

Árpád Bebes

**Royals on the road. A Comparative study of the travel patterns of two  
Hungarian kings Sigismund of Luxemburg and Matthias Corvinus**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

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by

Árpád Bebes

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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External Reader

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# Abstract

This thesis compares the travel patterns of two Hungarian kings in the Middle Ages, Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437) and Matthias Corvinus, based on their compiled itineraries. Norbert C. Tóth, and Matthias Horváth and several other authors before them have tried to compile the itineraries of medieval kings and follow their movements, using their charters. Itineraries are useful tools in aid of the historical research; especially with recent and ongoing research and the digitization of many charters. Although each king's life and times has been analyzed in its own context by many scholars, comparing their travel patterns was the aim of this study. As an important factor, this paper also focuses on visual representations (such as maps and tables) which were made based on the most recently compiled itineraries of the kings. Here the separate journeys are grouped into different geographical areas and route options and analyzed separately. This allows comparing these areas and routes and discovering their differences and similarities. The conclusion is, firstly, the highest frequency of appearances was in Buda in both case, which already marks its importance at the time. Secondly, many of the most frequented settlements are on the northwest, which suggests that the diplomatic orientation of both kings was there. Thirdly, although towns and places on the southern side of the kingdom were "scarcely" frequented, numerous journeys led to the south, mostly in the form of military campaigns against the Ottomans. From the three regions Transdanubia shows little difference between the kings (as in Matthias used the roads there in his last 10 years). The Great Plain shows the most differences between the kings because the importance of Oradea and Timișoara dropped heavily after Sigismund and the town of Szeged emerged as a staging point. Lastly, Transylvania shows almost no differences in route choices (just that Sigismund travelled there more, but his longer

reign could explain that). The road system there seems to have allowed limited options for the kings' travels.

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# Introduction

In this paper I aim to analyze the travel patterns of two Hungarian kings in the Middle Ages, that is, Sigismund of Luxemburg and Matthias Corvinus. The reason why I chose them is because of their recently compiled, thorough itineraries which allow the comparison between these two kings in such a manner. Another reason was the interesting political panorama which surrounded Hungary during their reigns (that is, the great political changes in the fourteenth century around Hungary). In my opinion, the itineraries are important for any study of political and diplomatic history, but they can also contribute research in other areas such as archaeology, economic history, ecclesiastical history, and everyday life as well. Research on the itineraries raises many questions, for example, how each king managed his time and territory by travelling out into it. The impact they had on a territory (i.e., towns) by travelling there should be considered, and, as certain towns emerged they might have influenced the travel patterns of the ruler as well.<sup>1</sup> A thesis about spatial analysis, however, also includes the necessity to create maps. Therefore, I intend to create a range of maps using the tool QGIS, I think is a fairly useful tool for historians for spatial analysis. In many itinerary researches the connection between the itinerary entries are shown on maps as well, however, without the road system and the geographical information regarding the area the

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<sup>1</sup> As Katalin Szende mentions in her article “The close connection between long-distance communication networks and urban development has long been discussed by both historians and human geographers,” Katalin Szende, “‘Towns Along the Way’. Changing Patterns of Long-distance Trade and the Urban Network of Medieval Hungary,” In: Ed. Houben Hubert, Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Towns and Communication. Volume 2: *Communication between Towns. Proceedings of the Meetings of the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT)*. Lecce: Mario Congedo Editore, 2011. 161-225. 161 She also mentions that it is unnecessary to determine whether a town created long-distance networks or the other way around, as it was probably a reciprocal relationship.

connected nodes could be hard to understand or lead into misinterpretation. Therefore I will consider these factors in my work if possible.

In my research I will descriptively analyze the routes chosen by the kings according to the itineraries, and address the question: What were the patterns of route selection of the two Hungarian kings? I hope to see similarities and, of course, differences as well. Although one could argue that the travel pattern would vary because of the individuals and their politics, I think that the head of the state (i.e., the king himself) had to attend protocol patterns that were “built into” his schedule, which could also have impacted his travel choice. Travelling on the main roads would be the most logical option (a so-called regular journey) most times, but there may have been “irregular” travel choices when the king ignored the most obvious choice for certain political, diplomatic or personal preferences or reasons.

I am also addressing the question of which route choices were similar for each king, which could reveal the importance (and the changes) of certain roads or settlements in the course of a long time-frame. I think this could contribute to later research in other areas as well. In my discussion, I will break the analysis into three separate regions, namely: Transdanubia, The Great Plain, and Transylvania. although journeys often crossed paths in the different regions, I will only analyze the details in the appropriate region. Within the regions, I identified the main road networks and will further separate my analysis according to them. With this I am hoping to see which route options were “popular” for or “ignored” by each king. This could also determine the importance of a certain region in the king’s landscape view. I will also look into the general frequencies of settlements as they are noted in the itineraries. The itineraries themselves are mostly based on charters and the presence of the king, which many times was problematic or cannot be proved; I will use a rough estimation of these frequencies to support my conclusions. Although these data should be

handled with caution, they have the potential to show a general pattern allowing further discussion.

# 1. Itineraries and the road-system

The itineraries of kings are an indispensable auxiliary tool for studying political history. To identify the course of the different campaigns, the dynamics and duration, it is necessary to locate the places either kings themselves or their generals or nobles visited<sup>2</sup>

## 1.1, Itinerary and the itinerant kingship

In Europe in the Middle Ages itinerant rulership emerged in all of the Germanic successor kingdoms of the Roman Empire and several other territories that later became Ireland, Scandinavia, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary and Russia.<sup>3</sup> Bernhardt defines it as: “Itinerant kingship refers to government in which a king carries out all the functions and symbolic representations of governing by periodically or constantly travelling throughout the areas of his dominion.”<sup>4</sup> Although Bernhardt refers here to the well documented Frankish-Carolingian and German realms he also states that this practice existed throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. There are other examples outside the continent so it was not a special European pattern, but rather a type of government which could be found in many pre-modern societies.<sup>5</sup> In such societies, kings or rulers travelled constantly throughout their territories enhancing their authority with their presence and a display of power. On these journeys they pronounced justice, gave gifts and honours, fought campaigns against their enemies, and secured their territories. Thus, the “king-in-motion” possessed his realm both

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<sup>2</sup> Richárd Horváth, “Hol tartózkodik a király? Hunyadi Mátyás itineráriuma” [Where is the king? The itinerary of Matthias Corvinus] *História* 30 (2008): 31-34.

<sup>3</sup> John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936-1075*, (Cambridge University Press: New York, (1993), 47.

<sup>4</sup> Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship...* (1993), 45. Here he cites other older secondary literature on this topic.

<sup>5</sup> Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship...* (1993), 45-46.

symbolically and actually.<sup>6</sup> This situation, however, was not restricted to rulers, but also applied to others who had some kind of dominion in the Middle Ages such as bishops, abbots, dukes, and nobles who travelled to display their authority in their territories.<sup>7</sup> In this paper I focus two medieval Hungarian kings. Their itineraries were compiled from various sources that also include records of the movements of their officials.

There are three major types of itinerant kingship; the frequency and the pace of movement were different in each case. First, there were societies where the ruler had a permanent residence from where he usually started his journeys and to which he always returned. In other domains the ruler had several important residences in which he spent longer times in the course of a journey, for example, winter retreats. The third type of ruler was on the move almost constantly to meet different needs; he might have visited some locations more frequently than others, which marks these regions as more important than others for some reason.<sup>8</sup>

In this study I focus on two kings of the Kingdom of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus and Sigismund of Luxemburg, who ruled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. While the “classic” form of itinerant kingship defined by Bernhardt no longer existed in this period, the “king-in-motion” and many of its associated elements could still be found, since kings travelled throughout the realm during most of their reign. Like other monarchs around this time in Europe, both Matthias and Sigismund lived mostly “on the road.”

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<sup>6</sup> Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship...* (1993), 45-46.

<sup>7</sup> Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship...* (1993), 45.

<sup>8</sup> Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship...* (1993), 47.

Engel states that all the travels of the Hungarian medieval kings had the specific purpose of managing almost all their concerns personally; for instance, they led military campaigns and conducted politics face-to-face or visited one of their retreats or hunting lodges. He argues that in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century itineraries, when it is relatively easy to follow the paths of the kings, it seems that no other purposes than politics or resting would have motivated these travels.<sup>9</sup>

In this paper I will expand on Engel's insights and focus on the patterns of routes chosen by these Hungarian kings, ascertaining, for example, whether either of them followed regular path(s) and what the motivations may have been for any detours. One could argue that because they were two different persons their paths cannot be compared, however, given their socio-political status I think several aspects of their travels could show similarities. The nodes of these journeys, i.e., the towns along the way, could hold important factors in the analysis. It is probable that their spatial characteristics, socio-political or economic importance could have contributed to the kings' choices of routes.

Studies about kings' travels to date have concentrated more on the everyday-life aspects. There are many sources<sup>10</sup> covering the preparation for and the process of such journeys that yield excellent material. Studies have focused less on the aspects of how far, by what route, and to what destinations late medieval kings travelled; this information is significant in helping to uncover the nature of how they wielded their power. It has become

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<sup>9</sup> Pál Engel, "Az utazó király: Zsigmond itineráriuma" [The travelling king: The itinerary of Sigismund]. in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387-1437. I. Tanulmányok* [The Arts in the Age of King Sigismund], ed. László Beke, Ernő Marosi, Tünde Wehli (Budapest: Történeti Múzeum, 1987), 70.

<sup>10</sup> ?



an interesting research topic recently because more detailed itineraries have been created using the vast number of royal charters and narrative sources as research tools.

There were great differences between these two kings. They made different numbers of confirmed appearances and visited different numbers of settlements. Such places can be correlated with the years they reigned, and more importantly, with the patterns of their travels. The main focus of this work is to uncover differences or similarities in the activities of these two kings and compare them from the viewpoint of the exercise of power.

## 1.2, Historiography

As a background and for the historiography review about itineraries of this research I collected information from the historiography of the already existing itineraries such as Richárd Horváth<sup>11</sup>, Norbert C. Tóth<sup>12</sup>, and others, including some of the latest publications.

### 1.2.1, Anglo-Saxon and German itineraries

Recording travels and journeys goes back to early periods in history, however, presenting these journeys with a scientific purpose only appeared in the nineteenth century, particularly in England. One of the earliest is the itinerary of King John (1199-1216)<sup>13</sup>, the work of Thomas Hardy from 1835 – a former royal archivist in England – who used an itinerary for

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<sup>11</sup> Richárd Horváth, *Itineraria regis Matthiae Corvini et reginae Beatricis de Aragonia (1458–[1476]–1490)*, [The itinerary of King Matthias Corvinus and Beatrix of Aragon], História Könyvtár Kronológiák, Adattárak 12 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [hereafter MTA] Történettudományi Intézete, (2011)).

<sup>12</sup> Pál Engel and Norbert C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum et reginarum (1382-1438)* [Itinerary of kings and queens (1382-1438)]. *Subsidia ad historiam mediaevi Hungariae inquirendam* 1 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005)

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Duffus Hardy, *A Description of the Patent Rolls in the Tower of London: To Which is Added an Itinerary of King John, with Prefatory Observations* (London, 1835), cited in Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 11.

the purpose of organizing the huge number of royal documents kept in the Tower of London.<sup>14</sup> Soon other similar works followed this one, such as the Itinerary of Edward II (1307-1327) by Charles Henry Heartshorne.<sup>15</sup> This published the whereabouts of the king by a daily schedule. The main problem is similar to that of Hardy's list; it only used general source references and is hard to follow.<sup>16</sup>

Another significant work in English historiography is the Itinerary of Henry II (1154-1189) compiled by Robert W. Eyton.<sup>17</sup> One of its strengths is that it has a wide range of source quotations and critical notes as well. Another advantage is that Eyton introduced a new method; to locate the king's whereabouts he used a database of the whereabouts of the king's son or wife or sometimes one of his main officers.<sup>18</sup>

In comparison, in the nineteenth century compiling itineraries for the German territories was a more complicated task. German historiographers started re-creating the itineraries of the Holy Roman emperors. In many cases they exceeded their English counterparts in terms of detail, but they also took into account the territorial fragmentation of the empire.<sup>19</sup> The Alps often appeared in these itineraries as a significant line of separation,

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<sup>14</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 11.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Henry Heartshorne: *Itinerary of King Edward the Second*. London, Oxford University, 1861, cited in Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 11

<sup>16</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 11

<sup>17</sup> Robert William Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II*. Instancing Also the Chief Agents and Adversaries of the King in His Government, Diplomacy and Strategy (London, Taylor and Company, 1878). [Reprint: London, 2007], cited in Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 11

<sup>18</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 11. Other important Anglo-Saxon itineraries mentioned by Horváth in his historiography are: Henry Gough, *Itinerary of King Edward the First Throughout his Reign, A. D. 1272-1307*. Vol I-II, London: Paisley, Gardner, 1900. [Reprint: London, 2007], Mabel E. Christine, *Henry VI. (Kings and Queens of England)* Boston, New York, 1922., Gladys Temperley, *Henry VII. (Kings and Queens of England)*. Boston, New York, 1914, also for the itinerary of King John in a digitally available version exists for research purposes, which uses digital maps as well, <http://neolography.com/timelines/JohnItinerary.html> (Last seen: 20 May 2015). The link which Horváth gives is not available. Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 11.

<sup>19</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 13. Horváth argues that the earliest works concerning the area such as:

so journeys which fell either north or south of the Alps were published separately. The political situation was complex and many documents survived, hence the itineraries of different leaders of the duchies and principalities were also published along with the others.<sup>20</sup>

The second half of the twentieth century brought new changes. Richárd Horváth raised the importance of monographs concerned with understanding the governmental decisions of a certain monarch; for that, accurate itineraries were necessary with thorough critical apparatus. From the 1960s researchers were interested not only in the whereabouts of the monarch, but also how the governance worked and the term *Königsumritt* (travelling government) was introduced.<sup>21</sup>

Gerhard Bakenen and Roderich Schmidt compiled one of the main works on this subject; they first examined the functioning of the German travelling governance of Ottonian-Salian times in a monograph, which has been re-published several times.<sup>22</sup> The methodology lived on in another monograph (Hillen, *Herrschaftspraxis*<sup>23</sup>), where eight different well-made maps illustrate the emperor's political and governing strategies and changes over time in the light of his itineraries. Moreover, many tables using percentages present the administrative

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Johann Friedrich Böhmer, *Regesta chronologico-diplomatica regum atque imperatorum Romanum inde a Conrado I. usque ad Henricum VII.*, Die Urkunden der Römische Könige und Kaiser Conrad I. bis Heinrich VII. 911–1313 (Frankfurt am Main, F. Varrentrapp, 1833), 1831 and Johann Friedrich Böhmer, *Regesta chronologico-diplomatica Karolorum*, Die Urkunden sämtlicher karolinger in kurzen Auszügen (Frankfurt am Main, 1833), can be considered more as charter cadasters than “classic itineraries”. He considers Anton von Gévy: *Itinerar Kaiser Ferdinand's 1521–1564* (Vienna, 1843) as a “pure itinerary”. Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 13.

<sup>20</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 13.

<sup>21</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 13–14.

<sup>22</sup> Horváth here cites Gerhard Baaken, Roderich Schmidt, *Königtum, Burgen und Königsfreie. Königsumritt und Huldigung in ottonisch-salischer Zeit*. Vorträge und Forschungen. Hrsg. vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte. Band 6. (Konstanz: J. Thorbecke, 1961), Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 14.

<sup>23</sup> Christian Hillen, “Herrschaftspraxis und Itinerar Heinrichs (VII.),” in *Concilium medii aevi* [Göttingen: Duehrkohp & Radicke, 1999], 105–129.

role in the empire of the settlements which the emperor visited.<sup>24</sup> Representations like charts, tables and maps are used in this particular study as well (see methodology).

With such a purpose the itineraries became tools of research which would help uncover the structure of medieval states and be important aids for historical research. A current example of this in Germany is residence research, complex analysis of the importance of castles for research on the nobility.<sup>25</sup>

The limits and the difficulty of compiling itineraries also created debates, which is especially important in the case of the Hungarian examples.<sup>26</sup> (See the Itinerary Debate, below, for the Hungarian cases) The latest examples of itinerary studies in German historiography are the so-called “classic” itineraries of the emperors, which include extended source references and detailed maps.<sup>27</sup> It is also necessary to mention here the detailed itinerary of Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund created by Jörg K. Hoensch. This work contains several maps of the itinerary connections and source references as well.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 14.

<sup>25</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 14.

<sup>26</sup> Ferdinand Opll, “Herrschaft und Präsenz. Gedanken und Bemerkungen zur Itinerarforschung,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 117 (2009): 12–22, cited in Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 15.

<sup>27</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 15. They also include the topographic analysis of the imperial residences (Pfalz), for example, “Die Deutschen Königspfalzen. Repertorium der Pfalzen, Königshöfe und übrigen Aufenthaltsorte der Könige im deutschen Reich des Mittelalters,” vol. 2 *Thüringen. Erste Lieferung (Allstedt–Erfurt)*, ed. Thomas Zotz, co-ed. Michael Gockel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1984).

<sup>28</sup> Jörg K. Hoensch, ed. *Itinerar König und Kaiser Sigismund von Luxemburg 1368–1437*, in collaboration with Thomas Kees, Ulrich Niess, and Petra Roscheck. *Studien zu Luxemburgern und ihrer Zeit* 6 (Warendorf: Fahlbisch, 1995).

## 1.2.2, Royal Itineraries in Hungary

The earliest works on this topic in Hungary were published not long after the first studies on Anglo-Saxon and German itineraries. However, in contrast with the Anglo-Saxon historiography, where, e.g., the Patent Rolls (*Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium*) start from 1202 (or in other sources 1216), similar royal registers did not survive in Hungary; the available sources for creating itineraries are much scarcer.<sup>29</sup>

The first Hungarian work on an itinerary was published by Károly Ráth in 1861; he collected data for fifteen years using approximately 8000 records. The scale of the work covers about 850 years, from Saint Stephen until Ferdinand V, and covers the travels, campaigns, and other places visited by the kings.<sup>30</sup> Ráth was followed by others in the light of a positivist approach around the turn of the nineteenth century, such as Mór Wertner who published the itineraries of Stephen V, Ladislaus IV, and the Angevin kings.<sup>31</sup>

At the same time, Ferdo Šišić published an itinerary of Arpadian kings from the last Croat king in 1102 until Béla IV's reign, and also compiled the itinerary of Charles I.<sup>32</sup> The work of Béla Sebestyén became one of the most important publications of royal itineraries in Hungary for a time. It was collected and published by his widow in 1938 because of the

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<sup>29</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 12 and 16.

<sup>30</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 7 and Károly Ráth, *A Magyar királyok és erdélyi fejedelmek hadjáratai, utazásai és tartózkodási helyei* [The campaigns, travels and whereabouts of the Hungarian kings and princes] (Győr 1861) [Second corrected edition: Győ., 1866.] [reprint: Budapest: Históriaantik Könyvesház Kiadó, 2010]. See also Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 16.

<sup>31</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 16. See also C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 8. and the works of Moritz Wertner, Later works of the latter are: Mór Wertner, *Magyar hadjáratok a XV. Század második felében* [Hungarian campaigns in the second half of the fifteenth century], In: *Hadtörténelmi Közöny* 13. (Budapest: 1912) 54-92., 201-237., 416-445., 601-621. Moritz Wertner, "Nagy Lajos király hadjáratai" [The campaigns of King Louis the Great] in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 19 (1918), 62.

<sup>32</sup> Ferdo Sisic, "Itinerari vladaoca hrvatskih i ugarsko-horvatskih od najstarijih vremena do Bele IV," *Vjesnik* 5 (1903): 42-53, and Ferdo Sisic, *Itinerarij Karla I (1301-1342)*, *Vjesnik* 4 (1902): 131-143, cited in Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 16.

author's early death (1930). He, however, did not consider some early publications and his itinerary is an extended version of the publication of Károly Ráth, adopting his methods and many of his data as well – sometimes without proper references – when he did not find better sources of evidence.<sup>33</sup> In practice, Sebestyén stopped at accumulating the data. He did not try to check the location names nor the exactness of the dates, and did not consider the physical possibilities or logic.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, this work, as Engel quotes Mór Wertner, could not become a “supervisor of campaigns and military history”.<sup>35</sup> After Béla Sebestyén, Hungarian itinerary research was neglected until it was taken up by Pál Engel. He published the itinerary of Regent John Hunyadi, where he stated that research on political history had ceased. He found the reasons behind it in the emergence of earlier neglected areas such as economic history and social history, and that it was no longer popular to do research on political history. He argued that this may be plausible for Western historiography where the reconstruction of historical events is mainly based on narrative sources and other non-narrative sources support them with more evidence, but not in Hungary. He raises the matter that Hungarian historiography cannot support the luxury of neglecting research on political history. He thought that this chronological background – the “backbone of history” is an indispensable tool for understanding history – and is not finished yet, therefore first it should be created.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), and C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 8. See, *A Magyar királyok tartózkodási helyei* [The whereabouts of the Hungarian kings], comp. Béla Sebestyén, ed. Erzsébet Sebestyén (Budapest: [1938]).

<sup>34</sup> Therefore, it was possible in his work that on August 5 the king was at Buda and on the sixth some distance away at Kežmarok; there are many such examples. Pál Engel, “Hunyadi János kormányzói itineráriuma (1446-1452)” [The itinerary of regent John Hunyadi], *Századok: A Magyar Történelmi Társulat folyóirata* 118 (1984): 974-997 976. See the problem in Béla Sebestyén *A Magyar királyok tartózkodási helyei...*, (1938).

<sup>35</sup> Pál Engel, “Hunyadi János...” (1984), 977. See also Moritz Wertner, “Nagy Lajos király hadjáratai (1918), 62.

<sup>36</sup> Pál Engel, “Hunyadi János...” 1984, 974. He quotes here Le Goff's work on the matter of the “backbone of history”. Jaques Le Goff, “Is politics still the backbone of history?” *Daedalus* 100 (1971): 1-19.

In 1987 Engel published a schematic itinerary for Sigismund and the itinerary of Charles I before 1323.<sup>37</sup> Besides this work, he compiled a manuscript on the itinerary of Charles I after 1323, Louis I, and an extended one for King Sigismund.<sup>38</sup> Some later authors such as Rózsa Zsótér and Attila Zsoldos, tried to find connections between the political situations and the movement of the kings.<sup>39</sup> Two non-Hungarian authors are worth mentioning here: the above-mentioned Jörg K Hoensch who compiled the itinerary of King and Emperor Sigismund, and Stanislav A. Stroka who published the itinerary of Vladislaus I.<sup>40</sup>

The most important royal itineraries published after 2000 are by Tóth, who used and re-evaluated the work of Pál Engel for King Sigismund, and by Richard Horvath, who compiled the itinerary of King Matthias.<sup>41</sup> These latest two are the pillars of my comparison.

### 1.3, Problems and critical view

To identify the course of the different travels or military campaigns, the dynamics and duration, it is necessary to locate the places where either the kings themselves or the key

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<sup>37</sup> Pál Engel, “Az utazókirály: Zsigmond itineráriuma” [The travelling king: The itinerary of Sigismund], in *Művészet Zsigmond királykorában 1387-1437, I. Tanulmányok*, ed. László Beke, Ernő Marosi, Tünde Wehli, (Budapest: Történeti Múzeum, 1987), 70-92, and Pál Engel, “Az ország újraegyesítése, I Károly küzdelmei az oligarchák ellen (1310-1323)” [Reuniting the country. The fights of Charles I against the oligarchs], *Századok: A Magyar Történelmi Társulat folyóirata* 122 (1988): 89-147.

<sup>38</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 17-18 and C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 8. See Pál Engel, “Hunyadi János...” (1984), see also Pál Engel, *Királyitineráriumok* [King Itineraries] Manuscript.

<sup>39</sup> see Rózsa Zsótér, “Megjegyzések IV. László király itineráriumához” [Notes on the itinerary of King Ladislaus IV], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta historica* 42 (1991): 37-41 and Attila Zsoldos, Téténytől a Hód-tóig : Az 1279 és 1282 közötti évek politikatörténetének vázlata [From Tétény to Lake Hód: The outline of political history between 1279 and 1282], *Történelmi Szemle* 39. (1997): 69-98..

<sup>40</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 9. See Stanislaw A. Sroka, I Ulászló itineráriuma (1440-1444) [The Itinerary of Vladislaus I 1440-1444], *Acta Universitatis Debreceniensis. Series historica, Történeti Tanulmányok* 4, ed. Péter Takács, (Debrecen, 1995), 21-47, also Hoensch, *Itinerar...* (1995).

<sup>41</sup> see C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005) and Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011).

figures of the central administration of the country visited.<sup>42</sup> To create a king's itinerary, especially in the case of Hungarian kings where the scarcity of the sources allows fewer options, is problematic.

It is, as C. Tóth argues, not mechanical work. In the early itineraries one can find cases where the king was at different places separated by unreasonable distances on the same day, or the next entry was logically impossible to cover within the given dates.<sup>43</sup> The problem starts with the characteristic of the Hungarian itineraries. Horváth states that the main source base of such works – at least for the Middle Ages – is the series of charters or other documents issued by the respective person (but not necessarily in his presence).<sup>44</sup> Another problem is that other sources such as royal diplomatic letters, chronicles of cities or other narrative sources are rare, in contrast to the West. Hungarian scholars, however, have at their disposal a vast number of charters; many of them recently became available electronically.<sup>45</sup> He writes that this will help new itinerary research greatly.<sup>46</sup>

Szilárd Süttő, however, argues that one should consider the fact that having a date and a seal on a charter would not automatically prove that the document was sealed at the given time and place. He states that if a charter cannot give the real place of dating properly, how it could possibly mark the king's presence? To reconstruct a person's most possible path it is

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<sup>42</sup> Richárd Horváth, "Hol tartózkodik a király? Hunyadi Mátyás itineráriuma" [Where is the king? The itinerary of Matthias Corvinus] *História* 30 (2008): 31-34. see also C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 7.

<sup>43</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 10.

<sup>44</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011) 21.

<sup>45</sup> *Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica. A Magyar Országos Levéltárban 1874–2008 között készült levéltári segédletek és oklevelek elektronikus feldolgozása (DL–DF 4.3.).* [The electronic version of the archival aids and charters created between 1874–2008 in the Hungarian National Archives], ed. György Rác (Budapest: 2008) (DVD-ROM).

<sup>46</sup> Horváth Richárd, A magyar középkorkutatás hiányzó segédkönyvei – Hunyadi Mátyás uralkodói itineráriumának példáján [The missing assisting books of the Hungarian medievalism – on the example of the royal Itinerary of Matthias Corvinus]. In *Történelmi Szemle* 52 (Budapest, 2010).



unavoidable to compare the charters with narrative sources and all available evidence which would help to draw the route of travel. If these factors are not considered, he argues, the itinerary will become corrupted.<sup>47</sup> This situation in Hungarian historiography is critical due to the lack of other evidence.

Süttő states that the king's presence at a certain location could be important – sometimes playing a major factor in the politics of the state – even if the king did not issue any document or charter at that time and location.<sup>48</sup> Horváth argues that there are or could be journeys which are impossible (or stay at the status of assumptions) for historians to trace. This applies especially to locations in close to one another, such as Buda, Visegrád and, Esztergom, where one or two days of travel are enough to reach the other location. These “short” journeys could happen within a few days without any trace of written evidence. Unfortunately, during a longer stay at a location (i.e., Buda) fully documenting short journeys and hunting trips exceeds the limit of an itinerary.<sup>49</sup>

Although the critical concerns of Süttő are outside the time-frame of this work, his points are necessary to consider in other instances because of their relevance to the creation of itineraries in general. A few times he notes when certain dates seem a bit off or according to him the individual could not reach the next place on the date that is given.<sup>50</sup> Therefore I consider an error factor (especially when dealing with how many days they spent at one place) and make only rough calculations.

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<sup>47</sup> Süttő, Szilárd. “Uralkodói itineráriumok 1382–87-ből: szakmai és etikai problémák C. Tóth Norbert itinerárium-készítésében.” *Gesta.Miskolci történész folyóirat* 6 (2006): 56–73., 56

<sup>48</sup> Süttő “Uralkodói itineráriumok...” 2006, 56.

<sup>49</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 44–46.

<sup>50</sup> Süttő “Uralkodói itineráriumok...” 2006

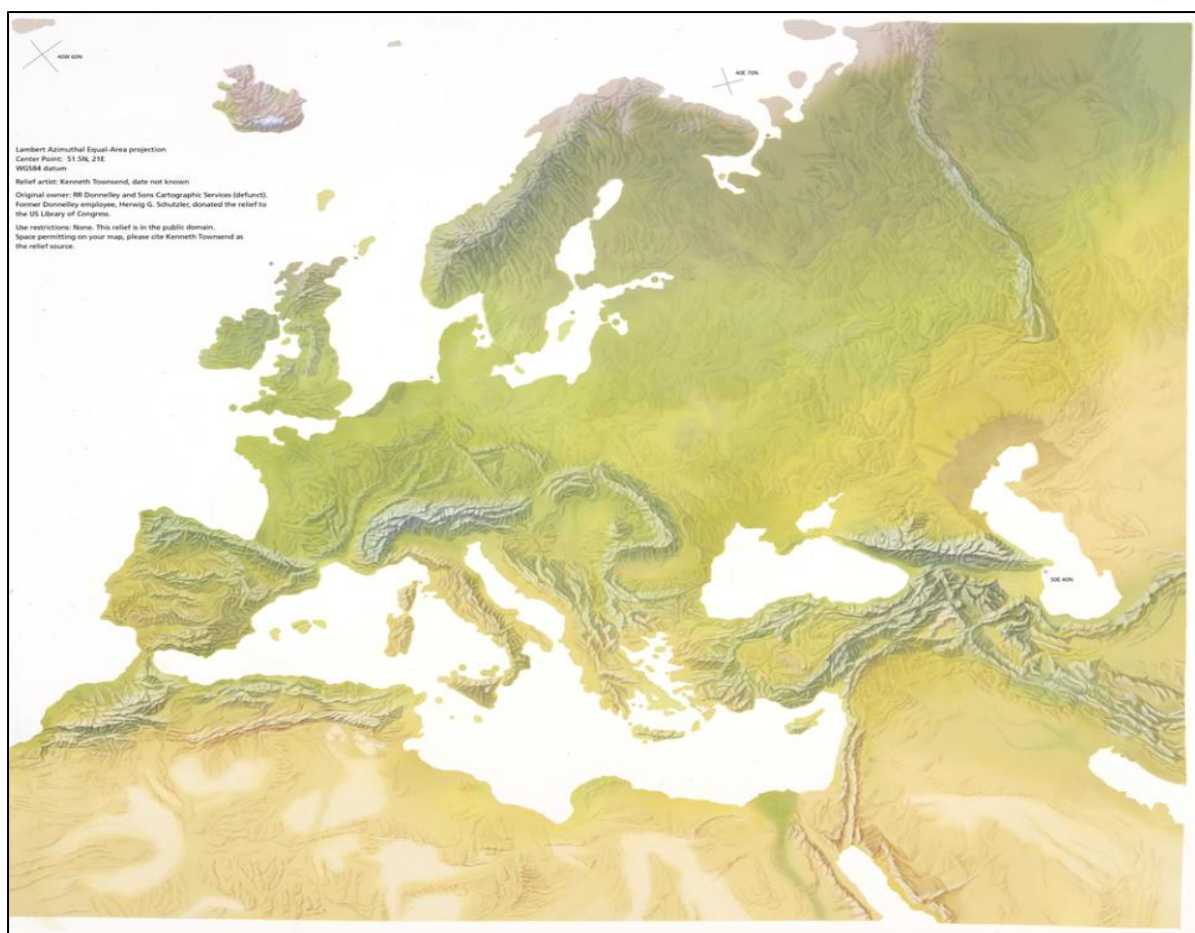
However, many logical and practical assumptions can be made based on evidence from other sources. An example is the road system of the realm, since generally travellers use physical tracks or roads if possible. Therefore a certain route can be calculated from the nodes of the itinerary (i.e., settlements) and the connections among them.

## 1.4, Methodology

The itineraries themselves contain many items of information. In order to be able to analyze them I first created a database of the itineraries in Excel worksheets. I then created different tables based on the database. However, the entries in the itineraries are grouped yearly. There are several cases when the end date of an entry is 31 December and the next year starts at the same place with the beginning date of 1 January. In such cases it was necessary to count these as one period of stay. As mentioned above, the correct number of appearances at a place cannot be fully calculated, nevertheless I created a few charts which, when considered carefully, still show valuable patterns.

For the analysis of certain journeys it was necessary to create a range of maps as well. The exact route patterns are impossible to document, however, because of the nature of the itineraries. The topic is focused more on the connections between the different itinerary entries to discover (or suggest) the movement patterns of the kings.

In order to create my maps I used qGIS and Google Earth as tools. According to the database I connected the places mentioned there in regard to how they followed each other. As a base layer I used Europe (Townsend) Shaded Relief Map (see fig 1.).



*Fig 1 The base map layer used in qGIS. Artist: Kenneth Townsend, Europe (Townsend) GeoTIFF in [http://www.shadedreliefarchive.com/Europe\\_townsend.html](http://www.shadedreliefarchive.com/Europe_townsend.html) 2011 (Last seen: 17 May 2015)*



Fig 2 Picture showing the main medieval military and commercial roads. „Main trade and military routes in Hungary in the 13th and 14th century” designed by Attila Zsoldos, in *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon [Lexicon of early Hungarian history]* eds. P. Engel, Gy. Kristó, Budapest 1994. 95. cited in Szende Katalin, *Towns along the way. Changing patterns of long-distance trade and the urban network of medieval Hungary*, In: Szerk.: Hubert Houben, Szerk.: Kristjan Toomaspoeg *Towns and Communication. Volume 2: Communication between Towns. Proceedings of the Meetings of the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT)*. Lecce: Mario Congedo Editore, 2011. 161-225.

The main medieval road connections were put into the QGIS database based on the map of Attila Zsoldos. Although the drawn map itself shows these lines in curved shapes, I have connected two points with a straight line most of the time because the maps I have created are not trying to find the physical whereabouts of these roads. (See fig 2.).

To safely assume the king's possible movement patterns it is necessary to consider the geographical features of the area, such as mountains and rivers. For this purpose I used a map picturing the hydrology of the Carpathian Basin before the water regulation.

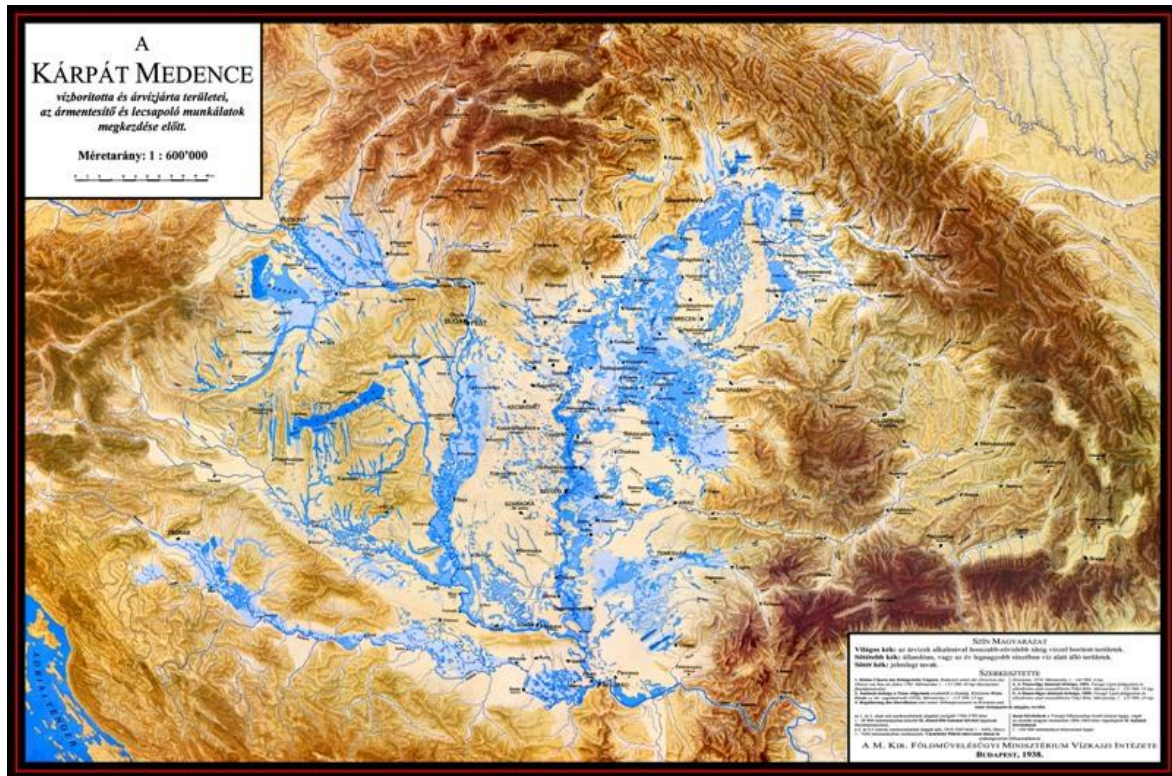


Fig 3 Picture showing the Reconstructed hydrology of the Carpathian-basin before the water regulations. W. Lászlóffy, *A Kárpát Medence vizborította és árvízjárta területei, az ármentesítő és lecsapoló munkák megkezdése előtt.* [Hydrology and the flood areas in the Carpathian Basin before the drainage and flood relief works] A Magyar Királyi Földművelésügyi Minisztérium Vízügyi Intézete. Budapest 1938.

