

Doctoral Dissertation

**THE GINGER FOX'S TWO CROWNS**  
**CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNMENT IN**  
**SIGISMUND OF LUXEMBOURG'S REALMS**  
**1410–1419**

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Submitted to the Medieval Studies Department,  
Central European University, Budapest

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval Studies,

Budapest

2017

# Table of Contents

<b>I. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>I.1. Sigismund and His First Crowns in a Historical Perspective</b>	<b>6</b>
I.1.1. Historiography and Present State of Research	6
I.1.2. Research Questions and Methodology	13
<b>I.2. The Luxembourg Lion and its Share in Late-Medieval Europe (A Historical Introduction)</b>	<b>16</b>
I.2.1. The Luxembourg Dynasty and East-Central-Europe	16
I.2.2. Sigismund's Election as King of the Romans in 1410/1411	21
<b>II. THE PERSONAL UNION IN CHARTERS</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>II.1. One King – One Land: Chancery Practice in the Kingdom of Hungary</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>II.2. Wearing Two Crowns: the First Years (1411–1414)</b>	<b>33</b>
II.2.1. New Phenomena in the Hungarian Chancery Practice after 1411	33
II.2.1.1. Rex Romanorum: New Title, New Seal	33
II.2.1.2. Imperial Issues – Non-Imperial Chanceries	42
II.2.2. Beginnings of Sigismund's Imperial Chancery	46
<b>III. THE ADMINISTRATION: MOBILE AND RESIDENT</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>III.1. The Actors</b>	<b>62</b>
III.1.1. At the Travelling King's Court	62
III.1.1.1. High Dignitaries at the Travelling Court	63
III.1.1.1.1. Hungarian Notables	63
III.1.1.1.2. Imperial Court Dignitaries and the Imperial Elite	68
III.1.1.2. Counsellors (consilarii, Räte) and Referents	73
III.1.2. In the Travelling King's Lands	81
III.1.2.1. Hungary: The Queen, the Vicars and the Barons (1413-1419)	81
III.1.2.1.1. The Queen	81
III.1.2.1.2. Royal Vicars	93
III.1.2.1.3. The Barons	103
III.1.2.2. Holy Roman Empire (1411–1419): Governors and Officials	109
III.1.2.2.1. Ruling in Place of the King: Governorship of the Elector Palatine	110
III.1.2.2.2. Sigismund's "Own" Imperial Administrative Team	115

<b>III.2. Scenes and Institutions</b>	<b>117</b>
III.2.1. The Royal Court	117
III.2.2. The Royal Council and the Fields of its Activity	121
III.2.3. Administration of Justice: Central Judicial Courts in Sigismund's Lands	129
III.2.3.1. The Personal Jurisdiction of the King	132
<b>IV. SPATIAL FEATURES OF THE SIGISMUND-ADMINISTRATION</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>IV.1. Temporary Residences and Whereabouts in the Holy Roman Empire</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>IV.2. Permanent Centers – Royal Residences</b>	<b>148</b>
IV.2.1. Buda and Visegrád	148
IV.2.2. Plans of a Capital? The Cases of Pressburg and Nuremberg	159
<b>V. CONCLUSION: SIGISMUND'S RULE AND HIS MULTIPLE KINGDOM</b>	<b>166</b>
<b>V.1. Dynastic or Universal, Medieval or Modern?</b>	<b>166</b>
<b>V.2. Two Crowns – Sigismund's Multiple Kingdom</b>	<b>174</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>214</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: WRITING ORGANS IN THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY.....	31
FIGURE 2: DOCUMENT FORMS OF THE HUNGARIAN CHANCERIES.....	32
FIGURE 3: SIGISMUND'S HUNGARIAN SEALS.....	42
FIGURE 4: SIGISMUND'S GERMAN SEALS.....	48
FIGURE 5: CHANGES IN HUNGARIAN CHANCERY PRACTICE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMPERIAL CHANCERY 1411–1412.....	57
FIGURE 6: SIGISMUND AND HIS BARONS (SIMPLIFIED ITINERARIES 1410–1418).....	65
FIGURE 7: THE IMPERIAL ELITE AS REFERENT, CO-SEALER AND GUARANTOR.....	71
FIGURE 8: REFERENTS OF THE IMPERIAL CHANCERY II.....	78
FIGURE 9: BARBARA'S CHARTERS.....	85
FIGURE 10: HUNGARIAN HIGH DIGNITARIES 1410–1420.....	98
FIGURE 11: VICARIAL RIGHTS IN THE EMPIRE AND IN THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY.....	102
FIGURE 12: CHANCERY NOTES ON DOCUMENTS ISSUED IN SIGISMUND'S NAME IN HUNGARY 1412–1418.....	106
FIGURE 13: SIGISMUND'S STAYS IN THE EMPIRE 1414–1419.....	143

## LIST OF IMAGES

IMAGE 1: COAT OF ARMS OF HENRY V, COUNT OF LUXEMBOURG.....	18
IMAGE 2: SECRET CHANCERY CORROBORATION.....	35
IMAGE 3: SIGISMUND'S FOURTH HUNGARIAN SECRET SEAL.....	38
IMAGE 4: SIGISMUND'S FIFTH HUNGARIAN SECRET SEAL.....	38
IMAGE 5: SIGISMUND'S SECOND MIDDLE SEAL.....	39
IMAGE 6: SIGISMUND'S SECOND HUNGARIAN GREAT SEAL.....	40
IMAGE 7: SIGISMUND'S GERMAN SECRET SEAL.....	48
IMAGE 8: QUEEN BARBARA'S SEAL.....	87
IMAGE 9: CHARTER REFERENCE TO THE "LAW COURT OF THE GREAT SEAL" 1416.....	134
IMAGE 10: COAT OF ARMS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ÓBUDA.....	152
IMAGE 11: THE ROYAL PALACE OF BUDA IN THE 1420S.....	153
IMAGE 12: THE ROYAL PALACE OF VISEGRÁD AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY.....	154
IMAGE 13: GROUND PLAN OF THE VISEGRÁD PALACE AT THE END OF THE SIGISMUND PERIOD.....	155
IMAGE 14: CHARLEMAGNE AND SIGISMUND.....	165
IMAGE 15: ICONOGRAPHIC PATTERNS ON SIGISMUND'S SEALS AND COINS.....	177

## LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE LUXEMBURG DYNASTY 1180–1440.....	182
APPENDIX 2: CENTRAL JUDICIAL COURTS IN HUNGARY IN THE 11 <sup>TH</sup> –15 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES.....	183
APPENDIX 3: CHANCELLORS AND VICE-CHANCELLORS OF THE HUNGARIAN AND IMPERIAL CHANCERIES (1387–1437) .....	184
APPENDIX 4: CHANGES OF THE <i>CORROBORATIO</i> AND <i>INTITULATIO</i> IN THE HUNGARIAN CHARTERS IN 1411 .....	186
APPENDIX 5: CHARTER ANNOUNCING THE INTRODUCTION OF SIGISMUND’S FIFTH HUNGARIAN SECRET SEAL .....	188
APPENDIX 6: ENTRIES IN THE <i>REICHSREGISTERBUCH</i> (FOL. 1R–11R) .....	189
APPENDIX 7: PALATINE NICHOLAS GARAI’S SERVICES RENDERED FOR SIGISMUND.....	191
APPENDIX 8: RELATORS OF DOCUMENTS ISSUED BY THE HUNGARIAN SECRET CHANCERY .....	192
APPENDIX 9: GUARANTORS OF LOANS GRANTED TO SIGISMUND .....	194
APPENDIX 10: WITNESSES AND CO-SEALERS OF SIGISMUND’S CHARTERS .....	196
APPENDIX 11: REFERENTS OF THE IMPERIAL CHANCERY .....	198
APPENDIX 12: QUEEN BARBARA’S CHARTER ISSUING .....	208
APPENDIX 13: SIGISMUND’S WHEREABOUTS IN THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY 1404–1412.....	209
APPENDIX 14: SIGISMUND’S WHEREABOUTS IN THE EMPIRE 1412–1419.....	212

## ABBREVIATIONS OF ARCHIVES, ARCHIVE STOCKS AND DIPLOMATIC TERMS

DOZA =

Vienna, Deutschordenszentralarchiv.

MNL OL DF =

Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Photographic Collection. Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica. A középkori Magyarország levéltári forrásainak adatbázisa. [Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary] Online edition (DL-DF 5.1) 2009.

MNL OL DL =

Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Diplomas and Charters 1109–1526. Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica. A középkori Magyarország levéltári forrásainak adatbázisa. [Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary] Online edition (DL-DF 5.1) 2009.

NA ACK =

Prague, Národní archiv, Archiv České koruny (1158-1935).

OeStA/HHStA =

Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv.

RRB =

Reichsregisterbuch

Slr, Slv, SP =

Sigillum impressum recto, sigillum impressum verso, sigillum pendens.

StaASG =

St. Gallen, Stadtarchiv der Ortsbürgergemeinde.

# I. Introduction

Aesop, Phaedrus, La Fontaine, the Grimm brothers or folk tales from all over the world – fox is a recurring character of fables. The “ginger fox” of the present dissertation, Sigismund of Luxembourg, was also the main character of historical anecdotes and some fables; yet, he is rather known as the key figure of the political stage of Western Christendom in the first half of the fifteenth century than the leading role of fairy tales. Emperor Charles IV’s second son was nicknamed “ginger fox” (*liška ryšavá*) in the lands of the Bohemian Crown because of his hair color.<sup>1</sup> But Bohemia was not the only land he ruled during the sixty-nine years of his life. Until his death in 1437 in Znaim/Znojmo, Sigismund was crowned altogether five times: in 1387 in Székesfehérvár, in 1414 in Aachen, then in 1420 in Prague,<sup>2</sup> in 1431 in Milan and finally in 1433 in Rome. The present thesis focuses on the first two of these crowns: the Hungarian and the German one.

## I.1. Sigismund and His First Crowns in a Historical Perspective

### I.1.1. Historiography and Present State of Research

Sigismund has long been considered the black sheep of late medieval European history. Until recently, when – not least because of the growing importance of the European Union – themes related to the idea of “European identity” gained a certain reputation, “dealing with Sigismund and his character had been neither a rewarding research field, nor it fostered career advancement.”<sup>3</sup> The following passage written by Gusztáv Wenzel in his essay on one of Sigismund’s closest advisors, Pipo Ozorai,<sup>4</sup> is a telling summary of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century scholarly attitude towards the Luxembourg-period and Sigismund’s rule:

Pipo Ozorai does not belong to those outstanding figures of our past, whose names are shining in eternal fame. Moreover, I have to establish it here at the very beginning, that neither his character, nor his deeds or the importance of his age made him to get any higher than the level of mediocrity. [...] Considering general European historical turns and Hungary’s fate in particular, the era in which Pipo played a role was a transitional period. Although certain important political events and social phenomena were not entirely missing from it, it did not give rise to developments with a long-term effect; neither did it establish

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<sup>1</sup> According to the recent investigations the writer-historian Alois Jirásek (1851–1930) referred to Sigismund with this term first.

<sup>2</sup> The estates of Bohemia acknowledged Sigismund only on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1436.

<sup>3</sup> FRENKEN, Rezension.

<sup>4</sup> Filippo di Stefano Scolari or Pippo Spano (1369?–1426), born in a Florentine merchant family. The first evidences of his stay in Buda are from the 1380s, when he was a shop assistant of Luca di Giovanni del Pecchia, also a merchant of Florentine origin. A few years later he entered the service of Hungary’s perhaps most influential family, that of the Kanizsais. Sigismund took him to his service most probably in June 1399.

long-lasting cultural-intellectual trends. [...] For a while it seemed that the Houses of Anjou and Luxembourg would be dominant [on European political scene]: Hungary as well as Bohemia rose to such a level of importance that Europe was apparently expecting the decisive step from them in order to heal her diseases. Yet, soon after the death of Louis the Great, King of Hungary and Poland, everything his politics had created started to sink. The frivolity and unskillfulness of his successor Sigismund corrupted Hungary's state of affairs to such an extent that it was impossible to recover from these losses any more.<sup>5</sup>

Another short example of the nineteenth-century scholarly attitude towards Sigismund comes from Josef Aschbach (1838):

Emperor Sigismund cannot be counted among the most excellent and famous successors of Charlemagne. He was neither an excellent military talent, nor a great, inventive spirit.<sup>6</sup>

Scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were keen on emphasizing Sigismund's political and military failures rather than his diplomatic successes; contemporary historiography, however, stepped away from this standpoint. Peter Moraw argues that while "Wenceslas and Rupert shoved Charles IV's heritage into crisis ... Sigismund brought together the pieces of this heritage again and passed it on Albert II as a whole."<sup>7</sup> Though historians are still far from praising Sigismund and his controversial character, they now pay particular attention to his reign and to supra-national issues connected to his name such as the councils of Constance and Basel or the Hundred Years War. Since Jörg K. Hoensch dedicated a separate article to Sigismund-historiography<sup>8</sup> and all recent publications contain at least a subchapter on this topic, the following pages intend to give only a general overview of the main trends of the research. I aimed at mentioning the perhaps most important "mile-stones" of Sigismund-historiography, but without going into details as regards the particular authors and their works.<sup>9</sup>

The first extensive monograph on Emperor Sigismund was written by Joseph von Aschbach and published in four volumes between 1838 and 1845 in Hamburg.<sup>10</sup> Thirty-five years later a similarly voluminous publication, Friedrich von Bezold's *König Sigismund und die Reichskriege gegen die Hussiten*<sup>11</sup> was released in Munich. Among the early works on Sigismund with regards to international affairs Richard Arndt's *Die Beziehungen König Sigismunds zu Polen bis zum Ofener Schiedsspruch*,<sup>12</sup> Wilhelm Gierrh's *Die Vermittlungsversuche Kaiser Sigmunds zwischen*

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<sup>5</sup> WENZEL, Ozorai Pipo 3–4.

<sup>6</sup> ASCHBACH, Geschichte v-vi.

<sup>7</sup> MORAW, König, Reich 816.

<sup>8</sup> HOENSCH, Schwerpunkte.

<sup>9</sup> It is hardly to find any publications on Sigismund and his rule written in English; thus, the more important is going to be the collective volume edited by Suzana Miljan and Alexandra Kaar which is going to comprise the papers of the Sigismund sessions of the 2014 Leeds International Medieval Congress.

<sup>10</sup> ASCHBACH, Geschichte.

<sup>11</sup> BEZOLD, Sigismund und die Reichskriege.

<sup>12</sup> ARNDT, Beziehungen.



*Frankreich und England im Jahre 1416*<sup>13</sup> and Gustav Beckmann's *Der Kampf Kaiser Sigismunds gegen die werdende Weltmacht der Osmanen 1392–1437*<sup>14</sup> have to be explicitly mentioned. Otto Schiff published a book on Sigismund's policies towards Italy in 1909,<sup>15</sup> Martin Seeliger wrote a dissertation on political relations between King Sigismund and Eric of Denmark in 1910.<sup>16</sup> Another focal point of late nineteenth-century Sigismund-historiography was diplomatics: Joseph Caro,<sup>17</sup> Theodor Lindner,<sup>18</sup> Gerhard Seeliger<sup>19</sup> and Vojtěch Jaromír Nováček<sup>20</sup> contributed to the history of the Luxembourg chancery practice. Besides studies on ecclesiastical history concentrating primarily on issues in the church councils,<sup>21</sup> most of the Sigismund-related source editions<sup>22</sup> or the beginning of such projects (i.e. Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár<sup>23</sup>) also date to the end of the nineteenth century. Hungarian scholars of this period were focusing on the history of noble families and compiled a number of biographic-prosopographic studies on Sigismund's barons.<sup>24</sup> On the occasion of the millennium celebrations in Budapest (1896) Atheaneum Publishers decided to bring out the ten-volume edition of the *History of the Hungarian Nation*, the third volume of which written by Antal Pór and Gyula Schönherr dedicated altogether sixteen chapters to the rule of Sigismund.<sup>25</sup>

A renaissance in Sigismund studies came as late as the 1980s; nevertheless, a number of important studies were published in the intermediate decades as well. Although some remarks of Erich Forstreiter's dissertation defended at the University of Vienna in 1924 regarding the chancery system of the Luxembourg ruler are erroneous,<sup>26</sup> the dissertation is still fundamental for studying Sigismund's chancery personnel. Hermann Heimpel's study and source edition on the *Sigismundiana* of the Vatican Library,<sup>27</sup> Henrik Horváth's monograph<sup>28</sup> and Lóránd Szilágyi's article<sup>29</sup> are the most important works related to King Sigismund from the 1930s.<sup>30</sup> Szilágyi's study

<sup>13</sup> GIERTH, Vermittlungsversuche.

<sup>14</sup> BECKMANN, Kampf gegen die Osmanen.

<sup>15</sup> SCHIFF, Italienische Politik. On Italy also SAUERBREI, Italienische Politik; SCHELLHASS, Sigismund.

<sup>16</sup> SEELIGER, Politische Beziehungen.

<sup>17</sup> CARO, Aus der Kanzlei.

<sup>18</sup> LINDNER, Urkundenwesen.

<sup>19</sup> SEELIGER, Registerführung.

<sup>20</sup> NOVÁČEK, Sigismund.

<sup>21</sup> GOTTSCHALK, Kaiser Sigismund, later HOLLNSTEINER, König Sigismund and SCHULZ, Kirchenpolitik.

<sup>22</sup> I. a. ACC, RTA, RI XI, *Chron. Hus*, WINDECKE, Denkwürdigkeiten.

<sup>23</sup> For a brief summary of the history of the ZsO see KONDOR, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár; MÁLYUSZ, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár; BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár; BORSA, A Magyar Országos Levéltár.

<sup>24</sup> ÁLDÁSY, Alsáni Bálint; FRAKNÓI, Makrai; LUKCSICS, Uski; MAJLÁTH, Szentmiklósi; SCHWICKER, Cillei; SÖRÖS, Lévai Cseh; WENZEL, Ozorai Pipo; WENZEL, Stibor; WERTNER, Báthoryak; WERTNER, Garaiak; WERTNER, Horvátiak; WERTNER, Lévai Csehek; later KERESZTES, Rozgonyiak; REISZIG, Kanizsaiak.

<sup>25</sup> SZILÁGYI (ed.), Magyar nemzet III.

<sup>26</sup> FORSTREITER, Kanzlei Sigismunds.

<sup>27</sup> HEIMPEL, Aus der Kanzlei.

<sup>28</sup> HORVÁTH, Zsigmond király.

<sup>29</sup> SZILÁGYI, Personalunion.

<sup>30</sup> For secondary literature on Hungarian chancery practice see the notes of Chapter II.1.

is unique in its presentation of the functioning of the Hungarian-German composite monarchy as a whole. As such, it is the only publication approaching the generally overlooked, and in the Sigismund-historiography surprisingly underrepresented topic of personal union. Although it was the problem of Hungarian royal power that stood in the focus of Elemér Mályusz' research, at some points his monograph *Zentralisationsbestrebungen König Sigismunds in Ungarn* written in 1960<sup>31</sup> also touches upon this question of the "dual monarchy." In 1964, another monograph and a source edition were published: the former was written by Zenon Hubert Nowak and deals with Sigismund's northern politics,<sup>32</sup> the latter was the sixth volume of *MGH Staatsschriften des späten Mittelalters* edited by Heinrich Koller and dedicated to the problem of the reform of the Empire (*Reformatio Sigismundi*). In his habilitation treatise Wolfgang Stromer von Reichenbach, an economic historian from an old Nuremberg patrician family, analysed how the interests of the south-German *Hochfinanz*, i.e. urban economic and financial elites, influenced Sigismund's politics. Besides, he also studied Sigismund's relations with Venice and Central Asia.<sup>33</sup>

In 1984, the Hungarian medievalist Elemér Mályusz published a monograph on Sigismund<sup>34</sup> and in 1996, the German scholar Jörg K. Hoensch did so as well.<sup>35</sup> These works are not only fundamental but also emblematic of the Sigismund-historiography. Despite the fact that they are dealing with the same person and same period, they discuss surprisingly different topics: Mályusz, whose book was entitled *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon (Sigismund's Rule in Hungary)*, treated only issues related to the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Hoensch, although he aimed at presenting a more general and complex picture of Sigismund's rule, put his main emphasis on the German territories. A third monograph, František Kavka's *Poslední Lucemburk na českém trůně (The last Luxembourg on the Bohemian throne)*<sup>36</sup> is in many respects similar to Mályusz' work and focuses on Sigismund's reign in Bohemia. Július Bartl's and Václav Drška's biographical sketches are also worth mentioning here.<sup>37</sup>

There have been many publications from the last three decades on Sigismund and his times. Besides works focusing on the western schism and the church councils<sup>38</sup> or Sigismund's politics

<sup>31</sup> MÁLYUSZ, *Zentralisationsbestrebungen*.

<sup>32</sup> NOWAK, *Polityka*, but also NOWAK, *Imperiale Vorstellungen*; NOWAK, *Schiedsprozesse*; NOWAK, *Siegmund*. On Poland and the Teutonic Knights see also HOENSCH, *Sigismund, der Deutsche Orden und Polen-Litauen*.

<sup>33</sup> STROMER, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz*; STROMER, *Botschaft des Qara Yuluq*; STROMER, *Diplomatische Kontakte*; STROMER, *Siegmunds Gesandte*; STROMER, *Wirtschaftsprojekt*.

<sup>34</sup> MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund*.

<sup>35</sup> HOENSCH, *Kaiser Sigismund*.

<sup>36</sup> KAVKA, *Poslední Lucemburk*.

<sup>37</sup> BARTL, *Zigmund Luxemburský*; DRŠKA, *Zikmund Lucemburský*.

<sup>38</sup> BRANDMÜLLER, *Das Konzil*; HELMRATH, *Das Basler Konzil*; HILSCH, *Johannes Hus*; HLAVAČEK-PATSCHOVSKY (eds.), *Reform*; FRENKEN, *Konstanzer Konzil*; FRENKEN, *König und Konzil*.

towards the eastern<sup>39</sup> and western<sup>40</sup> parts of the continent, Gisela Beinhoff put together an extremely valuable prosopographic collection of Sigismund's Italian courtiers and dignitaries.<sup>41</sup> Attila Bárány dealt with members of Sigismund's entourage in England,<sup>42</sup> Enikő Csukovits<sup>43</sup> and Péter E. Kovács<sup>44</sup> with those in Rome and Italy. Continuing the prosopographic trend of the nineteenth and early twentieth century a number of such articles were published from 1987 on,<sup>45</sup> including Daniela Dvořakova's extensive biography on the king's knight, Stibor of Stiboricz and recently on Queen Barbara.<sup>46</sup> There are also numerous works on relations between the elite and the king, or on the administration of the monarchies that he ruled over. In this respect Pál Engel's monograph, *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban (Royal Power and Aristocracy in the Time of Sigismund)*, is fundamental,<sup>47</sup> while Oliver Daldrup's work on legations and missions contributes to the history of communication.<sup>48</sup> Nonetheless, the research on the functioning of jurisdiction and the way political and financial decisions were made and executed has always concentrated on one kingdom or another, and considered only a distinct part of Sigismund's territories (Kingdom of Hungary,<sup>49</sup> the Empire<sup>50</sup> and Bohemia<sup>51</sup>).

The main forum of scholarly discussion and information exchange between these manifold approaches to Sigismund's reigns and realms have been academic projects on the one hand, international workshops and conferences on the other. The projects located in Brno,<sup>52</sup> Budapest,<sup>53</sup>

<sup>39</sup> BAUM, Kaiser Sigismund.

<sup>40</sup> First and foremost KINTZINGER, Westbindungen but also BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond angliai látogatása; E. KOVÁCS, Siena; E. KOVÁCS, Sigismundo a Gubbio; E. KOVÁCS, Sigismund's Coronation; E. KOVÁCS, Zsigmond Luccában; REITEMEIER, Außenpolitik; TEKE, Dalmát városok; TEKE, Firenze; WAKOUNIG, Dalmatien und Friaul.

<sup>41</sup> BEINHOFF, Die Italiener.

<sup>42</sup> BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond kísérete.

<sup>43</sup> CSUKOVITS, Nagy utazás. See also WERTNER, Zsigmond kísérete.

<sup>44</sup> See E. Kovács's works referred to in n. 40.

<sup>45</sup> ÁRVAI, Magnus comes; C. TÓTH, Bátor; ENGEL, Zsigmond bárói (a), Zsigmond bárói (b); ENGEL, Ozorai Pipo; ENGEL, Salgai; ENGEL, Liskóiak; ENGEL, Aba nemzetség; ENGEL-SÜTTŐ, Alben; FEDELES, Matthias von Gatalóc; FEDELES, Uski; FÜGEDI, Alsáni; FÜGEDI, Az Elefánthyak; NÉMETH, Kántor-család; NOVÁK, Sasember; PETRIK, A Pelejteiek; VAJK, Kanizsai.

<sup>46</sup> DVOŘÁKOVÁ, A lovag; DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Barbara.

<sup>47</sup> ENGEL, Királyi hatalom.

<sup>48</sup> DALDRUP, Zwischen König und Reich.

<sup>49</sup> BAK, Königtum; BERTÉNYI, Országbírói intézmény; BERTÉNYI, Országbíró és különös jelenlét; BÓNIS, Jogtudó; BÓNIS, Kúriai irodák; C. TÓTH, Adatok; C. TÓTH, Hiteleshely; C. TÓTH, Hiteleshelyi rendelet; C. TÓTH, Szabolcs megye; C. TÓTH, Nádori hivatal; C. TÓTH, Világi igazgatás.

<sup>50</sup> BATTENBERG, Achtbuch; BATTENBERG, Hofrichter; BATTENBERG, Gerichtsschreiberamt; BATTENBERG, Konrad von Weinsberg; ERKENS, Kanzlei Sigismunds; HECKMANN, Stellvertreter; HEINIG, Reichsstädte; MORAW, Hofgericht; MORAW, Noch einmal; MORAW, Wesenzüge; MORAW, Von offener Verfassung; MORAW, Königliche Herrschaft; MORAW (ed.), Deutscher Königshof; WEFERS, Das politische System.

<sup>51</sup> MORAVEC, Zástavy.

<sup>52</sup> *Emperor Sigismund's Charters for Czech Recipients: Tradition and Innovation in Late Medieval Diplomacy* at the Masaryk University of Brno.

<sup>53</sup> The above mentioned *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*, currently run by the research team of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Institute and Museum of Military History, the University of Szeged and the National Archives of Hungary.

Mainz<sup>54</sup> and Vienna<sup>55</sup> focus(ed) on the collecting and/or editing of primary sources related to the Sigismund-era. The series of scholarly meetings dealing with the Luxembourg ruler started in July 1987 in Budapest on the occasion of the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Sigismund's coronation in Hungary and 550<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death,<sup>56</sup> and continued in Debrecen in 1997.<sup>57</sup> In the past ten years three exhibitions (2005 New York/Prague,<sup>58</sup> 2006 Budapest/Luxembourg;<sup>59</sup> 2014 Constance<sup>60</sup>) and five international conferences were dedicated to Sigismund (2005 Luxembourg,<sup>61</sup> 2007 Oradea<sup>62</sup> and Brno<sup>63</sup>) or to the Luxembourg dynasty (2012 Rome,<sup>64</sup> 2013 Heidelberg<sup>65</sup>). The related publications, i.e. conference volumes and catalogues, provide a general picture of Sigismund's time. The church councils have also remained in the focus of the international scholarly community's attention. In October 2009, the fifth event of the *Between Worlds* conference series of the University of Cluj-Napoca was dedicated to the council of Basel and the Union of Florence,<sup>66</sup> the 2011 fall meeting of the *Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte*<sup>67</sup> and a conference at the University of Debrecen (Hungary) in November 2014<sup>68</sup> to the council of Constance. On the occasion of "600 Years Council of Constance" a series of cultural and academic events takes place in the city in the years 2014–2018.

As this brief overview of the most important publications and scientific events illustrates, a great deal of work has been carried out on the rule of King and Emperor Sigismund. Nonetheless,

<sup>54</sup> Between 2004 and 2009 *Eberhard Windeck und sein 'Buch von Kaiser Sigmund'. Die Darstellung von Herrscher und Reich im früheren 15. Jahrhundert*, currently *Reichshistoriographie zwischen Heimatstadt und Königshof: Die Chronik des Eberhard Windeck aus Mainz* at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz.

<sup>55</sup> Between 2004 and 2008 *Sigismund, Kaiser im Reich, in Ungarn und in Böhmen*, between 2008 and 2012 *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrschaft und Netzwerke in drei Reichen*, since 2014 *Suche nach Machtausgleich: Sigismunds Politik 1414-1418* at the Institute of Medieval Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW Zentrum Mittelalterforschung, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Arbeitsgruppe Regesta Imperii) in Vienna.

<sup>56</sup> MACEK–MAROSI–SEIBT (eds.), *Sigismund*.

<sup>57</sup> *Sigismund's Era*. SCHMIDT–GUNST, *Zeitalter*

<sup>58</sup> Karl IV. Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden: Kunst und Repräsentation des Hauses Luxemburg 1310-1437. Catalogue FAJT (ed.). Karl.

<sup>59</sup> Sigimundus rex et imperator. Catalogue TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigimundus*.

<sup>60</sup> Das Konstanzer Konzil 1414–1418. Weltereignis des Mittelalters. Catalogue BADISCHES LANDESMUSEUM (ed.). Konstanzer Konzil (Katalog). Also BRAUN et al. (eds.), *Konstanzer Konzil* (Essays).

<sup>61</sup> UHRMACHER, Tagungsbericht; PAULY–REINERT (eds.), *Sigismund*.

<sup>62</sup> Sigismund de Luxemburg și timpul său. Some of the papers were published in MITSIOU MITSIOU et al. (eds.), *Emperor Sigismund*.

<sup>63</sup> Kaiser Sigismund (+1437) – Herrschaftspraxis, Urkunden und Rituale. Conference volume HRUZA–KAAR (eds.), *Kaiser Sigismund*; SCHENK, Tagungsbericht.

<sup>64</sup> Rom 1312. Die Kaiserkrönung Heinrichs VII. und die Folgen. Die Luxemburger als Herrscherdynastie von gesamteuropäischer Bedeutung / Roma 1312. L'incoronazione imperiale di Enrico VII e le sue conseguenze. Il significato europeo della dominazione dinastica.

<sup>65</sup> Helden, Heilige, Wüteriche. Verflochtene Herrschaftsstile im langen Jahrhundert der Luxemburger (1308-1437). Conference volume: BAUCH et al. (eds.), *Heilige*.

<sup>66</sup> The Union of Florence (1439-2009): Prequels, Aftermath and Impact.

<sup>67</sup> Das Konstanzer Konzil als europäisches Ereignis. Begegnungen, Medien und Rituale. SIGNORI–STUDT (eds.), *Das Konstanzer Konzil*. See also MÜLLER–HELMRATH (eds.), *Die Konzilien*.

<sup>68</sup> "Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris." 600<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Council of Constance. Conference volume: BÁRÁNY–PÓSÁN (eds.), *Causa unionis*.

there are still aspects, which have never been a matter of scholarly interest. One of these is the problem of the personal union. It is more than self-contradictory that while the “academic judgment,” according to which Sigismund was a ruler overwhelmed by his crowns, is not only dominant and deeply-rooted in all (i.e. German, Hungarian and Czech) national historiographies but basically undisputed, the very direct consequences of the establishment of the personal union and the principal features of the dual monarchy have never been researched. The complexity of Sigismund’s rule as well as the compound nature of his tasks and duties seems to be persistently overlooked, the personal and “institutional” entanglements and interactions between independent administrative systems have never been studied explicitly.<sup>69</sup>

One reason of this discrepancy is the major difficulties historians face while doing research on this topic. To quote Ansgar Frenken again:

Doing research on the Emperor who was King of Hungary and Bohemia at the same time requires extensive language skills: Latin, German, Hungarian, Czech, Polish and more. Sigmund, being himself polyglot and fluent in six languages, has left a legacy which scholars can handle only with difficulty and the greatest persistence. Besides, the corpus of primary sources is unmanageable, the archives are scattered – certainly another reason why research has stayed well clear of this late medieval ruler.<sup>70</sup>

Frenken’s description is a very appropriate explanation of the phenomenon of why – except for a few recent attempts – historical scholarship predominantly dealt with Sigismund’s reign on the level of national historiographies and Hungarian, Czech and German medievalists generally fail(ed) to take a comparative approach or place their questions in all-European context. Hungarian scholars, for instance, consider other parts of Europe only in topics related to art history, Dalmatia, Poland and the Teutonic Order, the Ottomans or the schism. The comparative approach, however, is also missing from the German and Czech Sigismund-historiography. As a direct result of this academic attitude, influences and interactions between different administrative and political systems remain obscure. Moreover, at times, it is even impossible to recognize problematic research issues at all. Thus, the image of Sigismund’s rule and its aspects presented by the scholarship is often incomplete or biased.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> “Urkunden und Briefe König Sigismunds sind in großer Masse in den Regesten von Wilhelm Altmann gesammelt. Freilich mit schlimmen Lücken. Die Urkunden, die Sigismund als ungarischer König ausgestellt hat, fehlen, und das gibt für die Politik dieses gerade durch seine Doppelstellung als ungarischer und deutscher König charakterisierten Herrschers von vornherein ein falsches Bild und beraubt zugleich eine Diplomatie seiner Kanzlei des ihr notwendigen allgemeinen Überblicks.” HEIMPEL, *Aus der Kanzlei* 112.

<sup>70</sup> FRENKEN, *Rezension*.

<sup>71</sup> C.f. with KINTZINGER, *Westbindungen* 11.: “Seine Politik in Westeuropa zu untersuchen heißt also nicht, einen Teil aus dem Ganzen herauszubringen.” Another problem is the lack of cooperation and collaboration between the scholars from different countries. “Publikationen ungarischer wie tschechischer Provenienz [...] wurden außerhalb der eigenen Grenzen kaum zur Kenntnis genommen – und das nicht allein aus sprachlichen Gründen.” FRENKEN, *Rezension*.

### I.1.2. Research Questions and Methodology

The present dissertation aims at investigating exactly the above mentioned “neglected” aspects of Sigismund’s reign, analyzing how this composite state-complex was unified in the person of Sigismund, or, more precisely, how the personal union was functioning on the highest level(s) of administration and politics. I intended to study the rule of Sigismund of Luxembourg as Hungarian *and* German king in all its *complexity*, approaching the topic from the ruler’s perspective, a ruler who considered himself the monarch of not one but two, and later three realms.

The documents issued by Hungarian royal chanceries represent written evidence of administrative and governmental changes made after Sigismund had received the German crown. Thus, the chapter following this introductory one on historiography (I.1.), on the Luxembourg dynasty and Sigismund’s way to the Hungarian and German throne (I.2.) is dedicated to diplomatics. After sketching the main features of the fifteenth-century curial, i.e. central or royal chancery production in the Kingdom of Hungary (II.1), the research turns to the special characteristics of the dual administration (II.2.). In the first part of this subchapter I analyzed questions how the charters mirror Sigismund’s new “position” and what changes his German election generated in the Hungarian chancery practice (II.2.1.), while the second part focuses on Sigismund’s imperial chancery and the problem of handling imperial issues in the first months of the personal union (II.2.1.2., II.2.2.).

The third chapter is dedicated to the study of the administration and the analysis of the question how administrative-governmental decisions were taken at the travelling court and in the lands. It is important to note here that I studied the administrative processes taking place *at* the royal court or royal seat, which comprise decision making and the issuing of the related documents. I did not track, however, how these decisions – be it financial, judicial or political – were executed and implemented all around the kingdoms. After identifying the actors (vicars, high dignitaries, counsellors, lords or lower-ranked experts) who were involved in administrative-governmental activities (III.1.) the structure of the royal court (III.2.1.) and the functioning of the royal council was studied (III.2.2.). A subchapter also gives an overview of the judicial system and central judicial courts (III.2.3.). The crucial research questions here were at which points Hungarian and imperial element came together, if at all? How did they co-exist or merge, did they influence each other? Regarding the problem of the ruler’s substitution, to which extent did Sigismund let other persons exercise royal rights, who were these persons or groups? Which issues did he still consider royal prerogatives when he was absent from his realms?

The fourth chapter deals with the “spatial characteristics” of the administration – an aspect of my investigations, which is related to certain themes of *Residenzen-* and *Hofforschung* as well as

to that of urban history. Which settlements and towns functioned temporarily or continuously as administrative centers in the Hungarian kingdom and in the Empire? In the case of permanent centers to what extent did the notion of royal residence and capital coincide, and how did this change over time? What kind of expectations did Sigismund raise towards those towns to which he allotted special roles in his governmental system and how did these settlements profit from this special status? Is it possible to trace any similarities or differences between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Empire in this respect?

As Hoensch formulated, Sigismund was a ruler “at the threshold of the early modern age.” To conclude the results of the analysis performed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, I tried to answer the the question, to what extent Sigismund’s means of governing and administrative decisions can be considered medieval or modern, whether his political-diplomatic actions were motivated by a universalist view of the Holy Roman Emperor or by Luxembourg dynastic interests. (V.1.) Finally, since a headline target of my research was to see how this composite state was functioning as a whole, in chapter V.2. I identified the administrative characteristics which made this personal union more than an incidental side by side existence of two political units.

At the end of this introduction to Sigismund-historiography and to the objectives of the thesis, it is necessary to dedicate some words on thematic and chronological limitations of the subject. My studies focused on the problem how Sigismund’s lands were governed and administered – either when he resided in his realms and had the opportunity to rule “directly”, or when he left for abroad and he was on the road. Due to this special focus, I did not deal with issues of ecclesiastical history and questions related to the council of Constance; neither did I aim at presenting a political history or a summary of diplomatic events of the 1410s.

It is also the focus on the administrative aspect why I chose dominantly charters as my source basis, i.e. documents issued by King Sigismund, his high dignitaries or administrative bodies. “The form of a document reveals and perpetuates the function it serves. ... Therefore, the analysis of documentary forms permits an understanding of administrative actions and the functions generating them,” as Luciana Duranti explains.<sup>72</sup> Since in the reconstruction of the administrative practice not so much the content, but rather the external diplomatic features (seal, chancery notes, corroboration formulas) are helpful,<sup>73</sup> consulting (the) originals was indispensable. In this sense the medieval collection of the Hungarian National Archives (MNL OL) is extremely valuable: the

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<sup>72</sup> DURANTI, *Diplomatics* 6.

<sup>73</sup> E.g. SPANGENBERG, *Kanzleivermerke*; SZENTPÉTERY, *Kancelláriai jegyzetek*; BÓNIS, *Kúriai irodák*.

relevant Hungarian archive material is stored at one place<sup>74</sup> and thanks to the high quality digital photos published on the internet it is easily accessible and researchable.<sup>75</sup> From the years 1410–1419 the archives preserves about 15 000 original (DL-signatures) or photographed (DF-signatures) charters.<sup>76</sup> Approximately 5500 of these are royal charters, i.e. documents issued in Sigismund's name, either by himself or by an administrative or judicial body; the rest was issued by Queen Barbara, royal dignitaries and the *loca credibilia*. Besides, a number of Hungarian source editions are online in the Digital Library of Medieval Hungary.<sup>77</sup>

Accessing the archive material related to Sigismund's rule in the Holy Roman Empire is more difficult. In this case there is no such central collection as that of the Hungarian National Archives and only a few German institutions have online databases of the stored documents or scanned repertoria. Thus, when the research does not focus on one particular aspect or territory but requires a general overview of the archive material the work on which one can rely on is still Wilhelm Altmann's regesta-volume.<sup>78</sup> Apart from that the online portal *Monasterium.net* provides access to archive collections of more than sixty institutions all over Europe; still, regarding whole Sigismund-corpus it is incidental which document is available in a digitized form.<sup>79</sup> The situation is much better in terms of digitized source editions as most of the fundamental works are accessible online on sites such as that of the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ),<sup>80</sup> Centre for Medieval Studies (Centrum medievistických studií, CMS),<sup>81</sup> Regesta Imperii,<sup>82</sup> Monumenta Germaniae Historia<sup>83</sup> etc. Narrative sources were taken into consideration occasionally, the two most important works to be mentioned here is of course Eberhard Windecke's *Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmunds* and Ulrich von Richental's chronicle of the Council of Constance.

The quantity of primary sources (and relevant secondary literature) necessitated limiting the timeframe of the research. Due to thematic as well as methodological reasons I decided for the period of 1410–1419. Thematically, 1419 can be considered a caesura in Sigismund's reign: after having spent six years in Western Europe, he returned to Hungary in February 1419 and except for

<sup>74</sup> State Archives of the Hungarian National Archives (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára). MNL OL DL (1109–1526) 108 030 pieces, MNL OL DF (eleventh century–1526) 90 930 pieces. On the collection see BORSA, *Medievalisztika*; BORSA, *Mohács*; BORSA, *MNL OL DL*.

<sup>75</sup> <http://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/search/>; RÁCZ, *Collectio Diplomatica*.

<sup>76</sup> Hungarian diplomatics do not reduce the term “charter” to solemn privileges granting rights but applies it for all the documents recording legal act issued before 1526.

<sup>77</sup> [http://mol.arcanum.hu/medieval/opt/a101101.htm?v=pdf&a=start\\_f](http://mol.arcanum.hu/medieval/opt/a101101.htm?v=pdf&a=start_f) ; RÁCZ, *Ismertetés*.

<sup>78</sup> Supplement RI XI Neubearb. vols. I–III.

<sup>79</sup> <http://monasterium.net/mom/home>

<sup>80</sup> <http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/>

<sup>81</sup> <http://cms.flu.cas.cz/en.html>

<sup>82</sup> <http://www.regesta-imperii.de/startseite.html>

<sup>83</sup> <http://www.dmgh.de/>



campaigns of a few months in Bohemia in the 1420s he resided there until August 1430. At the same time, with Wenceslas' death the Bohemian affairs got more into the focus of Sigismund's attention than ever before. As for methodological considerations, this ten-year-period facilitates the identification of long-term changes and the description of large-scale processes without running the risk of being overwhelmed by (tens of) thousands of documents.

The final introductory remarks which must be made here concern terminology. I used the word charter in a general sense referring to different types of legal documents issued by medieval writing organs including diplomas, mandates, papal bulls etc. In the thesis the expressions "Hungarian" and "German" are of course not used in an ethnic-national but in a strictly political-administrative sense. With these adjectives I designate whether the person, institution, phenomenon etc. in question belonged to or was the part or characteristic of the administrative system of the Kingdom of Hungary or the Holy Roman Empire. As for place names, unless there is an English form (e.g. Cologne, Prague) I used the version which corresponds to the medieval geopolitical situation on the first place followed by other medieval and/or the modern names in parenthesis, e.g. Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava), Uherský Brod (Ungarisch Brod, Magyarbród).

## **1.2. The Luxembourg Lion and its Share in Late-Medieval Europe (A Historical Introduction)**

### **1.2.1. The Luxembourg Dynasty and East-Central-Europe**

Melusine, the daughter of Pressyne and King Elynas of Albany, was the fairy Queen of the forest of Colombiers in the French region of Poitou. One day, she and two of her maids were guarding the sacred fountain when a young man, Raymond of Poitiers, who was wandering desperately through the woods after having killed his uncle in a hunting accident, burst out of the forest. Raymond was enchanted by Melusine's beauty; they spent the night talking to each other, and by dawn they were betrothed, but with one condition. Melusine requested Raymond to promise that he would never see her on a Saturday. He agreed, and they were married. Melusine brought her husband great wealth and prosperity. She built the fortress of Lusignan, and over time many other castles, fortresses, churches, towers and towns throughout the region – each of them so quickly, that it appeared to be made by magic.

Melusine and Raymond had ten children. Nonetheless, each child was flawed: the eldest had one red eye and one blue eye, the next had an ear larger than the other, another had a lion's foot growing from his cheek, and another had but one eye. The sixth son was known as Geoffrey with the Great Tooth, as he had a very large tooth. Yet, in spite of their deformities, the children were strong, talented and loved throughout the land.

One day, Raymond's brother visited him and made Raymond very suspicious about the Saturday activities of his wife. So the next Saturday, he spied on Melusine through a crack in her bath's door and he was horrified to see that Melusine's body from her waist down had changed to the tail of a serpent. Nonetheless, Raymond said nothing until the day their son, Geoffrey with the Great Tooth, attacked a monastery and killed one hundred

monks, including one of his brothers. After this tragedy Raymond accused Melusine of contaminating his line with her serpent nature; and thus he revealed that he had broken his promise to her.

As a result, Melusine turned into a fifteen-foot serpent, circled the castle three times, wailing piteously, and then flew away. Raymond was never happy again and Melusine appeared at the castle, wailing, whenever a count of Lusignan was about to die or a new one to be born. It was said that the noble line which originated from Melusine would reign until the end of the world. Her children included the King of Cyprus, the King of Armenia, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Luxembourg, and the Lord of Lusignan.<sup>84</sup>

The legend of Melusine was first chronicled by Gervase of Tilbury in his *Otia Imperialia* in 1211. The perhaps most important medieval version of the story comes from fourteenth-century France and it was recorded in a romance written by Jean d'Arras at the request of Duke John of Berry.<sup>85</sup> The passage above summarizes the myth in the form, in which it can be read in this romance. Nonetheless, in the Middle Ages the story was extremely popular not only in northern France, but also in the Low Countries. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that when Siegfried (or Sigefroy), the Count of the Ardennes and the Moselgau, seized the Bock of Luxembourg (*Lucilinburhuc*, Lützelburg) from St. Maximin's Abbey in Trier in exchange for certain lands in the neighbourhood of Feulen in 963,<sup>86</sup> his name became connected with the local version of the Melusine-tale. In these parts of Europe he was Raymond, the castle of Luxembourg was the fortress of Lusignan and Melusine was a mermaid. The legend of Melusine became the founding myth of Luxembourg.<sup>87</sup>

Two centuries later Theobald, the Count of Bar (1158–1214), in fact Siegfried's distant relative,<sup>88</sup> took the ten-year-old Ermesinde of Namur (1186–1247), the daughter of Count Henry IV's of Luxembourg, his third wife.<sup>89</sup> (**Appendix 1**) The rise of the family to a European dynasty started with Henry V (or Henry the Blond, 1216–1281), who was Ermesinde's son from her second husband, Waleran III of Limburg.<sup>90</sup> The coat of arms Henry V introduced was a symbol of his double origin: the shield was divided horizontally into ten silver and blue parts (Luxembourg) bearing a red-tailed lion with golden claws, teeth, tongue and crown (Limburg).<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Based on FOUBISTER, The Story of Melusine.

<sup>85</sup> JEAN D'ARRAS, Melusine (old English translation).

<sup>86</sup> HOENSCH, Die Luxemburger 11.

<sup>87</sup> PÉPORTÉ, Constructing.

<sup>88</sup> Theobald was a descendant of Frederick I, the Count of Bar and Duke of Upper Lorraine, who was Siegfried's (half-) brother. Their mother was Cunigunda, Siegfried's father is uncertain.

<sup>89</sup> Ermesinde was the only child of Count Henry IV of Namur-Luxembourg.

<sup>90</sup> Henry V's wife was actually Theobald's granddaughter, Margaret of Bar. Her father was Henry II, Theobald's son from his second marriage with another Ermesinde, Ermesinde of Bar-sur-Seine.

<sup>91</sup> Although Henry VI (1240–1288) changed the coat of arms by doubling the lion's tail and passing it in saltire, Henry VII readopted his grandfather's version.



**Image 1: Coat of Arms of Henry V, Count of Luxembourg**

By the end of his rule Henry V exercised sovereignty over an extended territory between the rivers of Maas and Mosel,<sup>92</sup> and although both of his sons (Henry VI and Waleran I) died in the battle of Worringen in 1288, the dynastic succession was basically undisturbed until 1437. What's more, in 1308 Henry VII became the first Holy Roman Emperor from the House of Luxembourg.<sup>93</sup> Two years later his son John the Blind, by that time Count of Luxembourg, was enfeoffed with Bohemia and married the fourteen-year-old Elisabeth of Přemyslid. "This acquisition [of Bohemia] brought a new territorial basis, an electorate as well as promising opportunities in Central-Europe for the house of Luxembourg," wrote Michel Pauly.<sup>94</sup> Indeed, John the Blind – although he himself never became Emperor – was extremely active in terms of stabilizing and expanding the power of the dynasty on the continent.<sup>95</sup> On the initiative of Pope Clement VI his first-born son, Wenceslas-Charles, was elected to the German throne in opposition to Emperor Louis IV of Bavaria in July 1346. Wenceslas, similarly to his father and his grandfather, grew up in the French court; it was also there that – on the occasion of his confirmation – he took the name Charles. During his reign the Luxembourg lands reached their greatest extension in the West: his half-brother, also named Wenceslas, married Joanna of Brabant and Limburg in 1352, in 1354 he got Luxembourg, La Roche, Durbuy and Arlon as imperial fief (*geeintes Reichslehen*), in 1364 he seized the County of Chiny and in 1378 the territories around the castle of Schönecken.<sup>96</sup> Nonetheless, by that time it was

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<sup>92</sup> For details see PAULY, Luxembourg 32–33.

