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**THE PERSONNEL OF THE CSANÁD CATHEDRAL CHAPTER  
IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES  
(1354–1526)**

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**Theses of the dissertation**



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## **Topic**

When writing my MA thesis in 2006 about the university studies of canons of Csanád in the late middle ages, I decided to continue analysing the personnel of the cathedral chapter. I was inspired by the monographs of József Köblös and Tamás Fedeles. Köblös surveyed the personnel of four chapters (Buda, Fehérvár, Győr, Pozsony) using prosopographic database. Fedeles gave a sociographical picture about the membership of Pécs cathedral chapter using similar method and the widest source base possible. Recently, Ilona Kristóf published a book focusing on the canons of Várad with the same aspects. My aim was to continue this line of systematic chapter researches and get to results that could be compared to these works'. I was hoping that by researching the biggest medieval church institution in the south of the Hungarian Great Plain I can find effects and make new observations, even though there are not too many sources remained.

The archontology of the cathedral chapter of Csanád was first compiled by Samu Borovszky. He published it in his work about *The general history of Csanád county* in 1896. Borovszky, according to his capabilities did a quite precise work drawing the structure and personnel of the chapter. This archontology was only improved by the greatest historian of the diocese of Csanád, Kálmán Juhász. Juhász wrote the history of the diocese in the period between 1030 and 1699 in eight volumes. During this huge work he collected a respectable base of sources concerning to the clerics of Csanád. Based on them he published a book about the cathedral chapter in 1941. From that time on nobody made research on this institution. Recently Martin Roos wrote a history of the Csanád diocese with no discussion of the middle clergy. Due to this there is no modern work available on this topic.

## **Chronological Borders**

The dissertation covers the period between 1354 and 1526. The explanation for this fact is that I wanted to get comparable results to the mentioned antecedent specialized literature. These chronological borders match with the monograph's of Fedeles and cover the period of time discussed in the works of Köblös and Kristóf. So these dates are not 'natural' turning points in the history of Csanád, which was occupied by the Turkish in the year of 1552. However these chronological borders should not be taken strictly, since there were certain people who already had their prebend already in the 1330s, and there were others who were in possession of benefices after the battle of Mohács as well.

## Sources

Unfortunately, medieval sources concerning the cathedral chapter of Csanád are far less in number than they are in the case of Western-European clerical bodies. Moreover, even the other Hungarian chapters are in better situation in terms of the sources relating to their history. In Csanád, no statutes, accounts or *protocolla* survived, so we can only rely on charters published by the body in its notarial function. Not counting the mentions, copies and replicas there are 486 known documents issued by the chapter. Kálmán Juhász knew only 222 from these documents, so I could use 264 more, compiling the archonotolgy and the prosopographical database of the cathedral chapter. However not every charter contains the list of dignitaries and names of the clerics who were taking part in the charter publishing activity of the corporation as testimonies, I managed to refine Juhász's archonotolgy significantly (beraktam egy vesszőt, de ezt a mondatot nem teljesen értem). The charters issued by the bishop's vicars also formed a part of my source basis, as between 1354 and 1526 thirteen members of the chapter held the office of vicar as well. The names of canons of Csanád also appear in diplomas published by other authorities. The papal registers are also essential sources for the membership of the corporation. However datas of *supplicatio*s and *annatas* are mainly available from the first half of the fifteenth century. The other further important sources are matriculation books of universities and the unknown book of *formulae* written before 1526.

## Structure of the Thesis

My dissertation consists of three parts. The first part contains the analysis of the membership of the chapter. My system of criteria follows the sociographic methods used by József Köblös and refined by Tamás Fedeles. By the adaptation of these methods I tried to make a complex summary that covers most aspects of the topic. After a short review of historiography of the topic I drew the organisational structure of the cathedral chapter. Then I reconstructed the incomes of the corporation and the diocese, as the incomes determined the prestige and the rank of the body in the hierarchy of the chapters. After all these I analyzed the origin, university studies, connections and mobility of the canons. These factors proved to be suitable to explore the internal structure of the chapter. The second part is an appendix of facts relating to the membership. The datas were put in different tables. The most important element of this part is the archontology of the body.