When analyzing route patterns or roads another important factor must be considered. Since humans in general tend to make choices on the principle of least effort and energy expenditure this could have impacted the route patterns the kings chose. In the case of archaeology, when reconstructing historic roads the so-called Least-Cost Path analysis (LCP) can be used successfully. The method follows the idea that in any certain time period the easiest path was the most preferred choice for those who travelled. An LCP analysis defines

the most effective route between two points. The factors are based on time, the degree of difficulty, and other aspects.<sup>51</sup> Reciprocal relationships exist between road systems and people. A certain road becomes important because it is the most effective way to get from one point to another. With the exception of roman build roads medieval roads were usually not built ones, but rather a strip of land within a certain boundary, which appeared on the most easily accessible parts of the landscape between two points and when they were used frequently, they formed into beaten tracks or roads.<sup>52</sup>

Similarly, people tend to choose roads which have higher value or importance mostly because of their accessibility. However this notion would not automatically mean that in the kings' mind the shortest or most cost effective road would be the ideal choice, especially when making decisions based on diplomatic, political or military grounds.

### 1.4.1, Terminology

Although both kings were on the move most of the time, the frequent visits to Buda in both itineraries, and other factors, imply that the area was the centre of the kingdom. In the case of Sigismund it is necessary to add Visegrád as well since for the first half of his reign it was used as his "capital."<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, the frequency of appearances at Buda cannot be overlooked in either case and the nature of the journeys also suggest that even Sigismund used Buda as his staging point when travelling towards the south.

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<sup>51</sup> Zsuzsa Pető, "Roman or Medieval? Historical Roads in the Pilis Forest," *Hungarian Archaeology* (2014), 4. [http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/?page\\_id=279#post-5360](http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/?page_id=279#post-5360) (Last seen: 17 May 2015)

<sup>52</sup> Csilla Zatykó, "Integrált kutatások: Tájrégészeti," *Régészeti Kézikönyv CD ROM* (ed. Péter Gróf, – Ferenc Horváth, – Valéria Kulcsár, – Beatrix F. Romhányi, – Edit Tari, – Katalin T. Biró) Budapest (2011), 388-402, 391. Csilla Zatykó also mentions that for archaeologists roads (or at least parts of them) usually appear first in written sources, map manuscripts or aerial photography. Sometimes only a bridge or sunken ways suggest that there were roads once.

<sup>53</sup> About the royal centres see below in chapter 2.

It is necessary to clarify the use of names here because several geographical regions and locations are involved which were once part of the Kingdom of Hungary but at present are separate countries or parts of other countries. For this reason I will use the method Pál Engel used in the English edition of his comprehensive monograph on Medieval Hungary, specifically written for non-Hungarian readers. To make things easier and more convenient for the reader, the names found in this paper are the modern names of localities which can be found on modern maps. I will make exceptions of the names of places such as Bratislava and Cluj-Napoca which were recently created and Engel did not use them.<sup>54</sup> The itineraries sometimes refer to separate places which have become one in recent times; I cite them as separate entries but refer to the current names as well ( for example: Diósgyőr, Miskolc).

## 1.5, Hungarian medieval roads

Non-Hungarian research on itinerant kingship has shown that the king and his court could have moved throughout his realm on royal roads which were maintained, protected, and controlled by vassals or royal churches. Locating churches and monasteries at important river crossings could also indicate some kind of supervision.<sup>55</sup>

Bernhardt states than effective itinerant kingship could indicate that the king had a monopoly or near monopoly on long-distance travel and communication. He also had to have a complete infrastructural network of roads and accommodation at his disposal in order to

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<sup>54</sup> He argued that they are too recent to be used in such a way. I differ from this opinion and use both of them as they are now. Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526*. Trans. Tamás Pálosfalvi, English edition ed. Andrew Ayton. (London: I. B.Tauris, 2001).

<sup>55</sup> Bernhardt *Itinerant Kingship...* (1993), 57.



ensure the safety of the royal entourage.<sup>56</sup> These aspects are also relevant here and worth considering. However, as mentioned above, during the time-frame in this study the Kingdom of Hungary cannot be considered an itinerant kingship, although this does not lessen the importance of roads and their network. Maintained roads, along with other geographical features, could have had a great impact on shaping the kings' chosen paths, thus it is necessary to review some aspects of the medieval roads and road network in Hungary. In Hungary the study of medieval roads has been a lesser part of historical research; one could only depend on Lajos Glaser's work from some decades ago, which was mainly about the Transdanubian part of Hungary.

Another question was how far the medieval roads followed the old Roman roads. A recent and comprehensive study has paved the way for new research opportunities. Magdolna Szilágyi, using a number of sources (written sources, archaeological data, early modern maps, aerial photography, etc.) has analyzed the medieval road system. Although this work also focuses on Transdanubia many of her findings support conclusions which are important for this study as well, for example, the naming of roads, juridical classification, a new look at the Roman road system, and the usability of historical maps.

Szilágyi points out that a road network was a hierarchically multi-layered and constantly transforming system which responded to economic, political, social, and environmental changes that mutually influenced each other.<sup>57</sup> This constant change is perhaps even more relevant in the context of the Middle Ages, since medieval roads were

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<sup>56</sup> Bernhardt *Itinerant Kingship...* (1993), 56-57.

<sup>57</sup> Magdolna Szilágyi, *On the Road, the History and Archaeology of Medieval Communication Networks in East Central Europe*. Ed. Erzsébet Jerem and Wolfgang Meid (Budapest: Archaeolingua, (2014), 12.



considerably different from Roman or modern roads. She notes that a medieval road “was not a physical entity, a thin strip of land with definite boundaries; rather it was a right of way, an ‘easement’ with both legal and customary status, leading from one village or town to the next”.<sup>58</sup> Even when much frequented roadways were turned into physical tracks they could still have sections with multiple tracks that allowed travellers to depart from the main one if weather or other uses obstructed the way.<sup>59</sup>

In her monograph Szilágyi grouped the many terms for roads into eight different aspects: hierarchy, legal aspect, function, modes of travel, relationship with other roads, physical properties, vegetation, and the age of the road.<sup>60</sup> A certain aspect of a road, for example, “military road”, could have been one reason to choose a certain route from one location to another. It is noteworthy that these aspects can overlap each other and various types could be described from other aspects as well. For example, long-distance roads in Hungary comprised great foreign trade roads, military roads, and pilgrims’ routes.<sup>61</sup> The itineraries, in contrast, do not provide (or only rarely) details on how the king travelled from one location to another.

This particular study, however, is focusing on the kings’ travel, therefore one must consider the most probable roads between two locations, which in most cases were those having the highest rank in the hierarchy. It is logical to assume that the king’s choice would

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<sup>58</sup> Paul Hindle, Sources for the English medieval road system, in *Die Welt der Europäischen Strassen von der Antike bis in die frühe Neuzeit*. Cologne 2009, 56. quoted in: Magdolna Szilágyi *On the Road...* (2014), 85.

<sup>59</sup> Magdolna Szilágyi *On the Road...* (2014), 85.

<sup>60</sup> Magdolna Szilágyi, *On the Road...* (2014) 88. For more elaborate classification See the recent monograph of Magdolna Szilágyi, *On the road*, where she exhaustively describes the various aspects and types of roads in medieval Hungary.

<sup>61</sup> Magdolna Szilágyi, *On the Road...* (2014), 88.

be roads – unless specific circumstances demanded otherwise – which would provide the most comfort for the king and his court or in military actions give the greatest mobility to the army.

Szilágyi mentions that kings must have preferred the remains of Roman roads (as royal highways) for a variety of reasons. For example, they were broad, straight and usually preserved their stone or gravel embankments. They were suitable for fast travel in any season and were less affected by harsh weather conditions such as heavy rain. She emphasizes also that new royal highways were constructed in medieval Hungary and one can assume that due to their importance they were made to fit the needs of a royal entourage.<sup>62</sup> This hypothesis could be further enhanced by the fact that no Roman roads were built in the eastern part of Hungary (except Transylvania) because these regions were not part of the Roman Empire. For these reasons it is necessary compare the already defined “hypothetical routes” drawn out by the written sources with the roads known from other sources and the hierarchy of the road network.

## 2. Patterns of Royal Mobility

In this chapter I will look into the general frequency of places in the itineraries, settlements reached during the journeys.<sup>63</sup> I will also calculate the times the kings spent more than 2 months outside the Kingdom of Hungary.

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<sup>62</sup> Magdolna Szilágyi, *On the Road...* (2014), 103.

<sup>63</sup> Here it is important to note that because the basis of these itineraries is mostly charters issued in the presence of the king, the frequencies could go higher following the logical path of the journeys (i.e., settlements that were

Both of them made such longer journeys for either political or military reasons. In the case of Matthias this time adds up to a total of five years, meaning that he spent more than 26 years within the kingdom, which is 85% of his entire reign. Sigismund, however, ruled for more than 49 years but spent more than 16 years away from Hungary, which is one third of the time he ruled. This number, though only a rough estimation, also confirms that Sigismund was not just a Hungarian king but a true European monarch as well.

Most of these long journeys were aimed at the western and northwestern neighbours of the kingdom. However, when travelling to the south both kings only spent a few weeks or maybe a month away, then returned to their realm (the exception is the campaign of Sigismund in 1396 which resulted at the defeat at Nicopolis).<sup>64</sup> In both cases the starting point of the analysis is the time when they were formally accepted or crowned as Hungarian kings; in the case of Sigismund this was 31 March 1387, and for Matthias it was 24 January 1458.

## 2.1. Most frequented settlements

In the initial phase of research I first calculated the number of times each place is mentioned in the itineraries (See fig 1). The most frequented place was Buda (Sigismund 107 times, Matthias 66 times), followed by Bratislava, although the distribution of the frequencies shows several differences. The reason why the numbers of visits are not completely telling is

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visited but not noted). The appearances at certain settlements show the least possible number of times they happened.

<sup>64</sup> The numbers I calculated with are not exact but a rough estimate, however, I think it does not change the overall picture.

because of the time span of the two different reigns. Sigismund reigned for 49 and 2/3 years compared to Matthias who had 31 and 1/5 years.<sup>65</sup>

Matthias				Sigismund			
Rank	Name	count	%	Rank	Name	count	%
1	Buda	62	11.3%	1	Buda	107	8.1%
2	Bratislava	29	5.3%	2	Bratislava	42	3.2%
3	Esztergom	21	3.8%	3	Visegrád	38	2.9%
4	Vienna	17	3.1%	4	Tata	28	2.1%
5	Tata	13	2.4%	5	Tnava	27	2.1%
6	Brno	11	2.0%		Esztergom	26	2.0%
7	Győr	10	1.8%	6	Zvolen	22	1.7%
8	Diósgyőr, Miskolc	8	1.5%	7	Timișoara	19	1.4%
	Eger	8	1.5%		Oradea	15	1.1%
9	Olomouc	7	1.3%	8	Košice	14	1.1%
	Székesfehérvár	7	1.3%		Székesfehérvár	14	1.1%
	Visegrád	7	1.3%	9	Prague*	12	0.9%
	Wiener Neustadt	7	1.3%		Trenčín	12	0.9%
	Hainburg an der Donau	6	1.1%		Vác	12	0.9%
10	Sopron	6	1.1%		Viglaš	12	0.9%
	Szeged	6	1.1%	10	Diósgyőr, Miskolc	11	0.8%
	Tnava	6	1.1%		Skalica	11	0.8%
	Vefké Kostofany	6	1.1%		Vienna	11	0.8%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>551</b>	<b>100.0%</b>		<b>Total</b>	<b>1314</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Fig 4 Table showing the most frequented settlements for each king compiled from the Horváth itinerar, Hoench itinerar and C. Tóth itineraria.

From the table it is clear that the entries appeared on the itineraries of Sigismund at least two times more than those of Matthias. Since royal itineraries are based mostly on charters another explanation is necessary here. During the centuries the king gave away more and more of his personal juridical right to his officers. In the early centuries of the kingdom this person was the palatine, but his office separated early from the court and grew into an independent palatine judiciary. By the mid-thirteenth century the judge of the kingdom completely took over the practice of the royal judgements (*presentia regia*). The actual

<sup>65</sup> The difference between the reigns of the two kings is 1.6 times more for Sigismund. One might expect that therefore his appearances would follow such a pattern, however, they do not.

personal juridical acts of the king decreased and when that happened the juridical charters usually mention it. This practice started the judiciary of special presence, but by the end of the fourteenth century it also became an independent office under the leadership of the main chancellor (*specialis presentia regia*). Sigismund of Luxemburg, however, on occasion still insisted on personal decision-making, analogous to the special presence, which formed a new judiciary role, namely, the personal presence (*personalis presentia regia*).<sup>66</sup> According to Horváth it is safe to say that based on the available database of charters issued under the name of the king, the ones sealed by the juridical seal were created in the king's absence and almost surely without the knowledge of the king as well. This is a rather large percentage of the royal charters during the reign of Matthias.<sup>67</sup>

Some settlements were often frequented by both kings, particularly the ones around the *medium regni*, and some did not appear in one or the other's itinerary. For example, Vel'ké Kostol'any and Wiener Neustadt appear only in the case of Matthias (see fig. 5).

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<sup>66</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 22.

<sup>67</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 26. Horváth here also cites Loránd Szilágyi, who wrote that the chancellery became more important from 1470 and bureaucratic characteristics of the inner governance were formed in Hungary by the sixteenth century, Szilágyi Lóránd, "A Magyar királyi kancellária szerepe az államkormányzatban 1458-1526" [The Role of Hungarian royal chancellery in governance 1458-1526], cited in Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 26

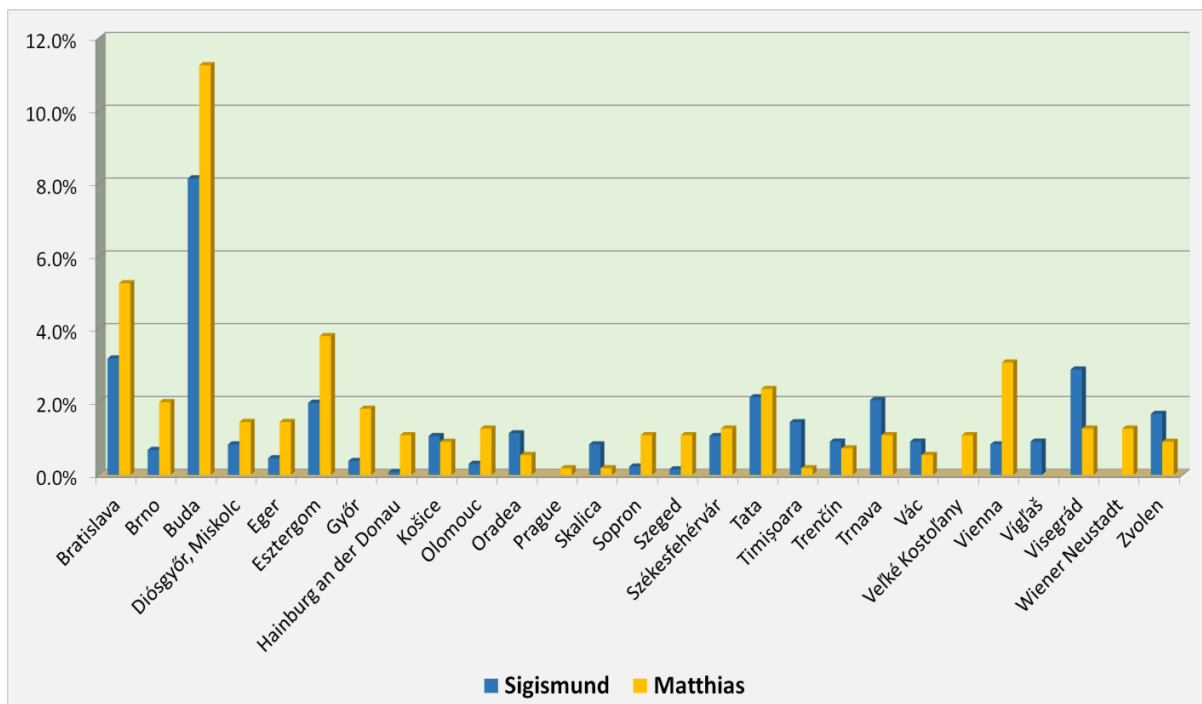
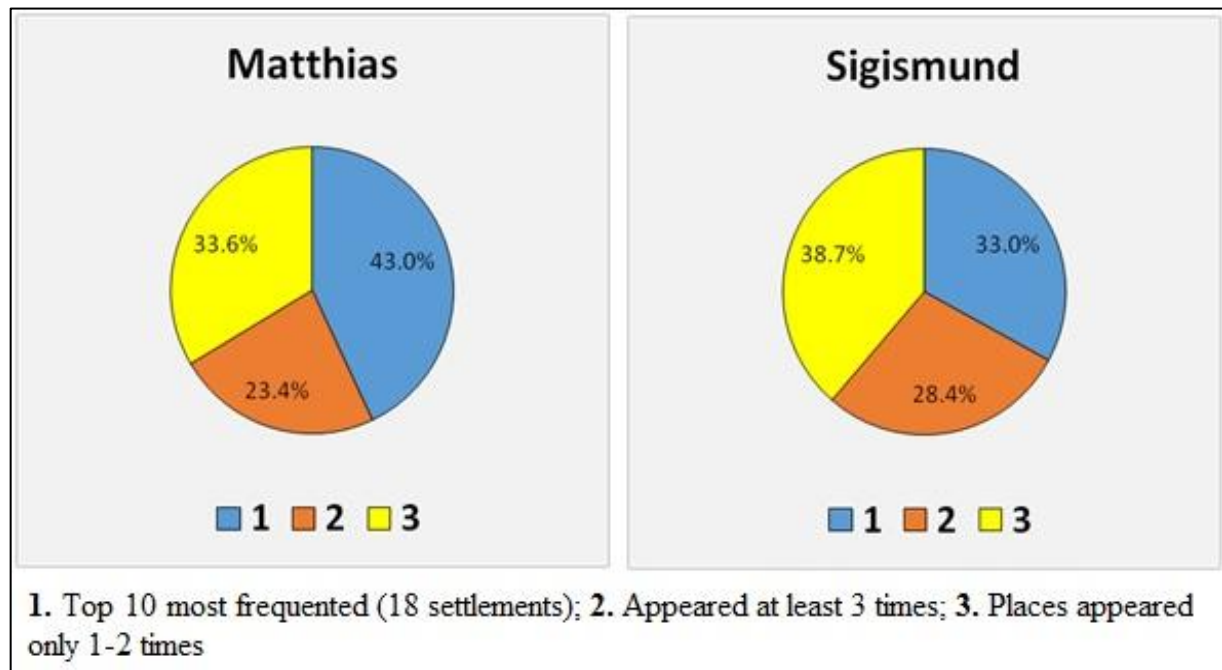


Fig 5 Bar graph comparing the frequency of places which each king visited, based on fig above.

However, appearances or higher frequencies in the itineraries sometimes need more explanation because of spatial circumstances. An example of this is the case of Veľké Kostoľany. As Horváth points out, the king led the military movements against Veľké Kostoľany from Trnava, but he personally visited the military camp under the fort regularly, therefore all entries are within that one month.<sup>68</sup> The other example is Wiener Neustadt, which, similarly to Veľké Kostoľany, mostly consisted of a military camp near the settlement for a few months which fit into the king's campaign against Frederick III. In contrast, Víglaš only appears in the itinerary of Sigismund, although it does not exclude a possible visit by Matthias, especially because it is close to Zvolen, but it seems that even Zvolen had less importance in his travels.

<sup>68</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 82. Although all these appearances happened within a period of time when his appearance under the fort was just temporary, this is one of those rare cases when one can catch the king's presence in a more detailed manner, therefore I counted every time as a separate entry.

About 523 places appear in Sigismund's itinerary more than twice as many than the 208 of Matthias. The first eighteen settlements (from rank 1-10) add up to more than at least 1/3 of the total frequencies for Sigismund and nearly half for Matthias (See fig. 6).



*Fig 6 Pie charts summarizing the frequencies of the appearances of the kings at places in the itinerary*

Among the lower ranking places visited, more than 1/3 of all places appeared only one or two times. Many of them are “along the road” from one more frequented place to another, which suggests logically that they did pass through these settlements when travelling. Since in many cases no evidence has survived and because of the characteristics of the itineraries, I assume the following:

1. The king merely travelling through a place was not worth mentioning (because it could have been an aspect of normal everyday life at the time) unless he stopped

there to hold court or to rest or hunt or a significant diplomatic, political or military event happened there.<sup>69</sup>

2. The king may have travelled through smaller insignificant settlements if weather conditions permitted or the king was in a hurry. This happened on several occasions when the usual travel times shortened between two settlements (see below for the discussion of the different travels).

The spatial distribution of the most frequented settlements shows some similarity between the two monarchs. In both cases the high frequencies of visits fall in the northwestern part of the kingdom, including the *medium regni* and some settlements in the northern-northwestern neighbouring countries. A few fall in the eastern area, such as Szeged, Oradea, and Timișoara, Eger and Diósgyőr, but there are none in the southwest (Croatia) and the southeast (Transylvania) (See fig. 2). This also correlates with the longer journeys (mentioned above) towards the northwest (the German territories and Bohemia), which mark the political and diplomatic orientations of both kings. It shows that their constant presence was not a necessity on the far sides of Hungary (Croatia, Transylvania). The journeys towards the south were usually military campaigns in both cases.

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<sup>69</sup> This might also correlate with the usage of parchment and its high price.



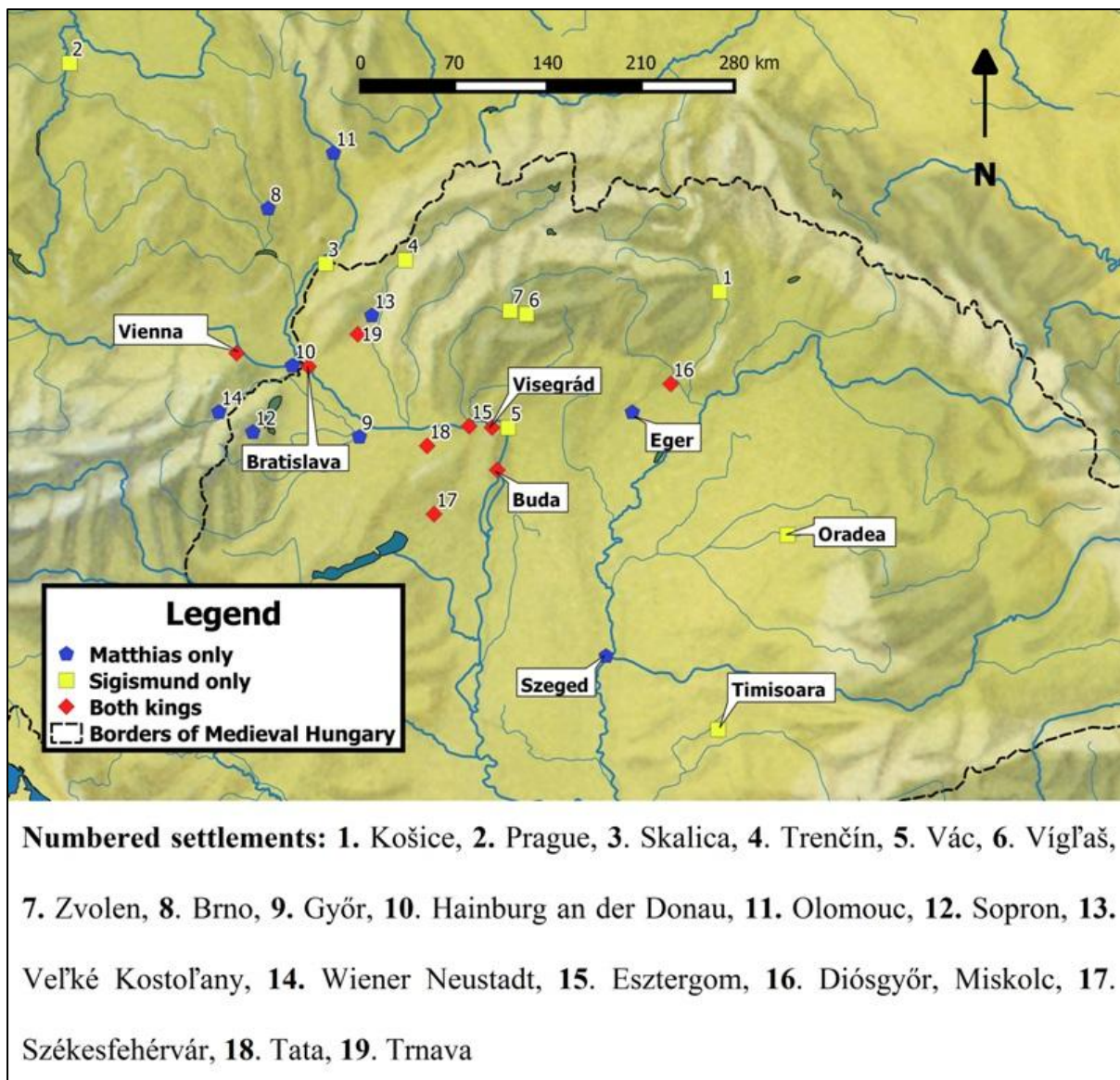


Fig 7 Map showing the most frequented settlements by both kings based on itineraries.

## 2.2, The main centres of power: Buda and Visegrád

Another factor also needs to be considered, which is how much time they spent at any one place. Taking into consideration possible “short trips” during a longer stay, Matthias spent a bit more than thirteen years in Buda, which means that about 2/3 of his entire reign he was “on the road”.<sup>70</sup> In contrast, according to the itineraries Sigismund only stayed less than seven years at his principal seats (roughly one at Visegrád and almost six at Buda), which means that he was spent more than 85% of his time away from these two cities.<sup>71</sup> Since these numbers were calculated respective to the each king’s time of reign, it is fair to say that Sigismund travelled far more than Matthias, and not just because he ruled for a longer period. This pattern can be followed by looking closely at the itineraries, where one can also notes great differences among the entries into Buda.

Sigismund when in Buda usually stayed for a short period, from a few days up to a month (more than 80% of his visits), a dozen times for two months, and only a few times for more than two months. Comparing this pattern with the Visegrád entries shows an interesting pattern. It seems that most of his appearances in Visegrád lasted one month or less. Of course, this chart draws its data from itineraries where the sources are issued charters documents that, therefore, I assume that this means that in the king’s landscape view Visegrád was more of a place to rest and less for governing. The lack of brief appearances at Visegrád and Buda in certain years, especially in his last few years, draw attention to another

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<sup>70</sup> Richárd Horváth mentions that Matthias spent about a 1000 weeks away from Buda from his roughly 1470-week reign, which he confirms as about 70-75%, but the total weeks do not add up even if one would exclude all the time before the king’s coronation in 1464. Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 45.

<sup>71</sup> At the end of his reign Bratislava came into the picture as a possible new principal seat (with long periods of stay), but this only adds a bit more than one year to the picture, barely changing the overall percentage.

settlement, namely, Bratislava (fig. ). Between 1 April 1429 and 12 March 1430, Sigismund spent about 335 days in Bratislava. This data seems to correlate with his intention – fitting to his new role as German king – to move the capital of his realm to Bratislava.

The example of Visegrád is rather peculiar, however, since a closer look at the itineraries reveals an interesting pattern. Therefore further notes should be added to the discussion of appearances at Visegrád. Márta Kondor reinforces the idea of the Royal Law Courts moving to Buda around 1405-1407. She raises the question, however, as to why Visegrád later became the centre of the Royal Law Courts.<sup>72</sup> Sigismund's itinerary may reinforce this idea; it suggests that in his view Visegrád still had a role in his reign after 1409 therefore not only using it as a residence.

In the time of Sigismund, after 1408, several reconstructions were made at Visegrad as a part of modernization attempts, suggesting that he used this residence more often than before 1409 onwards. Several significant diplomatic events, recorded in Sigismund's itinerary, took place at Visegrád. Buzás suggests that perhaps the courts of law operating in the royal court moved back to Visegrád (as Kondor argues) because of the palace reconstruction that started at Buda around 1412 and the absence of the king (who was on his European journey).<sup>73</sup> Upon returning from his journeys he still appeared more frequently at Visegrád than before 1409. Interestingly, although Sigismund ruled for another ten years (keeping in mind that between 1430 and 1434 he spent all of his time abroad), after 1426 Visegrád was not among the places

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<sup>72</sup> See more about the moving of the royal courts in Márta Kondor, "A királyi kúria bíróságaitól a kancelláriáig. A központi kormányzat és adminisztráció Zsigmond-kori történetéhez" [Royal law courts and chanceries: Remarks on the Hungarian central administration in the time of Sigismund] *Századok* 142 (2008): 424.

<sup>73</sup> Márta Kondor "A királyi kúria" (2008): 423-424, cited by Gergely Buzás, "History of the Visegrád Royal Palace" in *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, ed. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 2013), 65.

frequented he visited at all; all of the frequencies took place prior to this year. The frequencies seem to correlate with the great re-construction of Buda Castle; By 1424 the seventy-meter-long and twenty-meter-wide Great Hall was ready, which was compared to the Padovan Salone and was used to host regales and royal receptions until the end of the century.<sup>74</sup>

Sigismund's low frequency of appearances does not prove that he did not visit the place at all, accounting for the statements of Richárd Horváth, but in terms of issuing charters the picture seems quite clear.<sup>75</sup> Because of the close proximity of these two cities, however, one cannot discard the possibility of short visits which cannot be traced or are hard to substantiate.<sup>76</sup>

In contrast at least half the time periods Matthias spent in Buda were longer than two months and about 30% were less than one month. I did not include here the Visegrád appearances because on those few instances Matthias usually spent only a few to a dozen days there. The Bratislava visits were also less than one month (except in 1482). This data confirms Horváth's view that Buda was the capital of the country during Matthias' reign and every other royal residence was secondary compared to it. Prior to 1472 there are no data

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<sup>74</sup> Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon 1387-1437* (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1984), 244-245. It is necessary to mention that Sigismund spent nearly six years (more than half his reign) outside of Hungary for periods longer than two months from 1426-1437. Compared to the earlier years (between 1387 and 1426) this adds up to eleven years, which is 30% of his reign, therefore, it is probable that he spent more time in Visegrád.

<sup>75</sup> It is notable that archaeological evidence suggests that Visegrád still played a major role in the king's view of the royal landscape. For more on this topic see József Laszlovszky, "A Zsigmond Kori Királyi Palota és a visegrádi Ferences Kolostor, Rezidencia és Egyházi Alapítások" in *A Visegrádi Királyi Palota*. (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Mátyás Király Múzeuma, 2010), 213-223.

<sup>76</sup> Richárd Horváth, "A hadakozó király: Hunyadi Mátyás itineráriuma" [The fighting king: The itinerary of Matthias Corvinus], in *Hunyadi Mátyás, a király. Hagyomány és megújulás a királyi udvarban 1458-1490. Kiállítási katalógus* [Matthias Corvinus, the king. Tradition and renewal at the court of the king 1458-1490], ed. Péter Farbaky, Enikő Spekner, Katalin Szende, András Vég (Budapest: Történeti Múzeum, 2008), 56, and Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 44.

from Visegrád, and even some later charters dated there are problematic for proving that the king was present.<sup>77</sup>

According to the frequencies, in Matthias' case the importance of Visegrád dropped and the main centre of royal power became Buda. During the longer periods in Buda, however, he could have made many short visits to Visegrad when no charter was created. Again, the proximity of Visegrád is rather problematic. I assume that in his vision of the landscape Matthias saw Visegrád as a place where he could spend a couple days resting and then return to his "capital" to govern. His subjects could have waited a couple of days for the king's return to Buda and then approached him with the issues of his realm. Without further evidence this notion cannot be proved, but from an everyday-life approach it seems plausible.

From these figures I assume that Sigismund considered Buda (and Visegrád as well) a main stage where he returned for a few weeks then continued on his journey, in contrast to Matthias, who thought of Buda as his "capital" where he reigned and from where he purposefully travelled out into his kingdom.

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<sup>77</sup> Horváth, "A hadakozó király..." (2008), 55-56. For example, Horváth mentions the entry in 1472 that only the juridical seal can be proved from among the known seals that were used during this nearly one-month period. However, it is possible to cover the distance from Visegrád to Esztergom in one day, hence its place in the itinerary is logically acceptable. Another example is in 1478; in the itinerary the entry places the king in Visegrád from 20-22 November, however, Horváth argues that the cited charters seem to have been made without his presence. He also mentions that a peace treaty created on 21 November with the Polish delegation led by Jan Długosz and Brzeszei Marszalkowicz Szaniszló in 1474 prolonged the Polish-Hungarian truce until the early spring of 1479. However, no documents mention that the king was present during the negotiations; the entry before this is Tata and Horváth assumes that the king might have passed through Visegrád in order to reach Vác. Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 97, 108.

### 3. Comparative Studies of the journeys

Above I have analyzed the frequency of the settlements mentioned in the itineraries. In this chapter I will look into the separate journeys the kings made. I selected the journeys with destinations towards southern area of the kingdom and those which aimed further than the southern borders.

My reason for this choice is because it seems that the most frequented settlements seem to lie in the northwestern area, and also journeys made towards the northwest have a tendency to be longer than two months outside of the kingdom. However many journeys were made to the south, mostly military campaigns, and the king's presence might have been required quite often on the borders as well. The preliminary research also reveals that usually during these journeys they only made short excursions or went to the southern neighbours (for one or two months), then returned to the kingdom.

The Carpathian basin can be divided into six historical-geographic regions, namely: the Great Hungarian Plain, the Little Hungarian Plain, Transdanubia, and the Drava-Sava riverlands, Upper Hungary (both northwestern and northeastern), and Transylvania. The first mention of the Little Hungarian Plain is from the eighteenth century, thus for this paper I do not consider it relevant. The medieval view of the landscape named these regions according to where they were located in relation to the administrative centres (Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Buda, Visegrád).<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Lajos Rácz, *Magyarország környezettörténete az újkorig* [The Environmental History of Hungary until the Modern Ages](Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2008), 33.

I have separated the southbound travel into three separate regional branches according to the geography; journeys through Transdanubia, the Great Hungarian Plain, and Transylvania. To reach Transylvania most of the time the kings went across the Great Hungarian Plain, but because of its geographical and political distinction I count these visits separate.

### 3.1, Southbound journeys through Transdanubia

In this chapter I will examine the journeys which led through Transdanubia. I will analyze two main routes leading to Croatia, Slavonia and beyond (Serbia and Bosnia).

The preliminary research shows that there was little difference between the two kings. The territory of Transdanubia had an important landscape element: Roman remains. Between the first and the fourth centuries AD it belonged to the Roman Empire and therefore remains of walls, roads, and other features could be found there. Szilágyi suggests that when analyzing the communication sequences of Transdanubia one must consider the Roman past as another layer in the infrastructure of the territory.<sup>79</sup>

There were several main roads leading to the southern part of Hungary through Transdanubia. One of them was a long-distance route leading from the *Medium Regni* to Croatia and Venice. This route led from Esztergom and Buda through Székesfehérvár-Veszprém. From Veszprém it led to the southwest through Nagyvázsöny then broke into separate branches leading either towards Vasvár-Körmend or Nagykanizsa-Zákány-Koprivnica to Zagreb.<sup>80</sup> A second main route was the southbound route from Sopron (starting

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<sup>79</sup> Magdolna Szilágyi. *On the Road...* (2014), 12-13.

<sup>80</sup> Magdolna Szilágyi *On the Road...* (2014), 227-228. For more detailed analysis on the Western-Transdanubian road network see Magdolna Szilágyi, *On the Road...* (2014).

at Vienna) leading through Kőszeg-Szombathely-Körmend. This one connected with the road leading to Murska Sobota.

Another route was the old military road along the Danube River, which started from Buda and led through Tolna-Báta where the road split and led to either Pécsvárad-Pécs or Mohács-Majsa, with the paths crossing the Drava at Valpovo or Osijek. Engel argues that there were several ferry options at the Sava that helped reach the Bosnian and Serbian territories, therefore there were no “main route” for possible attack patterns.<sup>81</sup>

### 3.1.1, The Székesfehérvár Veszprém route

After his coronation Sigismund's first travels to the south (See Fig. 8) started on 6 June 1387: Buda-Magyaralmás<sup>82</sup> -Veszprém-Nagyvázsony<sup>83</sup> -Zákány-Koprivnica-Zagreb to meet his wife, Mary of Anjou, on 4 July. He stayed in Zagreb for about a month while his supporters army attacked castles in Slavonia. Between 10 and 13 August he led the siege of Gornec castle (close to Ivanić Grad), went to Čazma, and then turned toward the north again.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Pál Engel, “Az utazó király...” (1987), 87.

