other kind of affiliation with the town of Košice during the research time period and documented attendance at one or more universities of the time. My research proposes to fulfill two major goals: the first is to present this group of students with empirical data and the second is to delineate a number of its characteristics, with special attention paid to aspects related to academic peregrination and the relationship between the town and its studious inhabitants, either during or after their university studies.

Located at the periphery of Western Christianity and relatively far away from the most important centers of learning, Košice was, at the same time, one of the most important merchant towns in Northern Hungary. It was a significant component of the trade network in East Central Europe at the time and a regional center of importance. The town presents interesting patterns of political, economic, and religious development, in particular from the fifteenth to the first half of the seventeenth century. This pivotal role that it played within the region provided an incentive for researching both the development of education in the town and the university attendance of its inhabitants or other type of protégées. Another motivating factor for this study was the considerable amount of unedited and only partially examined archival material preserved in the local municipal archives. The information provided by these documents in addition to the data offered by a variety of other sources reveals a number of unknown facts about the university attendance of Košice inhabitants, which previously had been difficult to assess.

The introductory part of this work establishes the importance of research on students from Košice during the selected period, presents a number of questions to be answered in the main body of the work, analyzes the relevant scholarship and the primary sources used and discusses the methodology applied together with a number of limitations considered in the process of this research. The main body begins by setting the local context: presenting political, economic, and religious aspects of the development of the town of Košice during the period of

research. The next chapter of the dissertation maps out the academic peregrination of the students from Košice throughout the entire research period and analyzes the main factors that influenced the numerical evolvement and the institutional choices at different stages. At the same time, a short description of each of the universities attended by Košice students, together with an analysis of the matriculation numbers and their fluctuation is provided. Traditional aspects considered in scholarship dedicated to academic peregrination such as field of study, length of study, graduation, social status, travel in groups and inter-university mobility are presented and commented upon when available data permits. The fourth chapter of the dissertation focuses on the attitude of the town towards university education and the manner in which the urban administration and other local institutions were involved in the educational careers of its citizens. The main emphasis is set upon the financial assistance from the town council and the conditions within which it occurred. The last chapter of the dissertation addresses the postgraduate careers of the former students and attempts to assess the impact that university studies had upon individuals and the town or region as a whole.

The research is based upon a prosopographical catalogue which comprises all students from Košice who went abroad to study at universities until the year 1660, identified in the available sources. This catalogue includes academic information about each of the students supplied with further data about his family background, social status, postgraduate career, etc. depending on the information that could be gathered. Whenever possible, some indication is given on the contribution, if any, to the cultural development of the town and the region. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of this catalogue allows some conclusions to be drawn concerning the general characteristics of the student population coming from Košice and the meaning and the impact of university attendance within the framework of a specific town.

By means of this dissertation, I hope to have completed a fairly detailed picture of the academic peregrination of Košice students, this study being among the first to document the attendance of students from one single town in Eastern Slovakia (Upper Hungary at that time) at various universities. This approach reaches further than the analysis of the student body at one specific university, as was more common in the local scholarship. While the general tendency was, and still is, to study the famous thinkers and persons who occupy an important role in the history of ideas and knowledge, the multitude of young unknown intellectuals who faced many difficulties in their quest for knowledge and culture was fairly neglected. Although most of these

otherwise anonymous students did not play a significant role in their social and cultural environment, the group of students from Košice proved to be relatively numerous and each of the included individuals has brought his own contribution to the intellectual development and functioning of this group. My purpose is to describe this group in detail, to create a comprehensive collective biography of the student population from the town of Košice until the middle of the seventeenth century and, in the process, to contribute to broadening our knowledge about intellectuals and their impact within the larger European context of the time.

Chapter one: Background information

1.1. Focus and Justification of Research

The period selected for this research is important for the history of universities in general, and for the history of the academic peregrination of students from the eastern European areas in particular for several reasons. First, it was in the late fourteenth through the fifteenth century when a number of important institutions of learning were created in Europe, and particularly in the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. This led to considerable reorganization of academic peregrination as a whole, since, due to the relative proximity of the new universities, and directly related to this, significant decrease in study costs, these universities started to play an important role in the recruitment of students from the eastern regions of Europe, including the Hungarian Kingdom. In addition, it was a time of important change in the structure and content of study itself, firstly under the influence of humanist ideas, which emerged in Italy to spread throughout all of Europe, and secondly under the impact of the Reformation, which introduced the first separation of universities based on confession. In the sixteenth century, Hungary was easily and almost thoroughly permeated by Reformation ideas, a fact that further determined the itineraries of the students emerging from its provinces. In addition, the fifteenth and especially the sixteenth century marked an important turning point in the political history of the region. It was the ever-increasing Ottoman threat from the end of the fifteenth century up to the catastrophe of Mohács in 1526, which literally divided the country into three separate parts and strongly influenced their further political and social development.

For the town of Košice itself, this time period saw several fluctuations in its economic development, related to involvement in a series of political events at the time. The geographical position of Košice permitted intensive commercial activity but also meant it was a focal point for a number of conflicts that ravaged this territory during the fifteenth, sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. Košice was an important town in medieval and early modern Hungary, but while its economic and political role during the centuries was referred to often, less reference has been made to the education possibilities open to its citizens, in particular to their education abroad. To date, although their presence at some educational institutions has been partially documented, the reasons for their choices, the conditions related to their studies, as well as the impact of university attendance upon their personal careers and local or regional development

have not yet been commented upon. There are a number of questions that can and should be addressed to draw a comprehensive picture of the academic peregrination of Košice students: How did the university attendance numbers fluctuate during the research time period? Which universities did Košice students attend and what were the reasons for their choices? What were the specific characteristics of this group of students from Košice and how did these change over the research period? What were the conditions of their university studies and what kind of financial support did students from Košice have at their disposal? How did their post university careers develop and what was the impact of university studies upon the social advancement of the former students?

I am aware of the fact that it will not be possible to provide an absolutely accurate answer for this series of questions, partly because the same type of information does not exist for each university in each period, and the state and amount of sources differs very much from institution to institution. Similarly, although the town archives in Košice are fairly well preserved, the documents related to the academic peregrination do not allow for as thorough an analysis, as one might wish. While records of various types have been preserved carefully, the university peregrination of Košice inhabitants was not documented extensively. It was often necessary to examine a large number of municipal documentation in order to identify information directly related to or indirectly targeting the university education of the town citizens. But by means of a careful search through a significant number of primary sources and the analysis of new or little used evidence, a description of the students' group from Košice from the research time period could be carried out. Different aspects of it, such as university attendance frequency and patterns, financial support and postgraduate careers received an important share of attention within the framework of this dissertation.

Two other domains could benefit considerably from this research on the body of Košice's students. Its results contribute to defining the place and importance of the town of Košice in the context of urban development of the time, a development also determined, along with several factors of economic and political character, by its cultural and educational evolution, including the attitude of the town and its inhabitants towards university studies. The number of students at universities abroad is an indicator of the interest that town inhabitants displayed towards knowledge and educational development, of the prestige related to it, but also of the financial possibilities of the students and their families or of the town in general. On the other side, the

results of this study will hopefully provide material for possible comparative analyses with students' groups from other towns in the Northern Hungary or abroad, research on which is already completed or is to be completed in the future.

1.2. Overview of relevant scholarship

The need for a comprehensive and analytical treatment of students from Košice as a social group¹ can be justified by its novelty in the local academic context. The existing scholarly studies directly targeting this field were, for the most part, dedicated to Hungarian students in general and did not concentrate on students coming from one particular town. In addition to that, the majority of these studies were written either at the end of the nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century, when some of the documentation on universities had not yet appeared in modern editions and the later databases on university students developed at a number of universities had not yet been compiled. The modern conditions for research on university history allows for a far more accurate presentation of students on the one hand, while the latest implications of the social and urban history offers new important insights on this issue on the other hand.

From the end of the nineteenth century, when matriculation lists and other university administration related documents began to be made accessible, a large number of studies on different aspects of university history have been produced. Initially, it was the functioning of the university and the students' recruitment (*Frequenz*) that attracted the interest of scholars, afterwards universities began to be studied in connection with cultural history, i.e. their effect upon the development and expansion of thoughts and ideas together with the investigation of academic careers of influential personalities. From around the 70s of the twentieth century, students started to be studied from the point of view of social history: as a group of individuals representing a specific social category and behaving according to certain criteria in particular historical and social contexts. Building upon older studies that focused for the most part on

¹ As already mentioned, the word "group" is used throughout the text of this dissertation as a common term to denote the totality of individuals that I have studied, and not in a sociological sense, where "social group" also involves cohesion and social interaction.

individual universities, intellectuals, and traditions, recently scholars have been intrigued by the function and impact of the universities within society as a whole.²

Entries in the matriculation lists have been extensively used by researchers working on different aspects of university history. The question of the local background of those who matriculated at a university has been brought up repeatedly within the framework of research in this field. Usually, the attendees of one particular university would be analyzed from different points of view, such as place of origin, social status, professional occupation, field of study, duration of study, graduation, etc. However, many of these aspects had to be left unanswered or treated incompletely because of the scarceness of the sources. At the same time, the number of works addressing students from one region, town or community at one or more universities increased significantly, although this reverse way of presenting data proved to be much more challenging.³ The main aspects to answer from this perspective, in addition to the ones named

² Among the first significant contributions to the modern social-historical approach to university history is the book edited by Lawrence Stone, ed., *The University in Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974). Further works in this field include, among others, the following: R. Chartier and J. Revel, "Université et société dans l'Europe moderne: position des problèmes," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 25 (1978): 353-357; Julia Dominique, Jacques Revel, and Roger Chartier, eds. *Les Universités européennes du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: Histoire sociale des populations étudiantes*, 2 vols (Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1986 and 1989); Walter Rüegg, gen. ed., Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *A History of the University in Europe*, vol.1, *Universities in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992) and idem, *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 2, *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Cambridge: University Press, 1996). An important contribution to the social history of university students in the Middle Ages is provided by Rainer Christoph Schwinges and his disciples. See, for example, Rainer Christoph Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des Alten Reiches* (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag, 1986), where the author, based on a statistical analysis of matriculation lists, presents the attendance of German universities with a detailed examination of the University of Cologne and argues for direct interdependences between students and different aspects of the development of medieval German society. Further important articles are included into the following publications: *Gelehrte im Reich: zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1996) and *Artisten und Philosophen. Wissenschafts- und Wirkungsgeschichte einer Fakultät vom 13. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Basle: Schwabe & Co AG Verlag, 1999), both edited by R. C. Schwinges. A number of other recent works in the field tend to connect the history of universities with the history of academic mobility and migration, as, for a more recent example, Beat Immenhauser in his book *Bildungswege - Lebenswege. Universitätsbesucher aus dem Bistum Konstanz im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Basle: Schwabe Verlag, 2007). For more comments on the scholarly tendencies in the field after the 1970s see also the two articles by Notker Hammerstein, "Neue Wege der Universitätsgeschichtsschreibung," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 5 (1978): 449-463 and "Nochmals Universitätsgeschichtsschreibung," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 7 (1980): 321-336. For additional titles, see Bibliography of this dissertation.

³ Studies of this type have been occasionally produced throughout the last century. Among them are the following (in chronological order): H. Meier, "Braunschweiger Bürgersöhne auf deutschen Universitäten vor Errichtung der Julius-Universität zu Helmstedt," *Jahrbuch des Geschichtsvereins für das Herzogtum Braunschweig* 7 (1908): 80-142; Alfred Schmidtmayer, "Bremische Studenten an Universitäten des Mittelalters," *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 35 (1935): 39-91; E. Ennen, "Bonner als Studenten an fremden Universitäten vor 1800," *Bonner Geschichtsblätter* 12 (1958): 122-142; Karlheinz Goldmann, "Nürnberger Studenten an deutschen und ausländischen Universitäten von 1300-1600," *Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg* 12:1 (1963): 1-10; Gerhard Jaritz, "Kleinstadt und Universitätsstudium. Untersuchungen am Beispiel Krems an der Donau (von den Anfängen bis in das 17.

above, are what were the universities attended by students from one particular location and what sorts of economic, political and cultural circumstances impacted on their choice of university. Furthermore, the examination of university attendance from the perspective of one specific community makes the relationship between education and society more visible with the facts of students' pre- or post-university fates having a special importance in this context.

Research on the geographical origins of students and the impact of university attendance upon regional development could be further expanded due to the investigation and edition of local archival sources. The reorientation of university history since the 1970s and 1980s has encouraged the continuation of studies into social background and career, now enlarged by extensive studies on the relationship between the urban context and university studies, including the role and impact of them upon urban development. By using a prosopographical approach,⁴ the development of new educational staff and ruling elites in towns or regions began to gain scholarly interest, with particular attention dedicated to those groups for whom university study, and even more so, university graduation was an indicator of social change. One of the most challenging tasks for researchers in this field was and still remains the investigation of the postgraduate careers of the students examined. Several studies that deal with various spheres of urban life and the involvement of former students in its different domains, mainly church and education or urban administration, have been produced in the last decades by a number of researchers, in particular representatives of German language scholarship.⁵ A number of scholars

Jahrhundert),” *Mitteilungen des Kremser Stadtarchivs* 17/18 (1978): 105–161, 19 (1979): 1–26 and 23/24/25 (1986): 153–178; Helmut Schlereth, “Studenten aus Mellrichstadt an europäischen Universitäten bis zur Gründung der Universität Würzburg (1582),” *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 44 (1982): 31–94; Elisabeth Schwarzgruber, “Studierende aus der Stadt Salzburg an der Universität Wien im Spätmittelalter – Studium als Baustein für eine städtische Elite,” *Salzburg-Archiv* 6 (1988): 32–72; Rolf Häfele, *Die Studenten der Städte Nördlingen, Kitzingen, Mindelheim und Wunsiedel bis 1580. Studium, Berufe und soziale Herkunft*, 2 volumes (Trier: Verlag Trierer Historische Forschungen, 1988). See also the respective chapter in David L. Sheffler, *Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany: Regensburg, 1250–1500* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008).

⁴ For more information on prosopography as a method used in history and its results see Jürgen Petersohn, “Personenforschung im Spätmittelalter. Zur Forschungsgeschichte und Methode,” *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 2 (1975): 1–5; Gerhard Jaritz and Albert Müller, “Medieval Prosopography in Austrian Historical Research. Religious and Urban Communities,” *Medieval Prosopography* 7 (1986): 57–86. Also see a number of contributions in Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet, eds., *Medieval Lives and the Historian* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986); Peter Csendes and Johannes Seidl, eds., *Stadt und Prosopographie: Zur quellenmäßigen Erforschung von Personen und sozialen Gruppen in der Stadt des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Linz: Trauner-Druck, 2002).

⁵ See Klaus Wriedt, “Das gelehrte Personal in der Verwaltung und Diplomatie der Hansestädte,” *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 96 (1978): 15–37; Idem, “Stadtrat – Bürgertum – Universität am Beispiel norddeutscher Hansestädte,” in *Studien zum Städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Bernd Moeller and others (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 499–523; Idem, “Bürgertum und Studium in

have compiled comprehensive lists of students according to certain geographical criteria and included into their prosopographies, in addition to other data, information on individual postgraduate careers where this was possible to assess. An example is the work by Rolf Häfele, who researched in detail the academic peregrination of students from a number of selected towns from the late medieval period until the year 1580.⁶ The author identifies information about more than one thousand students, for about half of whom he was able to find data on their post-study careers. A similar kind of research in a number of doctoral dissertations was conducted in regions closer to former Hungary. One is the dissertation of Ingrid Matschinegg concerning inhabitants from the Austrian territories at Italian universities. She included data on ca. 2500

Norddeutschland während des Spätmittelalters,” in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986), 487-525; Idem, “Amtsträger in norddeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters,” in *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 227-234; Idem, “Universitätsbesucher und graduierte Amtsträger zwischen Nord- und Süddeutschland,” in *Nord und Süd in der deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Werner Paravicini (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), 193-201; Urs Martin Zahnd, *Die Bildungsverhältnisse in den bernischen Ratsgeschlechtern im ausgehenden Mittelalter. Verbreitung, Charakter und Funktion der Bildung in der politischen Führungsschicht einerspätmittelalterlichen Stadt* (Bern: Stämpfli, 1979); Idem, “Lateinschule – Unviersität – Propheze: Zu den Wandlungen im Schulwesen eidgenössischer Städte in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Bildungs- und schulgeschichtliche Studien zu Spätmittelalter, Reformation und konfessionellem Zeitalter*, ed. Harald Dickerhof (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1994), 91-115; Idem, “Studium und Kanzlei. Der Bildungsweg von Stadt- und Ratschreibern in eidgenössischen Städten des ausgehenden Mittelalters,” in *Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. Bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Rainer C. Schwinges (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1996), 453-476; Martin Kintzinger, “Consules contra consuetudinem. Kirchliches Schulwesen und bildungsgeschichtliche Tendenzen als Grundlagen städtischer Schulpolitik im spätmittelalterlichen Braunschweig,” in *Rat und Verfassung im mittelalterlichen Braunschweig. Festschrift zum 600jährigen Bestehen der Ratsverfassung 1386-1986*, ed. Manfred R. W. Garzmann (Braunschweig: Waisenhaus-Druckerei, 1986), 187-233; Idem, “Heimat auf Zeit. Medizinisches Fachpersonal in mittelalterlichen Städten,” in *Historische Wanderungsbewegungen. Migration in der Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. A. Gestrich, H. Kleinschmidt, and H. Sonnabend (Münster and Hamburg: Lit-Verl., 1991), 79-99; Idem, “Scholaster und Schulmaster. Funktionsfelder der Wissensvermittlung im späten Mittelalter,” in Schwinges, *Gelehrte im Reich*, 349-374; Idem, “Studens artium, Rector parochiae und Magister scholarum im Reich des 15. Jahrhunderts. Studium und Versorgungschancen der Artisten zwischen Kirche und Gesellschaft,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 26 (1999): 1-41; Idem, “A Profession but not a Career? Schoolmasters and the Artes in Late Medieval Europe,” in *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society*, ed. William J. Courtenay and Jürgen Miethke (Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill, 2000), 167-181. Other contributions to this topic include the following: Gerhart Burger, *Die südwestdeutschen Stadtschreiber im Mittelalter* (Böblingen: Schlecht, 1960); Folkmar Thiele, *Der Freiburger Stadtschreiber im Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Wagner, 1973); Heinrich Kramm, *Studien über die Oberschichten der mitteldeutschen Städte im 16. Jahrhundert* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1981); Wolfgang Herborn, “Der graduierte Ratsherr. Zur Entwicklung einer neuen Elite im Kölner Rat der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Bürgerliche Eliten in den Niederlanden und in Nordwestdeutschland*, ed. Heinz Schilling and Herman Diederiks (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1985), 337-400. See also Hermann Kellenbenz, “Die Gesellschaft in der mitteleuropäischen Stadt im 16. Jahrhundert. Tendenzen der Differenzierung,” in *Die Stadt an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit*, ed. Wilhelm Rausch (Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1980), 1-20, who systematizes social developments in German towns and delineates a line of conflict between the older and the newer, learned urban elite.

⁶ Häfele, *Die Studenten*, as note 2.

students, their regional and social origins and post-studies careers.⁷ Claudia Zonta recorded similar type of data on 1700 students from Silesia attending Italian universities from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.⁸ In 1999 an important project was launched by Peter Moraw (Giessen) and Rainer Ch. Schwinges (Bern) named *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum* (RAG). It has the purpose to record the ca. 40 000 graduates in arts, medicine, law, and theology from the universities in the German territories for the period from 1250 to 1550, including information on their postgraduate life collected from a wide array of sources.⁹ The current state and the results of this project can be consulted on-line at www.rag-online.org.

Hungarian and Slovak scholars have displayed great interest towards the history of education and university studies in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times in the territories belonging to their historical or actual homeland. In addition to extensive research with the purpose of elucidating the conditions under which the three attempts to open a university in the Hungarian Kingdom took place and the reasons for the failure of these attempts,¹⁰ significant efforts have been made for the purpose of identifying students from regions belonging to the Hungarian Kingdom at different universities. Of particular interest were the universities in Cracow and Vienna, supplemented by the edition, from the end of the nineteenth century, of several significant reference works in this field. The main directions of research were often focused on analyzing the Hungarian peregrination in general, the role of individual institutions

⁷ Ingrid Matschinegg, “Österreicher als Universitätsbesucher in Italien (1500-1630). Regionale und soziale Herkunft – Karrieren – Prosopographie“ (Ph.D. diss., University of Graz, 1999).

⁸ Claudia Zonta, “Schlesier an italienischen Universitäten der frühen Neuzeit 1526-1740“ (Ph.D. diss., University of Stuttgart, 1999), published as *Schlesische Studenten an italienischen Universitäten: eine prosopographische Studie zur frühneuzeitlichen Bildungsgeschichte* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004).

⁹ For a general presentation of the project see Rainer C. Schwinges, “*Repertorium Academicum Germanicum*: Ein Who’s Who der Graduierten Gelehrten des Alten Reiches (1250-1550),“ in Peter Moraw, *Gesammelte Beiträge zur deutschen und europäischen Universitätsgeschichte: Strukturen-Personen-Entwicklungen* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 577-602 with an extensive bibliography. See also Suse Baeriswyl, “Die graduierten Gelehrten des Alten Reiches und die Räte der Kurfürsten. Forschungen zur Geschichte der Räte des Kurfürsten Albrecht Achilles von Brandenburg-Ansbach im Rahmen des internationalen Projektes ‘Repertorium Academicum Germanicum’,“ *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 6 (2003): 169-183 and Eadem, “Das ‘Repertorium Academicum Germanicum.’ Überlegungen zu einer modellorientierten Datenbankstruktur und zur Aufbreitung prosopographischer Informationen der graduierten Gelehrten des Spätmittelalters,“ in *Städtische Gesellschaft und Kirche im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Sigrid Schmitt and Sabine Klapp (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008), 17-36.

¹⁰ See among many others: Jenő Ábel, *Egyetemeink a középkorban* (Our universities in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Akadémiai Könyvkiadó, 1881); György Székely, “A pécsi és óbudai egyetem alapítása a középeurópai egyetemlétesítések összefüggéseiben” (The foundation of the universities of Pécs and Óbuda in relation to the establishment of universities in Central Europe), in *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve 1967*, 155-174; Astrik L. Gabriel, *The Mediaeval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony* (Frankfurt am Main: Joseph Knecht, 1969); Leslie S. Domonkos, “The Problems of Hungarian University Foundations in the Middle Ages,” in *Society in Change: Studies in Honor of Béla K. Király*, ed. Steven Bela Vardy and Agnes Huszar Vardy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 371-390.

upon the cultural development of the Hungarian Kingdom and on the particular contributions of leading personalities.

More recent works discuss the participation of Hungarian students within the general stream of European academic peregrination and the relationship between university studies and the cultural and social development of their home region. Among the latest contributions to the field are collections of articles edited by László Szögi and Júlia Varga in 1997,¹¹ Márta Font and László Szögi in 2001,¹² Wilhelm Kühlmann and Anton Schindling in 2004,¹³ and Márta Fata, Gyula Kurucz, and Anton Schindling in 2006.¹⁴ In addition, a number of research institutions have been active in the field of university history like is the Section for University History Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences under the presidency of Prof. Dr. György Székely. The focus of its activity were the conditions under which the three former Hungarian universities functioned and their role in the medieval European universities system. Another research group active at the University of Szeged under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Bálint Keserű has been mainly preoccupied with book culture and the history of education from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century in Hungary. One of this group's successfully accomplished projects is the edition of letters of students from Levoča – one of the still very few significant source publications for university history related directly to the northern part of the Hungarian Kingdom for the period of this research.¹⁵

At the same time, other aspects of the development of the northern Hungarian region in general and of the town of Košice in particular have received considerable attention in the recent Slovak and Hungarian historiography: especially concerning its role in the history of the

¹¹ László Szögi and Júlia Varga, eds., *Universitatis Budensis (1393-1995)* (Budapest: Bak-Fisch KFT, 1997).

¹² Márta Font and László Szögi, eds., *Die ungarische Universitätsbildung und Europa* (Pécs: Bornus Kft., 2001).

¹³ Wilhelm Kühlmann and Anton Schindling, eds., *Deutschland und Ungarn in ihren Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsbeziehungen während der Renaissance* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004).

¹⁴ Márta Fata, Gyula Kurucz, and Anton Schindling, eds., *Peregrinatio Hungarica: Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006).

¹⁵ Tünde Katona and Miklós Latzkovits, eds., *Lőcsei stipendiánsok és literátusok: külföldi tanulmányutak dokumentumai 1550-1699* (Stipend recipients and literate people from Lőcse: documents on studies abroad) (Szeged: Kulturális és történelmi emlékeink feltárása, nyilvántartása és kiadása kutatási főirány támogatásával, 1990). In relation to this collection of letters see the article by Max Siller, “‘Lasset sie nur ein wenig leiden, wenn sie nicht gelt haben, so studiren sie desto vleissiger!’ Briefe von Leutschauer Studenten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,” *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 38-39 (1995-96): 5-31 and the dissertation by Tünde Katona, “‘Ejnem armen Schuler der nacket und bloss wahr’: über die Thurzónische Stiftung und das Bildungswesen in der Zips mit dem Text des Leutschauer Testamentsbuches“ (Ph.D. diss., University of Szeged, 2003). See also the article by Jörg Meier, “Deutschsprachige Briefe in slowakischen Archiven: Briefe von Studenten aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” *Karpatenjahrbuch* 51 (2000): 68-77.

economic processes in the Carpathian-Danubian region and its position in the European social and religious developments of the time – thus assuring a comprehensive background for my research. Particular attention was paid to development of towns, commercial activity, religious changes, and so forth. Among the most recent contributions to the scholarship dedicated to this region is the publication, in 2004, of István H. Németh's research results. He investigated the economic development of Northern Hungarian towns and their alliance, the so-called *Pentapolis* (comprising Košice, Bardejov, Prešov, Levoča, and Sabinov) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, based on the examination of an impressive number of unedited sources in the local archives.¹⁶ The relationship between university studies and urban development were researched by András Kubinyi, mainly in the 1970s and, occasionally, later on.¹⁷ An interesting direction taken in Kubinyi's research was his attempt at establishing a hierarchy between towns in Hungary on the basis of the number of university attendants among their inhabitants.¹⁸ The Ph.D. dissertation of Tünde Katona (Szeged University, completed in 2003) was directly related to the academic peregrinations to institutions abroad. She investigated a number of aspects related to the university studies of Levoča inhabitants and, in particular, to the financial support they received from the Thurzó foundation and the urban administration.¹⁹

Slovak scholars who researched different aspects of the urban social and cultural development recently include Viliam Čičaj,²⁰ Ferdinand Uličný,²¹ Miloslava Bodnárová,²² Marie

¹⁶István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16.-17. századi Magyarországon. A Felsőmagyarországi Városszövetség* (Urban politics and economic policy in Hungary during the sixteenth-seventeenth century: the federation of towns in Upper Hungary), 2 volumes (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004).

¹⁷ András Kubinyi, "Der ungarische König und seine Städte im 14. und am Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Stadt und Stadtherr im 14. Jahrhundert. Entwicklung und Funktionen*, ed. Wilhelm Rausch (Linz: Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1972), 193-220; Idem, "Städtische Bürger und Universitätsstudien in Ungarn am Ende des Mittelalters," in *Stadt und Universität im Mittelalter und in der früheren Neuzeit*, ed. Erich Maschke and Jürgen Sydow (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1977), 161-165.

¹⁸András Kubinyi, "A középkori magyarországi városok hierarchikus térbeli rendje kérdéséhez" (On the hierarchical spatial order of medieval Hungarian towns), *Településtudományi Közlemények* 23 (1971): 58-78.

¹⁹Katona, *Ejnem armen Schuler*.

²⁰Viliam Čičaj, *Knižná kultúra na strednom Slovensku v 16.-18. storočí* (Book culture in the medieval Slovakia during the sixteenth to the eighteenth century) (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 1985); Idem, "Vývoj vzdelanosti v našich mestách v období neskorého feudalizmu" (The development of education in our towns in the late-feudal period), *Historický časopis* 34 (1986): 349-361; Idem, "Die kulturellen Verhältnisse in der Slowakei im 16.- 18. Jahrhundert," *Studia historica slovacica* 17 (1990): 91-103; Viliam Čičaj and Othmar Pickl, eds. *Städtisches Alltagsleben in Mitteleuropa vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press, 1998).

²¹ Ferdinand Uličný, "K výskumu národnostnej štruktúry stredovekých miest na Slovensku" (Data on the ethnic structure of medieval towns in Slovakia), in *Národnostný vývoj miest na Slovensku do roku 1918* (The ethnic development in the towns of Slovakia up to 1918), ed. Richard Marsina (Matin: Osveta, 1984), 153-162; Idem, "Podiel cirkevných inštitúcií na vývoji osídlenia a hospodárstva východného Slovenska v 12.-16. storočí" (The share

Marečková,²³ and Eva Kowalská.²⁴ One of the most productive researchers into the history of Košice specifically, was Ondrej R. Halaga who authored an impressive number of publications based on extensive and meticulous study of the local archival material. His work focused on various topics, including the beginnings and development of the town of Košice and its commercial connections with the nearby towns, with Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Ukraine, the domains of the order of the Teutonic Knights, the countries of the Bohemian Crown, Transylvania, the Romanian principalities, with the towns of the Hanseatic League, and so on.²⁵ The demographic and economic picture of Košice was researched by György Granasztói, Erik Fügedi, and Zsuzsanna Újvári.²⁶ Among the Slovak researchers, in addition to the study of Miloslava Bodnárová dedicated to the property structure of the population in Košice, Milena Ostrolucká, the director of the State Regional Archives in Košice published the results of her research on the town's craftsmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.²⁷

Concerning cultural life and education in Košice during the time period of my research, scholarship is less rich: apart from small chapters or paragraphs in general works dedicated to

of ecclesiastical institutions on the development of settlement and economy of Eastern Slovakia in the 12-16th century), *Archeologia historica* 10 (1985): 357-367.

²² Miloslava Bodnárová, "Die Reformation in den ostslowakischen königlichen Städten in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Reformation und ihre Wirkungsgeschichte in der Slowakei*, ed. Karl Schwarz and Peter Švorc (Vienna: Evangelischer Presseverband, 1996), 22-35; Idem, "Majetková štruktúra obyvateľstva Košíc v 16. storočí" (The property structure of the population in Košice in the sixteenth century), *Historica Carpatica* 18 (1987): 179-205, Idem, "Remeselná výroba v Košiciach v 16. storočí" (Craft production in Košice in the sixteenth century) *Historia Carpatica* 17 (1986): 99-120.

²³ Marie Marečková, *Východoslovenská města a měšťanstvo na prahu novověku* (Eastern Slovakian towns and the urban population at the beginning of the Early Modern Times) (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1995); Idem, "Das bürgerliche Bildungswesen in den Städten der Ostslowakei und die Änderungen in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft an der Schwelle der Neuzeit," in Čičaj, *Städtisches Alltagsleben*, 85-92.

²⁴ Eva Kowalská, "Die ungarischen Städte und das Problem der Konfessionalisierung aus kulturpolitischer Sicht." In *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa. Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeier (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag, 1999), 351-366.

²⁵ See Bibliography for several titles.

²⁶ György Granasztói, "Die Stadt Kaschau und ihre Bevölkerung in 16. Jahrhundert," *Historisch-demographische Mitteilungen* 3 (1976): 146-169; "Kassa társadalma (1549-1557) a korrespondencia-elemzés tükrében" (The society of Košice (1549-1557) as reflected in correspondence analysis), *Századok* 114 (1980): 615-660; Erik Fügedi, "Kaschau, eine osteuropäische Handelsstadt," in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. J.M. Bak (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), 185-213; Zsuzsanna Újvári, "Kassa polgárságának etnikai és politikai változásai a 16. század közepétől a 17. század első harmadáig" (Fluctuations in the ethnic and political structure of burghers in Košice from the middle of the sixteenth century to the first third of the seventeenth century), in *A magyar polgári átalakulás kérdései* (Questions of bourgeois transformation in Hungary), ed. Iván Zoltán Dénes, András Gergely, and Gábor Pajkossy, (Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészstudományi kara, 1994), 9-36.

²⁷ Milena Ostrolucká, "Vzt'ahy mesta a cechov v Košiciach v 16. a 17. storočí" (The relation of the town and the guilds in Košice in the sixteenth and seventeenth century), *Historia carpatica* 20 (1989): 173-185; Idem, "Handwerksmeister als Bürger der Stadt Kaschau im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in Čičaj, *Städtisches Alltagsleben*, 77-83.

education in Hungary and Hungarian peregrination abroad, the relationship between Košice and university studies in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time has not enjoyed any scholarly attention yet. It is the purpose of this dissertation to help fill this gap by placing students from Košice within the mainstream of research on the relationship between urban development and the university studies of the town inhabitants as already attempted in the scholarly literature, especially with regard to German and Austrian towns.

1.3. Sources

The research on students from Košice at various universities and the investigation of their post-university fates required a detailed exploration of a large amount of different types of sources, which can be divided into several major groups: 1. Matriculation lists and other university related documents; 2. Different types of letters preserved in the town archives; 3. Town administration documents and urban records. In addition to these sources, other works of different kind have been investigated, which are listed in the bibliography at the end of this study.²⁸ A short description of the three basic types of sources follows below:

1.3.1. Matriculation lists and other university related documents

The universities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were conceived as independent administrative units with the right to their own judicial activity. Every student, on his arrival at a university, had to register and pay an inscription, later called a matriculation fee. This fact was recorded in a special document existing in almost all universities of the period – the matriculation lists. These are extensive lists of names, including the date/month/year of matriculation, place (region, town, diocese) of origin, the amount of the matriculation fee paid, sometimes the faculty or field of study, and more rarely, the age, social status and other kinds of information that was considered interesting or important to be noted by those responsible for the recording.²⁹ The lists of matriculated students have been preserved from the majority of universities in the German speaking area, including those in Vienna, from the Low Countries,

²⁸ For a listing of these sources see Bibliography.

²⁹ For a detailed description of the matriculation lists as a primary source see the two following works: Thomas Otto Achelis, "Universitätsmatrikeln und ihre Benutzung," *Schrifttumsberichte zur Genealogie und zu ihren Nachbargebieten* 2 (1963): 25-66 and Jacques Paquet, *Les Matricules universitaires* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).

and from the University of Cracow: all these institutions were popular among students from the Central and Eastern parts of Europe. Documents of a similar type from the majority of Italian universities are preserved as well. To the extent that the registrars were conscientious in their record-keeping and students respected the university rules, the preserved matriculation lists usually provide a reasonably complete list of students for the period covered here. What one can get from such type of a source is a good quantitative picture: how many students enrolled per year, from what regions, how many nobles, burghers or paupers and what were the fluctuations in their numbers in different time periods. What these documents usually do not provide is the contents or progress of study, how long students stayed at a particular university and whether they eventually took a degree.

Yet even concerning the numeric side, matriculation lists can be trusted only partially, first because some students did not matriculate at all, very often to avoid paying the tuition fees. On the other side, there are a number of persons registered in the matriculation list who never intended to study, but who wanted to benefit from a number of the privileges a university could offer to members of its academic community. Besides, the entries in the matriculation lists are not always accurate and complete. Many times the city/country of origin is missing, or a student's name and/or hometown is misspelled, which may cause difficulties or make it virtually impossible to identify a certain student or his place of origin. Very often several versions of the same geographical name are used which makes the identification more complicated. Similarly confusing is the tendency common from the middle of the sixteenth century to translate the surnames and family names into Latin or Greek, which again, very often hinders the identification of a certain proportion of the students.³⁰ And yet sometimes, the failure to find data on a specific student may just be the result of carelessness on the part of those officially entitled to keep records on incoming students.

In addition to the general matriculation lists, a number of universities preserved other kinds of administrative documentation, some of which being very useful for the purposes of my research. Among them, very informative proved to be the documents of different Nations, i.e. the communities into which the universities of the time were usually divided, such as the

³⁰ For difficulties encountered when dealing with matriculation lists see Häfele, *Die Studenten*, 7ff.

*Matriculation List of the Hungarian Nation at the University of Vienna*³¹ or various lists of students belonging to a certain community such as the *Hungarian Bursa* in Cracow³² or the *Hungarian Coetus* in Wittenberg.³³ Only a few universities created documents to record graduation details. The University of Cracow possesses a very useful source, edited by Josephus Muczkowski.³⁴ The so-called *Acta* of different faculties are helpful to provide information concerning the contents of study, as is the case for the University of Vienna, or a number of Italian universities. In the case of the University of Cracow the *Acta rectoralia* provide interesting information concerning the judicial matters related to university community members.³⁵

Over the last decades a number of institutions designed and implemented projects with the purpose of creating electronic databases to include all data provided by medieval university documentation. As a result, the research on this subject has become more accurate and less time consuming. For my work I benefited greatly from the amiable help of Dr. Izabella Skierska, collaborator of the project “The oldest matriculation list from the University of Cracow 1400-1508” under the direction of Professor Antoni Gąsiorowski from Poznań³⁶ and of Dr. Ingrid Matschinegg, co-author of a similar electronic base project for the University of Vienna.³⁷

³¹ Karl Schrauf, ed., *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve 1453-tól 1630-ig (Matriculation list of the Hungarian nation at the university of Vienna)* (Budapest: Magyar tudományos akadémia, 1902).

³² J.F. Miller, ed., *Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis Hungarorum nunc primum ex autographo Codice Bibliothecae Cracoviensis editum* (Budapest: Typis Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1821) and Karl Schrauf, ed., *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis. A krakói magyar tanuló- háza lakóinak jegyzéke (1493-1558)* (The list of inhabitants of the students’ bursa in Cracow (1493-1558) (Budapest: A.M. Tud. Akadémia Kiadványa, 1893).

³³ *Matricula Coetus Ungarici [Bursa Wittenbergensis]*, Debrecen, Library of the Calvinist College, R. 544, reproduced in Géza Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus an der Universität Wittenberg 1555-1613* (Halle: Akademischer Verlag, 1941).

³⁴ Josephus Muczkowski, ed., *Statuta nec non Liber Promotionum Philosophorum Ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849* (Cracow: Typis Universitatis, 1849).

³⁵ Wladislaus Wislocki, ed., *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469*, 2 vols. (Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897).

³⁶ For information about the sources used for the project see two articles by Antoni Gąsiorowski, “Nad najstarszą Metryką najstarszego polskiego uniwersytetu: Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis 1400-1508” (About the oldest matriculation list of the oldest Polish University: Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis 1400-1508), *Roczniki historyczne* 66 (2000): 135-156 and “Immatrykulowani i promowani. Jednoroczní studenci akademii krakowskiej w XV wieku” (Immatriculated and graduated: students of the Krakow Academy in the fifteenth century) in *Nihil superfluum esse: Prace z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk (Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2000), 479-491. The final results of this project have been published in 2004: Antoni Gąsiorowski. et.al., eds., *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400-1508* (Matriculation list of the University of Cracow for the period 1400-1508), 2 volumes and CD (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2004).

³⁷ The project was led by Karl Vocelka (1992-1995) and Kurt Mühlberger (1998-2000) with the direct participation of Ingrid Matschinegg, Thomas Maisel, and Albert Müller, among others. The following are available in electronic form (until the year 1554 or otherwise depending on the source): 1. MUW (general matriculation list); 2. Matriculation list of the Hungarian Nation; 3. AFA (=Acta facultatis artium): register of names from the acts of the

Similarly important for the development of the first part of my work was the *Prosopography of Hungarian students in medieval universities* (until the year 1526) assembled by the late Prof. Astrik L. Gabriel and preserved in the Library of the Medieval Institute at the University of Notre Dame in the USA. This collection contains names and some additional information on all identified students coming from Hungarian regions at this time. The data is catalogued in three ways: alphabetically depending on the student's name, according to visited university, and chronologically. The results of Professor Gabriel's investigations permit quick and accurate identification of students coming from Hungarian towns (of any ethnicity), including those from the town of Košice.

Starting from the nineteenth century, Hungarian scholars dedicated much time to searching through the preserved matriculation lists (edited and non-edited) and other university administration related documents in order to compile lists of Hungarian students at various universities or other types of academic institutions from this time. Of particular importance within this category of edited primary sources were the publications by Vilmos Fraknói, Miklós Asztalos, Karl Schrauf, and Endre Veress, all of which representing meticulously created catalogues of students from different regions in the Hungarian Kingdom.³⁸ The recently launched publication series project of the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest "Magyarországi diákok egyetemjárása az újkorban" (Hungarian students at foreign universities in the Early Modern Period)

faculty of arts; 4. MFA (=matricula facultatis artium, 1501-1554), matriculation list of the faculty of arts; 5. (jurmat), matriculation list of the law faculty; 6. matriculation list of the faculty of theology (1519-1554, very fragmentary); 7. a register of names from the acts of the faculty of medicine and theology. For a detailed presentation of the project see Thomas Maisel, Ingrid Matschinegg, and Albert Müller, "Universitätsbesuch in Wien (1377-1554): Offene Probleme und Forschungsstrategien," in *Archivpraxis und Historische Forschung*, ed. Kurt Mühlberger (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1992), 293-301.

³⁸ Among the most useful proved to be the following (in alphabetical order): *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora 1601-1812* (*The list of names of Hungarian students at the University of Wittenberg 1601-1812*), edited by Miklós Asztalos (Budapest: Sárkány-Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1931); *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen a XIV. és XV. században* (*Hungarian teachers and students at the University of Vienna in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*), edited by Vilmos Fraknói (Budapest: A. M. Tud. Akadémia Kiadványa, 1874); *Magyarországi tanulók a bécsi egyetemen* (*Hungarian students at the University of Vienna*), volume one: 1377-1450, edited by Karl Schrauf (Budapest: A. M. Tud. Akadémia Kiadványa, 1892); *Magyarországi tanulók a Jénai Egyetemen* (*Hungarian students at the University of Jena*), edited by Gyula Mokos (Budapest: A. M. Tud. Akadémia Kiadványa, 1890); *Matricula et acta alumnorum Collegii Germanici et Hungarici ex regno Hungariae oriundorum I. Matricula (1559-1917)*, edited by Andreas Veress (Budapest: Typis Societatis Stephaneum Typographicae, 1917); *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitate Patavina studentium (1264-1864)*, edited by Andreas Veress (Budapest: Typis Societatis Stephaneum Typographicae, 1915); *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitatibus Italiae studentium (1221-1864)*, edited by Andreas Veress (Budapest: MTA, 1941); *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Graz (1586-1782)*, edited by Johann Andritsch (Graz: Verlag der Historischen Landeskommission, 1965).

has produced a number of good catalogues of students with relevance to the period of study of this dissertation.³⁹

1.3.2. Letters

The collection of letters *Halaganum I* from the town archives in Košice includes a significant number of correspondence pieces of various types and content, dated from the year 1527 onwards and arranged in chronological order. The number of letters written before the year 1556 is relatively low, one of the reasons for it being the fire that destroyed a part of the town archives in this year. The majority of these letters were created by chancelleries of various towns from the northern Hungarian regions in particular, but also sent from Poland, the German territories, Austria, Transylvania, etc. The administration of Košice corresponded with the Spiš Chamber representatives, other high officials, teachers and priests from different locations, with the town's ambassadors sent on various missions who would send regular reports back home, with urban administration members and other citizens being abroad for various purposes. A considerable number of letters reflects the increased responsibilities of the town council in the religious and educational field. One part treats different aspects of confessional issues and another part refers to the process of teachers' or priests' employments, i.e. these are letters of reply to various position offerings. Another part of letters illustrates the relationship of the town council and its citizens studying at different academic institutions (schools or universities) in the region or abroad.

This unedited collection of letters by Košice inhabitants from educational institutions abroad includes ninety-four letters sent between 1558 and 1662, which basically covers the Reformation period in the town.⁴⁰ Besides those sent directly from persons who either intended to go to study or who were already attending an academic institution, there are also a number of letters, the content of which was linked to academic peregrination, such as letters of support for students in search of financial resources, documents related to various academic matters or describing financial issues related to studying individuals, etc. Similar types of documentation exist in archives in other towns in the northern part of the Hungarian Kingdom as well. Of these,

³⁹ For the list of publications used for the purposes of this research and related to this series see Bibliography, Primary Sources, Edited Sources: University matriculation lists and other similar publications.

⁴⁰ See Appendix no. 6.3. A considerable number of letters related to educational matters in Košice were collected by Prof. Dr. András Szabó from Gáspár Károli University in Budapest who kindly shared part of his microfilm material with the author of this work.

only the students' letters from Levoča have been in the focus of scholarly research, this basically thanks to their excellent edition by Tünde Katona and Miklós Latzkovits in 1990. These letters have been analyzed mainly from the point of view of German language history with only limited emphasis on their cultural and social significance.⁴¹

In addition to the matriculation lists, the students' letters proved to be an important source in identifying those institutions attended by Košice students during the research time period. It is very important to mention, however, that the information provided by these two types of sources is not always identical. On the one hand, not every student who figured in the matriculation lists of the universities of the time wrote letters home from his place of study, and, on the other, not all the students who authored letters could be identified in the official matriculation lists. There are only a few cases when the same student was registered by both sources. However, the students' letters are considered as a very reliable source and those individuals who signed letters sent from universities have been considered as being students there and included into the prosopographical register. The fact that they are sometimes missing from the general matriculation list is only another confirmation for the well known fact that not every student coming to the university officially matriculated. In addition, a number of letters have been sent from secondary schools abroad, many times by the same students who later attended universities, thus offering additional biographical data for some individuals, as well as further information concerning the educational possibilities in use by Košice inhabitants. This way, both type of sources, the university documentation and the students' letters can be considered to complement each other in providing information about foreign schools attendance of the Košice students.

In addition to that, the students' letters from Košice represent an incomparably valuable source for learning about the financial possibilities of students in this period, in particular about the financial support provided by the urban council to its studying disciples. The information concerning the conditions for getting financial aid, the amounts, the way it was paid and the requirements that needed to be fulfilled may be collected almost exclusively from students' letters. These letters also provide trustworthy information on the town's intellectual elite and may, in due course, contribute significantly to writing of a social history of the town for this time period. In addition, they provide further information concerning the geography of the academic

⁴¹ See note 13 for the bibliographical data on the edition of Levoča letters and other articles based on the material provided by this publication.

peregrination, the reputation or popularity of different academic institutions among the town inhabitants as a result of the urban policy towards education in the respective period, some aspects of everyday life and traveling conditions abroad, possibilities for employment after the students finished their studies, relationship between other co-citizens while at the respective educational institution, and many other things.

The overwhelming majority of student letters are written in Latin, this being the official language of instruction in all academic institutions of the time, and, in addition, the official language of communication between scholars. Although, according to the administration documents preserved in the town archives, German and Hungarian were much in use during the sixteenth century, students preferred to keep their official correspondence with the town council in the academic language of the time, thus providing their letters with a more scholarly character and making their quests for financial aid more convincing. A limited number of letters written during the respective time period are written in German or Hungarian, these being mainly addressed to relatives of friends and having a less formal character. This way, these letters provide important additional information concerning the languages used regularly in the community during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century as well.

1.3.3. Municipal records

Documents related to civic administration present another possibility for collecting data regarding the town inhabitants who studied abroad. A part of the town's records (until about the year 1526) have been copied on microfilms and can be found at the National Archives in Budapest. Some parts of the archival material from Košice was published, mainly by Lajos Kemény at the end of the nineteenth century and by Ondrej R. Halaga, almost one century later,⁴² although this research was not carried out in a systematic fashion, and a considerable number of documents still remain unedited and incompletely systematized.⁴³

⁴² Lajos Kemény, ed., *Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei 1431-1533* (The old accounts books from Košice 1431 to 1533) (Košice: Bernovits, 1892), which includes, among other things, the account registers of the town from the years 1431-1446; 1431-1487; 1440-1445; 1487; 1527; 1533 and the taxation registers from the time period 1475-1487 and 1488 and Ondrej R. Halaga, ed. *Acta iudiciaria civitatis Cassoviensis 1393-1405: Das älteste Kaschauer Stadtbuch* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994). For a comprehensive description of the Košice archival material see the following works authored by Ondrej R. Halaga: "Košické mestské knihy 1394-1737" (The urban accounts of Košice 1394-1737) (Košice: AMK, 1956) and *Archív Mesta Košic: Spríevodca po fondoch a zbierkach* (Town Archives of Košice: directory of manuscripts and collections) (Prag: Archivní správa ministerstva vnitra, 1957).

⁴³ There were several attempts to systematize the material from the Košice town archives at various time periods, beginning with the years 1503-1512 during the activity of the town notary Johannes Scheutzlich, further continued

The collections of documents used for the purpose of this research are listed in the bibliographical part of this dissertation.⁴⁴ A considerable number of them record the financial matters of the urban administration. Already in the fifteenth century, two types of account books existed in Košice: (a) *Liber civitatis minor/ das kleine Stadtbuch (maculatoria)*, which was filled in directly at the meetings of the town's council and (b) *Liber civitatis maior/ das grösste Stadtbuch (purificata)*, which was compiled and kept in the notary's office and reproduced a number of entries from the first book selected according to certain principles.⁴⁵ These books were usually accessible only to the notary, sub-notary, or his scribes and only these persons were entitled to make entries into either of them. The oldest such preserved (but not the first) book from Košice dates 1394-1405 (*Liber actorum iudiciariorum*) and was edited and analyzed in great detail by Halaga. The subsequent town books preserved in the Košice town archives, although numerous, are often fragmentary and incomplete. The records concerning the town administration issues, taxes, town's and private economic matters are only partially preserved. There are no constant series of account books, these being preserved only for a limited number of years.⁴⁶ Even in the cases when present, such documents, although their title is similar to documents from other western European towns, their content is rather different, that is much more limited and it contains less information than expected.⁴⁷

However, where available, the civic records have been able to confirm or specify the amount of money the town council designated to support its students, provide more detailed information regarding the social status of particular individuals and their family and sometimes provide useful information about students' post-study careers. On the last issue, a number of other types of documents, in addition to the town account books, proved to be useful, as for example the lists of the individuals receiving burgher's rights, preserved from the year 1580 onwards, where the entries may contain additional information on the occupational status, place of birth, and other data of a personal character.⁴⁸ Another very useful source in this type of research is church records, which registered the baptisms and weddings and is very generous in

by former archivists Schwartzbach (?), Schramm (1814-1822), and Lajos Kemény (1894-1925). The most recent inventory of the archival material was carried out by Ondrej R. Halaga.

⁴⁴ See Bibliography, Primary Sources, Manuscript source collections.

⁴⁵ Halaga, "Košické mestské knihy," 21ff and 50-51.

⁴⁶ Kemény, *Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei*.

⁴⁷ See Fügedi, "Kaschau," 186.

⁴⁸ AMK H III/2. CIV: Archív Mesta Košic, Mestské knihy a registre, Knihy mestskej administratívy, Liber neoconcivium.

providing information of a personal and family character for a number of individuals. It may also contain information indicating the respective individual's social status and position in the town.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, for the case of Košice, this type of source only exists from the late sixteenth century onwards; thus, I was able to provide more information of this type with regard to the later students only.

The town archive also includes important material related to the education of the town inhabitants at the local school in Košice or at other secondary schools, gymnasia, etc. abroad, thus, providing additional information concerning study opportunities and the financial support available to the town inhabitants. Although those who, according to existing data, studied at different schools below university level only are not included in the prosopographical catalogue, the information provided by these sources is also important for several aspects that have been investigated and will be considered in different parts of this dissertation.

1.4. Methodological issues

Hilde de Ridder-Symoens writes about three ways applied in the social history of universities for better knowing and understanding the role of universities attendees in society, these depending on the point to start with in order to create the social group: (1) the attendees of a certain university, coming from different locations but receiving the same education; (2) former university attendees at a certain institution, who are all employed similarly but who come from a different academic formation and (3) using as a starting point a delineated geographical area for identifying students at different educational institutions.⁵⁰ My research is an adaptation of the third approach, concentrating on a group of students coming from one specific town without a university located in a peripheral region in relation to the academic centers of the time. Two major characteristics are shared among all members of the defined group: their geographical origin and the documented university attendance within the temporal framework of this dissertation. The major challenge for this enterprise was the necessity to review a large amount of primary sources of different types in order to compile the target group. After this task was

⁴⁹ Liber baptizatorum et copulatorum /1587/ ab anno 1598 – 1612 et 1642, microfilm no. 55 and Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655, microfilm no. 56 both available in the State Regional Archives in Košice (Štátny Okresný Archív v Košiciach).

⁵⁰ Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, "Possibilités de carrière et de mobilité sociale des intellectuels-universitaires au moyen âge," in *Medieval Lives and the Historian. Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 343-357.

accomplished, another great effort was to collect information about each of the individuals included. The majority of sources used for the purpose of this research allow for a quantitative approach, however, in a number of cases they also provide information of biographical value. In spite of this, it is the intention of this study to go beyond purely numerical interpretation and to understand and define other collective characteristics of this students' group.

This collective biography is based on a prosopographical catalogue, which includes all students from Košice, who, according to the documents preserved, attended foreign universities until the year 1660 (Appendix 6.1). The identified university attendees have been organized in chronological order according to the year when the first information concerning the university presence of the respective individual occurred: in many cases this is the year of official matriculation as displayed by the matriculation list of the respective university, although there are cases when the student's presence at a certain university was testified by means of other sources. In addition to the date of the first identification, for each of the listed student all possible types of information were collected concerning his university attendance (i.e. date of inscription, matriculation fee, graduation, traveling in group, other universities attended, etc.). Family background and further biographical data (pre- and post-university attendance) has been included as well. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the information collected in this prosopographical catalogue provides the answer to a series of questions specified above and is meant to describe this students' group from different points of view and to analyze its functioning in the respective social context, and especially the changes of functions and roles over time. Thus, it contributes to the creation of the numerical and content-based components of the collective biography of the group of students from Košice during the time period for this research.

The prosopographical method was selected because of the number of advantages it offered to my research, of which the main one is the possibility of obtaining a fairly detailed picture of the attendance at university by the population from Košice. The overall picture displays the variations in the frequency numbers and allows their confrontation with factors of various character throughout this dissertation. The compilation of individual biographical data permits identification of tendencies and patterns in the domain of university attendance for the respective research period and, as a result, makes it possible to balance these with other aspects of urban development, such as economic progress, demographic changes, and other similar

factors. A further advantage of the method is that it offers grounds to analyze the impact university attendance had upon the further personal fate of individuals and their employment possibilities within their home town and region over a longer period of time.

A number of well-known limitations have been taken into consideration when using the prosopographical method.⁵¹ An important factor for assuring credibility is the completeness of the prosopographical catalogue, something directly intertwined with the state of the sources which vary in their degree of richness, preservation, and availability. The latter may lead to problems when compiling the prosopographical catalogue in the first place. The identification of Košice students has been carried out in a variety of ways. First of all the matriculation lists or other types of university related documents have been searched in order to identify individuals who registered as being from the town of Košice (in its Latin, German or Hungarian variants: Kassa, Kaschau, Caschovia, Caschouia, Chaschovia, Casschovia, Kaschovia, etc, very often with the Latin suffix “ensis”). The drawbacks of this type of sources have been described above. In addition to those, even in the cases when the town is directly indicated, there are still questions left concerning the accuracy of the entry. The tendency common at the time was for students coming from smaller locations to designate at their inscription a larger close by town. In addition to that, there were a number of cases when students indicated not the place of their birth, but the one where they had been living or going to school immediately before coming to the university. Since there is no possibility to clarify exactly what the situation was in the case of every identified student, all the students registered with “Košice” in the university documentation have been considered. The second way to identify students from Košice at foreign universities was collecting all kind of hints from the material preserved in the local archives. All students identified as having financial support from the Košice town council have been included in the group, even though in several cases it is not clear if they came from Košice directly or from other nearby locations. This is an issue that proved difficult or even impossible to clarify. In addition to that, a few individuals referred to in other secondary literature as originating in Košice have been considered really being from Košice, even though, in some cases, their direct provenience

⁵¹ For more on prosopography, its advantages and limitations see Lawrence Stone, “Prosopographie-englische Erfahrungen,” in *Quantifizierung in der Geschichtswissenschaft: Probleme und Möglichkeiten*, ed. Konrad Jarausch (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1976), 64-97. For the use of terms “prosopography” and “collective biography” see the introduction by Wilhelm Heinz Schröder, “Kollektive Biographien in der historischen Sozialforschung: Eine Einführung,” in *Lebenslauf und Gesellschaft: Zum Einsatz von kollektiven Biographien in der historischen Sozialforschung*, ed. Wilhelm Heinz Schröder (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985), 7-17.

could not be identified with any satisfactory degree of precision. For these reasons, all of the numbers presented and used in this research do not pretend to be absolutely precise from a mathematical or statistical point of view, but are merely used as indicators for describing certain characteristics of the group or tendencies in the group's behavior.

For each person included in this prosopography an attempt has been made to collect as much information as possible regarding both his activities at the university and before or after the university attendance period. Whenever possible, some indication is given on the influence of the university experience on their careers after leaving the university and on the nature of their contributions, if any, to the development of the town and of the region. In spite of all these efforts, a considerable number of individuals remained with their university matriculation data only, for a number of different reasons specified elsewhere. Thus, the data collected with regard to a limited number of individuals has been extended, with a certain caution, to the entire group and considered as patterns of group development. It is my hope that this study was able to describe significant changes and basic trends, even if they cannot be delineated with complete individual factual and numerical accuracy.

Unfortunately, similar types of research upon university attendees from other towns in the former Northern Hungarian (today Eastern Slovakian) region have not been undertaken yet, with the exception of Levoča, for which a few aspects related to university education of its inhabitants were illustrated in different publications as indicated in the note 15. Therefore, it is not possible to provide a very persuasive comparative analysis with the situation in other urban locations within the region. In order to provide a better picture at regional level, further investigations on university students coming from the neighboring towns would be desirable to permit better comparative possibilities within a regional framework. Nevertheless, the results of this investigation should contribute to further multifaceted research on the history of education and intellectual life in the region, as well as be used as a tool to describe the general development of the town of Košice during the target period. Therefore, my expectation is that this research will not contribute to the New Antiquarianism, as Lawrence Stone puts it,⁵² but will have a useful input on the amount and quality of historical knowledge for this particular region from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

⁵² Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," in *Historical Studies Today*, ed. Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard (New York: Norton & Company, 1972), 132.

Chapter two: Development of the town of Košice until the middle of the seventeenth century

2.1. Historical and political development

There are no historical documents that would refer directly to the foundation of the settlement later called Kassa, Kaschau, Caschovia, or Košice. The earliest written reference of the town dates back to the year 1230, indicating that the settlement already had a church and a priest.⁵³ After the Tartars invaded and laid to waste Hungary in 1241-1242, King Béla IV (1235-1270) relocated German colonists as part of the resettlement process in the country. The first documentary proof of the presence of Germans in the area is dated to 1249.⁵⁴ Cooperation between the local population and the colonists during the second half of the thirteenth century contributed significantly to the development of the town, which by the year 1290 was already fortified by stone walls. Two towers, typical symbols of a protected town, are present in the oldest seal of Košice and from the end of the thirteenth century the settlement is referred to as a town (*civitas*) in municipal, clerical and royal documents.

In the fight for the Hungarian throne at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the people of Košice took the Angevin side and helped King Charles Robert to defeat the armies of the Omodej/Amadé oligarchy at the famous battle of Rozhanovce not far from the town in 1312. In the ensuing decades of peace, the town enjoyed great economic growth due to the favors of the Angevin kings. Košice was granted a series of privileges, the most important of which occurred in 1342 and 1347 when the town was awarded free royal status. Several North Hungarian towns were in a similar position and the association of five towns known as the

⁵³ See Ondrej R. Halaga, *Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly: hospodársko-sociálne, správne a kultúrne dejiny* (Beginnings of Košice and the foundation of the town: economic-social, legal and cultural aspects) (Košice: Východoslovensko vydavateľstvo, 1992).

⁵⁴ For more information on the arrival of German colonists in the Spiš region see Miloš Marek, "Saxones nostri de Scepus: K niektorým otázkam príchodu saských hostí a ich života na Spiši" (Saxones nostri de Scepus: on several questions concerning the arrival of Saxon guests and their life in the Spiš region), in *Terra Scepusiensis: Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša* (The state of research on the history of Spiš region), eds. Gładkiewicz, Ryszard and Martin Homza (Levoča and Wrocław: Lúč vydavateľské družstvo Bratislava, 2003), 353-365. See also Ondrej R. Halaga, "Vývoj jazykovo-národnostnej štruktúry Košíc" (The development of the linguistic and national structure of Košice), *Historický časopis* 30: 4 (1982): 588-604.

Löbliche Gemeinschaft der fünf Städte - consisting of Košice, Levoča, Bardejov, Prešov, and Sabinov – continued to exist beyond the century of its foundation.⁵⁵

In the first half of the fifteenth century, the territories of the Upper Hungarian regions were plagued by the Hussites and, with the death of Sigismund in 1437, civil war began in the country. After 1440, in the midst of all the political chaos, Košice became for a while the headquarters of Captain Jan Jiskra of Brandýs.⁵⁶ His military troops were installed in the town until the fifties, after which the land came under the rule of Polish and Hungarian representatives of the Jagiellonian dynasty. Later, Košice found itself in the Hunyadi sphere of influence and during the reign of Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) its citizens aided the king in the complete suppression of the Hussites. In the peaceful years of Corvinus' reign, the town prospered once again and its affluence was reflected in the reconstruction of many burghers' houses and especially in the accelerated construction of St. Elisabeth Cathedral. After the death of Corvinus, Košice became once again the center of military operations connected with the next struggle for the Hungarian throne. It supported the Jagellonian King Wladislas II and was besieged twice by the Polish armies of his brother and opponent, Jan Albrecht. The town resisted these attacks on both occasions (1491 and 1492), earning the recognition of the victorious King Wladislas.

The entire sixteenth century was a time of significant change in the political and economic situation of the Hungarian Kingdom. The first decades were characterized by the spread of the Reformation. Also, Eastern Europe was threatened by the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The military defeat at Mohács in 1526 was soon followed by political controversy when the Hungarian nobility proceeded to elect two kings, John I Szapolyai and Ferdinand of the Habsburg dynasty. Košice, supporting Ferdinand, fell into the hands of Szapolyai in 1536, who exiled parts of its German population and replaced them with Hungarian burghers coming from other regions of the country.⁵⁷ Košice managed to extricate itself from the

⁵⁵ For more details about the association of five towns see Ondrej R. Halaga, "Pentapolis – ostslowakische Städtegemeinschaft und ihre Handwerkerbünde," in *"Mestské právo v 16-18. století v Evropě"* (Urban rights in the sixteenth to the eighteenth century Europe), ed. Karel Maly (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1982), 41-52 and Németh, *Várospolitikai és gazdaságpolitika*.

⁵⁶ For more information see the article of Henryk Ruciński, "Dzieje polityczne Spiszu do końca XV wieku," (Political history of Scepusia until the end of the fifteenth century), in Gładkiewicz and Homza, *Terra Scepusiensis*, 275-303.

⁵⁷ See among others the book by Franz Greszl, *Tausend Jahre deutsches Leben im Karpatenraum: Eine kirchen- und geistgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Stuttgart: Verlag Unsere Post, 1971); Németh, *Várospolitikai és gazdaságpolitika*; Martina Fuchs, Teréz Oborni, and Gábor Ujváry, eds. *Kaiser Ferdinand I: Ein mitteleuropäischer Herrscher* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2005). The expulsion of German burghers is

power of Szapolyai's heirs as late as the year 1552, while in the meantime the Habsburg faction made the town its military headquarters for the territory – the Captainate of Upper Hungary – through which it became instrumental in the defense against Ottoman expansion. The wars between John Szapolyai and the Habsburgs (1528, 1538, etc.), the concentration of Habsburg mercenaries in Košice as the main anti-Ottoman bulwark in the hinterland, and a series of anti-Habsburg revolts (1604-1606, 1619-1622, 1634-1635, etc.) hindered the peaceful development of the town. Furthermore, the great fire which broke out in Košice in April 1556 destroyed much of the town: the Cathedral with the tower, the Dominican and Franciscan friaries both with their churches, the town hall, the gates and bastions of the town fortifications as well as whole streets in the southern and western parts of Košice were incinerated. After this catastrophe, Italian engineers began – with the support of the Emperor's court – to transform the town into a more modern, bastion-type fortress. The newly emerging Košice became an important center for civil and military administration, but it was now above all a fortified defensive position with a permanent mercenary garrison.

The town avoided any direct military engagement with the Ottoman forces, and, as a consequence, both secular and Church institutions were drawn to its relative security, fleeing the Ottoman occupation of the south.⁵⁸ Košice became the seat of the Spiš Chamber in 1568 and of the Bishop of Eger in 1596. The captain general in Košice, who commanded all battle forces of Northern Hungarian towns, was appointed the king's deputy in the province. Košice also housed several other central offices, including the royal chamber (*Camera Regia Cassoviensis*), which had already been established by the end of the thirteenth century, with its salt, mining and coin-minting chambers, tasked with administering the royal property and tax revenues.⁵⁹ In this way, by the end of the sixteenth century, Košice was an important economic and political center of the region with a considerable body of business, commercial and military leadership of regional importance. In geographical terms, Košice was located along the dividing line between the

documented in the Košice Town Archives: AMK, H III/2, her.1, folio 11 und 11v: *Nomina Civium Cassoviensis die Purificationis Mariae, anno domini 1537 post [annissam] proditione Civitatis et sub [tyranide] Joannis Regis existentem in exilium eductorum et per diversa loca dispersorum*. This document is edited and the case is mentioned in: István Petrovics, "Foreign Ethnic Groups in the Towns of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages," in *Segregation-Integration-Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy, and Katalin Szende (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 78, 86-87.

⁵⁸ See Ondrej R. Halaga, *Košická administratívna oblasť za feudalizmu* (The administrative region of Košice during the feudal period) (Košice: AMK, 1955-1958), 88ff. The first captain general was Johann Katzianer appointed in 1528 by the Habsburgs.

⁵⁹ See Halaga, *Košická administratívna oblasť*, 55ff.

territories under the Habsburg and Transylvanian influence and this fact, further augmented by the religious controversies to be discussed below, resulted in a period of conflict and political turmoil from the second half of the sixteenth century on.

2.2. Aspects of the economic situation

Košice was located along the important commercial route between Transylvania, northern Hungary, and Poland, not far from Poland's greatest commercial town, Cracow, a fact that allowed its rapid economic growth and earned it an important role in the internal and external trade of the region.⁶⁰ The prosperity of Cracow, the privileges granted to it already in the thirteenth century, and the mutual contract agreement between Cracow and Košice from 1390 (renewed in 1394) were all elements contributing to trade along the route on which Košice was situated. Trade was the main source of wealth from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century in Košice. The town's position as one of the important points of European trade was reflected in customs privileges and in the rights of being an important storage for foreign goods in Hungary. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, several important economic privileges were granted to Košice: the use of compulsory route, staple right, and the obligation of foreign merchants to wholesale trade.⁶¹ In Cracow, local merchants would acquire western goods, such as Flemish and German cloths of high quality and other articles for everyday needs and products from Cracow itself. To Cracow, merchants of Košice would bring copper, wines, spices, and wax, the latter obtained from Transylvanian traders. Besides, attention was also paid to potentially profitable trade with distant countries. Vienna was an important location which played a role in the commerce of Hungary with the German territories and other western regions, particularly during the time of the Ottoman occupation of the southern regions of the country, when German merchants tried to avoid dangerous locations, preferring intermediaries for their commercial

⁶⁰See among the studies dedicated to the commercial activity of Košice: György Kerekes, *Kassa polgársága, ipara és kereskedése a középkor végén* (The middle class, industry and commerce in Košice at the end of the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Lampel, 1913); György Granasztói, "A kassai kereskedelem a 16. században" (The commerce of Košice in the sixteenth century), in *Gazdaság, társadalom, történetírás. Emlékkönyv Pach Zsigmond Pál 70. születésnapjára* (Economy, society, historiography: dedicated to Pach Zsigmond Pál on his 70th birthday), ed. Ferenc Glatz, 63-82 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1989); Ondrej R. Halaga, "Verbindungen ostslowakischer Städte mit dem europäischen Markt über Polen und die Ostsee und die "Pacta mutual" Krakau-Kaschau," *Hansische Studien* 8 (1989): 132-143; Zsuzsa Teke, "Kassa külkereskedelme az 1393–1405. évi kassai bírói könyv bejegyzései alapján" (Foreign trade of Košice on the basis of the entries in the judiciary book of 1393-1405), *Századok* 137 (2003): 381–404.

⁶¹ Fügedi, Kaschau, 201.

business.⁶² Thus, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century the commercial connections of Košice matched those of its European counterparts, merchants of the town exporting copper, iron, leather, furs, wine, and other goods to German territories, Poland, and Russia.⁶³ The richer town inhabitants remained commercially active throughout the entire period studied, in spite of military conflicts and religious turbulence which occurred in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century. According to contemporary researchers, the increased military significance of Košice, as discussed above, merely changed the character and the beneficiaries of local trade, – which became more oriented towards military needs – and less its intensity as such.⁶⁴

Agriculture was the second most important occupation for town dwellers, the majority of which, being very much dependent on rich capital holders, were involved in agricultural production in order to financially survive.⁶⁵ An important source of income was wine production, owing to the favorable geographical environment of the town and its proximity to the Tokaj region. Rich burghers procured a great number of vineyards in the southern suburbs of the town. Merchants made capital by trading both locally produced wine and wine from other regions of

⁶² For the role of Vienna in the Hungarian-German trade see the article by Lajos Gecsényi, “Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Ungarn und den süddeutschen Städten am Anfang der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Bayern–Ungarn. Tausend Jahre. Aufsätze zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2001*, eds. Herbert W. Wurster, Manfred Treml, and Richard Loibl, 121-137 (Passau: Verl. Archiv des Bistums & Oberhausmuseum Passau, 2001).

⁶³ A very detailed study of the commercial activity of the town until the first half of the sixteenth century, especially with Cracow and western European regions, including an analysis of the relevant sources is provided by Halaga in his following works: “Spojenia slovenských miest s Poľskom a Rusou do 16. stor.” (The connections of the Slovakian towns with Poland and Russia until the sixteenth century), *Historické štúdie* 11 (1966): 139-164; *Košice – Balt. Vyroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom 1275-1526* (Košice-Baltic sea: production and commerce in the relationship of the east Slovakian towns with Prussia 1275-1526) (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1975); “Pakty vzájomnosti obchodných stredísk Krakova a Košic” (Pacts of mutual relations between the trade centers of Cracow and Košice), *Historický Časopis* 36:2 (1988): 159-174; and “Verbindungen ostslowakischer Städte mit dem europäischen Markt über Polen und die Ostsee und die ‘Pacta mutua’ Krakau-Kaschau,” *Hansische Studien* 8 (1989): 132-143. About the relationship between the Spiš region and Poland see also the article by Marián Skladaný, “Spiš v slovensko-poľských hospodárskych stykoch v 15.- 16. storočí” (The Spiš region in the Slovak-Polish economic affairs between the fifteenth and sixteenth century), in Gładkiewicz and Homza, *Terra Scepusiensis*, 457-465.

⁶⁴ See the articles by Ferenc Szakály, “Die Bilanz der Türkenherrschaft in Ungarn,” *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 34 (1988): 63-77 and by Lajos Gecsényi, “Handel und Handelspolitik im Königreich Ungarn zur Zeit der Herrschaft Ferdinands I.,” in *Kaiser Ferdinand I. Ein mitteleuropäischer Herrscher*, ed. Martina Fuchs, Teréz Oborni, and Gábor Ujváry (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 147-151.

⁶⁵ For more on the economic development of towns in the fifteenth and sixteenth century see the articles by Jenő Szűcs, “Das Städtewesen in Ungarn im 15-17. Jahrhundert,” *Studia Historica* 53 (1963): 97-164 and Vera Zimányi, “Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung der Städte Ungarns im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Die Stadt an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit*, ed. Wilhelm Rausch (Linz/Donau: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1980), 129-141. For a comprehensive overview of the agrarian development in Košice and in the neighboring region see Ondrej R. Halaga, “Domínium mesta Košic a jeho agrikultúra” (The dominium of the town of Košice and its agriculture), *Agrikultúra* 22 (1989): 13-39.

Hungary as well, especially with the city of Cracow.⁶⁶ The presence of many vineyard properties is also confirmed by the town administration's documents, in which vineyards (*vinea*) are frequently mentioned as surety for securing credit. Throughout the fifteenth century, Košice extended its territory on several occasions, one time significantly in the year 1429, when King Sigismund donated a number of surrounding villages to the town. In 1447, 1458 and 1491 the town acquired further properties, especially under King Wladislas II, following the military victory over the Polish army in the early nineties.⁶⁷ During the boom in international trade relations, the town bought villages and settlements in the grape-growing region of the Tokaj hills. This was also motivated by the good market position of the Hungarian wine, the price of which remained relatively high throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶⁸

As for the crafts industry, while enjoying favorable conditions for development before and during the fifteenth century – especially given the quantities of raw material in the region, – still it did not develop to the same level as in other Western European towns during the same period of time.⁶⁹ Certain accomplishment can be noticed in those professions connected with clothing, yet in general, the development of different crafts in Košice was limited by certain factors, among which was the incapacity to compete successfully with lower-priced products imported from other regions. The increase in prices for agricultural products that could be observed on the international market from the beginning of the sixteenth century had a negative impact on the development of the local crafts industry. For this and other reasons, investment in the local manufacture of goods was neglected; crafts production stayed at its previous level and from the end of the fifteenth century the industry could no longer afford to compete with products from other European regions.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Fügedi, Kaschau, 201.

⁶⁷ Halaga, Domínium mesta Košic, 5f.

⁶⁸ See Zimányi, Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung, 135 and another article by the same author: "A magyarországi ármozgások helye az európai fejlődésben" (Hungarian prices' development in the European context), *Történelmi Szemle* 15: 3-4 (1972): 40ff. About the wine trade in the region see also H. Prickler, "Zur Geschichte des burgenländisch-westungarischen Weinhandels in die Oberländer Böhmen, Mähren, Schlesien und Polen," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 14 (1965): 294-320, 495-529, 731-754.

⁶⁹ For an overview of the development of crafts in the Hungarian towns in the fifteenth century see Jenő Szűcs, *Városok és kézművesség a XV. századi Magyarországon* (Towns and crafts in Hungary during the fifteenth century) (Budapest: Művelt Nép, 1955). See also the articles by Milena Ostrolucká: "Vzt'ahy mesta a cechov v Košiciach v 16. a 17. storočí" (The relation of the town and the guilds in Košice in the sixteenth and seventeenth century), *Historia carpatica* 20 (1989): 175-185 and "Handwerksmeister als Bürger der Stadt Kaschau im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in Čičaj, *Städtisches Alltagsleben*, 77-83.

⁷⁰ Zimányi, Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung, here 133. See also Halaga, Košice – Balt, chapter three.

The town's capital would come rather from commercial activity, including the wine trade, and its major part was concentrated in the hands of rich merchants. The town partially controlled the financial matters of the parish churches – which included some real estate and sometimes limited amount of cash.⁷¹ The traders from Košice, in their turn, although successful in creating their own guilds, remained independent of the foreign (Cracow) capital through commercial loans, and as a result, were not able to build sufficient resources to meet the town's needs. The restricted amount of cash at the town's disposal was less than in other western European towns in the same period of time and much less cash was invested in local enterprise than in the exploitation of the raw material. This financial handicap proved to be disadvantageous in the sixteenth century, as the town could not cope with the distinct changes that restructured commercial connections in Europe. The main sources of capital and consequently the monopolies of the Thurzos and Fuggers had to be relinquished and Košice was obliged to change its role from that of a competitor with Cracow, Wrocław, and other towns to being merely a distributor of goods imported from Cracow, Wrocław, or Vienna to the hinterland of Košice.

After the events of the year 1526 Košice was further affected by changes in the demographic structures as a number of rich burghers of German origin had to leave the town, which resulted in Košice also losing a significant part of its capital. Although a number of wealthy families of Hungarian origin from the southern towns fled because of the Ottoman threat to Košice, they had neither the time nor the contacts necessary to attain the standard of living that had previously been characteristic of the Košice merchant class.⁷² Another hindrance was the military presence in the region and in the town itself, which taxed the local economy with an obligation to supply the soldiers. Even though this could be considered as a positive development initially, in the long term, the inability of the Hungarian Royal Chamber to repay the loans and pay for the supplies negatively affected urban economic development.⁷³ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the economic situation in Košice was generally in decline. The economic instability further deepened by increased taxation laid upon towns by the Habsburgs, the limitation of commercial activities abroad, the insurrections of the Hungarian nobility against the Habsburgs throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, and the devastation of Hungarian

⁷¹ Fügedi, Kaschau, 209f.

⁷² Zimányi, Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Entwicklung, passim and the publications by György Granasztói.

⁷³ Németh, *Várospolitiká*.

regions along the military border with the Ottomans. Although being one of the most important urban centers in Upper Hungary, with a large number of administrative units concentrated in the town, a number of factors led to the fact that Košice began to fall economically behind other towns in Poland or German-speaking territories, its peripheral character becoming more and more clear from the end of sixteenth century on.

2.3. The demographic development of Košice

There are no direct sources available that could help to determine the population numbers in Košice for the period studied, yet some data can be compiled on the basis of the partially preserved tax lists and other similar documents. Several researchers, among them Erik Fügedi,⁷⁴ György Granasztói,⁷⁵ and Ondrej R. Halaga,⁷⁶ have investigated aspects of the demographic development of the town of Košice in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times. According to Fügedi's estimations, Košice's population fluctuated between 4000 and 5000 in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Halaga includes the population from the suburbs as well into his calculations, resulting in a somewhat higher estimate. The taxation accounts from Košice, one of the most important sources for estimating population numbers, are unfortunately incompletely preserved.⁷⁷ An analysis of those that are available indicates that Košice was a prospering middle-size town according to European standards, and at the same time one of the most important towns in the fifteenth-century Hungarian Kingdom with a population approximately equal to that of Bratislava, part of Hungary at the time, or Heidelberg in Germany.⁷⁸ From the middle of the sixteenth century, because of the political disorder in the region and other factors mentioned shortly above, the population started to decrease. This decline is well illustrated by the numbers provided by Halaga, who assesses the population of Košice, including those living in the suburbs as mentioned above, to be about 8603 persons in 1480, 7000 persons in 1557, 5704 persons in 1632 and, finally, 3678 persons in the year 1686.⁷⁹ Granasztói, who considered

⁷⁴ Fügedi, Kaschau, 185-213.

⁷⁵ György Granasztói, "Die Stadt Kaschau und ihre Bevölkerung in 16. Jahrhundert," *Historisch-demographische Mitteilungen* 3 (1976): 146-169.

⁷⁶ Halaga, *Počiatky Košíc*, 266-268; Idem, *Právný, územný a populačný vývoj mesta Košíc* (Development of rights, territory and population of the city of Košice) (Košice: Východoslovensko vydavateľstvo, 1967).

⁷⁷ See Kemény, *Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei*. The taxation lists for the years 1475, 1480, 1483, 1484, 1487, and 1488 are preserved in the town archives.

⁷⁸ Fügedi, Kaschau, 188.

⁷⁹ Halaga, *Právný, územný*, 56f.

the method of calculating population numbers based on tax lists to exaggerate the results, based his research regarding the demographics of Košice on the two population censuses in 1549 and 1554 and estimated that the number of town burghers in possession of a household as being 1628 according to the data provided by the first census and 2443 – by the second.⁸⁰ He further assessed the following numbers of heads of households: circa 2800 persons in 1480, 2300 in 1632 and 2575 in 1765. All these estimations describe the town of Košice as being a middle-size town in the European context of the time.

During the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were significant differences in the town between the very rich and very poor taxpayers, so that the population of Košice could be divided according to strict social categories.⁸¹ In the sixteenth century this situation started to change. The number of poor and “middle-class” taxpayers reached more or less equal numbers, while the number of the rich and very rich taxpayers started to decrease significantly. The overwhelming majority of the population was among the less affluent members of society. Among the main reasons for this situation one could again refer to the decrease in the standard of living in the town as a result of the above-described unfavorable political events. While a modern viewer could perhaps appreciate positively a relative equality between representatives of different social classes, the entire picture was rather unfavorable for the financial possibilities of Košice’s population at the time.⁸²

Halaga also attempted to research the occupations of the town population during the fifteenth and sixteenth century. According to his data, from the approximately 4290 persons who appeared before the town court between 1393 and 1405, the most prominently represented profession was that of the furriers (759 entries), then merchants (658 entries), metalworkers (603), people processing foodstuff (599), textile producers (384), and woodworkers (378), all in all over 230 occupations, indicating a fairly advanced division of job specialization within the town at that time.⁸³

⁸⁰ Granasztói, *Die Stadt Kaschau*, 165.

⁸¹ Fügedi, *Kaschau*, 194-195.

⁸² See the study by Miloslava Bodnárová, “Majetková štruktúra obyvateľstva Košíc v 16. storočí” (The property structure of the population in Košice in the sixteenth century), *Historica Carpatica* 18 (1987): 179-205, which is based on a detailed analysis of town donations registers. See also the article by Marie Marečková, “Das bürgerliche Bildungswesen in den Städten der Ostslowakei und die Änderungen in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft an der Schwelle der Neuzeit,” in Čičaj, *Städtisches Alltagsleben*, 85-92, here 86f.

⁸³ Halaga, *Počiatky Košíc*, 296-303.

An interesting aspect that should be analyzed for the purpose of the present investigation is the ethnic distribution of Košice citizens.⁸⁴ As previously mentioned, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a considerable number of German colonists moved into the town and until the middle of the fifteenth century Košice was mainly populated by Germans.⁸⁵ During the same century, however, the number of Hungarian residents started to increase considerably, so that, in the year 1488, an agreement was signed between the Hungarian and the German population according to the model of Buda (Ofen) (1438) and Cluj (1458). The agreement stipulated that the two ethnic groups would participate equally in the election of the town council and that the ethnic criterion would be taken into consideration for an even distribution of the positions in town administration.⁸⁶ A similar type of document was signed in 1552 by Ferdinand I, who granted equal rights to both the Hungarian and German population as far as the election of town magistrates was concerned.⁸⁷ Important for the development of the demographic picture in the town were both the above-mentioned displacement of German burghers in 1536 by Johannes Szapolyai and the wave of refugees from the southern regions of Hungary, some of whom were installed in Košice. As a result, the language of the town administration and business changed gradually to Hungarian, as well as the language of instruction in the urban schools, although it should be mentioned that the cantor of the German-Lutheran community maintained a German school in Košice until around the year 1670.⁸⁸ Furthermore, until 1683 the conditions for

⁸⁴ An overview on the ethnic situation of the town population is provided by Zsuzsanna, J. Újvári in her article “Kassa polgárságának etnikai és politikai változásai a 16. század közepétől a 17. század első harmadáig” (Fluctuations in the ethnical and political structure of bourgeoisie in Košice from the middle of the sixteenth century to the first third of the seventeenth century), in *A magyar polgári átalakulás kérdései* (Questions of bourgeois transformation in Hungary), eds. Iván Zoltán Dénes, András Gergely, and Gábor Pajkossy (Budapest: ELTE, 1984), 9-36.

⁸⁵ About the German population in the northern Hungarian regions see a number of works, such as Marek, *Saxones nostri de Scepus*, 353-365; Greszl, *Tausend Jahre deutsches Leben im Karpatenraum*; the older book by Béla von Pukánszky, *Geschichte des deutschen Schrifttums in Ungarn* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931) and among the most recent contributions to the topic the books by Johann Schürger, *Deutsche in der Ostslowakei: Deutsch-Michalok, Kaschau und andere Siedlungen* (Stuttgart: Hilfsbund Karpatendeutscher Katholiken E. V., 1997) and Jörg Meier, ed., *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Deutschen in der Slowakei* (Berlin: Weidler Buchverlag, 2006).

⁸⁶ Halaga, *Vývoj jazykovo-národnostnej štruktúry Košíc*, 598.

⁸⁷ See the answer of the king in *Történelmi Tár*, 1889, p. 601, edited by Lajos Kemény: “*Nos supplicatione ipsorum civium nationis hungaricae clementer admissa annuimus et concessimus, ut omnes et singuli hungaricae nationis cives, [...] imposterum futurisq[ue] temporibus aequali libertati iisdemq[ue] privilegiis ac praerogativis, honoribus et dignitatibus tam in iudicatu, quam etiam in senatu omnibusq[ue] functionibus et officiis civitatis, sine ullo videlicet personarum vel nationis discrimine aut delectu, iuxta tenorem veterum privilegiorum eiusdem civitatis cum ceteris germanicae vel alterius nationis vetustioribus civibus uti, frui et gaudere possint et valeant.*”

⁸⁸ See Johann Liptak and Roland Steinacker, *Das deutsche evangelische Schulwesen in der Slowakei* (Stuttgart: Hilfskomitee für die evang.-luth. Slowakeideutschen, 1957).

German-speaking priests were still more favorable in Košice than in the other towns in the neighborhood, as we learn from a letter sent by Ferdinandus Albrecht, an Evangelical priest in Bardejov, who asked the town council about employment opportunities because, as he put it, *in Košice I can serve more efficiently than elsewhere because of the languages*.⁸⁹

The language used in town administration illustrates the changes that occurred in the ethnic composition of the town's population. The number of Hungarian proper names, technical terms and phrases inserted into the documents written in German or Latin is constantly increasing from the end of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century. This development certifies that the number of Hungarian-speaking burghers involved in business and town administration grew considerably. At the same time, while in 1529 the oath-formula of the town council was only in German, in 1578 it was formulated in both languages and in 1608 it was only in Hungarian, a fact that speaks for itself.⁹⁰ Notwithstanding this situation, the German community in Košice remained fairly strong throughout the entire period of the Reformation, more specifically until the middle of the seventeenth century. The relative geographical proximity and the long tradition of commercial and cultural ties to German-speaking areas were all factors in maintaining a relatively strong presence of Germans in the town for a longer period.

Concerning the Slavic element, the amount of sources allowing for a clear picture in this respect is rather limited. A number of documents written in a variant of a Slavic language, which date from the end of the sixteenth century, are preserved in the town archives. Besides, the presence of a community of Slavs (*communitas Slavorum*) in the town, with a priest assigned to them, is attested by various documents starting from the end of the fourteenth century and is further confirmed by a number of names of Slavic origin present in the town documentation, including the oldest town protocol for the time period from 1393 to 1405.⁹¹ Certainly, the concept of ethnicity did not have the relevance one attributes to it today, and it was rather the place of birth that would help defining a person's identity. However, language still played an important role in establishing connections of any kind and this became relevant when speaking of cultural or religious relations, i.e. those that imply written works, religious debates, or academic studies. The German spoken by Košice merchants and their sons, for instance, certainly had facilitated

⁸⁹ AMK H I, no. 9860/14: *Cassovia fructuosius propter linguas possem servire quam alibi*.

⁹⁰ See *Századok* XVI (1882), p. 604-605, edited by Sándor Szilágyi.

⁹¹ Ondrej R. Halaga, ed., *Acta iudiciaria civitatis Cassoviensis 1393-1405: Das älteste Kaschauer Stadtbuch* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994).

the connections with German university centers, while Hungarian played its role in establishing relationships within other Hungarian-speaking regions. Therefore, the fact that the population of Košice consisted of the combination of three ethnic elements - German, Hungarian and Slavic - the distribution of which went through a number of fluctuations throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is an aspect to consider when further analyzing the academic peregrination of its inhabitants.

