

## **The State of Education in Hungary on the Eve of the Battle of Mohács (1526)\***

L. S. Domonkos

### *1. Political and Economic Conditions 1490-1526*

A number of studies have been published on various aspects of cultural and educational history in Hungary, but no work focuses on the period between the death of Matthias Corvinus in 1490, and the Battle of Mohács in 1526. Therefore, I shall attempt to fill this lacuna by focusing on the state of education in Hungary, encompassing all levels, from university training down to the village schools.

The 36 years under discussion are generally considered an age of decline and decadence in the history of Hungary, culminating in the defeat of Hungarian forces and the death of King Louis II on the battlefield of Mohács.

The decadence and decline during this period is not difficult to explain. The strong and centralized state forged by Matthias Corvinus did not survive his death, and the decline began almost immediately.<sup>1</sup> The designated heir of Matthias, his illegitimate son, John, was rejected by the majority of the nobility, who instead, invited the Jagellonian prince, Wladislaus II, to become their king. Wladislaus already held the throne of Bohemia, and thus, the two countries were jointly ruled. The ineffectiveness of this king increased dissensions in the already divided ranks of the Hungarian nobility. This division was manifested in the desire of the lesser nobility to maintain greater voice in the affairs of state, as they had under King Matthias, versus the attempts of the oligarchy to regain their former prominence. This clash of interests created deep political division, and constant tension. The economic state was just as unstable, for the country was on the verge of bankruptcy. The royal treasury was empty, new taxes were

---

\* This paper was presented at the Sixteenth Century Conference in St. Louis, Missouri in October, 1974. The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) of New York and the Historical and Literary Institutes of the Hungarian Academy for supporting and aiding in his research. He would also like to acknowledge the guidance and support of Dr. A. L. Gabriel of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame and the financial assistance of the Graduate Research Council of Youngstown State University.

almost impossible to levy, customary sources of royal revenue fell off, and towns declined in size and wealth.<sup>2</sup> The oppression of the lower classes by the nobility became so unbearable, that, in 1514 it spawned the most bloody and extensive insurrection of the peasantry ever to occur in the history of Hungary.<sup>3</sup> The ensuing suppression of this revolt and the subsequent imposition of perpetual serfdom upon the peasants, added to the already deep-seated division, prevented unified action against the increasingly menacing Turks.

Wladislaus's son, Louis II (1516-1526), was equally unable to unify the country under his rule, and he rode into battle with Suleiman the Magnificent at Mohács, with a small and ill-equipped army. The overwhelming defeat and subsequent death of the king left Hungary at the mercy of the Turks, the Hapsburgs and the divided nobility.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. *Hungarian University Foundations to 1526.*

The turbulence of these 36 years does not seem to be reflected in the state of education or the intellectual level of the nation. The intellectual ferment of the reign of Matthias continued to thrive, despite the decline evident in other areas. Under the rule of Matthias' successors, the center of Renaissance studies moved from the royal court to the episcopal seats and spread among the officials of the Chancery.<sup>5</sup>

Let us now turn to the various levels of education evident in Hungary at the turn of the 16th century and begin our discussion with the universities. While flourishing universities were solidly established in Bohemia, Poland and Austria, Hungary's efforts to do the same were invariably unsuccessful. Four attempts were made during the late Middle Ages at establishing institutions of higher learning, but after initial success, all four faltered and disappeared.

The university at Pécs (Fünfkirchen), established in 1367, seems to have been dissolved by the end of the 14th century. Some historians, with vivid imaginations, contend that several hundred students of this university fought valiantly and "died for God and country" in the Battle of Mohács. This, obviously, is pure fabrication, since no documents supporting the existence of this university exist beyond the 14th century.<sup>6</sup>

A second university was established at Óbuda in 1395, and the last evidence of its existence is a delegation of masters to the Council of Constance (1414-1418).<sup>7</sup>

Matthias Corvinus established the third university in 1465, at Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg). Following an auspicious start two years later, the university flourished but began to decline in 1472, following the death of its Chancellor, Archbishop Vitéz. By the 1490's, the buildings of the university were either used for storage or

were in disrepair, indicating that students and faculty had abandoned Pozsony.<sup>8</sup>

The last attempt in establishing an institution of higher learning is also associated with Matthias, for in 1485 he undertook steps to raise the Dominican *studium generale* of Buda to a full-fledged university. This institution never developed beyond the *Ordens Studium* common to the Dominicans, and, therefore, cannot be called a university. The General Chapter of the Dominican Order made several attempts to expand the Stadium of Buda and even ordered the transfer in 1507 of eight teachers from its school in Paris, to strengthen the school in Buda.<sup>9</sup> The fact is, however, that these teachers never left Paris; thus, the *Studium Generale* in Buda continued to decline. Although scattered references to a *Studium Generale* continue to appear in the General Chapter deliberations, there is no concrete evidence that a truly viable institution of higher learning existed in Hungary on the eve of the Battle of Mohács.<sup>10</sup>

The reason for the inability of universities to flourish in Hungary are great in number. The most obvious among these seem to be the lack of sustained interest and financial support on the part of the monarchy and the upper clergy, a general lack of urbanization, and the availability of university education in neighboring countries.

### 3. *Hungarian Students at the Universities of Cracow and Vienna.*

The desirability of a university education was recognized early by Hungarians, and from the 13th century on, they frequented such foreign universities as Bologna and Paris in increasing numbers. Closest to the borders of Hungary were the universities of Prague, Cracow and Vienna, and, due to their proximity, they had large numbers of Hungarian students during the 15th and 16th centuries. This is particularly true of Vienna and Cracow, while the cultural influence of the university of Prague was negligible.<sup>11</sup>

Fortunately, the registers of Hungarian students at Cracow have survived. A separate *bursa* was formed for the large number of Hungarian students enrolled there from the years 1493 to 1558. The records of the *bursa* and the matriculation lists of the university show, that between 1460 and 1500, 1,673 students from Hungary studied there.<sup>12</sup> In the first two decades of the 16th century, between 40 and 50 students from Hungary were immatriculated each year. After the Battle of Mohács, there was a dramatic decline of students, and the *bursa* was eventually forced to close, due to diminished numbers.<sup>13</sup> Some of those who received degrees migrated to Vienna, but more often to the Italian universities, seeking further studies. Those who returned to Hungary after the completion of their studies at Cracow often received ecclesiastical benefices, found employment in the lower

echelons of the royal Chancery,<sup>14</sup> or became teachers in the municipal or cathedral schools. The influence of the *bursa* was twofold, in that it played an active role in the life of the university<sup>15</sup> and created close intellectual ties between Cracow and Hungarian centers of learning, particularly the cities of Northeastern Hungary. It was through the Hungarian *bursa* that Conrad Celtis, and other scholars, established contacts in Hungary.<sup>16</sup>

In Vienna, the number of students from Hungary was so large, that they constituted a separate nation, *Natio Hungariae*.<sup>17</sup> From 1450, to the Battle of Mohács, the total number of students was greater than 2,900, according to the records of this nation. Here, as in Cracow, the number of students from Hungary decreased dramatically following the battle.<sup>18</sup> The University of Vienna did, however, continue to play an important role in the cultural life of Hungary for centuries, even after the establishment of permanent institutions of higher learning in the kingdom.