<sup>82</sup> An interesting note to Magyaralmás. Engel states that it seems he avoided Székesfehérvár on his way toward Veszprém. However, the distance between the two settlements is roughly 15-16 km and Veszprém is also close when travelling on horseback. Therefore he could have reached Székesfehérvár as well. This supports the idea that under certain conditions the king could have avoided even important settlements if he had no purpose for appearing there. Pál Engel, “Az utazó király”, 87.

<sup>83</sup> *in villa Vassan*, which could also be Veszprémvarsány, C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 58.

<sup>84</sup> Pál Engel, “Az utazó király...” (1987), 70



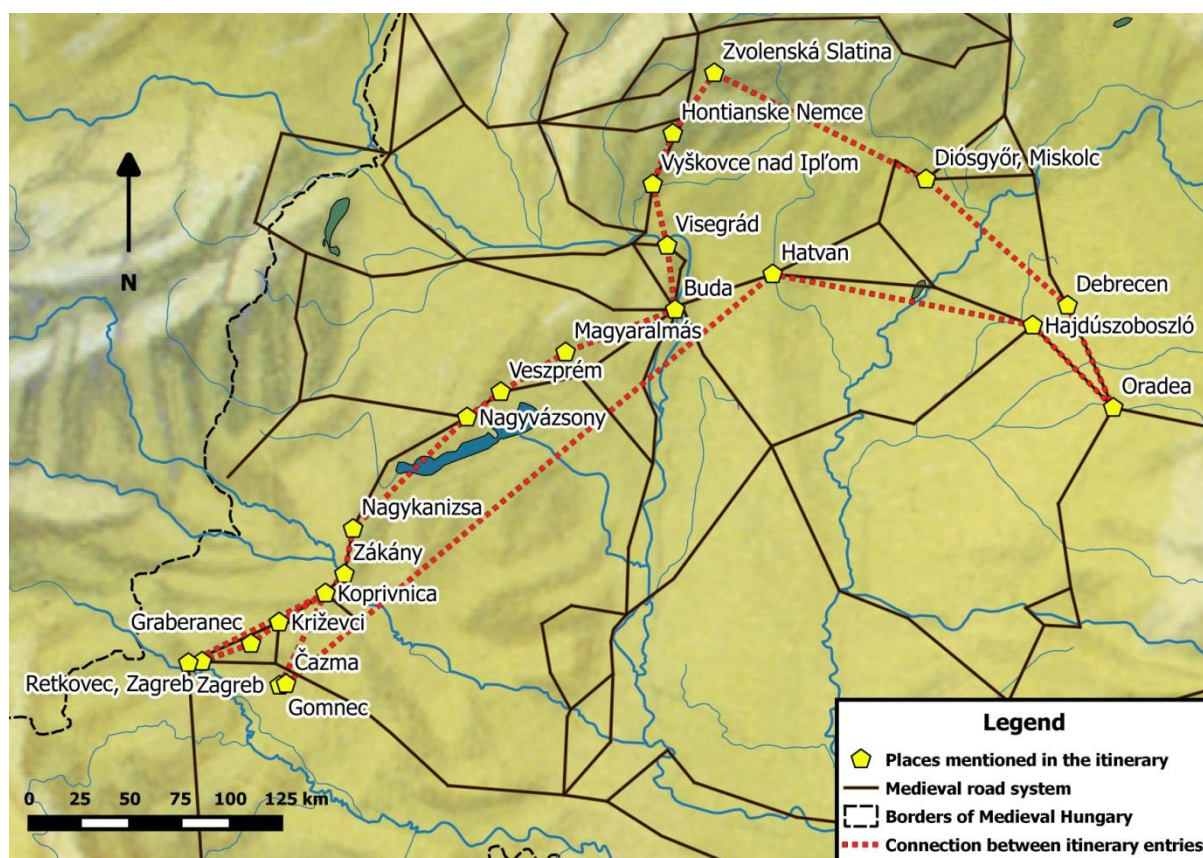


Fig 8 Map showing the journey of Sigimund in 1387.

The next itinerary entry was Nagyhatvan, which logically suggests that he went back to Buda (no documents support that he stayed there) along the same road through Veszprém and Székesfehérvár. Only 8 days separate the Čazma and the Nagyhatvan entries and the distance seems to confirm that he did not stop at Buda. By the beginning of September he had already reached Hatvan through Hajdúszoboszló; he travelled to Oradea, where he visited the tomb of Louis I of Hungary. From there he went to Diósgyőr (Miskolc), a popular retreat of the Anjou kings, but instead of returning on the same way he turned towards the north and visited another Anjou retreat, Zvolen, and finally returned to Visegrád through Vyshkove,

then went on to Buda, arriving on 19 November.<sup>85</sup> As seen above it was a characteristic of Sigismund's journeys that he did not stay too long at any one place, not even at his "capital" Visegrád, or later, Buda. As Engel states, his mobility did not change much throughout his fifty-year reign.

In 1397 he chose a similar path for his return from the defeat at Nicopolis (See Fig 9.). He appeared in Split on 4 January, then turned immediately towards the north through Knin via Knin-Topusko-Križevci-Zákány-Nagykanizsa-Újudvar. He then changed direction to go east through Zalakomár to Somogyvár. His next destination was Pécs, which seems out of the way, especially after having just spent a few days there (from 21 to 25 March). He turned north again and appeared at Balatonfőkajár on 29 March (*in villa Kuuyar; in villa Koonyar/Konyar*), then finally reached Buda at least by 1 April, possibly through Székesfehérvár.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Pál Engel, "Az utazó király..." (1987), 70, and C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 57-59.

<sup>86</sup> C Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 72. Here again Székesfehérvár does not appear in the itinerary, however, the logical path would suggest that he went through the settlement and may have stopped for the night then continued his journey to Buda.

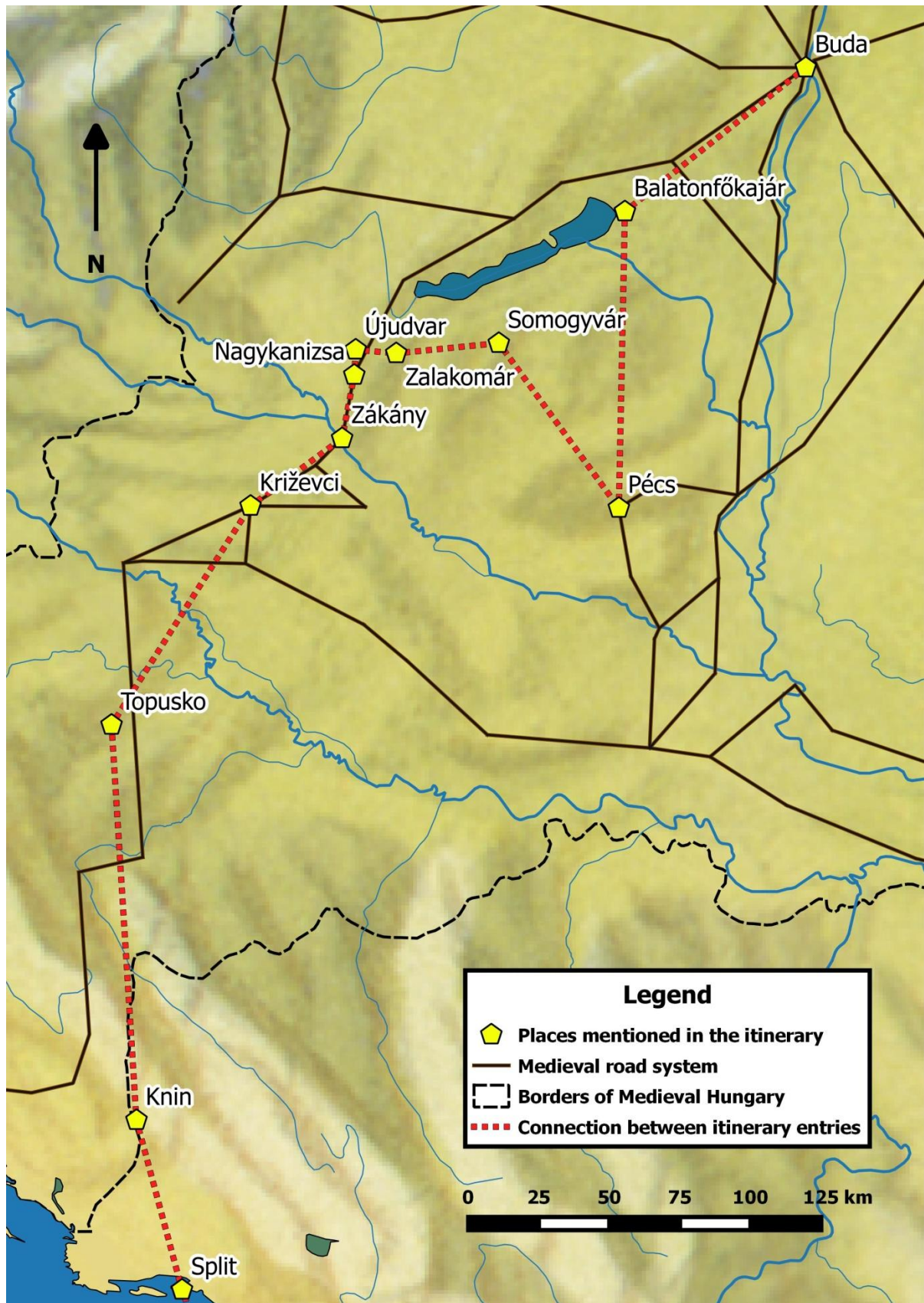


Fig 9 Map showing the journey of Sigimund 1396-97 (second part from Nicopolis)



The king's appearance at Pécs raises a few interesting points. The *Itinerarium Antonini*<sup>87</sup>, one of the three sources from which the Roman Pannonian road system is known, marks two main nodes on the Roman road system, Savaria (Szombathely), Sopianae (Pécs) and their connections to each other and other settlements. On the reconstructed map showing the Roman road system the road from Savaria-Mogentiana-Sopianae and the Sopianae-Gorsium or Sopianae-Arrabona connections seem relevant (See fig. 10)<sup>88</sup>.

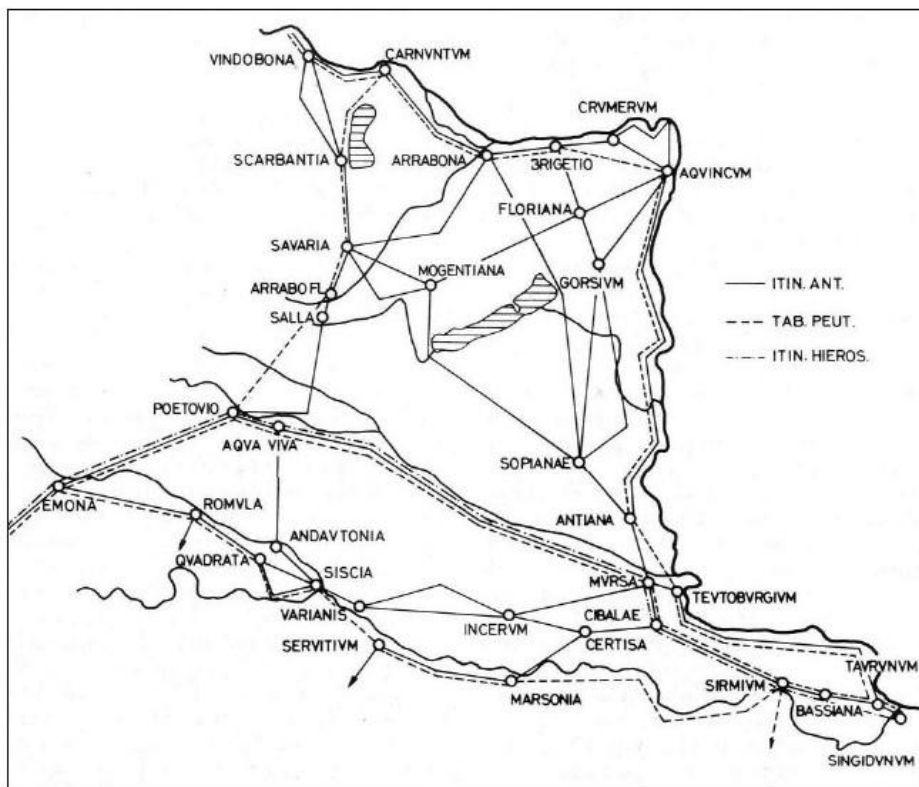


Fig 10 Map showing the ancient roman routes in Transdanubia. Original: The main ancient routes in Roman Pannonia on the bases of the *Itinerarium Antonini*, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* in: Magdolna Szilágyi, "Árpád Period communication networks. Road Systems in Western Transdanubia," PhD dissertation, Central European University (2012) 200.

<sup>87</sup> Gustav Parthly and Moritz Pinder, ed., *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum* (Berlin: Fredericus Nicolaus, 1848) referenced in Magdolna Szilágyi, Magdolna Szilágyi "...Communication Networks..." (2012), 200.

<sup>88</sup> Magdolna Szilágyi "...Communication Networks..." (2012), 200-201.

The former road seems to correlate with the path Sigismund took from Zalakomár Somogyvár to Pécs. Later travels show significant similarities with the king moving from Pécs to Balatonfőkajár. The map of Lajos Glaser also shows some of these connections (See fig 11).

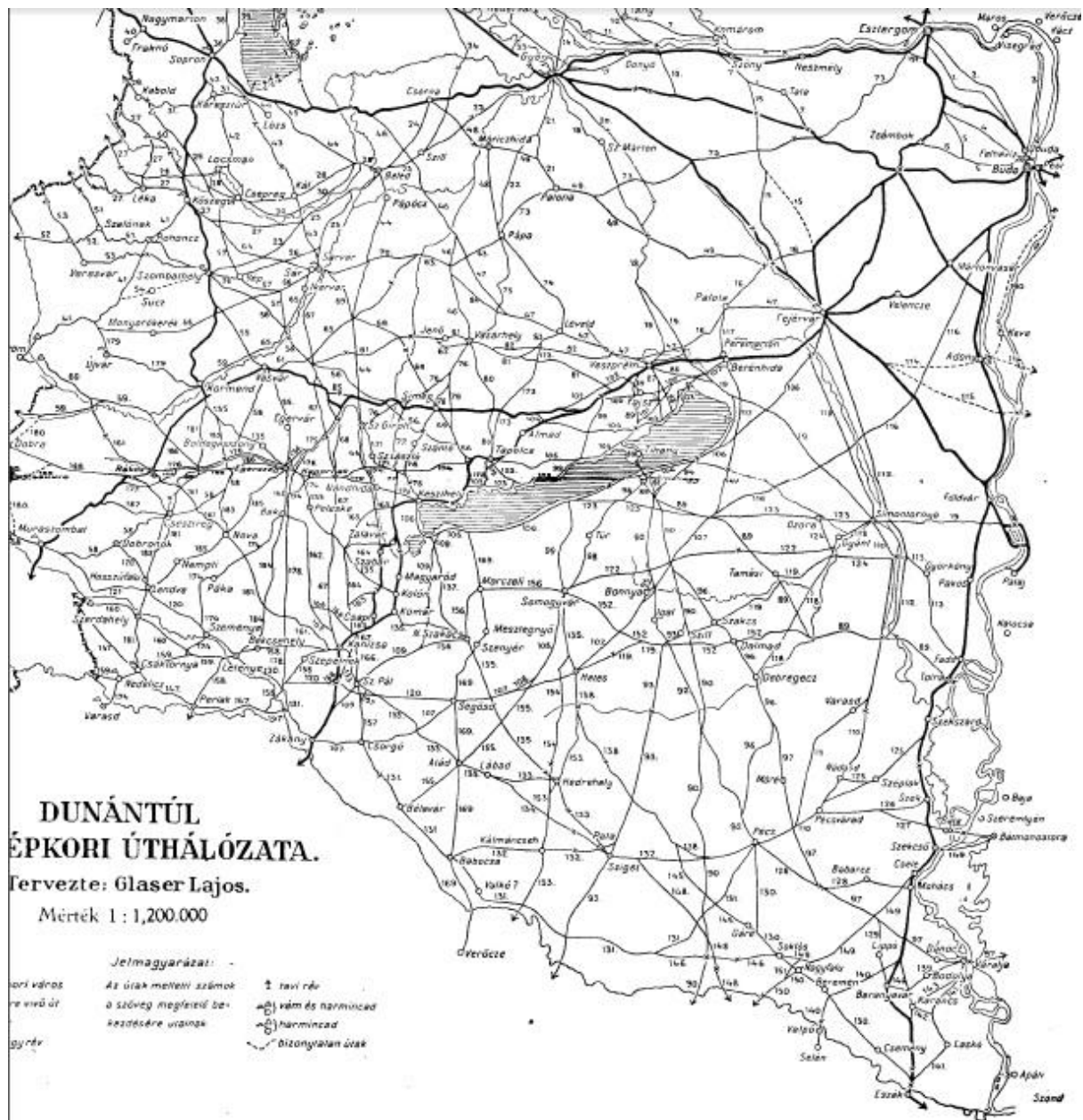


Fig 11 Section of the map created by Lajos Glaser. Original: *Dunántúl Középkori Úthálózat*. In: Glaser Lajos: *Dunántúl középkori úthálózat* [The Medieval road-system of Transdanubia]. Századok 63–64. (1929–1930).

I would suggest, that the pattern Sigismund followed on this particular journey seems to confirm that the Roman road system between Sopianae and Gorsium had continuity even in the fourteenth century even though its significance had lessened.

Another journey of his supports the idea that this road was used. In 1408, he left Buda at least by 18 January and arrived at Koprivnica by 26 January. On his way, he may have used the Székesfehérvár-Veszprém-Zákány road as he had in 1387. He then appeared in Ivankovo<sup>89</sup> on 3 February, but returned to Križevci. He spent February in the area before he turned towards Veliki Zdenci and Dakovo and travelled around in eastern Slavonia until the end of October, when he crossed the Drava at Valpovo and went to Pécs and then Pécsvárad.

The next entry in the itinerary is Komárom. Only seven days elapsed between the two entries and logically it seems that to reach the settlement he was moving along a road which may have had sections connecting Sopianae and Arrabona in the Roman period. From Komárom he returned to Buda through Vác (See Fig 12.).<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> The Ivankovo entry seems a bit out of the way, especially since he returned to Križevci right away, but I think the time span between the separate entries allows for this.

<sup>90</sup> C Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 87-89.

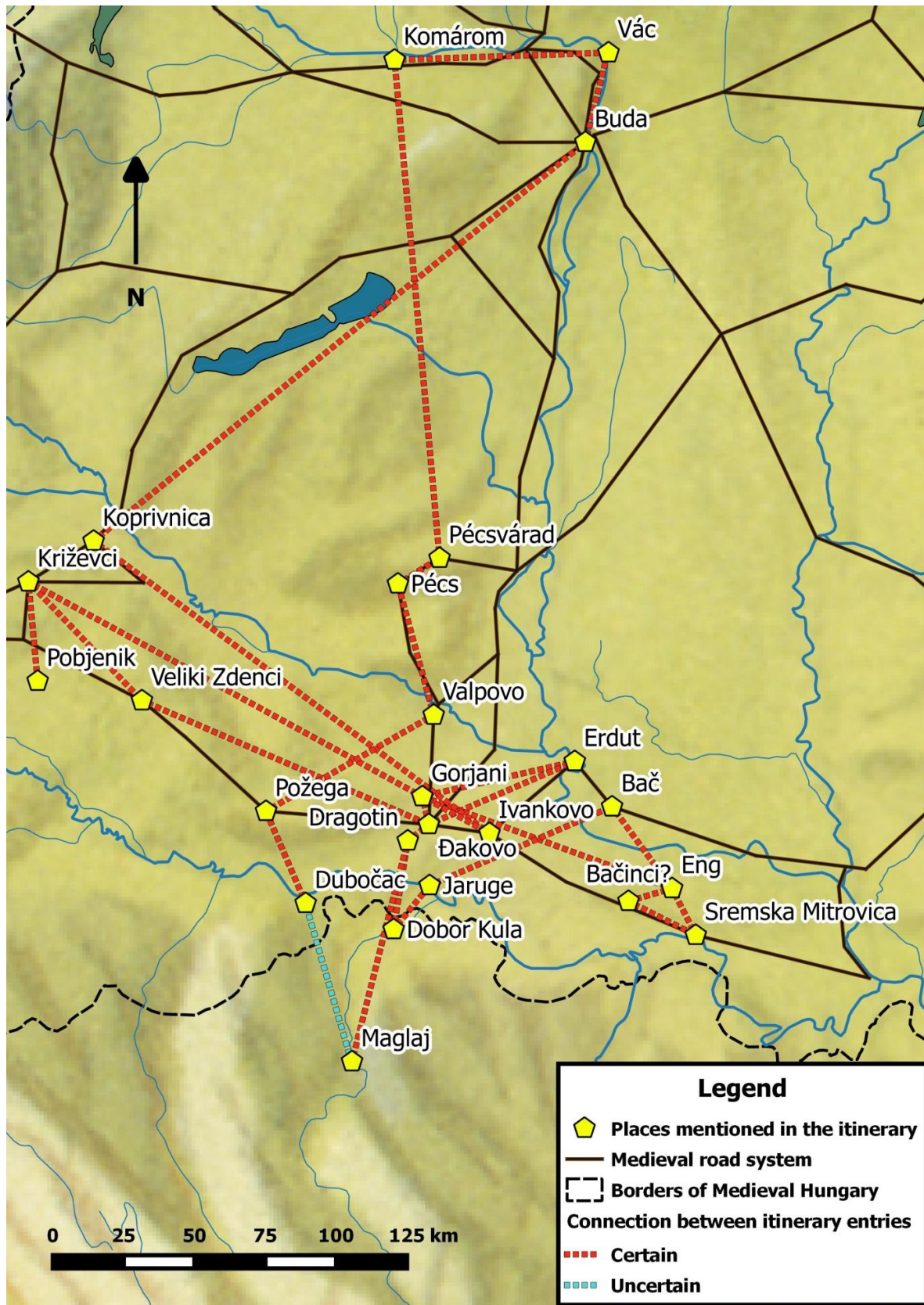


Fig 12 Map showing the journey of Sigimund in 1408.

When embarking on his great European journey in 1412, Sigismund first travelled to Zagreb through Székesfehérvár. There is no evidence on which route he used to get there, but earlier examples (mentioned above) support the idea that he used the most important route to Croatia, through Veszprém-Nagyvázsony, crossing the Drava at Zákány. From Zagreb he went to Bihać-Modruš-Brinje before leaving the country going towards Trieste (See Fig 13).<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> C Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 95.



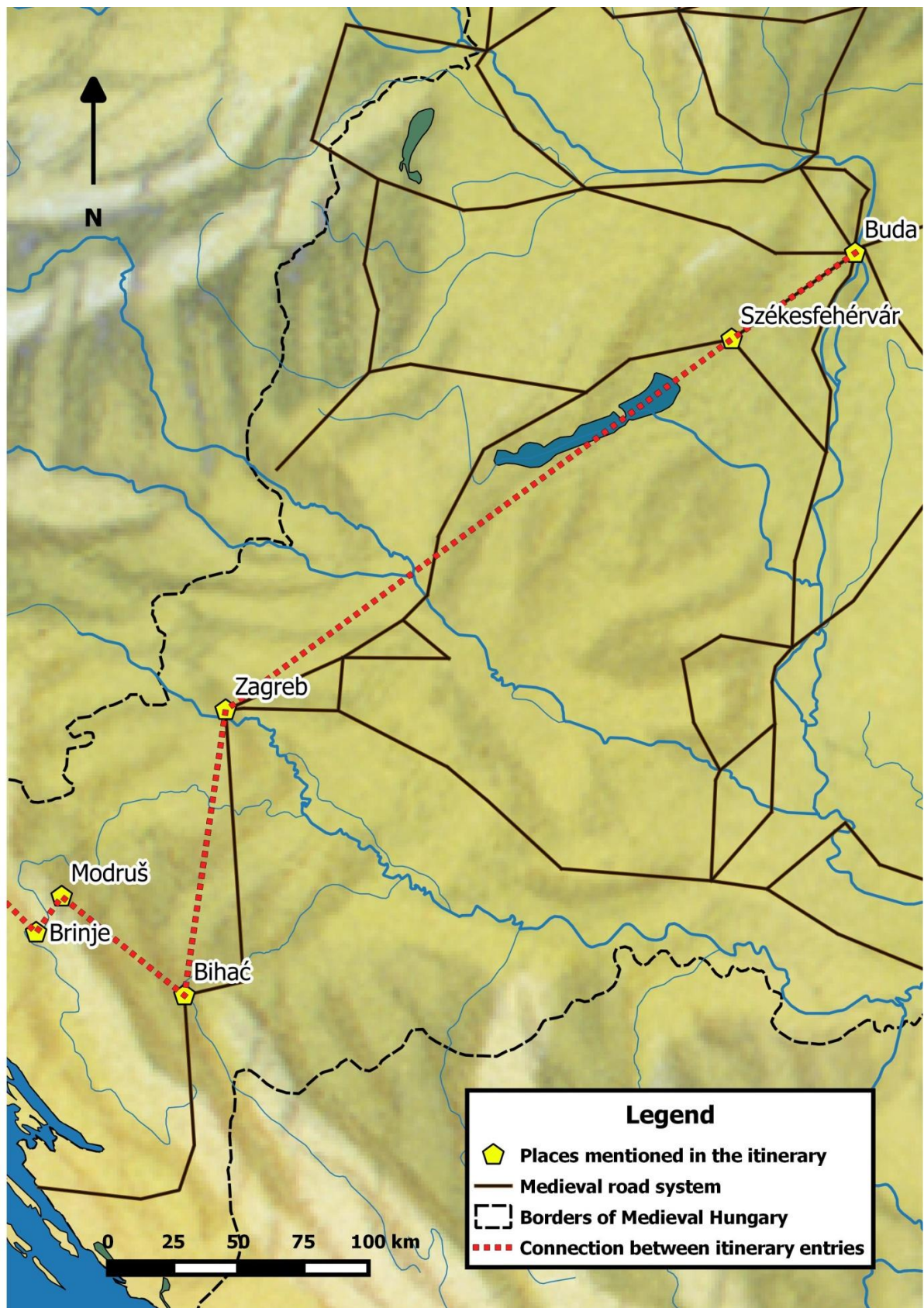


Fig 13 Map showing the journey of Sigimund in 1412 (first part).

According to Matthias' itinerary of, he also used sections of the Székesfehérvár-Veszprém-Nagyvázsony-Nagykanizsa-Zákány road, although many settlements do not appear in the itinerary. In 1464, on his way back from besieging Jajce, he appeared in Čazma Dubrava and then arrived in Buda around 14 February.<sup>92</sup> This would mean at least twelve days of travelling, but considering the season it is not surprising that he would choose the more comfortable road and stop to rest along the way (See Fig 14).

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<sup>92</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 75.



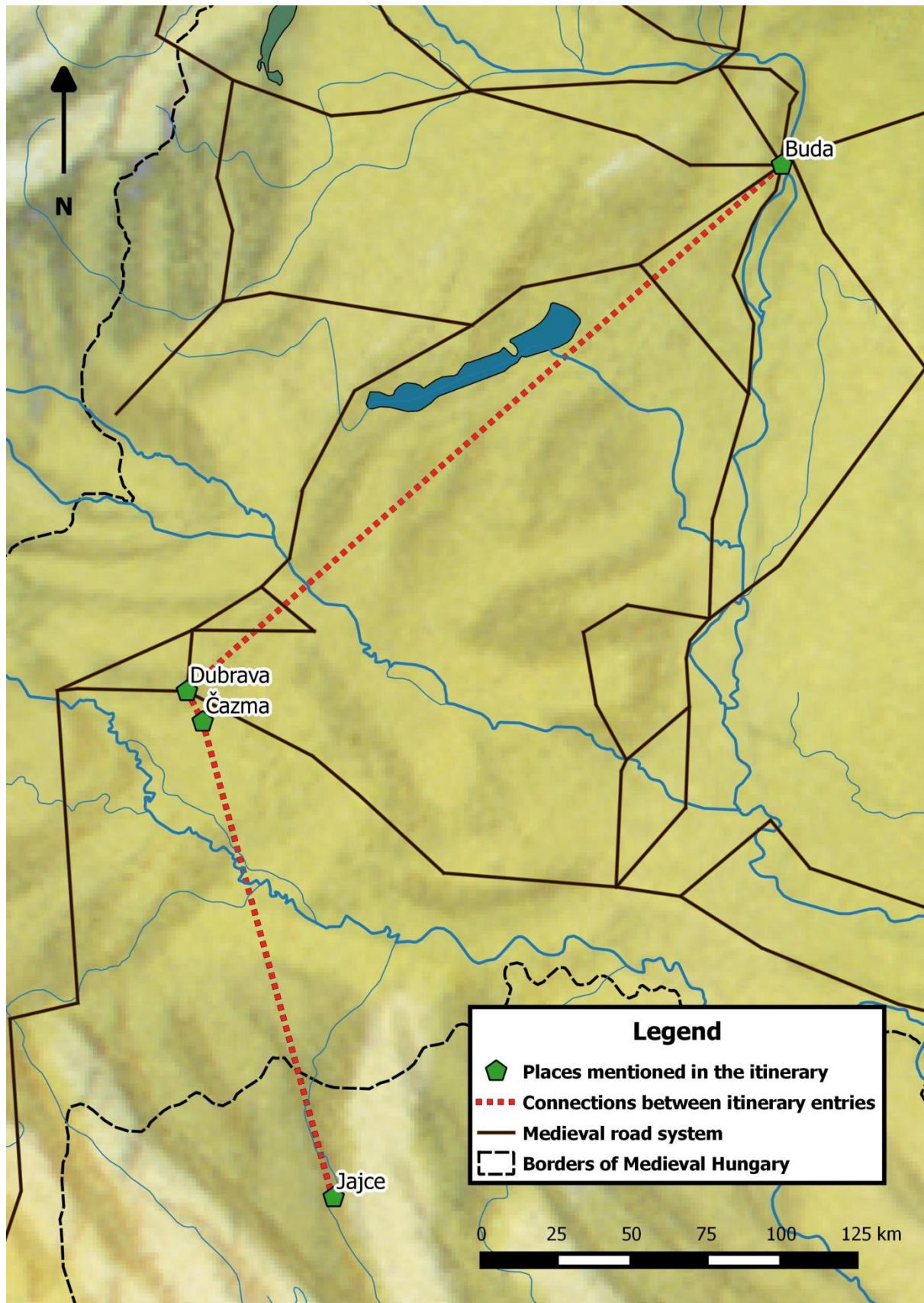


Fig 14 Map showing the journey of Matthias in 1463-64 (second part).

On his other journeys it seems he also did not issue documents along the way. In 1466 he went from Buda to Székesfehérvár, he was in the city on 19 July, although Horváth argues that his stay can be pushed forward until the 21.<sup>93</sup> The next entry is Segesd on 23 July, which suggests that he chose a different path. Rather than going on the road running along the north side of Lake Balaton through Veszprém-Nagyvázsony, he could have taken the less important southern road. This can be supported by the fact that he travelled in July, which would permit more route options because of the weather conditions. Continuing on, he went to Virje, possibly crossing the Drava at Zákány, then to Križevci, and finally reached Zagreb at least by 16 August. On his way back to Buda no documents were issued in other settlements (See Fig 15.).<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 80-81.

<sup>94</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 81.



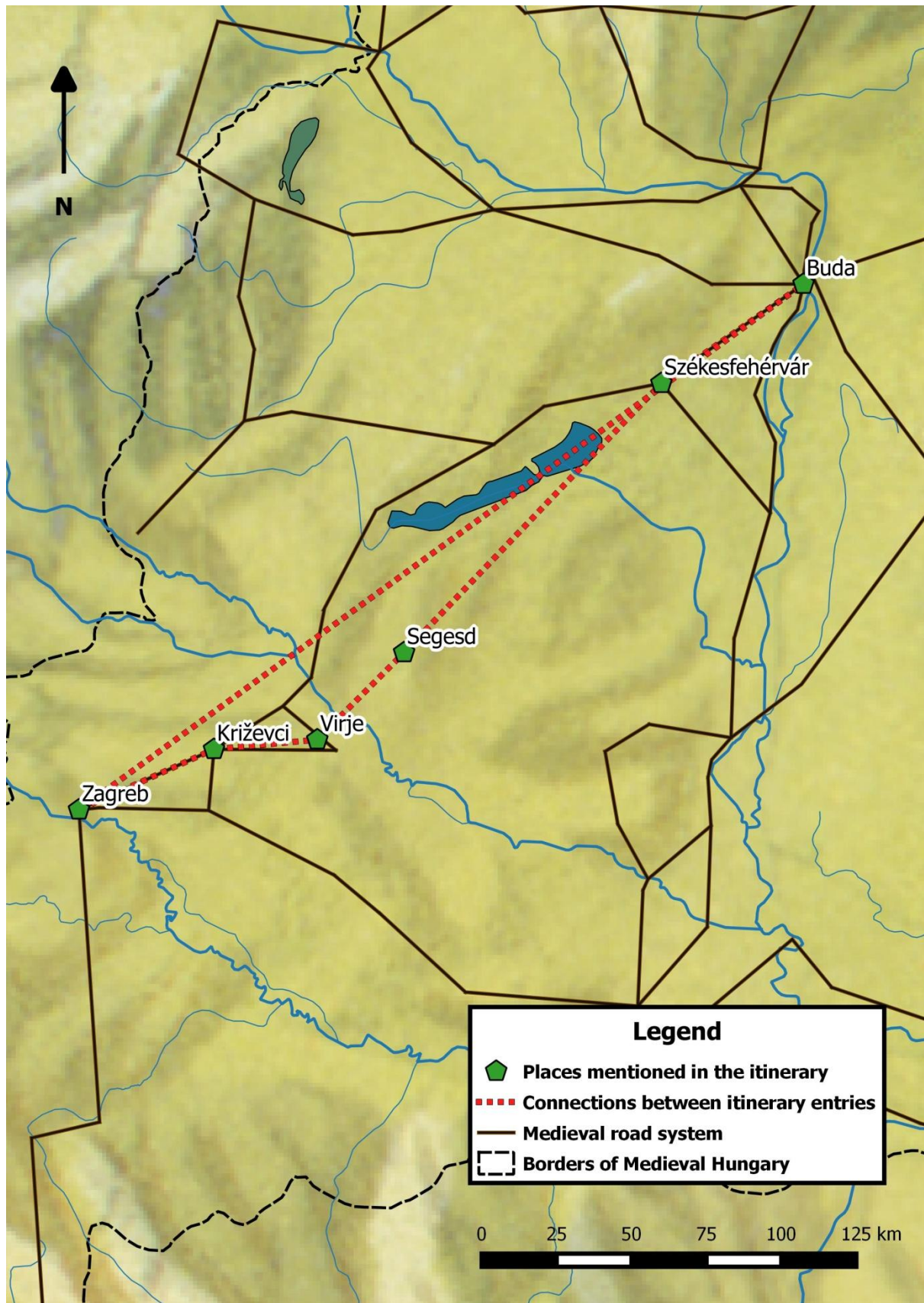


Fig 15 Map showing the journey of Matthias in 1466

The 1480 and 1481 campaigns of Matthias started differently. In the itinerary there is a mention of a place called *Hydeghchorgo*. Horváth refers to Jajca, who writes that the king and his court retreated from the plague to the forest and there spent their time hunting around 3 August. Even though he does not give any source, Horváth argues that this is possible, especially when looking at the documents issued next, in Esztergom. Matthias left Esztergom at least by 22 August, travelling south. The day before the departure the king wrote that he was about to embark on his campaign against the Ottomans. The documents issued after this date also confirm his statements. He travelled to Lendava, possibly through Söjtör (*Söröl*) (See Fig 16)<sup>95</sup>. Interestingly, several charters were issued with the secret seal in Esztergom between 6 August and 14 September, but the pattern of the journey excludes the possibility of the king's presence there.

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<sup>95</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 111-112. The identification of the settlement is problematic, but Horváth argues that one of the more important roads between Esztergom and Lendava, runs through the settlement of Söjtör in Zala County, so he puts the issued charter there. Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 112.