2.4. Religious development, administration, and education in Košice until the middle of the seventeenth century

The information concerning cultural life in Košice, particularly for the time before the Reformation, is rather scarce. As in other towns of the time, the parish church or monastery represented the educational nucleus of the town.⁹² During the medieval period of prosperity, Košice had a relatively large population by comparison with other neighboring localities and the three main ethnic groups of the town – the Germans, Hungarians, and Slavs – each had their own priest who exercised parochial duties for his parishioners. In the towns of Upper Hungary the mendicant orders were relatively active and the Dominicans and Franciscans were present in Košice from an early date. The Franciscans began to be active in Košice already in the twenties and the Dominicans followed in the eighties of the thirteenth century.⁹³ The Dominicans were particularly effective in the dissemination of knowledge and they probably founded a *schola maior* in the fourteenth century in Košice.⁹⁴ This type of school helped its attendants to improve their knowledge of Latin up to the level that would allow them to pursue further studies at neighboring schools and foreign universities. The Dominican friary in Košice possessed a

⁹² See Július Sopko, “The Image of the Cultural Development of Medieval Slovakia from the Eleventh Century until the year 1526,” *Studia historica slovacica* 17 (1990): 53-89; Ferdinand Uličný, “Podiel cirkevných inštitúcií na vývoji osídlenia a hospodárstva východného Slovenska v 12.-16. storočí” (The share of ecclesiastical institutions on the development of settlement and economy of Eastern Slovakia in the 12-16th century), *Archeologia historica* 10 (1985): 357-367.

⁹³ Uličný, Podiel cirkevných inštitúcií. On the Dominicans in Košice see Béla Wick, *Adatok a kassai domonkosok történetéhez* (Data about the history of the Dominicans in Košice) (Košice: Kereskedelmi és ipari könyvnyomda, 1936).

⁹⁴ Sopko, The Image, 59. Beatrix Romhányi, “A koldulórendek szerepe a középkori magyar oktatásban” (The role of the mendicant orders in medieval Hungarian education) in *A magyar iskola első évszázadai. Kiállítási katalógus* (The first centuries of school education in Hungary. Exhibition Catalogue) ed. Katalin Szende, Győr, 1996, 35-40, especially 35 and 39.

library, which was already in existence in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁹⁵ In the fifteenth century, it included a considerable number of books, these being partially purchased at the monastery's expense and partially copied by local scribes. The remains of the library that survived the fire in 1556 were given to the town after the withdrawal of the Dominicans in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁹⁶

The number of intellectuals in late fourteenth century Košice was rather low, comprising around 2.6 % out of the total number of registered occupations. The majority of professionals were connected instead to either commerce or mining.⁹⁷ In Košice, as was usual for towns of the time, intellectuals were concentrated in positions revolving around the town council consisting basically, of council employees, the urban clergy and schoolteachers. The structure and function of the urban council of Košice was similar to those of other towns in medieval and early modern Hungary and elsewhere in Europe north of the Alps.⁹⁸ The council was led by a judge (*richter, iudex*), who also functioned as the town's mayor, and was comprised of an inner and an outer council. The inner council included twelve men, named variously as: *rotherren, rotmanne, stadtmann, geschworene, consules, iurati cives*, and, from the second half of the sixteenth century also *senatores*. The inner council itself was referred to as the *senatus*. The outer council represented the congregation of citizens with authority (*seniores communitatis* or *civitatis*, also called *electa communitas*), comprised of about 48 to 88 members – all of them town inhabitants who possessed burgher's rights, – and was involved in a number of decision-making activities, such as electing the town's judge and the inner council members. The leader of the elected community, the *Fürmender*, would participate, together with the town notary, in all meetings of the inner council. The inner council members and the judge were elected every year, but the names did not vary very much; usually the former council would be re-elected with only slight changes, basically caused by the death or resignation of a member. Similarly, the office of the

⁹⁵ See Jozef Kuzmík, "Knížnice na Slovensku v 15. a 16. storočí" (Libraries in Slovakia in the 15th and 16th century), in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku v 15. – 16. storočí* (Humanism and Renaissance in Slovakia in the 15th and 16th century), eds. Ľudovít Holotík and Anton Vantuch (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1967), 416-435.

⁹⁶ For more information about the literary activity of the mendicants in Košice see, among others, the book by Béla von Pukánszky, *Geschichte des deutschen Schrifttums in Ungarn* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931), passim.

⁹⁷ Data provided by Ondrej R. Halaga in *Počiatky Košíc*, 296-303; Idem, "The Woodland and Field Demesnes of the Towns of Eastern Slovakia as Basis of Their Mineral Trade", translated by George Hammersley, in *Urbs-provincia-orbis. Contributiones ad historiam contactuum civitatum Carpathicarum in honorem O. R. Halaga editae*, ed. Marián Gaidoš (Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1993), 59-74, here 72.

⁹⁸ See Ondrej R. Halaga, "Košické mestské knihy 1394-1737" (The city accounts of Košice 1394-1737) (Košice: AMK, 1956), 17ff. See also the introduction to Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája*.

judge would frequently be held by the same person for several years in a row or with limited interruptions, and it was common that members of the same family would usually be elected judges or otherwise retain their position in the inner council for extended periods of time. Records from as early as the end of the fourteenth century reveal that the positions of town notary and school rector were often held by the same person simultaneously.

The oldest reference to formal education in Košice dates back to the year 1394.⁹⁹ Although no information about the school curricula or the method of teaching is available, one could assume that the parish school in Košice functioned in a way similar to that of other towns in the same period of time. The main subject in this type of institution was Latin grammar, in the framework of which Latin language, including pronunciation, orthography and versification were taught. The pupil had to master rules of composition and stylistics of Latin texts and had to receive a certain degree of knowledge in methods of argumentation, poetic style, music, natural science, and geography. The relatively high standard of Latin maintained in the town documents confirms that the educational efforts of the urban schools of the time were by all means successful.¹⁰⁰

The Reformation had a profound impact on the cultural development of Košice during the research period of this dissertation.¹⁰¹ From the third decade of the sixteenth century it made

⁹⁹This was the year when the first schoolmaster in Košice could be identified, according to Remig Békefi, *A népoktatás története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (The history of popular education in Hungary until the year 1540) (Budapest: MTA, 1906), 110.

¹⁰⁰ About the educational development in the Hungarian Kingdom and especially in the territories of Upper Hungary see also the following: Remig Békefi, *A káptalmi iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (The history of chapter schools in Hungary until the year 1540) (Budapest: MTA, 1910); István Mészáros, *Az iskolaügy története Magyarországon 996-1777 között* (The history of school education in Hungary between 996-1777) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981); Ján Rezik and Samuel Matthaides, *Gymnaziológia: Dejiny gymnázií na Slovensku* (Gymnasiologia: the history of gymnasiums in Slovakia) (Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1971); Peter Vajcik, *Školstvo, študijné a školské poriadky na Slovensku v XVI. storočí* (Education, study and school regulations in sixteenth-century Slovakia) (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo slovenskej akadémie vied, 1955); Vladislav Ružička, *Školstvo na Slovensku v období neskorého feudalizmu (po 70. roku 18. storočia)* (School education in Slovakia in the late-feudal period (until the seventies of the eighteenth century) (Bratislava: SPN, 1974); Viliam Čičaj, “Vývoj vzdelanosti v našich mestách v období neskorého feudalizmu” (The development of education in our towns in the late-feudal period), *Historický časopis* 34 (1986): 349-361; Július Sopko, “O školstve a vzdelanosti na Slovensku v stredoveku” (On the school system and education in Slovakia in the Middle Ages), *Historický časopis* 36:2 (1988): 175-197.

¹⁰¹ About the Reformation in the region see among others S. Borbis, *Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Ungarns in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Nördlingen: Beck, 1861); the two books by Mihály Bucsay, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Ungarn* (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1959) and *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn*, 2 volumes (Vienna, Cologne, and Graz: Verlag Hermann Böhlau, 1977); David Paul Daniel, “The Lutheran Reformation in Slovakia, 1517-1618” (Ph.D. diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 1972); Katalin Péter, “Die Reformation in Ungarn,” in *European Intellectual Trends and Hungary*, ed. Ferenc Glatz (Budapest: Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1990), 39-52; Ulrich Hutter, ed., *Martin Luther und die*

its way into the northern part of the Hungarian Kingdom, assisted by the favorable response of the population of the German towns of Upper Hungary and the support of the urban administration. A number of learned individuals contributed to the establishment of Reformation ideals in this region. Among the local clerics who accepted the reform movement rather early was Johannes Henckel from Levoča, later chaplain of Queen Mary of Hungary.¹⁰² As pastor in Košice, he would attempt to synthesize the newer Lutheran ideas emanating from Wittenberg with the older, more familiar attitudes of the leading humanists of Europe, especially of Erasmus. Similarly, Leonard Cox, whom Henckel persuaded to come to Levoča, was a representative of the strictly humanist-reformist approach to the Church reform. He had served as the tutor of King Henry VIII of England and had studied at Cambridge and Oxford prior to his sojourn in Cracow. Although he did advocate Evangelical teachings at Levoča and then, after 1522 at Košice, Cox continued to follow the more moderate humanist approach to reform and was concerned more with the rather obvious abuses of ecclesiastical practice and less with doctrine.¹⁰³ Another reputable foreign scholar with similar concepts who was active in Bardejov and Košice was Valentinus Eck from Lindau, who studied in Leipzig and Cracow before coming to Northern Hungary.¹⁰⁴

An important reform of the educational system accompanied these religious changes, in course of which the Latin urban schools started to change their religious affiliation and to reorganize themselves according to the German Protestant school model. The towns appointed

Reformation in Ostdeutschland und Südosteuropa (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991); Karl Schwarz and Peter Švorc, eds., *Die Reformation und ihre Wirkungsgeschichte in der Slowakei* (Vienna: Evangelischer Presseverband, 1996).

¹⁰² On his person see: Zoltán Csepregi, "Court Priests in the Entourage of Queen Mary of Hungary," in: *Mary of Hungary. The Queen and her Court, 1521-1531*, Exhibition Catalogue, ed. Orsolya Réthelyi et al. (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005), 49-61.

¹⁰³ See Vilmos Fraknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás a XVI. században* (Learning at home and abroad in the sixteenth century Hungary) (Budapest: Eggenrerger F. Magyar Akad. könyvtárusnál, 1873), 103; Békefi, *A népoktatás*, 113; Rezik, *Gymnaziológia*, 260. The following work: John Venn and J. A. Venn, eds., *The Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge from the Earliest times to 1900* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1922, second edition: Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1974), 408 has the following information on Cox: Graduated B. A. in Cambridge (not recorded). In corp. at Oxford, 1529 and supplicated for M.A. S. of Laurence, of Monmouth. Master of the Grammar School at Reading, 1541-6. Travelled widely on the continent. Master at Caerleon, and at Coventry, 1572. Friend of Erasmus. Author, classical, etc. Probably died 1599. See also A. B. Emden, ed., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1974), 145. On his stay in Cracow see Wł. Wislocki, ed., *Liber diligentiarum facultatis artisticae Universitatis Cracoviensis* (Cracow: Sumpt. Acad. litterarum, 1886), 139, 175, 178, 394-5, index.

¹⁰⁴ Fraknói, *A hazai*, 103. For more information on Eck see Gustav Bauch, *Deutsche Scholaren in Krakau in der Zeit der Renaissance: 1460 bis 1520* (Wrocław: Commissions-Verlag von M. & H. Marcus, 1901), 70-72 and P. Rainer Rudolf and Eduard Ulrich, eds., *Karpatendeutsches Biographisches Lexikon* (Stuttgart: Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Karpatendeutschen aus der Slowakei, 1988), 70.

school rectors and took upon themselves the responsibilities of patrons, confirming the curricula and the orders of discipline for both teachers and students. They also served as mediators in various religious controversies. Under lay control, the urban Latin schools became centers of the Reformation and continued the humanist tradition in the towns.¹⁰⁵ The most significant of the Evangelical schools in Upper Hungary were located in Kežmarok, Prešov, Levoča, Bardejov, and Košice.

The Lutheran Evangelical school at Bardejov emerged as one of the leading educational institutions in the region during the rectorate of Leonard Stöckel (1510-1560).¹⁰⁶ More than any other single individual, Stöckel was the theological and educational leader of Lutheranism in north-eastern Hungary and was deservedly accorded the title of *Praeceptor Hungariae*. He was educated first in Bardejov and then attended school in Košice to study with Leonard Cox. In 1530, he enrolled at the University of Wittenberg where he was attracted to the humanist Melancthon, striking up a close friendship which lasted until their deaths within a few weeks of each other in 1560. While at Bardejov, Stöckel prepared the first confession of faith, - *Confessio Pentapolitana* of 1549, – for the Lutherans in Northern Hungary and laid the foundations for the reformed educational system. In 1540 he completed his '*Leges Scholae Bartphensis*' which synthesized the classic humanist pedagogical methodology and Lutheran theology. He divided the school into three sections: the lowest teaching reading, writing and the basics of the Evangelical faith, the middle grades concentrating on Latin authors, and the upper grades continued in their study of Latin, began the study of Greek and, in addition to reading the classical authors, received instruction in rhetoric and theology. Latin was the language of instruction and each day began with readings from the Scripture. The *Leges* of Stöckel was the most influential and copied of all the school ordinances in Upper Hungary during the sixteenth

¹⁰⁵See among others James Bowen, *A History of Western Education* (London: Methuen, 1975); several contributions in Bernd Moeller, Hans Platze, and Karl Stackmann, eds. *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983) and Harald Dickerhof, ed. *Bildungs- und schulgeschichtliche Studien zu Spätmittelalter, Reformation und konfessionellem Zeitalter* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1994). See also the contribution by Karl Schwarz, "Leonard Stöckel und das reformatorische Schulwesen in der Slowakei," *Brücken. Germanistisches Jahrbuch* 3 (1995): 279-298.

¹⁰⁶On Stöckel see Karl Schwarz, "Leonard Stöckel und das reformatorische Schulwesen in der Slowakei," *Brücken. Germanistisches Jahrbuch, Neue Folge* 3 (1995): 279-298; Andrej Hajduk, *Leonard Stöckel (1510-1560): Život a dielo* (Leonard Stöckel (1510-1560): Life and activity) (Bratislava: Evanjelická bohoslovecká fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 1999). For further bibliographical references on Stöckel, his contacts with Melancthon and his involvement in the completion of *Confessio Pentapolitana* see the article by Andrej Hajduk "Philipp Melancthon und Leonhard Stöckel", *Communio Viatorum* 20 (1977): 171-180 and the contribution by Max Josef Suda, "Der Einfluß Philipp Melancthons auf die Bekenntnisbildung in Oberungarn," in *Melancthon und Europa*, 1. Teilband: *Skandinavien und Mitteleuropa*, eds. Günter Frank and Martin Treu (Stuttgart, Thorbecke, 2001), 189ff, also note 5.

century, and his teaching of the doctrines of Lutheranism using humanist methodology became standard for the local Evangelical schools of the time.

After the establishment of the Reformation in Košice, the town's cultural level started to change. More burghers received access to books, some of them brought by former students or wandering scholars. The newly created personal libraries in the town usually included works in Latin, but also in Greek, German, Hungarian, and Slavic.¹⁰⁷ The majority of them had a religious character, including the Bible, prayers and hymnbooks but also editions of ancient authors, books with medical or applied science topics, and the latest works by Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon. The development of printing was another positive factor brought into the region by the Reformation. The first printing press in Upper Hungary was installed in Bardejov in 1577 and from its first years of activity it was in direct contact with the town of Košice and provided printing services for it as well.¹⁰⁸ The influence of the printers in Cracow was also strong and they certainly produced for the Hungarian market as well: the first books in Hungarian (by J. Sylvester) plus multilingual school books including Hungarian, German, Polish and Latin (e.g. Sebald Heyden's *Puerilium colloquiorum formulae*, 1527 and later editions) were printed in Cracow. As for Košice itself, printing arrived to the town a few decades later, with the cooperation of German masters from Bardejov.¹⁰⁹

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Reformation movement had reached its high point in the towns of Northern Hungary. However, ethnic and political developments in the Hungarian regions intensified the doctrinal differences, especially with regard to the doctrine of the Eucharist. This led to disputes and controversies between the Lutheran and the Calvinist reformers and then to conflicts within each group over the precise definition of dogma. Although attempts had been made to reconcile the theological differences between the Calvinists and Lutherans, by the end of the sixteenth century each of the parties had defined its doctrinal basis through confessions of faith, and, as a result, the organization of orthodox Lutheranism in the

¹⁰⁷ See István Monok, ed., *Kassa város olvasmányai 1562-1731* (The readings from the town of Košice) (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1990) and the book by Viliam Čičaj, *Knižná kultúra na strednom Slovensku v 16.-18. storočí* (Book culture in the medieval Slovakia during the sixteenth to the eighteenth century) (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1985).

¹⁰⁸ See for example a letter from Davit Guttgesell [Buchdruckher zue Barttfeldt] addressed to the town judge of Košice in 1579: AMK, H I, no. 3526/69, edited by Lajos Kemény, *Történelmi Tár*, 1889, 606-607 (about the printing of Košice calendars).

¹⁰⁹ Around the year 1610 Johann Fischer Buchtrucker negotiated with the town council about arranging for a printing house in the town. See his letter edited by Lajos Kemény in *Történelmi Tár*, 1889, 200, dated 5 May, 1610, about installing a printing house in Košice.

towns of the Northern Hungary took place. The above-mentioned controversies affected Košice to some extent, when, together with the Hungarian population who arrived to the town as a result of the Szapolyai's efforts, the Calvinist ideas began to be spread. In 1555, when Anton Szentkirály became a Hungarian priest in the town, the Calvinist ideas began to gain more traction in Košice, yet this was confronted by the cooperation of the priests from Prešov and Bardejov, who, after attempting unsuccessfully to dissuade him, demanded that the town council dismiss the priest.¹¹⁰ The same scenario occurred with the next priest, Georgius Szegedi, who was condemned by the German priest Andreas Melczer and the school rector Matthias Csabai, with the help of Leonhard Stöckel.¹¹¹ After a series of disputations and conflicts of local character between the proponents of the two branches, the town council of Košice succeeded in establishing a policy of accepting Lutheranism as the main confessional branch in the town until the full success of the Counter Reformation in the 1670s. In 1549, the five towns of the Northern Hungarian region (Košice, Levoča, Bardejov, Prešov and Sabinov) joined their common confession of faith – *Confessio pentapolitana*, – compiled by Leonhard Stöckel. The urban administration's efforts were supplemented by the two mandates of Maximilian I from 1567 and 1570, in which the Calvinist ideas were determined to be dangerous and destructive.¹¹²

After the accession of Ferdinand II to the throne in 1620, the double forces of the Catholic reform movement and Habsburg absolutism started to weaken and then to overwhelm the Lutherans in the region until they became merely a remnant. It took almost a century for the Catholic Church to regain full territory in the town of Košice. This process started in 1597, when the Diet of Hungary had granted a small chapel in Košice to the Bishop of Eger, who settled here during the occupation of Eger by Ottomans (1597-1671). Believing that the chapel assigned to him was not suitable for a cleric of his position, the Bishop Ferenc Forgách de Nyitra wanted to obtain possession of the church of St. Elisabeth, which had been used by the Lutherans for almost fifty years as their church. Finding no support among the clergy, magistrates or citizens of the town for his claims to the main church, he applied for external aid and the Captain General for the Northern Hungarian Region at the time ordered the expulsion of Protestant preachers

¹¹⁰ See AMK H I, no. 1915/11 and 1915/10.

¹¹¹ AMK H I, no. 1915/13.

¹¹² AMK Schwarzenbachiana, no. 2768 and no. 2978.

from the town and forbade Lutheran worship (this happened in January 7, 1604).¹¹³ The Peace at Vienna in 1606 strongly reaffirmed all the ancient privileges and prerogatives held by the magnates and towns as a result of earlier royal and legislative charters and patents and accorded to the Lutherans a certain protection from persecution, but to little effect.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the Jesuits started to gain influence in Košice with the financial support of the Habsburg rulers. The arrival of Peter Pázmány in the town further enforced the re-catholization efforts. Religious instability followed, characterized by transferring allegiances between Lutheran and Catholic communities. The Protestants, supported by the Transylvanian rulers István Bocskay, Gabriel Bethlen, and George Rákóczi, managed to retain power for a while, yet were finally obligated to submit to the Catholics who had gained complete control over both the town and the church by the eighties of the seventeenth century. The Catholic reform movement had intended to regain control of the parishes, to secure the return of noble families to Catholicism, and to assure the re-installment of monastic orders and educational institutions based on Catholic principles. In 1657, an institution of this type – the Jesuit Academy – was founded in Košice, and received full university status three years later. Already from the very first year of its functioning, this university had started to play its significant role in helping Košice turn back to Catholicism completely.¹¹⁴ Additionally, its presence in the town obviously altered the attitudes of the town burgers and the region as a whole toward the potential destinations of university students.

¹¹³ For more on this event see: Daniel, *The Lutheran Reformation in Slovakia*, 283ff. See also Győző Bruckner, *A reformáció és ellenreformáció története a Szepességben* (History of Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the Spiš region), volume 1: 1520-1745 (Budapest: Grill, 1922) and Anton Harčar, *Historický význam protireformácie v Košiciach z roku 1604* (Historical impact of the Counter-Reformation in Košice in 1604) (Budapest: Spolok Svätého Vojtecha, 1942).

¹¹⁴ Directly related to the history of the Catholic gymnasium and later university in Košice is the slightly outdated book by Róbert Farkas, *A kassai katolikus főgimnázium története 1657-1895* (The history of the Catholic gymnasium in Košice) (Košice: Ries Lajos Könyvnyomó, 1895), which, given the lack of more recent contributions to the field, still provides interesting data about this institution and its influence upon the religious development in the town.

Chapter three: Students from Košice at foreign universities

3.1. University development in Europe from the fourteenth to the first half of the seventeenth century: a general overview¹¹⁵

During the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times, young people from Central and Eastern Europe did not have many possibilities to pursue university studies locally. Immediately after the establishment of the three main universities in the region: Prague (1348), Cracow (1364), and Vienna (1365), there were attempts to found a university in Hungary, but, regrettably, these universities were short-lived and failed to satisfy the academic needs of the country.¹¹⁶ Thus, for most of the time until the seventeenth century, young men from the Hungarian territories had to go to foreign universities in order to obtain advanced education. The matriculation lists of various academic institutions abroad show that there were a considerable number of students coming from these regions beginning with the fourteenth century through the seventeenth century and after. The overwhelming majority of them came from the largest towns and Košice was estimated as being among the first eight as regards the number of its citizens attending foreign universities.¹¹⁷

The first documentary attested university attendance of a student from Košice dates back to the year 1372. Thus, it may be supposed that the academic peregrination of young men from this town was already en route from the last third of the fourteenth century. Around this date several universities have established themselves in Europe and were capable of attracting a considerable number of students from different regions of both western and central Europe. Yet of major importance for the academic progress of the region was the rapid development of the University of Cracow and of universities in the German territories throughout the fifteenth century. Between 1348 and 1506 seventeen universities were founded within its borders north of the Alps. After Prague and Vienna, universities were founded in Heidelberg (1385/86), Cologne

¹¹⁵ This overview is meant as a general presentation of the ways universities developed during the research period in order to introduce what is known about the academic peregrination of students from Košice at foreign universities. A large number of studies can be consulted for details on different aspects of university history. A recent work with a general character is the publication by Walter Rüegg, gen. ed. and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *A History of the University in Europe*. vol. 1: *Universities in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992) and *A History of the University in Europe*. vol. 2: *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Cambridge: University Press, 1996). For further titles see also the Bibliography in this dissertation.

¹¹⁶ See note 10 for some works dealing with various aspects of the foundation and functioning of medieval Hungarian universities.

¹¹⁷ Kubinyi, *Städtische Bürger*, 162.

(1388), Erfurt (1392), Würzburg (1402), Leipzig (1409), Rostock (1419), Leuven (1426), Greifswald (1456), Freiburg (1457), Basle (1459/60), Ingolstadt (1472), Trier (1473), Mainz (1476), Tübingen (1477), Wittenberg (1502), and Frankfurt on the Oder (1506)¹¹⁸.

There were several criteria that made certain universities more-or-less attractive for students from the Hungarian Kingdom (and elsewhere). The academic institutions of higher learning of the time were, as nowadays, of various types and sizes. Universities from Vienna, Cracow, and Leipzig, among others, were large by contemporary standards and had great success in recruiting their students. Heidelberg was a medium-sized university (with 300-400 students) and towns such as Freiburg, Basle, or Tübingen housed smaller universities (100-200 students). The urban qualities of the towns housing these universities, as well as their position within the region were significant factors in determining these differences.¹¹⁹ The larger universities all operated in important trading towns with large markets, integrated into important communication networks. They were favorably situated and easy to reach in areas with a relatively well-developed infrastructure. Furthermore, they belonged to, or were surrounded by, territories that had successfully consolidated their authority during the state-building process in Europe from the fourteenth century onwards. In many cases, the regional connections were very important: in those centers of education close to their place of origin students expected, with good reason, to have better social success than in the unfamiliar environment of foreign universities located far away.

The choice of university was also very much influenced by different cultural, political, or religious changes in society at the local or interregional level. Several events that occurred from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century in Europe in general and in Central-Eastern Europe in particular were reflected, one way or the other, in the directions and numerical development of the *peregrinatio academica* of those coming from the central-eastern parts of Europe. During the middle of the fifteenth century the new cultural elements of Humanism and Renaissance started

¹¹⁸ Directly related to the foundation of universities Ferdinand Seibt, "Von Prag bis Rostock. Zur Gründung der Universitäten in Mitteleuropa," in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. Helmut Beumann (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1973), 406-426.

¹¹⁹ See a comment on this issue by Rainer C. Schwinges, "Zur Wirkung von universitärem Wissen auf den Stadtraum im deutschen Spätmittelalter," in *Tradieren. Vermitteln. Anwenden: Zum Umgang mit Wissenbeständen in Spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Städten*, ed. Jörg Rogge (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 155-175, here 156ff.

to gain grounds in the Hungarian regions.¹²⁰ While in Hungary Humanism made its first appearance at the royal court and some Episcopal sees (Pécs, Várad, Veszprém, Vác), Cracow and Vienna had different kind of humanist centers: their universities. Lectures on philology and poetics in line with these new intellectual tendencies promoted by Humanism were of particular interest at the University of Cracow, while Vienna was renowned for the high level of its mathematical and astronomical research, in addition to the literary activity of some of its members.¹²¹ A great part of the academic performance at these two universities took place under the influence of foreign scholars or locals recently returned from other parts of Europe after attending universities there.

Before the adaptation of Humanism into the curricula, the universities were thoroughly dominated by the traditions of medieval Scholasticism. Several years of study at the faculty of arts in mid-fifteenth century Vienna or Cracow, for instance, would have acquainted the student with a complex system of logic, which could be applied to analyze, interpret, and debate in detail the works of Aristotle and his medieval commentators. The arts course provided necessary preparation for advanced studies in medicine, theology, and, to a lesser extent, in law; its completion gave evidence of a certain level of intelligence and assiduousness. But, as the humanists would point out, scholastic education had little practical use and relevance to the problems of daily social or economic life. By the 1520s, almost every university had cut away much of the old Scholasticism and had introduced a variety of humanist innovations. The

¹²⁰ For more on Humanism in Hungary see: Endre Kovács, "Die Beziehungen der Wiener Universität zu Ungarn zur Zeit der Humanismus," *Österreichische Osthefte* 7 (1965): 195-204; J. Mišianik, "Vývin humanizmu na Slovensku" (The development of Humanism in Slovakia), in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku*, ed. L'udovít Holotík (Bratislava: VSAV, 1967), 197-233; Tibor Klaniczay, "Le mouvement academique à la Renaissance et le cas de la Hongrie," *Hungarian Studies* 2:1 (1986): 13-34; idem, "Les intellectuels dans un pays sans universités (Hongrie: XVIe siècle)," in *Intellectuels français, intellectuels hongrois, XIIe-XXe siècles*, ed. Jacques Le Goff and Béla Köpeczi (Budapest and Paris: Akadémiai Kiadó and Éditions du CNRS, 1985), 99-109; István Bartók, László Jankovits, and Gábor Kecskeméti, eds. *Humanista műveltség Pannóniában* (Humanist culture in Pannonia), (Pécs: [Művészetek Háza](#), 2000); Ágnes Ritók-Szalay, "Der Humanismus in Ungarn zur Zeit von Matthias Corvinus," in *Humanismus und Renaissance in Ostmitteleuropa vor der Reformation*, ed. Winfried Eberhard and Alfred A. Strnad (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), 151-171; Marcell Sebők, *Humanista a határon. A késmárki Sebastian Ambrosius története* (Humanist of the border. The history of Ambrosius Sebastian of Kežmarok) (Budapest: l'Harmattan, 2007).

¹²¹ See among the most recent works dedicated to the history of University of Vienna the chapter written by Kurt Mühlberger, "Die Gemeinde der Lehrer und Schüler – Alma Mater Rudolphina," in *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt*, volume 1: *Von den Anfängen bis zur Ersten Wiener Türkenbelagerung (1529)*, ed. Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Oppl (Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2001), 319-410, especially 395ff. See also Claudia Kren, "Patterns in arts teaching at the mediaeval University of Vienna," *Viator* 18 (1987): 321-336, Kurt Mühlberger, *Die Universität Wien: Kurze Blicke auf eine lange Geschichte* (Vienna: Verlag Adolf Holzhausens, 1996).

humanist reforms reallocated the focus of education from logic and abstract philosophy and broadened it to include a wide range of literary and rhetorical disciplines. For a young person interested in a career connected to town administration or school, such an education would teach him many practical skills: to write elegant Latin, to compose convincing letters, reports, and petitions, and to deliver eloquent and persuasive orations.¹²²

In the sixteenth century the Reformation began to exert an influence on the academic tendencies of Hungarian regions. It brought immense popularity to the universities of the German Empire, many of which promoted considerable changes in their study plans and ideology. The University of Wittenberg played a special role in launching the Reformation process and just as it reached a certain level of development the next Lutheran university was founded in Marburg (1527). The universities in the Protestant lands were reorganized and new ones were established, based largely on the model of Wittenberg. Basle was reformed in 1532 and in the fall of 1536 university reform took place in Tübingen. In the forties of the sixteenth century similar changes occurred in Leipzig, Greifswald, Frankfurt on the Oder, and later at Heidelberg and Rostock. A number of further new Reformist universities were founded in Königsberg (1544), Jena (1558), Helmstedt (1575) and subsequently at Giessen (1607), Rinteln (1621), Strasbourg (1621), and Altdorf (1622). Anyone of the reformed faith wanting a humanist education in literature and theology would now think of a university of this kind.¹²³

Even before the Lutherans became organized, Calvinism made its way as an increasingly popular branch of Protestantism, especially in Switzerland and later in the Dutch territories of the northern part of Europe. From the 1560s, Heidelberg was a Calvinist center and, similarly, the University of Frankfurt an der Oder had to take a Calvinist position because of confessional changes by John Sigismund of Brandenburg. Much of the common previous academic tradition was rejected at Reformist universities during the sixteenth century, whether Protestant or Calvinist; supporters of educational reform based their innovative policies on arguments by

¹²² For more information on the interconnections between Humanism and university education see among others: Laetitia Boehm, "Humanistische Bildungsbewegung und mittelalterliche Universitätsverfassung: Aspekte zur frühneuzeitlichen Reformgeschichte der deutschen Universitäten," in *The Universities in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Jozef Ijsewijn and Jacques Paquet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), 315-346; Peter Baumgart, "Humanistische Bildungsreform an deutschen Universitäten des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Humanismus im Bildungswesen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Weinheim: Acta humaniora, 1984), 171-197; Volkhard Wels, *Triviale Künste: Die humanistische Reform der grammatischen, dialektischen und rhetorischen Ausbildung an der Wende zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Weidler, 2000).

¹²³ See Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 2, 416-448.

contemporary scholars such as Erasmus, Melancthon and Vives, all of them criticizing the traditional curriculum and teaching methods. Especially in the German speaking area, the “transformation” of the faculty of arts into the faculty of philosophy, with all its consequences, constituted an important turning point in the development of the universities in Early Modern Times.¹²⁴ The reformed university of the sixteenth century was an educational institution with more emphasis on practical aspects, designed for training practicing priests, and other church officials, schoolmasters, doctors, and lawyers.¹²⁵

The reform movement launched by the Catholic Church with the help of the Jesuits had its influence on academic peregrination as well. Besides the universities of Paris, Leuven and Cologne, which were quick to condemn Luther, such universities as Leipzig, Mainz, and Ingolstadt played an important role in the Catholic effort from its very beginnings. In the German territories, the order of Jesuits expanded quickly and already by the middle of the sixteenth century they had opened a number of colleges: in Vienna (1553), Ingolstadt (1556), Cologne (1557), Munich (1559), Trier (1561), Mainz (1561), Innsbruck (1562), Dillingen (1564), Würzburg (1567), Fulda (1572), Graz (1573), Augsburg (1582), Paderborn (1585), Münster (1588), and Regensburg (1589). In the first half of the seventeenth century, the order’s activities extended over smaller towns as well with the foundation of new colleges continuing up to the eighteenth century. The best known Jesuit universities were those in Graz, Würzburg and Dillingen, which housed members of the Hungarian, Polish and Czech nobility but also, later on, representatives of other social classes.¹²⁶ In their institutions, the Jesuits restored Aristotle to his canonical status and followed the synod of Trent in raising Thomas Aquinas to pride of place in theology. His *Summa Theologica* served as the basic statement of religious teaching. In 1561 the Jesuits established a college in Trnava, the relocated see of the archbishop of Esztergom, which soon became a center of intellectual life for all Hungarian lands under Habsburg authority and, in

¹²⁴ Rainer A. Müller, “Zu Struktur und Wandel der Artisten- bzw. Philosophischen Fakultät am Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts,” in Schwinges, *Artisten und Philosophen*, 143-159.

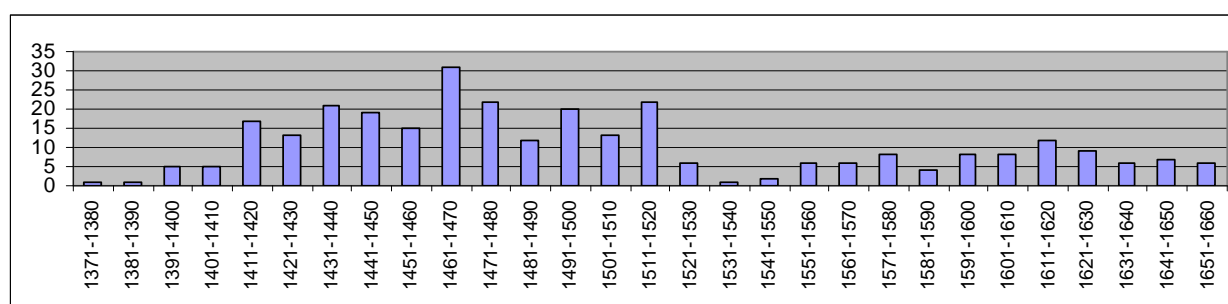
¹²⁵ See among others Ludwig Petry, “Die Reformation als Epoche der deutschen Universitätsgeschichte. Eine Zwischenbilanz,” in *Glaube und Geschichte. Festgabe für Joseph Lortz*, 2 volumes, eds. Erwin Iserloh and Peter Manns (Baden-Baden: Grimm, 1958), 317-353; Leif Grane, ed., *University and Reformation: Lectures from the University of Copenhagen Symposium* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981); Harald Dickerhof, ed., *Bildungs- und schulgeschichtliche Studien zu Spätmittelalter, Reformation und konfessionellem Zeitalter* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1994); Notker Hammerstein, “Universitäten und Reformation,” in *Res publica litteraria: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur frühneuzeitlichen Bildungs-, Wissenschafts- und Universitätsgeschichte*, eds. Ulrich Muhlack and Gerrit Walther (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 388-401.

¹²⁶ Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, ed., *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter Reformation* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998).

a certain way, provided a start for offering possibilities in higher education within their own territories. As to the town of Košice, until the middle of the seventeenth century students from this town were compelled to travel in order to pursue university studies, as the first institution of higher learning in Košice was founded, as mentioned above, only in 1657. With its opening a new stage was attained in the academic peregrination of its citizens.

3.2. Academic peregrination of students from Košice to foreign universities during the time period of this research: general considerations, numeric data

From the second half of the fourteenth century, that is, from the first registered matriculation of a student from Košice in Prague in 1372 until the year 1660 inclusively, 306 matriculations of 278 students coming from this town were identified at 29 different universities [See appendix 6.2]. The number of matriculations throughout the entire research period (by decades) can be seen in the following chart:

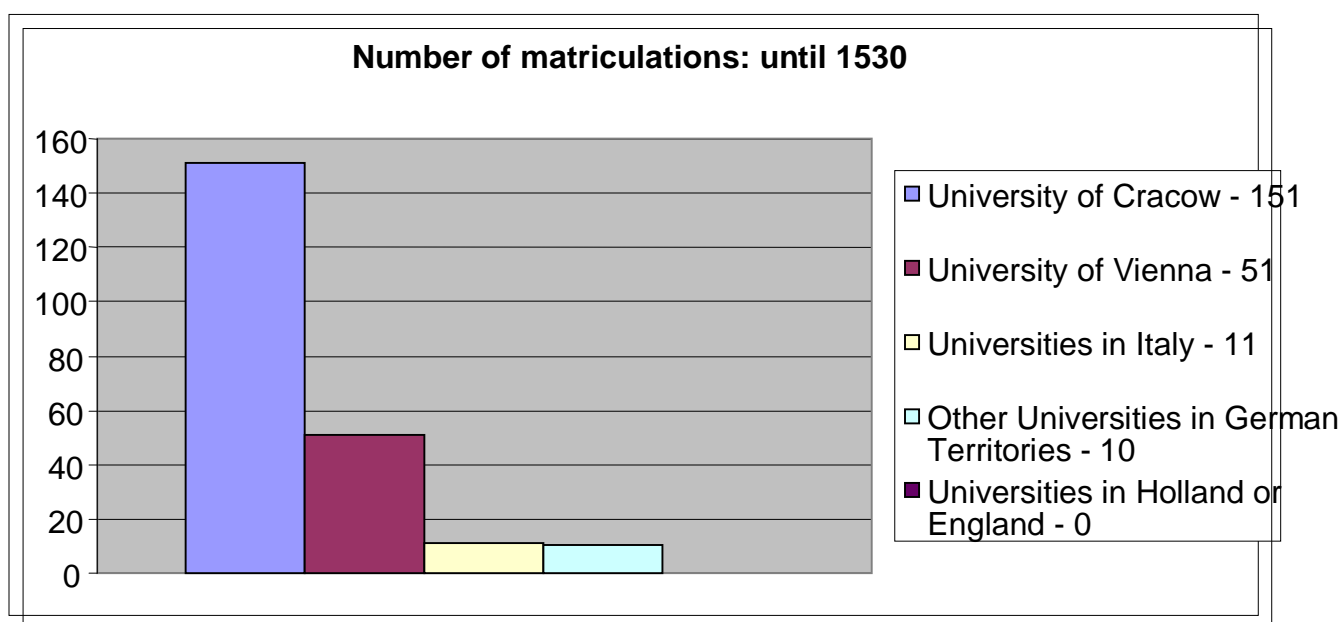


Two sub-periods with the boundary somewhere in the 1530s are visible on this graph. The first period lasted until the twenties of the sixteenth century (conventionally considered to end with the year 1530) and the second period began in the thirties of the sixteenth century until the end of the Reformation period in the town. These two periods differ firstly in terms of numbers of students attending foreign universities and secondly with regard to the geographical framework of their academic peregrination.

A much larger number of students coming from Košice could be identified from the first period: out of a total of 278 students, 212 (76 % or three fourths) went abroad to universities until the year 1530. The other 66 students (24 %) attended universities from the 1530s until

1660. The reasons for this numerical discrepancy are manifold and are connected with the political events and the economic and demographic development of the town. The fifteenth century was relatively stable politically, and this significantly favored the commercial, economic, and cultural development of the town. This stability is reflected in the high numbers of university attendees until the 1520s. The Ottoman threat, the battle of Mohács in 1526 and the following instability in the country largely constitute a turning point in the academic peregrination of Košice inhabitants. After this date, the number of students going abroad decreases dramatically, and, even if these numbers recover slightly later, they never reached the fifteenth-century levels again. The Reformation brought with it a certain increase in students' numbers, especially from the 1550s and these numbers stayed approximately at the same level until the end of the Reformation period in the town.

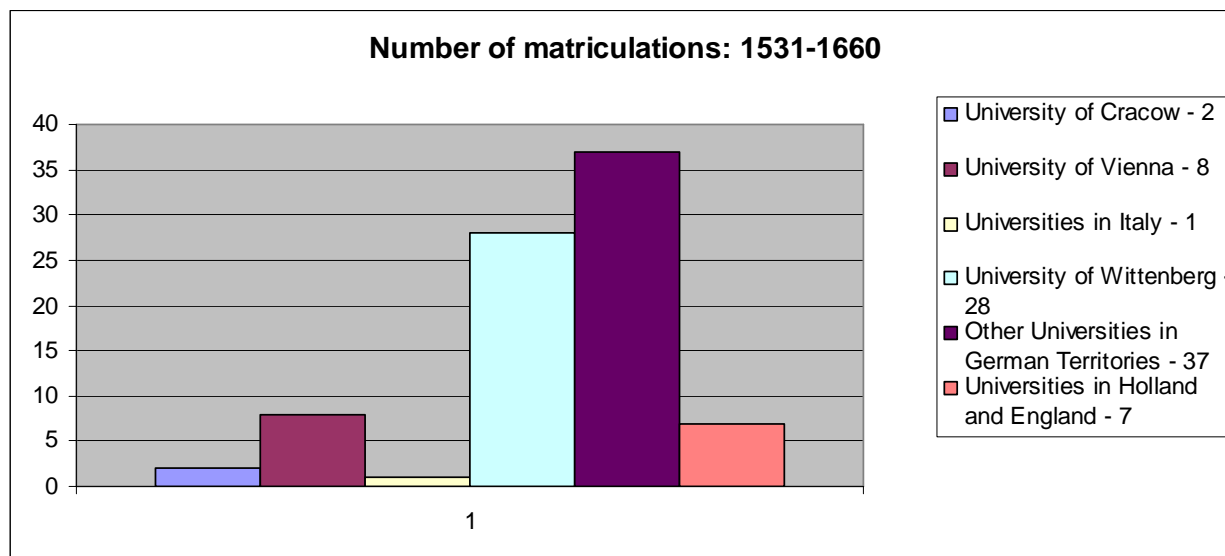
In terms of the geographical structure of the academic peregrination of students from Košice during the first period can be represented as follows [see also map 1, appendix 6.4]:



Obviously dominating this picture are the geographically closer universities of Cracow and Vienna. The first student from Košice matriculated at the University of Cracow in 1406, making the beginning of very intensive peregrination to this university. There were a number of factors influencing its popularity including geographical proximity, the extensive commercial relationships between the two towns, broad traveling possibilities in a relatively safe entourage,

lower costs of living in Cracow and the high quality of studies provided by the university itself. The peregrination of students from Košice to Cracow until 1530 reached a record figure of 151 matriculations - a number no other university would ever approach. This number was almost three times as great as the number of matriculated students from this town at Vienna, the next most popular university where there were 51 matriculations in this period. The first documented student from Košice, Nycolaus filius Petri Magni de Cassouia, registered in Vienna in 1391, and, after that, students from this town matriculated in Vienna throughout the entire period of this research. The critical characteristics of the academic relationship between the town of Košice and the universities of Cracow and Vienna will be analyzed in the following two sub-chapters. Until 1530, eleven students from Košice registered at universities in Italy in addition to these two universities. Three students went to Florence, two students each to Bologna, Padua, and Siena, and one each to Pavia and Perugia. These students who went to Italy belonged, with two exceptions, to mendicant orders, most probably Dominicans, sent to Italy to receive a degree in theology. The German universities of the time were able to attract only ten students from Košice. Three of these students matriculated in Leipzig: Andreas and Johannes de Casschovia in 1418 and Stanislaus de Kassaw in 1455, one, Sebastianus Ungarus de Cassa, in Heidelberg in 1433 and another student, Johannes Anthonius Cassoviensis, matriculated in Tübingen in 1520. The remaining five students matriculated in Prague, three of them in the fourteenth century.

As for the second identified period, from 1531 until 1660, the structure of university attendance of Košice students is represented by the following graph [see also map 2, appendix 6.5]:



From the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, the university attendance picture changed greatly. The total number of university matriculations decreased, with only 83 matriculations compared to the 223 in the previous period, while the directions taken by these student peregrinations changed considerably. Students from Košice almost completely stopped attending university in Cracow. A number of factors such as internal changes at this university and the Reformation put an end to its popularity, so that only two students register in Cracow after the third decade of the sixteenth century up to the end of the research period: Christophorus Steinensis in 1545 and Joannes Andreae Czerwienski almost one century later – in 1639. Students continue to go to Vienna throughout the entire period, but in a much more limited way and with a number of considerable breaks which will be commented later. Only one student, Emericus Lippay Cassoviensis Ungarus, registers at a university in Italy during this period (in Bologna, in 1571).

The majority of students from Košice who went to study abroad after the 1530s matriculated at German universities. The most popular among the attended universities was, without any doubt, the University of Wittenberg, with a total number of 28 matriculations starting from the year 1533, when the first student from the town, Gregorius de Belswitz is officially recorded. An altogether 37 further matriculations of students from Košice have been identified at various other universities in the German speaking territories during this period, distributed as follows: Altdorf (1 matriculation), Basle (2), Frankfurt an der Oder (7), Graz (2),

Heidelberg (1), Helmstedt (2), Jena (3), Königsberg (9), Leipzig (2), Olomouc (3), Rostock (2), Salzburg (1), Strassburg (1), and Tübingen (1). The greater part of these matriculations took place at the end of the sixteenth century throughout the first half of the seventeenth. The majority of attended universities were adherents of the Lutheran faith, although it still happened occasionally that a student from Košice would go to a Calvinist and then later to a Catholic university. The universities of Heidelberg and Basle, for example, were active in training Calvinist clergy. Since the urban administration and community in Košice strongly opposed Calvinism on an official level, there was only one single student from Košice who registered in Heidelberg during the sixteenth century. Two students from this town spent some time at the University of Basle, but only in the first decade of the seventeenth century. It was also in the first two decades of the seventeenth century when students from Košice started to go to established Calvinist universities in towns of Holland, such as Franeker, Leiden, and Utrecht, mainly thanks to the relatively tolerant attitude of these institutions towards the faith of their students and not because they were strong adepts of Calvinism.

The number of matriculations of Košice citizens demonstrates that a significant degree of interest towards university studies existed in the town throughout the entire research time period. In the following section, the university attendance of students from Košice will be analyzed in detail, with focus on specific events and factors that impacted on their attendance together with a list of students attending the most popular universities following each respective subchapter.

3.3. Students from Košice at the University of Cracow

Cracow, capital of Poland until 1596 and one of the most important economic centers of the country, played an important role in relations between Poland and the Hungarian Kingdom throughout the period of this research. The commercial routes which led from Bohemia and Hungary to the Baltic region, from Germany to the Black Sea, the routes from the East (Lviv, Kiev) and South from the Balkans through Transylvania all passed through this region with an important crossroads in Cracow, giving it a large share of trade in Central and Eastern Europe. Polish tradesmen had easier access to the Hungarian market as well. Commercial connections were particularly intensive with towns in the northern region of the Kingdom, Košice being one

of the major destinations among them.¹²⁷ This connection, facilitated by the geographical closeness and easy accessibility by road, was further enhanced by the increasing attractiveness of the University of Cracow.¹²⁸

After its foundation by King Casimir in 1364 and with his death in 1370, a short period of stagnation ensued. However, King Wladislas Jagiello restored the University of Cracow to complete functioning on July 26 1400, when its four traditional faculties were established with the permission of Pope Boniface IX. From the very beginning, there was strong competition from other universities founded at the turn of the fourteenth century in Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Würzburg, and particularly Leipzig in 1409. An event very favorable for strengthening the position of the University of Cracow was the controversy taking place at its closest rival, the University of Prague. The outcome was a stream of students and teachers migrating from the Bohemian capital to Leipzig and Cracow. In addition, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the reputation of the University of Cracow was augmented by its professors who bound together by their general acceptance of scholastic philosophy and by their reverence for ancient Greece and Rome and the humanist ideal. The Cracow school of law became famous: the defense of the interests of the state, as undertaken by the Cracow professors at the General Councils of Constance (1414) and Basle (1431-1449) revealed them to be competent jurists and secured an international reputation for the university.¹²⁹

During the first half of the fifteenth century two important ideological movements reached the University of Cracow. The Hussite movement did not find much support and did not spread seriously in Poland, although connections between Prague and Cracow were relatively

¹²⁷ See Ondrej R. Halaga, "Pakty vzájmnosti obchodných stredísk Krakova a Košice" (Pacts of mutual relations between the trade centers of Cracow and Košice), *Historicky Časopis* 36:2 (1988): 159-174. Further contributions to the topic are included in the following publication by Marián Gaidoš, ed., *Urbs-provincia-orbis. Contributiones ad historiam contactuum civitatum Carpathicarum in honorem O. R. Halaga editae* (Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1993). See also Halaga, Košice-Balt; Németh, *Várospolitiká*; Teke, Kassa külkereskedelme.

¹²⁸ See among others J. Dąbrowski, "Kraków a Węgry w wiekach średnich" (Cracow and the Hungarians in the Middle Ages), *Rocznik Krakowski* 13 (1911): 187-250; E. Kovács, "Vztahy krakovskej univerzity k Slovensku za renesancie" (The relations between the University of Cracow and Slovakia during the Renaissance), in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku* (Humanism and Renaissance in Slovakia), ed. L. Holotík (Bratislava: VSAV, 1967), 147-161; Idem, *A krakkói egyetem és a magyar művelődés* (The University of Cracow and the Hungarian culture) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964); K. Baczkowski, "Die ungarischen Studenten an der Krakauer Akademie im 15. Jahrhundert," in Szögi and Varga, *Universitas Budensis*, 117-128.

¹²⁹ For a more recent detailed account on the history of the University of Cracow see Krzysztof Stopka, Andrzej Kazimierz Banach, and Julian Dybiec, *The History of the Jagiellonian University*, translated by Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa (Cracow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2000).

strong.¹³⁰ It was Humanism that exerted a long-lasting important influence. The first evidence for its impact appear late in the 1430s, but Humanism's really significant period in Cracow was from the year 1450. After the two aforementioned councils, where Polish representatives had the possibility to search for and buy books and old manuscripts, several works by Cicero, Pliny, Seneca, Suetonius, Ovid, Terence and other ancient writers came into the possession of Cracow scholars. In addition to philosophical, political, and historical works, a number of books by the earliest Italian humanists, such as Poggio Bracciolini, Francesco Filelfo, Lorenzo Valla, and Pietro Vergerio were brought to Poland.¹³¹ These works prepared the ground for new ideas and Cracow was visited by men of learning from different regions, particularly from Italy, who found here great opportunities for free expression and the propagation of humanist views.¹³² While humanist ideas were infiltrating society, the reform of the faculty of arts at the University of Cracow took place around the year 1449. Two other branches of learning were vital in spreading the university's fame in the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century as well: mathematics and astronomy.

The sources that allow a detailed analysis of the academic life of students at the University of Cracow are relatively well preserved. In order to put together the quantitative picture of the university attendance of students from Košice the following three sources proved to be extremely useful: (a) the matriculation lists preserved for the entire period of interest of this study,¹³³ (b) the register of the *Bursa Hungarorum*,¹³⁴ and (c) the graduation records book edited

¹³⁰ Casimir Morawski, *Histoire de l'Université de Cracovie: Moyen Age et Renaissance*, 3 volumes, translated by P. Rongier (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils and Cracow: G. Gebethner et Comp., 1900, 1903, and 1905), here volume 1, 161f.

¹³¹ Janusz J. Tomiak, "The University of Cracow in the Period of Its Greatness: 1364-1549," *The Polish Review* 16:2 (1971): 25-44, here 33.

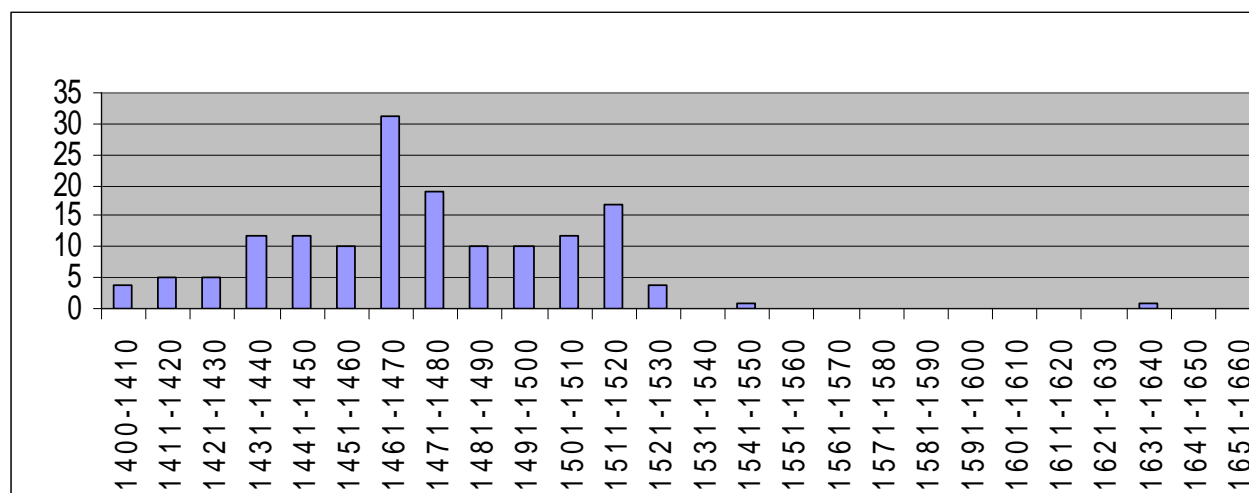
¹³² See for example the article by Wanda Backowska, "Die internationalen Beziehungen der Krakauer Akademie in der Zeit vom 15. bis zum Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts," in Szögi and Varga, *Universitas Budensis*, 79-87.

¹³³ Boleslaus Ulanowski, ed., *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis, Tomus I, ab anno 1400 ad annum 1489*, ed. (Cracow: Typis et impensis universitatis jagellonicae, 1887); Adam Chmiel, ed., *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis, Tomus II, ab anno 1490 ad annum 1551* (Cracow: Typis universitatis jagellonicae, 1892); Adam Chmiel, ed., *Album studiosorum universitatis cracoviensis, Tomus III, ab anno 1552 ad annum 1606* (Cracow: Typis universitatis jagellonicae, 1904); Georgius Zathey, ed., *Album studiosorum universitatis cracoviensis, Tomus IV continens nomina studiosorum ab anno 1607 ad annum 1642* (Cracow: Sumptibus universitatis jagellonicae Cracoviensis, 1950) and the revised edition of the Cracow university matriculation lists: Antoni Gąsiorowski. et.al. eds., *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400-1508* (Matriculation list of the University of Cracow for the period 1400-1508), two volumes and CD (Cracow: Societas Vistulana, 2004).

¹³⁴ J.F. Miller, ed. *Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis Hungarorum nunc primum ex autographo Codice Bibliothecae Cracoviensis editum* (Budapest: Typis Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1821) and Károly Schrauf, ed., *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis. A krakói magyar tanuló- háza lakóinak jegyzéke (1493-1558)* ([...] The list of inhabitants of the students' bursa in Cracow (1493-1558) (Budapest: A.M. Tud. Akadémia Kiadványa, 1893).

by Muczkowski.¹³⁵ The first source provides information on the name of student, his place of origin, date of matriculation, and sometimes the matriculation fee paid. The second source helps identify those students who were housed at the *Bursa Hungarorum* in the town throughout the period of its functioning. The third source assists in figuring out those students whose stay at the University of Cracow resulted in their obtaining an academic degree, either *baccalaureus* or *magister*, supplying data on the year of the event, the name of the dean holding office when the promotion took place, the name and origin of the graduating student, his ranking according to examination results, sometimes the amount of graduation fee paid and other kind of data varying from case to case. Additionally to this, for the gathering of numeric data the collegial help of the collaborators of the new edition project “*Matriculation Lists from the University of Cracow from 1400 to 1508*” developed in Poznań under the leadership of Professor Antoni Gąsiorowski proved to be particularly efficient.¹³⁶

The first student from Košice registered in Cracow in 1407, and three more matriculations followed in the same year. Citizens of the town were almost continuously present at the University of Cracow starting from this year and until the second decade of the sixteenth century. The following chart represents the quantitative picture of the academic peregrination of students from Košice by decades until the 1650s:



¹³⁵ Josephus Muczkowski, ed., *Statuta nec non Liber Promotionum Philosophorum Ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849* (Cracow: Typis Universitatis, 1849).

¹³⁶ I would like to express my particular gratitude to Ms. Izabela Skierska, whose help in sharing part of the database related to students from Košice and also various other information connected to my research was extremely valuable.

As it distinctly illustrates, the number of matriculated citizens from Košice had already started to increase from the first decade of the fifteenth century. Notwithstanding the plague epidemics in the thirties, which led to a general decrease in the number of matriculations in Cracow, students from Košice continued to matriculate. There were three students registered in 1431, and two students per year in 1434, 1435, 1436, and 1437. The worst plague years were 1438 and 1439, when only a few students were present at the university altogether and no one from Košice matriculated either.¹³⁷ However, a boom in the matriculation of foreign students in general and of those coming from Košice in particular can be noted in the second half of the fifteenth century, especially in the sixties and seventies (eight matriculations of students from Košice in 1466, six in 1463, four in 1474). This popularity becomes apparent shortly after the time of internal reforms at the university in 1449-1450, reforms which were further extended in 1475-1476. The final rise in the number of students' matriculations from the town was registered in the closing years of the fifteenth and the very early years of the sixteenth century. The first two decades of the sixteenth century at the University of Cracow were, again, particularly prosperous, when the university was fully under the influence of Humanism. A considerable number of humanist authors were read, further complemented by the possibility of studying ancient Greek on a regular basis. And it was also a period of relatively peaceful development back at home, the last before the vicissitudes that followed shortly after.

The number of students coming from various towns in the Hungarian Kingdom was generally high and this fact led to the foundation of the *Bursa Hungarorum* in 1470. This establishment was initially intended to house poorer students, where they could live under the direct supervision of a *magister* or *baccalaureus*, who was usually named *senior* of the bursa. Out of altogether 75 students from Košice who matriculated in Cracow from 1470 on, only 12 registered at the *Bursa Hungarorum*. The reasons for this limited registration may be various, yet the usual statement put forward by researchers that it was mostly students of poorer origin who were housed there, does not fit the Košice registrants. According to the general matriculation list, almost all of those who also registered at the *Bursa* paid the matriculation fees, and some of the students were representatives of wealthy families in the town, as for example Petrus Briger, who

¹³⁷ Herbert Franze, "Herkunft und Volkszugehörigkeit der Krakauer Studenten des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Deutsche Monatshefte in Polen* 5 (1938-9): 16-41, here 18: "*fuit autem per illam totam commutationem in Ciuitate Cracouiensi et cicumcirca grandis pestilencia*" as written in the matriculation list for the year 1439.

also registered at the bursa after taking his bachelor degree. Most probably, after being initially founded with the intention of housing poorer students, the bursa later changed its regulations and started housing students from various social backgrounds. There might have been other reasons students moved in here as well including a desire to enjoy the company of their fellow citizens, hoping to save money, or getting a supervisor's job there. This was, for example, the case of a certain Nicolaus from Košice (no. 101), who was identified as senior of the *bursa pauperum*, most probably of the Hungarian bursa during the first year of its functioning, that is in 1470.¹³⁸

The low numbers registered at the bursa indicates that the majority of students coming from Košice were housed elsewhere. Usually those who had a greater income, either more financial support from home or other sources of money, or who had relatives or acquaintances in the town, - and these were numerous because of the intensive commercial connections with Cracow at the time, - would look for a housing opportunity in the town. This type of accommodation, albeit more expensive, would usually offer, at the same time, increased freedom and comfort. Such students were less constrained by the discipline exercised by the *senior* of the bursa. In addition, during the fifteenth century several other institutions of a similar type appeared in Cracow that could house students of any descent, condition, or geographical origin. Such was for instance the *Bursa Jerusalem*, founded by Cardinal Zbigniew, which included a certain number of students from Hungarian towns, including Košice that had four students housed there: Marcus Nicolai (no. 111), Lucas Georgii (no. 123), Melchior Martini (no. 147), and Andreas Stephani (no. 148).

Based on several scholarly investigations of Cracow University, the number of students coming from urban settlements was considerably higher than those coming from villages, a fact which suggests that the majority of students registered in Cracow were representatives of the town bourgeoisie, with the proviso mentioned above, namely that some persons from villages indicated the closest largest town as their place of origin.¹³⁹ While the town of Košice was undergoing a period of constant economic and demographic development during the fifteenth century, accordingly, the numbers of students stayed relatively high. Representatives of several

¹³⁸ Wladislaus Wislocki, ed., *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469*, 2 volumes (Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897), here volume 1, 53, no. 242.

¹³⁹ Irena Kaniewska, "Les étudiants de l'Université de Cracovie aux XVe et XVIe siècles (1433-1560)", in *Les Universités européennes du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: Histoire sociale des populations étudiantes*, eds. Dominique Julia, Jacques Revel, and Roger Chartier (Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1986), 113-133, here 124f.

social strata from Košice attended the university in Cracow. Usually, members of noble families were registered with this particular mention added but there was no such registration for Košice. In general, it is very difficult to identify a certain student's precise family origin because of the commonly accepted practice throughout the entire fifteenth century to register only using the Christian name, and sometimes with the Christian name of the father. Since these names were fairly common at the time and if further supporting data is missing, it is not possible to identify individuals with acceptable precision. However, luckily the surname was present in a few cases, for representatives of rich burghers' families from Košice who matriculated in Cracow. These individuals were Nicolaus Ladislai Knol, and probably his brother Johannes Ladislai, who both matriculated in Cracow in 1437, Michael Swarcz de Kasschowia, who matriculated in 1457, Jacobus Benedicti Thot de Cassowia, who matriculated in 1475, and Petrus Petri (Briger) who matriculated in 1513. In a number of cases student's last names suggest the occupation of the father, or one of his ancestors, such as *aurifaber/goldschmiedt/goldsmith* (Caspar aurifabri de Cassowia, 1414-15; Petrus Bartholomei aurifabri de Cassowia, 1455), *sutor/ shoemaker* (Johannes Nicolai sutoris de Caschouia, 1421), *cingulator/ belt maker* (Laurencius Nicolai cingulatoris de Caschowia, 1425), *institor/ merchant* (Andreas Jacobi institoris de Cassouia, 1448), *sellator/saddle maker* (Marcus Gregorii sellatoris de Cassouia, 1448), *faber/craftsman/blacksmith* (Andreas Andree fabri de Casschovia, 1476), *cromar/retailer* (Johannes Ladislai Kromar de Cassouia 1453; Georgius Augustini Cratner (Cramer?) de Caschouia 1454). All of these names refer to students who must have been representatives of merchants' or craftsmen' families. One student was identified as a representative of the Dominican order: Andreas Nicolai Sartoris, *frater ordinis predicatorum de Casovia*, who matriculated in Cracow in 1466.

Another possibility of finding information about the students' social background and/or financial possibilities is the data on their matriculation fee paid as indicated by the matriculation list. According to the university statutes, when matriculating, students had to pay a so-called matriculation fee, usually 8 *grossi*, the payment of which would then be registered as *solvit or dedit totum* (sometimes in abbreviated form e. g. [s] for *solvit*, [d] for *dedit* or [t] for *totum*) in the matriculation list. There were students who were able to pay just a part of it and were permitted to do so, as well as students exempted from the matriculation fee because of their limited

financial resources.¹⁴⁰ Sometimes the possibility to pay in installments was offered to several students, but the total payment, be it a single payment or in rates, was a necessary condition for applying for the bachelor's examination. In the case of students from Košice, out of 151 students, there is registered information on the matriculation fee paid at the date of their matriculation in 133 cases. The following table illustrates the numbers related to various matriculation fees paid:

Number of students	Amount paid [matriculation fee]	Percentage
29	<i>totum [8 grossi]</i>	19 %
1	<i>7 grossi</i>	0.6 %
1	<i>6 grossi</i>	0.6 %
4	<i>5 grossi</i>	2.6 %
56	<i>4 grossi</i>	37 %
16	<i>3 grossi</i>	10.5 %
21	<i>2 grossi</i>	14 %
4	<i>1 gross</i>	2.6 %
1	<i>pauper</i>	0.6 %
18	no information	12.5 %
Total: 151 students		100 %

These data suggest that a fairly large number of students from Košice paid the entire matriculation fee in a single payment, a fact that indicates their increased financial possibilities. Nevertheless, the majority (37 %) of town citizens paid half of the amount due, that is 4 *grossi*, which is also the case of students that could be defined as coming from relatively well-to-do families in Košice mentioned above. Only one student is registered as a pauper. Probably, the number of poor students from Košice was higher, since there is no information concerning the fee in 18 registered cases, and, moreover, a number of students apparently did not matriculate at all precisely because of the high fee demanded. However, their number is still fairly insignificant compared to those who were able to pay half or even the entire matriculation fee. This suggests

¹⁴⁰ Quite a lot has been published in the last decades concerning the phenomenon of pauper students in medieval universities. Most publications show that such paupers were often exempted from the matriculation fees or these costs were reduced, mainly as long as the student was enrolled at the faculty of arts.

that during the fifteenth century, going to a foreign university to study was mainly the privilege of representatives of families possessing a certain amount of wealth permitting their sons to cover the expenses required to attend a university. At the same time, the fact that the overwhelming number of students from Košice preferred to go to one of the closest universities located in a city where they could live more cheaply partially because of the numerous family acquaintances, indicates that the amount of wealth at the disposal of students was not unlimited and this forced them to look for a cheaper option among the various possibilities.

The primary sources that have been preserved related to university activity and functions provide some information that helps describe the academic path of a student at the University of Cracow from the matriculation to final graduation. Upon admission, a student was obliged to enroll and pay the matriculation fee. After matriculation, the next step was to register for specific lectures. Although there was a recommended order, students were more or less free to make their own choices. The statutes required each matriculated student to select a tutor, usually among the masters, to be responsible for his conduct and academic progress. The earliest age that students were admitted to university was probably fourteen with no explicit requirements concerning their previous education. Newly matriculated students were apparently expected to have a basic knowledge of Latin, because all courses were held in Latin. However, the faculty of arts was designed so that students could acquire all the necessary and missing knowledge of Latin during their first years at the university.¹⁴¹

The academic activity at the University of Cracow was similar to that of other universities at the time. It had four faculties, and the faculty of arts was considered the first step in the academic career of students. Graduation from this faculty would give the student the possibility of teaching eventually continuing his studies in one of the 'higher' faculties: law, medical studies, or theology. The academic year was divided into two semesters: the winter semester began in mid-October and the summer semester in April. The non-mandatory courses were usually held during the semester breaks, so that, effectively, teaching continued throughout the year with breaks for major religious festivals and also because of epidemics, which were common at the time. Modes of instruction were similar in all faculties: lectures (*lectiones*), practical courses (*exercitia*), and debates (*disputationes*). During a lecture, the reader would read passages from a certain set book and explain them in detail, and the commentaries were then

¹⁴¹ Morawski, *Histoire de l'Université de Cracovie*, volume 3, 207ff.

usually dictated to students. Debates were normally held once a week, during which the bachelors had to refute the masters, and students had to listen, but also speak a fixed number of times.¹⁴² After the student had covered a certain part of the syllabus, on the grounds of a written testimonial from his tutor that he had attended the compulsory number of lectures and debates, the student would be presented as a candidate for examination. If he passed, his tutor would deliver a recommendation concluded by the formula for the award of the first degree, the bachelor of arts (*baccalaureus*).¹⁴³ The great majority of students would leave the university after obtaining this degree. The remaining would try to achieve the title of master (*magister*), attending further courses offered during the last years of study at the department of arts. In addition, they would be taught elements of metaphysics, moral philosophy, natural sciences, and elementary astronomy. After about two years, on completion of the full syllabus of Aristotelian philosophy and all of mandatory classes, the bachelor would be presented for the second examination, which would take place in the presence of the entire faculty. At its successful completion, the formula for admission to the master's graduation (*licentia promovendi*) was recited, usually by the vice-chancellor. Masters would receive the right to lecture and conduct debates at the University of Cracow and all other universities (*ius ubique docendi*). Further study was possible only after two years of teaching at the university in Cracow or elsewhere and brought with it a burden of expenses, so that most students, receiving their licentiate, concluded their contact with the university here, for financial reasons among other reasons.¹⁴⁴

In order to establish whether the matriculated student received a degree or not, Muczkowski's book proves very useful, although it contains only the names of those students who graduated from the department of liberal arts. Certainly, the town of origin is again not recorded in every case, making the identification of students from Košice largely dependent on the accuracy of these records. For the entire researched period 49 recorded graduations of students from Košice could be identified, 38 bachelors and 11 masters. The following table

¹⁴² Stopka, *The History of the Jagiellonian University*, 42ff.

¹⁴³ For details on the examination process see Muczkowski, *Statuta*, pp I-CCXL (*Statuta facultatis artium*).

¹⁴⁴ For more on the curriculum at the faculty of arts see Morawski, *Histoire de l'Université, de Cracovie*, volume I, 218 ff, where the author describes in great detail the contents of the studies there based on a number of original certificates of students he has looked at.

illustrates the number of graduates from Košice at the University of Cracow compared to the number of graduate students from the region and the Hungarian Kingdom as a whole.¹⁴⁵

Time frame	Graduated students from the Hungarian Kingdom [<i>baccalari/magistri</i>]	Graduated students from Upper Hungary (present-day Eastern Slovakia) [<i>baccalari/magistri</i>]	Graduated students from Košice [<i>baccalari/magistri</i>]
1402-1425	21/2	13/2	3*/2
1426-1450	77/16	36/8	1/0
1451-1475	267/47	106/20	13/4
1476-1500	382/54	99/10	10/1
<i>Total: 1402-1500</i>	<i>747/119 [866]</i>	<i>254/40 [294]</i>	<i>27/7 [34]</i>
1501-1530	n/a	n/a	11/4
Total number of graduations for the entire period [1400-1530]	n/a	n/a	38/11 [49]

* one baccalaureate in Prague

As can be seen from this table, the number of graduated students from Košice is comparatively high. During the first two decades of the fifteenth century the only two graduates from Hungary at the University of Cracow came from Košice. Levoča was the single town from present day Eastern Slovakia whose number of graduates (31/13 for the period until 1500) surpassed that of Košice (although the number of matriculated students from Levoča in general

¹⁴⁵ Source for the first and second columns: Gąsiorowski, Antoni "Die Graduierten der Krakauer Universität im 15 Jh. im Lichte des 'Liber Promotionum Facultatis Artium in Universitate Cracoviensi'," in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, eds. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 247-265.

was about half of that of Košice).¹⁴⁶ It would certainly be interesting to identify the reasons for this situation for which additional research on the Levoča students' community in Cracow is needed.

Nearly every student from Košice who could be identified in Muczkowski's book, also registered in the general matriculation list, usually two-three years before their graduation date. In some cases it is not possible to state precisely to which of the students registered in the matriculation list in particular the bachelor' registration refers. The main cause for confusion is the fact that, as noted before, students registered only with their Christian name, a very common practice at the time. It often happened that a number of students with the same name registered during the same year. In some cases, although the registration for a degree does exist, the matriculation date remains unknown, such as for example the case of a certain Georgius de Casschouia, who received his master degree in 1412, Stansilaus Caschouianus, who received his bachelor degree in 1494, or Thomas de Casszouia, who got his bachelor degree in 1521. And there is a case when a student from Košice received his master degree in Cracow after having obtained first a bachelor degree from the University of Prague. Georgius de Caschouia, *baccalarius Pragensis*, registered for his master degree in 1411. Most probably, he was a student of German origin who had to leave the University of Prague after the events of the year 1409.

Where students could be identified with an acceptable degree of accuracy, it becomes evident that it was generally commonplace that a student would apply for bachelor examination between two and five years after his matriculation. Another two years would usually be necessary to apply for the master degree exams. Certainly, not every case fit into this framework either. There are also cases when the student would matriculate and obtain his bachelor degree the same year, this probably indicating that the student matriculated only because this was required for officially obtaining his degree. However, the fact that in the majority of cases students from Košice were able to receive a bachelor degree in two to five years after their matriculation is an argument that confirms the good quality of their previous education at home, most probably at one of the town's schools. The students displayed a sufficient academic level to

¹⁴⁶ See Antoni Gąsiorowski, "O mieszczanach studiujących na uniwersytecie krakowskim w XV wieku" (Concerning burghers studying at the Krakow university in the fifteenth century), in *Aetas media, aetas moderna*, ed. Agnieszka Bartoszewicz et al. (Warsaw: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2000), 653-663, here 660-662.

allow them to comply with all the university requirements in the expected period of time and to receive their degrees according to the regulations.

Comparing the number of graduate students with the number of those who matriculated in the general matriculation list, it appears that not every student and not even the majority of them finally received an academic degree. It was in general very common at the time that not every matriculated student would attain his official graduation. According to Antoni Gąsiorowski, approximately every fifth matriculated student in Cracow received his bachelor degree and every twentieth his master's degree.¹⁴⁷ In the sixteenth century these numbers went down even more.¹⁴⁸ The situation is similar for students from Košice as well. Out of the total number of identified matriculated students, 38 received their degree, that is 25 % or approximately every fourth student and 11 students received a master degree, which comprises 7 % of the total number, or approximately every fourteenth student, in both cases above the general Cracow graduation pattern. All masters from Košice, with the one exception of the above-mentioned Georgius de Caschouia, matriculated and received their bachelor degree in Cracow as well. However, there are four registered cases when a student from Košice matriculated in Cracow could be identified at other universities. In all these cases the other choice was the University of Vienna, where they matriculated either before their arrival in Cracow as in the case of Andreas Jacobi institoris de Cassovia (matriculation in Vienna in 1443 and then in Cracow in 1448), or after their Cracow matriculation as did Johannes Ladislai de Caschowia (matriculation in Cracow in 1437 and in Vienna in 1439) and Petrus Petri de Casszovia (matriculation in Cracow in 1513, and in Vienna in 1519). The fourth case is the only one registered throughout the period of this investigation when a student from Košice went to more than two universities. Joannes Antoninus Cassoviensis, who received his bachelor degree in Cracow in 1517 subsequently matriculated in Vienna (1518), Padua (1520), and Tübingen (1523). Therefore one can state that, during the fifteenth and first two decades of the sixteenth century students from Košice would usually start at and graduate from the same university, and only in a very limited number of cases would they search for another place of study.

A considerable number of enrolled students concluded their university career at the faculty of arts without ever obtaining a degree. One of the reasons might have been the very high

¹⁴⁷ Gąsiorowski, *Die Graduierten*, 248.

¹⁴⁸ Stopka, *The History of the Jagiellonian University*, 46.

costs associated with graduation. Many students would return home or go somewhere else without necessarily holding the graduation certificate. This suggests that graduation was not the major goal of attending a university abroad, and that holding a degree was not essential for the development of their careers, at least for a number of them. Another aspect that should be mentioned here is the possibility that a number of students matriculated in order to enjoy the privileges of being a student although their original purpose of coming to Cracow had been different. Privileges were granted to students from the time of the official university foundation. For example, their housing rents were determined by a mixed commission and could not be raised by landlords on their own. All the goods they, their parents, friends, or representatives brought in to Cracow would be exempt of customs charges. An injunction was imposed on local millers and bakers prohibiting surcharges on services for students. And even a special moneylender, one of the Cracow Jews, was appointed by the King to lend money to the students at a reduced interest rate.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, the position of being a matriculated student was certainly very attractive, and, although it will never be possible to argue this fact with an acceptable degree of accuracy, it is certainly likely, that a number of persons took advantage of it.¹⁵⁰

Another privilege of the students was the existence of the university court led by the rector which dealt with various legal matters involving the university community members setting them free from the necessity of appearing before normal urban legal institutions. An interesting source which recorded the considerable number of various legal problems of the students from the University in Cracow has been preserved.¹⁵¹ Fourteen students from Košice appear in this source in different contexts, mainly as testimonies or actors in questions related to money debts. Among those directly involved in financial disputes – basically lending or borrowing money to or from other students or town burghers – are Nicholas Stephani (no. 101), Caspar Bartholomei (no. 105), Marcus Nicolai (no. 111), Anthonius Gregorii (no. 129), Melchior Martini (no. 147), Jacobus Johannis (no. 152), and Valentinus Stephani (no. 192).¹⁵² In addition, there is an interesting piece of evidence concerning the involvement of one of the Košice

¹⁴⁹ For more information on these privileges see Stopka, *The History of the Jagiellonian University*, 11f.

¹⁵⁰ Kaniewska, *Les étudiants*, 115. In Kaniewska's opinion such cases were not very common in Cracow. However several have been now established. See also Morawski, *Histoire de l'Université de Cracovie*, volume 3, 246ff.

¹⁵¹ Władislaus Wisłocki, ed., *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469*, two volumes (Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897).

¹⁵² For details related to these issues see the Prosopographical Catalogue under the respective student's number (Appendix 6.1 in this dissertation).

students, a certain Lucas (no. 123), in a rebellion initiated, according to the entry, by the inhabitants of the Bursa Jerusalem, where Lucas was also housed.¹⁵³ We learn that because of his participation in the violent events Lucas was expelled from the Bursa.¹⁵⁴

Few students among those who received their master degree would stay at the university and try to continue their studies at one of the 'higher' faculties, while at the same time looking for a teaching position, usually to guide younger students in their exercises of Latin language, Latin grammar, and rhetoric. Unfortunately, we do not have any information about students from Košice attending one of the other three faculties at the University of Cracow, also because of the lack of appropriate sources. There is, however, one registered student, the above-mentioned Johannes Antoninus, who succeeded in completing a doctorate. He matriculated at the University of Cracow in 1515, received his bachelor in 1517 and his second bachelor in Vienna in 1519 and then left to continue his studies at the faculty of medical studies at the University of Padua (around 1520) and later in Tübingen, where he received his doctorate in medical studies in 1523. One of his reasons for leaving in order to continue studies at a university elsewhere might have been the insufficient level of development of the faculty of medicine in Cracow. This faculty had fewer chances for development during the Middle Ages, and even in the later period. Since there were not many opportunities for employment in the towns of the region, the few trained doctors found work at the royal or bishopric court, or were employed by rich important individuals as a personal service. This faculty also lacked a sufficient academic ground, being excessively dominated by scholastics, and, bearing in mind that at the time, there was still not much knowledge about the human body, the natural sciences remained underdeveloped. Italy had the

¹⁵³ This event is related in Henryk Barycz, ed., *Conclusiones universitatis Cracoviensis ab anno 1441 ad annum 1589* (Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1933), 41 as follows: *Anno, quo supra [1475 n.a.], die Lune octava maii, sub rectoratu venerabilis viri magistri Iacobi de Schadek, decretorum doctoris, canonici rectorisque Universitatis Cracoviensis, facta fuit convocacio dominorum licenciatorum et magistrorum per cedula. Cuius tenor fuit in hec verba: Venerabilis, egregie domine doctor et magister. Sitis hodie hora vicissima in stuba communi maioris Collegii artistarum ad tractandum et providendum de sedicione et violencia toti Universitati scandalosa et periculosa, que facta est hac nocte immediate precedenti in bursa Ierusalem per multos eorum inhabitatores. Detur omnibus doctoribus licenciatis et magistris duntaxat salariatis, sub pena prestiti iuramenti, ex parte rectoris. In qua convocacione per omnes doctores et magistros pariformiter fuit et est conclusum, quod rector cum consiliariis ab Universitate sibi datis, citatis ad se inhabitatoribus dicte burse Ierusalem de huiusmodi sedicione et violencia culpatis et notatis, puniat aliquos carceribus, excludat alios ab Universitate, alios autem de domo Ierusalem excludat, secundum quod ipsi rectori et suis consiliariis melius, commodius et conveniencius videbitur faciendum.*

¹⁵⁴ *Saturni xij May (1475, n.a.). Dnus rector mgrum Iohannem de Schydlow et Lucam, baccalarium de Casszovia, pro nonnullis excessibus et conspiracionibus, quas cum parte rebellante habebant, infra hinc et diem naturalem sub pena carceris exclusit et exire tenebuntur (de bursa Iherusalem, n.e.). Presentibus ut supra.* Source: Wisłocki, *Acta rectoralia*, here volume one, 82, no. 378.

best reputation at that time for the opportunities to train medical students, a chance Johannes Antoninus used successfully.

This relatively intense attendance of students from Košice at the University of Cracow described above lasted until the third decade of the sixteenth century, when important changes began to have an impact, eventually leading to the end of the connection. One of the changes involved the extremely difficult political situation in the Hungarian Kingdom from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, and particularly the consequences of the battle of Mohács in 1526 and the subsequent military conflicts that ravaged the town of Košice and its surroundings. On the other hand, the slow process of decay at the University of Cracow started to take root. In the end, the struggle between new humanist progressive thought and the supremacy of theology and scholastic philosophy ended in the latter's victory. Opting for the traditional Catholic theology, the university remained a bastion of Catholicism, a fact that caused an exodus of students from territories where the Reformation has already taken hold. These students left for nearby Protestant centers of learning such as Wittenberg, Frankfurt an der Oder or Königsberg. By the middle of the sixteenth century the University of Cracow lost its reputation abroad and what followed was a two hundred years period of decline, the university having merely a local importance during the next centuries.

In conclusion one can state that the University of Cracow played a very important role in extending the academic potential of the Košice population throughout the entire fifteenth and the first three decades of the sixteenth century. The number of town inhabitants who spent at least a term in Cracow is very high. This level of university attendance by inhabitants of Košice would not be attained again during the subsequent two centuries, neither in Cracow nor at other universities. Further data concerning the fate of those who attended lectures and disputations grounded on humanist principles of learning in Cracow would contribute to a better understanding of the impact of the university studies at that time. However, due to the lack of appropriate sources this is only possible in a very few individual cases throughout the entire fifteenth century. It is beyond any doubt, however, that university attendance influenced to a certain extent the position of the respective individuals in the town, thus having a significant impact on the development of the urban community. On the other hand, the numerous individuals in the student community coming from Košice is a clear indicator of the fact that its citizens were intellectually prepared and wealthy enough to be able to financially support their or

their relatives' studies at universities abroad. This factor, together with further data concerning the town's economic development, its involvement in local and interregional politics, social entourage, religious changes, etc. is very important in assessing the level of development of Košice at the end of the Middle Ages.

The following list includes, in chronological order, the students who matriculated in Cracow throughout the entire period of this research and whose registered town of origin was Košice. Every entry contains the name of the student as it appears in the records, year of matriculation, matriculation fee paid (if reported), and further information about the degree obtained (where this was available).