<sup>93</sup> He was crowned in Aachen on 6<sup>th</sup> January 1311, in Rome on 29<sup>th</sup> June 1312.

<sup>94</sup> PAULY, Luxembourg 37.

<sup>95</sup> First and foremost with marriage contracts; thirty-six of his plans concerned close relatives. PAULY, Luxembourg 38.

<sup>96</sup> PAULY, Luxembourg 27-44. Since no child was born from the marriage, in 1357 Charles and his successors were acknowledged as heirs of Limburg and Brabant. HOENSCH, Die Luxemburger 138.

already Central-Europe which stood in the focus of the Luxembourg politics: Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Brandenburg, Poland and Hungary.

In 1318 or 1319 Beatrix, John the Blind's sister, married Charles I of Hungary; unfortunately, she died within a year while giving birth to their first child.<sup>97</sup> Charles' next and last wife came from the Polish Piast family: Elisabeth was King Casimir III's sister. The royal couple had an uncertain number of children – five or six sons and one or two daughters –, from whom Louis became the heir of the Hungarian crown in 1342. Since Casimir of Poland had only daughters (moreover, the legitimacy of the last three of them was anyway disputed), he was also succeeded by his nephew Louis on the Polish throne. Thus, between 1370 and 1382 the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Poland were unified under the rule of Louis of Anjou of Hungary. In such a situation it was crucial for the Luxembourg dynasty to get into family relation with the Hungarian Anjous, if they wanted to gain substantial influence in East-Central Europe.

Louis' Polish succession was definitely not a surprise, as Casimir and Charles I of Hungary made their first pact already in 1339.<sup>98</sup> But neither Charles IV was just sitting on his laurels: in 1345 he managed to marry his ten-year-old first-born daughter Margaret to the nineteen-year old Louis of Anjou; yet, four years later the girl died. The Emperor, however, got on with his efforts. His third wife, Anna of Schweidnitz (married in 1353), was perhaps Charles of Anjou's granddaughter,<sup>99</sup> while the fourth, Elisabeth of Pomerania (oo 1363), was surely that of Casimir the Great. In 1366 Charles IV engaged his first-born son Wenceslas with Louis the Great's niece Elisabeth,<sup>100</sup> about which he informed the Gonzaga family in letter dated from the 10<sup>th</sup> May from Vienna as follows: *Wenzeslaus rex Boemie filius noster ab hodierna die ad quatuor septimanas cum nepte regis Ungarie matrimonium contrahet et tunc etiam cum ea condormibit et regnum Ungarie ad eorum heredes devolvetur.*<sup>101</sup> Nonetheless, the planned covenant has never become reality: four years later (1370) Wenceslas married Joanna of Bavaria, Elisabeth became the wife of Prince Philip II of Taranto. It should also be noted that even if Wenceslas' and Elisabeth's marriage had taken place, by that time Louis was most probably willing to declare not his niece but Charles III of Durazzo as his heir. And Charles IV did not miss this chance either: he betrothed his daughter Anna with Charles of Durazzo in 1368. This betrothal was dissolved in 1369.

<sup>97</sup> KRISTÓ, Károly Róbert 22. It's debated whether she was his second or third wife.

<sup>98</sup> It was renewed in 1355.

<sup>99</sup> KRISTÓ, Károly Róbert 25. Stanisław Sroka rejects this idea, Pál Engel considered it possible that Caroberto had a daughter named Catherine and she was Anna's mother.

<sup>100</sup> Elisabeth of Slavonia, daughter of Duke Stephen and Margaret of Bavaria. She was also engaged to Jobst and Albert III of Habsburg. On 20<sup>th</sup> October 1370 she finally married Philip II of Taranto.

<sup>101</sup> RI VIII/4313.

The situation fundamentally changed when Louis of Anjou's and Queen Elisabeth's daughters – Catherine, Mary and Hedwig – were born in the first half of the 1370s. Since Charles' older son, Wenceslas, had already married Joanna of Bavaria in 1370, it was his second-born son, Sigismund, who could represent the Luxembourg dynastic interests in Hungary and Poland. Sigismund was born on 14<sup>th</sup> February 1368 in Prague from the Emperor's fourth marriage with Elisabeth of Pomerania. Although he was engaged with Catherine, the youngest daughter of Burgrave Frederick V of Nuremberg, Charles started negotiations with the Hungarian king in 1372 about Sigismund's marriage to one of the Angevin princesses. Louis gave his consent to the plan and in the very same year he indeed assured the Emperor to marry one of his daughters to the Luxembourg youngster. On 21<sup>st</sup> June 1373 Louis issued a charter in which he solemnly promised to apply for papal dispensation concerning Sigismund's and Mary's marriage.<sup>102</sup> The papal dispensation was publicly announced in December 1374,<sup>103</sup> the marriage contract was signed on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1375. In the meantime Charles IV dissolved Sigismund's betrothal to Catherine of Nuremberg; yet, in order to compensate Frederick he gave his consent to the engagement of his youngest daughter, Margaret (born in 1373), with John III, the burgrave's older son.<sup>104</sup>

Charles' dynastic efforts and Sigismund's way to the Hungarian throne was also recorded by Eberhard Windecke, a merchant from Mainz and the chronicler of Sigismund's life:

Emperor Charles, the King of Bohemia ... left the Kingdom of Bohemia to his son, Wenceslas; furthermore, by pledging and donating certain imperial cities and incomes he assured that the seven German prince electors accepted Wenceslas as his heir in the kingdom of the Roman Crown as well. ... He also ordered that his other son, Prince John, should inherit the provinces of Schweidnitz, Görlitz and Lausitz. ... The King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor left the Moravian territories to his nephews, Margrave Jobst and his brother, Procop, while Wenceslas, his own younger brother got Brabant. ... Then he took his [other] son, Sigismund, to Brandenburg, where all the lords, cities and subjects had to promise and take an oath on the saints that they would accept Lord Sigismund as their margrave, they would treat him like that, they would obey him and they would never be disloyal to him, no matter what kind of a verbal or written offer might be made to them. ... Then, the Emperor brought Sigismund to Hungary and in Pressburg he presented him to Louis, who was ruling this kingdom by that time. And this Louis decided to marry his daughter Mary to Sigismund. That is how Sigismund seized the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>105</sup>

For quite a while, however, it was not certain that Charles IV's plans would have the political-dynastic effect he wished for. Louis was not at all in a hurry to decide over the issues of succession

<sup>102</sup> WENZEL (ed.), Anjou III. 53, nr. 49.

<sup>103</sup> *Mon. Vat.* IV/1. 509–510, nr. 899; RI VIII/14 and *Mon. Vat.* IV/1. 513–514, nr. 903.

<sup>104</sup> It was not the first time when Charles IV changed his mind regarding the future consorts of his children – in 1365 he broke off the engagement between Wenceslas and Frederick's older daughter Elisabeth. Thus, for this time Frederick was promised a recompensation of 100 000 gulden for the case the marriage between Wenceslas and Catherine would not come off. It seems that at the end the burgrave relinquished the recompensation.

<sup>105</sup> WINDECKE, *Denkwürdigkeiten* 4. (Author's translation.)

and his eldest daughter, Catherine, was the fiancée of Duke Louis of Orléans, the second son of Charles V of France, since 1374. Yet, Catherine died in 1378 and a year later, in 1379, Mary was betrothed to Sigismund in Trnava (Nagyszombat). In the same year Sigismund arrived in Hungary to be educated in the Angevin court, and shortly before his death (1382) Louis took the oath of the Polish aristocrats in Zvolen (Zólyom) that they would accept Sigismund as their future king.

Nevertheless, after Louis' death his widow Elisabeth had a dominant influence in Hungarian politics and she was not willing to see her daughter at Sigismund's side.<sup>106</sup> Although the wedding finally took place in October 1385,<sup>107</sup> right after, instead of being crowned, the new husband had to flee to Bohemia.<sup>108</sup> Until late 1386 Sigismund did not refer to his Hungarian role in his *intitulatio* at all,<sup>109</sup> and he started to use the title *regni Hungarie capitaneus et antecessor* or *regni Hungarie capitaneus et dominus*<sup>110</sup> only from the end of November, after he returned to Hungary. He was crowned on 31<sup>st</sup> March 1387, but it was not before 1403 that he managed to get rid of the unwished and distressing control of the Hungarian magnates.<sup>111</sup>

### 1.2.2. Sigismund's Election as King of the Romans in 1410/1411

As a newcomer representing a foreign dynasty Sigismund's way to the Hungarian throne and the first fifteen years of his rule was not an easy ride at all. He was fighting many battles – in concrete and abstract sense as well –, he sacrificed a lot, but finally he reached his aim: by 1410 his position in the Kingdom of Hungary was stable and undisputed. In that year

... King Rupert, the Prince of Heidelberg, died. So the price electors got together on the day of St. Bartholomew to elect the new king. John, the archbishop of Mainz and prince of Nassau, Archbishop Frederick of Cologne and Jobst the Bearded decided for [Jobst,] the margrave of Moravia. The archbishop of Trier, Count Louis of Heidelberg – who was Rupert's son –, and Prince Albert<sup>112</sup> of Saxony voted for the Hungarian King Sigismund, at the same time also margrave of Brandenburg. Then His Majesty [i.e. Sigismund] sent legates to his uncle Jobst to inquire, if he was intended to set off for Frankfurt in order to start administering the Holy Roman Empire. He replied that he accepted the Roman [German] royal title and he was willing to march to Frankfurt. ... In the meantime, however, by the Lord's will Margrave Jobst died; anyway, he was said to be a great liar... After his

<sup>106</sup> On marriage plans with French royals see CSERNUS, Zsigmond és a Hunyadiak 51-56.

<sup>107</sup> ZsO I/559, 560.

<sup>108</sup> According to HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 56 as *regni hungarie tutor*. Nonetheless, I have not found such a title in the charters preserved in the Hungarian National Archives.

<sup>109</sup> *Marchio brandenburgensis sacri romani imperii archicamerarius*, in the German documents *marggraf zu Brandenburg des heyligen Romischen Reichs Erczkamerer*, for e.g. MNL OL DF 239 058, 239 059.

<sup>110</sup> MNL OL DL 7226, 7234, 77942 .

<sup>111</sup> ENGEL, Ozorai Pipo 118–119, 124. On the political situation in the years 1382–1387 see MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 7–26; SÜTTÖ, Dynastiewechsel.

<sup>112</sup> Correctly Rudolf.

death the Archbishops John of Mainz and Frederick of Cologne also gave their vote to him [i.e. Sigismund].<sup>113</sup>

Windecke's account quoted above presents the events of 1410/1411 in an impressive, though simplified and thus inaccurate form. Most importantly he did not pay attention to the preparatory diplomatic steps and negotiations which give insight to the political situation and power relations of the Empire. These conditions had direct effect on Sigismund's position as King of the Romans, they considerably limited the margins for manoeuvre and ultimately determined the ways of ruling and administering the realm. Therefore, the analysis of the following pages do not stand only as a (more) detailed description of Sigismund's way to the German throne but also as a brief overview of political circumstances.<sup>114</sup>

After Rupert had died on 18<sup>th</sup> May 1410 in the castle of Landskron the prince electors split into three camps. Wenceslas of Bohemia, Rudolf of Saxony and Margrave Jobst of Moravia (the latter claimed the Brandenburgian vote for himself<sup>115</sup>) did not want to have a new election at all, saying that Wenceslas was still the legitimate German King.<sup>116</sup> Archbishop Werner of Trier and Louis, count palatine of the Rhine, adherents of Pope Gregory XII, supported Sigismund,<sup>117</sup> while the Archbishops John of Mainz and Frederick of Cologne – the Pisan Popes' (Alexander V and John XXIII) imperial proponents – started intense diplomatic activities. First, they sent Count Emich of Leiningen to King Henry IV of England, and offered him or his son the German crown. Yet, the king, being the Count Palatine's father-in-law, rejected the offer.<sup>118</sup> Soon after, in July or August, Count Emich's and Margrave Bernard of Baden's envoys travelled to Visegrád,<sup>119</sup> where they conducted unsuccessful negotiations with Sigismund's plenipotentiary, Burgrave Frederick VI of Nuremberg.<sup>120</sup> Apart from this, the Rhine-prelates apparently got in contact with the French royal house, too. According to a document, which was compiled at the court of Count Palatine Louis and published by Joachim Leuschner in 1954, the French offered Bernard 50 000 francs, in case he

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<sup>113</sup> WINDECKE, *Denkwürdigkeiten* 9–10. (Author's translation)

<sup>114</sup> Secondary literature on the election i.a. BÜTTNER, *Der Weg zur Krone II.* 477-521; HOENSCH, *Kaiser Sigismund* 148-161; KAUFMANN, *Die Wahl Sigmunds*; LEUSCHNER, *Wahlpolitik*; SCHROHE, *Wahl*; SCHROLLER, *Wahl*; WEFERS, *Das politische System* 5-33; EBERHARD, *Ludwig* 12-23; QUIDDE, *König Sigmund*; BRANDENBURG, *Sigmund und Friedrich*, esp. 201-207.

<sup>115</sup> Lawfully it was indeed Jobst's right to vote, SCHROLLER, *Wahl* 25–28; LEUSCHNER, *Wahlpolitik* 527–528.

<sup>116</sup> The Rhine electors declared Wenceslas deposed on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1400.

<sup>117</sup> The prince elector of Pfalz was not really in the position of becoming a German king, see MORAW, *Pfalzgrafschaft* 92.

<sup>118</sup> LEUSCHNER, *Wahlpolitik* 57. Emich's mission is also mentioned in two documents dated from the 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1423 and 4<sup>th</sup> December 1423, see EBERHARD, *Ludwig* 13, 167-168. The elector of Cologne was the vassal of Henry IV of England, EBERHARD, *Ludwig* 14, n.7.

<sup>119</sup> In the Kingdom of Hungary; Daldrup's spelling Višegrád is a mix of the Slavic (Vyšehrad, Višegrad) and the Hungarian (Visegrád) forms. On Margrave Berhard see KRIEG, *König Sigismund*.

<sup>120</sup> Recently DALDRUP, *Zwischen König und Reich* 77–86. According to BAUM, *Kaiser Sigismund* 81, on 7<sup>th</sup> July it was already known in Buda that the archbishops' envoys were on their way to Hungary.

would be able to get the two electoral votes for the French king (*ime weren zu Franckenrich funfzigthusent cronen darum werden, wolt er dir zwo stimme an die Fratzosen gewant han*).<sup>121</sup> Nonetheless, the archbishop of Cologne later denied that he had known anything about such a diplomatic mission (*da sprach der bischof von Colle of den eid, den er dem riche geschworn hette, er wiste nichts davon*).

Turning to Sigismund's candidacy there are two sources giving an account of the above-mentioned meeting in Visegrád: the *Chronica pontificum et imperatorum Romanorum* written by Andreas of Regensburg<sup>122</sup> and the "Leuschner-document", which describes the events of the election in Frankfurt in September 1410.<sup>123</sup> According to the chronicler of Regensburg, after Rupert's death the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne invited Sigismund to the German throne (*electores duo scilicet archiepiscopi Moguntinensis et Coloniensis secreta quomodo Sigismundum regem Ungarie ... ad suscipiendum regnum Romanorum per internuncia invitarunt*) but the negotiations in Visegrád (*in castro Ungarie Vicegradu, volgariter Plintenburg dicto*) were fruitless. The reason of the failure was that Sigismund did not want to pay the remuneration asked by the two electors (*remuneracionem ... duorum dictorum electorum quam petebant relinquens in suspensio*), nor he wanted to get in conflict with Wenceslas or Jobst. Moreover, he found it also problematic to convince the other electors, i.e. Werner of Trier and Louis of Pfalz, about his election.<sup>124</sup> Therefore, the envoys of the Rhine prelates turned to Jobst, who accepted the conditions, as a result of which the margrave was elected as a German king in Frankfurt on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1410. When the events took this – for Sigismund inconvenient – turn, Burgrave Frederick of Nuremberg, who was also present in Frankfurt, asked for explanation at the electors. The two archbishops tried to clear themselves by stating that their envoy (*nuncius*), Ulrich Meylär, i.e. Ulrich Meiger of Waseneck,<sup>125</sup> had not been acting according to their instructions in Visegrád (*ipsi duo electores dicerent aliter quam habuisset in mandatis apud Sigismundum regem perorasset*). Meiger, however, showed his mandate (*litteras quas habuit ab iam dictis electoribus*) in the presence of an illustrious gathering (*in publica convencione principum*), thus giving testimony of the truth (*testimonium perhibuit veritatis*).

The document compiled at the Pfalz-court tells a similar story. Shortly before the election of 1410 the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne were not willing to clear their standpoint and

<sup>121</sup> LEUSCHNER, Wahlpolitik 549.

<sup>122</sup> Chron. Hus. 144–145. A detailed analysis by LEUSCHNER, Wahlpolitik 521–526; SCHROHE, Wahl 502–508.

<sup>123</sup> LEUSCHNER, Wahlpolitik 545–553. The document was either dictated by the count palatine or compiled by his counsellor, Job Vener (LEUSCHNER, Wahlpolitik 519; HEIMPEL, Die Vener von Gmünd I. 637–690.) See also RTA VII. 41–47, nr. 30.

<sup>124</sup> While the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne were the adherents of Pope Alexander V and then Pope John XXIII, the electors of Pfalz supported Pope Gregory XII.

<sup>125</sup> KAISER, Ulrich Meiger von Waseneck. Kaiser assumed that Andreas of Regensburg got his information directly from Ulrich Meiger.



acknowledge Sigismund's electoral right. Therefore, Frederick of Nuremberg organized a secret night meeting on 7<sup>th</sup> September 1410 with Margrave Bernard of Baden, Count Emich and Frederick of Cologne.<sup>126</sup> The author of the document says that previously the prelates had been keen on establishing a co-operation with the archbishop of Trier (!) and facilitating Sigismund's election in order to prevent Louis of Pfalz getting onto the German throne.<sup>127</sup> Therefore, [during the summer] the margrave and the count had contacted Sigismund in the name of the two archbishops by sending two envoys, *Ulrich Meyer* and then *Mischkow*,<sup>128</sup> to Hungary (*also hant der markgraf und grave Emiche mime herren dem kunige ... geschriben und enboten bi Ulrich Meyer, de markgraven schriber des erste[n und] darnach bi hern Mischkow, eime mins herren von Ungern erben ritter*). At the meeting in question, however, Frederick of Cologne denied that he had known about these diplomatic missions; so the envoys showed letters addressed to the Hungarian king and took an oath in order to prove their truth (*die boten, die das geworben hant, sint ... hie zu Frankfurd, die mir des gesten sollent; so sint auch die briefe hie, die sie mime herren dem kunige von dem margraven und graf Emichen bracht haben*).

What can be said for certain is that Emich and Bernard, most probably at the behest of Archbishop Frederick of Cologne,<sup>129</sup> perhaps on their own initiative, contacted Sigismund through envoys in the summer of 1410. Yet, the negotiations concerning the Hungarian king's election to the German throne in Visegrád failed, so the emissaries continued their way to Margrave Jobst.<sup>130</sup> But why did Sigismund – or rather Frederick of Nuremberg – reject the offer of the Rhine electors?

Very likely, the reason was lying in the prince electors' problematic relation to each other. In 1410 the ideal imperial ally for the Hungarian king was Louis of Pfalz.<sup>131</sup> According to the condition set by the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne for the case of Sigismund's election the new German king should have applied for papal approbation at Pope John XXIII and he should have asked the approval of the prince electors to appoint his vicar.<sup>132</sup> These restrictive measures were definitely unacceptable for the count palatine, who was eagerly supporting Pope Gregory XII and who was entitled to exercise vicarial rights in the absence of the king since 1375. Thus, Sigismund's

<sup>126</sup> C.f. with DALDRUP, *Zwischen König und Reich* 83.

<sup>127</sup> LEUSCHNER, *Wahlpolitik* 548–549.

<sup>128</sup> Perhaps Mikeš Jemništi who is mentioned in a charter from 1411 (ZsO III/754) as *strenuus miles* and *capitaneus Solensis*. ENGEL, *Királyi hatalom* 54. See also RI XI/392, 393, 536, 608.

<sup>129</sup> On the relation between the archbishop and the margrave see WEFERS, *Das politische System* 15.

<sup>130</sup> KAUFMANN, *Die Wahl Sigmunds* 45. No further details at ŠTĚPÁN, *Jošt* 667. either. See also BRANDENBURG, *Sigmund und Friedrich* 206–207.

<sup>131</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 9–19. On Louis' "alliance system" EBERHARD, *Ludwig* 11–12. Louis of Pfalz was Frederick of Nuremberg's nephew.

<sup>132</sup> EBERHARD, *Ludwig* 16, n. 4, 25.

consent to the archbishops' proposal would have caused a (perhaps final) break with Louis.<sup>133</sup> In that case, besides losing Louis' support Sigismund should have taken the risk that the electors of Pfalz and Trier eventually find a way of co-operation with the Eastern electors – Wenceslas (Bohemia), Rudolf (Saxony) and Jobst (Brandenburg) – as opposed to Sigismund and the Rhine-party.

Furthermore, by the time of the Visegrád meeting Pipo of Ozora was staying in Bologna at the court of Pope John XXIII. As a result of the negotiations conducted there some time between the 20<sup>th</sup> June and 3<sup>rd</sup> August<sup>134</sup> Pipo – and thus Sigismund – acknowledged John XXIII.<sup>135</sup> Gustav Beckmann supposed, and in my opinion with good reason, that the main issue of the Bologna consultations was the German election.<sup>136</sup> It is quite possible, since soon after the negotiations the Pope sent two of his legates, Hugo von Hervost and Nikolaus de Altronandis, to Germany to order the Rhein prelates to give their vote to Sigismund.<sup>137</sup> Moreover, Burgrave Frederick himself also got some news that the archbishops declared themselves to the Pope as willing to elect the King of Hungary: „*er [babst Johannes] doch ir briefe habe das sie [die zwen erzbischof von Colen und Mentze] den von Ungeren welen wolten, und haben von eins unwillen wegen das gelassen*”.<sup>138</sup> Taking these aspects into consideration it is possible that by the end of July Sigismund and Frederick were hoping to get the support of all three German prelates (Mainz, Cologne, Trier) and that of Louis of Pfalz at the election, without making a deal directly with John of Mainz and Frederick of Cologne.

Finally, we do not know whether or when the Hungarian court was informed about the Mainz-Cologne legation's intention to visit Jobst. There is no doubt, the offer made to the margrave considerably weakened Wenceslas' positions which, under certain circumstances, could have been advantageous for Sigismund. If Jobst and Wenceslas had landed in different “camps” (Jobst-Mainz-Cologne vs. Wenceslas-Saxony/-Trier-Pfalz/), Sigismund could have become the candidate of the majority of the electors.

<sup>133</sup> JANK, Trier 49–51. The negotiations with Louis started only after the envoys had already left Visegrád. SCHROHE, Wahl 503.

<sup>134</sup> HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 149; ZsO II/7802, 7807.

<sup>135</sup> ... *qui [Sigismundus], ut idem Pipo orator asserit, in nostra et ecclesia ac successorum nostrorum canonice inrantium Romanorum pontificum fidelitate, devotione ac obedientia permanere ... intendit. Vet. Mon. Hung. II. 186–187, nr. 345365. According to BAUM, Kaiser Sigismund 74 on 21<sup>st</sup> June (without source reference).*

<sup>136</sup> HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 562, n. 2; see also ENGEL, Zsigmond bárói.

<sup>137</sup> On 5th and 6th September they were in Frankfurt, RTA VII. 25–28, nr.12. On the papal order SCHROLLER, Wahl 13–14. See also KAUFMANN, Die Wahl Sigmunds 38; RTA VII. 52–53, n. 5. According to HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 149. Pope John XXIII tried to convince the archbishop of Trier as well; in the sources, however, I did not find traces of such an attempt.

<sup>138</sup> RTA VII. 52, nr. 36.

In this fluid situation Sigismund sent his election promises (*Wahlversprechen*) to the count palatine and archbishop of Trier at the beginning of August,<sup>139</sup> and on 20<sup>th</sup> September 1410 it came to his election in Frankfurt. Since Leuschner, Heimpel and recently Daldrup have already analysed the scenario in detail, and they also referred to the problem of Burgrave Frederick's presence in the city, we can turn directly to the results of the election: Louis of Pfalz, Werner of Trier and Frederick, who represented Sigismund as a Hungarian king and was voting in his name as the elector of Brandenburg, elected Sigismund. Soon after Count Louis, Archbishop Werner and Burgrave Frederick left Frankfurt; the latter perhaps convinced by the promise of the Rhine prelates that they would also give their consent to the result of the election.<sup>140</sup> Yet, in the meantime Wenceslas and Jobst agreed between themselves on the terms of the German succession and the latter accepted the conditions of the Rhine-party, as a result of which the plenipotentiaries of the Eastern electors<sup>141</sup> and the two archbishops elected Jobst on 1<sup>st</sup> October.

After this "spectacular and miserable election"<sup>142</sup> neither Jobst nor Sigismund grasped enthusiastically after the crown. From September to December 1410 Sigismund was on a campaign in Bosnia, so Frederick informed Nuremberg only on 14<sup>th</sup> December – after he had met the king in Đakovo – that Sigismund indeed accepted his election to the German throne.<sup>143</sup> Nonetheless, by that time Sigismund was still planning to encounter Jobst on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1411 in Buda in order to clear the situation.<sup>144</sup> Although a few days before the planned meeting he had asked for its postponement, at the end he managed to get at his residence in time. Jobst accepted the invitation but he made it clear in advance that he was not intending to give up his claim to the German throne. By the beginning of January, however, he was already seriously ill, so he could not travel to Hungary at all. Since Sigismund was not informed about the reason of Jobst's absence, he considered it as his cousin's tactical move and time wasting. Therefore, on 12<sup>th</sup> January he sent a letter to Werner of Trier telling him that he accepted the German crown and for the first time he used the title *von gots gnaden Romischer konig* in his *intitulatio*.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>139</sup> RTA VII. 19–23, nr. 8–10; RTA VII. 18–19, nr. 7. and 24–25, nr. 11. Although the last two documents do not mention any of the electors by name, they received an example of the election promises. Analysis EBERHARD, Ludwig 18–21. On *Wahlversprechen*, *Wahlkapitulation* and *Wahldekret* see KLEINHEYER, *Wahlkapitulationen* 6; HARTUNG, *Wahlkapitulationen*; MIETHKE, *Wahldekrete*.

<sup>140</sup> DALDRUP, *Zwischen König und Reich* 103; SCHROHE, *Wahl* 477, 480.

<sup>141</sup> It is argued, whether the Saxon elector voted at all, see DALDRUP, *Zwischen König und Reich* 104–108. The emissaries arrived on 28<sup>th</sup> September in Frankfurt.

<sup>142</sup> HOENSCH, *Die Luxemburger* 232.

<sup>143</sup> RTA VII. 52–53, nr. 36; RI XI/13e.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> RTA VII. 53–55, nr. 37; ŠTĚPÁN, *Jošt* 690–695. Sabine Wefers pointed out that the document was perhaps issued together with the other similar ones dated from 21st January (RTA VII. 55–59, nr. 38–41.). WEFERS, *Das politische System* 23, n. 10.

Jobst died on 18<sup>th</sup> January 1411 in Brno and three days later the news reached the Hungarian court as well.<sup>146</sup> In a few months' time not only Sigismund himself made a pact with Wenceslas<sup>147</sup> and sent the election promises to the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne<sup>148</sup> but also the archbishops of Mainz and Trier came to an agreement with each other.<sup>149</sup> Thus, after another unsuccessful attempt on 17<sup>th</sup> July, on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1411 Sigismund was elected a German king unanimously by the two Rhine-prelates and the plenipotentiaries of the Saxon, the Brandenburgian and the Czech elector. The envoys of Archbishop Werner of Trier and Count Palatine Louis, however, refused to give their vote in order to demonstrate that their lords considered the election of 1410 valid. Sigismund and his wife Barbara of Cilli were crowned in Aachen on 8<sup>th</sup> November 1414, but the new ruler's relationship with the prince electors, a dominant political factor in the Empire, remained far from being trouble-free.

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<sup>146</sup> RI XI/27.

<sup>147</sup> On 9<sup>th</sup> July, RTA VII. 102–106, nr. 63; HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 155–156.

<sup>148</sup> Sigismund hardly changed anything on the document issued by Jobst: RTA VII. 61–64, nr. 44. c.f. with RTA VII. 106–110, nr. 64 and 65.

<sup>149</sup> On 23<sup>th</sup> June 1411. DALDRUP, Zwischen König und Reich 118.

## II. The Personal Union in Charters

The German election soon had its effects on the political and administrative life of the Kingdom of Hungary. The focus of Sigismund's politics shifted and this resulted in recurring absences from the land – which was, in fact, by far not so disastrous or unmanageable as medievalists usually claim. The following chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the question, how the Hungarian royal charters reflect the administrative and governmental changes which took place after Sigismund had received the German crown. Although some scholars have already been dealing with the chanceries and their personnel,<sup>150</sup> these results need to be complemented by investigating further problems: how imperial issues were treated administratively in the first months after the election, how Sigismund's imperial chancery was set up and how administrative tasks were divided between the imperial and the two Hungarian royal chanceries.<sup>151</sup> On the next pages first and foremost the external elements of the charters will be examined (*intitulatio*, seals, language, chancery notes (or annotations), corroboration formulas, topical and chronological dates) in order to identify newly introduced diplomatic elements, to trace modifications in chancery practice and thus to reveal changes in administration itself.

### II.1. One King – One Land: Chancery Practice in the Kingdom of Hungary

Before turning to the changes that Sigismund's election to the German throne caused in the administrative and chancery practice of the Kingdom of Hungary, it is necessary to sketch the main features of the “system” itself. As the social, governmental and judicial structure of medieval Hungary was fundamentally different from the German or Western-European ones, it is not surprising that the administrative bodies and documents also had their own characteristics. Unfortunately, there are hardly any comprehensive works written but in Hungarian on the medieval judicial and administrative system of the kingdom.<sup>152</sup> Perhaps it is due to this lack of basic studies

<sup>150</sup> FORSTREITER, Kanzlei Sigmunds; ERKENS, Kanzlei Sigismunds; BÓNIS, Kúriai irodák; BÓNIS, Jogtudó; HAJNIK, Királyi könyvek; KUMOROVITZ, Audientia; KUMOROVITZ, Kápolnaispán; KUMOROVITZ, Specialis presentia; KUMOROVITZ, Pecséthasználat; KUMOROVITZ, Egyszerű- és titkospecsét; SZENTPÉTERY, Oklevéltan, SZENTPÉTERY, Kancelláriai jegyzetek.

<sup>151</sup> On the chancery system see below and **Appendix 3**, as well as KONDOR, Urkundenausstellung.

<sup>152</sup> Recently in English on customary law RADY, Customary law. On the central judicial system TIMÓN, Verfassungsgechichte 675–683; HAJNIK, Bírósági szervezet; BÉLI, Magyar jogtörténet. The last two works are available only in Hungarian, just like the numerous article on different aspects of medieval Hungarian legal history. On diplomatics in general SZENTPÉTERY, Oklevéltan; SZENTPÉTERY, Gegenwärtige. On the Hungarian chanceries in the time of Sigismund C. TÓTH, Hiteleshely 412–413, on earlier and later periods e.g. GYÖRFFY, Die Anfänge; GYÖRFFY, Chancellerie royale; KUBINYI, Királyi kancellária; KUBINYI, Adatok; KUMOROVITZ, Osztályok, címek; SZILÁGYI, Magyar kancellária; MEZEY, Privaturkunde.

published in foreign languages that papers compiled by German scholars on Sigismund's chanceries rarely refer to the Hungarian institutions, or they restrict themselves to general remarks.<sup>153</sup> Even though an elaborate and exhaustive description is going to be spared here, the following paragraphs sketch the most important aspects of the fifteenth-century Hungarian judicial and chancery system.<sup>154</sup>

By the beginning of the fifteenth century there were two chanceries and four judicial courts at the Hungarian royal court, the activity of which, as we are going to see, was not entirely independent from each other. The great chancery, the *cancellaria maior*, was a writing body which authenticated its documents with the Hungarian great seal (majestic seal, *sigillum maius*). Although officially its head was the chancellor (*cancellarius, summus cancellarius*), during Sigismund's reign the chancery was led by the vice-chancellors in practice.<sup>155</sup> Also the seal was being kept at the vice-chancellor's hands – from 1412 at the latest,<sup>156</sup> but most probably already in the first decade of the fifteenth century. In works on Hungarian diplomatics the great chancery is often mentioned as an organ residing continually in Buda. Yet, this statement is not true for all periods of medieval history: though with restrictions, i.e. only within the borders of the kingdom, but the seal and the personnel was travelling together with the ruler from time to time.<sup>157</sup>

The secret chancery (*cancellaria secreta*, sometimes *cancellaria minor*) had the secret seal (*sigillum secretum*) at its disposal and the secret chancellor at its peak. It was a relatively young institution, which came to existence as a part of King Louis I's administrative reforms in the 1370s, and which reached its heydays under the rule of Sigismund. The great and the secret chanceries were united by King Matthias in 1464. Nonetheless, such a tendency can be observed in the last five years of Sigismund's rule as well, when Matthias Gatalóczi served as great and secret chancellor at the same time (1433–1439).<sup>158</sup>

Besides these two *cancellariae* there were further writing bodies at the royal court: the chanceries of the judicial courts. The existence of four judicial courts at the Hungarian royal *curia* at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century was the result of a long institutional development, which was certainly not over by 1400. In fact, the system was still changing under Sigismund's

<sup>153</sup> ERKENS, Kanzlei Sigismunds; J. CARO, Aus der Kanzlei; LINDNER, Beiträge. It is usually emphasized in the German-speaking diplomatics/historiography that “in the beginning of Sigismund's rule ... everything speaks for a Hungarian-dominated new beginning of the German royal chancery.” ERKENS, Kanzlei Sigismunds 436.

<sup>154</sup> For a more detailed picture see KONDOR, Urkundenausstellung.

<sup>155</sup> BÓNIS, Jogtudó 98.

<sup>156</sup> C. TÓTH, Hiteleshely 416, 419. Vice-chancellor Szászi and the majestic seal e.g. MNL OL DL 10389 (ZsO V/1156), MNL OL DL 10517 (ZsO VI/599), MNL OL DF 281711 (ZsO VI/671), MNL OL DF 248789 (ZsO VI/830), MNL OL DL 11135 (ZsO VIII/997). Vice-chancellor Gatalóczi and the secret seal (1426) MNL OL DL 68698.

<sup>157</sup> KONDOR, Feldlager.

<sup>158</sup> Between 1423 and 1433 all the three chanceries, i.e. Hungarian great, secret and the imperial, were led by John of Alben, bishop of Zagreb.

reign (**Appendix 2** and Ch. III.2.3.). A charter dated from 14<sup>th</sup> April 1421 lists the judicial courts of the royal curia as follows: *in nostra personali aut speciali sive palatinali et iudicis curie nostre presentiis*.<sup>159</sup>

From all four, the court of the *personalis presentia regia* was the only forum where the king himself decided in the judicial cases in the 1410s.<sup>160</sup> The other three were chaired by the palatine (judicial court of the palatine), the judge royal<sup>161</sup> (court of the *presentia regia*) and the chancellor or, better to say, the *specialis presentiae maiestatis vicegerens* (court of the *specialis presentia regia*).<sup>162</sup> In case of the latter the chancellor was only the nominal head of the court; just like at the great chancery, the daily routine was run by a vicegerent. At this point it should be noted that the social and political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary generally considered the positions of high dignitaries merely a source of income, and not as duties or a service to be performed. Therefore, almost always the vices led and controlled the actual activity of a given institution or ran the business: the vice-chancellors in the chanceries, the proto-notaries and the *specialis vicegerens* at the judicial courts.

Another special characteristic feature of the Hungarian central administration was that a large number of charters were produced in the name of the ruler but *without* his active participation in any phases of the judicial or administrative process itself.<sup>163</sup> While the documents of the palatinal court and the *presentia regia* were issued in the name of the palatine and the judge royal, the two other judicial forums of the royal curia, i.e. the *specialis presentia* and the *personalis presentia*, and the two main writing bodies, i.e. the great chancery and the secret chancery, issued their charters in the name of the king. Moreover, until 1430/1435 there was one more body acting in the ruler's name: the office of the middle seal (*sigillum mediocre*). Its origins trace back to the chapel royal (*capella regia*), and – without going into details concerning its rather complicated development in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>164</sup> – since King Louis' reforms its task was to handle actions brought to court, i.e. to name the judge in charge of a given case and to issue the necessary mandate(s). In short, it functioned as a kind of “*audientia*” in judicial cases. Thus, it engrossed mostly letters of inquisition (*inquisitoria*), letters of introduction to a property (*statutoria*), summons

<sup>159</sup> MNL OL DL 31408.

<sup>160</sup> Until 1435.

<sup>161</sup> Until the mid-fifteenth century also the *tavernicus* decided at the court of the *presentia regia* (in cases of the towns), then at his own court (*sedes tavernicalis*).

<sup>162</sup> As their names also suggest, at the beginning of their development all the royal judicial courts were chaired by the king himself; later he delegated to the tasks related to court proceedings to one of his representatives.

<sup>163</sup> SZENTPÉTERY, Kancelláriai jegyzetek 481–482.

<sup>164</sup> KUMOROVITZ, Kápolnaispán; KUMOROVITZ, Várkápola 125–128. See also on page 156.

(*evocatoria*) and prohibitions (*prohibitoria*) in connection with cases dealt with by one of the four curial judicial courts.

Issued documents in the ruler's name	<b>Great chancery</b> ( <i>cancellaria maior</i> )	Chancellor ( <i>cancellarius, summus cancellarius</i> )	Great Seal ( <i>sigillum magnum / maius, sigillum maiestatis</i> )	Judicial Bodies
	<b>Secret chancery</b> ( <i>cancellaria secreta</i> )	Secret Chancellor ( <i>secretarius cancellarius</i> )	Secret Seal ( <i>sigillum secretum</i> )	
	<b>Office of the Middle Seal</b>	Count of the Chapel Royal ( <i>comes capellae/ capellanus</i> )	Middle Seal ( <i>sigillum mediocre</i> )	
	<b>Chancery of the <i>specialis presentia regia</i></b>	Chancellor (nominal) / <i>specialis presentiae maiestatis vicegerens</i>	Chancellor's private seal <sup>165</sup>	
	<b>Chancery of the <i>presentia regia</i></b>	Judge Royal	Seal of the Judge Royal <sup>166</sup>	
	<b>Chancery of the Palatinal Court</b>	Palatine	Palatine's seal <sup>167</sup>	

**Figure 1: Writing organs in the Kingdom of Hungary**  
Writing organs, their leaders and their seals

The chart above presents the writing bodies of the Hungarian governmental and judicial central administration by the beginning of the fifteenth century. It shows the title of leaders, who were usually in charge of the seal, as well as the names which primary sources apply to the seals these organs used. The reason why the court of the *personalis presentia regia* is not referred to above is that the king's personal decisions were put in a written form by the great chancery;<sup>168</sup> thus, this court did not have its own personnel for issuing documents. In fact, this practice is a clear manifestation of the inseparable intertwining of governmental administration and jurisdiction; yet, by far not the only one. In the development of the office of the middle seal a clear shift can be

<sup>165</sup> Recently on the *specialis presentia* and its sealing practice C. TÓTH, Hiteleshely 414-416. Corroboration: *presentes autem propter absentiam venerabilis patris domini Eberhardi episcopi ecclesie Zagradiensis aule nostre cancellarii et sigillorum nostrorum erga ipsum habitorum sigillo eiusdem [i.e. Eberhardi] fecimus consignari* and also *presentes autem propter celerem expeditionem aliarum causarum regnicolarum nostrorum sigillo venerabilis Eberhardi episcopi Zagradiensis aule nostre cancelarii fecimus consignari*, but only between 1406 and 1412.

<sup>166</sup> Kept by the proto-notary.

<sup>167</sup> Kept by the proto-notary.

<sup>168</sup> BÓNIS, Kúriai irodák 219.



observed from a governmental-administrative towards a judicial-administrative character,<sup>169</sup> while with regard to the *specialis presentia* some scholars suggest that the chancery personnel of this judicial court actually formed a department of the great chancery.<sup>170</sup>

Except for the *personalis presentia*, Sigismund did not take part in the activity of the curial judicial courts or the *audientia* in person. Thus, his German election and his absence did not have any substantial influence on the daily routine of these bodies – apart from the change of the *intitulatio*, of course. Consequently, it is not the documents issued by the judicial courts which stand in the focus of my analysis, but the charters of the two *cancellariae*, including the chancery pieces which were compiled in cases treated by the *personalis presentia*. The great and secret chancery had direct (*commissio propria domini regis* notes) or indirect (*relatio*-notes) contacts to the ruler, meaning that at some point the king himself was involved in the *actus*, which was put in a written form by these writing bodies. Therefore, as a final point of this brief summary of the Hungarian chancery practice, the following chart gives an overview of the main document forms issued by the great and secret chanceries. This classification is not a content-based but a “diplomatic” one; it focuses on the external characteristic features of the charters.<sup>171</sup>

Type of the Charter		Right conferred in the charter	Mode of Sealing	
			Great chancery natural colour sealing wax <sup>172</sup>	Secret chancery red sealing vax
Privilege / Diploma <i>litterae privilegiales</i>	Solemn <i>litterae solemnes</i>	permanent ( <i>in perpetuum</i> )	hanging great seal (as <i>sigillum duplex</i> or <i>simplex</i> )	hanging secret seal
	Simple			
Letters patent <i>Litterae patentes</i>		temporary <sup>173</sup> or no right conferred (documenting a legal act)	applied great seal on the reverse side	applied secret seal on the front side under the text
Letters closed <i>Litterae clausae</i>			great seal as closing seal <sup>174</sup>	secret seal as closing seal

**Figure 2: Document forms of the Hungarian chanceries**  
Forms of documents issued by the Hungarian great and secret chanceries

<sup>169</sup> For the development of the royal chapel to office of the middle seal see page 156.

<sup>170</sup> KUMOROVITZ, *Osztályok, címek* 328, c.f. with BÓNIS, *Jogtudó* 131. who says that it was the notaries of the judge royal who compiled the documents of the *specialis presentia*.

<sup>171</sup> For the thematic systematization of chancery documents BORSA, *Irattípusok*.

<sup>172</sup> I. e. yellowish–pale brownish.

<sup>173</sup> The clause of the donation charters usually promises the issuing of a solemn privilege at a later time.

<sup>174</sup> KUMOROVITZ, *Egyszerű- és titkospecsét* 79.

## II.2. Wearing Two Crowns: the First Years (1411–1414)

### II.2.1. New Phenomena in the Hungarian Chancery Practice after 1411

#### II.2.1.1. *Rex Romanorum: New Title, New Seal*

The first charter referring to Sigismund's new royal title (*Sygmund von gots gnaden Romischer konig*) in the *intitulatio* was issued on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1411 in Buda and addressed to Archbishop Werner of Trier informing him that Sigismund accepted the German crown.<sup>175</sup> Similar documents are dated also from 21<sup>st</sup> January.<sup>176</sup>

Royal charters addressed to Hungarian recipients do not mention Sigismund's Roman title until 6<sup>th</sup> February, when the Hungarian secret chancery issued a patent in Sigismund's name as *Dei gratia Romanorum rex semper augustus necnon Hungarie rex* in Vác.<sup>177</sup> On the very same day, however, the great chancery compiled two other charters, which still name the king "only" as *Sigismundus dei gratia rex Hungarie Dalmatie Croatie etc.*,<sup>178</sup> just like a mandate issued by the office of the middle seal.<sup>179</sup> Nonetheless, not only the secret chancery, but also the writing bodies of the *specialis presentia* and the office of the middle seal adopted the new practice soon, i.e. in the middle of February and June at the latest,<sup>180</sup> apparently without further inconsistencies. (**Appendix 4**)

Reviewing the great chancery's practice, we face an ambiguous situation. While for the letters patent and letters closed the new title was introduced without problems, in the case of the privileges the chancery personal was seemingly hesitant. The great chancery issued a diploma with the German *intitulatio* on 16<sup>th</sup> April for the first time, and further two within the following six days.<sup>181</sup> In the next six months, however, except for four pieces<sup>182</sup> the charters authenticated with a pendant great seal were issued in Sigismund's as Hungarian ruler's name and the great chancery

<sup>175</sup> RTA VII. 53–55, nr. 37. See n. 145.

<sup>176</sup> RTA VII. 55–58, nr. 38–39.

<sup>177</sup> MNL OL DL 78920. From this date all the patents of the secret chancery used the new *intitulatio*, the earliest such letter closed is dated from 9<sup>th</sup> March (MNL OL DF 211 246).

<sup>178</sup> MNL OL DL 66862 (*relatio comitis Symonis de Rozgon iudicis curie regis*) and MNL OL DL 66 869 (insert: *unam nostram patentem maiori nostro autentico quo videlicet ut rex Hungarie utimur simplici sigillo a tergo consignatam*, MNL OL DF 258930). Sigismund's full title before the German election: *Sigismundus dei gratie Hungarie Dalmatie Croatie Rame Servie Galitie Lodomerie Comanie Bulgarieque Rex, marchio Brandenburgensis, Sacri Romani Imperii Archicamerarius necnon Bohemie et Lucemburgensis heres.*

<sup>179</sup> MNL OL DL 53570.

<sup>180</sup> *Specialis presentia*: in letters closed MNL OL DL 78991, 72407, MNL OL DF 228355; in letters patent the first example is MNL OL DL 57417 (12<sup>th</sup> June 1411). *Office of the middle seal*: most probably already in April (MNL OL DF 260344; it is not completely clear that the seal is a middle seal), but surely from June (MNL OL DF 220558, 211733, 227102, 225599).

<sup>181</sup> MNL OL DF 281705, DL 63734, DF 228561.

<sup>182</sup> *Rex Romanorum*: MNL OL DL 7091, DF 210892, 210893, 285867.

started to use the extended title regularly only from the middle of October. Nonetheless, it is not the only “puzzling” phenomenon in the practice of the great chancery; also the use of the seal poses questions, which problem is going to be addressed below.

Besides the changed *intitulatio* other new phenomena appeared in the Hungarian chancery practice from 1411 onwards. Up to 1411 exclusively great-seal-privileges had a corroboration formula, usually in the form of *concessimus presentes litteras nostras privilegiales pendentis et autentici sigilli nostri novi duplicis munimine roboratas*. After the German election the words “*quo ut rex Hungarie utimur*” were added to this formula, and at the same time the chancery started to use a shorter form of this corroboration in the patents as well (*sigillo nostro maiori quo ut rex Hungarie utimur*<sup>183</sup>). It must also be noted that in the case of the privileges the extended corroboration and the new title went hand-in-hand. In other words, all the privileges issued by Sigismund as King of Hungary included the old corroboration, while the corroboration formula of those ones which were engrossed by him as *Romanorum rex et rex Hungarie etc.* always contained the *quo ut rex Hungarie utimur* part.<sup>184</sup>

In the practice of the secret chancery the use of the corroboration formula was a totally new – and apparently ephemeral – phenomenon. The above-mentioned charter dated from the 6<sup>th</sup> February 1411 was the first document, or at least one of the first specimens, containing this diplomatic element. How unusual it was for the scribe to insert such a remark in the text becomes apparent when we consult the original of the document. After having started putting down the date in the usual form he realized (or he was warned) that he forgot to include the new corroboration element; thus, he crossed out his first version, inserted the reference to the seal and finally put the place and date of issuing.