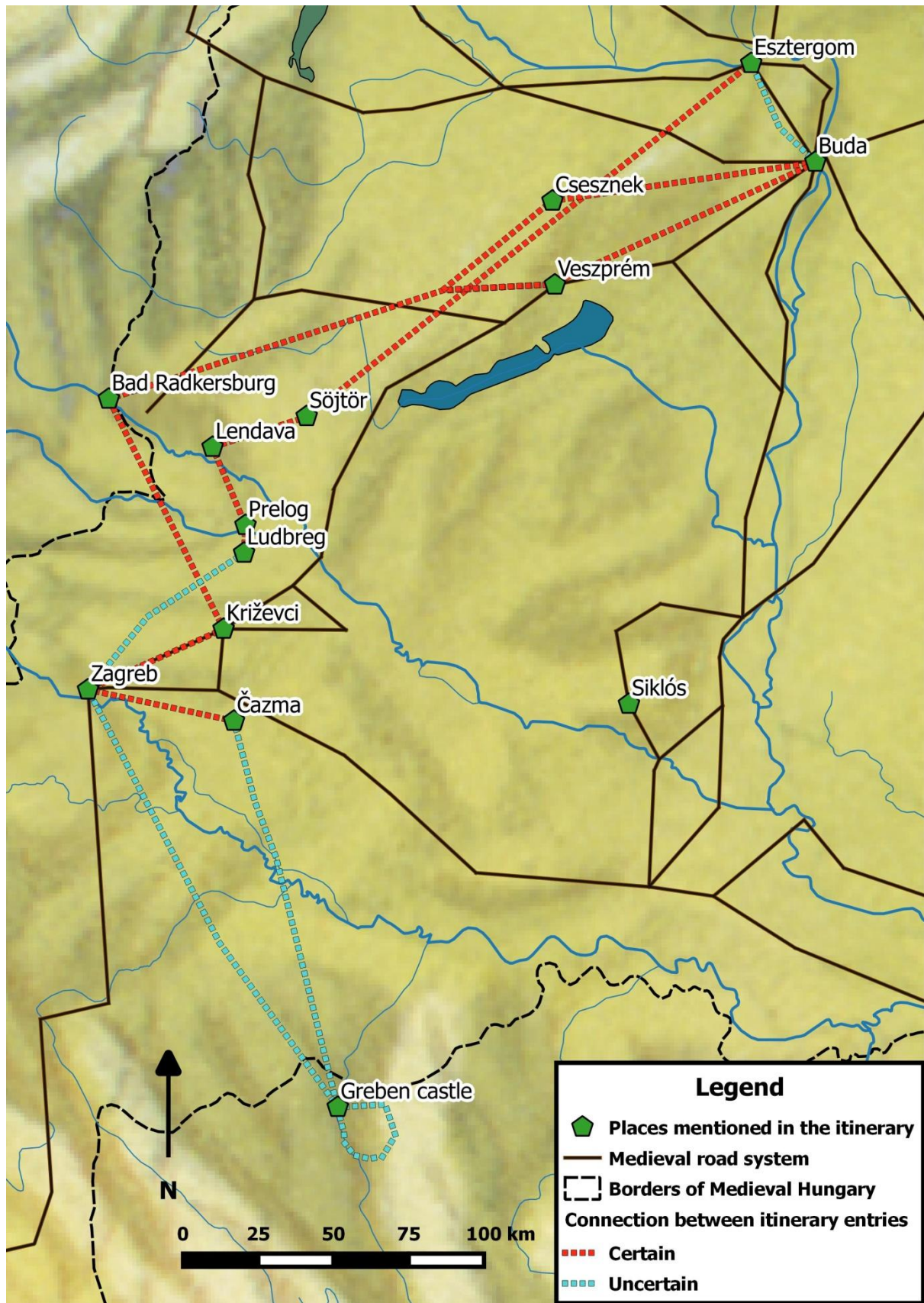


Fig 16 Map showing the journey of Matthias in 1480-81 with the addition of Siklós as a possible pattern

He continued his journey towards the south through Prelog-Ludberg.<sup>96</sup> Finally, by 19 September, he reached Zagreb. From here he travelled south towards Greben through Čazma-*Thopplicza*, crossing the Sava River, and led his army into Bosnia (with military camps around Greben castle, *Zvecaj* and *Lesnek/Lewach*) until December, when he returned Zagreb for the winter. He left the city in mid-March and turned north to Bad Radkersburg through Križevci. About the return journey of the king few (and contradictory) sources and evidence survive; Bonfini stated that he acquired the lands of Jób Garai, Siklós, for example, and chose a route through southern Transylvania. In contrast, Teleki supports the idea that he went through Székesfehérvár.<sup>97</sup> Horváth placed one more entry (Veszprém, Csesznek) between Bad Radkersburg and Buda. He mentions that two undated letters remain from the eighteenth century, but in these letters (addressed to the pope and to John of Aragon) Matthias reports on his campaign in Bosnia against the Ottomans, therefore Horváth placed them after 1480.<sup>98</sup>

In light of these data, however, I have another suggestion. The last known date of Matthias in Bad Radkersburg is 21 May. The date of arrival in Buda is questionable; Horváth mentions that the first secret-seal documents are from 8 June, which would prove the king's presence more reliably.<sup>99</sup> If accepted, this date would mean that the king had about eighteen days to travel up to Buda, which is more than enough. In this case the king may have used the

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<sup>96</sup> The charter in Prelog was issued on the 4 September. Horváth mentions another royal charter dated on the same day in Körmend and excludes the possibility of the king's presence due to the distance, which is more than 70 km, Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 112.

<sup>97</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 113 and Teleki József, "A Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon" [The age of the Hunyadi's in Hungary], I–XII, (Pest, 1852–1857), referenced in Horváth *Itineraria*, 113.

<sup>98</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 113.

<sup>99</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 113.



road through Körmend-Vasvár and then connected to the Nagyvázsony-Veszprém-Fehérvár road.

However, it is possible the king travelled to Siklós first through Lendava-Nagykanizsa, maybe Segesd, then used the roads through Pécs to Balatonfőkajár. Here he could have turned to Veszprém and then returned to Buda on the main road. The overall distance of this route is roughly about 600 km, which could be done within 18 days, especially when travelling on horseback. Another factor that can be calculated in this assumption is the movement of the secret seal. On this particular journey it seems that the secret seal was moving apart from the king at the beginning and stayed in Esztergom at least until 14 September 1480, but then coincided with the king's presence in October. The opposite pattern can be followed on the way back. Documents were issued with the secret seal on 8 June, but according to the itinerary, with a ring seal only in July. This allows an even longer time-span between Bad Radkersburg and Buda, since the eighteen days would only prove the presence of the secret seal, not the king himself. Although Horváth argues that Bonfini's account of this case is questionable, I would argue that this unusual pattern could have occurred, especially considering that the king would have personally overseen the acquisition of the land of his former noble.

### 3.1.2, The Tolna-Mohács road along the Danube

In 1389, Sigismund travelled down to Serbia on this road, starting on 12 September, through Tolna-Mohács. He crossed the Drava River on a ferry (the itinerary does not specify exactly where) and may have gone to Ilok. He spent most of October in Serbia on his campaign and appeared under Borač castle on 8 November, near Nekudim castle. From here interpretations of the itineraries take different paths. According to Hoench, he appeared in Kovin on 21 and

23 November, but C. Tóth argues that Sigismund's letters that originated from Kovin between 21 and 23 November were probably issued by the large chancellery he had left behind (See Fig 17).<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Hoensch, *Itinerar...* 1995, 53-54 and C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 62.

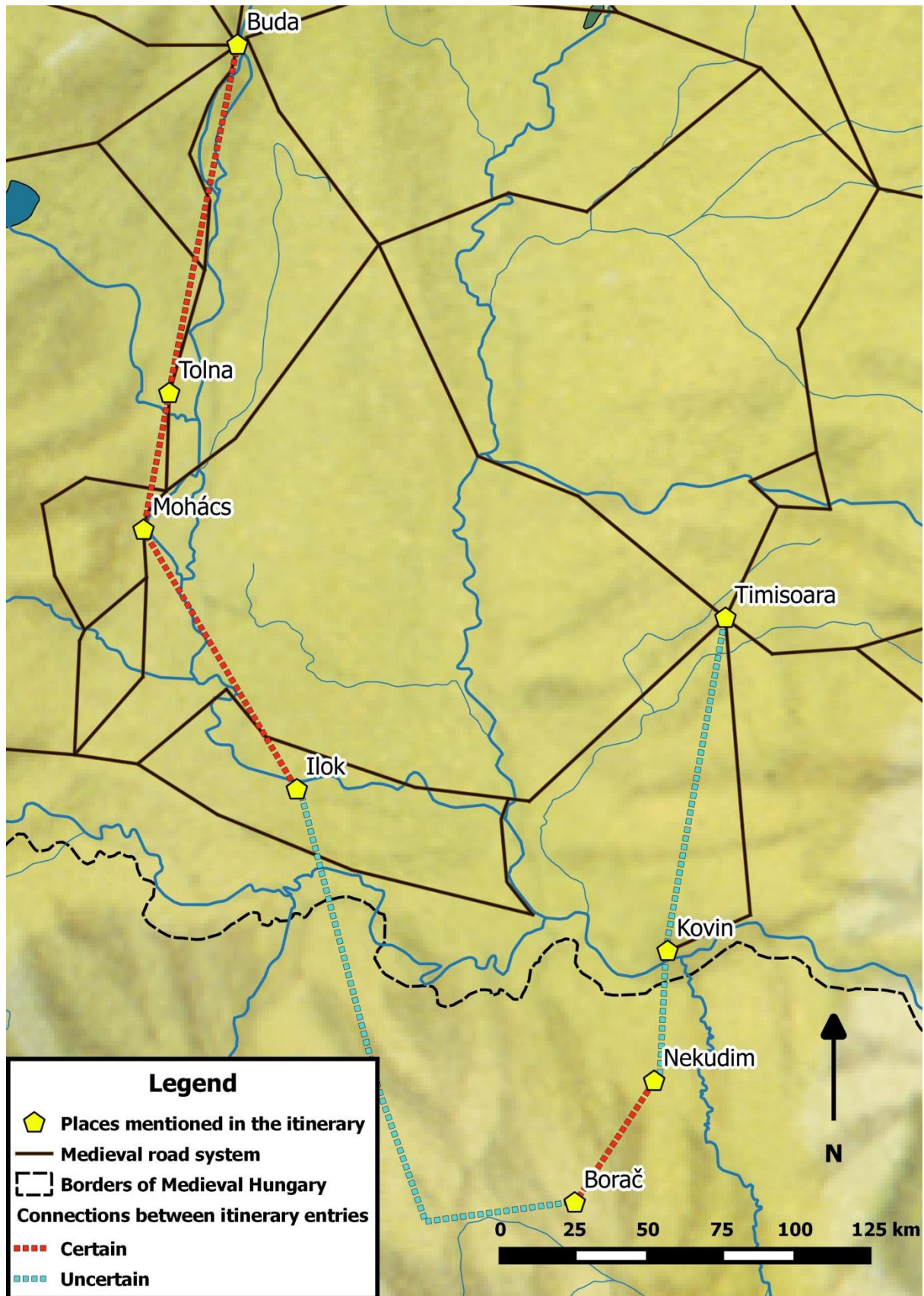


Fig 17 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1389 (second campaign part1)

He went to Timișoara and stayed there for January, when he turned north towards Oradea. An interesting feature of this journey is that even if the two letters were issued by the chancellery it does not exclude the possibility that Sigismund went through Kovin on his way to Timișoara. Looking at the map it seems that the logical path would be one of the main roads through Kovin-Haram. I would argue that in late November it would have been a better choice to follow such route.<sup>101</sup>

In 1391 Sigismund travelled down to the southern border two times. First he went along the eastern roads (Várad-Timișoara: see below), but later he departed at least on the 12 August from Buda choosing the military road along the Danube. In the itinerary the next entry is Dunaszekcső, an indication of his route, then Tolna-Báta, after which he continued on the same road and may have crossed the Drava at Valpovo to reach Požega. His next destinations were *Nagyeng* (now a deserted settlement near Kuvezdin), Sremska Mitrovica, and Vrdnik. The next two entries state that he was in a camp near the Sava River and possibly crossed at the ferry of *Zymand* (See Fig 18).<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Since the second part of this journey falls into another region, I will discuss it in the next chapter.

<sup>102</sup> C. Tóth states that: “The beneficiaries of the Zymand charter are the same people as the one that was made on the 25th.” C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 65.



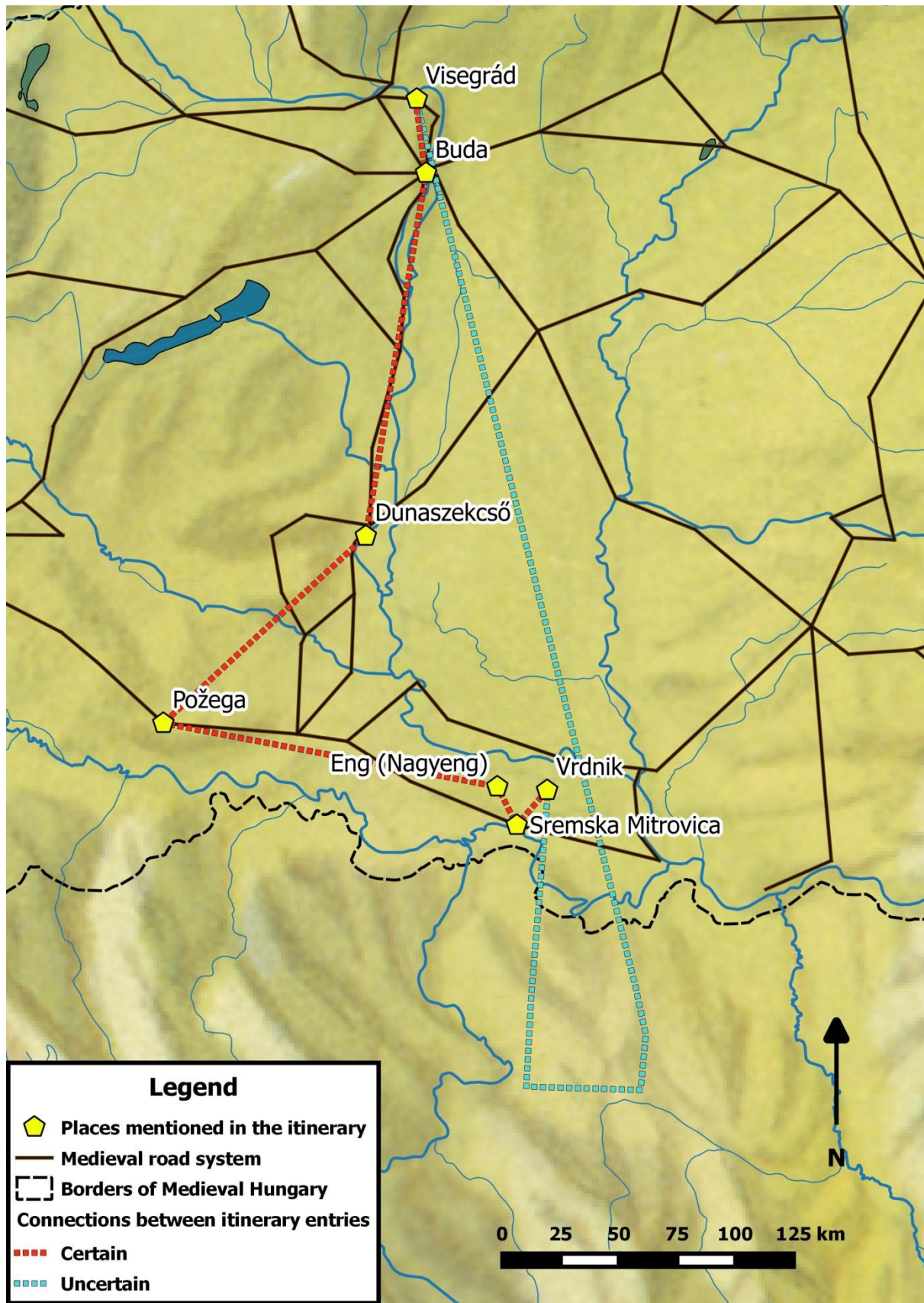


Fig 18 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1391 along the Danube.

There is no indication about which way he returned and C. Tóth then places the king in Buda on 30 November. More than one month of blank dates could support that he went to his favoured location, Oradea, as in 1389. Hoensch, however, added Visegrád from 4 to 17 November. The roughly ten days between the Sava ferry and the Visegrád entry suggest that the king returned earlier to his “capital”, and for that he followed the same road on which he had travelled down (Mohács-Báta-Tolna).<sup>103</sup>

The journey in 1409 seems different, since the pattern towards Mohács suggests that he used the Danube road, but a charter issued in Dömsöd could explain otherwise.<sup>104</sup> The settlement itself is not along the road leading south and it is also on the other side of the Danube. The charter is dated 22 April, when the weather could have been inclement. I assume that he travelled down from Buda by boat, then either continued on until he reached Mohács on 1 May or disembarked at Dunaföldvár to continue on land. The next entry in the itinerary is Caraşova on 22 May, therefore it is also possible that he stayed on the river and went down as far as Haram, then travelled up to the settlement. He then appeared in Orşova on 27 May (See Fig 19).<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Hoensch, *Itinerar...* 1995, 56.

<sup>104</sup> Norbert C. Tóth, Néhány gondolat Süttő Szilárd “Recenziójáról”. [A few Thoughts about the “Review” of Szilárd Süttő], *Gesta* 6( 2006), 74-80, 80.

<sup>105</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 89. From here I think he followed the Caraş River down and then continued on the Danube.

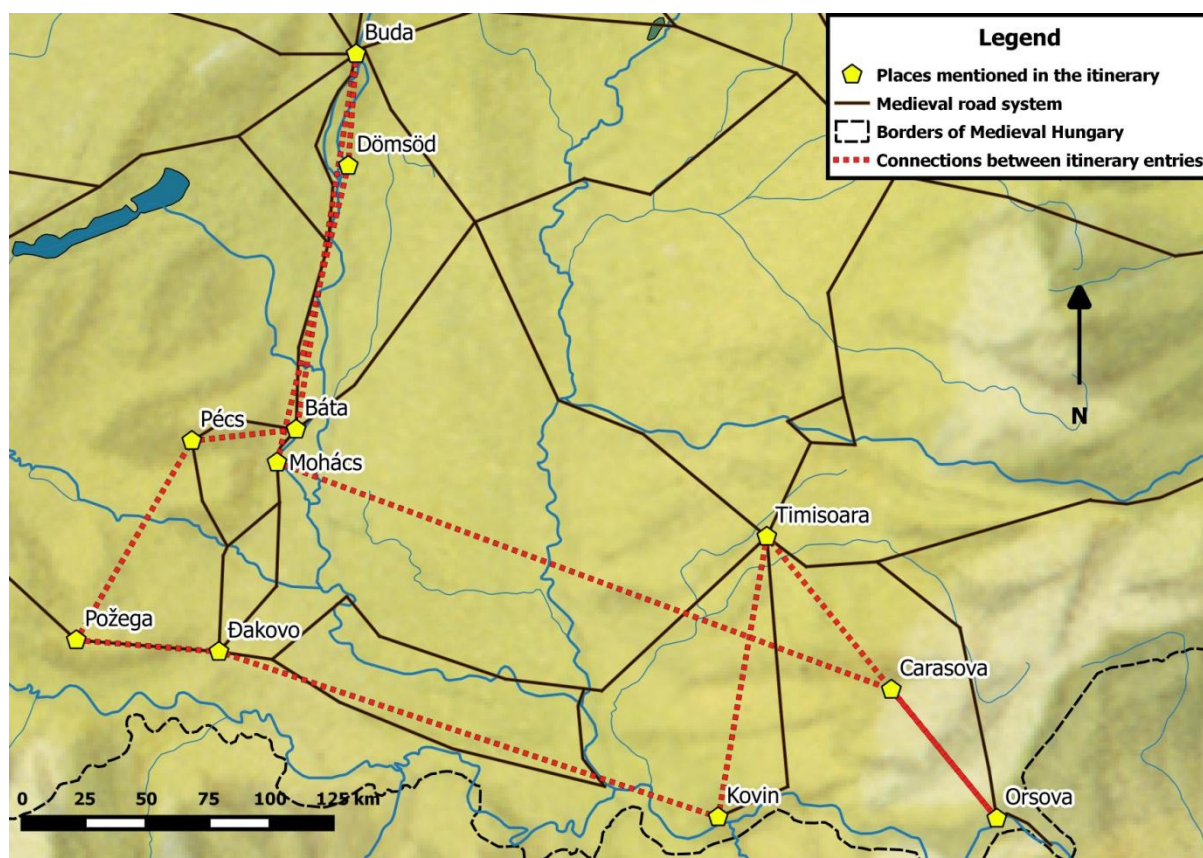


Fig 19 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1409

From here he went to Timișoara, probably using the roads through Mehadia-Caransebeș-Hodoș-Sacoșu Turcesc. After spending a few days in the city he appeared in Kovin, probably via Vrșac-Haram, then crossing the Danube at Zemun towards Đakovo, reaching the settlement 27 June. The road pattern here seems quite logical through Sremska Mitrovica-Nijemci-Ivankovo. Before turning north again he went to Požega. The way back suggests that he used the Danube road (he appeared in Pécs and Bába before finally arriving in Buda and a few days later in Visegrád).<sup>106</sup>

In 1410, Sigismund travelled down to his last campaign in the Bosnian war in order to force the submission of Stephen Ostoja, the Bosnian king, and his subjects (who then later

<sup>106</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 89-90.

contributed to Sigismund's coronation as Bosnian king).<sup>107</sup> The pattern of this journey is rather regular. His first stop after Buda was Nagytétény, which is along the Danube road, then Majsza. He appeared in Sremska Rača on 25 August. The next entries are in camps in Bosnia (Kličevac, Srebrenica, near the Drina River). By 5 or 6 November he had returned to Sremska Rača and he spent the rest of November visiting several settlements, such as Ilok, Bač, Sonta, Našice and spent Christmas in Dakovo before returning to Buda in January (See Fig 20).<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Norbert C. Tóth. *Luxemburgi Zsigmond uralkodása 1387-1437* [The reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg 1387-1437], *Magyarország története* 6 (Budapest: Kossuth Press 2009), 73.

<sup>108</sup> According C. Tóth he was at the Sremska Rača ferry on 6 November: *In Racha in portu Zawhe*. C Tóth, Néhány gondolat Süttő Szilárd "Recenziójáról". [A few Thoughts about the "Review" of Szilárd Süttő] In *Gesta* VI, 2006, 74-80., 80 and C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 91, however, Hoensch places him there on 5 November, Hoensch, *Itinerar...* (1995), 84.



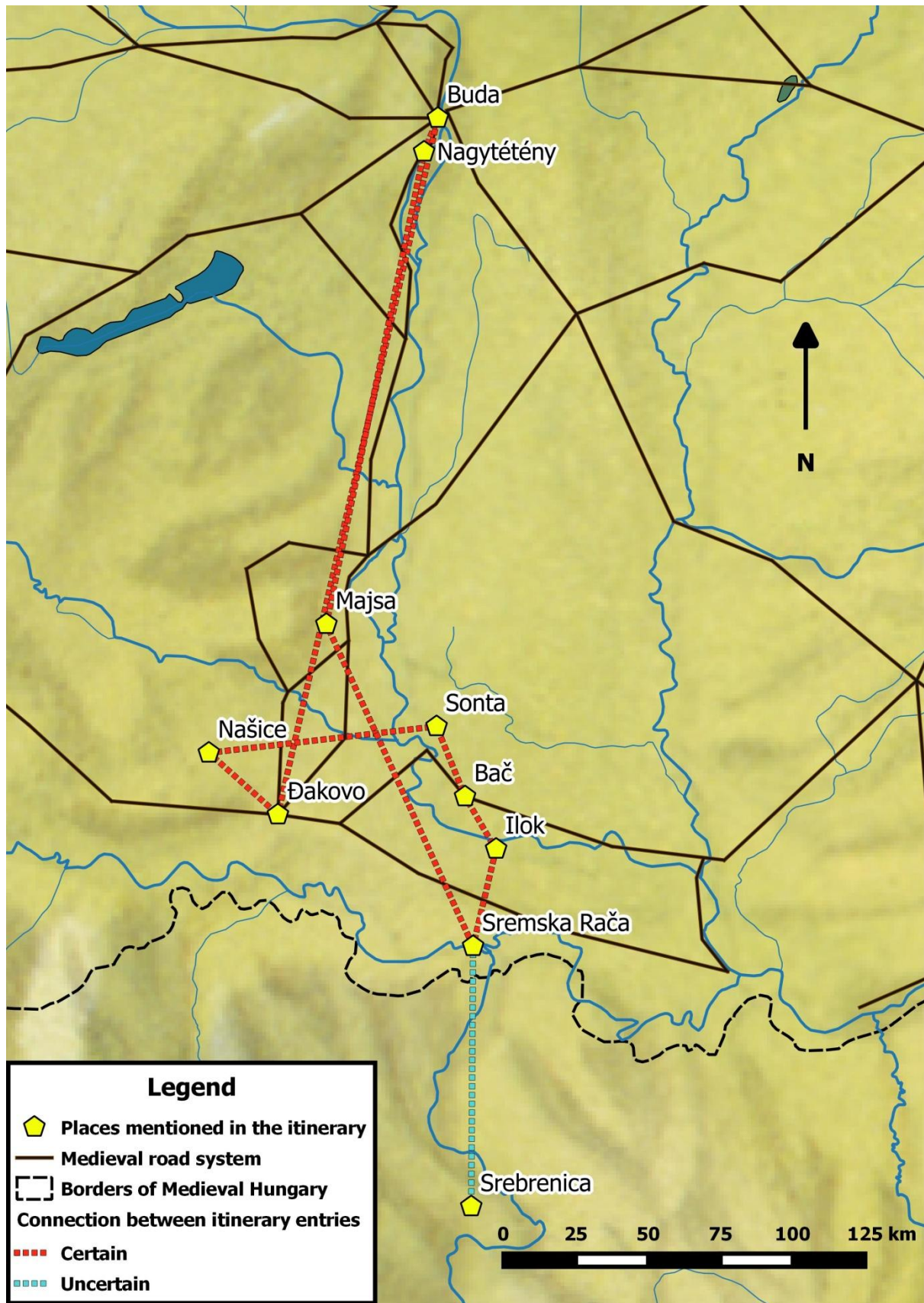


Fig 20 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1410.

The importance of the Danube road can be seen from Sigismund's other journeys, which were aimed towards other regions than Bosnia or Serbia. For example, he used this road on his 1394-1395 travels to Transylvania. From Buda he travelled down to Pécs and turned towards Dakovo.<sup>109</sup> He led his army to Dobor Kula, from where he travelled back north to Erdut, then Bač. The next entry is Rovinița Mare, which seems a bit out of the way, especially since he may have reached the settlement through Petrovaradin, where he returned by 14 August. In the itinerary of C. Tóth, the next entry is the Nera River on 4 September, however according to Hoensch, he was close to Sefkerin on 24 August (*in campestri descensu nostri exercituali prope Zeuerinum*).<sup>110</sup> After leaving the Nera, Sigismund went to Timișoara, where he may have spent a month before continuing to Szeged.<sup>111</sup> He then travelled to Transylvania, which I will discuss below in this chapter with other routes there (see Transylvanian routes). Finally on his way back in 1395 he reached Báta, from where he returned to Buda again through the Danube road (See Fig 21).

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<sup>109</sup> Hoensch places him in Esztergom on 19 June. Although the journey from Esztergom to Pécs in 4 days could be possible it seems out of the way of the king's planned route (and also rushed). Hoensch, *Itinerar...* (1995), 59.

<sup>110</sup> Hoensch, *Itinerar...* (1995), 60. and C Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 68. Because the area is along the way towards the Nera River and the date seems to fit, in this case I accept the Sefkerin entry as well.

<sup>111</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 68, and C. Tóth, "Néhány gondolat" (2006) 80.



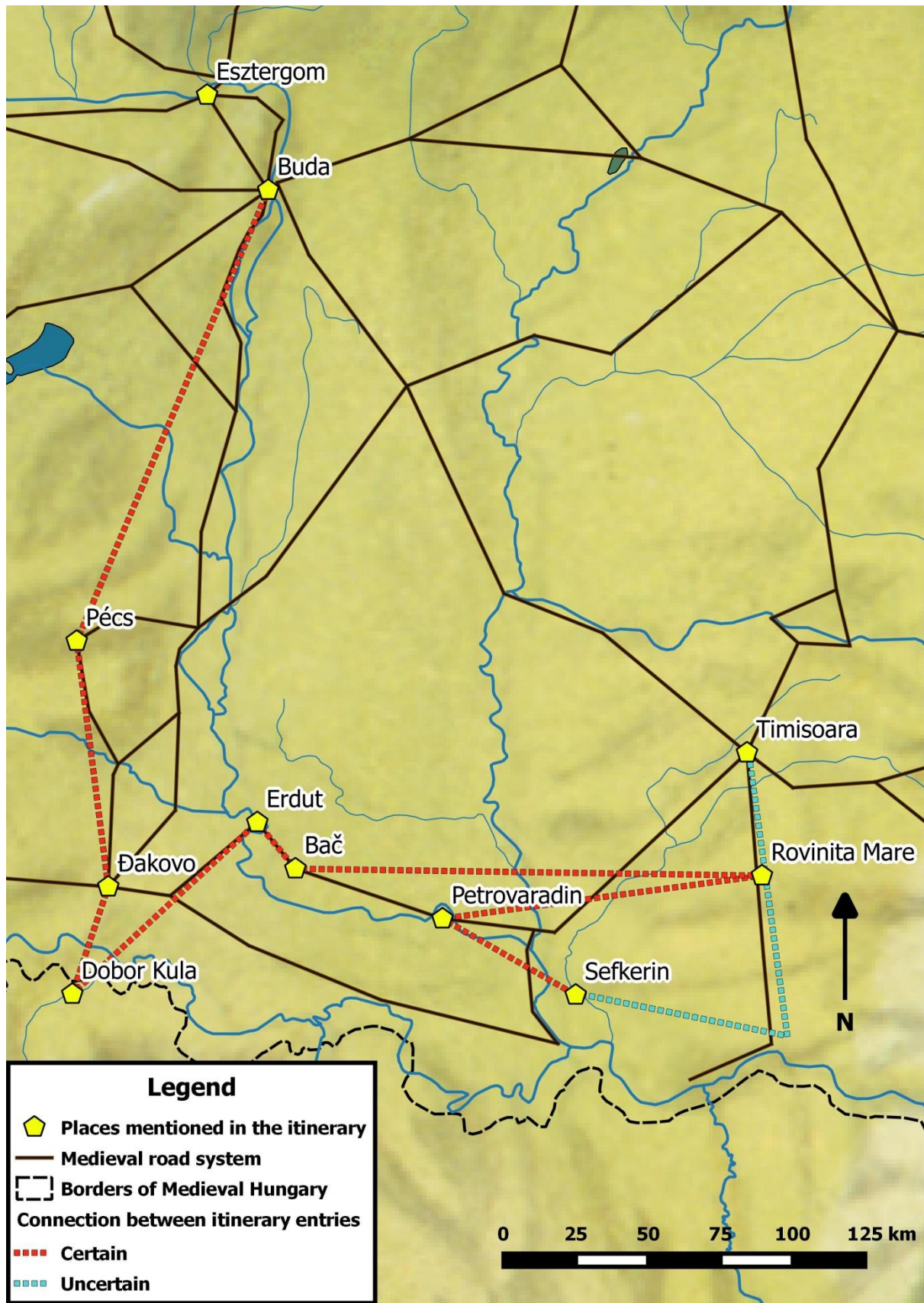


Fig 21 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1394-95 (first part).

Similarly to Sigismund the Danube road was just as important to Matthias in order to reach the Bosnian and Serbian territories. In 1463 he travelled to south to Bába in May, where he crossed the river to Bábmonostor, but after staying there a few days he returned to Bába. By the end of May he had reached Bač.<sup>112</sup> He then travelled to Belgrade<sup>113</sup> through Futog and from there returned to Petrovaradin and Ilok before turning towards the southwest region of his kingdom via Moslavina-Sopje-Virovitica-Grubosinc-Zdenci and Pakrac. By the end of October he had reached Jajce and led the siege of the settlement there (See Fig 22).<sup>114</sup> The rest of his journey may have been along the Veszprém Fehérvár route (See above).

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<sup>112</sup> Interestingly, Valpovo never appears in the itinerary of Matthias, but Osijek does, in contrast to Sigismund's itinerary, where Valpovo appears and Osijek does not. This does not mean, however, that they did not cross the Drava at another place.

<sup>113</sup> The place of Belgrade seems a rather interesting choice as it was the place his father had defended successfully against the Turks, but in reality all four times it appears it seems to correlate with a campaign against the Turks or defense against them. This could mean that he visited the place as a border fortress and a staging point of his campaigns in the area rather than a symbolic place.

<sup>114</sup> The siege of Jajce started from 30 October but with charters the king's presence can only be confirmed from 4 Nov.



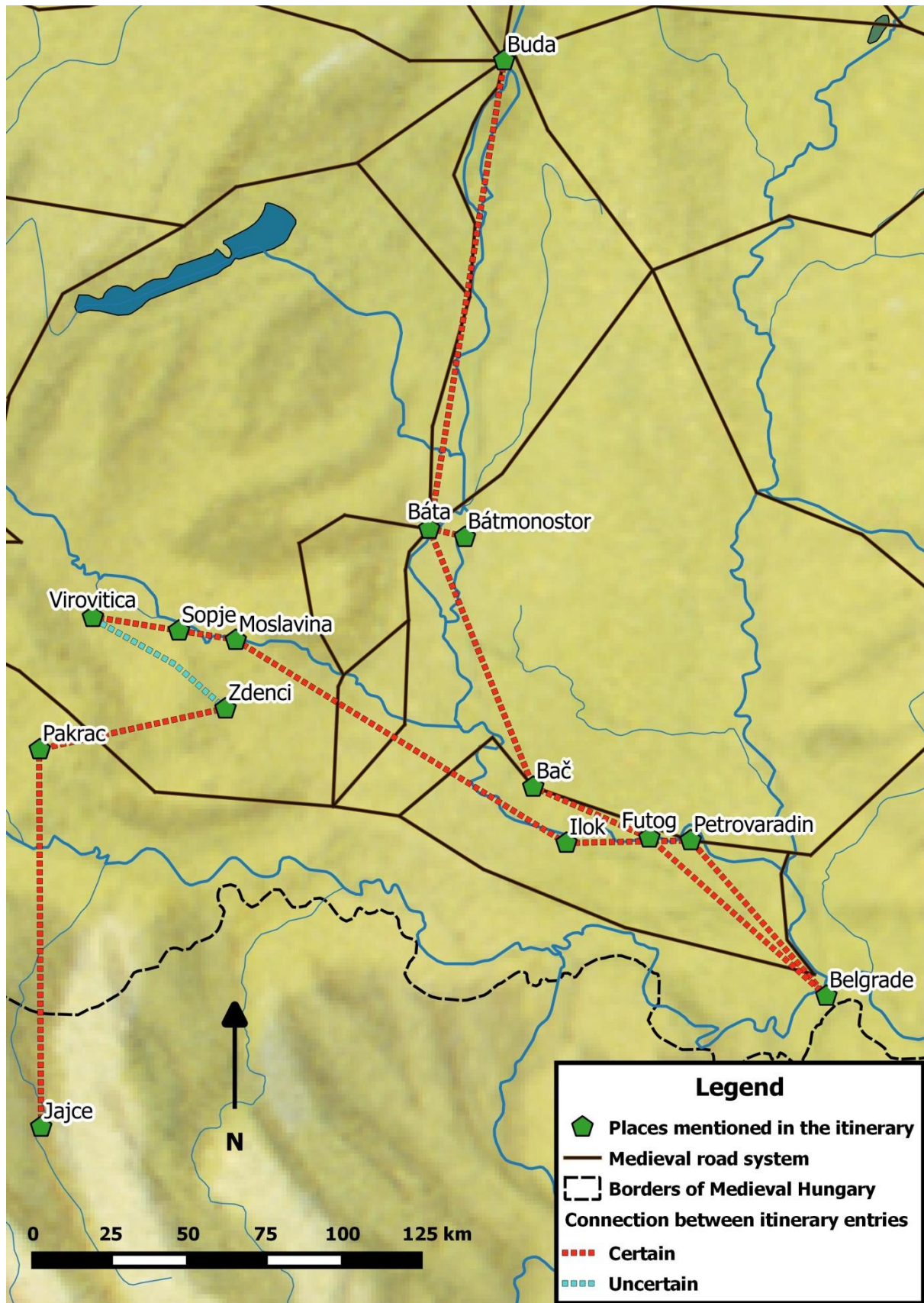


Fig 22 Map showing the journey of Matthias in 1463-64 (first part).

After his arrival, he went to Székesfehérvár, where Bonfini put the crown on his head, then he returned to Buda. He spent a few months there he embarked again on his next campaign towards Mohács through Paks by at least 30 July 1464 His next destination was Sonta, which he may have reached by crossing the Darva at Osijek and the Danube at Erdut because there are only three days between the two entries. Another interesting factor is that his army may have gathered near Sotin, as the next entry suggests (See Fig 23).<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 76.