1. Anthonius Joannis de Kaschowya, matriculation 1407;
 1. Clemens de Cassowya, matriculation 1407, pauper;
 2. Stephanus Petri Helbich de Caschowya, matriculation 1407, baccalaureus 1408;
 3. Stephanus Simonis de Kaschouia, 1407, 3 grossi.;
 4. Georgius de Caschouia, baccalarius Pragensis, magister 1411;
 5. Johannes Petri de Kaszowia, matriculation 1412;
 6. Georgius de Casschouia, matriculation year not known, magister 1412;
 7. Caspar aurifabri de Cassowia, matriculation 1414/15, 4 grossi, promisit residuum;
 8. Georgius Debringer de Casschouia, matriculation 1417, dedit totum;
 9. Johannes Nicolai sutoris de Caschouia, matriculation 1421, 2 grossi;
 10. Johannes Nicolai Gelnaczar de Cassovia, matriculation 1424, 2 grossi;
 11. Thomas Czenelcher de Caschowia, matriculation 1424, 4 grossi;
 12. Laurencius Nicolai cingulatoris de Caschowia, matriculation 1425, 4 grossi, baccalaureus 1429;
 13. Ladislaus Bartholomei de Cassouia, matriculation 1427;
 14. Bartholomeus Stephani de Caschowia, matriculation 1431, 4 grossi;
 15. Cristiannus Martini de Caschowia, matriculation 1431;
 16. Ladislaus Nicolai Harnusch de Caschowia, matriculation 1431, 2 grossi, baccalaureus 1434;
 17. Georgius Ladislai de Kaschowia, matriculation 1434, 1 grossus;
 18. Jacobus Ladislai de Kaschouia, matriculation 1434, 1 grossus;

19. Jacobus Nicolai de Kassowya, matriculation 1435, 2 grossi;
20. Paulus Andree de Kassowya, matriculation 1435, 3 grossi;
21. Jacobus Bartho(lomei) de Cassouia, matriculation 1436, 2 grossi;
22. Jeronimus Ladislai de Cassouia, matriculation 1436, 4 grossi;
23. Johannes Ladislai de Caschowia, matriculation 1437, 4 grossi, Vienna matriculation 1439;
24. Nicolaus Ladislai Knol de Caschowia, matriculation 1437, 4 grossi;
25. Mathias Georgii de Kassouia, matriculation 1440, 3 grossi;
26. Johannes Jacobi de Caschowia, matriculation 1441, dedit totum;
27. Johannes Nicolai de Caschowia, matriculation 1441;
28. Georgius Cristianni de Caschovia, matriculation 1444, 4 grossi;
29. Augustinus Nicolai Hersberg de Casschouia Hungarica, matriculation 1446, dedit totum;
30. Marcus Gregorii sellatoris de {Coschicze} Cassouia, matriculation 1448, 4 grossi;
31. Thadeus Thadei de Cassouia, matriculation 1448, 5 grossi;
32. Andreas Jacobi institoris de Cassovia, matriculation 1448, 3 grossi; matriculation in Vienna 1443;
33. Laurencius Martini Zadinbaom de Cassouia, matriculation 1449, 5 grossi;
34. Nicolaus Michaelis de Cassouia, matriculation 1449, dedit totum;
35. Petrus Ladislai Kalman de Cassowia, matriculation 1449, 5 grossi;
36. Benedictus Stephani de Cassovia, matriculation 1450, 4 grossi;
37. Petrus Petri de Kasovia, matriculation 1450, 3 grossi;
38. Johannes Ladislai Kromar de Cassouia, matriculation 1453, dedit totum; baccalaureus 1457;
39. Georgius Augustini Cramer de Caschouia, matriculation 1454, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1456; magister 1460;
40. Georgius Jacobi Gruesz de Caschouia, matriculation 1454, 4 grossi, totum;
41. Maternus Nicolai Swerer/Ewerer? de Casschouia, matriculation 1454, 2 grossi;
42. Valentinus Cristianni de Casschouia, matriculation 1454;
43. Nicolaus Petri de Cassowia, matriculation 1455, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1456; magister 1458; decanus 1468;
44. Petrus Bartholomei aurifabri de Cassowia, matriculation 1455, 4 grossi;

45. Michael Swarcz de Kasschowia, matriculation 1457, 2 grossi; baccalaureus 1463;
46. Johannes Felnek de Cassowia, matriculation 1458, 3 grossi;
47. Stephanus Johannis Czethmar de Cassowia, matriculation 1462, 2 grossi; baccalaureus 1463;
48. Michael Bartholomei de Cassowya, matriculation 1461, 3 grossi;
49. Johannes Joannis de Cashovia, matriculation 1462, 3 grossi;
50. Laurencius Andree de Casshouia, matriculation 1462, 3 grossi;
51. Thomas Anthonii de Cashouia, matriculation 1462, 1 grossus;
52. Bernardus Weyser Johannis de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1463, 4 grossi;
53. Johannes alias Myelth de Cassovia, matriculation 1463, 2 grossi;
54. Johannes Sparsgelth de Cassouia, matriculation 1463, 2 grossi;
55. Nicolaus Stephani de Casschovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1463, 4 grossi; 1470 mentioned as baccalaureus and magister, senior bursae pauperum;
56. Paulus de Cassowya, matriculation 1463, 3 grossi;
57. Vlricus de Cassovia, matriculation 1463, 2 grossi;
58. Bartholomeus Johannis de Caschovia, matriculation 1464, 4 grossi;
59. Caspar Bartholomei de Casszouia, matriculation 1465, 3 grossi;
60. Mathias Panilaslo de Cassouia, matriculation 1465, totum dedit; baccalaureus 1469;
61. Johannes Johannis de Casouia, matriculation 1466, 4 grossi;
62. Andreas Nicolai Sartoris, frater ordinis Predicatorum de Casovia, matriculation 1466, stetit totum;
63. Dominicus Danielis de Cassouia, matriculation 1466, 4 grossi;
64. Johannes Pauli de Cassowia, matriculation 1466, 2 grossi;
65. Marcus Nicolai de Cassowia, matriculation 1466, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1470;
66. Petrus Ambrosii de Cassowia, matriculation 1466, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1469;
67. Urbanus Laurencii de Cassowia, matriculation 1466, totum dedit;
68. Valentinus Stephani de Caschovia, matriculation 1466, stetit totum;
69. Augustinus Caspar de Cassowia, matriculation 1467, 4 grossi;
70. Johannes Ambrosii de Cassowia, matriculation 1467, 4 grossi;
71. Johannes Georgii de Casschowia, matriculation 1467;
72. Nicolaus Johannis de Cassowia, matriculation 1467, stetit totum;

73. Gregorius Valentini filius de Kaszovia, matriculation 1468, 2 grossi;
74. Petrus Petri de Cassovia, matriculation 1468, 4 grossi;
75. Johannes Pauli Magni de Cassouia, matriculation 1469, stetit totum;
76. Cristiannus Ladislai de Caszowia, matriculation 1470, dedit totum;
77. Lucas Georgii de Cassouia, matriculation 1470, 7 grossi; baccalaureus 1472;
78. Stephanus Petri de Caszovia, matriculation 1470, dedit totum;
79. Johannes Stephani de Cassouia, matriculation 1471, 1 grossus; baccalaureus 1475;
80. Michael Laurencii de Caschouia, matriculation 1471, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1473;
magister 1477;
81. Melchior/Melchiel Simonis de Kaszowya, matriculation 1473, 4 grossi;
82. Anthonius Gregorii de Cassovia, matriculation 1474, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1476;
83. Johannes Andree de Kaszowia, matriculation 1474, 8 grossi;
84. Johannes Johannis de Kaszowia, matriculation 1474, 4 grossi;
85. Georgius Nicolai de Kaschovia, matriculation 1474, stetit totum;
86. Jacobus Benedicti Thot de Casszowia, matriculation 1475, 4 grossi;
87. Martinus Valentini de Caschovia, matriculation 1475, stetit totum; oculista;
88. Andreas Andree fabri de Casschovia, matriculation 1476, 2 grossi;
89. Andreas Jacobi Cipsar de Casschovia, matriculation 1477, stetit totum;
90. Georgius Stephani de Kaschovia, matriculation 1477, 6 grossi; baccalaureus 1481;
91. Johannes Cristianni de Kaschovia, matriculation 1477, stetit totum; baccalaureus 1480;
92. Balthasar de Caschouia, matriculation 1478, 3 grossi;
93. Gabriel Mathie de Cassouia, matriculation 1478, stetit totum;
94. Michael Michaelis de Cassowia, matriculation 1478, stetit totum;
95. Martinus Galli de Casschouia, matriculation 1479, 4 grossi;
96. Michael Johannis de Casschouia, matriculation 1479, 4 grossi;
97. Thomas Michaelis de Casschouia, matriculation 1479, 4 grossi;
98. Melchior Martini de Cassouia, matriculation 1481, stetit totum;
99. Andreas Stephani de Cassowia, matriculation 1482, 3 lati grossi; baccalaureus 1485;
100. Franciscus Francisci de Cassouia, matriculation 1484, 4 grossi.;
101. Matheus Johannis de Casschouia, matriculation 1484, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1489;
102. Caspar Pauli de Cassovia, matriculation 1485, 4 grossi;

103. Jacobus Johannis de Cassovia, matriculation 1485, 3 lati grossi; baccalaureus 1490;
104. Ladislaus Johannis de Cassovia, matriculation 1485, 3 lati grossi;
105. Laurencius Laurencii de Caschowia, matriculation 1485, 3 lati grossi; baccalaureus 1487;
106. Johannes Mathie de Casschovia, matriculation 1486, 4 grossi;
107. Thomas Nicolai de Caschouia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1487, stetit totum;
108. Johannes Johannis de Caschowia, matriculation 1491, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1494;
109. Andreas Stephani de Casschovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1493, stetit totum;
110. Martinus Pauli de Casschouia dioc. Strigoniensis, matriculation 1493, stetit totum;
111. Stansisl. Caschouianus, matriculation date not known; baccalaureus 1494;
112. Nicolaus Pazoth de Caschouia, matriculation date not known, mentioned in 1496 in *Acta Rectoralia*;
113. Bartholomeus Petri Bak de Caschouia Strigoniensis, matriculation 1498, 2 grossi; baccalaureus 1499;
114. Joannes Dominici de Caschouia, matriculation 1498, 2 grossi;
115. Michael Michaelis de Cassovia Strigonensis, matriculation 1499, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1502; magister 1505;
116. Michael Simonis de Casschovia, matriculation 1499, 3 grossi; baccalaureus 1503;
117. Cristoforus Benedicti de Caschowia, matriculation 1500, 4 grossi;
118. Martinus Mathie de Cassovia Hungarie, matriculation 1501, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1503; magister 1510;
119. Valentinus Michaelis de Cassovia, matriculation 1501, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1503;
120. Andreas Nicolai de Cassovia, matriculation 1502, stetit;
121. Gregorius Andree de Cassovia, matriculation 1502, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1505; magister 1510;
122. Cristoforus Johannis de Kassouia, matriculation 1502, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1503;
123. Petrus Baltazar de Cassouia, matriculation 1503, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1504;
124. Cristoferus Pauli de Cassovia, matriculation 1504, stetit totum;
125. Wolfgangus Wolfgangi de Casszovia, matriculation 1504, 5 grossi;
126. Johannes Georgii de Cassovia, matriculation 1505, 4 grossi;
127. Thomas Clementis de Kaschovia, matriculation 1507, 2 grossi;

128. Venceslavus magister Cassovinus, matriculation 1509;
129. Johannes Cassovius , matriculation 1509;
130. Martinus Blasii de Caschvbia, matriculation 1511; baccalaureus 1518;
131. Caspar Johannis de Cossovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1512, 4 grossi;
132. Petrus Petri de Casszovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1513, 4 grossi; baccalaureatus, 1514; magister 1519; matriculation in Vienna, 1519;
133. Valentinus Stephani de Casschouia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1513, totum stetit;
134. Nicolaus de Cassouia, matriculation 1513-14;
135. Joannes Antoninus Cassoviensis / Johannes Anthony de Casschouia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1515, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1517, matriculation Vienna, 1518; ca. 1520 in Padua; matriculation in Tübingen 1523;
136. Johannes Oszwaldi de Cassovia dioc. Strigoniensis, matriculation 1517, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1519;
137. Johannes Johannis de Cassovia dioc. Strigoniensis, matriculation 1517, 4 grossi;
138. Johannes Balthazar de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1517, 4 grossi;
139. Laurentius Stephani de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1517, 4 grossi;
140. Georgius Romuli de Caschouia dioc. Strigoniensis, matriculation 1517, 2 grossi;
141. Michael Michaelis de Caschovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1517, 4 grossi;
142. Matheus Barnabe de Casau, dioc. Agriens., matriculation 1517;
143. Volffgangus Johannis de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1518, 4 grossi;
144. Cristophorus Johannis de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1518, totum stetit; magister 1518;
145. Paulus Thome de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1519, 2 grossi;
146. Johannes Stephani de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1519, 2 grossi; baccalaureus 1519;
147. Johannes Caspar de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis, matriculation 1521, stetit totum;
148. Christophorus de Cassovia, matriculation 1521;
149. Thom. de Casszouia, matriculation year not known; baccalaureus 1521;
150. Symon Johannis de Caschovia dioc. Strigoniensis, matriculation 1529, 4 grossi;
151. Christophorus Steinensis, matriculation year not known, doctorate 1545;
152. Joannes Andreae Czerwienski Ungarus d. Cassoviensis, matriculation 1639.

3.4. Students from Košice at the University of Vienna

Since its foundation in 1365 and throughout the following centuries, the University of Vienna, attracted many inhabitants from various adjacent regions and has always played an important role in the cultural and academic development of Hungary. This fact has been long ago recognized and appreciated in Hungarian research.¹⁵⁵ Before the middle of the fifteenth century the appeal of the university owed much to its faculty of theology, its popularity being further supported by the successful participation of its masters in religious debates and events of the time: at the Councils of Pisa (1409), Constance (1414-18) and Basle (1432ff). Throughout the entire century, the University of Vienna was among the biggest universities in the Holy Roman Empire and, in the second half, it became the European center of mathematical and astronomical studies. From the date of its foundation, the university was in permanent state of progressive development; however, a number of times it came under the negative influence of the political events of the time to be described below.

The general goal of the university studies in Vienna, as stipulated in the founding charters, was to train scholars to defend dogma and the Church against heresy by word and letter.¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, the lecturer's main task was to initiate his students into the laws of logic and dialectic and prepare them for argumentation and verbal disputes. The faculty of arts at the University of Vienna taught the same seven disciplines (*trivium* and *quadrivium*) as the universities of Bologna or Paris. The academic year at the University of Vienna would officially begin on October 14th. However, courses could be started at any time during the year, each course could vary in length, and the lecturers themselves decided how much time should be spent on each book. The requirements for graduation consisted of a minimum of two years of study for the baccalaureate, plus an additional three years for the master's degree. The first stage was mainly devoted to Latin grammar, dialectic and logic. The prescribed texts for grammar were

¹⁵⁵ See for example: László Szögi, "Zur Rolle der Wiener Universität im Ungarischen Hochschulwesen von den Anfängen bis zum ersten Weltkrieg," *Mensch – Wissenschaft – Magie: Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 20 (2000): 203-208; Endre Kovács, "Die Beziehungen der Wiener Universität zu Ungarn zur Zeit der Humanismus," *Österreichische Osthefte* 7 (1965): 195-204; and others. Among the earliest works on this topic is: Vilmos Fraknói's *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen a XIV. és XV. Században* (Hungarian teachers and students at the University of Vienna in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), (Budapest: A. M. Tud. Akadémia Kiadványa, 1874). He also published a list of Hungarian students and teachers at that time.

¹⁵⁶ About the founding of the University of Vienna see Mühlberger, *Die Gemeinde der Lehrer und Schüler*, 325-332.

Donatus' work *Ars Grammatica* and the *Doctrinale* by Alexander de Villa-Dei, written at the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁷ At the same time, rhetoric, as the art of verbal expression which also included poetry and history, was taught, but to a lesser extent. The text commonly used for rhetoric was the *Ars Dictandi* by Boethius (480 to 524 A.D.) Most of the time, however, was spent on dialectic, followed by logic, metaphysics, and finally ethics. For logic, the principal texts used were Aristotle's works to the exclusion of all others, these being read in a Latin translation. For philosophy, Boethius' work *De Consolatione Philosophica* and Aristotle's work *Libri Ethicorum* were used, while the latter's *Libri Politicorum* and *Oeconomicorum* were the basis for the lectures on political science and economy. Natural history also depended on the Greek philosopher being studied. Aristotle's *Libri Physicorum*, *Metaphysica*, *Parva Naturalia*, *Tractatus de Descriptione Naturae*, and *Phaenomena Naturalia* were all prescribed texts but not his famous *Historia Animalium*, since it ran counter to Christian doctrine.

It was Humanism which marked an important turning point in the development of the University of Vienna and ushered in an era of great popularity for the teaching of astronomy and mathematics in particular.¹⁵⁸ Around the middle of the fifteenth century, a number of learned men came to take positions at the university, among them Johannes of Gmunden (d. 1442), George of Peuerbach (d. 1461) and Johannes of Königsberg (Regiomontanus) (d. 1476). These lecturers brought to the University a reputation of being a center of mathematical and astronomical sciences north of the Alps. At the same time, Peuerbach and Regiomontanus were the first Viennese professors to introduce the teaching of Greek in the university curriculum and were among the first to hold lectures on Vergil and Juvenal among other authors. A number of other professors were invited from different regions and countries, especially from Italy. During the fifteenth century, Vienna was also an important commercial center, where handlers, clergy, pilgrims, artists and students, scholars and others traveled through its gates. It was a major stop on the way of scholars coming from foreign universities in Italy, France, Switzerland, or Germany returning back home to Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary or Poland.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷See among others Walter Egon Singer, "A Study of the Early History of the University of Vienna from the Foundation through the Supremacy of Humanist Thought: 1365-1500" (Ph.D. diss., University of Houston, 1971), 66ff.

¹⁵⁸For more on Viennese Humanism in particular see Conradin Bonorand, "Die Bedeutung der Universität Wien für Humanismus und Reformation, insbesondere in der Ostschweiz," *Zwingliana* 12 (1965): 162-180.

¹⁵⁹See Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Opll, eds., *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt. Band I: Von den Anfängen bis zur Ersten Wiener Türkenbelagerung (1529)* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2001), 89-90 and 145ff.

The great famine from the beginning of the eighth decade of the fifteenth century drove many of the professors and students away from the town. Of the circa one hundred lecturers usually active in the faculty of arts, for example, only about 30 stayed in Vienna and only up to 20 new students matriculated in some years, compared to the 600-700 individuals that had often been the before. In addition, from the year 1477, Friedrich III was involved in almost permanent military conflicts with Matthias Corvinus, who put siege to Vienna in 1485 and, after five months, invaded the city. Only when the young Maximilian recaptured Vienna after the death of Corvinus in 1490, did the university again revive. Together with it, Humanism became invigorated as well and it was at the end of the fifteenth century when Balbi (1493) and Conrad Celtis (1497) arrived to Vienna to improve the study of classical literature. Celtis also had a significant influence on higher education, being an innovator and introducing new teaching methods. He believed in combining theory with practice, a method, which, several centuries later, become known as pragmatism. Thus he supplemented his geography lectures based on Claudius Ptolomaeus' text, which he translated into Latin, Greek, and German, with visual representation of the world's topography. He embellished his subjects with on-going discussions on history, mythology and archaeology of ancient civilizations.¹⁶⁰ The creation of the *sodalitas literaria Danubiana*, the purpose of which was the study and dissemination of the classical works of antiquity, was a further contribution of Celtis to the development of academic life in Vienna. Although Celtis died soon (1508), many of his projects were continued by his students or friends who came to teach in Vienna during his stay there. Additionally, there were a number of other lecturers, who were educated in the spirit of Humanism already present in Vienna, among them being Cuspinian, Vadian, Tannstetter, Ursinus Velius and others, who increased the university's reputation. Certainly, at the University of Vienna, as was the case at a number of other established institutions of the time, there was conflict between adepts of the new humanist tendencies and supporters of the old scholastic curriculum, especially in the faculty of arts. Before Humanism was able to establish itself at the University, a number of conflicts impacted negatively on its further development.

After the death of Maximilian in 1519 another significant crisis began at the University of Vienna, intensified by a plague epidemic, a number of political disturbances in the town and the

¹⁶⁰ Singer, A Study, 151ff. Mühlberger, Die Gemeinde der Lehrer und Schüler, 395.

imminent Ottoman danger.¹⁶¹ These all had an enormous impact on students' numbers at the University of Vienna, matriculations remaining low in the twenties and thirties of the sixteenth century. In addition, around the year 1530, the Reformation reached Vienna. All of these events succeeding one another in a relatively short period of time initiated a long-lasting period of uncertainty in the academic milieu characterized by oscillations from one political and/or religious point of view to another. During the reign of Ferdinand I (1521-1564) several attempts were made to reform theological studies at the University of Vienna, which presumed cleansing the institution of its Protestant teachers and students. Students stayed away from the city threatened by the Turks and by pestilence, and in any case, the studies offered by the university were no longer considered very attractive. The summoning of the Jesuits to the University of Vienna in 1551 marked the ultimately decisive attempt to improve the matters. The Jesuit College of Vienna was founded – an institution which paralleled the faculty of arts at the university – to supply the university with reliable professors. As far as the University of Vienna is concerned the policies of the Jesuit order completely succeeded only in the twenties of the seventeenth century, when they took complete control over the faculty of arts, and extended their influence over the faculties of law and medicine.¹⁶² According to researchers, this fact initiated a new heyday period for the University of Vienna which was by that time in decline.

Concerning the sources available to document the students' matriculation, the University of Vienna is in a relatively privileged position compared to a number of other universities functioning at the same time. In order to identify the students from Košice who matriculated in Vienna during the research period, data provided by various types of university documents were collected and compared. Similarly to many other universities in the German-speaking area, the matriculation lists at Vienna have been carefully kept and are preserved in a relatively good state; their edition began in the fifties of the twentieth century.¹⁶³ In addition, there are a number

¹⁶¹ Mühlberger, *Die Gemeinde der Lehrer und Schüler*, 396-398.

¹⁶² Helmut Kröll, "Die Universität Wien und die Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens," *Unsere Heimat* 36 (1965): 46-57.

¹⁶³ On sources for the University of Vienna see Paul Uiblein, "Zur Quellenlage der Geschichte der Wiener Universität im Mittelalter," in *Die Universität im Mittelalter, Beiträge und Forschungen von Paul Uiblein*, ed. Kurt Mühlberger and Karl Kadletz (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1999), 539-545; Kurt Mühlberger, "Das Archiv der Universität Wien," in *Archivpraxis und historische Forschung. Mitteleuropäische Universitäts- und Hochschularchive: Geschichte, Bestände, Probleme und Forschungsmöglichkeiten*, ed. Kurt Mühlberger (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1992), 181-913. The following are preserved in their original form in the University of Vienna archives: *Matricula universitatis Vindobonensis* (1377-1917); *Acta facultatis theologicae* (1396-1849); *Matricula facultatis theologicae* (1519-1851); *Matricula facultatis iuridicae* (1402-1815); *Acta facultatis medicae* (1399-1815); *Acta facultatis artium* (1385-1848); *Matricula suppositorum artium facultatis* (1501-1870); *Libri*

of other administrative documents, such as acts and registers of individual faculties, which supplemented my research with relevant information. Since 1992 a team of researchers from the University of Vienna in cooperation with the Vienna University Archives have been working on the establishment of an electronic database which aims to assemble the information provided by all the preserved university documentation (general matriculation list, matriculation lists of the faculties and nations and the preserved acts of the university faculties for the time period between 1377 and 1554), allowing for a more organized and less time-consuming investigation of the data of different kind.¹⁶⁴

According to the statutes, every student had to register in the main matriculation list and pay the matriculation fee based on his social and/or financial status. Every entry usually includes the name and sometimes the family name of the student, his place of origin (country and/or town) and the matriculation fee paid. Persons with an academic title or with a higher social or religious position (nobles) were listed as such. The exact date of matriculation is only very rarely registered since, presumably, the names of the matriculated students would appear in the order they reported to the rector which may or may not coincide with the time they arrived at the university. The same person could register several times, usually when changing his academic status, i.e. by receiving the title of bachelor (*baccalaureus*) or master (*magister*) from the faculty of arts or that of doctor from the faculties of law, medicine, and theology. While the general matriculation list mainly includes names of matriculated students and only seldom provides further data on the respective persons, the acts of the four faculties sometimes provide important information of various character that could be used for social research on students matriculated at the University of Vienna. The most extensively preserved are the acts of the faculty of arts (*acta facultatis artium*), which contain information about the election of deans and other faculty officials, examinations, leaving of graduated students and their acceptance at other universities, where this was the case, and sometimes also important data on what lectures were held. This

nationis Hungaricae (1453-1834). Among these the following have been edited: Franz Gall, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, volume 1: 1377-1450, volume 2: 1451-1518/I, volume 3: 1518/II-1579/I, volume 4: 1579/II-1658/59 (Graz: Böhlau, 1956-1974); Paul Uiblein, ed., *Die Akten der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wien, 1396-1508*, 2 volumes (Vienna: Verb. d. Wiss. Ges. Österreichs, 1978); Karl Schrauf, ed., *Acta Facultatis Medicae Universitatis Vindobonensis*, volume 1: 1399-1435, volume 2: 1436-1501, volume 3: 1490-1558 (Vienna: Verl. d. Medicin. Doctoren collegiums, 1894-1904); Leopold Senfelder, ed., volume 4: 1558-1604, volume 5: 1605-1676, volume 6: 1677-1724 (Vienna: Verl. d. Medicin. Doctoren collegiums, 1908-1912); Paul Uiblein, ed., *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis 1385-1416* (Graz: Böhlau, 1968).

¹⁶⁴ See note 35. I am particularly grateful to Mag. Dr. Ingrid Matschinegg for helping me get access to the relevant part of this database.

source should be helpful in finding out about the graduation of specific students and, in a few cases, reconstructing academic careers from the first examination at the faculty of arts up to their continuing studies/ receiving a doctoral degree in one of the upper faculties.¹⁶⁵

The University of Vienna consisted of four Nations – *Austrian, Rhenan, Hungarian and Saxon* – all established according to geographical criteria. The Hungarian Nation already existed in 1366 and included students from the territories of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and other Slavic countries. A procurator, usually elected for one semester, led the Nation, had judicial power over the other members and was responsible for financial matters. Another responsibility of the procurator was to maintain the matriculation list, what he did sometimes personally, sometimes with the help of a scribe. This matriculation list proved to be another valuable source for identifying students from Košice at the University of Vienna.¹⁶⁶ Commonly, after arriving at the university, every student had to register in the matriculation list of the respective Nation as well and then register anew after obtaining an academic degree. In this way, this document contains information on the academic career of some individuals who conscientiously registered according to the rules.

Not every student followed this rather complicated matriculation procedures. Those registered in the general matriculation list would not necessarily appear in the matriculation list of the Nation or vice versa and there are great inconsistencies between the data contained in the various matriculation lists. If we compare the number of matriculated persons in both sources, we can observe that many fewer students are registered in the matriculation list of the Nation than in the general matriculation list.¹⁶⁷ There are a number of years when the difference is striking, as for instance the summer semester in 1461 (50 Hungarians matriculated in the general matriculation list and 3 in the matriculation list of the Hungarian Nation), winter semester 1473/4 (with 40 and 6 Hungarian students matriculated respectively), winter semester 1498/9 (41 and 1). Only very seldom will the numbers be close to each other. According to Sabine Schumann, on

¹⁶⁵There is an electronic database available for the faculty of arts which contains information about circa 15,000 persons who matriculated up to the year 1554. See Ingrid Matschinegg and Thomas Maisel, “Sozialgeschichtliche Analysen zur Wiener Artistenfakultät im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert,” *Mensch Wissenschaft Magie: Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 20 (2000): 121-140.

¹⁶⁶ See Paul Uiblein, “Die Wiener Universität im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert,” in *Das alte Universitätsviertel in Wien, 1385-1985*, ed. Günther Hamann, Kurt Mühlberger, and Franz Skacel (Vienna: Universitätsverlag für Wissenschaft und Forschung, 1985), 17-36, here 27f. See also the foreword to Karl Schrauf, ed., *Die Matrikel der Ungarischen Nation an der Wiener Universität (1453-1630)* (Vienna: Commissionsverlag von Adolf Holzhausen, 1902), VII f.

¹⁶⁷ See Sabine Schumann, “Die ‘nationes’ an den Universitäten Prag, Leipzig und Wien. Ein Beitrag zur älteren Universitätsgeschichte“ (Ph.D. diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1974), 271-276.

average, 50 % of students present at the university would usually register in the respective Nation's matriculation list. The situation is rather similar for the town of Košice as well, where out of 23 students who could be identified in Vienna during the time period from 1453 to 1630 only 6 registered in the matriculation list of the Hungarian Nation for this same period: Johannes de Caschovia in 1459, Melchior Call in 1504, Georgius Alberti in 1518, Ioannes Antonii in 1519, Johannes Herman in 1549, and Petrus Schopff in 1551.¹⁶⁸ There may have been different reasons for avoiding registering in the Nation's lists. It appears that students derived few benefits from joining their respective Nation, and these possible benefits did not justify the expenses of pursuing this registration. At the same time, the Nation's membership did not seem to have any importance for academic advancement and graduation of students. Therefore, the majority of students decided to avoid an active participation in the Nation's activities. In spite of this fact, the Hungarian Nation, keeping its matriculation lists since 1453, remains one of the best-documented university Nations for this time period and can be considered an important source for the purpose of this research as well.

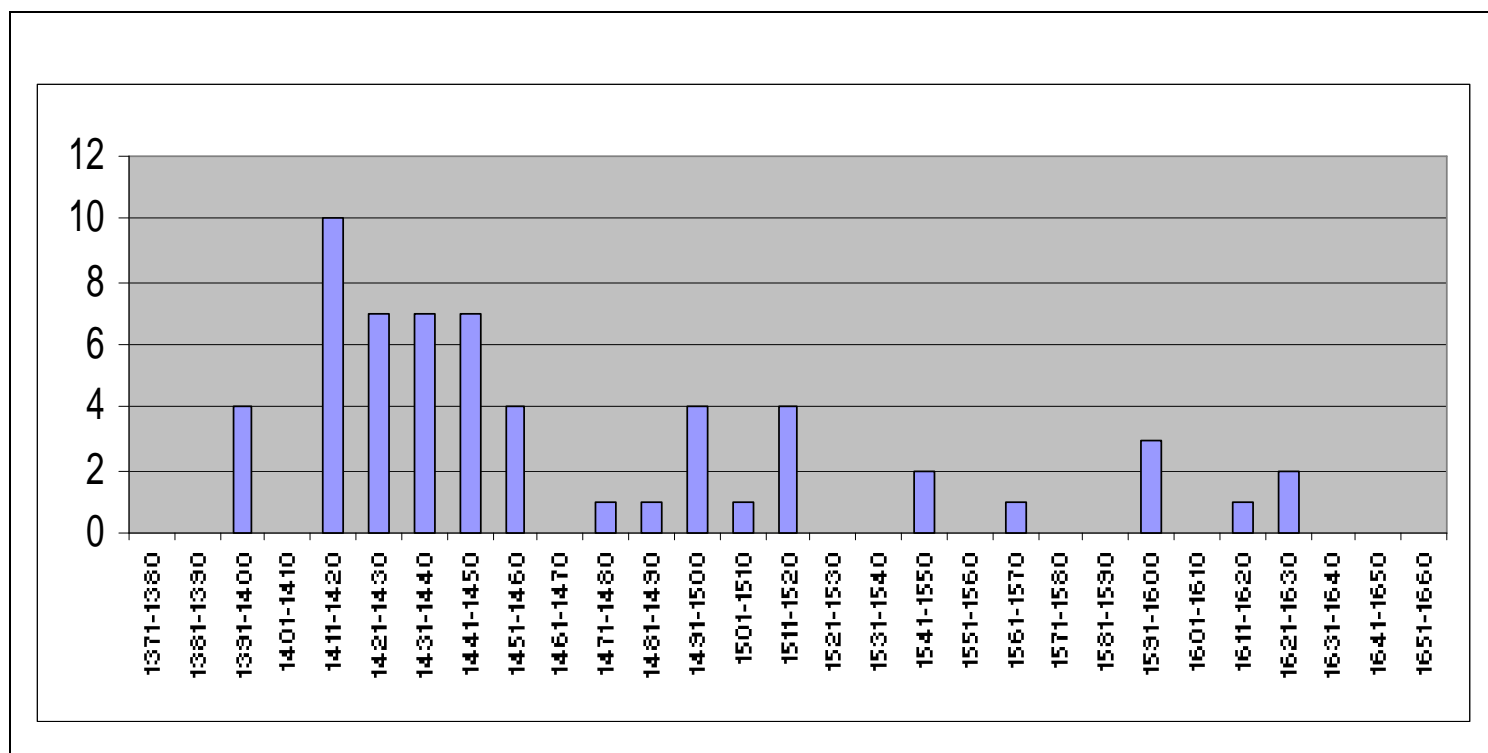
According to the data in the sources, the University of Vienna was the most popular university in the German speaking area for the time period from 1410 to 1520.¹⁶⁹ In the fifteenth century, the University of Vienna became extremely popular among young Hungarians as well.¹⁷⁰ Compared to the previous century, the rise in the number of students matriculated in Vienna during the entire fifteenth century was substantial. In order to establish the number of attendees from Košice I combined data provided by all preserved university documents, so that for the period between 1391 and 1660 59 students from Košice who attended the University of Vienna (the 'last' student from the town for this period of time registered in 1623) could be identified. Their list, including the name and surname, year, date of matriculation, and the matriculation fee paid, if recorded, is presented at the end of this sub-chapter.

¹⁶⁸ According to Karl Schrauf, ed., *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve 1453-tól 1630-ig* (Matriculation list of the Hungarian nation at the University of Vienna) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1902) and its German version as indicated in the Bibliography of this work.

¹⁶⁹ See Paul Uiblein, "Zur Quellenlage der Geschichte der Wiener Universität im Mittelalter," in *Die Universität im Mittelalter, Beiträge und Forschungen von Paul Uiblein*, ed. Kurt Mühlberger and Karl Kadletz (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1999), 539-545, here 540.

¹⁷⁰ See László Szögi, "Zur Rolle der Wiener Universität im Ungarischen Hochschulwesen von den Anfängen bis zum ersten Weltkrieg," *Mensch – Wissenschaft – Magie: Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 20 (2000), 206.

The following chart illustrates the attendance of students from Košice at the University of Vienna from the fourteenth century up to the year 1660 (by decade, starting in 1371):



The first attested student from Košice registered in Vienna in 1391, followed by three further matriculations by the end of the fourteenth century. As the chart indicates, citizens of Košice frequented the University of Vienna throughout the entire time period, with several significant interruptions, and the highest numbers were in the first half of the fifteenth century. The years with more than one matriculation of students from Košice were 1411 (four matriculations), 1412 (two matriculations), 1417 (two matriculations), 1423 (two matriculations), 1427 (two matriculations), 1439 (four matriculations), 1443 (two matriculations), and 1450 (two matriculations). There are various reasons for the decrease noted from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards. A number of military events from the second half of the fifteenth century, among them the conflict between Frederic III and his brother, Archduke Albert VI, which broke

out in the fifties, made Vienna a not very secure place of study.¹⁷¹ In the eighties the already mentioned siege of the city by Matthias Corvinus greatly limited the coming of students, especially from the Kingdom of Hungary.¹⁷² This situation may be one explanation for the increase in students' number matriculated at the University of Cracow in the sixties and seventies of the fifteenth century, as pointed out above, since students were in search of an alternative institution and, most probably, many of them considered Cracow a satisfactory option. The first two decades of the sixteenth century show a certain increase in the number of matriculated students again, which goes hand in hand with the humanist changes at the university.¹⁷³ The death of Maximilian I in the year 1519 and the imminent Ottoman danger after the battle of Mohács led to the generally low number of matriculated students from the territories of the Hungarian Kingdom, while students from Košice in particular stopped going to Vienna after the second decade of the sixteenth century until as late as the year 1548. This period almost coincides with the time of rulership of the anti-Habsburg King John Szapolyai in Košice (from 1527 to 1551), whose policies did not very much encourage the interest of the town inhabitants in the imperial center. At the same time, the decrease in matriculation numbers may be explained by the ethnic changes in the town as a result of Szapolyai's politics. The majority of German inhabitants were forced to leave and it was not the best time for members of their families to search for university studies in the first place, and, even if they did, they would have been more likely to register the location of their place of refuge in the matriculation list.

Nevertheless, the most important event hindering the coming of Hungarian students in general and of students from Košice in particular to the University of Vienna was the Reformation. The Catholic-oriented University of Vienna was no longer that attractive for Protestant students from various regions of Europe. The newly converted young men preferred a German, and later a Swiss, Dutch or English reformed university. The faculty of theology at the University of Vienna almost ceased to exist, and, at the beginning of the winter semester 1527/28 the elected dean Dr. Wilhelm Püllinger explained that the financial resources of the faculty of medicine had been reduced to nothing (*pecunia nulla*) as a direct consequence of the

¹⁷¹ For more information on this see Matschinegg and Maisel, *Sozialgeschichtliche Analysen*, 130f.

¹⁷² Kurt Mühlberger, "Das Studium zur Zeit des Königs Matthias Corvinus," in Szögi and Varga, *Universitatis Budensis*, 89-116.

¹⁷³ Kurt Mühlberger, "Zwischen Reform und Tradition. Die Universität Wien in der Zeit der Renaissance-Humanismus und der Reformation," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 15 (1995): 25-27.

Reformation.¹⁷⁴ The reforms of the university system by Ferdinand I, a long process that lasted from the year 1533 up to 1554 (*Reformatio Nova*), should also be mentioned. The major outcome of these reforms was the transformation of the free medieval university with its own administration rights and privileges into an institution dependent on the state. After the 1620s, the situation changed again to the benefit of the University of Vienna, and it remained, until the end of the monarchy, the preferred place for Hungarians to pursue their studies. Its popularity for the citizens of Košice, on the other hand, never again reached the level of the first half of the fifteenth century, primarily because Košice remained a town with a Lutheran majority until the 1660s. In addition to that, the town's economic and demographic situation was in decline compared to the fifteenth century. Although students from this town continued to register sporadically at the University of Vienna, a number of other universities, among them the University of Wittenberg, represented strong competition in the sixteenth century.

As in the case of Cracow, although it is difficult to state the social status of each student, there are a number of factors that directly or indirectly suggest this type of information. Although the university documents rarely make direct reference to a student's social origin, one can deduce information of this kind based on the matriculation fee paid. At Vienna, according to the statutes from the year 1414, a more complex system for paying matriculation fees was practiced: monks and paupers (income not specified) paid nothing, commoners enrolled at the faculty of arts paid four *grossi*, commoners enrolled at one of the three other faculties (medicine, theology, and law) paid twice that amount, masters from other universities paid slightly more (5 to 9 *grossi*), and representatives of other social categories such as cathedral canons, nobles, abbots, bishops etc. paid a higher amount varying from case to case.¹⁷⁵

The following table includes the summary of students from Košice based on the matriculation fee they paid:¹⁷⁶

<i>Type of taxation fee</i>	<i>Number of students</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Pauper (no fee paid)	16	27 %
Semi-pauper (two grossi)	8	13 %

¹⁷⁴ *Pauca in hoc suo* (his predecessor's n.a.) *decanatu acta fuerunt, quia universitas pene tota desolata erat et sine studentibus, cuius ruine et decrementi causam quidam Martinum Lutherum dicebant, qui universitates et generalia studia improbat propter assiduam ethnicorum et gentilium lectionem...*, quoted apud Schrauf, *Acta facultatis medicae*, 171.

¹⁷⁵ Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, vol. 1, xxii.

¹⁷⁶ Information collected with the assistance of Dr. Ingrid Matschinegg.

Reduced tax (three grossi)	3	5 %	
Normal tax (four grossi)	11	19 %	
Other	7	12 %	
Missing data	14	24 %	
<i>Total</i>		59	100 %

This table illustrates that the majority of students from Košice registered in Vienna had limited financial possibilities since almost one half of them paid a reduced matriculation fee (or none at all) and only 20 % paid the entire required matriculation fee. In 25 % of the cases there is no information about the matriculation fee paid, thus, the number of paupers may have been even higher. If we compare these data with the same type of information related to the University of Cracow, it can be seen that the normal fee in Cracow was twice as high as in Vienna (8 versus 4 grossi), while the percentage of those who paid full fees is the same at both places (19 %). In addition to the 19 % of students who paid the 8 grossi in Cracow the number of those who could afford to pay 4 grossi constitutes 37 %. Thus, the financial possibilities of the students from Košice attending the Cracow University seem to be higher than of those attending the University of Vienna. This is further confirmed by the increased number of registered paupers in Vienna: 27 % versus less than 1 % in Cracow.

Besides the general matriculation fee required on their arrival to the university, students also had to pay a number of other fees as required by the rather complicated matriculation procedure. For example, students had to contribute financially to the Nation's budget as well, usually with the same amounts as were paid at the general registration. This could be an additional reason why many of the incoming students avoided registration in the Nation's matriculation lists as mentioned above. Altogether, out of the six students from Košice who registered in the matriculation list of the Hungarian Nation for the research time period, two paid 4 *grossi* and two paid 2 *grossi* by their first registration. Subsequently, Melchior Gall paid 12 *grossi* and Georgius Alberti paid 15 more *grossi* when receiving their master's degree in 1505 and 1521 respectively and there is no data for the remaining two. Sometimes study was possible for students with limited financial possibilities with the help of a patron offered through practical work and service. Such relationships of service as *famuli* were mostly found within the framework of the *familia* of a university lecturer, a rich fellow-student or a high-ranking cleric

from the region. There is one case of a Košice student identified in this function, Thomas Laurencij de Caschouia (no. 89), who matriculated as *familiaris domini archidiaconi Blasii de Ozd* and paid no matriculation fee.

The University of Vienna in general had a reputation as an academic institution particularly favorable for students with limited financial possibilities, and their numbers in the entire university was very high.¹⁷⁷ The term ‘pauper’ referred primarily to those whose means did not suffice to pay the costs of study, as declared by themselves and/or confirmed by testimonies, although a very distinct system of rules in determining or confirming the poverty of prospective candidates did not exist. The conditions for considering a student poor or wealthy may have been different at different universities. Therefore, a comparison of this type of information with regard to students from Košice at the two universities, Cracow and Vienna, should only be attempted very cautiously. In addition to the generally accepted fact that the University of Vienna was particularly attractive for impoverished students, other explanations for these universities’ popularity may be found in additional information regarding the social status and financial opportunities of the registered students.

Another way to determine the social status of students is to investigate, where data are available, their family origin. However, similarly to the University of Cracow attendees described above, this proved to be a rather complicated undertaking which does not provide very extensive information. As usual at the time, students registered in the university matriculation lists using their Christian name only, making it difficult to identify the family they belonged to. However, the number of students from Košice who registered with their surname increased in the second half of the fifteenth century. These students include a few representatives of wealthier families in the town, as testified by the preserved account books, such as Marcus Lanngauders who matriculated in 1412, Johannes Sarel in 1427, Mathias Redel in 1437, Andreas Guman in 1443, Johannes Meussikgang in 1443, Johannes Taschner in 1452, Ioannes Herman in 1458, Michael Tosst in 1474, Melchior Zerhart in 1488, Franciscus Schnaittl in 1494, Georgius Sparrer in 1495, Johannes Prechtel in 1500, Joannes Deltsch in 1510, Petrus Sch(opff) in 1514, Petrus

¹⁷⁷ About the social status of university attendees see Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, “Rich Men, Poor Men: Social Stratification and Social Representation at the University (13th-16th Centuries),” in *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Wim Blockmans and Antheun Janse (Brepols: Turnhout, 1999), 159-175; Magnus Ditsche, “Zur Studienförderung im Mittelalter,” *Rheinische Vierteljahrbblätter* 41 (1977): 51-62. See also Thomas Maisel, “Der ‚Lateinische Krieg.‘ Eine studentische Revolte des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts in Wien,” *Historische Anthropologie* 3 (1995): 389-411.

Briger in 1519, Georgius and Stephanus Hoffmann in 1600, and Andreas Ungedeu in 1616. Notably, all these names are of German origin. A number of students coming from relatively wealthy German families in the town have been identified in Cracow as well, yet the number of those who registered with their family name in the Cracow matriculation list is more limited. In addition to that, in Cracow there is a certain number of students whose matriculation names indicate to the profession of their father, while in Vienna the percentage of such students is much lower (e.g. Paulus Carnificis de Caschovia, who matriculated in 1442). Based on those family names that are recorded it becomes apparent that the percentage of representatives of craftsmen families was higher in Cracow than in Vienna, while Vienna seemed to have been more attractive for members of enriched families (urban council members?) of German origin. Again, this is a tentative conclusion and the amount of information we have does not permit us to be completely secure in this respect. The differences noted above may have been influenced by the two different traditions of recording students' names in the matriculation lists. Cracow seemed to prefer the first name plus father's first name in its Latinized version, while Vienna required a family name closer to the way we use it today, especially from the second half of the fifteenth century on.

Although these students represented wealthier families in the town of Košice itself, their economic situation was not as good as that of the rich inhabitants of other towns in western and central Europe. No nobles of higher status from Košice are registered in the administration documents of the university or mentioned as such. There are two representatives of the clergy, however. One was a priest from Košice, a certain Blasius (no. 56) who matriculated in 1439, and who also paid the average of 4 *grossi* required by the matriculation rules. Another Košice-born student, the only one registered with the determinative of 'dominus', was Blasius de Caschovia (no. 88), archdeacon and canon in Ozd, Transylvania, who had generously donated half a florin by his matriculation in 1455. He received his bachelor degree in 1456 and donated a further three florins when he received his license in 1458 from the faculty of law and one florin for his doctorate received in the same year, at the same faculty (according to the entry in the matriculation list of the faculty of law). There are no documents to show the type of contact he had with his native town. However, the fact that Blasius employed a *familiaris*, Thomas Laurencij (no. 89), from Košice, with whom he arrived in Vienna in 1455, suggests that he still had some kind of ties with the town.

While the matriculation lists proved to be valuable sources for establishing the number of students, their time of matriculation and the fee they paid, the faculty acts concentrated on the academic progress of the students. They contain some important material concerning the duration of study, elections of university officials, exams and graduation, etc.¹⁷⁸ Combined with the data from the matriculation lists, they are a useful source to enable us to follow the academic career of a particular person from his matriculation in the faculty of arts through his continuation of study and graduation from one of the other three faculties, provided that all the required information was accurately recorded according to the rules, which was rarely the case. As it was in many other universities of that time, the process of study at the University of Vienna would begin at the faculty of arts.¹⁷⁹ The number of students matriculated at this faculty was much larger than at any of the others, from 75 % up to 90 % of the total number of students present at the university.¹⁸⁰ It was considered the first step in the academic career of a student and a *magister atrium* degree was a necessary prerogative to be fulfilled in order to continue the studies at one of the other three faculties. Even though it is not indicated in the general matriculation lists, one may presume that all students matriculated at the faculty of arts upon their arrival in Vienna.¹⁸¹ Very rarely was it possible to do otherwise, but only in those cases where the student had a degree from another university.

In order to achieve the first degree offered, a bachelor degree, a student matriculated at the University of Vienna was obliged to attend lectures and disputations over two years and afterwards he could apply for permission to take the bachelor's examination in front of four examiners, commonly representatives of the four Nations at the university. This examination was held four times per year. After its successful completion, the new bachelor was presented to the acting dean and his name was registered in the acts of the faculty. The practice of rating – *locatio* – was very popular at the University of Vienna, but this was mainly done based on social status, although the statutes recommended rating the candidates according to their knowledge,

¹⁷⁸ Uiblein, Fakultätsakten als personengeschichtliche Quelle, 547-549;

¹⁷⁹ See Paul Uiblein, *Mittelalterliches Studium an der Wiener Artistenfakultät: Kommentar zu den Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis 1385-1416* (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1987), 68-87; Matschinegg and Maisel, Sozialgeschichtliche Analysen, 131f.

¹⁸⁰ Matschinegg and Maisel, Sozialgeschichtliche Analysen, 122.

¹⁸¹ Matschinegg and Maisel, Sozialgeschichtliche Analysen, 123.

discipline, eloquence, and academic progress.¹⁸² Every bachelor had to teach at the faculty of arts for at least one year after his graduation; to give lectures (*lectiones*) or lead practical seminars (*exercitia*), either at the university itself or at the St. Stephan cathedral's school, which was affiliated with the faculty of arts.

Usually one or two years after receiving his bachelor degree, the student would apply for a master degree which in turn meant proper graduation from the faculty of arts. At this point the student would receive the title of *magister artium liberalium* and the full right to teach everywhere - *licentia ubique docendi*.¹⁸³ In order to get this more advanced degree, graduated students had to be at least 21 years old. The master's degree examination was held once per year, usually in January. The faculty would present the candidates to the university chancellor, who would nominate four masters to examine the candidate. After the examination, a rating was carried out again, and the names of the new masters were registered in the faculty acts. The masters had a duty to teach at the faculty for at least two years after their graduation. Specific to the faculty of arts compared to the other three faculties at the University of Vienna was the so-called system of regency, according to which every graduated master of arts had to hold lectures for at least two years at the University of Vienna as a *magister regens*.¹⁸⁴

The data concerning graduation at the University of Vienna are less complete than those of Cracow. According to the available sources, seven students from Košice received their bachelor degree from the University of Vienna, which constitutes 12 % of the total number of 59 documented matriculations (about every eighth student). Among these is Marcus Lanngauders de Chaschovia (no. 18), who matriculated in 1412 and received his bachelor degree in 1416, being ranked first on the list of bachelors, a fact that would rather indicate his outstanding academic performance than his higher social position, since he paid only 2 *grossi* at the time of his matriculation.¹⁸⁵ There are two registered cases of bachelors from Košice who, subsequently,

¹⁸² ...*secundum meritum personarum, que in his quatuor precipue attendi volumus, scilicet scientia, moribus, eloquentia et spe proficiendi*..., quoted by Alphons Lhotsky, *Die Wiener Artistenfakultät 1365-1497* (Graz, Vienna, Cologne: Böhlau, 1965), 238.

¹⁸³ Paul Uiblein, *Mittelalterliches Studium an der Wiener Artistenfakultät: Kommentar zu den Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis 1385-1416* (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1987), 88-109.

¹⁸⁴ For more information concerning the faculty of arts at the University of Vienna see Matschinegg and Maisel, *Sozialgeschichtliche Analysen*, 121-140. See also Uiblein, *Mittelalterliches Studium*, 110-114.

¹⁸⁵ Text: 'Item 3a die Ianuarii [1416 n.a.] fuit facultas arcium congregata in loco consueto per iuramentum. Primo ad recipiendum scolares proxime pro gradu baccalariatus in artibus examinatos et ad dispensandum cum multis eorum super habendis habitibus propriis ac eciam cum aliquibus super floreno solvendo. Et fuerunt presentati XXXI scolares secundum hunc ordinem: Marcus de Caschovia [1] [...]' Source: Uiblein, *Acta Facultatis Artium*, 462.

received their master degrees from the University of Vienna: Melchior Gall, matriculated in 1493, probably received his bachelor degree in 1504 and his master degree in 1505, after which he stayed on at the University, being elected procurator of the Hungarian Nation in 1511.¹⁸⁶ Jorius or Georgius Alberti de Caschovia received his bachelor degree in 1520 and his master degree in 1521, for which he generously donated 15 *grossi* to the university.¹⁸⁷ There is only one registered case of a student from Košice who continued his studies at another faculty of the University in Vienna: the previously mentioned Blasius de Ozd, who graduated from the faculty of law in 1458 with a doctor's degree.

A number of students from Košice matriculated in Vienna attended other universities where some of them even received academic degrees. Georgius Johannis de Casshofia (no. 12), who received his bachelor degree in Prague and his master degree in Cracow, matriculated in Vienna shortly after the latter event, in 1411.¹⁸⁸ Johannes Ladislai de Casschovia (no. 53) studied in Cracow for two years before coming to Vienna, although it is not known whether he took a degree there or not. Andreas Guman de Caschovia (no. 64) matriculated at the University of Vienna in 1443, subsequently went to the University of Cracow, where he matriculated in 1448. Petrus Briger (no. 191) matriculated in Cracow in 1513, where he received his bachelor degree in 1514 and his master degree probably in 1515; soon after this event he comes to Vienna and registers in the matriculation list with the title of magister. A similar case is that of the already mentioned Joannes Antoninus Cassoviensis (no. 195), who, after receiving his bachelor degree in Cracow in 1517, matriculated in Vienna in 1518, where he received his second bachelor of arts degree in 1519. Later on, Antoninus set off for Italy, to continue his studies of medicine there, and, finally, received his doctor's degree in medical studies from the University of Tübingen.

The majority of matriculated students would not graduate, however. The graduation quota was relatively low compared to the number of matriculated students for all the universities

¹⁸⁶ See Schrauf, *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve*, 48 and passim.

¹⁸⁷ 'Magister Georgius Alberti ex Caschovia, pro intitulacione liberali manu obtulit 15 cr.', source: Schrauf, *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve*, 180.

¹⁸⁸ The acts of the faculty of arts register his arrival at the University of Vienna in the following way: a) '2o [October, 1411, n.a.] *petiverunt duo baccalarii alterius universitatis, ut admitterentur ad respondendum ad facultatem iuxta statuta, et fuerunt admissi.* (note: maybe Georgius de Kaschovia and Dietrich von Memmingen [n.e.]) Source: Uiblein, *Acta Facultatis Artium*, 364; b) '4o [October, 1411, n.a.] *assumptus fuit quidam baccalarius alterius universitatis, scilicet Georius de Kaschovia, ad consorcium baccaliorum facultatis, qui eciam iuravit secundum statuta, etc.*' Source: *ibidem*, 366.

of the time and many students left the University of Vienna without ever receiving a degree. Those who graduated would remain for a certain period of time at the university in order to teach at the faculty of arts. Usually, it is rather difficult to follow their academic activity after graduation. We know about two students from Košice who spent a longer period of time at the University of Vienna after receiving their master's degree. The best documented case is that of Melchior Khall/Call, mentioned above, who was elected procurator of the Hungarian Nation in 1511 and whose oath on the day of his election is registered in the matriculation list.¹⁸⁹ The procurator's duties included, among others, to organize and monitor the Nation representatives' meeting, to keep the Nation's matriculation list, and to administer the Nation's budget. The procurator also had juridical power over the other members of the Nation, i.e. the right to allot penalties. By the end of his office, he had to report to the university rector about financial matters and new members of the nation. Usually, the elected procurator had to hold a master degree from the faculty of art or be a graduate from one of the other three faculties. The documents do not state directly if the financial status of the candidate was taken into consideration, however, the procurator was, according to the statutes, responsible for paying, among other things, the costs for guests at various celebrations organized by the Nation (out of his own budget).¹⁹⁰ This fact suggests that the financial situation of Melchior Khall increased substantially throughout the years, most probably as a result of his teaching activity, although he registered as a pauper when he first arrived at the university. Being a procurator was a very prestigious function, which counted in rank directly after the deans of the faculties and the rector of the university, who, in his turn, was elected by the procurators. Another noteworthy graduate from Košice was Dominus Blasius de Ozd who, after receiving his doctorate from the faculty of

¹⁸⁹ [Et ego Melchior Chall Casschoviensis, artium liberalium magister, anno Domini 1511 in procuratorem nationis Hungarie electus in die sancti Philippi confessoris et episcopi, feria sexta ante dominicam Ramispalmarum, presenti cirographo fateor me percepisse 7 flor. in bono auro Ungaricales ... 13 sol. den. et 3 den. in bona moneta, venerabilibus istis magistris presentibus utpote mag. Jacobo Vexillifero Transsilvano, Ambrosio Salczer ex Sopronio, Joanne Croner, octonario pro tunc cum Sancto Stephano, ex venerabili viro artium liberaliu Mag. Cristophoro Abytzel ex Wolframcz, antecessore meo in officio procuratorio. [...] Item ego Melchior Chall Casschoviensis, artium liberalium magister, anno Domini 1511 presentavi Mag. Leonardo Doberhost in officium procuratorum nationis Hungarie successori meo [in] prefato officio [rationem] de singulis suppositorum collectis et preceptis pecuniis et thesaurum totum nationis et summa tota fuit coram venerabilibus viris Mag. Cristophoro Abyczell Olomuczensi, protunc octurnario cum Sanco Stephano, Mag. Jacobo Vexillifero, Mag. Ambrosio de Sopronio, Mag. Joanne Ernnt Cibiniensi, in archam nationis reposita: 24 sol. den. et 20 den. et 7 flor. Ungaricales in bono auro computata. 1511.] Source: Schrauf, *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve*, 266.

¹⁹⁰ Schrauf, *Die Matrikel der Ungarischen Nation*, p. XX.

law in 1458, was elected dean of the faculty of arts in the year 1459.¹⁹¹ Data on his subsequent academic activity is unfortunately missing.

The following list includes the students who matriculated at the University of Vienna until the year 1660 and whose registered town of origin was Košice. The entries are in chronological order. Every entry contains the name of the student as it appears in the records, year of matriculation, matriculation fee paid (if registered), and further information about the degree obtained (where this was available).

1. Nycolaus filius Petri Magni de Cassouia, matriculation 1391, 2 grossi
2. Georius de Kaschofia, matriculation 1395, pauper
3. Jodocus de Kashofia, matriculation 1395, dedit
4. Michael de Cassovia, 1398, 6 grossi
5. Mathias Clementis de Caschofia, 1411, pauper
6. Georgius Johannis de Casshofia, 1411, 2 grossi
7. Thomas Symonis de Caschofia, 1411, 2 grossi
8. Johannes Cauponis de Caschofia, 1411, pauper
9. Marcus Lanngauders de Chaschovia, 1412, 2 grossi, baccalaureus 1416;
10. Andreas de Chaschovia, 1412, pauper
11. Osvaldus de Caschouia, 1412, 2 grossi; baccalaureus 1415;
12. Petrus de Cassouia, 1416, 4 grossi
13. Laurencius de Caschovia, 1417, pauper
14. Sigismundus de Caschouia, 1417, n/a
15. Petrus de Cassouia, 1422, 4 grossi;
16. Lucas de Casschovia, 1423, pauper
17. Sebastianus de Caschovia, 1423, 3 grossi
18. Andreas de Casschovia, 1424, 2 grossi, probably baccalaureus 1428 (?)
19. Nicolaus de Casschovia, 1427, pauper
20. Johannes Sarel de Cachouia, 1427, pauper
21. Andreas de Caschouia, 1428, n/a
22. Georius de Caschovia, 1429, tenetur

¹⁹¹ Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók a Bécsi egyetemen*, volume 1.

23. Martinus de Caschovia, 1433, 2 grossi
24. Mathias Redel de Caschovia, 1437, 3 grossi
25. Johannes Ladislai de Casschovia, 1439, 4 grossi
26. Blasius (presbyter) de Casschovia, 1439, 4 grossi
27. Georgius de Casschovia, 1439, pauper
28. Andreas de Casschovia, 1439, pauper
29. Valentinus Ladislai de Caschovia, 1440, pauper
30. Paulus Carnificis de Caschovia, 1442, 2 grossi
31. Andreas Guman de Caschovia, 1443, 4 grossi
32. Johannes M{e}ussikgang de Caschovia, 1443, 4 grossi
33. Petrus de Caschouia, 1444, n/a
34. Andreas de Cassouia, 1446, n/a
35. Gallus Blasii de Caschovia, 1450, 1grossus
36. Georgius Pauli de Caschovia, 1450, 3 grossi
37. Johannes Taschner de Caschovia, 1452, pauper
38. Dominus Blasius de Osd, archidiaconus et canonicus ecclesie Transsilvane, 1455, ½ florini,
baccalaureus 1456, licentiate and doctorate, faculty of law, 1458.
39. Thomas Laurencij de Caschouia, familiaris eiusdem domini archidiaconi, 1455, pauper.
40. Johannes de Caschovia, 1459, dedit 4 denarios
41. Michael Tosst de Kaschovia, 1474, pauper
42. Melchior Zerhart de Kaschofia, 1488, n/a
43. Melchior Khall de Caschovia, 1493, pauper; probably baccalaureus 1504; magister 1505 ;
44. Franciscus Schnaittl ex Kaschouia, 1494, n/a
45. Georgius Sparrer de Katschau, 1495, n/a
46. Johannes Prechtel de Caschovia, 1500, 29 denarii
47. Joannes Deltsch ex Caschovia, 1510, 4 grossi
48. Petrus Sch(opff) Caschoviensis, 1514, n/a
49. Jorius Alberti de Caschovia, 1517, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1520 ; magister 1521;
50. Joannes Anthonii de Kaschovia, 1518, 4 grossi; baccalaureus 1519;
51. Mag. Petrus Brieger de Caschovia, 1519, 2 soldi 29 denarii;
52. Ioannes Herman Cassowiensis, 1548, dedit 0, pauper, scolasticus 1549

53. Petrus Schopff, 1550, n.a. scolasticus 1551
54. Stephanus Proxit Cassouiensis Ungarus, 1565, 2 solidi denarii;.
55. Michael Pernanerus [a Pernan] Casoviensis Pannonius, 1597, n/a
56. Georgius Hoffmannus Ungarus, 1600, n/a
57. Stephanus Hoffmannus Ungarus, 1600, n/a
58. Andreas Ungedeu Cassoviensis, 1616, n/a
59. Michael Kraus Cassoviensis Ungarus, 1622, n/a
60. Paulus Rabyrky Cassoviensis Hungarus, 1623, n/a

3.5. Students from Košice at other universities from the fourteenth to the first decades of the sixteenth century

In addition to the two most frequented universities discussed above, students from Košice attended a number of other academic institutions starting from the second half of the fourteenth century. In the late fourteenth century, only two universities housed students from Košice, those of Vienna and Prague. Unfortunately, the sources related to the functioning of this second university during the period of this research are only partially preserved.¹⁹² The general matriculation list of students from 1358 to 1621 is basically lost, only two parts of it being preserved, the *Liber decanorum* and the *Album facultatis juridicae*.¹⁹³ This fact makes the process of identifying students from different towns at the University of Prague rather difficult if not impossible.

At the same time, the University of Prague had a complicated internal history. While developing a very good reputation right after its foundation in 1348, soon thereafter the university fell victim to various internal conflicts which led to its almost total isolation by the middle of the fifteenth century. The academic corpus at Prague University was divided into four Nations based on the Paris model. Large numbers of Slavs were assigned to the Bavarian and

¹⁹² For more information about sources from the University of Prague see the contribution of Josef Bergel in *Studien zur Geschichte der Karls-Universität zu Prag*, ed. Rudolf Schreiber (Freilassing-Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1954), 15-38.

¹⁹³ *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae universitatis Pragensis, ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*, edited by n.a. (Prague: Typis Joan. Nep. Gerzabek, 1830) (= Monumenta historica universitatis Carolo Ferdinandae Pragensis, Tomus I, pars 1) and *Album seu Matricula Facultatis Juridicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1372 usque ad annum 1418*, edited by n.a. (Prague: Typis Joan. Spurny, 1834) (= Monumenta historica universitatis Carolo Ferdinandae Pragensis, Tomus II, Pars 1).

Saxon Nations, thereby securing a sure majority of three to one for the Germans when it came to voting for all four. During the later years of the fourteenth century the development of a local Czech self-consciousness accompanied by antipathy towards German elements in the city was more and more in evidence. This growing conflict found especially fruitful soil inside the university and led, in 1409, to a decree of King Wenceslas, transferring three out of the four national votes from the Germans to the Czechs, making it henceforth impossible for the Germans to outvote them. Struggles between Utraquists, Taborites, and orthodoxy, the long turmoil of the Hussite wars and the general economic decline of the kingdom of Bohemia further expanded this conflict. The reaction was instantaneous: German members left the University of Prague for Leipzig, and the decline of the University of Prague, starting at this moment, continued until the middle of the seventeenth century. Humanism may have touched individuals, but not the university itself and there was no scientific advance in scholastic life during this period of time. In the sixteenth century, although the university changed in religion and became Protestant, its fortunes did not change. Masters there remained quite poor and the number of students was very low. Neither was there any real reform at the University of Prague up to the middle of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding the attempts of the Jesuits to gain control over it.¹⁹⁴ All faculties, except that of arts, stayed closed until the beginning of the seventeenth century, so that the university functioned essentially as a training college for teachers and town clerks.

Although various scholars have attempted to carry out research on students from Upper Hungary attending the University of Prague during the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the state of the sources never permitted too much relevant information.¹⁹⁵ Regarding the town of Košice, I was able to identify three students who registered there in the fourteenth century (Horcho de

¹⁹⁴ For a social – statistical overview of the frequency of attendance at the university until 1409 see the work by František Šmahel, *Pražské universitní studentstvo v předrevolučním období 1399-1419* (Students in Prague during the pre-revolutionary period 1399 –1419) (Prague: Academia, 1967).

¹⁹⁵ See different articles on various aspects of the history of the University of Prague, published in the series *Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis*, which appears annually since 1959. See also: Schreiber, *Studien zur Geschichte der Karls-Universität zu Prag*; R. W. Seton-Watson, ed., *Prague Essays: Presented by a Group of British Historians to the Caroline University of Prague on the Occasion of its Six-Hundredth Anniversary* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1949); especially concerning the events at the beginning of the fifteenth century see Fridrich Matthaesius, *Der Auszug der Deutschen Studenten aus Prag* (Prague: U. Haase, f.u.f. Hofbuchdrucker, 1914). See also Miloslava Melanová and Michal Svatoš, eds., *Bibliografie k dějinám pražské univerzity do roku 1622 (1775-1975)* (Bibliography on the history of the University of Prague to the year 1622 (1775-1975) (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1979). František Šmahel made a substantial contribution to the history of the University of Prague, see his recently published collection of essays: *Die Prager Universität im Mittelalter: Gesammelte Aufsätze / The Charles University in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007).

Cossicz in 1372, Joannes Stewer in 1388 and Joannes Caschaw in 1395). Thus, the University of Prague became, in addition to that of Vienna with four matriculations, one of the only two universities students from Košice could be identified at during the fourteenth century. This implies that Prague University entertained certain popularity among citizens from this town, especially due to its geographical proximity and most probably also thanks to strong connections and certain cultural and social affinities between the two bordering regions. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, during the decanate of Johannes Huss, there is another student from Košice who received his bachelor degree in Prague, a certain Georgius de Kassowia. After the events of the year 1409, he moved to the University of Cracow to receive his master degree there.¹⁹⁶ During the sixteenth century, there is again one registered student from Košice, Martinus Cassovinus, who appears in the records in the year 1525. However, the context of his matriculation and his subsequent fate is unfortunately unknown.

There is little doubt that this number of identified students from Košice at the University of Prague is incomplete. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that a certain academic peregrination from Košice to Prague existed, not only before the events of the beginning of the fifteenth century, but also afterwards. It was certainly closer than Padua or Heidelberg, even if further away than either Cracow or Vienna, and thus the lower transportation costs involved did play a certain role. An additional factor may have been the presence of a population of Slavic origin in the town of Košice, which, driven by a number of cultural and linguistic affinities with the Czech lands, may have chosen Prague as a place for further study. This remains in the realm of hypothesis since the ethnic origin of Košice students who matriculated in Prague cannot be determined.

After the secession from Prague, the University of Leipzig took its place, in a certain sense, among the German-speaking population from adjacent regions. Popular in the first half of the fifteenth century, later this university had to withstand a series of difficulties before it was able to regain its appeal in the increasingly competitive academic environment of Europe.¹⁹⁷ Three students from Košice matriculated in Leipzig in the fifteenth century: Andreas and Johannes de Cassouia in 1418 and Stanislaus de Kassaw in 1455, all three of them registered as paupers in the matriculation list. Another university in the German territories where two students from Košice could be traced, one in the fifteenth century, is the University of Heidelberg. This

¹⁹⁶ See the subchapter on the University of Cracow.

¹⁹⁷ See the recent book by Konrad Krause, *Alma Mater Lipsiensis: Geschichte der Universität Leipzig von 1409 bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag, 2003).

was the third oldest university founded in 1385 in the territories of the German Empire after Prague (1348) and Vienna (1365).¹⁹⁸ Heidelberg belonged to the new type of university created during this time, at the initiative of the local ruler and with his financial support.¹⁹⁹ The highest point in the development of the university was attained in the middle of the fifteenth century, when a number of humanist lecturers came to teach in Heidelberg. However, similarly to the situation in Leipzig, this was not a thorough reform, and even at the beginning of the sixteenth century the influence of the new humanist way of teaching was rather modest and not a competent alternative to the traditional scholastic one. One student from Košice identified at this university in the fifteenth century, Sebastianus Ungarus de Cassa, matriculated in 1433, but his further fate could not be determined.

Slightly more attractive, however, for students from the Hungarian Kingdom before and during the fifteenth century were universities in Italy. Besides the notable amount of university documentation preserved as originals, among the most helpful secondary sources for identifying students from the Hungarian regions in Italy are the two publications of Endre (Andreas) Veress²⁰⁰ and the prosopographical catalogue assembled by Prof. Astrik Gabriel.²⁰¹ According to them, students were already traveling from Hungary to Italy during the thirteenth century with the universities in Bologna and Padua being more popular. Two social groups were mainly present at Italian universities. Representatives of mendicant orders usually sent to one of the universities to receive a degree in theology at the order's expense and members of rich noble families. While being rather tolerant towards confessional issues, what mattered for Italian universities was the social status of the students who came to register there.²⁰² Most students came from wealthy families and had to be older than the minimum of 14 years in order to be

¹⁹⁸ For more information on the evolution of the academic activity of the University of Heidelberg see the article by Eike Wolgast, "Die kurpfälzische Universität 1386-1803," in *Semper Apertus: Sechshundert Jahre Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg 1386-1986*, volume 1: *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit*, ed. Wilhelm Doerr et al. (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1985), 1-70.

¹⁹⁹ For more on this topic see the article by Gerhard Ritter, "Zur Geschichte des deutschen Universitätswesens am Vorabend der Reformation," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 35 (1938): 146-161, here 155f.

²⁰⁰ Andreas Veress, ed., *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitate Patavina studentium (1264-1864)* (Budapest: Typis Societatis Stephaneum Typographicae, 1915) and *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitatibus Italiae studentium (1221-1864)* (Budapest: MTA, 1941).

²⁰¹ *Prosopographia of Hungarian Students in Medieval Universities*, Alphabetical, 6 boxes, compiled by Astrik Gabriel, preserved in the Hesburgh Library, Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame du Lac, USA.

²⁰² 1463 Jurist Statutes, pp. 22, 23, 25; 1550 Jurist Statutes, ff. 40v., 41r. Quoted after: Ronald Edward Ohl, "The University of Padua, 1405-1509: An International Community of Students and Professors" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 63.

listed in the matriculation roles. They needed considerable financial resources during their studies in Italy since its universities were, perhaps, the most expensive at the time.

The university in Padua recorded the greatest number of students from various countries north of the Alps. It was well known abroad for the quality of its lectures, the tolerant environment and for its public and university libraries, which contained an extensive quantity of good quality books. Many of the Hungarian students who came to Padua studied arts, but also law and medicine. It is not possible to speak of a tradition of going to Padua in Košice, as only two students from this town could be identified at this university. These are the Dominican friar Hieronymus de Cassovia, who matriculated in 1436 and the son of a rich burgher family, Joannes Antoninus de Casschovia, who matriculated some time around the year 1520, thus representing the two above-mentioned categories of students. The latter one studied medicine in Padua, after receiving degrees in Cracow and Vienna, and then moved to Tübingen to obtain his doctorate.

During the fifteenth century the faculty of theology at the University of Bologna was very popular as well. This popularity was to a great extent the merit of the Dominicans, who lead a *studium generale* there for members of the Dominican order as part of the faculty. Among other things, the Dominicans put great emphasis on the teaching of philosophy, including the ancient philosophy, of both Greek and Hebrew together with the history of the Antique word, rhetoric, astronomy, and astrology. In this way their program of teaching in many aspects reflected the humanist tendencies of the time. The efforts to receive higher education were initiated by the Dominicans, who desired to spread the Christian ideology and struggled against the heretic movements by means of their preaching mission. Two citizens from Košice have been identified as spending some time at the University of Bologna in the fifteenth century and one in the sixteenth. Iohannes de Caschovia, who registered in 1471, had already some academic background by that time and came to Bologna as private teacher of the brothers Nicolaus and Iohannes Stoltz de Slantz from Silesia.²⁰³ Another well-known personality of the time, a descendant of a rich family in Košice, who arrived in Bologna at some point, was György

²⁰³ Ernestus Friedlaender and Carolus Malagola, eds., *Acta nationis germaniae universitatis bononiensis ex archetypis tabularii malveziani* (Berlin: Typis et impensis Georgii Reimeri, 1887), 215: *Recepta: a reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino domino Nicolao Stoltz de Slantz de Slesia [Nicolaus II, episcopus Varadiensis, 1469-1473] pro se ac domino Iohanne Stoltz de Slantz fratre suo, Iohanne de Caschovia decretorum doctore pedagogo suo, Gregorio Nencke canonico Agriensi, Nicolao de Slaboni capellano suo, Caspare de Augusta, Cristoffero Seydelitz, Iohanne de Ratispona, prefati domini episcopi familiaribus II ducatos Florentinos* [lines 15-24].

Szatmári, later archbishop of Esztergom, whose exact date of matriculation could not be established.

A few students from Košice could be identified at other Italian universities during the fifteenth century as well. Among these are the University of Florence with three matriculations, the University of Pavia with one matriculation, the University of Perugia with one matriculation and the University of Siena with two matriculations. All of these students were representatives of the Dominican order, this possibly being connected to the fact that the Dominicans had a *studium particulare* in Košice.²⁰⁴ To sum up, until the 1530s, most students from Košice who were interested in university studies went to the universities in Cracow or Vienna, both of which became institutions with a strong humanist orientation, or went to Italian universities, if they had sufficient financial support, either as representatives of the Dominican order or as scions of rich families in the town.

3.6. Students from Košice at the University of Wittenberg

The sixteenth-century confessional changes in Košice manifested themselves in the change in university choice. Vienna and Cracow were replaced almost totally by Protestant institutions of higher education within the territory of the German Empire, the number of which increased significantly after the Reformation. Starting with the forties of the sixteenth century, universities in the German territories divided according to confession. The University in Wittenberg became the most attractive for students from Košice.

Any account related to the development of higher education in Wittenberg usually starts with the founding of the university in 1502.²⁰⁵ Before this foundation, the town of Wittenberg itself did not play a significant role in the intellectual life of Germany, nor did it exercise a big influence upon its relationship with its eastern neighbors. One of the main reasons for establishing the university was Frederick the Wise's desire to provide an institution of learning for his land that would contribute to the development of cultural life in Wittenberg and the education of the Saxon electorate. At that time most of the German universities were situated in

²⁰⁴ See Gabriel, *Prosopographia of Hungarian Students*; Beatrix Romhányi, "A koldulórendek szerepe a középkori magyar oktatásban" (The role of the mendicant orders in medieval Hungarian education) in *A magyar iskola első évszázadai. Kiállítási katalógus* (The first centuries of school education in Hungary. Exhibition Catalogue) ed. Katalin Szende, Győr, 1996, 35-40, especially 35 and 39.

²⁰⁵ Among various scholarly works dedicated to the foundation of the University of Wittenberg see the article by H. Scheible in *Beiträge zu Problemen deutscher Universitätsgründungen der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Baumgart and Notker Hammerstein (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: KTO Press, 1978).

the southern or western parts of the country – in Cologne, Heidelberg, Tübingen, Freiburg, Basle, Ingolstadt, and Vienna. In the north, by contrast, there were only two universities, in Rostock and in Greifswald. Between these and the universities at Erfurt and Leipzig, in the central part of Germany, extended a wide territory without any institution of higher learning. The founding of the new university in Wittenberg filled this vacuum to a certain extent.

In contrast to universities founded earlier, German universities in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century were instituted by local territorial rulers. Conventionally, only a papal privilege made the establishment of a university valid, followed by imperial approval. In this way, the ecclesiastical character of the universities was assumed and not even the emperor could have objected. Frederick the Wise, however, behaved in a different way. He did not first ask the Pope for permission to establish a university in his territory, but the Emperor. Maximilian responded favorably and sent a charter, dated July 6, 1502. Only after the opening of the university did Frederick ask the ecclesiastical authorities for approval, which was granted in due course. The University in Wittenberg thus became the first German university founded without the permission of ecclesiastical authorities and without recourse to traditional benefices. This rather untraditional foundation was the first step in the development process which placed the University of Wittenberg among the first reformed universities of the time.

At the time of its foundation the University of Wittenberg was not different from other universities of the age. However, contrary to the majority of other universities, there was no hostility toward Humanism from its very beginnings. Frederick's main advisor in university matters, Martin Polich of Mellerstadt, who had left Leipzig in protest against the dominating adherents of Scholasticism, favored the new style of learning. Johannes of Staupitz, one of the most influential men in the religious field and the first dean of the faculty of theology in Wittenberg, was not a supporter of the old medieval tradition either, but concerned with the reform of the church and favored that type of piety which allowed for more individual freedom in religious matters. A third factor to contribute to the rather limited impact of Scholasticism upon the university studies was the influx of learned men most closely associated with Italian Humanism including Petrus of Ravenna, Johannes of Kitzscher and Christopher Scheurl, all of

them trained in Italy.²⁰⁶ After 1507, the humanist influence became a real force, expressing itself not only through individuals but also in the curriculum of the university and its whole environment. This fact included the teaching of classical works and the introduction of Greek and Hebrew in the study program. Thus, by his arrival in Wittenberg, Martin Luther found the appropriate context for his studies and interpretations of the Scriptures and for the further development of his Reformation ideas.

Martin Luther (1483-1546) was called to Wittenberg in 1508 to take a teaching position in Aristotelian ethics at the faculty of arts. In October 1512 he received the degree of Doctor of Theology and from this year on, during his more than thirty years of activity in Wittenberg, Luther lectured only on the Bible. In the Middle Ages lectures of this kind were based on the medieval commentators of the Scripture. When Luther disregarded this concept, he revolutionized the teaching of the Bible and fulfilled the ambitions of humanists to go directly *ad fontes*. A closer examination of Luther's early lectures reveals that, even though the form and the exegetical tradition are medieval, he makes full use of all the humanist works of his time. He succeeded in limiting the influence of Scholasticism, yet a wide gap separated him from humanists who attempted to move away from Scholasticism by means of classical antiquity. Classical works had very little meaning for Luther since they had no connection with the Christian religion. Under the impact of his personality, the University of Wittenberg changed from a university where the two opposing forces, Scholasticism and Humanism had reached a kind of balance of strength, to a university where there was hardly any place for either movement.²⁰⁷

The University of Wittenberg was comprised of the four traditional faculties, with the faculty of theology at the top followed by those of law and medicine. All three faculties would accept students who had their basic education at the fourth faculty, that of arts. The university became popular from the very first year of its activity. A total of 416 students matriculated in the first semester. The constantly increasing number of matriculated students allowed for the very rapid success of the newly founded university. Certainly, it was the process of Reformation

²⁰⁶ See the article by Lewis W. Spitz, "The Impact of the Reformation on the Universities," in *University and Reformation: Lectures from the University of Copenhagen Symposium*, ed. Leif Grane (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), 9-31, here 16ff.

²⁰⁷ Martin Luther and his influence upon the development of the University in Wittenberg have been extensively analyzed by various scholars. See Heiner Lück, ed., *Martin Luther und seine Universität* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1998) among others.

which spread rapidly from Wittenberg to the northern and eastern regions populated by Germans that contributed to the popularity of the university even further. Because at that time the distinction between Catholic and Protestant universities was not that evident, the University of Wittenberg, as the very place of origin of the Reformation, was considered, for obvious reasons, the most appropriate place for university studies among young Protestants.

Several sources have been used in order to identify students from Košice at the University of Wittenberg. The first type of source consists of the university documentation including the edited university matriculation lists²⁰⁸ and the register of the Hungarian *coetus*, an organization of Nation-type founded by Hungarian students at the University of Wittenberg.²⁰⁹ Additionally, a number of scholars published comprehensive lists of students' names from various Hungarian regions who went to Wittenberg during the period of my interest, which proved to be useful in extending the list of names of students from Košice registered at this university.²¹⁰ Compared to the previously discussed universities of Cracow and Vienna, the investigation of Wittenberg University involved a study of a considerable amount of unedited primary sources preserved in the Košice town archives that contributed further valuable information. The relationship between the town and its citizens – students at the University of Wittenberg – was documented by a number of letters addressed to the town council or other higher officials in the town and by a few references in the financial and administrative town protocols.²¹¹

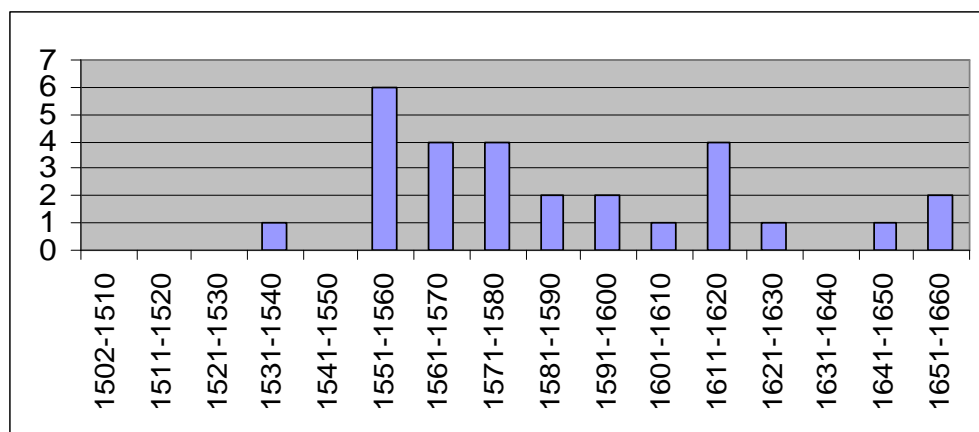
After a detailed investigation of the above-mentioned sources, a total of 28 students from the town of Košice could be identified at the University of Wittenberg up until the year 1660. In a few of these cases Košice was not the town of the respective students' birth (or the birth location remained unclear), but these individuals have been included in my list because the town supported their studies. The following graph represents the peregrination of this group of students at the University of Wittenberg (per decade):

²⁰⁸ Karl Eduard Förstemann, Otto Hartwig, and Karl Gerhard, eds., *Album Academiae Vitebergensis: 1502-1602*, 3 volumes (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1976) and Bernhard Weissenborn, ed., *Album Academiae Vitebergensis, Jüngere Reihe, Teil 1 (1602-1660): Registerband* (Magdeburg: Selbstverlag der Historischen Kommission, 1934).

²⁰⁹ Géza Szabo, ed., 'Bursa Wittenbergensis oder Matricula Coetus Ungarici', in his work *Geschichte des Ungarischen Coetus an der Universität Wittenberg* (Halle: Akademischer Verlag, 1941), 132-146.

²¹⁰ Of these the following should be mentioned: Miklós Asztalos, ed., *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora 1601-1812 (The list of names of Hungarian students at the University of Wittenberg 1601-1812)* (Budapest: Sárkány-Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1931).

²¹¹ See Bibliography, Primary Sources, Part: Manuscript Source Collections.



The first attested student from Košice at the University of Wittenberg was Gregorius de Belswitz who matriculated in 1533. The highest number of students from this town were inscribed in the fifties and sixties (with four registrations for the year 1557 only, for example). With the exception of these decades, the number of students from Košice going to Wittenberg remained fairly constant throughout the entire research time period, oscillating from one to four matriculated students per decade. The above-mentioned increase from the fifties and sixties – matching increased matriculation numbers at the University of Wittenberg in general – coincides with the most productive teaching years of another personality whose name is closely connected with the University of Wittenberg, Philip Melanchthon.

Having studied in Heidelberg and Tübingen, Melanchthon was twenty-one years old when he arrived to Wittenberg to take a lectureship in Greek language. His work ‘De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis’ constitutes the program of the development of the university and represents a synthesis of humanist and reform-theologian elements. It proposes the introduction and development of the study of Latin, ancient Greek, mathematics, and history as part of the university study program. Melanchthon’s academic background was of humanist character and this is what he tried to apply in Wittenberg. Within the years of his appointment Melanchthon became recognized as the supreme authority in Protestant Germany in the organization of universities and high schools. He put into operation schemes for re-modeling the universities of Wittenberg, Leipzig and Tübingen as well as the foundation of new ones such as those in Marburg, Jena, and Königsberg, which expressed the humanist and Protestant ideas of the new age.

Up until mid-century, no distinction was made either by the university or the students with regard to the geographical origin or the confessional orientation of the students. But as radical Anabaptism and even Unitarian views spread throughout Hungary, and especially in Transylvania, the Hungarian students at the university began to feel a need to define their theological position. In addition, although the language of instruction at Wittenberg, as elsewhere at the time, was Latin, the German-speaking students from the northern Hungarian towns apparently integrated much easier into the urban community. The Hungarian students though felt the need to create a community of their own, so that in 1555 a Hungarian *Coetus* was created.²¹² Although the formation of individual ‘nations’ – type organizations was contrary to the general policy of the university, the large number of Hungarian students present gained them an exemption from this prohibition.

Membership in the *coetus* was voluntary, but was restricted to those whose mother tongue was Hungarian. The organization existed from 1555 to 1613. Within a few years of its founding the *coetus* became involved in theological controversies as its members increasingly tended to adopt Phillipist and even distinctly Calvinist viewpoints. All who joined the *coetus* were required to sign the articles of organization and the oath to maintain the doctrine of the Holy Trinity before they were received into full membership and thus became eligible to receive a part of the substantial financial aid administered by the *coetus*, the resources of which were collected from inscription fee and money donations of former members and other burghers.²¹³ Melanchthon was held in high regard by the Magyars at Wittenberg.²¹⁴ He not only held special Latin services for them, but also warmly praised Matthias Corvinus as the great humanist king. He took an active interest in the welfare of the Hungarian students, seeking and obtaining

²¹² For more information about the foundation of the Hungarian *Coetus* in Wittenberg and its dissolution at the end of the sixteenth century see Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus*.

²¹³ Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus*, 75-85.

²¹⁴ Circa three generations of scholars have researched the influence of Melanchthon upon the Reformation in Hungary as well as his relationship with Hungarian students in Wittenberg. See, among others, the following works: (in chronological order) Vilmos Fraknói, *Melanchthons Beziehungen zu Ungarn* (Budapest: Franklin Verein, 1874); Georg Loesche, *Luther, Melanchthon und Calvin in Österreich-Ungarn* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1909); Adalbert Hudak, “Melanchthon und die Slowakei,” in *Ein Leben für Kirche und Volk: Zum 90. Geburtstag des Professors der Theologie Dr. Roland Steinacker*, ed. Desider Alexy (Stuttgart: Mann KG, 1960), 33-37; Katalin Keveházi, *Melanchthon és a Wittenbergben tanult magyarok az 1550-es évektől 1587-ig* (Melanchthon and Hungarians who studied in Wittenberg from the 1550s till 1587) (Szeged: Készül a JATE Sokszorosító Üzemében, 1986), and contributions by Max Josef Suda, Emmerich Tempfli, Robert Kolb, David P. Daniel, and Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay in the more recent book by Günter Frank and Martin Treu, eds. *Melanchthon und Europa*. 1. Teilband: *Skandinavien und Mitteleuropa* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001).

financial aid for them, assisting them in securing positions after completing their studies and continued to advise them on theological matters upon their return home. After the death of Melanchthon in 1560, however, the members of the Hungarian *Coetus* began to adhere more and more to purely Helvetic doctrines, and Wittenberg became a way station for them on a road from Hungary leading to Heidelberg, Strassbourg, Basle, and Geneva. By the 1580's, the *coetus* counted only a few Hungarians as members and it finally closed its registers in 1613.

Eight students from Košice registered as members of the *coetus*, four in 1557, two in 1562, one in 1572, and one in 1576. It is natural to assume that these students were of Hungarian (not German) origin, a fact that is also supported, in some cases, by their surnames (Kendi, Tihani, Szikszai, Miskolczi). Five of these students also registered in the general matriculation list. As in the case of Cracow and Vienna, there is not a perfect agreement between the registers of the Hungarian *coetus* and the general matriculation list. Some students from Košice of Hungarian origin did not matriculate as members of the *coetus* at all and, when both registrations are present their dates usually do not coincide, i.e. some students registered first in the general matriculation list and then in the *coetus*' register maybe even a few years later and some did it the opposite way. While the official matriculation was required for university administration purposes, joining the *coetus* was voluntary and there are no clearly stated reasons for why a student would decide to get involved in its activities. One might suppose that basically, the desire to build a community of co-nationals to support each other in a foreign environment was the main reason. In addition, the *coetus* maintained an active academic life which gave its members the opportunity to participate in disputations, held lectures, etc. One of the students from Košice is known to have played an important role in the academic life of the *coetus*' community. This was Georgius Caesar, who, in the years 1576 and 1577 was elected *senior* of the *coetus*, and, in this position, was responsible for leading the regularly organized academic disputations at the *Collegium Theologium* in which the members of the *coetus* would actively participate.²¹⁵ The last registration of a student from Košice in the *coetus*' matriculation lists occurred in 1577 although the *coetus* itself formally continued to exist until the year 1613. Apparently, this community attracted the highest numbers of members from the late fifties until the seventies of the century. Later these numbers decreased, partially because of the above mentioned religious debates.

²¹⁵ Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus*, 66; M. Asztalos, "Wissenschaftliches Leben in der Wittenberger ungarischen Gesellschaft im 16. Jahrhundert," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 10 (1930): 128–133.

This decrease was also caused by an important event that influenced the university's academic development in general, the religious controversies with Jean Calvin (1509-1564) over the theology of the Last Supper. Debates between Calvinists and Lutherans originated mainly under the influence of the territorial rulers although the population, where the Lutheran tradition had deep roots was not willing to accept Calvinism imposed from above. In Wittenberg, the conflict concluded by the end of the sixteenth century with the domination of Lutheranism, a fact that led to the expulsion of Calvinist students from the University, especially the adepts of the so called 'Philippismus' – a discredited interpretation of Melanchthon's theology. Not only did teachers suffer, but also students and entire student groups, such as the Hungarian *coetus*, whose members were known to support the latter's theories.²¹⁶

Protestant students from Košice continued to register sporadically in Wittenberg until the end of the Reformation period in the town, this peregrination being only shortly affected by military events ravaging other parts of the German territories in the first four decades of the seventeenth century. One of the most renowned late comers is Georgius Michaelis Kassai, who matriculated in Wittenberg in 1675.²¹⁷ He studied in Bardejov, Kežmarok, Košice and Prešov, and, like many other of his co-citizens was forced to leave the region because of the Re-Catholization efforts taking place in their homeland. In 1671 he went to Wrocław, from where, in 1675, he left for Wittenberg spending more than forty years of his life there, first studying and then teaching at the university. In 1680, Georgius Michaelis received his master degree and in 1712 became dean of the faculty of arts. He established a library and a foundation to support students from Hungary at the University of Wittenberg. His library included an extensive number of books on various topics related to theology, philosophy, and history plus a number of manuscript documents, of which a significant part was preserved until recent times in the University Library in Wittenberg. While Georgius Michaelis still kept his surname *Kassai* related to his origin, his son, Johannes Michaelis matriculated in Wittenberg in 1716 as Jo. Frid. Michaelis (Georgii filius) Viteberga Saxo, a fact that, in a way, has a symbolic connotation; it

²¹⁶ Andreas Gössner, *Die Studenten an der Universität Wittenberg: Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des studentischen Alltags und zum Stipendienwesen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2003), 27 who also mentions Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus*, 104f. See also András Szabó, ed., *Iter germanicum: Deutschland und die Reformierte Kirche in Ungarn im 16.-17. Jahrhundert* (Budapest: Verlag Calvin, 1999), 154-168.

