



ANÁLISE PROSOPOGRÁFICA DOS CÓNEGOS DOS CABIDOS CATEDRALÍCIOS HÚNGAROS NA IDADE MÉDIA (1200-1350): CONCLUSÕES

LÁSZLÓ KOSZTA

Na fase de organização do sistema eclesiástico húngaro, na viragem do século XI para o XII, aparece a figura dos “mosteiros das catedrais”, os quais, inicialmente, foram ocupados por monges beneditinos e cónegos. Na Hungria, os cónegos dos cabidos catedralícios viveram em regime de *vita communis* até finais do século XII. Desde então, os cabidos passaram a ser considerados como entidades com existência legal autónoma. O século XIII foi um tempo de expansão para os cónegos, na Hungria. Durante a primeira metade do século, os cónegos, com o apoio do rei e dos bispos, alargaram a sua notória influência sobre o clero rural e conseguiram apossar-se de uma considerável parte do dízimo das igrejas rurais. Na segunda metade desse mesmo século, tendo atingido riqueza e confiança, os cónegos começaram a tentar afirmar a sua posição contra os prelados. Este período pode ser caracterizado pelos choques entre bispos e cabidos das catedrais. Os cónegos eram designados pelo rei, de entre as fileiras dos clérigos da corte, o que limitou seriamente o seu estatuto social, os quais não podiam, consequentemente, desenvolver uma política consistente contra os prelados. Uma análise prosopográfica deste grupo conduz-nos a diversas conclusões, conforme se apresenta no presente estudo.

CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE PROSOPOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF CANONS BELONGING TO CATHEDRAL CHAPTERS OF MEDIEVAL HUNGARY (1200-1350)

LÁSZLÓ KOSZTA

During the organisation of the Hungarian ecclesiastical system at the turn of the 11-12th centuries, cathedral monasteries came into being, initially populated by Benedictine monks and canons. The canons of cathedral chapters in Hungary lived in *vita communis* until the end of the 12th century. Henceforth, cathedral chapters were regarded as independent legal entities. The 13th century was a period of expansion for the canons in Hungary. In the first part of the century, canons, with the help of the king and bishops, extended their remarkable influence over the country's clergy and obtained a considerable share in the tithe income of country churches. In the second half of the 13th century and having established their wealth and consciousness, the canons also attempted to strengthen their position in opposition to prelates. This period may be characterised by the clashes between bishops and cathedral chapters. The latter were appointed by the king from the ranks of court priests, which seriously limited the social status of canons who were unable to develop a consistent policy against the prelates. A prosopographical analysis of this ecclesiastic group leads to several conclusions, as presented in this paper.

CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE PROSOPOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE CANONS BELONGING TO THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTERS OF MEDIEVAL HUNGARY (1200-1350)

LÁSZLÓ KOSZTA *

The Hungarian ecclesiastical system began to evolve around the year 1000. Simultaneously with the establishment of bishoprics, cathedral chapters came into being adjacent to cathedrals. Until the second half of the 11th century, Hungarian cathedral chapters were not exclusively populated by canons, rather we could call them cathedral monasteries, because secular priests (canons) lived side by side with Benedictine monks. After the first (missionary) phase of Hungarian church history had come to an end, in the last third of the 11th century, during the reign of King Saint Ladislaus cathedral monasteries ceased to exist, canons and monks were finally separated. In the chapters populated by canons it would appear that a variant of the Aachen regulation became predominant. At the turn of the 11-12th centuries rulers also supported the separation of canons and monks by strengthening the chapters, as is evident from royal grants to chapters. The process of the evolution of separate chapter wealth in Hungary began at the end of the 11th century, when the chapters were still under close control of bishops. Their wealth was part of the undivided wealth of the bishopric, and the canons living in *vita communis* dwelled in the monastery built directly beside the cathedral. Until the end of the 12th century there is hardly any information about them, because they were closed, introvert communities concentrating on cathedral liturgy and keeping few contacts with the outside world¹.

Changes began to appear at the very end of the 12th century and they can be perceived in the first decades of the 13th century. From that time onwards we can speak about hierarchy in ecclesiastical society in Hungary and about canons that constituted its intermediate level. Aspects of institutional history also support the argument that the 12-13th centuries represent a turning point in the history of Hungarian canons. From the beginning of the 13th century Hungarian chapters

* University of Szeged.

¹ KOSZTA, L. – Domkapitel und ihre Domherren bis Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn. In ...*THE MAN of many devices, who wandered full many ways...* Festschrift in honour of Janos M. Bak. Ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebök. Budapest: Akad, 1999, p. 478-491.

can be regarded as individual legal entities². This fact is marked by the observation that since this period much more information survives concerning canons and their history can be ascertained by various research methods, e.g. the monitoring of the career of the canon. The description of the communities of Hungarian canons should be initiated by the definition of their number. First of all it must be stressed that in Hungary none of the cathedral chapters or communal chapters was taken over by regular canons. The reform concerning regular canons in the 12-13th centuries hardly affected the Hungarian church hierarchy, whereas this reform achieved considerable results in Germany. In the bishoprics of northeastern Germany (Brandenburg, Havelberg, Ratzeburg) cathedral chapters were occupied by Premonstrant canons³. In the south German territories adjacent to Hungary at the beginning of the 12th century the reform movement of canons became powerful⁴. In the archbishopric of Salzburg regular canons populated the cathedral chapter⁵. The movement of regular canons seems to have stopped at the borders of Hungary. The reason for this – apart from other considerations of social history – may have been that at the height of reform canon movement in the first part of the 12th century Hungarian canons still lived in *vita communis*, so they were not in need of reform. At the end of the 12th century, when the *vita communis* was dissolving, canonical reform, had completely fallen into desuetude⁶. So the reform of regular canons in South Germany was slowing down⁷. However, the aspirations of the reforming canons must have been known in Hungary. One of the leaders of the reform movement in South Germany, Gerhoch, provost of Reichersberg corresponded with Hungarian prelates, and one of his disciples even lived in Hungary⁸. In the definitive centres of canon reform movement in France, in the

² KOSZTA, L. – A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi pecséthasználata a 14. század közepéig [The Use of *locus credibilis* Seal of Pécs Cathedral Chapter until the Middle of 14th Century]. *Levéltári Közlemények*. 67 (1996) 51-53. The chapters evolved as autonomic bodies as a result of the long development during 12-13th centuries in Europe, which is exemplified by their being legal entities. Lexikon des Mittelalters V. 939. MARCHAL, G. P. – Die Dom- und Kollegiastifte der Schweiz. In *HELVETICA Sacra*. 2/2. Hersg. G. P. Marchal. Bern: Schwabe & Co., 1977, p. 39-43.