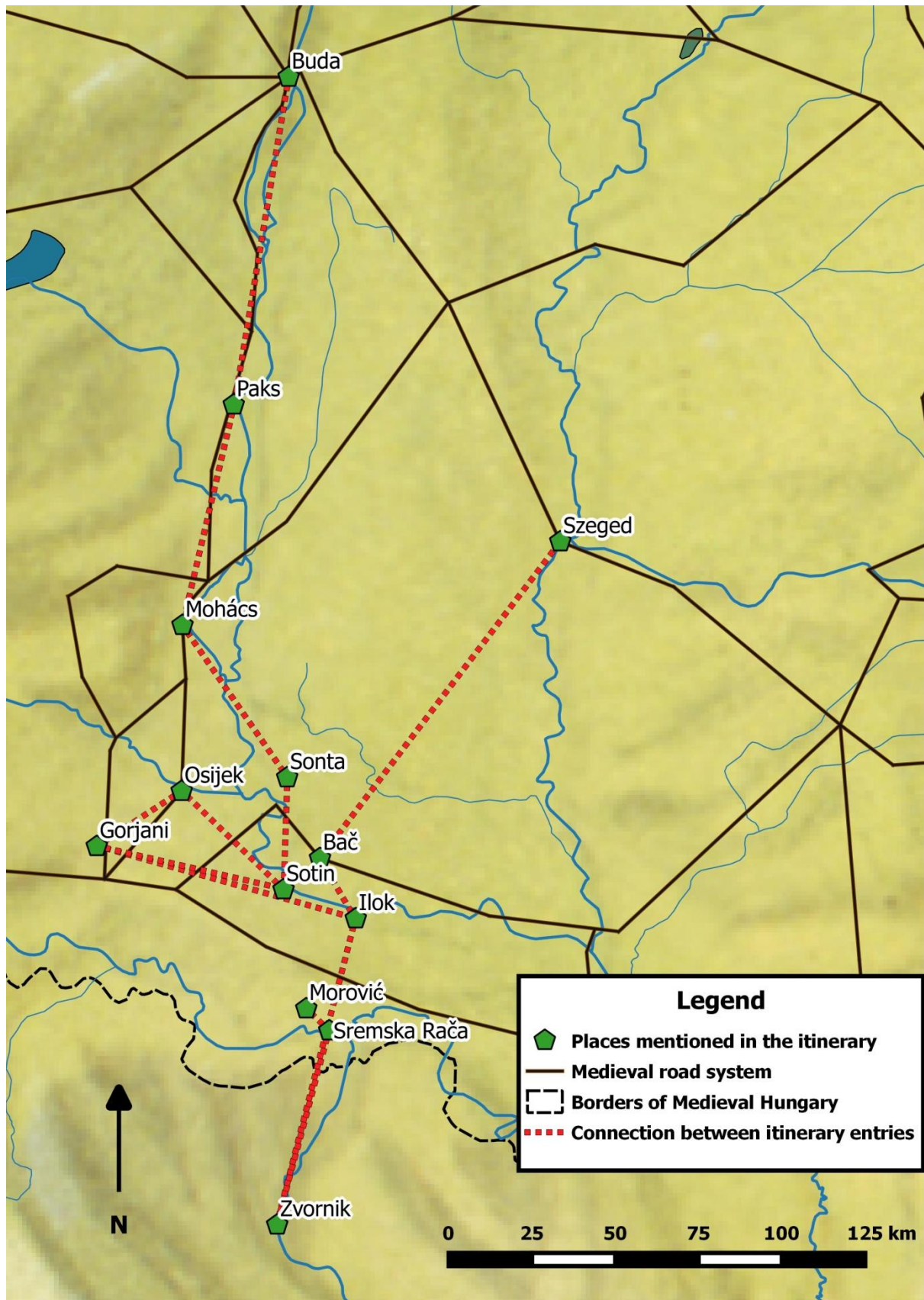


Fig 23 Map showing the journey of Matthias in 1464 (first part)



The next entries in the itinerary show an interesting pattern according to which he appeared in Osijek on 28 August and was then in Gorjani on 2 September. It seems there was another military gathering near this settlement because on 8 September the charter was dated as such.<sup>116</sup> In between the two dates there is another charter dated on 7 September in Sotin, but according to Horváth it is shaky evidence based on the two Gorjani dates. I assume the following: The next entry in the itinerary is Ilok on 13 September, which suggests the possible path of the army before travelling south. The distance between the two settlements is roughly 70 km, not to mention that Gorjani was only “near” the settlement. Therefore I think there were two armies which later joined together, and the Sotin charter could have been brought to the king at Gorjani by a courier and been returned after sealing, or the datum was 7 but sealing the charter could have happened when the king travelled towards Ilok and joined his army. The army and the king travelled to the Sava, reaching the ford near Sremska Rača on 23 September. On 24 September Horváth places another entry near Morović and argues that the military camp could have touched several settlements and the settlement itself is very close to Sremska Rača.<sup>117</sup> In October he led the army to Zvornik castle. His return was not along the Danube road but towards Szeged (see below)

His next year, 1465, is another example of him using the Danube road. The beginning of his journey seems quite regular. He embarked on his campaign by least 9 April went to Tétény, then continued to the military camp near Szekszárd. He appeared in Pécs, then Siklós, spending a few days in each settlement. His next documents were issued from the proximity of the Sava River. Horváth mentions a village called *Mazlyncz* which he identifies

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<sup>116</sup> A military camp near Gara. Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 76

<sup>117</sup> Horváth also adds that the earlier dates at Sremska Rača ford could actually mean Morović or its proximity. Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 76.



as the settlement named Mašić. Since the next entry is Stara Gradiška it seems plausible. It is also important to mention that between 2 and 11 November all the entries in the itinerary are set in military camps near the Sava River or the above mentioned settlements in the area (See Fig 24).<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 79-80.

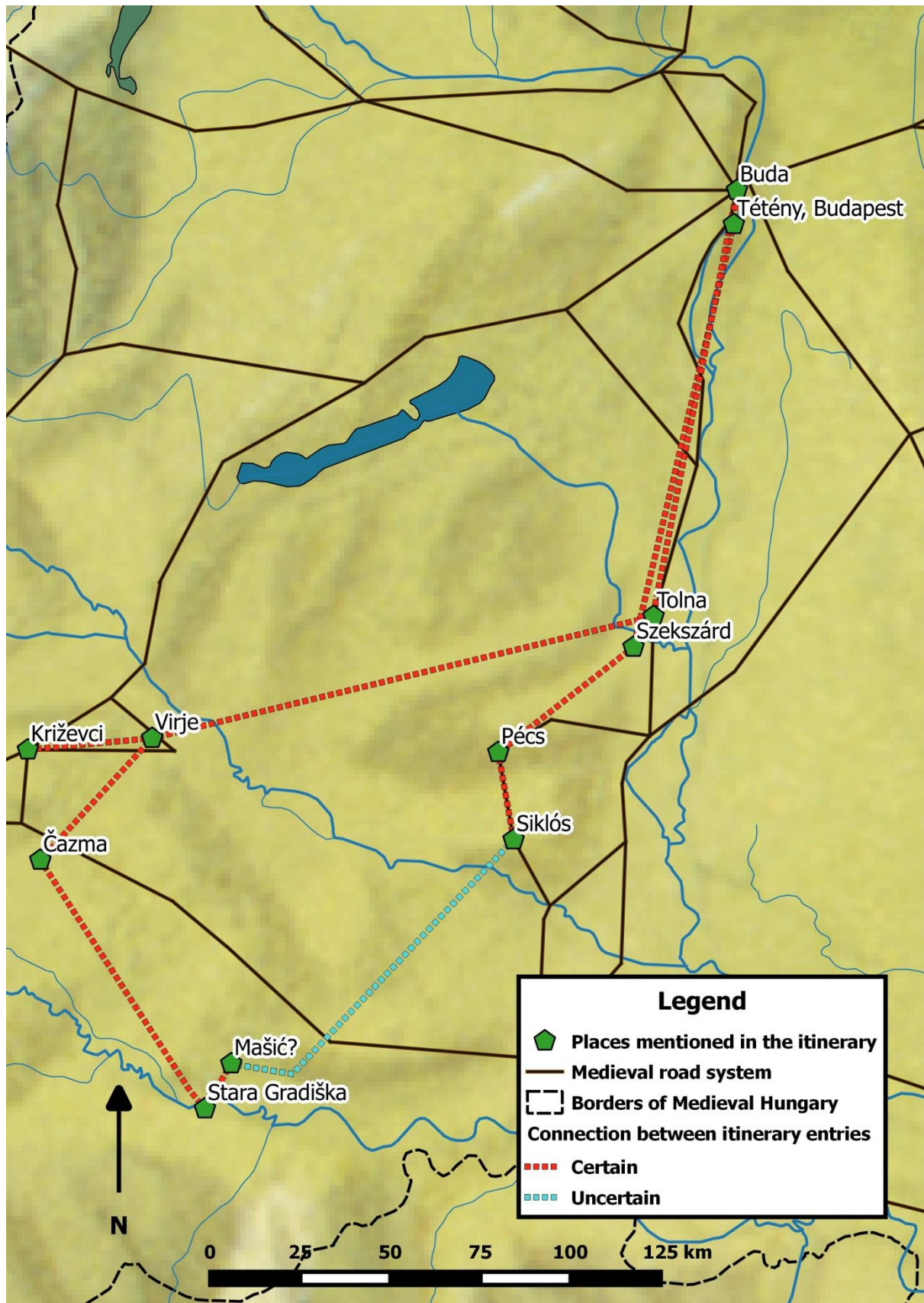


Fig 24 Map showing the journey of Matthias 1465.

To reach the area he may have crossed the Drava River at Valpovo and continued towards Dakovo and Požega along the main road system. On 23 November he appeared in Čazma, then turned towards Virje. Here Horváth adds that it is possible to place the king's attack against Đurđevac in these weeks. The close proximity of Virje supports his statement. Matthias's way back seems irregular in terms of the most logical path; from Virje he traveled to Križevci then back again, and departed from the settlement by least 17 December. Although he could have travelled on the southwest road he chose the Danube road; he appeared in Tolnavár, Tolna, on 8 January and spent at least two days there before returning to Buda.<sup>119</sup> I assume that later in 1481, departing from Bad Radkersburg, he used the minor roads running west-east, perhaps to reach Pécs, spent Christmas there, and then, as planned, went to Tolnavár to hold the council.

Matthias' last journey on this road was a bit unusual, at least when looking at the beginning (See Fig 25). This is because he first went to Szeged from Buda, embarking by least on 21 October 1475. He departed from Szeged on 26 October, appeared in Tolna two days later, and then continued his journey through Mohács-Báč-Futog-Petrovaradin and arrived in Belgrade on 21 December. He stayed there until 30 December and departed to fight at the siege of Šabac from 16 January until 16 February 1475.<sup>120</sup> Before returning to his capital he visited Stari Slankamen and Belgrade again. The entry in the itinerary before Buda is Bač, and he had at least ten blank days so the journey is not certain. He could have used the

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<sup>119</sup> His unusual route choice can be explained by his having held a council at Tolnavár. As Horváth argues, the first charter issued in Buda on 13 January mentions the recent council in Tolnavár: *in hys diebus cum certis prelati et baronibus nostris in opido Tolnavar, ut tractaremus de rebus regni nostri*. Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 80.

<sup>120</sup> The castle capitulated on the 15 February. Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 103.

Danube road, which seems more probable, or travelled towards Szeged as he did in 1464.<sup>121</sup> After spending a couple of months here and preparing the diet he appeared at it in Pécs. The data itself is unclear because the seals on the charters cannot be analyzed and, according to Horváth, the documents seem rather protocol.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 104

<sup>122</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 104



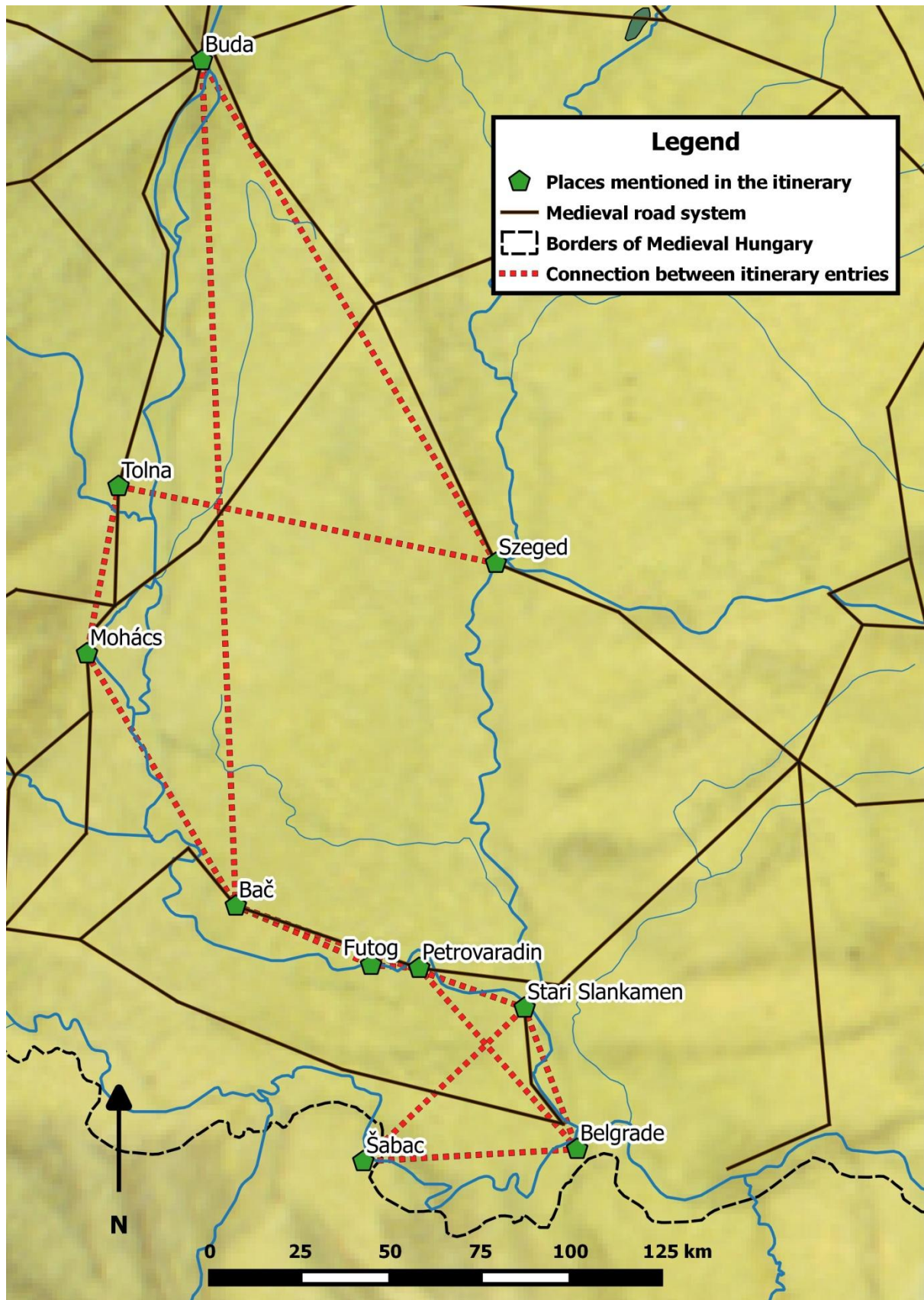


Fig 25 Map showing the journey of Matthias 1475.

### 3.1.3, Summary

In comparison, both kings made several journeys on the Székesfehérvár-Veszprém road or used several sections of it when travelling to (or from) the Croatian and Slavonian part of Hungary. However, Matthias in contrast to Sigismund, used it even in the last ten years of his reign, and although Sigismund made a few trips to Transdanubia (for example, to Zalaszentrót and Csurgó), it seems he did not cross the Drava to reach the Slavonia region after 1412. The destinations of the trips of both kings varied: Slavonia, Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia (with Sigismund one time Italy and with Matthias the Holy Roman Empire as well.)

The roads from Sopron through Kőszeg towards Körmend did not play a major role for travelling eastwards. Although Matthias used the section between Kőszeg and Sopron the journey was not aimed towards the southern border or beyond. The main military road along the Danube played an important part in both kings' travels. Several campaigns moved out along them or on the way back, sometimes within quite frequently within a few years span (for example, 1389-1394 in Sigismund's case and 1463-1465 in Matthias' case). Clearly the road kept its importance throughout the century.

## 3.2. Journeys through the Great Hungarian Plain

In this chapter I examine the journeys that led over the Great Hungarian Plain. I not will, however, discuss those in which the destination was Transylvania, which will be discussed separately. The preliminary research revealed that there were great differences between the two kings concerning this particular area.

One of the differences was the appearance and frequency of the settlements visited (Oradea Szeged and Timișoara). In the case of Sigismund, Oradea appeared at least 15 times

and Timișoara 19 times, but Szeged on only 2 occasions. In contrast, Matthias appeared at Szeged at least 6 times, but at Oradea 3 times and at Timișoara only once.<sup>123</sup> Another difference is the patterns of their travels, which also correlate with their travel patterns in the usage of roads to reach the south in this region.

Although the hydrological features of the Carpathian Basin played a great role in the forming of communications networks (the extent of the inundated areas could cover from 13% to 16% of the whole land), they are even more important for the Great Plain because even more areas were flooded, which must be considered during the discussion.<sup>124</sup> Several main roads led through the region in different directions from Buda. One of them was the northeast-bound road which ran from Pest (next to Buda at the other side of the Danube) almost straight northeast between a range of hills and the Great Plain, through Hatvan-Eger-Diósgyőr and Vizsoly or Tokaly, then turned north.<sup>125</sup> Although this paper is not concerned with the northern routes it is necessary to include this part here because Sigismund used this road to reach Oradea many times.

Another road started from Pest, and went through Hatvan to Tiszafüred where one could cross the Tisza River.<sup>126</sup> After crossing the river, the road led through Hajdúszoboszló to Oradea. Oradea was a central place where several main road crossed each other. Engel suggests that four different military roads crossed there. These are the “Buda path,” Hatvan-

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<sup>123</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), and C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005)

<sup>124</sup> Szende Katalin, “Towns Along the Way,” 162 See the map above

<sup>125</sup> This route was also termed as the “Cracow route” primarily because of its main destination. (This however applies to the trade route), Szende Katalin, “Towns Along the Way,” 207.

<sup>126</sup> To reach Tiszafüred it was possible to follow the road as far as Eger then turn southward towards the settlement.

Tiszafüred-Hajdúszoboszló<sup>127</sup>, the “Kosice path,” Vizsoly-Hajdúböszörmény-Debrecen; the “Timișoara path,” through Tămașda-Șiria, and the path to Cluj through Vadu Crișului-Gilău.<sup>128</sup> The north-south-bound road (the Kosice and the Timișoara path) was the only major thoroughfare across the Carpathian Basin that did not cross Buda and Pest.<sup>129</sup>

The frequent visits to Oradea were one of the interesting characteristics of Sigismund’s journeys. Oradea was one of the main focus points of travel on the eastern side of the country. He travelled there, according to the itinerary, 15 times between 1387 and 1426 either as a final destination or as a station on his way towards Timișoara or Cluj or on his return to Buda from the south. Moreover, as Pál Engel suggests, although there is no written evidence, on some of his other journeys he stayed there for a short while.<sup>130</sup>

### 3.2.1, The north-south-bound roads through Oradea and Timișoara

Several examples reinforce the suggestion that Oradea played a major role in Sigismund’s mind when planning his journeys, especially knowing his devotion to Saint Ladislaus I. In 1389 Sigismund led a campaign to Serbia. He departed from Buda at least by 20 January and travelled to Oradea, arriving on 30 January. Similarly to the 1387 trip to Oradea, it is safe to

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<sup>127</sup> After his coronation, on his first travels, Sigismund used sections of the Hatvan-Hajdúszoboszló road when he travelled to Oradea, where he visited the tomb of Saint Ladislaus I of Hungary. From there he went to Diósgyőr (Miskolc), a popular retreat of the Anjou kings, and finally from the north through Vyshkove returning to Visegrád, then Buda, on 19 November. Pál Engel, “Az utazó király...” 1987, 70 and C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 57-59.

<sup>128</sup> Pál Engel, “Az utazó király...” 1987, 71-72. Reconstructing these military routes Engel used the itinerary and where there was no evidence he suggested drawing logical connections based on the existing data. However, he notes that this type of reconstruction might be misleading and must be treated carefully, Pál Engel, “Az utazó király...” 1987, 71-72.

<sup>129</sup> Szende Katalin, “Towns Along the Way,” 211.

<sup>130</sup> Pál Engel, “Az utazó király...” 1987, 71.



assume the logical path through Hatvan and Tiszafüred. He led his campaign from here through Tămaşda-Lipova to Serbia during March. Although the itineraries do not suggest any route for the campaign it is logical that he travelled through Timișoara. Returning, he reached Utvin, then Timișoara, where he again spent a few days there, from 14 April until at least 17 April.<sup>131</sup> From here, possibly through Arad<sup>132</sup> and Oradea, he went to Debrecen and Hajdúböszörmény. By 21 May he returned to Oradea through Sălard and after spending a few days in the town he chose the Tiszafüred-Hatvan route to reach Buda (See Fig 26).<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 61. His stay at Timișoara can be pushed until the 18 April because of Easter.

<sup>132</sup> The dating of the charter is without a year, the logical path, however, can confirm this appearance. C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 61.

<sup>133</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 61

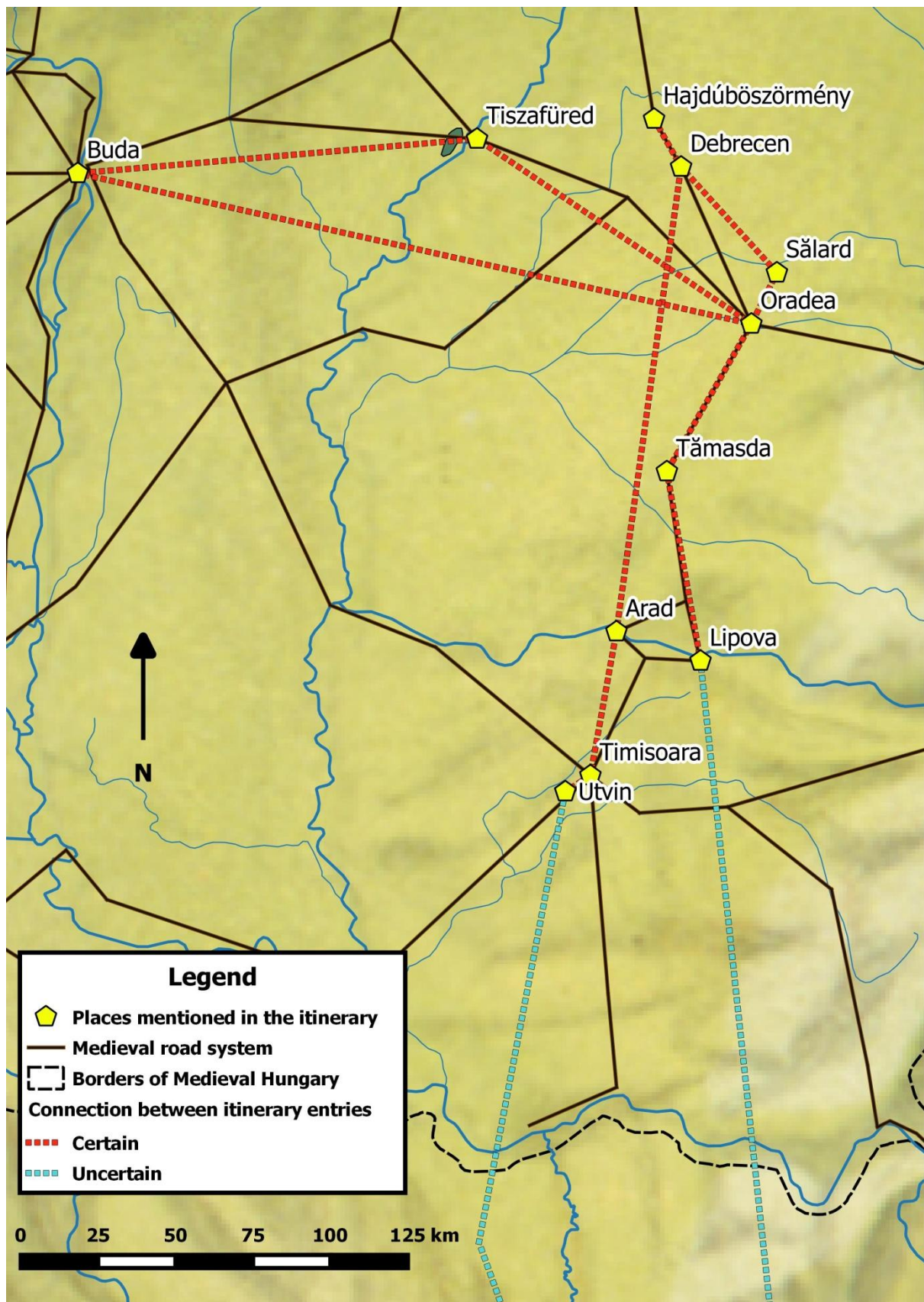


Fig 26 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1389 (first campaign).

In the same year (1389) he started another campaign in Serbia. He used the Danube road as discussed above, but on his way back he chose the eastern roads to reach Timișoara. After reaching the city on 1 December, he stayed there until 7 December. The itinerary, however, indicates Timișoara again from 1 January 1390 until the end of month.<sup>134</sup> It is possible that he stayed there for the rest of December, maybe making a short visit in the region, although there are no sources for this. In February he chose his usual path through Frumușeni, possibly Arad as well, to Oradea, then probably crossing the Tisza River at Tiszafüred, he returned to Buda via Eger (See Fig 27).<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 62.

<sup>135</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 63.

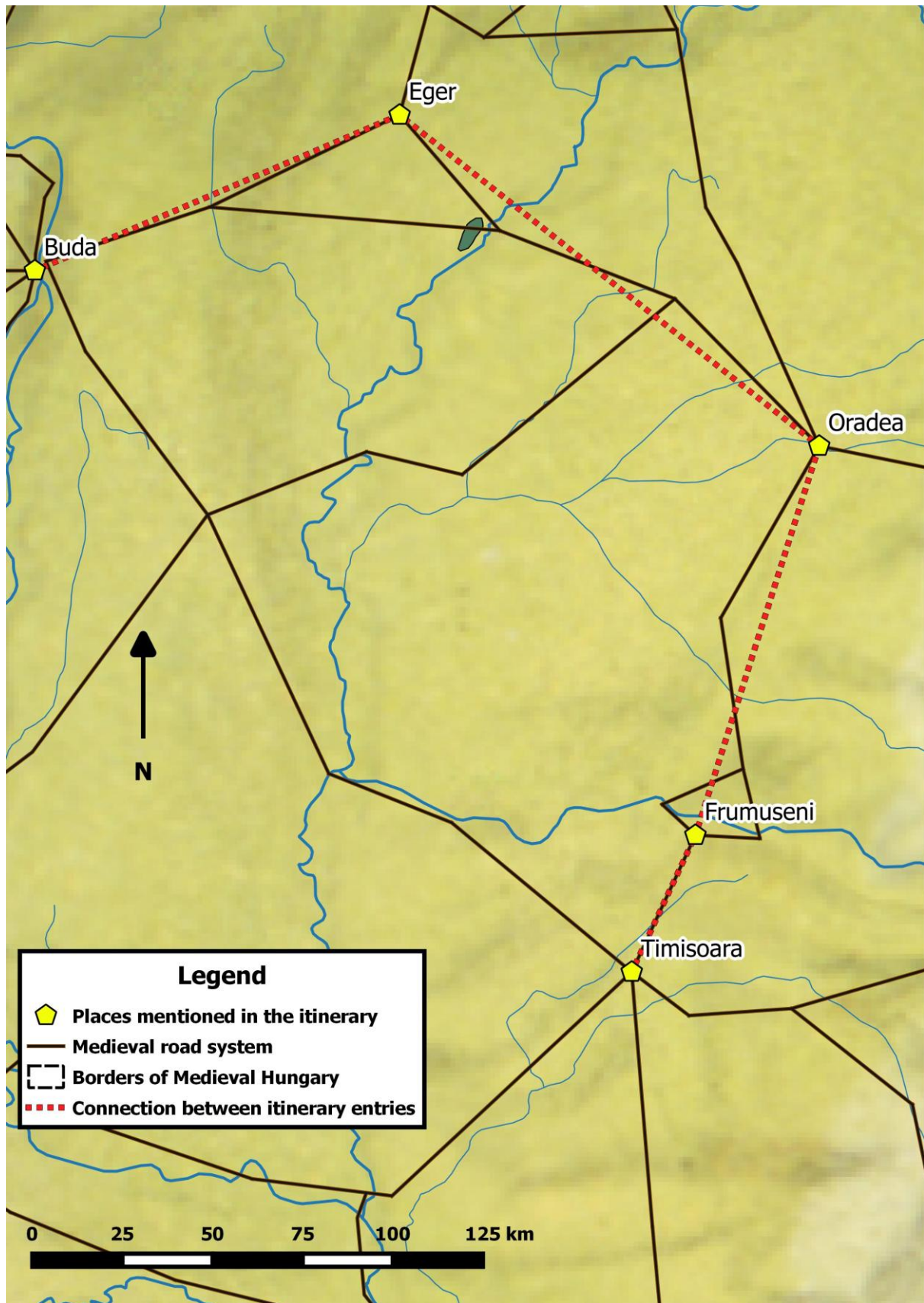


Fig 27 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1389 (second campaign part 2).

In 1390 Sigismund again followed this pattern for his next Serbian campaign. He arrived at Oradea by 10 September and after a few days he continued to Timișoara. From there he travelled down to Olnas and led his campaign to Serbia. Then he went down to Ostrovica castle (3 November) on his way back way through Sremska Mitrovica-Nijemci-Ivankovo and Pačetin until he finally reached Timișoara again by 11 January 1391 (See Fig 28) He did not go into Buda, however, but continued his journey to Transylvania (see below.)



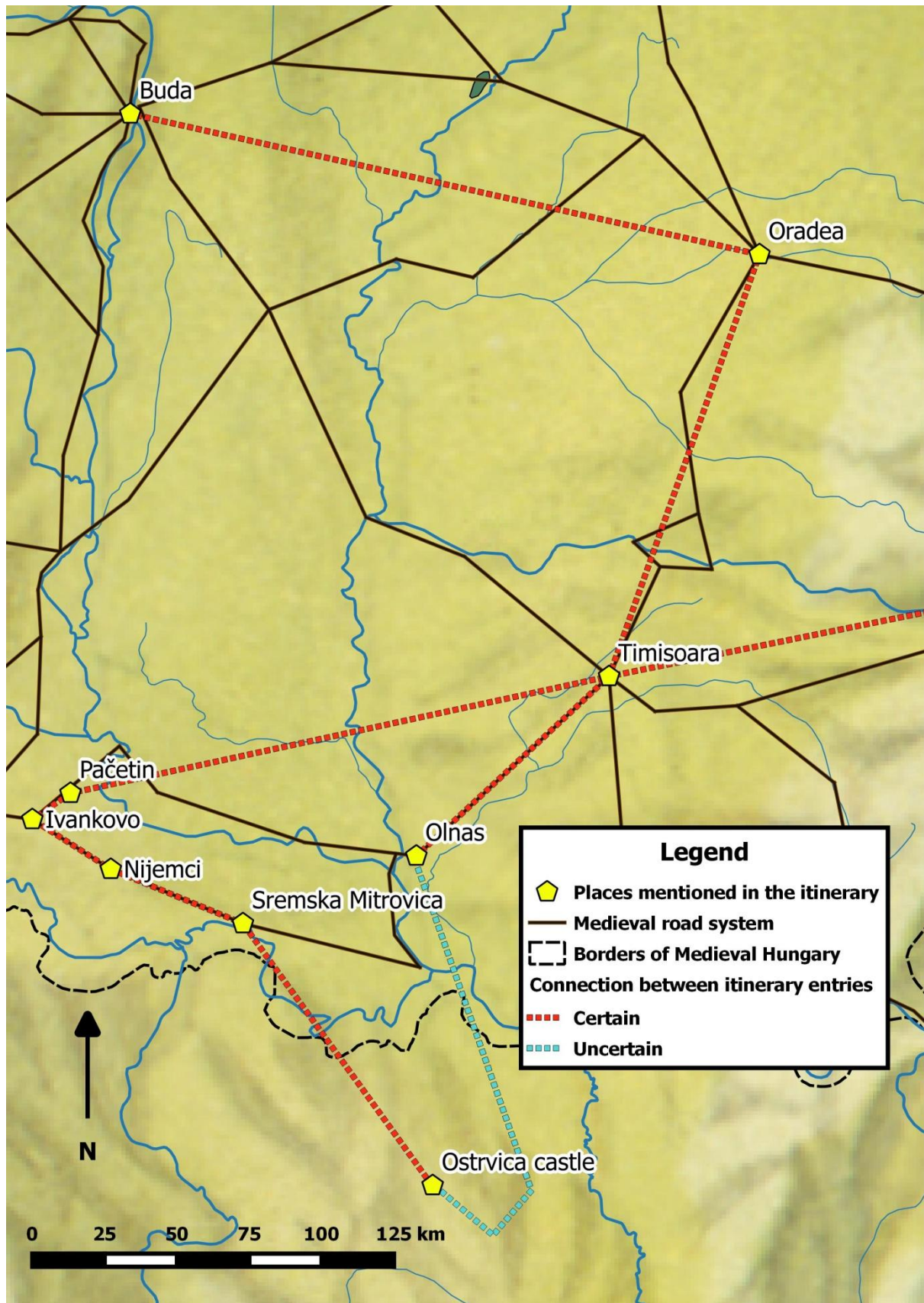


Fig 28 Map showing the journey of Sigismund 1390-91 (first part).

An interesting addition to the journeys of Sigismund in the area is that before (or after) travelling down to the southern borders, several times he included at least a short detour towards the north on the Kosice path. For example, in 1392, he started his journey towards Diósgyőr, Miskolc by at least 31 March, (probably using the Hatvan-Eger road), however, from here he arrived at Levoča by 24 April, then appeared in Košice on 27 April.<sup>136</sup> The itinerary suggests that he went down on the eastern route through Tokaly-Debrecen to Oradea (where he stayed a few days) and travelled further south to Timișoara. His journey continued through Opațița, the Vrșac camp, however before crossing the border he made a short detour to Caransebeș. According to the itinerary, he continued through Grebenac to Braničevo and spent July in Serbia. By 9 August he returned to Kovin and started travelling north through Timișoara to Oradea. Upon reaching the town and spending a few days there (from 13 to 16 August) he did not return to Buda but again travelled north through Debrecen and appeared in Zvolen<sup>137</sup> on 14 September. After spending the next two months in Upper Hungary (visiting Trenčín, Beckov, and Trnava) he finally appeared in Buda on 22 November (See Fig 29).<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> It is possible that he passed through Košice on his way there.

<sup>137</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 65-66. No evidence shows which route he traveled on, but the time span between the Debrecen entry and the Zvolen entry is about 20 days so he might also have gone through Buda.

<sup>138</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 66.



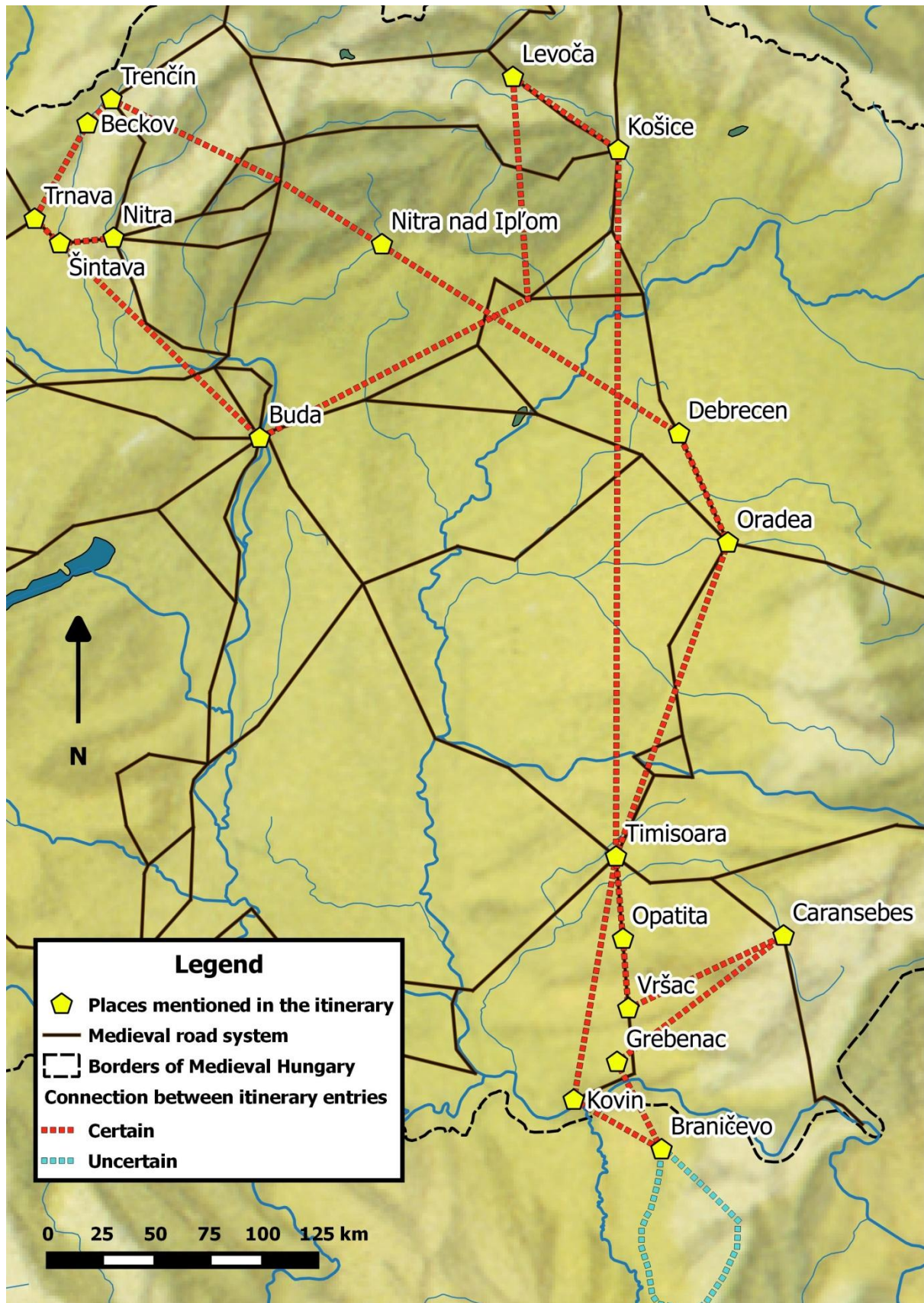


Fig 29 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1392.