²¹⁷ For more information on Georgius Michaelis Kassai see Heinrich Kramm, *Wittenberg und das Auslandsdeutschum im Licht älterer Hochschulschriften* (Leipzig: KRAUS Reprint, 1941), 126ff.

alluded to an end of the relationship of Protestant students from Košice and the University of Wittenberg.

The foundation of new Protestant universities or the reformation of the already existing ones from the beginning of the sixteenth century on allowed students of the Protestant faith a greater choice in selecting a place of study. It was common for the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century in particular that students preferred to move from one university to another in a relatively short time rather than spending more time at one single university in order to receive the degree, as it was the case with a great number of students in Cracow or Vienna in the preceding time periods. It appears that a number of students were not interested in graduation as such, but rather in spending a certain amount of time at one or another university of recognized reputation. This is characteristic for students from Košice as well. Five of those who matriculated in Wittenberg also registered at other universities. Out of these five, two went to three or more universities in a row. Benedictus Bakay matriculated in Wittenberg in 1615, thereafter he could be identified at the universities of Leiden (1624), Oxford (1626), and Basle (1627). David Sigismundus, shortly after matriculating in Wittenberg, was identified at the Universities of Heidelberg (1577) and Tübingen (1578). In the first case Bakay spent a longer period in Wittenberg, followed by relatively short stays at a few other universities. Sigismundus' peregrination was typical with the student moving from one university to another, his main purpose being not to receive an academic degree but to attend as many universities as possible. Three other remaining students went to only one other university in addition to that in Wittenberg. Valentinus Ungar and Daniel Widos studied for a certain period of time at the university in Frankfurt an der Oder and Daniel Weinsperger studied at the university in Königsberg.

The matriculation lists of the University of Wittenberg do not provide further information concerning the matriculated students in addition to what was already described above. What makes the analysis of the academic peregrination of students from Košice at the University in Wittenberg distinctive is the availability of another type of source, the collection of students' letters preserved in the town archives.²¹⁸ These letters offer information related to several aspects of students' peregrination to the University of Wittenberg such as travel and living conditions, contents of their study program, relationships with other co-citizens or persons in the town, and

²¹⁸ See Appendix 6.3.

so on. One aspect of student life confirmed in a number of letters is academic peregrination in groups, common during this time period. Students from towns located further off preferred to travel together to the university, and, when applicable, from one university to another. For example, there are four letters signed by both Stephanus Mustrius and Stephanus Tehany, who went to the University of Wittenberg with the support of the town council. They are both mentioned in the same letter of recommendation signed by Philipp Melanchthon and sent to the town council of Košice in order to support their quest for money.²¹⁹ Letters signed by both these students dated 1558 and 1559 confirm that, coming from the same region and receiving financial support from the same source, these students kept close contact with each other during their studies in Wittenberg. Another letter from the town archives is signed by both Alexander Kendj and Basilius Ziksay, a case unfortunately less well documented, although it may have been similar to the one described above.²²⁰ In addition, there is the recorded case of a group of three students from the Hungarian regions, one of them the above mentioned David Sigismundus from the town of Košice, who all three matriculated on the same day at the University of Wittenberg (in 1576) and then moved together first to Heidelberg in 1577 and afterwards to Tübingen in 1578, according to the matriculation lists of the respective universities.

One letter provides interesting data concerning travel conditions on the way to the University of Wittenberg from Northern Hungary during the sixteenth century and about the first days in the university town after the student's arrival.²²¹ This letter is signed by Caspar Pilcius and sent to the town council in Košice in 1574. On his way to Wittenberg, Pilcius joined a group of three students from Transylvania and two merchants traveling to Cracow. The route led from Košice to Bardejov, then to Cracow, afterwards, via Wrocław and Dresden, to Wittenberg. The entire trip took five weeks; the group made several stops along the way in order to get food, sell goods, and otherwise deal with other duties, such as transmitting things, letters, or even money from one location to another, searching for certain information, and so forth. Students going to Wittenberg already had, as a rule, some contact names in the town, either relatives or personal acquaintances of themselves, their parents or other relatives, or possibly persons recommended by town council members, by a local teacher or priest, who, themselves, had studied previously

²¹⁹ AMK H I, no. 2011/131; 2150/105; 2150/108; and 2150/106 (in chronological order). Melanchthon's letter was published by Lajos Kemény in *Történelmi Tár*, 1889, 603-4 (the original is lost).

²²⁰ AMK H I, no. 2249/7.

²²¹ Letter sent by Caspar Pilcius to the town priest in 1574: AMK, H I, no. 3219/111.

in Wittenberg. Being equipped with one or several letters of recommendation, the first step a student would undertake (as did Caspar Pilcius, according to his letter) was to contact the respective person or persons to announce his arrival and to ask for advice concerning accommodation. Once the accommodation issue was settled, the newcomer was supposed to go to the university in order to register in the matriculation list. The next step would be to look for a tutor who would help the freshman to orient himself in the study process. If a student was unable to read, speak and write Latin up to the academic requirements and to freely communicate with professors and other fellow students, he would be required to attend preparatory courses or take private classes with his tutor. According to the university statutes from 1508, in order to qualify for the bachelor degree, the student was supposed to take courses in logic, rhetoric, and poetry, reading and commenting works by Cicero, Quintilian, and certain Latin poets. In addition to these literary subjects, elements of mathematics and physics were studied. In order to apply for the degree of master, a fair knowledge of Greek grammar and certain works were required, including parts from the *Physics* and *Ethics* of Aristotle in original, and works on mathematics and astronomy authored by Euclid and Ptolemy.

The faculty of arts at the University of Wittenberg where the majority of students matriculated had ten lectors, one for each of the respective disciplines: Hebrew, Greek, classical poetry, grammar, elementary and superior mathematics, logics, rhetoric, physics, and ethics. Lectures had to be held twice per month, at first by teachers of rhetoric and the second time by students. Declamation and disputation were particularly required in classical studies and three important things were considered as constituting the pillars of appropriate education, piety, humanity, and civic attitude, of which the first was learnt from the Bible and the latter two from works by renowned orators and poets. Two main tendencies of Melanchthon's educational program were applied during his time in office, the training of the language abilities through declamations and the introduction of an organized program of study based on the individual needs of the students under the supervision of a preceptor. Because a considerable number of students from Košice matriculated in Wittenberg during the time period when Melanchthon was teaching at the university, obviously a number of his ideas concerning education were further accepted by his students. Additionally to this, Melanchthon was in correspondence with town councils from different regions where the Reformation had taken hold, including towns in Northern Hungary or in other parts of the country, this fact being attested by a number of

documents preserved in the local archives.²²² Some of these were recommendation letters to support students' requests for money or for getting employment in their home towns (one in support of students from Košice as mentioned above), while some other letters included ideas and suggestions on various religious matters or for organizing the educational system (schools) in the region.

The matriculation list at the University of Wittenberg does not contain any entry concerning the matriculation fee paid. Thus, we cannot use this important detail to establish the social status of students from Košice at the University of Wittenberg. The greater majority of students were representatives of the so-called middle class – the urban bourgeoisie which developed in towns during the Reformation period. Only a few were able to finance their studies by themselves or with the support of their families, the rest went to Wittenberg with the financial support of the town council, which manifested an increased interest towards financing university studies of its burghers throughout the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century.²²³

From the total number of 28 students from Košice identified at the University of Wittenberg, 16 wrote letters of request for money to the town council, which is slightly more than half, and may have been even higher if we take into consideration the fact that a number of documents may have been misplaced or lost in the town archives. There are thirty-six students' letters sent from Wittenberg to Košice, the majority of them in the second half of the sixteenth and first two decades of the seventeenth century (from 1558 to 1620). Some of their authors were representatives of well-to-do burghers' families from the town such as the families Mel(c)zer, Brechtel or Bun(t)zler or may have been descendants of noble families who moved into the town, e.g. the Kendy/Kendj family. However, this was not sufficient to assure the students' financial security in Wittenberg, so that they were forced to send repeated letters requesting funds from the town council. In these letters they described the difficulties they encountered and the misery they had to suffer being far away from home. The majority of students received positive replies to their quests. Some letters contain entries signed, most probably, by one of the town scribes or the notary, with information about the accorded financial support, usually the date and the amount. Another particularity was the fact that some prospective students had to work for a certain period of time before beginning their university studies in order to save money for their

²²² See note 214.

²²³ For more information on the "financial" relationship between the town of Košice and its burghers in Wittenberg see chapter four of this dissertation.

subsequent education. Such cases appear more often during the sixteenth and seventeenth century in general and among the students financed by the Košice town council two, Martinus Schacht and Caspar Pilcius, worked as school assistants in the Košice town school before going on to Wittenberg.

The majority of identified students from Košice matriculated at the faculty of arts. There is data about two students from the town, Benedictus Bakay and Johannes Cottaj, who studied at the faculty of theology. Two further students, Daniel Weinsperger and Cristophorus Ledwisch matriculated at the faculty of medicine. Unfortunately, the information related to graduation at the University of Wittenberg in general is rather limited and it is difficult to establish how many students received the degrees of bachelor, master, or doctor. We know, for example, that Christophorus Jain received his bachelor from the faculty of arts in 1557, Matheus Schwartz and Benedictus Bakay took a doctor's degree, but from another university, Basle in 1601 and 1627 respectively. An alternative to the usual university graduation at the University of Wittenberg was the ordination to priest, accompanied by an examination as recommended by Melanchthon.²²⁴ The purpose of this examination was to test the candidates' knowledge of the Scripture, theological aspects and principles of the reformed faith and preaching skills. The names of those who successfully passed the ordination were recorded in a special register.²²⁵ The highest number of ordinations was registered in the time between the years 1547 and 1572, which is also the period with the highest matriculation numbers. Afterwards, the number of ordinations decreased sharply for a number of reasons, among them the decline in matriculation numbers at the university as well as several changes concerning the procedure itself. Unfortunately, there are no students from Košice registered in this source. The examination for receiving the bachelor degree, although present, did not take place regularly in Wittenberg and did not have the same relevance as the ordination. And, in most of the cases, a stay at the university for a number of years was enough to assure a job opportunity.²²⁶ Very often, the student would be sent to the university by the town council in order to spend a year or two there with the condition that he returned and took a job in the town. As a number of preserved letters

²²⁴ About the ordination of students at the University of Wittenberg see, among others, the recent work by Andreas Gössner, *Die Studenten an der Universität Wittenberg: Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des studentischen Alltags und zum Stipendienwesen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2003), 182ff.

²²⁵ Georg Buchwald, ed., *Wittenberger Ordiniertenbuch*, volume 1:1537-1560, volume 2: 1560-1572 (Leipzig: Verlag von Georg Wigand, 1894 and 1895).

²²⁶ For more details on postgraduate opportunities see the chapter five of this dissertation.

confirm, the mere fact that the respective person studied for a certain period of time at the University of Wittenberg was enough to attain employment in a local town school, for example. Those students who wanted an official graduation degree usually went to another university to obtain it from there.

The following is the list of students, whose town of origin was Košice or who, in one way or another were connected with this town before or during the process of their study at the University of Wittenberg. The names are provided in chronological order according to the date of matriculation or otherwise first documented mentioning of the specific student's presence in Wittenberg. For every entry the name, date of matriculation or of the first documented presence at the university is provided together with other information such as: registration as a member of the Hungarian *Coetus* and further universities attended, if the case.

1. Gregorius de Belswitz, hungarus ad Caschouiam, August 5, 1533;
2. Gregorius Meltzerus, 1541;
3. Johannes Allagij Ungarus nobilis, April 27, 1543;
4. Christophorus Jain Cassoviensis ex Pannonia, February 22, 1557 with the mentioning: registration for bachelor degree;
5. Alexander Kendj Ungarus, January 21, 1558; registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* on December 5, 1557;
6. Stephanus Tihany (Tehani), October 15, 1558; registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* on December 5, 1557;
7. Stephanus Mustrius, October 15, 1558; registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* on December 5, 1557;
8. Franciscus Strigoniensis Ungarus, April 30, 1559; registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* on December 5, 1557;
9. Basilius Ziksay, matriculation date not known, some time around the year 1560;
10. Demetrius Miskolcj, matriculation date not known, registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* in 1562;
11. Grigorius Zykzaj, matriculation date not known, registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* in 1562;
12. Martinus Schacht, matriculation date not known, probably 1563;

13. Jacobus Melzer, 1566;
14. Valentinus Ungarus Cassoviensis, August 9, 1571; studied at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder at some time before 1571;
15. Georgius Caesar Cassoviensis, June 1573; registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* in 1573;
16. Casparus Pilcius, matriculation not established; went to Wittenberg in 1574;
17. David Sigemundus Cassoviensis Ungarus, matriculation date not known; registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* in 1577; matriculated at the University of Heidelberg in 1577 and at the University of Tübingen in 1578;
18. Georgius Buntzler Cassoviensis, April 28, 1586;
19. Martinus Brechtelius Chaschoviensis, July 1587;
20. Antonius Than Cassoviensis, July 15, 1594;
21. Iohannes Maternus Cassoviensis Pannonius, June 1600;
22. Johannes Teubelius Cassoviensis Pannonius, May 28, 1606;
23. Daniel Weinsperger Cassoviensis Hungarus, April 22, 1615; matriculated at the University of Königsberg in 1630;
24. Benedictus Bakay Cassoviensis Pannonius, October 2, 1615; matriculated at the University of Leiden in 1624, was identified at the University of Oxford in 1626, matriculated at the University of Basle in 1627;
25. Christophorus Ledwisch, matriculation date not known, probably 1616;
26. Daniel Widos Cassoviensis Ungarus, September 4, 1618; matriculated at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder in 1618 as pauper;
27. Jonathan Thann Cassoviensis Hungarus, August 11, 1623;
28. Johannus Cottaj Cassovia Ungarus, June 19, 1647;
29. Casparus Hain Leutschoviensis Hungarus, July 3, 1652;
30. Melchior Roth Cassoviensis Hungarus, June 19, 1660;

3.7. Students from Košice at other universities during the Reformation period in the town

After 1530, Italian universities ceased to attract students from Košice, so that only a single student from the town could be identified at an Italian university in all of the sixteenth century, a nobleman Emericus Lippay Cassoviensis Ungarus, who matriculated in Bologna in

April 1571. The Reformation re-directed the academic peregrination of students from the town towards the universities located in the German territories. In addition to Wittenberg, Protestant students from Košice went to other reformed universities, although much less frequently. The second Protestant university favored by students from this town was the university at Frankfurt an der Oder.²²⁷ This university, advantageously located not far from the territories of northern Hungary, had as its main attraction the fact that it was positioned on the way towards other German or Dutch universities which became particularly popular in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Usually, students traveling to or from another university further north would make a stop in Frankfurt an der Oder and stay at its university for a year or two. Another reason bringing students from Košice (and elsewhere) go to Frankfurt an der Oder was a number of changes that had been made at other universities, making them unacceptable or unattractive, for example, the expulsion of the adepts of the Cryptocalvinism from Wittenberg in the seventies of the sixteenth century or the re-catholization of some German universities beginning in the first decades of the seventeenth century.²²⁸ The first documented student from Košice, Valentinus Ungar, went to Frankfurt an der Oder some time before 1571, as witnessed by a letter in the town archives.²²⁹ He is followed by six other students from Košice: Georgius Cramerus who matriculated in 1582, Johannes Georgius Triglerus in 1602, Christophorus Teubelius in 1612, Daniel Weinsperger in 1614, Daniel Widos in 1618, and Stephanus Litterati in 1619. The latter two students, Daniel Widos and Stephanus Litterati, registered as paupers, three other students, Johannes Triglerus, Christophorus Teubelius and Daniel Weinsperger, paid the required matriculation fee. Of these seven students, four went to other universities as well, staying in Frankfurt an der Oder only for a short period of time. Triglerus matriculated in Leipzig in 1606, Teubelius in Jena in 1614, Weinsperger in Wittenberg in 1615, and Widos matriculated in Wittenberg in September 1618, only a few months after his registration in Frankfurt an der Oder.

Jena housed another reformed university, located, similarly to that in Frankfurt an der Oder, on the route to Wittenberg. In 1557 it already functioned as a university with all rights and

²²⁷ See J. Zoványi, Magyarországi ifjak az Odera melletti frankfurti egyetemen (Hungarian students at the University Frankfurt an der Oder), *Protestáns Szemle* 1 (1889): 178–202; S. Ladányi, “Ungarische Studenten an der Universität Frankfurt an der Oder,” in: Szabó, *Iter germanicum*, 214–220.

²²⁸ Othmar Feyl, “Die Viadrina und das östliche Europa,” in *Die Oder-Universität Frankfurt: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte*, ed. Günther Haase and Joachim Winkler (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1983), 105–139, here 114f.

²²⁹ **AMK H I, no. 3087/76.**

featuring disciplines which were characteristic for a humanist curriculum of a reformed university of the time.²³⁰ The majority of students matriculated in Jena were Lutheran Germans from the eastern regions and only a very small number among them were representatives of other nationalities.²³¹ The small number of Protestant universities in the northern German regions where Jena had a central advantageous position and the cheap costs of living made it an attractive location for students from Hungary at that time. Three students from Košice matriculated in Jena, all of them in the seventeenth century, Matthias Schwartz in 1604, the already mentioned Christophorus Teubelius in 1614, and Johannes Paludmius in 1638. All of them, before matriculating in Jena, went on to other universities as well. Schwartz went to Basle in 1601 and Helmstedt in 1603, Teubelius matriculated in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1612 and Paludmius went to Rostock in 1634. This testifies that the University of Jena was not neglected in the process of academic peregrination of students from Košice from one university to another.

There is no officially registered matriculation of students from Košice at the University of Leipzig throughout the entire sixteenth century. There may be a number of reasons why students from the town no longer favored this university, including the reluctance of this academic institution to keep pace with the progressive movements of the time. Certainly, it was not easy for the University of Leipzig to attract students once the university in nearby Wittenberg was founded. However, by the end of the sixteenth century, after a series of important reforms, the number of students in Leipzig increased considerably and it started to appear among those places of study some students from Košice would go to. In the year 1575, a citizen of Košice, Gedeon Adamj, wrote to the town council asking for financial support to go to Leipzig University (which he names *celeberrima Academia*), although it is not certain if he got there²³² and later on, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, two Košice students, Christophor Deubelius (Teuffel) and Iohannes Georgii Triglerus matriculated in Leipzig (in 1601 and 1606 respectively). Both of these students went to other universities as well. Deubelius matriculated in

²³⁰ On the foundation of the University of Jena see: Siegfried Schmidt, et al., eds., *Alma mater Jenensis: Geschichte der Universität Jena* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1983), 32ff.

²³¹ Othmar Feyl, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der slawischen Verbindungen und internationalen Kontakte der Universität Jena* (Jena: Veb Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1960), 4-5. Feyl refers to data from Klotz's article, see Ernst Emil Klotz, "Über die Herkunft der Jenaer Studenten im 1. Jahrhundert des Bestehens der Universität," in *Geschichtliche Landeskunde und Universalgeschichte. Festgabe für Hermann Aubin zum 23. Dezember 1950*, ed. Hermann Aubin (Hamburg: Nölke, 1950), 97-111. See also Christel Krämer, "Der Osten als Herkunftsbereich der Rektoren und Studenten der Universität Jena," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung. Länder und Völker im östlichen Mitteleuropa* 7 (1958): 402-419, here 418.

²³² AMK, H I, no. 3285/98.

Frankfurt an der Oder in 1612 and in Jena in 1614, and Triglerus was matriculated at the University in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1602.

The situation of the university in Königsberg was somewhat different. This university was founded in 1544 modeled on the University of Wittenberg.²³³ A number of its lecturers came to Königsberg at the direct recommendation of Melanchthon including its first rector Georg Sabinus, who was Melanchthon's son-in-law. The early period of operation of the University of Königsberg was marked by a number of difficulties caused by religious and political conflicts, which, however, did not hinder its development. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the number of matriculated students grew consistently, the majority of them coming from adjacent regions of Prussia together with a number of students from the Baltic regions, Hungary and Transylvania as well.²³⁴ For Košice it seems to have replaced the University of Wittenberg as university of choice in the first decades of the seventeenth century with nine matriculations until 1660. This fact is also confirmed by letters preserved in the town archives in Košice. After the year 1620, 28 students' letters were sent to the town council from Königsberg and only two letters from Wittenberg. The University of Königsberg became particularly attractive as a safe study place for students coming or moving from regions endangered by the thirty years war (1618-1648). Another attractive aspect was the fact that pauper students or Lutheran pastors and their sons were not required to pay the matriculation fee.²³⁵ The first student from Košice at this university was Petrus Brewer who matriculated in 1598 while the others went to Königsberg in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Daniel Weinsperger probably arrived at the university in 1630, Benedictus Schemtei in 1638, Adamus Kys probably in 1645, David Kilger at some point before 1646, Matthias Ostropatky in 1647, Johannes Mach in 1649, Andreas Kuhn shortly before 1655, and Johannes Ericus Scheibenpoden in 1655. Petrus Brewer registered as a pauper, Benedictus Schemtei paid the required matriculation fee, while there is no similar information available for the other cases. Weinsperger, Kys, Kilger, Ostropatky, Kuhn and

²³³ For detailed information about the foundation and development of the University of Königsberg see among others the book by Kasimir Lawrynowicz, *Albertina: Zur Geschichte der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg in Preussen* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), especially 51ff.

²³⁴ About the foundation of the University of Königsberg see also Hartmut Boockmann, "Die Geschichte der Universität Königsberg und die Perspektiven der historischen Forschung in Ostmitteleuropa," in *Aspekte der Zusammenarbeit in der Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung: Tagung des Herder-Instituts und des J.G. Herder-Forschungsrates am 22./23. Februar 1994*, ed. Hugo Weczerka (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 1996), 45-61, especially 50-51.

²³⁵ Erler, *Die Matrikel der Universität Königsberg*, volume 1, part 2, p. xcvi.

Scheibenpoden went to Königsberg with the support of the town council.²³⁶ Of all Košice students who attended this university only Johannes Ericus Scheibenpoden officially received, according to the registers, a master's degree from the faculty of arts in 1655.²³⁷

The other two Protestant universities where a few students from Košice went in the seventeenth century were in Helmstedt (founded in 1576²³⁸) with two persons matriculated there in the same year – 1603 – Laurentius Stiberus and Matthaeus Schwartz and in Rostock (founded in 1419) with Iohannes Paludnius registered in 1634 and Iohannes Mautner in 1635. The universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen were not popular among students from Košice in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Besides Johannes Antoninus, who received his doctorate in medicine in Tübingen in 1523, there is only one other matriculation from Košice at Heidelberg and Tübingen, by the same student. David Sigismundus matriculated in Heidelberg in 1577 and in Tübingen in 1578. One of the reasons for their lack of popularity was more the undefined and insecure situation of these locations during the sixteenth and first decades of the seventeenth century. The frequent changes of power in both towns and of the confessional orientation at the universities lead to a considerable confusion in their activity until after the war in the late forties – beginning of the fifties of the seventeenth century. Another reason may have been the distance and the higher costs related to this factor.

Additionally to the universities founded in the German territories throughout the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, several university-type colleges and gymnasiums, which had a curriculum and a study proposal of no lower level than a university emerged. The institutions in Altdorf, Strassburg and Herborn are examples of such so-called semi-universities with study plans of similar content.²³⁹ One student from Košice, Simeon Stranskj, matriculated in Altdorf in August 1598 and another student, Stephan Szitkey, matriculated in Strassburg in 1633.

²³⁶ See letters preserved in the Košice town archives: AMK H I, no. 6348/37; no. 6348/1; no. 7312/21; no. 7312/19; no. 7467/20; no. 7467/21; no. 7467/22; no. 7598/17; no. 7598/18; no. 7788/18; no. 7788/26; 7788/11; no. 7788/8; no. 8034/2; no. 8134/40; no. 8199/19; no. 8257/17; no. 8257/5; no. 8257/14; no. 8257/16; no. 8317/11; no. 8362/3; no. 8362/2; no. 8400/17; no. 8511/46; no. 8511/12; no. 8719/3.

²³⁷ Manfred Komorowski, *Promotionen an der Universität Königsberg 1548-1799* (Munich: Saur, 1988), 73.

²³⁸ For basic information on the history of the University of Helmstedt see Bernd Becker, "Die Privilegien der Universität Helmstedt und ihre Bekämpfung durch die Stadt 1576-1810" (Ph.D. diss., Technische Hochschule Carolo-Wilhelmina zu Braunschweig, 1939).

²³⁹ Wolfgang Mährle, *Academia Norica: Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf (1575-1623)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000), 77ff.

Many citizens from Košice went to Protestant schools in Poland. The Silesian towns had been spared the direct influence of the re-catholisation and even until late in the seventeenth century various towns in present day Poland ranked among the favorite places of study for Protestant burghers from Košice. Later Polish territories became a place for exulants to go as they fled the persecution of the Catholic Church in the regions of present-day Northern Slovakia, a situation that remained like this until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Among the most frequented were schools in Wrocław, Gdańsk and Toruń. Their curriculum included, in addition to the usual humanist disciplines, aspects of theology, law and medicine, so that, in a certain sense, these schools were similar to the universities of the time. Wrocław was one of the most popular places in this regard and for many students it constituted an intermediary place between the town school in Košice and one of the Protestant universities, most typically Wittenberg. From the thirties of the sixteenth century onwards three schools operated in Wrocław. These schools proved attractive for youth not only from Silesia, but from several regions in Hungary, especially from the northern towns. Wrocław has traditionally had strong commercial contacts with Hungarian towns and was very advantageously located on the main academic route of students from Hungary towards Protestant universities in Wittenberg, Jena, Frankfurt an der Oder, Rostock and in Holland. At the same time, attendance of the school in Wrocław was in many cases sufficient for someone to develop a successful career in the town. Letters preserved in the Košice town archives confirm attendance at the St. Elisabeth school in Wrocław by the following Košice inhabitants: Gedeon Adamj²⁴⁰ Bartholomeus Bart,²⁴¹ Michael Gulden,²⁴² Daniel Widos,²⁴³ and Johannes Ericus Scheibenpoden.²⁴⁴ Of these students the latter two were also subsequently identified at different universities. David Sigismundus, another student from Košice, witnessed, by the end of May 1577, the entry of Rudolf II into the town of Wrocław and later dedicated a laudation to this town as part of his work “Iter Germanicum et Sarmaticum”.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ AMK, H I, no. 3285/98.

²⁴¹ AMK, H I, no. 3285/99; no. n/a, dated May 31, 1576; no. 3336/80; no. 3411/129; no. 3473/111; no. 3526/90.

²⁴² AMK H I, no. 3891/20.

²⁴³ AMK H I, no. 5782/2; no. 5782/72; no. 4908/3.

²⁴⁴ AMK H I, no. 7937/23; no. 8034/38.

²⁴⁵ See Ludwig Petry, “Breslau in der frühen Neuzeit – Metropole des Südostens,” *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 33 (1984): 161-179, here 171: ‘David Sigismund aus Kaschau berichtete in seinem ‘Iter Germanicum et Sarmaticum’, dass keine Stadt seines Heimatlandes Ungarn es mit Breslau aufnehmen könne; die Stadt sei Herrin ihres Geschickes, habe die Mittel, sich gegen Angriffe zu behaupten, lasse keine Könige über sich herrschen, was sie vor dem Schicksal bewahre, bei einem Streit die Beute des Siegers zu werden.’ Quoted after David Sigismundus, ‘Iter

The relationship between Protestants in Wrocław and from the Protestant towns in northern Hungary which became part of royal Hungary under Habsburg rule was very strong especially during the sixteenth century. The schools in Wrocław were opened for students from various towns in Hungary. A number of representative personalities studied here, one of the best known being Leonard Stöckel, the rector of the well-known school in Bardejov modeled after this school.²⁴⁶

Two other students from Košice went to similar schools in Gdańsk (Iohannes Mautner, probably in 1634²⁴⁷) and Toruń (David Kilger, probably in 1642²⁴⁸). The school in Gdańsk was founded in 1588 and quickly transformed into a gymnasium (*gymnasium academicum illustre*) in which aspects of all university disciplines were taught. In the seventeenth century this institution was very popular among students coming from the northern regions of Europe in particular, but a number of students from towns in Upper Hungary came to study there too. Besides grounded knowledge in Lutheran theology, philosophy, classical languages and Hebrew, students had the opportunity to study history, geography, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, botanic, anatomy, physiology, and so on.²⁴⁹ Another attractive place for study at the beginning of the seventeenth century was the gymnasium at Toruń, characterized by its religious freedom, so that a number of exulants from Upper Hungary went to study there.

The influence of Calvinism in the towns of Northern Hungary started in the seventies of the sixteenth and further extended in the twenties of the seventeenth century, when a number of exulants, especially from Bohemia, came to live in these regions.²⁵⁰ A number of letters from the Košice town archives confirm that religious controversies about various theological aspects existed between clergy in the region, yet it is difficult to state to what extent Calvinism spread in

Germanicum et Sarmaticum', in *Itinerarium totius orbis sive opus peregrinationum variarum, ex recensione Nicolai Reusneri* (Basle: Waldkirch, 1592), 581-598.

²⁴⁶ For more on the relationship between the northern Hungarian regions and Silesia especially Wrocław see Ludwig Petry, "Das Zipser Deutschtum in seinen kulturellen Beziehungen zu Schlesien vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert," *Schlesisches Jahrbuch für deutsche Kulturarbeit im gesamtschlesischen Raume*, 9 (1936-37): 57-74. See also the book by Franz Helle, *Breslau und Schlesien in den Deutsch-Ungarischen Kulturbeziehungen* (Budapest: Kellner Buchdruckerei, 1937).

²⁴⁷ AMK H I, no. 6538/52; no. 6538/88.

²⁴⁸ AMK H I, no. 6917/34.

²⁴⁹ Vladislav Ružička, *Školstvo na Slovensku v období neskorého feudalizmu (po 70. roku 18. storočia)* (School education in Slovakia in the late-feudal period (until the seventies of the eighteenth century) (Bratislava: SPN, 1974), 198.

²⁵⁰ See Ján Adam, "Bemerkungen zur Calvinistischen Reformation in der Slowakei," in *Die Reformation und ihre Wirkungsgeschichte in der Slowakei: Kirchen- und konfessionsgeschichtliche Beiträge*, ed. Karl Schwarz and Peter Švorc (Vienna: Evangelischer Presseverband, 1996), 90-97.

the town where the Lutheran branch of Protestantism received much support at the official level. As far as students' peregrination is concerned, it is obvious that Protestant education dominated and citizens from Košice continued to go to Protestant universities or schools up to the middle of the seventeenth century. However, a few cases of peregrinations to Calvinist universities may be noted, among them being the University of Basle with two matriculations and the Dutch universities (five matriculations altogether up until 1660). It is important to note that Calvinist universities were much more tolerant towards the religious beliefs of their students than other Protestant (Lutheran) universities, and that the simple fact that a student attended a Calvinist university did not necessarily signify that he was a strong supporter of Calvinism.

Until the Reformation, the University of Basle had mainly regional character and the majority of matriculated students came from southern German-speaking areas. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the university achieved international status. Among the main reasons for its popularity was the geographical position of the town on the commercial and travel routes towards the south of Europe, the foundation of a book printing workshop, and the relative tolerance towards religious worship. Students from the Hungarian regions started to come to Basle very soon after the Reformation.²⁵¹ The relationship between different Hungarian territories and the University of Basle grew even closer, especially when Protestantism started to be repressed by the Habsburg Catholic reform movement. The number of matriculated students started to decrease from the thirties of the seventeenth century, a tendency characteristic for other German universities as well. One of the main reasons was, again, the thirty years war, which affected many regions, including those not directly involved in the conflict. Additionally, the main directions of academic peregrination in Europe changed from Italy and France to the newly founded universities in Holland; as a result Basle ceased to be an important stop-over on the way towards the former. Although popular among Hungarian students in general, only two students from Košice could be identified at the University of Basle, Matthias Schwartz who matriculated in 1601 and Benedictus Bakai who matriculated in 1627. Both of these students went to other universities as well but graduated in Basle with the title of doctor in theology which was the highest academic degree at the time. The fact that both of them graduated in Basle also suggests

²⁵¹ For more information about Hungarian students in Basle see: Edgar Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart 1460-1960* (Basle: Verlag Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1960), 230-231 and the article by Erneste Staehelin, "Bâle et la Hongrie à travers l'Histoire," *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* (1948): 226-242.

that this university had more favorable conditions for graduation, and that students who attended different other universities considered it to be a better place to receive their degrees.

From the twenties of the seventeenth century the matriculation lists of the newly founded universities in Leiden, Utrecht, and Franeker display quite a number of students from Hungary.²⁵² The Dutch Republic was an important commercial power by the beginning of the seventeenth century and well known as a very tolerant region in Europe. The increasing material wealth led to higher demands in cultural development and the necessity for universities became obvious, especially after the Calvinists gained limited access to the universities of Leuven or Cologne. The University of Leiden was founded in 1575, followed by the foundation of the universities in Franeker (in 1585), Groningen (in 1614), and Utrecht (in 1636). Shortly after its foundation, Leiden became a center of humanist philological study, especially after the arrival of Justus Lipsius to the university. During the first half of the seventeenth century the University of Leiden was very popular among students from other parts of Europe, especially Germany, and it became one of the important Calvinist institutions of the time.²⁵³ Catholic students, although not forbidden attendance in Leiden, were almost totally missing until as late as the eighteenth century.

The first student from Košice identified at a Dutch university in the seventeenth century is the active peregrine Benedictus Bakay, who matriculated in Leiden in the year 1624 and was 27 years old according to a note in the matriculation list. Before matriculating in Leiden he studied in Wittenberg, and, after attending Leiden University, went to Oxford and later to Basle. Four other matriculations of students from Košice could be identified at Dutch universities up until the seventh decade of the seventeenth century including two more students in Leiden - Joannes Thallyai who sent a letter to the town council from Leiden in 1626²⁵⁴ and Johannes Kasai Hungarus who matriculated in March 1643. In September 1643 the latter already matriculated at the University of Utrecht. Another student from Košice, Johannes Herczegh was identified at the University of Franeker in 1657 as a student in theology. As for the majority of

²⁵² On the Hungarian peregrination to Dutch universities see, among others, the recent books by August den Hollander, István Monok, and Ferenc Postma, eds., *Studiosorum et librorum peregrinatio: Hungarian-Dutch Cultural Relations in the 17th and 18th Century* (Amsterdam and Budapest: Universiteit van Amsterdam and Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2006) and by Péter Eredics, *Ungarische Studenten und ihre Übersetzungen aus dem Niederländischen ins Ungarische in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008).

²⁵³ Heinz Schnepfen, *Niederländische Universitäten und Deutsches Geistesleben von der Gründung der Universität Leiden bis ins späte 18. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960), 9ff.

²⁵⁴ AMK H I, no. 6165/27 and no. 6196/54.

students registered at Dutch universities, the town of origin is missing in the matriculation lists (perhaps it was not required at the registration) so that it is difficult to identify the students' place of origin. It may well have been that the number of students from Košice at Dutch universities was higher during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Two students from Košice were identified at well-known universities in England: Joannes Thallyai in Cambridge in 1625 and Benedictus Bakay in Oxford in 1626. Both Oxford and Cambridge had already achieved a high reputation during the Middle Ages, especially in the fields of logic, science, and theology. At the beginning of the sixteenth century these institutions had a collegiate structure and relied upon tutorial teaching. Due to this development, the role of the university was reduced to that of a degree-awarding institution. After serious internal disputes, Oxford and Cambridge were compelled to accept royal control and the dominance of the Anglican Church. Whereas, with the Reformation, many universities revised their statute's regulations and contents of study, the University of Oxford in contrast, at least in its statutory legislation, remained untouched by the changes of the sixteenth century and retained much of its medieval curriculum in arts.²⁵⁵ The number of students from Hungarian regions in general was not very high, primarily because of the very distant geographical location. Another problem was the high costs of tutoring and accommodation. The required length of study at Oxford was, according to the statutes, approximately four years to receive the first degree. Those who planned to take a degree had to satisfy the residence qualifications, those who did not were free to leave whenever they had obtained the desired instruction. Benedictus Bakay spent one year in Oxford and in 1627 he was already at the University of Basle. He did not receive a degree at Oxford, and most probably never intended to do so, selecting Oxford as one among the other institutions he visited during his academic peregrination. The other student from Košice who was identified in England, Johannes Thallyai, sent his first letter from Cambridge in December 1625 and in July 1626 he was already in Leiden. Thus, he did not stay very long in England either.

Although Košice was mainly Protestant until the last third of the seventeenth century, there are a number of students from Košice who registered at Catholic universities or other academic institutions during this period. One student from Košice could be identified in Salzburg, Franciscus Fegirer, who matriculated in 1652. Two students matriculated in Graz,

²⁵⁵ James McConica, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford*, volume 3: *The Collegiate University* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 157f.

Stephanus Cassovius in 1586 and Antonius Kys in 1618. Three students matriculated at the academic institution in Olomouc including Tobias Kauffin probably in 1579, Petrus Cassovius in 1594 and Joannes Andreas Lukeni in 1612. The University of Salzburg was founded by the archbishop Markus Sittikus in 1618 with the help of representatives of the Benedictine order and it was a Catholic university from the very beginning of its operations.²⁵⁶ History, including church and law history, played an important role in the curriculum and set this university apart from other universities of the time. By the end of the seventeenth century it had gained a high reputation because of its faculty of law. Shortly after its foundation, in the thirties and forties, the matriculation numbers were particularly high if compared with other Catholic universities like Dillingen or Altdorf. The thirty years war forced students to move from Ingolstadt or Dillingen to the safer Salzburg.

The arrival of the Jesuits in Bohemia already heralded the Catholic reform movement in this region by mid of the sixteenth century. They founded a Jesuit Academy in Prague in 1556 while a second Jesuit university was founded in Olomouc in Moravia, which was quickly given university status by the pope. Three students from Košice have been identified who attended this institution: Tobias Kauffin, son of the teacher Richardus Kauffin, who sent two letters from this location to the town council in 1579 and one letter in 1580,²⁵⁷ Petrus Cassovius, who registered in 1594 and Joannes Andreas Lukeni, registered in March, 1612.

The Academy in Graz was the first Catholic university in a region close to Hungary. One of the main ideas of its foundation was to assure successful missionary activity. It had only two faculties: philosophy and theology, thus, having the status of an academy. The faculty of philosophy consisted primarily of three chairs: logic, physics, and metaphysics, and later on chairs for ethics, mathematics, and Greek were added. With the opening of the university the Jesuits also acquired the possibility to print books. The aim was to educate Catholic preachers, who would participate in fighting against Protestantism in the region. Especially at the end of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a majority of Catholic clergy of Hungary was educated in Graz, before its own Catholic institutions were created in Trnava and in Košice. The relationship between Hungary and the Academy in Graz was stronger than the

²⁵⁶ Virgil Redlic, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Salzburg 1639-1810* (Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 1933), p. XVII.

²⁵⁷ AMK, H I, no. 3526/64, 3589/27, and 3589/30.

attention accorded to it in the literature since the first generation of the Catholic reformation movement in Hungary received its education in Graz.²⁵⁸

In 1657, the Academy of Košice with a faculty of philosophy and theology was founded with the help of Bishop Benedikt Kisdý, modeled on the already existing Academy in Trnava. Among the ten rectors of this institution during the seventeenth century, six of them appear in the matriculation lists of the University of Graz as students of theology: Franz Topos, Martin Palkovich, Michael Gribócsi, Ladislaus Vid, Ladislaus Permay, and Johann Kechkeméty.²⁵⁹ The foundation of this institution can be considered to begin, indirectly, another period in the academic peregrination of students from Košice to foreign universities, the possibility of receiving higher education being offered, from this point on, in the town itself.

²⁵⁸ Johann Andritsch, ed., *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Graz (1586-1782)* (Graz: Verlag der Historischen Landeskommision, 1965).

²⁵⁹ Andritsch, *Studenten und Lehrer*, 314.

Chapter four: Financing the university studies: the case of Košice students

4.1. Financing university studies: general facts

The decision to include a more extended discussion on this issue was determined by two factors. The first one is emerging from my conviction that the financial aspect of university studies of Košice students is as important as the growth or decline in their numbers and the geographical framework of their university attendance for completing a comprehensive description of this student group and, in particular, for analysing the relationship of these students with their urban home context. This aspect of the study is an important way to characterize the financial possibilities of the burghers and of the town in general. It is also an indicator of the interest and support offered to the community of students by the town administration. The second factor is related to the presence of a significant amount of primary sources containing the desired information. An interesting and important assemblage of sources concerning the academic peregrination of the town inhabitants – letters sent to the town council or other important individuals in the town by students from universities or “secondary schools” abroad – is preserved in the town archives in Košice. Even though the value of students’ letters collections for elucidating many aspects of university history has been long ago acknowledged,²⁶⁰ their importance for urban history and for analyzing the attitude of the urban administration and community in general towards the university attendance of its inhabitants has not yet been appraised to the extent it really deserves. An analysis of these types of sources is generally missing from surveys dedicated to students coming from various towns, many times because this type of document is not present in the local archives. Košice is among the fortunate exceptions in this respect. It is the purpose of this chapter to illuminate several points concerning the financial and other kinds of support offered by the town council to students abroad, of which major importance will be given to the length of the period that financial support was granted, categories of beneficiaries, amount of money given and the conditions the students had to fulfil

²⁶⁰ Charles Homer Haskins, “Life of Mediaeval Students as Illustrated by Their Letters,” in *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co, 1965), 1-35. Concerning the students’ letter collection from Levoča see Max Siller, “‘Lasset sie nur ein wenig leiden, wenn sie nicht gelt haben, so studiren sie desto vleissiger!’ Briefe von Leutschauer Studenten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,” *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 38-39 (1995-96): 5-31.

in order to receive financial aid. In addition, aspects such as the financial situation at the place of study, debts and their resolution, services provided by students abroad to the town and some aspects of every day life at the academic institution will be considered and commented upon.

The question of financing university studies has piqued the interest of a number of scholars in the field.²⁶¹ Beside the direct financial support provided by parents or relatives and wages from different jobs, the following financing methods have been presented and commented upon: scholarships based on colleges or bursas, ecclesiastical or princely benefices, scholarship foundations of different kinds, testamentary donations, and financial support obtained from different institutions such as monastic centers or the administration of towns. The first colleges, meant by their founders to be charitable institutions offering accommodation for a number of poor students, initially originated in Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge, and later spread to other university towns. However, this type of support hardly covered more than the cost of lodging and additional sponsorship was necessary. At the same time, the number of students who could benefit from it was rather limited.²⁶² Another possibility for finding financial support for studies were the ecclesiastical benefices offered by the pope, local bishops or other patrons. However, the amount of research carried out on this issue is not sufficient to permit for general conclusions to be drawn concerning the numbers of students and the conditions that made these benefices accessible to them. A further possibility was what Paul Trio and others refer to as ‘flying grants’ (*bursae volantes*), by which a founder, in a testamentary disposition, provided one or more students with a certain long-term financial support (usually paid on a yearly basis) and entrusted the administration of this type of stipend foundation to an individual or an institution, for example to the town council. This type of grant usually demanded several conditions to be met by the grantee and sometimes even specified the institution or the faculty for the promoted

²⁶¹ See Paul Trio, “Financing of University Students in the Middle Ages: A New Orientation,” *History of Universities* 4 (1984): 1-24; Walter Heinemeyer, ed., *Studium und Stipendium. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hessischen Stipendiatenwesens* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1977); Magnus Ditsche, “Zur Studienförderung im Mittelalter,” *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 41 (1977): 51-62; Klaus Wriedt, “Studienförderung und Studienstiftungen in norddeutschen Städten (14.-16. Jahrhundert),” in *Stadt und Universität*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1993), 33-49; Bernard Ebner, *Stipendienstiftungen in Nürnberg: Eine historische Studie zum Funktionszusammenhang der Ausbildungsförderung für Studenten am Beispiel einer Großstadt (15.-20. Jahrhundert)* (Neustadt/Aisch: Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt GmbH, 1994).

²⁶² See among others Astrik L. Gabriel, “Motivation of the Founders of Mediaeval Colleges,” in *Beiträge zum Berufsbewußtsein des mittelalterlichen Menschen*, ed. Heinrich Hüsch (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1964), 61-72; A. Seifert, “Die universitätskollegien. Eine historisch-typologische Übersicht,” in *Stiftungen aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Fritz Rüh, et. al. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974), 355-372; Rainer Ch. Schwinges, “Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte spätmittelalterlicher Studentenbursen in Deutschland,” in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. J. Fried (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1986), 527-564.

study.²⁶³ Stipend foundations (*Studienstiftungen*) already appear in European towns in the middle of the fourteenth century, however, a real increase in their numbers took place in the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁶⁴ Another form of financial aid for study expenses was patronage, which represented a temporary bequest of money or other goods (clothes or books) to university students.²⁶⁵ Rich individual patrons (kings, princes, or individuals of lesser rank) or institutions have been identified as patrons. These included urban administration, religious institutions, or student-confraternities, the latter established exclusively for the purpose of offering financial support to students. Urban councils in German towns already had the practice of financing the university studies of their inhabitants beginning with the fifteenth century when the number of sponsored students is still low but the tendency is developing continuously.²⁶⁶ While before that time the strategy was to attract learned persons from elsewhere to fill various jobs in the town, this policy eventually changed. Local potential was invested in supporting the studies of sons of well positioned families. After the Reformation, towns began to apply a so-called combined policy: attracting former students from other locations supplemented by investment into future local intellectuals, the latter tendency gradually gaining in importance.²⁶⁷

Only college foundations and scholarships incorporated by these foundations have been investigated in more detail over the last decades. The conclusion of these studies was that only a small percentage of the total student population was eligible for such financial support.²⁶⁸ Having accepted that, many historians dealing with the problem sought a solution in the ecclesiastical benefices, however, this option is difficult to check because of the state of sources. Examination of other forms of financial support to university students such as ‘flying’ grants and patronage will be important for further understanding this significant aspect of financing.

²⁶³ Trio, Financing, 4ff.

²⁶⁴ Wriedt, Studienförderung, 35ff.

²⁶⁵ Trio, Financing, 10ff.

²⁶⁶ For the example of the town of Braunschweig see the well documented study by Martin Kintzinger, *Das Bildungswesen in der Stadt Braunschweig im hohen und späten Mittelalter* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1990), 466f.

²⁶⁷ Wriedt, Studienförderung.

²⁶⁸ Trio, Financing, 13, with further references.

4.2. The financial support at the disposal of students from Košice: possibilities, resources

As for the town of Košice, information about financing the university studies of the town inhabitants before the Reformation is rather sparse. Aside from direct financial support from home and the possibility to find accommodations at various bursas, as discussed for attendees at the University of Cracow, students from Košice may possibly have benefited from the financial support of rich individuals, even though no direct cases of this kind of mecenate supporting a specific student from Košice have been identified. One famous native of Košice, György Szatmári, was known to have helped students finance their stays at various universities, as numerous dedications to him certify.²⁶⁹ It is very possible that he supported a number of young people coming from his native town as well. Similarly, there are a number of cases of support documented from the Dominicans. The common practice of this order was to finance its members studying theology at schools or universities in Italy. This was the case of Hieronymus from Košice who registered at the University in Padua in 1436, of Petrus, Aegidius and Tadheus from Košice who went to the University in Florence in 1476, 1489, and 1493 respectively, of another Petrus who registered at three universities: Siena in 1493, Perugia in 1495 and Pavia in 1498, and of a certain Blasius de Cassovia who matriculated in Siena in 1495. It is possible that a number of Dominicans studied at the University of Cracow as well although only one student could certainly be identified, namely Andreas Nicolai Sartoris who matriculated in 1466 as *frater ordinis Predicatorum de Casovia*. It is likely that he received help from his order to attend the university.

²⁶⁹ See Veress, *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitatibus Italiae studentium*, passim. One example from page 76ff, a dedication by Sebastianus Magius Pannonius, student in Bologna: *Augustissimo Praesuli, domino, domino Georgio episcopo Quinqueecclesiensi summoque cancellario regni Hungariae Sebastianus Magius Pannonius: Redeo nunc ad te, Antistes Augustissime, quem eruditi omnes uno ore consonoque suffragio Maecenatem, Pollionem Proculeiumque saeculi nostri celebrant. Nec immerito. Tu enim illorum es asylum, praesidium et decus. Quis vero est, nesciat doctissimum Quinqueecclesiensem episcopum doctos omnes fovisse semper et cotidie fovere? Testis erit praeterea Laurentius Bistritius, Celsitudinis Tuae nepos et Albae Regiae praepositus, patronusque meus; qui futuris tuis ad eloquentiae et eruditionis cacumen, Bononia teste aspiravit; Stephanum etiam Brodaricius, laurea dignus Apollinari. His admunerandus et Ianus ille, faber eruditionis multiiugae faberrimus, qui multum in fronte pollicetur, plurimum vero habet in recessu. Accedit huic Philippus Alba-regalius, Varadiensis archidiaconus cathedralis, iuvenis optimae indolis et in literis nequaquam poenitendus; nec non Valentinus Cybeleius, Musarum alumnus, et alii pene innumeri.*

A long-term functioning stipend foundation, similar to the Thurzó foundation in Levoča,²⁷⁰ did not exist in Košice, even though some amounts of donated money for different categories of students have been included in a number of burghers' testaments, as will be demonstrated below. These burghers would entrust the administration of their donated money to the town council and there are some allusions in a number of letters to these legates, even though the conditions of their operation and the way the money was spent could not be clarified. These types of burghers' donations appear, sporadically, only from the late sixteenth century on, which, in general, corresponds to the situation in other German towns located further to the west.²⁷¹ Another source of financial assistance was the urban council, with the best documentation.

As suggested by what information has been preserved, the town council of Košice started to be actively involved in the education abroad of its citizens from the middle of the sixteenth century. By this time, almost the entire population of the town was Protestant and, as a result, the reformed schools and universities became the first choice of the young men from the town in search of educational possibilities. Two main periods can be distinguished based on the students' destinations as represented by their letters. The first period, which lasted approximately until 1620, is characterized by high attendance at the University of Wittenberg (thirty-four out of a total number of thirty-seven letters sent from this institution during the entire period) and at the secondary school (St. Elisabeth) in Wrocław (eleven letters out of thirteen). In addition, for this first sub-period there is one letter probably sent from Leipzig in 1597, and five letters from schools in Moravia: one letter sent from Brno in 1578, three letters sent from Olomouc in 1579 and 1580, and one letter sent from Jihlava in 1583. The second period begins after the year 1620 and lasts until the middle of the seventeenth century. It is characterized by a change in the geographical framework of academic peregrination. Students began to attend other Protestant universities, in particular those in Northern Europe (England, the Netherlands, and northern German territories). As a result, we have only three letters sent from Wittenberg, a further two sent from Cambridge, one from Oxford, two from Leiden, one letter sent from Rostock, and twenty-eight from Königsberg. The high number of letters sent from the University of

²⁷⁰ See the dissertation by Tünde Katona, “‘Ejnem armen Schuler der nacket und bloss wahr’: über die Thurzónische Stiftung und das Bildungswesen in der Zips mit dem Text des Leutschauer Testamentsbuches“ (Ph.D. diss., University of Szeged, 2003).

²⁷¹ Wriedt, Studienförderung, 43. J. Schildhauer, for example, identifies only two such testaments for Stralsund in the sixteenth century, one dated 1581 and another from 1599, see Johannes Schildhauer, *Hansestädtischer Alltag. Untersuchungen auf der Grundlage der Stralsunder Bürgertestamente von Anfang des 14. bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1992), 40.

Königsberg indicates that, after the twenties of the seventeenth century, this institution became more popular among students from Košice, while the appeal of the University of Wittenberg slowly decreased. This fact is also confirmed by the general matriculation numbers.²⁷² Besides the universities listed above, students from Košice also continued to attend a number of Protestant schools in the region, in addition to Wrocław (two letters sent in 1650 and 1651). These institutions very often offered a feasible alternative for attaining higher education, since graduating from one of these institutions sufficed to get employment in the town. Among the schools where the presence of students from Košice is attested by their letters were institutions in Görlitz (one letter in 1623), Gdańsk (two letters sent in 1634), and Toruń (one letter in 1642).

4.3. Scenarios for receiving financial aid from the urban council

It is not easy to establish if the town had a rigid policy of granting financial support for the studies of its inhabitants. According to the letters and other types of documents, several scenarios for getting financial aid existed and several categories of beneficiaries could be established. It is not possible to reconstruct the story in each case: it occurs sometimes that only one letter from a certain person is present in the town archives, usually a request for money, and it is not clear if a response ever followed through or not. The entries in the town protocols do not record anything in relation to many of the identified cases either. However, there are a number of persons for whom a sequence of events can be re-established to some extent using a number of documents of various content, relating interesting details connected to support received from the town council.

A number of cases existed when a certain disciple would receive financial support from the town council over a longer period of time, documented by intensive correspondence between the student and the town council. Bartolomeus Barth, a representative of a well positioned family in Košice, was just such a diligent letter writer. His brother was Johann Goldschmidt Bart, member of the town council from 1568 to 1577.²⁷³ Bartolomeus sent six letters all together from Wrocław, where he was studying at the St. Elisabeth school, of which one is addressed to his

²⁷² See Appendix 6.2.

²⁷³ István H. Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája: bírák, belső és külső tanács 1500-1700* (Archontology of the town of Košice: judges, inner and outer councils 1500-1700) (Budapest: Szentpétery Imre Történettudományi Alapítvány, 2006).

brother.²⁷⁴ In the first letter, sent in September 1575, he informs the town council about his arrival in Wrocław and some arrangements he made during his first days. He considered this information necessary for the town council to take into account so they could calculate the amount of financial support to be accorded:

*[...] I arrived in Wrocław safe and unharmed thanks to the assistance of divine grace and I am going to study here to the best of my feeble talent. Master Wingler commended me to the principal teachers of the Elizabethan school who promised to work assiduously to advance and to teach me. In the meantime he arranged board for me at a relative of his to whom he promised 12 grosses per week for (my) food [...] I wanted to communicate about these things to your lordships so that you might know about my state of things and consider me worth of your patronage.*²⁷⁵

His second letter dated May 1576 is written in German and is addressed to his brother, who was another sponsor of his studies. It seems to be a response to a letter Bartholomeus received shortly before, in which his brother inquired what had happened to the money he had already sent to him, voicing the suspicion that, as he had heard from somebody, Bartholomeus was spending his stipend on drinks (*As if I were a great drunkard*)²⁷⁶ and other unserious matters. The student attempted to convince his relative and sponsor that he was making the best use of the money received in order to continue his studies:

*[...] indeed I did not spend or throw away a single penny [heller] of it in vain, I had to always pay for my school (studies) which cost 16 grosses for a quarter of year, and also (bought) books, shoes and further things that I needed [...]*²⁷⁷

Barth's story continues with a letter sent in September 1576 to the town council, which is an expression of gratitude for some money sent in the meantime, together with the usual promises to continue studying diligently in order to be of further use to the town. The next letter,

²⁷⁴ His five letters sent from Wrocław are registered as follows: AMK H I, no. 3285/99; no. 3336/80; no. 3411/129; no. 3473/111; and no. 3526/90. The sixth letter, addressed to his brother and dated 1576 does not have an inventory number.

²⁷⁵ [...] *veni Wratislaviā salvus et incolumis divina annuente benignitate, ibi operam studiis daturus pro ingenii mei tenuitate. Commendavit autem me Dominus Winglerus praecipuis magistris scholae Elizabethanae et ipsi suam in me promovendo et docendo sedulam promiserunt operam. Interea autem conduxit mihi mensam apud suum affinem cui singulis septimanis 12 promisit pro victu grossos, ibi tamen diu mensurus sum donec de pedagogia mihi prospici possit. Haec vestris dominationibus volui indicare ut meum statum cognoscant et me suo patrocinio dignum iudicare velint [...]*

²⁷⁶ In the original: *als wer ich ein grosser saeuffer*

²⁷⁷ In the original: [...] *warlich ich hab kein heller unnuzlich darvon vorthan oder außgeben dan ich das praecium in die schuel immer hab geben müssen welches ein viertel ihar an langett 16 groschen, auch mier bucher, schue undt sonst was ich noturfdig gewest [...]*

sent in August 1577 was meant to display the author's progress in his studies; it abounds in quotations and references to Antique authors or characters (Vergil, Homer, Esculapius, Neptunus, Achilles and the Trojan War, etc.) The letter included, as an appendix, an oration written in honour of the town council, which was, unfortunately, not stored together with this epistle. The next letter kept to the yearly pattern, i.e. it was sent in August 1578. The author, with reference to a letter he had received just before from the town council accusing the pupil of neglecting his duties (most probably referring to the lack of letters), hurried to assure the town council of his full appreciation in the usual florid style. The last letter preserved, sent in January 1579, was a reminder to the town council to send him his yearly subsidy. This story, documented by letters from four subsequent years, included several types of messages: a request for money, expressions of gratitude, an explanation of expenses, promises to diligently serve the interests of the town, and reminders to the council send him his stipend. Certainly, we can assume that not all the letters that were written in this case have been preserved. However, even these remaining letters help in reconstructing a model of communication between the town council and one of its protégés in the period of the Reformation. Barth probably received a yearly amount in order to pursue his studies, this amount being supplemented by some additional money received from his family. Unfortunately, his further fate is not documented, and it is not clear if Bartolomeus Barth attended some other university after his studies at the secondary school in Wrocław, something that would have been a common practice at that time.

A number of other cases existed where a student would be financed over an extended period of time beginning from his secondary studies at one of the urban schools in Košice or in the region, to the completion of his studies at one of the Protestant universities. A good example of such a student is Georgius Buntzler, who received financial help from the town council beginning from the time he attended the urban school in Jihlava, Moravia and continuing throughout his academic stay at the University of Wittenberg. Buntzler was a member of a well-to-do burgher's family in Košice as well, a son of Michael Buntzler, member of the town council from 1565 to 1584²⁷⁸ and a relative of Caspar Schneider, member of the town council from 1574 to 1593.²⁷⁹ Nine letters are preserved in the Košice collection related to the academic progress of this student, of which seven were written by Buntzler himself. The first letter, dated September

²⁷⁸ Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája*, see also AMK, H III/2 her. 1, f. 100r, v, 101r.

²⁷⁹ Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája*, see also the letter sent by Schneider to Buntzler, from Košice, in 1589: AMK H I, no. n/a.

30, 1583 was sent from Jihlava where Buntzler was pursuing his secondary studies.²⁸⁰ In this letter, the young man mentioned that he was writing to the town council as suggested by his father, in order to express his gratitude for the financial support provided up to that time. From another letter it is evident that Georgius Buntzler was sent to Jihlava with much assistance from the town council, which even paid one of the teachers, Benedictus Salmuth, to act as his tutor. In 1583 Salmuth sent a letter addressed to Martinus Wentzell, the town judge, in which he described the pupil's progress and expressed his recognition and gratitude to the town council for supporting both the young student and himself. In addition to that, he mentioned the great interest of the pupil's father in the studies of his son, displayed, as we learn from Salmuth's letter, by his intensive correspondence with the tutors and by his promotion of his son's interests before the town council, of which he was himself a member.²⁸¹

In 1586, Buntzler matriculated at the University of Wittenberg.²⁸² Six other letters from him, preserved in the Košice town archives, were sent in the course of two years: 1589 and 1590, while he was still student at this institution.²⁸³ The first letter, dated January 30, 1589 was a request for financial support. The next letter, sent in May 1589, was an expression of gratitude for some financial support provided in the meantime and included a number of further interesting details of financial character. The student mentioned some of the expenses he had to face (and of which he was sure the town council was aware) – books, private tutors, and so forth, – and asked to be sent an additional thirty florins, this time out of his own inheritance, which was, apparently, controlled by the town council, as a deposit for something:²⁸⁴

*Here I add that I never thought that the study of arts would require so many things [...], which are money, books, private tutors and many others which I am forced and need to use [...] and of the many of which, I have no doubts, your dignities are well informed [...]. Therefore I ask your lordships to weigh all these things carefully and to that money that you invested lately in my studies add thirty florins out of my inheritance (which you have as a pledge) and send them at the next possible occasion. [...] Without this I will not be able to stay for a long time in Wittenberg.*²⁸⁵

²⁸⁰ AMK H I, no. 3772/115.

²⁸¹ AMK, H I, no. 3772/119

²⁸² *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume two, 335.

²⁸³ AMK H I, no. 4121/101; no. 4121/2; no. 4121/118; no. 4121/119; no. 4121/43; no. 4226/145.

²⁸⁴ His father probably died shortly after 1585.

²⁸⁵ *Hoc addo me nunquam credidisse, tanta requiri ad literarum studia [...] quae sunt pecuniae, libri, privati preceptores, et si quae sunt alia, quorum usum habere et cogor et debeo [...] ut non dubito plerosque[??] vestris amplitudinibus nec quibus haec sunt notissima. Est profecto summa rerum difficultas et non levis annonae caritas, ideoque vestrae amplitudines haec omnia perpendant et eam quam in studia mea nuper collocarunt peccuniam*

The third letter sent by Buntzler follows from Wittenberg in August 1589. In it he expressed his hope that the town council fully understood the benefit of continuing his studies and that it would not cease to support his endeavours. Its content suggests that the previously demanded stipend plus the additional thirty florins had not yet been sent. The fourth letter was sent on the same day together with the third one although this one was written in German and was also addressed to the town council. Buntzler explained that he had decided to write this additional letter in his native language so that all members of the council would understand and feel the student's good intentions towards his fatherland:

*[...] in addition to my other letter I wrote this one in my native language, which was not done because I would have been afraid to bring up such things in greater detail, but rather so that all and everyone will understand and deeply feel and sense my entire feeling for my homeland and, at the same time, all my problems and impediments in the process of study, you, those whom I honor in place of my parents and the help and support of whom I fully enjoyed until now, and I hope to enjoy in the future [...]*²⁸⁶

Buntzler's hope was that since he previously enjoyed full support from the town, the council members would not discontinue financing his studies for another year enabling him to successfully complete his stay in Wittenberg. The student assured his audience that this 'small' inconvenience (i.e. lack of money) would not frighten or cause him to interrupt his studies even though he would have to live only on bread and water. Basic needs of students are mentioned, such as accommodation, books, clothes, light, wood, a bed and other necessary things, the expenses of which made it impossible for him to live on 75 *taler* (florins) per year. However, he continued, he would be happy to receive even this amount – *thus I ask your honourable wisdom to assign me a certain yearly amount, namely 75 taler [...]*²⁸⁷ Should it be difficult for the town council to respond to this request, then his last hope is for 50 *taler* (florins) to be sent to him out of his inheritance that he has from his father, – *thus I ask your honourable wisdom most humbly*

triginta florenis ex patrimonio meo (quam pignoris loco habent) promptis adaugeant et proxime qua potest fieri occasione mittant. [...] Sin minus multum temporis Vitebergae fieri mihi non erit potestas.

²⁸⁶ [...] neben meinem andern schreiben dies in geborner sprach verfertigt, welches nicht darumb gesehen, als hette ich mich furtet waitlaufftiger solches darinnen furzuebringen, sondern, auff das alle und iede verstehen, unnd gründlich mein ganzigtes gemuet gegen dem vatterland spuren und erfassen mogen, unnd darbey auch mein aufliegen unnd hinderniß in stuedieren weitlauffig vernehmen dieselbigen die ich ahn stat meiner Eltern ehre, unnd derer hilff unnd förderung bißher reichlich genossen, unnd hinfort auch zue genissen verhoffe[...]

²⁸⁷ so bitt ich E.E.W. [...] mir ein gewisse summa jarlich zuesagen, nemlich 75 taler [...].

*that you would wish to send me at once fifty talers out of my fatherly inheritance*²⁸⁸ – otherwise he would not be able to remain in Wittenberg – *I am not able to remain here without food, and will be forced to give up my studies and to go home [...]*²⁸⁹ – a solution that would have been a great sorrow for him to the extent that he would have preferred not to have seen Wittenberg at all – *I better wished I never have seen Wittenberg.*²⁹⁰

Buntzler sent his fifth letter from Wittenberg in October 1589. In this short letter he implored the council to send him the fifty florins (mentioned in the previous letter in German as 50 *talers*) out of the inheritance from his father, promising all his efforts to assure the town council of his good will. The sixth letter is sent in March 1590. In it he expressed his joy at a letter he had received from the town council in the meantime confirming that it had been agreed to send him the required fifty florins. This letter itself contains a note written by a third person, most probably the town notary, who confirmed the allotment of this sum – *the council decided to give 50 florins.*²⁹¹ This is a good illustration of a case where a student was supported by the town council for a relatively long period of time – seven years. However, the letters sent from Wittenberg certify that it was not easy to get this kind of long-lasting support for various reasons so that only a convincing number of letters of request, could, eventually, achieve a successful end. Buntzler was in Wittenberg from 1586, and, most probably, received support for his studies for two years, after which time it became more difficult for the student to get a share even from his own inheritance. The fact that his father had died in the meantime may be another explanation for why it became necessary to appeal to the town council: it was probable that Buntzler received some financial aid from his family as well, which was reduced with the death of his father. Both these factors might explain the increase in the number of letters in 1589 and 1590 and their absence previously, when, presumably, his financing was assured without any problems.

Daniel Widos' case is very similar. Widos studied in Wrocław and Wittenberg with the support of the town council in the first decades of the seventeenth century. His four letters sent to the town council of Košice are preserved in the town archives, of which three were sent from

²⁸⁸ *so bitte ich E. E. W. gantz demüthig, sie wollen mir auff mein väterlich ertheil, so noch vonstunden funfftzig taler schicken.*

²⁸⁹ *den ich sonst alhier nicht weiss zue verbleiben ohne zerrung, sondern werde gezwungen, die studia zueverlassen unnd heim zue ziehen [...]*

²⁹⁰ *wolte lieber wunschen das ich Wittenberg nicht gesehen hette.*

²⁹¹ *Ratt haben beschlossen die 50 fl. fürzustrecken.*

Wrocław and one from the University of Wittenberg.²⁹² Widos' first letter, dated from the end of June 1617, is the usual expression of joy and gratitude for some recently received benefit and of his hope for future assistance. The second letter was sent some four months later, in November, and is a repeated request for financial support, with no further specific financial details. In addition to this more official letter sent to the town council, on the same day Widos wrote a letter addressed directly to the town judge, Johannes Lang. In it he mentioned his difficult life where he was studying and expressed his hope of receiving some kind of support to be able to continue his studies. This practice of writing at the same time some sort of general letter to the town council supplemented by a letter with a similar content addressed to one particular person, whether it be the town judge or another high-ranking official, was, apparently, not unusual. Buntzler acted similarly, by sending two letters in different languages dated the same day, one in Latin, and the second one in German, both students considering that doubling the effort would perhaps increase their chances of being given money.²⁹³

Widos sent his fourth letter two years later, in December 1619, when he was already at the University of Wittenberg. He repeatedly referred to the town council members as his *mecenates*, which, although indirectly, may demonstrate that some sort of financial support for his stay at the university had been granted in the meantime. First, he praised, in the usual florid style, the town council for supporting the schools, to which he added his sorrow for the difficult period the town and the church were going through, probably referring to the persecutions of the Protestants and the campaign of Gabriel Bethlen in Upper Hungary.²⁹⁴ Next, Widos again described his difficult state of affairs in the university town, imploring the council for financial support, but not giving any financial details this time either. This case, although containing much less informative material than that of Buntzler – i.e. we do not know how much and at what intervals Widos received financial support from the town – suggests, however, a quite similar scenario to the one described above. The presence of the four letters in which financial support is mentioned or required and the gratitude expressed are an indication that this student was sponsored as well, and this throughout at least three years, first at the secondary school in

²⁹² AMK H I, no. 5782/2; no. 5782/72; no.4908/3; and no. 5871/3.

²⁹³ AMK H I, no. 4121/118 and no. 4121/119.

²⁹⁴ On Bethlen see e.g. Mihály Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521-1978: Ungarns Reformationskirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Teil I: *Im Zeitalter der Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform* (Vienna, Cologne, and Graz: Verlag Hermann Böhlhaus Nachf., 1977), 167ff; Tóth, István György, ed., *A Concise History of Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina and Osiris, 2005), 214ff.

Wrocław and then at the University in Wittenberg, which, during the entire period of Reformation in Košice, seems to be a common pattern of an academic career. Another similar aspect to the former case is the fact that the first two years of study at the University of Wittenberg are not documented by letters of financial request. It suggests us that the town council of Košice may have had some sort of policy, or rather a non-written custom to finance two years of university studies and then decide, from case to case, if further financial assistance was to be granted or not.

Benedictus Bakay was another student who kept in touch and most probably also received considerable financial support from the town council over a long period of about ten years. Bakay was a very good example of a student *peregrinus* from the beginning of the seventeenth century who attended four universities at least. His documented academic peregrination starts at the University of Wittenberg where he registered in 1615.²⁹⁵ He sent four letters from Wittenberg to Košice, from 1617 (again two years past his matriculation!) to 1620.²⁹⁶ In 1624, at the age of 27, Bakay matriculated at the University of Leiden,²⁹⁷ and in 1626 he was already sending a letter to the town council from the University of Oxford.²⁹⁸ In 1627, this student was identified at the University of Basle at the faculty of theology.²⁹⁹

Bakay's first letter from Wittenberg, dated April 1617, is addressed to Johannes Lang, by that time town judge in Košice, whom he names his patron and benefactor. In the letter he asked him not to stop advocating on his behalf before the town council. His second letter dated November 1618 was also sent to Johannes Lang and is quite similar in content and style to the first one. Bakay's third letter, sent in June 1619, was an elaborated explanation of the reasons why one should study theology during those days. He further expressed his hope that the town council understood the benefit of his studies to insure the correct progress of the church under not very easy circumstances – again referring to Bethlen's campaign – and that the town council should not cease to accord him the same support as before. The fourth letter is dated January 1620 and although it does not contain many financial details either, the same request was addressed to the town council to continue supporting his quest for knowledge. After this

²⁹⁵ Miklós Asztalos, ed. *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora 1601-1812* (The list of names of Hungarian students at the University of Wittenberg 1601-1812) (Budapest: Sárkány-Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1931), 117.

²⁹⁶ AMK H I, no. 5782/13; no. 5871/9; no. 5902/13, and no. 5902/9.

²⁹⁷ *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Bataviae 1575-1875*, column 176

²⁹⁸ Edited by Lajos Kémeny in *Történelmi Tar*, 1900, 157-159.

²⁹⁹ *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, volume 3, 295.

relatively regular correspondence – one letter per year – Bakay wrote his next letter six years later, while in Oxford. The letter is written in Hungarian and its purpose was to inform the town council that he had decided to move on to England. Again he emphasized that he is very grateful to the town council for all its support of which he had taken advantage until that date. He did not forget to assure his patrons that he was more than willing to return home after his studies to serve the community. However, in order to be of greater benefit to his home town, he considered it useful to stay in Oxford for one year. Among the reasons, he mentions the not very favourable state of things on the continent, especially in Germany, which was punished with devastation while the well-known schools had become ‘dens of thieves’. Bakay finished his letter with a renewed request, asking the council not to stop sending him the support he was regularly given, which, as previously, he intended to use for good purposes.

One other student who enjoyed the generosity of the town council of Košice in the first half of the seventeenth century was Adamus Kys (Kis). He received support from the town council to study at the University of Königsberg, from where he sent the seven letters preserved in the town archives.³⁰⁰ In addition to dealing with the usual academic expenses, Kys was in much trouble because of some of his debts. He hoped that the town council would assist him in resolving his financial problems, as his story illustrates. In his very first preserved letter, sent in August 1645, he expressed his joy at receiving a note from the town council announcing that he would be among the council’s beneficiaries. In the following letter we learn that it was his father who had addressed the town council with the request to support the studies of his son and who, shortly before his death, left some money for this purpose:

*My farther, blessed forever, entrusted me to your protection and to your patronage and, as I understood from your letter, my best patrons and tutors, appointed this through his testament.*³⁰¹

Thus, the case of Adamus Kys suggests, more directly than other cases, an example of guardianship with which the town council was entrusted by the young man’s father. This, however, occurred in 1645, when Kys was had already been a student at the university for at least three years, as mentioned in his next letter. Therefore, before that time, the student had been enjoying some sort of financial support – referred to as stipend – directly from the town council.

³⁰⁰ AMK H I, no. 7312/21; no. 7312/19; no. 7467/20; no. 7467/21; no. 7467/22, no. 7598/17; and no. 7598/18.

³⁰¹ *Vestrae clientelae, vestroque patrocínio confidenter me tradidit, et ut ex vestris literis, patroni et tutores mei optimi, intellexi, testamento legavit, parens meus aeternum beatus.*

In his second letter dated November 1645, Kys talked about the numerous debts he has accumulated over three (!) years and implored the council send him his stipend in order to pay some of these off:

*My poor muses sincerely wish to finally regain their original freedom from the most annoying labyrinth of troublesome creditors and to dedicate their efforts, best of my supporters, to your services and concerns to the best of my ability. The better part of the stipend that you again sent went to my creditors, but, however, it has not yet satisfied the greed of all of them. [...] Do not imagine, most honoured supporters and patrons, that my muses brought this misery upon themselves by their lavishness; those who are close to me, being my countrymen or fellow students, know very well what kind of fate my muses have endured, and in what dire straits they have been during the three years, being then deprived of a patron and now, o pity, of a parent [...]*³⁰²

Kys addressed his third letter, written in 1646, April 12 to the town judge, Johannes Keviczky and his fourth letter, written one day later, to the town council. He wrote to the town judge about his debts for a second time, the situation being made even worse by the death of his brother, and his only hope remained the benevolence of the town judge who he asked to intercede on his behalf at the town council's meeting.

The letter addressed to the town council has approximately the same content. After commenting on some news sent him from home in one of the previous letters, Kys turns to describing his state of affairs in Königsberg followed by an expression of his hope to be sent the financial support he had previously received. In addition, the letter contained several recommendations for people to be recruited for different positions in the town. The fifth letter was sent two weeks later and was addressed to Nicolaus Soporius, notary in Košice. Its content does not differ much from that of the previous two: it includes a description of the difficult financial situation caused by debts and the premature death of his brother, further completed by some recommendations for different positions in the town. The next two letters are sent in 1647, one in May and another one in October. The former one was addressed to the town council and was an expression of gratitude for the financial support accorded to the student in the meantime and the latter one is addressed to Stephanus Zvonorius (Zvonarits), pastor in Košice. In this last

³⁰² *Ex animo optant miserae musae meae vel tandem ex molestissimo importunorum creditorum labyrintho in pristinam libertatem vindicari, et suam qualem operam vestris, maecenates optimi, officiis et negotiis pro virili consecrare. Stipendii iterum transmissi potior pars cessit creditoribus, sed nondum tamen omnium famem sedavit, nec pro voto eorum expectationi satisfacit. Non existimabitis vero fautores et patroni honoratissimi, musas meas sua prodigalitate hanc sibi providisse miseriam, novent optime illi, qui et propinquitatem et studiorum communitatem mihi fuere coniunctissimi, quam sortem expertae, quamque misere per integrum triennium inter sacrum et saxa constitutae fuerint, tunc patrono, nunc pro dolor et parente destitutae meae musae [...]*

letter Kys mentions, among other things, that he has enjoyed the support of the town council for four years already, since 1643, two years before he sent his first letter from Königsberg (therefore, this is a further case that illustrates that the first two years of university studies were financed rather smoothly!). Further on he reflects upon his debts (yet it is still not clear under what circumstances these were incurred, except that they increased with the death of his brother), and explained that he could not leave the university before paying off all his debts since he had pledged it in front of the magistrates. If this happens, as Kys affirms, the results will be devastating: *otherwise if one would do it, he would not hope for anything else but for banishment with continuous disgrace, and this for certain without any kind of exception.*³⁰³ Thus, Kys is compelled, in a certain way, to stay at the university until he was able to pay all his debts, which added to his financial woes, as he puts it: *every day has added something to the expenses.*³⁰⁴ The situation being as it was, Kys asked Zvonorius for advice on how to proceed. The sum is considerable and he does not have any idea how to get it: *I still need a minimum of forty imperials by means of which I could pay off all my debts. But I have no idea where I might obtain them from.*³⁰⁵ Unfortunately, we do not have any further documents to illustrate what the resolution of this case was. What we do know is that Adamus Kys returned to his hometown and developed a successful career first as priest and then as school inspector.³⁰⁶ Therefore, we can presume that the town council somehow interfered and resolved the problems of his disciple.

The correspondence between Johannes Ericus Scheibenpoden (no. 273), a student in Wrocław and Königsberg, and the urban council or other town officials lasted twelve years, according to the preserved documents.³⁰⁷ This correspondence began with the settling of some of

³⁰³ *secus autem si fecerint, nihil nisi turpissimam cum perpetua infamia relegationem sperare poterint, eamque absque omni exceptione certissimam.*

³⁰⁴ *dies diei aliquid addidisset expensarum.*

³⁰⁵ *Quadringentis certe ad minimum adhuc indigeo imperialibus, quibus omni me aere alieno exsolvere poterō. Sed unde eosdem acipiam, totus ignoro.*

³⁰⁶ See the prosopographical catalogue, no. 268.

³⁰⁷ Two letters sent by Johannes Ericus from Wrocław and twelve letters sent from Königsberg are preserved in the Košice Town Archives for the time period between from 1650 to 1662: (i) to the town council, October 1650: AMK H I, no. 7937/23; (ii) to Johannes Kevitzky, town judge, March 16, 1651; (iii) to the town council, October 1652: AMK H I, no. 8134/40; (iv) to the town council, March 13, 1653: AMK H I, no. 8199/19; (v) to the town council, January 2, 1654: AMK H I, no. 8257/17; (vi) to the town council, September 21, 1654: AMK H I, no. 8257/5; (vii) to the town council, November 25, 1654: AMK H I, no. 8257/14; (viii) to Johannes Kevitzky, town judge (recte: senate member, n.a.), December 7, 1654: AMK H I, no. 8257/16; (ix) to the town council, September 5, 1656: AMK H I, no. 8362/3; (x) to the town council, October 7, 1656: AMK H I, no. 8362/2; (xi) to the town council, October 2, 1657: AMK H I, no. 8400/17; (xii) to the town council, April 25, 1659: AMK H I, no. 8511/46; (xiii) to the town council, November 16, 1659: AMK H I, no. 8511/12; (xiv) to the town council, May 13, 1662: AMK H I, no. 8719/3.

the financial matters of the pupil in Wrocław: in his first letter sent in October 1650, Scheibenpoden mentions an amount of 48 florins sent to him out of his own inheritance. As further mentioned in the letter, while he was studying in Wrocław, his father, the town priest also named Johannes Scheibenpoden died, and, for some unclear reason, the son was denied direct access to his inheritance. The student asked the town council to help him recuperate a part of his legacy which he would like to use in order to continue his studies. In addition to that, the author made reference to the recently sold property of his brother and implored the town council to confer to him a part of the collected money before finally deciding what to do with it. As a recompense, Johannes promised to continue the service of his father to the town, that is, to become a priest as well. His second letter, sent from Wrocław in March 1651, was addressed to the town judge Johannes Kevitsky. After congratulating him on his re-election, Scheibenpoden addressed a request to be granted a regular stipend on an annual basis that he would use in order to complete his university studies and benefit the community after that. This was eventually settled, so that in his first letter sent from Königsberg in October 1652, the author, already an university student, expressed his greatest gratitude to the town council for sending him the amount of 150 *imperiales* as support for his studies. In addition to that, he mentioned that there are no other co-citizens in the university town except Andreas Kun, alluding to the supposition that he had been asked to act as a recruiter among other students at the university, preferably those from Košice themselves, to take positions in the town, a fact that was confirmed in his later letters.

In his second letter from Königsberg, dated March 1653, Scheibenpoden asked the town council to send him the remaining amount due him of 50 *imperiales*, because he had already spend the first amount. The student did not forget to assure the town council of his diligence and good intentions. Therefore, in the case of this individual, the urban council promised him a total amount of 200 *imperiales* at the beginning of his university studies, although it remains unclear for which period this money was designated. In his third preserved letter, sent almost one year later, in January 1654, Scheibenpoden wondered that he had not received any answers to his previously sent epistles, talked about his many expenses in the university town and asked to be sent a further 100 *imperiales* in order to complete his studies. At this point, it seems that the town council, even if continuing to support this student, had begun to become more demanding and thoughtful concerning each of the student's financial requests, that is to say, receiving money

had become a more difficult endeavor. The fourth letter, sent in September 1654, was an elaborate request for money, but the author also mentioned his active involvement in philosophical debates at the university and his firm desire to successfully conclude his studies. The fifth letter, sent two months later, has approximately the same content, as does his next one, this time addressed to Johannes Kevitzky in person.³⁰⁸ This letter was sent only few days past the previous one and seems to represent a more desperate attempt by the student to convince the high-ranking officials in the town, by addressing the most influential of them personally.

Two years later, in September 1656, Scheibenpoden wrote to the town council again and praised it for its generosity to him and the support sent in the meantime. In addition to that, he briefly described the military conflicts between Poland and Prussia, which had hindered him from sending his letter of gratitude earlier. The same topic was continued in his next letter, sent one month later. In it he again described the troublesome situation in the region, further worsened by a plague epidemic in Königsberg that had occurred in the intervening time. Scheibenpoden wrote that he had also become sick and had to spend all the money at his disposal to cure himself, and now, although his body is healthy, the state of his affairs was rather uneasy: *in healthy body (for which I am thankful to God), but my mind is burdened by many worries and confusions.*³⁰⁹ The correspondence was continued one year later. In his ninth letter, sent from Königsberg in October 1657, Scheibenpoden gave thanks for the letter he had received from the urban council and expressed his sorrow for the sad things that were happening at home, but also over the entire Christian world, referring to the conflicts between the Catholic and Protestant supporters. Later on in the letter, he said that it was becoming more and more difficult for him to study at the university. His debts were numerous and the 150 *imperiales* that had been sent in the meantime had been used to buy clothing and other needful things. A new request for money followed, this time the student asking to be sent the amount of 300 *imperiales*, needed, according to him, for the successful accomplishment of his studies. Even though we do not know in detail what the answer of the urban council to this new request was, we can imply from his next letters, that the student was urged to return home as soon as possible and start working as a Protestant priest in the town. This fact was mentioned by Scheibenpoden himself in his letter sent in April 1659 where he expressed his gratitude for the council's understanding and financial support over

³⁰⁸ Johannes Kevitzky was a member of the senate at that time, Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája*.

³⁰⁹ *in corpore sano (pro quo Deo gratiae sint!) mens multis curis ac perturbationibus onerata sit.*

the past years. He also mentioned that he still need to stay a bit longer at the university, although he did not specify why, probably to receive a higher degree (doctorate?), since, according to the university documentation, Scheibenpoden had already successfully passed his master's examination in 1655.³¹⁰

Seven months later Scheibenpoden wrote his next letter to the town council. In it he again mentioned the fact that he had already been urged to return home for two years and also proffered his thanks for the 60 *imperiales* that had been sent to him to date to pay some of his debts and for his trip home. The student further explained that he had already had to pay 40 out of the 60 *imperiales*, and the remaining 20 are not enough for him to pay for his trip from Königsberg to Košice. He further expanded on the difficulties related to travel and asked to be sent more money for this purpose. In 1662, however, Scheibenpoden was still in Königsberg. From here he sent his last preserved letter to the town council, which has a rather vague content, being, mainly, a deliberation concerning his difficulties. Again, regreably for this case as well, we do not know how the story ended.

These cases illustrate the most 'privileged' scenarios of receiving financial support for studies from the town council of Košice, granted for a longer period of time, usually starting with secondary school and continuing throughout a two-three year stay (or longer) at a university. It consisted of a fair amount of money which was sent with relative periodicity, most probably once per year. Sometimes students had to send letters of request in order to remind the town council of its 'duty' or to ask for a stipend increase. In some of these cases an allusion to guardianship entrusted to the town council by the students' father is present, so that, in addition to (or maybe instead of) receiving financial support from the town budget, these various students had the possibility to be given an additional amount from their own inherited money, which, according to the students' letters, was not as easy as one might imagine. Regreably, there are no other documents preserved to provide us with details concerning the amount and the conditions of this type of guardianship, in addition to the references provided by students' letters as presented above.

Besides the cases described above where students benefited from financial support sent over a longer period of time, while moving from school to school, or from a school to a university (or several), there are a number of cases where students addressed the town council

³¹⁰ Manfred Komorowski, *Promotionen an der Universität Königsberg 1548-1799* (Munich: Saur, 1988), 73.

directly and received financial support just once or twice, usually for studying in Wittenberg, a very popular university among the urban population in the region at that time. These students were not permanent solicitors of help from the town council, at least as far as the survival of the documents allows us to affirm, and the financial support accorded to them was rather sporadic. In most of the cases these were merely students from the neighbouring villages or market towns, acquaintances of priests or school teachers, and not inhabitants of Košice as such. The number of students at the University of Wittenberg who received some sort of support from the town council is comparatively high, especially in the second half of the sixteenth century, when the popularity of this institution of learning among students from Upper Hungary was at its peak.³¹¹

Two well-illustrated cases of occasional financial support are those of Stephanus Mustrius and Stephanus Tehani. There are four letters signed by both of them sent between November 1558 and September 1559 that open the collection of letters in the town archives.³¹² It is not known if these two students were inhabitants of Košice or came from somewhere else. Their case proceeded as follows: the first letter was a request for financial support, the second letter was an expression of gratitude for financial support received, supplemented by a small present (a book, not preserved) sent to the town council in recognition for its help, the third letter represented a combination of gratefulness and a careful new request, while the fourth letter is a renewed direct request for financial support. Mustrius' and Tehani's pledge for financial help was supported by a recommendation letter sent to the town council of Košice by Philip Melancthon, who was at that time lecturing at the University of Wittenberg.³¹³ The letters, especially the second one, suggest that Mustrius and Tehany had already received some financial aid from the town council, however, it is impossible to state for what period. One single entry in the town protocols certifies the amount of 50 florins – which was the 'standard' amount per year – given to both students in 1558, on May 26th, that is, before the first letter was written.³¹⁴ It cannot be established if some other kind of financial support was afforded to them later on. It could be that another sum was granted to both students after the first letter was written although there is no indication that this was the case. However, there is documented information that the town council of Košice became involved in the subsequent fate of these students, at least

³¹¹ See the respective part of chapter three of this dissertation.

³¹² AMK H I, no. 2011/13; no. 2150/105; no. 2150/108, and no. 2150/106.

³¹³ Original lost. Edited by Lajos Kemény in *Történelmi Tár*, 1889, 603-604.

³¹⁴ AMK H III/2, mac. 8, folio 54v: *Eodem die duobus adolescentibus Stephano Tehani et alteri Stephano Mustrius auxilium ad studia Vitebergam fl. 50.*

of one of them. There is a letter preserved in the town archives dated 1560, which states that Stephanus Mustrius was successfully working as school rector in Sobraniec, where he was sent by the town council of Košice to help establish a Protestant school.³¹⁵ Thus, it is most probable that both students stayed at the University of Wittenberg for two years, from 1557 to 1559, afterwards returning to the region and finding employment with the help of the town council.