#### 4. *Italian Universities: Bologna, Padua, Ferrara.*

Because of the excellence of Italian universities as well as the close Italo-Hungarian relations since the Angevin Period, a large number of Hungarians made the journey to Italy to study at the renowned Universities of Bologna, Padua and Ferrara. While it is true that students from Hungary could be found at almost all the other centers of learning in Italy, Bologna, Padua and Ferrara were the three institutions which attracted the largest number of Hungarians in the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>19</sup> The list of those who had studied at these universities reads almost like a *Who is Who* of important ecclesiastical dignitaries, chancery officials and humanist scholars.<sup>20</sup>

The relative closeness and accessibility of the great Italian universities probably relieved the pressure for the establishment of a university in Hungary. As long as students could get university degrees, mainly legal training, in Italy, the need for a local institution of higher learning was not so acute.

Of the Hungarian born Bishops and Archbishops who presided over the eleven dioceses of the kingdom between 1490 and 1526, over 60% were graduates of Italian universities. Graduates of Italian universities are also numerous among the officials of the Royal Chancery under Wladislaus and Louis II.<sup>21</sup> About half of the Chancery secretaries were trained in Italy, and what is more important, they often kept in close touch with professors at their *alma mater* and with influential printers such as the Venetian Aldus Manucius.<sup>22</sup> These ties with Italy resulted in the spread and the deepening of the humanistic influence which had begun under Matthias, and fortunately did not die with him.

Before leaving the subject of Hungarians at Italian universities, mention must also be made of the large number of mendicants, mainly Dominicans, sent by the Hungarian provinces to study in Italy. Dominicans can be found at Bologna, Padua, Naples, Siena, Pavia and Florence.<sup>23</sup> Franciscans can be found in far fewer numbers. The presence of large numbers of Dominicans in Italy also seems to support the previously expressed view, that the *Studium Generale* of Buda did not develop into an important center of education. Not only did it fail to meet the educational needs of the kingdom, but apparently it did not even satisfy the requirements of the Dominican Province.

Hungarian students also frequented the University of Paris, but in small numbers. The one outstanding figure of this period is Johannes Gosztonyi who arrived in Paris after attending the Universities of Vienna and Bologna. During his stay in Paris he developed a life-long friendship with the Flemish scholar, Josse van Clichtove. Upon returning to Hungary he became Bishop of Veszprém, Győr and Transylvania, and was a major promoter of Erasmian ideas.<sup>24</sup>

##### 5. *The Effects of the Lack of Hungarian Universities.*

The lack of a dynamic university within the boundaries of Hungary is an obvious source of weakness which placed the country at a disadvantage when compared to its immediate neighbors Poland, Bohemia and Austria. Yet the results of this failure are not all negative as they first may appear. Since all the universities in the Pre-Reformation period failed in Hungary, there was no alternative other than to study abroad. The result was the rise of a fairly cosmopolitan intellectual class whose members were aware of the main currents of thought of western and central Europe. Hungarian students received far more than just academic degrees at the universities they attended. Close personal friendships developed with Italian, French, German, Austrian and Polish scholars and these ties of affection and shared interest often lasted for a lifetime. Upon returning to their native land Hungarian students often found that former professors or fellow students sent their dedicated books to them.<sup>25</sup> Books for the Hungarian market were being printed in Italy, Vienna and Cracow with increasing frequency in the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> When Conrad Celtis came to Buda in 1497, he found a large number of enthusiastic supporters, among them Bishop Johannes Vitéz the Younger who was made head of the *Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana* until his death in 1499.<sup>27</sup> Aside from Hungarian admirers Celtis also found Italians, Czechs and Austrians at the Hungarian court.<sup>28</sup> There seems to be no doubt that an East-Central European humanism was in full bloom and the three centers of it were Vienna, Cracow and Buda. That Buda

could compete on about equal terms with Vienna and Cracow shows that the lack of a university in Hungary was compensated by study abroad and an intense interest in the intellectual currents prevalent at the time.

#### 6. *Cathedral and Chantry Schools 1490-1526.*

Turning our attention from University education to other forms of instruction available, let us discuss the cathedral and chantry schools. The development of cathedral and chantry schools in Hungary follows the general pattern in Western Europe. The decrees of the Third (1179), and Fourth (1215) Lateran Councils, called for the establishment of schools by the cathedral chapters so that instruction could be given to students in each diocese. How closely these orders were followed in Hungary is hard to determine, especially prior to the Tatar incursions in 1242.

During the 15th and early 16th Centuries, the fog of uncertainty lifts and some insight into the life of cathedral and chantry schools can be gained. A fairly complete list of the Canons of each of the dioceses of Hungary is available for this period and thus, allows the identification of some of the teachers. According to the statutes of the Cathedral Chapters of Várad and Zagreb the *lector* was in charge of instruction in the school.<sup>29</sup> If the *lector* did not teach, he delegated his position to a *sublector*. Also among the canons, the *cantor* and *succentor* were called upon to teach. The term *lector* or *scholasticus* were often used interchangeably as well as *rector scholae*.<sup>30</sup> Although all of the eleven Hungarian dioceses (plus Bosnia and Zagreb) show *lectors*, *sublectors*, *cantors* in their registers, still it is uncertain that schools with continuous instruction can be found at each of these cathedral seats. For the 36-year period on which we place our focus there is definite reference to schools or students in six cathedral towns and at one chantry. In the city of Eger students greeted Archbishop Bakocz on several occasions between 1493-1496 and received money for their singing. Those students who during Holy Week stood guard at the Holy Sepulcher, were also paid special fees.<sup>31</sup> At the archiepiscopal seat of Esztergom a cathedral school of great fame had existed for a long time. Among its *lectors* and *cantors* are a number of outstanding men who played an important role in the ecclesiastical and intellectual life of the kingdom.<sup>32</sup> The bishopric of Pécs had a flourishing cathedral school. This was especially true in the early years of the sixteenth century when a large number of students studied here. This cathedral school is referred to as a *scola maior*. The term *scola maior* has been translated into *Hochschule*, which in German is another name for university and thus, lead to considerable confusion. The fact is, however, that we are dealing with a cathedral school here