After the fairly unsuccessful attempts to overpower the Ottoman Empire between 1389 and 1395, Sigismund led a Crusade with international aid to Nicopolis, which was intended to be final conclusion for defeating the Turks in 1396. In 1396 he first turned north towards Stará Ľubovňa, arriving there by 24 June, and from there turned south and travelled through Vizsoly to Oradea, where he stayed for a few days (14-17 July). He appeared in Timișoara on 20 July and started marching south through Sacoșu Turcesc-Hodoș and Caransebeș (See Fig 30).<sup>139</sup>

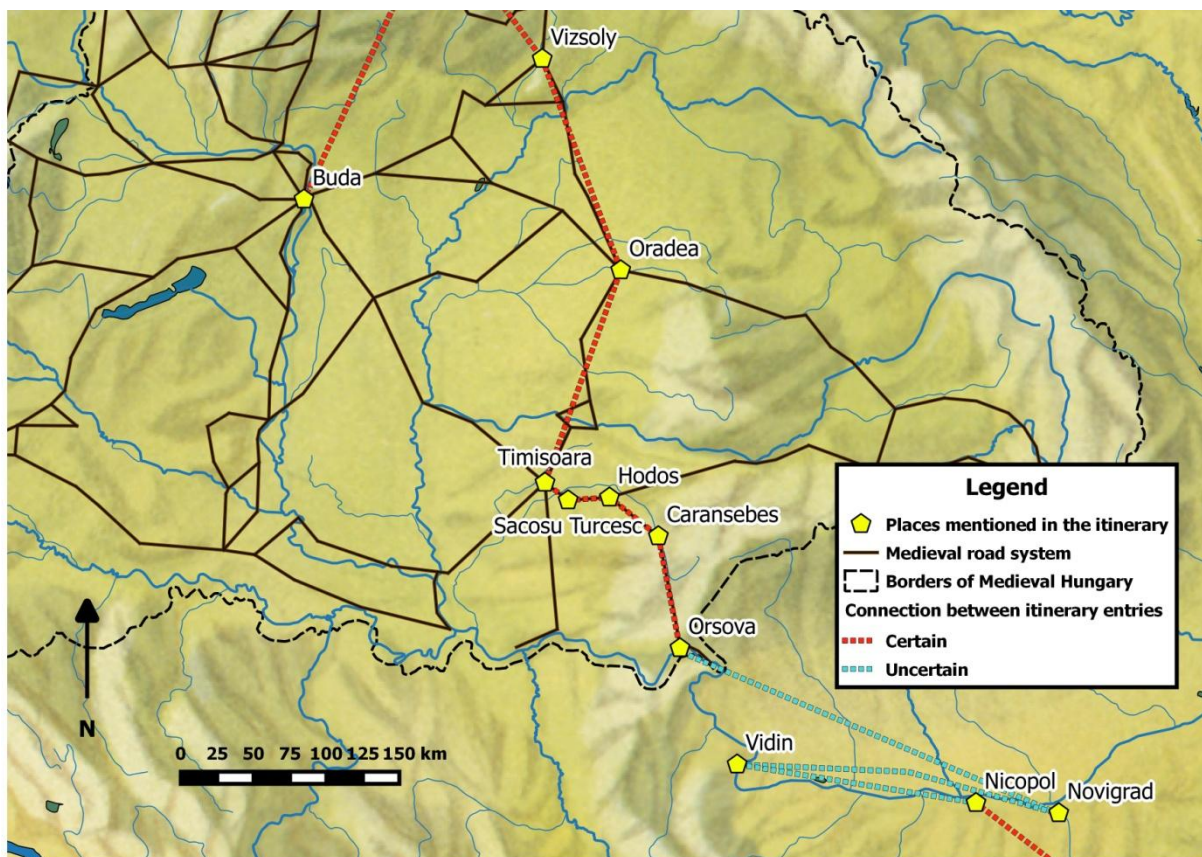


Fig 30 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1396-97 (first part to Nicopolis).

The united European army (at least about 20 000 soldiers) consisted of Bohemian, German, Italian and even English Crusaders alongside the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Croatians,

<sup>139</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 71-72.



and Wallachians. The French contingent was the largest, with John the Fearless heir to the Burgundian throne and Marshall Boucicaut. After reaching Orşova by 13 August the army was moving along the Danube river, which also shows in Sigismund's itinerary, appearing in Novigrad-Podgradja-Vidin. Finally the army reached Nicopolis and started the siege of the castle. On the other side, Sultan Bajezid led his army (about 30 000 solders) personally to lift the siege of Nicopolis. The main battle happened on 25 September, when the united European army suffered a complete defeat by the Turks. The defeat itself was not the result of the smaller army of the Crusaders, but several tactical and military mistakes (especially the lack of discipline among the French crusaders). After the battle even Sigismund had to flee from the Ottoman Turkish army by ship towards Constantinople and after sailing around the Balkan Penninsula he returned to Hungary from the Adriatic Sea at the beginning of 1397.<sup>140</sup>

This defeat changed Sigismund's view and attitude towards the Ottomans. The battle was a good example that it was not enough to have personal virtues and shining armor against the well trained, disciplined, and experienced Turkish army. Sigismund, for example, did not lead another great offensive campaign against the Turks during his next forty years of reign, although he fortified his defenses on the southern border in the following years.<sup>141</sup> He also tried to stop the Truks by using the "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" ploy by starting diplomatic contacts with rulers in Asia Minor and also with Mongolian and Mesopotamian monarchs. For example, in 1419, his envoy, Miklós Szerecsen, visited the Mesopotamian monarch Jalāl ad-Dīn<sup>142</sup> and successfully convinced him to attack the Turks. In this year

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<sup>140</sup> C. Tóth, *Luxemburgi Zsigmond...* 2009, 34- 36. and C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 71-72.

<sup>141</sup> Pál Engel, "Az utazó király..." 1987, 89.

<sup>142</sup> The Hungarian source mentions Dzselaeddin the name transliteration is based on Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī (1207-1275)

Sigismund took the initiative as well and started his campaign along the Lower Danube. In 1419 he departed from Buda on 31 August and again started his journey by going north first towards Zvolen-Stary Sącz-Lipany and Košice before travelling to the south; by 21 September he had reached Tokaj and a few days later Oradea. Through Cheresig and Şiria he travelled to Timișoara. He won several battles against the Turks in the Lower Danube area, for example, around Novigrad (26-28 October), between Niš and Nicopolis. He returned through Drobeta-Turnu Severin by 12 November and he reached Timișoara through Caransebeș and on 13 December he was at Buda (See Fig 31).<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> C. Tóth, *Luxemburgi Zsigmond...* 2009, 91 and C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 104-105.

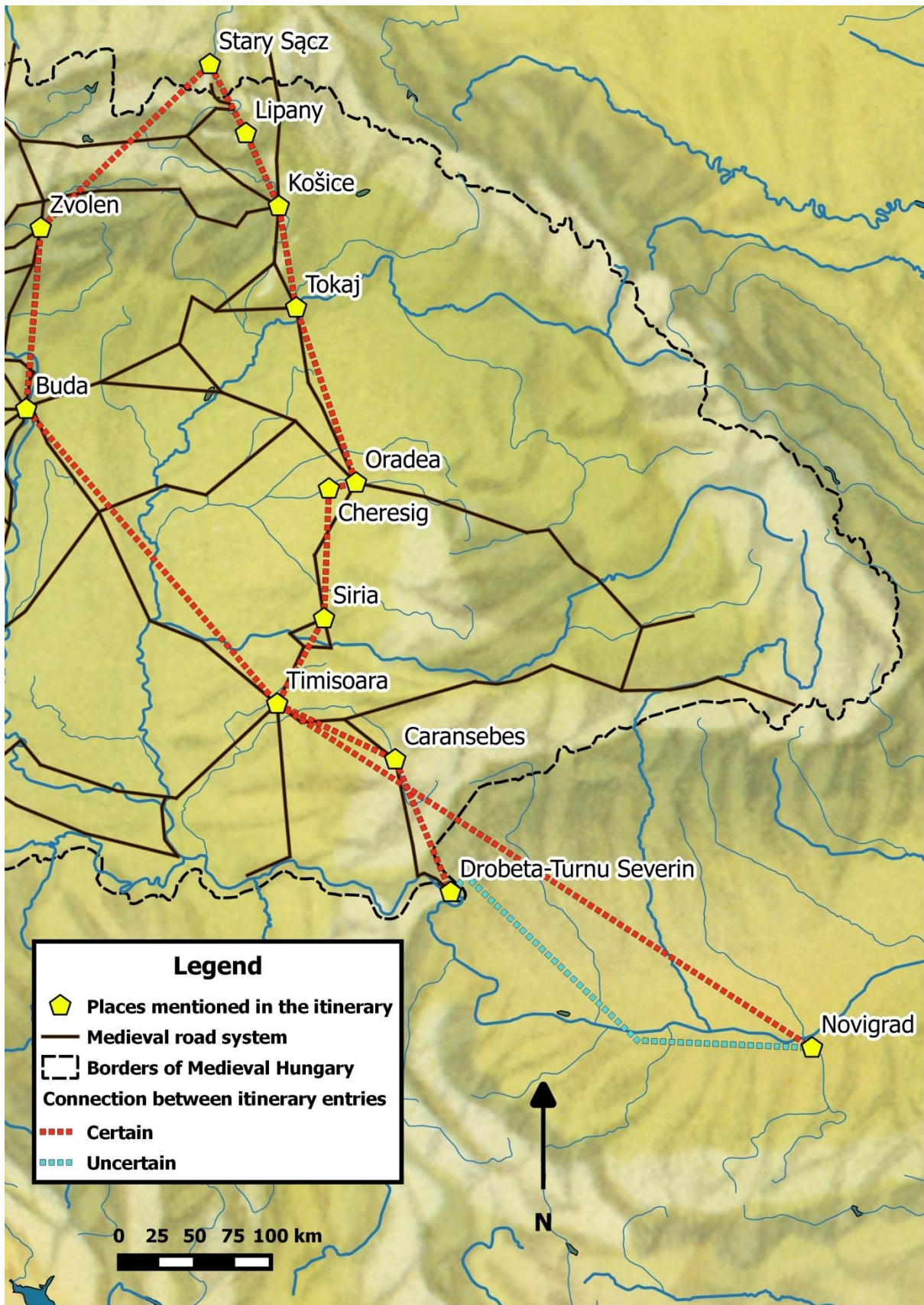


Fig 31 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1419.

Sigismund used the Timișoara road many times even when his intended destination was not across the southern borders. An example is his journey to Timișoara in 1397 (from Košice through Bodrogkeresztúr, Hajdúböszörmény and Oradea), when, after the defeat at Nicopolis he held a diet there in October trying to find a new solution for the Ottoman-Turkish threat .

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Another example is 1406, when, again in August, he first travelled up to Upper Hungary visiting Vígfaš, Zvolen, Banská Bystrica, Slovenská Ľupča, Zvolenská Slatina, then returned to Diósgyőr, Miskolc, and after spending a month in the area (appearing in Eger, Dédestapolcsány, and Rudabánya) he arrived at Oradea by 12 October by traveling Szikszó-Tokaj-Hajdúböszörmény-Debrecen. A week later he travelled south to Vršac and then returned to Timișoara. The route suggests that he passed through the latter on his way to Vršac. In December he appears again in the north at Levoča and Stará Ľubovňa. He spent the end of December and almost all January at Košice before returning to Buda (See Fig 32).<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 74.

<sup>145</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 85-86.



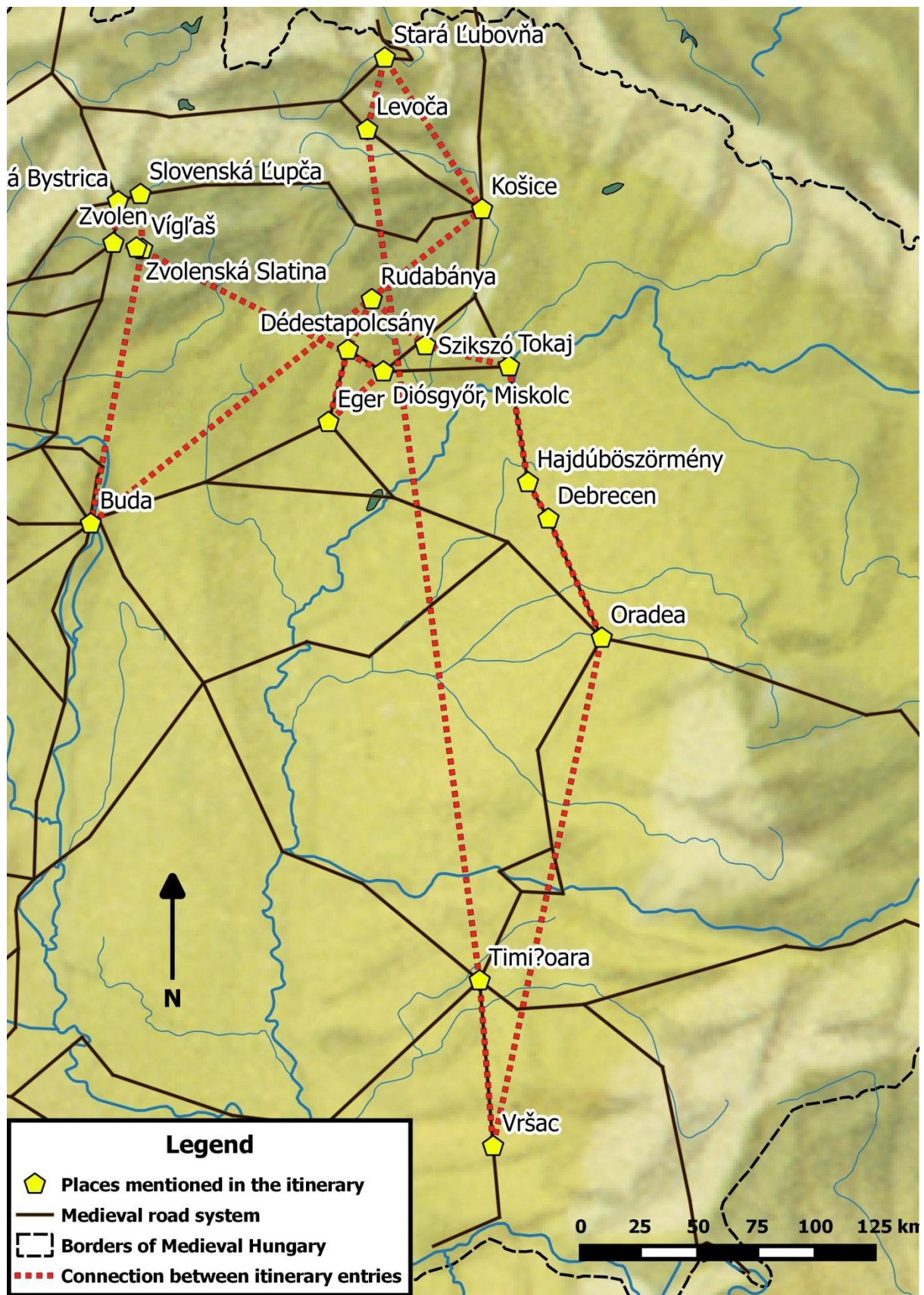


Fig 32 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1406.



His journey in 1411 followed a similar pattern, when he again travelled to Upper Hungary first (using the Hatvan-Eger-Diósgyőr road). Then he went from Košice through Tokaj-Debrecen to Oradea and continued to Tămaşda-Şiria-Lipova and finally Timișoara.<sup>146</sup> Although no evidence confirms it, I suggest – based on many other occasions<sup>147</sup> – that he travelled back to Buda through Oradea-Tiszafüred-Hatvan (See Fig 33).

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<sup>146</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 92-93.

<sup>147</sup> Even on the way back from his 1427-1428 journey the itinerary places him along this road through Timișoara-Lipova-Kerekegyház as far as Óbuda. Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 123.

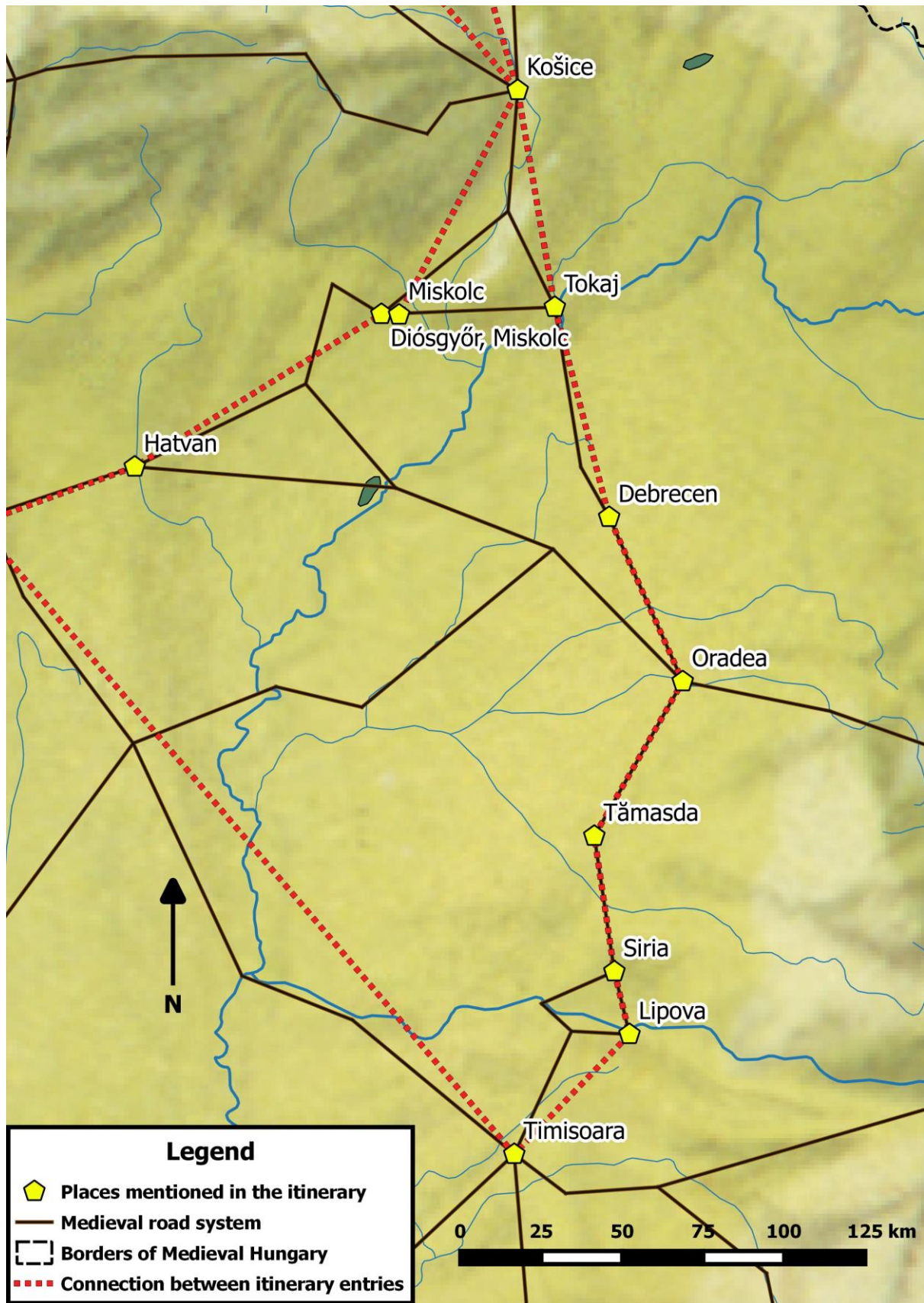


Fig 33 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1411 (*The Great Plain section*).

In contrast to Sigismund, Matthias never crossed Oradea to visit the southern regions of Hungary directly. The routes that Matthias chose only touched Oradea on his way towards Cluj and on the way back from there.<sup>148</sup> Although Horváth argues that the main military focus points such as Oradea remained important in the second half of the fifteenth century, Matthias' itinerary shows a significant change from Sigismund's. He did not use the eastern north-south military route, which completely lost its significance for reaching Serbia. Oradea only kept the status of a connecting point between Buda and Transylvania (see below).<sup>149</sup>

### 3.2.2, The Buda-Szeged roads

Among the several different roads leading from Buda through the Great Plain, one directly crossed the land between the two main rivers in Hungary, the Danube and the Tisza. This road started from Buda and led through Kecskemét towards Szeged. Katalin Szende mentions several problems concerning the road's importance resulting from its physical geography. The temporarily inundated areas did not fit proper communications along the Danube and Tisza rivers.<sup>150</sup> From Szeged the main road led towards Timișoara through Cenad. For Sigismund this road played a minor if not insignificant role. There are only a few cases when, according to the itinerary, one can catch his presence in some settlement in the area.

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<sup>148</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 62-137.

<sup>149</sup> Horváth, "A hadakozó király..." (2008), 54.

<sup>150</sup> According to Szende, Szeged was the most important town in the plain and Kecskemét was secondary from the economic and commercial point of view. She points out that the road had decreasing importance in trade connections with the Balkans; the mainly agricultural economy of the region produced commodities for the local markets but not for international trade. She mentions the change in the fifteenth century which could also have played a part in the kings' patterns of travels. Szende Katalin, "Towns Along the Way," 217-218.

In 1394, after visiting Petrovaradin on 8 September, he turned towards Sefkerin and by coming up from near the Nera River, possibly through Haram-Vrsac-Opatița, he reached Timișoara by 12 September. He travelled from there to Szeged and returned by 30 November. On his way back he appeared at Cenad, but it is highly possible that he at least crossed the settlement on his way to Szeged as well.<sup>151</sup> Upon returning to Timișoara (30 November) he immediately left for Sacoșu Turcesc (1 December) and continued his journey to Transylvania, appearing at Turda on the 24 December and spending a few days there.<sup>152</sup> He returned from Transylvania during April 1395 and almost immediately started another journey to Transylvania. On his way back from this latter one, he reached Oradea on 11 October and, turning southward through Mezőtúr,<sup>153</sup> he crossed the Tisza River at Tiszavarsány on 17 October and reached Kecskemét on 23 October. From this point, his itinerary is a bit problematic because the next entries are not fit into his regular travel pattern. It is possible he might have taken a detour to Bač before returning to Buda although the entry seems out of the way. It may be possible that there were other settlements named Bács, not far from Kecskemét and he did not travelled all the way down to south (See Fig 34).<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> This can be further reinforced by the fact that more than 12 days passed between the Timișoara and Szeged entries and the distance is close.

<sup>152</sup> The rest of his journey will be analyzed in the Transylvania chapter, below.

<sup>153</sup> The entry of Mezőtúr (14 October) only appears in Hoensch, but the date and the logical path make it acceptable. Hoensch, *Itinerar...* (1995), 61.

<sup>154</sup> In the itinerary between Kecskemét and Buda another settlement is noted: Bács. In the index of the settlements only one Bács is identified, which is Bač in Serbia. However, the logical route of the itinerary suggests that he went towards Buda after Kecskemét. The date difference between Kecskemét and Bač is nine days and it may have been possible to reach the settlement following the left bank of the Danube. Also in the itinerary there are 11 days difference between the Bács and Buda visits, therefore it may have been possible to travel down and up again. A third explanation would be that even Varsány and Kecskemét were part of his “detour” and that is why he did not follow his usual way from Oradea to Buda. C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 70-71.



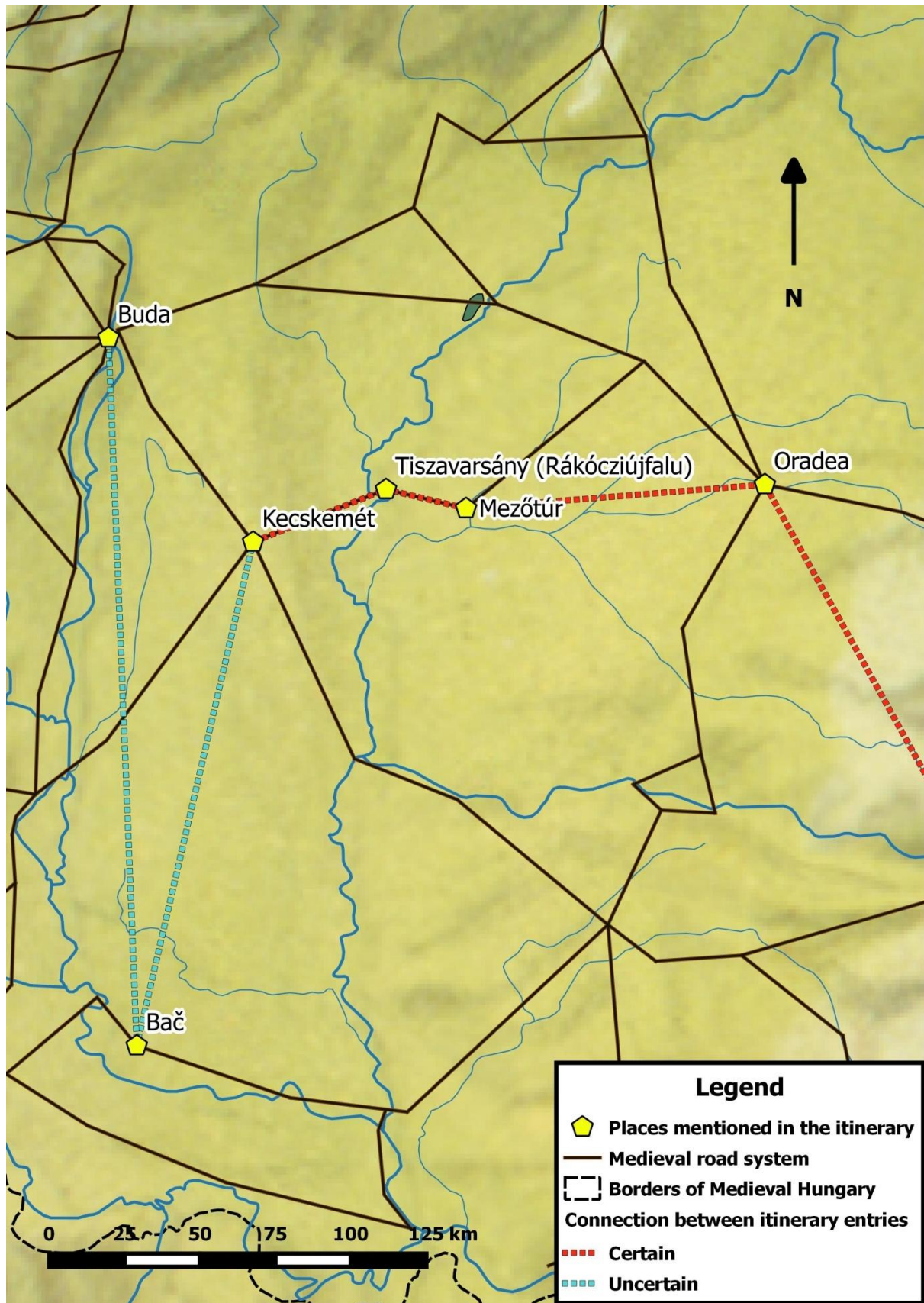


Fig 34 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1394-95 (second part The Great Plain section).

In contrast, Matthias used the Buda-Szeged route more frequently. A decrease in the number of visits to Oradea was replaced by the emergence of a more direct route from Buda to Serbia, connecting through the node of Szeged. His first trip towards the south was through Szeged. He departed on his journey by at least 25 August 1458, travelling down straight to Szeged. He then continued through Senta to Futog, which already gives an interesting pattern. It seems that he travelled along the Tisza from Szeged, which Sigismund never did. His journey continued towards the south, touching Petrovaradin and Sremski Karlovci, finally reaching Belgrade on 8 October. He left the settlement at least by 1 November and turned towards Timișoara. He may have used the roads through Zemun and Olnas. Here he did not continue his journey towards Oradea but turned to Mănăstur and then through Csanád (Cenad, Magyarcsanád) to Szeged for the diet assembly. Finally, he returned to Buda through Kecskemét (See Fig 35).<sup>155</sup> It seems that Matthias preferred to travel south more directly to the south, in contrast to Sigismund.

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<sup>155</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 63-65.



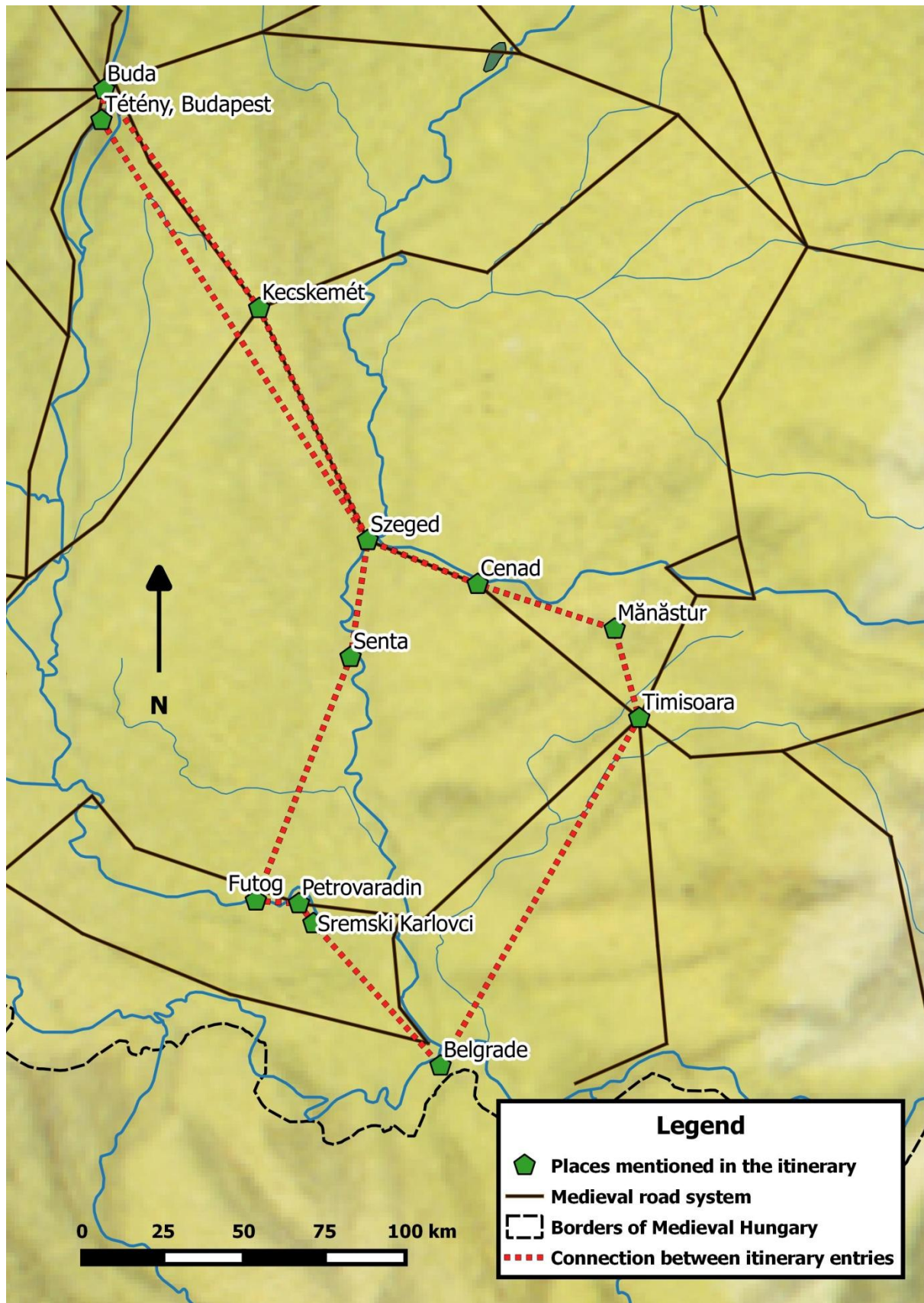


Fig 35 Map showing the journey of Matthias in 1458-59.

His other journey to Belgrade, in 1475, followed a similar path, travelling to Szeged directly. Compared to the 1458 journey there is a significant change here. The destination was again Belgrade, but from Szeged he turned west, crossing the Danube to reach Tolna on the 28 October, as mentioned above.<sup>156</sup> He may have chosen this pattern in contrast to his earlier journey due to weather conditions. His travel from Szeged happened in late October and due to rain the minor roads leading from Szeged along the Tisza through Senta were not suitable for travel during this time. He only spent a few days in Szeged, however, so there might be another explanation. His army was travelling down on the Danube road while Matthias, moving separately, went to Szeged for a short visit and then rushed to Tolna and continued his journey along the Danube (See Fig 36).

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<sup>156</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 103-104.

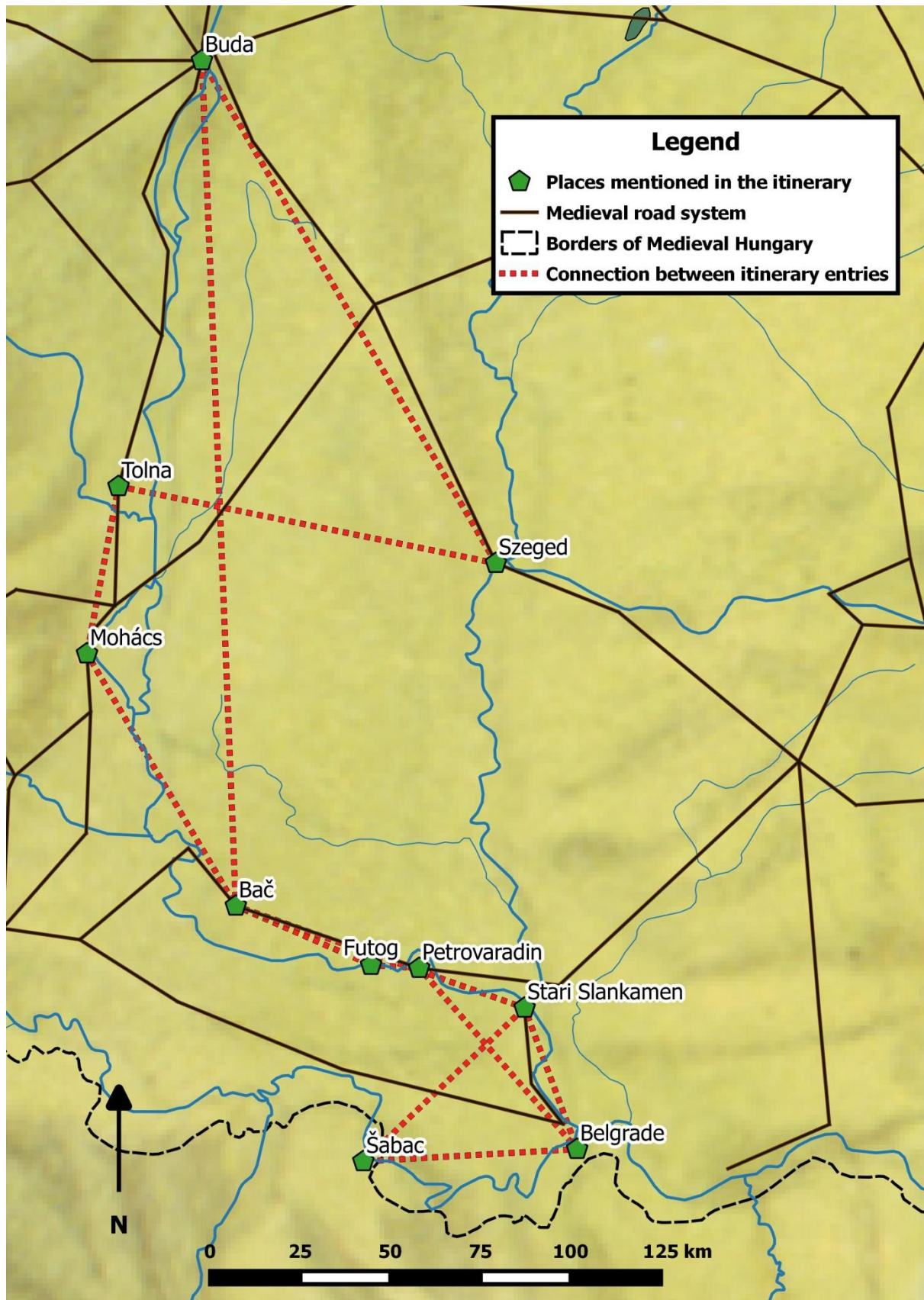


Fig 36 Map showing the journey of Matthias in 1475.