³ PFAFF, V. – Die deutschen Domkapitel und das Papsttum am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts. *Historisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1973); in French territories acceptance of Augustine regulation can be documented in 20 cathedral chapters. These chapters – with two exceptions – are south of the Bordeaux-Belley line. See review of SIEBERT, H.; BECQUET, J. – *Vie canoniale en France aux Xe-XIIIe siècles*. London: Variorum reprints, 1985. In Francia, 1986, p. 712-713.

⁴ CLASSEN, P. – Gerhoch von Reichersberg und die Regularkanoniker in Bayern und Österreich. In CLASSEN, P. – *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1983, p. 434-436.

⁵ WEINFURTER, S. – *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik im 12. Jahrhundert*. Köln: Böhlau, 1975, p. 107-108.

⁶ WEINFURTER, S. – Neuere Forschung zu den Regularkanonikern im Deutschen Reich des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts. *Historische Zeitschrift*. 224 (1977) 396-397.

⁷ WEINFURTER – *Salzburger Bistumsreform*, p. 206-220.

⁸ CLASSEN – Gerhoch von Reichersberg, p. 431-460.

chapter of Saint Victor in Paris and in the monastery of Saint Geneviève⁹ several Hungarian students were studying in the 12th century¹⁰, and several of them became archbishop or a bishop, among them Lukács¹¹ and Jób, archbishops of Esztergom¹². In this way, members of cathedral chapters in Hungary were secular canons. Tithe registers surviving from the first half of the 14th century provide a good insight into the number of canon benefices¹³. Fifteen cathedral chapters belonged to the 13 bishoprics¹⁴, and a further 8 chapters¹⁵ resulting from royal foundations functioned in the kingdom. Members of smaller chapters¹⁶ in episcopal centres cannot be regarded as parts of the ecclesiastical middle class. Altogether 23 chapters of considerable importance functioned in Hungary. This meant 626 canon benefices (464 in cathedral chapters and 162 in other chapters)¹⁷. Naturally the actual number of canons may have been smaller, because in the second half of the 13th century benefice pluralism is observed, though it did not become a predominant feature even in the 14th century. Analysis of the careers of canons shows that the proportion of canons having more than one benefice in chapters was 10-20%¹⁸. Therefore, canons

⁹ BOSL, K. – Das Jahrhundert der Augustinerchorherren. In *HISTORIOGRAPHIA medievalis: Festschrift für F.-J. Schmale*. Hrsg. D. Berg; H.-W. Goetz. Darmstadt, 1988, p. 10.

¹⁰ ÁRPÁD-KORI és Anjou-kori levelek. [Letters from the Árpád and Angevin Period]. Ed. M. László and L. Mezey. Budapest: Gondolat, 1960, p. 114.

¹¹ KÖRMENDI, T.– Lukács. In *ESZTERGOMI érsekek 1001-2003*. [Archbishops of Esztergom]. Budapest: Szt. István Társ, 2003, p. 59.

¹² BEKE, M.– Jób. I. In *ESZTERGOMI érsekek*, p. 75.

¹³ *MONUMENTA Vaticana Hungariae*. Ser. I. Tom. 1. Budapest, 2000. (Reprint) 41-409.

¹⁴ Two bishoprics had two centres, the archbishopric of Bács-Kalocsa had cathedral chapters in Bács and Kalocsa, the bishopric of Szerém had them in Szerémvár and Bánmonostor (Kő).

¹⁵ Székesfehérvár, Óbuda, Pozsony, Vasvár, Titel, Arad, Szepes, Szeben. Apart from these there were other collegiate chapters founded by rulers, but these, e.g. Dömös, lost their importance by the 14th century.

¹⁶ E.g. In Esztergom apart from the cathedral chapter of the archbishopric three other smaller chapters functioned, in Pécs, however, apart from the cathedral chapter, we know of only one chapter. There were bishopric centres, e.g. Zágráb, Nyitra, Kalocsa, where there is no evidence of another chapter. Chapters functioning in the vicinity of cathedral chapters seem to have been organised from the turn of 12-13th centuries. They often joined the liturgy of the cathedral as processional churches, their members belonged to the lower clergy of the bishopric centre, but their provosts were members of the canons in the cathedral chapter. Enumeration of Hungarian chapters: MÁLYUSZ, E. – *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*. [Ecclesiastical Society in Medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Akad, 1971, p. 115-118.

¹⁷ MÁLYUSZ – *Egyházi társadalom*, p. 118-119.

¹⁸ In Pécs in 1306 among the 28 canons participating in the episcopal election there were only two, who had benefices in other cathedral chapters. KOSZTA, L. – Die Bischofswahl im Jahre 1306 in Fünfkirchen. In *IM GEDÄCHTNIS der Kirche neu erwachen: studien zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel- und Osteuropa: festgabe für Gabriel Adriányi zum 65. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. R. Haas. Köln: Böhlau, 2000, p. 469-470. Bonner Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Bd. 22. From the chapter of Pozsega functioning in the territory of Pécs bishopric we managed to find 50 canons between the beginning of the 13th century and 1351, among whom 9 had benefices in other chapters. Amassing benefices became frequent from the middle of the 14th century. KOSZTA, L. – A pozsegai káptalan tagjai a XIV. század közepéig [Members of Pozsega Chapter until the Middle of the 14th Century]. *Aetas*. 3-4 (1991) 46-51; Timót, chaplain of cardinal István Bánca,

representing the ecclesiastical middle class in Hungary meant in reality a rather thin layer of society. Chapters in Hungary as compared to their European counterparts were small and middle-sized ecclesiastical institutions¹⁹. In the largest chapters (Esztergom, Pécs cathedral chapters and the chapter of the coronation church in Székesfehérvár) there were 40 benefices, while in the smallest ones (the cathedral chapters of Nyitra and Kalocsa) there were 12 and 10 benefices, respectively²⁰.