and under no circumstances a university.<sup>33</sup> The city of Várad (Grosswardein), which became a center of scholarship under Bishop Johannes Vitéz<sup>34</sup> in the mid 15th Century, continued to be an important cathedral school well into the sixteenth century. Among the notable alumni of this school was Petrus Váradi, one of the main exponents of Neo Platonism in Hungary, who ended his career as Archbishop of Kalocsa in 1501.<sup>35</sup> Another student, Nicolaus Gerendi became Bishop of Transylvania. The most famous student at Várad was Nicolaus Olah, who studied here between 1506 and 1512. Olah later became a Canon at Esztergom, Privy Chancellor and after the Battle of Mohács accompanied the widowed queen Maria to Bruxelles.<sup>36</sup> He became a friend of Erasmus and upon returning to Hungary ended his career as Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate. Olah played a major role in the history of late humanism in Hungary as well as the beginnings of the Counter-Reformation.<sup>37</sup>

The cathedral school of Veszprém was the most famous of the institutions of learning in 13th Century Hungary. Some over-zealous scholars have even called it a university.<sup>38</sup> During the period 1490-1526, mention is made on several occasions of the teachers of the cathedral school.<sup>39</sup> The first mention of the cathedral school of Zagreb occurs in 1334. Almost two hundred years later, a month before the battle of Mohács, king Louis II instructed the *bán* (governor) of Dalmatia-Croatia and Slavonia to use his best judgment when dealing with the clergy and students in preparation for military emergencies.<sup>40</sup> After this date (July 31, 1526), there is no information on the school of Zagreb.

#### 7. *Students and Teachers at the Cathedral and Chantry Schools.*

Scattered evidence allows us to make some generalizations about the operation of the cathedral schools. Indication is that most of the students at these schools were *clerici* and had Minor Orders. There is, however, evidence that lay students attended as well. The statutes of Esztergom indicate clearly what fees the non-clerical students had to pay.<sup>41</sup> There are repeated references also to students singing at Mass and on other religious occasions receiving payment. Sometimes they begged for food.<sup>42</sup> Students as well as teachers show up in lawsuits as well as in criminal cases. A canon from the chapter of Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweissenburg), who was teacher or *scholasticus*, asked for dispensation in 1504, for having caused the death of a woman. It appears that the pious canon was asleep when somebody woke him in the middle of the night with loud knocks on the church door. Armed with his sword he ran out, found only a woman, cursed her saying that the Devil had brought her there and in a fit of anger stabbed her in the thigh. At this point two eager students also show up and with a

shield delivered a few blows "ad partem posteriorem sui." The poor woman expired in a week.<sup>43</sup> Prohibitions against students carrying arms show up repeatedly in the documents, as do prohibitions against extravagance of dress and equipment.<sup>44</sup>

A synod at Lőcse decreed that students (scholars) should wear long and proper attire. They should not wear gold or silver rings on their fingers. Also to be avoided in public are belts, bags, saddles with gold decorations; even Venetian copper should not be used. Their hair should be properly cut, their outer garment should be closed and red or green stocking should not be worn. In general the students are to behave decently and properly so as not to offend the sensibilities of laymen.<sup>45</sup> Transgressions were severely punished.

The instruction at cathedral and chantry schools followed the example of western European standards. The curriculum follows the *artes-liberales*. Once the student learned to read and write, the teacher introduced the pupils to Donatus and later to the *Docrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu, Priscianus, the *Disticha Moralia* of Cato. The preparation of the students was very similar to the preparatory teaching at Parisian Colleges.<sup>46</sup>

Those who finished their education at a cathedral or chantry school either continued their studies at one of the neighboring universities or became parish priests in villages, towns or cities. Some received ecclesiastical benefices but were often slow in taking their Major Orders, a practice very common in late 15th - early 16th century Hungary.<sup>47</sup> Students who went abroad for further studies often returned to their dioceses after receiving one or more degrees and were rewarded with canonships. The number of university educated canons in this period is fairly high. Among these canons are a number of scholars, bibliophiles and art connoisseurs<sup>48</sup> whose role in the history of early sixteenth century humanism has not yet been adequately treated.

## 8. *The Schools of the Mendicant Orders*

The schools of the religious orders present a special problem. The two major mendicant orders in Hungary, the Dominicans and Franciscans, placed renewed emphasis on education in the second half of the fifteenth century. Giovanni Capistrano exhorted the Franciscans to devote more attention to the schooling of their members in his tract *De promovendo studio inter Minores Observantes*.<sup>49</sup> In 1454, the provincial meeting of Franciscans in Eger decried the lack of opportunity for higher education for the younger members of the order and encouraged that they be sent abroad.<sup>50</sup> Franciscans did frequent the University of Cracow in fairly large numbers. The Dominican province in Hungary was reorganized and reformed by the Viennese



theology professor, Leonhardus Huntpichler of Brixenthal, who undertook the task of reform after 1454 and visited the Hungarian convents on several occasions.<sup>51</sup> As a man of great learning it is not surprising that he stressed education for members of his order and later recommended several Viennese Dominicans for the newly founded University of Pozsony.<sup>52</sup> Beside the many Dominicans in Italy we know that the Hungarian province also sent some of its members to Paris and Cologne.<sup>53</sup>

Exactly what type of education was available in the various convents does leave, however, a number of unanswered questions. Although documentary evidence is scarce, there seems to be no doubt that the mendicants had some excellent schools for their members. The fact that Franciscans and Dominicans frequented universities obviously implies that they had adequate preparation at the *studium particulare* of their respective convents. Another indication of their intellectual awareness is the active work of the mendicant orders in preaching and the role they played in the development of vernacular literature in Hungary in the last years of the fifteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth.<sup>54</sup>

Important centers of Franciscan activity where sizable schools or libraries can be found were Buda, Pest, Gyöngyös, Szeged and Csiksomlyo in Transylvania.<sup>55</sup> The major Dominican houses were at Buda, Pozsony, and Kassa.<sup>56</sup> Mention must also be made of the school of the Hermits of St. Augustine in Esztergom.<sup>57</sup>