The third and final part is a collection of short biographies of the 255 people whom I wrote about in this thesis. 246 of them were 'real subjects' of the analysis, while in the case of the remaining 9 persons it is uncertain whether they really possessed benefices in the chapter or it was only the papal appointment they had. It must be noted that in spite of all my efforts in many cases, due to the use of pure Christian names, the identification of members is uncertain. Because of this phenomenon I could not analyse these clerics from numerous aspects.

## Results of the Research

Corresponding with the Hungarian practice, there were five dignitaries in the Csanád cathedral chapter: the provost (*prepositus*), the reader (*lector*), the chanter (*cantor*), the treasurer (*custos*) and the minor provost, who was the provost of the collegiate chapter of St. Salvator and the cathedral archdeacon in one. They were followed by six of the seven archdeacons (*archidiaconus*) of the diocese: the archdeacon of Temes, Arad, Maroselve, Torontál, Sebes and Krassó. The simple canons (*canonicus simplex*) followed the dignitaries and archdeacons. I have tried to estimate the incomes provided by certain prebends. It is very difficult to determine the exact amount of incomes. Datas of papal sources like *supplicatio*s and *annatas* certainly give the minimum of the incomes. According to my estimation the provost could count on 250, the minor provost 150, the *lector* and *cantor* on 100, the *custos* on 30-60, the archdeacons on 50-150, while the simple canons on 40-60 florins a year in the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century. These earnings can be considered as two thirds of the incomes provided by the prebends of Pécs, which was one of the richest and biggest cathedral chapter in Hungary. Unfortunately I have no datas concerning the earnings from the second half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century. So I could only analyse the incomes of the diocese from the above mentioned period of time. At the end of the 12th century the bishop of Csanád was at the 4th or 5th place on the list of the twelve Hungarian bishops according to a register about royal and episcopal incomes from the reign of Béla the Third. The next type of source available, concerning the earnings is *servitium* paying. From the beginning of the 14th century the bishop of Csanád had to pay 900 florins as *servitium*, so the income of the diocese was 2700 florins. By this we can rank the diocese on the 6-7th place amongst the 14 prelates of Hungary. The amount of the *servitium* of the bishop of Csanád didn't change in the 15th

century, however it fell back to the 8-9th place, because of the increase of other bishops' income. In 1525 a Venetian ambassador estimated the annual sums provided by Hungarian dioceses in his report. According to his estimation the bishop of Csanád had 3000 florins as annual earnings, and the 12th place in the hierarchy according to the income of their dioceses. So at the end of the middle ages Csanád went down among the poor dioceses. One of the main cause of this dramatic relapse was that from the end of the 14th century the Turkish raids continuously worsened the economic positions of the southern dioceses. Although the Turkish raids just amplified a process that began in the 13th century, namely that the economical power of the southern part of the Hungarian Big Plain decreased as the Turkish conquest on the Balkan peninsula narrowed and put an end to the economic connections with the Byzantine Empire. It is obvious that these processes had a serious impact on the benefices and on the membership of the cathedral chapter as well.

When studying the ways of joining the corporation, due to the specialized antecedent literature first the origin of canons was analysed. In most known cases people of villein origin (37%), nobles (30%) and town-dwellers (22%) became the members of the chapter. High nobility (barons, aristocratic families) was represented with 9 per cent, the foreigners with 3%. Putting these ratios side by side to other Hungarian chapters, I found the following: the majority of the membership came from the nobility and the class of burghers, these classes were the most represented ones in the other Hungarian bodies as well. The most significant differences are the high ratio of villeins and the low rate of foreigners. It seems, that the rate of foreigners was the lowest at Csanád amongst Hungarian cathedral chapters, as Tamás Fedeles already stated it. There were only 3 foreign clerics in the body, only 1,2% of every known prebendary. It is noteworthy that none of them were dignitary, but they were all archdeacons, and they obtained their stallums in the second half of the 14th century. Later the foreigners showed massive disinterest concerning the prebends of Csanád. Probably the king could not pay his highly qualified foreigner employees by giving the bishopric see of a poor diocese or giving stallums in its cathedral chapter. Therefore serfs and market-town burghers had more opportunity for obtaining a prebend.