Hungarian canons played an important role in contemporary society and the church during the 13th century. This century can rightfully be called the age of expansion for canons in Hungary. Those positions, opportunities and tasks, which would characterise this social layer until the beginning of the 16th century, evolved in the 13th century.

Disintegration of *vita communis* brought about the necessity to create independent canonical existences. The material preconditions of this had to be established. In the first half of the 13th century Hungarian canons attempted to strengthen their power and influence over the lower clergy. In these years in connection with several Hungarian chapters (Esztergom, Veszprém, Zágráb, Eger, Csanád, Erdély) we can find charters, which proclaim the poverty of canons²¹. Underlying these charters we do not necessarily need to assume serious indigence,

at the time of his candidatureship for bishop of Zágráb in 1262 had the following benefices: archdeaconry of Valkó (cathedral chapter of Pécs), canon of Zágráb (cathedral chapter of Zágráb), archdeaconry of Zala (cathedral chapter of Veszprém), and 4 chapels in the territory of Győr bishopric. His being able to gain many benefices is explained by the fact that the cardinal belonged to the retinue of the late archbishop of Esztergom. ALMÁSI, T.; KOSZTA, L. – Bánca István bíboros (1205 k.-1270) [Cardinal István Bánca (around 1205-1270)]. *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta Historica* (Separate). Szeged. 1991, p. 16. About the canons of the cathedral chapter of Esztergom we have only an old, in many respects outdated collection: in the 13th century among 154 canons 11 had benefices in other chapters, and 16 had benefices elsewhere. So 7% of canons had benefices in other chapters in the 13th century. In the first half of the 14th century among 146 canons 46 had benefices in other chapters, their proportion is 31%, but 29 canons had other ecclesiastical benefices. KOLLÁNYI, F. – *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100-1900* [Esztergom Canons 1100-1900]. Esztergom, 1900, p. 3-58.

¹⁹ In Germany in the Middle Ages the largest cathedral chapter was in Cologne with 72 canon benefices, the smallest was in Meissen with 14 canon prebends. KALAUZA-BAUMRUKER, M. – *Das Schweriner Domkapitel*. Köln: Böhlau, 1987, p. 34. In Gniezno in Poland in the first half of the 14th century 33, after 1354 thirty canons lived. BINDER – *Das Domkapitel zu Gnesen*. Greifswald, 1912, p. 12-13. For the Spanish chapters see VINCKE, J. – Die *vita communis* des Klerus und das spanische Königtum im Mittelalter. *Spanische Forschungen*. 6 (1937) 49-50. e.g. in Barcelona there were 40 canons at the end of the 12th century, but in Vich thirty in 1229, in Seu d'Urgell 45 in 1134, 33 in 1243. Further examples: FEDELES, T. – *A pécsi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő középkorban (1354-1526)* [Members of the Cathedral Chapter of Pécs in the Late Middle Ages]. Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2005, p. 50-51.

²⁰ MÁLYUSZ – *Egyházi társadalom*, p. 115-118.

²¹ The first known reference to the canons' poverty is from Esztergom. In 1156 archbishop Martirius, with the king's consent, donates the tithes of 70 villages to his canons that are in need of dinner (*coena*). *MONUMENTA ecclesiae Strigoniensis*. Vol. 1. Ed. F. Knauz. Strigonii: Ae. Horák, 1874, p. 107-110. Charters about the need of canons survive in greater number from the beginning of the 13th century.

but they demonstrate the growing consciousness and efforts of a new, educated ecclesiastical class²². Referring to their poor living conditions canons attempt to link altar benefices to their prebends, which had been forbidden by the 4th synod of Lateran. Their bishops supported these attempts. These initiatives turned out to be successful, as the popes – in breach of the synod decree – consented to join altar benefices – which had belonged to the lower clergy before – to their prebends, while bishops donated tithes and other types of wealth to the cathedral chapters²³. In the middle of the 13th century chapter canons got a constantly growing part of tithe incomes of parish priests. In this period in several Hungarian bishoprics (e.g. Győr and Veszprém) we have positive evidence concerning legal proceedings between parish priests and canons over the fourth or sixth part of tithe. Canons in all these cases were supported by their bishops and – from the 1250's – by the Hungarian kings as well²⁴.

Important legal and social consequences were brought about by the fact that in the first half of the 13th century archdeacons living beside their churches in the country moved into cathedral chapters²⁵. Archdeacons not only grew the number of canons, but chapters gained influence over the lower level of ecclesiastical jurisdiction as well as the right to supervise village parishes. In this way the chapter gained jurisdiction over parish priests by the middle of the 13th century.

In the first half of the 13th century, with the support of bishops and kings, canons became richer at the loss of village ministering priests. This phenomenon was the cause of the poverty of village parish priest, which can be observed throughout the Middle Ages, which also meant that they had no chance to educate themselves, to visit far away schools, to patronise art. Their situation hardly changed until the end of medieval times²⁶. A considerable part of the

²² The changing mentality of canons is reflected by the high standard epigraph of an Esztergom burial-stone from the beginning of the 13th century, which is perhaps our first canon grave. TAKÁCS, I. – Esztergomi sírkőtöredékek a 13. századból [Sepulchre Fragments in Esztergom from the 13th Century]. *Ars Hungarica*. (1988) 121-132.

²³ BALICS, L. – *A római katolikus egyház története Magyarországon* [The History of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary]. 2/2. Budapest, 1890, p. 39-43; BÉKEFI R. – *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* [The History of Chapter Schools in Hungary until 1540]. Budapest: M. T. Akad, 1910, p. 20-33; HERMANN, E. – *A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon 1914-ig* [The History of the Catholic Church in Hungary until 1914]. München: Adriányi, 1973, p. 71.

²⁴ JANKOVICH, M. – Buda-környék plébániáinak középkori kialakulása és a királyi kápolnák intézménye [The Medieval Evolution of Parsonages around Buda and the Institution of the Royal Chapel]. *Budapest Régiségei*. 19 (1959) 59-60; SZÚCS, J. – A kereszténység belső politikuma. IV. Béla és az egyház [The Inner Politics of Christianity. King Béla IV and the Church]. *Történelmi Szemle*. 21 (1978) 176-177; SZÚCS, J. – *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The Last of the Árpáds]. Budapest, 1993, p. 94.