#### 9. *The Rise of Education in the Towns and Cities.*

The increasing secularization of society in the later Middle Ages is evident in the rise of schools in the towns and cities. While urbanization in Hungary did lag behind western European standards, still a fairly large number of schools were in existence in the last decade of the 15th century and the first quarter of the sixteenth. The need for some elementary acquaintance with reading, writing, mathematics, which are obvious prerequisites for commerce and some of the trades, is the basic factor behind the rise of municipal schools. Well established schools, however, went far beyond instruction on the elementary level and many of the graduates of municipal schools found themselves at the universities, which Hungarian students frequented. The students were drawn mainly from the town itself and its immediate hinterlands although occasionally students from far away places were enrolled for instruction.<sup>58</sup>

The teacher at the municipal schools was elected by the burghers with the consent of the parish priest. The schoolmaster was invited to the town and offered a yearly contract.<sup>59</sup> Since towns often competed with each other for the services of well known schoolmasters it is not

surprising that the turnover was considerable. We also know of instances where the schoolmaster returned to a university for further study. A fairly large number of teachers were already university graduates when they were hired, some had even risen to the magisterial dignity.<sup>60</sup> In some cases the schoolmaster had one or more assistants, *socius*, *Geselle*, *locatus*, to aid him in carrying out the task of teaching.

The towns and the schoolmaster agreed on a yearly salary which was paid according to various installment schemes, differing with each locality. The set amount the city paid was, however, supplemented by various additional payments to which the schoolmaster was entitled. First of all the parents were sometimes obliged to pay a sum for each child attending the school.<sup>61</sup> Further income was derived from one or more of the following sources: Singing the "Salve Regina" in Church, singing on the feast of Corpus Christi, the Vigil of Christmas, Feast of St. George, and other feast days. The teacher could also receive payment for participation in processions, attendance at funerals or singing the Psalms at the Holy Sepulchre on Easter.<sup>62</sup> Some of the towns also provided for firewood and in the mining town of Selmezbánya the schoolmaster received a half "haufen" of meat each week.<sup>63</sup> A short distance away, at Kőrmőczbánya, a bonus was given to the master for extra effort among the young people.<sup>64</sup> The pay seems rather good and holds fairly steady in our period. By mid century, however, inflation more than doubled the salaries.<sup>65</sup> While it is true that most schoolmasters were at least in Minor Orders, there were some who were laymen. Furthermore, those who stayed in a city or town for several years often became part of the municipal power structure. Several schoolmasters became notaries, others rose to the position of justice or became members of the city council.<sup>66</sup>

The students either lived with their parents or roomed with strangers. In some instances we hear of students living in the school building itself.<sup>67</sup> Just as the schoolmaster had opportunities to get extra monies for various services, the student also could earn funds from benefactors, both from the city or from individuals. The most common way for students to receive money was to sing at Mass or during special religious devotions such as guarding the Holy Sepulchre at Eastertime. Money was also paid for students for greeting newly elected judges and city council fathers or in case the king or a powerful ecclesiastical lord passed through town. Students were paid for ringing the church bells at the opening of a fair or in warning of an approaching thunderstorm. In the Northwestern town of Sopron all students received 3 pints of wine at Christmas time.<sup>68</sup>

10. *The Szalkai Codex and the Curriculum at Sárospaták.*

A most interesting document concerning education in the late fifteenth century is preserved at the Archepiscopal Library of Esztergom. It is a codex of 258 pages and contains six sections. This volume was used at the school of Sárospaták as a textbook and contains extensive marginal notations by its original owner Ladislaus de Szalka, who finished copying it in 1490.<sup>69</sup> The codex indicates that the schoolmaster was a certain Johannes de Kiswarda who had received his bachelors degree at Cracow in 1484.<sup>70</sup> The six sections of the codex reveal the material that Ladislaus de Szalka and his fellow students at the Sárospaták school had to master. The Szalkai codex is divided in the following way: section 1—astronomy; section 2—music theory; 3—legal studies; 4—literature poetry; 5—same; 6—letter writing. Since the sections were later bound together we do not know what other parts there might have been which were not included in the book. Both the astronomical and legal material of the codex shows “modernity”, i.e. acquaintance with the prevailing interpretations of the day. The most original part of the volume seems to be the section dealing with music.<sup>71</sup>

Ladislaus Szalkai, whose school book this volume was, had an interesting career before him. There is no indication that he ever attended a university, and although his social origins were lowly, his father was a cobbler, he rose to become Archbishop-Primate of Hungary and died on the Battlefield of Mohács. According to his own account he was a school teacher at one time, and in that capacity was always able to get women to bed down with,—quite a recommendation for a future archbishop.<sup>72</sup>

11. *Level of instruction, number and location of schools.*

The Szalkai Codex shows that instruction was in Latin at the municipal schools but it is also probable that German and possibly Hungarian was also taught.<sup>73</sup> The level of excellence of at least some of the schools can be seen by the fact that a number of teachers with considerable reputation taught at these municipal schools. Andreas Gónczi (Melczer), who had received his degree from Cracow became a much respected teacher at the school in Pest until an invitation was extended to him to become head of the school of Kassa. He left Pest, settled in Kassa, taught, became notary, judge and councilman and later married a local woman.<sup>74</sup> The excellence of the Kassa school also attracted the English wandering scholar and poet Leonardus Coxe, who came to Hungary by way of Cracow.<sup>75</sup> Another poet-scholar Valentinus Eck was schoolmaster at Bártfa in 1518.<sup>76</sup> It is hard to imagine that university trained men with considerable international reputations would have consented to become schoolmasters at

municipal *scolae* if the level of instruction would have been elementary. The subsequent history of many of these city schools supports this view completely. The municipal schools did become, in the next decades, an important factor in the spread of Lutheranism in Hungary and played a major role in the spread of Reformation doctrines. Schools such as the one in Bártfa under Leonardus Stöckel, who had studied at Wittenberg and knew Melanchton,<sup>77</sup> or the school of Sárospatak under the great pedagogue, Comenius, a century later, remained important centers of learning and religion.<sup>78</sup>

The number of municipal schools in existence between 1490 and 1526, can be fairly well established. There is definite documentary evidence for 37 towns with school during this period as well as several references to schools either immediately before this period or after it. We also know that a number of the towns had more than one school within their walls. In 1525, there were 7 schools in Buda, 4 in Pozsony (also possibly a Jewish school), 3 in Brassó and the city of Szeged had 5 school masters.<sup>79</sup>

Before leaving the subject of city schools one more observation must be made concerning them, i.e. their geographic location. If we examine a map of the kingdom of Hungary and indicate the location of the city schools, it becomes obvious that an overwhelming majority of them were located in the cities of north Hungary (Zips), and to a lesser degree Transylvania. The reasons for this can be briefly summarized in the following way: the weight of urbanization was in these regions; because of mining and trade these cities were still relatively rich; the closeness of Cracow both as a center of trade and learning; these cities had a large German population and were more culturally advanced than their Hungarian or Slavic neighbors.<sup>80</sup> Added to this is an important factor: these regions did not suffer the utter devastation the Turks inflicted on the Hungarian lowlands, therefore, records, documents and buildings have survived in Northern Hungary and part of Transylvania in far greater quantities than in Turkish occupied regions. To blame everything on the Turkish occupation, however, is historically not sound, for they were *always* the more highly developed regions of the Hungarian kingdom.