During the above mentioned period, 35 out of the 246 members of the chapter continued their university studies, which equals to 14%. Thirty four percent of the canons who studied at university obtained an academic degree for sure, which may be considered as an average rate compared to both Hungarian and European practices. Most of them

obtained a diploma in arts, then the ratio of those gaining a degree in church-law or civil law follows. Sources available do not reveal if the canons of Csanád continued theology or medicinal studies at universities. Regarding the family and social background of the canons, we get the following results: 33,3% of those were from aristocratic families, 23,3% of those belonged to the smaller nobility, 59% to the burghers, 27,7% of those from villein families. The canons of Csanád studied at 6 universities at least. Since university education did not last for an extended period of time in Hungary during the Middle Ages, those who wished to study had to travel abroad. Corresponding with the Hungarian practice most of them went to Vienna (65,7%), then the number of those going to Krakow follows. Seven canons of Csanád went to Northern Italy, mainly to Padova. Only one canon went to the University of Prague. Looking at the university studies of archdeacons I came to the conclusion, that in Csanád also only a few of them (14%) went to universities and more or less studied law there.

I could find out or at least I could predict the way of receiving the stallum in case of 102 clerics out of the 246 members. Sixty three of them got into the cathedral chapter by personal contacts. Based on my informations it seems that most people joined the body with the help of their contacts inside the church, in case of 22 canons this way was the most likely. The phenomena was the same in the case of the cathedral chapter of Pécs. Then the group of those who were honoured with clerical prebends for serving the ruler follows (10 people for sure). Nine clerics had other external support playing role in their appointments. The measure of these two previous categories did not reach the rate of ecclesiastical connections. Presumably eight people got into the chapter due to university connections as they were studying at universities when there were members of the body as well. Probably five clerics received stallum as a result of familiarity. The type of notarial services and royal grace is represented with 2-2 demonstrable cases. These relations and connections rarely appear in their 'pure' forms, there were certain overlaps of categories of the personal contacts. I also have to emphasize that these relationships were revealed only in 41 percent of the studied cases.

Studying the ratio of becoming canon at once versus gradual promotion I found that 81% of dignitaries and archdeacons become prebendary at once while only 19% (7 canons) stepped from the level of simple canon to a higher position. Despite the low rate of known cases, this result corresponds to the trend revealed by Köblös and Fedeles.

In case of the dignitaries and archdeacons, 26 out of 36 people, which is 72%, got his prebend by external connections, while in the case of simple canons on the contrary, 20

out of 27 (74%) became member of the body as a result of internal relations. This phenomena also fits the results of Köblös and Fedeles. In total it seems that despite the fragmented sources available, known cases of getting into the cathedral chapter of Csanád reflect statewide trends.

The most analysable benefice level is the provostry. The way of getting this dignity is known in the case of 16 people out of the total 21 provost of the period. Almost in half of the revealed cases royal service was the determining connection, while nearly 1/3 were relatives or followers of the current bishop of Csanád. Additionally I know about two gradual promotions, one prebend exchange, one case of a protégé of Ozorai and one person who became provost by the help of an other clerical connection. In the light of these facts this dignity can be considered as a benefice closed from below. The majority of provosts came from above and outside of the body. Meanwhile half of the minor provosts became leader of the collegiate chapter by the help of aristocratic cousinhood or relationship. Only one case of royal service is known.

Territorial links played an important role in filling the vacancies as well. Clerics from Csanád, from the estates belonging to the cathedral chapter or to the bishop, or even from the neighbourhood of these estates had a great chance to get a benefice. To be able to do this research, first we had to reconstruct and had to do a mapping of the estates belonging to the cathedral chapter or to the bishop of Csanád. Then we had to compare the names of places with the given names according to the place of origin of the members of the body. As a result of territorial links 51 people, that is 50 per cent of the 102 analysed cases, became the member of the cathedral chapter in this way. Thirty eight clergymen of them (37,2 per cent) got into the chapter simply by territorial connection. In regard to the family and social background of the canons who got their stallum in this way, we have the following results: we found four villeins from the estates belonging to the chapter or to the bishop, two nobles from families holding estates together with the chapter, eight people of noble origin, fifteen town-dwellers and sixteen villeins from the neighbourhood of the estates belonging to the chapter or to the bishop. There were three residents from Csanád and two people of pending origin as well. Comparing our results with Western Hungarian chapters' (as the wrought Buda, Fehérvár, Győr, Pécs, Pozsony) we have found that this way of getting benefice was more significant in Csanád, probably because of Csanád's peripheral character.