²⁵ KRISTÓ, Gy – *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* [The Evolution of Counties in Hungary]. Budapest: Magvető, 1988, p. 218-512.

²⁶ MÁLYUSZ – *Egyházi társadalom*, p. 137-140.

incomes of village churches landed in the centre of bishoprics, in the hand of bishops and chapter canons. Country priests who became poorer and poorer paid the price of the economic growth of canons. In this way the incomes of Hungarian secular church system in the middle of the 13th century concentrated in the centres of bishoprics. These revenues provided members of the ecclesiastical system dwelling in these centres opportunities to live a more cultured way of life, to have access to education and to patronise artistic activity. This is well reflected by the architecture of bishopric centres. In the vicinity of cathedrals chapter streets came into being consisting of *curiae* of canons.

By the middle of the 13th century the social status and influence of canons became noticeably stronger. Members of this social layer also realised this. In this period even a strong community consciousness can be observed within their ranks. One sign of this phenomenon is the transformation of the seals of chapters. Hungarian chapters have their own seals from the beginning of the 13th century. In the middle of the same century, nearly all the chapters exchanged their one or two decade old seal for a larger and more decorated one, which would be used until the end of the Middle Ages²⁷. The process of gaining self-consciousness was further promoted by the fact that some members of the society of canons could afford studies abroad. In the first half of the 13th century they attended predominantly French schools²⁸, while from the middle of the century they mainly visited the universities of Bologna and Padua²⁹. King Béla IV consciously supported this process. From the middle of the century the king's diplomats were mainly canons and not bishops³⁰.

²⁷ KOSZTA, L. – A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi pecséthasználata a 14. század közepéig [The *locus credibilis* Use of Seal in the Cathedral Chapter of Pécs]. In: *Levéltári Közlemények*. 67 (1996) 51-60; the catalogue of chapter seals: TAKÁCS, I. – *A magyarországi káptalanok és konventek középkori pecsétjei* [The Medieval Seals of Hungarian Chapters and Convents]. Budapest: MTA Művtört. Kut. Int., 1992.

²⁸ HAJNAL, I. – *Írástörténet az írásbeliség felújítása korából* [History of Writing from the Period of Renewal of Written Culture]. Budapest, 1921, p. 97; HAJNAL, I. – *L'enseignement de l'écriture aux universités médiévales*. Budapest, 1959, p. 192; HAJNAL I. – *Az Árpád-kori oklevélíráások és a francia egyetemek* [Writing of Charters of the Árpád Era and the French Universities]. In: HAJNAL I. – *Technika, művelődés* [Technology, Culture]. Budapest: História: MTA Törttud. Int., 1993, p. 3-13; SZILÁGYI L. – *Összehasonlító írástörténet* [Comparative History of Writing]. Századok. (1943) 236.

²⁹ The enumeration of Hungarian students in Italy: VERESS E. – *Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyvei és iratai 1221-1864* [Registers and Documents of Hungarian Students in Italian Universities 1221-1864]. Budapest, 1941. He estimates the number of Hungarian – mostly canon – students in Italy in the 13th century to be over 80. The importance of university studies in Italy from the viewpoint of Hungarian legal culture: BÓNIS Gy. – *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* [The Legal Intelligentsia in Hungary before Mohács]. Budapest: Akad. Kiadó, 1971, p. 18-29; SZÉKELY, Gy. – *Magyar tanárok és hallgatók az európai egyetemeken az Árpád-korban* [Hungarian Teachers and Students at European Universities in the Árpád Era]. *Levéltári Szemle*. (1993) 3-13; the example of Orbász, provost of Pozsega KOSZTA – *A Pozsegai káptalan*, p. 46-47.

³⁰ SZÜCS – *Az utolsó Árpádok*, p. 92-93.

On the basis of material growth and gaining consciousness Hungarian canons attempted to further their influence to the detriment of bishops. In the second half of the 13th century in nearly all centres of bishoprics there are blatant clashes between bishops and cathedral chapters. In the first half of the century canons gained the right of consensus in the matters of their respective bishoprics and at that time they still enjoyed the support of bishops³¹. The harmonic cooperation of bishops and canons, however, changed in the middle of the 1250's³². Clashes broke out in most of the cases over election of bishops. Though formally canons possessed the right to elect bishops from the turn of the 12-13th centuries, in this respect the king played a decisive role. Until the end of the 13th century Hungarian bishops were appointed from the ranks of the king's court priests³³. In the second half of the century cathedral chapters – instead of their formal rights – intended to actually exert their right in the election of bishops. In these years we often experience double elections³⁴, and in lack of agreement bishoprics which were vacant for years. Sometimes they even went against the king's will and supported their own candidate. Making use of the situation at the end of the 13th century, when royal power severely declined, and at the turn of the 13-14th centuries during the *interregnum* they managed to achieve some success in this respect. This is the period, when on certain occasions the prelate did not come from outside, but the local cathedral chapter elected the new bishop from its own ranks³⁵. From the second decade of the 14th century, however, royal power was strengthened again and in the election of new bishops it was the king's will, which settled the matter. With this, after some decades of uncertainty things in Hungary returned to the normal in this respect. Appointment of bishops is the king's privilege; the consent of the chapter is only formal, not representing actual influence in the issue. The importance of Hungarian chapters was limited by the fact that they could not, in effect, influence the election of bishops. The canons and the chapter itself could not

³¹ E.g. for the relation of Bertalan, bishop of Pécs and the cathedral chapter: KOSZTA, L. – Un prélat français de Hongrie: Bertalan évêque de Pécs (1219-1251). *Cahiers d'études hongroises*. (1996) 80-83.

³² E.g. in Pécs by the end of the 1250's the harmonic relation of the bishop and the cathedral chapter broke up. The cathedral chapter even denounced bishop Jób (1252-1281) to the pope. The dispute did not calm down even after the bishop's death and the bishop's position was not filled in for nearly one and a half decade. For the dispute of the bishop and the chapter a few charters: THEINER, A. – *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariae sacram illustrantia*. Vol. 1. Romae, 1859, p. 277 and 288-291; FEJÉR, G. – *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Vol. 4/3. Buda: Typ. Universitatis, 1829, p. 163-173.