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<sup>183</sup> Modifications can be observed only exceptionally, e.g. *sigillo nostro maiori quo regnum Hungarie utitur* (MNL OL DL 79027).

<sup>184</sup> Apart from the documents of the *specialis presentia* which always contain the specific formula (n. 165) I did not find any examples of closed letters having a corroboration, no matter which chancery issued them.



MNL OL DL 78920  
(6<sup>th</sup> February 1411)

**Image 2: Secret chancery corroboration**

The corroboration formula on the patents issued by the secret chancery has never become coherent: the most often used versions were the (*sub*) *sigillo nostro solito*, *sigillo nostro consueto* and *sigillo nostro solito et consueto* forms, but there are examples for *sigillo nostro minori consueto*,<sup>185</sup> *sigillo nostro solito quo videlicet ut rex hungarie utimur*,<sup>186</sup> *appressione sigilli nostri secreti consweti*,<sup>187</sup> *sigillo nostro secreto solito quo utimur*,<sup>188</sup> *quibus solitum nostrum sigillum impressum est*,<sup>189</sup> *sigillum nostrum solitum appressum*<sup>190</sup> etc. as well. Moreover, by the end of September 1411 the corroboration disappeared from the patents of the secret chancery again.

Nonetheless, there is a whole group of charters issued by the secret chancery which kept using corroboration formula also after 1411. These were the *litterae armales* Sigismund donated to his Hungarian subjects while staying in the Empire. Granting coats of arms to noble families was Sigismund's "invention" in Hungary,<sup>191</sup> who realized how cost-efficient it actually was for the royal treasury to bestow *litterae armales* instead of lands, castles or taxes. Since these documents granted privileges, i.e. rights *in perpetuum*, according to the Hungarian chancery practice they must have been written on parchment and should have been sealed with a pending great seal – which was

<sup>185</sup> MNL OL DF 246840.

<sup>186</sup> MNL OL DL 83574, 66454 (*sigillum nostrum solitum quo videlicet ut rex Hungarie utimur*), MNL OL DL 86647 (*sigillum nostrum solitum quo videlicet ut rex Hungarie utimur impressum*); MNL OL DF 248046 and 248066.

<sup>187</sup> MNL OL DF 254983.

<sup>188</sup> MNL OL DL 103426.

<sup>189</sup> MNL OL DL 105423.

<sup>190</sup> MNL OL DL 266938.

<sup>191</sup> The first two grants from 1398 and 1401 do not contain the depiction of the coat of arms; the first "real" charter granting coat of arms is from 1405. (JÉKELY, *Die Rolle* 298.) These early pieces were not issued as privileges but as letters patent authenticated with an applied secret seal. In Constance Sigismund granted 29 coats of arms; on the structure of the documents see WEISZ, *Armoriale*.

indeed the case until 1412.<sup>192</sup> Between December 1412 and February 1419, however, the Hungarian great seal was not with Sigismund,<sup>193</sup> so the chancery applied the red secret seal as a pending seal on these charters, and also inserted a corroboration formula *cum pendentis secreto nostro regio sigillo quo ut rex Hungarie utimur / sigilli nostri secreti quo ut rex Hungarie utimur appensione*.<sup>194</sup> It is interesting to note here that there are two *litterae armales* for the Hungarian nobles Antal Somkereki<sup>195</sup> and Martin Bossányi,<sup>196</sup> who received imperial coats of arms. These pieces were of course issued by the imperial chancery and sealed with imperial great seal.<sup>197</sup>

The importance of the corroboration formula becomes evident if one considers those transcripts in which a chancery (i.e. the chancellor, notary or scribe) failed to identify the seal correctly. Obviously, Hungarian writing organs – even the curial ones – every now and then had problems in differentiating between Sigismund’s Hungarian and German secret seal. The Hungarian secret chancery issued a charter in connection with property litigation in favor of Abraham Vajai on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1413 in Belluno.<sup>198</sup> The charter does not have a corroboration; yet, even on the black and white photograph of the Hungarian State Archives one can recognize the four coats of arms in the legend, which was a characteristic feature of Sigismund’s fifth Hungarian secret seal. (See the images nr. 3 and nr. 6 below.) Later, on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1414, this very mandate was inserted in a process-postponement issued by the *specialis presentia*,<sup>199</sup> which then identified the above-mentioned Hungarian secret seal as Sigismund’s imperial seal: *litteras nostras ad relationem Piponis de Ozora comitis nostri Themesiensis sub sigillo nostro imperiali patente emanatas*.<sup>200</sup>

Although the original is missing, most probably the chancery of James Szántói Lack, ban of Slavonia, made the same mistake when they transcribed Sigismund’s charter issued on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1414 in Cremona.<sup>201</sup> This transcript of 1418 contains Sigismund’s three previous charters, namely *unam ad propriam commissionem eiusdem sub imperiali, secundam ad comissionem baronum sub maiori necnon tertiam sub mediocri sigillis eiusdem super libertatibus dicti regni Sclavonie omnino patenter emanates*. Since all three, including the first one issued in Cremona, deal with the matters

<sup>192</sup> MNL OL DL 64122 (1405); CDH X/4. 742–746. (24<sup>th</sup> Februray 1409): *pendentis et autentici sigilli nostri novi duplicis*.

<sup>193</sup> KONDOR, Feldlager and below.

<sup>194</sup> Most probably to follow the authentic privilege form as much as possible. E.g. MNL OL DF 262383 (Bocskai); MNL OL 50510 (Szentgyörgyi), MNL OL DL 94142 (Nádasdi), MNL OL DL 50514 (Hotvafői); MNL OL DL 67416 (Szirmai), MNL OL DL 50516 (Petneházi) etc.

<sup>195</sup> MNL OL DL 104871: *presencium sum [sic!] nostre maiestatis sigilli appen[sio/ne] testimonio litterarum*. WEISZ, Somkereki, without hints at the fact that the charter was issued by the imperial chancery.

<sup>196</sup> MNL OL DL 50511.

<sup>197</sup> MNL OL DL 50511. (According to the MNL OL abstract “with a false seal.”)

<sup>198</sup> MNL OL DF 96844.

<sup>199</sup> MNL OL DL 62226 and 96854. On MNL OL 62226 see n. in ZsO IV/1699.

<sup>200</sup> There is a possibility that the seal was labelled as imperial because of the imperial eagle on it.

<sup>201</sup> MNL OL DF 268074. KUKULJEVIĆ (ed.), Jura I. 185–190, nr. 132.

concerning Slavonia, it is rather unlikely that in that case the imperial chancery was responsible for the issuing.<sup>202</sup> Indeed, there were cases when a document was not authenticated with the “right” seal, but then a formula was added to the text explaining the reason of the substitution of one kind of seal with another.

Let’s turn now to the seals themselves! The new Hungarian secret seal was molded by the end of September 1411. While on the charters issued for magister George and his son Peter on 14<sup>th</sup> September the old seal’s coat of arms can be seen,<sup>203</sup> the letters patent issued in Pozsony (Pressburg, today Bratislava) on 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> September as well as on 4<sup>th</sup> October<sup>204</sup> were authenticated with an applied seal showing an eagle: the emblem of Sigismund’s new Hungarian secret seal. The charter from 29<sup>th</sup> September 1411 sealed with the new secret seal on the reverse side and addressed to the counties of Bács<sup>205</sup> and Várad was actually a public announcement of the introduction of the *sigillum novum* (**Appendix 5**). Nonetheless, according to a report compiled by the chapter of Nyitra on 17<sup>th</sup> November, on 28<sup>th</sup> September the chancery had already used the new Hungarian secret seal.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> From the same day (25<sup>th</sup> January 1414) there are two further documents to Hungarian addressees with red wax seal (MNL OL DL 32142 and 95678).

<sup>203</sup> MNL OL DL 57420.

<sup>204</sup> MNL OL DL 92397, 9820 and 58843.

<sup>205</sup> According to the early modern copy of the document it was addressed to the county of Bács (*comitatus de Bach*); c.f. with ZsO III/993 (*comitatus de Wos[war]*).

<sup>206</sup> MNL OL DL 75687: *novo vestro sigillo confirmatas*. Supposedly the old seal was used on 21<sup>st</sup> September 1411 in Buda for the last time; ZsO III/962 refers to a – for now lost – charter which was authenticated by the “usual seal,” that is the old *sigillo solito* (secret seal).



MNL OL DL 9773  
(24<sup>th</sup> April 1411)

**Image 3: Sigismund's fourth Hungarian secret seal**  
(Obverse)

Legend:

S(igillum) Sigismundi reg(is) hung(arie) etc sac(ri) ro(mani) imp(erii) vicar(ii) et reg(ni) boem(ie)  
gub(er)nato(ris)



MNL OL DL 58843  
(4<sup>th</sup> October 1411)

**Image 4: Sigismund's fifth Hungarian secret seal**  
(Obverse)

Legend:

Sigism(un)dus dei gra(tia) – romanorum i(mperator) se – mp(er) augustus – ac hungarie zc Rex

Apparently, the middle seal was not changed after Sigismund's election to the German throne.<sup>207</sup> This fact – considering the strictly judicial function of the office, its “self-operating” nature and complete independence from the ruler – is perhaps not really surprising. The more surprising fact is that until 1433 Sigismund did not change his Hungarian great seal either.<sup>208</sup>



MNL OL DL 8442  
(2<sup>nd</sup> July 1414)

**Image 5: Sigismund's second middle seal**  
(Obverse)

Legend:

+ S(igillum) Sigismundi reg(is) hung(ari)e etc sac(ri) rom(ani) imp(erii) et reg(is) boem(ie)  
gub(er)nator(is)

<sup>207</sup> See MNL OL DL 9293 (1407), 9153 (1409), 8442 (1414), 10259 (1414).

<sup>208</sup> See for e.g. MNL OL DL 8929 (1408), 9406 (1408), 9021 (1409), 9535 (1409), 37592 (1410), 9639 (1410), 9733 (January 1411), DL 9744 (January 1411), DL 9745 (July 1411), DL 8832 (1418). Neither the corroboration formula of the great seal privileges changed between 1405 and 1433: *sigilli nostri pendentis novi et autentici dupplicis*. The identification of four great seals in KONDOR, Urkundenausstellung 216. is erroneous.





MNL OL DL 9745  
(4<sup>th</sup> July 1411)

**Image 6: Sigismund's second Hungarian great seal**  
(Obverse)

Legend:

+ SIGISMVNDVS DEI GRATIA HVNGARIE DALMACIE CROACIE RAME SERVIE  
GALLICIE LODOMERIE CVMANIE BVLGARIEQVE REX AC MARCHIO  
BRANDENBVRGENSIS SACRI ROMANI IMPERII ARCHICAMERARIVS BOHEMIE ET  
LVCEMBURGENSIS HERES

Indeed, the great seal was changed only two times during Sigismund's reign: around 1405<sup>209</sup> and in 1433. The breaking up of the old (fourth) secret seal and the molding of a new one in 1411 was explained with the *augmentum tituli*,<sup>210</sup> but this fact was apparently not a reason for the introduction of a new great seal. Although one could argue that in 1411 Sigismund was probably expecting to receive the imperial title within a couple of months, and thus he saw no need of replacing the old seal with a "provisory" one, there are at least two reasons speaking against this explanation. First, before his second election Sigismund promised Wenceslas that he would not strive for the imperial crown in his brother's lifetime. Even if for Sigismund agreements like this were very far from being set in stone (he ordered the imperial, i.e. not royal, version of the imperial great seal already in

<sup>209</sup> After the uprising of the barons in 1401-1403 there was no great seal until March 1405. C. TÓTH, Hiteleshely 419.

<sup>210</sup> On smashing of the fourth secret seal MNL OL DL 88104 (transcript of a patent issued on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1411): *quasdam litteras nostras patentes priori minori secreto sigillo nostro quo ut rex hungarie utebatur alias propter augmentum tituli nostri ratione electionis nostre in regem Romanorum facte confracto et in partes dissecato consignatas*; MNL OL DF 254658 (insert of the charter issued on 13<sup>th</sup> July 1411): *alias ratione electionis sue in regem Romanorum facte propter augmentum sui tituli in partes dissecato*; MNL OL 67757 (transcript of a charter issued on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1408): *exhibuit et presentavit litteras nostras patentes nostro secreto sigillo alias propter augmentum tituli nostri ratione electionis nostre in [regem Romanorum facte]*. For the change in 1433: *secreto sigillo quo ut rex Hungarie utebatur alias propter augmentum tituli sui imperialis susceptis coronis imperialibus rupto et in partes dissecato*. CDH XI. 218, nr. 96. (From Albert's confirmation in 1439.)

1417,<sup>211</sup> and in spite of the agreement he had never handed over any imperial incomes to Wenceslas), he was clever enough not to provoke his brother shortly after the 1411 election. Thus, in my opinion, the wished acquisition of the imperial title could hardly be the right explanation for the non-replacement of the seal.

Secondly, if we consider the practice under Louis I or Matthias Corvinus we face the same phenomenon. When Louis of Anjou became King of Poland in 1370 his new title appeared on the ring seal<sup>212</sup> and the middle seal<sup>213</sup> almost immediately. Yet, the great seal molded in 1364, the legend of which certainly did not name him as Polish monarch,<sup>214</sup> was not replaced. Also Matthias Corvinus acted similarly: although his *intitulatio* was extended with the title of *rex Bohemie* in 1469, his great seal molded in 1464 was not replaced until his death in 1490.<sup>215</sup>

Except for half a sentence written by Bernát L. Kumorovitz in 1932<sup>216</sup> I haven't found any scholarly works referring to this "special status" of the great seal; yet, this subject does not belong to the issues examined in the present chapter either. What is important here, in terms of administration, is that the *non-replacement* of the great seal in 1411 was *not* a unique phenomenon or an exceptional practice to be connected to Sigismund's rule or to the personal union. On the contrary, the "administrative tradition" – at least that of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – apparently preferred keeping the great seal unchanged as long as it was possible. Therefore, the right question to be posed is not why the old seal was *not* replaced by a new one in 1411, but why it was replaced in 1405 and in 1433? Nevertheless, this problem requires investigations which would exceed the frameworks of this thesis. Here, to sum up and close the present subchapter the following chart gives an overview of the seals Sigismund used as King of Hungary. His imperial ones are going to be referred to in Chapter II.2.2.

<sup>211</sup> Nonetheless, it must be noted that although Wenceslas died in August 1419, John Kirchen ordered the imperial seal in Sigismund's name already in November 1417 in Constance from Arnold Boemel for 200 gulden. TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 187; HOENSCH, *Kaiser Sigismund* 251.

<sup>212</sup> Louis' ring seals: PRAY, *Syntagma* Tab. IV. Fig. 5, 7-8.

<sup>213</sup> SCHÖNHERR, I. Lajos 91. Before the chancery reform introduced by Louis I the ring seal served as the ruler's private seal.

<sup>214</sup> LODOVICUS • DEI • GRACIA • HVNGARIE • DALMACIE • CROACIE • RAME • SERVIE • GALLICIE • LODOMERIE • COMANIE • BVLG • ARIEQ • REX • PRINCEPS • SALLERNITANVS • ET • HONORIS • MONTIS • SANCTI • ANGELI • DOMINVS. (ZIMMERMANN-WERNER (eds.), *Urkundenbuch* II. 654–655 and *Tafel* III. 10, IV. 14.)  
Louis' Polish seal: S • LODOVICI • DEI • GRACIA • REGIS • HVNGARIE • POLONIE • DALMACIE • CHROVACIE • AT • CETERA. (PÓR, *Pecséttan* 17–18.)

<sup>215</sup> On his seals see KUMOROVITZ, Mátyás. The obvers of the great seal: *Sigillum maiestatis Mathie dei gracia hungarie dalmacie croacie rame servie gallicie lodomerie commanie bulgarieque regis*. Revers: *Sigillum secundum Mathie dei gracia regis hungarie et aliorum regnorum in altero pari sigillo expressatorum et cetera*. In 1469 Matthias did not replace his Hungarian secret seal either; his Bohemian royal title was mentioned only on the Czech seals.

<sup>216</sup> KUMOROVITZ, Mátyás király 8: "It is rather interesting that Matthias did not replace his original seal when there was a change in the nature of his rule."

Sigismund's Hungarian Seals		
Great Seal	Secret Seal	Middle Seal
1. 1387–1405 <sup>217</sup>	1. 1387–1396 <sup>218</sup>	1. 1387–1402 <sup>219</sup>
	2. 1397–1401 spring <sup>220</sup>	
	3. 1401–middle of 1402 <sup>221</sup>	
2. 1405–1433 <sup>222</sup>	4. 1402–1410 <sup>223</sup>	2. after 1402 <sup>224</sup>
	5. 1411–1433 <sup>225</sup>	
3. 1433–1437 <sup>226</sup>	6. 1433–1437 <sup>227</sup>	

Figure 3: Sigismund's Hungarian seals

### II.2.1.2. Imperial Issues – Non-Imperial Chanceries

Before 1410/1411 the Hungarian chanceries issued documents the content and the addressees of which were connected to the Kingdom of Hungary. The only exceptions were the pieces related to the Margraviate of Brandenburg<sup>228</sup> and, of course, diplomatic correspondence. After Rupert's death the "non-Hungarian" issues to be put down in a written form grew in number and required experts who knew the imperial chancery practice. It seems that in the first months it was rather Burgrave Frederick of Nuremberg's private chancery which dealt with these cases.

The relations between the burgraves of Nuremberg and the house of Luxembourg date back to 1375, when Charles IV engaged his daughter Margaret (Sigismund's sister) with John III of Nuremberg (Frederick VI's older brother). Both John and Frederick fought at the battle of Nicopolis (1396) at Sigismund's side; according to the tradition John was also one of the quite many who saved the king's life there. While John was not really active as regards of politics, Frederick engaged himself in imperial affairs soon, and after having been Wenceslas' and Rupert's advisor he became Sigismund's perhaps most trusted man in the Empire in the early 1410s. Already by the

<sup>217</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.3; ZIMMERMANN-WERNER (eds.), *Urkundenbuch III. Tafel I. 1. 2.*

<sup>218</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.4; POSSE, *Siegel II. 12. 4.*

<sup>219</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.5; PRAY, *Syntagma Tab. X. Fig. 6*; KUMOROVITZ, *Kápolnaispán* 496, Fig. 5.

<sup>220</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.6; PRAY, *Syntagma Tab. I. Fig. 5.*

<sup>221</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.7; MNL OL DL 8684.

<sup>222</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.11; SZILÁGYI (ed.), *Magyar nemzet III. 439*; POSSE, *Siegel 13. 3.*

<sup>223</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.8; PRAY, *Syntagma Tab. XI. Fig. 10.*

<sup>224</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.10; KUMOROVITZ, *Kápolnaispán* 496, Fig. 6.

<sup>225</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.15; PRAY, *Syntagma Tab. XI. Fig. 9.*

<sup>226</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.22; POSSE, *Siegel 15. 1–2.*

<sup>227</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.23; PRAY, *Syntagma Tab. X. Fig. 5.*

<sup>228</sup> Sigismund issued these pieces as Margrave of Brandenburg sealed with his vicarial seal, e.g. 21<sup>st</sup> June 1410 (Buda) "*sigillatis sigillo vacariatus officii*," *Scr. Rer. Prus. III. 402–403*. On Sigismund as Margrave of Brandenburg see HEIDEMANN, *Die Luxemburger*; WINKELMANN, *Mark Brandenburg*; WINKELMANN, *Sigismund*.

beginning of 1410 it was Frederick's marshal who received 40 000 fl. in Sigismund's name from the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order for Neumark.<sup>229</sup> Frederick had the political connections, influence and experience Sigismund needed in the election struggle. Last but not least, he was King Rupert's brother-in-law and the Count Palatine Louis III's uncle.<sup>230</sup> Thus, it was almost evident that he became Sigismund's plenipotentiary and representative in affairs related to the Empire and the imperial throne.<sup>231</sup>

On 15<sup>th</sup> August 1410 Sigismund left for Bosnia from where he returned by the end of the year. In the meantime Frederick was dealing with the issue of the German election: he was negotiating and acting in Sigismund's name not only before and during, but also after the election.<sup>232</sup> Even the documents issued by Sigismund himself – for instance the election promises (*Wahlversperchen*) written on 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> August 1410 in Buda – were co-sealed by Frederick.<sup>233</sup> These charters were authenticated with the Hungarian majestic seal (*orkund diß briefs versigelt mit unser kuniglichen majestadingesigel*), but the question, who formulated the German texts and who put them in a written form, cannot be answered for the moment. Most probably it was *not* the scribes and notaries of the Hungarian chanceries, as they did not have any experience with the imperial charters. It would be logical to assume that somebody from Frederick's chancery was in charge of these tasks; Leuschner even stated that the burgrave had pre-sealed bianco-parchments from Sigismund, which he – or better to say his chancery – could use for issuing the necessary documents.<sup>234</sup>

In the beginning of 1411 Sigismund started to organize his imperial chancery. Commenting on this issue Jörg K. Hoensch wrote that Sigismund had to entrust competent and reliable persons from the Hungarian chancery personnel with the new tasks.<sup>235</sup> Unfortunately, apart from two names (vice-chancellor George and Peter Wlaschim) and a new type of chancery note (*ad mandatum*

<sup>229</sup> CDB II/3. 173, nr. 1290. On 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1410.

<sup>230</sup> Frederick's older sister Elisabeth married Rupert in 1374.

<sup>231</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 7-8; FLOCKEN, Friedrich I; TWELLENKAMP, Burggrafen; BRANDENBURG, Sigmund und Friedrich. On 25<sup>th</sup> July 1410 Sigismund gave Frederick 20 000 fl. as he *ad nostre maiestatis decus, vero etiam totius Regni commodum, reipublice augmentum et Regnicolarum utilitatem, temporum processu et qualitate requirentibus expensarum onera gravia sueque ac suorum personarum iuges labores supportando magnifice fecit et fructuose hactenus est operatus*. *Mon. Zoll.* VI. 618–619, nr. 561. As warranty Sigismund guaranteed the city of Pressburg and the castle, the castle of Komárom and the market towns of Neszmély and Tata. Besides, on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1411 he conferred him the imperial taxes for a year (*Mon. Zoll.* VI. 662, nr. 606.). In 1411 Frederick's brother John represented Sigismund at the election; for the reasons see DALDRUP, *Zwischen König und Reich* 123–124.

<sup>232</sup> Frederick to Frankfurt on 27<sup>th</sup> September 1410: *wir als sein Botschafft und Machthalter von seinen wegen und in seinem Namen* (*Mon. Zoll.* VI. 624–625, nr. 566). See also RTA VII. 52–53, nr. 36, *Mon. Zoll.* VI. 646, nr. 590.

<sup>233</sup> *des alle wir burggraff Friedrich obgenannt uns auch also erkennen one alle geverde, und haben darumb zu des obgenant unsers gnedigen herren des kunigs von Ungern ingesigel unser eigen ingesigel an disen brieff tun hencken*. RTA VII. 18–23, nr. 7–10; also *Mon. Zoll.* VI. 619, nr. 562.

<sup>234</sup> LEUSCHNER, *Wahlpolitik* 508.

<sup>235</sup> HOENSCH, *Kaiser Sigismund* 469. Similarly ERKENS, *Kanzlei Sigismunds*.

*domini regis*) there is hardly any information which could help the researcher in reconstructing the very first steps of the development. Yet, the picture one gains from the scarce data supports only partly Hoensch's thesis.

On 12<sup>th</sup> January 1411 a letter – referred to above as well – was issued in Sigismund's name, which informed Archbishop Werner of Trier that Sigismund accepted the German crown.<sup>236</sup> Although it was written in German and bears the *ad mandatum domini regis* chancery note characteristic of the imperial writing bodies, Sigismund's imperial chancery was surely not yet set up by that time. The document was issued *sub sigillo regnorum nostrorum Hungarie* with a date in Latin, and it names vice-chancellor George as person responsible for issuing the charter. This vice-chancellor was definitely not Bishop George of Passau as it was suggested in the seventh volume of the RTA, since by that time he had nothing to do with Sigismund or his chanceries.<sup>237</sup> Moreover, George of Passau has never been vice-chancellor, but he became imperial chancellor after Kanizsai's leave in 1417 (**Appendix 3**).<sup>238</sup> There is only one vice-chancellor George known from the early 1410s, namely George Késmárki, the vice-chancellor of the Hungarian secret chancery;<sup>239</sup> thus, the person referred to in the chancery note must be him.

Nonetheless, the corroboration formula (*sub sigillo regnorum nostrorum Hungarie*) suggests that the charter was actually sealed with the Hungarian great seal. Lacking the original this information cannot be double-checked, but considering another piece issued by Petrus de Wlaschim on 21<sup>st</sup> January (*zu orkund ... haben wir unsers kunrichs zu Ungern Majestadinsigel bresten halb unsers Romischen kunglichen majestadingesigel zu disen czijten an disen brief tun henken*)<sup>240</sup> and the 1410 August pieces (*orkund dicz brifes vorsigelt mit unser kuniglichen majestat insigel*),<sup>241</sup> issuing under majestic seal seems to be the chancery practice in the case of letters and mandates addressed to imperial subjects. Moreover, three of the six documents issued by Petrus de Wlaschim between 21<sup>st</sup> January and 4<sup>th</sup> May 1411 bear a registry note (*Registraturvermerk*). Since the *Reichsregisterbuch* started only on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1411 (see below II.2.2.) these pieces must have been registered into the Hungarian register, which contained the abstracts or copies of the charters authenticated with the Hungarian great seal.

<sup>236</sup> RTA VII. 53–55, nr. 37 (RI XI/14).

<sup>237</sup> ERKENS, Kanzlei Sigismunds; OSWALD, Georg von Hohenlohe; SCHWEDLER, Hohenlohe.

<sup>238</sup> According to Richental Kanizsai died on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1417, according to FORSTREITER, Kanzlei Sigmunds 23, on 18<sup>th</sup> May 1418. Yet, there is a charter issued in his name from 20<sup>th</sup> May 1418 (MNL OL DF 236431; ZsO VI/1934; CDH X/6. 143.) and he was referred to as "late" only on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1418 (MNL OL DF 236429; ZsO VI/2090).

<sup>239</sup> ZsO III/2357: Relatio domini Georgii *vicecancellarii minoris sigilli regii*. Késmárki became vice-chancellor some time between 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1409 (ZsO II/6621; his predecessor Csebi Orosz is still referred to as vice-chancellor) and 29<sup>th</sup> April 1410 (ZsO II/7737, 7738; Csebi is mentioned only as provost of Lelesz). See also note 249.

<sup>240</sup> RTA VII. 58–59, nr. 40.

<sup>241</sup> RTA VII. 14–16, nr. 1-5; 20–22, nr. 9.

The use of the majestic seal (and not that of the secret seal) is not surprising at all, especially if we consider that there are also later examples of German cities insisting on getting their charters from the king authenticated with the majestic seal instead of the secret (see below II.2.2.). As for the presence of a vice-chancellor instead of a chancellor it has already been mentioned that in Hungary it was actually a widespread practice that the vices and deputies were running the everyday business instead of the high dignitaries. Chancellor Eberhard was rather old and passive by that time; moreover, in the first months of 1411 he was residing apparently in his domains in Southern-Hungary, more precisely in Zagreb, Dombó and Csázma.<sup>242</sup> Therefore, the active participation of his deputy in the work of the chancery would be absolutely logical. The question which needs to be answered here is why the secret vice-chancellor was responsible for issuing a charter authenticated with the great seal? Or, in other words, why not a member of the great chancery took part in the issuing?

For the time being I have two possible explanations, yet none of them can be supported with concrete and indisputable data. First, between October 1409 and June 1411 there is not even one single reference to the vice-chancellor of the great chancery: Clemens Korpádi is mentioned on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1409 for the last time<sup>243</sup> and his successor John Szászi appears only on 28<sup>th</sup> June 1411 in the sources.<sup>244</sup> In case there was indeed no vice-chancellor at the great chancery in January 1411,<sup>245</sup> it's possible that the proto-notary – by that time most probably Clemens Molnári<sup>246</sup> – took care of running the everyday business and Késmárki had both seals at his disposal.<sup>247</sup> Yet, this George was the *relator* of a charter issued under great seal in favor of the citizens and *hospes* of Körmöcbánya (*Crempnicya*) on 15<sup>th</sup> January 1411, which would normally speak against this theory.<sup>248</sup>

On the other hand, besides the seal also the chancery note guaranteed the authenticity of a charter; therefore, the person named in the note had to understand what he signed. There is no information about the dignitaries' language competencies at the Hungarian chanceries, but if we accept that the vice-chancellor's surname refers to his birthplace Késmárk (Kežmarok) in the by that time German-speaking Spiš region of Northern-Hungary and to his middle-class origin,<sup>249</sup> he

<sup>242</sup> MNL OL DL 71735, 252367, 252368.

<sup>243</sup> Relator MNL OL DL 9598.

<sup>244</sup> MNL OL DF 210892.

<sup>245</sup> C. TÓTH, *Hiteleshely* 420.

<sup>246</sup> BÓNIS, *Jogtudó* 100. Unlike the proto-notaries of the judge royal and the palatine he did not have a judicial function.

<sup>247</sup> The documents refer to Késmárki only as *vicecancellarius* without specifying the chancery. (Also in ZsO III/40.)

<sup>248</sup> ZsO III/40. C.f. with ZsO III/2357 (*relatio domini Georgii vicecancellarii minoris sigilli regii*).

<sup>249</sup> MÁLYUSZ, *Főkegyúri jog* 126, 140, n. 58, First mentioned in 1407 as canon of Szepes, *magister Georgius Theodrici de Foro Caseorum* (ZsO II/5154). Later provost of Győr (1413), then of Szeben and Szepes (1419). Mályusz supposed that he was Perényi's *familiaris* (MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund* 291), c.f. with NOVÁK, *Sasember* 387–388. Also BÓNIS, *Jogtudó* 101.

must have spoken a very good German, whereas in the case of the great chancery personnel (Korpádi, Szászi) this is not very likely.<sup>250</sup>

Nonetheless, Késmárki played a role in issuing imperial documents only for two weeks and from the end of January until the beginning of May the aforementioned Peter Wlaschim (*Blaschim, Wlaschem, Peter z Vlašimi*)<sup>251</sup> appears in the *ad mandatum* chancery notes. Again, apart from his name, which speaks for his Bohemian or Moravian origin, we do not know anything about him. Forstreiter assumed that he belonged to (one of) the Hungarian chanceries as notary or proto-notary.<sup>252</sup> In my opinion, however, in Wlaschim's case a preceding "imperial" career is also conceivable provided that he had been working previously for Frederick of Nuremberg or more likely for John Kirchen.<sup>253</sup> The latter came to Hungary in January 1411 for the first time, on 21<sup>st</sup> he was in Buda as Count Palatine Louis III's advisor.<sup>254</sup> Under Wenceslas and Rupert he had held leading positions at their chanceries and it is very likely that Sigismund convinced him to enter his service during his visit in Buda. It cannot be ruled out that Kirchen actually helped in formulating – or he formulated – the texts of the charters issued in January 1411.<sup>255</sup> In the spring of 1411 Kirchen had been staying a few months in Germany, then he returned to Hungary in late June. With his arrival a new phase started in the history of Sigismund's imperial chancery.

## II.2.2. Beginnings of Sigismund's Imperial Chancery

By the end of June-beginning of July 1411 several changes of the chancery practice can be observed. The most obvious of these is the start of the imperial register-keeping: the chronologically oldest entry of Sigismund's first register book (*Reichsregisterbuch E*<sup>256</sup>) dates from the 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1411. Nonetheless, this entry stands on *fol. 3v* preceded by four copies and a short abstract of royal charters issued between 28<sup>th</sup> March 1412 and 26<sup>th</sup> April 1412 (*fol. 1r–1v*), and three further entries dated from the 8<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> July 1411 (**Appendix 6**). Since from *fol. 2r* on

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<sup>250</sup> Eberhard must have spoken German but he was not active at the chancery by that time. Perényi as a Hungarian magnate and Korpádi, who came from a lesser noble family (BÓNIS, *Jogtudó* 98–99.), most probably did not know the language.

<sup>251</sup> FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 152–153.

<sup>252</sup> FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 152.

<sup>253</sup> Petr Mat'a found a certain Petrus de Wlaschim in the *libri confirmationum*, who belonged to the cathedral chapter of Prague. Still, it is not clear whether the reference concerns the same person. Although from May 1411 on John Kirchen and John Esztergomi appear in the chancery notes and there are no traces of Wlaschim at the imperial chancery, it cannot be ruled out that he continued working there.

<sup>254</sup> *Mon. Zoll* VI. 645, nr. 589: ...*unser lieber getreuer Johannes Kirchen, des vorgenannten unsers Oheims des Pfalczgrauens Rate und diener, entwörter diess briefs, den wir dorumb czu rch/uch [to Nuremberg] senden wol.*

<sup>255</sup> A philological approach and a comparative research on the structure and formulation of these and the earlier imperial charters could perhaps deliver further information.

<sup>256</sup> OeStA/HHStA RK Reichsregister E. On Sigismund's register books see KOLLER, *Reichsregister* 13–15; LINDNER, *Urkundenwesen* 177–180.

the records follow each other without greater chronological divergences, most probably the register started in 1411 originally on *fol.* 2 with the copy of the charter issued in favor of Frederick of Nuremberg on 8<sup>th</sup> July 1411.<sup>257</sup> This document is not only the (supposed) opening piece of the imperial register, but also the first text which referred to Archbishop John Kanizsai as imperial chancellor: *die Erwirdigen Johannes zu Gran Erzbischof und ewiger G[e]span des Heiligen Romischen Stuls Legat, unsere in dem heiligen Romischen Ryche Canczler*<sup>258</sup>. Also the *ad mandatum domini regis Johannes Kirchen* chancery note and the sealing (*mit urkund diss briefs versigelt mit unserm romischen kuniglichem anhangundem insigel*) imply that it was Sigismund's – recently organized – imperial chancery which issued the document.

For the beginnings of this chancery it is crucial to determine when Sigismund's German seals were put into practice. In his election promises of 1410 Sigismund himself talked about two German royal seals: the *konigliche insigele* refers to the German secret seal, the *majestat insigele* to the German great or majestic seal.<sup>259</sup> In corroborations the first come up as *Romischen kuniglichen insigel*<sup>260</sup> (in Latin documents as *sub nostri regalis sigilli appensione*), the latter as *kuniglicher maiestat insigel*<sup>261</sup> (in Latin documents as *sub nostre maiestatis sigilli*) – without any such inconsistencies which we have seen in case of the Hungarian secret seal. In general, the use of Sigismund's German seals is less problematic than that of the Hungarian ones: before 1433 he had one majestic, one secret and one *Hofgerichtssiegel*, all of which he replaced in 1433 when he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>257</sup> This hypothesis, in my opinion, is supported also by the form and positioning of the script. On the first page of the RRB F: *Anno domini MCCCCXVII<sup>o</sup> XVI die february inceptum est presens registrum per me Johannem Kirchen*. NOORDIJK, Untersuchungen 14.

<sup>258</sup> RRB E fol. 3r. Editions e.g. CDB II/3. 178–181, nr. 1295; *Mon. Zoll.* VII. 1–5, nr. 1. The charter also mentions the Hungarian chancellor *Eberhardten Bischoff zu Agram unsern in dem kunigrich zu Ungern etc. obristen canczer*.

<sup>259</sup> *...wir sollen auch, als balde wir zu Romischem konige gekoren werden dem obgenannten ... diesen brief von worte zu worte, als er dann begriffen ist, under unserm koniglichem, und, als bald wir gekronet werden, under unser majestat insigele vernuwen und versigelt geben und uns des alles als ein Romischer konig verschriben, und das auch alles, als balde wir zu Romischen keyser gekronet werden, mit unsern keyserlichen brieven und bullen, wie dann von worte zu worte davor begriffen ist, vernuwen bestetigen und confirmieren*. RTA VII. 20–22, nr. 9. In the same way in RTA VII. 19–20, nr. 8 and 22–23, nr. 10. The two seals mentioned as one without reference to the coronation RTA VII. 18–19, nr. 7 and 24–25, nr. 11: *auch des unsere brieve mit unser Romischer kuniglicher majestat als bald wir zu Romischen kunig gekorn, und dornach so wir keiser werden mit unser keyserlichen majestat ingesigeln*. Most probably the two “types” were not written by the same scribe, e.g. “mands” (nr. 7 and 11) c.f. with “manets” (nr. 8,9 and 10). See also RTA VII. 58–59, nr. 40.

<sup>260</sup> E.g.: *mit urkund diss briefs versigelt mit unserm Romischen kuniglichen anhangenden insigel* (Zagreb, 31<sup>st</sup> October 1412), StaASG Tr. VI. 81.

([http://monasterium.net/mom/CH-StaASG/Urkunden/Tr\\_VI.81./charter](http://monasterium.net/mom/CH-StaASG/Urkunden/Tr_VI.81./charter))

<sup>261</sup> E.g.: *mit urkund diss briefsversigelt mit unserer kuniglicher maiestat insigel* (Chur, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1413), StaASG Tr. I.22 ([http://monasterium.net/mom/CH-StaASG/Urkunden/Tr\\_I.22./charter](http://monasterium.net/mom/CH-StaASG/Urkunden/Tr_I.22./charter))

<sup>262</sup> The golden bulls in TAKÁCS (ed.), Sigismundus 3.17 and 3.19.



Majestic Seal	Secret Seal	Seal of the <i>Hofgericht</i>
1. 1412–1433 <sup>263</sup> (royal)	1. 1411–1433 <sup>264</sup> (royal)	1. 1415–1433 <sup>265</sup> (royal)
2. 1433–1437 <sup>266</sup> (imperial)	2. 1433–1437 <sup>267</sup> (imperial)	2. 1433–1437 <sup>268</sup> (imperial)

**Figure 4: Sigismund's German seals**



DOZA Urk. 2904  
(7<sup>th</sup> September 1411)

**Image 7: Sigismund's German secret seal**

In respect of the German secret seal, there are continuous evidences of its uninterrupted use of from 30<sup>th</sup> June 1411 (including the above-mentioned charter in favor of Frederick of Nuremberg);<sup>269</sup> the case of the majestic seal, however, is more complicated. Bertalan Kéry and recently Tünde Wehli claimed that it was in use since 1411.<sup>270</sup> The appearance of the imperial register book, the German secret seal and Kanizsai's new title by the end of June-beginning of July 1411 suggests that the

<sup>263</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.12.

<sup>264</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.13.

<sup>265</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.14; BATTENBERG, *Hofgerichtssiegel* 126–129.

<sup>266</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.18; BATTENBERG, *Hofgerichtssiegel* 129–133.

<sup>267</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.20.

<sup>268</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.21.

<sup>269</sup> The first documents sealed with Sigismund's German secret seal: CDB I/3. 411–412, nr. 122; CDB I/9. 484, nr. 15; *Mon. Zoll.* VI. 662, nr. 606. and *Mon. Zoll.* VII. 1–5, nr. 1. C.f. with SZILÁGYI, *Personalunion* 150, n. 5; based on the corroboration formula (*sub nostro regio sigillo testimonio*) he identified the seal on a charter issued on 24<sup>th</sup> January 1411 as German secret seal.

<sup>270</sup> KÉRY, *Kaiser Sigismund*; TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.

beginnings of the actual functioning of Sigismund's imperial chancery should be dated to these days, and this hypothesis is supported by the data concerning the notary John Kirchen (Kirchheim) to be discussed below. Thus, it would be logical to assume that also the majestic seal was introduced in the middle of this year. Nevertheless, we know for sure that on 3<sup>rd</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> July, as well as on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1411 there was no majestic seal at the chancery's hand: the documents issued on these days were authenticated with the German secret seal, because the German great seal was not molded yet.<sup>271</sup> A charter dated from 17<sup>th</sup> October 1411 states that the document was sealed *mit unser kuniglicher majestat insigel*, but by consulting the photo of the original it turns out that it was actually issued under German secret seal.<sup>272</sup> On 16<sup>th</sup> March 1412 Sigismund promised Wladislas Jagello that he would put his majestic seal on his charter as soon as it was ready (*presentes litteras sigillo maiestatis nostro faciemus sigillari quanto (sic!) sculptum fuerit et paratum*).<sup>273</sup> Even in a letter written by Burgrave Frederick to the city of Nuremberg on the 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1412 the burgrave promised that he would ask for a new *Quitbrief* at Sigismund instead of the one the city had received shortly before, when they paid their annual taxes of 2000 fl. The reason why the major and the council of Nuremberg was not satisfied with the document they possessed was that it had been authenticated with the Roman secret seal (*sein Quitbrief unter seinem cleinem kuniglichen Insigel geben hat*) instead of the majestic seal (*mit siner Maiestat anhangendem Insigel*).<sup>274</sup> The *Quitbrief* in question is the document engrossed in Buda on 29<sup>th</sup> July 1412, sealed indeed with Sigismund's *kuniglichen anhangendem Insigel*,<sup>275</sup> which implies that by the end of July 1412 Sigismund still did not have a German majestic seal. In fact, except the above referred erroneous identification from 17<sup>th</sup> October 1411 neither the corroboration formulas mention the German majestic seal before the 24<sup>th</sup> August 1412.

The first reference to an existing German great seal comes only from the middle of 1412. In 1931 Hermann Heimpel published a study on *Cod. Pal. Lat. 701* of the Vatican Library, which – among others – contains a letter-book (*Briefbuch*) from King Sigismund's time. Some documents of the codex had already been printed in Finke's *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, Heimpel himself edited further 64 pieces, either in full-text, excerpts or as abstracts. On *fol. 292v* of the manuscript there is

<sup>271</sup> *mit unserm romischen kuniglichem anhangendem Insigel, wann unsrer kuniglichen Mayestat Insigel noch nit bereyt was* (*Mon. Zoll.* VI. 662, nr. 606 and VII. 1–5, nr. 1); *Wer ouch daz Ir ander quitbriefe under unserer kuniglicher maiestat insigel umb die vorgevant stewren hernach bedurfftet, so wolten wir uch die geben, das wir ouch uff dise zyte getan hetten, danne daz solich maiestat insigel noch nicht bereyt was. Mit urkund etc.* RRB E 7r–7v, but also *Mon. Zoll.* VII. 20, nr. 14 and 21, nr. 15.

<sup>272</sup> NA ACK 1431 (<http://monasterium.net/mom/CZ-NA/ACK/1431/charter>).

<sup>273</sup> CDP I. 49, nr. 10, *Iglow*. C.f. with RI XI/201 and ZsO III/1860 where the place of issue is indicated as Stará Lubovňa/Lubló (Germ. Lublau, Polish Lubowla). In the original MNL OL DF 288994 and 288995 Spišská Nová Ves/Igló (Germ. Zipser Neudorf).

<sup>274</sup> *Mon. Zoll.* VII. 141–142, nr. 164; *Quitbriefs* were normally sealed with the German great seal, see n. 271.

<sup>275</sup> *Mon. Zoll.* VII. 119, nr. 120.

a missive written most probably by John Esztergomi<sup>276</sup> to Archbishop and Imperial Chancellor John Kanizsai, the second part of which goes as follows:

Besides, I would like to inform your Most Reverend Father that the imperial majestic seal has recently been molded, and in the presence of the Lord Cardinal [Branda Castiglione], prelates, barons and knights in the great hall the Lord (Bishop) of Zagreb grasped the seal, hid it into the bosom of his garment and told me laughing: “O, your lord is going to cut my throat!” In the end his royal majesty, sealing it with his signet, gave it to my hands in a pouch in front of the prelates and barons so that I should keep it for your Most Reverend Father with great care.<sup>277</sup>

The first part of the letter is talking about the programme – a nine-day “sightseeing”-tour of Esztergom and the Danube-bend – planned for the period of King Wladislas II Jagello’s stay at Archbishop Kanizsai’s, whose task was to try to settle the dispute between the Polish king and the Teutonic knights. Therefore, the document can be dated to the first half of June 1412.<sup>278</sup> Since John Esztergomi was Kanizsai’s *familiaris* and, as we are going to see, from March 1412 imperial vice-chancellor, it is very likely that Sigismund indeed gave him the German majestic seal (*sigillum maiestatis imperialis*) to hand it over to his lord. The seal was used on 13<sup>th</sup> August,<sup>279</sup> and then 24<sup>th</sup> August 1412<sup>280</sup> in Buda, when Sigismund decided in the litigation between the Polish king and the Teutonic knights; the letter of judgement was issued *in aula magna regia castri Budensis sub nostre maiestatis sigilli appensione*. Among the witnesses both the imperial chancellor Kanizsai and his vice Esztergomi were listed.

From the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1412 there are further evidences of the existence of a *sigillum imperiale* which was in these days actually not at Sigismund’s disposal. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1412 Sigismund sent a letter to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order sealed *propter absenciam sigilli nostri imperialis sigillo nostro quo ut rex Hungariae [utimur]*,<sup>281</sup> while on the next day he put his

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<sup>276</sup> Heimpel did not identify the recipient.

<sup>277</sup> *Insuper innotescat vestre reverendissime paternitati quod iam in instanti fecit complere sigillum maiestatis imperialis astantibus domino cardinali, prelati, baronibus ac militibus in stuba maiori ac dominus Zagrabiensis capiendo sigillum et in sinu reponendo dicebat ridiculose ad me: O, dominus tuus abscondit michi guttur! Et tandem eadem regia maiestatis in quadam cyrotheca illud sigillando cum signeto suo in presencia prelatorum et baronum tradidit ad manus meas sub tanta custodia [ut] reservarem vestre reverendissime paternitati.* HEIMPEL, *Aus der Kanzlei* 150, nr. 25; ZsO III/2340.

<sup>278</sup> *Nam inter cetera intendit sua serenitas [i.e. Sigismund] ut idem d. rex Polonie uno die in Maroth [Pilismarót], secundo die in Strigonio, tercio die in Visegrad, quarto et quinto diebus in Heukuch [Hévkút], Nastre et Damas [Márianosza and Ipolydamásd], sexto die in Insula [modern-day Szentendrei-sziget], septimo die in Vacia [Vác], octavo die in Monostor [Pilisszentkereszt or Budaszentlőrinc (?)] et nono die in Buda vel in Salmar [Solymár] et in circuitu Bude idem d. rex Polonie velit pausare et solaciari. Et sperat sua serenitas quod de consilio vestro istis novem diebus poterit in factis d. regis Polonie et suorum et d. Cruciferorum dare debitum ordinem et bonam expeditionem.* In the end the planned excursion did not take place, see C. TÓTH, *Zsigmond és Ulászló*. C.f. with ZsO III/2338.

<sup>279</sup> HEIMPEL, *Aus der Kanzlei* 153, n. 2.

<sup>280</sup> CELICHOWSKI (ed.), *Lites* 52–69, nr. 18. Without clear reference to the seal CELICHOWSKI (ed.), *Lites* 69–70, nr. 19 (30<sup>th</sup> August 1412): *zu Urkund diser vorgeschriben Teyding ist unser vorgeanten Kunig Sigmunds Insigel [...] gedruckt zu Ende diser Schrifft*. CELICHOWSKI (ed.), *Lites* 70–71, nr. 20 (1<sup>st</sup> October, Buda) without corroboration.

<sup>281</sup> CELICHOWSKI (ed.), *Lites* 71–72, nr. 21.

ring seal on a missive addressed to Frederick of Ortenburg because of the same reason.<sup>282</sup> The use of the expression *sigillum imperiale* instead of *sigillum regale* suggests that it was not the German secret but rather the majestic seal which the chancery referred to. (The other possibility is that the term *imperiale* hints at the German seals in general.) Approximately two months later another letter was sent to the Teutonic Order. Instead of being written in German and authenticated with the majestic seal as usual it was written in Latin and sealed with the (Roman) “royal seal” because Sigismund’s German notaries and the majestic seal were already in Friaul.<sup>283</sup> To sum up, for the time being I do not have evidences for the existence or the use of the German majestic seal before the mid-1412, which suggests that it was introduced in chancery practice only one year after Kanizsai had been appointed imperial chancellor, and the imperial register book and the German secret seal had been put into use. It is very likely that the seal Sigismund delivered to Esztergomi in the summer of 1412 was molded shortly before this handover.