Another possibly similar case involved two other students, Alexander Kendj and Basilius Ziksay (Szikszay), who sent their request for money from Wittenberg in 1560, which is around the same time that Mustrius and Tehany asked for help. There is just this one letter in the town archives (signed by both students, as in the above case)³¹⁶ which does not provide many details to this story, and further data on both persons is missing. It is very probable that these two students were also connected to the town council in some way and received some sort of financial aid, yet this supposition remains, unfortunately, unconfirmed. Besides these two cases, there are a number of other students of whom just one letter of request for support is preserved in the town archives letter collection, although further details on what kind of financial aid they received (if any) and for how long is unfortunately missing. Such are the cases of Gregorius Zikzai (Szikszay), former priest in Lisco, who sent a letter from Wittenberg in January 1563,³¹⁷ Demetrius Mischolci (Miskolci) with a letter sent from Wittenberg in January 1563 as well,³¹⁸ Franciscus Strigo, with a letter sent in January of the same year from Wittenberg,³¹⁹ Valentinus Ungar with his letter from Wittenberg sent in August 1571,³²⁰ Georgius Caesar with a letter sent from Wittenberg in 1577,³²¹ Michael Gulden, a letter sent from Wrocław in April 1585,³²² Martinus Brechtel, letter sent from Wittenberg in March 1590,³²³ Georgius Menheliu with a letter sent from the school in Görlitz in 1623,³²⁴ David Kilger, who sent a letter from Toruń in May 1642,³²⁵ and Andreas Kuhn with a letter sent from Königsberg in January 1655.³²⁶ The

³¹⁵ AMK H I, no. 2249/60. See also Branislav Varsík, “Vznik a vývin slovenských kalvínov na východnom Slovensku” (The origin and the Development of Slovak Calvinists in Eastern Slovakia), *Historický časopis* 39:2 (1991): 129-148, here 130.

³¹⁶ AMK H I, no. 2249/7.

³¹⁷ AMK H I, no. 2446/131.

³¹⁸ AMK H I, no. 2446/133.

³¹⁹ AMK H I, no. 2446/139.

³²⁰ AMK H I, no. 3087/76.

³²¹ AMK H I, no. 3411/130.

³²² AMK H I, no. 3891/20.

³²³ AMK H I, no. 4226/124.

³²⁴ AMK H I, no. 6038/36.

³²⁵ AMK H I, no. 6917/34.

largest number of letters was sent from Wittenberg in the second half of the sixteenth century, which, in addition to being the time when the numbers of Hungarian students studying at this university peaked, seems to be one of the periods when the Košice town council was most actively engaged in providing financial assistance to students. In the seventeenth century, their number was reduced considerably, which both corresponds to the reduction in number of students from Upper Hungary at the University of Wittenberg and to the difficult internal situation in Košice and in the region as a whole.³²⁷ These letters, although not very rich in details, extend our knowledge about the extent of the financial involvement of the town in the academic studies of young people from this respective period.

4.4. Categories of beneficiaries

In addition to estimating the duration of financial support, the question of who were the beneficiaries deserves special attention. Several categories of beneficiaries could be established from analyzing the sources. The first category, representatives of which were most successful in receiving financial support, especially for long periods of time, included members of well positioned families in the town. Among these, the cases of Georgius Buntzler and Bartholomeus Barth have been already mentioned. Additionally, Martinus Brechtel, Daniel Weinsperger, and Benedictus Bakay may also be placed in this category. However, this listing is certainly incomplete reflecting the lack of documented information.

A second category of beneficiaries, in some ways related to the first one, was represented by children of town's burghers or other former urban employees who held important functions in the town administration or at the local school. In this case, the financial support accorded was of a general character and meant to help the young men in acquiring some education and then assist them in finding a job either in Košice or elsewhere. Most of this help occurred after the death of the respective pupils' father. Two such cases are well documented in the letters preserved in the town archives, namely those of the brothers Gulden and Kauffin. Jacob and Johannes Gulden sent three letters to the town council, the first one signed by both brothers and the other two only by Jacob.³²⁸ At that time (1561 and 1562) Jacob was employed by a member of the Thurzó family at Levoča and Johannes was a pupil at the secondary school in Prešov. They were, as they

³²⁶ AMK H I, no. 8317/11

³²⁷ See the respective subchapters for further comments on these issues.

³²⁸ AMK H I, no. 2301/98; no. 2392/44; and no. 2392/26.

mentioned themselves in their letters, sons of Jacob Gulden, a person who was actively involved in the administration of the towns of Košice and Levoča. There is, indeed, much information on him in various sources related to the cultural life of the two towns. He was employed as a notary in Košice from 1553 to 1557, after having previously been, for a longer period of time, from 1541 to 1552, notary in Levoča.³²⁹ Jacob Gulden the elder is mentioned as being one of the members of the Corpus Christi confraternity in Levoča from the years 1541 to 1544.³³⁰ In a document dated 1545 he appeared with the title ‘*nobilis de Rudabanya*’,³³¹ also used by one of his sons who signs himself Jacob Gulden de Ruda. Jacob Gulden the father was also active in the town of Levoča during the difficult period after the fire of 1556, when he was involved in attempts to save the town records, as mentioned by Caspar Hain in his chronicle.³³² It is also known that he possessed a house in Levoča which burnt down as a result of the above-mentioned fire in 1556.³³³ He was married to a certain Margarete and had two sons with her, Jacob and Johannes, who were the authors of the letters in question.³³⁴ The elder Jacob lived in Košice most probably until his death, which occurred some time before the year 1561: his sons mention their father’s death in their letters addressed to the town council.

In the first letter, dated December 1561 and sent from Spišský Hrad, the boys praised the intention of the town council to support the studies of youth, and, by mentioning the merits of their father, attempted to request similar support for themselves. It is not clear from this letter, however, where the two wished to study, but most probably this was to be at the town school in Prešov where one of the brothers was studying at the time of writing this letter. The second letter

³²⁹ See AMK H III/2, mac. 8, folio 12v: “*Item Iohannes Fynk de Cassovia [...] contra Nicolai Priger filii Petri Priger de Cassovia eiusdemque [...] contra Jacobum Gulden Notarium Cassoviensem*”. For more information on his activities in Levoča see Jörg Meier, *Städtische Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main u.a.: Lang, 2004), 97f. and František Žifčák, “Leutschauer Notare als humanistische Gelehrten,” in Čičaj, *Städtisches Alltagsleben*, 101-109, here 102.

³³⁰ Béla Iványi, “A lőcsei Krisztus Teste testvérelet jegyzőkönyve 1431-1584” (The protocols of the Corporis Christi confraternity of Levoča 1431-1584), *Közlemények Szepes Vármegye múltjából* 3:3 (1911): 134-135.

³³¹ AMK, H III/2, mac. 8, folio 3r

³³² Jeromos Bal, Jenő Förster, and Aurél Kaufmann, eds. *Lőcsei krónikája – Zipserische oder Leütschaverische Chronica ... von Caspar Hain* (Levoča: Reiss Józ. T. Könyvnyomó Intézete, 1910-1913), 98.

³³³ See Ivan Chalupický, “Die Bürgerhäuser von Leutschau/Levoča – Slowakei,” in *Wandel und Beharrung. Regionalgeschichtliche Untersuchungen in Australien – Südafrika – Rumänien – Slowakei – Deutschland*, ed. Heinrich Lamping (Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeographie des Johann Wolfgang Goethe – Universität, 2000), 251-275.

³³⁴ František Žifčák, “Levočské “kostolné registre” zo 16.-17. storočia ako historicko-genealogický prameň” (The church register from Levoča from the 16th and 17th century as a historical and genealogical source), in *Zborník príspevkov k slovenským dejinám* (Collection of contributions to the Slovak history), ed. Vincent Sedlák (Bratislava: SAV, 1998), 252-263.

was signed only by Jacob Gulden and was sent about three months later to the town judge. Here again, the author referred to the good reputation of his father, mentioning that he would be happy to follow a similar career and asking the judge to intercede on his behalf at one of the town council meetings. The third letter, written three days after the second, has approximately the same content, the difference being that it was addressed to the town council and has, to some extent, a more official character. Unfortunately, we do not have any documents to detail what happened in this case, what the reaction of the town council was and what (if any) was the amount of support accorded to the two brothers. Definitely, the chances of getting a subsidy were high, and the fact that from 1567 to 1573 we can find the name of a certain Johannes Gulden, who, most probably, was one of the brothers, among the members of the town council, demonstrates that the town contributed, in some way, to the careers of the two.³³⁵

Another similar case is that of the brothers Tobias and Benjamin Kauffin (Kauffni/y), who also sent three letters to the town council of Košice. The first letter was signed by both brothers (1578, from Brno), and the following two were signed only by one of them, namely Tobias and were sent from Olomouc in October and December 1579, respectively.³³⁶ Tobias and Benjamin were the sons of Richardus Kauffin, teacher in Košice and Kežmarok.³³⁷ The town archives in Košice contain an extensive number of letters for the period from 1558 throughout 1570 that document the various diplomatic missions of Richardus Kauffin carried out at the request of the town council.³³⁸ He died in 1571 and was buried in the Saint Elisabeth Cathedral in Košice.³³⁹

³³⁵ Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája*. See also AMK H III/2, MAC 17, folio 13r., folio 25v., folio 56v., PUR 7, folio 68v., 70v; 71r; 71v.; 76v.; 78v. Johannes Gulden died in Košice in 1574: *Joannes Gulden mortuus die x. februarii post occasum solis [...] sepultus est die 12 februarii 1574*. AMK H III/2, MAC 14, folio 3r.

³³⁶ AMK H I, no. 3473/105; no. 3526/64; and no. 3589/27.

³³⁷ “*Notandum quod Richardus Kauffni huc venit die vigesima octobris anno 1565*”, AMK H III/2, mac. 11, folio 41r. “*Junius Richardus Kauffin, Schulmeister*” is mentioned in a letter to Thomas Froehlich, written in 1561, edited by Lajos Kemény, in *Történelmi Tár*, 1892, 187-8. See also two letters addressed to R. Kauffin, dated July and October 1570, sent by Andreas Fabricius Panonius, who names himself an ex-pupil of R. Kauffin and expresses his gratitude to him for recommending him to a job position in the local school in Košice: AMK H I, no. 3036/100 and no. 3036/99.

³³⁸ AMK H I contains several letters sent by Richardus Kauffin (sometimes signed by him together with some of his companions) from various locations in the region, from Bratislava, Vienna, and Prague: no. 2011/120; no. 2011/121; no. 2011/122; no. 2279/126; no. 2764/54; no. 2764/178; no. 2764/179; no. 2764/180; no. 3036/96; no. 3036/53; no. 3036/43; no. 3036/18; no. 3036/9; no. 18383/A25 and others. In addition, there are a number of entries in the town protocols to confirm Richard Kauffin’s involvement in various diplomatic missions. For an example what sort of diplomatic missions these were see for instance AMK H III/2, MAC 16, folio 48v.: *Joannes Solcz apothecarius senator et Conradus Schenckel panczermacher centumuir ac Richardus Kauffny rector scholae profecti sunt ad maiestatem sacratissimam caesaream Pragae Bohemiae, ut taxa impositae fl. 8000 impetrent mitigationem*.

The first letter was signed by both brothers, but, sometimes, the author of the letter used the first person indicating it was actually written by one of them alone, namely Tobias. The letter started with the usual praises of the town which, notwithstanding the difficulties of time, continued to support schools and scholars. Later on the author(s) reminded the town council about the many merits of their father, mentioning his successful diplomatic missions – *In fact I know that also in Prague, since I was the companion of my father, I saw, heard and learned with what dilligence and what brightness of mind he served his homeland, not to speak about the other things which, being assigned to him, he settled in other places*³⁴⁰ – and finally came to a request for financial support (with a note that they had decided to make such a request at the suggestion of an old friend of their parents). Appended to the letter was a poem possibly composed by Tobias, which was unfortunately lost. Both brothers had been studying at a secondary school in Brno at the time the letter was composed (May, 1578). It contained a note on its first page, written by another person, which says the following: – *Tobias and Beniamin Kaufni ask for subsidy. Read to the senate on June 23, 1578. Given to them: five florins.*³⁴¹ This indicates that the request was successful to some extent.

The second and third letters are signed only by Tobias Kauffin and are sent from Olomouc in October and December 1579 respectively. They do not contain any reference to financial matters, but suggest that Tobias was already on some mission on behalf of the town council. It is known that in 1581 at least one of the brothers, Tobias, moved to Košice and was employed in town administration. This is further confirmed by a considerable number of letters in both Latin and German preserved in the town archives signed by Tobias Kauffin alone or him together with one or two companions who were sent on official missions to various towns, mainly to Vienna and Bratislava, starting from the year 1581 through the year 1588.³⁴² One letter dated 1583 addresses Tobias Kauffin as *notarius publicus Cassoviensis*, a function he probably held throughout the above period.³⁴³ This second case, just as the one previously discussed,

Declaratur omnibus civitatis difficultatibus et inopia civium. Dati sunt eis in viaticum fl. 213. Actum 27 Decembris die Joannis euangelistae, anno 1569.

³³⁹ AMK H III/2, MAC 16, folio 91r.: *Am 25 tag Auguszti ist herr Richardus Kauffny in Gott verschieden und begraben worden in die pfarkirchen 1571. Ist allhie etliche Jahr Schulmeister gewesen.*

³⁴⁰ AMK H I, no. 3473/105: *scio quidem et Pragae, cum essem patri comes, vidi, audiui et expertus sum, qua industria et quo mentis ardore patriae inserviverit, taceo de reliquis, quae sibi imposita, in aliis locis expedit.*

³⁴¹ *Thobias et Beniamin Kaufni petunt subsidium. Lectae senatui 23 Junii 1578. Dati eis quinque floreni.*

³⁴² AMK H I: no. 3653/114; no. 3653/113; no. 3772/2; no. 3772/3; no. 3772/14; no. 3772/90; no. 3837/86; no. 3891/72; no. 4070/37.

³⁴³ AMK H I, no. 3772/109.

shows that the town was responsive to the petitions of sons of people who had provided various services for the town previously and who, due to difficult circumstances (death of the father in both these cases), were living in limited circumstances. The urban council helped them complete their studies and, following that, most probably also helped get them work in the town.

It occurred sometimes that financial support was accorded to clergy or school teachers already employed in the town in order to go to a university to improve their qualifications. These persons belong to the third category of town council beneficiaries. Such is the case of Martinus Schacht, student at Wittenberg in 1563. Before going to Wittenberg, Schacht had been working at the local school in Košice as a teacher's assistant.³⁴⁴ He went to Wittenberg with the support of the town council in 1563 and sent three letters back home during this year.³⁴⁵ His first letter is an expression of gratitude addressed to the town notary, Leonard Kromer, for his support supplemented by three songs he hoped the addressee will enjoy (unfortunately lost). The second letter was addressed to the town council of Košice, presented in June 1563, and represented a rhetorical and florid acknowledgment of the town administration's merits in the propagation and support of the studies of its citizens. The third letter was sent in September of the same year. In it the author implored the council to be sent some help in order to survive the winter successfully and to return in order to be again of use for the town.

A copy of a letter of response from the town council to Martinus Schacht is preserved in the town archives. In this letter, the town council confirms the sending of money and expresses their hopes that, one day, Martinus Schacht will return home to take a job either at the church or at the school.³⁴⁶ Indeed, Schacht returned to Košice sometime between 1563 and 1566, when his name is mentioned in the town protocols.³⁴⁷ In 1568 he took his burgher's oath.³⁴⁸ Martinus Schacht was employed at the local church as cantor and at the urban school as a teacher; in 1572

³⁴⁴ See a letter sent by Adamus, minister ecclesiae Barphensis in 1558 to "*doctor et humano juveni Martino Schochot, collaboratori in schola Casschoviensi*" [...] edited by Lajos Kemény in *A Reformáció Kassán: Oklevéltárral* (Reformation in Košice: with a Chartulary) (Košice: Bernovits G. Kö és Könyvnyomdája, 1891), 81-83.

³⁴⁵ AMK H I, no. 2446/140; no. 2446/134; and no. 2446/135.

³⁴⁶ AMK H I, no. 2446/142.

³⁴⁷ AMK H III/2, MAC 14, folio 3v.: *die 8 Februarii 1566 Martino Schochot cantori promisit senatus mutuo dare flor. 25. [et dedit - written by another person]*

³⁴⁸ *Martinus Schacht sive Schochott ex oppido Mosocz comitatus Thuroczien., nunc cantor scholae et templi istius civitatis, productis ex exhibitis nataliciis literis per Senatum approbatis, ius civile conferitus est feria sexta proxima ante festum Thomae Apostoli quae fuit dies XVII mensis Decembris 1568.*

Source: AMK, H III/2, pur. 5, folio 475v.

and 1573 was still living in Košice.³⁴⁹ His case is a good example of the town's investment in the so-called professional development of its employees, by way of giving them the possibility to improve their knowledge and prestige at one of the reputed universities of the time.

Another student, Gedeon Adami, worked at the local church before receiving financial support from the town council to study in Wrocław, as confirmed by an entry in the town protocols.³⁵⁰ He sent a letter from Wrocław in March 1575 asking the town council to confer a stipend on him so that he could continue his studies at the University in Leipzig.³⁵¹ Unfortunately, it is not known if this student went to the University of Leipzig or another institution after graduating from the school in Wrocław. In 1579, Adami was already in Košice, where he married and received burgher's rights.³⁵² Related to this category is also the case of Caspar Pilcius, born in Spišské Podhradie, who studied in Košice and in Prešov. In 1573, before going to Wittenberg, Pilcius was a schoolteacher in Košice.³⁵³ In 1574 he left for Wittenberg from where he sent his only letter preserved in the Košice town archives, addressed to Thomas Hilarius (Fröhlich), priest in the town, which is a very detailed description of his travel to the university and of the first days after his arrival in Wittenberg.³⁵⁴

This category of beneficiaries also comprised priests and schoolteachers from the neighbouring localities, not only employees in Košice itself. The letter of Gregorius Zikzai (Szikszay), former priest in Olaszliszka, who sent one financial request from Wittenberg in January 1563 has already been mentioned. In addition to this, there are a number of letters authored by priests or school rectors from the region, in which they require the town council to give support to some of their co-citizens or pupils in order to pursue their studies in Wittenberg. Lucas Futaghi (Futaki), for example, who was a priest in Tarcál, writes a letter or request to the town council in Košice urging the counsellors to give some kind of support to the above-

³⁴⁹ AMK, H III/2 PUR 8, folio 181r and 196r. See also AMK H III/2, MAC 17, folio 10 r.

³⁵⁰ AMK H III/2, MAC 17, folio 43r: *Gedeoni Adami studioso, cuius p[ate]r hic fuit concionator Germanicis senatus donat in subsidium studiorum pro hac vero fl. 10 (1573, 31 Martii).*

³⁵¹ AMK H I, no. 3285/98.

³⁵² “*Gedeon Adami, natus Cibinii, receptus est in consortium iuris et libertatis civilis, die 10 mensis iulii [1579].*” AMK H III/2 pur.5, folio 486r. See also AMK H III/2, PUR 7, folio 141v.

³⁵³ AMK H III/2, MAC 17, folio 45r: *Casparus Pülcz hungaricum collaboratorem senatus installavit in schola die am 23 Tag Aprilis 1573.*

³⁵⁴ AMK H I, no. 3219/111. See a description of this letter in the subchapter about students from Košice at the University of Wittenberg.

mentioned Gregorius de Szikszó (alias Zikzai), former schoolteacher and priest in Olaszliszka, and his brother Demetrius de Szikszó, who were studying in Wittenberg.³⁵⁵

Stephanus Siculus, former church attendant, probably in Košice (?) wrote a letter of support for two students going to Wittenberg, addressed to the town council in 1563.³⁵⁶ Both authors mention some money left by one of the town burghers with the purpose of supporting young people's studies. Futaghi speaks of a certain Franciscus Literatus, who, shortly before his death, left part of his wealth with the purpose of helping students to become good servants of the church while Siculus mentioned an honourable burgher, who left some money to the town administration with the same intention (it could be that both authors are referring to the same person).

Caspar Carolius (Károli), the translator of the first full version of the Bible into Hungarian, thus one of the most outstanding intellectuals of his time, himself a former student in Wittenberg and at the time priest in Göncz, sent a letter to the Košice town council in 1563 as well, referring to some money left by a pious burgher of which a part could be granted to students, should the town council agree to that.³⁵⁷ :

I hear that some money has been left for students by the testament of some pious man and that it is deposited with Sigismundus literatus and Peter Ferenczi. It is certainly not right to use that money for some other profane purposes. Those gentlemen whom I named before promised to share a part of that money with these men, of course if your lordships will agree.

The two persons mentioned as willing to go to Wittenberg are the same people recommended by Siculus. It seems that this money was not deposited directly with the council but with two persons named Sigismundus literatus and Petrus Ferenczi, so that the council only had the right to recommend certain individuals. It is not clear if these two letters of recommendation brought about the granting of any financial aid, yet it could be established that both students succeeded in going to Wittenberg and studying for a certain period of time there.³⁵⁸ Another letter of this type was signed by Isaac Fegyvernek, teacher in Sárospatak, and sent to the

³⁵⁵ AMK H I, no. 2392/84. The letter is dated April 20, 1562.

³⁵⁶ AMK H I, no. 2446/132

³⁵⁷ AMK H I, no. 2446/138: *Audio esse aliquod pecuniae isthic testamento legatum a pio, nescio quo homine, studiosis ac repositum esse apud dominos Sigismundum literatum et Petrum Ferenczi, id pecuniae ad alios profanos usus convertere certe non decet [...]. Promiserant illi domini, quorum prius memini, se communicaturos aliquam partem illius pecuniae his viris, si scilicet consensus vestrarum dignitatum accedat.*

³⁵⁸ According to Szabó, both students registered as members of the Hungarian *Coetus* in Wittenberg in 1564., *Geschichte des Ungarischen Coetus*, 135.

town council in May 1589 to recommend Gregorius Vacz, his pupil, to be accepted among the town's beneficiaries.³⁵⁹ Again, regrettably, it is not known what the reaction of the town council to this request was although we can find Gregorius Vacz (Waczi) registered in 1591 as a member of the Hungarian *coetus* at the University of Wittenberg. Thus, in some way, his attempts to attend the institution seem to have been successful.³⁶⁰

Sometimes it occurred that peregrinating scholars, who happened to be in Košice for different purposes or just on their way between two locations, learning that the town council sometimes lent a hand of support to travelling scholars, would address a letter to it with the hope of receiving some kind of assistance. One letter of this kind has been found in the letter collection. As in many other cases, unfortunately it is not clear what kind of response the town council gave in this or similar cases. The letter itself does not provide us with any detailed information either. It is not known if the author, Christophorus Zymermann, applied for financial help or a job in the town. All we know is that he was coming from Olomouc in Moravia and that his way lead him through Košice.³⁶¹

4.5. Conditions to be fulfilled before and after receiving financial aid

There were a number of conditions students had to fulfil or respect if offered financial support for their studies. Research on this topic usually mentions the following criteria: assiduity and good will of the student, poor financial conditions, the burgher's right in their respective town, confession of a certain kind (Lutheran, Catholic), being a member of a certain family or social status, specific university to be attended, specific faculty, future profession or job to be taken in the town after the studies, and others.³⁶² In order to assess the first criterium, letters of recommendation from former or current teachers of the respective student would usually play a certain role, as did oral interventions by relatives in high positions or influential persons in the town. These two possibilities have been used by students from Košice in order to improve their chances of receiving financial help.

Reports on a student's academic progress together with requests to further support him financially existed for Georgius Buntzler. In addition to Benedictus Salmuth mentioned above,

³⁵⁹ AMK H I, no. 4121/111.

³⁶⁰ Szabó, *Geschichte des Ungarischen Coetus*, 143.

³⁶¹ AMK H I, no. 4268/46, letter sent in May 1591 from Košice.

³⁶² See, for example, Ebner, *Stipendienstiftungen in Nürnberg*, 171ff. with further references.

Joachim Goltius, originally from Prague, rector at the school in Jihlava and one of Buntzler's teachers, wrote a letter to the town council dated November 10, 1586.³⁶³ This is a kind of description summarizing the student's achievements at the end of his school studies (since he refers to his pupil in the past tense, we can assume that this is the year when Buntzler left Jihlava, successfully finishing the studies there) so that the town council could learn about the progress and consider his future financing.

A good example is the already mentioned letter of Philip Melanchthon sent in September 1559 on behalf of Stephanus Mustricius and Stephanus Tehany. He informed the council about the students' progress, their future plans and demanded that the town council not abandon both students, but help them survive the winter in order to be of use for the church of the region:

*Honorable gentlemen, thinking often about our and your dangers, I bewail both the ungratefulness and the cowardice of the German people, that we do not, in turn, help to defend you, who by your blood long keep back the barbaric tartars and turks from the rest of Europe. In between these sighs, I solace myself that the son of God will preserve, in His mercy, the remains of his church, and I ask Him with all my heart together with you, and that he would soften the punishments for you and for us. Your piety is pleasant to God indeed, that you take care that the church is taught well so that the appeal would become truthful and that you help those who study. Stephanus Mustricz and Stephanus Theani, whom you support in their expenditures, live in our town honestly and study rightfully the doctrine of the church, and they pray to God that He would do good in turn. Even though they know that you are very much burdened in this disastrous wars, however they pray that you would not abandon them in the middle of the course of their studies. Stephanus Mustricz is not be reluctant to return to you by the end of the winter. Therefore, if he will not be able to secure more, he asks to be helped still with his expenses over the winter. I see that they fear God, study diligently and love the peace of the Church. This is why I recommend them to you and ask you respectfully that you do not abandon them [...].*³⁶⁴

Two letters of recommendation for Daniel Weinsperger from professors at the University of Wittenberg were also preserved.³⁶⁵ The administration of the University of Königsberg

³⁶³ AMK H I, no. 4008/99.

³⁶⁴ *Honesti viri. Saepe cogitans de vestris et nostris periculis deploro et ingratitude et ignaviam gentis germanicae, quod vos, qui diu sanguine vestro a reliqua Europa tartaricam et turcicam barbariem repressistis, non vicissim in defensione adiuvamus. Inter hos gemitus hac me consolatione sustento, quod filius dei clementer reliquias ecclesiae suae servaturus sit, quem et toto pectore vobiscum oro, ut et vobis et nobis poenas leniat. Grata est autem deo pietas vestra, quod et ecclesiam recte doceri curatis, ut vera fiat invocatio et discentibus opitulamini. Vivunt apud nos honeste, et recte discunt ecclesiae doctrinam Stephanus Mustricz et Stephanus Theani, quibus sumptus praebetis, et deum orant, ut vicissim vobis bene faciat. Etsi autem sciunt vos in his calamitosis bellis valde onerari, tamen orant, ne ipsos in medio cursu studiorum deseratis. Stephanus Mustricz non recusat post hyemem ad vos redire. Si igitur plus impetrare non poterit, orat ut adhuc hybernis sumptibus juvetur. Video eos timere deum, studiose discere et tranquillitatem ecclesiae amare. Ideo eos vobis commendo, et reverenter oro, ne eos deseratis [...].*

³⁶⁵ AMK H I, no. 5818/8 and no. 5991/3.

similarly took an active part in the academic careers of its students. It was well informed about the problems of Adamus Kys discussed above, for instance, as we discover in a letter sent to the town council in October 1649. This letter was, in fact, a recommendation for Matthias Osztropataki, another student from Košice, who also acted as defender of Kys, most probably at the request of the town council.³⁶⁶

A number of students, in addition to addressing the town council, wrote letters to a member of the senate or another official in the town with whom they had closer ties as relatives or acquaintances, with the request that they act as advocates for their support. Such a note is included in the letter of Demetrius Mischolci.³⁶⁷ Georgius Buntzler wrote to Caspar Schneider, his brother in law, and member of the town council from 1581 to 1593. He asked him to act on his behalf at one of the administrative meetings. In his letter sent in response, Schneider tells that he could not do it himself because of his illness, yet he asked his other brother in law, a member of the senate, to fulfill Buntzler's request.³⁶⁸

Georgius Caesar wrote to Iacob Grotker, member of the senate from 1565 to 1586 and town judge in 1569, 1575, 1576, and 1585.³⁶⁹ In his letter sent from Wittenberg in 1577,³⁷⁰ the student named him his patron and neighbour, and started with the usual laudation towards the good deeds of the addressee from which we can imply that Grotker had played an important role in supporting Caesar's studies. In the first part of his letter the author hurried to state that all his efforts would be dedicated to the town in which he was born and spent a part of his life. His request for support is very short and somehow hidden in the entire letter full of eulogies, without no details of a financial character given. However, the author made reference to some letters sent previously, and also congratulated Grotker on his wedding. This demonstrates that, in addition to the student-sponsor connection, their relationship was of a more private character. It is very unfortunate that nothing more in relation to financing the studies of Georgius Caesar could be discovered. Similarly, in 1650, Johannes Kotay wrote to Gregorius Miskolczi, a town council member, one month after he sent his letter to the town council from Wittenberg.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ AMK H I, no. 7788/15.

³⁶⁷ AMK H I, no. 2446/133.

³⁶⁸ AMK H I, no. n/a.

³⁶⁹ Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája*.

³⁷⁰ AMK H I, no. 3411/130.

³⁷¹ AMK H I, no. n/a.

All these cases suggest that the urban council of Košice considered it important to receive additional information on their future grantees from a variety of sources. Other criteria, such as poverty or limited financial possibilities and burgher's rights did not play an important role in whether a Košice student would be funded. As already mentioned above, many of the candidates were members of well positioned families or employees in the town and there is documented information that some of the former students who received generous stipends from the town council received their burgher's rights sometimes years after finishing their studies, as for example Martinus Schacht (no. 224) or Christophorus Teufel (no. 246).

One of the most important conditions, established for several cases, was for the beneficiary to return after his studies to take a position in the town or in the region (most often the decision about the exact location was made by the town council) or to resume his previous job and, if necessary, to provide services and otherwise act on behalf of the town while abroad. There is a well documented case preserved in the town archives in Košice to illustrate these conditions. Jacob Melczer was a student at Wittenberg from 1566 until, probably, 1570.³⁷² He received 200 florins from the town council for his studies, most probably 50 florins per year for a total of four years. This is confirmed by an entry in the town protocols as well, which states: *The sixth day after Mary's Nativity, in 1569, fifty florins have again been given to Jacob Melzer so that he would remain the entire year at Wittenberg and [...] would finally return home after the year has passed.*³⁷³

In his two letters sent to the town council from Wittenberg, one in 1566 and another one in 1568, he expressed his gratitude for being financed by the town council for two years. He added that since the time of his stay in Wittenberg, as previously agreed, was shortly coming to an end, he required as a last favour to settle his debts and buy some necessary things:

*Since I have had to live at the academy beyond that prescribed time, so that I was compelled to contract some debts over this time, and, as I understand, I have to remain here still until the feast of St. Michael and in addition to that I also lack a supply of some necessary books, certainly I do not see anything else I can do but to take refuge again with your dignities and to implore your help.*³⁷⁴

³⁷² There are two letters sent by Jacob Melzer from Wittenberg, in 1566 and 1568 respectively: AMK H I, no. 2764/181 and no. 2925/94.

³⁷³ AMK H III/2, MAC 16, folio 33v: *feria sexta post Nativitatis Mariae 1569 Jacobo Melzer denuo quinquaginta floreni administrati sunt ut adhuc per integrum annum Vitebergae maneat et [...] tandem finito anno domum redeat.*

³⁷⁴ [...] *cum autem supra definitum illud tempus me in academia vivere contigerit, ut necesse fuerit me per hoc spacium quaedam debita contrahere, et intelligam mihi manendum esse hic ad Michaelis usque festum adhuc,*

In November 1570 he returned to Košice and was employed as a school teacher.³⁷⁵ Five years later, Melczer addressed the town council in order to get permission to leave the school and be ordained as a priest. The council members accepted his decision although he was required to stay and teach at the school until they found a substitute for him.³⁷⁶ Melczer agreed and, until 1578, he could be still identified as working at the school.³⁷⁷ A note in the town protocols, dated August 26, 1578 states the following: *Jacobus Melczer shall remain in his service and with the same salary he has had until now and be satisfied with that. If he does not do so, then he should appoint securities for the 200 florins that the town council has given to him for his studies, or he should serve the town for this amount,*³⁷⁸ which makes a clear reference to the restrictions set forward by the town council towards those financed during their studies. Jacob Melczer finally received the permission of the town council to leave for Brzeg, in today's Poland to be ordained as a priest and was even allotted financial support of 9 florins for his travel expenses. However, the permission was granted with one condition, namely to return both this support of 9 florins and the previously allocated amount of 200 florins received as a financial support for his studies in Wittenberg, rated at 50 florins per year, which was quite a significant amount in those times, even for an acting town priest.³⁷⁹

praeterea et librorum quorundam necessariorum suppellex mihi desit, nimirum quid mihi aliud sit faciendum non video, nisi ut ad celsitudines vestras confugiam denuo, et auxilium vestrum implorem [...].

³⁷⁵ AMK, H III/2, MAC 16, folio 74v.: 1570, die 21 novembris. *Jacobus Melczer in scholae nostrae collaboratorem solemniter est introductus et installatus habita oratione de literis et eorum dignitate et utilitate.*

³⁷⁶ H III/2, MAC 18, folio 31r.: 1575. Die 4 martii. *Jacobus Melczer veniam ab officio collaboraturae accepit et senatus concessit, ita tamen, ut in officio maneat, donec successor illi invenitur.*

³⁷⁷ H III/2, MAC 21, folio 27r.: 1578. *Jacobus Melczer vocatus et susceptus est praesente et consentiente domino pastore in germanicum scholae collaboratorem ad integrum annum. Actum 13 Februarii, hoc est feria 5 ante Dominicam Invocavit. (H III/2, MAC 21, folio 3r. ; 1578). 1578. Die 22. Augusti. De Jacobo Melczero collaboratori deliberatum est a senatu, ut maneat per annum integrum. Promissum honorarium ipsi ab inclyto senatu peracto anno.*

³⁷⁸ AMK H III/2, MAC 21, folio 28r: *Jacobus Melczer soll vorbleyben in seinem dinst undt mit der Besoldung, so er bis anher gehabt, vorleb nehmen undt darmit vulent sein. Wo er solches nicht thun wirdt, soll er birg seczen vor die 200 fl., so im gemeine Statt dem seinem studiren zu gutt vorgestreckt, oder aber soll die selbigen abdingen.*

³⁷⁹ 1578. *Similiter et Jacobus Melczer abiturus obligatorias olim senatui datas, renovet prius et potest postea ire ad ordinationem. Acum eodem die (i.e. nov. 13) (H III/2, MAC 18, folio 94v.); 1578. die 28 Novembris. Ein ersamer richter und rath hat dem Jacobum Melczer deutschen collaboratem freigesprochen von seinen diensten in ansehung, das er nach ordenlichen Beruef zum Predigeramt des heiligen wort Gottes nach Brieger in Schlesien zur Ordination verraissen soll. (H III/2, MAC 19, folio 93v.); 1578. Jacobus Melczer porrecta sua confessione de coena Domini scripta aprehensa, hinc abiit; dati sunt illi mutuo fl. 10 polonicales [=9 fl. ungaricales, n.e.]. 28 Nouembris. 1578 (H III/2, MAC 18, folio 94v.) 1579. Die 27 Februarii. Jacobus Melczer petiit dilationem solutionem pecuniae, quod inclytus senatus, proficiscens ad ordinationem, ipsi suppeditavit fl. nimirum 9; terminus profixus huic solutioni festum Paschalis; quod adtinet ad 200 fl., quos etiam ipsi suppeditarunt, deliberatum a senatu, ut singulis annis numeret 50 fl., donec satis fiat. (H III/2, MAC 21, folio 45r.); 1579. Die 27 Februarii. Jacobus Melczer, so allhie*

Another condition for the grantees is suggested by the case of another student, Adamus Kys, who received support for his studies at the University of Königsberg. Here, the town council expressed its expectations that he and other recipients of funding should successfully complete their studies: *You wish very much for the final conclusion of my academic involvement.*³⁸⁰ However, it very often occurred that students would spend one or two years at a university and this qualification would be usually sufficient in order to find employment in the town. Graduation at that time did not play a very important role in placement success, with the few exceptions where a serious academic career was envisaged.

Almost all the students included expressions of the highest gratitude in their letters for the support granted along with promises to offer their service for the benefit of the town and the homeland. Nevertheless, these promises are never very specific; such very vague expressions as ‘*whatever the case*’, ‘*one day*’, ‘*if necessary*’ etc. being used. Because this aspect was never described in detail it remains unclear if this was the case for all the students, or – which seems more plausible – only for those who received long-term financial support, usually for two years or more. It could also be that a special official or non-official agreement was made with every student before or during his studies or a decision was taken on an individual basis depending on the particular circumstances.

4.6. Amounts of money offered by the urban council to the students

The importance of funding amounts is that it helps explain the situation of students from Košice within the students’ community and university society of the time. However, clarifying the issues related to financing students only becomes really valuable when balanced against the total cost of university studies at different locations and times. This research issue is only in an initial stage among scholars in the field.³⁸¹ Such calculations are indeed fairly complicated and not just because of the problems concerning the sources, but also because of a wide range of

collaborator yn der Schul gewesen, nach eintrechtigem beschlus des ganczen ehrsamten Ratts soll fl. 9, so ihm nechst zu seiner Ordination geliehen worden, auf nechst kommend Ostern unabschlegig erlegen und zalen. Die 200 fl. aber, drueber er sich ferschriften mit eigener Hand so vorhanden, soll er yerlich zu fl. 50 erlegen und vor iar zu iar die Statt vergenuegen. Actum et inscriptum iussu senatus. (H III/2, MAC 20, folio 6v.)

³⁸⁰ AMK H I, no. 7467/22: *ultima conversationis meae academicae clausula desiderant maxime.*

³⁸¹ The main studies dealing with various aspects of it have been analyzed by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens in her article: ‘Universiteitsgeschiedenis als bron voor sociale geschiedenis’ (University history as a source for social history), *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* 10 (1978): 87-115, here 100-101. See also Trio, Financing of University Students.

factors (geographical, chronological, and sociological) which determined these costs. Another problem is related to the fact that the currencies of the time were complex and varied significantly in terms of purchasing power, weight and size, thus making any comparisons difficult.³⁸² Apart from calculating the costs in general, facts such as illness, war, poor harvests, etc. involving extra expenses need to be considered. In addition to that, the needs and the expectations of students varied depending on their social status and financial possibilities he or his family enjoyed at home. Notwithstanding these difficulties, some estimations have been made. For instance, L. W. Brockliss has calculated that, in Paris in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the total expenses for a student coming from a province averaged 75 florins annually.³⁸³ Bernhard Ebneht attempts to calculate the costs of university studies in the fifteenth and sixteenth century based on individual examples.³⁸⁴ He mentions an interesting description of expenses included in a letter of thanks sent to the town council of Nürnberg in 1558 by a student in Tübingen who received financial support for his studies: 50 florins per year, in two portions. The first half of the yearly amount was spent as follows:³⁸⁵

Expenditures:

From Nürnberg to Tübingen paid for food 1 fl.

Meals, which pro year cost thirty florins, from which I paid for the half of it 15 fl.

The room, which costs 8 gulden per year, I have paid for a half year 4 fl

I paid for the Lexicon Iuris, unbound, 14 batzen

To bind it, 6 batzen

For half a year to the shoemaker, 10 batzen

To the tailor for repairing my trousers and for a new pair of stockings, 2 fl

³⁸² Among the works dedicated to medieval and early modern currencies are books by H. North, *Geldumlauf. Währungssysteme und Zahlungsverkehr 1300-1800* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1989) and Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

³⁸³ L.W. B. Brockliss, "Patterns of Attendance at the University of Paris, 1440-1800," *The Historical Journal* 21 (1978): 528-530.

³⁸⁴ Ebneht, *Stipendienstiftungen in Nürnberg*, 209ff.

³⁸⁵ Quoted after Ebneht, *Stipendienstiftungen in Nürnberg*, 212. In the original:

Ausgab.

Von Nürnberg bis ghen Tübingen v[er]zert 1fl

Mehr ein tisch, das Ihar vmb dreissig guldenn bestandenn daran das halb bezalt 15fl

Mehr ein stuben das Ihar vmb 8 gulden, das halb Ihar vmb vier fl bestandenn 4 fl

*Mehr vmb den Lexicon Iuris gebenn vngbundenn 14 batzen*³⁸⁵

Mehr denselbigen einzupinden 6 batzen

Mehr das halb Ihar dem schuester 10 batzen

Mehr dem schneider fur besserung meiner hosen, auch vonwegen eins neuens par strimpffs 2fl

Mehr vmb ein gelezene spitzhauben 8 batzen

Mehr vmb etliche puchpapier 5 batzen

Mehr fur ein gutts dincken (Tinte, n.e.) zumachenn 1 batzen

Mehr fur licht zukauffenn 1 batzen

Summa alles miteinander 25 fl.

For a special pointed hat, 8 batzen
For some book paper, 5 batzen
For the production of a good ink, 1 batzen
For buying light, 1 batzen
The entire amount together, 25 fl.

This bill shows that accommodation and food were the most important expenses, taking up ca. 80 % of the student's budget. Another possible way to estimate the students' financial needs used by Ebneht was to analyze the amount of money provided to students as stipend by different individuals or institutions throughout the sixteenth century. He collected the information on this issue for different towns from secondary literature published in the first half of the twentieth century and comes up with the following average yearly amount of money given to the students:³⁸⁶ for Ingolstadt in 1494 – 20 florins, for Heidelberg in 1509 – 31 florins, for Memmingen in 1510 – 25 florins, for Ingolstadt in 1515 – 18 florins, for Pavia in 1519 – 50 florins, for Lindau in 1533 – 30 florins, for Groningen in 1555 – 20 florins and for Jena in 1557 – 30 florins. In Nürnberg, according to Ebneht, students received from 25 to 50 florins yearly throughout the entire sixteenth century. The students from the town of Kitzingen in the second half of the sixteenth century benefited from a similar amount of money, from 20 to 45 florins annually.³⁸⁷ Ebneht considers that the amount of 50 florins per year was actually sufficient to cover all basic costs of a single student in the second half of the sixteenth century, this amount being comparable with the yearly income of certain category of employees, as for example of an unmarried manual worker in Nürnberg who received approximately 35 florins per year in 1545 and slightly more than 75 florins in 1622.³⁸⁸ In the first half of the seventeenth century, however, the prices and, together with this, the financial needs of the students increased. Thus, for the middle of the seventeenth century, the average amount considered sufficient for a student's accommodation and food at the University of Altdorf, for example, constituted 75 florins per year, the maximum amount being 125 florins, according to the archival documents quoted by Ebneht.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ Ebneht, *Stipendienstiftungen in Nürnberg*, 213, with reference to the respective sources.

³⁸⁷ E. Weyrauch, "Informationen zum Sozialprofil der evangelischen Geistlichkeit Kitzingens im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Die bürgerliche Elite der Stadt Kitzingen*, ed. Ingrid Bátori and Erdmann Weyrauch (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 297-301, here 298.

³⁸⁸ Ebneht, *Stipendienstiftungen in Nürnberg*, 213-214.

³⁸⁹ Ebneht, *Stipendienstiftungen in Nürnberg*, 215.

As for Košice, there is no direct documentation for the standards the town council applied in determining the amount and duration of each proffered financial support. The question about the amount of money granted to the students can be answered with the help of various notes spread throughout various documents related to educational matters. It appears that there was no explicit policy concerning the sum of money which was supposed to be given to the students and this amount varied from case to case. There are a few cases, however, suggesting that the average amount of financial support given to students for the University of Wittenberg, for instance, was 50 florins per year. This was the case for Jacob Melczer, described shortly above, who received a total of 200 florins for his studies, and he stayed at the University of Wittenberg for four years, from 1566 to 1570. The same amount was given to Stephanus Mustricz and Stephanus Tehani, although, from the inscription in the town protocols it is unclear for what time period they received this amount, or if it was for one person or for both of them together. Again, the sum of 50 florins was requested and later received by Georgius Buntzler. At the top of the letter written by Martinus Brechtel and sent to the town council in March 1590 there is an inscription which states: *The honourable and wise council has decided unanimously to give for that purpose [...] 50 florins for one year,*³⁹⁰ which confirms again that the usual practice was to give 50 florins for one year of study at the University of Wittenberg. This is further demonstrated by Christophorus Ledwisch in his first letter sent from Wittenberg in 1616, where he mentioned the 50 florins granted to him as a stipend for one year to study at the university and expressed his hope that he would receive this same amount in subsequent years as well.³⁹¹ This way, it is clear that students from Košice were financed at the same level as their fellow students coming from other towns in German speaking territories, based on the data presented above.

Apparently, students were informed, to some extent, about the amount of money that other co-citizens received since they sometimes made references to it in their letters, asking to be sent the same amount. Valentinus Ungar, in his letter to the town council sent in August 1571³⁹², one month after arriving to Wittenberg announced that he had safely arrived in the town where he intended to continue his studies after previously spending some time in Wrocław and Frankfurt an der Oder. After expressing his greatest gratitude for the benefices accorded to him by the town council and apologizing for not sending a letter as promised because of a lack of

³⁹⁰ *E.N.W. Rath hat eintrechtig beschlossen und derwilligen [...] strecken 50 fl. auf ein Jarr.*

³⁹¹ AMK H I, no. 5782/8.

³⁹² AMK H I, no. 3087/76.

messengers, he asked for an annual stipend to be granted to him, sent in two rates, like to some other students. Ungar mentioned the names of Jacob Melczer and of a certain Turk (of whom nothing more could be discovered), stressing that he does not require more than what was given to those two:

*Finally I ask again and again the most wise and distinguished senate that it would be gracious and establish some annual amount which it would agree to send to me [...] yearly in order to continue my studies - half way through the year the half of the amount, and for the other half of year again the other half of the amount [...].I do not ask for more money, but I indeed hope that the wisest and famous senate would give to me the same amount which was assigned and sent yearly to Melzer and Turk.*³⁹³

Other sums of money appear as well, so that, for example, Bartolomeus Barth in his letter sent to his brother, after reporting on his expenses, mentioned an amount of 20 florins which, according to his brother, the town council granted him for his studies, of which he had not yet received anything:

*Further, my dear brother, because you write to me that the honourable and wise members of the (town) council have assigned 20 florins for my studies, but I bring to your knowledge that I have not received a penny yet.*³⁹⁴

There is another source to inform us about the amount of money given to students at their request. Some of the students' letters contain additional entries on their front page, written by a third person, most probably the town notary, who would record the decisions of the town council's meeting where the respective letter was read and discussed. This kind of entry exists on one of the letters sent by Martinus Schacht in September 1563 which states that he was assigned 8 ducats, an amount mentioned as '*octo aureos*' in the town council's letter sent to him in October 1563. Tobias and Benjamin Kauffin received 5 florins as financial support for secondary school studies according to an entry recorded on their first letter sent to the town council in May 1578. For most of the cases, this type of entry on letters are the only source testifying to the existence of some sort of financial support, since, as previously mentioned, the information

³⁹³ *Postremo autem etiam atque etiam rogo sapientissimum inclytum senatum, ut ne se gravent, et constituent aliquot annuale sumptus, quod mihi [...] singulis annis ad studia mea propaganda mittere velint, in medio anno medium partem, et alio medio anno, iterum aliam partem. [...] spero mihi etiam sapientissimum inclytum senatum daturi sunt, nec magis, vel plura etiam mihi postulo, sed tantum ut, quod Melzero, et Turkio est datum et missum singulis annis.*

³⁹⁴ AMK H I, no. n/a. In the original: *Weiter lieber her bruder weil ir mier schreibet das mier die ersamen wolweisen herren des Ratts zue meiner studirung 20 fl. geschugkatt [...] waiter aber thue ich euch zur wissnn das ich noch kain heller? bekommn hab.*

recorded in the town protocols concerning the support given to students abroad is rather sparse and does not provide an exhaustive source of information.

Definitely, students complained that the amounts sent them were not enough, putting forward a variety of arguments, as, for instance, Valentinus Ungar in his letter sent in August 1571:

*As yet it came to my mind that I needed to write to your most wise excellency, that with that money that I received I cannot remain here for longer than until the feast of St. Michael, because the difficulty of all things and the price for crops are high, as I have experienced even on my way, when I did not consume much, and I bought myself books for my studies...*³⁹⁵

Where would the money granted to students come from? Košice was not in the fortunate situation of the town of Levoča located not far away which enjoyed the generosity of the magnate family Thurzó, the initiator of the foundation which was instituted with the purpose of helping young Levoča citizens go to a Protestant university abroad, in most cases to Wittenberg, to study theology and consisted of 500 florins per year, entrusted to the town council for its administration.³⁹⁶ However, the town of Košice had its own ways of financing students. A part of the money could have been taken from the town budget acquired from taxation and other types of income. In addition to that, a number of rich burghers left part of their money to the town directly for the purpose of giving grants to students, but mainly as financial donations and not as typical foundations which functioned based on deposited earnings. Two such cases have been mentioned previously, namely the letters of Futaghi and Siculus, who refer to the existence of this possibility. The letter written by Demetrius Mischolci from Wittenberg in January 1563 mentions the same Franciscus literatus as Futaghi.³⁹⁷

A certain Margaretha Nagy left 25 florins to be donated to students in Wittenberg, mentioning in her testament that it should go to more than one beneficiary. Although no indication exists of what happened with this specific money, it is a good example of the way

³⁹⁵ [...] *Adhuc in mentem venit, quod vestrae inclytæ sapientiae scribere debuerim, quod cum hac pecunia, quam acceperim, diutius non possum hic permanere, quam ad festum Michaelis, quia magna hic est omnium rerum difficultas, et annonae caritas, quod ego etiam in itinere sum expertus, ubi non multa consumpsi, comparavi que mihi hic libros ad studia [...].*

³⁹⁶ For more information on the Levoča testament of Thurzo see Katona, Ejnem armen Schuler. The fully transcribed text of the Thurzo foundation document is in appended to this dissertation.

³⁹⁷ AMK H I, no. 2446/133.

different town burghers contributed towards helping fellow citizens of the town improve their education:³⁹⁸

In the year '78, on December 2, Margaretha, the widow of Stephan Nagy, has left in her testament 25 florins for students intending to study in Wittenberg. Andreas the Hungarian priest asked the senate to give those 25 florins to a Hungarian student named Franciscus Debreczeni. But, because it is written in the testament that the money should be given not to one but to more persons, it was decided by the senate that Jacobus Zabo (probably would keep) this money in the house (...) until the senate, in due course, will bestow the money on those students who would one day be of use to this republic.

It also occurred that a certain burgher would leave money both to one of their relatives and to other students, such as in the case of Ursula, wife of Andreas Melczer, member of the town council, who, in her testament, states the following:³⁹⁹

Likewise, at hand are two hundred talers which I also bequeath and leave to my grandson Simon to pursue his studies⁴⁰⁰ and ibidem: likewise I leave fifty florins as a subsidy, partly for students, partially for orphans and wards to alleviate their needs.⁴⁰¹

There are a number of cases, when a certain amount of money was left by the father or other close relatives to be administrated by the town council, in order to support the university studies of a son, nephew, etc, as in the case of Georgius Buntzler or Adamus Kys. We do not know under what conditions this money was administered; most probably access to it was controlled by the town until the beneficiary fulfilled certain conditions, such as reaching his majority or finishing his studies. Martin Kintzinger speaks about the presence of testaments of burghers from Braunschweig made in the favour of their children but with the interim administration of the money by a third person or institution as existing already from the thirteenth century.⁴⁰² As mentioned above, these may be cases of guardianship, when the orphan's whole inheritance was controlled by the council or specific town council members were

³⁹⁸ AMK H III/2, MAC 21, folio 35 v.: *Anno 78, die 2 decembris, Margaretha relictæ Stephani Nagy legavit in testamento 25 fl. studiosis Witebergam versus profeciscentibus dominus Andreas Concionator Ungaricus petiit senatum ut illos 25 fl. studioso cuidam ungaro nomine Francisco Debreczeni suppeditare, cum autem in testamento scriptum sit quod non uni sed pluribus legaverit, decretum est(?) a senatu ut Jacobus Zabo illa pecunia in domum [---] tandem senatus suo tempore illis studiosis qui aliquando huic reipublicae prodesse studebunt, suppeditaret.*

³⁹⁹ AMK H III/2, PUR 2, folio 256r to 259v: *testamentum honestæ matronæ dñæ Ursulae Beatae Circumspecti olim Andreae Melczer iurati ciuicis ciuitatis Cassouiensis, 1560.*

⁴⁰⁰ *item sunt in promptu thaleri ducenti quos etiam nepoti meo Simoni ad literarum studia colenda lego et relinquo.*

⁴⁰¹ *item florenos quinquaginta relinquo in subsidium partim studiosorum, partim orphanorum et pupillorum ad illorum necessitatem sublevandam.*

⁴⁰² Kintzinger, *Das Bildungswesen in der Stadt Braunschweig*, 440.

involved as executors or tutors of the will and asked to act in this position by the testator himself/herself. This activity of the council was regulated by countrywide legislation. If that was the case, the students needed to negotiate with the council to allow them to use the money for their studies, as we learned from Buntzler's letters. Unfortunately, because of the limited number of testaments of Košice burghers preserved for the period before the seventeenth century, these issues remain dominated by suppositions rather than demonstrated facts.

4.7. Other ways of supporting university studies

The town council also had other ways to support its inhabitants who went abroad to study, not necessarily through according them stipends. One of these possibilities was to request officials or acquaintances in the town of where the schools were located to intervene on behalf of the student and help with their accommodation, food, and other necessary things. One such case is illustrated in a letter sent in December 1562 by Thomas Fabri, priest in Bardejov:⁴⁰³

This way your wiseness asks me, in name of the entire honourable council of the town of Košice concerning the boy Simon Melzer, that I would offer him meals at my home and accommodation. However, since I do not have my own house here, nor the possibility for sharing my own meals, but I, myself, have to pay for my food, I talked about it with my sister in law that she, according to the request of Your Excellency in your wiseness and because of the boy's pious conduct would wish to offer him meals and to rent him a room. Since I also have my meals at her home I can then take better care of the boy so that he would not be forsaken here. Until now I have not noticed any kind of laziness or that he would want to go in other directions, and I hope that also for the rest of the time he would be able to progress for the well-being of the entire community. The teacher who gives him private tutoring hours is working assiduously with him and praises the boy that he is interested in all liberal arts. As far as my remuneration is concerned, it is 2 florins per year for every foreign boy, but I am much happier for this remuneration when I notice that the boys are making progress in learning.

⁴⁰³ AMK H I, no. 2392/150: [...] So lautett mich ewer weisheit in Namen des gantzen ersamen raths der statt Cassaw des knobens Simon Melzers halben, das ich ihn zu meinem tisch auffnehmenn unnd auch wonung verleihenn wolt. Wie wol ich aber alhie mein eigen Haus nicht habe, unnd auch nicht tisch gänner haben kan, sondern selber vor die köst zalen muß, doch hab ich mit meiner Schwieger darvom geredt die in angesehen Ewer Weisheit anlangen unnd des knobens frömbigkait zu tisch auffnemen will unnd ein habitation verleihenn. Weill ich aber auch bei ihr zue tisch gehe kan ich desto beser auff den Knaben achtung geben, das er alhie nicht versaimbt werde. Ich hab biß her an im kainen unfleiß nicht gesperet so er anderst fortfarrenn wirt, hoff ich das er mittler zeit auch der ganzenn gemain woll für stehen wirt können. Der paedagogus der mit im itzt privatim repetirt hatt grossen fleiß mit ihm unnd lobet den knaben das er lust zu allen frewen künsten habe. Was aber meine belohnung betriüfft die ist jährlich von einem ieden frembden knaben 2 fl. wie wol ich mich des lohns nicht so seer frewe als wen ich merkh das die knaben in der lëer zunemen.

This letter also shows under which conditions this type of service was arranged. Thus, Thomas Fabri was asked to help the pupil find accommodation and food, either at his own house, or, if this was impossible or difficult as in the case described above, then with other inhabitants, relatives, etc. of the town. In addition, he was responsible for keeping an eye on the pupil's academic progress and behaviour. For his services the town council would allocate a certain amount of money as a financial reward. The town council would also provide pupils and students with letters of recommendation to be presented to well-positioned persons upon arrival to the academic town. This type of letter was granted to Caspar Pilcius, for example, who at its presentation in Wittenberg was given assistance in finding accommodation and a tutor.⁴⁰⁴

Sometimes the town council would help students solve their problems at home in their absence. An example of such a situation is illustrated by a letter from Andreas Kuhn, sent from Königsberg on January 15, 1655.⁴⁰⁵ In his letter, Kuhn wrote about the death of his father and asked the town council to take care of his property while he was away studying. At the same time, he inquired after 500 imperial florins, claiming that for a year he had not received anything and that he had many debts in the university town. He promised to pay back this amount after his return home, which, as the student affirmed, was to happen soon.

Students themselves took the initiative to search for other sources of funding. The most common sources of financing university studies, namely help from rich relatives or acquaintances, borrowing money from friends, fellow students, etc., and taking a variety of jobs at the study place were not unknown paths taken by Košice students. Bartholomeus Barth, for example, received financial help from his brother to whom he wrote a detailed report about what that money was spent on, as described above. As in the case of the town council's financial aid, students were responsible for keeping their relatives informed about the state of affairs and spending the money appropriately.

After the town council and rich relatives, students would also try to borrow money from other acquaintances in Košice or elsewhere. A number of such cases have been mentioned in the chapter dedicated to the academic peregrination at the University of Cracow. Two letters preserved in the town archives in Košice illustrate other situations of this type and provide

⁴⁰⁴ AMK H I, no. 3219/111.

⁴⁰⁵ AMK H I, no. 8317/11.

additional interesting details concerning the financial affairs of students.⁴⁰⁶ The first letter, dated November 4, 1570 is signed by Johannes Scholius, an employee at St. Elisabeth church in Wrocław, who complained to the town council about Johannes Stockelius, a student in Wittenberg, who had been in debt to him since 1563 and had never returned the money he owed. The story begins with the arrival of a messenger from Wittenberg who delivered a letter from Stockelius. In this letter, the student implored Scholius to lend him thirty-five tallers and promised to return them during the same year, a promise he never kept. Even worse, in the subsequent year came another quest for money, this time for twenty-five tallers: *but at the named day, not only did he not return anything, but in the following year, on the twenty fifth day of March, he came to me almost crying and imploring me to add to the previous thirty-five talers now twenty-five talers in loan, which he promissed to return with certainty, together with the previous thirty-five talers, at the following market in Cracow in the same year.*⁴⁰⁷ This debt was not returned either - *but at that market in Cracow not only did he not return to me a single penny, but he did not even write to me for several years*⁴⁰⁸ – and only at the insistence of Tomas Hilarius, pastor in Košice, did Scholius receive an insignificant part of his money: *the previous year he did write to me, though not voluntarily but instigated by the venerable man Thomas Hilarius, pastor at your church. The latter sent me in the past summer, through Johannes Debretzinus, ten talers in the name of Johannes Stoeckelius, which were finally given to me this week, more precisely on the 29th of October.*⁴⁰⁹ Hilarius left his post in Košice without being able to bring this case to a happy end, therefore in 1570 Scholius saw no other solution except to address the town council: *for which reasons, I come to you, wise and distinguished gentlemen, and ask you vehemently again and again, so that you consider and take a decision so that Johannes Stoeckelius returns to me, on the first occasion, the remaining fifty talers and that he*

⁴⁰⁶ AMK H I, no. 3036/26 and no. 4226/100.

⁴⁰⁷ *caeterum ad constitutum diem, non modo plane nihil reddidit, sed etiam sequenti anno, vigesimo quinto die martii, fere plorans ad me venit, orans, ut sibi ad priores triginta quinque taleros, adhuc viginti quinque taleros darem mutuos, quos mihi ad proxime sequentem mercatum Cracoviensem eiusdem anni, cum prioribus triginta quinque taleris certo remittere vellet.*

⁴⁰⁸ *caeterum ad mercatum illum Cracoviensem, non modo plane nullum nummum mihi remisit, verum etiam aliquot annos ne literam mihi scripsit.*

⁴⁰⁹ *superiore quidem anno ad me scripsit, verum non sua sponte, sed instigante eum reverendo viro domino Thoma Hilario, pastore ecclesiae vestrae. Hic per Johannem Debretzinum, decem taleros mihi nomine Johannis Stoeckelij, praeterita aestate misit, qui mihi demum hac septimana, nempe vigesimo nono Octobris sunt reddit.*

would have them brought to me here without any expenses on my part,⁴¹⁰ mentioning the loss he had to suffer due to inflation: *Johannes Stoeckelius delayed the settlement of the debts for seven years - and to what disadvantage for me, you yourselves be the judges. Because if I had this money four months ago, it would have been of no little help to me, because a measure of grain, which was then on sale for sixteen grossi, now sells for fifty grossi or even more. The rest I do not ask you to consider, only take care that he would return to me the original amount.*⁴¹¹ Unfortunately, we do not know what the reaction of the town council was nor how the end of this story of unpaid debt turned out.

Another letter illustrates a case when the money borrowed never reached its destination and when the sender Doctor Georgius Scheriner (Schreiner?) from Sabinov asks the town council for assistance fifteen (!) years later, in 1590: *The reverent Sir Matthias Hentzius, pastor of the church, urged me to address your dignities concerning the ten or twelve gold Hungarian coins which in the year 1575 when setting out to go there I handed over, together with some letter, to Andreas Wincler, priest of the church in Košice, to be transmitted to the above named Matthias Hentzius in Wittenberg; and he promised to send it on at the first opportunity. But indeed until this moment the above named Matthias has not received either the letter or the money and asked that your dignities urge the above mentioned Wincler that he should undertake to demonstrate that he had sent those gold coins to Wittenberg.*⁴¹² Both these cases indicate that borrowing money from friends, relatives, and so forth was one way students used in order to improve their financial situation, either in addition to the money received from the town council or instead. Persons whom they borrowed the money from were usually well positioned in the church or urban administration, possibly former students themselves. However, it could occur that the money did not reach its destination for various reasons and, definitely, returning the

⁴¹⁰ *quapropter ornatissimi et prudentissimi viri ad vos confugio, vehementer etiam atque etiam vocans, ut in medium consulatis, et etiam ineatis rationem, ut primo quoque tempore, Johannes Stoeckelius residuos quinquaginta taleros mihi solvat, eosque sine meis impensis mihi huc adferri curet.*

⁴¹¹ *distulit Johannes Stoeckelius, solutionem debiti, per septem annos, quanto meo incommodo, vos ipsi iudices estote. Quod si autem ante quatuor menses istam pecuniam habuissem, non parum mihi profuisset, nam modius frumenti, qui tunc emebatur sedecim grossis, nunc emitur grossis quinquaginta, aut etiam pluris. Caeterum interesse non peto, tantum curetis, ut quamprimum mihi sortem reddat.*

⁴¹² AMK H I, no. 4226/100: *Institit apud me reverendus dominus Matthias Hentzius pastor ecclesie, quo D. V. A. compellarem causa decem vel duodecim aureorum Hungarorum quos anno 1575 dum studiorum causa isthuc proficiscerer, una cum certis quibusdam literis Andreae Winclero Pastori ecclesie Cassoviensis dicto Matthie Hentzio Wittenbergam transferendos tradidi, quos ille prima occasione se illuc transmissurum receperat. Verum cum in hanc usque horam nihil omnino literarum vel pecuniae supradictus Matthias perceperit, id petit, quo D. V. A. antedictum Winclerum moneant, ut ostendere velit num aureos istos Witembergam transmiserit.*

money sometimes turned out to be a problem, very probably not only in the specific case described above. The town council had been addressed to mediate the conflicts, according to the age-old custom of intervening in any unsettled debts or other injustice or crimes committed by one of a particular town's inhabitants – a role of the urban councils with even deeper roots than their role of sponsors.

One of the letters from the Košice collection contains revealing information about still other possibilities for already sponsored students to procure some additional income at their place of study. Christophorus Teubelius, a student in Leipzig (matriculated in 1601), Frankfurt an der Oder (matriculated in 1612), and Jena (1614), later town notary in Levoča, wrote to Martin Wenczell, a town judge, in September 1597.⁴¹³ He mentioned some school he was attending at that time, probably a secondary school somewhere in the north, close to Denmark, maybe in northern Poland, as it was a frequently visited area by several students from Košice in the first half of the seventeenth century. Teubelius begins his letter by asking to be forgiven for the interruption in his correspondence with the town council. This was followed by an expression of fear concerning the state of affairs in Košice and in the region as a whole, referring to the religious controversies of the time. Further on the student mentions a proposal made to him by one of his teachers to take on a job as a private tutor to one of the pupils in the town:

Not long ago while I was walking to school troubled and exasperated, one of my preceptors saw me on my way, and, seeing me walking sadly, ordered me to stay my steps and to explain the reason for my sorrow. At first I refused to do this, but he, in turn, kept insisting, and I could not avoid telling him what he inquired, thus I told him the following: honoured preceptor, many worries hinder my soul, but especial trouble and pain are caused by the thought about the misfortunate state of my homeland, since, if it should be conquered by the enemy, (God forbid!), what hope will remain to me! Where should I go? for on its safety depends my happiness. After I had explained the reasons for my pain with these and other words to the preceptor, as he ordered, he answered shortly by a quotation of the great David: open your trouble to God and he will feed you. In the meantime, while having the conversation, a boy approached the preceptor Weindrichius asking him on behalf of his master to find a tutor for his son eight years of age. Then, when the praeceptor offered me the office of tutor, at first I thanked him duly and then I said that I cannot and should not dare to do anything against the will of my patrons. He said in reply to my excuses: "My son, you know that you could alleviate some day those great costs that are borne by your patrons in order to support you, if you would not refuse this very good opportunity, none the less you could also ask them to preserve you that stipend for another time, namely when it will be of use for you at some time in the academy. But if you indeed tell me that you are unwilling to dare anything without the knowledge of your patrons, do tell them, therefore, that my advise is to accept this excellent position as tutor." Therefore, at the order of

⁴¹³ AMK H I, no. 4718/87.

*my perceptor, I inform your lordship by means of my letter about this matter, praying earnestly (may it be with the indulgence of your lordship and of the other patrons) that it will be permitted to me to accept this position. I acknowledge and praise, with a grateful heart, the generosity of your lordship and of the other patrons, such is the greatness of this your kindness which till now was bestowed on me without any merits from my part, that no single day, nor great age, nor accident, nor fortune will be able to erase it from my heart. I only hope I will be able to show some day my gratitude, which I hope will be in the future when my studies, with God's help, are completed happily. Because I indeed know, that the patrons have many costs in relation with other things, I think that I would alleviate them of a difficulty which is not small, if I would provide myself with lodging while teaching that pupil, by which I could pursue my studies properly without any costs, therefore I hope that you, great man, and the other patrons will not take offence that I am contemplating to be a tutor in the house of that citizen mentioned above. But however, if I learn that your greatness would hardly accept this proposal of mine, then, rather than having you, great man, as an enemy, I will do as you say.*⁴¹⁴

According to the content of this letter, students had to request the permission of the town council in order to acquire additional sources of income. The argument Teubelius put forward, at the suggestion of his teacher, is that if he had the possibility to improve his financial conditions, it would ease the expenses the town had invested in his subsequent university studies (which lasted a relatively long time, as we can see later from his biography). However, should the town

⁴¹⁴ *Non adeo pridem anxium et moestum in scholam me euntem, conspicatus fuit in via quidam praeceptorum meorum, qui cum tristem incedere me vidisset, sistere gradum, causamque maeroris aperire iussit. Ego id facere primo cum abnuerem, ille vero porro instaret, non potui non ei id quod ex me quaerebat, exponere, haec itaque subieci: Colende praeceptor, multae curae animum meum impediunt, praesertim vero mihi molestiam et dolorem parit cogitatio de statu adverso patriae meae, quoniam si ea ab hoste caperetur (quod DEUS avertat) quid spei mihi esset reliquum! quo confugerem? cum ab eius salute mea dependeat foelicitas. His et aliis verbis praeceptori ut iusserat, causam doloris mei ubi aperuissem, breviter respondit citato dicto Davidis ingentis facta curam tuam in Dominum et ipse enutriet te. Interea dum sermones cedemus dominum praeceptorem Weindrichium adit puer quidam nomine heri sui rogaturus, ut paedagogus aliquis filio herili nato annos octo praeficeretur, ibi dominus praeceptor huius paedagogiae munus mihi cum obtulisset, ego primum meritas gratias egi, et porro, me inuitis dominis patronis nihil audere posse nec debere dixi. Cui meae excusationi haec subieci: “Fili mi, inquieris, scis magnos sumptus in te alendo fieri quibus dominos patronos tuos levare aliquandiu posses si hanc optimam occasionem non aspernareris, nihilo minus tamen peteres in aliud tempus stipendium illud tibi asservare, nempe cum in academia tibi aliquando iuvendum erit. Quod vero dicis insciis dominis patronis tuis nihil te audere velle, fac ergo quam primum hac de re ut certiores reddantur meumque consilium dic esse ut paedagogiam hanc, optimam certe suscipere.” Jussu itaque domini praeceptoris de re hac tuam amplitudinem per litteras meas certum facio, obnixè orans (quod [---] tuae amplitudinis et reliquorum dominorum patronorum venia fiat) ut hanc mihi conditionem accipere liceat. Grato animo tuae amplitudinis et reliquorum dominorum patronorum liberalitatem agnosco et praedico, tanta enim est eius vestrae beneficentiae, quae hactenus nullo meo merito ad me pertinuit magnitudo, ut nulla die, nulla temporis vetustate, non casu, non fortuna, deleri ex animo meo possit. Utinam re ipsa aliquando gratiam referre queam, id quod tamen spero futurum messe studiorum meorum Deo adiuvante, foeliciter peracta. Cum vero sciam, dominos patronos in alias res maximos sumptus impendere, non parva verum molestia levare, si de hospitio mihi aliquo puerum instructurus prospexissem, ubi commode studia mea sine sumptibus tractare possem, non itaque spero iniquo animo te, vir amplissime, laturum, et coeteros dominos patronos, quod cogitem paedagogum agere apud civem illum, cuius supra mentio facta est. Sin autem haud satis aequo animo tuam amplitudinem ferre scirem hoc meum propositum, potius quam te, vir amplissime, inimicum habeam, fecero ut iusseris.*

council answer in the negative the student would not have dared to act against its will. The fact that such a letter exists suggest something of the attitude the town council had concerning their grantees taking additional jobs. Yet, in the absence of further documents, it is difficult to know if a certain policy existed for this type of situation and to analyse the reasons the town had for encouraging (or not) these possibilities for additional income.

As the students' letters suggest, there was a fairly regular communication between the town council and its citizens at schools abroad. Students were expected to keep in touch with the town, i.e. send home periodic letters to inform the town council about the state of their studies, their progress, and any decisions to move from one academic institution to another. Very often the students apologize for not writing in due course, putting forwards a series of excuses such as lack of time, or, most often, a lack of messengers to deliver the letter to Košice. These apologies were usually followed by reminders that the student be sent their annual stipend or requests that the stipend be increased. In its turn, the town would send letters to its beneficiaries. Most often, these were short notes to confirm the sending of money, to wish students good success at their place of studies and to express the hope that, one day, the town would benefit from their contribution. Such an example was discussed above for the case of Martinus Schacht. Michael Gulden in his letter sent from Wrocław in 1585⁴¹⁵ named the town council members his parents and patrons and mentioned a letter from them sent previously to him together with the financial support necessary for his studies. Similarly, every letter written by Adamus Kys to the town council begins by mentioning some letters previously sent by the town council or another of his addressees. This occurred sometimes in the letters of other students too, which suggests that the town council did not limit itself to only sending the money, but was keeping close tabs on its beneficiaries, writing letters to them being relatively common. On the contrary, any long-term absence of letters from the town council would usually go together with an interruption in the financing process, a fact that motivated students to react as soon as possible. An example of this type of letter is one sent by Martinus Brechtel, later a teacher in Košice, who wrote in March 1590 from Wittenberg.⁴¹⁶

While exchanging letters, it occurred sometimes that the town council would ask the students to do them some favours such as sending information about the state of things in the

⁴¹⁵ AMK H I, no. 3891/20.

⁴¹⁶ AMK H I, no. 4226/124.

respective region, helping in recruiting teachers for the local school, contributing to resolving financial problems of other students at the same institution, and other missions of various kinds. As already mentioned, besides being a source of financial support, the town council was also responsible for its students at academic institutions abroad in different ways. It would be the administration of the town the student was affiliated with that the university officials would address when problems arose, such as financial needs, excessive debts, problems with academic progress, and similar issues.

Sometimes the town council would be consulted when there were certain problems at the place of study and when the student decided to leave for another academic institution. A good example of the first case is David Kilger, who wrote from his school in Toruń at the end of May, 1642.⁴¹⁷

*[...]our school declines from day to day and while it should raise and carry his head close to the stars, it creeps more and more upon the ground. Only three disputations have been held while I have been here, and almost no substantial lectures are taking place, the study of Hebrew is exiled, Greek is moribund, all the rest are lifeless. Once it was flourishing and famous, but what the state of things is now is proven, alas, by my own experience. My soul is full of doubts because of this misfortune; indeed, I am at a loss where to turn my ship, whether to stay here or to leave and go somewhere else. I implore your advice, noble sirs, with regard to this matter. Make known some remedy, assist me, who am hesitating, with advice, and let me know by letter whether I should persist here any longer.*⁴¹⁸

Apparently, the town council paid attention to the request and Kilger received financial support to attend the University of Königsberg where he arrived at some point after 1642 and before 1646, as mentioned in a letter sent home by Adamus Kys, dated April 12, 1646.⁴¹⁹ With regard to the changing of study places, we have the case of Benedictus Bakay, discussed above, who wrote a letter to inform the town council about his decision to leave for study at Oxford, explaining this move with the difficulties academic institutions on the continent were facing and suggesting the advantages of this change for his academic career and the benefit of the town.

⁴¹⁷ AMK H I, no. 6917/34

⁴¹⁸ [...] *gymnasium nostrum de die in diem decrescit, et cum ad astra caput ferre et tollere deberet, magis magisque humi serpit. Trinae disputationes tantum habitae sunt ex quo hic vivo, lectiones fere nullae solidae lectae, exulat studium Hebraeum, friget Graecum, rigent reliqua omnia. Fuisse quondam hocce floridum et celebre, sed quale nunc sit ipsa experientia pro dolor testatur. Anceps iam animus ex hoc infelicitatis fato, adeo ut quo flectere navim debeam, haeream an hic manendum an vero ulterius sit abeundum. Vestrum, viri generosi, hac in re consilium imploro, vos medelam ostendite, fluctuanti mihi consilio subvenite, et utrum hic diutius persistendum per literas significate.*

⁴¹⁹ AMK H I: no. 7467/20

4.8. Concluding remarks

In conclusion, it can be stated that the town council participated very actively in improving educational opportunities of the inhabitants of the town and its surroundings during the period of the Reformation. This involvement was a new element compared to the period before the Reformation although it was probably deeply embedded in the earlier tradition of ecclesiastic patronage and private pious bequests. The council's attention extended into several fields, starting from continuing to support the local school through recruiting better trained teachers and other personnel, up to providing aid of various kinds to town inhabitants and other possible candidates in order to pursue their studies at appropriate secondary schools or universities. Several categories of beneficiaries could be established. First, the town council would sponsor representatives of well-established families in the town, relatives of town council members or sons of former or present employees in the town administration, church or school. Unfortunately, because the respective documentation (church registers) for the town of Košice are missing up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, it is difficult and sometimes even impossible to precisely establish the relationships among various town council members and the students being financed. The only exceptions are those cases when direct references to this kind of relationship exist in the students' letters or other documents. Some of the information preserved alludes to several types of involvement within this group of beneficiaries. Besides sponsoring university attendees who were selected based on their merits or other criteria difficult to identify because of the lack of precise informations, cases existed when the council was entrusted to handle the inheritance of under-age heirs of prominent town burghers, and thus to help them financially during their studies, sometimes out of their own inheritance. In addition to that, a number of students were promoted on the basis of the past services rendered by their family to the town. Another category of beneficiaries was represented by individuals already employed at the school or in the local church or in the neighbourhood, who would receive support for further professional development, sometimes on the recommendation of officials from their respective locations. Sometimes, travelling scholars with no obvious affiliation with the town would make requests for financial support although it was not possible to establish to what extent such inquiries were successful.

Among the conditions necessary to be considered for financial support the following have been identified: the student had to express his intention to pursue studies, or to already be studying at one of the schools or universities, usually at a Protestant institution for the respective period. Academic institutions popular among students from the region would be given preference. These preferred institutions included the secondary school in Wrocław, the University of Wittenberg or, in the first half of the seventeenth century, the University of Königsberg. However, academic stays at other institutions, both secondary schools and universities, were also financed. Usually students would write letters of request for financial help, but this was not necessarily the case. Letters of support or recommendation from university employees or officials in the region around Košice were presented to the council and sometimes considered for offering financial support. The students were expected to spend the money they received for study purposes and supposed to keep in touch with the town council to inform it about their life at the school and their academic progress. In some cases, the financed students were expected to return to the town, to take a position at the local church or school or to continue working in one of these positions, if previously employed.

It is difficult to state with what frequency and for what period a student would receive financial support. As illustrated in a number of extant letters, the common practice was to finance students two years at a university, but the term of support varied from case to case. Some students stayed longer and received financial support for the entire period. In some cases, a student would receive support starting from his secondary school studies until the end of his university studies and even while moving from one university to another, as was more characteristic for the first half of the seventeenth century. The usual amount of money granted for studies abroad per year was 50 florins although this amount again varied from case to case. We have cases where students would receive financial support with relative regularity over several years, and other students who perhaps received a stipend on only one or two occasions. In the first case, the students would receive established amounts, while in the later case the amount of money granted could vary depending on various conditions.

The data available still makes it difficult to justify drawing any solid conclusions concerning the average share of different sources of income the student from Košice had at his disposal in order to pay for his studies. It is not always clear which standards the urban council applied in determining the amount and duration of each grant. In many cases it appears that they

represented an important supplementary income but hardly ever covered the total cost of the student's studies. What is certain in any case is that the urban council played a very important role in supporting university students and in increasing the popularity of education among its inhabitants.

Chapter five: Employment after graduation/study abroad, careers of returned students

5.1. General considerations

One of the most interesting aspects of the history of universities and, at the same time, the most difficult to be researched, is the postgraduate careers of students. Beginning in the 1980s, research at a broader level has been considering aspects such as the possibilities for employment after attending universities in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times; the relationship between universities and the society, the purpose of university study and the impact it had upon the social development. Questions concerning the usefulness or the advantages of university studies for the respective individuals and for their milieu have been asked repeatedly in the scholarly literature dealing with this topic.⁴²⁰ Information in this respect elucidates the impact of university studies upon the personal fate of former students and the development of their home town or region after their return.

Two important issues should be mentioned before proceeding to describe and comment upon the development of the careers of former Košice students who attended universities abroad throughout the research period of this dissertation. The first issue relates to the use of the term “postgraduate career.” As previously described, not all students, not even the majority of them, formally graduated from the university or universities they attended, i.e. received the degree of bachelor or master according to the official institutional requirements. This was best illustrated by the analysis of university attendance in Cracow, where the sources allowed for a relatively precise investigation,⁴²¹ but the situation with regard to other universities was relatively similar, that is, the official graduation rate was relatively low, and more so during the Reformation period

⁴²⁰ See the respective contributions by Peter Moraw, “Der Lebensweg der Studenten,” in *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, volume one: *Mittelalter*, ed. Walter Rüegg, et.al. (Munich: Beck, 1993), 225-254; Wilhelm Frijhoff, “Der Lebensweg der Studenten,” in Rüegg, *Geschichte der Universität*, volume two: *Von der Reformation zur Französischen Revolution, 1500-1800* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 287-334; Martin Kintzinger, “A profession but not a career? Schoolmasters and the artes in Late Medieval Europe,” in *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society*, ed. William J. Courtenay and Jürgen Miethke, (Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill, 2000), 167-181. In addition to that: Notker Hammerstein, “Universitäten – Territorialstaaten – Gelehrte Räte,” in *Die Rolle der Juristen bei der Entstehung des modernen Staates*, ed. Roman Schnur (Berlin: Humblot, 1986), 687-735 and a number of contributions in Schwinges, *Gelehrte im Reich*. An important endeavor meant to research on the postgraduate careers of German universities’ attendees in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times is the Repertorium Academicum Germanicum (RAG)- project currently running at the University of Bern (under the leadership of Prof. Dr. R. Ch. Schwinges) and at the University of Giessen (under the leadership of Prof. Dr. P. Moraw), see website: www.rag-online.org.

⁴²¹ See the respective subchapter of this dissertation.

for the reasons that will be analyzed further below. According to the information generated by the available sources, out of the 278 students from Košice who attended different universities during the research period, there are only 59 documented cases of an official graduation with the academic degree of a bachelor, master, or doctorate, which makes for about 20 % or one fifth of the total number of enrolments.⁴²² However, this did not seem to affect greatly the possibilities for future employment, when other factors - which shall be discussed below - contributed to increasing a student's chances in the job market of the time. Thus, the term "postgraduate career" is used in this chapter with reference to a career that a student developed after finishing his study/stay period at one or more universities with or without receiving an official degree. In other words, the official graduation (or the lack of it) is not taken in consideration at this time.

The second issue relates to the difficult task scholars investigating postgraduate careers in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times have to deal with: namely, to follow one person throughout his entire adult life. The lack or insufficient production and preservation of related documents and the frequent change of place which was customary for that time make it rather difficult to collect data about single individuals in order to complete comprehensive biographies. For the case of former Košice students, information about postgraduate careers could be found only for 44 individuals (16 %) out of the total number of 278 students who were determined to have attended one or more universities throughout the research period. Hence, the further fate of the majority of former students from Košice remains unknown. Especially difficult in this respect is the situation for the fifteenth century, which despite having the highest number of university attendees, was poorly documented. Even those documents that did exist were destroyed in different adverse conditions, one of the worst being the fire that ruined the town of Košice and part of its archives in 1556. Furthermore, the customary registration of persons with only their Christian names in different documents⁴²³ makes it difficult to identify these individuals at different stages of their lives and subsequent careers and generates presumptions that cannot be

⁴²² This number refers to the registered cases of graduation. Cases are identified when a student received two or even three of the named degrees, but this occurred rather seldomly. See also the sub-chapter on the Cracow university attendance where the issue of graduation is studied with more detail.

⁴²³ In his article, "Nad najstarszą Metryką najstarszego polskiego uniwersytetu: Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis 1400-1508" (About the oldest matriculation list of the oldest Polish University: Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis 1400-1508), *Roczniki historyczne* 66 (2000): 135-156, here 155, Antoni Gąsiorowski identifies 3456 persons named Johannes, 1990 persons with the name Nicolaus, 1011 Michaels etc. who matriculated in Cracow during the time period from 1400 to 1500.

confirmed. As a result, while having an extended list of the names of those who attended various universities throughout the research time, the cases where these persons could be identified later are much less numerous and in only a few was it possible to compile a sort of post-graduate or post-university attendance biography.

The sources that can be used in order to collect information on postgraduate careers of Košice students are manifold. Sometimes the various university registers provide information on those who stayed on at the respective institutions for different reasons. Sometimes former students have been identified in the various documents related to those locations where they resided after finishing their stay at the university. A number of persons received their share of attention in scholarly literature because they had become famous in their own right. Finally, for a number of individuals, data about their postgraduate fate was found solely by chance.

After collecting information on the postgraduate careers of the identified students from Košice, two chronological periods with their specific characteristics could be delineated: I) until the twenties of the sixteenth century and II) from the thirties of the sixteenth century until the end of the Reformation period in the town. These two periods are distinguished by several aspects, such as the existence and availability of relevant sources, universities attended, involvement of the town administration in the career of its studious citizens, possibilities for employment, requirements for the university graduates, etc. These, in their turn, were connected with historical events, religious changes, urban development and other factors. They also differentiate in terms of numerical outcomes: for the first period, out of the total number of 212 individuals who attended one or more universities, only 19 could be identified at later stages of their lives, this representing approximately 9 %. For the second period, the proportions are quite the opposite: while the number of identified university attendees drops considerably – 66 identified students – the number of those who could be detected after their study period is much more significant – 25 persons, this representing 38 %, or more than one third, of cases. In the following, the postgraduate careers of the former students corresponding to the two outlined periods will be described, followed by a few concluding comments of a general character to the extent possible given the available information.

5.2. Postgraduate careers of students from Košice who attended universities up to 1530

As mentioned above, for the period before and during the fifteenth century it is hardly possible to trace the post-university careers of the majority of students from Košice for a number of objective reasons. The majority of them are recorded by their Christian names only, which makes them very difficult to identify later. Likewise, individuals related to town administration, church, and school, which are usual places for finding former university attendees, were again registered only with their Christian names in the preserved urban documentation, which does not allow for making any precise connection. Secondly, the state of the local administrative documentation is very poor for the period up to the fifties of the sixteenth century and this relates not only to Košice, but to a number of other locations in the region as well. In spite of these limitations, some data about the postgraduate fate of students from Košice in the fifteenth and the first two decades of the sixteenth century could be collected, based upon which three main patterns of postgraduate career development can be described, namely students who a) returned to Košice, b) stayed in the town where they completed their studies, either at the university or practicing a job and c) moved elsewhere, either to continue their studies or to develop a career as scholars, doctors, artists, etc.

All former students who have been identified in Košice after their university attendance in the fifteenth century are members of the town elite i.e. representatives of rich families, merchants or craftsmen. Because of the above-mentioned restrictions, it is not possible to clarify exactly who among the ex-students later became members of the town administration or were associated with a particular town council member's family. As a matter of fact, the town administration did not place much value on university education in the fifteenth century, tending to consider other factors, such as social position, financial situation, etc., rather than academic experience. Thus, the great majority of town administration members did not attend a university in the fifteenth century, and, conversely, university graduates did not have much opportunity for a civic career, with the possible exception of cases when other conditions necessary for this position were fulfilled. Only one such case could be identified with a certain degree of precision, in which a former student later became head of the town: Johannes Meussikgang (no. 65), matriculated in 1443 at the University of Vienna, who held the position of the town judge between 1472 and 1475. His identification was made possible because he registered with his family name in the matriculation list of the respective university. Meussikgang is mentioned

repeatedly in the town protocols and his testament, dated 1476, is preserved in the town archives as well.⁴²⁴ However, the preserved documents do not contain any relevant information referring back to his studies, therefore a degree of uncertainty for this case still remains. There are also a number of other former students who appear in the town documentation under various circumstances. Michael Schwartz (no. 90), for instance, who matriculated in Cracow in 1457 and received his bachelor degree in 1463, returned to Košice and enjoyed a certain amount of financial success, most probably inherited from his family.⁴²⁵ A certain Laurentius Kos, baccalaureus, is mentioned in the town account books,⁴²⁶ and it is possible that this entry refers to Laurencius de Caschowia (no. 154), who registered in Cracow in 1485 and received his bachelor degree there in 1487. Similarly, another former student of the University in Cracow, Petrus Briger (no. 191), after receiving his bachelor degree in 1514 and his master's degree in 1519, returned to his home town and is referred to in a number of archival documents, as for example in the will of Johannes Seydel, dated 19 February, 1522⁴²⁷ and in one letter dated 1526.⁴²⁸

For the fifteenth century, there are two identified cases of students from Košice who remained at the universities they attended and pursued an academic career. One of them is Nicolaus Petri de Cassowia (no. 85) who matriculated in Cracow in 1455. After receiving his bachelor degree in 1456 and his master's degree in 1458, he re-appears in the university documentation in 1468 as dean of the faculty of arts.⁴²⁹ Another student, whose career at the University of Vienna could be traced for a longer period of time, is Melchior Chall (no. 162),

⁴²⁴ AMK H III/2, PUR 2, folio 91r and 91v: *Testament und letzter willen des namhaftigen hernn Hanns Mwiskgang, Ratman und etwann Richter der Stadt, 1476.*

⁴²⁵ Michael Schwarz is mentioned passim in the account books from the town of Košice. For 1482: *Sabbato in profesto purificationis Marie dedimus Bartholomeo apothekarii wegen Michel Swarcz des testaments Bognarin fl. 50.* Source: Lajos Kemény, ed., *Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei 1431-1533* (The old accounts books from Košice 1431 to 1533) (Košice: Bernovits, 1892), 18; For 1487: Schwartz Michel fl. 1 dedit (*Anno domini MCCCCCLXXX, septimo taxa media cum [macellis? = butcher's stalls] exigi inchoata feria secunda post festa Martini per dominos Andream Grotker, Johannem Oppytzer ac Stephanum Reich*), source: ibidem, 49. For the year 1487 there is an entry on him possessing two houses in Košice: *Domus Michel Schwartz fl. 4 dedit mrc. 49 dedit totum* [and] *Altera domus Michel Schwartz mrc. 14 dedit*, source: ibidem, 56.