³³ SZÜCS – *Az utolsó Árpádok*, p. 90-92.; KOSZTA – *Die Bischofswahl*, p. 466-467.

³⁴ For the disputes over filling in the position of the archbishop of Esztergom at the 13th century: *ESZTERGOMI érsekek 1001-2003*, p. 121-127.

³⁵ In the bishopric of Pécs between 1009 and 1400 there were only three occasions (1306, 1307, 1315), when the chapter elected their own candidate instead that of the king's. KOSZTA – *Die Bischofswahl*, p. 467-474; TÍMÁR, Gy – Pécs egyházi társadalma Károly Róbert korában [The Ecclesiastical Society of Pécs in the Time of Charles Robert]. *Baranyai Helytörténetírás*. (1981) 19-32.

exert its power against the will of bishops, so chapters remained insignificant as compared to the prelates. This makes it understandable, that the bishop-election decrees³⁶, which appear in Western Europe from the beginning of the 13th century, are unknown in Hungary. East of the imaginary line between Salzburg³⁷, Passau³⁸, Wrocław³⁹ canons were unable to set written, contractual conditions for bishop election⁴⁰. Due to the loss of the actual right of election, cathedral chapters did not seem to be significant institutions in the eyes of the aristocracy. They could not exert actual influence over election of prelates through these bodies. That is why we do not know about any examples of an aristocrat establishing a prebend, which would have been occupied by clerical members of his family.

The limited power of Hungarian cathedral chapters and ecclesiastical middle class in relation to that of bishops can also be seen in the field of jurisdiction. In Hungary we cannot experience any conflicts, clashes of competence between prelates and archdeacons in the field of jurisdiction. Vicar jurisdiction in the name of bishops did not evolve as opposed to that of archdeacons, but they cooperated in this field. Without exception, archdeacons and canons decided over legal matters in the name of bishops. The chapter was unable to limit the jurisdiction of the prelate⁴¹. The relation of bishops and the chapter is characterised by the fact that in Hungary bishops did not have to establish an independent chapel in order to keep the chapter at bay⁴². There are scanty sources about chaplains of bishops, which clearly shows the insignificance of this institution in Hungary. Further research will have to decide whether the bishop's chapel as an institution of clerics in direct relation with the bishops evolved at

³⁶ The first was issued by the cathedral chapter of Verdun, but at the beginning of the 13th century there were several known cases in Western Europe, e.g. in Hildesheim such charters were issued since 1216. BECKER, H. J. – Dom- und Stiftskapitel. *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. V. 938-939.

³⁷ Election decrees in Salzburg appeared much later, than in other German cathedral chapters. The first was issued in 1427. This phenomenon must have been in connection with the fact that here canons followed the Augustine regulation until the beginning of the 16th century. *GESCHICHTE Salzburg*. 1/1-2. Hrsg. H. Dopsch. Salzburg, 1981-1983, p. 1006.

³⁸ In Passau the first election decree was issued in 1342, OSWALD, J. – *Das alte Passauer Domkapitel*. München, 1933, p. 98-100, 110-116, 120-121, and 145.

³⁹ In Wrocław it was demanded from the bishop to be elected first in 1447. *GESCHICHTE Schlesien*. Vol. 1. Hrsg. v. L. Petry, J. Menzel and W. Irgang. 5th ed. Sigmaringen, 1988, p. 308.

⁴⁰ In the cathedral chapter of Gniezno in Poland we do not know of a similar decree ever issued. BINDER – *Das Domkapitel zu Gnesen*, p. 75-76.

⁴¹ Gy BÓNIS. – Die Entwicklung der geistlichen Gerichtsbarkeit in Ungarn vor 1526. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Kanonistische Abteilung*. 49 (1963) 202-206; ERDŐ P. – A középkori officális bíraskodás intézményei Kelet-Közép-Európában [The Institutions of Medieval *Officialis* Jurisdiction in East-Central Europe]. In: ERDŐ P. – *Egyházjog a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical Law in Medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Osiris, 2001, p. 119-124.

⁴² For bishop chapels in Western Europe: HAIDER, S. – *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*. Vol. 1: *Von Anfänge bis in das 13. Jahrhundert*. Wien; Köln: Böhlau, 1977.

all, or not⁴³. From the charters issued at the turn of the 13-14th century we begin to learn about bishops' emanating charters as a rule and the appearance of protonotaries and chancellors of bishops⁴⁴. Not even the leaders of chapters, the provosts did have as much prestige as the bishops⁴⁵. The position of provosts in Hungary is well exemplified by the fact that while in Germany provosts and deans used the form '*dei gratia*' in the *intitulatio* of their charters, so they originated their post from God, in Hungary the form '*dei gratia*' is exclusively used by bishops, only the leader of the royal cathedral chapter connected to the coronation church in Székesfehérvár seems to have used it rarely⁴⁶. It was obvious for them that their posts did not originate directly from God, but from the respective bishop.

In Western Europe the institution of royal canons can be observed in several cases. The tradition of the king to become an honorary canon in the more important chapters evolved in the German territories, perhaps as early as the turn of the first millennium. As the ruler formally entered the ranks of canons he emphasised their authority, enhanced the prestige of chapters and through royal donations it brought about material growth as well⁴⁷. The institution of royal

⁴³ About the chaplains of bishops mention was made in a synod's decree at the turn of the 11-12th centuries. ZÁVODSZKY, L. – *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai* [The Sources of Laws and Synod Decrees Originating from the Times of Kings Saint Stephen, Saint Ladislaus and Coloman]. Budapest: Stephaneum Ny., 1904, p. 184. (Colomanni regis decretorum liber primus, cap. V.)