The afore-mentioned source references imply that under usual circumstances the kings of the Holy Roman Empire did not use the majestic seal before their coronation.<sup>284</sup> Sigismund, however, could not wait three years after his election to introduce the new seal. What is perhaps surprising, especially if we consider the chronology of John Kirchen’s career at Sigismund’s court, is that he did not have one earlier than the middle of 1412. John Kirchen (or Kirchheim) the Elder was King Wenceslas’ scribe at the *Hofgericht*, registrar, notary and proto-notary, then he held similar positions at King Rupert’s court.<sup>285</sup> After Rupert’s death he served the late king’s son Louis III of Pfalz for a while, on 21<sup>st</sup> January 1411 he was in Buda as “*unsers Oheims des Pfalczgrauens Rate und diener.*”<sup>286</sup> According to this charter by that time he was going to set off for Germany, from where he returned to Hungary by the end of June. On the 30<sup>th</sup> June 1411 he issued five charters (*ad mandatum domini regis Johannes Kirchen*) under the German secret seal,<sup>287</sup> and from then on he was responsible for issuing until October 1414. Most probably it was also Kirchen who took care of the paper demand of the imperial writing organs (i.e. the imperial chancery and the chancery of the *Hofgericht*); the watermarks of Sigismund’s *Achtbuch* and register books hints at a

<sup>282</sup> ZsO III/2748.

<sup>283</sup> *sigillo nostro maiestatis et eciam notariis Alemanicis in remotis circa Forum Julii existentibus propterea litere ad nostram Novam marchiam more solito in Alemanico scripte et sigillo nostre maiestatis sigillate non fuere, sed ecce illas in Latino sermone et sigillo nostro regali in efficaci forma.* HEIMPEL, *Aus der Kanzlei* 153, nr. 29. The *sigillum maiestatis* could only be the German majestic seal as the Hungarian great seal was surely in Hungary by that time. The *sigillum regale* mentioned in the text is very likely the German secret seal since the Hungarian is usually referred to as *sigillum secretum* or *sigillum minor*.

<sup>284</sup> Also HEINIG, *Reichsstädte* 70.

<sup>285</sup> On Kirchen see NOORDIJK, *Untersuchungen* 14–15; FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 25–28, 106–112; MORAW, *Kanzlei Ruprechts* 488–498, BATTENBERG, *Gerichtsschreiberamt* 130–148.

<sup>286</sup> *Mon. Zoll.* VI. 645, nr. 589: *...unser lieber getreuer Johannes Kirchen, des vorgenannten unsers Oheims des Pfalczgrauens Rate und diener, entwerter diess briefs, den wir dorumb czu rch/uch [to Nuremberg] senden wol.*

<sup>287</sup> RI XI/39–43.

supplier in the Frankish region close to Nuremberg.<sup>288</sup> Before 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1412 Kirchen is referred to as notary, on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1412 as proto-notary.<sup>289</sup> Considering the facts mentioned above in connection with the *Reichsregisterbuch*, chancery notes and the use of the imperial secret seal, it seems that the organization of Sigismund's imperial chancery must be connected to Kirchen's name. His efforts were generously rewarded: on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1412 Sigismund ascribed Kirchen the taxes which were to be paid on St. Martin's day by the towns of Aalen, Bopfingeu, Esslingen, Gelnhausen, Giengen, Gmünd, Kempten, Reutlingen, Überlingen, Weil and Weinsberg,<sup>290</sup> and also in the following years he received numerous other benefits from the king.<sup>291</sup> It is very likely that Kirchen, just like Rupert's chancellor Bishop Raban of Speyer († 1439) and Sigismund's future imperial chancellor George of Hohenlohe (†1423), Bishop of Passau, later archbishop of Esztergom,<sup>292</sup> took also some notaries and scribes with him.<sup>293</sup> One of them, John Metzenpfenning, is known by name,<sup>294</sup> and perhaps Peter Wacker also came with Kirchen to Hungary.<sup>295</sup> They were appointed on the very same day, on 10<sup>th</sup> September 1413 in Chur, to notary<sup>296</sup> and they both worked as scribes of the *Hofgericht* as well.

There is no information how Michael Priest landed at Sigismund's imperial chancery. Since he held prebends dominantly in Moravia and Bohemia,<sup>297</sup> we can suppose that he was of Bohemian or Moravian origin. In his work on the relations between the Hungarian and Bohemian / Polish chancery practices Miklós Bezsák lists Priest's name among the Bohemian members of the Hungarian chancery, together with John Uski, Peter Wlaschim and Paul de Tost.<sup>298</sup> Among others Priest was responsible for issuing documents on behalf of John Kirchen in 1412 and 1413; on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1414 he is referred to as notary, four years later as proto-notary.<sup>299</sup> Francesco Serazoni

<sup>288</sup> BATTENBERG, *Achtbuch* 10.

<sup>289</sup> RI XI/308–318; FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 25–28, 106. In 1414 also as *secretarius* (RTA VII. 189–190, nr. 129) and he was granted a coat of arms (RI XI/917–918) and the title of count palatine (together with his son and his descendants).

<sup>290</sup> RI XI/308–318, see also the remark to RI XI/319. Also on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1412, RI XI/376.

<sup>291</sup> RI XI/402, 686–698, 685, 835, 916a, 919, 927, 939, 940, 1243, 1255, 1446, 1479, 1529, 1545, 1570a, 1580a (all *ad mandatum domini regis Michael de Priest*). John Kirchen the Younger was appointed familiaris on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1413 (RI XI/830 A).

<sup>292</sup> ERKENS, *Kanzlei Sigismunds* 433, 441.

<sup>293</sup> RI XI/685 (4<sup>th</sup> September 1413): *uns und dem reiche ... unverdrossenlich und ouch costlich mit schreibern knechten und pferden zu hand drew jar gedienet hat.*

<sup>294</sup> RI XI/2405. First mentioned in 1413. For Metzenpfenning see ERKENS, *Kanzlei Sigismunds* 438; FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 27, 111.

<sup>295</sup> FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 31–34; 118–123. BATTENBERG, *Gerichtsschreiberamt* 149–163.

<sup>296</sup> The name *Johannes* Wacker (RI XI/725) in the *Reichsregisterbuch* is most probably a mistake, c.f. with the next entry concerning John Metzenpfenning (RI XI/726).

<sup>297</sup> In Bresslau and Prague. FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 113–114.

<sup>298</sup> BEZSÁK, *Okleveles gyakorlat* 23. In the footnote Bezsák refers to the work of Ferdinand TANDRA, *Kanceláře a písaři v zemích českých za králů z rodu Lucemburského Jana, Karla IV. a Václava IV.* (1310–1420). Prague: 1892.

<sup>299</sup> FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 30–31 and 113–118; proto-notary from 30<sup>th</sup> September 1418.

(*Franciscus Serazonus / Sazonus*) came from a Milanese cloth merchant family<sup>300</sup> and he was mentioned as Sigismund's notary on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1411 for the first time.<sup>301</sup> Although his name appears in remarks of charters issued by the imperial chancery,<sup>302</sup> it is possible that earlier he had served at the Hungarian chancery. Nonetheless, he soon changed his "profession" and in the spring of May 1412 he was already in Milan negotiating with Facino Cane.<sup>303</sup> Albert Fleischmann is also referred to as proto-notary in Rupert's as well as in Sigismund's charters; his title, however, was apparently an honorary one, and he fulfilled diplomatic tasks instead of taking part in the work of the chancery.<sup>304</sup>

One needs to expand on John Esztergomi's appointment to imperial vice-chancellor as well. As for Kanizsai, it seems convincing that his title was a reward for his previous services. Most probably nobody thought that he would ever take part in the management of the imperial chancery – and not so much because of his age or incompetence, but due to the diplomatic missions and administrative tasks he had to fulfill. If he ever had the German majestic seal at his disposal, it was only for a short while in 1412. In September 1412, he left for Poland with the two Perényi,<sup>305</sup> and then, although he was part of Sigismund's entourage in Zagreb on 8<sup>th</sup> November 1412 when the king pledged the towns of the Spiš-region to Wladislas of Poland,<sup>306</sup> he did not go to Friuli<sup>307</sup> but stayed in Hungary as Sigismund's governor and vicar. (Chapter III.2.1.2)

It is very likely, however, that the archbishop wanted to see one of his men at the imperial chancery, and the right person for the task was apparently John Esztergomi, whose name appears on imperial charters from December 1411 on.<sup>308</sup> If we follow the Hungarian logic, Esztergomi's vice-chancellorship would mean that in Kanizsai's absence he possessed the German majestic seal and he was the actual leader of the imperial chancery. A late evidence of this comes from 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1414, when Jacob Brun and Konrad Wisse, the envoys of the city of Frankfurt, agreed with the imperial chancery on the fees to be paid for the confirmation of their privileges. They informed the

<sup>300</sup> BEINHOFF, *Die Italiener* 111. He is perhaps identical with Franceschino Seranzonibus mentioned in 1388 BEINHOFF, *Die Italiener* 112. According to Forstreiter they are two different persons. FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 153.

<sup>301</sup> RI XI/135. Then on 10<sup>th</sup> September 1413 John Wacker (RI XI/725) and John Metzumpfenning (RI XI/726).

<sup>302</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> May 1412 in Diósgyőr and Eger (HEIMPEL, *Aus der Kanzlei* 144, nr. 18; RI XI/217, 227).

<sup>303</sup> HEIMPEL, *Aus der Kanzlei* 130, 145–146, nr. 19 (ZsO III/2142).

<sup>304</sup> MORAW, *Kanzlei Ruprechts* 501–503, 506; but also FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 28–30, 112–113.

<sup>305</sup> ZsO III/2694–2696 (17<sup>th</sup> September 1412); also ZsO III/2973.

<sup>306</sup> I.a. MNL OL DL 9984, CDH X/5. 297–302, nr.130. On the pledging recently INCZE, *Spiš*.

<sup>307</sup> According to the dating of the archbishop's own charters he was staying at his residence in Esztergom from 18<sup>th</sup> November, MNL OL DF 272751 (18<sup>th</sup> November), MNL OL DF 227512 (13<sup>th</sup> December), MNL OL DF 227111 (14<sup>th</sup> December). By the end of November–beginning of December Sigismund had already been communicating with Kanizsai by sending letters (ZsO III/3019).

<sup>308</sup> In imperial charters he was referred to from 10<sup>th</sup> December 1411: in RI XI/150, 185, 239, 243, 306 without any title, in RI XI/201, 206 and 303 (16<sup>th</sup> March, 31<sup>st</sup> March and 24<sup>th</sup> August 1412) as *vicecancellarius*, on 7<sup>th</sup> September 1412 as *notarius* (RI XI/337).

town leaders that the issuing of the new charters would cost 1100 or 1200 fl. (*wir hoffin iz blibe an xi<sup>c</sup> oder xii<sup>c</sup> gulden und nit daruber*), but they also reported about an appeal of the Hungarian provost John (i.e. the imperial vice-chancellor John Esztergomi). For the time of the court's stay in Frankfurt John wished for an accommodation for himself and for 14–15 horses close to the king's residence. The envoys noticed – on John Kirchen's advice – that although the vice-chancellor George (most probably Késmárki, even if Brun and Wisse were talking about the George, the “vice-chancellor of a Hungarian bishop”) had a similar request, John's case should have been preferred, because he had the German majestic seal at his disposal.<sup>309</sup>

Nevertheless, even if Esztergomi was a person of outstanding skills and competence, in terms of dealing with the imperial administration he surely could not compete with John Kirchen and his years-long experience, or most of the German notaries. Therefore, I would argue Szilágyi's statement, according to which “the provost of Esztergom dedicated himself vigorously to the management of the (chancery) affairs ... which task he performed all alone.”<sup>310</sup> On the contrary, interesting conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of Sigismund's route from Zagreb to Udine by the end of 1412.<sup>311</sup>

At some point during his march to Friuli Sigismund sent the already quoted, undated letter to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, the corroboration of which goes as follows: *sigillo nostro maiestatis et eciam notariis Alemanicis in remotis circa Forum Julii existentibus propterea litere ad nostram Novam marchiam more solito in Alemanico scripte et sigillo nostre maiestatis sigillate non fuere, sed ecce illas in Latino sermone et sigillo nostro regali in efficaci forma.*<sup>312</sup> It is quite clear from this formula that the German great seal and the German notaries were not with Sigismund by that time – most probably they left directly for Udine from Zagreb.<sup>313</sup> Other documents issued in these one and a half months prove, however, that the imperial vice-chancellor Esztergomi and the German secret seal were travelling together with Sigismund. Two of the five

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<sup>309</sup> ...*dan Kircheim sagete: er wiste nit zumale gruntlich, obe unser herre der konig gein Franckenfurt queme, sie hetten anders die bezalunge und sachen gein Franckenfurt verczogen. Doch hat der probst von Ungern, mit namen gnant probst Johann, darin sunderlich geredt und getragen, daz wir yme ein herberge zu Franckenfurt bestellen sullen zu xiiii pherde oder xv und als vil luden. Und auch gesagit: obe die herberge forderte einer gnand her George, der vicecancellarius ist eins bischoffs von Ungern, daran sullet ir uch nit keren, und yme die herberge tun der gnand ist probst Johann vorgeannt, der auch die maiestat und ingesigel hat. Und darumb duncket uns gut sin, daz ir yme die herberge bestellet eczwaz in der nehe by unsers herren der koniges herberge.* JANSSEN (ed.), Frankfurt I. 261–262, nr. 472.

<sup>310</sup> SZILÁGYI, Personalunion 152.

<sup>311</sup> KONDOR, Feldlager.

<sup>312</sup> HEIMPEL, Aus der Kanzlei 153 nr. 29. Also ZsO III/3029. For the letter mentioned in the text see ZsO III/3028.

<sup>313</sup> HEIMPEL, Aus der Kanzlei 153, n. 2. There are indeed no royal charters from November and the first half of December 1412 issued but in Latin.

documents dealing with imperial matters<sup>314</sup> were issued *ad mandatum domini regis Jo[hannes] prepositus Sancti Stephani vicecancellarius*<sup>315</sup> and three found its way to the *Reichsregisterbuch*. Unfortunately, only one of these documents is preserved in original, namely in the Archives of Cividale. Fortunately, however, it bears the above mentioned chancery note and it has a secret seal under paper cover at its close, which can be identified as the German secret seal. Besides, two of the three charters recorded in the *Reichsregisterbuch* were issued first under German secret seal, then re-issued under majestic,<sup>316</sup> and also the charters of 29<sup>th</sup> November 1412 (Brinje) and 10<sup>th</sup> December 1412 (Görz) were issued *sub regalis nostri sigilli appensione*. Since there are no chancery notes referring to John Kirchen between 31<sup>st</sup> October and 17<sup>th</sup> December it seems plausible that Kirchen and the German notaries with the imperial majestic seal indeed went to Udine and did not bestow any charters in this period. John Esztergomi, on the other hand, was in Sigismund's entourage in Dalmatia and all the documents needed were issued there.<sup>317</sup> These facts hint to a kind of "division of labor" between Kirchen and Esztergomi, and in fact such a practice was not unknown at the imperial chancery.<sup>318</sup> If so, it would be tempting to assume that while Kirchen was entrusted with managing the administrative issues of the Empire, Esztergomi, as a quasi "private secretary," was responsible for Sigismund's diplomatic correspondence and for issuing documents of non-imperial (neither Hungarian!) provenance.<sup>319</sup>

The fact that Kirchen was not mentioned in the chancery notes of charters issued in Seravalle, Belluno, Feltre and Trient/Trento suggest that he was not in Sigismund's entourage in June and the first half of July 1413 either, but he joined the court only in Bozen/Bolzano. By then, however, the notaries of the imperial chancery Michael Priest and Peter Wacker definitely travelled with Sigismund. Nonetheless, it seems that the documents issued on the way were recorded in the

<sup>314</sup> HEIMPEL, Aus der Kanzlei 154, nr. 30, RI XI/381–383 and Biblioteca Civica di Cividale del Friuli, Antico Archivio Comunità, Lorenzo Orlandi, Pergamena e Documenti. Busta 8 Nr. 132. For the hint I express my gratitude to Péter E. Kovács. The letter published by Heimpel is undated but with this Sigismund informed Brunoro della Scala that shortly, i.e. on Monday or Tuesday, he was going to arrive in Görz (*die lunew aut martis in Goricia constituemur*), from where he wanted to leave for Friuli as soon as possible.

<sup>315</sup> Biblioteca Civica di Cividale del Friuli, Antico Archivio Comunità, Lorenzo Orlandi, Pergamena e Documenti. Busta 8 Nr. 132 und RI XI/382. In the case of the latter piece the entry in the *Reichsregisterbuch* (RRB E 40v) do not refer to any chancery notes, unlike CELICHOWSKI (ed.), *Lites* 471–472, nr. 72.

<sup>316</sup> The two pieces which were issued twice are RI. XI/382 (29<sup>th</sup> October) and 383 (10<sup>th</sup> December), in RRB E 40r–40v: *Item date fuerunt etiam littere in simili forma scripte de verbo ad verbum sub sigillo maiestatis*. It is very much unlikely that any of them was sealed with a Hungarian seal as Heimpel supposed in the case of RI XI/382, see KONDOR, Feldlager.

<sup>317</sup> It is not clear who took care of the *Reichsregisterbuch* after Sigismund left Zagreb.

<sup>318</sup> See MORAW, *Kanzlei Ruprechts* 504.

<sup>319</sup> In fact, we are lacking the evidences concerning George Késmárki's whereabouts between 29<sup>th</sup> June 1412 and 1<sup>st</sup> September 1413.



*Reichsregisterbuch* only later in Bolzano,<sup>320</sup> so it is possible that the register book was actually kept by Kirchen. The interesting question is again that of the seals and thus the relation between Kirchen's and Esztergomi's office. Was the German majestic seal also with Kirchen and were the charters sealed only when they were recorded in the *Reichsregisterbuch*?<sup>321</sup> Or were they perhaps authenticated with the German secret seal kept by Esztergomi? To overcome this problem – if it is possible at all – requires the study of the seals and corroborations which is certainly not possible without consulting the original charters or at least full text copies. Nonetheless, for lack of an extensive digital database this topic should be a subject of a separate research.

There are no traces of Kirchen in the chancery notes between 28<sup>th</sup> February 1414 (Piacenza) and 16<sup>th</sup> June 1414 (Pontestura) either but at that time, unlike a year earlier, the *Reichsregisterbuch* was continuously in use. Then from the middle of June until the beginning of October hardly anyone else but Kirchen was responsible for issuing, which trend came to a sudden end after the court had left Nuremberg. It must have happened in those days that he fell out of Sigismund's favor for a so far unknown reason.<sup>322</sup> This incident certainly had its effect on the daily routine of the imperial chancery: Esztergomi and Priest became the leading persons responsible for issuing. Besides, between November 1414 and April 1419 John Gersse's (Gerße),<sup>323</sup> from January to July 1415 also Jobst Rot's name appeared on the charters.<sup>324</sup> It seems that Peter Kalde, later notary, secretary and proto-notary of the imperial chancery, also started his career as scribe by the end of 1414–beginning of 1415.<sup>325</sup> Kirchen returned to the imperial chancery two years later, the notes refer to him regularly from 9<sup>th</sup> February 1417 again.

The results of this chapter on the changes of the Hungarian chancery practice after 1410/1411 and the beginnings of Sigismund's imperial chancery can be summed up in a chart as follows:

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<sup>320</sup> Unlike the documents issued in Meran (Merano), which follow a chronological order on fol. 55v–61r, these entries were randomly recorded on fol. 48v–55r.

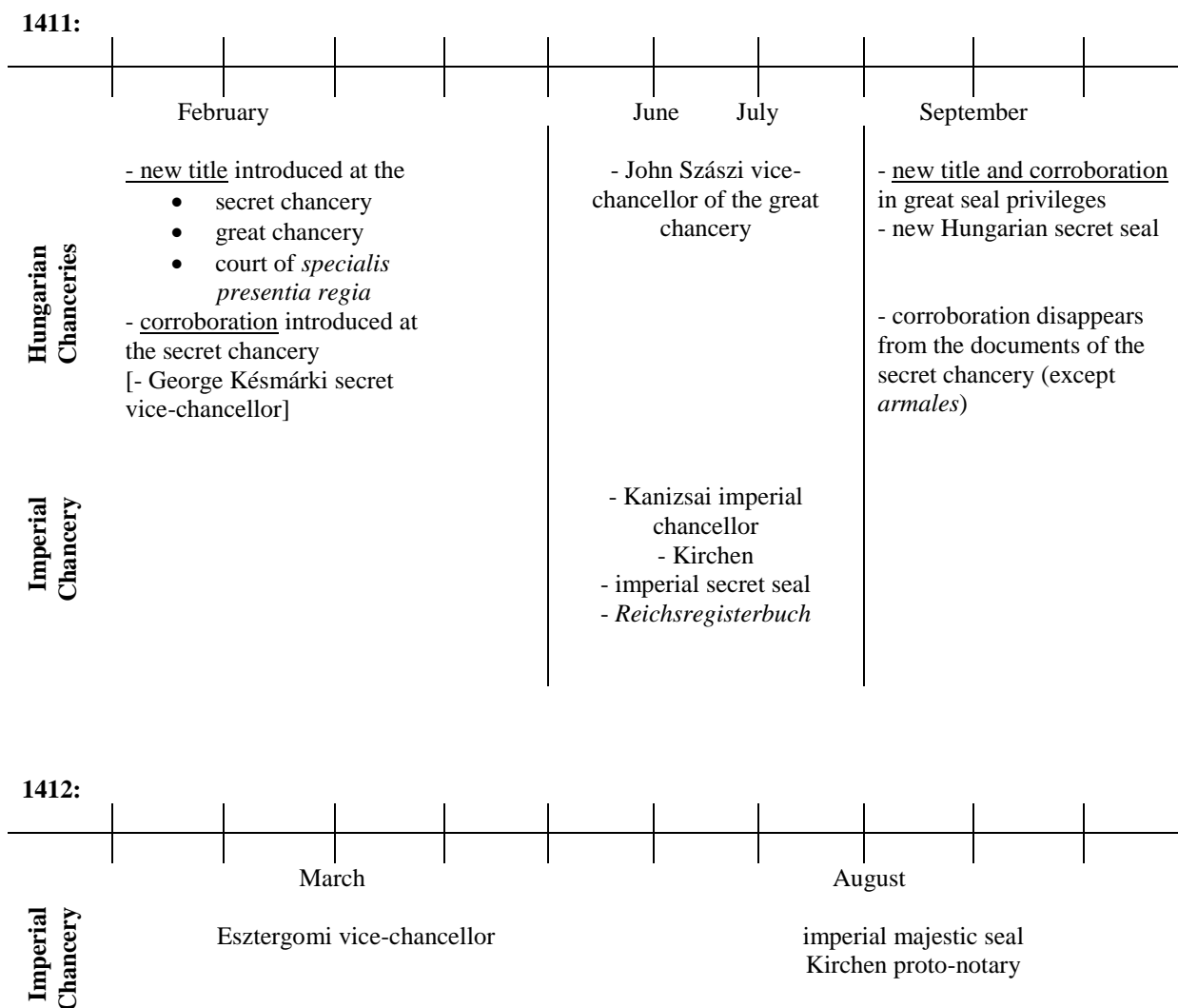
<sup>321</sup> On the process of issuing and registering see KOLLER, *Reichsregister* 8–11, 17–20.

<sup>322</sup> On 15th January 1415 the envoys of Frankfurt staying in Constance wrote: *Auch ist her Johann Kircheim iczunt her gein Constenz komen, und versehin wir uns er kome widder zu gnaden*. JANSSEN (ed.), Frankfurt I, 272–273, nr. 484.

<sup>323</sup> Until the beginning of 1419; before this period only once on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1413, RI XI/730. On his title RI XI/7844. FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 41–42.

<sup>324</sup> Between January and July 1415; then once in Paris RI XI/1935. FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 49–50, 141–142. In January 1415 Peter Wacker left the imperial chancery and became notary of the *Hofgericht*, see Ch. III.2.3.1.

<sup>325</sup> FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmunds* 36–38.



**Figure 5: Changes in Hungarian chancery practice and the development of the imperial chancery 1411–1412**

As it is shown also on the chart, from the beginning of 1411 the Hungarian chanceries gradually adapted their practice to the new situation. In terms of issuing imperial documents the first months of the year was an interim phase: from the very few data it seems likely that until the end of June the charters were compiled by German-speaking scribes and notaries available in the Kingdom of Hungary (Hungarian chancery personnel or perhaps Frederick of Nuremberg’s men). The “real” imperial chancery started functioning by the end of June–beginning of July 1411, when John Kirchen returned from Germany, and the German secret seal as well as the *Reichsregisterbuch* were put in use. In case there was indeed no vice-chancellor at the Hungarian great chancery in 1410, the middle of 1411 was the time when Sigismund arranged the issue of the chanceries. The “new system” was actually not more than the co-existence of the Hungarian chanceries and the imperial chancery, with a nominal and a real head on the top of each institution (Eberhard-Szászi, Perényi-Késmárki, Kanizsai-Esztergomi/Kirchen).

Kanizsai was appointed to imperial chancellor in 1411, Esztergomi to imperial vice-chancellor most probably in the first months of 1412, while Kirchen apparently did not have any official title until August 1412. The reason for this is unclear but since there was traditionally no vice-chancellor at the imperial chancery it is possible that for a while the “structure” of Sigismund’s new chancery was not specified. Even if Esztergomi was also working at the imperial chancery from December 1411 at the latest, the actual work was, there is no doubt, organized and controlled by John Kirchen. Therefore, there is a good reason to suppose that it was not the needs of the chancery or German bureaucracy which played a role in Esztergomi’s appointment. In this case we witness either the solemn victory of Kanizsai’s interests, or Sigismund had certain personal preferences which made him to decide for Esztergomi. Finally, it is also possible that within the imperial chancery Sigismund planned to create a system similar to that of the Hungarian royal chanceries. Since we do not know anything about Sigismund’s relations to the new vice-chancellor, it is impossible to say to which extent the explanation that Sigismund wanted to have a trusted man by his side as a quasi “private secretary,” could be realistic. In any case, this step was hardly welcomed by Kirchen, and most probably he was everything but happy that he saw a(nother) Hungarian dignitary in a leading position of the imperial chancery. But Kirchen was really needed at the chancery and Sigismund found a way to keep him by his side. By the end of August 1412, he was already mentioned as proto-notary<sup>326</sup> and the tax assignments he received in 1412 and 1413 were perhaps not only a generous remuneration of his services but also a means to make him cope with the situation – at least until the fall of 1414.

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<sup>326</sup> RI XI/317.

### III. The Administration: Mobile and Resident

When Sigismund became a German king in 1410/1411 he started to rule a “state”-complex of about 1.325.000 km<sup>2</sup> – an area of approximately three and a half times bigger than today’s Germany. Besides, with this election he became the lay head of Western Christendom, which resulted in the fact that he started to deal with issues which can be labeled as “all-European” or “universal” – even if they occasionally corresponded with the dynastic interests of the Luxembourgs as well. Before the German election the focal point of Sigismund’s actions in terms of “foreign politics”<sup>327</sup> was the problem of the Ottoman advance; after 1411 issues such as the western schism, the fight against heretics (Hussites), the church union with the Greeks, the conflicts between England and France, between Poland and the Teutonic Knights were given priority.<sup>328</sup> Taking these objectives into consideration there is no wonder that during his long reign Sigismund managed to travel through an immense territory “stretching from the British Isles in the north-west to the Pyrenees in the south-west, from Gniezno in the north-east to Constantinople and Rhodes in south-east of Europe.”<sup>329</sup>

The phenomenon of the travelling king was of course not new in fifteenth-century Europe. “Reisekönigtum”, “itinerant kingship”, “travelling kingship” or “corte itinerante” are phrases which describe “a 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>330</sup> Itinerant kingship was characteristic of the German realms, but for a shorter or longer while it existed in all lands of the Western Christendom in the High Middle Ages. In its classical form, for instance in the time of Otto the Great (936–973), the king stayed a few weeks in palaces located in the central parts (*Zentralräume*) of the Empire (Saxony, Franconia, Rhineland), and a few days in castles in the so-called “transit areas” (*Durchzugsgebieten*). The ruler and his entourage also spent longer periods of time, i.e. four to six weeks, in winter residences or hunting lodges. These travels were cyclical, the king undertook more or less the same route every year (except, of course, during wars etc.); the stops were determined first and foremost by the seasons and the ecclesiastical feasts.<sup>331</sup>

Sigismund’s kingship, however, was not itinerant in this classical sense. He was a – most of the time – travelling king (*rex ambulans*) but administration and governance was by far not the main

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<sup>327</sup> On approaches to “foreign politics” see WEFERS, Außenpolitik 9–14.

<sup>328</sup> ENGEL, Travelling King.

<sup>329</sup> HOENSCH, Itinerar 1–2.

<sup>330</sup> BERNARDT, Itinerant Kingship 45.

<sup>331</sup> MÜLLER-MERTENS, Verfassung; MORAW, Reichsregierung.

reason for hitting the road. Knut Schulz wrote in the introduction of the volume *Unterwegssein im Spätmittelalter* that rulers in the later Middle Ages were on the go mainly for reasons of representation, wars and political missions<sup>332</sup> – and this is clearly visible on Sigismund’s itinerary as well. He was travelling a lot *outside* of his realms because of the diplomatic and political challenges he faced: in the 1410s he led military campaigns on the Balkans (1410) and in Friuli (1412-1413), and completed diplomatic missions in Aragon, France and England (1415-1416). For practical reasons, however, Sigismund was forced to travel *inside* the Empire as well. First, as King of the Romans he “did not have his own possessions (*Eigenbesitz*) and he could not expect from the towns, castles and monasteries he preferred to stay in to pay the costs of accommodation and catering of his entourage – which rarely consisted of less than three-hundred persons – for long. Thus, he had to be mobile.”<sup>333</sup> Besides, as Paul-Joachim Heinig noted, the intensity of the late medieval German kings’ rule was still reliant on their personal presence and in spite of gradually changing methods and practices of ruling the actual range of their influence did not reach out much further than the scope of their itinerary.<sup>334</sup> Nonetheless, it seems that at the beginning of his German kingship Sigismund did not realize the importance of taking part actively and in person in the political life and the administration of the Empire and he “became aware of the lack of an efficient imperial administration [only] after his visits in Paris and London in 1416.”<sup>335</sup> Although this statement may sound weird and conveys a somewhat naive picture of Sigismund, the present chapter, which stands also as a comparison of the Hungarian and imperial administrative conditions, is going to show that this idea could indeed correspond to the reality.

To begin with, Hoensch’s observation raises a problem: how should “administration” be defined in a medieval context? In the first volume of the *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte* Peter Moraw emphasized that regarding the Middle Ages “administration” (*Verwaltung*) should not be considered an abstract term describing institutionalized judicial-bureaucratic processes, but an expression referring very pragmatically to “the way and manner how the central power actually realized her will.”<sup>336</sup> Thus, while in a modern setting “administration” refers to the executive branch of government, in connection with Sigismund’s rule it must be understood in a much wider sense, including aspects of ruling and co-ruling in general, legislation, jurisdiction and politics.

<sup>332</sup> MORAW (ed.), *Unterwegssein* 12. and the introduction by Knut Schulz. See also WIDDER, *Itinerar und Politik*.

<sup>333</sup> HOENSCH, *Itinerar* 1–2.

<sup>334</sup> HEINIG, *Reichsstädte* 185. Nevertheless, the intensity of travelling activity gradually decreased, see HEINIG, *Reichsstädte* 12.

<sup>335</sup> HOENSCH, *Kaiser Sigismund* 519–520.

<sup>336</sup> JESERICH–POHL–UNRUH (eds.), *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte* I. 22.

In the 1410s, especially after 1412 the perhaps most important characteristic feature of the “Sigismund-administration” was that it was resident and mobile at the same time. On the following pages I am going to analyze who were those persons in Sigismund’s close surroundings or far away from his travelling court who took part in decision making or in administrative-governmental processes, and in which form they did it. (III.1.) Since I do not aim at reconstructing the court or courtly life as a whole, when studying the “mobile” part of the Sigismund-administration (III.1.1.) the focus is on a relatively small group of Sigismund’s actual entourage,<sup>337</sup> namely on the dignitaries and counselors. This group, however, is going to be studied in its “heterogeneity:” Sigismund’s men from the Kingdom of Hungary together with his followers from the Empire. Such an approach is of great importance as the two groups and the systems did not only co-exist but, I believe, they also influenced each other, sometimes even merged.

The second part of this chapter is dedicated to the “resident administration.” (III.1.2.) Even if many issues could be handled on the go by the king himself, there were tasks which required the permanent (representative) presence of the royal power in the very land. Royal incomes had to be collected on site, military issues had to be discussed and decided without delay; neither the subjects could follow the ruler all over Europe in order to settle disputes and close ongoing court cases. Nevertheless, also here I put limits to research issues insofar I restricted my analysis to the central royal administration and I am not dealing with the lower or territorial levels of bureaucracy (duchies in the Empire, Transylvania, the banates and counties in Hungary, towns etc.), which is very much a theme of national historiographies.

Finally, it must be noted that this chapter is not a prosopographic one. Instead of studying individuals, their life and career, I aimed at analyzing the structure and the system(s) of administration (III.2.). Therefore, apart from the works mentioned in footnotes, I refer to biographic data only in those cases, when there is a clear-cut link between the life events of a certain person and the development or functioning of administrative institutions.

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<sup>337</sup> It is estimated that Sigismund arrived in Bern with 1400 (HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 486.), in Konstanz with 700, in Paris with 800 men. LENZ, König Sigismund 72, 82, n. 2. As for Aragon the numbers vary between 400 and 1500 (JASPERT, Perpignan 4; ZsO V/973 and 1010), on his way to England he was escorted by 800-1000, to the imperial coronation in 1432-1433 by at least 1000 courtiers. In Rome and Milan an entourage of 1500, in Lucca 1200, in Rimini 1500-1600, in Siena 1532 (!), in Ferrara 1000 is mentioned in the sources. BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond látogatása 336–337; BÁRÁNY, A Joint Effort (Zeitalter) 86, n. 10; CSUKOVITS, Nagy utazás; E. KOVÁCS, Gubbio 191–192; WERTNER, Zsigmond kísérete.

## III.1. The Actors

### III.1.1. At the Travelling King's Court

Talking about medieval politics, government and the highest level of the administration, it would be logical to assume that the ruler was helped and advised first and foremost by the most distinguished men of his land(s). If so, these prominent people, many of whom held important offices as well, must have spent most of their time at the royal court or in the close neighborhood of the king's residence.<sup>338</sup> Thus, when studying the problem how the travelling king's court functioned in administrative-governmental terms, we should theoretically focus on these high dignitaries, princes and barons.

Nevertheless, by the fifteenth century the most prestigious dignitaries of the German royal court, the so-called *Erzämter* (steward/seneschal, cupbearer, equerry, chamberlain and the chancellors), and also most of the *Erbämter*,<sup>339</sup> have already become sheer offices of honor: these dignitaries performed only ceremonial and representative duties, and they “did not play any practical role in the administration of the Empire.”<sup>340</sup> The only exception in the time of Sigismund was the chamberlain (*Reichserbkämmerer*) Conrad of Weinsberg and to some extent *Hofmarschall* Haupt of Pappenheim.<sup>341</sup> Yet, as the functioning of (court-)administration must have been ensured, with the fading of the practical importance of the “old” notables new, non-inheritable and paid “parallel positions” were created<sup>342</sup> and, at the same time, the chancellors, proto-notaries, judges of the royal court (*Hofrichter*) and to some extent chaplains (*Hofgeistlichen*), mint masters (*Münzmeister*) and doctors (*Leibärzte*) started to exercise “real” administrative-governmental power and thus gained prestige and influence at the court. Therefore, somewhat anachronistically, not the highest dignitaries of the Empire, but the less prominent office-holders stand in the focus of the present chapter.

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<sup>338</sup> On having real estates in residential towns see Chapter IV.

<sup>339</sup> The three cleric electors were titular chancellors (*Erzkänzler*, *archicancellarius*) of Germany (archbishop of Mainz), Italy (archbishop of Cologne) and Burgundy (archbishop of Trier), the four lay electors held the offices of (Erztruchsess, *archidapifer* – count palatine of the Rhine), equerry (*Erzmarschall*, *archimareschallus* – duke of Saxony), cupbearer (*Erzmundschenk*, *archipincerna* – king of Bohemia) and chamberlain (*Erzkämmerer*, *archicamerarius* – margrave of Brandenburg). The margraves of Meissen have never been prince electors but occupied the office of master of the hunt (*Erzjägermeister*). The most important *Erbämter* (*Erbmarshall*, *Erbkämmerer*, *Erbtruchsess*, *Erbmundschenk*) were held by the members of distinguished families. REINHARD, *Staatsgewalt* 83. See also SCHUBERT, *Erz- und Erbämter* 221; HRG II. 1078.

<sup>340</sup> SCHUBERT, *Hofämter* 298; HRG II. 1078–1079.

<sup>341</sup> SCHUBERT, *Erz- und Erbämter* 232–233.

<sup>342</sup> *Hofmeister-Truchseß*, *Kellermeister-Mundschenk*, *Kammermeister-Kämmerer*, *Stallmeister-Marschall*. These positions were connected neither to an imperial dignity as the *Erzämter* nor to prominent families like the *Erbämter*. They were not inheritable, the *Hofbeamten* took an oath and their relation to the king based on written or oral agreements. In exchange for their service they received financial and material compensation. SCHIRMER, *Hofbeamte*.

Considering the Hungarian situation the “objects” of this very research question are not easy to identify either. Our starting point could be the so-called “list of dignitaries” at the very end of the privileges,<sup>343</sup> which enumerates the most important ecclesiastical and lay office-holders of the kingdom. Besides the prelates (i.e. the archbishops of Esztergom, Kalocsa, Spalato, Ragusa, Zara and the bishops of Zagreb, Várad, Transsylvania, Eger, Pécs, Bosnia, Győr, Vác, Csanád, Nyitra, Zengg, Veszprém, Szerém, Trau, Sebenico, Knin, Nona, Scardona, Makarska, Fara and Corbavia) the lists mention the palatine (*regni Hungariae palatinus*), the voivode of Transylvania (*vayuoda Transsilvanus*), the judge royal (*iudex curiae regis*), the bans of Dalmatia-Croatia, Macsó (Mačva), Slavonia and Severin, the master of the treasury (*magister tavernicorum regalium*), the master of the doorkeepers (*magister ianitorum*),<sup>344</sup> master of the stewards (*magister dapiferorum regalium*), master of the cupbearers (*magister pincernarum regalium*), master of the horse (*magister agazonum regalium*) and the count of Pozsony (*comes Posoniensis*).<sup>345</sup> The dignitaries named on the list were the barons of the kingdom: the most influential and the most powerful, who had the right to use the title “*magnificus*,” even after they had quit their position. (The sources refer to the treasurer (*summus thesaurarius*), the count of the Székelys, the count of Temes and the master of the household (*magister curiae*) also as *magnificus*.<sup>346</sup>) Still, the list of dignitaries was of fixed structure and by no means a list of witnesses, i.e. a register of those who were present and took part in the documented action,<sup>347</sup> and as such it gives no information about the king’s actual advisors, counsellors or assistants. In spite of – or rather due to – this methodological problem it is worth starting the analysis with this very group of barons and looking for proofs of their presence at Sigismund’s side in Italy, the Empire, France or England.<sup>348</sup>

### **III.1.1.1. High Dignitaries at the Travelling Court**

#### **III.1.1.1.1. Hungarian Notables**

By 1412 the two highest dignitaries of the Kingdom of Hungary – the first clerical and the first lay magnate on the list – were Archbishop John Kanizsai of Esztergom and Palatine Nicholas Garai.

<sup>343</sup> Privileges were issued under pending seal, they contained corroboration and *datum per manus* formulas, the date of issuing but not the place, and the *series dignitatum*.

<sup>344</sup> Since 1366 the office of the marshal (*magister curiae regiae*) was unified with that of the master of the doorkeepers. The marshal was not mentioned in the list of dignitaries and after the Anjou period there are no traces of the office.

<sup>345</sup> For e.g. MNL OL DL 10061. By that time, i.e. in 1413, the archbishopric of Kalocsa and Zara as well as the bishopric of Veszprém and the Croatian-Dalmatian seats were vacant, and there was no ban of Szörény.

<sup>346</sup> KUBINYI, *Herrschaftsbildung* 422–428; KUBINYI, *Bárók* 149–150; ENGEL, *Zsigmond bárói* (a) 226–227, but also DVOŘÁKOVÁ, *A lovag* n. 295; MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund* 84.

<sup>347</sup> In case any of the offices was vacant, only the title was mentioned in the charter, e.g. *Colocense et Iadrense sedibus vacantibus, honore banatus Zewriniensis vacante* etc.

<sup>348</sup> The participants of the Council of Constance MNL OL DL 82956, see also ZsO V/195.



The latter, whom German sources usually refer to as *Großgraf*,<sup>349</sup> was also the king's brother-in-law: he married Queen Barbara's older sister, Anne, in 1405.<sup>350</sup> A charter of pledge issued on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1415 in Perpignan lists the services Garai provided to Sigismund between 1412 and 1415, and so it informs us about the places he visited during these years.<sup>351</sup> (**Appendix 7**) According to the testimony of this document Garai was a constant member of Sigismund's entourage, and whenever he left the travelling court it was on royal order. He accomplished missions delegated to him directly by the king such as to accompany Queen Barbara to the coronation to Aachen or to prepare Sigismund's meetings with the kings of Aragon,<sup>352</sup> France<sup>353</sup> and England.<sup>354</sup>

John Kanizsai, the archbishop of Esztergom, was Sigismund's imperial chancellor since 1411. Although in his case it would have been quite reasonable to go with the king when Sigismund left for Friuli in 1412, he stayed in Hungary and it was the imperial vice-chancellor John Esztergomi who was in the royal entourage instead. Thus, by the end of 1412 it came to a highly unusual situation: Palatine Nicholas Garai, the highest-ranking lay official in the Kingdom of Hungary and the representative of the monarch, left the country, while the Imperial Chancellor John Kanizsai did not set off for the Empire.<sup>355</sup> Yet, as we are going to see, this odd situation can be explained with very practical reasons. In order to get to this point, however, it is necessary to make a short detour.

Among the barons, there were three other persons at the beginning of 1410s, who belonged to the small group of Sigismund's old "most trusted," or, as Pál Engel formulated, to his "five-in-hand."<sup>356</sup> They were Chancellor Eberhard of Alben, Stibor of Stiboricz (†1414) and Pipo of Ozora. Chancellor Eberhard, who was born around 1347,<sup>357</sup> was not active in these years any more; according to available pieces of information, he was mostly staying in his domains (as bishop of

<sup>349</sup> E.g. RTA VII 311–312, nr. 200; RI XI/3795a, 5598, 7055. *Majordom* in ACC III. 450–451, nr. 198. ÁRVAI, Magnus comes.

<sup>350</sup> It was Garai's second marriage.

<sup>351</sup> MNL OL DL 10390. On Garai's deeds see also CDH XI. 82–98, nr. 28. and SZAKÁLY, *Javaslat* 160–165. Compiling the itinerary of the palatine and the judge royal on the basis of charters issued in their names is problematic. For the time being we cannot make a distinction between documents issued by the proto-notaries as part of court processes – where the dignitaries were not necessary present – and the ones which correspond to their actual place of staying. C. TÓTH, *Zsigmond tisztségviselői* 466.

<sup>352</sup> ZsO V/957, 1048.

<sup>353</sup> ACC III. 518–520, nr. 221; ZsO V/2204. In October 1416 he was in Constance, ZsO V/2351.

<sup>354</sup> ZsO V/1492.

<sup>355</sup> Kanizsai left the Kingdom of Hungary only three years later, at the beginning of 1416. On 20<sup>th</sup> January 1416 he was in Vienna (ZsO V/1452; although according to the original plans he should have been there already on 14<sup>th</sup> January, ZsO V/1436). Then, however, he had to return, as it is clear from Sigismund's letter sent to the archbishop from Paris on 5<sup>th</sup> April (*iter vestrum versus nostram maiestatem veniendi arreptum reflexissetis*; ZsO V/1728). The reason was most probably Kanizsai's illness, at least Sigismund consoled Kanizsai that he and his entourage including Garai enjoyed good health. (See also ZsO V/1409.) On 28<sup>th</sup> June 1416 Kanizsai was already in Basel (ZsO V/2064) and he met Sigismund on 27<sup>th</sup> November in Aachen (RTA VII. 311–312, nr. 200.).

<sup>356</sup> ENGEL, *Királyi hatalom* 50.

<sup>357</sup> ENGEL, *Zsigmond bárói* (b) 412–415. Thus, by 1412 he was about 65 years old. See also ENGEL–SÜTTŐ, *Alben*.

Zagreb) in the southern parts of the kingdom. It is interesting, however, to compare the data of the other itineraries, i.e. that of Kanizsai, Garai, Stibor and Pipo.

	Sigismund	Kanizsai	Garai	Pipo	Stibor	
1410	Hungary	Hungary <sup>1</sup>	Hungary	Hungary <sup>2</sup>	Hungary <sup>4</sup>	
1411						
1412				Friuli <sup>3</sup>		
1413	With Sigismund	With Sigismund <sup>5</sup>				
1414	Hungary <sup>6</sup>	Hungary	† Feb. 1414			
1415	Italy, Empire, France, England	With Sigismund <sup>8</sup>	With Sigismund <sup>8</sup>	Visit at Sig <sup>7</sup>		
1416				Empire <sup>9</sup>		Hungary <sup>10</sup>
1417				Hungary <sup>11</sup>		
1418	† May 1418	Hungary <sup>12</sup>				

**Figure 6: Sigismund and his barons (Simplified itineraries 1410–1418)**

- <sup>1</sup> According to Richental Kanizsai came to Constance in February 1415 (DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Richental 7). On 10<sup>th</sup> February, however, he was surely in Esztergom (MNL OL DL 43271) while on 25<sup>th</sup> April in Fehérvár (MNL OL DL 100397), so Richental's dating is either incorrect or Kanizsai stayed there a very short while which, considering his health problems, is rather unlikely.
- <sup>2</sup> For the Bosnian campaigns ENGEL, Ozorai Pipo 265–266. In the summer of 1415 he was personally not in Bosnia, only his banderium fought in the battle.
- <sup>3</sup> Between November 1411 and February 1412.
- <sup>4</sup> Late 1411-early 1412 perhaps in Friaul with Pipo, DVOŘÁKOVÁ, A lovag 294, 490.
- <sup>5</sup> Relator in Belluno on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1413 (MNL OL DL 62226). On 10<sup>th</sup> April 1414 he was in Buda as he participated in the decision regarding the dispute between Poland and the Teutonic Order (RI XI/870, see also ZsO IV/1914); it is possible that on 17<sup>th</sup> January 1414 he was already in Hungary (ZsO IV/1590).
- <sup>6</sup> Referent on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1413 (MNL OL DF 239343, charter issued by Barbara) and on 28<sup>th</sup> October 1413 (MNL OL DL 60574) as well as on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1414. In the latter case the document (MNL OL DL 28149) is dated to the 25<sup>th</sup> July 1413 in the MOL database as well as in ZsO IV/906. Nevertheless, although the left part of the charter including the clear reference to the year of issuing is missing, the phrase *regnorum nostrorum anno hungarie etc. vigesimo octavo Romanorum vero quarto* implies that it was issued in 1414 and not in 1413. (Cf. e.g. with MNL OL DL 8908 issued on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1413.)
- <sup>7</sup> Referent in Constance on 7<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> April 1415 as well as on 13<sup>th</sup> July 1415, in Basel on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1415. According to Richental he arrived in Constance on 4<sup>th</sup> February 1415 with hundred-sixty cavaliers. On 10<sup>th</sup> July 1415 in Constance, ÁLDÁSY, Zsigmond és Spanyolország 119-120.
- <sup>8</sup> In a letter dated from 12<sup>th</sup> September 1414 Sigismund wrote to Queen Barbara that *ex tenore literarum magnifici Nycolai de Gara ... accepimus ipsum ... ad nos veniendi iter dudum arripuisse; sed supervenientibus literis nostris a progressu itineris arrepti ipsum supersedissee ut secundum mandata nostra vobiscum versus partes Austrie existentibus procedere et comitari posset*, ACC IV. 445–446, nr. 457. On 19<sup>th</sup> November 1414 he was in Cologne (referent ZsO IV/2712).
- <sup>9</sup> On 6<sup>th</sup> January 1416 he was planning to set off for the Empire (ZsO V/1403, 1404), on the next day the provost of Pressburg wrote he was already on his way to Sigismund (ZsO V/1409). Kanizsai issued a charter on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1416 in Vienna (ZsO V/1452) but then he apparently had to return for a few days or weeks, see n. 355.
- <sup>10</sup> WENZEL, Ozorai Pipo 86.