Even in 1462, when his destination was Transylvania, he first travelled down to Szeged, reaching the town on 3 August. After spending about ten days there he travelled to Cenad and turned northward to Oradea. He could have travelled down to Timișoara and then along the main road leading to Oradea, but it is possible that he travelled through Mănăstur to reached Arad (or Frumușeni) then crossed the river and continued, touching Șiria-Tămașda (See Fig 37).

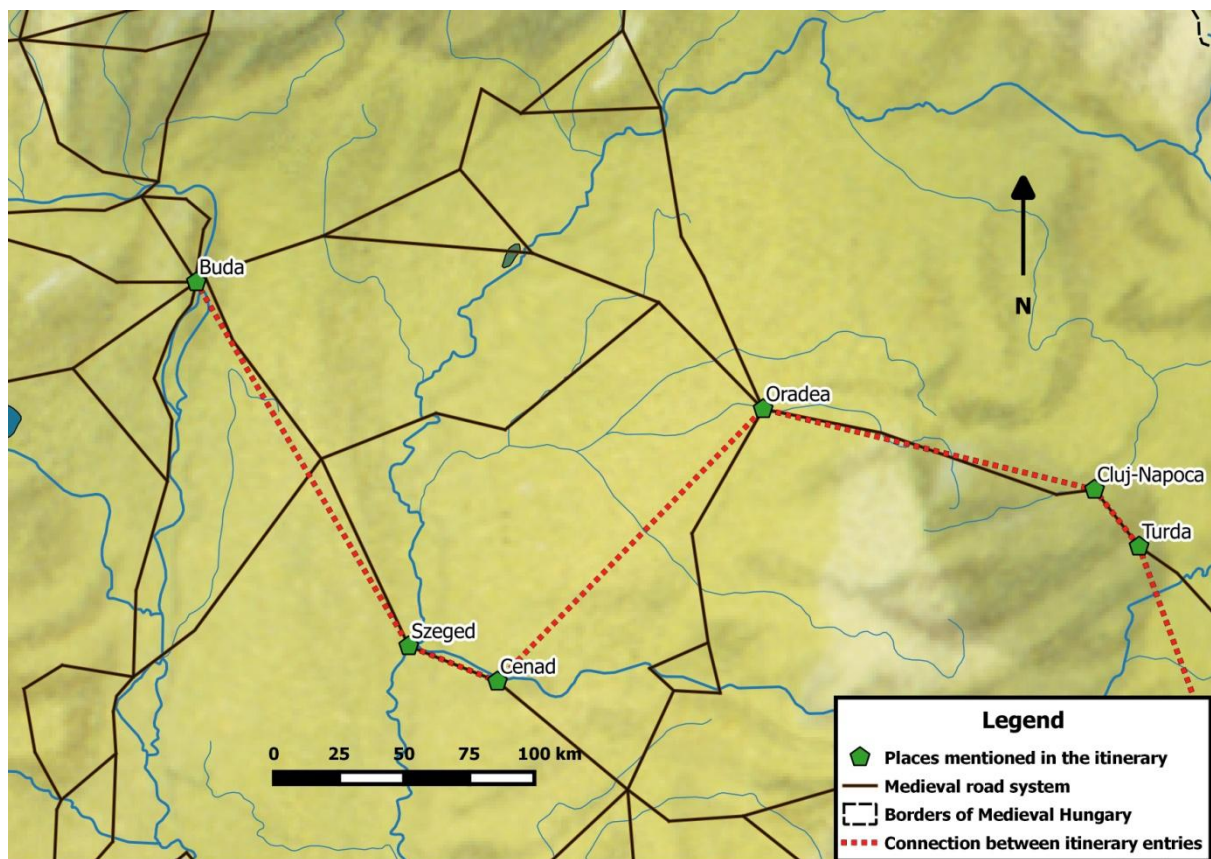


Fig 37 Map showing the journey of Matthias in 1462 (first part to Transylvania).

In 1467, before embarking on his second trip to Transylvania, he first went to Kecskemet, arriving there by 23 August and spending a few days. He then turned towards Debrecen, possibly crossing the Tisza River at Tiszavárkony ( or Tiszavarsány).

### 3.2.3, Summary

From this description one can see that besides Oradea the other major focus point in the landscape vision of Sigismund was Timișoara. Not only for his inner travels, but most importantly as a staging point for his lower Danube campaigns, following the Sacoșu Turcesc-Hodoș-Caransebeș-Mehadia-Orșova-Drobeta-Turnu Severin path. It was customary to lead a campaign towards eastern Serbia from Timișoara as well. To reach this point, Sigismund, just like his predecessor Louis I, used the Buda-Oradea-Timișoara path for his campaigns. Even after Sigismund, Vladislaus I assembled his troops in Oradea before his campaign in Bulgaria.

This road, however, had lost its significance by the time of Matthias; for example, John Hunyadi already favoured the Buda-Szeged path.<sup>157</sup> As Matthias' itinerary shows, he used the Buda-Szeged road more frequently, just like his father, and at the same time completely ignored Timișoara. One could argue that, especially in the case of Sigismund, Oradea and Timișoara played a major role as symbolic locations to visit following tradition, and similarly this would be true for Matthias, who followed in his father's footsteps. In the itinerary, however, there are references to only four visits to Belgrade (1458, 1463, 1475, 1476), where John Hunyadi won a great victory against the Turks during the siege of the city, 4 to 21 July 1456.<sup>158</sup> Similarly, Matthias only visited his birthplace, Cluj, 3 times: (1462, 1467, and 1468).<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Pál Engel, "Az utazó király..." 1987, 87.

<sup>158</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 64, 74, 104.

<sup>159</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 71, 83, 85.

There are several explanations for this pattern. Compared to Timișoara and Oradea (for Sigismund) and Szeged (for Matthias), both Belgrade and Cluj are quite distant, therefore to visit them one needed a specific political reason. Several campaigns led by both Sigismund and Matthias or the so-called “Transylvanian revolt” in 1467 serve as examples (see below). The other explanation would be that Matthias did not want strong symbolic connections with the memory of his father. I would argue that Matthias chose the Buda-Szeged path for practical reasons to reach his destination and return much faster.

The pattern of Sigismund’s travel on the roads of the Great Plain reveals another factor. On many occasion he made a visit to Upper Hungary before turning towards the south and logically the most practical route was (especially from Košice) went through Tokaly-Oradea and Timișoara. This shift also show in the general frequencies of the settlements these two visited, where Szeged appears more often for Matthias compared to Sigismund, who visited the towns Oradea and Timișoara much more.

### **3.3. Visits to Transylvania**

In this section I will examine the journeys that the kings made to the easternmost part of the kingdom, that is Transylvania. The preliminary research shows that there were a few differences between the two kings in the routes they chose to reach the area. Once they got to Transylvania, however, the patterns are quite similar to each other. This may be because of the geographical features and settlement distribution of the area. Szende mentions that the geographical remoteness and the Bihar and Meszes mountains separated this province from



the centre of the country. This is apparent even in the name, which means “beyond the forests”.<sup>160</sup>

Transylvania was not visited often, as mentioned in the previous chapter; the region is distant compared to other parts of the kingdom, therefore to travel to the area they must have had specific reasons and usually forward planning as well. For example, reaching Sibiu or Braşov from Buda was itself a long-distance journey of at least 700-750 km. This was more than the Buda-Prague (c 530 km) or the Buda-Cracow (400km) distance. It was more comparable to the Buda-Venice (700 km).

The number of settlements that appear in the itineraries is similar. Many times they visited the same settlements, for example Alba Iulia, Sibiu, Sighişoara, Turda, Cluj-Napoca, Feldioara, Braşov. Some of these places were important trade hubs in the times of both kings. The reasons they went to the same settlements might lie in the relatively close proximity of the Transylvanian settlements and towns to one another and because of the road system that connected them together.

Another reason might have been the loose independence of the Transylvanian territory within the kingdom. In addition, the distance of the region from the *medium regni* might played a part in such decisions; they might have decided to travel throughout the region knowing they could only pay a visit every now and then. Szende mentions that two different roads connected the Danube line with Transylvania. One led from Oradea to Cluj-Napoca and then on to southern Transylvania. The other main route ran from either Timişoara overland or followed the course of the Maros River back from Szeged, which

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<sup>160</sup> Szende Katalin, “Towns Along the Way,” 211-212.

connected the Transylvanian roads with the route across the Hungarian Plain (discussed above). Both routes joined at Sebeş and continued through Sibiu to Braşov across southern Transylvania.

The natural topography of the region determined the actual courses, however, as Szende argues the extent to which they were used as long-distance connections depended on the political and economic conditions of the given time period.<sup>161</sup> Szende approaches this problem from an economic-historical view, but the pattern of using the two separate routes shows interesting differences between the two kings.<sup>162</sup>

Three towns that appear in the itineraries are worth highlighting when discussing the Transylvanian journeys: Oradea, Cluj-Napoca and Braşov. Oradea, as mentioned above, was the conveniently located bishop's seat at the crosspoint of the north-south-bound route and the transit station between Transylvania and the rest of Hungary. Cluj-Napoca during the mid-fourteenth century gained an upswing of trade from Sibiu and Braşov and served as a mediator of trade.<sup>163</sup> Braşov<sup>164</sup> was the easternmost focus point of the Hungarian military activity; from here they could reach Wallachia through the Bran Pass.

Another probable destination was Moldavia, which was close as well. In 1395, Sigismund returned to Braşov through the Ojtoz pass from an earlier campaign there; he probably went there through a northern pass, possibly Bicz Canyon.

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<sup>161</sup> Szende Katalin, "Towns Along the Way," 211-212.

<sup>162</sup> This can be further reinforced by the factor that Hungarian kings were encouraging trade in the area as well. Szende Katalin, "Towns Along the Way," 212.

<sup>163</sup> Szende Katalin, "Towns Along the Way," 215-216

<sup>164</sup> From the second half of the fourteenth century the town became the most important trading centre in Transylvania. Szende Katalin, "Towns Along the Way," 215.

### 3.3.1, The northern and southern roads to Transylvania

Sigismund's first journey to Transylvania started in 1391, returning from his campaign in Serbia 1390. He departed from Timișoara at least by 27 January. The next entry in the itinerary is Alba Iulia (17 February). Of the two possible routes I think he chose the southern roads through Deva-Sebeș. His next stop was Sibiu (which would further reinforce this idea) and he reached Sighișoara by 26 March. From here he travelled northwest through Turda-Cluj-Napoca and Gilău. The logical path suggests that he travelled through Oradea on his way back to Buda. This was the only occasion from all of his journeys to Transylvania that he did not visit Brașov (See Fig 38).

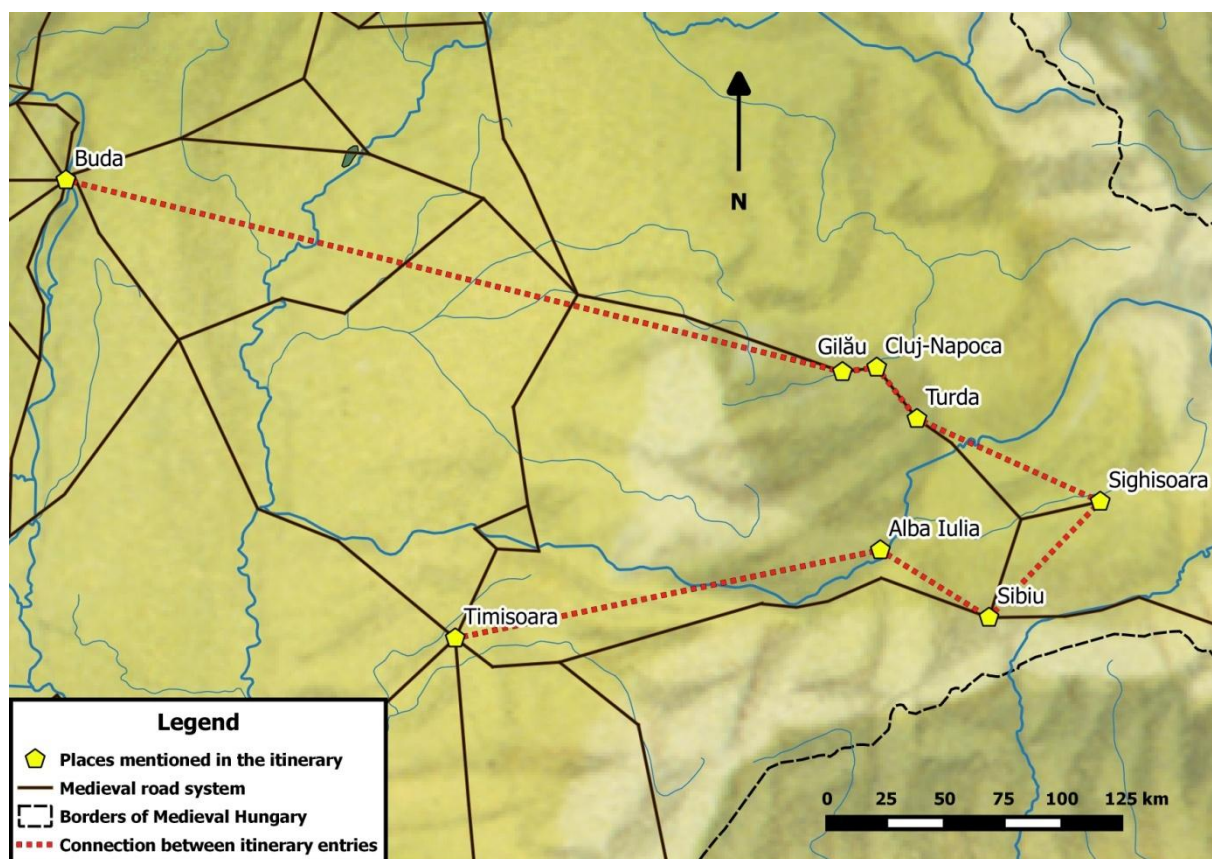


Fig 38 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1390-91 (Second part)

His journey in 1394 raises an interesting question. He departed again from Timișoara on 30 November and went to Sacoșu Turcesc, which could suggest that he chose the southern road again. However, the next entry is Turda, where he spent Christmas (24-26 December) and then continued towards Cristuru Secuiesc and Odorheiu Secuiesc until he reached the castle of Piatra-Neamț. This journey was a campaign and his travel pattern logically reinforces this; first he went to Oradea and gathered his army there and then continued on to Turda. Returning from Piatra-Neamț he went to Brașov and after spending about two weeks there he turned west along the southern Transylvanian roads (Codlea-Sibiu), then turned north to Cluj-Napoca-Vadu Crișului (and probably Oradea again) (See fig). The rest of his journey took an interesting turn when he travelled to Mezőtúr, crossed the river at Tiszavárkony and went to Pétermonostora. He returned to Buda using the Danube road, as discussed above.

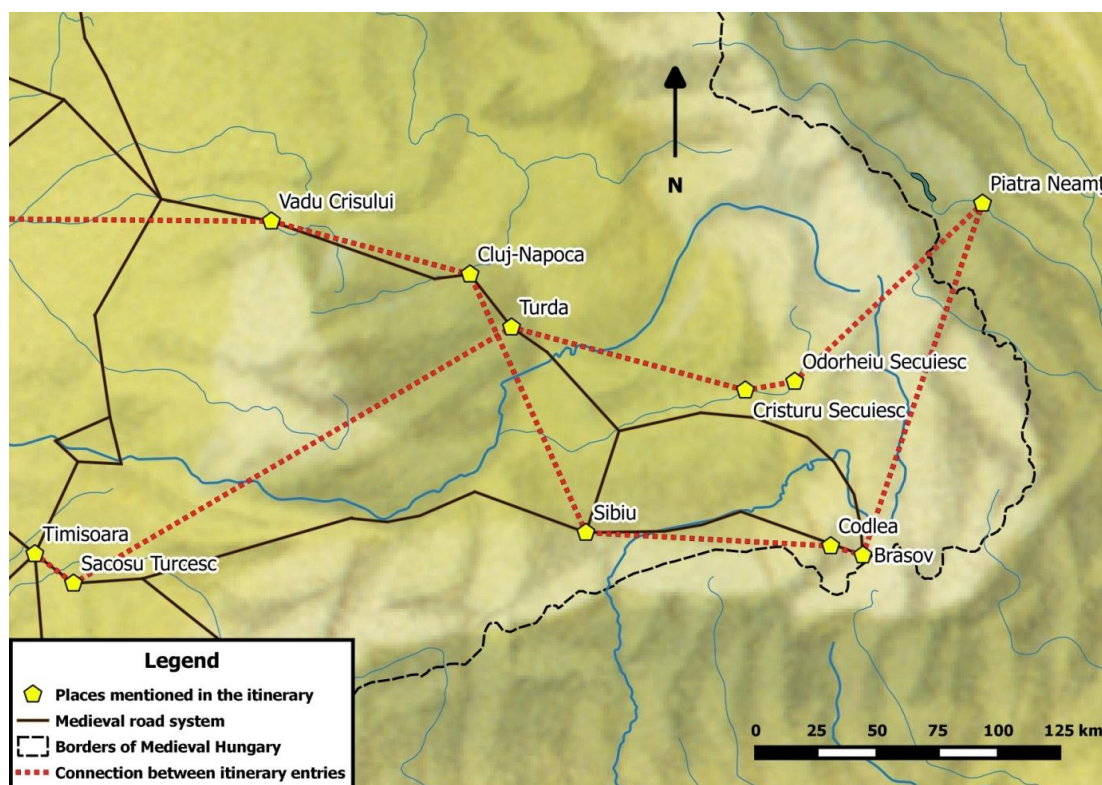


Fig 39 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1394.

He spent about two months in Buda and after Pentecost (30 May) he again travelled to Transylvania. To reach Braşov this time in 1395 he travelled to Episcopia Bihorului, reaching the settlement on 5 June, probably using the Hatvan-Tiszafüred route. After Episcopia Bihorului the next entry is Braşov, but the route suggests that he went through Oradea-Gilău-Cluj. From Braşov he travelled down to Cîmpulung and continued his campaign in Wallachia in July and August. He returned to Hungary from the lower Danube via Drobeta-Turnu Severin-Caransebeş as far as Sibiu, noted on 13 September. He then continued north to Mediaş where he turned southwest towards Hunedoara. His next appearance was in Oradea on 11 October. Between the Hunedoara and Oradea entries there are only 6 days difference. This suggests that the route he chose was along the Maros River as far as Lipova and then along the north-south road to Oradea (See Fig 40). After reaching Oradea he returned to Buda through Tiszavarsány-Kecskemét as discussed above.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 70-71.



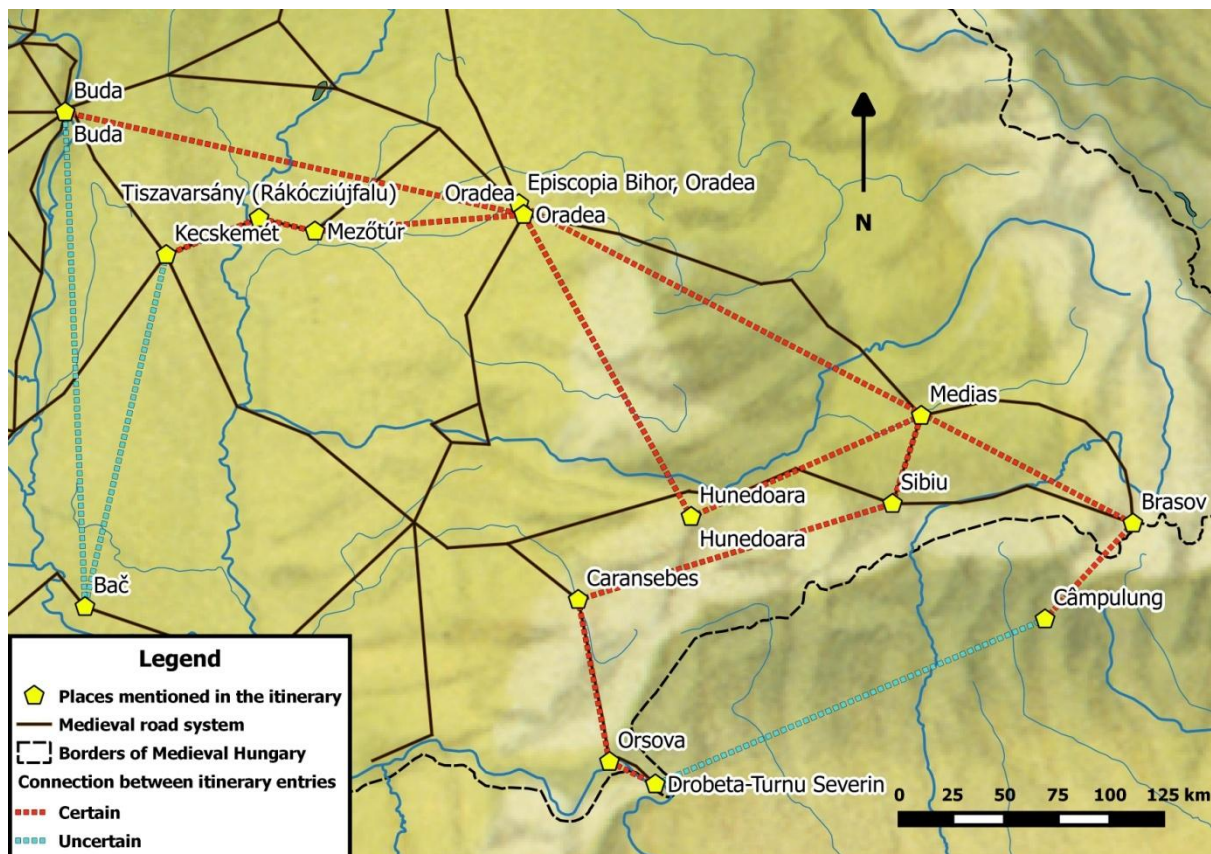


Fig 40 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1394-95

Sigismund used the southern Transylvanian road several times. An example of this is his 1397-1398 journey after the defeat at Nicolopolis. As mentioned above, this journey started by travelling north to Upper Hungary<sup>166</sup>. After the Timișoara diet (held in October), he travelled to Transylvania, although he first made a visit to a nearby settlement called Jebel. The next entries in the itinerary are Apoldu de Sus-Sibiu, which already suggests that he was using the southern Transylvanian road. he continued south through Făgăraș, finally reaching Brașov on 19 December. He stayed there until 9 January 1398, then turned west. The itinerary places him in Cârța on the way back and then Bač-Dakovo, which would logically

<sup>166</sup> He appeared in the settlements of Trenčín, Bebravou, Topoľčany, Trnava, Spišská Nová Ves, Kežmarok, Liptovský Mikuláš, Ružomberok, Prievidza, Holíč, Vígľaš, Rimavská Seč, and Rudabánya. Since this paper does not focus on the northern visits, this route is not discussed here, C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 73.



suggests that he used the same route by which he came to Transylvania and possibly went through Timișoara and Olnas as well.<sup>167</sup> He spent the rest of the year on the southern borders, appearing in several settlements (for example, Dakovo, Sonta, Ilok, Gorjani, Požega Vrbaška, Greda, Moslavina, Čazma, Zemun, Zrenjanin). The pattern of this journey and his constant presence along the southern borders of Hungary supports the assumption of his intention to reinforce the southern borders of Hungary against Ottoman raids and campaigns. His journeys back from here probably followed the usual Danube road (from Bač through Szeremle, where he could have crossed the river) and finally returned to Buda by 26 November 1398 (See Fig 41).<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 73-74.

<sup>168</sup> C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 74-76.

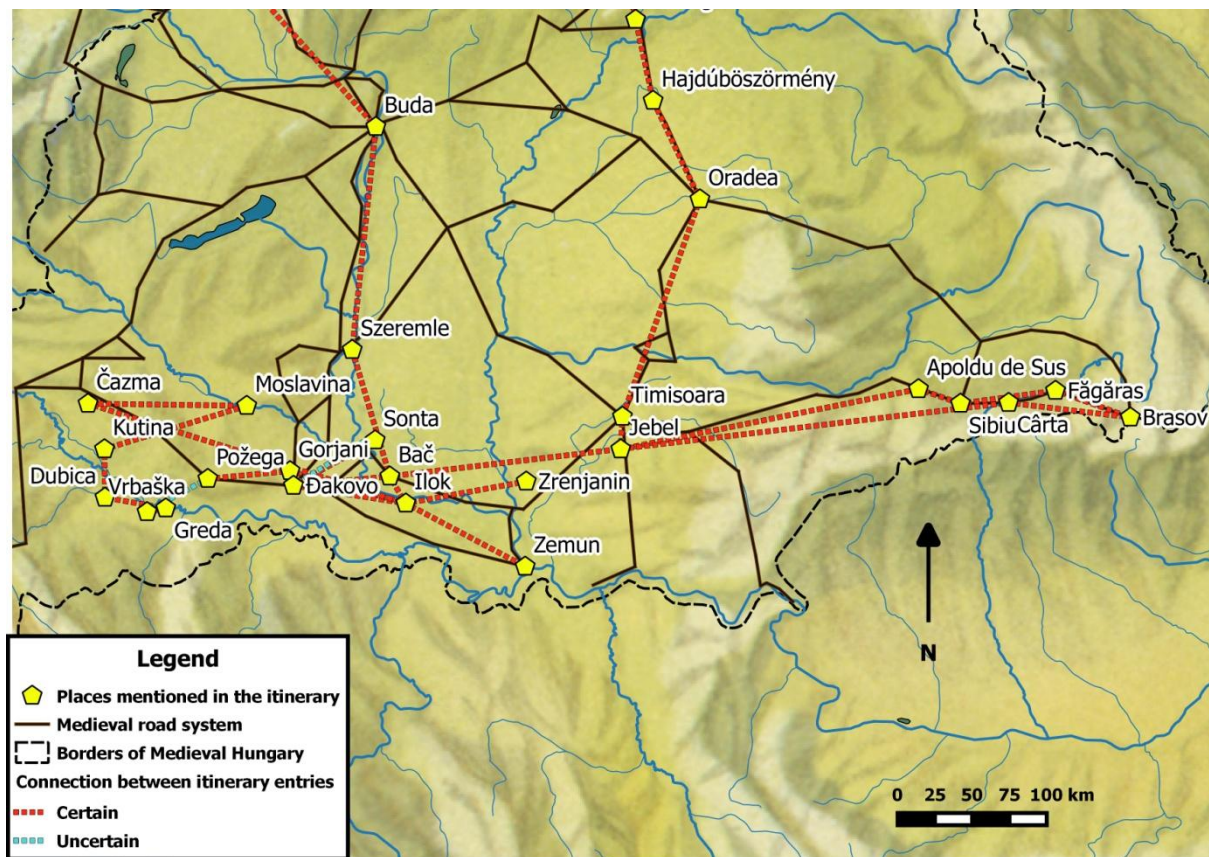


Fig 41 Map showing the journey of Sigismund 1397-98 (to Transylvania)

Sigismund's made his last visit to Transylvania almost 30 years later, in 1426. He departed from Buda on 25 October. This time, however, he first appeared in Ócsa (28-29 October); the next entry in the itinerary is Lipova, which suggests a few variations in route. His appearance at Lipova is dated from 4 November, which is about 6 days in total between the two settlements. Therefore, it is possible that he travelled down on the Kecskemét-Szeged road and then along the Maros River through Cenad to reach the settlement. It is also possible, however, that after reaching Kecskemét he turned northwards, crossed the river at Tiszavárkony and went through Mezőtúr to Oradea, then travelled southward to Lipova and continued on to Transylvania.

As discussed above, he may have first travelled down on the Kecskemét Szeged route (or made a small detour to Oradea first) and reached Lipova on 4 November. The journey most

likely continued again on the southern road leading to Transylvania since the itinerary places him at Deva by the 17 November. Interestingly, from here he travelled northward to Turda and then through Mediaş he went to Braşov. He travelled southward leaving the border, through Râşnov to Câmpulung. He returned to Hungary at the beginning of April and appeared in Feldioara on 8 April (possibly he went through Braşov as well). After spending a couple weeks in southern Transylvania (Sfântu Gheorghe-Feldioara-Măieruş-Braşov) he left Braşov on 4 July and turned once again towards Wallachia before returning to Rupea by 22 July. The next entry in the itinerary is Orşova (21-30 August in camp), which suggests two possibilities. He may have travelled again through the Bran Pass and led his army in Wallachia until he reached Drobeta-Turnu-Severin and Orşova or he could also have travelled along the southern Transylvanian roads (Sibiu-Deva) and turned south through Caransebeş to reach Orşova. His next destination was Belgrade, where he probably travelled to on a ship. Besides Belgrade, he visited other castles of the southern defense along the Danube several times from September, 1428 (for example, Borča Kovin, Pojejena de Jos, Moldova Veche, Haram, Kovin, Golubac) and other castles close to them (like Ilidia, Vărădia, Caransebeş, Mehadia) before he returned to Timișoara by 12 December. Through Lipova he finally returned to Buda at the end of the year (See Fig 42). The journey itself – not counting long European tours – took a long time (almost two years), which marks the impending threat which the Ottoman Empire posed against the kingdom.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> There were several problems as well. For example, on 27 December 1427 Pipo of Ozora, a pillar of the southern defense system, died. Another problem arose when George Branković inherited the throne of Serbia (after Stephen Lazarević died) and became the Serb despot in the summer of 1427. According to the treaty, he was supposed to give Sigismund the strategically important places of Belgrade and Golubac, but he gave Golubac to the Turks. By the spring of 1428 Sigismund had mobilized not only the banderial forces but also proclaimed the general noble uprising as well. Besides the ground forces a naval fleet was assembled as well.

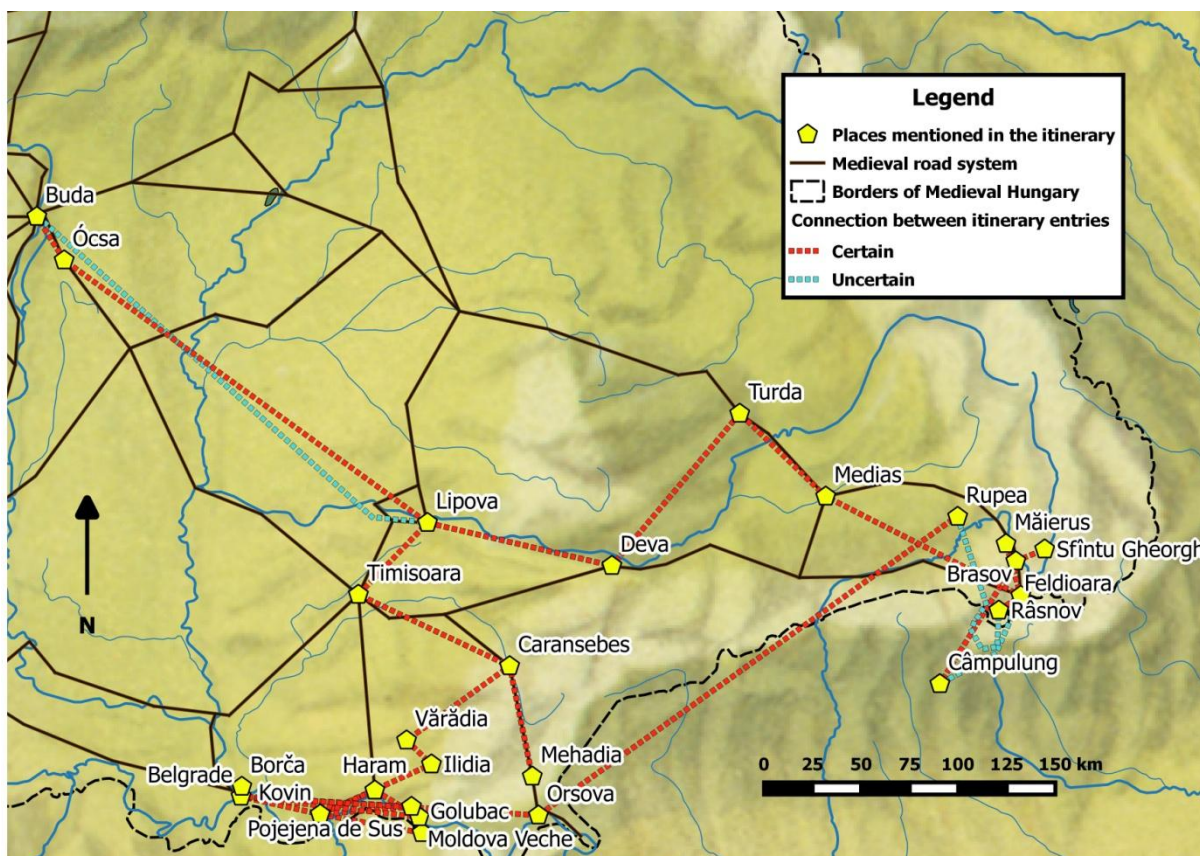


Fig 42 Map showing the journey of Sigismund in 1426-28

Matthias' first visit to Transylvania was along the northern Transylvanian roads. He departed in July, 1462 (the exact day cannot be confirmed), from Buda and, as discussed above, he went to Szeged then through Csanád, then up to Oradea. This might be seen as a detour but it seems Szeged (just like Oradea for Sigismund) was a staging point in the eastern part of the kingdom. From Oradea, he followed the road through Cluj-Napoca to Turda-Sibiu-Rupea and finally Sfântu Gheorghe, from where he departed on 19 October and led a

The fighting began on the river because the Turks sent their own ships to break the blockade, but since this was unsuccessful the Christian army was able to surround the castle and start the siege and bombardment of the castle. This was prolonged due to slow firing and Sultan Murad II arrived at the castle to lift the siege with his army or keep the castle through a diplomatic solution. Sigismund preferred the latter option, but during the retreat to the other side of the river a fight break out and Stephen of Rozgony had to save the king from the panicking army of nobles. The reason why this siege did not turn into a disaster was the constant bombardment from the fleet and the castle of Coronini on the left side of the river. C. Tóth, *Luxemburgi Zsigmond...* 2009, 88-89.

military campaign along the border of Wallachia. There is about a three-week gap in the itinerary; the full extent of the campaign cannot be confirmed.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 71.

<sup>171</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 71.



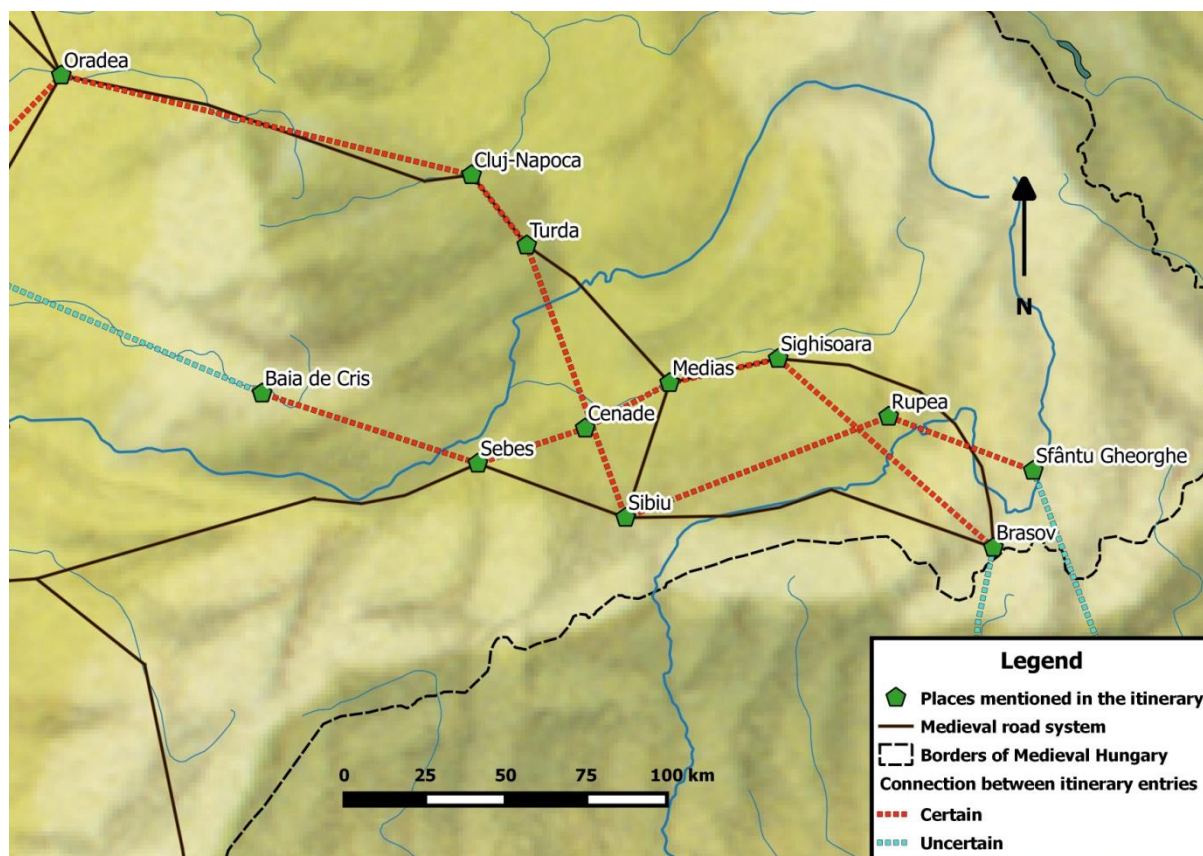


Fig 43 Map showing the journey of Matthias in 1462 (Transylvanian part)

He returned from Wallachia to Braşov on 2 November and stayed there for a month before travelling north to Sighişoara, probably passing Rupea again, and then visited Mediaş. From here he did not follow the northern path towards Oradea but travelled on a southward road through Cenade to Sebeş and, interestingly, Baia de Criş, which is off the usual main roads. The owner of the settlement, however, Michael Szilágyi, had fallen into the hands of the Turks in 1460 and been killed, therefore Matthias inherited the settlement. It is possible that he wanted to visit the place, especially because of its gold mines. The other interesting part of this journey is the month he took for the travel; he reached Baia de Criş on 18 December. The next entry in the itinerary is an unknown location along the road to Buda. The



date when he left Baia de Criş, cannot be confirmed nor can the route he chose to reach his destination.<sup>172</sup>

He could either have gone via Arad-Szeged or turned north towards Oradea, but both ways seem unusual, especially since the city is in the mountains and it was wintertime. An appearance on neither route can be proved; this might just have been a detour from Sebeş because of the location.<sup>173</sup> Another possible explanation would be that he returned to Sebeş and either travelled northward via Alba Iulia-Turda-Cluj-Oradea or southward via Deva Hodoş-Sacoşu Turcesc-Timişoara and from there Szeged-Buda. The latter path, as noted before, was used by Sigismund during his travels along the southern borders. It is also possible (dispite the winter or maybe because of it) that he followed the White Körös River until he reached the main road connecting Tâmaşda and Şiria and then travelled north through Oradea to Buda.