⁴²⁶ 1493: *Laurentius Kos baccalaureus liber pronuntiatus est cum vinea in Tharczal a fratre suo Johanne sibi sponte data*, source: Békefi, *A népoktatás története*, 342.

⁴²⁷ *Presentibus [...] venerabili magistro Petro Briger*, source: *Történelmi Tár*, 1895, 384-386, edited by Lajos Kemény.

⁴²⁸ *Quequidem partes ante juris processum medio venerabilium, prudencium et circumsectorum hominum, videlicet magistri Johannis Henckel parrochi ecclesie nostre, magistri Andree civitatis nostre notarii, Materni Mydwischer, Petri Briger et Wolffgangi Muckentaler [...]*, source: *Történelmi Tár*, 1890, 385-386, edited by Lajos Kemény.

⁴²⁹ Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, 66.

who matriculated at this university in 1493 as a pauper. He received his master's degree in 1505 and, six years later, in 1511, was elected procurator of the Hungarian Nation. Subsequently, he was mentioned as a witness at the inauguration of other procurators until the year 1528, which certifies that he played an important role in the activities of this Nation, and, most probably, at the university as well.⁴³⁰

A number of students from Košice who attended universities in the fifteenth century remained abroad and developed careers as scholars or artists. One of them is a certain Petrus de Cassouia (no. 29), who matriculated at the University of Vienna in 1422 and was identified in 1425 to be living in Vienna and working as book scribe and illuminator in the Austrian territories.⁴³¹ Andreas Nicolai Sartoris (no. 108), a Dominican from Košice, after studying at the University of Cracow (matriculation in 1466), left for Italy and was living in a monastery in Florence between 1470 and 1474. In 1474 he copied a manuscript with the title '*De Historia Sacra eiusque mysteriis libri septem additis Expositionibus in Evangelia*', which is now in the Vatican Library.⁴³² Another Dominican, Petrus Cassoviensis (no. 137), sent to Florence in 1476, stayed there until 1478 and in 1479 was employed as a scribe at the papal curia in Rome.⁴³³ A further former student from Košice identified in Italy is Iohannes de Caschovia (no. 127), who registered at the University of Bologna in 1471 as a private teacher of a certain nobleman, Nicolaus Stoltz de Slantz de Silesia, bishop of Oradea from 1469 to 1473. Iohannes is mentioned

⁴³⁰ Schrauf, *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve*, 259, 48, 263, 264, 265, 28, 32, 35, 50, 55, 62, 84, 165, 266, 267, 281. Texts: *Et ego Melchior Chall Casschoviensis, artium liberalium magister, anno Domini 1511 in procuratore nationis Hungarie electus in die sancti Philippi confessoris et episcopi, feria sexta ante dominicam Ramispalmarum, presenti cirographo fateor me percepisse 7 flor. in bono auro Ungaricales ... 13 sol. den. et 3 den. in bona moneta, venerabilibus istis magistris presentibus utpote mag. Jacobo Vexillifero Transsilvano, Ambrosio Salczer ex Sopronio, Joanne Croner, octonario pro tunc cum Sancto Stephano, ex venerabili viro artium liberalium Mag. Cristophoro Abytzel ex Wolframcz, antecessore meo in offitio procuratorio. [...] Item ego Melchior Chall Casschoviensis, artium liberalium magister, anno Domini 1511 presentavi Mag. Leonardo Doberhost in offitium procuratorum nationis Hungarie successoris meo [in] prefato offitio [rationem] de singulis suppositorum collectis et preceptis pecuniis et thesaurum totum nationis et summa tota fuit coram venerabilibus viris Mag. Cristophoro Abyczell Olomuczensi, protunc octurnario cum Sancto Stephano, Mag. Jacobo Vexillifero, Mag. Ambrosio de Sopronio, Mag. Joanne Ernst Cibiniensi, in archam nationis reposita: 24 sol. den. et 20 den. et 7 flor. Ungaricales in bono auro computata. 1511.*

⁴³¹ Jozef Kuzmík, *Doplňky a opravy k slovníkom starovekých, stredovekých a humanisticko-renesančných autorov, prameňov a knižných skriptorov so slovenskými vzťahmi* (Additions and corrections to the lexicons of old, medieval and humanist-Renaissance authors, sources and book scribes with Slovak connections) (Bratislava: Matica Slovenská, 1987), 64.

⁴³² Jozef Kuzmík, *Slovník starovekých a stredovekých autorov, prameňov a knižných skriptorov so slovenskými vzťahmi* (Dictionary of ancient and medieval authors, sources and book scribes in relation to Slovakia) (Bratislava: Matica Slovenská, 1983), 479.

⁴³³ Source: Gabriel, *Prosopographia of Hungarian Students*. See also Veress, *Matricula et acta Hungarorum*, 327 and 328.

as a *decretorum doctor* in this entry, meaning that he had already attended a university somewhere sometime before 1471.⁴³⁴ An interesting case is that of the astronomer Marcus Schynagel de Caschovia of whom it is known that he studied at the University of Cracow (very possibly Marcus Nicolai (no. 111), matriculated in 1466, bachelor degree in 1470).⁴³⁵ After his studies he taught at the University for Cracow for a while, but was best known in Europe at the time for his astronomical calendars.⁴³⁶

Johannes Antoninus (no. 195), another former student from Košice, succeeded in developing a successful career abroad as a medical doctor. He matriculated at the University of Cracow in 1515, received his bachelor degree in 1517, a second bachelor degree in Vienna in 1519, and then left to continue his medical studies at the renowned university of Padua ca. 1520. Later he was identified at the University of Tübingen, where he received his doctorate in medicine in 1523. In 1524, shortly after the completion of his studies, Antoninus arrived in Basle, where he came into close contact with Erasmus, becoming his private doctor. Antoninus' professional talents were greatly appreciated by Erasmus, who stayed in contact with him for some time and even dedicated a translation of Galenus to him.⁴³⁷ This affinity introduced

⁴³⁴ Text: [Recepta: a reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino domino Nicolao Stoltz de Slantz de Slesia [Nicolaus episcopus Varadiensis, 1469-1473] pro se ac domino Iohanne Stoltz de Slantz fratre suo, Iohanne de Caschovia decretorum doctore pedagogo suo, Gregorio Nencke canonico Agriensi, Nicolao de Slaboni capellano suo, Caspate de Augusta, Cristoffero Seydelitz, Iohanne de Ratispona, prefati domini episcopi familiaribus dos ducatos Florentinos.] Source: Ernestus Friedlaender and Carolus Malagola, eds., *Acta nationis germaniae universitatis bononiensis ex archetypis tabularii malveziani* (Berlin: Typis et impensis Georgii Reimeri, 1887), 215, lines 15-24. Further information about him: Johannes de Kaschau/Caschovia, Decretorum Doctor, pedagogus d. Johannis Stoltz de Slantz. Source: Gustav C. Knod, ed., *Deutsche Studenten in Bologna: 1289-1562: Biographischer Index zu den Acta nationis Germanicae universitatis Bononiensis* (Berlin: R.v. Decker's Verlag, 1899), 237.

⁴³⁵ Much of the information on Schynagel has been gathered in cooperation and with the generous help of MA Heidrun Franz, Ph.D. candidate at the University of Erlangen, Germany, working title of the forthcoming dissertation "Das astronomisch/astrologische Kompendium des Marcus Schinagel von 1489."

⁴³⁶ Peter Amelung, in his article "Eine Ulmer Praktik auf das Jahr 1489, ein Beispiel für die Schwierigkeiten beim Bestimmen fragmentarischer Prognostiken," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 57 (1982): 211-219 mentions Schynagel as teacher at the University of Cracow. His works (with further comments) have been recorded by Ernst Zinner in *Geschichte und Bibliographie der astronomischen Literatur in Deutschland zur Zeit der Renaissance*, second edition (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1964), no. 293, 294, 295, 335, 407, 435, 514, and 515 and Mieczyslaw Markowski in his *Astronomica et Astrologica Cracoviensia ante Annum 1550* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1990). The following works signed by Marcus Schynagel were registered: 1. *Vorhersage für 1487* in 'Almanah cum pronosticationibus', printed in Basle in Latin; 2. *Tafel der Neu- und Vollmonde für 1487* printed in Augsburg in Latin; 3. *Tafel de Neu- und Vollmonde für 1487* printed in Augsburg in German; 4. *Tafel de Neu- und Vollmonde für 1488* printed in Augsburg in Latin; 5. *Vorhersage für 1490*, printed in Reutlingen in German; 6. *Vorhersage für 1491*, printed in Basle in German; 7. *Vorhersage für 1493*, printed in Vienna in Latin.

⁴³⁷ P.S. Allen and H.M. Allen, eds., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 1926, letters no. 1602, 1660, 1698, 1810, 1825, 1916, 2176, 3137. See also Ágnes, Ritoókné-Szalay, "Erasmus és a XVI. századi magyarországi értelmiség" (Erasmus and 16th-century Hungarian intelligentsia), in her "Nympha super ripam Danubii." *Tanulmányok a XV–XVI. századi magyarországi művelődés köréből* (Nympha super ripam Danubii. Studies on the Hungarian culture of the 15th–16th centuries) (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2002), 161-174, especially 165-166.

Antoninus into the close circle of the King Louis II of Hungary. Later he was granted employment by Piotr Tomicki, who was bishop of Cracow and vice-chancellor of the realm. Rich and influential, Tomicki administered huge estates belonging to the Church and controlled vast ecclesiastical expenditures. He allocated substantial sums of money for educational purposes, sending many promising students to foreign universities, mainly to Italy, and, at the same time, bringing to Cracow University several outstanding professors and distinguished scholars from abroad.⁴³⁸ His appreciation for Antoninus, who was his personal doctor, prompted Tomicki to help him become one of the royal doctors at the court of Sigismund I. In addition to his medical career, Antoninus authored a number of works, mainly elegies dedicated to people he had been in contact with throughout his life.⁴³⁹

One of the most remarkable natives of this town, whose name is connected with Cracow University, is György Szatmári, later to become the head of the Hungarian church hierarchy. The scholarly literature on Szatmári usually refers to his studies at the Universities of Cracow and Bologna, although the respective registers do not contain any explicit indication of his attendance. Yet, extensive academic training was undoubtedly a prerequisite for a man of the time to develop such a remarkable career. Péter Farbaky, the author of the most recent and exhaustive study on Szatmári, proposed that Georgius Stephani de Kaschovia (no. 139), who matriculated in Cracow in 1477 could be György Szatmári, because his father's name was Stephan.⁴⁴⁰ If one accepts this version, he was then approximately twenty years old at his matriculation, which generally corresponds to the tendencies of the time. What is known about Szatmári is that he was born in Košice, probably about 1457, in a rich family of German origin.⁴⁴¹ His uncle, Ferenc Szatmári, who was one of the richest men in the town and therefore had extensive relationships with representatives of the Thurzó family from Levoča, assumed custody of György, who had lost his father at a very early age. In the last decade of the fifteenth century, György Szatmári was employed at the chancellery of Wladislaus II, being referred to as

⁴³⁸ Tomiak, *The University*, 41. For more on Tomicki see also *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis Studii Generalis Cracoviensis 1365-1605, five volumes*. Edited by n.a. Cracow: Typis Universitatis, 1870, 1873, 1880, 1884, and 1900, volume four, 96, 98, 100, 104, 107, 111, 113, 115, 117-120, 123, 125, 130, 132, 137, 138, 140, 151.

⁴³⁹ Among the works of Antoninus are the following: 1535: *De tuenda bona valetudine and Elegia in obitum incomparabilis Praesulis Petri Tomicii*; 1536: *Elegia in obitum magni Erasmi Rotterodami, praecipui studiorum instauratoris*; 1544: *Epigrammata in Antonium, Patrem suum, civem Cassoviensem, inque paternos amicos*.

⁴⁴⁰ Péter Farbaky, *Szatmári György, a mecénás* (Szatmári György: A benefactor) (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 2002), 13-14 and 178.

⁴⁴¹ The seemingly Hungarian name probably refers to the family's county of origin.

an archivist in 1493 and as a secretary in 1494. By the end of 1499, he was already bishop of Veszprém, then from 1501 the bishop of Oradea, between 1505 and 1521 the bishop of Pécs, and between 1521 and 1524 the archbishop of Esztergom.⁴⁴² Throughout his career Szatmári was a generous patron. He was known to have helped students finance their stays at different universities, as numerous dedications to him certify.⁴⁴³ Moreover, he donated revenue from his Forró estate to the Saint Elisabeth church in Košice and later, while archbishop of Esztergom, supplemented this gift with his vineyards in Szántó and Nagy Bátor.⁴⁴⁴

Based on the cases described above, a few general characteristics of the postgraduate careers of the former students from Košice can be identified. For the fifteenth century, even though some categorization was possible, the collected information is not sufficient to make any definitive conclusions about the direct importance of university studies for subsequent career paths of the former students. Since university attendance required financial investment and the opportunities for such support were limited, attending university was the exclusive privilege of those few who had already attained a certain social status and possessed sufficient material wealth. According to the cases identified, the greatest achievements after attending a university were either the development of a professional career abroad or advancement in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, both of which a few former students from Košice pursued successfully. However, the high numbers of people attending university at this time cannot be attributed primarily to the search for either academic or ecclesiastical advancement. The purpose of the majority of fifteenth-century students was mainly to obtain, over a definite period of time, a certain amount of available knowledge. Or, more often than not, it was a means for young men, in particular future merchants, to learn about life outside the home and to build contacts that were so important for the forthcoming commercial activity. In addition, a certain category of individuals existed whose sole purpose was to enjoy the university privileges. In other words, although it was considered prestigious to attend a university, especially for the merchant class, university attendance alone was not enough for someone to gain a more influential job or elevated position in society.

⁴⁴² For extensive information see the book by Farbaký, *Szatmári György* with German summary. See also Emerico Várady, *Docenti e scolari ungheresi nell' antico studio Bolognese* (Bologna: Coop. Tipografica Azzoguidi, 1951), 39ff.

⁴⁴³ Veress, *Matricula et acta Hungarorum*, passim.

⁴⁴⁴ Bodnárová, *Die Reformation*, 23; Kemény, *A reformáció*, 6.

5.3. Postgraduate careers of students from Košice during the Reformation

The second stage in this analysis of the postgraduate careers of students from Košice – after the 1520s – was greatly influenced by the Reformation. The change in religious thinking was accompanied by changes in an approach to education⁴⁴⁵ and, as already described, the town's increased interest in supporting the academic careers of individuals. During this period, academic training greatly increased a person's chance of gaining employment, while at the same time there was increasing demand for trained personnel within some urban institutions. The result was more emphasis on formal schooling and acknowledgement of the value of education and training within the urban society.⁴⁴⁶ Correspondingly, the towns were more and more in need of professionally-trained employees and, for urban clergy and school teachers, one or more years of studying at a Protestant university was the most appropriate form of education.

As a result of Reformation policies, the Košice town administration took the local churches and education under its authority. Three Protestant ethnic communities, German, Hungarian, and Slavic, were referred to in the urban documentation of the time. The urban school in Košice had already begun the reform process in the 1530s, as attested by the urban documents. Its finances were supervised by the town council, which was also in charge of school staff recruitment.⁴⁴⁷ Urban employees paid by the town were the three Protestant priests, the school rector, one or several assistants (*collaboratores*), the cantor and the organist. The rector supervised the administration and the curriculum of the school and taught the advanced pupils. The function of the assistants was to instruct the younger pupils in elementary learning such as reading and writing or grammar. The cantor was responsible for instruction in music and for directing the school choir, which sang during divine services in the main town church. In

⁴⁴⁵ On the influence of the Reformation upon education see among others the contributions in Harald Dickerhof, ed. *Bildungs- und schulgeschichtliche Studien zu Spätmittelalter, Reformation und konfessionellem Zeitalter* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1994).

⁴⁴⁶ See Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, "Training and Professionalization," in *Power Elites and State Building*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 149-172, here 150f; Reiner C. Schwinges, "Zur Professionalisierung gelehrter Tätigkeit im deutschen Spätmittelalter," in *Recht und Verfassung im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, volume 2, ed. Hartmut Boockmann, et.al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 473-493.

⁴⁴⁷ For more on urban school education during this time see Békefi, *A népoktatás*; Viliam Čičaj, "Vývoj vzdelanosti v našich mestách v období neskorého feudalizmu" (The development of education in our towns in the late-feudal period), *Historický časopis* 34 (1986): 349-361.

addition to that, the employees paid by the town were supposed to fulfill, upon request, several other duties to the benefit of the town administration. These tasks included: joining different diplomatic missions on behalf of the town, acting as witnesses in various legal matters, providing administrative services, etc. Priests or school employees would often provide various types of assistance to pupils, such as: helping them to find accommodations in the town or even providing it themselves, managing some of the pupils' financial problems, writing letters of support to assist students improve their budget, and providing them with recommendation letters and helpful contacts in case of a change of institution or subsequent university attendance.

Because of the lack of sources, it is not possible to state exact requirements concerning the prior education of church or school employees in sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth-century Košice. According to the preserved school regulations from the Upper Hungarian towns, most of which date from the sixteenth century, it was preferred yet not required that the school rector had a university degree (bachelor or master) and that he had studied some basic philosophy and theology. From the end of the sixteenth century, knowledge in more practical fields such as mathematics, geography, and history was required.⁴⁴⁸

Priests or school rectors, and very often also the assistants, are mentioned with the title “magister” in various urban documents, which does not necessarily indicate graduation from a university with the respective title, but rather a customary label for those involved in dissemination of knowledge. Thus the presence of such a title should be treated with caution.⁴⁴⁹ Frequently, former university attendees without a graduation degree, or even those who did not have any university training at all, could hold a position in church or school. Very often the attendance at a university for one or two years was sufficient. The main requirement for priests and school teachers of the Reformation period was that they be an advocate of the reformed faith and learning, a skill which, in the tradition of the time, could be acquired after a few years of learning at the university in Wittenberg or at another reformed academic institution. Graduates of a Protestant urban secondary school could usually get employment as first school assistants and then rectors in smaller communities. Cases have been identified when cantors or school

⁴⁴⁸ See among others Peter Vajcik, *Školstvo, študijné a školské poriadky na Slovensku v XVI. storočí* (Education, study and school regulations in the sixteenth century Slovakia) (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo slovenskej akadémie vied, 1955) and István Mészáros, *XVI. századi városi iskoláink és a “studia humanitatis”* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1981).

⁴⁴⁹ For a comment on using this title see Martin Kintzinger, “*Studens artium, Rector parochiae und Magister scholarum im Reich des 15. Jahrhunderts. Studium und Versorgungschancen der Artisten zwischen Kirche und Gesellschaft*,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 26 (1999): 1-41, here 17.

assistants already employed would be supported by the town council to study at a university (usually Wittenberg) for one or two years, after which period their duty was to return and resume teaching, now with more chances for career advancement, as was the case of a few former Košice students. At the same time, this sponsorship by the town council is an indicator of the importance it placed on having church or school employees with university experience.

In addition to supporting its own inhabitants, the town council was very much involved in recruiting adequately-trained personnel from elsewhere. Usually, potential candidates would be addressed directly; a letter including a job offer would be sent, most often at the recommendation of a member of the town administration, of the acting priest or the school rector, or some other influential individual in the town.⁴⁵⁰ Another possibility was to ask those natives of the town who were studying abroad to suggest potential candidates from among their colleagues or acquaintances. The town archives contain a considerable number of letters received from potential candidates in reply to job offers, either graduates from different academic institutions or practicing teachers and clergy.⁴⁵¹ Their authors usually mention the fact that they have been invited to take a position in the town for which they are very grateful, and, in case of agreement, further discuss the conditions concerning payment, housing, etc. As some letters certify, in the case of mutual agreement, the town council would help the prospective employees with moving expenses: transporting belongings, books, help finding accommodation in the town, and sometimes even paying their debts.⁴⁵² The research completed by Andras Szabó on the Hungarian teachers and preachers employed in Košice in the second half of the sixteenth century shows on the one hand that these professionals in Košice were recruited from an extensive geographic area, and on the other hand that the proportion of locally born men among them was relatively low.⁴⁵³ The investigation of this interesting aspect of the Košice urban council activity

⁴⁵⁰ See for example the letters of Andreas Fabricius Panonius to Richard Kaufijn, AMK H I, no. 3036/100 and 3036/99 or the letter by Michael Ludovicus Transylvanus, dated December 6th, 1578, who was invited by Matthias Thoraconymus, school rector at the time, to work as *collaborator hungaricus*, AMK H I, no. 3473/106. In his letter of response to this job offer, Ludovicus asks to be paid the same remuneration as his predecessor.

⁴⁵¹ See a letter signed by Abrahamus Schremelius, *rector scholae Semproniensis*, dated July 16th, 1583 (Edited by Lajos Kemény, *Történelmi Társulat*, 1890, 792-794.). See also letters of other candidates: AMK H I, no. 3175/115; no. 3589/6; no. 3589/66; no. 3838/87; no. 6378/35, and others, some of them without inventory number.

⁴⁵² See AMK H I, no. 2301/93; no. 5871/29; no. 6538/26, no. 8034/5, no. 3783/n.a., and others.

⁴⁵³ András Szabó, "Kassai magyar lelkészek és tanárok a 16. század második felében" (Hungarian preachers and teachers in Košice in the second half of the sixteenth century), *Urbs. Hungarian Yearbook of Urban History* 3 (2008): 179-192.

is, unfortunately, beyond the purpose of this dissertation, yet it is hoped that it will attract scholarly interest in the near future.

According to the urban documentation, the Hungarian, German and Slavic priests, and the school rector and his assistants all received generous support from the town council, including an annual salary commensurate with the increased cost of living.⁴⁵⁴ Usually, and this was common for other towns of the region as well, the salaries of the town priests and the school rector were the same or similar. The remuneration of the school assistants was approximately one quarter smaller than that of the school rector, if the *naturalia* are also counted. Therefore, the teachers and the priests are commonly referred to as the same social group⁴⁵⁵ and the entries in the urban documentation which detail the amount of salary and the payment in kind usually equated these positions. Many of the examples of postgraduate careers of students from Košice presented below reveal a frequent movement between church and school. In addition to what has been said above, the students in these positions were unified by their similar type of education, their devotion to Reformation ideas, typically to its Lutheran branch, and their significant contribution to spreading and later maintaining the new faith in the town and in its neighboring regions.

Several attempts to compose lists of priests and teachers from Košice in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times have been made, based on different types of documentation, all of them with a different degree of completeness.⁴⁵⁶ It is rarely possible to collect full biographical data

⁴⁵⁴ For 1557 the teacher's annual salary in Košice was 40 florins, the school assistant's – 16 florins and the cantor's salary – 20 florins, source: Fraknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás*, 47. Also confirmed by documents in the town archives: see for example AMK H III/2, MAC 8, folio 52: *Rector scholae Dno Mathia Chabai in salarium florenis decem (in anum fl. 40) Huic Mgro Chabai dandi sunt iam fl. 50. die Maii 1558*. For 1560 the following information is preserved (see in comparison with other paid employees): *Senatus etiam solvit [...] uti sequitur: duorum habent concionatores german[ium orum?] et hungari[ecorum?], eorum singulos dabit pro anno salario fl.40, pro mensa fl. 16, frumenti cubulos 12, vini Cassoviensis vasa 2, porcos 2; diaconos duos hungar. et germ. pro salario dabit fl. 16, pro mensa fl. 16, frumenti cubulos 12, cassovien. vina 2, porcos 2; sclavonico contionatori p. salario fl. 16, pro mensa fl. 16, frumenti cubulos 12, vina Cassov. 2, porcos 2; rectori scholae quia duorum habit dabit pro mensa fl. 16, frumenti cubulos 12, vina Cassov. 2, porcos 2*. Source: AMK H III/2, MAC 11, folio 31r. For the year 1594 the following information was found: *Die 19 Februarii 1594 Reuerendus dominus Adamus Schulteti in Diaconatum huius Ecclae, senatus ac totius communitatis unanimi consensu et voluntate vocatus est [...] Salarium eius annuum est floreni 80 in paratis, cubuli tritici 24, vas vini Cassouiens, floren. quinque pro porco, centussis salis, floren. octo ad ligna cocinenda et habitatio libera*. Source: AMK PUR 10: 1593-1698, folio 4v. For the year 1620 the following information has been preserved: *salarium correctoris scholae Cassouiensis, Corrector Nicolaus Soporin ex curia ... fl. 101, Domino Tribuno plebis uti et Rector fl. 39, Pro lignis ...fl. 4. Datum Cassouiae die 16 iunii, ao 1640*. Source: AMK H I, box no. 158, no registration number.

⁴⁵⁵ Kintzinger, *Studens artium*, 22.

⁴⁵⁶ See among others: Békefi, *A népoktatás*, 110ff; Rezik, *Gymnaziológia*, 260ff.; Fraknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás*, 102ff. A list of Hungarian preachers and teachers from Košice for the second half of the sixteenth century

about individual persons and only a few of them could be identified as holding the office for a longer period of time. At the same time, there are significant gaps in their sequence. However, a number of former students identified as having attended one or more universities from the twenties of the sixteenth century could be found in one or both of these functions. Miloslava Bodnárová describes the activity of a certain Wolfgang Schustel from Košice, who studied at the University of Cracow and later became one of the first significant proponents of the Reformation ideas in the region.⁴⁵⁷ According to the data provided by the matriculation lists, he could be Wolffgangus Johannis de Cassovia (no. 204) who registered in Cracow in June 1518. After finishing his studies, he returned to the region and acted first as preacher in Prešov (1514-1515), then as a priest in Košice (1518-ca 1524), and Bardejov (1524-1531). His preaching was forbidden in Bardejov after 1525, and soon afterwards Schustel was forced to leave Upper Hungary because of his Reformation ideas, which were not yet tolerated at the time. He appears in Görlitz in 1531, in 1537 he was acting as a priest in Swidnica, and in 1540 he was identified in Jelena Góra, all towns which are located in Silesia.

Among the first former students to be employed in Košice in the sixteenth century is Martinus Schacht (no. 224), who, after working as a school assistant for a while, was supported by the town council to study in Wittenberg from 1563 to ca. 1566, after which date he returned to the town and resumed his position in the town school, working, in addition to that, as cantor at the local church.⁴⁵⁸ Schacht received burgher's rights in 1568.⁴⁵⁹ The last mention of his presence in the town dates to August 26, 1572,⁴⁶⁰ while in the summer 1573 his wife Elisabeth is referred to as the widow of Martin Schacht, which indicates that his death occurred sometimes between the fall of 1572 and first half of 1573.⁴⁶¹ Jacob Melczer (no. 226) was another student

was completed by Prof. András Szabó, as an annex to his article "Kassai magyar lelkészek és tanárok a 16. század második felében" (as note 419), 191-192.

⁴⁵⁷ Bodnárová, *Die Reformation*, 25-26; Vendelín Jankovič, "Dve postavy zo začiatkov reformácie v Bardejove" (Two personalities from the first period of Reformation in Bardejov), *Historický časopis* 38: 5 (1990), 640f; Ilfo Tapani Piirainen and Vendelín Jankovič, "Reformationsbriefe aus Bardejov/Barfeld: Ein Beitrag zum Frühneuhochdeutschen in der Slowakei," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen: bulletin de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki* 92 (1991): 501-511, especially 502f.

⁴⁵⁸ See AMK H III/2, MAC 14, folio 3v. and AMK H III/2, MAC 17, folio 10r.

⁴⁵⁹ Text: [*Martinus Schacht sive Schochott ex oppido Mosocz comitatus Thuroczien., nunc cantor scholae et templi istius civitatis, productis ex exhibitis nataliciis literis per Senatum approbatis, ius civile conferitus est feria sexta proxima ante festum Thomae Apostoli quae fuit dies XVII mensis Decembris 1568.*] Source: AMK, H III/2, PUR 5, folio 475v. See also AMK H III/2, MAC 14, folio 104v: *Martinus Schochott von Mosschorz kantor hat purgerrecht erlangt.*

⁴⁶⁰ AMK H III/2 PUR 8, folio 181.

⁴⁶¹ AMK H III/2 PUR 8, folio 196.

supported by the town council who returned to Košice in November 1570 to become school assistant. Five years later, he asked the town council for permission to leave this job. The town agreed, but not until it had found a successor. In 1578, with the permission of the town council, he finally went to Brzeg to be ordained as a priest and was loaned 9 florins for his travel.⁴⁶² Another former student, Martinus Brechtel (no. 236), matriculated in Wittenberg in 1587 as a beneficiary of the town council, became school assistant in Košice in 1592 and later the school rector.⁴⁶³ He also was involved in the urban administration, being identified as a member of the outer council from 1596 to 1598 and of the senate from 1599 to 1603.⁴⁶⁴ Brechtel is registered as a witness at several baptisms from August 1599 through November 1601. On February 22, 1600 his own daughter, Rosina, was baptized, and the godfathers included the town judge and two town council members. Their attendance confirmed Brechtel's prestige in the town.⁴⁶⁵ Iohannes Mautner (no. 264), a former student at the University of Rostock,⁴⁶⁶ returned to Košice to become school rector in 1637. He was known to offer much support for his pupils. For example, he called Elias Lasitius from Kremnica to Košice during his rectorship, who later studied at the University of Königsberg to become school rector in Spišská Sobota.⁴⁶⁷ Mautner married a citizen of Košice, and had a daughter baptized Elisabeth in 1639 and a son Johannes in 1641.⁴⁶⁸

A number of former students could be identified in other locations where they acted as school rectors, teachers, or tutors. Stephanus Mustrius (no. 218), a former student at Wittenberg, was sent by the town council of Košice to help found a school in Sobraniec, of which he became rector. On August 1, 1560, Matthias and Joannes Pongracz from Sobraniec wrote to the town council of Košice thanking it for sending them Stephan Mustrius as a school

⁴⁶² For more on the case of Jacob Melczer see the chapter on financing the university studies.

⁴⁶³ Franknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás*, 106.

⁴⁶⁴ Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája*.

⁴⁶⁵ *Liber baptizatorum et copulatorum ab anno 1598-1612 et 1642*, microfilm no. 55, Statny Archiv Košice, which registers Brechtel as witness by baptisms on September 1, 1598 (p. 2); August 25 1599 (ibidem, p. 29); December 1, 1599 (ibidem, p. 37); December 17, 1599 (ibidem, p. 38). On February 22 1600 Martinus Brechtel baptizes his own daughter, Rosina, (ibidem, p. 41). On January 6, 1600 is again a witness at a baptism (ibidem, p. 44); similarly on January 30, 1600 (ibidem, p. 45); on May 8, 1600 (ibidem, p. 48); on August 3, 1600 (ibidem, p. 52); August 12, 1601 (ibidem, p. 52); November 15, 1601 (ibidem, p. 72); November 20, 1601 (ibidem, p. 72); November 21, 1601 (ibidem, p. 72).

⁴⁶⁶ The exact date of his matriculation is not known. There is one letter sent by him from Rostock, dated September 12, 1635: AMK H I, no. 6598/46. Before matriculating in Rostock was studying in Gdańsk, with the support of the town council. Two of his letters sent from Gdańsk to the town council are preserved in the Košice Town Archives: both sent on October 4 1634: AMK H I, no. 6538/52 and no. 6538/88.

⁴⁶⁷ Rezik, *Gymnaziológia*, 464.

⁴⁶⁸ *Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655*, microfilm no. 56, Statny Archiv, Košice, pp. 107 and 148.

rector and also asking for a preacher, who would also work as a school assistant, with a knowledge of the Slavic language (*lingua slavonica*) so that he could address the Slavic-speaking population: “*in hac etiam slavonica natione colligatur.*”⁴⁶⁹ Alexander Kendj (no. 220), another student at Wittenberg supported by the town, was later identified as a school rector in Cluj.⁴⁷⁰ David Sigismundus (no. 231), who studied at Wittenberg, Heidelberg and Tübingen, after returning to his home region acted first as school rector in Oradea from 1579 and later in Alba-Iulia from 1582. During his office, he maintained some connections to the universities at which he had studied: a surviving letter certifies his attempts to gain some support from high-positioned persons for the Hungarian *coetus* in Wittenberg.⁴⁷¹ He also authored a number of literary works⁴⁷² and was included in the work *Prosopographiae melicae millenarius I-III*. This three volume work, compiled by a doctor in medical studies from Silesia, Caspar Cunradus (1571-1633) and published between 1615 and 1621, contains data about the life and activity of about 3000 personalities of different nationalities. David Sigismundus is registered as a poet on page 183 of the second volume.⁴⁷³ There are no further persons from Košice mentioned in this work. By the year 1586, however, Sigismundus sent a letter to the Transylvanian Chancellor, Farkas Kovacsóczy, in which he expressed his willingness to become a priest and asked for financial support. Unfortunately, he died shortly afterwards of the plague in Alba Iulia.⁴⁷⁴ A further example of students who returned as teachers and priests is Georgius Caesar from Košice (no. 229) who studied at Wittenberg from 1573 to 1577. Before going to Wittenberg, he was a pupil at the urban school in Sárospatak, where he returned to teach in 1577. From 1578 to 1583

⁴⁶⁹ AMK H I, no. 2249/60, published in *Történelmi Tár*, 1889, 603. See also the article by Branislav Varsik, “Vznik a vývin slovenských kalvínov na východnom Slovensku (The origin and development of Calvinists in Eastern Slovakia), *Historický časopis* 39:2 (1991): 129-148, where the author addresses in much detail the problem of religious confession in the region.

⁴⁷⁰ See the letter sent by Joannes Lascouius, from Cluj on March 24, 1580, edited by Lajos Kemény, *Történelmi Tár*, 1881, 487.

⁴⁷¹ See Szabó, *Geschichte*, 85: [*Spectabiles [...] et Magnifici Domini Alexander Kendi, Wolphgangus Koasoczi et Ladislaus Sombori, tutores Illustrissimi principis Transylvaniae Sigismundi Bathory se Somlio et regni eiusdem obtenerem principis aetatem praesides ac triumviri incluti, ex communi aerario ad intercessionem Clarissimi Domini Davidis Cassoviensis, (scholae Albinae in Transylvania tunc inspectoris) miserunt Coetui per Dominum Lascovij tabellarium 25 die Martii anni 1585 centum talleros.*]

⁴⁷² As, for example, *Elegia Panoniae gravissima pestilentia conflictantis*, 1577; *Elegia continens hodoeporicon itineris germanici*, 1579 and *Consolatio [...] Dialogus, quo praesides Transsylvaniae [...] consolatur*, 1584.

⁴⁷³ [*David Sigismundus Cassoviensis Pannonius, poeta*]. Source: Jan Martínek and Dana Martínková, “Zprávy slezských humanistů o slovenských kukuřičných poměrech” (Information by Silesian humanists about aspects of cultural development in Slovakia), in *Humanismus a renesancia na Slovensku v 15. – 16. storočí* (Humanism and Renaissance in Slovakia in the 15th and 16th century), ed. Ľudovít Holotík and Anton Vantuch (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1967), 392-403, here 394-5.

⁴⁷⁴ See *Történelmi Tár*, 1881, 483-486.

he was rector of this school and from 1583 to 1586 acted as priest in the same location, after being ordained in 1583. Caesar died in Sárospatak in 1586.⁴⁷⁵ Another student from Košice who held the office of the school rector in Sárospatak from 1630 is Benedictus Bakay (no. 252), a former student at Wittenberg, Leiden and Oxford.⁴⁷⁶ After his studies, he first returned to his hometown where he spent a few years as the school assistant, before being called to Sárospatak in 1630.

Another well-known name connected with the group of former students from Košice is that of Caspar Pilcius (no. 230), who was born in Spišské Podhradie but studied in Košice and Prešov. In 1573, before going to Wittenberg, he was a schoolteacher in Košice.⁴⁷⁷ In 1574 he left for Wittenberg with some support and contact recommendations from the town council and the priest of Košice. A letter that he sent from Wittenberg is still preserved in the town archives.⁴⁷⁸ Pilcius studied in Wittenberg until 1576, and then was employed by Johannes Rueber (general captain) as a court priest. He then held several positions in rapid succession: in 1578 he was a schoolteacher in Kežmarok; from 1579 to 1586 he was a priest in various smaller locations around Kežmarok; in 1586 he was a priest in Kežmarok; in 1587 he was a schoolteacher in Sárospatak; and in 1590 he was a priest in Markušovce. Pilcius was a proponent of Philipism and Cryptocalvinism and wrote a number of works in which he supported these confessional principles against Lutheranism. His works were refuted at the synods in Prešov (1589 and 1593), Spišska Nova Ves (1595), and Levoča (1597).⁴⁷⁹

In the first half of the seventeenth century there are also a number of students who went to various Protestant schools and universities and later became teachers. One example is that of Matheus Schwartz Ungarus Cassoviensis (no. 245), who, after studying in Göttingen, Basle, Helmstedt, and Jena was employed as a school cantor in Göttingen in 1606.⁴⁸⁰ Later he acted as a

⁴⁷⁵ Fraknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás*, 147.

⁴⁷⁶ Zsigmond Hamvai Kovács, *Kassai írók. A Mohácsi vésztől maig* (Writers from Košice. From the Mohács battle until present days) (Košice: Kazinczy kör, 1907), 21.

⁴⁷⁷ *Casparum Pilcz de Warallia hungaricum collaboratorem senatus installavit in schola die am 23 Tag Aprilis 1573*. Source: AMK H III/2, MAC 17, folio 45r.

⁴⁷⁸ Letter to the urban priest Thomas Hilarius/Fröhlich, dated April 1574, sent from Wittenberg. AMK, H I, no. 3219/111.

⁴⁷⁹ Marcell Sebök in his book *Humanista a határon. A késmárki Sebastian Ambrosius története* (Humanist of the border. The history of Ambrosius Sebastian of Kežmarok) (Budapest: l'Harmattan, 2007) devotes ample space to these disputes, e.g. 174-184, with references to further secondary literature.

⁴⁸⁰ [1606 pro cantore scholae particularis Gott[ingen] angenommen] Source: *Die Matrikel des Pädagogiums zu Göttingen*, 8

Lutheran preacher in the neighboring region and died in 1625 of pestilential fever.⁴⁸¹ Schwartz was also known to have authored two literary works of religious character, written in German: *Etliche sehr schöne und christliche Gebet, Ermanung und Sprüche ...*, Nürnberg, 1613 and *Schatz-Kästlein der christlichen Kleinot aller Evangelien und Episteln...*, Leipzig, 1625.⁴⁸² Christophorus Ledwisch (no. 254), a student at Wittenberg, was employed as the school teacher in Prešov for seven years, from 1618 to 1625, even though he signed his letters sent from the university as “*medicinae et chymiae studiosus*.”⁴⁸³ In 1625, Ledwisch moved to Bertotovce to work as a priest. Caspar Hain (no. 274) is another prominent figure who was born in Košice but later moved, together with his family, to Levoča. After finishing his studies at Wittenberg, he became, in 1658, rector of the school in Levoča and was later elected member of the urban senate and then judge of Levoča. Hain became well known due to his work dedicated to the history of Levoča: “*Zipserische oder Leutschauerische Chronica*” (1684),⁴⁸⁴ in which he considered the most important political and cultural events in the Spiš region until 1684.

Among the former students from Košice who developed ecclesiastical careers in the first half of the seventeenth century is Johannes Teubelius (no. 249), a former student at Wittenberg sometime in the first decade of the seventeenth century. While still at Wittenberg, he was invited by the town council of Košice to take the priest's office, as one of his letters certifies.⁴⁸⁵ Teubelius served as an Evangelical (Lutheran) priest in the town and authored a theological dispute dedicated to the magnate Johannes Thurzó and to the priest of Levoča, Petrus Zablerus.⁴⁸⁶ A former student at the University in Königsberg, Adamus Kys (no. 268), was involved in both school and church matters in Košice after returning from his studies sometime in the forties or early fifties of the seventeenth century. In 1652 he signed, as M[agister] Adamus Kys, *Eccl[esi]ae Cassoviensis Ung. Pastor, Scholae Inspector*, a letter of invitation to his marriage to Sophia, daughter of Johannes Putenberger from Prešov, dated 7 February, 1653.⁴⁸⁷ In November, 1653, his daughter Justina was baptized, followed by the baptism of another

⁴⁸¹ [pastor in Obernjesa obiit febre pestilentiali Ao 1625]. Source: *Die Matrikel des Pädagogiums zu Göttingen*, 8.

⁴⁸² Source: *Slovenský Biografický Slovník* (Slovak biographical dictionary), volume five, 552-553.

⁴⁸³ AMK H I, no. 5782/65 or no. 5782/8. Rezik, *Gymnaziológia*, 116, 140.

⁴⁸⁴ *Löcsei krónikája – Zipserische oder Leütschaverische Chronica [...]* von Caspar Hain, edited by Jeromos Bal, Jenő Förster, and Aurél Kaufmann (Levoča: Reiss, 1910-1913).

⁴⁸⁵ One letter from Joannes Teuffel[us] is preserved in the Town Archives of Košice, a thank you note for being offered a job position in the town, sent from Wittenberg in 1611 or 1612, AMK, H I, no. 5442/35.

⁴⁸⁶ *Slovenský Biografický Slovník* (Slovak biographical dictionary), volume six, 50.

⁴⁸⁷ AMK H I, no. 8199/16.

daughter, Sophia, in January, 1658. The entry for the latter event names Adamus Kys as ecclesiastical inspector.⁴⁸⁸ He supervised the local school matters, appearing in other sources as the person who recommended one of the Košice school alumni, Georgius Budari(?) from Sárvár, as a teacher for the local noble son Adam Peitkov(?) in ca. 1660.⁴⁸⁹ Another former student active in the local church was Matthias Ostropatky (no. 271), who returned to his hometown after completing his studies at Königsberg in 1651, and one year later signed, as *verbi Dei minister in Cassa*, a letter of invitation to his wedding with Catharina Csetneki, daughter of Georgius Czetneki, town burgher, to take place on February 12, 1652, in Košice.⁴⁹⁰ On August 7, 1659 he had a daughter baptized, Maria, one of the godfathers being the town judge, and on August 2, 1664 a son, Samuel.⁴⁹¹

Another former student, Melchior Roth, developed a diverse career in the region. After his studies (in the sixties of the seventeenth century), he worked as vice-rector at the urban school in Košice⁴⁹² and then as a priest in Spišská Bela, a position from which he was exiled during one of the religious conflicts common at the time. In 1673 he was identified as rector of the Hungarian school in Spišská Nová Ves.⁴⁹³ In 1682 he became school rector in Levoča, where he is credited with restoring the good reputation of the school after eight years of decay. After his activity in Levoča, Roth was called to be priest in Švedlár, Spiš region.⁴⁹⁴ In February 1665 he married Susanna, the daughter of the pastor in Levoča.⁴⁹⁵ Other former students who returned to Košice after their studies have been identified, but the available documents do not provide specific information about their occupation in the town. Among these inscrutable persons is Johannes Cottaj (no. 270), who was studying at Wittenberg from 1647 to 1650. The only

⁴⁸⁸ *Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655*, microfilm no. 56, Statny Archiv, Košice, pp. 349 and 418: [*Reverendi clarissimi et doctissimi Inspectoris primarii Ecclesiae Augustanae invariatae confessionis Adami Kys filia nata est, cuius nomen baptizatae est Sophia.*]

⁴⁸⁹ Rezik, *Gymnaziológia*, 459.

⁴⁹⁰ AMK H I, no. 8134/6, letter signed February 7, 1652, sent from Košice.

⁴⁹¹ *Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655*, microfilm no. 21-22, Statny Archiv, Košice, pp. 444 and 526.

⁴⁹² See a letter signed M.Roth Gym. Cassov. Conrector sent to Matthias Goznovitzer in Levoča on 7 April, 1669. Archív mesta Levoče, V/99.

⁴⁹³ AMK H I, no. 9273/7.

⁴⁹⁴ P.Rainer Rudolf and Eduard Ulreich, eds., *Karpatendeusches Biographisches Lexikon* (Stuttgart: Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Karpatendeutschen aus der Slowakei, 1988), 277; Rezik, *Gymnaziológia*, 324.

⁴⁹⁵ AMK H I, no. 8913/59.

information that could be gathered about him in the town is a note concerning his marriage to the daughter of a Košice burgher in 1652.⁴⁹⁶

It is interesting to note that although the overwhelming majority of students from Košice went to reformed universities and further got involved in Protestant (Lutheran) schools or ecclesiastical matters - certainly a result of the religious policy in the town - there is one well-documented example of a former student from Košice who was actively involved in the Catholic Reformation movement. Stephanus Cassovius (Kassai) Hungarus (no. 235) studied at the University of Graz and became, in 1586, master of philosophy.⁴⁹⁷ He was among the first graduates of the newly-created Academy and, after his graduation, stayed at the University of Graz to teach philosophy.⁴⁹⁸ In 1591 Stephanus became rector of the newly-founded Jesuit school in Turóc-Váralja and a few years later was sent to a mission in Transylvania.⁴⁹⁹ But this single case compared to so many others involved in the Protestant church or school matters is the exception that proves the rule of the exclusively Protestant character of the urban life in Košice in the second half of the sixteenth and first decades of the seventeenth century.

Another possible career path for former university attendees was the urban administration. In general, university-trained persons are not frequently found among the leading urban administrators from Košice even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and this was common for European towns of the time.⁵⁰⁰ Origin, wealth, and social or professional status were still essential constitutive elements of membership in the council, graduation from a university serving only as an additional qualification. The town council members themselves were, most probably, graduates of the local urban school or had been provided with private education. Even

⁴⁹⁶ [Johannes Kotay s.s. theol.] "feleségül vette néhai Wilcker Bertalan borbély leányát Erzsébetet 1652. febr. 3-án] (On 3 February 1652 married the daughter of the late barber Bertalan Wilcker). Source: *Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655*, microfilm no. 56, Statny Archiv, Košice.

⁴⁹⁷ [Rectore R. P. Georgio a Duras Leodiensi Primi in academia Graecensi post baccalaureatum die 22 Octob. receptum Philosophiae Magistri creati sunt die 29 Octobris 1586: [2] Stephanus Cassovius, Hungarus.] Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Graz*, vol. 1, 94. See also: [Okt. 29: Stephanus Cassovius, Hungarus e Societate, post Baccalaureatum die 22 octob. receptum, Philosophae Magister creatus.] Source: Johann Andritsch, ed., *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Graz (1586-1782)* (Graz: Verlag der Historischen Landeskommision, 1965), 23, quoted after *Nomina eorum, qui in alma ac catholica Academia Graecensi ad gradus litterarios promoti sunt* (Promotionsbuch).

⁴⁹⁸ *Die Matrikel der Universität Graz*, vol. 1, p. xxi.

⁴⁹⁹ Andritsch, *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn*, 252. See also: Andreas Veress, *Carillo Alfonz jezsuita atya levelezése és iratai 1591-1618* (The correspondence and the writings of the Jesuit Alfons Carillo) (Budapest: MTA, 1906), 4, 40; Fraknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás*, 149.

⁵⁰⁰ Klaus Wriedt, "University Scholars in German Cities during the Late Middle Ages: Employment, Recruitment, and Support," in *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society*, ed. William J. Courtenay and Jürgen Miethke (Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill, 2000), 49-64, here 63.

though cases have been registered when former students became members of the urban administration, this was determined more by other factors and less by university attendance.⁵⁰¹ On the other hand, representatives of the urban administration supported the university studies of their relatives, as discussed in the preceding chapter.

At the same time, beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century, there is more evidence that university studies opened the way for notaries and scribes, the towns being increasingly in demand of educated individuals who possessed the abilities necessary to fulfill the requirements of these jobs. With the further development of civic involvement in social, political and religious events of the time and the broadening of relationships of various kinds with other towns and communities, the necessity for extensive administrative work resulted in an increased demand for qualified persons. One of the most attractive jobs in the town administration of Košice seemed to be that of the town notary, whose main responsibility was managing the urban administrative documentation and archives. He was also present at the drawing up of testaments (and often named as executor in last wills), was responsible for collecting taxes, elaborated various documents related to official and private matters and was in charge of the town's correspondence. Besides, the town notary was very often included in various diplomatic missions within the region and abroad. Because of the mixed population in Košice, it was to the notary's advantage (though not directly expressed as a precondition for electing someone to this position) to possess, in addition to Latin, knowledge of German and Hungarian, both used extensively within the town administration in the period of this research.⁵⁰² The town notary was usually helped by a vice-notary (*subnotarius*) and a certain number of scribes (called *scriba* and *subscriba* in the town documentation). Unlike the councilors, the notaries received a regular salary for their work, which made their position similar to that of the priest and the preacher.

Several former students from Košice were employed as a scribe or notary either in Košice itself or in the neighboring towns. Among these is Gedeon Adami, son of the German priest from Košice, probably a student at Wittenberg and Leipzig, but certainly at one of the Protestant

⁵⁰¹ See for example Klaus Wriedt, "Stadtrat – Bürgertum – Universität am Beispiel norddeutscher Hansestädte," in *Studien zum Städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Bernd Moeller, et. al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 499-523, here 522.

⁵⁰² On languages spoken in Košice during the research time see the subchapter 2.3. of this dissertation

schools of the region, as mentioned in the town administration documents.⁵⁰³ After finishing his studies, he returned to Košice in 1578 and was employed as a town scribe.⁵⁰⁴ Adami received his burgher's rights in 1579⁵⁰⁵ and, from 1581 to 1597, with some short interruptions, was member of the senate or of the outer town council.⁵⁰⁶ During his time in office, Adami went on numerous diplomatic missions to different locations on behalf of the town.⁵⁰⁷ From 1598 to 1600 he was recorded as a witness at several baptisms, a further confirmation of his advanced social position.⁵⁰⁸ Another former student, Thobias Kauffny (no. 232), after completing his studies at Olomouc, became vice-notary in Košice in 1580⁵⁰⁹ and later, probably from 1583 to 1591, held the office of the town notary.⁵¹⁰ Like his father, the former school teacher Richardus Kauffni, Thobias Kauffny was sent on various diplomatic missions, which are extensively documented in the town archives beginning in the year 1583.⁵¹¹ Another ex-student, Georgius Buntzler (no. 234), is mentioned as sub-notary and then notary in Košice between 1590 and 1595.⁵¹² In 1618, the swearing-in formula for the position of the vice-notary in Košice, as recorded in the town documentation, was recited by Christophorus Teufel (no. 246), former student at Leipzig, Frankfurt an der Oder, and Jena.⁵¹³ He received his burgher's rights in the same year,⁵¹⁴ but three years later resigned and moved to Levoča.

⁵⁰³ AMK H III/2, MAC 17, folio 43r: *Gedeoni Adami studioso, cuius p[ate]r. hic fuit concionator Germanicis senatus donat in subsidium studiorum pro hac uero fl. 10 (1573, 31 Martii).*

⁵⁰⁴ AMK H III/2, PUR 8, folio 5: *praestitit iuramentum inclyto senatui anno dni 1578 die xii maii Gedeon Adami, subscriba civitatis Cassoviensis.*

⁵⁰⁵ AMK H III/2, PUR. 5, folio 486r: *Gedeon Adami natus Cibirii receptus est in consortium juris et libertatis civilis, die 10, mensis iulii 1579.*

⁵⁰⁶ Németh, *Kassa város archontológája.*

⁵⁰⁷ AMK H I, no. 3473/96; no. 3473/74; no. 3715/60; no. 3715/105; no. 3715/143; no. 3772/110; no. 3772/123; no. 3837/112, no. 3891/10; no. 4268/18; further letters signed Gedeon Adamj, abgesanter der Stadt Kaschau, from Vienna, 13 March 1591, no. 4268/23; no. 4268/44; no. 4268/45; no. 4268/46; no. 4268/95;

⁵⁰⁸ *Liber baptizatorum et copulatorum ab anno 1598-1612 et 1642*, microfilm no. 55, Statny Archiv Košice: October 2, 1598, p. 4; February 8, 1599 (ibidem, p. 18); March 3, 1599 (ibidem, p. 20); April 18 1599 (ibidem, p. 23); May 4, 1599 (ibidem, p. 23); May 25, 1599 (ibidem, p. 23); October 11, 1599 (ibidem, p. 34); January 13, 1600 (ibidem, p. 45); July 24, 1600 (ibidem, p. 51); September 24, 1600 (ibidem, p. 56).

⁵⁰⁹ AMK H III/2 PUR 8, folio 5.

⁵¹⁰ AMK, H I, no. 3772/109.

⁵¹¹ AMK, H I: no. 3653/114; no. 3653/113; no. 3772/2; no. 3772/3; 3772/14; no. 3772/90; no. 3837/86; no. 3891/72; no. 4070/37.

⁵¹² AMK H III/2, PUR 10, folio 102v to 110r: contains the description of the case of a certain Florianus Rigler against Catharina, widow of Thomas Siber, burgher of Košice. The case, concerning some debts and property lasted for several years, while Siber was still alive. Georgius Buntzler, *vicenotarius* and then *notarius huius ciuitatis* was in function before the notary who recorded this case, and is mentioned as such. In 1595 Georgius Buntzler is already dead: folio 108v: *'notarium qui iam mortuus est'*.

⁵¹³ AMK H III/2, PUR 8, folio 7: *Ego, Christophorus Teufel Cassouiensis impetrato vicenotariatus officio, Juramentum e regione huius paginae scriptum, coram inclyto et amplissimo senatu cassouiensi praelegente Nobili et prudentissimo uiro Dno Johanne Langh consule praestiti die 17 maii, anno MDCXVIII.*

Levoča offered jobs for a relatively long period to three ex-students from Košice:⁵¹⁵ Georgius Alberti (no. 203), formerly a student at Vienna, was notary in Levoča between 1527 and 1541; Daniel Türck was town notary between 1552 and 1578; and Christophorus Teuffel was the town notary between 1621 and 1649, receiving this job after completing a few years in the position of vice-notary in Košice as mentioned above.⁵¹⁶ Daniel Türck moved to Levoča in 1544 to become the first important Protestant rector of the town school. As mentioned in one of the students' letters, Türck, after completing his studies at the urban school in his hometown – first in Košice and then in Złotoryja in Poland – continued his studies at one of the universities abroad (but it could not be specified at which) with the financial help of the town council. He married the daughter of a rich burgher in Levoča and significantly enhanced his financial standing after the death of his father-in-law.⁵¹⁷ His career also developed successfully, so that after his school rectorship he became senator for the first time as early as 1545, notary in 1552, and town judge first between 1555 and 1558 and later once again between 1565 and 1568. The functions of the town notary and town judge were intertwined at the time, so that in his judicial capacity Türk was further responsible for the town account books, correspondence, etc. and resumed his position as notary after resigning from the judge's office. Similarly to Hain, Türk also contributed to the historiography of Levoča by means of his diary, completed between 1548 and 1559, which includes many important data about the history of the town and the region, and was partially used by Hain as a source for his chronicle.⁵¹⁸ Türk ended his activity as notary because of his advanced age at the beginning of the year 1578 and was granted a pension of 50 denars per week.⁵¹⁹ He died sometimes between 1578 and 1580 at the age of about 80. His two sons, Peter and Sebastian, studied theology in Wittenberg and occupied important functions in Levoča. The grandson of Daniel Türk, Sebastian, who also studied in Wittenberg, was a teacher in Levoča in 1610. In 1613 became priest of the German community in the same town and then

⁵¹⁴ AMK H III/2, CIV 1, folio 57: *Nomina eorum qui ius ciuile legitimis modis sunt adepti: Christophorus Teuffel Vicenotarius, dedit 2 fl. 11 Octobris, 1618.*

⁵¹⁵ For more detailed information on notaries from Levoča see the article by František Žifčák, "Leutschauer Notare als humanistische Gelehrten," in *Städtisches Alltagsleben in Mitteleuropa vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Viliam Čičaj and Othmar Pickl (Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press, 1998), 101-109.

⁵¹⁶ AMK, H I, no. 4718/87. See also Jörg Meier, *Städtische Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main u.a.: Lang, 2004), 97 and Katona and Latzkovits, *Lőcsei stipendiánsok*, letter no. 196 (p. 315).

⁵¹⁷ Meier, *Städtische Kommunikation*, 99; Žifčák, *Leutschauer Notare*, 102.

⁵¹⁸ See the edition of Daniel Türk's diary (*Danielis Turci Diarium*) in *Századok*, 5 (1871). The original, ca. 600 pages, is preserved in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest.

⁵¹⁹ Quoted after Meier, *Städtische Kommunikation*, 99.

returned, as a Protestant priest, to Košice, hometown of his grandfather, where he worked from the year 1629. He also authored a number of sermons and fables.⁵²⁰

The activity of Christophorus Teuffel in Levoča is extensively recorded in the work of Caspar Hain, *Zipserische oder Leütschaverische Chronica*, according to which Teuffel came to the town in 1621 with a salary of 80 guldens and further payment in kind.⁵²¹ He received the burgher's rights of Levoča in June 1622 and married (probably for the second time) a noblewoman – Marta Gantz – from Košice by the end of the same year.⁵²² During his activity in Levoča he was sent repeatedly with various diplomatic missions to Bratislava and Vienna as is documented not only in the work of Hain but also by a number of letters preserved in the town archives signed by Teuffel himself, beginning with the year 1622.⁵²³ In 1637 Teuffel was elected member of the senate and, in addition to the fulfillment of various functions according to his role as notary and urban council member, he also founded a sizeable library, which, in the year 1654, contained 170 volumes, mainly books concerning law, history, medicine, but also works of Antique authors, e.g. Herodotus, Pausanias, Seneca, Tacitus, etc. After his death, this library was taken over by the town hall to serve the future office holders.⁵²⁴ However, even though his career in Levoča was successful, at the end it was clouded in controversy. In 1649, the newly elected urban council requested that the notary leave his office because of some misuse of rights and

⁵²⁰ *Regula vitae. Das ist Regel des Lebens in 1620 and Requies Abrahae, Das ist Eine...* Leichpredigt in 1621 in Košice. See also *Slovenský Biografický Slovník* (Slovak Biographical Lexicon), volume 6, 143.

⁵²¹ Hain, *Zipserische oder Leütschaverische Chronica*, 157: [Im Augusto [1621] Ist der Neue Stadschreiber Christophorus Teuffel von Caschau so dazumal auff der Cammer Registrator geweszen, vnd flor. 200 Rheinisch Salarium gehabt, introduciert worden. Ist Ihme sein Salarium mit flor. 15 augieret. Soll also jaehrlich haben flor. 80 vngrische, 20 Kuebel Korn, 4 Kuebel Waitz, 25 stappen holtz, vnd eine freie Wohnung.]; 186: [Den 27 Octobris sindt Herr Hansz Schander vnd Herr Christoph. Teuffel von hinnen nach Prespurg und Wien auffgebrochen principaliter zwar die 10 Jaehrige inscription Thurzonischen Legatj mit Ihrer Kayserlichen Majestaet zu renoviren. Darnach auch dasz Dreissigst Gemeiner Stad nachgelaszen ferner zuerhalten.]; 188: [Anno 1630. Fasces hujus Reipublicae die 7 Januarj offeruntur et demandantur Domino Casparo Cramero Judici Civitatis Patritio. Assessores eidem adjuncti: [...] 12. Christoph Teuffel Notarius.]; 194: [Anno 1637. Judice existente Domino Casparo Cramero. Senatores facti sunt omnes priores, nisi quod in locum Amortui Domini Petri Czack electus sit Christophorus Teuffel Notarius.]; 194: [Die 26 Augusj [1637] Ist Herr Johann Schander vnd Herr Christophorus Teuffel den Landtag zu Prespurg beyzuwohnen erwehlet worden.]; 236: [13 Januarj [1648] Ist abermahl mit einhelligen Consens der Loeblichen Gemein Herr Nicolaus Hain zum Richter erwehlet und auffs Neue bestaetiget worden. Seine Assessores waren: [...] Herre Chrisoph. Teuffel Cassoviensis Notarius.];

⁵²² Quoted after Žifčák, *Leutschauer Notare*, 105-106.

⁵²³ See for example AMK H I, no. 6196/3.

⁵²⁴ Žifčák, *Leutschauer Notare*, 106.

liberties accorded by the town. Teuffel left soon afterwards, in what could be interpreted as tacit acknowledgement of his guilt.⁵²⁵

Other holders of paid public offices in different towns of the time were medical doctors.⁵²⁶ Not much is known about the employment of doctors in Košice during the time frame of this dissertation, even though some information in relation to this profession occurs occasionally. Thus, there is one letter from 1625 preserved in the town archives sent by a medical doctor from Sabinov, Matthias Erbinaus a Brandau, which refers to the invitation of the town council to take a position in Košice after the death of the previous doctor, the name of whom is not mentioned.⁵²⁷ This document certifies that medical doctors were employed in the town as a direct result of the intervention of the town administration. At the same time, a few persons from Košice were identified as medical students as for example Daniel Weinsperger (no. 251) or Christophorus Ledwisch (no. 254), both of whom were sent to study and financially supported by the town council as they specifically mentioned in their letters, even though there is no information of them getting employment as medical doctors after their university attendance. Ledwisch was identified as the school rector in Prešov and then as a priest in Bertotviec – a typical postgraduate career for any student of the liberal arts.⁵²⁸ In addition to Johannes Antoninus, whose career was described above, a further example of a medical career of a former student from Košice is that of Christophorus Steinensis (no. 214), who graduated from the University of Cracow with the degree of doctor of medicine in 1545 and remained in Cracow to practice medicine. He is also known as the author of the work “*Oleum juniperi, qua ratione*

⁵²⁵ Žifčák, Leutschauer Notare, 106. Hain, *Zipserische oder Leütschaverische Chronica*: 239-240: [Die 11 dito [januarj 1649] ist abermahl Herr Nicolausz Hain mit einhelligen Consens der Loeblichen Gemein zum Richter erwählt worden. Seine Assessores wurden [...]. Auszgelassen sind worden H. Friedrich Babst, vmb weill Er die Stad verracht, vnd niemahls auffß Rathhaus kommen. Item H. Notarius Christoph Teuffel, vnd H. Hansz Keller.]; and 240: [20 dito [januarj 1649] Hatt Herr Notarius Christoph Teuffel schriefftlich abgedanckt und Sein Ambt auffgeben.] Unfortunately, there are no further data to document the details of this situation.

⁵²⁶ For more on the status and role of doctors in medieval and early modern times see two contributions by Martin Kintzinger, “Heimat auf Zeit. Medizinisches Fachpersonal in mittelalterlichen Städten,” in *Historische Wanderungsbewegungen. Migration in der Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. A. Gestrich, H. Kleinschmidt, and H. Sonnabend (Münster, Hamburg: Lit., 1991), 79-99 and “Status medicorum: Mediziner in der städtischen Gesellschaft des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts,” in *Städtisches Gesundheits- und Fürsorgewesen vor 1800*, ed. Peter Johaneck (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2000), 63-91.

⁵²⁷ AMK H I, no. 6123/16.

⁵²⁸ In his letter sent in December 1616, Ledwisch writes about the importance of having educated medical doctors in the town, in addition to those educated in arts or theology, whom he considers to be in sufficient number: *Hungariae regno sufficientiam esse doctorum virorum in theologia et philosophia, medicinae vero, qua, altiori pensiculatione habita, inter omnes artes et scientias ex singularissima Jehovahae benignissimi benignitate mortalibus datas vix reperitus ulla utilior, necessarius, deque Repub. magis emerens, aut nullos aut paucos experientissimos inveniri.* AMK H I, no. 5782/8.

omnibus fere humani corporis aegritudinibus medeatur”, which was printed in Cracow in 1545.⁵²⁹

5.4. Final Comments

The data that could be collected with regard to the development of the postgraduate careers of students from Košice in the second period is more numerous, and this allows for defining a number of their characteristics with more factual support. A first obvious feature is the extensive *geographical mobility* of the former students not only within the region, but also farther abroad. From the total number of 25 former students from the thirties of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century for whom some information about the postgraduate career could be collected, 15 moved at least once throughout their career from one location to another due to their employment. The majority of them had to move quite often for various reasons. There were a number of students who were employed in different locations at the recommendation of the town council, as we have seen in the case of Mustrius (no. 218). Other persons had to leave their place of employment, forced out for political or religious reasons, especially at the beginning of the Reformation period as, for example, was the case for Schustel (no. 204). After the institutionalization of Reformation, some intellectuals had to relocate as different views or theories permeated the region. See for example the case of Pilcius (no. 230) among others. The primary reason to move, however, was economic. Individuals were in search of a better social position, material remuneration, living conditions, location, etc. Thus, they would respond to offers to take employment elsewhere if the above factors seemed more satisfying to them. Very often these conditions were negotiated between the town and the prospective employee, as a number of letters preserved in the town archives related to the recruitment activity of the urban council certify. This way, some sort of competition between various locations in the region existed, the purpose of each of them being to attract better qualified and more experienced individuals for the key positions in the town.

At the same time, another type of mobility could be observed in the majority of the presented cases, the so-called *professional mobility*, which is when individuals changed their type of employment, moving between school, church and civic administration. In most of the cases the following pattern seems to be followed: after returning from the university, students

⁵²⁹ Kuzmík, *Doplňky a opravy*, 115.

would first take a position in the school, as school assistant, in some cases directly as school rector, and after a few years they would either be ordained as a priest (see the case of Jacob Melczer, no. 226) or take different functions in the urban administration (see the case of Martinus Brechtel (no. 236) as the most illustrative examples). Sometimes this movement was not simple to accomplish, and former students had to be very insistent and fulfill several conditions under different circumstances, again best illustrated by the case of Jacob Melczer. At the same time, for a number of other individuals this move from one institution to another seemed quite natural and effortless. While, according to Kintzinger, in many towns from the western part of the German-speaking areas the tendency was to see the position of the urban school rector as less attractive, for the case of Košice, as it is often suggested by the urban documentation, the positions of the school rector and urban priest were rather similar in terms of financial remuneration and social respect. Teachers and priests could be equally involved in various diplomatic missions on behalf of the town and both participated at some of the meetings of the Town League of Upper Hungary as well.⁵³⁰ This successful mutual mobility was also determined by the fact that the education of the church and school employees was defined in terms of the canon of the seven liberal arts, a fact that brought these two occupations close together.⁵³¹ Employment as scribe or notary was certainly more attractive, in part because of the increased political influence that one could gain by being a direct witness of the decision-making process in the town. Sometimes former students – representatives of the lay professions, such as the school rector or town notary – would further advance to urban council membership, as the cases of Martinus Brechtel, Gedeon Adami, and Daniel Türck demonstrate.

This way, we can state that, from the sixteenth century, university studies became a means to extend the possibilities for employment. Social respect for learned competences started to increase and the persons who had attended universities had more chances to become part of the urban elite in Košice. Thus, a third type of mobility can be delineated when defining the characteristics of the sixteenth century postgraduate career development of former students from Košice – *social mobility*.⁵³² For people not belonging to the elite by birth, education was

⁵³⁰ Németh, *Várospolitikai*.

⁵³¹ Kintzinger, *Students artium*, 11.

⁵³² This term is commonly used in the scholarly literature on the topic. See, among others, Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, "Training and Professionalization," in *Power Elites and State Building*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 149-172, here 171 and Albert Müller, "Universitätsbesuch und städtische Herkunft. Forschungsprobleme am Beispiel österreichischer Städte und der Wiener Universität, 1377-1554," in *Aspekte der*

mobilizing and university studies became more and more an essential factor in the process of intellectual and professional achievement. Even those members of well-respected families in the town had to defend their position through university education. Very often a sort of family tradition in terms of university education started to emerge, as we can see in the cases of Kauffin, Hain, Türck, and others. At the same time, other ways of improving one's social and financial status were often considered by former students, such as family inheritance, involvement in trade or a profitable marriage (see the cases of Türck and Christophor Teuffel). In these cases, the heightened status obtained through university attendance served to enhance their chance of professional success. Consequently, the group of former students from Košice in the sixteenth and seventeenth century can be defined as being fluid in terms of geographical, professional, and social mobility. These persons moved successfully from their roles as simple university attendees to their positions as the functional, intellectual, and eventually the political town elite.

Bildungs- und Universitätsgeschichte: 16. Bis 19. Jahrhundert, ed. Kurt Mühlberger and Thomas Maisel (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1993), 332-360, here 352.

Conclusions

The purpose of this dissertation was to present the academic peregrination of students from Košice until the end of the Reformation period in the town and to comment upon a series of factors that describe this group of students during and after their university attendance. The research focused on general developments and shared characteristics rather than on specific individuals or events. Details of the academic careers of certain persons have been used as material upon which to build a general line of reasoning or as examples to confirm one or another aspect of these students' collective biography.

One of the important outcomes of this work is the establishment of a comprehensive numerical picture of the academic peregrination of students from Košice during the period researched. A total number of 306 matriculations at different universities until the sixties of the seventeenth century (1660) by 278 students originating from the town of Košice was identified and systematized in the prosopographical catalogue attached to the dissertation. The result is an informative overview regarding both the numbers of students from Košice who attended universities abroad at different stages throughout the entire period of research and the changes in these numbers over time. My research allowed the evaluation of these numbers in relation to different events within the local and the wider European context and a comparison with information of a similar type regarding other locations.

Two major sub-periods were delineated when analyzing the university attendance of the students from Košice. The first one lasts until the thirties of the sixteenth century and is characterized by an increased number of university matriculations at a rather limited selection of universities. During the second period, the number of university attendees decreases while the geographical framework of university attendance considerably broadens. More precisely, from the total number of 278 students, 212 (76 % or three fourths) went to universities abroad until the year 1530. The remaining 66 students (24 %) attended universities from the 1530s until 1660. Thus, until the year 1530, the number of students from Košice who attended foreign universities is three times higher than the number of those who went abroad to study at a university after this period. In addition to several factors related to the development and functions of the attended institutions, which are discussed in the respective subchapters, there are several other political and religious reasons that explain this situation, some of which had a direct impact on the

economic and demographic development of the town of Košice throughout the research time period.

In the late fourteenth and throughout the entire fifteenth century the situation in the town was relatively stable, with some interruptions caused by military conflicts, which, however, had little influence on either the town's economic progress or the matriculation numbers of the town inhabitants. The intense commercial activity and the relatively developed state of handicrafts gave those involved certain financial possibilities to facilitate university studies for the representatives of their families. This situation is reflected in the high numbers of university attendees until the 1520s, a period which can be characterized by an average of ten to twenty university matriculations of students from Košice per decade. Particularly high numbers of university matriculations have been documented from the 1460s to the 1480s, when the number of students from Košice increased to an average of thirty matriculations per decade and there are some cases when more than five students went to study abroad during a single year. It is interesting to mention at this point that this situation reflects, to a certain extent, the numerical characteristics of the university attendance in the German territories. Researchers speak about a sort of over-population crisis (*Überfüllungskrise*) at the universities in the German territories in the eighties of the fifteenth century: the highest matriculation numbers for the entire university area were between the 1450s and 1480s, a fact corresponding to the Košice situation.⁵³³ Obviously, two developments worked in combination: one related to the general university boom of the time and the second going hand in hand with a favorable urban development at home. Both these factors explain the significant increase in the matriculation numbers of Košice inhabitants throughout the fifteenth century and during the two decades that followed.

The growing Ottoman threat, the subsequent crisis which culminated in the battle of Mohács in 1526 and the struggle for power which followed constitute a turning point in the political development of the region, and this affected the academic peregrination of local students to a great extent. From the 1520s to the 1540s the number of students from Košice (and from the Hungarian territories in general) decreased dramatically and would never again reach the levels of the fifteenth century. The establishment of Reformation in Košice and the urban policy developed to support education resulted in an increase in the number of students, especially after the 1550s. From this point on, the number of matriculations stayed

⁵³³ Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*, 488.

approximately at the same level until the end of the Reformation period in the town: about five students per decade. The demographic decline in the town from the sixteenth century on was a further reason for the reduced numbers of individuals from Košice attending universities. Again, a general decrease in students' matriculations from the 1520s to the 1540s characterized more towns and universities of the time. The Reformation and, as a result, the unclear political situation in many regions of the German territories followed by indecision and the reorganization of several universities according to religious orientation are among the basic reasons for this decline, which are discussed in the scholarly literature. Additionally, the reduced number of students from Košice was determined by the local political conditions and the increasing peripheral character of the town. These developments made the matriculation numbers of students from the town recover a few decades later than in the German territories and at a slower pace than in other towns affected by Reformation and located further in the west.

As far as the geographical distribution of the attended universities is concerned, the two established sub-periods have their distinct differences. In the first period, which lasts until the thirties of the sixteenth century, the most popular university was, undoubtedly, that of Cracow. Students from Košice matriculated in great numbers at this university until the twenties of the sixteenth century inclusively, with the highest numbers in the 1460s and 1470s. In addition to the strong commercial ties that existed between Košice and Cracow, the proximity of this university to their hometown as well as the reputation of its studies, contributed significantly to this popularity. Another favorite university was that of Vienna, where students from the town could be identified beginning with the late fourteenth century already and until the seventeenth with several interruptions caused by various political and social events of both an internal and an external character. While during the first sub-period Italian universities were popular for Košice students to some extent and less so the German ones, the situation changed in the sixteenth century, when Wittenberg dominates from the fifties followed by a number of other German universities. The numerous university foundations in the German territories offered to Košice inhabitants cheaper and closer options for going abroad to study than the Italian institutions. Besides, the official adherence of the town to Lutheranism directed the institutional choice of students originating from the town to those universities where the same confession was in force. In the first half of the seventeenth century, it was the Thirty Years' War that rendered some of the locations dangerous and prompted the students from Košice to select a few universities that

were located in the safer, northern German territories or, later, in the Low Countries. Students from Košice continued to go to Germany, yet the previously popular university of Wittenberg seemed to be replaced by that of Königsberg and other universities, in particular in the north-east of the German territories, which were relatively unaffected by military actions and tended to be more tolerant towards the religious beliefs of their students. And finally, a few students began to matriculate at Catholic universities in the first decades of the seventeenth century, yet this occurred only sporadically.

The distance to the university appears to be an important deciding factor for the students from Košice when selecting the academic institution to be attended. This factor additionally explains the high number of students matriculated in Cracow and in Vienna. In the case of German universities, the proximity to Košice seems to have played a role as well: the towns in the central-eastern and northern regions of the German Empire were preferred by students from Košice, while the institutions of learning from the southern and western regions were visited only rarely. In the case of attendance of several universities by the same student, it was customary to start this academic peregrination at one of the closer and more frequented universities and then move on to other universities, located at a longer distance in a more unfamiliar environment. Students from Košice could be found only occasionally at Italian universities, which were more distantly located and reputed to have a higher cost of living. Those students from Košice who still ventured to travel as far as Italy or England to attend university did not spend much time at the respective institutions but either preferred to graduate quickly or move to the next place. The university attendance numbers and the geographical dispersion of the attended institutions let us conclude that the distance to and the economic environment of the university town played a more significant role in the decision-making process of the town's inhabitants than quality of knowledge or anything related to professors lecturing at those universities. Students from Košice certainly preferred those options which allowed them to avoid the high costs and all the common dangers related to long-distance travel at those times.

In addition to analyzing the numerical fluctuations and the institutional preferences, further aspects related to the academic peregrination of students from Košice have been considered, such as the content and duration of studies, graduation, social status of the students, inter-university mobility and traveling in groups. The study at any university would basically start at the faculty of arts where the overwhelming majority of students from Košice

matriculated. The number of those Košice inhabitants identified to have attended or even graduated from one of the other three faculties is insignificant in relation to the total numbers of matriculations: there is confirmed information about six students who matriculated at the faculty of theology throughout the entire period of research, three students who matriculated at the faculty of medicine and three at the faculty of law. A possible reason for this skewed distribution is the limited need for this type of higher educational training either in Košice or in the surrounding area throughout the entire period of this research. A training at the faculty of arts apparently sufficed for making use of those opportunities available locally or at regional level. Another reason may be the higher costs related to prolonged attendance at the university and the elaborated graduation process. Regrettably, there are no directly suggestive facts in the investigated related sources detailing the content of studies, with the exception of the few quotations present in the students' letters, indicating such common topics as the content of the Bible, other texts of religious character, and the ancient authors included in the curricula of any medieval and early modern university. Obviously, at all universities of the time, a knowledge of Latin was assumed, in addition to a training in the seven liberal arts which, basically, meant elements of logic and rhetoric and some knowledge of the Antique writings. Lectures, repetitions, and disputations formed the intellectual exercise of the time. It can be assumed that students from Košice, just as students from other regions, would have followed a similar course of study.

Duration of study is another aspect difficult to establish based solely on the matriculation lists. The data from Cracow suggests that students would usually have to spend two to six years until their bachelor's examination and a further two or more in order to obtain their master's degree. However, cases have been identified where students from Košice spent from only a few months to as much as ten years at one or several universities together. In the sixteenth century, students would often receive financial support from the town council for two years at first, which, indirectly, suggests that students were expected to stay that long at the respective institutions. But the majority of students preferred - or was forced - to stay longer. The desire to receive an official academic degree was, in some cases, among the reasons for the prolonged stay at a university. Another reason mentioned in some students' letters were the problems created by unpaid debts, which, according to the agreement between the student and the respective institution, was a serious impediment for leaving the university.

In general, official graduation and academic degrees did not seem to have been the highest priority for the majority of students from Košice. A large part of them left their host institutions without ever attempting to receive a degree. Out of the total number of 306 matriculations, there are only 59 documented cases of graduation with bachelor, master, or doctorate degree, which equates to roughly 20 % or one fifth of the total number of enrolments – a well-known and often commented upon situation that characterizes the university attendance of the time in general. The low graduation rate suggests that other reasons for attending universities existed, such as the possibility to learn about the local environment and to make contacts for future commercial activity, for example. Another category of students abandoned aspirations for an academic title because of the high costs involved. Yet a third reason may have been the lack of clearly delineated prerequisites for subsequent employment. According to the evidence, a stay at a university without an official graduation would offer, very often, similar chances on the job market of the time.

The social status of the students from Košice who attended universities in the respective period was another issue considered. Obviously, because university studies involved some financial commitment, those who attended universities necessarily came from the better-positioned families in the town, who were able to finance fully or partially their studies from personal funds or with family support. Especially in the fifteenth century, the sons of rich merchants or craftsmen could afford going to university. Furthermore, a number of representatives of the Dominican order and a limited number of nobles attended universities, in particular the expensive ones in Italy. In the sixteenth century, the sons of middle-class burghers and representatives of the town's intellectual elite gained access to education as a result of the broadening of financial support possibilities from different sources. However, it is obvious that even in the prosperous fifteenth century and later, students from Košice, with a very limited number of exceptions, were constrained to choose the less costly option to pursue university studies. One possibility was to select those universities which, for various reasons, involved lower costs related to traveling, accommodation, and such. Another possibility was to shorten the period of stay to the minimum possible, and then attempt to find employment or resume the former one.

While traveling in groups was not characteristic for the students from Košice, with only three documented examples throughout the entire research period, the attendance of more than

one university abroad could be established during both sub-periods identified. This phenomenon is more representative for the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. During the fifteenth century we have eleven cases of a student from Košice going to more than one university and seventeen such cases occur during the second identified sub-period. While the numbers do not appear very different, what defines the sub-period after the 1530s is a wider peregrination. Students attended more than two universities in almost all seventeen documented cases in the latter sub-period, while in the eleven of the former sub-period only one individual went to three universities, and the remaining two went to Vienna and Cracow, in varying sequences.

The next important outcome of this study was defining the opportunities for financing university studies that students from Košice had at their disposal at different stages of the research period. The information for the fifteenth century is rather scarce in this respect. The major support for university studies came from home, from the family and prosperous relatives. In addition to the possibility of accommodation at various bursas, as it was presented in the case of attendance at the University of Cracow, students from Košice could have, possibly, benefited from the financial support of certain benefactors, even though no direct cases of this kind of patronage in favor of a specific student from Košice have been determined. At the same time, a number of students representing the Dominican order could be identified, who benefited from the common practice of this order to provide financial support for its members studying theology at schools or universities in Italy and, sometimes, at the University of Cracow. However, this funding applied only until the mid-sixteenth century at the latest, after which date the members of this order had left Košice.

From the middle of the sixteenth century until the end of the Reformation period, the town council was actively involved in improving the educational opportunities for the inhabitants of the town and the surrounding area. Several categories of beneficiaries could be identified, such as representatives of well-established families in the town, relatives of town council members, sons of former or present employees in the town administration, church or school, under-age descendants of prominent town burghers, for whom the town council was entrusted to handle the inheritance and help them financially during their studies, and individuals already employed at the school or in the church locally or in the neighborhood. Among the conditions for receiving financial support, the following could be identified: the student had to express his

intention to pursue studies, or to already have studied at one of the Protestant secondary schools or universities abroad, the beneficiaries were expected to spend the money received to pursue their education and supposed to keep in touch with the town council in order to inform about their life at school and their academic progress. There are some documented cases in which a precondition for a financial subsidy was a commitment to return to the town, to take a position at the local church or school or to continue working in one of these positions, if previously employed.

As is illustrated in a number of letters, a common practice seemed to be financing two years of stay at the university, but the duration of the subsidy varied from case to case. Some students stayed longer and received financial support for the entire period. In some cases, a student would be sponsored starting from his secondary school studies until the end of his university studies, even while moving from one university to another, as was more typical in the first half of the seventeenth century. On average, the annual grant was 50 Hungarian florins, yet again this amount varied from one student to another. There were cases in which the student would receive this amount with relative regularity throughout several years, and other students who maybe received it only once or twice. The sum of 50 florins was comparable to the annual salary received from the town council by certain categories of employees, as for example by the town priest who received 40 florins yearly in the 1560s, in addition to payment in kind and other benefits. Similarly, this sum is commensurate with the amount of money granted to students by foundations or urban councils of different towns in the German territories, as presented in the scholarly literature. What makes the situation in Košice different from that of these other towns is the number of scholarships provided. While the urban council of Košice would finance students without any established regularity, Ebneht highlights the example of certain foundations in Nürnberg which financed yearly up to twelve students each.⁵³⁴ The Thurzó foundation in neighboring Levoča allocated financing for up to four students per year from its resources. The established number of financed university attendees, however, is proof that a certain capital accumulation existed in the town, even though it was not at the level disposed of by those towns in the German territories for which such information has been collected.

Once the quantitative picture of the academic peregrination of the students from Košice has been established, it is reasonable to ask if these numbers are considered high or not and if

⁵³⁴ Ebneht, *Stipendienstiftungen in Nürnberg*, 270.

they are comparable with those that characterized other towns of the time. Even though the group of students from Košice appears to be numerous, it represented only a very small minority of the urban population. We have a rate of slightly more than one individual per year (1.06) who went to study at a university abroad for the entire research period – i.e. from 1372 to 1660, 288 years in total. Per sub-periods, the situation looks like this: approximately three students went to a university every two years (1.34 per year) in the first sub-period, that is until the 1530s, while for the second sub-period we have only one student for every two years. It is, regrettably, difficult to compare this situation with that of the neighboring towns, for which research of this type has not been accomplished yet. One of the best documented towns in this respect is that of Levoča, and the research completed up to this date on the academic peregrination of this town's inhabitants allows for a few cautious comparative attempts. For example, we know that 101 students from this town matriculated at the University of Cracow until the year 1542, which are 50 students less than students from Košice for the same period. For Vienna, 33 students from Levoča are identified as having matriculated prior to the year 1540, while Košice registered with 50 students for the same time frame. Even though further research on the different aspects of urban development in Levoča and the other neighboring towns is needed in order to explain the delineated numerical differences, these numbers allow us to tentatively claim that, until the middle of the sixteenth century, Košice surpassed other towns in the former Northern-Hungarian regions as far as the number of its inhabitants attending universities was concerned.

The attempt to contextualize the results of this study within the general picture of the Hungarian students' peregrination during the target time is complicated as well. Even though a considerable number of works dedicated to the Hungarian academic peregrination in general and to the attendance of Hungarian students at specific academic institutions has been accomplished, there is no similar type of detailed town-based research completed up to the present. The information collected for the town of Košice can be projected onto the background of the information existing for Hungarian students in general in order to identify similarities or differences and attempt to provide some explanations for the latter. Most of the general characteristics of the Hungarian academic peregrination mentioned in the scholarly literature match with those of Košice, such as the high numbers of matriculated students in Cracow and Vienna in the fifteenth century, the popularity of the University of Wittenberg in the sixteenth and the beginning of peregrination to universities in the Dutch territories in the seventeenth. At

the same time, some different trends could be identified, the most significant of which was the adoption of the Protestant-Lutheran faith as the official religion of the town. As a result, we have no students from Košice at Catholic universities and only a very few at Calvinist universities throughout the period of this research. A second distinct feature is the lack of matriculations at the University of Paris, for example, and other important universities located in the west or south of the German territories, such as Leuven, Cologne, or even Heidelberg and Tübingen, the latter two being popular among Hungarian students otherwise, but only with two matriculations of students from Košice at each of them. Another different trait is the reduced numbers of students from Košice at the Italian universities, even in the fifteenth century, when, according to the scholarly literature on the topic, the number of Hungarian students in Italy was considerable. Among the reasons for this restricted peregrination one could name the rather commerce-based economy in the town, with fewer opportunities for academic activity and employment possibilities for graduates in law, medicine or theology (who usually received their degrees in Italy).

Even comparison with other towns, located further to the west, for which similar research has been completed, is rather problematic because of the different conditions that constituted the background for academic peregrination, namely geographical position, state of development of the given town, population numbers, proximity to universities, religious context, etc. Another problem is the different time frame for which similar types of investigations were carried out. Nevertheless, a few studies focusing, similarly to my case, on the Reformation period in the respective towns have been completed, which may provide us with some comparative schemes that should be approached with reasonable caution. Among the existing numerical surveys of the academic peregrination of students from one single town to foreign universities, the following shall be mentioned at this point: Gerhard Jaritz completed similar research on the university attendance of inhabitants of Krems an der Donau at the nearby University of Vienna for which he identified 262 matriculations (ca 0.8 per year) and at other universities of the time 98 matriculations (ca. 0.3 per year, or one matriculation each three to four years) from the end of the fourteenth century until 1690.⁵³⁵ Rolf Häfele analyzes the academic peregrination of the students coming from the towns Nördlingen (ca. 6000 inhabitants throughout the fifteenth century), Mindelheim (ca. 1600 inhabitants at the beginning of the

⁵³⁵ Jaritz, "Kleinstadt und Universitätsstudium."

sixteenth century, 2500 inhabitants in 1563), Wunsiedel (ca. 1000 inhabitants in the sixteenth century), and Kitzingen (ca. 3500 inhabitants in 1580) and posits with the following numbers for the period from the second half of the fourteenth century until 1580: for Nördlingen - 993 matriculations of 737 students (ca. four students per year), for Mindelheim 219 matriculations of 172 students (ca. one student per year), for Wunsiedel 164 matriculations of 144 students (ca. 0.7 per year), and for Kitzingen 397 matriculations of 311 students (ca. 1.6 per year).⁵³⁶ Günter Dippold presents quite comparable numbers when commenting upon the university attendance of the inhabitants of three towns in the prince-bishopric of Bamberg for the time from 1500 to 1629: Lichtenfels (ca. 1200 inhabitants in 1544), Staffelstein (between 1100 and 1400 inhabitants in 1526), and Weismain (ca. 900 inhabitants in 1527, 1100 inhabitants in 1600) and presents the following information: for Lichtenfels – 103 matriculations (0.73 per year), for Staffelstein – 151 matriculations (1.2 per year), and for Weismain – 121 matriculations (ca. 1 yearly).⁵³⁷ The larger towns in the German-speaking territories obviously had much higher numbers of university matriculations. Ebner, for instance, writes about 4200 students from Nürnberg who matriculated at different universities in the German territories only (French universities, Italian universities, as well as Cracow and Prague not included) from the fourteenth throughout the end of the sixteenth century. But yet, for the smaller towns indicated above the numbers appear to be slightly higher than those from Košice, even though the numerical fluctuations and the established tendencies mentioned above are rather similar. The reasons for lower numbers of students are manifold. Košice was in a less favorable position because, firstly, its peripheral location in relation with the university area of the time, and secondly, its location within the territories dominated by the Ottoman threat and subsequent continuous political and religious insecurities which hindered the academic peregrination of the town's inhabitants to a certain extent.