<sup>11</sup> On 12<sup>th</sup> July 1417 he was still in Constance (ZsO VI/667). On 24<sup>th</sup> August 1417, most probably shortly before Kanizsai's leave, Sigismund issued a number of mandates and letters addressed to Palatine Nicholas Garai, Judge Royal Peter Perényi, Master of the Treasury John Pelsőci and Pipo dealing with different matters related to the archbishop (ZsO VI/830–832, 834–836; on 29<sup>th</sup> August 1417 ZsO VI/852).

<sup>12</sup> Referent on 15<sup>th</sup> June 1417 in Buda (MNL OL DL 53947).

Figure 6 shows that Stibor spent the last years of his life in the Kingdom of Hungary together with Kanizsai, who followed Sigismund to the Empire only in 1416. Garai, on the other hand, accompanied his king on his journeys from the very beginning (except for a few months when he returned to Hungary to decide in the case of the Teutonic Order and Poland, and to bring Queen Barbara to Aachen). Pipo appeared in the king's entourage from time to time (in 1412–1413 in Italy and in 1415 in Constance). These figures suggest that after leaving the country in 1412 Sigismund was still strongly relying on his four leading barons and he was keen on keeping at least one of them in the Kingdom of Hungary and another by his side – at least until 1416.<sup>358</sup> Having a closer look at the members of this group also helps to find an explanation why Garai and not Kanizsai travelled with Sigismund to Germany in 1412. Born around 1350<sup>359</sup> Kanizsai and Stibor belonged to the “older generation” of Sigismund's barons, whereas Garai and Pipo were approximately of the same age as the king.<sup>360</sup> Consequently, while for the 60-years-old Kanizsai it was hardly a tempting idea to fight through Italy as the king's advisor, the same task demanded considerably less effort from the 15 years younger Garai.

To sum up the information regarding the presence of the “*crème de la crème*” of Sigismund's barons at his travelling court, only Nicholas Garai, the palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary and the king's brother-in-law, can be regarded as a – more or less – constant member of the entourage. Kanizsai joined Sigismund in November 1416 in Aachen, Pipo's stays at Sigismund's travelling court were occasional, while in the years 1413–1418 Stibor and Eberhard did not turn up at the ruler's side at all.

Nevertheless, besides Garai there were other *magnifici* who convoyed Sigismund on his journeys: the master of the doorkeepers, the master of the stewards, the master of the cupbearers and the master of the horse were apparently with him all the time. (**Appendix 8**) Although they are mentioned only sporadically in the sources, the data suggest that the members of this group

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<sup>358</sup> Actually, this “practice” could have been kept functioning also after 1416 because Pipo had just returned from the visit he paid to Sigismund in Konstanz before Kanizsai departed but it did not happen so. Sigismund apparently considered Pipo the man of the battlefield and not that of his administration and government, and he found other ways of exercising control over his country. Indeed, between 1406 and 1426 there was hardly any year when Pipo was not leading or participating in a military campaign with or without Sigismund. See ENGEL, Ozorai Pipo 265–266.

<sup>359</sup> ENGEL, Zsigmond bárói (b) 424–425; DVOŘÁKOVÁ, A lovag 33–34.

<sup>360</sup> Garai was born around 1366 (ENGEL, Zsigmond bárói (b) 416), Pipo in 1369.

generally followed the king everywhere he went.<sup>361</sup> The Master of the Doorkeepers John Tamási (1409-1416) served at Sigismund's side until his death in Calais.<sup>362</sup> The Master of the Cupbearers John Alsáni (1406-1417) apparently left for Italy together with the king in 1412<sup>363</sup> and he is mentioned on 24<sup>th</sup> February 1415 in Constance as *relator* of a charter issued in favour of Christopher Puchel, Alsáni's castellan in Váralja (county of Valkó).<sup>364</sup> By that time also the Master of Horse Peter Lévai Cseh was in Constance, though soon after he returned to Hungary.<sup>365</sup> It is important to note, however, that from then on he did not bear the title of *magister agazonum* either. The new master of horse, Andreas Pelsóci Bebek (1415), was referred to in a charter issued on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1415 in Constance for the first time<sup>366</sup> and a few months later his name appeared on the list of dignitaries.<sup>367</sup> Unfortunately, I haven't found any direct evidences for the presence of John of Corbavia, master of the stewards (1406–1418), around Sigismund.<sup>368</sup> After Tamási's death in 1416 his son Ladislaus became the master of the doorkeepers,<sup>369</sup> and soon after Sigismund appointed new courtiers to all of the above mentioned positions. Peter Kompolti<sup>370</sup> (1417–1420), Steven Bátori<sup>371</sup> (1417–1431) and Nicholas Rihnoi Perényi<sup>372</sup> (1417–1420) were all chosen from the members of Sigismund's travelling entourage. Kompolti's name had already appeared in a royal charter issued under secret seal in Constance in 1415, before he became cupbearer.<sup>373</sup> An explanation for the presence of the members of this group around Sigismund, in my opinion, is related to the structure of Sigismund's court which is going to be discussed in details in chapter III.2.1.

<sup>361</sup> A part of the Hungarian entourage did not cross the channel to England but stayed back in Calais and were waiting for Sigismund's return there. BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond kísérete 17.

<sup>362</sup> BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond kísérete 22.

<sup>363</sup> ZsO III/1875.

<sup>364</sup> ZsO V/229.

<sup>365</sup> Relator on 9<sup>th</sup> January 1415 in Constance (ZsO V/29). In May 1415 he received *salvus conductus* from Ferdinand of Aragon (DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Ritter 165), in spring and summer he travelled with Louis of Brieg to Aragon, Castile, Granada and Portugal (JASPERT, Perpignan 10–11). In July 1415 the Hungarian troops were defeated in Bosnia, and Lévai Cseh was sent to negotiate with the Sebian despot (*ad principem illustrem dominum dezpotum ducem Razzye/Rassci*). ZsO V/2255. See also n. 561.

<sup>366</sup> MNL OL DF 253176 and 253177.

<sup>367</sup> Lévai Cseh Péter: MNL OL DL 66869 (24<sup>th</sup> June 1415); Andreas Bebek: MNL OL DL 61336 (25<sup>th</sup> November 1415) and 34052 (26<sup>th</sup> November 1415). According to the list of dignitaries the office of the master of the horse was vacant from March 1416; still, a charter issued on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1416 (MNL OL DL 43338, 71377) refers to Lévai as *magister agazonum* and not as *quondam*.

<sup>368</sup> Referent on 25<sup>th</sup> December 1411, ZsO III/1422.

<sup>369</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> February 1417. BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond kísérete 22.

<sup>370</sup> Master of the cupbearers, referent on 29<sup>th</sup> May 1417 in Constance (ZsO VI/481).

<sup>371</sup> Master of the stewards.

<sup>372</sup> Master of the horse. This Nicholas Perényi of Rihnoi was the son of Paul and he was neither identical with the next master of the horse, Nicholas Perényi of Patak, son of Nicholas, nor with the future Master of the Stewards Nicholas Perényi of Krompach.

<sup>373</sup> MNL OL DL 10342. Chancery note in the upper right corner: *commissio propria domini regis*, under the seal: *Relatio Petri de Compolth*.

### III.1.1.1.2. Imperial Court Dignitaries and the Imperial Elite

Although due to the Polish-Teutonic and Italian issues Sigismund could not set off for the Empire right after the elections of 1410/1411, by the beginning of 1412 he was determined to be crowned in that very year and summon the imperial diet in Frankfurt on 11<sup>th</sup> November.<sup>374</sup> Nevertheless, it did not happen and having a look at the imperial dignitaries at Sigismund's close surroundings, we face the at first glance perhaps surprising fact that until the autumn of 1414 there were practically no members of the imperial elite around Sigismund. As for now, apart from Frederick of Nuremberg, the king's right hand and most important advisor in imperial affairs in the years 1410-1411, only the presence of the members of the imperial chancery can be proven at the royal court. (Ch. II.2.2.) Moreover, even Frederick left the court by the end of 1411 after he had been appointed to governor of Brandenburg:<sup>375</sup> he set off from Hungary some time after the middle of October 1411,<sup>376</sup> on 18<sup>th</sup> December 1411 he was in Prague and from June 1412 on he issued charters in Brandenburg.<sup>377</sup>

The contentual analysis of the documents of the imperial chancery between 1411 and 1414 proves that this observation is not the result of the lack of primary sources. According to the testimony of the *Reichsregisterbuch* entries<sup>378</sup> imperial internal affairs were very rarely dealt with at the royal court and the numerous privileges and letters of appointment were usually issued on the request of the benefitted,<sup>379</sup> for which there was hardly any need of an advisory body. (Moreover, in many cases even the confirmation of existing privileges were postponed until Sigismund's arrival in the Empire<sup>380</sup> or they were issued in a provisional form.<sup>381</sup>) This supports Sabine Wefers' conclusion that at the beginning of his German kingship Sigismund delegated his tasks and duties to the party of his electors, first and foremost to Count Palatine Louis, and the king acted only as a highest authority. In her opinion, Sigismund was "not an active participant but a passive guarantor of existing structures ... and as such he could stay away from the daily politics as long as he

<sup>374</sup> RTA VII. 173, nr. 126. Similar plans in a letter sent to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel in the spring of 1412: *quoniam in autumpno proximo Deo auspice ad suscipiendum primam coronam imperialem ad partes Alemanie gressus nostros dirigemus, et deinde Deo salutarium nostrorum prosperorum faciente iter nostrum pro suscipiendis aliis dyadematis imperialibus in future yeme proxima ad partes Ytalie*, ACC I. 394 – 401, nr. 112.

<sup>375</sup> On 8<sup>th</sup> July 1411, CDB II/3. 178–181, nr. 1295; *Mon. Zoll.* VII. 1–5, nr. 1. See also BRANDENBURG, Sigmund und Friedrich 22–47; HEIDEMANN, Die Luxemburger.

<sup>376</sup> In Visegrád: ZsO III/92, 644, 673, 731, 852; in Pressburg: ZsO III/792, 986, 987. His marshal Ehrenfried von Seckendorff was on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1411 in Pressburg, RI XI/140.

<sup>377</sup> A collection of Frederick's charters HEIDEMANN, Die Luxemburger.

<sup>378</sup> Edited by Wilhelm Altmann in RI (with other sources).

<sup>379</sup> E.g. envoys of Nuremberg at Sigismund's court: RI XI/121a (Buda), 206a (Kassa/Košice), 716a (Chur); of Belluno and Feltre RI XI/394 (Udine); of Bern and Zurich RI XI/554a (Meran); of Theodore of Montferrat RI XI/395, 396.

<sup>380</sup> RI XI/424, WEFERS, Das politische System 26. Also in 1411: "und gab in darauf die antwort: 'er het noch kein majestat, und wer' noch nicht gemachet. so sigelt er auch damit nicht, biz er gekront wurd. wenn das geschehe, so wolt er uns unser bestetigung gerne geben.'" RTA VII, 164–165, nr. 120.

<sup>381</sup> RI XI/425.

sufficiently fulfilled his function as a legitimating authority (*Legitimierungsfunktion*).<sup>382</sup> The “foreign” affairs which concerned other European powers (Venice, Poland and the Teutonic Order, Habsburgs) were not new and Sigismund had always been handling them with the help of the members of the Hungarian *aula* or local lords. In connection with Poland and the Teutonic knights we meet the names of Hermann of Cilli, Nicholas Garai, Benedict Makrai and John Kanizsai,<sup>383</sup> in the case of Friuli Stibor, Pipo, Nicholas Marcali and John Maróti appear in the sources.<sup>384</sup> In the conflicts and issues with the Dukes of Austria Nicolas Marcali, Mikeš Jemništi, Brunoro della Scala<sup>385</sup> and Hermann of Cilli were involved, though here Sigismund also relied on George of Hohenlohe’s services.<sup>386</sup> Finally, the issues related to the Margraviate of Brandenburg were entirely Frederick of Nuremberg’s competence. Thus, the only “technical” question which emerges is who provided the (at least basic) know-how which was necessary to dispose of the financial resources of the Empire? Conrad of Weinsberg, Sigismund’s future leading financial advisor did not meet the king before 1414,<sup>387</sup> so either there was a competent person among the members of the imperial chancery (John Kirchen?) or Sigismund worked with the experts of southern-German, more precisely of Nuremberg origin who were present in the Kingdom of Hungary since the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>388</sup> Ulrich Kamerer did not only hold financial positions but he was also a businessman trading with the German territories; he maintained excellent relations to Cologne and for a while he also served Rupert of Pfalz. Marc of Nuremberg is mentioned in primary sources between 1395 and 1415, among others he was count of the mining chamber in Kremnica. In 1412 he led the negotiations with the envoys of the city of Nuremberg and he was the member of Sigismund’s entourage in Aachen at the coronation.<sup>389</sup>

Regarding the ways of administration of imperial issues a new phase opened when Sigismund arrived in the Empire. It is hardly surprising that all the leading aristocrats tried to turn up at the royal court at the earliest possible occasion, not least because they wanted to make their privileges confirmed. The Imperial Diet assembled in Speyer in July 1414 and it was followed right after by a meeting with the imperial elite – Dietrich Kerler called it “*königlicher Fürstentag*” – in

<sup>382</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 23–24, 27, 33.

<sup>383</sup> E.g. RI XI/197a, 363, 364, 381 etc.

<sup>384</sup> RI XI/144, 145, 224. Since 1409 Frederick of Ortenburg was imperial vicar in Friaul (LexMA VI. 1482); still, there are no hints that he would have appeared among Sigismund’s close advisors.

<sup>385</sup> RI XI/307. Brunoro della Scala became the member of the Order of the Dragon in January 1412.

<sup>386</sup> RI XI/204. SCHWEDLER, *Hohenlohe*. See also C. TÓTH, *Esztergom*.

<sup>387</sup> KARASEK, *Konrad von Weinsberg* 6. His grand-father was Emich of Leiningen, his wife was Anna, George of Hohenlohe’s sister (ibid. 8), his uncle Archbishop Conrad of Mainz (IRSIGLER, *Konrad von Weinsberg* 60). See also IRSIGLER, *Weinsberg und Barbara*.

<sup>388</sup> STROMER, *Nürnberger*.

<sup>389</sup> STROMER, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz* 122–132; MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund* 203–205. On Marc of Nuremberg also MÁLYUSZ, *Zsigmond központosító törekvései* 172–173.

Koblenz. Concerning the latter, there is not much information but a complete list survived with the names of *fursten graven herren und frien* who participated in the event.<sup>390</sup> Nevertheless, these names certainly cannot be considered as a catalogue of those lords who regularly took part in governmental and administrative activities related to the Empire. In order to reconstruct this group the following chart gives an overview of those electors and imperial high dignitaries who were mentioned as referents, co-sealers, witnesses or guarantors in imperial chancery documents, and those prelates and lords (dukes, counts, earls etc.) who were at least once named in chancery notes as referents.<sup>391</sup> (For the full lists of co-sealers, witnesses and guarantors see **Appendices 9–11.**)

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<sup>390</sup> RTA VII. 176, the list 199–201, nr. 143.

<sup>391</sup> For methodological explanation see the beginning of Ch. III.1.1.2.

	Hungary 1410-1412	Northern-Italy 1413	Germany 1414	Constance 1415	France, England 1416	Constance 1417	Constance 1418	Germany 1418	Austria, Jan. 1419	Hungary 1419
Archbishop Dietrich of Cologne			○							
Archbishop Werner of Trier			○							
Rudolf, Duke of Saxony			●○	●		○				
Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg	●		●○	●◇		●○◇	●○◇			
Louis, Count Palatine of Pfalz			○			◇	○			
Haupt of Pappenheim, <i>Erbmarschall</i>						●○	●◇	●◇	●○	
Conrad of Weinsberg, <i>Erbkämmerer</i>			●	●◇		●◇	●	◇		
Louis of Öttingen, <i>Hofmeister</i>						●○◇	●○◇	●	●○	●
Günter of Schwarzburg, <i>Hofrichter</i> <sup>392</sup>			●	●		●○◇	●○			
John of Lupfen, <i>Hofrichter</i> <sup>393</sup>		◇*				○◇	●	●	●○	
George of Hohenlohe, <i>Reichskanzler</i> <sup>394</sup>			●○	●		●○	●○	●	●○	●
Archbishop John of Riga						○	●○◇			
Bishop George of Trient/Trento				●		●○				
Bishop John of Chur							●			
Bishop John of Lebus						●				
Bishop Raban of Speyer			●○			○				
Bernard, Margrave of Baden							●○	●○		
Louis, Count of Brieg					◇**	●	◇			
Eberhard, Graf of Nellenburg				◇		●○◇	●◇			
Rumpold, Duke of Silesia				●						

● referent (in chancery notes of the imperial chancery, **Appendix 11**)

○ co-sealer or witness (**Appendix 10**)

◇ guarantor (**Appendix 9**)

\* in Meran, 5<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1413

\*\* in Dordrecht, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1416

**Figure 7: The imperial elite as referent, co-sealer and guarantor**

<sup>392</sup> Judge royal 1415–1418. BATTENBERG, Hofrichter 252–253, n. 65. Drowned in the Bodensee (Lake Constance).

<sup>393</sup> Judge royal 1418–1423, 1430–1434. BATTENBERG, Hofrichter 252–253, n. 65.

<sup>394</sup> Imperial chancellor 1417–1423.



Besides giving an impression of the circle of high dignitaries and members of the imperial elite who surrounded Sigismund occasionally or regularly, the chart also hints at the fact that they were rarely in the king's entourage when he was staying outside the German territories. When he left for France and England Count Palatine Louis of Pfalz stayed as governor and protector of the Council of Constance in the Empire; neither Conrad of Weinsberg<sup>395</sup> nor Frederick of Nuremberg went with the king. Eberhard of Württemberg travelled with Sigismund only to Perpignan and also Louis of Öttingen returned to the German territories after the king had elevated Amadeus VII to Duke of Savoy on 19<sup>th</sup> February 1416.<sup>396</sup> It is possible, however, that the reason of Louis' return was that he broke his leg in Chambéry when the house, in which the king was accommodated, collapsed.<sup>397</sup> Windecke states that also Louis VII of Bayern was in Paris, which is absolutely possible if we consider that his sister Elisabeth (Isabeau de Bavière) was Queen of France. Nonetheless, there is no information that he would have escorted the king to England.<sup>398</sup> In general, it seems that the imperial high dignitaries and leading notables were not mobile enough to follow their king on his journeys abroad, and we face a similar situation after 1419 when Sigismund returned to Hungary. For that time, however, George of Hohenlohe and Louis of Öttingen definitely went with Sigismund and apparently also the *Hofgericht* left the territory of the empire.<sup>399</sup> According to Windecke it was in fact the imperial chancellor and the *Hofmeister* who initiated the king's reconciliation with Queen Barbara:

By that time Bishop George of Passau (a count of Hohenlohe) and Count Louis of Öttingen – one of them was the king's chancellor, the other his master of household – intervened and the two lords made peace between the Roman king and the queen, who met then in Holics (Galicz) or Bât (Bátovce, Frauenmarkt) at holy Christmas night of the year mentioned above. The queen fell onto her knees in front of his majesty, asked his mercy to forgive her in case she should have committed something against him. King Sigismund, however, did not want to hear her words. But then Princess Elisabeth ... went to him and since His Majesty loved her above all, he listened to her daughter and pardoned the queen for the case she had committed something against him.<sup>400</sup>

<sup>395</sup> KARASEK, Konrad von Weinsberg 17, 19.

<sup>396</sup> RI XI/1932, see also RI XI/247, RI XI/269.

<sup>397</sup> ...und do der künig und der graf von savoy in daz nüve hus kamen mit andern vil herren so zezegni warent, do viel daz nider. Und wart da nieman verseret, denne der graf von ötingen, dem brach ein schenkel entzwei. JUSTINGER, Berner Chronik 236, also RI XI/1933a.

<sup>398</sup> The sources mention i.a. Nicholas Garai, Duke Louis of Brieg, William Haz de Waldeck, Brunoro della Scala, Bertholdo Orsini and Giancarlo Visconti as members of Sigismund's entourage in England. *Chron. Lond.* 124, identification 306; HARDYNG, *Chronicle* 376; WINDECKE, *Denkwürdigkeiten* 67, c. 72; LENZ, *König Sigismund* 72, n.1. See also *Gesta Henrici Quinti* 126–155; CLASSEN, Sigismund's Visit and SIMMS, Sigismund's Visit.

<sup>399</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> April 1419 John of Lupfen was apparently staying in Hungary, RI XI/3850. See also RI XI/3858, 3860.

<sup>400</sup> *Do tegedinget bischof Jorge von Passauwe (ein graf von Hohenloch) und graf Ludewig von Öttingen (der ein was des konigz kanzler, der ander was sin hofmeister): die zwen herrn machtent einen friden zwüschen dem Romschen konige und der koniginne, das sie zusammen komen zu Galitz oder Frowenmarkt an dem heiligen winachtobent in dem vor geschriebenen datum des jores ... wanne die konigin knuwet für den konig und bat do sin gnode ir zu vergeben, ob sie icht wider in gethon hette. do wolt der konig ir wort nit horen. Do ging zu im sin dochter frouwe Eilsabet ... wann er*

The second remark to be made here is that apart from Frederick of Nuremberg only the court dignitaries (*Hofrichter*, *Hofmeister* and *Reichskanzler*, to a lesser extent the *Erbkämmerer* and the *Erbmarschall*) referred regularly to the chancery, whereas the other members of the imperial elite – except for Bernard of Baden from 1417 on – appear only occasionally in the chancery notes.<sup>401</sup> The problem of the referents and the royal council is going to be discussed in Ch. III.1.1.2. and Ch. III.2.2. in details, here I confine myself barely to the conclusion that only these persons can be regarded as stable members of the royal council and consequently the ones who took part indeed in daily administrative-governmental activities. The *relatios* made by Bishop Raban of Speyer and Archbishop John of Riga are concentrated to a rather short period which suggests that although they were not around Sigismund all the time when they were present at the royal court they regularly got an invitation to council meetings.

### **III.1.1.2. Counsellors (consilarii, Räte) and Referents**

In the previous subchapter I focused on the question, in the case of which members of the Hungarian and imperial political elite a shorter or longer, regular or occasional presence at the royal court can be confirmed by source evidence during the court's stay in Italy, in the Empire, in France or in England. Nonetheless, the elite certainly formed only a small fraction of Sigismund's entourage, the size of which ranged between 700 and 1500.<sup>402</sup> Besides the lords and prelates it included members of the royal household, royal knights,<sup>403</sup> squires, clergymen, scribes, doctors etc. Thus, when dealing with the Sigismund-administration I tried to find methodological means with the help of which it is possible to identify the group which definitely took part in decision making or contributed to the execution of royal decisions on the go.<sup>404</sup> The first plausible task was the analysis of the titles referring to an advisory function. In the German sources the expressions “*Rat*”

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*die selbige dochter gar lieb hette, do gewert er der dochter und vergap der koniginne, obe sie icht wider in gethon hette.* WINDECKE, *Denkwürdigkeiten* 139, c. 155.

<sup>401</sup> Frederick of Nuremberg more than hundred-fifty times, Günter of Schwarzburg, Louis of Öttingen and George of Hohenlohe about hundred times. Conrad of Weinsberg was mentioned twenty-one, Haupt of Pappenheim thirteen times. See also **Appendix 11**.

<sup>402</sup> See n. 337.

<sup>403</sup> KURCZ, *Lovagi kultúra* 18–34. Recently on Sigismund's *aulici* in the County of Zagreb Suzana Miljan, “In His Majesty's Service: King Sigismund's Royal Knights from the County of Zagreb (1387–1437),” paper presented at the Leeds Medieval Congress 2014. Latin sources use two terms – *iuvenis* and *miles* – for royal knights and it seems that the difference between the categories lied in the marital status of the knights: the *aule iuvenes* were apparently unmarried at the moment of appearing in the sources. C.f. with KINTZINGER, *Westbindungen* 174.

<sup>404</sup> No lists of the court officials (*Hofbeamtenchaft*) or similar documents are available before 1442, MORAW, *Beamtentum* 62.

and “*heimliche*” and their Latin parallels “*consiliarius*” and “*secretarius*” are worth attention.<sup>405</sup> Also the term “*familiaris*” is mentioned quite often in appointment charters;<sup>406</sup> still, these references are going to be left out of consideration here. In this case the problem lies in the fact that the word “*familiaris*” in a German-imperial context had a broader meaning and referred to all forms of services rendered to the king; chaplains, doctors and counsellors could all be considered *familiares*.<sup>407</sup> Moreover, since Rupert’s reign the *familiares* formed a clearly separated group from that of the counsellors (*Räte*).<sup>408</sup> Neither in respect of the the medieval Kingdom of Hungary it is possible to draw an equal sign between *familiares* and counsellors as the services related to *familiaritas* were far more complex than advising the lord.<sup>409</sup> Terms like *aulae regiae miles*, *iuvenis*, *parvus / parvulus*,<sup>410</sup> *socialis*, *sodalis*, (*specialis / continuus*) *commensalis* were also used to express the “affiliation” to the royal court and to the “family” of the ruler but they referred to this very status in a broader sense and not to a concrete “function” or to the duties these people fulfilled there.<sup>411</sup> Therefore, here again I focused only on the *consiliarius* and *specialis consiliarius* titles.

In order to gain an impression of Sigismund’s imperial advisors I used the volumes of the *Regesta Imperii*<sup>412</sup> and Gisela Beinhoff’s work on Sigismund’s Italian dignitaries and courtiers,<sup>413</sup> according to which in the years 1411–1412 the following persons were named as Sigismund’s counsellors (*Räte*): Christoph of Gerssdorf,<sup>414</sup> Emich VI of Leiningen,<sup>415</sup> Ehrenfried of Seckendorff,<sup>416</sup> Archbishop John of Riga,<sup>417</sup> Albert Schenk of Landsberg,<sup>418</sup> Bishop Peter of Cremona,<sup>419</sup> Louis of Savoya-Piemont,<sup>420</sup> Bishop George of Trento,<sup>421</sup> Bishop William of Lausanne,<sup>422</sup> Antonio Visconti,<sup>423</sup> Hugo of Hervost,<sup>424</sup> Brunoro della Scala and Mikeš Jemništi,<sup>425</sup>

<sup>405</sup> MORAW, *Beamtentum* 80, 81. Under Rupert there was no difference between *secretarius* and *consiliarius* (*Heimlicher* and *Rat*).

<sup>406</sup> See KINTZINGER, *Westbindungen*.

<sup>407</sup> SCHUBERT, *König und Reich* 87.

<sup>408</sup> MORAW, *Beamtentum* 83.

<sup>409</sup> The interpretation of *familiaritas* as the Hungarian form of feudalism is not accepted by scholarship any more. ENGEL, *Realm* 126–128; BÉLI, *Familiaritás*. See also BÓNIS, *Hűbériség*.

<sup>410</sup> KURCZ, *Lovagi kultúra* 18–34; DVOŘÁKOVÁ, *A lovag* 96–99.

<sup>411</sup> On *commensalis* DVOŘÁKOVÁ, *A lovag* 109, 435, n. 323; *Lex. Lat.* II. 204. See also HLAVÁČEK, *Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen* 448–449.

<sup>412</sup> RI XI; RI XI Neubearb.; KINTZINGER, *Westbindungen* 417–470 identified forty-five persons who were mentioned as recipients of a *littera consiliariatus* in the register volumes (*Reichsregisterbücher*) compiled during Sigismund’s reign.

<sup>413</sup> BEINHOFF, *Die Italiener* 62–63, 76–77.

<sup>414</sup> RI XI/123, 7<sup>th</sup> September 1411.

<sup>415</sup> RI XI/127, 29<sup>th</sup> September 1411.

<sup>416</sup> RI XI/183, 29<sup>th</sup> January 1412.

<sup>417</sup> RI XI/189, 8<sup>th</sup> February 1412.

<sup>418</sup> RI XI/207, 5<sup>th</sup> April 1412.

<sup>419</sup> RI XI/273b, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1412.

<sup>420</sup> RI XI/246, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1412.

<sup>421</sup> RI XI/253, 25<sup>th</sup> June 1412.

<sup>422</sup> RI XI/261, 1<sup>st</sup> July 1412.

William of Prata,<sup>426</sup> Bishop Henry of Feltre and Belluno,<sup>427</sup> Bishop Peter of Pavia,<sup>428</sup> Fregnano della Scala, Giovanni Belloforti and Ottobono Belloni.<sup>429</sup> The ZsO mentions Nicholas Marcali, Matthias Pálóci, bishop Andreas of Spalato, Bertoldo Orsini, *Zvithco Tolichnich* and *Micatio de Caboga da Ragusi as consilarii* in 1412.

Without conducting further prosopographic investigations these names shed light on a methodological problem of using the list of counsellors as a basis of reconstructing the group of the active decision makers and administrative personnel. On the one hand, especially the German counsellors were quite many in number which immediately arouse the suspicion that this group as such was most probably not able to fulfil administrative-governmental tasks effectively. On the other hand, in practice many of these notables were surely not able to spend longer periods around Sigismund, some of them perhaps never visited the royal court in person. Ernst Schubert has already drawn attention to the fact that Sigismund's aim with appointing a large number of counsellors after his German election was to create a personal basis in the empire, and most of these counsellors in fact did not play any functional role in the royal council.<sup>430</sup> Neither in the Kingdom of Hungary were the *consilarii* automatically active members of the royal council.<sup>431</sup> Unfortunately, lacking session protocols and presence lists it is impossible to say who were indeed involved in decision making and who were only "titular" counsellors. Considering, however, that Benedict, Provost of Fehérvár, Benedict Makrai and Pier Paolo Vergerio were *speciales consilarii* it is possible that in Hungary the advisors with this title did indeed play an administrative-governmental role.<sup>432</sup>

Nonetheless, the archive material offers another approach to the problem. Every now and then chancery notes inform us about the person who notified the chancery about the case in relation to which a given document was issued. Although the question concerning the referents' connection to the royal council has not been indisputably answered yet (Ch. III.2.2.), the relators – unlike the counsellors – *definitely* took part in central administrative procedures actively: either as "decision makers" or as "executors."<sup>433</sup> In the Hungarian practice the chanceries referred to the person who

<sup>423</sup> RI XI/263, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1412.

<sup>424</sup> RI XI/264, 5<sup>th</sup> July 1412.

<sup>425</sup> RI XI/307, 30<sup>th</sup> August 1412, mentioned together with Nicholas Marcali.

<sup>426</sup> RI XI/377, 31<sup>st</sup> October 1412, Guglielmo di Albertini.

<sup>427</sup> RI XI/391, 31<sup>st</sup> December 1412, Enrico Scarampi.

<sup>428</sup> Pietro Grassi.

<sup>429</sup> BEINHOF, *Die Italiener* 62–63.

<sup>430</sup> SCHUBERT, *König und Reich* 89.

<sup>431</sup> MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund* 291.

<sup>432</sup> MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund* 291–293.

<sup>433</sup> SPANGENBERG, *Kanzleivermerke*. In terms of *relators* the question is not so much whether they really took part in the council's activity but if this participation was regular or occasional. See also note 718.

communicated the chartering order with the formula *relatio NN* or sometimes *ad relationem NN*, the imperial chancery used the expression *per NN XY*, where XY referred to the chancery official responsible for the issuing.<sup>434</sup> (When the order came directly from the ruler the Hungarian chanceries used the formula *commissio propria domini regis*, the imperial *ad mandatum domini regis XY*.) The conclusions of the following paragraphs are based on the analysis of these remarks.

Among the 26 *relators* of the charters issued by the Hungarian secret chancery between November 1412 and January 1419 there were eight barons: Palatine Garai, Pipo, two Masters of the Cupbearers John Alsáni and Peter Kompolti,<sup>435</sup> two Masters of the Horse Peter Lévai Cseh and Andreas Pelsóci Bebek, the Treasurer Rozgonyi as well as a former voivode, James Szántói Lack.<sup>436</sup> In 1414 David Szántói Lack was “only” a courtier (*aule regie miles*, 1409) but a year later he became ban of Slavonia. Besides, there are five other court dignitaries who were not magnates: the Vice-Palatine Nicholas Szanai, Lévai Cseh’s vice Tompa Béládi, a certain *Georgius de Walchia*, the king’s *dispensator*,<sup>437</sup> Benedict, provost of Fehérvár<sup>438</sup> and Philip Kórógyi, the queen’s master of the treasury.<sup>439</sup> Two of the rest, John Roskoványi and Michael Sitkei, are named in the *relatio* itself as *aule iuvenis*,<sup>440</sup> Peter Gebser as *aule regie miles*. The other *relators* are mentioned in the *relatio* only by their names, but most of them were referred to either as *iuvenis* (Andreas Csapi, Michael Szendi) or *miles* (Nicholas Hatvani,<sup>441</sup> Michael Kusalyi Jakcs, Emmerich Pálóci, Nicholas Pataki Perényi,<sup>442</sup> Stephen Rozgonyi the Elder<sup>443</sup> and David Szántói Lack<sup>444</sup>) in the 1410s. Only Stibor the Younger and Stephen Rozgonyi (son of Simon) did not have any form of address. This

<sup>434</sup> In documents issued by the Hungarian chanceries e.g. *relatio Iohannis de Gara, relatio Piponis de Ozora comitis Themessiensis, ad relationem Stibori filii Stibori vayuode, ad relationem comitis Symonis de Rozgon iudicis curie* etc. In imperial documents e.g. *ad relationem domini Friderici burggravii Nurenberg Michael de Priest canonicus Vratislavensis, ad relationem domini Benedicti prepositi Alberegalis Iohannes Kirchen, per B[enedictum] prepositum Albensem Jo[hannes] prepositus et vicecancellarius, per dominum Erenfrid [de Seckendorf] magistrum curie burggravii N[urenbergensis] Iohannes Kirchen* etc.

The *NN per XY* notes of the Hungarian chanceries mean that the very person who informed the chancery (XY) was acting on the order of NN, e.g. instead and in the name of the judge royal Simon Rozgonyi once his protonotary (MNL OL DF 230909), once his notary (MNL OL DL 86653) informed the chancery: *Relatio comitis Symonis de Rozgon iudicis curie regie per Ladislaum prothonotarium suum facta, relatio comitis Simonis de Rozgon iudicis curie regis per Corardum suum notarium facta*. See also MNL OL DL 9877 and 105587.

<sup>435</sup> Relator on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1415 and 29<sup>th</sup> May 1417; in 1415 he was not a high dignitary yet.

<sup>436</sup> The queen’s master of the doorkeepers 1413–1417.

<sup>437</sup> Also ZsO VI/1375, 1380, 1382.

<sup>438</sup> MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 251, 274, 291; BÓNIS, Jogtudó 119.

<sup>439</sup> In 1413 relator of Barbara’s charters (MNL OL DF 208991, Siklós and MNL OL DF 234134, Buda), on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1414 assessor at the *specialis presentia* (ZsO IV/1699). Five times referent in Constance between 30<sup>th</sup> May 1417 and 24<sup>th</sup> June 1417 (NAGY et al. (eds.), Zichy VI. 445–453, nr. 308–310, 312; ZsO V/2255); on 20<sup>th</sup> November 1417 assessor at the *presentia regia* (ZsO VI/1130).

<sup>440</sup> Sitkei is mentioned in 1418 as *dispensator*, ZsO VI/ 1650, 2340.

<sup>441</sup> Nicholas Horváti/Lublói.

<sup>442</sup> See n. 372. (*Relatio Nicolai de Peren filii bani comitis Maromorosiensis.*)

<sup>443</sup> Son of Ladislaus.

<sup>444</sup> Relator in Constance on 7<sup>th</sup> July 1414, *summus thesaurarius* BTOE III/1. 340, nr. 655, ban of Slavonia 1415–1419.

list infers that high dignitaries and lower ranked courtiers equally referred to the Hungarian secret chancery and not even the frequency of their appearance in the chancery notes shows considerable differences. (**Appendix 8**)

By applying the same diplomatic method on a different group of sources, i.e. on the archive material produced by the imperial chancery, another part of the referents can be revealed. Besides the imperial high dignitaries and political elite of the German territories marked on *Figure 7* above (Ch. III.1.1.1.), the following persons appear in the “*per*” and “*ad relationem*” notes of the original charters issued by the imperial chancery or – from 1417 on – in the “*referente*” remarks of the imperial register book. (The numbers standing after the names in parenthesis refer to the number of *relatios* made at the imperial chancery.)

	Hungary 1410-1412	Northern-Italy 1413	Germany 1414	Constance 1415	France, England 1416	Constance 1417	Constance 1418	Germany 1418	Austria, Jan. 1419	Hungary 1419
John Esztergomi (26)	•		•	•		•				
Benedict, Provost of Fehérvár (3)	•			•		•				
Pipo of Ozora (1)	•									
Ehrenfried of Seckendorff (1)	•									
Mikeš Jemništi (3)		•					•			
Wygleys, Schenk of Geyern (3)				•		•				
Erkinger of Saunshiem/Seinsheim <sup>445</sup> (1)				•						
William of Waldeck (5) <sup>446</sup>					•	•				
Matthias Lemmel (6)					•		•	•		
Simon, Bishop of Trau (5)						•	•	•		
Frischhans of Bodman (2)						•				
Albert, Schenk of Seida (1)						•				
<i>N. de Ribnitz</i> (1)						•				
John Uski, Provost of Pécs (1)						•				
Henry of Latzembok (1) <sup>447</sup>						•				
Wenceslas of Duba (1) <sup>448</sup>						•				

**Figure 8: Referents of the imperial chancery II.**

In many senses these data correspond to the conclusion drawn at the end of the previous subchapter concerning the imperial elite and high dignitaries. Except for Frederick of Nuremberg and his *Hofmeister* Ehrenfried of Seckendorff there are no traces of imperial referents around Sigismund until 1414. John Esztergomi, Pipo of Ozora, Benedict, the provost of Fehérvár and even Mikeš Jemništi were the members of the Hungarian aula.<sup>449</sup> Thus, the years 1410/1411–1414 can be characterized not only as an “Empire without its king” (Sabine Wefers) but, as these data imply, also by the phrase “king without imperial assistance.” Here, just like above, references to German *relators* are concentrated on the years when Sigismund was staying in the territory of the Empire.

<sup>445</sup> Son of Michael I von Seinsheim and Marketa z Rózemberka. Freiherr of Schwarzenberg since 1429. LexMA VII. 1721.

<sup>446</sup> Vilém Zajíc z Valdeka na Židlochovicích. Windecke and charters refer to him as Wilhelm Hase von Waldeck, Haas de Waldeck etc.

<sup>447</sup> Jindřich z Lacemboku.

<sup>448</sup> Václav z Dubé na Leštně.

<sup>449</sup> Similarly John Uski, who was born in Bohemia and stood in Sigismund’s service since the 1390s. I.a. FEDELES, Uski; HLAVÁČKOVA, Diplomat; LUKSICS, Uski.

Nonetheless, the small number of their *relatios* hints at the low intensity of their political or administrative-governmental activity. At the same time the appearance of notables of Bohemian origin in chancery notes (William of Waldeck, Henry of Latzembok, Wenceslas of Duba) is rather surprising. Henry of Latzembok and Wenceslas of Duba referred only on one occasion in connection with Bohemian issues,<sup>450</sup> but the latter was surely a member of Sigismund's entourage in England.<sup>451</sup> Besides, it must be noted that although his appearance in an imperial document in 1417 is something new, as count and castellan of Komárom he belonged to the Hungarian aula since 1414. Also William of Waldeck was a constant member of Sigismund's closest advisory circle. He began his career as a hired mercenary in the service of the Moravian Margrave Jobst of Luxemburg, he took part in a diplomatic mission in France in 1407 and was appointed the governor of the Duchy of Luxembourg in 1407. Upon Jobst's death William joined Wenceslas, but soon after he entered Sigismund's service where he stayed until his death in the battle of Vyšehrad on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1420 (except for a year in 1417/1418 when he returned to Moravia). As shown above and in the **Appendices 9-11**, he became Sigismund's counsellor and he acted as warrantor at his side.

Another interesting figure is Matthias Lemmel but unfortunately there is not much known about his life or career. He came from a family of Bamberg-Nuremberg origin,<sup>452</sup> a branch of which was resident in East-Central Europe (Bohemia and Hungary) since the 1360s.<sup>453</sup> Matthias Lemmel was together with Sigismund in Western-Europe, he is mentioned in chancery notes, as one of the guarantors of a loan Sigismund took in Dordrecht in 1416, as his "*Triselier/Triesler*" in 1418 and *dispensator* on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1419.<sup>454</sup> He is still referred to in the sources in the 1420s.

To sum up the results of the paragraphs dealing with the high dignitaries, counsellors and referents at Sigismund's travelling court the following conclusions can be drawn. As regards those members of Sigismund's entourage who belonged to the Hungarian aula it can be said that the political elite of the kingdom was rather underrepresented around the king, although it can be assumed with reasonable certainty that the Hungarian court-dignitaries (master of the doorkeepers, master of the stewards, master of the cupbearers, master of the horse) and Nicholas Garai were at

<sup>450</sup> RI XI/2422 and RI XI/2149. The abbey of Nieder-Ingelheim was founded by Emperor Charles IV in 1354, who sent here Augustine canons from Prague. The monks residing in the monastery had to speak Czech as their main task was to take care of Bohemian pilgrims visiting Aachen.

<sup>451</sup> BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond kísérete 12.

<sup>452</sup> STROMER, Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz 134, n. 145.

<sup>453</sup> LEMMEL, Die bamberger Lemmel, see also LEMMEL, Die nürnbergger Lemmel.

<sup>454</sup> Relator in Leeds RI XI/1967, in Konstanz RI XI/3009, in Passau RI XI/3721 and 3770. On the list of Sigismund's creditors RI XI/3175 and 3212, "*Triselier/Triesler*" RI XI/3009 and 3413, *dispensator* ZsO VII/939 (MNL OL DL 69 391).



the ruler's side in most of the time between November 1412 and February 1419. (For this see also Ch. III.2.1.) The courtiers of lower status (*miles, iuvenes* etc.) were present at the royal court in a considerably greater number and also took part in governmental-administrative acts. Considering the willingness of Sigismund's imperial subjects to leave German territories (for Italy, France and England) neither the high dignitaries nor the lower strata of courtiers seem to have been mobile enough. Based on the archive material Louis of Öttingen's, George of Hohenlohe's and John Lupfen's presence can be traced *outside* the Empire: in the case of the *Hofmeister* in France and Hungary, in the case of the imperial chancellor and the judge royal in Hungary after 1419. From the group of courtiers Wenceslas of Duba, William of Waldeck and Matthias Lemmel were verifiably permanent members of the entourage but the first two were actually of Bohemian origin and Lemmel, in spite of his family's supposed Bamberg-Nuremberg origin, most probably belonged to the Hungarian aula.

Bearing in mind the dual, mobile-resident character of the Sigismund-administration the absence of the elite from the royal court outside the "homelands" can be explained with practical reasons. As we are going to see in details in Ch. III.1.2., it was exactly this group (especially in Hungary) which governed and ran the daily administration in Sigismund's lands in his absence. Besides, in certain cases there are evidences that although the notabilities were not around Sigismund in person, from time to time they had "representatives" at the royal court. Windecke wrote that John Ladebaum, cathedral canon of Worms, was in England as Count Palatine Louis' envoy,<sup>455</sup> but also the plenipotentiaries of the archbishop of Cologne were negotiating with King Henry V's counsellors in May 1416.<sup>456</sup> Last but not least, the Hungarian courtiers were in many cases *familiares* of great lords. On the whole it can be said that decision making and the necessary administration was functioning quite smoothly at the travelling court also without the assistance of high dignitaries and political elite; the only difficulty seems to have appeared in terms of diplomatic representation. At this problem hints the fact that at the beginning of April 1416 Sigismund asked John Kanizsai and Hermann of Cilli to come straightaway to England, because he needed experienced – and supposedly also prominent<sup>457</sup> – advisors to settle the terms and conditions of the peace treaty between France and England (*viris non modicorum, sed multum aliorum et perspicuorum consiliorum indigeamus. Igitur e[xcellentiam] v[estram] reverendissimi patris quam*

<sup>455</sup> BRANDENSTEIN, Urkundenwesen 168–170.

<sup>456</sup> WINDECKE, Denkwürdigkeiten 103–104, c. 105; LENZ, König Sigismund 95.

<sup>457</sup> WEFERS, Das politische System 59.

*unacum magnifico et spectabili Hermanno comite Cillii socero nostro carissimo... dicte pacis et positionis treugarum exstructio desideramus et volumus interesse*<sup>458</sup>).

Concerning Sigismund's stay in the German territories two further remarks must be made. First, strictly speaking the Sigismund-administration was a mobile one also *within* the borders of the Empire and here the imperial dignitaries and advisors were moving together with the ruler. In other words, although they were not willing to leave the Empire with the king, they had apparently no problem with following him all over the kingdom no matter where he was staying. From this the conclusion can be drawn that in the perception of the imperial elite Sigismund was their king to be served actively only when he was physically in the territory of the Empire. Secondly, unlike the Hungarian part of Sigismund's entourage, where every now and then also lower-ranked courtiers participated in governmental-administrative actions (and often they became high dignitaries later), the source material indicates that in imperial terms almost exclusively only the highest strata of the ruling elite – and perhaps the leaders of the imperial chancery – were involved in decision making or in execution of decisions. Experts or people of lower social status seem to have appeared in the governmental administration only after Sigismund's return from France and England; the main reason for this was the change of relations between Sigismund and the prince electors (Ch. III.1.2.2.2).

### **III.1.2. In the Travelling King's Lands**

From Sigismund's itinerary it is obvious that in the first decade of his Hungarian-German kingship he spent more than six years in one go outside the Kingdom of Hungary and only about three in total in the territory of the Empire. In such a situation the substitution of the ruler, the question of exercising royal rights and the performance of the king's duties became crucial in both realms. The following subchapters aim at giving an overview of the means and methods by which the Sigismund-administration tried to cope with this problem.

#### ***III.1.2.1. Hungary: The Queen, the Vicars and the Barons (1413-1419)***

##### **III.1.2.1.1. The Queen**

Barbara of Cilli was the youngest of Count Hermann II's<sup>459</sup> and Countess Anna of Schaunberg's six children born some time between 1379 and 1392. She was engaged with Sigismund at the age of

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<sup>458</sup> RI XI/1945, 1948. MNL OL DF 287860 212v–214r.

nine (1401), in the very year when her sister Anne was engaged with Palatine Nicholas Garai and her cousin Anne with King Wladislas of Poland. The wedding took place most probably in early November 1405,<sup>460</sup> Barbara was crowned queen of Hungary on 6<sup>th</sup> December.<sup>461</sup> In many respects her queenly career was unique: she was the only Hungarian queen crowned with the crown of St. Stephan,<sup>462</sup> the last queen of the Germans who was crowned in Aachen and the only royal wife who did not escort her husband to the imperial coronation in Rome.<sup>463</sup>

Barbara had a bad historical reputation. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini characterized her as an unfaithful wife (*infida uxor*),<sup>464</sup> an infidel and intriguer obsessed by political ambitions,<sup>465</sup> Antonio Bonfini (1427/1434–1503) stated that she was the lover of Duke Ernest of Austria,<sup>466</sup> and John Cuspinian (1473–1529) described her in his *De Caesaribus* as follows:

Barbara was a woman of passionate desire and shameless impudence, who asked men more often than she was asked by them. Sigismund caught her in adultery quite many times; nonetheless, the adulterer overlooked the adultery as he himself repeatedly violated others' matrimonial beds and did not find fault with touching others' wives. Barbara embraced the same sort of unsatisfied lust, not feeling any purity or chastity. She considered life empty if it was without sex, splendor and passion. She could not think of any other reason to live than to serve the pleasure of her body. She said the [lives of] holy virgins were just tales. Accordingly, she resembled very much Claudius' Messalina. [...] <sup>467</sup>

<sup>459</sup> ENGEL, Zsigmond bárói (b) 410–412; KRONES, Hermann II von Cilli. On the Cilli family DOPSCH, Die Grafen von Cilli; KRONES, Die Freien von Saneck; FUGGER GERMADNIK (ed.), Celjski grofje; GRABMAYER, Cilli; GRABMAYER, Cilli II. The FWF-projects “Die Urkunden und Briefe der Grafen von Cilli (1341–1456)” at the University of Klagenfurt in 1999–2001 and 2002–2005: <http://www.wg.uni-klu.ac.at/cilli/>.