Matthias made another, more thoroughly documented, journey in 1467-1468. The main reason for this was the so-called “Transylvanian Revolt”. The three nations of Transylvania -- the Hungarian counties, the Székely, and Saxon seats -- allied against Matthias on 18 August 1467, mostly because of the law of 1467. The king reacted swiftly and led his army to Transylvania and crushed the revolt within weeks.<sup>174</sup> The itinerary notes the

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<sup>172</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 71-72.

<sup>173</sup> According to the itineraries, Matthias only visited the city once and Sigismund never, C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum...* (2005), 55-131, see also Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 62-131.

<sup>174</sup> The name comes from the centre of the revolt in Transylvania, but it was widespread; it reached southern Hungary and some parts of Upper Hungary. The king's quick intervention probably stopped the outbreak in other places, András Kubinyi, “Belpolitika Mátyás Korában” [Internal politics in the age of Matthias], in *Magyarország története 1301-1526* [History of Hungary in 1301-1526], ed. Pál Engel, Gyula Kristó, András Kubinyi (Budapest: Osiris Press, 2002), 233, also see the chronology in *ibid*, 412.

king's departure on 19 August from Buda to Kecskemét, continuing to Debrecen-Hencida-Oradea-Zalău-Cluj (See Fig 44).<sup>175</sup>

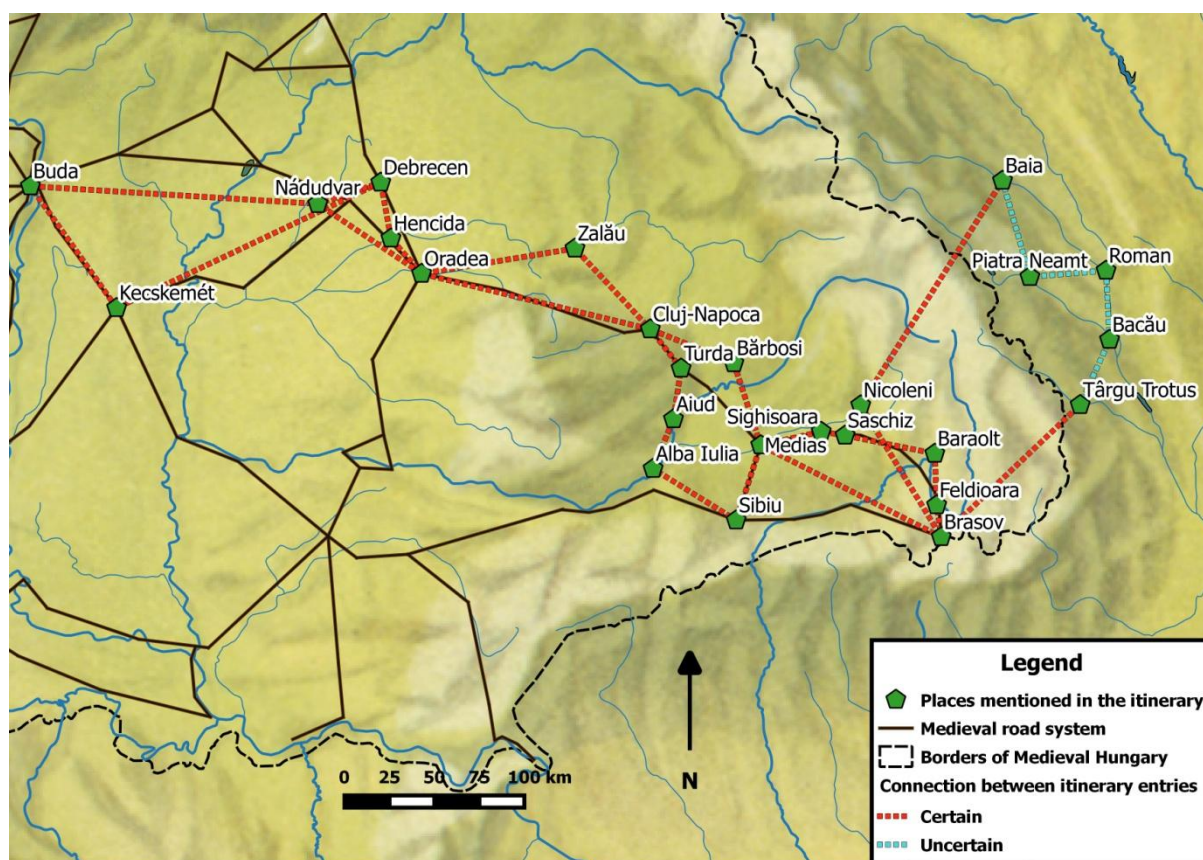


Fig 44 Map showing the journey of Matthias in 1467-1468.

From there he travelled around in Transylvania, appearing at Turda, Aiud, Alba Iulia, Sibiu, Mediaș, Sighișoara, Saschiz, Baraolt, Feldioara, reaching Brașov on 11 November.<sup>176</sup> He then led his campaign to Moldavia and captured the city of Trotus.<sup>177</sup> No charters survive

<sup>175</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 83. The leader of the revolt rallied at Cluj-Mănăstur. When Matthias crushed the revolt in September he gave amnesty to the leaders, but executed a number of Hungarian, Saxon, and Székely nobles. Kubinyi, *Magyarország története...* 2002, 413.

<sup>176</sup> The great range of settlements visited could show how widespread the revolt actually was.

<sup>177</sup> The Moldavian chronicles put the fall of the city on 19 November, which partially contradicts Bonfini's dating. Horváth notes that either the Hungarian or Moldavian chroniclers may have made a mistake, especially since here Bonfini's narration seems authentic. Matthias, however, issued a charter on 22 November, which would weaken the information in Bonfini, Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 84.

from the next couple of weeks; there are only narrative sources which mention that the king appeared at a group of settlements – Bacău, Roman, Piatra Neamț.<sup>178</sup> He suffered a defeat by the Moldavian Voivode Stephen the Great at Baia on 15 December. After the battle he retreated, arriving at Nicoleni probably on 25 December, then travelling to Braşov for the remaining days of the year.<sup>179</sup>

The return path to Buda followed the Mediaş-Cluj-Oradea-Debrecen-Nádudvar route.<sup>180</sup> Horváth mentions one more settlement between Braşov and Cluj from the charters, which is identified as Mezőszakáll (*in Zakol*). He states that identifying it is problematic, but from the settlements with the name Szakály/Szakoly only this one falls on a logical connection between the two cities.<sup>181</sup> The other interesting part of this route back to Buda is Nádudvar, where Matthias made peace with Imre Szapolyai after the 1467 revolt. Nádudvar was one of the most important crossing points of the Hortobágy marshlands and thus could have played a major role in choosing this location.

### 3.3.2, Summary

Both kings travelled to Transylvania several times using this route. The roads they used, especially within the province, were show little difference. Both kings entered from the north, when they travelled to the area, and both touched Oradea Cluj-Napoca along the way.

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<sup>178</sup> The same set of settlements occurs in a slightly corrupted form in Długos, Horváth, *Itineraria...* (2011), 84.

<sup>179</sup> The exact time when the king arrived in Nicoleni cannot be confirmed. Horváth argues that according to a Polish report the king stayed in Nicoleni for a few more days after the defeat, Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 84.

<sup>180</sup> Although it is only indirect evidence, Horváth anticipates that the king visited Medgyes on 5 January The representative of Sibiu town went there to find him, Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 84.

<sup>181</sup> Horváth, *Itineraria regis...* (2011), 84.

Sigismund definitely used the southern route several times, and Matthias may also have used it, or at least parts of it, on his way back in 1462.

For example, this may have been when he travelled to Baia de Criş, although there is no direct evidence; then or before he went to Hunedoara, an ancient family place. Sigismund's greater number of journeys can partly be explained by the longer period of his reign and partly by his attempts to reinforce the southern borders against the Turks through diplomatic and military incursions into the bordering Wallachia. He also followed the tradition of his predecessors, the Anjous, especially at the beginning of his reign. In the time of Matthias the southern defense system of castles was already standing, therefore the area did not necessarily need the presence of the king. In summary, this region shows the most similarities between the itineraries of the two kings with only slight differences.

## 4. Conclusion

My aim in this paper was to analyze the travel pattern of the kings Sigismund of Luxemburg and Matthias Corvinus. I have separated my discussion based on the geographical regions in the Carpathian basin into three branches, Transdanubia, Transylvania and the Great Plain. In these different regions I found several similarities well as great differences.

Based on the itineraries, the kings used two main roads, one leading southwest and the other south. The Székesfehérvár-Veszprém route led to the southwest, breaking into separate branches either towards Vasvár-Körmend or to Nagykanizsa towards Slavonia and Croatia. Matthias, in contrast to Sigismund, used it even in the last ten years of his reign, and although

Sigismund made a few trips to Transdanubia, it seems he did not cross the Drava to the Slavonia region after 1412.

The destinations of the trips of both kings varied: Slavonia, Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia (with Sigismund Italy one time and with Matthias the Holy Roman Empire as well.) The roads from Sopron through Kőszeg towards Körmend did not play a major role for travelling southwards. Although Matthias used the section between Kőszeg and Sopron the journey was not aimed towards the southern border or beyond.

The other road followed the flow of the Danube southward through Tolna-Mohács. The road along the Danube played an important part in both kings' travels, especially in a military context. Several campaigns moved out or made their way back on this road, sometimes quite frequently within a few years span (for example, 1389-1394 in Sigismund's case and 1463-1465 in Matthias' case). Clearly this road kept its importance throughout the century.

There was a major difference between Sigismund and Matthias on using the roads of the Great Plain. From the discussion it is clear that besides Oradea the other major focus point in Sigismund's landscape vision of was Timișoara, but for Matthias it was Szeged. Sigismund used Timișoara not only for his travels inside the realm, but most importantly as a staging point for his lower Danube campaigns, following the Sacoșu Turcesc-Hodoș-Caransebeș-Mehadia-Orșova-Drobeta-Turnu Severin path. The behaviour of the king shows (in other cases as well) that he was following his predecessor, Louis I's, custom in leading campaigns against Serbia, Bosnia, and the Turks. Interestingly, Oradea also played a major part in Sigismund's vision as a point where armies assembled. Even after Sigismund, Vladislaus I assembled his troops in Oradea before his campaign in Bulgaria. From Oradea it

is the most logical and practical (because of the hydrology of Hungary as well) route towards the south to go through Timișoara, therefore the connection of the two towns was almost inseparable at the time. However, the road and Oradea lost importance as a military gathering point after Vladislaus I the. For example, John Hunyadi favoured the Buda-Szeged path This shift also shows in the general frequencies of the settlements these two visited, where Szeged appears more often for Matthias compared to Sigismund, who visited the towns Oradea and Timișoara much more often.

As Matthias' itinerary shows, he used the Buda-Szeged road more frequently, just like his father, and at the same time completely ignored Timișoara. One could argue that, especially in the case of Sigismund, Oradea and Timișoara played a major role as symbolic locations to visit following tradition, and similarly this would be true for Matthias, who followed in his father's footsteps. The itinerary, however, does not seem to support this properly. It could mean that Matthias did not want strong symbolic connections with the memory of his father and may have chosen the Buda-Szeged path for practical reasons to reach his destination and return much faster.

His overall stay in Buda could also support this statement, since Matthias spent one third of his entire reign there and travelled out when it was necessary. Sigismund, however, had many prolonged travels with only short stays at Buda. These patterns of Sigismund's travels are also shown in his journeys on the roads of the Great Plain. On many occasion he made a visit to Upper Hungary before turning towards the south; logically the most practical route was (especially from Košice) went through Tokaly-Oradea and Timișoara.

The kings' travels to the third geographic region, Transylvania, showed the closest similarities when compared. The roads they used, especially within the province, were very



similar and show no difference. The larger number of journeys in the case of Sigismund can partly be explained by the longer period of his reign and partly by his attempts to reinforce the southern borders against the Turks through military incursions to the bordering Wallachia. In the time of Matthias the southern defence system of castles was already standing therefore did not necessarily need the presence of the king there.

Among the different journeys there were several which did not fit the patterns. For example, the journeys of Sigismund in 1397, when, on his return from the Battle of Nicolpolis he travelled up from Croatia to Nagykanizsa and then instead of continuing on towards Veszprém-Székesfehérvár he turned toward Zalakomár-Somogyvár and then Pécs. After Pécs he appeared at Balatonfőkajár from where he returned to Buda. It suggests that the old Roman road correlates with the path Sigismund took from Zalakomár-Somogyvár to Pécs. Later travels of the king show significant similarities in his movements from Pécs to Balatonfőkajár. The pattern Sigismund followed on this particular journey seems to confirm that the Roman road system between Sopianae and Gorsium had continuity even in the fourteenth century even though its significance had lessened. Interestingly, Matthias made the other “irregular” journey on this pattern, perhaps following this same route.

In 1381, Matthias departed from Bad Radkersburg towards Buda, and although the most logical path would clearly have been the road through Körmend-Vasvár-Nagyvázsony-Veszprém-Fehérvár, in light of other data it would have been possible for him to take a detour to claim Siklós, the estate of a deceased noble and officer. He may have travelled past Lendava-Nagykanizsa, maybe Segesd, then on to Pécs Siklós. From there he also have travelled up to Veszprém, since other evidence suggests that he was there but the exact dates are unknown. Another piece of evidence is the travel of the royal seals, more precisely, the

secret seal, which on this particular journey moved separately from the king and the ring seal, which, according to Horváth, was with him the entire time. I would argue that this unusual pattern could have occurred in the 18 days time between Bad Radkersburg and Buda. While the secret seal was being used by the chancery in Buda, the king (wearing his ring seal) could have personally overseen the acquisition of the land of his former noble, especially in light of the earlier revolt and conspiracy of his other nobles. The travel distance, under the best conditions, would still have been manageable on horseback; the total distance is about 600 km). This small episode shows some of the difficulties (and potentials) of interpreting itinerary data.

The differences in the travel of the two kings can be also shown in the number of times they appeared at certain places. Although the itineraries only allow a rough calculation, it seems that Sigismund was on the move more and stayed in any one location for shorter periods, while Matthias had longer stops and shorter journeys and if possible chose the shortest path between two locations.

There are two additional points to mention here: Firstly, no settlements or places are mentioned as visits or appearances in the itineraries of either king in the northeastern part of Hungary. This region lies east of the north-south roads between Košice and Timișoara and north of the east-west road between Oradea and Cluj-Napoca. Although part of the kingdom, this area seems to have been completely insignificant from both kings' points of view. This might have been because of the earlier decline of trade in the area.

The other difference is the case of Visegrád. It is clear that Matthias used Buda as his capital and may have travelled to Visegrád occasionally to rest for a few days. For Sigismund, however, as other literature reinforces, Visegrád was the main centre at the

beginning of his reign, but in the itineraries the Buda entries have much higher frequencies, although the stays were shorter. Interestingly the frequencies of Visegrád after 1409 show that the town still played a major role in his landscape view in the later years of his reign as well. A preliminary research about the itinerary of Louis the Great revealed that, the number of Buda entries is second only to the Visegrád entries. Therefore it should be interesting to compare in a further research Sigismund and Matthias with earlier kings such as Louis I and Charles Robert as well. This could highlight how the importance of Buda as main centre emerged during the reign of different the rulers.

Itinerary research can contribute to understanding the practical management of the economic and political life of the kingdom in different periods. Comparison of the itineraries makes it possible to detail many of the day-to-day activities of a king. An advantage of this is that it is precise, not normative description, actual dates and places that can be examined in the larger programs of the kings' policies. A comparison of separate rulers also gives a new view of how certain route patterns or importance of settlements changed over a wider time frame.

Research into kings' itineraries is such important topic because when analyzing the Middle Ages one cannot separate the personal influence of the ruler from other aspects of the state, who based his decisions on the political and economic state of his realm at the time. Itineraries can give insight into how political decisions of the kings and the routes they selected could have shaped the fate of certain settlements or other places when compared with other evidence, such as archaeological and narrative sources, giving an even clearer picture.

In research concerning spatial distribution, roads, and journeys such as the itineraries, it is most important to create maps as well. Although handmade maps alone give insight into how landscape and cultural features are distributed spatially, new useful tools are allowing more precise and practical ways of creating well designed and analyzable maps. In this paper I used maps created by the QGIS program, which is easy to handle in its basics and also gives several options when creating maps. Depending on the data input one can analyze the frequency of a certain connection between two points (Buda and Visegrád for example) or show other statistical and spatial distributions as well. QGIS can also be applied to many other historical areas of research.

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## Abbreviations:

MTA Magyar Tudományos Akadémia

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# Appendices

## Index of relevant places in the itineraries

Current name	Name in Itineraries	Alternative Name
Aiud	Enyed	
Alba Iulia	Gyulafehérvár	
Anhrow?	Anhrow	
Apoldu de Sus	Apold	
Arad	Arad	
Ászár	Ászár	
Bač	Bács	
Bacău	Bacău	
Bačinci	Hosszúbács	
Bad-Radkersburg	Radkersburg	
Baden bei Wien	Baden bei Wien	
Baia	Baia	
Baia de Criș	Körösbánya	
Bajót	Bajót	
Balassagyarmat	Gyarmat	
Balatonfőkajár	Kajár	
Bánhida, Tatabánya	Bánhida	
Bánovce nad Bebravou	Bán	
Banská Bystrica	Besztercebánya	
Banská Štiavnica	Selmec	
Baranmező?	Baranmező	
Baraolt	Barót	
Bărboși	Mezőszakál	
Bardejov	Bártfa	
Báta	Báta	
Bátmonostor	Bátmonostor	
Bátorove Kosihy?	Ravaszkesző	
Bátovce	Bát	
Beckov	Bolondóc	
Bela	Béla	
Bélá pod Bezdezem	Bélá pod Bezdezem	Weiswasser
Belgrade	Nándorfehérvár	
Belz, Lviv Oblast	Belz	
Benešov	Benešov	
Beroun	Beraun	
Biela	Béla	Brela?
Bihać	Bihács	



Birkenstein, Kutná Hora	Birkenstein	
Bobovac	Bobovac	
Bodrogkeresztúr	Keresztúr	
Bojna	Bojna	
Borač, Gornji Milanovac	Borač	
Borča	Barcsa	
Bosanska Krupa	Krupa	
Bosznia	Bosznia	
Braničevo, Serbia	Braničevo kerület	
Braşov	Brassó	
Bratislava	Pozsony	
Brezno	Breznóbánya	
Brinje	Brinje	
Brno	Brünn	
Bruck an der Leitha	Bruck	
Bruck an der Leitha	Bruck an der Leitha	
Brumov	Brumov	
Buda	Buda	
Budajenő	Jenő	
Bukovec	Bukóc	
Bystrice nad Pernštejnem	Bystrice nad Pernštejnem	<i>Feistritz</i>
Bystřice nad Pernštejnem	Feistritz	
Čakovec	Csáktornya	
Câmpulung	Hosszúmező	
Caransebeş	Karán	
Caransebeş	Karánsebes	
Caransebeş	Sebes	
Caraşova	Krassófü	
Čáslav	Čáslav	Tschaslau
Častá	Sachmansdorf	
Čazma	Csázma	
Cenade	Szászcsanád	
Cenadu Vechi	Csanád	Cenad
Červený Kameň	Vöröskő	
Cheb	Eger	
Cheresig	Körösszeg	
Chrudim	Chrudim	
Chtelnica	Telnic	
Cluj-Napoca	Kolozsvár	
Codlea	Feketehalom	
Cracow	Krakkó	
Cristuru Secuiesc	Keresztúr	
Csákvár	Csákvár	
Császár	Császár	

Csepelsziget, Budapest	Csepelsziget	
Csesznek	Csesznek	
Csurgó	Csurgó	
Dakovo	Diakó	
Dalešlice	Dalešlice	
Debitsch	Debitsch	
Debrecen	Debrecen	
Dédestapolcsány	Dédes	
Deva	Déva	
Devin, Bratislava	Dévény	
Diósgyőr, Miskolc	Diósgyőr	
DoborKula	Dobor	
Dobrá Niva	Dobronya	
Dömsöd	Dömsöd	
Dragotin	Dragotin	
Drnholec	Dürnholz	
Drobeta-TurnuSeverin	Szörény	
Dubica?	Dubica	
Dubočac?	Dubočac	
Dubrava	Dombró	
Dunaszekcső	Szekcső	
Đurđevac	Szentgyörgyvár	Susicaszentgyörgyvár
DvornadŽitavou	Udvard	
Ebelsberg, Linz	Ebelsberg	
Ebenfurt	Ebenfurt	
Ebergassing	Ebergassing	
Ebersdorf	Ebersdorf	
Eger	Eger	
Eggenburg	Eggenburg	
Eisenstadt	Kismarton	
Grubosinc (deserted)	Grubosinc	
Eng (Nagyeng)	Eng	
Eng (Nagyeng)	Nagyeng	
Enns	Enns	
Ercsi	Ercsi	
Erdut	Erdőd	
Esztergom	Esztergom	
Făgăraș	Fogaras	
Feldioara, Brasov	Földvár	
<i>Folth</i>	<i>Folth</i>	
Frumușeni	Sződi	
Futog	Futak	
Gabčíkovo	Bős	
Galgamácsa	Mácsa	

Gerencsér? near Oroszlány	Gerencsér	
Gesztes?	Gesztes	
Gilău	Gyalu	
Golubac	Galambóc	
Gomnec?	Gomnec	
Gorjani	Gara	
Gorjani	Gara	
Graberanec	Graberanec	
Grebencastle	Greben	
Grebenac	Gerebenc	
Greda	Greda	
Groblice	Groblice	
Groß-Enzersdorf	Enzersdorf	
Gyermend?	Gyermend	
Gyöngyös	Gyöngyös	
Gyöngyöspata	Pata	
Győr	Győr	
Hainburg an der Donau	Hainburg	
Hajdúböszörmény	Bagotavadászóhely	
Hajdúböszörmény	Böszörmény	
Hajdúszoboszló	Szoboszló	
Haram?	Haram	
Hatvan	Nagyhatvan	
Hatvan	Hatvan	
Hencida	Hencida	
Hévkút, near Visegrád	Hévkút	
Hodonín	Hodonín	
Hodoş	Hódos	
Holíč	Holics	
Holíč	Újvár	
HontianskeNemce	Németi	
Horhi?	Horhi	
Hornstein	Szarvkő	
HradecKrálové	Königgrätz	
Hrastovica	Hrasztovica	
Hrvatska Kostajnica	Kosztajnica	
Hunedoara	Hunyad	
<i>Hydeghchorgo</i>	<i>Hydeghchorgo</i>	
Ilidia	Illyéd	
Ilok	Újlak	
Ipolydamásd	Damásd	
Isaszeg	Isaszeg	
Ivankovo	Ivánkaszentgyörgy	
Ivankovo	Szentgyörgy	

Jajce	Jajce	
Jaruge	Árki	
Jebel	Széphely	
Jelšava	Jolsva	
Jihlava	Iglau	
Jihlava	Jihlava	
Kahlenberg, Vienna	<i>Kahlenberg</i>	
Kalocsa	<i>Kalocsa</i>	
Karácsonkő, PiatraNeamț	Karácsonkő	
Katzelsdorf	Katzelsdorf	
Kecskemét	Kecskemét	
Cârța	Kerc	
Kerekegyház? NearFelnac	Kerekegyház	
Kežmarok	Késmárk	
Kisgyőr	Kisgyőr	
Kittsee	Köpcsény	
Kladruby	Kladruby	
Klášteří Hradisko, Olomouc	Klasterní Hradisko	
Kličevac castle Bosnia Srebrenica?	Kličevac	
Klosterneuburg	Klosterneuburg	
Knin	Knin	
Kolín	Kolin	
Komárno	Komárom	
Komárom	Komárom	
Kompolt	Kompolt	
Koprivnica	Kapronca	
Koprivnica	Kökapronca	
Korneuburg	Korneuburg	
Košice	Kassa	
Kovin	Keve	
<i>Kowach</i>	<i>Kowach</i>	
Körmend	Körmend	
Környe	Környe	
Kőszeg	Kőszeg	
Krapina	Krapina	
Kremnica	Körmöcbánya	
Křiževci	Körös	
Křížovany	Szentkereszt	
Kroměříž	Kremsier	
Kroneuburg	Kroneuburg	
Krupina	Korpona	
Kučín	Kucson	Felsőköcsény
Kutina	Kutina	
KutnáHorá	Kuttenberg	

Kürt	Kürt	
Laa an der Thaya	Laa an der Thaya	
Lendava	Alsólendva	
<i>Lesnek/Lewach</i>	<i>Lesnek/Lewach</i>	
Levanjska Varoš	Nevna	
Levoča	Lőcse	
Lichtenwörth	Lichtenwörth	
Lipany	Héthárs	
Lipova	Lippa	
Liptovský Mikuláš	Szentmiklós	
Liptovský Peter	Liptószentpéter	
Litoměřice	Leitmeritz	
Litva	Litva	
Lohota	Lohota	
Lomnicariver	Lomnica	
Louny	Laun	
Ľubica	Leibic	
Ludbreg	Ludberg	
Lutsk	Luck	
Magyaralmás	Almás	
Măieruş	Mogyorós	
Majk	Majk	
Majsa	Majsa	
Mănăştur	Zákánymonostor	
Márianosztra	Nosztra	
Marót?	Marót	
<i>Mazlyncz</i>	<i>Mazlyncz</i>	
Mediaş	Medgyes	
Mehadia	Miháld	
Melnik	Melnik	
Mezőkövesd	Mezőkövesd	
Mezőtúr	Túr	
Mikulov	Nikolsburg	
Minczumberg	Minczumberg	
Miskolc	Miskolc	
Mistelbach	Mistelbach	
Modra	Modor	
ModranadCirochou	Modra	
Modruš	Modrus	
Mohács	Mohács	
Mohelnice	Müglitz	
Moldova Veche	Tornova	
Morović	Marót	
Moslavina	Monoszló	

Mosonmagyaróvár	Óvár	Kisigmánd
Most	Brüx	
MuchobórWielki	MunchobórWielki	
Mürzzuschlag	Mürzzuschlag	
Nádudvar	Nádudvar	
Nagyigmánd?	Igmánd	
Nagykanizsa	Kanizsa	
Nagymaros	Maros	
Nagytétény	Tétény	
Nagyvár?	Nagyvár	
Nagyvázsony	Vázsony	
Namysłów	Namysłów	
Našice	Nekcse	
Nekudim	Nekudim	
Neszmély	Neszmély	Biharului
Neunkirchen	Neunkirchen	
Nicoleni	Székelyszentmiklós	
Nijemci	Németi	
Nitra	Nyitra	
NitranadIpľom	Nyitra	
NováBaňa	Újbánya	
NovéMestonadVáhom	Vágújhely	
Novigrad	Novigrad	
Nyárád	Nyárád	
Nymburk	Nimburg	
Nysa	Niesse	
Nysa	Nysa	
Óbuda	Óbuda	
Ócsa	Ócsa	
OdorheiuSecuiesc	Székelyudvarhely	
Olbrachtowice	Olbrachtowice	
OleśnicaMała	OleśnicaMała	
Olnas?	Olnas	
Olomouc	Olmütz	
Opařitiřa	Apáca	
Opava	Opava	
Opole	Opole	
Oradea	Püspöki	
Oradea	Várad	
Orbászcastle	Orbász	
Orșova	Orsova	
Osijek	Eszék	
Ostrovica?	Ostrovica	
Ozora	Ozora	



Pačetin	Pacsinta	
Pakrac	Pekrec	
Paks	Paks	
Pannonhalma	Szentmárton	
Pápa	Pápa	
Pardubice	Pardubitz	
PartizánskaĽupča	Németlipcse	
Pásztó	Pásztó	
Pécs	Pécs	
Pécsvárad	Pécsvárad	
Pelhřimov	Pilgram	
Perchtoldsdorf	Perchtoldsdorf	
Pest	Pest	
Pestszentlőrinc, Budapest	Szentlőrinc	
Pétermonostora	Pétermonostora	
Petrovaradin	Pétervárad	
PiatraNeamț	Piatra-Neamț	
PiatraNeamț	Neamț	
Plzeň	Pilsen	
Pobjenik	Bjenik	
Pócsmegyer	Pócsmegyer	
Podgradja	Podgradja	
Podivín	Podivin	
PoduDâmboviței?	Királykő	
Pohořelice	Pohrlitz	
Pojejena de Jos	Pozsezsín	
Poszata	Poszata	
Požega	Pozsegavár	
Prague	Prága	
Prelog	Perlak	
Prešov	Eperjes	
Prievidza	Privigye	
Putnok	Putnok	
Pwrkstroff	Pwrkstroff	
Racibórz	Racibórz	
Radošina	Radosna	
Râșnov	Rozsnyó	
Regensburg	Regensburg	
Retkovec, Zagreb	Retkovec	
Retz	Retz	
RimavskáSeč	Szécs	
Roman	Roman	
RovinițaMare	Omor	
Ruchovan	Ruchovan	

Rudabánya	Rudabánya	
Rupea	Reps	
Rupea	Kőhalom	
Ružomberok	Rózsahegy	
Šabac	Szabács	
SacoșuTurcesc	Cseri	
Šahy	Ság	
Sajónémeti	Sajónémeti	
Sajóvelezd	Velezd	
Sălard	Szalárd	
Šamorín	Somorja	
Šamorín	Somorja	
Sankt Pölten	Sankt Pölten	
Sárospatak	Patak	
Saschiz	Szászkézd	
Scharndorf, Schwandorf???	Schwandorf	
Schaumberg?	Schaumberg	
Schottwien	Schottwien	
Sebeș	Szászsebes	
Segesd	Segesd	
Seňa	Szina	
Senec	Szenc	
Senta	Zenta	
SfântuGheorghe	Szentgyörgy	
Sibiu	Szeben	
Sibiu	Nagyszeben	
Sighișoara	Segesvár	
Siklós	Siklós	
Siklós	Siklós	
Šintava	Sempte	
Šintava	Sempte	
Șiria	Siri/Világosváralja?	
Șiria	Világosváralja	
Širkovce	Serke	
Skalica	Szakolca	
Skalitz	Skalitz	
Slakov u Brna	Austerlitz	Novosedly
Slakov u Brna??	<i>Novosedly</i>	
Slaná	Slan	
SlovenskáLupča	Lipcse	PartizánskaLupča
SlovenskáLupča	Zólyomlipcse	
Sokol?	Sokol	
Solymár	Solymár	
Somogyvár	Somogyvár	

Sonta	Szond	
Sonta	Szond	
Sopje	Sopje	
Sopron	Sopron	
Sotin	Szata	
Söjtör	Söjtör?	
SpišskáBelá	Béla	
SpišskáNováVes	Igló	
SpišskáSobota	Szepesszombat	
SpišskáStaráVes	Ófalu	
SpišskéPodhradie	Szepes	
Split	Spalato	
Srebrenica	Srebrenica	
Sremska Mitrovica	Szávaszentdemeter	
Sremska Mitrovica	Szentdemeter	
Sremska Rača	Racsa	
Sremski Karlovci	Karom	
Staatz	Staatz	
Stara Gradiška	Gradiska	
Stará Ľubovňa	Lubló	
Stari Slankamen	Szalánkemén	
Stary Sącz	Szandec	
Strážnice	Strážnice	
Stříbro	Mies	
Stupava	Stomfa	
Swidnica	Schweidnitz	
Świdnica	Świdnica	
Szár	Szár	
Sava river	Száva	
Szécsény	Szécsény	
Szeged	Szeged	
Székesfehérvár	Székesfehérvár	
Székesfehérvár	Fehérvár	
Szekszárd	Szekszárd	
Szentendre	Szentendre	
Szentsimon, Ózd	Szentsimon	
Szerbia	Szerbia	
Szeremle	Szeremle	
Szigetszentmiklós	Szentmiklós	
Szikszó	Szikszó	
Szolnok	Szolnok	
Tămașda	Tamáshida	
Târgu Trotuș	Trotuș	
Tata	Tata	

Telč	Telč	
Tétény, Budapest	Tétény	
<i>Thopplicza</i>	<i>Thopplicza</i>	
Timișoara	Temesvár	
Tiszafüred	Füred	
Tiszavárkony	Várkony	
Tiszavarsány (Rákócziújfalú)	Varsány	
Točník	Točník	
Tokaj	Tokaj	
Tolna	Tolnavár	
Tolna	Tolna	
Topoľčany	Tapolcsány	
Topusko	Toplica	
Toronyalja monastery?	Torony	
Tovačov	Tovačov	
Trautmanndorf an der Leitha	Trautmanndorf an der Leitha	
Třebíč	Trebitsch	
Třebíč	Třebíč	
Trenčín	Trencsén	
Trnava	Nagyszombat	
Trzebnica	Trzebnica	
Turda	Torda	
Týnec nad Sázavou?	Tynec	Týnec nad Labem?
UherskéHradiště	Hradiště	
Uherský Brod	Magyarbród	
Uherský Brod	UherskýBrod	
Uherský Ostroh	Ostrau	
Uherský Ostroh	Steinitz	
Újudvar	Újudvar	
Unknown	Ismeretlen	
Utvín	Ötvény	
Vác	Vác	
Vác	Vác	
Vadu Crișului	Rév	
Valpovo	Valpó	
Valtice	Feldsberg	
Valtice	Valtice	
Vărădia	Váradja	
Városlőd	Lövöld	
Veliki Zdenci	Izdenc	
Velké Kostofany	Kosztolány	
Velký Meder	Megyer	
Velký Šariš	Sáros	
Velvary	Welwarn	

Veselí nad Moravou	Veseli	
Veselí nad Moravou	Veseli nad Moravou	
Veszprém	Veszprém	
Vidin	Vidin	
Vienna	Bécs	
Vígfaš	Végles	
Virje	Prodavíz	
Virovitica	Verőce	
Visegrád	Visegrád	
Vizsoly	Vizsoly	
Vlašim	Vlašim	
Vodica?	Vodica	
Vranov nad Topľou	Varannó	
Vrbaška	Orbászvásárhely	
Vrdnik	Rednek	
Vršac	Érsomlyó	
Vyšehrad, Prague	Vyšehrad	
Vyskov	Vyškov	
Vyškovce nad Ipľom	Visk	
Währing, Vienna	Währing	
Wallachia	Havasalföld	
Wiener Neustadt	Bécsújhely	
Wolyzka ferry	Wolyzka-i rév	
Wroclaw	Boroszló	
Žac?	Žac	
Zagreb	Zágráb	
Zákány	Zákány	
Zalakomár	Komár	
Zalaszentgrót	Szentgrót	
Zaláu	Zilah	
Žatec	Žatec	
Zbehy	Üzbég	
Zbraslav	Königsaal	
Zbraslav	Zbraslav	
Zdenci	Zdenc	
Zemun	Zemlén	Zimony
Žilina	Zsolna	
Zistersdorf	Zistersdorf	
Znojmo	Znaim	
Znojmo	Znojmo	
Zrenjanin	Becskerek	
<i>Zvecaj</i>	<i>Zvecaj</i>	
Zvolen	Zólyom	
Zvolenská Slatina	Szalatna	

Zvornik	Zvornik	
Zymand ferry	Zymándi rév	
Zsámbék	Zsámbék	