These results strengthen my firm belief that the Csanád cathedral chapter can be considered as a provincial or peripheral type of medieval Hungarian cathedral chapters.

The diocese of Csanád was increasingly liable to the Turkish threat and depredation through its geographical situation. As a result of this regrettable situation, incomes of the diocese extremely decreased by the end of the Middle Ages. In accordance with this fact, the connection with the royal court was not so tight and there could be a relative disinterest toward the benefices of the chapter. An other consonant fact that the ratio of foreign clerics was the smallest in this body. Amid these circumstances, territorial connections could play a more important role in filling the vacancies.

Studying the horizontal mobility, when a clergyman continues his career inside the middle class of the clerical society, I realized that the personnel of the cathedral chapter of Csanád matches the most with the membership of the royal collegiate chapter of Arad. The relative high measure (seven people) unmistakably indicates the close ties between the two bodies. The causes of this tight connection were the geographical closeness, let's say vicinity, and being the nearest place with notarial function. Then the cathedral chapters of neighbouring dioceses follow in the aspect of horizontal mobility. There are 4-4 correspondence revealed with the personnel of the cathedral chapter of Várad, Transylvania and Bács-Kalocsa. Only one further corporation, the well analysed Pécs cathedral chapter reached the same measure. Three personal matches found with nearby chapter of Titel and with the further Győr. Two matches were revealed with the cathedral chapter of Esztergom, Szerém and the collegiate chapter of Buda. In the case of Fehérvár, Veszprém, Kő, Bosnia and Zágráb I found only one mutual member who continued his career there or arrived to Csanád from that body. It is possible to draw conclusions on the hierarchy of different chapters and their benefices in consequence of the incomes from the direction of mobility, though further datas and comparative analyses are needed to create the exact ranking. Now, due to the datas available, only statable that prebends of the cathedral chapter of Csanád were more profitable than the similar benefices of the cathedral chapter of Bosnia, Szerém and Titel. It seems that out of the neighbouring cathedral chapters just Várad and its dignities had more prestige than Csanád.

Looking at the vertical mobility, I mean those cases when canons continued their career by receiving more profitable prebends and this way getting to the middle class from the lower clergy or from the middle clergy into the group of prelates, I have found remarkable results too. Concerning the cathedral chapter of Csanád no closed levels were revealed as Köblös managed to do in the case of Transdanubian chapters. Only the provostry seems to be a level closed enough from below. Eleven canons became bishops. four of them were only titular bishops with no diocese. It is very interesting that bishoprics

received by provosts and archdeacons of the chapter were all low or medium rated, regarding to the incomes and to the prestige. This phenomena correlate with the fact, that the provostship of Csanád had a similar rank among the Hungarian provosts. In half of the known cases, a member of the body or a cleric from the Csanád diocese became the leader of the chapter. Concerning the archdeacons this rate was even higher. Regarding the mobility between the lower clergy and the middle class I found that choir priests hardly had the opportunity to obtain a stallum in the cathedral chapter. The ratio of this kind of promotion was 5% which is only one per cent beyond the rate established by Fedeles and drops behind the measure demonstrated by Köblös in the case of Győr. So I can neither verify nor confute that hypothesis of Köblös which says: it was more typical of cathedral chapters to recruit their members from below.

As for the accumulation of prebends (*cumulatio beneficiorum*) I discovered that forty three canons, 17% of the whole body had more than one benefice at the same time. This result supports the statement of József Köblös that despite of Hungarian laws forbidding accumulation of prebends, the canons did not consider this directive obligatory for themselves. The mesaure on the accumulation of benefices between the canons of Csanád was very close to the result of Köblös (15%) and Kristóf (22%), while it drops behind the practice of the canons of Pécs (32%).

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