## 12. *The Village Schools. Conclusion.*

Finally a few comments on the village schools of Hungary. The most rudimentary education, instruction in the *Pater Noster*, the *Ave Maria* and the *Credo* took place in the villages. The instruction was provided by the parish priest and in some rare instances by a village school teacher. Attempts were also made to teach singing so that the children could more fully assist at Mass. Because of the general insignificance of village schools reference to them in documents are

not very frequent and usually are of an indirect nature.<sup>81</sup> About six dozen village schools are mentioned in the thirty-six years between 1440 and 1526.<sup>82</sup> It is most unfortunate that we have such paucity of documents dealing with the village schools. More information on this elementary level of instruction would facilitate the evaluation of the status of literacy in Hungary.

What is evident here is that an intellectual continuity remained following the death of Matthias Corvinus and that the general decline of the kingdom in all other respects is not reflected in education or culture. The disaster of Mohács, on the other hand, marks a great turning point not only in the political history, but cultural development as well. Because of the subsequent tri-partate division of the kingdom, sectarian antagonism and incessant wars, it really seemed that Hungary, in mid sixteenth century, was the stepchild of Fate.

#### NOTES

1. Lajos Elekes, *Rendiség és központosság a feudális államokban* [Estates and Centralization in the Feudal States], Budapest, 1963; also by the same author: "Systeme dietal des Ordres et centralisation dans les Etats feodaux," *La Renaissance et la Reformation en Pologne et en Hongrie (1450-1650)*, Budapest, 1963, pp. 331-395. György Bónis, "Recherches hongroises sur les institutions des Ordres," *Acta Historica*, 17 (1971), pp. 173-204.
2. The problems of urbanization and economic development have been treated in a number of studies in recent years, especially: Jenő Szűcs, *Városok és kézművesség a XV századi Magyarországon* [Cities and Artisans in 15th Century Hungary], Budapest, 1955, pp. 172-179; also by the same author: "Das Stadtwesen in Ungarn im 15-17 Jh.," *La Renaissance et la Reformation en Pologne et en Hongrie, 1450-1650*, Budapest, 1963, pp. 117-119. Also see: Vera Bácskai, *Magyar mezővárosok a XV században* [Hungarian Manorial Towns in the 15th century], Budapest, 1965, pp. 20-21; 30-43; István Szabó, "La repertition de la population de la Hongrie entre les bourgades et les villages dans les années 1449-1526", *Études Historiques*, Budapest, 1960, I, pp. 359-368. On social and economic development see: László Makkai, "Die Hauptzuge der wirtschaftlichsozialen Entwicklung Ungarns im 15-17 Jh.," *Ren.Ref. en Pol. et Hong.*, pp. 33-38; cf. Erik Fügedi, "Die Aussenhandel Ungarns am Anfang des 16 Jahrhunderts", *Der Aussenhandel Ostmitteleuropas 1450-1650*, Köln-Wien, 1971, pp. 56-79. The best study on agrarian development is by: Zsigmond-Pál Pach, *Nyugat-Európai és Magyarországi agrárfejlődés a XV-XVII században* [Western European and Hungarian Agrarian Development in the XV-XVIII centuries], Budapest, 1963, pp. 45-95.
3. The most recent study on the uprising is by Gábor Barta and Antal Fekete-Nagy, *Parasztháború 1514-ben* [The Peasant War of 1514], Budapest, 1973; also Gábor Barta, *1514*, Budapest, 1972. On the plight of the peasantry see: Zsigmond-Pál Pach, "Die Stellung des ungarischen Bauernkrieges von 1514 in der Agrargeschichte", *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Strukturen im saekularen Wandel: Festschrift für Wilhelm Abel*, Hannover, 1974, pp. 199-211. An excellent contemporary account was written by the poet Stephanus Taurinus entitled *Stauromachia*, edited and translated by László Geréb, Budapest, [1945?], pp. 11-84. On the leader of the rebellion and the general background also see: Sándor Marki, *Dosa György*, Budapest, 1913.