<sup>460</sup> Recently a detailed analysis by KATANEC, Perquisite 29–51. ENGEL, Zsigmond bárói (b) 411, cf. with FÖBEL, Barbara 99–102, who supposes that the wedding was in Buda and thus it must have taken place between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> December 1405. Yet, considering the date of coronation (6<sup>th</sup> December 1405) this hypothesis can hardly be correct. Moreover, on 16<sup>th</sup> November 1405 the wedding was mentioned as a past event: *Barbaram... nobis in coniugem ac regnis nostris in reginam lege matrimonii duximus copulandam quam thoro nostro regio sociavimus, hanc vero... in die dominica videlicet in festo beati Nicolai confessoris nunc proxime affuturo ad instar moris reginalis in regali civitate Albensi sacro diademate decrevimus insiguire*, NAGY et al. (eds.), Zichy V. 416–417, nr. 352 (MNL OL DL 78655). On the betrothal see KRONES, Die Freien von Saneck 73–74.

<sup>461</sup> Then in Aachen on 8<sup>th</sup> November 1414, in Prague on 11<sup>th</sup> February 1437. Barbara was the only German queen who was not crowned Empress in Rome together with his husband.

<sup>462</sup> PÁLOSFALVI, Borbála.

<sup>463</sup> FÖBEL, Korrespondenz 245.

<sup>464</sup> PICCOLOMINI, De viris illustribus 46, c. 31.

<sup>465</sup> HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 137. On Barbara's character CHILIAN, Barbara 67–69. The list of the Piccolomini-works used by Chilian *ibid.* 9, n. 5.

<sup>466</sup> BONFINI, Rer. Ung. 405. (Decadis III, Liber III.)

<sup>467</sup> *Fuit autem Barbara foemina immente libidinis et procacitatis inverecundae que saepius viros peteret quam peteretur. Saepissime in adulterio a Sigismundo deprehensa: sed adulter adulterae ignovit quia et ipse crebro alienos violavit thoros matrimoniaque aliena tentare nullius rei duxit. Pari forma libidinem inexhausta amplexabatur Barbara, nihil de castitate sentiens ac pudicitia. Vitam omnem censuit inanem que non coitu, luxu ac libidine contereretur. Nulla enim alia causa vitam sibi expetendam asserit nisi ut voluptati corporis sui inseruiret. De virginibus sanctis fabulas esse dixit. Ob is Messaliae Claudii quam simillima [...]*, CUSPINIAN, De Caesaribus 497–498. Recent secondary literature on Barbara's image and reputation DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Barbara 271–289; HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 497; KRZENCK, Barbara; WAGENDORFER, Studien 148–158. See also BAK, Queens.

Yet, in spite of this image, it is a widely accepted opinion that Barbara's organizational skills, especially in terms of administering her estates were exceptional. In the 1410s besides the lands which were owned by the queens of Hungary *iure reginali* (Óbuda, Solymár, Csepel, Szanda and Buják in the County of Nógrád, the market town of Tolnavár, Kecskemét and the Cumans)<sup>468</sup> Barbara held properties and revenues in Slavonia: the castles of Szaplonca (Stupèanica), Kiskemlék (Mali Kalnik), Nagykemlék (Veliki Kalnik) and Kókapronca together with the town of Kapronca (Koprivnica), the district of Velike, the estates (*possessiones*) of Garig, Gerzence and Palisna in the county of Körös, Zagreb, the town of Pozsegavár (Požega) with the castle, the county of Pozsega and the marten fur tax (*mardurina*) collected here, the town of Verőce (Virovitica) with the county of the same name, the marten fur tax and the tithe, the marten fur tax of Slavonia<sup>469</sup> as well as the revenues from the custom called thirtieth (*tricesima*). Her annual incomes from *mardurina* are estimated to 8,000, from the thirtieth to 20,000 golden fl.<sup>470</sup> She seems to have been not only talented but also successful in managing her estates and incomes and, contrary to Sigismund, she usually had cash at her disposal. Thus, every now and then Barbara was able to help her husband with loans, in exchange for which she received, of course, further pledged domains. At the time of Sigismund's death in 1437 she was the greatest landlord in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>471</sup>

When Sigismund left for Friuli and the Empire in November 1412, Barbara stayed back in the Kingdom of Hungary. She departed for the German coronation only in September 1414<sup>472</sup> and returned a year later.<sup>473</sup> Considering Barbara's skills and the traditional forms of the ruler's substitution in Hungary<sup>474</sup> her "governorship" in the absence of Sigismund seems to have been the plausible and logical answer to the new administrative challenge. The queen's authority was hardly debated in the realm as it was acknowledged abroad as well; neither the participation in political acts was unfamiliar to Barbara.<sup>475</sup> In line with this Amalie Föbel wrote in 2005 that "before Sigismund left for Italy in late autumn of 1412 ... he ordered his wife to the top of the government,

<sup>468</sup> KENYERES, Magánbirtokok 1108. On this problem with regard to the age of the Árpáds ZSOLDOS, Királynéi intézmény 28–62.

<sup>469</sup> MNL OL DL 12156, edited in WENZEL, Okmányi adalék 271-274. After 1419 Barbara had possessions mostly in Northern-Hungary; archive sources ibid. 274-285. ENGEL, Királyi hatalom 73–75.

<sup>470</sup> MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 91–93.

<sup>471</sup> ENGEL, Királyi hatalom 75.

<sup>472</sup> On 17<sup>th</sup> September 1414 she was in Öttevény (MNL OL DF 280027), he met Sigismund in Heilbronn (HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 187), from where they travelled by ship to Aachen (Speyer-Mainz-Koblenz-Aachen).

<sup>473</sup> On 27<sup>th</sup> September 1415 in Mülhausen (RI XI/1891a), on 26<sup>th</sup> November 1415 in Pressburg (MNL OL DF 202092.)

<sup>474</sup> On the topic recently C. TÓTH, Nádor, on the queen's role ZSOLDOS, Királynéi intézmény 127, 181.

<sup>475</sup> Sigismund used Barbara's seal on MNL OL DL 92364 (26<sup>th</sup> April 1410 in Végles): *presentes quoque propter nostri sigilli absentiam sigillo dicte consortis nostre domine regine fecimus consignari*. Barbara as guarantor of loans granted to Sigismund **Appendix 9**; co-sealer e.g. ZsO III/662. On the Order of the Phoenix founded by the queen in 1429 IRSIGLER, Weinsberg und Barbara.

together with Palatine Nicholas Garai and Archbishop John Kanizsai of Esztergom.”<sup>476</sup> Jörg K. Hoensch argued similarly: according to him Sigismund left the country and the tasks of governing to a regency council (*Regentschaftsrat*) of three consisting of Barbara, Garai and Kanizsai. Between 1416 and 1419, however, Barbara “had to govern alone, which situation she was unable to cope with.”<sup>477</sup> Imre Szentpétery also stated that she was her husband’s “substitute” in his absence.<sup>478</sup> Lóránd Szilágyi did not mention Barbara’s potential role at all, Elemér Mályusz only with regard to the 1430s but not to the 1410s.<sup>479</sup> From the above-mentioned scholars only Amalie Föbel supported her statements with diplomatic evidences; thus, her conclusions are worth quoting somewhat longer here. Concerning the phase between 1412 and 1414 Föbel wrote that “the queen acted as a regent not only sporadically [...] but – together with the palatine and the archbishop of Esztergom – she was given direct responsibility. She received delegations but also groups and individuals who were lodging a complaint; she pronounced judgements, decided disputes, confirmed rights of ownership and took political decisions. In these years Barbara exercised power not only with [...] Sigismund’s political consent, but in close cooperation with him. In delicate issues, she acted often in consultation with Sigismund, together with him.”<sup>480</sup> As for the period between 1416 and 1419 Föbel argued – in my opinion correctly – against Chilian’s thesis by stating that the issues Chilian considered as signs of Barbara’s failure, i.e. the defense against the Ottomans, armed robberies and border incidents, were either not acute problems in the 1410s or they are not relevant indicators of a successful or unsuccessful way of ruling. Here, I am going to study the political role Barbara played after 1412 in the Kingdom of Hungary and the characteristic features of her supposed governorship on the basis of the diplomatic material.

The Hungarian National Archives preserved about 250 charters which were issued in Queen Barbara’s name between 1406 and 1438.<sup>481</sup> As a starting point the following figure shows how Barbara’s charter issuing practice varied during the first 15 years of her queenship.

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<sup>476</sup> FÖBEL, Barbara 104.

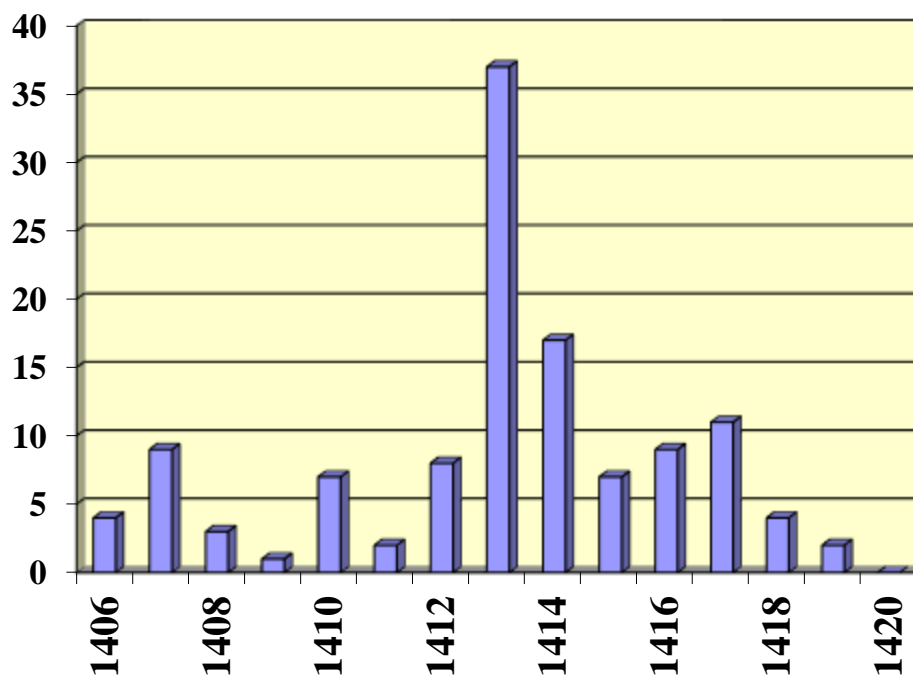
<sup>477</sup> HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 495–496. Similarly Chilian.

<sup>478</sup> SZENTPÉTERY, Oklevéltan 208.

<sup>479</sup> MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 158, 79.

<sup>480</sup> FÖBEL, Barbara 106.

<sup>481</sup> The MNL OL database displays 270 hits including *duplums* and excluding lost pieces known from source editions. There was only one occasion, when King Sigismund and Queen Barbara issued a charter together, namely on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1408 when Sigismund founded the Order of the Dragon. DL 9470.



**Figure 9: Barbara's charters**

The number of documents preserved in the medieval stocks of the Hungarian National Archives or referred to in the volumes of ZsO (1406-1420)

In the intensity of Queen Barbara's charter issuing between 1406 and 1420 a well recognizable peak can be identified in 1413. Considering the entire Barbara-corpus another apex is observable in 1432, which is all the more interesting as both dates fall into intervals when Sigismund spent longer time, six and four years,<sup>482</sup> outside the Kingdom of Hungary. (**Appendix 12**). It is even more telling that between November 1412 and September 1414, i.e. during the period between Sigismund's and her own departure, Barbara issued fifty-nine charters, which is approximately the half (forty-nine percent) of all documents that were written in her name in these fifteen years (thirty percent of the entire Barbara-corpus). This detail is definitely to be considered a clear indication of the queen's leading role in the politics and government of 1412–1414. Also the queen's return to Hungary by the end of 1415 implies that she was going to take over the tasks of ruling from Sigismund's vicar Kanizsai (Ch. III.1.2.1.2.), who was supposed to leave the country in January 1416. Nonetheless, the documents issued by Queen Barbara between November 1415 and February 1419 (twenty-eight charters, 23 percent of the pieces issued between 1406 and 1420) were considerably lower in number than in the years 1412–1414, which casts some doubt on the latter argument. Besides, in a

<sup>482</sup> Between November 1412 and February 1419 as well as from August 1430 until October 1434.

letter sent to the archbishop of Esztergom on 5<sup>th</sup> April 1416 from Paris Sigismund wrote that Kanizsai

“should set off for France without any delay [...] and he should entrust the prelates and barons, especially the Master of the Treasury John Pelsőci Bebek, the Judge Royal Peter Perényi, the Treasurer John Rozgonyi as well as Dionysius Marcali [...], with the governing of Hungary,”<sup>483</sup>

and he did not mention Barbara’s name in any form in connection with the tasks of ruling. Thus, at first glance it seems that there was indeed a difference in the role Barbara played in the governance and administration of the kingdom in the periods of 1412–1414 and 1415–1419, as suggested by Hoensch. On the other hand, it must be noted that the numbers presented above refer to the documents preserved or known of today, and not to the total issued by Barbara’s chancery. Therefore, this quantitative analysis can be considered only as a starting point, and on the following pages the internal and external characteristic features of these pieces (place of issuing, *relators* and addressees) are going to be analyzed. Besides, the appeals addressed to Barbara are going to be taken into consideration as well.<sup>484</sup>

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<sup>483</sup> MNL OL DF 287860 fol. 213r–214r; ZsO V/1728.

<sup>484</sup> In my opinion, Barbara’s consent in charters of donation is only a chancery formula the use of which can be relevant e.g. for clarifying the date of her marriage with Sigismund but not for the intensity of exercising power. (C.f. with FÖBEL, Barbara 101.) The problem, however, why certain documents contain the formula while others do not, requires further research. On the other hand, it is possible that comparing the itineraries of kings and queens could provide new results, C. TÓTH, *Királynőből királyné* 64–66 (with regard to Sigismund and Queen Mary) and HORVÁTH, *Itineraria* 46 (with regard to Matthias Corvinus and Beatrix).



MOL DL 10519

**Image 8: Queen Barbara's Seal**  
(Obverse)

Legend:

s barbаре dei gratia regine hungarie

Let's start with the period before the queen's departure for the coronation in 1414. On the basis of Barbara's itinerary<sup>485</sup> she left Buda together with Sigismund in September 1412. The royal couple was heading for the southern parts of Hungary; yet, while Sigismund stopped for a few days in Fehérvár, the queen went straight to her Slavonian estates and on 2<sup>nd</sup> October she was already in Kapronca (Koprivnica). She was staying in her domains (Kemlék /Kalnik/, Körös /Križevci/, Garignica, Verőce /Virovitica/, Siklós<sup>486</sup> and Kapronca /Koprivnica/) until spring of the next year, when she returned to Buda.<sup>487</sup> From then on, except for a short travel to Felsőzsolca (*Solcha*) in October 1413,<sup>488</sup> she was residing on queenly dominions located in the *medium regni*:<sup>489</sup> Buda, Óbuda, Csepel and Pilis. On 17<sup>th</sup> September 1414, when Barbara issued a charter in Öttevény,<sup>490</sup> she was already on her way to the Empire.

In order to be able to draw conclusions regarding Barbara's role in the administration and governance of the Kingdom of Hungary, it is needed to compare the diplomatic material issued in her name before and after Sigismund's departure in November 1412. The analysis of Barbara's

<sup>485</sup> ENGEL– C. TÓTH, *Itineraria*.

<sup>486</sup> Garai's possession.

<sup>487</sup> Her first charter issued in Buda is dated from 25<sup>th</sup> April 1413 (MNL OL DF 234134).

<sup>488</sup> MNL OL DL 89722.

<sup>489</sup> See below chapter IV.

<sup>490</sup> MNL OL DF 280027.



charters preserved in original<sup>491</sup> showed that the chancery of the queen – in contrast with the royal chanceries – insisted on specifying the person who communicated the order of issuing to the chancery personnel. Normally, only the pieces with a hanging or closing seal do not bear a *relatio* or *commissio* note; from the years 1406–1412/1413 I found only three *litterae patentes* sealed with an applied seal under the text without the one or the other remark.<sup>492</sup> Before November 1412, or better to say before 25<sup>th</sup> April 1413 when Barbara returned to Buda from the southern parts of the kingdom, the *relators* named on her charters were all members of the queenly court:<sup>493</sup> Lawrence Tari<sup>494</sup> (2), Nicholas Szécsi<sup>495</sup> (1), Nicholas Hédervári<sup>496</sup> (3) and his son Lawrence<sup>497</sup> as well as Philip Kórógyi (1).<sup>498</sup> The only exception in this period was a charter issued on 12<sup>th</sup> June 1412 in Buda, the relator of which was the judge royal Simon Rogonyi; yet, this court case concerned one of Barbara's estates and the judge royal was delegated to investigate it.<sup>499</sup> Also the addressees and grantees of privileges mentioned in the documents were related to the queen's possessions: to Zagreb, Csázma (Čazma), Kemlék (Kalnik), Kapronca (Koprivnica), Verőce (Virovitica) and the Pauline monasteries (Garić, Streza, Dubica) in Slavonia,<sup>500</sup> in the inner parts of the kingdom Szekszárd, the counties of Somogy, Veszprém and Szepes.<sup>501</sup> Other than these only the convent of Lelesz – one of the *loca credibilia* – was referred to as addressee in the charters of the queen.

This practice seems to have changed after Barbara's arrival in Buda in 1413. First, besides the men who stood in Barbara's service – Philip Kórógyi, Laurent Hédervári, Stephan Rozgonyi,<sup>502</sup> John Álmosdi Csire<sup>503</sup> and James Szántói Lack<sup>504</sup> – also four of the leading barons, i.e. Stibor,

<sup>491</sup> In inserts and copies the references to the chancery notes present on the originals are often missing.

<sup>492</sup> 1406–1411: twenty-six charters issued in Barbara's name, nineteen originals, two with closing seal, sixteen with SĪr, one with pending. The two charters without a chancery note are MNL OL DL 78738 and DL 9280. 1412–6<sup>th</sup> April 1413: fourteen known charters, eight originals, one closing, one pending, six SĪr seals. Again, the chancery note is missing from the pieces authenticated with closing (MNL OL DF 230926) and pending (MNL OL DL 23682) seal and from one patent with SĪr (MNL OL DF 236581) which is in fact a second original of the piece with a pending seal.

<sup>493</sup> Only one of Barbara's very first charters issued on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1406 had a royal referent, Nicholas Treutel, Sigismund's master of the treasury (MNL OL DL 42895). By that time Barbara's court was most probably not yet fully established; from the year 1406 only her master of the doorkeepers (Nicholas Szécsi, ENGEL, Arch. Gen.) is known. Barbara's first master of the treasury is mentioned on 6<sup>th</sup> January 1407 (ZsO II/5215), the master of the cupbearers and stewards (Laurent Tari) on 6<sup>th</sup> January 1407 (ZsO II/5216) and on 26<sup>th</sup> April 1407 (ZsO II/5450), the master of the horse (Desiderius Garai) only on 10<sup>th</sup> July 1408 (ZsO II/6209).

<sup>494</sup> 1407–1409 the queen's master of the cupbearers, 1407–1413 the queen's master of the stewards. The numbers in parenthesis refer to the number of charters issued on the *relatio* of the very person before April 1413.

<sup>495</sup> The queen's master of the doorkeepers 1406–1408.

<sup>496</sup> The queen's master of the doorkeepers 1408–1412.

<sup>497</sup> The queen's master of the doorkeepers 1413.

<sup>498</sup> The queen's master of the treasury 1413–1419.

<sup>499</sup> MNL OL DL 43095; ZsO III/578.

<sup>500</sup> On Pauline monasteries in Slavonia PISK, Violence.

<sup>501</sup> For these see ZSOLDOS, Királynéi intézmény 29–30.

<sup>502</sup> *Aule regine miles*.

<sup>503</sup> 1388 *aule regine iuvenis*, 1395 relator (ZsO I/3799), 1412, 1418 the queen's dispensator, 1425 *aule regine miles*. ENGEL, Arch. Gen.

<sup>504</sup> The queen's master of the doorkeepers 1413–1417.

Garai, Kanizsai and John Maróti, the ban of Mačva, appeared as *relators* in the documents issued in the queen's name. Secondly, considering the addressees of Barbara's mandates and the beneficiaries of her donations the geographical focus shifted away from her dominions and the radius of her acts expanded: the towns of Pozsony and Sopron, the convent of Fehérvár, counties of Borsod, Szabolcs, Nyitra, Vas, Zemplén, the Saxon seats in Transylvania can be listed here. Besides, the queen contacted more often barons (the judge royal Rozgonyi, Pipo, Stibor, the younger, the bans of Mačva) and "non-Slavonian" or "non-queenly" officials (e.g. Peter Kapler, *comes* of Pressburg; Peter Szentgyörgyi, *comes* of Sopron). Finally, in this one and half year small deflections can be observed in the charter issuing practice of Barbara's chancery. Out of the thirty-five pieces which have been preserved in original seven documents were sealed with a closing seal – a high proportion of twenty percent compared to the eleven percent of the previous period.<sup>505</sup> This could hint at some "external" influence on the work of the queen's chancery, especially if we consider that five of these documents (four *inquisitoria* and one *statutoria*) were issued during or right after the octave of St. Michael in 1413. A similar but less significant difference can be observed when studying the *litterae patentes* authenticated with an applied seal (SIr). While before 24<sup>th</sup> April 1413 only three such pieces were issued without a *c.p.d.r* or *relatio*-note (thirteen percent of twenty-two SIr charters in total), in the following seventeen months five out of the twenty-seven, i.e. eighteen percent. It cannot be precluded that also these numbers reflect a change in chancery practice as a result of new, extended or altered queenly competences but due to the small number of originals and the rather small difference between the rates these data cannot be considered an unquestionable proof of the hypothesis. Nevertheless, these findings suggest that Queen Barbara indeed started to play another role in 1413 than before, and similar conclusions can be drawn from the documents sent *to* Barbara in these two years. Between 1412 and 1419 there are sixteen such charters mentioned in the ZsO, thirteen of these were issued between 24<sup>th</sup> November 1412 and 12<sup>th</sup> September 1414, the other three in 1416 and in 1417. (Shortly before 1412 or closely after 1419 there is only one piece known the addressee of which was the queen. It is dated from June 1420 and the Polish king Wladislas informed Barbara about the death of his wife Elisabeth.) One of the thirteen is from Sigismund, there are three permissions issued by Pope John XXIII on 11<sup>th</sup> March 1413,<sup>506</sup> two letters from Ragusa with pieces of information concerning the actual political situation on the Balkans,<sup>507</sup> an appeal of Pressburg and another of Wrocław (Boroszló) asking for the queen's

<sup>505</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> April 1413–1414: forty-eight charters, thirty-five originals, one pending, seven closing, twenty-seven SIr. 1406–1413: three closing seal among the twenty-seven originals.

<sup>506</sup> ZsO IV/280–282.

<sup>507</sup> ZsO IV/1338, 2373.

help and support.<sup>508</sup> In May 1413 the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order promised the queen to pay back their debts of 15,000 fl.,<sup>509</sup> and also Hrvoje turned to Barbara – and to the barons of the kingdom – with his complaint.<sup>510</sup> Finally, there are an appeal from Barbara’s master of the cupbearers<sup>511</sup> and two reports from the county of Szabolcs.<sup>512</sup>

On the occasion of the two latter charters it is necessary to comment on Amalie Föbel’s two arguments cited above and thus on the nature of Barbara’s power. First, according to Föbel the queen decided in judicial cases. Yet, among the Barbara-charters related to court issues and dated from the period 1412–1419 there is only one letter of final judgement (*sententialis*),<sup>513</sup> the rest are mandates addressed to *loca credibilia*: mostly *inquisitoria*, *statutoria*, *evocatoria*, *prorogatoria*, *prohibitoria*, *admonitoria* or *requisitoria*. Moreover, on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1413 the queen categorically rejected to decide in the dispute between the town of Pozsony and their former judge Ulrich Rauchenwarter<sup>514</sup> and with one exception<sup>515</sup> in her mandates she always ordered the convents, chapters or counties to report to one of the curial judicial courts, i.e. to the palatinal court, to *presentia regia* or *specialis presentia regia*. In fact, despite the *inscriptio* “the most excellent and illustrious highness”<sup>516</sup> also the county of Szabolcs seems to have sent the two above mentioned *relationes* to the *presentia regia*, as on its outside they named the king (*ad regem*) and not the queen as addressee.<sup>517</sup> Considering that Barbara’s mandate requested the *relatio* “*domino nostro regi*,” it was indeed the right way of acting which corresponded the queen’s instructions. This argument is supported by further reports related to the very same cases, in which the chapter of Várad and the convent of Lelesz explicitly approached and addressed *the king*.<sup>518</sup> Thus, we may consider the *inscriptio* of the two Szabolcs county documents only a reflection of uncertainty or “exaggerated” courtesy. At the same time, it must be pointed out that there is absolutely no evidence of Barbara exercising the king’s jurisdictional rights.

The problem with Föbel’s other argument is also related to Hungarian procedural law. She drew the conclusion that Barbara “worked together and in consultation with Sigismund” on the basis of the phrases “*domino nostro regi rescribatis*” and “*speciali presentie regie maiestatis*

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<sup>508</sup> ZsO IV/1321, 1679.

<sup>509</sup> ZsO IV/638.

<sup>510</sup> ZsO IV/801.

<sup>511</sup> ZsO III/2996.

<sup>512</sup> ZsO IV/1453,1454.

<sup>513</sup> Two originals MNL OL DF 236581 and 236582.

<sup>514</sup> ZsO IV/1198. On Rauchenwarter SKORKA, Windecke.

<sup>515</sup> ZsO IV/77 (MNL OL DF 208991).

<sup>516</sup> *serenissime et inclite domine eorum domine Barbare dei gratia Romanorum regine etc. / excellentissime et inclite domine domine eorum domine Barbare regine Romanorum ac Hungarie etc.*

<sup>517</sup> MNL OL DL 53722 and 53725.

<sup>518</sup> MNL OL DL 53721, 53726 and 53561.

*fideliter rescribatis*.”<sup>519</sup> Yet, these expressions are in fact the parallels of the formulae “*nobis rescribatis*” and “*nostrae speciali presentie fideliter rescribatis*” of the royal charters issued in Sigismund’s name, and as such they should not be understood literally. They did *not* refer to any concrete role of the king in the very process but to the judicial court assigned to deal with the case, and served for informing the addressees about where to report about their proceedings. Furthermore, also the lack of any hint at an intense correspondence between Sigismund and Barbara argues against Föbel’s theory. There is only one letter known sent by Sigismund directly to Barbara on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1414 from Heidelberg,<sup>520</sup> in which he informed the queen about the date of the coronation (by that time planned for the 21<sup>st</sup> October) and his travel route. Neither there are *ad litteratorio mandato domini regis* chancery notes on the documents issued by the queen, and the only piece issued *ad contenta litterarum regalium* from the 1410s is actually a copy of a charter issued in Sigismund’s name in Buda in 1413 on the *relatio* of Archbishop John Kanizsai.<sup>521</sup>

Finally, it is worth investigating what the content of the documents issued by Queen Barbara tell us about her political activity.<sup>522</sup> Besides the above mentioned pieces of judicial character there are *protectionales*, privileges donating tax exemptions or estates (as *nova donatio*) and confirmations of existing rights or possessions (*confirmatoria*). It must be noted, however, that the tax exemptions concerned exclusively queenly incomes, i.e the *mardurina* or the *tricesima*, and no other royal revenues.<sup>523</sup> In respect of Barbara’s political activity the charters issued on 26<sup>th</sup> May 1413<sup>524</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> June 1413<sup>525</sup> in Buda seem to be of particular importance, in which Queen Barbara was dealing with the problem the Hungarians faced on the Austrian border. Nevertheless, it was the only occasion in the course of the seven years when the queen handled questions of military defence in her mandates and it is very likely that these documents were actually not issued on her own initiative either – but on that of Sigismund or/and Stibor.<sup>526</sup> Heimpel cited a letter sent by Sigismund to the voivode<sup>527</sup> dealing among others also with the problem of a possible siege on the castle of Dévény (Devín; *castrum de Wyii*) which was by that time pledged to Lessel Hering, an Austrian noble.<sup>528</sup> It is possible that Sigismund tried to grasp the chance to take advantage of the

<sup>519</sup> FÖBEL, Barbara 106, n. 87.

<sup>520</sup> ZsO IV/2475.

<sup>521</sup> ZsO IV/1400. Another one from January 1407, MNL OL DL 9279.

<sup>522</sup> Norbert C. Tóth also presents a short contentual analysis of Queen Barbara’s charters, C. TÓTH, Nádor 134.

<sup>523</sup> C.f. with ZsO IV/859.

<sup>524</sup> MNL OL DL 39421; ZsO IV/653.

<sup>525</sup> MNL OL DF 202055

<sup>526</sup> Unfortunately an evidence for Stibor’s presence in Buda comes only from 18<sup>th</sup> July 1413.

<sup>527</sup> HEIMPEL, Aus der Kanzlei 179–180, nr. 113, undated.

<sup>528</sup> ZsO IV/662. Sigismund had already ordered Stibor to release Dévény in 1411 (ZsO III/1085), apparently without success because three years later it is stated that Garai paid Hering 8,000 fl. for the castle (ZsO IV/1944).

inner-Austrian situation<sup>529</sup> and the mobilization mentioned in the queen's mandates has in fact less to do with the terminating armistice (*indutie et treuge inter regiam maiestatem et quosdam Australes ... his diebus proximis terminabuntur*<sup>530</sup>) and the Austrians' raising fighting spirit than with the king's plan of seizing back Dévény by force. It is also interesting to note that Barbara is not, only Kanizsai and the barons are mentioned in connection with the negotiations with Hrvoja which took place in Bács (Bač) in November 1413.<sup>531</sup>

To sum up, although an obvious intensifying of the queenly activity can be observed in the years 1413 and 1414, there are no proofs or even hints at Barbara's fully independent decision making in terms of governing and administering the kingdom. (As regards her own possessions the situation was, of course, fundamentally different.) In my opinion, a *relatio*-note from 13<sup>th</sup> December 1413 describes very precisely how the royal administration was functioning in the Kingdom of Hungary after 1412: *Relatio domine regine facta ex deliberatione habita cum domino Iohanne archiepiscopo Strigoniensi ac aliis prelatiis et baronibus*.<sup>532</sup> Thus, what Barbara did, did according to the advice, or more likely according to the decision of the prelates and barons. In other words, Queen Barbara represented the royal power in the absence of Sigismund, but she did not exercise the rights of the king.<sup>533</sup>

As for the period after Barbara's return in 1415, even this representative role seems to have faded. First, there is absolutely no information where the queen was staying in the first eight months of 1416, but she was surely not active politically as there is not even one single document survived from this period which was issued in her name. The first Barbara-charter from 1416 is dated from 8<sup>th</sup> September when she was staying in Buda; right after, however, she left the royal residence and returned only in 1417. As for the archive material, the number of documents issued in the queen's name reduced considerably in the period of 1415–1419, the relators came again exclusively from among Barbara's courtiers (Michael Erdőteleki, her vice-chancellor John [Korponai], George Tompek, Peter Gyimesi Forgács)<sup>534</sup> and also the ratio of pieces sealed with a SIr but having no

<sup>529</sup> *Et si idem dux vobis auxilia prestiterit ... vos ... provideatis ut hii qui ex propriis subditis eiusdem ducis sunt sibi rebelles ... ad obedienciam eiusdem ducis reducantur.*

<sup>530</sup> Sigismund indeed made an agreement on 27<sup>th</sup> July 1412 with Princes Ernst and Frederick of Habsburg (ZsO III/2478); yet, *bis uff sant Görgen tage der schyrist kumpt*, which means that it has already terminated by the end of April whereas Barbara's charter is dated from 26<sup>th</sup> May. See also ZsO III/2484, 2486.

<sup>531</sup> ZsO IV/1230, 1256.

<sup>532</sup> MNL OL DL 10202.

<sup>533</sup> These results correspond to Attila Zsoldos' conclusion regarding on the ruling practice of the Hungarian queens in the age of the Árpáds, according to which "the institution of queenship did not exist alongside the power of the king but within its frameworks." ZSOLDOS, *Tézisek*.

<sup>534</sup> Michael Erdőteleki Nagy: vice of the queen's Master of the Dookeepers James Szántói Lack; George Tompek: the queen's treasurer; Peter Gyimesi Forgács: the queen's master of the dookeepers 1418–1419; John Korponai: the queen's vice-chancellor 1416–1427 (BTOE III/2. 4, nr. 677; CDH X/8. 581-583; MNL OL DF 250158). On Korponai FEDELES, Pécsi székeskáptalan 395-396, nr. 208; BÓNIS, *Jogtudó* 102.

chancery note, atypical of the queenly chancery, fell back to 12 percent. It is peculiar, however, that the proportion of documents sealed with a closing seal increased. Nevertheless, while in 1413–1414 all these charters were issued as a part of court processes, in 1415–1417 the queen put her closing seal only on two *inquisitoria*,<sup>535</sup> the other pieces were two mandates written in German and sent to Sopron in favor of a certain Michael Weisspacher, a citizen of Vienna, and a letter addressed to Archbishop Kanizsai.<sup>536</sup> As for the documents sent to Barbara there are altogether three such letters from these years – in contrast with the thirteen from the previous period. Moreover, two of the three were not addressed exclusively to Barbara but she was only one of the recipients. In one of them Ragusa informed Sigismund as well as Barbara about the events on the Balkans,<sup>537</sup> while the other one sent by Louis of Bavaria<sup>538</sup> concerning Sigismund's unpaid debts of 23,000 fl. was addressed besides Sigismund to both guarantors, namely Barbara and Pipo.

The reason behind this apparently insignificant position of the queen after 1415 is unclear. Whether it was Sigismund's decision, Barbara's choice or perhaps an outcome of the magnates' influence cannot be decided for the moment. The analysis of the role that other political factors, i.e. the royal vicars and barons played in the governance and administration of the land in the 1410s may reveal information which could be relevant for this question as well.

### III.1.2.1.2. Royal Vicars<sup>539</sup>

On 6<sup>th</sup> January 1414 Sigismund issued a charter in Cremona, with which he appointed Archbishop John Kanizsai and Palatine Nicholas Garai governors and general vicars (*gubernatores et vicarios nostros generales*) in Hungary until his return to the kingdom (*tamdiu quousque in dicta regna nostra feliciter regressi fuerimus*).<sup>540</sup> Sigismund explained his decision with the fact that due to his duties related to the Holy Roman Empire and the Roman Catholic Church (*incumbentibus nobis diversarum sollicitudinum curis quibus pro Sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie et Sacri Romani Imperii statuum reformatione cottidie occupamur*) he was not able to take care of the kingdom as expected. Thus, in order to provide the proper and sufficient ruling of the realm (*regna nostra utiliter, prudenter et salubriter gubernentur*) and not to burden his subjects with the difficulties of possible travels to the royal court (*ne per nostram absentiam regnicole nostri velut acephali rectore et*

<sup>535</sup> *Inquisitoria* (-*evocatoria*) addressed to the convent of Lelesz, one from 15<sup>th</sup> September 1416 (MNL OL DF 220 873), the other from 15<sup>th</sup> April 1417 (two originals, MNL OL DF 220980 and 221035).

<sup>536</sup> MNL OL DF 202092, 202107 (to Sopron) and MNL OL DF 202118.

<sup>537</sup> ZsO V/2360.

<sup>538</sup> *Deperditum*, known from ZsO VI/305.

<sup>539</sup> This subchapter focuses on the vicariate of Archbishop John Kanizsai and Palatine Nicholas Garai. There is a chancery note from 9<sup>th</sup> September 1416 referring to Paul Özdögei Besenyő as *banus ac vicarius regie maiestatis*; for this problem see Ch. III 1.2.1.3; KONDOR, Absente rege 136–138; C. TÓTH, A király helyettesítése 310.

<sup>540</sup> MNL OL DL 39278, CDH X/8. 546.

*gubernatore destituti ... propter quaslibet etiam fortassis leves questiones et causas in remotis partibus eorum gravibus laboribus et multis expensis maiestatem nostrum sequi et queritare coguntur*) he entrusted the kingdom to the archbishop and the palatine, his faithful, respected, virtuous and wise men.

Although the substitution of the ruler was not a one-time phenomenon in the history of the country, this charter counts as a rarity in the Hungarian diplomatic material. In the time of the Árpád and Anjou kings usually the queen, the queen mother or a group of notables ran the business in the absence of the monarch<sup>541</sup> but no letter of authorization survived from this period.<sup>542</sup> Another example of appointing a royal vicar comes only from 1402, when Sigismund authorized Prince Albert IV of Habsburg to represent the royal power in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>543</sup> Thus, in the following passages not only the royal vicars' status, rights and duties are going to be studied but also the question if Sigismund's decision for this "institution" could have been influenced by imperial administrative practices – more precisely, if it is possible to reveal similarities between the status, rights and the tasks of the Hungarian and imperial vicars.

Kanizsai and Garai are two well-known figures of the Sigismund-administration, in this respect the king's choice is hardly surprising. It seems that the plan of giving special rights to Kanizsai existed as early as May 1413, when Sigismund wrote to judge royal Simon Rozgonyi that the archbishop would not leave for the Empire as it had been planned before but he would stay in the kingdom as his deputy (*per nos nostra in persona deputatus*).<sup>544</sup> On 28<sup>th</sup> November 1413 Ragusa addressed Kanizsai as governor,<sup>545</sup> which proves not only that the city-state was extremely effective in gathering important political information, but also that by that time Sigismund had already decided over the "official form" of his substitution. Although both the archbishop and the palatine were appointed vicars on 6<sup>th</sup> January 1414, only in the following two months did they appear in royal letters and mandates together as governors; then once in 1415 and once in 1417.<sup>546</sup>

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<sup>541</sup> ZSOLDOS, Királynéi intézmény 127, 181.

<sup>542</sup> In general there are only a few appointment charters which survived but then most of them were issued under Sigismund's reign: Palatine Laurent Héderváry (1437, Héderváry család okl.tára I. 180), judge royal Peter Perényi (1415, MNL OL DL 43274), Master of the Treasury Peter Berzeviczy (1419, MNL OL DL 10811), Stephan Rozgonyi, comes of Pressburg (1421, MNL OL DL 11145), treasurer Michael Ország (1436, MNL OL DL 12871), Peter Lévai Cseh, Voivode of Transylvania (1437, MNL OL DL 13130)

<sup>543</sup> On 17<sup>th</sup> September 1402 in Pressburg, edited in CDH X/4. 140–142, nr. 48. A few months earlier, on 8<sup>th</sup> February 1402 Wenceslas appointed Sigismund *Vorweser vnsers kunigreichs zu Behem, gemeynen Vicarium vnsern und des heiligen reichs*. On Albert's vicariate C. TÓTH, Nádor 128–129.

<sup>544</sup> ZsO IV/641, MNL OL DL 10070.

<sup>545</sup> ZsO IV/1339, original is missing. Based on a chancery note (*relatio Nicolai de Gara palatii et vicarii generalis regie maiestatis*) ZsO IV/906 suggests that Garai had already been Sigismund's vicar on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1413. Although the document (MNL OL DL 28149) is damaged it must have been issued in 1414 because the twenty-eighth year of Sigismund's Hungarian and the fourth of his Roman kingship (*in festo beati Jacobi apostoli anno domini millesimo [...] regnorum nostrorum anno Hungarie etc. vigesimo octavo Romanorum vero quarto*) was 1414 and not 1413.

<sup>546</sup> ZsO VI/445 (3<sup>rd</sup> April 1415) and ZsO VI/1272 (22<sup>nd</sup> December 1417).

Besides, there is a chancery note from 21<sup>st</sup> May 1414 mentioning both Kanizsai and Garai as holders of this position.<sup>547</sup> In all the other cases only one of the two magnates was addressed or proceeded: until the end of February 1414 it was dominantly Garai,<sup>548</sup> from April 1414 until the beginning of 1416 Kanizsai<sup>549</sup> and then by turns. The last mandates referring to Kanizsai and Garai as vicars are dated from 9<sup>th</sup> March 1418 and 18<sup>th</sup> June 1418.<sup>550</sup>

The charter with which Sigismund appointed his vicars called them *Dalmatie, Croatie et Hungarie regnorum nostrorum gubernator et vicarius generalis* and *Hungarie, Dalmatie, Croatie regnorum nostrorum rector, gubernator et vicarius generalis*; in royal mandates they were mentioned as *vicarius (noster) generalis in dicto regno nostro Hungarie per nos constitutus*. Kanizsai added the words *in regnis Hungarie, Dalmatie, Croatie gubernator et vicarius generalis* to his title in the middle of 1414 but after June 1416 he himself did not use it any more, which suggests that he – in contrast to Sigismund – considered himself vicar only while he was staying in the Kingdom of Hungary. The chancery of the palatine has never introduced this title in any form, Garai was always *Nicolaus de Gara regni Hungarie palatinus et iudex Cumanorum* in the approx. 550 charters issued in his name between 1414 and 1418. In fact, apart from the charters issued by Sigismund himself there are only two chancery notes and one report in which Garai is referred to as royal vicar.<sup>551</sup> In documents issued by a third party I have not found any references to Garai as vicar, while in the case of Kanizsai his governorship is mentioned occasionally.

When Sigismund appointed Kanizsai and Garai in 1414 he defined the tasks of his vicars as follows: (1) jurisdiction, (2) managing royal revenues (*montanarum urburas, cameras salium ac lucrum camere, cusionem monetarum [...] locandi, arendandi et tradendi*), (3) appointing, dismissing and controlling (*rationem accipere, rationis factae litteras expeditorias dare*) officers and dignitaries, (4) collecting taxes from the royal towns (*census, collectas annuales de civitatibus nostris, i.e. civitatibus et oppidis ac villis nostris regalibus*) and (5) using them for the defence of the kingdom if needed. For this end the vicars had also the right to impose extra taxes on these subjects. Moreover, they were entitled to (6) define the value of currency (*emendare et corrigere*)

<sup>547</sup> *ad commissionem dominorum Johannis archiepiscopi Strigoniensis et Nicolai de Gara palatini vicariorum regiae maiestatis aliorumque praelatorum et baronum regni et cetera* (MNL OL DF 246850, edited in ZIMMERMANN–WERNER (eds.), *Urkundenbuch III*. 595). Sometimes the charters mention Kanizsai as royal vicar and the palatine only in general as one of the chief judges (*reverendissimo in Christo patri domino Iohanni archiepiscopo ... ac predicti regni nostri Hungarie vicario generali per nos constituto necnon magnificis palatino et iudici curie nostre*) e.g. MNL OL DL 10297, 96889. On 27<sup>th</sup> February 1418 *Nicolao de Gara regni nostri Hungarie palatino vicario generali in dicto regno nostro Hungarie per nos constituto* (MNL OL DL 270169).

<sup>548</sup> Also on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1414, see n. 545.

<sup>549</sup> Also on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1417 (ZsO VI/326, MNL OL DF 228164).

<sup>550</sup> MNL OL DF 239393 and ZsO VI/2057.

<sup>551</sup> MNL OL DL 28149 (on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1414) and BARABÁS (ed.), *Teleki I*. 396–397, nr. 101. The report was issued on 16<sup>th</sup> November 1414 in Siklós, where the palatine was surely not present as by that time he attended Sigismund's and Barbara's coronation in Aachen (MNL OL DL 100395).



and to mint new coins with the consent of the prelates and barons, as well as (7) to take possession and care of reverted estates (*possessiones devolutas*) and vacant prebends (*beneficia ecclesiastica pro tempore vacantia tam regularia quam secularia*). The document mentions two restrictions, namely that although the vicars had the right to reprieve (*de birsagiis [...] relaxare et regnicolis nostris proscriptis gratiam facere possunt*) they could not do that in the cases of high treason (*propter notam infidelitatis*) and capital crime (*in poena capitali et ammissione possessionum*); neither had they the right to donate estates or prebends. Finally, it must be noted that in the absence of one vicar (*deficiente vel absente vel legitime impedito*) the other could proceed alone with full authority.

When comparing the rights and duties mentioned in this very charter with the archival material we need to focus on three groups of documents. Sigismund's mandates addressed to the vicars concerned almost exclusively court processes or they ordained the protection of certain subjects (*protectionalis*). Kanizsai's charters which were issued between March 1414 and May 1418 under his ring seal (*sigillo rotundo anulari*) and which were not related to ecclesiastical matters had the same character;<sup>552</sup> only two were dealing with other issues. These, however, also fit well into the above sketched profile of the vicars: on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1415 Kanizsai ordered the town of Kassa (Košice) to pay their taxes to treasurer John Rozgonyi, while on 29<sup>th</sup> August the mining tax officers (*comitibus vel vicecomitibus urburarum*) in Kőrmöcbánya (Kremnica) received new guidelines according to which they had to pay seven florins (*florenos nove monete*) instead of the usual six for a mark of silver (*marca argenti*).<sup>553</sup> Thirdly, between autumn 1413 and January 1416 the documents which were sealed with the Hungarian great seal were very likely the results of Kanizsai's vicarial activity. This becomes obvious when looking at the places of issue of those pieces which were *not* issued in Buda or in Visegrád: they were either dated from archbishopric (Esztergom, Marót) or Kanizsai family estates (Kismarton, Szil, Ikervár), or they correspond to the itinerary of the vicar (Bács, Fehérvár, Mohács, Beremend, Gara, Diakó, Tata, Győr).<sup>554</sup> These documents fell also into the category of files related to jurisdiction (*inquisitoria, statutoria, postponements of court processes, mandates to take oaths etc.*).

<sup>552</sup> Royal mandates to Kanizsai or Garai 1414–1418: ZsO IV/1568, 1621, 1703, 1715, 1723, 1908, 2234, 2400, V/54, 55, 129, 130, 131, 197, 846, 848, 1350, 1728 (missive), VI/326, 1243, 1272, 1336, 1542, 1553, 1594, 1609, 2057. Charters issued in Kanizsai's name: ZsO IV/1768, 2098, 2272, 2273, 2378, V/473, 511, 945, 968, 1006, 1144, 1245, 1308, 1309, 1452, 2064, VI/356, 357, 1588, 1778, 1794, 1934.

<sup>553</sup> ZsO V/511, 968. On the proposal of two financial experts, Marc of Nuremberg and Andreas *Holthalbreth*. The latter is mentioned in the charter as *scansor dicti domini nostri regis*, most probably *campsor regius*, i.e. royal banker who was entitled to change gold florins to silver denars and vice versa. See DRH I. 208, GYÖNGYÖSSY, Pénztörténet 251.

<sup>554</sup> For a detailed analysis of the problem see KONDOR, Királyi kúria 415–423, 432–436. The seal was kept by the vice-chancellor John Szászi, C. TÓTH, A király helyettesítése 299. See ZsO VI/671, 830.

These figures suggest that the vicars' most important field of activity was jurisdiction,<sup>555</sup> nonetheless, there are evidences that Kanizsai fulfilled also other duties listed in the charter of appointment. Besides the mandates on tax-collecting and the mining activity in Kremnica referred to above, there is another document proving that the vicar managed and was responsible for royal revenues. On 24<sup>th</sup> August 1417 Sigismund ordered Kanizsai to account for the royal incomes collected since the king had left the country, which settlement took place in front of Palatine Garai, Judge Royal Perényi, Master of the Treasury Pelsőci and Pipo Ozorai some time before 13<sup>th</sup> December 1417.<sup>556</sup> Another charter attests that the vicar indeed commanded to take possession of the castles belonging to the bishopric of Győr after the death of Bishop John,<sup>557</sup> and a document dated from 1415–1417 proposed the reform of the monetary system in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>558</sup> Unfortunately, there are no information available regarding its author or the circumstances of its compilation, and it also needs to be emphasized that no reform ideas were put in practice until the second half of the 1420s.<sup>559</sup>

The situation seems to have been somewhat different when it comes to the question of dignitaries. Based on the data of Pál Engel's *Archontology*<sup>560</sup> the following chart gives an overview of the most important office holders between 1410 and 1420.