The next outcome of the work is comprised of an analysis of the postgraduate careers of the identified students – to the extent that this was made possible given the existing sources. This analysis provides interesting information about the importance and the possibility for employment that a university education may have offered to the students from Košice in the

⁵³⁶ Häfele, *Die Studenten*.

⁵³⁷ Günter Dippold, "Schulen, Lehrer und Universitätsbesucher in Kleinstädten des Hochstifts Bamberg," in *Bildungs- und schulgeschichtliche Studien zu Spätmittelalter, Reformation und konfessionellem Zeitalter*, ed. Harald Dickerhof, (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1994), 129-200.

Middle Ages and Early Modern Times. There were many differences concerning the length and intensity of study period and, as a result, the qualifications that one could gain through it. Therefore, it is hard, if not impossible, to make any statements concerning the meaning and impact of the acquired knowledge (since we cannot estimate the amount and quality of this knowledge by any methods) upon the development of the respective environment. The only hint is in the domain of employment and the number of students employed, suggesting the kind of impact university studies might have had.

In spite of the many limitations, some data about the postgraduate fate of students from Košice in the fifteenth and the first two decades of the sixteenth century could be collected and analyzed, the result of which is the identification of three main patterns of postgraduate career development, namely a) students who returned to Košice, b) who stayed in the town where they completed their studies, either at the university or practicing a profession, and c) students who moved to other locations, either to continue their studies or to develop a career as scholars, doctors, artists, etc. – a situation that does not differ much from that of other locations in a similar situation as Košice. Since university attendance required financial investment and the possibilities to find support for studies were not very numerous at that time, attending a university was the privilege of those who had already attained a certain social status and possessed sufficient material wealth. According to the cases identified, the highest achievements acquired after the university attendance was the development of a professional career abroad or advancement in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which a few former students from Košice made use of.

The data that could be collected with regard to the development of the postgraduate careers of students from Košice after the 1530s is more numerous, and this allows for defining a number of their characteristics with more factual support. A first obvious feature is the vast *geographical mobility* of the former students, a large part of them moving frequently from one location to the other, within the region of Upper Hungary but also further away, forced by factors of economic, political or religious character. A second identified feature is a so-called *professional mobility*, which means individuals changing their “profession”, alternating between school, church and civic administration – in most of the cases the order being school-church or school-town administration. The success of this type of mobility was determined by the same type of education these employees had received at a secondary school or university and by the

nearly identical standing of the teachers and priests in Košice. Employment as scribe or notary was certainly more attractive, due to the increase in political influence and the chances to advance to urban council membership.

Therefore, we can state that, from the sixteenth century on university studies became a means to secure employment and professional advancement to a certain extent. Social respect for learned competences started to increase and the persons who had attended universities had more chances to become part of the urban elite in Košice. This way, a third type of mobility can be delineated to characterize the former students from the town – *social mobility*. For people not belonging to the elite by birth, university studies became more and more an essential factor in the process of intellectual and professional advancement. At the same time, additional ways of improving one's social and financial status were often considered by former students, and sometimes pursued besides their professional career, such as family inheritance, involvement in trade or a successful marriage.

Nevertheless, those who succeeded to advance on the social scale from fifteenth- to seventeenth-century Košice do not constitute the majority among former students. Other reasons for university attendance existed as well. For noblemen and other rich individuals it seemed to be rather a question of prestige. For the sons of merchants it was a way to learn about new environments and make connections and friends useful for the subsequent career as merchant. In order to become a school teacher, a priest or an urban administration clerk in Košice very often a few years of secondary school sufficed, so that not all individuals identified as having held these positions in the town had ever attended a university. The tendency was, however, to encourage teachers or priests to attend a university at some point in their careers and to attempt to recruit university alumni for these positions. Therefore, even though the social origin, financial status, family relations, and acquaintances of different types remained important in Košice throughout the entire research period, by the end of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth century the scale of values started to widen, a situation similar to the whole of Western Europe of the time.

In addition to increasing the size of the urban intellectual elite, another important impact of former students from Košice from the second half of the sixteenth century is their contribution to the establishment and sustainability of the Reformation, in particular of its Lutheran branch in the town of Košice and in the other neighboring locations. Students were among the first

messengers of the new religious movement and, further on, in their positions as school rectors contributed to the increase of the level of education in local schools, while the town churches were those places where the graduated priests were promoting Lutheran ideas. They also brought books with them, contributing to the enrichment of the burghers' personal libraries, which usually consisted of works in Latin, but also in Greek, German, and Hungarian, the majority of them having a religious content – the Bible, prayers and hymnbooks – but also often included editions of classical authors and books with medical or applied science topics.⁵³⁸ Among the most popular books were the works by Philip Melanchthon and Martin Luther, these contributing without any doubt to the establishment of the religious preferences among the town's inhabitants. Furthermore, former students played a significant role in increasing the popularity of university studies, a number of them supporting their pupils or other young men from the town in their academic endeavors. In general terms, the Reformation addressed two aspects of the town's cultural development, school education and book culture, and both these directions gained a significant momentum starting from the second half of the sixteenth century, with the strong involvement of the former students.

The fact that, notwithstanding the changing context at home and at the universities of the time, individuals of Košice did not cease to go to universities throughout the entire period of this research, suggests that education presented some importance for the town's inhabitants. The number of students, however, was relatively low if compared to the local population. Among the important reasons for this low representation was the peripheral character of the town, the lack of financial resources among the population, and the still-limited need for university graduates in the public and economic life. The commercial importance of Košice stayed high throughout the entire period of this research and the town's political, military, and religious functions increased from the thirties of the sixteenth century on, while the potential for intellectual activity was rather limited. In other words, even though Košice remained the leading member of the *Pentapolis* alliance throughout the researched period, its intellectual centrality was much weaker than its economic one. Indeed, it never became a significant intellectual centre, and none of the church leaders in the Reformation period originated from Košice. A large number of students

⁵³⁸ See István Monok, ed., *Kassa város olvasmányai 1562-1731* (The readings from the town of Košice) (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1990); Jozef Kuzmík, "Knihnice na Slovensku v 15. a 16. storočí" (Libraries in Slovakia in the 15th and 16th century), in Holotík and Vantuch, *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku*, 416-435, here 429f.

from the town were driven to universities abroad for more pragmatic reasons than by the desire to get involved in academic scholarship (with a few exceptions pointed to in the text of the dissertation). The greater part of the population, even those pertaining to the urban administration, was satisfied with the existing secondary schools or private education of some kind and only a very few ventured to leave their homeland searching for knowledge.

Even though this study concentrated on a single town, it did not intend to be a narrow-minded local study. It was my hope to contribute to the further development of two major areas of study. The first area of interest is the medieval and early modern history of towns, to which this study contributed an essential element, namely the university education of the town inhabitants and its impact within the local urban context. The study provided further information on the urban elite in Košice during the respective time, researching the group of students and identifying it as a socially privileged category of the town's inhabitants. This research demonstrates the direct relationship between university attendance and the political, social, economic, and religious development at home and the importance of an active involvement of the town's administration in improving the educational opportunities for its inhabitants.

The other domain studied is the history of university education in East-Central Europe, before and during the Reformation, the analysis of which is furthered by providing material for subsequent comparative studies on Upper Hungary, based on the rich and still only partially explored archival material preserved in the present-day Eastern Slovak towns. Research about other towns from this region would be very beneficial for estimating and explaining the role and position of Košice within the regional academic peregrination context, and to answer the questions about the extent to which the town conformed to or differed from the common patterns, and in what ways the town of Košice was distinctive.

APPENDIX 6.1

Prosopographical catalogue: Students from Košice who attended foreign universities until 1660 [in chronological order of first evidence]

1372

1. Horcho de Cossicz

Identified: University of Prague, 1372, faculty of law, 2 grossi

Source: Varsík, Branislav. "Slováci na pražskej universite do konca stredoveku" (Slovaks at the University of Prague till the end of the Middle Ages). *Sborník filosofickej fakulty university komenského v Bratislave* 45 (1926): 3-37, here p. 30.

Text: [Natio Bohemorum] Anno nativitatis ejusdem 1372 in festo s. Georgio de beneplacito dni nostri imperatoris facta specialis est universitas juristarum in studio Pragensi; et congregatis dnis doctoribus, baccalariis, singulisque studentibus juris canonici elegerunt in rectorem suum nobilem honorabilemque virum dm. Joannem Comitem de Pernsteyn, qui subsequentes ad universitatem antedictam assumsit, et huic registro novo inscripsit: [...] Horcho de Cossicz, 2 grossi. Source: *Album seu Matricula Facultatis Juridicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1372 usque ad annum 1418*. Edited by n.a. Prague: Typis Joan. Spurny, 1834, p. 28.

1388

2. Joannes Stewer de Kassubia

Identified: University of Prague, 1388, faculty of law, 14 grossi.

Text: Anno Domini 1388 honorabilis vir, dns. Nicolaus Gevnhheri de Praga, rector universitatis juristarum studii Pragensis, intitulavit infra scriptos: [...] Joannes Stewer de Kassubia, dedit 14 gr. Source: *Album seu Matricula Facultatis Juridicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1372 usque ad annum 1418*. Edited by n.a. Prague: Typis Joan. Spurny, 1834, p. 140. See also Astrik Gabriel's *Prosopography*.

1391

3. Nycolaus filius Petri Magni de Cassouia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1391, 2 grossi.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.

1395

4. Georgius de Kaschofia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1395, pauper

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.

5. Jodocus de Kashofia [Chaschouia]

Identified: University of Vienna, 1395, dedit.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.

6. Joannes Caschaw

Identified: University of Prague, 1395

Text: Decanatus mag. Joannis de Monsterberg, Anno Domini 1395 [...] Item anno eodem pro examine, quod solet fieri circa festum s. Michaelis, electi fuerunt 4 mgri de 4 nationibus [...] qui admiserunt subscriptos secundum ordinem infra scriptum: [...] Joannes Caschaw.

Source: *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae universitatis Pragensis, ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*. Edited by n.a. Prague: Typis Joan. Nep. Gerzabek, 1830, p. 304-5. Also see Astrik Gabriel's *Prosopography*.

Other data:

Joannes Caschaw

Identified: University of Prague, 1396, facultas philosophica

Source: Varsík, Branislav. Slováci na pražskej universite do konca stredoveku (Slovaks at the University of Prague till the end of the Middle Ages). *Sborník filosofickej fakulty university komenského v Bratislave* 45 (1926): 3-37, p. 20.

1398

7. Michael de Cassovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1398, 6 grossi.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.

1407

8. Anthonius Joannis de Kaschowya

Identified: University of Cracow, 1407

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1

9. Clemens de Cassowya

Identified: University of Cracow, 1407

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1; Poznań electronic database.

10. Stephanus Petri Helbich de Caschowya

Identified: University of Cracow, 1407

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Steffanus de Cassouia, 1408, ad gradum baccalariatus promotus

Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 6. Note: this may refer to the following student (Stephanus Simonis de Kaschouia, no. 11) too. It is not clear from the reference which Steffanus [de Cassouia] is meant.

11. Stephanus Simonis de Kaschouia

Identified: Univeristy of Cracow, 1407, 3 grossi.

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1, p. 26; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

See the note for Stephanus Petri Helbich de Kaschowya, no. 10.

1409

12. Georgius de Kassovia/Cassovia

Identified: *University of Prague, 1409, facultas philosophica*

Source: Varsík, Branislav. "Slováci na pražskej universite do konca stredoveku" (Slovaks at the University of Prague till the end of the Middle Ages). *Sborník filosofickej fakulty university komenského v Bratislave* 45 (1926): 3-37, here p. 22

Other data:

(a) Prague, 1409, baccalarius

Text: Item anno, quo supra (1409 n.a.), in quattuor temporibus post festum Crucis fuerunt electi quatuor examinatores, qui cum decano facultatis infra scriptos assumserunt in gradum baccalariatus. Examinatores erant isti mgri: Martinus Cunssonis de Praga, Joannes de Nawsedlicz, Wencesl. de Mirowitz et Alexius de natione Polonorum. Ordo baccalariandorum [...] Georgius de Kassowia [8...], p. 404.

(b) Text: Item die mensis Novembris Georgius de Cassowia det[erminavit] sub mag. Joanne de Hussynecz, p. 405.

Source: *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae universitatis Pragensis, ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*. Edited by n.a. Prague: Typis Joan. Nep. Gerzabek, 1830, volume one, part one, pp. 404 and 405.

Also see: Astrik Gabriel's *Prosopography*

(c) Georgius de Caschouia, University of Cracow

Text: Decanatus Mgri Johannis Willisch [...] Anno domini MCCCmo XI (1411) promoti sunt ad gradum magisterii [...], Georgius de Caschouia, baccalarius Pragensis, per Facultatem hic admissus. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 7.

(d) Georgius Johannis de Casshofia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1411, 2 grossi.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.

Text: '2o [October, 1411, n.a.] petiverunt duo baccalarii alterius universitatis, ut admitterentur ad respondendum ad facultatem iuxta statuta, et fuerunt admissi. (note: maybe Georgius de Kaschovia and Dietrich von Memmingen [n.e.]) Source: Uiblein, *Acta Facultatis Artium*, p. 364.

Text: "4o [October, 1411, n.a.] assumptus fuit quidam baccalarius alterius universitatis, scilicet Georius de Kaschovia, ad consorcium baccaliorum facultatis, qui eciam iuravit secundum statuta, etc." Source: Uiblein, *Acta Facultatis Artium*, p. 366.

1411

13. Mathias Clementis de Caschofia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1411, pauper

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.

Other data:

Registered together with Thomas Symonis de Caschofia (no. 14) and Georgius Johannis de Casshofia (no. 12/d)

14. Thomas Symonis de Caschofia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1411, 2 grossi.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.

Other data:

Registered together with Mathias Clementis de Caschofia (no. 13) and Georgius Johannis de Casshofia (no. 12/d)

15. Johannes Cauponis de Caschofia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1411, pauper.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.

1412

16. Johannes Petri de Kaszowia

Identified: University of Cracow, 1412.

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1, p. 26; Poznań electronic database

17. Georgius de Casschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, date not known.

Other data:

Master's degree in 1412

Text: "1412, in tertio decanatu Mgri Andree de Mariemburg ad gradum magisterii hy promoti sunt: Georgius de Casschouia [1/4]" Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 8.

18. Marcus Lanngauders de Chaschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1412, 2 grossi

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1. Electronic database, muw;

Other data:

(a) Marcus de Caschouia, baccalaureus, University of Vienna 1416.

Source: Fraknói, *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen*, p. 42.

(b) Text: [1416, Jänner 3] Item 3a die Ianuarii fuit facultas arcium congregata in loco consueto per iuramentum. Primo ad recipiendum scolares proxime pro gradu baccalariatus in artibus examinatos et ad dispensandum cum multis eorum super habendis habitibus propriis ac eciam cum aliquibus super floreno solvendo. Et fuerunt presentati XXXI scolares secundum hunc ordinem: Marcus de Caschovia [1] [...]

Source: Uiblein, *Acta Facultatis Artium*, p. 462.

Text: [...] deinde petiverunt dispensacionem [...] Marcus de Caschovia [...] pro habitu usque ad reversionem [...] [same date as above]

Source: Uiblein, *Acta Facultatis Artium*, p. 463.

19. Andreas de Chaschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1412, pauper.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.
Electronic database, muw;

1414/15

20. Caspar aurifabri de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, 1414/15, dedit 4 grossos, promisit residuum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1, Poznań electronic database.

1415

21. Osvaldus de Caschouia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1415.

Source: Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1 (Addenda et Corrigenda); Fraknói, *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen*, p. 41

Other data:

Text: (1415 Oktober 13) [...] 2us articulus fuit ad recipiendum scolares pro gradu baccalariatus examinatos et audiendum supplicationes aliquorum super dispensacione habitus et floreni. Et admissi fuerunt omnes pro tunc per examinatos presentati, quorum ordo et nomina infra secuntur [...] Oswaldus de Caschovia [15] [...] Et supplicaverunt de tunc receptis [...] Oswaldus de Caschovia pro habitu ad pinguiorem fortunam et pro floreno ad quadragessimam.

Source: Uiblein, *Acta Facultatis Artium*, p. 454.

1416

22. Petrus de Cassouia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1416, dedit 4 grossos.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.

1417

23. Georgius Debringer de Casschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, 1417, dedit totum.

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1, Poznań electronic database.

24. Laurencius de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1417, pauper.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.
Electronic database, muw;

25. Sigismundus de Caschouia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1417. Source: Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Fraknói, *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen*, p. 42.

1418

26. Johannes de Casschovia

Identified: University of Leipzig, W[inter] S[semester], 1418, pauper

Source: Schalich, Günther. "Studenten aus den böhmischen Ländern und der Slowakei an der Universität Leipzig in den Jahren 1409-1548." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* 7 (1957-8): 65-85; Erler, *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, p. 8.

27. Andreas de Casschovia

Identified: University of Leipzig, 1418

Source: Erler, *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, p. 8.

1421

28. Johannes Nicolai sutoris de Caschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1421, dedit 2 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1, Poznań electronic database.

1422

29. Petrus de Cassouia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1422, 4 grossi

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1.

Other data:

A certain Petrus de Cassouia was identified as book scribe and illuminator active in the Austrian territories, in 1425 was living in Vienna. Source: Jozef Kuzmík, *Doplňky a opravy k slovníkom starovekých, stredovekých a humanisticko-renesančných autorov, prameňov a knižných skriptorov so slovenskými vzťahmi* (Additions and corrections to the lexicons of old, medieval and humanist-Renaissance authors, sources and book scribes with Slovak connections), Bratislava: Matica Slovenská, 1987, p. 64.

1423

30. Lucas de Casschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1423, pauper

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

31. Sebastianus de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1423, 3 grossi.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1. Electronic database, muw;

1424

32. Johannes Nicolai Gelnaczar [Gölniczar?] de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1424, 2 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1, p. 58; Poznań electronic database.

33. Thomas Czenelcher de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1424, dedit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1, Poznań electronic database.

34. Andreas de Casschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1424, 2 grossi

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

1425

35. Laurencius Nicolai cingulatoris de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, 1425, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, v. 1, Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

1429 ad gradum baccalariatus promoti sunt [...] Laurencius de Cassowia [3/6]⁵³⁹

Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 21.

1427

36. Ladislaus Bartholomei de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1427

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 65; Poznań electronic database.

37. Nicolaus de Casschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1427, pauper.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

38. Johannes Sarel de Cachouia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1427, pauper.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; 1428

39. Andreas de Cassouia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1428

Source: Fraknói, *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen*, p. 44.

⁵³⁹ The numbers given indicate the rating of the respective student as provided by the source.

1429

40. Georgius de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1429, tenetur

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

1431

41. Bartholomeus Stephani de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1431, dedit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 65; Poznań electronic database.

42. Cristiannus Martini de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1431

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 65; Poznań electronic database.

43. Ladislaus Nicolai Harnusch de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1431, dedit 2 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 65; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

1434 ad gradum baccalariatus promoti sunt [...] Ladisl. de Casschowia [7/10]

Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 27.

1433

44. Sebastianus Ungarus de Cassa

Identified: University of Heidelberg, October 22, 1433, pauper

Source: Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, p. 198.

Other data:

Received the degree of baccalaureus artium at the University of Heidelberg in 1434. Source: ibidem, 198, note.

45. Martinus de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1433, 2grossi

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

1434

46. Georgius Ladislai de Kaschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1434, dedit 1 grossum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 85; Poznań electronic database.

47. Jacobus Ladislai de Kaschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1434, dedit 1 grossum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 85; Poznań electronic database.

1435

48. Jacobus Nicolai de Kassowya

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1435, dedit 2 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*; Poznań electronic database.

49. Paulus Andree de Kassowya

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1435, dedit 3 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*; Poznań electronic database.

1436

50. Jacobus Bartholomei de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1436, 2 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 89; Poznań electronic database.

51. Jeronimus Ladislai de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1436, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 88; Poznań electronic database.

52. Hieronmus fr. O. P. de Cassovia

Identified: University of Padua (Univ. Pat. sc.), 1436

Text: 1436 septembris 22. Ordinatio ad primam clericalem tonsuram (et) ad quatuor ordines minores: Fr. Hieronimus filius Martini de Cassovia Ungariae ordinis praedicatorum. 1437. Ad diaconatum. (Arch. Curiae ep. Padova. Ordinazioni).

Source: Veress, *Matricula et acta Hungarorum*, p.154. See also Astrik Gabriel's *Prosopography*.

1437

53. Johannes Ladislai de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1437, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 91; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Johannes Ladislai de Casschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1439, 4grossi, Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

Most probably brother of Nicolaus Ladislai Knol, see no. 54

54. Nicolaus Ladislai Knol de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1437, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 90; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Ladislaus Knol, probably his father, is representative of one of the rich burgher families in Košice. For references on his property for the year 1431 see *Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei 1431-1533* (The old accounts books from Košice 1431 to 1533). Edited by Lajos Kemény. Košice: Bernovits, 1892, p. 2 and 3. For further information about the Knol[¹] family see the article by O.R. Halaga: “Domínium mesta Košic a jeho agrikultúra” (Domain of the town of Košice and its agriculture) in *Agrikultúra* 22 (1989): 13-39. Already by the eighties of the fourteenth century this family is recorded to own extensive possessions in the neighbouring regions of Košice. Most probably brother of Johannes Ladislai de Caschowia, see no. 53.

55. Mathias Redel de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1437, 3 grossi

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

1439

56. Blasius (presbyter) de Casschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1439, 4 grossi

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

57. Georgius de Casschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1439, pauper

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

58. Andreas de Casschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1439, pauper

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

1440

59. Mathias Georgii de Kassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1440, dedit 3 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 96; Poznań electronic database.

60. Valentinus Ladislai de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1440, pauper,

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

1441

61. Johannes Jacobi de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1441, dedit totum
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*; Poznań electronic database.

62. Johannes Nicolai de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1441.
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 98; Poznań electronic database.

1442

63. Paulus Carnificis de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1442, 2 grossi
Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

1443

64. Andreas Guman de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1443, 4 grossi
Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

Other data:

(a) In 1446 still registered as student at the University of Vienna.
Source: Fraknoi, *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen*, p. 42.

(b) Andreas Jacobi institoris de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1448, dedit 3 grossos
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 119; Poznań electronic database.

65. Johannes M{e}ussikgang de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1443, 4 grossi
Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

Other data:

(a) Rich burgher's family in the town, representatives of which are mentioned in the account books: 1431 (Item Steffan Muesigang (maybe his father, n.a.) tenetur 1200 dn. racione collectarum). Source: *Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei 1431-1533* (The old accounts books from Košice 1431 to 1533). Edited by Lajos Kemény. Košice: Bernovits, 1892, p. 2.

(b) Johannes Meussigang, judge in Košice, 1472-1475. Microfilm DF 271721, Hungarian National Archives, Budapest, folio 91r and 91v.

1444

66. Petrus de Caschouia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1444.

Source: Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Fraknói, *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen*, p.48.

67. Georgius Cristianni de Caschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1444, dedit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 109; Poznań electronic database.

1446

68. Augustinus Nicolai Hersberg de Casschouia Hungarica

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1446, dedit totum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 113; Poznań electronic database.

69. Andreas de Cassouia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1446.

Source: Fraknói, *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen*, p.48.

1448

70. Marcus Gregorii sellatoris de {Coschicze} Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1448, dedit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 119; Poznań electronic database

71. Thadeus Thadei de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1448, dedit 5 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 119; Poznań electronic database

1449

72. Laurencius Martini Zadinbaom de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1449, 5 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 123; Poznań electronic database.

73. Nicolaus Michaelis de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1449, dedit totum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 123; Poznań electronic database.

74. Petrus Ladislai Kalman de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1449, 5 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 123; Poznań electronic database.

1450

75. Benedictus Stephani de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1450, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 126; Poznań electronic database.

76. Petrus Petri de Kasovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1450, 3 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*, p. 127; Poznań electronic database.

77. Gallus Blasii de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1450, 1 grossus

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

Other data:

Registered together with Georgius Pauli de Caschovia, no. 78.

78. Georgius Pauli de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1450, 3 grossi

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 1; Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Electronic database, muw;

Other data:

Registered together with Gallus Blasii de Caschovia, no. 77.

1452

79. Johannes Taschner de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1452, pauper,

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 2; Electronic database, muw;

1453

80. Johannes Ladislai Kromar de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1453, dedit totum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

1457 ad gradum baccalariatus in artibus promoti sunt [...] Joh. de Cassouia [3/18].

Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 49.

1454

81. Georgius Augustini Cram. de Caschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1454, dedit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1*; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) 1456 ad gradum baccalariatus in artibus promoti sunt [...] Georg. de Caschovia [5/22].
Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 47

(b) 1460 ad gradum magisterii in artibus promoti sunt [...] Georg. de Casschouia [6/14]
Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 53.

Note: could also refer to Georgius Jacobi Gruesz de Caschouia, who matriculated in the same year (no. 82).

82. Georgius Jacobi Gruesz de Caschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1454, dedit 4 grossos, totum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 138*; Poznań electronic database

Other data:

Note: see note for no. 81.

83. Maternus Nicolai Swerer/Ewerer? de Casschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1454, dedit 2 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 138*; Poznań electronic database

84. Valentinus Cristianni de Casschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1454.

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 140*; Poznań electronic database

1455

85. Nicolaus Petri de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1455, 4 grossos dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 143*; Poznań electronic database

Other data:

(a) 1456 ad gradum baccalariatus in artibus promoti sunt [...] Nicol. de Caschowya [16/22].
Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 27

(b) 1458 ad gradum magisterii promoti sunt [...] Nicolaus de Casschowia [17/17]. Source:
Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 50

(c) 1468 registered as dean of the faculty of arts: decanatus Mgri Nicolai de Casschouya
Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p.66.

86. Petrus Bartholomei aurifabri de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1455, 4 grossos dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 143*; Poznań electronic database

87. Stanislaus de Kassaw

Identified: University of Leipzig, Winter Semester, 1455, pauper.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig. I. Band: Die Immatrikulationen von 1409-1559*.
Edited by Georg Erler. Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1895, p. 198; Schalich, Günther.

“Studenten aus den böhmischen Ländern und der Slowakei an der Universität Leipzig in den

Jahren 1409-1548.” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* 7 (1957-8): 65-85.

88. Dominus Blasius de Osd, archidiaconus et canonicus ecclesie Transsilvane

Identified: University of Vienna, 1455, 1/2 florini

Source: Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1; Additional information from the same source: October 1456 – baccalaureus, April 1458 – licence and doctor artium, in 1459 is dean at the faculty of arts: “decanatus venerabilis et egregii decretorum doctoris domini Blasij de Caschouia, archidiaconi de Osd ecclesie Transsilvane”.

Other data:

(a) Dominus Blasius de Caschovia, archidiaconus de Osd. Identified: University of Vienna, 1458, 3 florini pro licencia, 1 florinus pro doctoratu. Source: *Matricula Facultatis Iuridicae*, Wien, electronic database, jur.

(b) Dominus Blasius de Osd, archidiaconus et canonicus Caschauia ecclesiae Transsiluanensis Universitate Viennensis 1455, pro baccalaureo 1456, pro licentia et doctoratu 1458. Source: Astrik Gabriel’s *Prosopography*.

89. Thomas Laurencij de Caschouia, familiaris eiusdem domini archidiaconi

Identified: University of Vienna, 1455, pauper.

Source: Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók*, v. 1;

1457

90. Michael Swarcz de Kasschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1457, 2 grossi.

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, volume 1, p. 152; Poznań electronic database

Other data:

(a) 1463 ad gradum baccalariatus promoti sunt [...] Mich. de Cassouia [12/24]. Source: Muczowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 59. Note: could also refer to Michael Bartholomei de Cassowya, who matriculated in 1461 (see below).

(b) A certain Michael Schwarz is mentioned passim in the account books from the town of Košice. For 1482: [Sabbato in profesto purificationis Marie dedimus Bartholomeo apothekarii wegen Michel Swarcz des testaments Bognarin fl. 50]. Source: *Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei 1431-1533* (The old accounts books from Košice 1431 to 1533). Edited by Lajos Kemény. Košice: Bernovits, 1892, p. 18; For 1487 [Schwartz Michel fl. 1 dedit (Anno domini MCCCCLXXX, septimo taxa media cum marcellis exigi inchoata feria secunda post festa Martini per dominos Andrean Grotker, Johannem Oppytzer ac Stephanum Reich)]. Source: Ibidem, p. 49. For the year 1487 there is an entry on him possessing two houses in Košice: [Domus Michel Schwartz fl. 4 dedit mrc. 49 dedit totum [and] Altera domus Michel Schwartz mrc. 14 dedit]. Source: Ibidem, p. 56.

1458

91. Johannes Felnek de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1458, 3 grossi.
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 155*; Poznań electronic database.

1459

92. Johannes de Caschovia, scol.

Identified: University of Vienna, 1459, dedit 4 denarios.
Source: Schrauf, A bécsi egyetem Magyar nemzetének anyakönyve; Fraknoi, *Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyeteme*, p. 61.

1460

93. Stephanus Johannis Czethmar de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1460, 2 grossi (totum).
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 161*; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

1463 ad gradum baccalariatus promoti sunt [...] Steph. de Casschovia [6/21].
Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 58.

1461

94. Michael Bartholomei de Cassowya

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1461, dedit 3 grossos (totum).
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 167*; Poznań electronic database.

1462

95. Johannes Joannis de Cashovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1462, 3 grossi
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 170*; Poznań electronic database

96. Laurencius Andree de Casshouia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1462, 4 grossi
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 170*; Poznań electronic database.

97. Thomas Anthonii de Cashouia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1462, 1 grossus
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 171*; Poznań electronic database.

1463

98. Bernardus Weyser Johannis de Casszovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1463, dedit 4 grossos
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 174*; Poznań electronic database.

99. Johannes alias Myelth de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1463, 2 grossos dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 172*; Poznań electronic database.

100. Johannes Sparsgelth de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1463, 2 grossos dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 172*; Poznań electronic database.

101. Nicolaus Stephani de Casschovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1463, dedit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 174*; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Nicolaus de Caschovia, University of Cracow. 1470, magister, sanctae Theologiae baccalaureus et senior bursae pauperum.

Text: (Die Saturni 3 Novembris [1470 n.a.]). Stephanus Stephani Kune de Namslauia, baccalarius arcium, recognouit, se teneri quatuor florenos ungaricales Venerabili magistro Nicolao de Cassouia, s. theologiae bacc., burse pauperum seniori, ex causa fideiussoria pro Georgio de Namslauia, quos quidem quattuor florenos non soluente principalj, predictus Stephanus, bacc. obligauit se soluturum infra hinc et festum s. Barbare proxime venturum, sub censuris ecclesiasticis et obediencia rectoris. Actum anno Dni 1470 die Saturni tercia Nouembris, presentibus ibidem Balthasar de Semberg, bacc. arcium, et Andrea, dni rectoris notario. Source: *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes*. Edited by Wladislaus Wisłocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, volume one, p. 53, no. 242.

102. Paulus de Casszowya

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1463, 3 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 172*; Poznań electronic database.

103. Vlricus de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1463, 2 grossos dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 172*; Poznań electronic database.

1464

104. Bartholomeus Johannis de Caschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1464, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 175*; Poznań electronic database.

1465

105. Caspar Bartholomei de Casszouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1465, 3 grossos dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 180*; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Caspar de Caschovia, mentioned as a student at the University of Cracow in 1470.

Text: Caspar de Cassouia, studens huius Universitatis, ad instanciam Bartholomei de Polszenijecz, eciam studentis, citatus, non comparans, pronunciatur contumax per se. Source: *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes*. Edited by Wladislaus Wislocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, here volume one, p. 40, no. 186.

106. Mathias Panilaslo de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1465, totum dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 181*; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) 1469 ad gradum baccalaureatus promoti sunt [...] Mathias de Caschouia [7/10]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 68.

(b) Mathias Panilaslo de Caschovia, 1470: Saturni vij Octobris (1469, n.a.). Die Saturni vij Octobris dominus roborat monicionem, nichilominus tamen effectum ipsius suspendit ad feriam terciam proximam inclusiue. Presentibus ibidem Honorabilibus Michaele de Vartha iuris, Mathia de Cassouia arcium, baccalariis, Nicolao de Proszevycze. pp. 22-23, no. 96.

Text: Saturni xij mensis Octobris (1470 n.a.). Acta sunt hec coram Venerabili dno (vicerektore n.e.) Arnolpho de Mirzynech. Constitutus personaliter Honorabilis dnus Thomas de Cossia apud acta presencia, proposuit contra dnum Baltazarum de Semberg, baccalarium, quod sibi tenetur sex grossos ratione certi mutui debiti subsequenter de anno Dni mccccclxxmo. Feria secunda proxima post ante s. Hedugis vel citra, dum monitus fuit idem dnus Baltazar per dnum Thomam pro dictis sex grossis, nescitur, quo spiritu ductus, prefatus dnus Baltazar verbis malis increpando in hec verba vel similia: Pessime deceptor et asine, ac alys verbis diffamatorys coram fidedignis et Honorabilibus diffamavit, quam iniuriam eximavit idem dnus Thomas ad centum florenos hungaricales, mallens plus de proprijs ammittere, quam huiusmodi iniuriam pati, petens, ipsum compelli. Iusticia mediante in presencia principalis, qui solum confessus est, teneri unum grossum, de alys pecunijs et infamatorys propositis, prout proponebantur, negavit narrata, prout narratur. Et dnus rector ad viij decrevit suam intencionem probare. Consequenter idem dnus Baltazar coram dno rectore in audientia dixit et proposuit contra dnum Thomam in hec verba, quod dnus Thomas decepit Baltazarum in tribus grossis ratione resumpcionis. Qui dnus Thomas negavit, aliquam decepcionem factam esse, qui probabit ad viij. Presentibus Mathia, sapiencia, et Mathia de Cassouia, arcium bacc. p. 52, no. 238.

Source: *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes*. Edited by Wladislaus Wislocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, volume one, p.22-23, 52, no. 96, 238.

1466

107. Johannes Johannis de Casouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1466, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 184*;

108. Andreas Nicolai Sartoris, frater ordinis Predicatorum de Casovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1466, stetit totum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 184*; Poznań electronic database

Other data:

Andreas Nicolai, monk from Košice, who lived in Italy between 1470 and 1474. In 1474 he transcribed, while being at a monastery in Florence, a manuscript with the title '*De Historia Sacra eiusque mysteriis libri septem additis Expositionibus in Evangelia*', which is now in the Vatican Library. Source: Jozef Kuzmík, *Slovník starovekých a stredovekých autorov, prameňov a knižných skriptorov so slovenskými vzťahmi*, Bratislava: Matica Slovenská, 1983, p. 479.

109. Dominicus Danielis de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1466, 4 grossos dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 185*; Poznań electronic database

110. Johannes Pauli de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1466, 2 grossos dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 185*; Poznań electronic database

Other data:

registered together with Marcus Nicolai de Cassowia, Petrus Ambrosy de Cassowia, and Urbanus Laurency de Cassowia (see no. 111, 112, 113)

111. Marcus Nicolai de Cassowia

University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1466, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 185*; Poznań electronic database

Other data:

(a) 1470 ad gradum baccalaureatus promoti sunt [...] Marcus de Cassouia [17/17]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 69.

(b) Marcus de Caschovia is mentioned as a student at the University of Cracow in 1469 and 1470.

Text: [Obligacio. Marcus de Cassouia infra hinc ad tres septimanas Iohanni Ffeter, pelli[fi?],ci, marcam et octo grossos occasione pellice et mitre empte soluere est obligatus, sub pena excommunicationis. Presentibus ibidem Iohanne, Mathia de Tarnow, studentibus. Die Saturni penultima Decembris. a. 1469.] p. 29, no. 130;

Text: [Die Saturni xij Ianuarij. Dominus (sc. rector n.e.) Marcum de Cassouia, studentem, ex suis confessatis florenum cum vij grossis Mathie Rimar de Cracouia ad octauam sub pena excommunicationis soluere condempnauit, racione mutui. Presente Paulo, sapiencia. a. 1470.] p. 30, no. 132;

Text: [Anno Dni 1470. Marcus de Cassouia, studens huius Uniuersitatis, citatus ad instanciam Stanislai, pictoris de Cracouia, pronunciatur contumax per se, ob non comparicionem.] p. 30, no. 135;

Text: [Saturni x Februarij (1470 n.a.) Marcus de Cassouia, studens, infra hinc ad unum mensem librum "De uita Antichristi et xv signis" Stanislao, pictorj de Cracouia, restituere se obligauit sub pena excommunicationis. Presentibus Iohanne, baccalario, plebano in Mochow.] p. 32, no. 153;

Text: [Sabbati xij Maij (1470 n.a.) Obligacio. Marcus de Cassouia, arcium baccalarius, infra hinc ad octauam obligauit se soluturum xxvj grossos Ingenioso Adriano, studenti, ratione Allexandj (Galli 'Doctrinalis' n.e.) et Donati, librorum, apud ipsum Adrianum emptorum, sub excommunicationis pena. Presentibus ibidem Nicolao de Cracouia, Martino de Gnezna, studentibus Almae Uniuersitatis Cracouiensis.] p. 41-2, no. 190;

Text: [Die Iouis xxiiij Maij (1470 n.a.) Obligacio Feter. Honorabilis Marcus de Cassouia, arcium baccalarius ex bursa Ierusalem, Famoso Iohanni Ffeter, ciui de Cracouia, infra hinc ad quindenam unam sexagenam communis pecunie soluere aut interim fideiussores ijdones pro esidem ponere et cauere sibj Iohanni, ciui, debet sub excommunicationis pena. Quem ibidem mgr. Petrus de Msticzow, plebanus, executor, per dnum rectorem sibj Iohanni datus, pro eadem sexagena et alias iuxta obligationem monuit, sub excommunicationis pena, extunc in eundem Marcum, bacc., ferenda. Presentibus ibidem mgro Petro Msticzow, Mathia, sapiencia, etc.] p. 43, no. 197;

Text: [Sabbatj xxvj Maij (1470 n.a.) Marcus de Cassouia, baccalarius ex bursa Ierusalem, confessus est, se tenerj Martino de Varalio, studenti, tres cum medio florenos. Et dnu rector ex confessatis decreuit, sibj Martino solucionem per ipsum Marcum impendere infra hinc ad quindenam, sub pena excommunicationis. Presentibus Mathia, sapiencia, Nicolao de Opathovijecz, mgro Valentino de Ilkusch.] p. 43, no. 198.

Source: *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes*. Edited by Wladislaus Wislocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, volume one, pp. 29, 30, 32, 41, 43.

(c) registered together with Johannes Pauli de Cassowia, Petrus Ambrosii de Cassowia, and Urbanus Laurencii de Cassowia (see no. 110, 112, 113)

(d) Possibly the astrologist Marcus Schynagel de Caschovia of whom it is known that he stayed at the University for Cracow for a while teaching, but what made him popular in Europe of the time were his astronomical calendars. Peter Amelung, in his article "Eine Ulmer Praktik auf das Jahr 1489, ein Beispiel für die Schwierigkeiten beim Bestimmen fragmentarischer Prognostiken," (*Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 57 (1982): 211-219) mentions Schynagel as teacher at the University of Cracow. His works (with further comments) have been recorded by Ernst Zinner (*Geschichte und Bibliographie der astronomischen Literatur in Deutschland zur Zeit der Renaissance*, second edition, Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1964, no. 293, 294, 295, 335, 407, 435, 514, and 515) and Mieczyslaw Markowski (*Astronomica et Astrologica Cracoviensia ante Annum 1550*, Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1990). The following works signed by him have been discovered: 1. *Vorhersage für 1487* in 'Almanah cum pronosticationibus', printed in Basle in Latin; 2. *Tafel de Neu- und Vollmonde für 1487* printed in Augsburg in Latin, with the following note: *1487, 11 die marcii ho 2 mi 42 tempore equato per Me magistrum schynagel alme vniuersitatis cracoviensis*; 3. *Tafel de Neu- und Vollmonde für 1487* printed in Augsburg in German; 4. *Tafel de Neu- und Vollmonde für 1488* printed in Augsburg in Latin; 5. *Vorhersage für 1490*, printed in Reutlingen in German; 6. *Vorhersage für 1491*, printed in Basle in German; 7. *Vorhersage für 1493*, printed in Vienna in Latin, with the following dedication note: *Sacratissimo principi diuo Alberto, Polonie Regi electo. Magister Marcus Schinagel de Choschouia, Alme vniuersitatis Cracouiensis Astrologus praesens mittit Prenosticum*. His works were, most probably, well appreciated given the personalities he dedicates or sends his works to. Source: Much of the information on Schynagel has been presented in cooperation and with the generous help of MA Heidrun Franz, Ph.D. candidate at the University of Erlangen, Germany,

working title of the forthcoming dissertation “Das astronomisch/astrologische Kompendium des Marcus Schinagel von 1489”.

112. Petrus Ambrosii de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1466, dedit 4 grossos, totum.

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 185*; Poznań electronic database

Other data:

(a) 1469 ad gradum baccalaureatus promoti sunt [...] Petrus de Caschouia [3/10]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 68.

(b) registered together with Johannes Pauli de Cassowia, Marcus Nicolai de Cassowia, and Urbanus Laurencii de Cassowia (see no. 110, 111, 113)

113. Urbanus Laurencii de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1466, totum dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 185*; Poznań electronic database

Other data:

registered together with Johannes Pauli de Cassowia, Marcus Nicolai de Cassowia, and Petrus Ambrosii de Cassowia (see no. 110, 111, 112)

114. Valentinus Stephani de Caschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1466, stetit totum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 185*; Poznań electronic database

1467

115. Augustinus Caspar de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1467, 4 grossi.

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 186*; Poznań electronic database

116. Johannes Ambrosii de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1467, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 186*; Poznań electronic database

117. Johannes Georgii de Casschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1467.

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 187*; Poznań electronic database

118. Nicolaus Johannis de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1467 stetit totum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 188*; Poznań electronic database.

1468

119. Gregorius Valentini filius de Kaszovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1468, dedit 2 grossos
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 193*; Poznań electronic database,.

120. Petrus Petri de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1468, stetit 4 grossos
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 194*; Poznań electronic database.

1469

121. Johannes Pauli Magni de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1469, stetit totum
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 195*; Poznań electronic database

1470

122. Cristiannus Ladislai de Caszowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1470, dedit totum
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 200*; Poznań electronic database.

123. Lucas Georgii de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1470, dedit 7 grossos
Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 199*; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) 1472 ad gradum baccalaureatus promoti sunt [...] Lucas de Casschovia [6/16]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 73.

(b) Lucas de Caschovia mentioned as a baccalaureus at the University of Cracow in 1475.

Text: [Saturni xiiij May (1475, n.a.). Dnus rector mgrum Iohannem de Schydlow et Lucam, baccalarium de Casszovia, pro nonnullis excessibus et conspiracionibus, quas cum parte rebellante habebant, infra hinc et diem naturalem sub pena carceris exclusit et exire tenebuntur (de bursa Iherusalem, n.e.). Presentibus ut supra.] Source: *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes*. Edited by Wladislaus Wisłocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, here volume one, p. 82, no. 378.

See also on this event:

Text: [Anno, quo supra [1475 n.a.], die Lune octava maii, sub rectoratu venerabilis viri magistri Iacobi de Schadek, decretorum doctoris, canonici rectorisque Universitatis Cracoviensis, facta fuit convocacio dominorum licenciatorum et magistrorum per cedulam. Cuius tenor fuit in hec verba: Venerabilis, egregie domine doctor et magister. Sitis hodie hora vicissima in stuba communi maioris Collegii artistarum ad tractandum et providendum de sedicione et violencia toti Universitati scandalosa et periculosa, que facta est hac nocte immediate precedenti in bursa Ierusalem per multos eorum inhabitatores. Detur omnibus doctoribus licenciatis et magistris duntaxat salariatis, sub pena prestiti iuramenti, ex parte rectoris. In qua convocacione per omnes doctores et magistros pariformiter fuit et est conclusum, quod rector cum consiliariis ab Universitate sibi datis, citatis ad se inhabitatoribus dicte burse Ierusalem de huiusmodi sedicione et violencia culpatis et notatis, puniat aliquos carceribus, excludat alios ab Universitate, alios

autem de domo Ierusalem excludat, secundum quod ipsi rectori et suis consiliariis melius, commodius et conveniencius videbitur faciendum.] Source: Conclusiones universitatis Cracoviensis ab anno 1441 ad annum 1589. Edited by Henryk Barycz. Cracow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1933, p. 41.

124. Stephanus Petri de Caszovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1470, dedit totum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, volume 1, p. 200; Poznań electronic database.

1471

125. Johannes Stephani de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1471, 1 grossus

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, volume 1, p. 204; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

1475 ad gradum baccalaureatus promoti sunt [...] Joh. de Caschowia [6/7]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 78.

126. Michael Laurencii de Caschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1471, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, volume 1, p. 204; Poznań electronic database

Other data:

(a) 1473 ad gradum baccalaureatus promoti sunt [...] Mich. de Casovia [3/11]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 74.

(b) Michael de Caschovia mentioned as a baccalaureus at the University of Cracow in 1475.

Text: [Feria secunda proxima post Oculi dominicam (1475 n.a.). Michael de Kaschovia, presens, baccalarius.] Source: *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes*. Edited by Wladislaus Wislocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, volume one, p. 78, no. 366.

(c) 1477 ad gradum magisterii promoti sunt [...] Mich. de Caschouia [10/11]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 81.

127. Iohannes de Caschovia

Identified: University of Bologna, 1471.

Text: [Recepta: a reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino domino Nicolao Stoltz de Slantz de Slesia [Nicolaus episcopus Varadiensis, 1469-1473] pro se ac domino Iohanne Stoltz de Slantz fratre suo, Iohanne de Caschovia decretorum doctore pedagogo suo, Gregorio Nencke canonico Agriensi, Nicolao de Slaboni capellano suo, Caspare de Augusta, Cristoffero Seydelitz, Iohanne de Ratispona, prefati domini episcopi familiaribus dos ducatos Florentinos.] Source: *Acta nationis germaniae universitatis bononiensis ex archetypis tabularii malveziani*. Edited by Ernestus Friedlaender and Carolus Malagola. Berlin: Typis et impensis Georgii Reimeri, 1887, p. 215, lines 15-24.

Other data:

Johannes de Kaschau/Caschovia, Decretorum Doctor, pedagogus d. Johannis Stoltz de Slantz.
Source: *Deutsche Studenten in Bologna: 1289-1562: Biographischer Index zu den Acta nationis Germanicae universitatis Bononiensis*. Edited by Gustav C. Knod. Berlin: R.v. Decker's Verlag, 1899, p. 237.

1473

128. Melchior/Melchiel Simonis de Kaszowya

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1473, dedit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 214*; Poznań electronic database

1474

129. Anthonius Gregorii de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1474, 4 grossos dedit

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 216*; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) 1476 ad gradum baccalaureatus promoti sunt [...] Ant. de Casszouia [8/15]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 80.

(b) Antonius de Caschovia is mentioned as a baccalaureus at the University of Cracow in 1478.

Text: [Saturni vj Iuny (1478, n. a.). Marcy secunda Iuny Honorabilis dnus Anthonius de Casszhowia, arcium liberalium baccalarius, proposuit contra et aduersus Valentinum de Pilszno, arcium bacc., qualiter recepisset et eundem conuenisset de informacione in organo tactum et insuper dedisset marcam unam, deinde prefatus Anthonius asserebat, a prefato bacc. Valentino nichil informauisse. Ex aduerso Valentinus respondebat ac proposicionem, quod eundem informauisset diligenter et aliquos tactus sciuisset in prefato organo tangere et omnia, que concernunt ad organum, ostendisset et insuper notauisset, et dixit, eundem bacc. operam ad prefatum ludum non habuisse neque fecisse. Prenominatus Anthonius optabat e conuerso pecuniam dandam a sepefato dno Valentino. Dnus autem rector decreuit, quod locabunt assessores in arte huiusmodj ad videndum de tabulacione huiusmodj coram sua paternitate aut vbicunque alias, si eisdem placuerit, ad proximum diem Sabbatum, quecunque ipsi inuenerint, dominus eciam tenere velit. Presentibus, ut in actis.] p. 145, no. 681.

Text: [Die Saturni xxix (1478 n.a.). Anthonius de Caschowia dno Iohanni de Septem castris infra hinc ad festum Natiuitatis Marie proxime affuturum (8.IX) unum florenum se ipsum obligauit soluturum, sub censuris ecclesiasticis. Presentibus in actis.] p. 151, no. 708.

Text: [Saturni (1478, n.a.) Honorabilis dnus Anthonius de Casschowia, veniens ad acta nostra, obligauit se ipsum solitum (in margine adscriptum 'soluit' n.e.) legali viro, dno Iacobo de Cracouia, arcium baccalario, tres florenos infra hinc ad festum s. Gallj proxime futurum, sub pena excommunicationis. Presentibus, ut in actis.] p. 152, no. 712.

Source: *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes*. Edited by Wladislaus Wislocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, volume one, pp. 145, 151, 152.

130. Johannes Andree de Kaszowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1474, stetit 8 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, volume 1, p. 216; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Registered together with Johannes Johannis de Kaszowia (no 131)

131. Johannes Johannis de Kaszowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1474, stetit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, volume 1, p. 216; Poznań electronic database

Other data:

Registered together with Johannes Andree de Kaszowia (no 130)

132. Georgius Nicolai de Kaschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1474, stetit totum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, volume 1, p. 219; Poznań electronic database.

133. Michael Tosst de Kaschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1474, pauper, Natio Hungarorum.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, v. 2; Electronic database, muw;

Other data:

Tosst family mentioned in the preserved taxation books (1475-1487): (1) 1475 Niclas Tost fl. 6 dedit and (2) 1480. Taxa media Domus Nicles Thoest. Source: Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei 1431-1533 (The old accounts books from Košice 1431 to 1533). Edited by Lajos Kemény. Košice: Bernovits, 1892, p. 31. Relationship could not be identified.

1475

134. Jacobus Benedicti Thot de Casszowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1475, stetit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, volume 1, p. 223; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Representatives of the Toth family are present in the account books. Source: Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei 1431-1533 (The old accounts books from Košice 1431 to 1533). Edited by Lajos Kemény. Košice: Bernovits, 1892, passim. Relationship could not be established.

135. Martinus Valentini de Caschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1475, stetit totum

Source: Ulanowski, *Album Studiosorum*, volume 1, p. 223; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Martinus de Caschovia is mentioned as oculista de Casschouia in 1478.

Text: [Saturni tercia Octobris (1478 n.a.). Ingeniosus dnus Martinus, oculista de Casschouia, petiuit, sibj terminum darj ad respondendum et rationem faciendam Honeste dne Barbare de Cracouia, penestice, alias infra hinc concordiam temptabunt. Et prenomatus Martinus, allegans recessum in Ylkusz, submitit se sub censuris ecclesiasticis hodie per octauam ad parendum presencie dni rectoris. Presentibus seruitoribus Uniuersitatis et alys fidedignis.] Source: Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes. Edited by Wladislaus Wisłocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, volume one, p. 152, no. 715.

1476

136. Andreas Andree fabri de Casschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1476, dedit 2 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 225; Poznań electronic database.

137. Fr. Petrus de Conv. Cassoviensi

Identified: University of Florence, 1476, aprilis 30, scolasticus.

Text: [Fr. Petrus de conventu Cassoviensi fuit assignatus pro rata provinciae suae in studentem theologiae in conventu Sanctae Mariae Novella de Florentia.] Source: Veress, *Matricula et acta Hungarorum*, p. 327;

Other data:

Petrus Cassoviensis, was sent to Florence in 1476, was identified as Petrus de Ungaria in Florence in 1478, in 1479 was employed as a scribe at the Papal Curia in Rome. Source: Astrik Gabriel's Prosopography.

Text: [1478 maii 10, Perusii. In concentu Florentino in studentes theologiae assignamus fratrem Petrum de Ungaria. Source: Veress, *Matricula et acta Hungarorum*, p. 328.

1477

138. Andreas Jacobi Cipsar de Casschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1477, stetit totum

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 230; Poznań electronic database.

139. Georgius Stephani de Kaschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1477, stetit 6 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 232; Poznań electronic database.

Note: It could be György Szatmári, version set forth by Péter Farbaký in his book Szatmári György, a mecénás (Szatmári György: a benefactor) Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 2002, p. 178 (summary in German).

Other data:

(a) 1481 ad gradum baccalaureatus promoti sunt [...] Georg. de Caschouia [1/22]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 88.

(b) Georgius Szatmári, ep. Quinqueecl., University of Bologna, sc., 1493. Source: Veress, *Matricula et acta Hungarorum*, p. 74-78. See also Astrik Gabriel's Prosopography.

(c) Born in Košice, probably in 1457 or near on, in a rich burgher's family of German origin. His uncle, Ferenc Szatmári was one of the richest men in the town, who had extended relationship with representatives of the Thurzo family from Levoča, and who took upon himself the custody for György who remained without father very early. In the nineties of the fifteenth century, Szatmári is employed at the chancellery of Wladislaus II, being referred to as an archivist in 1493 and as a secretary in 1494. By the end of the year 1499 he is already bishop of Veszprém, from 1501 bishop of Oradea, between 1505 and 1521 bishop of Pécs and between 1521 and 1524 of Esztergom, that is he became the head of the Hungarian church. Throughout his career Szatmári was known to help students finance their stays at different universities, as numerous dedications to him certify.

Source: Farbaký, Péter, Szatmári *György, a mecénás* (Szatmári György: A benefactor) Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 2002; Várady, Emerico, *Docenti e scolari ungheresi nell' antico studio bolognese*. Bologna: Coop. Tipografica Azzoguidi, 1951, 39ff.

(d) Contributed to his home town development through rich donations. Out of his income from Forró he contributed to the restauration of the church of Saint-Elisabeth and maintained two houses in Košice, fields and vineyards in Tálly. Already as bishop of Esztergom, he donated to the church in Košice some of his vineyards located in Szántó, Nagy Bátor, and elsewhere. Source: *A Reformáció Kassán: Oklevéltárral* (Reformation in Košice: with a Chartulary). Edited by Lajos Kemény. Košice: Bernovits G. Kö és Könyvnyomdája, 1891, p. 6.

140. Johannes Cristianni de Kaschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1477, stetit totum

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 232; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

1480 ad gradum baccalaureatus promoti sunt [...] Joh. de Caszovia [1/14]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 88.

1478

141. Balthasar de Caschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1478, stetit 3 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 233; Poznań electronic database.

142. Gabriel Mathie de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1478, stetit totum

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 237; Poznań electronic database.

143. Michael Michaelis de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1478, stetit totum.

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 236; Poznań electronic database.

1479

144. Martinus Galli de Casschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1479, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 241; Poznań electronic database.

145. Michael Johannis de Casschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1479, 4 grossi

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 239; Poznań electronic database.

146. Thomas Michaelis de Casschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1479, stetit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 238; Poznań electronic database.

1481

147. Melchior Martini de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1481, stetit totum

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 250; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Melchiar de Caschovia is mentioned as student at the University of Cracow in 1485 and 1486.

Text: [Eodem die (die Iouis xiiij mensis Iulij n.a.) Iohannes de Gilnycza citando Malchiar de Cassouia pro iiij grossis et medio, idem Malchiar ad quindenam promisit soluere.] p. 220, no. 999.

Text: [Melchiar, actor, de Cassovia studens, moram agens in bursa Ierusalem, contra Iohannem, baccalarium, presbiterum, de s. Maria vicarium, proposuit, quomodo sibi teneretur idem bacc. tres fertones, qui confessus est, sibi teneri. Et dominus ex confessatis decreuit eidem Malchiar eosdem tres fertones ita videlicet, quod fertonem dabit ante dominicam Septuagesimam et residuum, videlicet mediam margam, pro festo Pasche, sub pena excommunicationis, soluere obligatur. Presentibus, ut in actis.] p. 227, no. 1043.

Text: [Eodem die (die Iouis xvj mensis Februarij n.a.) Melchiar de Cassovia, studens Cracoviensis, moram agens in bursa Ierusalem, obligauit se quatuordecim grossos Prouido Andree, barbitonsori Cracoviensi, occasione medele, circa ipsum exhibite, renunciando omnibus exceptionibus, infra hinc et festum Pasche proxime affuturum, sub pena excommunicationis.] p. 229, no. 1053.

Text: [Die Saturni xxij mensis Aprilis. Honorabilis dnus Nicolaus, altarista ad s. Mariam Cracovie, retulit, se Discretum Malchiar de Cassovia, studentem, in bursa Ierusalem morantem, ad instanciam Honor. Iohannis Sadlo, baccalarij arcium, ad videndum tolli monitionem, contra prefatum Sadlo decretam, citasse ad diem hidiernam ad horam xxij. Presentibus ut in actis.] p. 230, no. 1061.

Text: [Eodem die dnus Iacobus, lector missarum ad s. Mariam, retulit, se citasse Discretum Martinum, cantorem ad s. Mariam, ad peribendum testimonium veritatj in causa inter Honorabilem dnum Iohannem ex una et Melchiar de Cassouia, studentem, ab alia partibus super quodam debito medie marce, qui cantor retulit, se soluisse unum fertonem eidem Melchiar. Et idem Iohannes Sadlo soluit eciam unum fertonem ipsi Melchiar in presencia dni rectoris. Presentibus Honor. dnis Petro de Skavina, canonico Sandeczensi et plebano in Pleschow, Stanislao, lectore missarum ad s. Mariam, et Stanislao, sapiencia, testibus ad premissa.], p. 230-1, no. 1062.

Source: Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes. Edited by Wladislaus Wislocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, volume one, pp. 220, 227, 229, 230, 230-1.

1482

148. Andreas Stephani de Cassowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1482, stetit 3 latos grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 252; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) Andreas de Caschovia is mentioned as student at the University of Cracow in 1483.

Text: [Die Veneris ultima mensis February. Ex officio et de mandato dni rectoris citati sunt per Stanislaum, seruitorem, mgr. Vincencius, decanus artistice facultatis, qui se percussum dicebat, et mgr. Albertus, senior burse Ierusalem, et subsequenter omnes eandem bursam inhabitantes, infra descripti, ad prestandum iuramentum, quod est ab omnibus eodem die hora terciarum receptum per rectorem [...] Andreas de Cassovia [...]]. Source: Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes. Edited by Wladislaus Wislocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, here volume one, p. 192, no. 890. See also Astrik Gabriel's Prosopography.

(b) 1485 ad gradum baccalariatus promoti sunt [...] Andr. de Cassouia [19/27]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 94.

1484

149. Franciscus Francisci de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1484, stetit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 265; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Probably son of Franciscus Zothmar, wealthy burgher. Text: [1469 Item eodem anno sabbatho ante Martini famosus dominus Franciscus Zothmar concessit similiter dominis ad pretorium ad utilitatem civitatis exponendos fl. auri 10 solutum est feria secunda ante kathedram beati Petri apostoli; and further: Nos cum prioribus 20 florenis tenetur civitas persolvere prenominate dominis Francisco Zothmar consuli et Simoni Goeldschin concivi civitatis nostri.] Source: Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei 1431-1533 (The old accounts books from Košice 1431 to 1533). Edited by Lajos Kemény. Košice: Bernovits, 1892, p. 14. See also: Astrik Gabriel's Prosopography.

150. Matheus Johannis de Casschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1484, stetit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 265; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

1489 ad gradum baccalariatus promoti sunt [...] Mathias de Casschowia [14/24]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 106.

1485

151. Caspar Pauli de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1485, stetit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 272; Poznań electronic database

152. Jacobus Johannis de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1485, stetit 3 latos grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 268; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) 1490 ad gradum baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Jac. de Caschovia [15/16]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 107.

(b) Jacobus Briczer de Caschovia mentioned at the University of Cracow in 1487.

Text: [Anno quo supra (1487 n.a.), die vero Saturni sexta Octobris. Ingeniosus dnus Iacobus Briczer de Cassovia ad acta presencia constitutus et coram Venerabili dno rectore, supra notato, coram quo acta presencia et sub titulo suo sunt notata, obligavit se, sub censuris ecclesiasticis, soluere viginti scotos alias quadraginta grossos Circumspecto Stanislao, sutori, visus debilis vel citra quadraginta grossos, infra hinc et festum s. Martini affuturi. Presente eciam ad hoc Petro de Lipsk Lipcz, seruitore dni rectoris.] Source: Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis studii Cracoviensis ab anno 1469, two volumes. Edited by Wladislaus Wisłocki. Cracow: Spółka wydawnicza polska, 1893-1897, here volume one, p. 241, no. 1115.

153. Ladislaus Johannis de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1485, stetit 3 latos.

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 268; Poznań electronic database.

154. Laurencius Laurencii de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1485, stetit 3 latos grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 270; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) 1487 ad gradum baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Laur. de Kassouia [8/27]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 99.

(b) a certain Laurentius Kos baccalaureus is mentioned in the town accounts books. Text: [1493. "Laurentius Kos baccalaureus liber pronuntiatus est cum vinea in Tharczal a fratre suo Johanne sibi sponte data"] Source: Békefi, Remig. A népoktatás története Magyarországon 1540-ig (The history of national education in Hungary until the year 1540). Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1906, p. 342.

1486

155. Johannes Mathie de Casschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1486, stetit 4 grossos

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 277; Poznań electronic database.

1487

156. Thomas Nicolai de Caschouia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1487, stetit totum

Source: Ulanowski, Album Studiosorum, volume 1, p. 279; Poznań electronic database.

1488

157. Melchior Zerhart de Kaschofia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1488, winter semester, 4 grossi

Source: Gall, Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, volume 2..

1489

158. Aegidius fr., O. P. conv. Cassov.

Identified: University of Florence, April 8, 1489, theology.

Text: [1489 aprilis 8. Romae. Frater Aegidius conventus Cassoviensis assignatur in conventu Florentino studens theologiae pro rata provinciae suae.] Source: Veress, Matricula et acta Hungarorum, p. 328. See also Astrik Gabriel's Prosopography.

1491

159. Johannes Johannis de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1491, stetit 4 grossos.

Source: Cmiel, Album Studiosorum volume 2, p. 17; Poznań electronic database;

Other data:

1494 pro gradu baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Joh. de Caszovia [3/26]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 117.

1493

160. Andreas Stephani de Casschovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1493, stetit totum.

Source: Cmiel, Album Studiosorum volume 2, p. 24; Poznań electronic database;

161. Martinus Pauli de Casschouia dioc. Strigoniensis

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1493, stetit totum.

Source: Cmiel, Album Studiosorum volume 2, p. 21; Poznań electronic database;

162. Melchior Khall de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1493, pauper, Natio Hungarorum.

Source: Gall, Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, volume 2; Matrikel der Universität Wien: electronic database, muw;

Other data:

(a) Melchior Call (Chal, Chall, Khal) ex Cassovi, University of Vienna, 1504; magister, 1505: dedit 12 cr. pro tribus gradibus. Source: Schrauf, A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve, p. 48;

(b) procurator nationis hungaricae 1511, recorded/mentioned as a testimony by the inauguration of other procurators of the Hungarian Nation until the year 1528. Source: Schrauf, A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve, pp. 259, 48, 263, 264, 265, 28, 32, 35, 50, 55, 62, 84, 165, 266, 267, 267, 281.

Text: [Et ego Melchior Chall Casschoviensis, artium liberalium magister, anno Domini 1511 in procuratorem nationis Hungarie electus in die sancti Philippi confessoris et episcopi, feria sexta ante dominicam Ramispalmarum, presenti cirographo fateor me percepisse 7 flor. in bono auro Ungaricales ... 13 sol. den. et 3 den. in bona moneta, venerabilibus istis magistris presentibus utpote mag. Jacobo Vexillifero Transsilvano, Ambrosio Salczer ex Sopronio, Joanne Croner, octonario pro tunc cum Sancto Stephano, ex venerabili viro artium liberalium Mag. Cristophoro Abytzel ex Wolframicz, antecessore meo in offitio procuratorio. [...] Item ego Melchior Chall Casschoviensis, artium liberalium magister, anno Domini 1511 presentavi Mag. Leonardo Doberhost in offitium procuratorum nationis Hungarie successori meo [in] prefato offitio [rationem] de singulis suppositorum collectis et preceptis pecuniis et thesaurum totum nationis et summa tota fuit coram venerabilibus viris Mag. Cristophoro Abyczell Olomuczensi, protunc octurnario cum Sanco Stephano, Mag. Jacobo Vexillifero, Mag. Ambrosio de Sopronio, Mag. Joanne Ernntst Cibiniensi, in archam nationis reposita: 24 sol. den. et 20 den. et 7 flor. Ungaricales in bono auro computata. 1511.] Source: Schrauf, A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve, p. 266.

163. Thadaeus fr. O. P. Cassoviensis

Identified: University of Florence, January 22, 1493.

Text: [1493 ianuarii 22 Venetiis. Frater Thadaeus conventus Cassoviensis assignatur studens Florentiae, et potest reverti ad provinciam ad procurandam sibi elemosinas pro libris et aliis necessitatibus studii sui et absolvitur, quia sine licentia recessit de provincia.] Source: Veress, Matricula et acta Hungarorum, p. 330; Astrik Gabriel's Prosopography

164. Petrus de Cassovia fr. O. P.

Identified: University of Siena, 1493

Text: [1493 februarii 22, Venetiis. Frater Valentinus de Quinqueecclesiis potest prosequi lectura sententiarum pro forma et gradu magisterii Senis extraordinarie et frater Petrus cum uno socio ibidem in studentes assignantur.] Source: Veress, Matricula et acta Hungarorum, p. 333.

Other data:

(a) Matriculated at the University of Perugia in 1495.

Text: [1495 iulii 6. Venetiis. Frater Petrus de Cassovia assignatur Perusii pro rata provinciae.] Source: Veress, Matricula et acta Hungarorum, p. 313.

(b) Matriculated at the University of Pavia in 1498.

Text: [1498 iunii 25. Paduae. Frater Petrus de Cassovia assignatur studens theologiae per tres annos in conventu Papiensi pro rata suae provinciae.] Source: Veress, Matricula et acta Hungarorum, p. 342; Astrik Gabriel's Prosopography.

(c) In 1498 is ordered to study theology at Pavia for three years. In the year 1500 is given the permission to receive a doctorate title from any university after his bachelor degree. Source: Astrik Gabriel's Prosopography.

1494

165. Franciscus Schnaittl ex Kaschouia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1494.

Source: Fraknoi, Magyarországi tanárok és tanulók a bécsi egyetemen, p. 86.

166. Stansisl. Caschouianus

Identified: University of Cracow, date not known.

Other data:

1494 pro gradu baccalauratus promoti sunt [...] Stanisl. Caschouianus [23/26]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 117.

1495

167. Georgius Sparrer de Katschau

Identified: University of Vienna, 1495, pauper.

Source: Gall, Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, volume 2.

168. Blasius de Cassovia

Identified: University of Siena, 1495, theology.

Text: [1495 iulii 6. Venetiis. Frater Blasius de Cassovia assignatur Senis pro rata provinciae]

Source: Veress, Matricula et acta Hungarorum, p. 334; Astrik Gabriel's Prosopography

1496

169. Nicolaus Pazoth de Caschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, year not known.

Other data:

(a) Mentioned at the University of Cracow in 1496.

Text: [Anno, quo supra, videlicet 1496, die Mercurij tercia Februarij. Iuxta inscriptionem, superius scriptam, per magistrum Iohannem de Glogouia, collegiatum maioris Collegij, Honorabili mgro Francisco de Dengyelek, in qua decem florenos cum viginti grossis ipse mgr. Iohannes ipsi Francisco inscripserat, ad extenuationem istius debiti dictus mgr. Franciscus condescendit de quinque florenis in personam dni Marci, baccalarij de Poszega, quos quidem quinque florenos idem dnus Marcus tenebatur mgro Iohanni Glogouia, quos ipse dnus Marcus pro festo Pasce proxime venturo, sub censuris, promisit exsoluendos, amota quavis difficultate.

Mgr. vero Iohannes inherendo prime inscriptioni, solum quinque florenos cum viginti grossis tenebitur ipsi dno Francisco, quos quidem quinque cum viginti grossis idem mgr. soluet ad festum Pasche, sub censuris, quos tunc incurreret, alias ob defectum presencie eiusdem dni Francisci reponet eosdem quinque florenos cum viginti grossis aput dnum Iohannem Thurzy aut Nicolaum Pazoth de Caschouia.] Source: Wislocki, Acta rectoralia, p. 405-6, no. 1776.

(b) Mentioned in a letter from 1531: [Sigismundi Regis Poloniarum commendationes pro Nicolao Paczoht, quatenus auxilio Ciuitatis et Consilio bona sua in Hungaria per Andream Ketzer occupata reobtinere valeat.] Souce: AMK, Schwartzbachiana/ Miscellanea tabulorum, p. 103, doc. no. 1512. Probably stayed in Poland.

1498

170. Bartholomeus Petri Bak de Caschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1498, 2 grossi

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database;

Other data:

1499 pro gradu baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Barthol. d Caschowia [16/16]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum,, p. 127.

171. Joannes Dominici de Caschouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1498, 2 [gr.]

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

1499

172. Michael Michaelis de Cassovia Strigonensis

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1499, 4 grossi

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2, p. 49; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) 1502 ad gradum baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Mich. de Caschouia [12/15]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 133.

Note : this entry could refer to Michael Simonis de Casschovia, matriculated same year, no. 173.

(b) 1505 pro gradu magisterii promoti sunt [...] Mich. de Kaszouia [12/12]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 140.

Note : this entry could refer to Michael Simonis de Casschovia, matriculated same year, no. 173

(c) Mentioned, erroneously, as magister artium in a letter sent from Košice to Prešov on November 12, 1502. Source: Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára (Archivum liberae regiaeque civitatis Eperjes) 1245-1526. Edited by Béla Iványi. Szeged: Városi nyomda és könyvkiadó, 1931, p. 326.

173. Michael Simonis de Casschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1499, 3 [grossi]

Source: Poznań electronic database; Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2

Other data:

1503 ad gradum baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Mich. de Caschouia [9/19]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 137.

Note : this entry could refer to Michael Michaelis de Cassovia, matriculated same year, no. 172. See also further notes to no. 172.

1500

174. Cristoforus Benedicti de Caschowia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1500, stetit 4 grossos

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2, p. 66; Poznań electronic database.

175. Johannes Prechtel de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1500, 29 denarii, Natio Hungarorum.

Source: Gall, Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, volume 2; Matrikel der Universität Wien: electronic database, muw;

Other data:

The Brechtel/Prechtel family is present in the preserved taxation books from Košice, with 2 fl. annual taxation. Source: Fügedi, Erik. "Kaschau, eine osteuropäische Handelstadt." *Studia slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* II (1956): 185-123. Read in Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary, ed. J.M. Bak, XI. London: Variorum Reprints, 1986, p. 195. A certain Hans Brechtel is mentioned in the late fifteenth century taxation lists (1487 e.g.) with an annual taxation of 1 fl, same source as above, p. 198. House possession mentioned in the taxation books (1475-1487): [Domus Brechtel, Alodium Brechtel], Source: Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei 1431-1533 (The old accounts books from Košice 1431 to 1533). Edited by Lajos Kemény. Košice: Bernovits, 1892, p. 36, 44, 56.

1501

176. Martinus Mathie de Cassovia Hungarie

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1501, 4 grossi.

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) 1503 ad gradum baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Mart. de Caschouia [3/19]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 137.

(b) 1510 ad gradum magisterii promoti sunt [...] Mart. de Kasschovia [7/11]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 149.

177. Valentinus Michaelis de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1501, 4 grossi.

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) 1503 ad gradum baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Valentinus de Casszovia [1/20]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 137.

(b) Valentinus de Cassouia baccalarius Cracoviensis is mentioned as member of the Hungarian Bursa in 1510. Source: Schrauf, Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis, p. 15.

1502

178. Andreas Nicolai de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1502, stetit.

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

179. Gregorius Andree de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, hibernalis, 1502, stetit 4 grossos

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

(a) 1505 ad gradum baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Greg. de Caschouia [6/15]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 141.

(b) 1510 ad gradum magisterii promoti sunt [...] Greg. de Kassouia [4/11]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 149.

180. Cristoforus Johannis de Kassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1502, 4 grossos stetit.

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

1503 ad gradum baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Cristoph. de Casszovia [14/20]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum,, p. 137.

1503

181. Petrus Baltazar de Cassouia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1503, stetit 4 grossos.

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

1504 ad gradum baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Petrus de Casouia [1/24]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 140.

1504

182. Cristoferus Pauli de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1504, stetit totum.

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

183. Wolfgangus Wolfgangi de Casszovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1504, stetit 5 grossos.

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

Other data:

Volfangus de Cassouia is mentioned in 1504 as member of the Hungarian Bursa. Source: Schrauf, Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis, p. 11 (errate) and Miller, Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis Hungarorum, p. 19.

Other data:

(a) Possibly Wolfgang Schustel, one of the first adepts of Reformation ideas in the region. After finishing his studies, he returned to the region and acted first as preacher in Prešov (1514-1515). From 1518 to ca. 1524 was priest in Košice, later (from 1524 to 1531) in Bardejov. Already from 1525 his preaching was forbidden in Bardejov and soon afterwards he was forced to leave Upper Hungary because of his Reformation ideas that could not be tolerated yet at the time. In 1531 Schustel was already in Görlitz, in 1537 was acting as priest in Swidnica and in 1540 was identified in Jelena Góra, all located in Silesia. Sources: Vendelín Jankovič, "Dve postavy zo začiatkov reformácie v Bardejove" (Two personalities from the first period of Reformation in Bardejov), Historický časopis 38: 5 (1990), 640f; Miloslava Bodnárová, "Die Reformation in den ostslowakischen königlichen Städten in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in Die Reformation und ihre Wirkungsgeschichte in der Slowakei, ed. Karl Schwarz and Peter Švorc, 22-35 (Vienna: Evangelischer Presseverband, 1996), 25-26.

(b) Two of his letters written in 1530 or 1531 in which he explains the reasons for leaving Bardejov are edited by Ilfo Tapani Piirainen and Vendelín Jankovič, in "Reformationsbriefe aus Bardejov/Barfeld: Ein Beitrag zum Frühneuhochdeutschen in der Slowakei," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen: bulletin de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 92 (1991): 501-511, especially 502f.

1505

184. Johannes Georgii de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1505, 4 grossi

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

1507

185. Thomas Clementis de Kaschovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1507, stetit 2 grossos.

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2; Poznań electronic database.

1509

186. Venceslavus magister Cassovinus

Identified: University of Cracow, hiemalis, 1509.

Source: Schrauf, Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis, p. 14; Miller; Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis, p. 25.

187. Johannes Cassovius

Identified: University of Cracow, hiemalis, 1509.

Note: Returned together with Venceslavus Magister Cassovi after a pest epidemics, is among the four that were registered at the Bursa Hungarorum after this epidemics.

Source: Schrauf, Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis, p. 14; Miller, Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis, p. 25.

1510

188. Joannes Deltsch ex Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1510, 4 grossi, Natio Hungarorum.

Source: Gall, Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, volume two; electronic database, muw;

1511

189. Martinus Blasii de Caschubia

Identified: University of Cracow, 1511, aestivalis.

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2, p. 128.

Other data:

(a) Martinus de Cassouia registered as member of the Hungarian Bursa in 1513.

Source: Schrauf, Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis, p. 18; Miller, Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis, p. 29.

(b) 1518 ad gradum baccalariatus promoti sunt [...] Mart. de Caschouia [2/12]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 166.

1512

190. Caspar Johannis de Cossovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, 26 Aprilis, 1512, 4 grossos stetit.

Source: Chmiel, Album Studiosorum, volume 2.

1513

191. Petrus Petri de Casszovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, 17 January, 1513, grossos 4 stetit.

Source: Chmiel, Album studiosorum, volume 2.

Other data:

(a) Petrus Briger/Bricer de Cassouia, baccalarius Cracoviensis [?], 1511 [erroneous date, it could be that this is the year when Petrus Briger arrived to Cracow and received a place at the Bursa, but he was not baccalarius yet]. Source: Schrauf, Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis, p. 16; Miller, Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis, p. 27.

(b) 1514 ad gradum baccalariatus promoti sunt [...] Petrus de Kaschowia [2/14]. Source: Muczkowski, Statuta nec non liber promotionum, p. 159.

(c) Mentioned as a baccalaureus at the University of Cracow in 1515.

Text: [Testes mgrj Stephani (Pestinsensis, n.e.), senioris bursae Ungarorum, contra dnum Albertum de Gijancz, baccalarium, in causa et occasione furticini, in eadem bursa in peccunys eiusdem et communitatis domus eorundem patratj, iurati, citati, et examinati, in hunc, qui sequitur, modum deposuerunt: Primus testis, Honorandus Petrus de Casschouia, arcium

liberalium bacc., homo sincerus et fide dignus, neutri parcium fauens, tantum parti iusticiam pro se habenti.] Source: Wislocki, *Acta rectoralia*, volume one, p. 558, no. 2369.

(d) 1519 ad gradum magisterii promoti sunt [...] Petrus de Kaschouia [13/18]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 169.

(e) Mag. Petrus Briger de Caschouia

Identified: University of Vienna, November, 1519, *Natio Hungarorum*.

Source: *Matricula Universitatis Vienensis*, volume four (1451-1518), folio 8b; Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, volume three; *Matrikel der Universität Wien*: electronic database, muw.

(f) A certain Petrus Briger was member of the town council from 1500 to 1528. It could be his father or the student himself after the year 1520, difficult to clarify since they both have the same name. Source: Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája*. Petrus Briger is also mentioned in the testament of Johannes Seydel, dated 19 February, 1522: [Presentibus [...] venerabili magistro Petro Briger] Source: Lajos Kemény, ed. *Történelmi Tár*, 1895, pp. 384-386 and in a letter dated 1526: [Quequidem partes ante juris processum medio venerabilium, prudencium et circumspectorum hominum, videlicet magistri Johannis Henckel parrochi ecclesie nostre, magistri Andree civitatis nostre notarii, Materni Mydwischer, Petri Briger et Wolffgangi Muckentaler [...]]. Edited by Lajos Kemény, *Történelmi Tár*, 1890, 385-386.

192. Valentinus Stephani de Casshouia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, 25 Novembri, totum stetit, 1513

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2.

Other data:

(a) Valentinus de Cassouia registered as member of the Hungarian Bursa in 1513.

Source: Schrauf, *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis*, p. 18; Miller, *Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis Hungarorum*, p. 29.

(b) Valentinus de Caschovia is mentioned as member of the Hungarian Bursa at the University of Cracow in 1514.

Text: [Martis xxviii mensis Marcij (1514 n.a.). Discretus Valentinus (Kassoviensis, n.e.), Ungarus de bursa Ungarorum, citato Discreto Stephano de Ungaria, studente in bursa philozophorum commanente, per Andream, sapienciam, et relacione per eundem facta, proposuit pro duobus florenis in auro, sibi per eundem Valentinum accomodatis pro necessitate ipsius. Ex aduerso Stephanus, studens, debitum sibi accomodatum non negauit, sed confessus est, se teneri. Et dominus ex confessatis mandauit eidem Stephano, quatenus debitum memoratum eidem Valentino hinc ad xv soluat, sub pena excomunicacionis.] Source: Wislocki, *Acta rectoralia*, volume one, p. 522, no. 2270.

1513-14

193. Nicolaus de Cassouia

Registration: University of Cracow, hiemalis, 1513-14, registered as member of the Hungarian Bursa.

Source: Schrauf, *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis*, p.17; Miller, *Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis Hungarorum*, p. 28.

1514

194. Petrus Sch(opff) Caschoviensis

Identified: University of Vienna, 1514

Source: Schrauf, *Die Matrikel der ungarischen Nation an der Wiener Universität*.

1515

195. Joannes Antoninus Cassoviensis / Johannes Anthony de Casschouia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 1515, stetit 4 grossos.

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2.

Other data:

(a) 1517 ad gradum baccalauriatus promoti sunt [...] Joan. de Caschouia, medicus uxoratus Cracoviae [1/19]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 164.

(b) Joannes Anthonii de Kaschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, 1518, Natio Hungarorum.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, volume three;. Matrikel der Universität Wien: electronic database, muw.

(c) Ioannes A(ntonii) Cassoviensis, University of Vienna, 1519, baccalarius, dedit 4 grossos.

Source: Schrauf, *Die Matrikel der ungarischen Nation an der Wiener Universität*, p. 123.

(d) Antoninus Joannes de Casschovia

Identified: University of Padua, probably 1520.

Source: Veress, *Matricula et acta Hungarorum*, p. 177; See also Astrik Gabriel's *Prosopography*.

(e) Joannes Antoninus Cassoviensis, doctor medicinae.

Identified: University of Tübingen, December 4, 1523, dedit 1 florenum.

Source: Hermelink, *Die Matrikeln der Universität Tübingen*, volume one, p. 247.

(f) In 1524, shortly after the completion of his studies, Antoninus arrives in Basle, where he comes into close contact with Erasmus, becoming his private doctor. Antoninus' professional talents have been highly appreciated by Erasmus who stayed in contact with him for some time and even dedicated to him a translation from Galenus. (Source: P.S. Allen and H.M. Allen, eds., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 1926, letters no. 1602, 1660, 1698, 1810, 1825, 1916, 2176, 3137). This sympathy opened the way for Antoninus to the closer circle of the King Louis II of Hungary. Later he was granted employment by Piotr Tomicki, who was bishop of Cracow and vice-chancellor of the realm. As a gratitude for Antoninus, who was his personal doctor, Tomicki helped him become one of the royal doctors at the court of Sigismund I. In addition to his medical career, Antoninus authored a number of works, mainly elegies dedicated

to people he was in contact with throughout his life. He is buried in his hometown Košice, in the Saint Elisabeth church, Source: Wick, Béla. *Kassa régi síremlékei* (Old tombstones from Košice), Košice: “Szent Erzsébet” – Nyomda részvénytársaság, 1932, 19. See also József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* (The life and work of Hungarian authors), 14 volumes (Budapest: 1891-1914), here volume 5, no. 1143; István Wessprémi, *Magyarország és Erdély orvosainak rövid életrajza* (Short biographies of Hungarian and Transylvanian medical doctors) (Budapest, 1960).

(g) Joannes Antoninus authored the following works:

1535: *De tuenda bona valetudine* (Cracow)

1535: *Elegia in obitum incomparabilis Praesulis Petri Tomicii* (Cracow)

1536: *Elegia in obitum magni Erasmi Rotterodami, praecipui studiorum instauratoris* (Cracow)

1544: *Epigrammata in Antonium, Patrem suum, civem Cassoviensem, inque paternos amicos* (Cracow)

1517

196. Johannes Oszwaldi de Cassovia dioc. Strigoniensis

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis 1517, stetit 4 grossos.

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 172.

Other data:

(a) Ioannes de Cassovia registered as member of the Hungarian Bursa in 1517.

Text: [in anno Domini [1517] sub Senioratu Ladislai de Gywla artium liberarium Baccalaurii Cracove commutatione hyemali noviter intrantes tali ordine sunt subscripti [] Ioannes de Cassovia.] Source: Miller, *Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis Hungarorum*, p. 32.

(b) 1519 ad gradum baccaluriatus promoti sunt [...] Joan. de Cassovia [6/16]. Source:

Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 169.

Note: both entries above could also refer to Johannes Johannis de Cassovia (no. 197) or Johannes Balthazar de Cassovia (no. 198) who matriculated in the same year (see below).

197. Johannes Johannis de Cassovia

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis 1517, stetit 4 grossos.

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 172.

See note for no. 196.

198. Johannes Balthazar de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis 1517, stetit 4 grossos

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 173.

See note for no. 196.

199. Laurentius Stephani de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis 1517, stetit 4 grossos.

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 173.

Other data:

Laurencius de Cassouia was registered as member of the Hungarian Bursa from 1517 to 1519.
Source: Schrauf, *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis*, p. 21.

Text: [in anno Domini [1517] sub Senioratu Ladislai de Gywla artium liberarium Baccalaurii Cracove commutatione hyemali noviter intrantes tali ordine sunt subscripti [...] Laurencius de Cassowia.] Source: Miller, *Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis Hungarorum*, p. 34.

200. Georgius Romuli de Caschouia dioc. Strigoniensis

Identified: University of Cracow, hiemalis 1517, stetit 2 grossos
Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 181.

201. Michael Michaelis de Caschovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, hiemalis 1517, stetit 4 grossos.
Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 181.

202. Matheus Barnabe de Casau dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, hiemalis 1517.
Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 181.

203. Jorius Alberti de Caschovia

Identified: University of Vienna, October 1517 [or January 1518], 29 denarii, Natio Hungarorum.
Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, volume two; Matrikel der Universität Wien: electronic database, muw.

Other data:

(a) Georgius Alberti de Caschovia, University of Vienna, December 29, 1517. Source: Matricula Facultatis Artium, Wien, electronic database, mfa;

(b) Georgius A[lbertus] Cassovianus, University of Vienna, 1518, scolasticus, crossi 2, bacc. 1514 (recte 1520): dedit 4 grossos, mag. 1521: magister Georgius Alberti ex Caschovia, pro intitulatione liberali manu obtulit 15 grossos. Source: Schrauf, *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve* p. 53, 86 and 180.

(c) Was notary in Levoča from 1527 to 1541. Source: Jörg Meier, *Städtische Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt am Main u.a., Lang, 2004, p. 97 and passim.

1518

204. Volfgangus Johannis de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, 15 Juny, 1518, 4 grossos stetit.
Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 185.

205. Cristophorus Johannis de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, 9 Novembris, 1518, totum stetit.

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 189.

Other data:

(a) Cristopherus de Caschouia, registered as member of the Hungarian Bursa: [1517, hiemalis – 1519 aestivalis]. Source: Schrauf, *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis*, p. 22.

(b) 1518 ad gradum magisterii promoti sunt [...] Cristof. de Caschouia [1/10]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 165.

1519

206. Paulus Thome de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 6 May, 1519, 2 grossi.

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 192.

207. Johannes Stephani de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, estivalis, 30 May, 1519, 2 grossos stetit.

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 195.

Other data:

(a) Joannes de Cassouia is registered as member of the Hungarian Bursa: [1517, hiemalis – 1519 aestivalis]. Source: Schrauf, *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis*, p. 20.

(b) Joan. de Cassovia 1519, ad gradum baccalariatus, [6/16]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 169.