⁴⁴ E.g. the chancellor of Lodomé, archbishop of Esztergom, was Domonkos, provost of Vác, Esztergom canon, then provost András. BEKE, M. – Monoszló nembeli Lodomér [Lodomér of Monoszló Clan]. In *Esztergomi érsekek, 1000-2003*. [Archbishops of Esztergom 1000-2003]. Ed. M. Beke. Budapest: Szt. István Társ, 2003, 132; Puer dictus Theophil, lector of Pozsega, was the protonotary of Mihály, bishop of Zágráb I the first years of the 14th century. The strength of the personal relation is illustrated by the fact that after Mihály had been elected archbishop of Esztergom, he took Theophil with him and appointed him provost of Esztergom. KOSZTA – A Pozsegai káptalan, p. 47; the chancellor of Tamás, archbishop of Esztergom was Henrik, provost of Vác. *ANJOU-KORI Oklevéltár* [Documents of the Angevin Era] 3. Ed. Gy. Kristó. Szeged: [JATE], 1994, p. 92 (189).

⁴⁵ In the second half of the 12th century the provosts of great royal chapters seems to have participated in the work of the royal council. KOSZTA, L. – *Adalékok az esztergomi és kalocsai érsekség viszonyához a 13. század elejéig* [Contributions to the Relation of the Archbishoprics of Esztergom and Kalocsa until the Beginning of the 13th Century]. In *Kalocsa történetéből* [On the History of Kalocsa]. Ed. L. Koszta. Kalocsa: Önkormányzat, 2000, p. 44. (footnote 75.) In 1156 MES, vol. 1, p. 107; in 1169 *CODEX diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*. Vol 1: 805-1235. Ed. R. Marsina. Bratislava: Academia Scientiarum Slovaca, 1971, p. 88. However, in the 13th century we can take it for sure for only the vice-chancellor, who was in most of the cases the provost of Székesfehérvár. FEJÉRPATAKY, L. – *A királyi kancellária az Árpádok korában*. [The Royal Chancellery in the Árpád Era]. Budapest, 1885, p. 92-146.

⁴⁶ On one single occasion in 1278 Muthmer, provost of Szepes used a similar formula: 'Nos magister Mothmerius divina miseratione prepositus de scypus ...' *HAZAI okmánytár* [Codex diplomaticus patrius]. Vol. 6. Budapest: Franklin, 1891, p. 237.

⁴⁷ KLEWITZ, H.-W – *Königtum, Hofkapelle und Domkapitel im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1960, p. 41-46; FLECKENSTEIN, J. – Rex canonicus. In *FESTSCHRIFT Percy Ernst Schramm*. Hrsg. P. Classen. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1964, p. 57-71. (He originates it from

canons in Hungary appears quite late, at the end of the 14th century in the visitation protocol of Esztergom cathedral chapter for the first (and last) time. According to the information dating from 1397, the king and the queen were canons in Esztergom, of course without prebends, and in this way the chapter had 41 members⁴⁸. The institution of royal canons had probably earlier (11-13th century) roots. Until the end of the 12th century Esztergom was the seat of rulers, it is quite possible that rulers did not become members of the chapter after they had given up their residence there. Besides Esztergom, rulers may have also been members of the chapter connected to the coronation church of Székesfehérvár, which also served as the burial place of many rulers and was responsible for preserving the royal regalia⁴⁹. However, it is thought provoking why the institution of royal canons did not appear in sources at all. This clearly shows that it was not as significant in the relation of the ruler and the church, or in royal representation as it was in Germany. The institution was fairly unknown in Hungary; therefore it did not enhance the social prestige of canons.

Further analysis is required into the relation of ruler and Hungarian cathedral canons. The rulers did not seem to have relied on cathedral chapters – the exception being Esztergom – apart from *locus credibilis* commissions. Naturally some royal chaplains can be documented in cathedral chapters, predominantly in Esztergom. Rulers kept close relations mainly with so-called royal provostships, which were under direct royal patronage. Clerics belonging to the royal chapel, chancellery and *familia* had canon prebends predominantly in these provostships in the 12-13th centuries. This obviously means that kind of, or similar phenomenon, which the German rulers introduced in Germany under the name of *preces primariae* was unknown in Hungary⁵⁰.

The medieval status, social influence of Hungarian canons evolved by the beginning of the 14th century. They acquired those positions by then, which did not significantly change until the beginning of the 16th century. Their economic situation became stable and their opportunities were similar to that of the lesser

Otto III); GROTEN, M. – Von der Gebetsverbrüderung zum Königskanonikat. *Historisches Jahrbuch*. (1983) 1-34. He supposes a praying community-like relation between the chapters and the ruler in the 11th century, according to him the institution of royal canon came into being in the 12th century. BORGOLTE, M. – Über Typologie und Chronologie des Königskanonikats im europäischen Mittelalter. *Deutsches Archiv*. (1991) 19-43.

⁴⁸ Visitatio capituli E. M. Strigoniensis anno 1397. Ed. F. Kollányi. In *Történelmi Tár*. Új Folyam, 1901, p. 99.

⁴⁹ This is further supported by the fact that the Székesfehérvár chapter was founded following the example of the palace chapter of Aachen. DEÉR, J. – Aachen und Herrschersitze der Arpaden. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*. (1971) 1-56.

⁵⁰ OFFERGELD, P. – Das Kapitel des Aachener Marienstift im Mittelalter. *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsverein*. (1985) 98; OFFERGELD, P. – Erste Bitten (Preces Primariae) deutscher Kaiser und Könige um Benefizien des Aachener Marienstifts. *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsverein*. (1986) 39-86.

nobility⁵¹. This provided chances to patronise artistic activity, to buy books⁵² and with some sort support they could even afford to study at a foreign university⁵³. As regards to the Middle Ages, one-fifth of the members of the Esztergom cathedral chapter can be documented as having studied in higher education. Between 1183 and 1543 there were 690 known members of the chapter, among whom we have evidence about 136 canons to have gone to university. In the 13th century 16, in the 14th century 32 canons were university students⁵⁴.

As I have already mentioned, the number of canon prebends was few in medieval Hungary. In spite of this there is no intense rivalry for canon prebends. There is only on one occasion evidence of a waiting list, “queuing up”, or donations of still occupied prebends in advance⁵⁵. There is no hierarchy of simple canon prebends, either, unlike in Germany⁵⁶. Neither the aristocracy, nor the lesser nobility made efforts to exclusively occupy chapters. In Hungary there are no closed chapters reserved for clergymen coming from one specified layer of

⁵¹ MÁLYUSZ – *Egyházi társadalom*, p. 85-96; TÍMÁR – Pécs egyházi társadalma, p. 33-47.