4. The battle of Mohács and its results are told by a contemporary historian Georgius Sirimiensis, *De Perditione Regni Hungarorum* (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum), edit. L. Juhász, Budapest, 1938; In Hungarian translation: György Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról* (Monumenta Hungarica V.), transl. L. Juhász, Budapest, 1961. Also see: László Erdélyi, *A Mohácsi vész nemzedéke* [The Generation of the Mohács Disaster] Szeged, 1941, and Imre Lukinich (ed.), *Mohácsi Emlékkönyv 1526* [Commemorative for the Battle of Mohács 1526], Budapest, 1926.
5. Loránd Szilágyi, *A Magyar királyi kancellária szerepe az államkormányzatban, 1458-1526* [The Role of the Royal Chancery in the Government of the Realm, 1458-1526], Budapest, 1930, pp. 1-24; György Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* [The Legally Trained Intelligensia in Hungary before the Battle of Mohács], Budapest, 1971, pp. 219-244.
6. Concerning the University of Pécs, see: Jenő Ábel, *Egyetemeink a középkorban* [Our Universities in the Middle Ages], Budapest, 1881, pp. 9-17; 49-56. Remig Békefi, *A pécsi egyetem* [The University of Pécs], Budapest, 1909. Also: Andor Csizmadia (ed.), *Jubileumi Tanulmányok a Pécsi egyetem történetéből* [Studies on the Occasion of the Jubilee of the University of Pécs] Pécs, 1967. Astrik L. Gábriel, *The Medieval Universities of Pécs and Pozsony*, Frankfurt a.M., 1969, pp. 9-35, and the most recent summary: Tibor Klaniczay, "Megoldott és megoldatlan kérdések az első Magyar egyetem körül" [Solved and Unsolved Questions Concerning the First Hungarian University]. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 78 (1974), pp. 161-177.
7. For the university of Óbuda see: Konrád Heilig, "Zur Geschichte der Ältesten ungarischen Universitäten und des Magister Benedikt von Makra", *Jahrbuch des Wiener ungarischen Historischen Instituts*, 1 (1931), pp. 41-49; Herman Diener, "Zur Geschichte der Universitäts Gründungen in Alt-Ofen (1935) und Nantes (1423)", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 42-43 (1963), pp. 265-284; Leslie S. Domonkos, "The History of the Sigismundean Foundation of the University of Óbuda (Hungary)" *Studium Generale; Studies Offered to Astrik L. Gábriel*, University of Notre Dame, 1967, pp. 1-33.
8. On Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) see: Gábriel, *Medieval Universities*, pp. 37-50; Mihály Császár, *Az Akadémia Istropolitana; Mátyás király pozsonyi egyeteme* [The Academia Istropolitana; the University of Pozsony founded by King Matthias], Pozsony, 1914; Jenő Ábel, *Egyetemeink a középkorban*, pp. 27-37; 61-83; Péter Ratkos, "Vztah Jana zo Zredny a Juraja Schonberga k univerzite Istropolitana" [The Relations of Johannes de Zredna and Georgius Schonberg to the Istropolitana University], *Humanismus a renesancia na Slovensky v 15-16 storoci*, Bratislava, 1967, pp. 67-87. Also see my study: "The Origins of the University of Pozsony in the Fifteenth Century", *The New Review, Journal of East European History*, 9 (1969), pp. 270-289; Károly Rebro, "K Dejinam academie Istropolitany" [Concerning the Academia Istropolitana], *Slovenska Archivista*, 2 (1967), pp. 3-28.
9. Concerning the University of Buda see: Nándor Knauz, "Mátyás király budai egyeteme" [Matthias' University of Buda], *Magyar Sion*, 3 (1865), p. 71; András Harsányi, *A Domonkosrend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt* [The Dominican Order in Hungary before the Reformation], Debrecen, 1938, pp. 145-231; Leslie S. Domonkos, *A History of Three Early Hungarian Universities: Óbuda, Pozsony and Buda*, Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1966, pp. 126-174. On the assignment of the Parisian scholars to Buda see: Benedictus Reickert (ed.), *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica IX: Acta Capitolorum Generalium IV*, Rome, 1899, pp. 68-69.
10. *Mon. Ord. Praed. Hist. IX: Act. Cap. Gen. IV*, pp. 68, 115, 211, 205, 238.
11. Etienne Barta, "L'Université Charles de Prague et la Hongrie", *Revue d'histoire comparée*, 7 (1948), pp. 219-278.
12. Károly Schrauf, *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis 1493-1558*, Budapest, 1893, p. XVI; Endre Kovács, *A krakkói egyetem és a Magyar*

- művelődés: Adalékok a Magyar-Lengyel kapcsolatok XV-XVI századi történetéhez* [The University of Cracow and Hungarian Culture: Contributions to the History of Hungarian-Polish Relations], Budapest, 1964, pp. 23-24. For an attempt to identify students from Northern Hungary at the university of Cracow, see the study of Pavel Horváth, "Studenti zo Slovenska na krakovskej univerzitet v 15. a v prvej polovici 16. storicia" [Students from Slovakia at the University of Cracow in the 15th and first half of the 16th Centuries], *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensky v. 15-16 storici*, Bratislava, 1967, pp. 162-172.
13. Schrauf, *op. cit.*, p. 41 " . . . quod per ista disturbia nostre patrie pauci studiosi hanc domum incolerent, nos hac ipsa domo privare statuerant."
  14. Bónis, *Jogtudó értelmiség*, pp. 325-333.
  15. On the role of the Hungarian *bursa* see H. Barycz, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego w epoce humanizmu* [The History of the Jagellonian University in the Age of Humanism], Cracow, 1935, p. 43; cf. Kovács, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Unfortunately, many of the Hungarian students became involved in fights at the university and the *Acta Rectoralia* is full of complaints against them. (See; *Acta Rec. I.*, nos. 1356, 1732, 2315, 2131, 2132, II: 399, 400.)
  16. Kovács, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
  17. The records of the Hungarian nation have fortunately survived and have been published: Károly Schrauf, *A bécsi egyetem Magyar nemzetének anyakönyve, 1453-1630* [The Registers of the Hungarian Nation at the University of Vienna, 1453-1630], Budapest, 1902. An attempt to identify the students from Northern Hungary who studied at Vienna is undertaken by Matus Kucera, "Studenti zo Slovenska na viedenskej univerzite do r. 1530" [Students from Slovakia at the University of Vienna to 1530], *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensky v. 15-16 storici*, Bratislava, 1967, pp. 173-188.
  18. Schrauf, *A bécsi egyetem*, pp. 188-191.
  19. Endre Veress, *Matricula et Acta Hungarorum in Universitatibus Italiae Studentium 1221-1864*, Budapest, 1941, pp. LIII-LX, LXXXIX, CLIII-CLV. Also by the same author: *Matricula et Acta Hungarorum in Universitate Patavina Studentium 1264-1864*, Budapest, 1915, pp. 11-28. Also see: György Bónis, "Gli scolari ungheresi di Padova alla corte degli Jagelloni", *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, Florence, 1973, pp. 227-244; Elda Martellozzo Forin, "Note d'Archivio sul soggiorno Padovano di studenti ungheresi, 1492-1563", *Ibid.*, pp. 245-260.
  20. Bónis, *Jogtudó értelmiség*, pp. 219-245.
  21. Bónis, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-334. Tibor Kardos, *A Magyarországi Humanizmus kora* [The Age of Humanism in Hungary], Budapest, 1955, pp. 202-227.
  22. Rabán Gerézdi, "Aldus Manutius magyar barátai" [Hungarian friends of Aldus Manutius], *Janus Pannoniustól Balassi Bálintig: Tanulmányok* [From Janus Pannonius to Bálint Balassi: Studies], Budapest, 1968, pp. 215-266.
  23. Veress, *Matricula et Acta Hung. Univ. Ital. Stud.*, (Bologna), p. 59-88; (Padua) 170-182; (Perugia) 311-314; (Florence) 329-330; (Vienna) 333-335; (Pavia) 342; (Ferrara) 377-385.
  24. Asztrik Gábriel, "Gosztonyi püspök és Párizsi mestere" [Bishop Gosztonyi and his Parisian Master], *Egyetemes Philológiai közlöny*, 60 (1936), pp. 15-29.
  25. A good example of this is the Bolognese professor Philippo Beroaldo, who dedicated his edition of Apuleius' *Golden Ass* to Petrus Váradi, Archbishop of Kalocsa: Rabán Gerézdi, "A levélíró Váradi Péter" [The Letter-writer Petrus Váradi], *Pannonius-Balassi*, pp. 120-126.
  26. Jozsef Fitz, *A magyar nyomdászat, könyvkiadás és könyvkereskedelem története a Mohácsi vész előtt* [History of Hungarian Printing, Editing and Book Trade before the Battle of Mohács], Vol. I, Budapest, 1959, pp. 204-220. On the book dealers of Buda who secured volumes for the Hungarian market see: Gyula Végh, *Budai könyvárusok jelvényei 1488-1525* [The Printers' Signs of Buda Book Sellers 1488-1525], Budapest, 1923, pp.