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<sup>555</sup> It must be noted that in general the dominant part of the surviving medieval Hungarian archive material is related to court processes.

<sup>556</sup> ZsO VI/830, 1238.

<sup>557</sup> ZsO VI/836.

<sup>558</sup> DRH I. 397–404.

<sup>559</sup> GYÖNGYÖSSY, *Pénztörténet* 248–256.

<sup>560</sup> ENGEL, *Arch. Gen.*

	1410	1411	1412	1413	1414	1415	1416	1417	1418	1419	1420
<b>Palatine</b>	Nicholas <u>Garai</u> 1402–1433										
<b>Judge Royal</b>	Simon <u>Rozgonyi</u> 1409–1414					V	Peter <u>Perényi</u> 1415–1423				
<b>Voivode</b>	Stibor of <u>Stiboricz</u> 1409–1414					V	Nicholas <u>Csáki</u> 1415–1426				
<b>Ban of Slavonia</b>	V		Paul <u>Csupor</u> 1412–1415			David <u>Szántói</u> Lack 1415–1419			Dionysius <u>Marcali</u> 1419–1422		
<b>Ban of Dalmatia and Croatia</b>	Charles of <u>Corbavia</u>		Petermann of <u>Alben</u> 1411–1414		John of <u>Alben</u> 1414–1419				Albert <u>Nagymihályi</u>		
<b>Ban of Mačva (Macsó)</b>	Emmerich and <u>Ladislaus Újlaki</u> 1410–1418									V	Desiderius <u>Garai</u> 1419–1427
<b>Master of the Treasury</b>	John <u>Bebek</u> 1410–1419									Peter <u>Berzevici</u> 1419–1433	
<b>Master of the Horse</b>	Peter <u>Lévai Cseh</u> 1404–1415					A. B.	V	Nicholas <u>Perényi</u> 1417*–1420			
<b>Master of the Cupbearers</b>	John <u>Alsáni</u> 1406–1417							Peter <u>Kompolti</u> 1417*–1420			
<b>Master of the Stewards</b>	John of <u>Corbavia</u> 1406–1417							Stephen <u>Bátori</u> 1417*–1431			
<b>Master of the Doorkeepers</b>	John <u>Tamási</u> 1409–1416						<u>Ladislaus Tamási</u> 1416–1434				
<b>Treasurer</b>	<u>Zoelus de Nassis</u>		John <u>Rozgonyi</u> 1412–1436								

V = vacant

A.B. = Andreas Bebek, 1415

\* = in the list of dignitaries only after 8th February 1419

**Figure 10: Hungarian high dignitaries 1410–1420**

The Judge Royal Simon Rozgonyi, the Voivode Stibor and the Ban Petermann of Alben all died in 1414, Pál Csupor was captured and killed by Hrvoje in 1415 and Peter Lévai Cseh also left the royal court because he was the Hungarian magnates' representative negotiating with the despot of Serbia over the fate of the Bosnian captives.<sup>561</sup> In this way, five leading administrative positions were to be occupied in the first two years of Kanizsai's vicariate. Unfortunately, we lack the information how Szántói and John of Alben got their functions (in their case the first relevant data come from lists of dignitaries) but the fact that the charter appointing Peter Perényi as judge royal was issued under secret seal in Constance<sup>562</sup> and Csáki's first mentioning as voivode of

<sup>561</sup> After the battle of Lašva in July 1415 the Hungarian noblemen were captured by the Turks, and they were in custody in the fortress of Zvečan in Kosovo. (It is quite possible that Hrvoje did not participate in the battle personally.) Zvečan was one of few fortresses in Kosovo which were under Ottoman control since the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Serbian despot, who was by that time the vassal of both Hungarian and Ottoman rulers, mediated between the Hungarians and the Ottomans. The noblemen who can be connected with this mediation of Despot Stefan Lazarević were John Maróti, Martin Ders, John Harapki and Peter Szepesi; it seems, however, that only Maróti and Szepesi survived the Ottoman captivity. Some other aristocrats, i.e. one member of the Alben family and Ladislaus Töttös were supposedly at the court of Bosnian nobleman Sandalj Hranic (at that time Hrvoje's enemy) in 1416. ČIRKOVIĆ, Posredovanju. For the article and its synopsis I am thankful to Aleksandar Krstić and Neven Isailović. See also KRANZIERITZ, Lašva.

<sup>562</sup> ZsO V/332.

Transylvania also comes from a document issued by Sigismund himself<sup>563</sup> speaks against Kanizsai's participation in these decisions. Moving a step further, Nicholas Perényi, Peter Kompolti and Stephen Bátori appear in the sources in May 1417. Again, the charters referring to them were issued in Constance,<sup>564</sup> and interestingly enough the lists of dignitaries do not give an indication of their appointment until 8<sup>th</sup> February 1419 (that is Sigismund's return to Hungary) – even though the royal vicar Garai arrived back in the kingdom exactly by the end of May-beginning of June 1417.<sup>565</sup> Taking this into consideration it is hardly credible that the vicar had anything to do with the appointments in practice. Besides, while according to the lists of dignitaries the post of the doorkeeper was vacant between September 1416 and December 1418, on 13<sup>th</sup> February 1417 Sigismund ordered the town of Sopron (Ödenburg) to pay Ladislaus Tamási all the revenues due to him for the current and previous year (*presentis utputa et preteriti annorum*). Therefore, it seems that although Sigismund delegated the task of appointing high dignitaries to the vicars, in practice he still controlled this issue in person. What's more: in many cases the great chancery was apparently not even informed about the personal changes.

As hinted above, whereas the system of royal vicars was a fundamental part of the administration of the Holy Roman Empire, in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary it did not have a tradition and the substitution of the ruler was usually solved in other ways (queen, palatine or council of magnates). Sigismund, however, was familiar with the institution as he himself held the "office" two times, although in 1396 – due to the defeat at Nicopolis and the protest of the prince electors (1397) – without any practical consequences.<sup>566</sup> The appointment of Albert of Habsburg as vicar in 1402<sup>567</sup> was most probably the combined result of Sigismund's experiences and the political situation. At that time, there was no queen in Hungary, Sigismund's relations to the barons

<sup>563</sup> On 13<sup>th</sup> January 1415, then on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1415. ZIMMERMANN–WERNER (eds.), *Urkundenbuch III*. 641, nr. 1761 and 643, nr. 1763.

<sup>564</sup> Peter Kompolti was referent as master of the cupbearers on 29<sup>th</sup> May 1417 in Constance (MNL OL DL 58931), Nicholas Perényi was mentioned as master of the horse on 9<sup>th</sup> May 1417 (MNL OL DL 54003), Stephen Bátori as master of the stewards on 23<sup>rd</sup> May (MNL OL DL 71926).

<sup>565</sup> Relator in Buda on 15<sup>th</sup> June 1417 (MNL OL DL 53947).

<sup>566</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> March 1396: *universalis ordinarius locumtenens et vicarius generalis*, RTA II. 427–436, nr. 247, analyzed by HECKMANN, *Stellvertreter* 628–638. 17<sup>th</sup> September 1402: *Vorweser vnsers kunigreichs zu Behem, gemeynen Vicarium vnsern und des heiligen reichs*. PELZEL, *Diplomatische Beweise* 63–66, nr. 10. See also RTA V. 185, nr. 146. and 186, nr. 147. as well as HECKMANN, *Stellvertreter* 621–622. On Sigismund's vicariate in 1396 PELTZER, *Pfalzgraf* 224–227. Under Sigismund the Count Palatine Louis (1415–1418), Frederick of Brandenburg (1418–1419), Archbishop Conrad of Mainz (1422–1423) and William III the Bavarian (1431) were governors (*stathalter verweser und heuptmann*) in the German territories. Duke Charles of Lorraine became vicar of Metz, Toul and Verdun (1412), whereas the dukes of Savoy in Savoy (1412, 1414) and Duke Louis of Orange in the "French parts" (*per partes Gallicanas*) of the Empire (1421). Besides, he appointed local vicars in Friuli and Aquileia (Friedrich von Ortenburg), in Verona és Vicenza (Brunoro della Scala), in Padua (Giacomo és Marsilio da Carrara), in Lucca (Paolo Guinigi), Mantova (Gianfrancesco Gonzaga), Crema (Georgio de' Benzoni), Como (Luterio Rusca), Belluno and Feltre (Udalrico della Scala), Seravalle and Cardignano (Rudolf von Betze), Milan and Pavia (Visconti).

<sup>567</sup> See n. 543.

and the elite was rather problematic<sup>568</sup> and the Austrian princes William, Albert and Ernest were important allies also in terms of the Luxembourg dynastic conflicts in Bohemia.<sup>569</sup> But is it possible to reveal parallels or similarities between the characteristics of vicariate in Hungary and in the Holy Roman Empire?<sup>570</sup>

As regards the titles the construction (*rector,*) *gubernator et vicarius generalis* as such did not exist in the imperial chancery practice although the words *vicarius generalis*, *rector*, *gubernatio* and *gubernare*, together with *locumtenens* and *capitaneus*, indeed occur in the Latin sources.<sup>571</sup> The standard German form was *Statthalter und Verweser*, also Wenceslas talked about Sigismund as *Vorweser vnsers kunigreichs zu Behem, gemeynen Vicarium vnsern und des heiligen reichs* (1402). Sigismund called himself *Verweser*, in Latin *regni Bohemie gubernator*. Comparing Sigismund's other charters of appointment, namely that of Brunoro della Scala from 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1412,<sup>572</sup> Louis of Savoy from 1<sup>st</sup> July 1412<sup>573</sup> and Theodore of Monferrat from 20<sup>th</sup> September 1414<sup>574</sup> it turns out that their dispositions were in fact formulated in the very same way. Moreover, in respect of these documents there is a clear continuity in the chancery practice of the Luxembourg rulers starting from Charles IV's charters issued in favor of Amadeus VI (1372) and the *dauphin* (1378)<sup>575</sup> up to the one given by Sigismund to Archbishop Conrad of Mainz (1422).<sup>576</sup> Nevertheless, as these documents were all issued by the imperial chancery it is hardly surprising that this tradition is not really traceable in the Kanizsai-Garai charter compiled at the Hungarian secret chancery. The rhetorical elements of the *arenga*, however, show similarities with the other vicarial charters. When referring to his absence from the kingdom, the great distances and the abundance of tasks related to his German kingship Sigismund basically brought together and listed all the reasons of appointing vicars which can be found in such documents. Similarly to his predecessors he stated that he could also rely on faithful and trusted advisors, and although in the Hungarian version there is no mention of the king's sleepless nights<sup>577</sup> the chancery did not miss the chance to depict Sigismund as a ruler stooping under the heavy burden of problems. The *narratio*, on the other hand, focuses more on the

<sup>568</sup> MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 59–69.

<sup>569</sup> HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 108–110. NIEDERSTÄTTER, Österreichische Geschichte 196.

<sup>570</sup> HECKMANN, Stellvertreter.

<sup>571</sup> HECKMANN, Stellvertreter 524–525, 660–666, 672.

<sup>572</sup> VERCI (ed.), Storia XIX. 49–54.

<sup>573</sup> *Cod. Ital.* I. 681–686.

<sup>574</sup> *Cod. Ital.* I. 1365–1372.

<sup>575</sup> HECKMANN, Reichsvikariat 63–97. Heckmann identified these two documents as the link between Charles IV's and Wenceslas' chanceries, HECKMANN, Stellvertreter 630. See also *ibid.* 573–574.

<sup>576</sup> The model for this charter was the document issued by Wenceslas in 1396, HECKMANN, Stellvertreter 643.

<sup>577</sup> HECKMANN, Stellvertreter 564.

practical aspects of the vicariate than the imperial charters, even though references to collective ideas such as *tuitio*, *utilitas* and *commodum* are not missing either.

The concrete reason for Kanizsai's and Garai's appointment was the same as that of the general vicar of the German territories (*citra Alpes*): entrusted with tasks related to jurisdiction and governing they had a well-defined administrative role.<sup>578</sup> Also in terms of the vicars' reputation and the length of their office-holding the Hungarian case corresponds to the imperial trend. Although Garai and Kanizsai were not members of royal families, princes or counts like the vicars in the Empire (as in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary there were no such titles and territorial units<sup>579</sup>), they were the two most important barons of the land whose social-political status was acknowledged abroad as well. Besides, Kanizsai was imperial chancellor, Garai the brother-in-law of the king. Sigismund, just like Charles IV,<sup>580</sup> authorized his Hungarian vicars to represent the royal power for a limited period of time, i.e. until his return to the kingdom (*tamdiu quousque in dicta regna nostra feliciter regressi fuerimus*).<sup>581</sup> In practice this meant that Kanizsai and Garai were acting in the place of the king for two or three years at the most – similarly to Sigismund's German vicars who also served one to three years or to Amadeus of Savoy who was Lombardian vicar for two years. The appointment of two office-holders for the same position at the same time was a Hungarian particularity but not at all unique in the Kingdom of Hungary: Sigismund had two counts of the Székelys between 1387 and 1390 (Balk and Drág Béltelki), two bans of Szörény in 1387 (Ladislaus and Stephen Losonci), two voivodes of Transylvania between 1402 and 1409, two bans of Mačva between 1410 and 1418 (Ladislaus and Emmerich Újlaki), but he followed the same method in the 1430s, too.<sup>582</sup> Another difference is that most of the documents related to the activity of the Hungarian vicars were issued in Sigismund's name under his Hungarian great seal and only very rarely in Kanizsai's own name.

Finally, what can be said about the rights of the Hungarian vicars compared to that of the imperial ones? In 1981 Ferdinand Seibt published an article in which he analyzed twenty-two imperial vicarial appointment charters issued between 1311 and 1401 (with a special emphasis on the pieces from 1356, 1372 and 1401) and he summarized the rights mentioned in these documents

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<sup>578</sup> In the Holy Roman Empire there were three general vicars (one for the German territories, one for Italy and one for Arelat) and several local and territorial ones. The general vicars in Arelat and Italy were rather used to represent the empire's (emperor's) political interests on the borderlands. In fact, in Italy the kings of the Romans tried to avoid to have a general vicar as it would cause political problems with the territorial political powers of the region.

<sup>579</sup> KUBINYI, *Herrschaftsbildung* 421–423.

<sup>580</sup> Charles IV appointed his vicars for the time of his absence, only local and territorial vicars and the dauphin (1378) received the mandate for a lifetime. HECKMANN, *Stellvertreter* 569.

<sup>581</sup> Sigismund appointed Theodore of Montferrat *usque ad nostram aut successorum nostrorum ... revocationem aut beneplacitum*.

<sup>582</sup> MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund* 86–87; ENGEL, *Arch. Gen.*

in twenty-one points.<sup>583</sup> The following chart shows Seibt's results in a somewhat simplified form together with the data extracted from Sigismund's charters issued for Louis of Savoy (1412), Theodore of Monferrat (1414), Archbishop Conrad of Mainz (1422) and the Hungarian vicars (1414, last column).

	Seibt	1412	1414	1422	1414
Jurisdiction <sup>584</sup>	+	+	+	+	+
Tax collecting	+	Jud.reg	+	+	+
<i>Montanarum urbura, camera salium etc.</i>	—	—	—	—	+
Minting coins, monetary policy	1372	+	+	+	+
Confiscating the possessions of rebels and convicted	+	+*	+*	—	+
Granting pardon	+**	+	+	+	+**
Appointing, dismissing and controlling officials <sup>585</sup>	+	+	+	+	+
Imperial ban	1401	—	+	+	—
<i>Infamia</i>	1372	+	+	+	—
<i>Ferias et nundinas instutiendi, imponendi, collocandi et concedendi</i>	+	ferias	ferias	—	—
Military defense (starting military campaigns, making alliances), <i>Landfrieden</i>	+	+	+	+	+
Legislation ( <i>decreta, statuta ac provisiones faciendi, corrigendi</i> )	+	+	—	—	—
Granting feudal estates ( <i>feoda sacri imperii vacantia committendi, conferendi</i> ), accepting feudal oaths; donating estates	+	—	Oath	+	No
Conferring prebends	+	—	—	+	No
<i>Dotes, dotalia</i>	+	+	+	—	—
Appointing guardians of mentally disabled, orphans and widows	+	+	+	—	—
Securing and maintaining possessions reverted the royal treasury	+	+	+	+	+
Appointing public notaries	+	—	—	+	—
Acknowledging illegitimate children as legitimate	+	—	—	+	—
Redeeming pledged domains	—	—	—	+	—

+: right or duty delegated to the vicar

—: not mentioned in the document

„no“: explicitly prohibited by the document

Jud.reg: *Judenregal*, tax of the Jews

\*: the confiscation of estates is not mentioned explicitly, only the handling of issues related to rebels in general

\*\* : In Wenceslas' charters issued in favor of Jobst (1383, 1386) and Sigismund (1396) not mentioned at all, in the case of the Hungarian vicars with restrictions.

**Figure 11: Vicarial rights in the Empire and in the Kingdom of Hungary**

<sup>583</sup> SEIBT, Reichsvikariat. See also HERMKES, Reichsvikariat 18–21, 23–25; HEINZ, Ernennung Wenzels; FAVREAU-LILIE, Reichsherrschaft; HECKMANN, Stellvertreter.

<sup>584</sup> In imperial documents issues related to jurisdiction are mentioned in different paragraphs not in one point. (According to Seibt's numbering points 1, 2, 4, 8, 11 and 13.)

<sup>585</sup> Besides, in imperial documents the royal vicars had also jurisdictional right over the officials, whereas in the Kingdom of Hungary the dignitaries were financially responsible towards the vicars.

At first glance it seems that the Hungarian vicars' room for manoeuvre was much more limited than that of their imperial colleagues. Yet, it must be taken into consideration that certain institutions (e.g. *bannum imperiale*) did not exist in the Kingdom of Hungary or in a form different from the German (e.g. notaries vs. *loca credibilia*). Besides, as customary law gave clear instructions regarding the process to be followed in cases concerning dowry (*dos*), confiscation, disgrace (*infamia*), guardianship and trusteeship,<sup>586</sup> here there was no need for extra regulations. In the Garai-Kanizsai charter there is no reference to legitimation of illegitimate children either. Although in a Hungarian context rather the *praefectio*<sup>587</sup> would be relevant and this issue most probably belonged to the general category of court cases (*universas et singulas regnicolarum nostrorum causas, questiones et litium processus*), fact is that such cases were rare in Sigismund's absence and the few which were dealt with cannot be connected to the vicars' activity.<sup>588</sup> What these observations and conclusions suggest is that even though Sigismund was influenced by his personal experience and the imperial practice when he decided to appoint royal vicars in Hungary, he certainly adjusted the "institution" to Hungarian circumstances and introduced it with modifications in the kingdom. In a long term, however, this imperial model of substitution was not preferred in Hungary<sup>589</sup> and the office of the governor (*locumtenens*) became established instead.<sup>590</sup>

### III.1.2.1.3. The Barons

As we have seen, after Sigismund had left the Kingdom of Hungary first Queen Barbara, then the royal vicars had the right to rule the land. It has hitherto not been clarified if the queenly substitution was replaced by the system of vicars at beginning of 1414 because Sigismund planned to settle the coronation issue sooner<sup>591</sup> or there was another reason behind. Fact is that Barbara did not play the same role after 1415 as earlier, even though soon after her return to Hungary the royal vicar left the country. Instead, in the years 1416–1417 apparently a third solution was found.

<sup>586</sup> BÉLI, Magyar jogtörténet 144–145, 175, 218.

<sup>587</sup> Although the institution of *praefectio* introduced by Charles of Anjou in 1332 disagreed with the Hungarian hereditary practice it soon became an integral part of the customary law. (*Praefectio* was a royal privilege which entitled the female offspring to inherit paternal estates in case there were no male heirs or if the charter of a donated estate (*bonum donationalium*) did not name the heir(s) and thus it came to *defectus seminis*.)

<sup>588</sup> ZsO IV/779 (22<sup>nd</sup> June 1413 in Buda; insert without chancery note mentioned), ZsO VI/1797 (22<sup>nd</sup> April 1418 in Constance).

<sup>589</sup> C. TÓTH, A király helyettesítése 313.

<sup>590</sup> C. TÓTH, Nádor 137, 175–181.

<sup>591</sup> RI XI/491.



When Sigismund ordered Kanizsai to go to France he instructed him to entrust prelates and barons with the governing of the realm.<sup>592</sup> Thus, according to these instructions instead of one or two persons a group of barons became responsible for governing. Such a thing was, of course, not a completely new task for them as many of the barons contributed to the work of the royal council and took part in administration of the land as dignitaries – even if in most cases not they themselves but their vices fulfilled the duties related to these offices.<sup>593</sup> The first question to be investigated is whether we can really identify the members of this governing group with the lords named in Sigismund’s letter, i.e. with John Pelsőci Bebek, Peter Perényi, John Rozgonyi and Dionysius Marcali.<sup>594</sup>

Considering Sigismund’s mandates which were addressed to more than one recipient<sup>595</sup> there is indeed one from February 1418 which refers to a violent trespass (*actus potentiae*) to be dealt with by Kanizsai, Pelsőci, Perényi and Rozgonyi,<sup>596</sup> while a few months earlier, in August 1417 Nicholas Garai, Perényi, Pelsőci and Pipo were ordered to proceed in cases related to Kanizsai, his vicariate, rights and his possessions.<sup>597</sup> The situation is less uniform when considering Sigismund’s mandates issued in favor of Ursula, Ladislaus Bátmonostori Töttös’ wife, later widow. In December 1415 Kanizsai, the bans of Mačva (Ladislaus and Emmerich Újlaki), Eberhard, Pipo and David [Szántói] Lack, ban of Slavonia had to issue a *protectionalis*,<sup>598</sup> in May 1417 Eberhard, Pipo, Nicholas and John Garai were expected to act for Ursula and Bátmonostori Töttös’ orphans against David Szántói Lack.<sup>599</sup> Finally, in June 1417 Sigismund ordered Garai, Perényi, Pelsőci, Pipo, John Rozgonyi, Szászi, Özdögei, David Albisi, Stephen Nánai Kompolt to pass a sentence in the process between Ursula on the one hand and Andreas and Michael Márei on the other.<sup>600</sup> (It is interesting that Dionysius Marcali’s name does not come up in sources in this context.) Having a look at the chancery notes it turns out that apart from the privileges issued on Sigismund’s written

<sup>592</sup> MNL OL DF 287860 fol. 213r–214r; ZsO V/1728. Kanizsai was ordered to “entrust the prelates and barons, especially the Master of the Treasury John Pelsőci Bebek, the Judge Royal Peter Perényi, the Treasurer John Rozgonyi as well as Dionysius Marcali [...], with the governing of Hungary.”

<sup>593</sup> When talking about the political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary Erik Fügedi divided the high dignitaries into four groups, according to the functions which were attached to their positions. The most complex and the highest position was that of the palatine, the judge royal and the master of the treasury fulfilled judicial, the voivode and the bans administrative-governmental (including also judicial and military) tasks. The fourth group was that of the “court dignitaries,” i.e. master of the stewards, doorkeepers, cupbearers and horse. FÜGEDI, *Mobilitás* 19.

<sup>594</sup> In fact, at the beginning of the 1430s it was also a regency council composed of Palatine Nicholas Garai, Judge Royal Matthias Pálóci, Archbishop George Pálóci, Bishop Peter Rozgonyi of Eger and Treasurer John Rozgonyi which governed the land in Sigismund’s absence.

<sup>595</sup> I considered a royal dignitary together with his vices as one recipient.

<sup>596</sup> ZsO VI/1541.

<sup>597</sup> ZsO VI/830–832, 834–835.

<sup>598</sup> NAGY et al. (eds.), *Zichy* VI. 385, nr. 257.

<sup>599</sup> NAGY et al. (eds.), *Zichy* VI. 445–446, nr. 308. In the same case *Zichy* VI. 446–450, nr. 309–310.

<sup>600</sup> NAGY et al. (eds.), *Zichy* VI. 454–456, nr. 314.

order (*ad lit(t)eratorium mandatum domini regis, ad li(t)eratoriam commissionem regie maiestatis*) Queen Barbara, Garai, Kanizsai, Pipo, John Pelsőci Bebek, Paul Özdögei Besenyő and Peter Forgács gave direct chartering order to the Hungarian great chancery. The appearance of the first five persons hardly need any further explanation and Peter Forgács was the queen's master of the doorkeepers; the problem concerning Paul Özdögei Besenyő is going to be dealt with below.

Date	Place	Referent	Seal
1412-09-02	Buda	John Tamási	Secret
1412-09-06	Buda	Peter Berzevici	Secret
1412-09-07	Buda	Nicholas Garai	Great
1412-10-19	Fehérvár	Matthew Pálóci	?
1412-10-28	Zagreb	Pipo	Great
1412-11-24	n.p.	Pipo	SP
1413-05-24	n.p.	Ad litteratorium mandatum d. r.	SP
1413-07-25	Buda	Nicholas Garai	Great
1413-10-19	Buda	Nicholas Garai	?
1413-11-13	Bács	<i>de prelatorum et baronum commissione</i>	Great
1413-12-13	Buda	John Kanizsai	Great
1414-02-26	Visegrád	<i>deliberatio baronum</i>	Great
1414-02-26	Visegrád	<i>deliberatio baronum</i>	Great
1414-05-03	Buda	Barbara, Kanizsai, prelates and barons <sup>601</sup>	SP
1414-05-25	n.p.	Nicholas Garai	SP
1414-06-29	Buda	<i>deliberatio baronum</i>	Great
1414-08-28	Buda	John Kanizsai and the barons <sup>602</sup>	Great
1414-10-04	Esztergom	John Kanizsai	?
1414-11-23	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1414-12-24	Esztergom	John Kanizsai	Great
1415-02-10	Esztergom	John Kanizsai	Great
1415-04-25	Fehérvár	John Kanizsai	Great
1415-05-12	Mohács	John Kanizsai	Great
1415-05-19	n.p.	Ad litteratorium mandatum d. r.	SP
1415-08-10	Buda	<i>ad commissionem prelatorum et baronum</i>	Great
1415-08-15	Buda	<i>ad commissionem prelatorum et baronum</i>	Great
1415-09-17	Esztergom	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1415-09-30	Esztergom	John Kanizsai	Great
1415-11-23	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1415-11-26	n.p.	Ad litteratorium mandatum d. r.	SP
1415-12-18	Esztergom	John Kanizsai	Great
1416-01-06 (2)	Győr	John Kanizsai	Great
1416-04-10	Buda	Pipo	Great
1416-05-01	Buda	<i>deliberatio baronum</i>	Great

<sup>601</sup> *Relatio domine regine facta ex deliberatione habita cum domino Iohanne archiepiscopo Strigoniensi ac aliis prelatis et baronibus*, MNL OL DL 10 202. (A decision of pledging the castle of Dévény to Nicholas Garai).

<sup>602</sup> *Relatio domini Iohannis archiepiscopi ecclesie Strigoniensis et vicarii generalis regie maiestatis ceterorumque baronum* (under the seal *et ceterorum baronum*, MNL OL DL 10250).

1416-07-11	n.p.	Ad litteratorium mandatum d. r.	SP
1416-07-29	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1416-08-13	Buda	John Pelsőci Bebek, Pipo	Great
1416-09-09	Buda	Paul Özdögei Besenyő	Great
1417-02-24	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1417-02-25	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1417-03-11	Buda	Pipo	Great
1417-05-13	n.p.	Ad litteratorium mandatum d. r.	SP
1417-05-29	n.p.	Ad litteratorium mandatum d. r.	SP
1417-06-10 (2)	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1417-06-11	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1417-06-15	Buda	Nicholas Garai	Great
1417-07-15	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1417-07-22 (2)	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1417-07-22	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum*</i>	Great
1417-07-23	Buda	<i>ad commissionem baronum</i>	Great
1417-08-17	n.p.	Ad litteratorium mandatum d. r.	SP
1417-08-17	n.p.	Ad litteratorium commissionem r. m.	SP
1417-12-19	n.p.	Ad litteratorium mandatum d. r.	SP
1418-01-21	n.p.	Ad litteratorium commissionem r. m.	SP
1418-01-28 (2)	n.p.	Ad litteratorium commissionem r. m.	SP
1418-02-24 (4)	n.p.	Ad litteratorium commissionem r. m.	SP
1418-03-12 (2)	n.p.	Ad litteratorium commissionem r. m.	SP
1418-04-23	n.p.	Ad litteratorium commissionem r. m.	SP
1418-05-09	n.p.	Ad litteratorium commissionem r. m.	SP
1418-11-03	Buda	Peter Forgács	Secret

n.p. = no place of issue

SP = sigillum pendens

\* *per magistrum Iohannem de Zelew*

### Figure 12: Chancery notes on documents issued in Sigismund's name in Hungary 1412–1418

Unfortunately, the data referred to above does not confirm the information that a small group of aristocrats, i.e. three to six persons, were entrusted with the tasks of ruling in 1416–1417. Instead, they hint at the probability that in fact far more barons were involved in administrative-governmental affairs than mentioned in the Sigismund-letter, and this hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the fact that on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1416 a numerous group of barons decided in Pécs to impose an extraordinary tax for the ransom of the magnates captured in Bosnia.<sup>603</sup> Thus, along these lines another group of chancery remarks needs to be investigated briefly: these are the *deliberatio* and *commissio* notes mentioning the prelates and barons in general as referents (*deliberatio baronum*, *de prelatorum et baronum commissione*, *ad commissionem baronum*). The question to be answered here is whether it is possible to assign a governmental-administrative character to the

<sup>603</sup> ZsO V/2255, MNL OL DL 43338.

meetings referred to by these expressions, and whether the participating prelates and barons can be identified as the ones who in fact “ruled” the realm between January 1416 and May 1417.

To start with, it must be noted that such chancery remarks were not exclusively the characteristic of the period when the king was absent from the realm: on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1411 a decision of the *personalis presentia* was issued a charter *ex deliberatione baronum facta*, while a *prorogatio* from the 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1411 also mentions the barons as (co-)decision makers (*ad nostram vel prelatorum et baronum nostrorum deliberationem*).<sup>604</sup> In 1413 and under Kanizsai’s vicariate these notes became more frequent but all the documents with such remarks concerned proceeding court processes and with a few exceptions they were issued during the usual juridical periods (*octavae*).<sup>605</sup> This means, however, that in these cases the decision-making of the magnates did not go beyond their traditional juridical role and the *deliberatio / commissio baronum* expressions on the charters refer in no way to administrative-governmental or political consulting activity.<sup>606</sup> In other words, the concrete persons behind these chancery notes were active at law courts, but they were not necessarily identical with those who managed the administrative, political and governmental affairs of the kingdom.

As the *deliberatio* and *commissio*-notes do not seem to help us in identifying the persons exercising power other than judicial, we have to return to the prosopographic approach. Assuming that the administration of the realm was a continuous activity and required permanent presence in Buda (or at least longer stays without interruption), the next step could be an analysis of the whereabouts of leading barons mentioned in the chancery notes. Nonetheless, this attempt proved to be a dead end as the available data are not enough for a detailed reconstruction of the itineraries.<sup>607</sup>

The last hint to be analyzed is another chancery note from 9<sup>th</sup> September 1416 which named Paul Özdögei Besenyő as *banus ac vicarius regie maiestatis*.<sup>608</sup> Özdögei was an important member of the Hungarian political elite,<sup>609</sup> on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1415 the prelates and barons sent him to Bosnia (*ex commissione et voluntate prelatorum et baronum nostrorum in certis nostris agendis et negotiis ad regnum nostrum Bozne*).<sup>610</sup> Apparently he maintained excellent contacts with the imperial chancellor, the Kanizsai family even pledged him the possession of Hollós for 800 fl. which sum

<sup>604</sup> ZsO III/1359, 1411 ZsO IV/1132. For the court of the *personalis presentia* see below.

<sup>605</sup> On the problem see below Ch. III.2.2. It is interesting to note that the word “*prelatorum*” is missing from the all the *deliberatio*-notes (*deliberatio baronum*) and with three exceptions from the *commissio*-notes as well. Although it is possible that the *barones*-versions were only shortened forms of the original expression, this phenomenon require further study.

<sup>606</sup> Also in other cases the word *deliberatio* was used in the sense of “decision of a judge or judicial court”, e.g.: ZsO III/1322, IV/1018, 1528, 1570, 2189, 2522, VI/442, 460, 2226 etc.

<sup>607</sup> C. TÓTH, Zsigmond tisztségviselői.

<sup>608</sup> MNL OL DL 43341.

<sup>609</sup> E.g. ZsO IV/228, 764, 1571. See also ENGEL, Királyi hatalom 213.

<sup>610</sup> ZsO V/995.

contributed to the costs of the archbishop's travel to Sigismund in 1416.<sup>611</sup> A donation charter issued in favor of Özdögei on 29<sup>th</sup> May 1417 in Constance refers to his services as *pro ipsius regni nostri Hungarie tuitione et defensione et aliis nostris agendis per ipsum iuxta nostre maiestatis nutum expeditis*; therefore, it is possible that Kanizsai in fact entrusted him with tasks of governing when he left.<sup>612</sup> An evidence for this could be that he was involved in the conflict related to the vacant bishopric seat of Győr as the castles of Szombathely and Rákos were in fact handed over to Özdögei – just like the tithe which was to be paid for the estate of Rákos.<sup>613</sup> Norbert C. Tóth has thoroughly analyzed this case and considers it a clear evidence of Özdögei's royal vicariate.<sup>614</sup> In my opinion, however, the problem is more complicated. I agree with him that Özdögei was most probably involved in the administration of the realm in Sigismund's, Kanizsai's and Garai's absence, and considering the above-mentioned chancery note and case study it cannot be ruled out that he was indeed a royal vicar. In my opinion, however, the fact that neither royal mandates<sup>615</sup> nor other documents issued in the Kingdom of Hungary mention such a title in connection with Özdögei raise doubts, which seem to become all the more justified if we consider that not even the above-mentioned letter of donation issued by Sigismund in 1417 called him vicar.<sup>616</sup>

Thus, due to the contradictory nature of obtainable information I can only raise alternatives concerning Sigismund's "substitution" in the Kingdom of Hungary between January 1416 and May 1417. Özdögei's royal vicariate would mean that he was appointed by Sigismund and was endowed most probably with the same rights and duties as Kanizsai and Garai before. The other possibility is that it was indeed Özdögei alone who was responsible for administering the realm but he was commissioned by Archbishop Kanizsai and not by the king himself; in that case, however, he can hardly be considered as royal vicar. The third scenario would be that Özdögei was only one of the few barons entrusted with the tasks of governing, as in fact it had been ordered by Sigismund in April 1416. (Which small group was *not* identical with the group the *deliberatio* and *commissio*-notes refer to.) More information on Özdögei's activity would support the first two theories, the involvement of other barons in governmental affairs similar to the Győr-case would speak for the third option.

Finally, it must be noted that privileges issued in the following months often bear a remark referring to Sigismund's written order (*ad litteratoriam commissionem regie maistatis/ ad*

<sup>611</sup> ZsO V/1424. Soon, however, the archbishop was again in need of money, ZsO V/2492.

<sup>612</sup> Perhaps with other barons as suggested by Sigismund.

<sup>613</sup> ZsO V/2105, 2538.

<sup>614</sup> C. TÓTH, A győri püspöki szék 57–58; C. TÓTH, Nádor 135–136.

<sup>615</sup> On 13<sup>th</sup> June 1417, MNL OL DL 79419.

<sup>616</sup> MNL OL DL 58931.

*litteratorium mandatum domini regis*). This fact itself could imply that in 1417 Sigismund started to exercise direct control over the Hungarian affairs but it was not the case. These remarks appeared on privileges issued by the great chancery<sup>617</sup> as a result of Sigismund's intense charter issuing activity in Constance in the spring of 1417. During his stay in Aragon, France and England the unsettled issues accumulated, so from February 1417 on the Hungarian secret chancery issued a large number of charters of donation and mandates concerning lawsuits. These cases continued or were closed a few weeks or months later in Hungary, where the chanceries did not fail to refer to Sigismund's orders.

To conclude, in Sigismund's absence the queen, the vicars and the barons seem to have acted quite independently from the king. Apart from the *ad litteratorium mandatum / ad litteratoriam commissionem* chancery notes quite a few direct instructions are known. A telling – and in some sense perhaps shocking – example is the Bosnian campaign that resulted in the complete defeat of the Hungarian troops in July 1415. Although it was Sigismund who ordered the Hungarian magnates to start a military campaign against Hrvoje in 1413,<sup>618</sup> the barons organized it and all the necessary mandates were issued by the royal vicar Kanizsai (of course, in Sigismund's name under his great seal). After the defeat it was the prelates and barons who commissioned Paul Özdögei Besenyő and then Péter Lévai Cseh to go to Bosnia and they decided to impose a tax in order to be able to pay the ransom for John Maróti, Martin Ders, John Harapi and Peter Szepesi. Most probably neither the ordinance mentioned in a charter issued by Pipo in May 1416 had anything to do with Sigismund.<sup>619</sup> The king himself wrote in July 1415 to the envoys of the University of Cologne that although the Kingdom of Hungary could hardly cope with his absence he was strongly determined to continue his work at the council until the unification of the church ensured.<sup>620</sup> Considering that soon after Sigismund ordered even his vicar to leave the country, this statement was very likely rather for the audience than the voice of his conscience.

### ***III.1.2.2. Holy Roman Empire (1411–1419): Governors and Officials***

As we have seen in the Kingdom of Hungary decision making and governmental administration was functioning apparently quite smoothly also without Sigismund's direct interventions, be it in the

<sup>617</sup> ZsO VI/435, 480, 812, 814, 1261, 1399, 1429–1430, 1554–1558, 1625–1626, 1802, 1890.

<sup>618</sup> ZsO IV/768, 1117. ENGEL, *Török veszély* 280.

<sup>619</sup> ZsO V/1901. According to the document Sigismund prohibited the peasants to move from the estates the owners of which took part in the Bosnian campaign until it was clarified whether their masters were dead or alive.

<sup>620</sup> ZsO V/863.

frameworks of the traditional (queen and barons) or a less “indigenous” (royal vicars) system. An important prerequisite of this rather uncomplicated situation was that after twenty-five years of ruling Sigismund had his men whom he could trust and rely on in his absence. Another factor which helped to manage issues straightforwardly lied most probably in the centralized but at the same time highly self-propelling “nature” of the Hungarian political and administrative system. In the following paragraphs I am going to study the same problem from the point of the Holy Roman Empire.

Sabine Wefers in her book on the political structure of Sigismund’s reign divides the first decade of the Luxemburg ruler’s German kingship into two parts. As regards the years 1410–1413 she is talking about the “Empire without king” (*Reich ohne König*) while the following five years, i.e. 1414–1418, are considered as the era of the “king in the Empire” (*König im Reich*). Nonetheless, Wefers offers another structural division, too. Until 1416 the main instrument of governing the Empire was the “extended palatinal substitution of the king” (*erweiterter kurpfälzischer Königsvertretung*),<sup>621</sup> the basis of which was the harmonic relationship between the king and the Count Palatine. Sigismund’s arrival in the Empire in 1414 and thus the appearance of a new power factor on the imperial political scene slowly changed this well-functioning system. The two–two and a half years of the “phase of entry” (*Eintrittsphase*) resulted in a break between Sigismund and Louis in 1417 and also in the change of the character of ruling (*Wirkungsphase*).<sup>622</sup> From then on Sigismund was assisted by his “own” imperial administrative team consisted of his followers of lower social status.<sup>623</sup>

### III.1.2.2.1. Ruling in Place of the King: Governorship of the Elector Palatine

The Count Palatine’s late medieval special position as governor in vacancy (*vacante imperio*) was ensured first and foremost by the fifth paragraph of the Golden Bull issued by Charles IV in 1356. The origins of this unique status reach back to earlier times, the model for this point was paragraph/chapter 147 of the *Schwabenspiegel* which gradually became a widely accepted guideline. The Golden Bull regulated this issue as follows:

Whenever, moreover, as has been said before, the throne of the Holy Empire shall happen to be vacant, the illustrious count palatine of the Rhine, arch-steward of the Holy Empire, the right hand of the future King of the Romans in the districts of the Rhine and of Swabia and in the limits of Franconia, ought, by reason of his principality or by privilege of the county palatine, to be the administrator of the Empire itself, with the power of passing judgments, of presenting to ecclesiastical benefices, of collecting returns and revenues and investing

<sup>621</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 33, 45.

<sup>622</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 56–60.

<sup>623</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 60, 65. See also MORAW, *Pfalzgrafschaft* 93.

with fiefs, of receiving oaths of fealty for and in the name of the Holy Empire. All of these acts, however, shall, in due time, be renewed by the King of the Romans who is afterwards elected, and the oaths shall be sworn to him anew. The fiefs of princes are alone excepted, and those which are commonly called banner-fiefs: the conferring of which, and the investing, we reserve especially for the Emperor or King of the Romans alone. The count palatine must know, nevertheless, that every kind of alienation or obligation of imperial possessions, in the time of such administration, is expressly forbidden to him. And we will that the illustrious King of Saxony, arch-marshal of the holy empire, shall enjoy the same right of administration in those places where the Saxon jurisdiction prevails, under all the modes and conditions that have been expressed above.<sup>624</sup>

In accordance with these directives Louis III of Pfalz was in office after his father's death on 18<sup>th</sup> May 1410; the Duke of Saxony, on the other hand, did not react to the new situation.<sup>625</sup> For Louis it was not the first time because from September 1401 until the spring of 1402, during Rupert's *Romzug* he was governor of the Palatinate and royal vicar in the German territories.<sup>626</sup> Since Strassburg and the cities of Alsace officially acknowledged Louis' *vacante imperio* vicarial right in 1408,<sup>627</sup> the takeover of the tasks of governmenting went without problems. Nevertheless, apart from a few letters sent to imperial subjects as i.a. *furseher in den landen des Rynes zu Swaben und des Frenckischen rechten* asking for recognition there is no information about Louis' vicarial activity.<sup>628</sup> Moreover, it is not quite clear how and when exactly his *vacante imperio* governorship ended and his activity as vicar in the ruler's absence (*absente rege*) started. Theoretically, due to the lack of an elected German king he was in office until 20<sup>th</sup> September 1410. Practically, as Hermkes noted, the imperial governors had been fulfilling their duties until the new king took an oath on the *Wahlkapitulation* in person which was of course not possible immediately after the election if the new monarch, for instance Sigismund, was not present there.<sup>629</sup>

The *absente rege* vicariate was not such a "legal-constitutional" form of substitution as the *vacante imperio* governorship.<sup>630</sup> In these cases the very ruler decided which rights and duties should be transferred to his deputy. Nevertheless, a mandate issued in 1375 by Charles IV attributed

<sup>624</sup> FRITZ (ed.), *Goldene Bulle* 59–60, c. V.1. (Translation <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/golden.asp>) Analysis HERMKES, Reichsvikariat 5–23. On Reichsvikariat HERMKES, Reichsvikariat esp. 1–37; KUPKE, Reichsvikariat; PELTZER, Pfalzgraf 207–229; WENDEHORST, Reichsvikariat; WERMINGHOFF, Goldene Bulle.

<sup>625</sup> HERMKES, Reichsvikariat 27. The reason for this was, in my opinion, that Rudolf of Saxony considered Wenceslas the legitimum ruler. C.f. with HERMKES, Reichsvikariat 28.

<sup>626</sup> RTA V. 22–23, nr.2. In fact, in 1401–1402 Rupert entrusted Louis with his substitution in the whole territory of the Empire (*in ipsius [i.e. Romani imperatoris] absentia vicariatum imperii in Germania Gallia et regno Arelatensi ad comitem Palatinum Reni pertinuisse et pertinere debet*) but Louis called himself *von gots genaden ... vicarie des heiligen Romischen riches in Dutschen landen*. (In 1422 the archbishop of Mainz also received an authority over the whole territory.) WENDEHORST, Reichsvikariat 43–44; HECKMANN, Stellvertreter 642. Also mentioned by EBERHARD, Ludwig 7, n. 2.

<sup>627</sup> WENDEHORST, Reichsvikariat 7.

<sup>628</sup> RTA VII. 14–16, nr. 1–5. HERMKES, Reichsvikariat 27–28; EBERHARD, Ludwig 8.

<sup>629</sup> HERMKES, Reichsvikariat 26.

<sup>630</sup> HERMKES, Reichsvikariat 3, see also PELTZER, Pfalzgraf 216–227.



also the right of the *absente rege* vicariate to the count palatines of the Rhine,<sup>631</sup> so at first glance in the case of Louis the situation seems to have been unproblematic. Yet, in spite of this first impression the question seriously emerges if and when Louis was appointed by Sigismund as royal vicar. Wiltrud Wendehorst actually stated that Sigismund “apparently avoided to put Louis into this position” and the count palatine “cannot be considered as Sigismund’s governor (*Statthalter*) in these years.”<sup>632</sup> Taking Sigismund’s substitution policy into account Marie-Louise Heckmann also doubts that such an act occurred at all,<sup>633</sup> while Sabine Wefers, as mentioned above, talks about an “extended palatinal substitution” (*erweiterte kurpfälzische Königsvertretung*).<sup>634</sup> First, fact is that there is no appointment charter preserved as for instance in the case of Conrad of Mainz (1422), but of course it can be the result of the incomplete tradition of sources.<sup>635</sup> It is also true that the *Wahlversprechen* sent to Louis in August 1410 did not mention explicitly the issue of the vicariate, and Sigismund promised only in general terms that he would confirm all of Rupert’s decisions and privileges.<sup>636</sup> Besides, although in 1410 Sigismund (or Frederick) rejected the condition set by the archbishop of Mainz concerning the prince electors’ right to give their consent to the appointment of the imperial vicar, he indeed included this clause in the election treaty (*Wahlvertrag*) addressed to John on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1411.<sup>637</sup> Such a paragraph was also inserted in the agreement signed by the archbishops of Mainz and Trier on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1411.<sup>638</sup> What gives a reason for hesitation is, however, that bearing in mind the relations of the prince electors with each other it is hardly believable that Werner would have signed anything which could predictably harm Louis’ positions.<sup>639</sup> It is also very unlikely that Louis did not know about this agreement of the prelates, and in case he did the only explanation for not protesting against its content could be that for some reason he did not consider it dangerous.

Fact is also that on 27<sup>th</sup> September 1410 Frederick of Nuremberg sent a letter to Frankfurt and to other imperial cities in which they were called upon to give their support to Louis – even if Frederick did not call him vicar.<sup>640</sup> Finally, it is not possible to ignore the fact that in 1422, when it came to a debate between Mainz and Pfalz, Louis III referred to an earlier document with which Sigismund had confirmed his right for the vicariate (*wir als pfalzgraven bi Rine und kũrfursten des*

<sup>631</sup> HECKMANN, Stellvertreter 648.

<sup>632</sup> WENDEHORST, Reichsvikariat 46.

<sup>633</sup> HECKMANN, Stellvertreter 649.

<sup>634</sup> WEFERS, Das politische System 33, 41.

<sup>635</sup> EBERHARD, Ludwig 20.

<sup>636</sup> RTA VII. 19, nr. 7.

<sup>637</sup> RTA VII. 108, nr. 64. (Also Jost in 1410, RTA VII. 62, nr. 44.)

<sup>638</sup> RTA VII, 99-100, nr. 60.

<sup>639</sup> On the archbishop and archbishopric of Trier JANK, Trier 39–54; LÖFFLER, Falkenstein I. 62–63; PAULY, Trier II. 119–121; PERSCH, Werner von Falkenstein; RUTHE, Werner III.

<sup>640</sup> RTA VII. 51, nr. 34.