⁵² Many of the canons, who had studied at a foreign university in the second half of the 13th century, had considerable private libraries. For this: CSAPODI, Cs. – *Magyar könyvtártörténet* [Hungarian Library History]. Budapest, 1987, p. 25-27; two surviving provosts’ wills from the 1270’s contain detailed book lists. The will of provost Muthmer dating from 1273 mentions 8 volumes. MES, vol. 2, p. 27-28. The library of László, provost of Esztergom dating from 1277 may compete with that of professors of law in Bologna, most of the 18 volumes are up-to-date legal works. MES, vol. 2, p. 71-73 ; IVÁNKA, E. – László mester esztergomi prépost könyvtára [The Library of Magister László, Provost of Esztergom]. *Theológia*. (1937) 216-226; MÁLYUSZ – *Egyházi társadalom*, p. 308-335.

⁵³ It was a common practice that bishop uncles acquired canon benefices for their nephews, and they supported some way or another their relatives’ studies abroad. István Bánca, archbishop of Esztergom, later cardinal had four of his nephews in Bologna and Padua. ALMÁSI; KOSZTA – Bánca István, p. 15-16, KOSZTA – A Pozsegai káptalan, p. 46-47; Lodomér, archbishop of Esztergom obtained canon benefice in Esztergom for his nephew, Tamás, and supported his studies in Padua. Tamás later became provost, then archbishop of Esztergom. KOLLÁNYI – *Esztergomi kanonokok*, p. 24-26.

⁵⁴ KÖRMENDY, K. – *Litterátusok, magiszterek, doktorok az esztergomi káptalanban* [Litterates, Magisters, Doctors at the Chapter of Esztergom]. In: *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Studies on Medieval Hungarian Cultural History]. Ed. E. Fügedi. Budapest, 1986, p. 176-201; KÖRMENDY K. – La formation universitaire des chanoines cathédraux d’Esztergom aux XIV^e et XV^e siècle. In *Formation intellectuelle et culture du clergé dans les territoires angevins: milieu du XIII^e-fin du XV^e siècle*. Dir. M.-M. de Cevins et J.-M. Matz. Rome: École française de Rome, 2005, p. 79-87.

⁵⁵ In 1302 the young Miklós, son of Jakab, burgher of Pozsony, was received as canon of the royal chapter of Pozsony, but he was given prebend, stall, therefore position in the chapter only after the fifth vacancy. *ANJOU-KORI Oklevéltár*, vol. 1, p. 108 (156 and 157) This unusual phenomenon may have been in connection the young age of Miklós and not with queuing up for a canon’s position.

⁵⁶ Canons having a dignity naturally had a higher income, but there was no difference between simple canon prebends. TÍMÁR – Pécs egyházi társadalma, p. 33-47. In Hungary there is no evidence of larger or smaller prebends, or child prebends as is the case in German chapters. KALAUZA – *Das Schweriner Domkapitel*, p. 27-38; SCHRÖER, A. – Das Münsterer Domkapitel im ausgehenden Mittelalter. In: *Monasterium: festschrift zum siebenhundertjährigen Weihegedächtnis des Paulus-Domes zu Münster*. Hrsg. A. Schröer. Münster, 1964. 471-472 and 496-497.

society⁵⁷. This is not exclusively explained by the lack of prestige of cathedral chapters, but by the order of inheritance. In Hungary not only the first-born, but also all male offspring of a family inherited equally the father's wealth. Therefore, younger male members of a family did not feel compelled to choose career in church. Hungarian lesser nobility did not need as many ecclesiastical prebends as in Western Europe. That is why they did not establish canon prebends for themselves in cathedral chapters, and they did not attempt to reserve the existing prebends either. Another factor may have been that provosts of chapters – with the exception of the provost of the royal cathedral chapter in Székesfehérvár – did not possess significant social and political influence. Therefore canon positions in cathedral chapters were also available for the lesser nobility, burghers, peasants, and especially for town-dwellers of smaller, agricultural settlements⁵⁸. Neither were canon prebends reserved for Hungarians only. The fact that the educated ecclesiastical *elite*, the members of which could have been regarded as possible candidates for prebends was limited in numbers can partly be explained by the lack of a permanent university⁵⁹. Members of the papal administration also found an easy access to canon prebends in Hungary. The first measures against foreigners to occupy prebends were taken only at the end of the 14th century, but they were not enforced consistently even in the 15th century⁶⁰.

Therefore, a canon career meant a certain social rise for clergymen coming from the lesser nobility or peasantry. Because of this openness Hungarian canons originated from different cultural backgrounds, so they could easily find contacts with local society. Due to their lack of political influence – as we have seen – cathedral chapter canons did not play any role in grand politics. The scene of their activity remained in the bishopric and institutions of local secular society.

⁵⁷ German examples of socially closed chapters: KISKY, W. – *Die Domkapitel der geistlichen Kurfürsten in ihrer person lichen Zusammensetzung im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*. Weimar, 1906; SCHULTE, A. – *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart, 1922.

⁵⁸ As to the social origin of members of Hungarian chapters we can get an exact picture only from the middle of the 14th century. KÖBLÖS J. – *Egyházi középréteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában* [Ecclesiastical Middle Class in the Time of King Mátyás and the Jagellos]. Budapest: MTA Törttud. Int., 1994, p. 23-65; FEDELES – *Pécsi káptalan*, p. 87-95. In the 13th century we have only fragments of evidence about the origins of canons, but it is certain that members of lower classes could get into cathedral chapters. Timót, in spite of his origin from the serfs' class could become a member in the cathedral chapters of Zágráb, Pécs and Veszprém, even became an archdeacon, and thanks to the mediation of cardinal István Báncsa he became bishop of Zágráb against the protests of King Béla IV. SZÜCS – *Az utolsó Árpádok*, p. 100.

⁵⁹ The first university in Hungary was established in Pécs based on the chapter school. The university functioned for only a short period, and later attempts at establishing universities were unsuccessful. GABRIEL, A. – *The Medieval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony*. Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1967; PETROVICS, I. – *A Zözéproni pécsi eggetem ás alapítója* [The University of Pécs in the Middle Ages]. *Actas*, 20 (2005) 29-40.