- 6-31. On the special significance of Cracow as center of Hungarian printing; Béla Varjas "A magyar könyvkiadás kezdetei és a krakkói magyar nyelvű kiadványok" [The Beginnings of Hungarian Printing and the First Hungarian Language Editions], *Tanulmányok a Lengyel-Magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok köréből*, Budapest, 1969, pp. 79-128.
27. Sándor Fögel, *Celtis Konrád és a Magyarországi Humanisták* [Conrad Celtis and the Humanists of Hungary], Budapest, 1916, pp. 36-49; Jenő Ábel, *Magyarországi humanisták és a Dunai tudós társaság* [The Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana and the Humanist of Hungary], Budapest, 1880, pp. 102-110. On the broader subject of ties between Vienna and Buda see: Péter Klimes, *Bécs és a Magyar Humanizmus* [Vienna and Hungarian Humanism], Budapest, 1934.
  28. Ábel, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-102; Kovács, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
  29. Vincze Bunyitai, *A váradi káptalan legrégebbi statumai* [The Oldest Statutes of the Chapter of Várad], Nagyvárad, 1886, 1887. On the statutes of Zagreb see: J.B. Tkalčić, *Monumenta Historica Episcopatus Zagrebiensis, II*, Zagreb, 1874, pp. 68 ff.
  30. Remig Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* [The History of Cathedral Schools in Hungary until 1540], Budapest, 1910, pp. 41-42.
  31. Remig Békefi, *A népoktatás története Magyarországon 1540-ig* [The History of Popular Education until 1540], Budapest, 1914, pp. 342-344.
  32. Among the *lectors* we find Michael Keszthölcsi (1486-1497), who collected the poems of Janus Pannonius, Sigismundus Thurzo (1500), the future Bishop of Várad. Stephanus Brodarich, future Chancery official and historian was *cantor* in 1524. Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák*, pp. 99-103.
  33. Ede Petrovich, "A középkori pécsi egyetem megszűnése" [The Disappearance of the Medieval University of Pécs], *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* (1966), pp. 153-170; cf. Klaniczay, "Megoldott . . .", p. 172.
  34. Vilmos Franknoi, *Vitéz János Esztergomi érsek élete* [The Life of Johannes Vitéz, Archbishop of Esztergom], Budapest, 1879, pp. 147-166. Also see my article "Archbishop Johannes Vitéz, The Father of Hungarian Humanism, *New Hungarian Quarterly*, 15 (1975), in print.
  35. Gerézy, "Levéliőr, Váradi", p. 141. Also: Jozsef Huszti, "Platonista törekvések Mátyás király udvarában" [Platonic Aspirations at the Court of King Matthias], *Minerva* (1924), pp. 212-214.
  36. János Horváth, *Az irodalmi műveltség megoszlása: Magyar Humanizmus* [The Division of Literary Culture: Hungarian Humanism], Budapest, 1944, pp. 237-239. See also: Tibor Klaniczay (ed.), *A Magyar irodalom története 1600-ig* [The History of Hungarian Literature to 1600], I, Budapest, 1964, pp. 281-284.
  37. Kardos, *Humanizmus kora*, pp. 314-318.
  38. See: Heinrich Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, Graz, 1956, p. 413; Ábel, *Egyetemeink*, pp. 3-9; 47-49.
  39. Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák*, pp. 173-174.
  40. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
  41. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
  42. *Ibid.*, pp. 277, 285.
  43. ". . . cui dixit: si diabolus illam hic adduxisset, et mox cum illam in femore non leviter percussit cum duobus scholaribus . . . cum clipeo ad partem posteriorem sui corporis pluribus ictibus verbertavit", *Ibid.*, p. 435.
  44. The carrying of weapons by students from Hungary was always a major problem. At universities abroad, as well as in schools at home, they insisted that weapons, especially the sword, were part of their dress.
  45. *Ibid.*, p. 410; cf. László Zolnai, *Ünnep és hétköznap a középkori Budán* [Feastday and Everyday in Medieval Buda] Budapest, 1969, p. 172.
  46. Asztrik Gábiel, "Preparatory teaching in the Parisian Colleges during the