1521

208. Johannes Caspar de Cassovia dioc. Agriensis

Identified: University of Cracow, hiemalis, 1521, stetit totum.

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum*, volume 2, p. 212.

209. Christophorus de Cassovia

University of Cracow, commutatione estivali, 1521.

Text: [Anno partus Virginei 1521. sub senioratu Emerici Baccal. de Segwsdieno commutatione estivali noviter intrantes, tali serie sunt inscripti, ut patet intuentibus: [...] Christophorus de Cassovia.] Source: Miller, *Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis Hungarorum*, p. 35.

210. Thomas de Casszouia

Identified: University of Cracow, year not known.

Other data:

1521 ad gradum baccalauriatu promoti sunt [...] Thom. de Casszouia [11/12]. Source: Muczkowski, *Statuta nec non liber promotionum*, p. 173.

1525

211. Martinus Cassovinus

Identified: University of Prague, 1525, primus decanatus magistri Georgii Pisenensis, facultas philosophiae.

Text: [Cum electus essem in decanum anno Jesu Christi 1525 curavi, ut gymnasium nostrum auctius redderetur. Examen itaque in artibus ingenuis prima die Septembris sive Aegidii sua sponte publicavi atque aperui [...]. Sicque artium et philosophiae finito examine, athletic nostris numero quatuordecim ex unanimi consensu hung [?], qui subsequitur, ordinem, et illum quidem perpetuo tenendum citra omnem iniuriam pro meritis illorum contulimus, donavimus, subscripsimusve. Ordo sequitur: [...] Martinus Kassovinus [3]]. Source: *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Pragensis, ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*. Pars II. Edited by Antonius Dittrich, and others. Prague: Typis Joan. Nep. Gerzabek, 1832, p. 280: 1529.

1529

212. Symon Johannis de Caschovia dioc. Strigoniensis

Identified: University of Cracow, March 22, 1529, 4 grossos stetit

Source: Chmiel, *Album studiosorum, volume 2*.

Other data:

Simon Cassouianus registered as member of the Hungarian bursa in 1530 and 1531.

Text: [Anno ab Incarnatione Domini Millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo commutatione hyemali sub senioratu Petri de Zarazpathak dieces. quinque ecclesiensis studentes infra notati sunt inscripti [...] Simon Cassovianus.] Source: Miller, *Regestrum Bursae Cracoviensis Hungarorum*, p. 42.

Text: [Simon Cassouianus, 1531 hiemalis.] Source: Schrauf, *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis*, p. 27.

1533

213. Gregorius de Belswitz, hungarus ad Caschoniam

Identified: University of Wittenberg, August 5, 1533.

Source: *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume one, p. 150, c. I.

1545

214. Christophorus Steinensis

Identified: University of Cracow, date not known (before 1545).

Other data:

(a) Graduated in 1545 with the degree of doctor in medicine.

Source: Jozef Kuzmík, *Doplňky a opravy k slovníkom starovekých, stredovekých a humanisticko-renesančných autorov, prameňov a knižných skriptorov so slovenskými vzťahmi* (Additions and

corrections to the lexicons of old, medieval and humanist-Renaissance authors, sources and book scribes with Slovak connections), Bratislava: Matica Slovenská, 1987, p. 115.

(b) Born in Košice. Authored the work 'Oleum juniperi, qua ratione omnibus fere humani corporis aegritudinis medeatur' in Cracow, 1545. Source: *ibidem*.

1548

215. Ioannes Herman Cassowiensis

Identified: University of Vienna, 1548, pauper, Natio Hungarorum.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, volume three*; Matrikel der Universität Wien: electronic database, muw.

Other data:

(a) Joannes Herman de Kassovia, University of Vienna, 1549, dedit 2 grossos.

Source: Schrauf, *Matrikel der ungarischen Nation*, p. 201.

(b) Joannes Hermannus Caschoviensis, University of Vienna, 14.4-13.10, 1549, Matricula Facultatis Artium, Wien, electronic database, mfa.

(c) Joannes Hermannus Caschoviensis, University of Vienna, 1.09-30.09, 1550, Acta Facultatis Artium, Vienna, electronic database, afa;

1557

216. Christophorus Jain Cassoviensis ex Pannonia

Identified: University of Wittenberg, February 22, 1557, registration for bachelor's examination.

Source: *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume one, p. 326, c. II.

217. Stephanus Tihany (Tehani)

Identified: University of Wittenberg, date not known. Registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus*, 1557, December 5.

Source: Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus an der Universität Wittenberg*, p. 133.

Other data:

Four letters in the Košice Town Archives dated November 1, 1558; April 14, 1559; April 17, 1559; and September 8 1559, signed together with Stephanus Mustrius (AMK, H I, no. 2011/13; 2150/105; 2150/108; and 2150/106). Their quest for financial aid was supported by Ph. Melancthon in his letter dated September 1, 1559 (Edited by Lajos Kemény, Történelmi Társulat, 1889, p. 603-4.) Received financial support from the town council, source: AMK, H III/2, mac. 8, folio 54v: [eodem die (26 May 1558 n.a.) duobus adolescentibus Stephano Thehani et alteri Stephano Mustricz auxilium ad studia Vitebergam fl. 50].

218. Stephanus Mustrius

Identified: University of Wittenberg, date not known. Registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* in 1557, December 5.

Source: Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus an der Universität Wittenberg*, p. 133.

Other data:

See the information on Stephanus Tehany above (no. 217). After finishing with his studies, Stephanus Mustrius is employed as a school rector in Sobrance. Source: AMK H I, no. 2249/60.

219. Franciscus Strigoniensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Wittenberg, registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus*, 1557, December 5.

Source: Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus an der Universität Wittenberg*, p. 133.

Other data:

(a) Officially matriculated at the University of Wittenberg in 1559, April 30.

Source: *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume one, p. 357, c. II.

(b) One letter sent from the University of Wittenberg preserved in the town archives from Košice: dated February 13 1563, AMK H I, no. 2446/139. Confirms the support received from the town council for his studies.

(c) After his studies, he returned to the region, but it is not clear from the available sources what his occupation exactly was. In one letter sent from Sajószentpéter, August 13, 1563, he writes that he is doing some scholarly work in this town: AMK H I. no. 2446/137. In another letter preserved in the town archives, sent from Rosnavia on January 31, 1567 he mentions him being invited to take some job in Košice: AMK H I, no. 2842/49.

1560

220. Alexander Kendi

Identified: University of Wittenberg, date not known.

Source: letter in the AMK, H I, no. 2249/7, sent to the town council from Wittenberg, dated 26 Septembris 1560.

Other data:

Was identified as school rector in Cluj in 1580. Source: letter from Joannes Lascouius, Cluj, March 24, 1580, edited by Lajos Kemény, *Törtelmi Tár*, 1881, p. 487-488. His daughter, Christina Kendi, married Wolfgang Kovacsóczy, Councilor of the Prince of Transylvania. Source: a dedication dated 1593 addressed to both spouses by Marcus Andreas Sepsi-Szentgyörgyinus, teacher in Cluj, *Régi Magyar Könyvtár II*, no. 243, electronic record available at <http://www.arcanum.hu/oszk>.

221. Basilius Ziksay

Identified: University of Wittenberg, date not known.

Source: letter in the AMK, H I, no. 2249/7, sent to the town council from Wittenberg, dated 26 September 1560.

1562

222. Demetrius Miskolcj

Identified: University of Wittenberg, date not known, registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* in 1562.

Source: Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus an der Universität Wittenberg*, p. 134.

Other data:

Letter in the Town Archives of Košice, sent from Wittenberg, dated February 1563, AMK H I, no. 2446/133.

223. Grigorius Zykzaj

Identified: University of Wittenberg, date not known, registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus*, 1562.

Source: Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus an der Universität Wittenberg*, p. 134.

Other data:

Letter in the Town Archives of Košice, sent from Wittenberg, dated January 1563, AMK H I, no. 2446/131.

1563

224. Martinus Schacht

Identified: University of Wittenberg, around 1563

Source: Three letters in the Town Archives of Košice, sent from Wittenberg, dated 1563: AMK H I, no. 2446/140, no. 2446/134, and no. 2446/135. One letter of the town council to Martinus Schacht sent in October 1563, AMK H I, no. 2446/142.

Other data:

Was cantor and then collaborator (teacher's assistant) in the urban school of Košice. Source: Kemény, *A Reformáció Kassán*, pp. 81-83, a letter addressed to him in 1558). Schacht received the burgher's right in 1568. Text: [Martinus Schacht sive Schochott ex oppido Mosocz comitatus Thuroczien., nunc cantor scholae et templi istius civitatis, productis ex exhibitis nataliciis literis per Senatum approbatis, ius civile conferitus est feria sexta proxima ante festum Thomae Apostoli quae fuit dies XVII mensis Decembris 1568.] Source: AMK, H III/2, PUR 5, folio 475v. The last mentioning of his presence in the town dates August 26, 1572 (AMK H III/2 PUR 8, folio 181) while in 1573 his wife, Elisabeth, is documented as widow of Martin Schacht, which indicates to his death sometimes in the fall 1572 or first half of 1573 (AMK H III/2 PUR 8, folio 196).

1565

225. Stephanus Proxit Cassouiensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Vienna, summer semester, 1565, 2 solvit denarios.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, volume 3.

1566

226. Jacobus Melzer

Identified: University of Wittenberg, 1566.

Source: Two letters in the Town Archives of Košice, sent from Wittenberg, dated September 1566 and August 1, 1568. (AMK H I, no. 2764/181 and no. 2925/94).

Other data:

1570, November 21, Jacob Melczer, who studied in Wittenberg on the account of the town council, became collaborator in the town school. In 1575 asks the town council for the permission to leave in order to receive the ordination, the town agreed, but not until they find a successor for his position. In 1578, with the permission of the town council, he finally goes to Brzeg to be ordained as a priest and gets 9 florins for his travel as a loan. Is obliged to pay back the previous 200 fl. he received as a support for his studies in Wittenberg - 50 florins per year - plus the travel loan.

Texts:

1570. Die 21 Nouembris. Jacobus Melczer in scholae nostrae collaboratorem solemniter est introductus et installatus habita oratione de literis et eorum dignitate et utilitate. H III/2, MAC 16, folio 74v.;

1575. Die 4 Martii. Jacobus Melczer veniam ab officio collaboraturae accepit et senatus concessit, ita tamen, ut in officio maneat, donec successor illi invenitur. H III/2, MAC 18, folio 31r.

1578. Jacobus Melczer vocatus et susceptus est praesente et consentiente domino pastore in germanicum scholae collaboratorem ad integrum annum. Actum 13 Februarii, hoc est feria 5 ante Dominicam Invocavit. H III/2, MAC 21, folio 3r.

1578. Die 22. Augusti. De Jacobo Melczero collaboratori deliberatum est a senatu, ut maneat per annum integrum. Promissum honorarium ipsi ab inclyto senatu peracto anno. H III/2, MAC 21, folio 27r.

1578. Die 26 mensis Augusti. Jacobus – Melczer – soll vorbleyben in seinem dinst undt mit der Besoldung, so er bis anher gehabt, vorleb nehmen undt darmit vulent sein. Wo er solches nicht thun wirdt, soll er birg seczen vor die 200 fl., so im gemeine Statt dem seinem studiren zu gutt vorgestreckt, oder aber soll die selbigen abdingen. Actum ut supra. H III/2, MAC 21, folio 28r.

1578. Similiter et Jacobus Melczer abiturus obligatorias olim senatui datas, renovet prius et potest postea ire ad ordinationem. Acum eodem die (i.e. nov. 13) H III/2, MAC 18, folio 94v.

1578. die 28 Novembris. Ein ersamer richter und rath hat dem Jacobum Melczer deutschen collaboratem freigesprochen von seinen diensten in ansehung, das er nach ordentlichen Beruef zum Predigeramt des heiligen wort Gottes nach Brieg in Schlesien zur Ordination verraisen soll. H III/2, MAC 19, folio 93v.

1578. Jacobus Melczer porrecta sua confessione de coena Domini scripta aprehensa, hinc abiit; dati sunt illi mutuo fl. 10 polonicales [=9 fl. ungaricales, n.e.]. 28 Novembris. 1578 H III/2, MAC 18, folio 94v.

1579. Die 27 Februarii. Jacobus Melczer petiit dilationem solutionem pecuniae, quod inclytus senatus, proficiscens ad ordinationem, ipsi suppeditavit fl. nimirum 9; terminus profixus huic solutioni festum Paschalis; quod adtinet ad 200 fl., quos etiam ipsi suppeditarunt, deliberatum a senatu, ut singulis annis numeret 50 fl., donec satis fiat. H III/2, MAC 21, folio 45r.

1579. Die 27 Februarii. Jacobus Melczer, so allhie collaborator yn der Schul gewesen, nach eintrechtigem beschlus des ganczen ehrsamten Ratts soll fl. 9, so ihm nechst zu seiner Ordination geliehen worden, auf nechst kommend Ostern unabschlegig erlegen und zalen. Die 200 fl. aber, drueber er sich ferscrieben mit eigner Hand so vorhanden, soll er yerlich zu fl. 50 erlegen und

vor iar zu iar die Statt vergenuegen. Actum et inscriptum iussu senatus. H III/2, MAC 20, folio 6v.

1571

227. Valentinus Ungarus Cassoviensis

Identified: University of Wittenberg, 9 Augustus, 1571

Source: *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume two, p.198, c. II, line 2.

Other data:

Studied at the University in Frankfurt an der Oder before coming to Wittenberg.

Source: Letter in the Košice Town Archives, AMK H I, no. 3087/76, sent from Wittenberg, 22 August, 1571. In this letter he states that he also studied in Wrocław and Frankfurt an der Oder before going to Wittenberg.

228. D. Emericus Lyppay Cassoviensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Bologna, aprilis 6, 1571

Source: Veress, *Matricula et acta Hungarorum*, p. 105.

1573

229. Georgius Caesar Cassoviensis

Identified: University of Wittenberg, June, 1573.

Source: *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume two, p.237, c. II, line 22.

Other data:

(a) Registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* in 1573. Source: Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus an der Universität Wittenberg*, p. 137. Was senior of the Hungarian *Coetus* in 1577: “Nomina Hungarorum in Academia Witebergensi in Collegio Theologico disputantium sub Seniore Georgio Caesare Cassoviensi, 1577”: first name: Georgius Caesar Cassoviensis, Senior fratrum. Source: Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus an der Universität Wittenberg*, p. 66.

(b) Further biographical data: 1571-1573 was student in Sárospatak. 1577-78 is registered as teacher in Sárospatak, 1578-1583 Rector scholae ibidem, 1583-1586 – ordained priest ibidem. Died in Sárospatak in 1586. Source: Fraknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás a XVI. században*, 147.

(c) Literary works:

1577: *Oratio de vita et obitu clarissimi viri, pietate, sapientia, virtute, humanitate et castae, incorruptaeque Religionis studio praestantissimi, veritatis orthodoxae patroni et propugnatoris imprimis strenui, ac de juventute Pannonica optime meriti D. Basilii Fabricii Szikzoviani, habita a Georgio Caesare Cassoviensi, sui praeceptoris amantissimi et tanquam parentis unici obitum pro luctu et lachrymis deplorante, apud populares suos Witebergae optimarum disciplinarum studiis operam navantes* (Wittenberg), shortened title ‘*De vita et obitu. D. Basilii Fabricii Szikszoviani, sui praeceptoris amantissimi*’, habita et impressa Wittebergae, 1577.

1574

230. Casparus Pilcius

Identified: University of Wittenberg, 1574.

Source: Letter sent to the priest Thomas Hilarius/Fröhlich from Wittenberg, April 1574. AMK, H I, no. 3219/111.

Other data:

(a) Caspar Pilcius (Pilc, Pilz, Piltz) was born in Spišské Podhradie, but studied in Košice and in Prešov. In 1573, before going to Wittenberg, was schoolteacher in Košice. In 1574 he leaves for Wittenberg where he sends the above-mentioned letter. Studied in Wittenberg till 1576, afterwards is employed by Johannes Rueber (general captain) as court priest, in 1578 is schoolteacher in Kežmarok, from 1579 to 1586 was priest in various smaller locations around Kežmarok, in 1586 is priest in Kežmarok, 1587 schoolteacher in Sárospatak, 1590 priest in Markušovce. Was a representative of philipism and cryptocavinism in Eastern Slovakia, wrote a number of works in which he supported the confessional principles of these against the Lutheranism. His works have been refuted at the synods in Prešov (1589 and 1593), Spišská Nova Ves (1595) and in Levoča (1597). Also was member of a literary circle in the territories of the present day Slovakia at the end of the second half of the sixteenth century, along with Johannes Bocatius, Johannes Balogus, Leonardus Mokoschinus, Johannes Jantschius, Martinus Thenetrius, Andreas Mudronius, and others. Sources: *Slovenský Biografický Slovník* (Slovak biographical dictionary), volume four, p. 466; Jozef Minárik, "Latinská humanistická príležitostná poézia od začiatkov do druhej polovice 17. storočia" (The Latin humanist poetry from the beginning to the second half of the seventeenth century), in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku v 15. – 16. storočí* (Humanism and Renaissance in Slovakia in the 15th and 16th century), ed. Ľudovít Holotík and Anton Vantuch, 234 – 269 (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1967), here 236. See also Fraknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás a XVI. században*, 394ff.

(b) Literary works:

Epinikion proelii cum Turcis comissi, Bardejov, 1578.

Epithalamion in honorem nuptiarum ... Christophori Menzll ... et Rosinae Balthasaris Hilzen, Bardejov, 1578.

In sponsalia... Philippi Queschin ... et Susanae Gromeri, Bardejov, 1578.

Meditationes piae, vario metri genere ex evangeliis concinnatae, Bardejov, 1583.

Ein notwendige protestation wider Herrn Benedictum Belsium, Pfarherrn und senior zu Eperies..., Cracow, 1584;

Assertio regularium breviter et simpliciter coenae Dominicae sententiarum complectentium ..., Cracow, 1586;

Merzeichen dabei ein Schäflein Christi zu erkennen sei ..., place not known, 1586-87?;

Brevis et perspicua responsio ad maledicam et futilem apologiam Martini Wagneri testamentariam..., Basle, 1591;

Visurus nostras pius Monauus oras..., in *Carmina gratulatoria*, Görlitz, 1591, RMK III, 813;

Drei Predigten, gehalten zu Scharosch... im Jahre 1581, Wittenberg, 1591;

Hymni tres..., Viszoly, 1598;

Vita brevis fugit, Epicedia, Bardejov 1602, RMK II, 217;

1576

231. David Sigismundus Cassoviensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Wittenberg, June 10, 1577.

Source: *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume two, p.208, c. II, line 15.

Other data:

(a) Registered as member of the Hungarian *Coetus* in 1576, Wittenberg.

Source: Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus an der Universität*, p. 138;

(b) as a member of the Hungarian *Coetus*, participated in the disputation of the Theological College, see “Nomina Hungarorum in Academia Witebergensi in Collegio Theologico disputantium sub Seniore Georgio Caesare Cassoviensi, 1577”; third name in the list David Sigismundus Cassoviensis. Source: Szabó, *Geschichte des ungarischen coetus an der Universität Wittenberg*, p. 66;

(c) David Sigismundus Cassouiensis.

Identified: University of Heidelberg, 26 sept. 1577, no. 75.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, volume two, p. 81.

Note: Traveled from Wittenberg to Heidelberg together with two other Hungarian students Fabianus Piso, Bellenius / Ungarus and Paulus Varsavius /Ungarus.

(d) David Sigismundus Cassoviensis

Identified: University of Tübingen, 2 Nov. 1578.

Registered together with: Paulus Segedinus, Fabianus Piso Bellenius, and Michael Carolinus / Ungari.

Source: *Die Matrikeln der Universität Tübingen*, volume one, p. 573.

(e) Additional biographical data: attended town schools in Košice and in Sárospatak (around 1576). After his university studies, was employed as school rector in Oradea (from 1579) and in Alba Iulia (from 1582) in Transylvania. Source: *Slovenský Biografický Slovník* (Slovak biographical dictionary), volume five, p. 255. David Sigismundus died of pest in Alba-Iulia in 1586. Source: Törtenelmi Tár, 1881, p. 471. See ibidem a letter by him where he expressed his wish to become priest in the nearest future, a desire he did not have the time to fulfil.

(f) Literary works:

Elegia Pannoniae gravissima pestilentia conflictantis. Wittenberg, 1577.

Oratio de vita et obitu ... Basilii Fabricii, coauthor, Wittenberg, 1577.

Parentatio Viti Balsarati, Wittenberg, 1577.

Elegia continens hodoeporicon itineris Germanici, Tübingen, 1579.

Consolatio ... dialogus, quo praesides Transylvaniae suorum morte dolentes consolatur, Cluj, 1584.

(g) Mentioned in the work *Prosopographiae melicae millenarius I-III*, three volumes, by the doctor in medicine Caspar Cunradus (1571-1633), which contains data about the life and activity

of about 3000 personalities of different nationalities. The work was published between the years 1615-1621. Volume II, page 183: [Dauid Sigemundus Cassouiensis Pannonius, poeta]. Source: Jan Martínek and Dana Martínková, “Zprávy slezských humanistů o slovenských kulturních poměrech” (Information by Silesian humanists about aspects of cultural development in Slovakia), in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku v 15. – 16. storočí* (Humanism and Renaissance in Slovakia in the 15th and 16th century), ed. Ľudovít Holotík and Anton Vantuch, 392-403 (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1967), here 394-5.

1579

232. Tobias Kauffin

Identified: University of Olomouc, around 1579.

Source: two letters in the Košice Town Archives, sent from Olomouc, dated 13 October 1579 and 13 December 1579. AMK, H I, no. 3526/64 and 3589/27.

Other data:

(a) Son of Richardus Kauffin, schoolteacher in Košice probably from 1556 to 1561 and from 1565 to 1570 and schoolteacher in Kežmarok, from 1551 to 1556 and then from 1562 to 1565 (?). Richardus Kauffin was sent in various diplomatic missions on behalf of the town council in Košice, source: AMK, H I, no. 2011/120 (1558); no. 2011/121 (1558); no. 2011/122 (1558); no. 2279/126 (1560); no. 18383/A8 (1565); no. 2764/54 (1565); no. 2764/178 (1566), no. 2764/179 (1566); no. 2764/180 (1566); no. 3036/96 (1570); no. 3036/53 (1570); no. 3036/43 (1570); no. 3036/18 (1570); no. 3036/9 (1570); no. 18383/A25 (1570), and others;

(b) Before going to Olomouc, probably studied in Brno. Source: letter signed by him and his brother Benjamin, sent to the town council from Brno, 12 May 1578, AMK H I, no. 3473/105.

(c) was notary in Košice from 1583 to 1585, source: AMK, H I, no. 3772/109.

(d) was sent on various diplomatic missions on behalf of the town, notes on which are preserved in the town archives, 1583-84, source: AMK, H I: no. 3653/114; no. 3653/113 (Pressburg); no. 3772/2 (Vienna); no. 3772/3 (Vienna); 3772/14 (Vienna); no. 3772/90(Vienna); no. 3837/86 (place n/a); no. 3891/72 (place n/a); no. 4070/37(Szeben).

(e) died in Košice in 1585. Source: an epitaph signed by Georg Sonntag, teacher in Košice: “Epitaphium in obitum Tobiae Kauffny”, printed in Bardejov in 1585, Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok I, no. 561, electronic record available at: <http://www.arcanum.hu/oszk>.

1582

233. Georgius Cramerus Cassoviensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Frankfurt an der Oder, 1582.

Source: *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln, Universität Frankfurt a. O. Volume one: 1506-1648*.

Edited by Ernst Friedlaender. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1965.

1586

234. Georgius Buntzler Cassoviensis

Identified: University of Wittenberg, 28 Aprilis, 1586, philosophy.

Source: *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume two, p.335, c. II, line 32. Six letters preserved in the town archives from Košice, sent from Wittenberg, dated from 1589 to 1590: AMK H I, no. 4121/101; no. 4121/2; no. 4121/118; no. 4121/119; no. 4121; and no. 4226/145.

Other data:

(a) probably from a well doing burgher's family in Košice, son of Michael Buntzler See AMK, H III/2 her. 1, f. 100r, v, 101r. Relative of Caspar Schneider, member of the town council. See letter sent by Schneider to Buntzler, from Košice, in 1589, AMK H I, no. n/a.

(b) A corrigenda to a previous conscription of his goods is preserved in the town archives as follows:

-Zwei kleine ungarische Bücher

-Liber totius Philosophiae humanae

-Sintaxis Posselii cum Regulis Vitae

Source: AMK, Schwarzenbachiana, no. 4423; *Kassa város olvasmányai 1562-1731* (The readings from the town of Košice). Edited by István Monok. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1990.

(c) Before studying in Wittenberg, was student in Jihlava/Iglavia, Moravia, from 1582 to 1586. One letter preserved in the Town Archives of Košice, sent from Jihlava to the town council, dated September 30, 1583; AMK H I, no. 3772/115. Two letters of recommendation to support his quest for financial aid, addressed to the town council by two teachers in Jihlava: Benedictus Salmuth (AMK H I, no. 3772/119, 1583) and Joachimus Goltius (AMK H I, no. 4008/99, 1586)

(d) While in Wittenberg co-authored a work titled "Propemptica, in honorem... viri dn. Benedicti Byssini Teutolypchensis Pannonij, ex incluta Witebergensi Academia", printed in Wittenberg in 1589, at present in Wolfenbüttel. Source: Régi Magyar Könyvtár III, no. 5497, electronic record available at <http://www.arcanum.hu/oszk>

(e) After his studies returned to Košice and was employed as sub-notary and then notary in the period between 1590 and 1595. Source: AMK H III/2, PUR 10, folio 102v to 110r: contains the description of the case of a certain Florianus Rigler against Catharina, widow of Thomas Siber, burgher of Košice. The case, concerning some debts and property lasted for several years, while Siber was still alive. Georgius Buntzler, *vicenotarius* and then *notarius huius ciuitatits* was in function before the notary who recorded this case, and is mentioned as such. In 1595 Georgius Buntzler is already dead: folio 108v: 'notarium qui iam mortuus est'.

235. Stephanus Cassovius (Kassai) Hungarus

Identified: University of Graz, Identified year not known, in 1586 magister philosophiae.

Text: [Rectore R. P. Georgio a Duras Leodiensi Primi in academia Graecensi post baccalaureatum die 22 Octob. receptum Philosophiae Magistri creati sunt die 29 Octobris 1586: [2] Stephanus Cassouius, Hungarus.]

Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Graz*, vol. 1, p. 94.

Other data:

(a) Text: [Okt. 29: Stephanus Cassovius, Hungarus e Societate, post Baccalaureatum die 22 octob. receptum, Philosophae Magister creatus.] Source: *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Graz (1586-1782)*. Compiled by Johann Andritsch. Graz: Verlag der Historischen Landeskommision, 1965, p. 23, quoted after *Nomina eorum, qui in alma ac catholica Academia Graecensi ad gradus litterarios promoti sunt* (Promotionsbuch).

(b) After graduating, teaches philosophy at the University of Graz. He was among the first graduates of the newly created Academy.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Graz, vol. I*, p. xxi.

(c) Around 1591 he becomes rector of the newly founded Jesuit school in Turóc-Várallja and a few years later is sent to a mission in Transylvania.

Source: *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Graz (1586-1782)*. Compiled by Johann Andritsch. Graz: Verlag der Historischen Landeskommision, 1965, p. 252. See also: Veress, Andreas. *Carillo Alfonz jezsuita atya levelezése és iratai 1591-1618* (The correspondence and the writings of the Jesuit Alfons Carillo), Budapest, 1906, 4, 40; Kazy, Franciscus, *Historia Universitatis Tyrnaviensis*, Tyrnau, 1738, 11f; Fraknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás a XVI. században*, 149.

1587

236. Martinus Brechtelius Chaschoviensis

Identified: University of Wittenberg, July, 1587.

Source: *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume two, p.350, c. I, line 33. See also the letter in the Košice Town Archives: AMK H I, no. 4226/124: Martinus Brechtelius to the town council, Wittenberg, March 8, 1590;

Other data:

(a) In 1592 is identified as school assistant in Košice. Source: Fraknói, *A hazai és külföldi iskolázás a XVI. században*, 106.

(b) Around 1600 was school rector in Košice and sent with various missions on behalf of the town council, see AMK H I, no. 5018/2 and no. 5018/6.

(c) Was involved in the urban administration, being identified as member of the outer council from 1596 to 1598 and of the senate from 1599 to 1603. Source: Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája*.

(d) Brechtel is also registered as witness by several baptisms from August 1599 throughout November 1601, while on February 22, 1600 his own daughter, Rosina, is baptized, witnesses being the town judge and two town council members this confirming the presumption that his prestige in the town was high. Source: Statny Archiv Košice, microfilm no. 55, *Liber baptizatorum et copulatorum ab anno 1598-1612 et 1642* which registers Brechtel as witness by baptisms on September 1, 1598 (p. 2); August 25 1599 (ibidem, p. 29); December 1, 1599

(ibidem, p. 37); December 17, 1599 (ibidem, p. 38). On February 22 1600 Martinus Brechtel baptizes his own daughter, Rosina, (ibidem, p. 41). On January 6, 1600 is again witness by a baptism (ibidem, p. 44); similarly on January 30, 1600 (ibidem, p. 45); on May 8, 1600 (ibidem, p. 48); on August 3, 1600 (ibidem, p. 52); August 12, 1601 (ibidem, p. 52); November 15, 1601 (ibidem, p.72); November 20, 1601 (ibidem, p. 72); November 21, 1601 (ibidem, p. 72).

1594

237. Antonius Than Cassoviensis

Identified: University of Wittenberg, July 15, 1594.

Source: *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume two, p. 414, c. I, line 14.

238. Petrus Cassovius, Ungarius

Identified: *Jesuit College in Olomouc*, 1594.

Source: Hellebrandt, Árpád. "Az Olmützben tanult magyarok 1590-1664" (Hungarian students in Olmütz, 1590-1664). *Történelmi Tár* 1 (1888): 196-208, here p. 199.

1597

239. Michael Pernauerus [a Pernau] Casoviensis Pannonius

Identified: University of Vienna, 1597, June 27, 2 soldos 12 denarios dedit.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, volume four, p. 50.

1598

240. Petrus Brewer, Pannonius Cossouiensis

Identified: University of Königsberg, July 19, 1598 (summer semester), propter paupertatem dedit nihil.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg*, volume one, p. 142.

241. Simeon Stranskj (Strenski or Stronski n.e.) Kaschowinus

Identified: University of Altdorf, 17. VIII, 1598.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf*, volume one, p. 66, no. 1910.

Other data:

Probably famulus of Johan. Heinricus Steinpach à Steinbach, Bohemus, who matriculated at the University of Altdorf in the same day (no. 1908). Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf*, volume two, p. 568.

1600

242. Georgius Hoffmannus Cassouiensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Vienna, 1600, 4 sol. 24 den.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, volume four, p. 57.

Other data:

(a) registered together with Stephanus Hoffmannus Cassouiensis Ungarus (see below), both sons of a well-doing burgher in Košice, Georgius Hoffmann, see for example AMK, H III/2, her. 1, f. 140v, 141r. In 1583 Georgius Hoffmann the older was secretary at the Spiš Chamber, see a letter edited by Lajos Kemény, *Történelmi Tár*, 1890, 791-792, in 1594 is mentioned as royal councilor, see Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok I, no. 739, record available online at <http://www.arcanum.hu/oszk>.

243. Stephanus Hoffmannus Cassouiensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Vienna, 1600, 4 sol. 24 den.

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, volume four, p. 57.

Other data:

Most probably brother of Georgius Hoffmannus (see above, no. 242).

244. Iohannes Maternus Cassoviensis Pannonius

Identified: University of Wittenberg, June 1600.

Source: *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, volume two, p.468, c. II, line 9.

Other data:

Probably son of Andreas Maternus who was town judge in 1592-93 and in 1602.

1601

245. Matheus Schwartz Ungarus, Cassoviensis

Identified: Pädagogium in Göttingen, May, 1601.

Source: *Die Matrikel des Pädagogiums zu Göttingen*, p. 8.

Other data:

(a) Identified: University of Basel, September 1601.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, volume three, p. 4.

(b) Matthaeus Schwartz, Cassoviensis

Matriculation: University of Helmstedt, August 20, 1603.

Source: *Album Academiae Helmstadiensis, Band I Album Academiae Juliae, Abteilung 1: Studenten, Professoren, etc. der Universität Helmstedt von 1574-1636*, p. 169, no. 89.

(c) Math. Schwartz Cassoviensis Hungarus

Identified: University of Jena, W[inter] S[emester], 1604, no. 92.

Source: Mokos, *Magyarországi tanulók a Jénai Egyetemen* (Hungarian students at the University of Jena).

(d) [1606 pro cantore scholae particularis Gott[ingen] angenommen] Source: *Die Matrikel des Pädagogiums zu Göttingen*, p. 8. Acted as a Lutheran preacher in the region. Died in 1625: [pastor in Obernjesa obiit febri pestilentiali Ao 1625]. Source: *Die Matrikel des Pädagogiums zu Göttingen*, p. 8.

(e) Literary works:

Etliche sehr schöne und christliche Gebet, Ermanung und Sprüche ..., Nürnberg, 1613.

Schatz-Kästlein der christlichen Kleinot aller Evangelien und Episteln..., Leipzig, 1625.

Source: *Slovenský Biografický Slovník* (Slovak biographical dictionary), volume five, p. 552-553.

246. Deubelius Christoph. Caschovien.

Identified: University of Leipzig, summer, 1601, 10 ½ grossi.

Source: *Die iüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, volume one, p. 602 (34).

Other data:

(a) Christophorus Teubelius Cassoviensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Frankfurt am Oder, 1612, 17 Nov., 9 (grossi?)

Source: *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln, Universität Frankfurt a. O.*, volume one, p. 571, 40.

(b) Christophorus Teufel Casoviensis Pannonius

Identified: University of Jena, summer semester, 1614, no. 258.

Source: Mokos, *Magyarországi tanulók a Jénai Egyetemen* (Hungarian students at the University of Jena).

(c) 1618-1621 vice notary in Košice. Source: AMK H III/2, PUR 8, folio 7. Text: Ego, Christophorus Teufel Cassouiensis impetrato vicenotariatus officio, Juramentum e regione huius paginae scriptum, coram inclyto et amplissimo senatu cassouiensi praelegente Nobili et prudentissimo uiro Dno Johanne Langh consule praestiti die 17 maii, anno MDCXVIII.

(d) Received the burgher's rights in the town of Košice in 1618. Source: AMK H III/2, CIV 1, folio 57: Nomina eorum qui ius ciuile legitimis modis sunt adepti: Christophorus Teufel Vicenotarius, dedit 2 fl. 11 Octobris, 1618.

(d) 1621-1649 Notary in Levoča. See: *Lőcsei stipendiánsok és literátusok: külföldi tanulmányutak dokumentumai 1550-1699* (Stipendiates and literate people from Lőcse: documents of studies abroad). Edited by Tünde Katona and Miklós Latzkovits. Szeged: Kulturális és történelmi emlékeink feltárása, nyilvántartása és kiadása kutatási főirány támogatásával, 1990, letter no. 196 (p. 315). See also Jörg Meier, *Städtische Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt am Main u.a: Lang, 2004, p. 97 and a letter preserved in the Town Archives in Košice: AMK, H I, no. 4718/87.

Text: [Im Augusto [1621] Ist der Neue Stadschreiber Christophorus Teufel von Caschau so dazumal auff der Cammer Registrator gewesen, vnd flor. 200 Rheinisch Salarium gehabt, introduciert worden. Ist Ihme sein Salarium mit flor. 15 augieret. Soll also jaehrlich haben flor. 80 vngrische, 20 Kuebel Korn, 4 Kuebel Waitz, 25 stappen holtz, vnd eine freie Wohnung.] Source: *Lőcsei krónikája – Zipserische oder Leütschaverische Chronica ... von Caspar Hain*. Edited by Jeromos Bal, Jenő Förster, and Aurél Kaufmann. Levoča: Reiss Józ. T. Könyvnyomó Intézete, 1910-1913, p. 157.

Text: [Den 27 Octobris sindt Herr Hansz Schander vnd Herr Christoph. Teuffel von hinnen nach Prespurg und Wien aufgebrochen principaliter zwar die 10 Jaehrige inscription Thurzonischen

Legatj mit Ihrer Kayserlichen Majestaet zu renoviren. Darnach auch dasz Dreissigst Gemeiner Stad nachgelaszen ferner zuerhalten.] Source: Ibidem, p. 186.

Text: [Anno 1630. Fasces hujus Reipublicae die 7 Januarj offeruntur et demandantur Domino Casparo Cramero Judici Civitatis Patritio. Assessores eidem adjuncti: [...] 12. Christoph Teuffel Notarius.] Source: Ibidem, p. 188.

Text: [Anno 1637. Judice existente Domino Casparo Cramero. Senatores facti sunt omnes priores, nisi quod in locum Amortui Domini Petri Czack electus sit Christophorus Teuffel Notarius.] Source: Ibidem, p. 194.

Text: [Die 26 Augusj [1637] Ist Herr Johann Schander vnd Herr Christophorus Teuffel den Landtag zu Prespurg beyzuwohnen erwehlet worden.] Source: Ibidem, p. 194.

Text: [13 Januarj [1648] Ist abermahl mit einhelligen Consens der Loeblichen Gemein Herr Nicolaus Hain zum Richter erwehlet und auffs Neue bestaetiget worden. Seine Assessores waren: [...] Herre Chrisoph: Teuffel Cassoviensis Notarius.] Source: Ibidem, p. 236.

Text: [Die 11 dito [januarj 1649] ist abermahl Herr Nicolausz Hain mit einhelligen Consens der Loeblichen Gemein zum Richter erwehlet worden. Seine Assessores wurden [...]. Auszgelassen sind worden H. Friedrich Babst, vmb weill Er die Stad verracht, vnd niemahls auffs Rathhaus kommen. Item H. Notarius Christoph Teuffel, vnd H. Hansz Keller.] Source: Ibidem, p. 239-40.

Text: [20 dito [januarj 1649] Hatt Herr Notarius Christoph Teuffel schriefftlich abgedanckt und Sein Ambt auffgeben.] Source: Ibidem, p. 240.

1602

247. Joannes Georgius Triglerus Caschoviensis

Identified: University of Frankfurt am Oder, 1602, 9 (grossi?).

Source: *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln, Universität Frankfurt a. O., volume one*, p. 460, 30.

Other data:

(a) Triglerus (Trigelerus) Ioh. Geo. Cassovien. Ungar.

Identified: University of Leipzig, S 1606.

Source: *Die iüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig 1559-1809, volume one*, p. 42 and 602.

(b) A letter from a certain Joannes Georgius Trigler – an invitation to his wedding – is preserved in the Town Archives of Košice, dated September 21, 1585 (AMK, H I, no. 3891/45). In 1583 Joannes Georgius Trigler, magister rationum camerae Scepusiensis, signed a letter dated 7th of January, 1583 together with a number of other officials, a recommendation letter for Caspar Kraczer, edited by Lajos Kemény, *Történelmi Tár*, 1890, 791-792. It could be one of the student's relatives.

1603

248. Laurentius Stiberus, Cassoviensis Hungarus

Identified: University of Helmstedt, 2 April, 1603.

Source: *Album Academiae Helmstadiensis, volume one*, p. 164, no. 45.

1606

249. Johannes Teubelius Cossoviensis Pannonius

Identified: University of Wittenberg, 28. V. 1606.

Source: Asztalos, *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora*, p. 113 and *Album Academiae Vitebergensis, Jüngere Reihe, Teil 1 (1602-1660): Registerband*, p. 364.

Other data:

(a) One letter from Joannes Teuffel[us] is preserved in the Town Archives of Košice, a thank you note for being offered a job position in the town, sent from ibidem, 1611 or 1612, AMK, H I, no. 5442/35.

(b) was Evangelical [Lutheran] priest, and author of a theological dispute dedicated to the palatine Johannes Thurzo and to the priest and superintendent from Levoča Petrus Zablerus. Source: *Slovenský Biografický Slovník* (Slovak biographical dictionary), volume six, p. 50.

1612

250. M. Nob[ilis]? G. Joannes Andreas Lukeni, Ungarus Cassoviensis

Identified: Jesuit College Olomouc, March 12, 1612.

Source: Árpád, Hellebrandt. "Az Olmützbén tanult magyarok 1590-1664" (Hungarian students in Olmütz, 1590-1664). *Történelmi Tár* 1 (1888): 196-208.

1614

251. Daniel Weinsperger Cassoviensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Frankfurt an der Oder, 1614, 9 (grossi?)

Source: *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln, Universität Frankfurt a. O., volume one*, p. 577, 5.

Other data:

(a) Daniel Weinsperger Cassoviensis Hungarus

Identified: University of Wittenberg, 22.IV, 1615

Source: Asztalos, *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora*, p.116 and *Album Academiae Vitebergensis, Jüngere Reihe, Teil 1 (1602-1660): Registerband*, p. 364.

He studied medicine in Wittenberg, see letter in the Košice Town Archives, sent to the town council, dated 19 April, 1617, AMK, H I, no. 5782/9.

(b) Identified: University of Königsberg, sometime before 1630. Source: three letters in the Košice Town Archives, sent from Königsberg to the town council, dated April 10, September 26, and October 17, 1630: AMK, H I, no. 6348/37, no. n/a, and no. 6348/1 respectively.

1615

252. Benedictus Bakay Cassoviensis Pannonius

Identified: University of Wittenberg, October 2, 1615.

Source: Asztalos, *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora*, p. 117. Studied in Wittenberg for five years at least. There are four letters preserved in the town archives: (i) to Johannes Lang from Wittenberg, on March 31, 1617: AMK H I, no. 5782/13; (ii) to the town

council from Wittenberg, June 1619: AMK H I, no. 5871/9; (iii) to the town council, sent from Wittenberg in January 1620: AMK H I, no. 5902/13; (iv) to Johannes Lang, town judge, sent from Wittenberg on November 24, 1620: AMK H I, no. 5902/9.

Other data:

(a) Bakai/y Benedictus Cassovius Hungarus

Identified: University of Leiden, 1624, Maii 13, age 27, theology.

Source: *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Bataviae 1575-1875*, column 176. Registered together with another Hungarian: Valentinus Gönczi Ungarus, 24, theology and philosophy.

Another entry identified in the lists of Leiden:

Benedictus Bakay Cassovius, 18 Oct. 1625, age 28, theology

Source, *ibidem*, column 188.

(b) Was studying at the University of Oxford in 1626. Source: *Történelmi Tár*, 1885, pp. 182-184. Registered in the memory book of Dr. Joannes Maconius ab Honigsdorf: Benedictus Bakai, Cassouius, Oxonii Angliae 13 Julii 1626: Qui deorum consilia culpet, stultus, inscitusque sit, qui eos uituperet// Ur isten minden dolgunkat birjad forgassad kezeink munkáját igazgassad (quoted after *Történelmi Tár*, 1907, p. 507).

(c) Identified: University of Basle, 1627, studens theologiae

Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, volume three, p. 295.

(d) Benedictus Bakai was born in Košice. After his university studies returned to his home town where he worked as assistant of the local priest or school rector till 1630. In May 1630 is called to take the office of school rector at the town school in Sárospatak. Was also active in the local Lutheran church. Source: Hamvai Kovács, Zsigmond. *Kassai írók. A Mohácsi véstől maig* (Writers from Košice. From the Mohács battle until present days). Košice: A kassai Kazinczy kör támogatásával, 1907, p. 21.

(e) Acted as school rector in Debrecen after his activity in Sárospatak. Source: Péter Eredics, "Ungarische und siebenbürgische Studenten als Übersetzer niederländischsprachiger Bücher im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *In Search of the Republic of Letters: Intellectual Relations between Hungary and The Netherlands 1500-1800*, ed. Arnoud Visser, 71-81 (Wassenaar: NIAS, 1999), p. 81 who also refers to the collection of Bakay's letters (9) in the Library of the University of Leiden, written to Andre Rivet.

1616

253. Andreas Ungedew Cassoviensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Vienna, 1616

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, volume four, p. 99.

Other data:

Son of Andreas Ungadau, mentioned in the testament of Thoraconymus, János: [...des hern Andre Ungadau pristanđ verwalten 2 Söhnen alss Andreae und Johanni werlass ich mein ganz bibliothecam [...], AMK, Archivum Secretum, Fasc. CC-Thoraconymus, no. 2, f. 1a-2a. See

also: *Kassa város olvasmányai 1562-1731* (The readings from the town of Košice). Edited by István Monok. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1990, p. 9.

254. Christophorus Ledwisch

Identified: University of Wittenberg, exact date not known, around 1616, student of medicine.

Source: six letters in the Košice town archives sent from Wittenberg (i) to the town council, December 7, 1616: AMK H I, no. 5782/8; (ii) to Johannes Lang, town notary, January 13, 1617: AMK H I, no. 5782/3; (iii) to Johannes Lang, town notary, March 23, 1617: AMK H I, no. 5782/12; (iv) to the town council, June 1, 1617: AMK H I, no. 5782/73; (v) to the town council, July 16, 1617: AMK H I, no. 5782/65; (vi) to the town council, October 6, 1617: AMK H I, no. 5782/80.

Other data:

Born in Špana Dolina, close to Banská Bystrica. His father's name was Valentin Ledwesch and his mother's Ursula. Studied at the local school, after the death of his parents he left to Bardejov, where he studied for 7 years. In June 1616 matriculated in Wittenberg. After he returned to Hungary, the town council of Prešov offered him the position of school rector, which he accepted and worked there seven years: 1618 to 1625. After that Ledwisch moved to Bertotvéc, as priest. Source: Rezik, *Gymnaziologia*, pp. 116, 140, 282.

1617

255. Antonius Kys, Ungarus, Cassouiensis

Identified: University of Graz, 1617.

Source: Note in the Katalog des Ferdinandeums in Graz: [Antonius Kys, Ungarus Cassouiensis, susceptus ad Ferd[inandum]. Anno 1617, 23 Augusti, annorum 23. Logicus, promotus a Reverendo P. Daniele Vasarelli], Katalog des Ferdinandeums in Graz, 1588-1630, p. 219 and *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Graz (1586-1782)*. Compiled by Johann Andritsch. Graz: Verlag der Historischen Landeskommision, 1965, p. 45.

Other data:

Officially registered in the Identified list of the University of Graz, 1618, January 22.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Graz, volume one*, p. 55.

1618

256. Daniel Widos Cascov. Ungarus

Identified: University of Wittenberg, 4.IX. 1618.

Source: Asztalos, *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora*, p. 118 and *Album Academiae Vitebergensis, Jüngere Reihe, Teil 1 (1602-1660): Registerband*. Edited by Bernhard Weissenborn. Magdeburg: Selbstverlag der Historischen Kommission, 1934, p. 364.

Other data:

(a) Daniel Widos Cascoviensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Frankfurt am Oder, 1618, pauper.

Source: *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln, Universität Frankfurt a. O., volume one*, p. 618, 10.

(b) Before studying in Wittenberg was a student in Wrocław with the support of the town council. See three letters sent from Wrocław preserved in the Košice Town Archives: (i) to the town council, July 4, 1617: AMK H I, no. 5782/2; (ii) to the town council, November 1, 1617: AMK H I, no. 5782/72; and (iii) to Johannes Lang, town judge, November 1, 1617: AMK H I, no. 4908/3. Continued his communication with the town council also while in Wittenberg: see letter to the town council sent from Wittenberg on December 23, 1619: AMK H I, no. 5871/3.

1619

257. Stephanus Litterati Cassoviensis Hungarus

Identified: University of Frankfurt an der Oder, 1619, non iurarunt (he and others, note on the margins)

Source: *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln, Universität Frankfurt a. O., volume one*, p. 628, 35.

1622

258. Michael Kraus Cassoviensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Vienna, 1622

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, volume four*, p. 118.

1623

259. Paulus Rabyrky Cassoviensis Hungarus

Identified: University of Vienna, April 20, 1623

Source: Gall, *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, volume four*, p. 119.

260. Jonathan Thann Cassoviensis Hungarus

Identified: University of Wittenberg, August 11, 1623.

Source: Asztalos, *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora*, p. 119 and *Album Academiae Vitebergensis, Jüngere Reihe, Teil 1 (1602-1660): Registerband*, p. 364.

1625

261. Joannes Thallyai

University of Cambridge, exact Identified year not known, was there in 1625 and 1626.

Source: Two letters sent by him from Cambridge are preserved in the Košice Town Archives: (i) to Johannes Lang, town judge, December 29, 1625: AMK: H I, no. 6123/14; (ii) to the town judge, March 10, 1626: AMK H I, no. 6165/26.

Other data:

After his studies at Cambridge he went to Leiden, where he probably stayed until 1628. Two letters sent from Leiden are preserved in the Košice Town Archives: (i) to Johannes Lang, town judge, July 3, 1626: AMK: H I, no. 6165/27 and (ii) to the town council December 5, 1627: AMK H I, no. 6196/54.

1633

262. Stephanus Szitkey Cassovia-Ungarus

Identified: University of Strassburg, 1633, studens philosophiae

Source: *Die alten Matrikel der Universität Strassburg*, volume one, p. 302.

1634

263. Iohannes Paludnius Cassovia-Hungarus

Identified: University of Rostock, October, 1634.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, volume three, p. 97, column b.

Other data:

Johannes Paladmius (Poladmius) Cassovia Ungarus

Identified: University of Jena, winter semester, 1638.

Source: Mokos, *Magyarországi tanulók a Jénai Egyetemen* (Hungarian students at the University of Jena), entry 53.

1635

264. Iohannes Mautner

Identified: University of Rostock, exact date not known, 1634 or 1635.

Source: One letter sent from Rostock to the town council, September 12, 1635: AMK H I, no. 6598/46.

Other data:

(a) Johannes Mautner was born in Suče. He studied by various teachers in his home region and then five years at the gymnasium in Regensburg. Mautner comes to Košice together with Georgius Lycius, who became school rector in 1630. After spending three years in Košice, Mautner went to the gymnasium in Toruń. Source: Rezik, *Gymnaziologia*, p. 267

(b) After his studies in Toruń, went to Danzig, with the support of the town council of Košice. Two letters of him sent from Danzig to the town council are preserved in the Košice Town Archives: both sent on October 4 1634: AMK H I, no. 6538/52 and no. 6538/88.

(c) In November 1636 he left the University in Rostock and on January 10, 1637 comes to Košice to replace Georgius Lycius in his function as *rector scholae*. Supported other students, as for example Elias Lasitius from Kremnica, whom he called to Košice during his rectorate, and who later studied in Königsberg, and then became school rector in Spišská Sobota. Source: Rezik, *Gymnaziologia*, pp. 267 and 464.

(d) Mautner married Anna, daughter of M. Jan Scheibenpoden, archdeacon in Košice, in 1639. Baptized a daughter Elisabeth in 1639 and a son Johannes in 1641. Source: *Matricula*

baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655, microfilm no. 56, Statny Archiv, Košice, p. 107 and 148.

(e) After the death of his father-in-law, Mautner takes on his duties as deacon in 1641. Source: Rezik, *Gymnaziologia*, pp. 267 and 464.

(f) Literary works:

Tirocinium Logicum triginta et Gymnasium Logicus Centum Tabulis comprehensum in iuventutis commodum, Levoča, 1640 (a methodological guide).

1638

265. Benedictus Schemtei, Cassoviensis Hungarus

Identified: University of Königsberg, summer semester, 24 Septembris, 1638, iuravit 2 mk [mark] 5 grossos.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg, volume one*, p. 395).

1639

266. Joannes Andreae Czerwienski Ungarus d. Cassoviensis

Identified: University of Cracow, commutatione hiberna, 1639.

Source: *Zathey, Album studiosorum universitatis cracoviensis, volume four*.

1643

267. Johannes Kazai Hungarus

Identified: University of Leiden, 7 March, 1643

Source: *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Bataviae, 1575-1875*, column 338.

Other data:

Joannes S. Kazai Ungarus

Identified: University of Utrecht, September, 1643

Source: *Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae 1636-1886*, column 7.

1645

268. Adamus Kys

Identified: University of Königsberg, exact date not known, before or in 1645.

Source: Seven letters sent by Adamus Kys from Königsberg are preserved in the Košice Town Archives as follows: (i) to the town council, August 12, 1645: AMK H I, no. 7312/21; (ii) to the town council, November 28, 1645: AMK H I, no. 7312/19; (iii) to Johann Keviczky, town judge, April 12, 1646: AMK H I, no. 7467/20; (iv) to the town council, April 13, 1646: AMK H I, no. 7467/21; (v) to Nicolaus Soporius, town notary, April 26, 1646: AMK H I, no. 7467/22; (vi) to the town council, May 5, 1647: AMK H I, no. 7598/17, and (vii) to Stephanus Zuonorius, town priest, October 29, 1647: AMK H I, no. 7598/18.

Other data:

(a) After his studies returned to Košice, in 1653 is priest at the Hungarian church and school inspector in Košice. Source: AMK H I, no. 8199/16: a letter signed M[agister] Adamus Kys, *Ecclae Cassoviensis Ung. Pastor, Scholae Inspector*, about his wedding plans with Sophia, *filia Dni Johannis Putenbergere* from Prešov, dated 7 February, 1653;

(b) Around 1658 is ecclesiastical inspector. Kys baptized a daughter, Justina, on November 26, 1653 (p. 349) and another daughter, Sophia, on January 6, 1658 (p. 418). The latter entry says the following: [Reverendi clarissimi et doctissimi Inspectoris primaris Ecclesiae Augustanae invariatae confessionis Adami Kys filia nata est, cuius nomen baptizatae est Sophia.] Source: *Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655*, microfilm no. 56, Statny Archiv, Košice.

(c) M. Adamus Kiss recommended Georgius Budari, from Sárvár, while the later was still studying in Košice as a teacher for the local noble's son Adam Peitkov, ca. 1660. Source: Rezik, *Gymnaziologia*, p. 459.

(d) In 1661, May 30 baptized a son, Adam. In 1663, October 13, baptized a daughter Susanna, among the godfathers was the German priest of the town. In 1665, August 16 baptized a son, Janos, among the godfathers was the town judge. In 1670, August 20 baptized a daughter Elisabeth. Source: *Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655*, microfilm no. 21-22, Statny Archiv, Košice, pp. 475, 511, 541, 599.

(e) In 1667 is still identified as *inspector scholae* in a letter signed by several pupils of the school in Košice addressed to the town council. Source: AMK H I, no. n/a, letter dated May 12, 1667.

1646

269. David Kilger

Identified: University of Königsberg, exact date not known, before 1646.

Source: mentioned in a letter of Adamus Kys (no. 268) sent from Königsberg in April 1646 as his co-alumnus, AMK H I, no. 7467/20.

1647

270. Johannes Cottaj Cassovia Ungarus

Identified: University of Wittenberg, June 19, 1647.

Source: Asztalos, *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora*, p. 123 and *Album Academiae Vitebergensis, Jüngere Reihe, Teil 1 (1602-1660): Registerband*, p. 364.

Other data:

(a) Two letters of him sent from Wittenberg are preserved in the Košice Town Archives: (i) to the town council, July 12, 1650: AMK H I, no. 7937/24; and to Greogrius Miskolczi, town council member, August 12, 1650: AMK H I, no. n/a, in Hungarian.

(b) Text: “Johannes Kotay s.s. theol.” feleségül vette néhai Wilcker Bertalan borbély leányát Erzsébetet 1652. febr. 3-án. (On 3 February 1652 married the daughter of the late barber Bertalan Wilcker). Source: *Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655*, microfilm no. 56, Statny Archiv, Košice. Probably was acting as priest.

271. Matthias Ostropatky Ungarus

Identified: University of Königsberg, 12 October 1647, iuravit.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg: 1544-1829, volume one*, p. 491.

Other data:

(a) Five letters sent by him from Königsberg are preserved in the Košice Town Archives as follows: (i) to the town council, May 12, 1649: AMK H I, no. 7788/18; (ii) to the town council, October 23, 1649: AMK H I, no. 7788/26; (iii) to Johannes Keviczki, town judge, October 25, 1649: AMK H I, no. 7788/11; (iv) to Stephanus Zuonorius, October 29, 1649: AMK H I, no. 7788/8; and (v) to the town council, June 9, 1651: AMK H I, no. 8034/2.

(b) After his studies returned to Košice, acted as Hungarian priest. Sources: AMK H I, no. 8134/6, which is a letter signed by Matthias Ostropatky, verbi Dei minister in Kassa, and is an invitation to his wedding with Catharina Csetneki, daughter of Georgius Czetneki, civis Cassoviensis, to take place on 12 February in Košice. The letter is dated February 7, 1652, sent from Košice.

(c) On August 7, 1659 baptized a daughter, Maria, one of the godfathers was the town judge. On August 2, 1664, baptized a son, Samuel. Source: *Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655*, microfilm no. 21-22, Statny Archiv, Košice, p. 444, 526.

1649

272. Johannes Mach, Casoviensis Pannonius

Identified: University of Königsberg, summer semester, April 5, 1649.

Source: *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg: 1544-1829, volume one*, p. 505.

1651-52

273. Johannes Ericus Scheibenpoden, Kaschau/Ungarn

Identified: University of Königsberg, 1651 or 1652. Magisterpromotion, Philosophische Fakultät, University of Königsberg, 01.04. 1655.

Source: Komorowski, Manfred. *Promotionen an der Universität Königsberg 1548-1799*. Munich: Saur, 1988, p. 73.

Other data:

(a) Twelve letters sent by Johannes Ericus from Königsberg are preserved in the Košice Town Archives for the time period from 1652 to 1662. (i) to the town council, October 1652: AMK H I, no. 8134/40; (ii) to the town council, March 13, 1653: AMK H I, no. 8199/19; (iii) to the town council, January 2, 1654: AMK H I, no. 8257/17; (iv) to the town council, September 21, 1654: AMK H I, no. 8257/5; (v) to the town council, November 25, 1654: AMK H I, no. 8257/14; (vi)

to Johannes Kevitzky, senate member, December 7, 1654: AMK H I, no. 8257/16; (vii) to the town council, September 5, 1656: AMK H I, no. 8362/3; (viii) to the town council, October 7, 1656: AMK H I, no. 8362/2; (xi) to the town council, October 2, 1657: AMK H I, no. 8400/17; (x) to the town council, April 25, 1659: AMK H I, no. 8511/46; (xi) to the town council, November 16, 1659: AMK H I, no. 8511/12; (xii) to the town council, May 13, 1662: AMK H I, no. 8719/3.

(b) Before studying in Königsberg, was a student in Wrocław/Breslau with the town council support. Two letters sent from Wrocław are preserved in the Košice Town Archives: (i) to the town council, October 6, 1650: AMK H I, no. 7937/23 and (ii) to Johannes Kevitzky, town judge, March 16, 1651: AMK H I, no. 8034/38.

(d) His father, R. D. Iohannes Scheibenpoden, is mentioned as a witness at the baptism of Melchior Roth's son Melchior, future student in Wittenberg (no. 278) on October 8, 1638 (p. 86). Source: *Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655*, microfilm no. 56, Statny Archiv, Košice.

1652

274. Casparus Hain Leutschoviensis Hungarus

Identified: University of Wittenberg, July 3, 1652.

Source: Asztalos, *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora*, p. 125.

Other data:

(a) Text: [Anno 1632 [...] Die 17 Februarj Bin ich Caspar Hain zu Caschaw an einem Dienstag zwischen 11 und 12 Uhr desz Nachts, zur Weld gebohren worden. Mein Herr Vatter war der weylant seelige Herr Nicolaus Hain von Nürnberg pro tunc des Innern Raths, Meine Fraw Mutter Fraw Suszanna von Leütschau eine gebohrene Caspar Cramerin. Patrini erant Dominus Joachimus Reich Cassoviensis Germanus Pastor, Dominus Wenceslaus Schwertel et Dominus Georg Freydenberger Reipublicae Cassoviensis Senator. Die Goden waren Fraw Catharina Czirmannin Wittib und Fraw Eva Johan Langin.] Source: *Lőcsei krónikája – Zipserische oder Leütschaverische Chronica ... von Caspar Hain*. Edited by Jeromos Bal, Jenő Förster, and Aurél Kaufmann. Levoča: Reiss Józ. T. Könyvnyomó Intézete, 1910-1913, p. 190.

Text: [Die 21 Aprill [1637] Dilectissimus Dominus Parens Nicolaus Hain Noribergensis, pro tunc Senator Cassoviensis, in gratiam Dominae Matris Susannae Cramerianae, qui ob aeris incommoditatem continuis vexabatur morbis, relict Cassovia, cum tota Familia Leuchoviam appulit.] Ibidem, p. 194.

Text: [Die 6 Decembris [1658] Hatt mann die wahl wegen eines Neuen Rectoris Scholae gehalten, vnd ist dazue einhellighh erwehlet worden Caspar Hain wieder sein und aller verhoffen, vndt weilln Er solches nicht annehmen wollen, endlich aber von Herrn Pfarrer dahin beredet, alsz ist die Introduction alsobaldt den 9 deto vorgenommen worden. Gott gebe glueck und seegen. In der ordnung ist dieser der 29 nunmehr jure Rectoris Augustanae invariatae Confessionis.] Source: Ibidem, p. 277.

(b) From 1658 school rector in Levoča, had a reputation as a good mathematician, involved in the town council activities. Source: Rezik, *Gymnaziologia*, p. 323. From 1664 to 1674 member

of the town council in Levoča, 1674-75 is elected town judge. Source: *Slovenský biografický slovník (od roku 833 do roku 1990)* (Slovak biographical dictionary (from 833 to 1990), six volumes, Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1986-1994, here volume two, p. 261.

(c) Literary work: *Lőcsei krónikája – Zipserische oder Leütschaverische Chronica ... von Caspar Hain*. Edited by Jeromos Bal, Jenő Förster, and Aurél Kaufmann. Levoča: Reiss József. T. Könyvnyomó Intézete, 1910-1913.

275. Franc. Fegirer Cassoviensis Ungarus

Identified: University of Salzburg, 30 October 1652

Source: *Die Matrikel der Universität Salzburg 1639-1810*, p. 41, no. 1994.

276. Andreas Kuhn

Identified: University of Königsberg, exact date not known, probably 1652.

Source: mentioned in one letter by Johannes Ericus Scheibenpoden (no. 273) as being the only other person from Košice at the University of Königsberg in October 1652. Source: AMK H I, no. 8134/40.

Other data:

(a) In 1655 still student at the University, see letter preserved in the Košice Town Archives, sent from Königsberg to the town council, on January 15, 1655: AMK H I, no. 8317/11.

(b) mentioned in another letter by Johannes Ericus Scheibenpoden as still being in Königsberg and having problems with solving his debts, thus not being able to return home. Source: AMK H I, no. 8400/17.

1657

277. Johannes Herczegh Kaszouius, Ungarus

Identified: University of Franeker, date non known.

Other data: Is mentioned as participant in a disputation at the University of Franeker in 1657. Text: [Disputatio exercitii gratia, respondens. Disputatio theologica I, de natura theologiae. Resp. Johannes Herczegh Kaszouius, Ung. Franekerae, Idzardus Alberti, 1657] .

Source: *Auditorium Academiae Franekerensis: Bibliographie der Reden, Disputationen und Gelegenheitsdruckwerke der Universität und des Athenäums in Franeker 1585-1843*, p. 193.

1660

278. Melchior Roth Cassoviensis Hungarus

Identified: University of Wittenberg, June 16, 1660

Source: Asztalos, *A wittenbergi egyetem magyarországi hallgatóinak névsora*, p. 131.

Other data:

(a) Born September or October 1638, is baptized on October 8, 1638, one of the godfathers is R. D. Iohannes Scheibenpoden, father of the student in Königsberg ca. 1655, see no. Source: *Matricula baptizatorum ab ao 1636-1644-1674 et copulatorum 1647-1655*, microfilm no. 56, p. 86, Statny Archiv, Košice.

(b) After his studies was priest in Spišska Bela (Zipser Bela, Szepesbéla), is exiled during one of the confessional conflicts. In 1682 rector in Levoča, where he is said to have restored the good reputation of the school after eight years of decay. After his activity in Levoča, is called to be priest in Švedlár (Schwedler, Svedlér), Spiš region. Source: *Karpatendeutsches Biographisches Lexikon*, ed. P. Rainer Rudolf and Eduard Ulreich (Stuttgart: Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Karpatendeutschen aus der Slowakei, 1988), 277; Rezik, *Gymnaziologia*, p. 324.

(c) In February 1665 married Susanna, the daughter of the pastor in Levoča. Source: AMK H I, no. 8913/59.

(d) In 1669 was vice-rector (conrector) at the urban school in Košice. Source: a letter signed M.Roth Gym. Cassov. Conrector sent to Matthias Goznovitzer in Levoča on 7 April, 1669. Archív mesta Levoče, V/99.

(d) In 1673 was rector of the Hungarian school in Spišská Nová Ves. Source: AMK H I, no. 9273/7.

APPENDIX 6.2

List of universities attended by students from Košice

University/ year of foundation (alphabetical order)	No. matriculations in the fourteenth century	No. matriculations in the fifteenth century	No. matriculations in the sixteenth century	No. matriculations in the seventeenth century (until 1660)	Total until 1660
Altdorf / 1622	-	-	1	-	1
Basle / 1459	-	-	-	2	2
Bologna / 12 th c.	-	2	1	-	3
Cambridge/ 1209	-	-	-	1	1
Cracow / 1364	-	118	34	1	153
Florence / 1412	-	3	-	-	3
Franeker / 1585	-	-	-	1	1
Frankfurt/O. / 1506	-	-	2	5	7
Graz / 1585	-	-	1	1	2
Heidelberg / 1385	-	1	1	-	2
Helmstedt / 1575	-	-	-	2	2
Jena / 1557	-	-	-	3	3
Königsberg / 1544	-	-	1	8	9
Leiden / 1575	-	-	-	3	3
Leipzig / 1409	-	3	-	2	5
Olomouc / 1570	-	-	2	1	3
Oxford / 13 th c.	-	-	-	1	1
Padua / 1222	-	1	1	-	2
Pavia / 1361	-	1	-	-	1
Perugia / 1308	-	1	-	-	1
Prague / 1347	3	1	1	-	5
Rostock / 1419	-	-	-	2	2
Salzburg / 1620	-	-	-	1	1
Sienna / 1246	-	2	-	-	2
Strassburg / 1621	-	-	-	1	1
Tübingen / 1476	-	-	2	-	2
Utrecht / 1636	-	-	-	1	1
Vienna / 1365	4	42	10	3	59
Wittenberg / 1502	-	-	19	9	28
Total	7	175	76	48	306

APPENDIX 6.3

List of students' letters preserved in the town archives of Košice
(in chronological order):

1. AMK H I, no. 2011/13: Stephanus Mustricz and Stephanus Tehani to the town council, Wittenberg, November 1, 1558;
2. AMK H I, no. 2150/105: Stephanus Mustricz and Stephanus Tihanj to the town council, Wittenberg, April 14, 1559;
3. AMK H I, no. 2150/108: Stephanus Mustricius and Stephanus Tehani to Ioannes Fynk, town judge, Wittenberg, April 17, 1559;
4. AMK H I, no. 2150/106: Stephanus Mustriz and Stephanus Tehani to the town council, Wittenberg, September 8, 1559;
5. AMK H I, no. 2249/7: Alexander Kendj and Basilius Ziksay to the town council, Wittenberg, September 26, 1560;
6. AMK H I, no. 2446/139: Franciscus Strigoniensis to the town council, Wittenberg, January 20, 1563;
7. AMK H I, no. 2446/133: Demetrius Mischolci to the town council, Wittenberg, January 25, 1563;
8. AMK H I, no. 2446/131: Grigorius Zykzaj to the town council, Wittenberg, January 29, 1563;
9. AMK H I, no. 2446/140: Martinus Schacht to Leonhart Kromer, town notary, Wittenberg, March 18, 1563;
10. AMK H I, no. 2446/134: Martinus Schacht to the town council, Wittenberg, no date, read June 22, 1563;
11. AMK H I, no. 2446/135: Martinus Schacht to the town council, Wittenberg, September 15, 1563;
12. AMK H I, no. 2764/181: Jacobus Melzer to the town council, Wittenberg, September 7, 1566;
13. AMK H I, no. 2925/94: Jacobus Melzer to the town council, Wittenberg, August 1, 1568;
14. AMK H I, no. 3087/76: Valentinus Ungar to the town council, Wittenberg, August 22, 1571;
15. AMK H I, no. 3219/111: Casparus Pilcius to Thomas Hilarius, town priest, Wittenberg, April 7, 1574;

16. AMK H I, no. 3285/98: Gedeon Adami to the town council, Wrocław, March 7, 1575;
17. AMK H I, no. 3285/99: Bartholomeus Bart, Wrocław, no date, received October 1, 1575;
18. AMK H I, no. n/a: Bartholomeus Barth to his brother, Wrocław, May 31, 1576, in German;
19. AMK H I, no. 3336/80: Bartholomeus Barth to the town council, Wrocław, September 22, 1576;
20. AMK H I, no. 3411/129: Bartholomeus Barth to the town council, Wrocław, August 12, 1577;
21. AMK H I, no. 3411/130: Georgius Caesar Cassoviensis to Iacob Grotker, town council member, Wittenberg, no date, 1577;
22. AMK H I, no. 3473/105: Tobias and Beniamin Kauffin to the town council, Brno, May 12, 1578;
23. AMK H I, no. 3473/111: Bartholomeus Barth to the town council, Wrocław, August 28, 1578;
24. AMK H I, no. 3526/90: Bartholomeus Barth to the town council, Wrocław, January 18, 1579;
25. AMK H I, no. 3526/64: Tobias Kauffin to the town council, Olomouc, October 13, 1579;
26. AMK H I, no. 3589/27: Tobias Kauffin to the town council, Olomouc, December 13, 1579;
27. AMK H I, no. 3589/30: Tobias Kauffin to the town council, Olomouc, July 3, 1580;
28. AMK H I, no. 3772/115: Georgius Bunczler to the town council, Spišská Nová Ves, September 30, 1583;
29. AMK H I, no. 3891/20: Michael Gulden to the town council, Wrocław, no date, 1585;
30. AMK H I, no. 4121/101: Georgius Buntzler to the town council, Wittenberg, January 30, 1589;
31. AMK H I, no. 4121/2: Georgius Buntzler to town council, Wittenberg, May 22, 1589;
32. AMK H I, no. 4121/118: Georgius Buntzler to the town council, Wittenberg, August 10, 1589;
33. AMK H I, no. 4121/119: Georgius Buntzler to the town council, Wittenberg, August 10, 1589; in German;

34. AMK H I, no. 4121/43: Georgius Buntzler to the town council, Wittenberg, October 15, 1589;
35. AMK H I, no. 4226/145: Georgius Buntzler to the town council, Wittenberg, March 11, 1590;
36. AMK H I, no. 4226/124: Martinus Brechtelius to the town council, Wittenberg, March 8, 1590;
37. AMK H I, no. 4718/87: Christophorus Teibelius to Martinus Wenczell, town judge, Leipzig?, September 10, 1597;
38. AMK H I, no. 5782/8: Christophorus Ledwisch to the town council, Wittenberg, December 7, 1616;
39. AMK H I, no. 5782/3: Christophorus Ledwisch to Johannes Lang, town notary, Wittenberg, January 13, 1617;
40. AMK H I, no. 5782/12: Christophorus Ledwisch to Johannes Lang, town notary, Wittenberg, March 23 (or April 2), 1617;
41. AMK H I, no. 5782/13: Benedictus Bakai to Johannes Lang, Wittenberg, March 31, 1617;
42. AMK H I, no. 5782/9: Daniel Weinsperger to the town council, Wittenberg, April 19, 1617;
43. AMK H I, no. 5782/73: Christophorus Ledwisch to the town council, Wittenberg, June 1, 1617;
44. AMK H I, no. 5782/2: Daniel Widos to the town council, Wrocław, June 28, 1617;
45. AMK H I, no. 5782/65: Christophorus Ledwisch to the town council, Wittenberg, July 16, 1617;
46. AMK H I, no. 5782/80: Christophorus Ledwisch to the town council, Wittenberg, October 6, 1617;
47. AMK H I, no. 5782/72: Daniel Vidos to the town council, Wrocław, November 1, 1617;
48. AMK H I, no. 4908/3: Daniel Widos to Johannes Lang, town judge, Wrocław, November 1, 1617;
49. AMK H I, no. 5902/9: Benedictus Bakay to Johannes Lang, town judge, Wittenberg, November 24, 1618;
50. AMK H I, no. 5871/9: Benedictus Bakay to the town council, Wittenberg, June 6, 1619;

51. AMK H I, no. 5871/3: Daniel Widos to the town council, Wittenberg, December 23, 1619;
52. AMK H I, no. 5902/13: Benedictus Bakay to the town council, Wittenberg, January 7, 1620;
53. AMK H I, no. 6038/36: Gregorius Menheliuss to the town council, Görlitz, no date, 1623;
54. AMK H I, no. 6123/14: Joannes Thallyai to Johannes Lang, town judge, Cambridge, December 29, 1625;
55. AMK H I, no. 6165/26: Joannes Thallyai to the town judge, Cambridge, March 10, 1626;
56. AMK H I, no. 6165/9: Benedictus Bakay to the town council, Oxford, March 30, 1626;
57. AMK H I, no. 6165/27: Joannes Thallyai to Johannes Lang, town judge, Leiden, July 3, 1626;
58. AMK H I, no. 6196/54: Joannes Thallyai to the town council, Leiden, December 5, 1627;
59. AMK H I, no. 6348/37: Daniel Weinsperger to the town council, Königsberg, April 10, 1630; in German;
60. AMK H I, no. n/a: Daniel Weinsperger to the town council, Königsberg, September 26, 1630; in German;
61. AMK H I, no. 6348/1: Daniel Weinsperger to the town council, Königsberg, October 17, 1630; in German;
62. AMK H I, no. 6538/52: Iohannes Mautner to the town council, Gdańsk, October 4, 1634;
63. AMK H I, no. 6538/88: Iohannes Mautner to the town council, Gdańsk, October 4, 1634;
64. AMK H I, no. 6598/46: Iohannes Mautner to the town council, Rostock, September 12, 1635;
65. AMK H I, no. 6917/34: David Kilger to the town council, Toruń, May 30, 1642;
66. AMK H I, no. 7312/21: Adamus Kys to the town council, Königsberg, August 12, 1645;
67. AMK H I, no. 7312/19: Adamus Kys to the town council, Königsberg, November 28, 1645;
68. AMK H I, no. 7467/20: Adamus Kys to Johann Keviczky, town judge, Königsberg, April 12, 1646;
69. AMK H I, no. 7467/21: Adamus Kys to the town council, Königsberg, April 13, 1646;

70. AMK H I, no. 7467/22: Adamus Kys to Nicolaus Soporius, town notary, Königsberg, April 26, 1646;
71. AMK H I, no. 7598/17: Adamus Kys to the town council, Königsberg, May 5, 1647;
72. AMK H I, no. 7598/18: Adamus Kys to Stephanus Zuonorius, town priest, Königsberg, October 29, 1647;
73. AMK H I, no. 7788/18: Matthias Ostropatky to the town council, Königsberg, May 12, 1649;
74. AMK H I, no. 7788/26: Matthias Ostropatky to the town council, Königsberg, October 23, 1649;
75. AMK H I, no. 7788/11: Matthias Ostropatky to Johannes Keviczki, town judge, Königsberg, October 25, 1649;
76. AMK H I, no. 7788/8: Matthias Ostropatky to Stephanus Zuonorius, Königsberg, October 29, 1649;
77. AMK H I, no. 7937/24: Johannes Kotai to the town council, Wittenberg, July 12, 1650;
78. AMK H I, no. n/a: Janos Kotai to Gregorius Miskolczi, town council member, Wittenberg, August 12, 1650; in Hungarian
79. AMK H I, no. 7937/23: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Wrocław, October 6, 1650;
80. AMK H I, no. 8034/38: Johannes Ericus to Johannes Kevitzkius, town judge, Wrocław, March 16, 1651;
81. AMK H I, no. 8034/2: Matthias Osstropatky to the town council, Königsberg, June 9, 1651;
82. AMK H I, no. 8134/40: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, October 10, 1652;
83. AMK H I, no. 8199/19: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, March 13, 1653;
84. AMK H I, no. 8257/17: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, January 2, 1654;
85. AMK H I, no. 8257/5: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, September 21, 1654;
86. AMK H I, no. 8257/14: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, November 25, 1654;
87. AMK H I, no. 8257/16: Johannes Ericus to Johannes Keuitzky, senate member, Königsberg, 7 December, 1654;

88. AMK H I, no. 8317/11: Andreas Kuhn to the town council, Königsberg, January 15, 1655;
89. AMK H I, no. 8362/3: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, September 5, 1656;
90. AMK H I, no. 8362/2: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, October 7, 1656;
91. AMK H I, no. 8400/17: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, October 2, 1657;
92. AMK H I, no. 8511/46: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, April 25, 1659;
93. AMK H I, no. 8511/12: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, November 16, 1659;
94. AMK H I, no. 8719/3: Johannes Ericus to the town council, Königsberg, May 13, 1662;

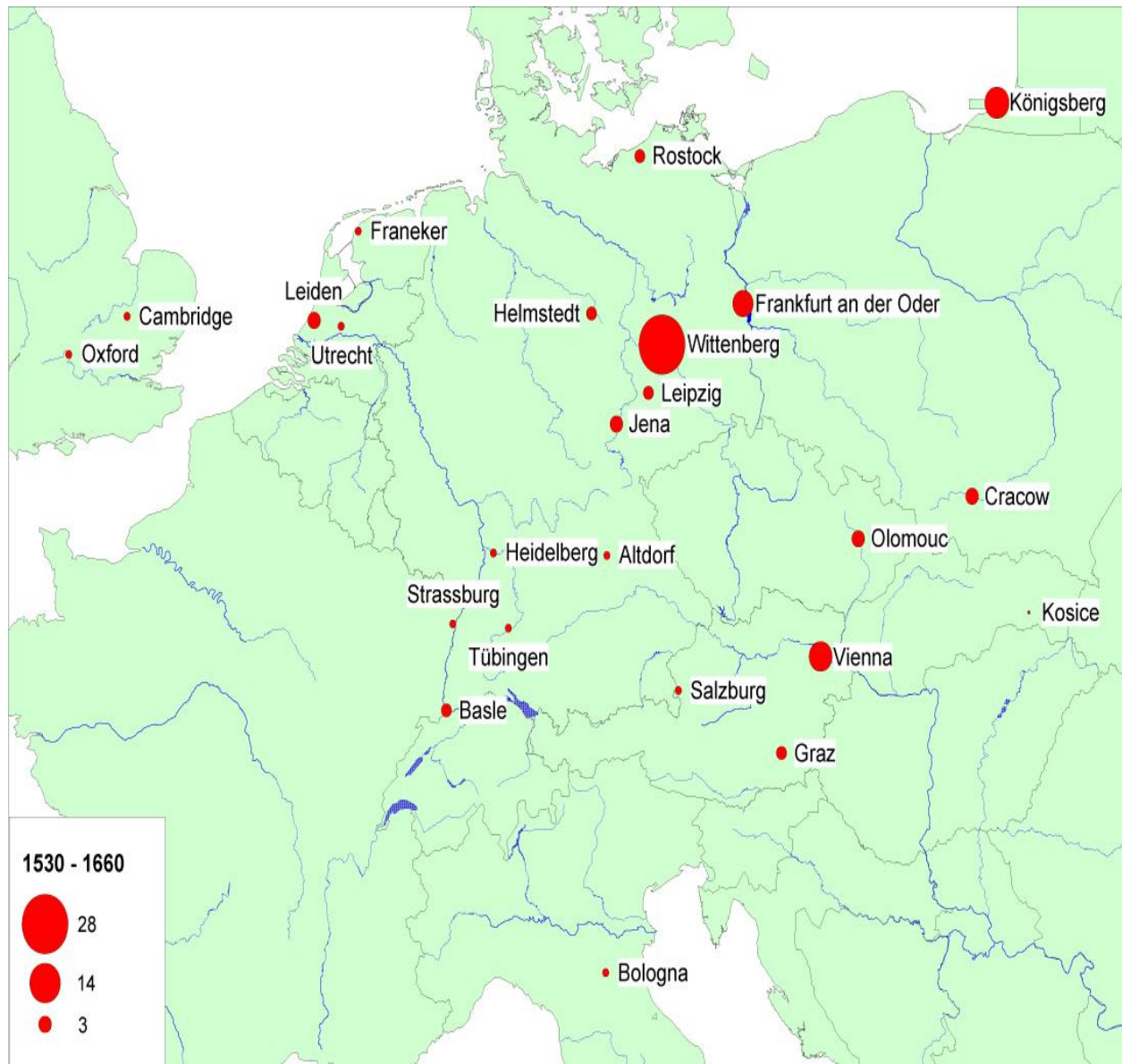
APPENDIX 6.4

Map 1: University attendance of students from Košice until 1530



APPENDIX 6.5

Map 2: University attendance of students from Košice from 1530 until 1660



APPENDIX 6.6

Gazetteer of Placenames

The present-day variant of all place names was used throughout the text of this dissertation (with the exception of Königsberg and of those university centers for which an English version of the place is commonly used (e.g. Vienna or Cracow) in scholarly literature). This gazetteer includes the parallel names for all locations within the former territory of the Hungarian Kingdom or regions closer to it mentioned in the text of the dissertation, in the language/s they were/are used in primary sources or secondary literature, presented in the alphabetical order of the present-day variant, and some details to the location of smaller communities in relation to Košice or other well-known towns.

Abbreviations: cz = Czech; ger= German; hun= Hungarian; lat= Latin; pl= Polish; rom= Romanian; sl= Slovak

Alba Iulia (rom) =Gyulafehérvár (hun); Weissenburg (ger); Karlsburg (ger, in use until 1715);
Banská Bystrica (sl) =Besztercebánya (hun); Neusohl (ger); Novosolium (lat); town circa 155 km west of Košice;
Bardejov (sl) =Bártfa (hun); Bartfeld (ger); town circa 65 km north of Košice;
Bertotovce (sl) =Bertót (hun); Bertotviec (pl), village circa 38 km north of Košice;
Bratislava (sl) =Pozsony (hun); Pressburg (ger); Posonium/Pisonium (lat);
Brno (cz) =Brün/n (ger);
Brzeg (pl) = Brieg (ger), town in Polish Silesia, circa 50 km south-east of Wrocław;
Cluj-Napoca (rom) = Kolosvár (hun); Klausenburg (ger); Claudiopolis (lat);
Eger (hun) = Erlau (ger); Agria (lat), town circa 115 km south-west of Košice;
Esztergom (hun) =Gran (ger); Strigonium (lat), town circa 215 south-west of Košice;
Gdańsk (pl) =Danzig (ger);
Jelenia Góra (pl) =Hirschberg (ger); Jelení Hora (cz), town in Polish Silesia, circa 90 km south-west of Wrocław;
Jihlava (cz) =Iglau (ger); Iglo in Moravia (lat), town circa 420 km north-west of Košice;
Kežmarok (sl) =Käsmarkt (ger); Kesmark (ger); Késmárk (hun); Caesareopolis (lat), town circa 77 km north-west of Košice;
Košice (sl) =Kassa (hun); Kaschau (ger); Cassovia (lat);

Kótaj (hun) = circa 80 km south of Košice;

Levoča (sl) =Lőcse (hun); Leutschau (ger); Leutschovia (lat), town circa 60 km north-west of Košice;

Markušovce (sl) = Marksdorf (ger), village circa 50 km west of Košice;

Miskolc (hun): circa 76 km south of Košice;

Olaszliszka (hun)= Liszka (hun); Lisco (sl), village circa 50 km south of Košice;

Olomouc (cz) = Olmütz (ger);

Oradea (rom) =Nagyvárad, Várad (hun); Grosswardein (ger); Varadinum (lat);

Ostrovany (sl) =Osztropataka (hun), village circa 40 km north of Košice;

Pécs (hun) =Fünfkirchen (ger); Quinqueecclesiae (lat), town circa 375 south of Košice;

Prešov (sl) =Eperjes (hun); Preschau (ger); Eperies (lat), town circa 30 km north of Košice;

Rozhanovce (sl) =Rozgony (hun); Roschowetz (ger), village circa 7 km east of Košice;

Sabinov (sl) =Kisszeben (hun); Zeben (ger); Cibinium (lat), town circa 45 km north of Košice;

Sárospatak (hun) = Šarišský Potok (sl); Patak am Bodrog (ger), town circa 50 km south of Košice;

Sintava (sl) =Sempte (hun): market town circa 600 km east of Bratislava;

Sobrance (sl) = Szobránc (hun), village circa 65 km east of Košice;

Spišska Bela (sl) =Szepesbéla (hun); Zipser Bela (ger), town circa 80 km north-west of Košice;

Spišská Nová Ves (sl) =Igló (hun); Zipser Neudorf (ger); Neocomium (lat); Nova villa (lat);

Iglovia (lat), town circa 56 km north-west of Košice;

Spišska Sobota (sl) =Szepesszombat (hun); Georgenberg (ger), village circa 80 km north-west of Košice;

Spišské Podhradie (sl) = Szepesváralja (hun); Kirchdorf (ger), town circa 50 km north-west of Košice;

Spišský Hrad (sl) = Szepesváralja (hun); Zipser Burg (ger), former castle near Spišské Podhradie;

Švedlár (sl) =Svedlér (hun); Schwedler (ger), village circa 41 km west of Košice;

Szikszó (hun) =market-town circa 60 km south of Košice;

Swidnica (pl) = Schweidnitz (ger); Svídnice (cz), town in Silesia, circa 50 km south-west of Wrocław;

Tahanovce (sl) =Hernádtihany (hun): village circa 5 km north of Košice;

Tállya (hun)= market town circa 60 km south of Košice;

Tarcal (hun) = village circa 66 km south of Košice;

Toruń (pl) =Torun (ger), circa 237 km north-east of Wrocław;

Trnava (sl) =Nagyszombat (hun); Tyrnau (ger), town circa 275 km west of Košice;

Wrocław (pl) =Breslau (ger); Boroszló (hun); Vratislavia (lat);

Zantho (hun) =Abaújszántó (hun), village circa 50 km south of Košice;

Złotoryja (pl) =Goldberg (ger), town circa 468 km north-west of Košice.

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AMK H III/2. MAC. Archív Mesta Košic, Mestské knihy a registre, Knihy mestskej administratívy, Libri civitatis minores, maculatoria.

AMK H III/2.PUR. Archív Mesta Košic, Mestské knihy a registre, Knihy mestskej administratívy, Liber civitatis major, purificata;

AMK H III/2. AR. Archív Mesta Košic, Mestské knihy a registre, Knihy mestskej administratívy, Libri arestationum (Verbotbuch);

AMK H III/2. SCE. Archív Mesta Košic, Mestské knihy a registre, Knihy mestskej administratívy, Iudicia pene malefactorum et sceleratorum;

AMK H III/2. HER. Archív Mesta Košic, Mestské knihy a registre, Knihy mestskej administratívy, Liber testamentorum, inscriptiones hereditatum;

AMK H III/2. CIV. Archív Mesta Košic, Mestské knihy a registre, Knihy mestskej administratívy, Liber neoconcivium;

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AMK Schr. Archív Mesta Košic, Supplementum Schramianum;

AMK Schw. Archív Mesta Košic, Schwartzbachiana;

AMK TA. Archív Mesta Košic, Tajný archív (Archivum Secretum).

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