⁶⁰ MÁLYUSZ, E. – *Das Konstanzer Konzil und das königliche Patronatsrecht in Ungarn*. Budapest: Akad. Kiadó, 1959, p. 54-74.

Simultaneously with the rise of the cathedral chapters at the beginning of the 13th century, and in many respects in accordance with it, deep-going changes can be observed in the use of written records in Hungary. The use of writing appeared in many different fields of life, and in a few decades the number of issued charters multiplied. Special institutions of written culture in Hungary came into being called “*locus credibilis*”. Their function can partly be compared to that of the notary’s offices in Western Europe. Benedictine, Premonstrant and Johannite monasteries predominantly performed these duties⁶¹. From the beginning of the 13th century – with the exception of royal written culture and legal transactions between burghers – *loca credibilia* issued charters. Among them the busiest were the cathedral chapters⁶², which became the centres of local written culture⁶³. This task profoundly transformed the role and culture of canons, as well as the organisation of chapters⁶⁴. Besides fulfilling ecclesiastical functions – and often at the cost of them – activity in the interest of secular society came into the forefront⁶⁵. Canons sometimes spent long weeks away from their seats because they were occupied by fulfilment of royal or baronial commissions⁶⁶. They set down in writing different secular legal transactions (cases of sale and purchase, pledge, loan, staking out estate boundaries, etc). Besides keeping their own documents they also undertook preservation of charters of local nobility. Activity in connection with “*locus credibilis*” did not only promote written culture of canons, but meant a step towards the application of secular law. Practice of theology was totally relegated to the background; study of canon law also became secondary. Canons who had got

⁶¹ ECKHART, F. – *Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter*. Innsbruck, 1914; BÓNIS, Gy. – Les auctorités de “foi publique” et les archives des “loci credibiles” en Hongrie. *Archivum* (1962) 97-104; BORSA, I. – Zur Beurkundstätigkeit der glaubwürdigen Orte in Ungarn: forschungen über Siebenbüрге und seine Nachbarn. Vol. 2. Hrsg. K. Benda, T. Bogyay and H. Glassl. München, 1988. 143-147.

⁶² VARGA Á. – A váradi kápt. hiteleshelyi működése [The *locus credibilis* Function of the Chapter of Várad]. In: Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok [Studies on Cultural History]. Ed. E. Csetri and Zs. Jakó. Bukarest, 1980. 20-35; KOVÁCS, P. – Az egeri káptalan hiteleshelyi és oklevéladó tevékenysége az Árpád-korban [The *locus credibilis* and Charter Issuing Activity of the Chapter of Eger in the Árpád Era]. *Archivum*. (1990) 5-43; KOSZTA, L. – A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi tevékenysége [The *locus credibilis* Activity of the Cathedral Chapter of Pécs]. Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 1998. VEKOV, K.: *Locul de aderire din Alba-Iulia (secolele XIII-XVI)*. Cluj-Napoca, 2003.

⁶³ There were several *locus credibilis* in a bishopric, but the cathedral chapter was the busiest of them all. KOSZTA – *A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshely*, p. 40-44.

⁶⁴ At the beginning of the 13th century in Hungarian chapters the lector became the second dignity after the provost. There were two reasons for this rise in hierarchy. He took over the supervision of issuing charters in the chapter, and his rise in status may have been in connection with the growing importance of chapter schools. Koszta: *A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshely* 97-100.

⁶⁵ They regularly received customers and issued documents on festive days like Sundays, Easter or Pentecost. KOSZTA – *A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshely*, p. 103-105. E.g. in 1258 Cel, son of Cel had to redeem his possession from pledge. MES, vol. 1, p. 450-451.

⁶⁶ KOSZTA – *A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshely*, p. 105-112.

their reputation through their ability to write, being reliable at work and well-versed in local law did not confine themselves to putting down legal transactions to writing, but after some time they began to actively take part in settling disputes as arbiters. On a local level they could be regarded as taking part in organising society. In this way cathedral chapters were not only centres of ecclesiastical administration, but that of secular matters as well⁶⁷. However, canons mostly had their liturgical tasks done by paid substitutes⁶⁸.

Activity in connection with “*locus credibilis*” profoundly transformed this social layer. Canons acquired a considerable extra income by issuing charters. More important was the fact that their culture became practical and turned towards secular society. Cathedral canons established a wide-range of contacts with all levels of local society. Many of them were personally known in far away settlements of their bishopric. They became an extremely open social layer, which could easily adapt to the needs of local society. They did not shut themselves up with their culture and education to seats of bishoprics; instead they made use of their competence in the interests of secular society. In this way they constituted a strong intermediate part between elite culture based on written culture and popular culture represented by verballity. They also played a role in the fact that in Hungary – due to other reasons of social and cultural history as well – no dual culture evolved in the Middle Ages⁶⁹. No clear distinction can be drawn between elite and popular culture. By the middle of the 14th century canons in Hungary became profoundly laicised in their culture and function. Retaining their ecclesiastical status, in many respects they became a group, which performed the tasks of the future secular intellectuals⁷⁰.

⁶⁷ KOSZTA, L. – Püspöki székhely és városfejlődés [Bishopric Seat and Town Development]. In: Kelet és Nyugat között. Történeti Tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére [Between East and West. Historical Studies in Honour of Gyula Kristó]. Ed. L. Koszta. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1995, p. 241-257.

⁶⁸ Cathedral lower clergy (*sacerdos chori, prebendarius*) responsible for the substitution of canons can be documented from the middle of the 13th century in Hungarian cathedral chapters. KOSZTA, L. – Adalékok a székesegyházi alsópapság XIII-XIV. századi történetéhez [Contributions to the 13-14th Century History of Cathedral Lower Clergy]. *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta Historica*. Szeged. 86 (1988) 15-25.

⁶⁹ The concept of dual culture evolved on the basis of study into Western European medieval culture, it cannot be applied to Eastern European and Hungarian history. MAKKAI, L.; KLANICZAY, G. – Anyagi kultúra, szokásrend, mentalitások [Material Culture, Order of Tradition, Mentalities]. *Történelmi Szemle*. (1981) 271-272.

⁷⁰ JAKÓ, Zs. – *Írás, könyv, értelmiség* [Writing, Book, Intelligentsia]. Bukarest: Kriterion, 1977, p. 10-36.