- Fourteenth Century", *Garlandia: Studies in the History of the Medieval University*, Frankfurt a.M., 1969, pp. 97-124.
47. Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical Society in Medieval Hungary], Budapest, 1971, pp. 171-173.
  48. See my article "Ecclesiastical Patronage as a Factor in the Hungarian Renaissance". *New Review of East European History*. 14 (1974), pp. 100-116.
  49. *Ödön Bölcskey, Capistránói Szent János élete és kora* [The life and Times of Saint John Capistrano], Vol. III, Budapest, 1924, p. 325.
  50. Arnold Magyar, "Die Ungarischen Reformstatuten des Fabian Ingali aus dem Jahre 1454. Vorgeschichte und Auswirkungen der Statuten", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, (1971), pp. 99-100. The previous interpretation of this reform was inaccurate: János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1710-ig* [The History of the Order of St. Francis in Hungary to 1710], Vol. I, Budapest, 1922, p. 64.
  51. Isnard W. Frank, "Leonhard Huntpichler O.P. (+ 1478). Theologie-professor und Ordensreformer in Wien", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 36 (1966) pp. 338-340.
  52. Isnard W. Frank, "Das Gutachten eines Wiener Dominikaners für die Universität Pressburg aus dem Jahre 1467", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 16 (1967), pp. 418-439.
  53. Béla Iványi, "Bilder aus der Vergangenheit der Ungarischen Dominikanerprovinz", *Melanges Mandonnet*, II, Paris, 1930, pp. 455-456.
  54. János Horváth, *A Magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei - Szent Istvántól Mohácsig* [The Beginnings of Hungarian Literacy from St. Stephen to Mohács], Budapest, 1944, pp. 120-125; 201-238. Klaniczay (ed.), *Irodalom történet*, pp. 138-145 particularly on preaching of Pelbart of Temesvár and Oswat of Laska.
  55. Karácsonyi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 19-22; 26-27; 59-60; 160-163; 137-139.
  56. Iványi, *op. cit.*, p. 453; Harsányi, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 ff.
  57. Ferenc Fallenbüchl, *Az Agostonrendiek Magyarországon* [The Hermits of St. Augustine in Hungary], Budapest, 1943, pp. 58-59.
  58. Békefi, *Népoktatás*, p. 35.
  59. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
  60. *Ibid.*, p. 102 (Magister Steynhofer), pp. 110-111 (Masters at Kassa).
  61. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
  62. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
  63. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 153.
  64. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 125-126.
  65. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.
  66. The career of Andreas Melczer Gonczy who settled in the city of Kassa is a fine example of this. See *ibid.*, note 74.
  67. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
  68. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37, 159, 389.
  69. The book is at the Archbishopal Library: Mss II. 395. For a full description of the codex see: István Genthon, *Magyarország műemlékei topográfijára* [The Topography of Historical Monuments in Hungary], I, *Esztergom*, Budapest, 1948, pp. 306-308. Cf. István Mészáros, *A Szalkai kódex és a XV. század végi Sárospataki iskola* [The Szalkai codex and the School of Sárospatak at the end of the 15th century], Budapest, 1972, pp. 11.
  70. In the fall semester of 1481, he entered the University of Cracow; "Johannes Petri Pelificis Kyswarda". See Adam Chmiel, *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, I, Cracow., 1881, p. 250. Among the list of Bachelors in September of 1484: Josephus Muczkowski (ed.), *Statuta nec non Liber Promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 and annum 1849*, Cracow, 1849, p. 91.
  71. Mészáros, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-198.
  72. According to the anecdotal account of Szerémi *De perditione*, p. 101, Archbishop Szalkai was the main instigator of action against the Turks before the

- Battle of Mohács. To show his bravery and resourcefulness he told the king, "when I was a student and the rector of the school, I was always able to get bed partners, with the help of my sword, from the herdsmen. Even when I was outnumbered, sometimes there were twelve of them, I was always able to get her."
73. On the problem of Hungarian instruction in schools see: István Mészáros, "Magyar nyelvű iskolai oktatásunk 15. századi kezdetei" [The Beginnings of Instruction in the Hungarian Language in the 15th Century], *Magyar Pedagogia*, 4 (1964), pp. 213-228; also: Békefi, *Népoktatás*, pp. 40-41. Of special interest is a school book written by Sebald Heyden entitled *Formulae Puerilium Colloquiorum* published in Strassburg in 1528. This work, which had paralleled dialogues in Latin and German, was expanded to quadrilingual by adding Polish and Hungarian in 1531. See: Lajos Dézsi, "Heyden Sebald gyermeki beszélgetéseinek latin-magyar szövege 1531-ből" [The Latin-Hungarian Texts of Sebald Heyden's Elementary Conversations from 1531], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 7 (1897), pp. 55-60.
  74. Békefi, *Népoktatás*, pp. 111-113.
  75. Kovács, pp. 91f. Cox had attended the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford and Paris before arriving at Cracow in 1518. On his career see the article by Thompson Cooper in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1908, Vol. IV, pp. 1336-1337.
  76. Kovács, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-90. Even while in Hungary, Eck continued to visit Cracow and had his books printed there.
  77. Békefi, *Népoktatás*, pp. 68-69; 73-83.
  78. For the impact of Comenius in Sárospatak see the studies in: Éva Földes-István Mészáros, *Comenius and Hungary*, Budapest, 1973. Also Endre Kovács (ed.), *Comenius Magyarországon-Comenius Sárospatakon irt műveiből* [Comenius in Hungary - From the Works of Comenius written in Hungary], Budapest, 1970.
  79. Békefi, *Népoktatás*, pp. 48-49, 50-51.
  80. Some of the richest municipal libraries and archives as well as the finest Gothic and Renaissance building could be found in Northeastern Hungary (Zips), now part of Slovakia.
  81. Endre Ivánka, "Iskolázás és népművelés" [Schooling and public instruction], *Magyar Művelődéstörténet: Magyar renaissance* [The History of Hungarian Culture; Hungarian Renaissance], II. Budapest, [1940], p. 439.
  82. Békefi, *Népoktatás*, pp. 461-482, puts the number of village and municipal schools at 130. See also Ivánka, *op. cit.*, p. 439, who places the number of schools in Hungary at the end of the 15th Century at about 150.

## Travel Reports on Hungarian Settlements In Canada, 1905-1928\*

Paul Bódy

Historical investigations of early Hungarian settlements in Canada have made relatively little use of a valuable contemporary source: reports by travellers who have observed early immigrant life and recorded their impressions. This paper seeks to illustrate the richness and value of these sources by commenting on the most noteworthy travel reports on Hungarian settlements.

The first published commentary and also the most significant report on the early Hungarian settlements is contained in the travel notes of Reverend Peter A. Vay.<sup>1</sup> The author was a high-ranking church dignitary (apostolic protonary and titular bishop), a missionary, and a noted interpreter of Oriental art who had visited China, Korea, Japan, Siberia and North America. Vay's general background and, especially, his broad knowledge of Asiatic and American cultures, make him a qualified commentator not only on immigrant settlements but also on Canadian society in 1905, the time of his visit to the young dominion. What makes Vay's travel notes even more useful and interesting is their spontaneous and unfinished form: his report consists of personal comments and reflections recorded during his journey. These notes and observations provide many insights into the lives of immigrants to Canada and serve as a suggestive commentary on Canadian social and political life at the turn of the century.

On arrival in Canada, Vay paid brief visits to Quebec City and Montreal. From here he proceeded to Ottawa where he was received by notables of Canadian public life including Governor General Lord Grey, Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

In the Canadian capital Vay had hoped to obtain information concerning the Hungarian settlements of Western Canada, but his inquiries apparently yielded no definite results. He was advised to go

---

\* The preparation of this article was made possible through a research grant from the International Research and Exchanges Board, New York City.