*heiligen Romschen richs von Romschen keisern und konigen und dem heiligen riche gewirdiget und gefriet sin das soliche ere und wirdigkeite uns als eim pfalzgraven bi Rine zugehoren solle, des wir brieve und urkunde haben, die uns auch der obgnant unser gnediger here der Romsche konig under siner koniglichen majestat ingesigel bestetiget ernuwet und confirmieret hat).*<sup>641</sup> The problem lies in the dating of Sigismund's charter mentioned by Louis. If the reference to the German majestic seal is correct, the earliest possible date of issuing would be August 1412 (see Chapter II. 2.2.) but it must be noted that privileges were confirmed generally only after the coronation in Aachen.<sup>642</sup> Therefore, all what can be said for sure is that by the end of 1414 at the latest Louis most probably had an acknowledgement of his vicarial rights from Sigismund. And indeed, in July 1415 he was appointed as governor and administrator (*Stellvertreter, Statthalter, Verweser*) for the time of Sigismund's absence.<sup>643</sup>

Turning back to the problem regarding the years 1411–1414, most probably it would be possible to answer the question in the light of the charters issued by Louis III. Unfortunately, in the series *Regesten der Pfalzgrafen am Rhein*, which was planned to deal with the period of 1214–1508, only the first two volumes were published and for the time being it ends with 1410. Thus, lacking such a collection of Louis III's charters we can only pose the question who could govern the land until Sigismund's arrival in the Empire in 1414 if it was not the Count Palatine.<sup>644</sup> In fact, on 21<sup>st</sup> January 1411 Sigismund wrote to the imperial cities that he had ordered

the most honored Werner, archbishop of Trier, our dear nephew, the highborn Louis, count palatine of the Rhine and duke of Bayern, our dear uncle and prince elector, John and Frederick, burgraves of Nuremberg, our dear uncles and princes, as well as Eberhard, count of Württemberg, our dear brother-in-law to protect the streets, help and assist your and the other of our and the empire's cities and subjects in all issues.<sup>645</sup>

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<sup>641</sup> RTA VIII. 239–240, nr. 193.

<sup>642</sup> For Louis RI XI/1283–1285. See also Vicariat 8–9.

<sup>643</sup> RI XI/1764, 1771.

<sup>644</sup> Even if in many cases temporary solutions were found (WEFERS, *Das politische System* 26), Sigismund could hardly afford himself not to use the financial potential of the Empire. (The king's regular yearly income is estimated to 100 000 gulden in the early fourteenth century, 17 500 gulden under Ruprecht and 13 000 under Sigismund. KRIEGER, *König, Reich* 34.) Thus, he definitely needed someone to manage these affairs. On the other hand it must be noted that at the beginning of his reign most of the taxes were assigned to one or the other follower of his.

<sup>645</sup> *...dorumb haben wir dem erwirdigen Werenher erzbischof czu Trier unserm liben neven, den hochgeboren Ludwig phalczgraven bey Rein und herczigen in Beyeren unserm liben ohmen und kurfustene, Johansen und Fridrichen burgraven czu Nurenberg unsern liben ohmen und fursten, und deme den Eberharten graven czu Wirtenberg unserm liben swager ernstlich verschriben, das sy dy strassen schirmen und euch den ewern und andern unsern und des reichs steten und undertanen... beholfin und beraten sein wollen in allen sachen*, RTA VII. 55–56, nr. 38. Similarly on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1411 to Werner of Trier: *und begern [wir] auch mit ernste das du dazwischen uns und dem heiligen riche zu liebe und zu eren flissig sin wulles, unser und desselbin richs manne stete und undertane in unser gehorsam vorderen, die auch alle unser sache und rechte zu hanthaben und die strasse zu schirmen wo des notdorft ist (...)*, RTA VII. 54, nr. 37. Werner of Trier in a letter sent to Frankfurt wrote that Sigismund *uns auch under andern pünten schribet daz wir mit ezlichen andern fursten und herren die straessen schirmen, ouch und andern des richs steden und gertruwen bistendich beraden und beholfich sin etc*, RTA VII. 133–134, nr. 88.

This quotation speaks rather for a collective government, which solution would correspond to Sigismund's vicariate and substitution policy insofar as he was in general not willing to give extensive rights to one person for a long time. The imperial vicars were in office in practice for a maximum of three years, in the Kingdom of Hungary he tended to appoint two persons to the same position and perhaps already in 1416 but surely in 1433 he delegated the tasks of ruling to a regency council.<sup>646</sup> The sharing of authority between the members of the ruling elite was not without example in the Empire either as Wenceslas also tried to exercise this means in 1389.<sup>647</sup> Indeed, there is evidence that in March 1411 Werner of Trier commissioned envoys to discuss imperial issues in Frankfurt (*umb die vorgnanten und ander sachen das riche antreffende zû reden*)<sup>648</sup> and Frederick of Nuremberg was responsible for collecting taxes from Nuremberg in Sigismund's name in 1412.<sup>649</sup> Still, it is possible that in practice the everyday matters were indeed dealt with predominantly by Louis and that for a very practical reason. As a result of Rupert's kingship it was the court in Heidelberg which had the personnel with the necessary administrative-governmental experience. In connection with Rupert Peter Moraw wrote that apart from generational change basically the same group of advisors can be reconstructed around the Count Palatines before 1400 and after 1410, and this very group formed a decisive part of Rupert's royal council as well.<sup>650</sup>

To conclude, it is very likely that Louis was officially not appointed as *absente rege* vicar in the early 1410s and Sigismund himself would have preferred a joint governance of the Empire. Nevertheless, it is not clear at all when Louis' *vacante imperio* vicariate ended in practice – Sigismund confirmed the first privileges only in August and September 1413 (in Meran and Chur), and strictly speaking he entered the Empire, i.e. the German territories only in 1414. Therefore, the possibility that it was indeed Louis III who played the leading role in the administration of imperial affairs should not be underestimated, not least because first and foremost his dignitaries had the practical experience needed for fulfilling such tasks. This theory could be proven or refuted by the analysis of Louis' charters which, however, requires a separate investigation. By the end of 1414 at the latest Sigismund seems to have acknowledged the Rhine Palatine's right to the *absente rege* vicariate and in 1415 it was out of question that Louis became his representative in the Empire for

<sup>646</sup> See Ch.III.1.2.1.3. and n. 594.

<sup>647</sup> WENDEHORST, Reichsvikariat 47.

<sup>648</sup> WEFERS, Das politische System 23. (RTA VII. 133–134, nr. 88); also RTA VII. 8.

<sup>649</sup> WEFERS, Das politische System 27, n. 29.

<sup>650</sup> MORAW, König, Reich. 811–812: "Am stärksten tritt ... der Pfälzer Adelsverband hervor ... Er ist im fiktiven Gremium der siebzehn führenden Männer mit sieben Mitgliedern vertreten. ... Die Gruppe der hausmachtgebundenen Räte war – vom Generationwechsel abgesehen – fast völlig identisch mit den Beratern der Pfalzgrafen vor 1400 und nach 1410." On the continuity between Wenceslas' and Rupert's counsellors MORAW, König, Reich 810, On the administration of the Palatinate see COHN, Government; ANDERMANN, Klientel 117-126. Also Sabine Wefers emphasized the importance of Louis' inner-imperial political connections, WEFERS, Das politische System 14–18.

the time of the ruler's absence. This right, however, was not of absolute validity since in 1418 Frederick of Brandenburg, in 1422 Conrad of Mainz was entrusted with the tasks of governing.

### III.1.2.2.2. Sigismund's "Own" Imperial Administrative Team

This subchapter so far was dealing with the responses given to the challenges of a faraway rule. Yet, surprisingly enough, the presence of the ruler could be similarly challenging and it could lead to the re-structuring of governmental administration. Sabine Wefers saw a structural reason behind this and wrote that the change was an inevitable consequence of delegating the royal duties to the count palatine and Frederick of Nuremberg on such a large scale as it happened in the first years of Sigismund's reign.<sup>651</sup> As mentioned above, from a structural point of view she divided the period when Sigismund was staying in the Empire into two phases, namely to that of the "entry" (*Eintrittsphase*, 1414–1416) and that of the "impact" (*Wirkungsphase*, 1414–1416).<sup>652</sup> The phase of entry was not a cesura in a political sense and did not cause any realignment of inner political power relations. The most obvious sign of the beginning of the "phase of impact" was the break with Count Palatine Louis;<sup>653</sup> parallel to this, the Rhine electors and Frederick of Nuremberg formed a coalition in order to protect their interests as opposed to Sigismund.<sup>654</sup> Since up to that point the imperial administration was a system which rested upon this elite and the Count Palatine's circle, the new situation had direct consequences in terms of ruling: Sigismund had to find people who were loyal to him and did not belong to the circle of his developing opposition. These partners came from the middle and lower strata of the imperial, first and foremost Swabian nobility, and although they did not have the same political potential as the princes, it was in fact not a disadvantage for Sigismund. They were versatile, valuable for governmental administration and perfect for fulfilling financial and diplomatic tasks, while "politics" could be controlled by Sigismund himself to a larger extent than before.<sup>655</sup> The members of this group were John of Waldburg (*Erbtruchseß*, *Landvogt* in Swabia), Count Frederick of Toggenburg, Count Hans of Lupfen (*Landvogt* in Upper-Elsace and Sundgau), Count John of Lupfen (*Hofrichter*), Conrad of Weinsberg,<sup>656</sup> Markgrave Bernard of Baden (*Landvogt* in Breisgau), Haupt of Pappenheim (*Erbmarschall*), Frischhans of Bodman, Hans Conrad of Bodman, Eberhard of Nellenburg, Bishop Georg of Passau (imperial

<sup>651</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 42–43, 59.

<sup>652</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 46.

<sup>653</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 58–59; EBERHARD, Ludwig; MORAW, Pfalzgrafschaft 93.

<sup>654</sup> Alliance between Louis of Pfalz and Frederick of Nuremberg on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1417; on 7<sup>th</sup> March 1417 the prince electors of Mainz, Trier, Cologne and Pfalz agreed in Boppard that *ob eynich forderung von Romischen keysern oder konigen an sie alle oder ein tyle gescheen wurde ... sie sollen sich ... darumb by eynander fügen und gemeinlich mit eynander eynere antwort zu rad werden*. WEFERS, *Das politische System* 57, 60.

<sup>655</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 60, 65–66.

<sup>656</sup> Until 1418, then rather Bernard of Baden.

chancellor), the Counts of Monfort-Tettnang and Louis of Öttingen (*Hofmeister*).<sup>657</sup> From the old supporters Sigismund could still count on Margrave Frederick, even though he also started to shove off. On the other hand, in February 1417 John Kirchen returned to the imperial chancery.

Jörg K. Hoensch also noticed the change of the Sigismund-administration after 1416 but he explained it in a different way than Wefers. He argued that after his return to the Empire Sigismund understood that there was practically no “effective imperial administration.” In his understanding the fact that Sigismund was concerned to reform the imperial chancery practice and it indeed happened even before George of Hohenlohe became imperial chancellor was a reaction to this situation.<sup>658</sup> Besides, he claimed that after 1418 Sigismund’s long stay-aways and his limited financial resources made it difficult to pay generous apanages, the result of which was that the king did not strive for attracting the most illustrious princes, counts or their sons to the royal court any more.<sup>659</sup> In my opinion, both Wefers’ and Hoensch’ statements can be connected to the administrative-governmental change which took place in the second half of the 1410s. On the one hand, due to reasons sketched above it was inevitable to entrust the governmental administration to a group of people different from the one closely related to the count palatine and the electors. On the other, the new circumstances also opened the way for (technical) changes which can be considered as the first steps towards professionalization or bureaucratization. The innovations in the chancery referred to by Hoensch point to this direction, and also Wefers noted that after Sigismund had started to work with his “*Regierungsmannschaft*” the tasks were distributed according to given fields of competence instead of being delegated “en gros.”<sup>660</sup> With regard to handling legal matters, for instance, the setting up of the fiscal procurator’s office (1421) should be considered as a constituent of early department-like specialization.<sup>661</sup> Although the employment of experts of non-noble origin was not yet dominant, the signs of the tendency were definitely there. The most obvious example of this is the appearance of trained jurists in the royal council and among Sigismund’s diplomats such as Benedict Makrai or Ottobono Belloni.<sup>662</sup>

Many of the changes in the beginning of 1417 were technical ones: they aimed at the improvement of record keeping at the imperial chancery (introduction of a new register book,

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<sup>657</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 60–66.

<sup>658</sup> HOENSCH, *Kaiser Sigismund* 519–520.

<sup>659</sup> HOENSCH, *Kaiser Sigismund* 469.

<sup>660</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 60.

<sup>661</sup> HEINIG, *Gelehrte Juristen* 170–172.

<sup>662</sup> BEINHOF, *Die Italiener* 291–292.

appointment of a registrar<sup>663</sup>), at the *Hofgericht* (new *Achtbuch*<sup>664</sup>) and at financial administrative bodies.<sup>665</sup> At the same time, the involvement of new people in the governing had structural consequences as well, and affected the Sigismund-administration in its complexity.<sup>666</sup> It is interesting to note that between 1415 and 1417 a text was compiled at Sigismund's court, which contains propositions concerning military, judicial and financial issues in relation to the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>667</sup> Thus, to all appearances, from the beginning of 1417 the king and his advisors were seriously concerned about the effective management and administration of the realms, also on a wider scale.

## III.2. Scenes and Institutions

After focusing on the personal basis of the Sigismund-administration this subchapter aims at investigating the frameworks within which the administrative-governmental acts took place: the royal court.<sup>668</sup> I also examined the curial “institutions,” i.e. the structure and functioning of royal council and the central judicial courts at length; the problem of the chanceries, however, was left out of consideration here as this has already been dealt with in Ch. II.

### III.2.1. The Royal Court

Oliver Auge and Karl-Heinz Spiess defined the highly complex notion of the “court” as follows:

Court is understood as the house of the monarch in a wider sense, it refers to the whereabouts and residence of a ruler. It also indicates the ruler's proximity, his surrounding environment and entourage, which can be divided into a narrower circle, i.e. to a limited number of people who were permanently present at the ruler's side, and to another a group the composition of which was constantly changing and the members of which were only occasionally and temporarily around the king. Court also refers to the exclusive lifestyle which was characteristic of this in-group, and to the behavior patterns and (social) manners attached to it. Besides, on court we understand the gathering of the great and mighty around the ruler as well as that of the royal servants (*Hofgesinde*) – in other words the *Hoftag* and the *Hofstaat*. Finally, court can even mean the government of a land and, as *pars pro toto*, it can refer to the land itself, at the top of which the ruler stands.<sup>669</sup>

<sup>663</sup> John Kirchen started to write the first “model” entries of the new register book on 16<sup>th</sup> February 1417 (KOLLER (ed.), Albrecht 13.), the registrar Heinrich Fye took over the tasks of record keeping in April 1417 (KOLLER (ed.), Albrecht.) Until the rule of Frederick III there was only one registrar in the imperial chancery (KOLLER, Ausbau 444, n. 126.).

<sup>664</sup> Started on 15<sup>th</sup> February 1417. KOLLER, Ausbau 440.

<sup>665</sup> KARASEK, Konrad von Weinsberg 42–53; KOLLER, Reformpläne 71.

<sup>666</sup> On Louis of Öttingen's appointment as master of the household SEELIGER, Hofmeisteramt 62–64.

<sup>667</sup> DRH I. 397–403. Some of these points were later indeed dealt with in royal decrees.

<sup>668</sup> WEFERS, Das politische System. “Regierung und Verwaltung der deutschen Herrscher waren bekanntlich um 1400 noch völlig Teil des Hofes – anders als bei den westlichen Nachbarn.” MORAW, Beamtentum 60.

<sup>669</sup> AUGE–SPIESS, Hof und Herrscher 3–4. See also RÖSENER, Hof.

In primary sources the words referring to the court are *palatium*, *aula*, *domus* or *curia*. In the Hungarian context we meet the three latter expressions; nevertheless, their meaning (*aula-domus* vs. *curia*) was not exactly the same.<sup>670</sup> Attila Zsoldos referred to this problem in respect of the queen's court in the age of the Árpáds, Ágnes Kurcz dealt with it when studying the chivalric culture in thirteenth-fourteenth-century Hungary. Both scholars noticed that the high dignitaries – except for the chancellors – were always the dignitaries of the *curia*, and not that of the *aula* (in the case of the queen's court *domus*), while the *miles*, *iuvenes*, *familiares* and the chancellors (together with the notaries and proto-notaries) “belonged to” the *aula*.<sup>671</sup> Ágnes Kurcz thought to find the reason for the difference in the abstract character of *aula* compared to the concrete, physical meaning of *curia* (as royal palace, residence, seat of the judicial courts etc., i.e. a physical space where one can stay);<sup>672</sup> Attila Zsoldos traced it back to the “duality” of the court. His explanation, which corresponds to some of Pál Engel's observations concerning the Hungarian elite,<sup>673</sup> is basically the Hungarian version of the *Hoftag-Hofstaat* division referred to in the definition cited above. In Zsoldos' opinion the use of the words *curia* and *domus/aula* reflects the structure of the royal court in a way that it was divided into two groups: that of the barons or magnates (dignitaries) and that of the courtiers (“udvartartás”).<sup>674</sup>

Nonetheless, regarding the master of the doorkeepers, master of the stewards, master of the cupbearers and master of the horse a few remarks should be made here. First, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources refer to these office holders as the dignitaries of the “king” (*regis*, *regie maiestatis*, *regalis* or *noster*) and their title has never been combined with the word *curia*.<sup>675</sup> It is interesting to note that the parallel imperial positions were also defined as that of the ruler until 1200. From then on they were considered as functions of the *aula imperialis*,<sup>676</sup> which brings us

<sup>670</sup> ZSOLDOS, A királyné udvara 268; KURCZ, Lovagi kultúra 35-36.

<sup>671</sup> For the use of the terms *curia* and *aula* in the Holy Roman Empire SCHUBERT, Erz- und Erbämter 202–204, 235. On court structures see also HLAVÁČEK, Hof und Hofführung, 128–134. A few remarks on the Hungarian terminology and thus the structure of the Hungarian court in Sigismund's time see below.

<sup>672</sup> KURCZ, Lovagi kultúra 34–37. E.g.: „*aule nostre parvulus ... in nostra curia continuam faciat residenciam.*” (CDH VIII/4, 373.)

<sup>673</sup> Engel talked about two groups regarding the members of the royal court: 1. the “political elite” (magnates, counts (*comites*), capellans and captains of royal castles) and 2. the “outer circle of the ruling elite” (*militēs aulae regiae*, *iuvenes aulae regiae*, *parvuli aulae regiae* as well as the representatives and vices of the barons and counts). ENGEL, Arch. Gen. I. XXVI.)

<sup>674</sup> ZSOLDOS, A királyné udvara 299–301.

<sup>675</sup> ZsO VI/481: *Relatio Petri Kompolth magistri pincernarum regie maiestatis*; ZsO III/2325: *Relatio Iohannis filii Henricy de Thamasy ianitorum nostrorum regalium magistri*; ZsO VII/2266 *Iohannem de Kanysa condam ianitorem regie maiestatis*; ZsO VII/2352: *magistro dapiferorum no[stre / strorum] maiestatis* (MNL OL DF 244341); ZsO II/3712: *Relatio Laurentii de Thar magistri pincernarum regis* (1405); ZsO II/2921: *dapiferorum, pincernarum, ianitorum et agazonum nostrorum magistris* (1404). Similarly *capellanus nostre maiestatis* (MNL OL DF 210125), *capellani nostri* (MNL OL DL 10231).

<sup>676</sup> The *Hofämter* were the offices of the *aula*, e.g. *dapifer aule imperialis*, *marescalcus aule imperialis*. SCHUBERT, Erz- und Erbämter 203.

directly to our next point. Talking about the court of the Anjou kings Pál Engel divided it to a private and a public part,<sup>677</sup> and also Ivan Hlavaček reconstructed a similar structure as regards of Charles IV's and Wenceslas' court. Hlavaček identified public "institutions" with political-economic competences (jurisdiction, administration, economy) on the one hand, and "institutions" of the inner court on the other, which he divided into two further parts: to an internal economic and a social-religious sphere.<sup>678</sup> The tasks the "masters" and courtiers fulfilled were related to the personal needs of the king;<sup>679</sup> thus, they were members of the private court and as such it is hardly surprising that they accompanied the ruler on his journeys. Bernard Guenée reconstructed the development as follows:

A growing distinction was made first between the domestic service of the prince and the service of the State. The first was the concern of what was soon called the Household (*Hôtel*). ... In England the steward, butler and constable remained within the framework of the household and played no more than a modest domestic role. ... In both France and in England only the chancellor, of all the great household officers, permanently survived this structural revolution and continued to play a part in the administration of the State after the fragmentation of the court. In effect, while the household confined itself to the personal service of the prince and his entourage, the business of administering the State fell entirely on the chancellor and his assistants, and upon the counsellors who, assembled in a purely random fashion, assisted the ruler in the exercise of justice, the reckoning of accounts or the making of any other decision.<sup>680</sup>

Converting these observations to the "*aula-curia* system," it seems that in Hungarian context in the first half of the fifteenth century Sigismund's (travelling) private court with the courtiers and those dignitaries whose functions served the king's personal needs (masters of the stewards, cupbearers, doorkeepers, horse and royal chaplains) was considered the *aula*, while the resident public court with the rest of the dignitaries who stayed behind and represented the royal power in the kingdom, the *curia*. These observations support in a sense Ágnes Kurcz's thesis considering *curia* as a concrete place (residence), too: in these years the "curial dignitaries" resided at the royal residence, i.e. in the palace of Buda or Visegrád. (See also Chapter IV.) *Aula*, on the other hand, was indeed an "abstract" (i.e. concretely non-definable) expression in a spatial sense; however, in terms of its composition it was very concrete.

For the present thesis the main question regarding the court is what changes Sigismund's election to the dignity of German king caused on this structure? As mentioned above, by the beginning of the fifteenth century the *Erz-* and *Erbämter* did not have any practical function around the king or in the administration of the Holy Roman Empire any more and their tasks were taken

<sup>677</sup> ENGEL, Realm 145.

<sup>678</sup> HLAVÁČEK, Hof und Hofführung 128.

<sup>679</sup> See also Erik Fügedi's division of the baronial dignitaries, n. 593.

<sup>680</sup> GUENÉE, States and Rulers 121.



over by paid court officials (*Hofbeamte, Dienstämter*) who did not have protocol or ceremonial duties.<sup>681</sup> The result of this development was that two positions were existing parallel, i.e. *Erbtruchseß* (the Counts of Waldburg) – *Hofmeister, Mundschenk* (the Counts of Limpurg) – *Kellermeister, Erbkämmerer* (the Counts of Falkenstein) – *Kammermeister, Erbmarschall* (the Counts of Pappenheim) – *Stallmeister*. Under Sigismund's reign, however, this scheme was not present in such a crystallized form; from all the *Dienstämter* only the office of the *Hofmeister* was occupied by Louis of Öttingen.<sup>682</sup> The lack of *Keller-*, *Kammer-* and *Stallmeister* can be explained on the one hand with the fact that Sigismund's personal needs were looked after in fact by the Hungarian dignitaries. It seems that when Sigismund became King of the Romans the inner or private court was extended only with chaplains but not with other functionaries.<sup>683</sup> Besides, Conrad of Weinsberg and to some extent also Haupt of Pappenheim were active members of the court as *Erbkämmerer* and *Erbmarshall* and Conrad was sometimes even mentioned as *Kammermeister* in the sources.<sup>684</sup> Their function, however, just like that of the *Hofmeister*, was more an administrative-governmental position than a classical court office.<sup>685</sup>

Speaking in structural terms, the imperial chancery, the *Hofmeister* Louis of Öttingen and some courtiers became permanent part of Sigismund's travelling court, the *aula*, moving everywhere together with it. Thus, this part of the court got a mixed Hungarian-imperial character.<sup>686</sup> The other part, i.e. the *curia* with the curial high dignitaries, judicial courts and the assembly of the prelates and barons, was residing in Buda or Visegrád and ensured the functioning of the Hungarian central administration. Although most of the German dignitaries and courtiers also left the king's side when he was outside the territory of the Holy Roman Empire and stayed back in their homeland they, unlike their colleagues in the Kingdom of Hungary, were not active in the ruler's absence. Thus, in the periods when Sigismund was not in the Empire there was practically no royal court understood as a "curial residence" in the realm. (See also Ch. IV.)

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<sup>681</sup> RAHN, Person und Rang 298, 301.

<sup>682</sup> Charles IV had a Bohemian and an imperial *Hofmeister*, Wenceslas most probably only one. HLAVÁČEK, Hof und Hofführung 131.

<sup>683</sup> It is interesting to note that sometimes even imperial representative tasks were fulfilled by Hungarians, e.g. Sigismund's adventus in Constance at Christmas 1414. SCHENK, Zeremoniell 304 and 304 n.309.

<sup>684</sup> *Kammermeister*: RI XI/1573, 2023, 2419; *Erbkämmerer*: RI XI/2441, 2886, 3512, 3822. Haupt of Pappenheim was always referred to as *Erbmarschall* or *Marschall*.

<sup>685</sup> This observation in connection with the *Hofmeister* RAHN, Person und Rang 298.

<sup>686</sup> Where the Hungarian part was dominant in number, at least between 1411 and 1419.

### III.2.2. The Royal Council and the Fields of its Activity

In spite of its undebatable importance for the history of government and administration “the problem of the late medieval German royal council has only been marginally studied so far.” Peter Moraw expressed this opinion in his article on King Rupert’s (1400–1410) dignitaries and counsellors in 1968.<sup>687</sup> It seems that the topic has not generated a much greater interest since then either, although this assembly was the one which took the decisions together with the ruler,<sup>688</sup> it was the “center of government and administration”<sup>689</sup> or, as Otto Hintze called it, the “workshop” of government.<sup>690</sup> Sigismund’s rule was special in this sense, too, as he was the sovereign of two, later three realms. Thus, when studying the problem of his royal council(s) it is necessary to handle it in its complexity, i.e. not only as a part of the history of German or Hungarian government and administration, but as a “common” element of the monarch’s ruling practice. Unfortunately, Moraw himself, who thoroughly analyzed Charles IV’s, Wenceslas’ and Rupert’s period, has never got to deal with Sigismund’s time – even though he obviously planned to do so.<sup>691</sup>

The functioning of the royal council is not discussed in primary sources in details and terms like *senatus* or *consistorium* which could refer clearly to this “institution” occur only occasionally in the source material. In Hungarian sources even the use of the word *consilium* in the sense of a “counselling assembly” is quite rare, and the expression “*in consilio*” can be found only in charters issued by the Dukes of Austria,<sup>692</sup> King Albert or Ladislaus V in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>693</sup> Therefore, in order to be able to draw conclusions regarding its structure and functioning, first the composition of the royal council has to be reconstructed and its members need to be identified. Session protocols or lists of counsellors do not exist but the “*de consilio prelatorum et baronum nostrorum*”<sup>694</sup> formula of the Hungarian charters as well as ordinances mentioning preceding royal decisions<sup>695</sup> describe the circumstances of royal decision making in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Thanks to the research conducted first and foremost by Pál

<sup>687</sup> MORAW, *Beamtentum* 79.

<sup>688</sup> ENGEL, Nagy Lajos 395.

<sup>689</sup> MORAW, *Beamtentum* 83.

<sup>690</sup> HINTZE, *Entstehung* 268.

<sup>691</sup> MORAW, *König, Reich* 816.

<sup>692</sup> E.g. ZsO II/6444, III/1787, 1856, 1910, VI/1428.

<sup>693</sup> E.g. BORSA (ed.), *Justh* 69, nr. 172, 173.

<sup>694</sup> In certain cases also by the *proceres et nobiles regni*.

<sup>695</sup> E.g. 20<sup>th</sup> January 1407: ... *unacum eisdem prelatibus, baronibus et potioribus ipsius regni nostri proceribus decreto unanimi sanximus, statuimus et super his statutum fecimus...* (DRH I. 226.); 26<sup>th</sup> July 1409: ... *unacum eisdem prelatibus, baronibus, nobilibus et potioribus ipsius regni nostri proceribus decreto unanimi sanximus, statuimus et super his statutum fecimus...* (DRH I. 228.); 3rd September 1421: *nobis Bude unacum prelatibus baronibus ac proceribus ipsius regni nostri Hungarie existentibus* (DRH I. 242.); *cum nos ex decreto nostro regio pridem unacum prelatibus et baronibus nostris edito, cum nos matura prelatorum et baronum nostrorum et regni nostri procerum uniformi sanctione* (DRH I. 230.).

Engel and András Kubinyi, the group of the *prelati* and *barones* can be defined quite precisely: it consisted of eighteen prelates (two archbishops, fourteen bishops, the provost of Fehérvár and the Hospitaller Prior of Vrana) and about 35-40 lay notables (the current and former high dignitaries).<sup>696</sup> In terms of the Holy Roman Empire there is no such a clear indication but the persons referred to as counsellors (*Räte, consilarii*) can be collected from the source material. The problem emerges, however, when it turns to questions regarding the functioning of the council. A consulting body of fifty-plus prelates and barons or a large number of counsellors could barely contribute to everyday administrative-governmental activity effectively. Moreover, it is hardly believable that every one of these council members were or could be present at each and every session. In fact, many of the lords who belonged to the group of *prelati et barones* or bore the title of a counsellor were surely unable to be part of the king's entourage for a longer period of time and some of the German *Räte* were even appointed to manage imperial affairs at places where Sigismund was usually *not* present.<sup>697</sup> Nevertheless, without protocols it is not possible to eliminate those persons who indeed participated at the meetings of the council.

Hungarian historiography has offered a solution to the problem at the beginning of the twentieth century when the legal historians Bódog Schiller, Ákos Timon and Zoltán Kérészy propagated the theory of two – that is great-small or complete-partial – royal councils. Then in 1930 Lóránd Szilágyi, an advocate of the single council theory, published his dissertation on the administration of the Kingdom of Hungary 1458–1526<sup>698</sup> and since then the scholarly debate regarding the structure of the Hungarian royal council has not been settled. Szilágyi stated that the *relators* were in fact the members of the royal council; consequently, based on *relatio*-notes it was possible to reconstruct the structure and composition of the council. Quite a few of his contemporaries and later colleagues argued Szilágyi's thesis, and it is hardly surprising that since then almost all medievalists and legal historians expressed their opinions in the question so far.<sup>699</sup> Nevertheless, a decisive argument for the one or the other hypothesis has not been raised yet.

As regards the overlapping of the groups of referents and the king's actual advisors Szilágyi's method is of course problematic. It is not only logical but also proven by case studies that not all the active counsellors are documented as *relatores*;<sup>700</sup> thus, the list of referents is of course

<sup>696</sup> ENGEL, Nagy Lajos 399–403; ENGEL, Zsigmond bárói (a) 226–228; KUBINYI, Bárók esp. 150–153.

<sup>697</sup> E.g. RI XI/264. See also n. 430.

<sup>698</sup> SZILÁGYI, Magyar kancellária.

<sup>699</sup> András Kubinyi summarized the debate in KUBINYI, Bárók 154–156. His own arguments and opinion *ibid.* 157–164.

<sup>700</sup> Naming more than one referent in a documents is quite rare, an example is MNL OL DL 100405. For different remarks under the seal and the top right corner of the charter see MNL OL DL 9900 and 10342.

shorter than that of the actual counsellors would be.<sup>701</sup> Furthermore, the larger part of chancery documents were issued under the note *commissio propria domini regis (c.p.d.r.)* or *ad mandatum domini regis (a.m.d.r.)* meaning that the order of issuing came “directly” from the ruler and no intermediary can be identified between the decision-making body (royal council) and the chanceries. As a consequence of the prevalent use of these formulas we lose the direct trace to many advisors; nonetheless, this practice also suggests that in most cases the chancellor or the leader of the chancery and a scribe must have been present at the sessions. (Unless we suppose that the king himself went to the chancery office after the council meeting and informed the personnel in person about what should be put into a written form).

In spite of all the aforementioned methodological difficulties, from the lists of referents important conclusions can be drawn about the *overall* functioning of Sigismund’s royal council after 1411. Regarding the referents of the Sigismund-charters issued in the 1410s the following can be said. (See also Ch. III. 1.1.2.) The documents issued by the two Hungarian chanceries before November 1412 and by the Hungarian secret chancery between 1413 and 1419 mention, as expected, quite a few names as *relatores*.<sup>702</sup> What is surprising, however, is that between Sigismund’s leave in November 1412 and Kanizsai’s in January 1416, only Queen Barbara, Nicholas Garai and the John Kanizsai, in the following two years Pipo Ozorai, John Pelsőci Bebek, Paul Özdögei Besenyő and Garai gave direct orders to the Hungarian Great chancery to issue documents. The remarks of the imperial chancery mention only six persons as referents before the autumn of 1414: Burggrave Frederick of Nuremberg, his marshal (*Hofmeister*) Ehrenfried von Seckendorff, Benedict, the provost of Fehérvár, John Esztergomi, Pipo Ozorai (Filippo Scolari) and Mikeš Jemništi. This list implies that in spite of the “extended personal basis” referred to by Sabine Wefers<sup>703</sup> and the large number of newly appointed counsellors in 1411 and 1412, in the first years of his German kingship Sigismund strongly relied on the advice of his Hungarian followers even in imperial affairs. In fact, Esztergomi and Pipo also received functions in the administration of the Holy Roman Empire: the former was imperial vice-chancellor, the latter Sigismund’s plenipotentiary in Aquileia and Friuli since 1411.<sup>704</sup> Provost Benedict is a puzzling figure of the

<sup>701</sup> In respect of the second half of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century András Kubinyi referred to the problem that the referents probably worked also “on their own” and some or many cases they were involved in had never got to the royal council. (KUBINYI, Bárók 158.) This would mean, of course, that when investigating the advisors present at the council sessions the list of the referents could not be considered as a “minimum.” Nevertheless, similar evidences from the Sigismund-period have not been found so far.

<sup>702</sup> On charters issued by the great and secret chanceries in Hungary between January 1411 and October 1412 thirty-four, on the documents written by secret chancery outside the Kingdom of Hungary between November 1412 and July 1415 fifteen, between February 1417 and January 1419 twelve different names are mentioned.

<sup>703</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 31–33.

<sup>704</sup> RI XI/144, 145, together with Frederick of Ortenburg and Stibor of Stiboricz.

Sigismund-administration: he seems to have been the person who was in fact always with Sigismund<sup>705</sup> and the only one besides the Hungarian Palatine Nicholas Garai, Sigismund's brother-in-law, who gave issuing order to both the Hungarian and imperial chanceries.<sup>706</sup> Still, his concrete function and role is obscure.<sup>707</sup> Mikeš Jemništi of Bohemian origin was mentioned in Hungarian sources at the beginning of the 1410s for the first time. He went with Sigismund to Italy and Constance, in 1413 he was two times referent at the imperial chancery which confirms Windecke's information that he was one of Sigismund's important advisors.<sup>708</sup>

Thus, until late 1414 only Burggrave Frederick, his marshall and – taking the large number of *a.m.d.r.* notes into consideration – most probably John Kirchen, the organizer and “technical” leader of Sigismund's imperial chancery, represented the imperial elite at Sigismund's court in decision-making. This situation obviously changed with the king's arrival in the Empire. In the ten months between October 1414 and July 1415 several new names appeared in the chancery notes such as that of Duke Rudolf of Saxony, Bishop Raban of Speyer, Conrad of Weinsberg, George of Hohenlohe, Günter of Schwarzburg, Bishop George of Trento<sup>709</sup> or Erkringer of Saunsheim, and this trend sustained after Sigismund's return into the Empire in February 1417.<sup>710</sup> It must be noted, however, that only a part of these people (Frederick of Nuremberg, George of Hohenlohe, Günter of Schwarzburg and Louis of Öttingen) referred regularly to the imperial chancery, the others' name appear only once or a few times in chancery notes (**Appendix 11**).<sup>711</sup> Moreover, it seems that the imperial advisors were active around Sigismund in larger number only when he was staying in the German lands and, unlike his Hungarian courtiers, they rarely followed the ruler abroad to France and England, or to Hungary.

These general conclusions concerning the referent-advisors raise two questions which touch upon the problem of the structure and functioning of the royal council in the time of Sigismund. First, it was shown that from 1411 on a smaller, from late 1414 a considerably larger number of “non-Hungarian” counsellors were involved in decision making. Here, it needs to be investigated in which form these lords took part in the process. In other words, besides the (one or two) Hungarian royal council(s) was there also an imperial one? Secondly, is it justified to interpret the small

<sup>705</sup> Also in Bosnia in 1410, MNL OL DL 95666.

<sup>706</sup> Also Pipo on 25<sup>th</sup> August 1411 (RI XI/75), though it is not clear why the imperial chancery (and not the Hungarian secret) issued this document.

<sup>707</sup> MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 251, 274, 291; BÓNIS, Jogtudó 119.

<sup>708</sup> Referent on 26<sup>th</sup> June 1413 in Trento and on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1413 in Bozen/Bolzano; in fact, the only person named on imperial documents between 7<sup>th</sup> September 1412 and 15<sup>th</sup> July 1414. WINDECKE, Denkwürdigkeiten 118, c. CXVIII [139] and p. 133, c. CLII [156]. See also ENGEL, Királyi hatalom 54.

<sup>709</sup> George I of Lichtenstein.

<sup>710</sup> Louis of Öttingen, Count Louis of Brieg, Haupt II of Pappenheim, Eberhard of Nellenburg, Archbishop John of Riga, Margrave Bernard of Baden, John of Lupfen etc. See Figures 7 and 8 on page 71 and 77.

<sup>711</sup> See n. 401.

number of referents in the documents of the Hungarian great chancery between November 1412 and February 1419 as the direct consequence of the fact that the royal council continued functioning at Sigismund's travelling court?<sup>712</sup>

Let us start with the first problem. The fact that the persons named by the Hungarian secret and the imperial chanceries between 1413 and 1419 form two different groups implies the separate handling of German-imperial and Hungarian administrative and judicial matters, and thus the existence of two forums (royal councils) at the travelling court. Two exceptions, however, hint at a different direction. The issues about which Benedict, the provost of Fehérvár and Palatine Nicholas Garai reported to the imperial chancery were clearly not of Hungarian provenience.<sup>713</sup> Besides, also Windecke talks about council meetings of “speakers of Bohemian, Hungarian and German” (*durch der christenheit bestes nützes willen ruft er [Sigismund] zu im der zungen Behem Ungern Dutschen und det öffentlich in siner herbergen frogen, was sie rieten*).<sup>714</sup> Nonetheless, this contradiction can be resolved if the royal council is not regarded as a modern bureaucratic institution with a fix structure but an amoeba-like consulting body, the actual composition of which depended on the very issue(s) to be discussed and decided. In other words, there must have been a number of dignitaries and courtiers who were in general – due to their office, status, counsellor-title or simply out of royal will – entitled to take part in decision-making, but in practice in most of the cases only a small part of this numerous group acted as advisors by the king.<sup>715</sup> The system could have been similar to that in ancient Athens where the jurors for each trial were chosen from a large body of Athenian citizens available for this duty – there, the actual decision-makers were selected by allotment,<sup>716</sup> here by the king. This analogy is in fact not at all too distant if we consider that the forum of the king's personal jurisdiction was also the royal council.<sup>717</sup> In fact, also Ivan Hlaváček pointed out that Wenceslas' royal council was surely responsible for and competent in both Bohemian and the imperial issues, and when it came to matters concerning Luxembourg also Luxembourgiens took part in the meetings.<sup>718</sup> Regarding the council members he came to the conclusion that there were “real” counsellors who were involved in administrative and governmental processes and who did not only participated in the council meetings regularly but also took part in the execution of the decisions or acted as envoys and emissaries. Apart from them there

<sup>712</sup> ZsO VI/1666, 2067.

<sup>713</sup> Garai: RI XI/1692, Benedict: RI XI/206, 1681, 2205. Similarly John Uski, i.a. Provost of Pécs, RI XI/2742.

<sup>714</sup> WINDECKE, *Denkwürdigkeiten* 151, c. CLXX [176]; see also below. Besides, in most cases Sigismund's diplomatic delegations were also of “mixed composition”, e.g. RI XI/307, ZsO V/904, 988, 1418.

<sup>715</sup> Similarly MORAW, *König, Reich* 451–453.

<sup>716</sup> A distinct explanation of the procedure [http://www.agathe.gr/democracy/the\\_jury.html](http://www.agathe.gr/democracy/the_jury.html)

<sup>717</sup> See KUBINYI, *Bárók* 163; LADÁNYI, *Königlicher Rat*.

<sup>718</sup> HLAVÁČEK, *Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen* 450–451.

were ad hoc invited “honorary members,” who appear in the chancery notes only every now and then and usually referred cases of the same few persons.<sup>719</sup>

Such a flexible structure would explain the high number of “titular” counsellors documented in the sources, and would perfectly fit the needs of an irregular-spontaneous decision-making activity. For the latter speaks that the archive material does not show any sequence or periodical concentration in terms of charter issuing, which was to be expected in the case of a system with pre-scheduled meetings.<sup>720</sup> The intensity of the counselling activity seems to have depended on political-governmental actualities. Windecke’s description of the gathering of the council on the occasion of a Hussite alliance also gives the impression of an unscheduled and spontaneous meeting which convened as a (necessary) reaction to a directly preceding diplomatic event:

By that time the King of the Romans received a message from the heretics and Hussites of Bohemia who let him know that they had made an agreement among themselves. Thus, Sigismund called for the Bohemian lords who were by that time present at his court [...] Right after the aforementioned letter [...] had been read out in front of these Bohemian nobles, the king sent a message to the prince electors and other lords staying at his court that they were all expected to come to the great hall of the Buda castle in the morning to take a council and discuss about the letter.<sup>721</sup>

Bearing all the aforesaid in mind it becomes clear why the exact dates and the members of the particular meetings can hardly be identified. Nevertheless, it is possible to detect some general characteristic features of the council’s composition. First, it seems that in spite of its unfixed character Sigismund’s few most trusted men were always invited to the sessions if they were available. Cases in point are the Hungarian palatine and the king’s brother-in-law Nicolas Garai and Pipo Ozorai. The latter was six times *relator* at Sigismund’s side during the Italian campaign (three times in Udine, twice in Ariis and once in Belluno), four times in Constance and once in Basel during the four months when he visited the king in 1415 and six times in Hungary right after Sigismund’s return in 1419. Although data concerning Benedict, the provost of Fehérvár, are rather scarce, he was very likely Sigismund’s important advisor and constant member of the council.<sup>722</sup> Finally, as noted above, the high number of *a.m.d.r.* and *c.p.d.r.* chancery notes hints at the direction that either a vice-chancellor (Késmárki, Esztergomi) or a chancery leader (Kirchen) was almost always present in the council.

<sup>719</sup> As regards Wenceslas’ rule Hlaváček considered those referents “real” counsellors who appear at least ten times in the chancery notes in connection with different beneficiaries/addressees; a documented *cancellarius*-title was not a precondition. HLAVÁČEK, *Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen* 451–453. Similarly MORAW, *Beamtentum* 81: “Gewiß sind die am häufigsten in den Vermerken genannten Personen Räte gewesen.”

<sup>720</sup> C.f. with the Hungarian *octavae*, the periods when the judicial courts held their sessions. The most important were the octave of the Epiphany, the octaves of St. George, St. James and St. Michael.

<sup>721</sup> WINDECKE, *Denkwürdigkeiten* 180–182, c. CCIII–CCIV [212–213]. Author’s translation.

<sup>722</sup> See n. 707.

Secondly, as peace treaties, “international” arrangements<sup>723</sup> and the subsequent lines of the above cited paragraph by Windecke<sup>724</sup> demonstrate, whenever the king was dealing with political-diplomatic issues he was advised and assisted by a larger group of aristocrats, high dignitaries and prelates. Similarly, the assessors of the royal judicial courts also belonged to the socio-political elite of the realms. On the other hand, Sigismund was keen on promoting talented people of non-aristocratic origin. He preferred working with a smaller group of advisors comprising learned jurists and financial experts,<sup>725</sup> and it seems that these “professionals” were not simply executors of the royal will but they were the ones whom Sigismund consulted in issues of financial or administrative-bureaucratic character.

Returning to the enigma of the Hungarian royal council(s), I believe that it is very much possible that it was also a “flexible” one with a changing number of counsellors. It would explain anomalies like why contemporary terminology did not make a clear distinction between the two royal councils<sup>726</sup> whereas expressions like *totum / totale consilium* or *omnium prelatorum et baronum communi consilio* as opposed to a smaller consulting body occasionally appear in the sources.<sup>727</sup> If so, when Sigismund became King of the Germans the “new elements,” i.e. the imperial issues and counsellors, could be integrated without any difficulties into this already existing and functioning decision-making system. Thus, there was no need to set up a separate imperial royal council, neither to make “structural” changes to the existing one.

The other problem is why the referents disappeared from great chancery documents after 1412 and whether this phenomenon was the direct consequence of the absence of the royal council. On the one hand, the aforementioned phrase *de consilio prelatorum et baronum* appears both in the letters of donations issued in Hungary in Sigismund’s name in his absence, and in documents issued in other parts of Europe where the king himself was present. In case behind the use of the expression there was indeed a concrete act of (real or formal) endorsement, its regular occurrence in charters of both the Hungarian great and the Hungarian secret chanceries would imply the continuous functioning of two royal council-like bodies – one “normal” around Sigismund and one “kingless”

<sup>723</sup> E.g. agreement with Wenceslas on 9<sup>th</sup> July 1411 (RTA VII p. 102–106, nr. 63); peace treaty with King Wladislas of Poland on 15<sup>th</sup> March 1412 CDH X/5. 279–283, nr. 123; pledging of thirteen towns in the Spiš region (today Slovakia) to the Polish king on 8<sup>th</sup> November 1412 (MNL OL DL 9984).

<sup>724</sup> During the session the king was informed that the envoy of the sultan wished to be received, so he ordered the high priests (among others the cardinal legate Placentinus and Louis of Teck, the Patriarch of Aquileia) to sit on his left, the lay lords (the princes of Bavaria, Austria and Silesia, the Count of Schaumburg) on his right.

<sup>725</sup> MORAW, *Gelehrte Juristen* 107–118; ARANY, *Florentine Families* 40–56. With regard to Emperor Frederick’s counsellors HEINIG, *Gelehrte Juristen* 176: “in hohem Maße mitgliederkonstante Beratungsgremium des Kaisers war nicht der Hofrat als solcher, sondern der nur etwa 4–6 intime Vertraute umfassende „engere“ Rat.”

<sup>726</sup> KUBINYI, Bárók 154.

<sup>727</sup> KUBINYI, Bárók 160–161.



in the Kingdom of Hungary. Nonetheless, the current state of research tends to consider the phrase only as a pure chancery formula and seriously doubts that these words would have referred to a real act of approval by the barons. Still, although there is no evidence for the existence of a “kingless royal council,” the complete exclusion of the Hungarian elite from decision-making is rather unlikely. Regarding the period September 1414–January 1416, for instance, it would mean that Kanizsai governed the land practically all on his own.<sup>728</sup> Therefore, the question here is whether the prelates and barons continued to express their opinion after 1412 and if yes, in which form they did it.

As demonstrated in Ch.III.1.2.1.3. the *commissio* and *deliberatio*-notes always referred to decisions made by prelates and barons at judicial courts, which means that on these occasions they were definitely not consulting on political-governmental issues. Nonetheless, the analysis of these remarks also revealed that the magnates were still involved in political matters. With the exception of the *personalis presentia* the central judicial courts dispensed justice during established periods called *octavae*; yet, a few charters issued *ad commissionem (prelatorum et) baronum* are not dated from such days.<sup>729</sup> The reason why there were still enough barons available on those dates to act as judges and assessors was that they stayed in Buda for another cause. It seems that in August 1415<sup>730</sup> and in July 1416<sup>731</sup> the magnates assembled because of the Bosnian events, while in July 1417 a diet took place in Buda with the participation of Nicholas Garai who, in the meantime, returned to Hungary.<sup>732</sup> These meetings were attended by aristocrats and nobles in a great number; it must be emphasized, however, that it was a periodically active consulting and decision-making body.

To sum up the findings so far, around Sigismund there was a constantly, though rather spontaneously functioning royal council with a changing number of members coming both from the Hungarian and imperial part of the *aula*. In the Kingdom of Hungary a small group of the elite (queen, royal vicars, “regency council”) ruled in Sigismund’s absence, and every now and then the diet-like assembly of the magnates was also involved in decision making. (Besides, the prelates and

<sup>728</sup> Between November 1412 and January 1416 the maximum period when all the three members of the supposed regency council were staying in Hungary was not more than a year. Garai went with Sigismund to Italy in 1412; on 19 October 1413 he was *relator* in Buda (MNL OL DF 239343); in September 1414 both Barbara and Garai left the kingdom for the coronation in Aachen.

<sup>729</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> August 1415 (ZsO V/928, 942), 29<sup>th</sup> July 1416 (ZsO V/2158) as well as 15<sup>th</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1417 (ZsO VI/684, 716, 723). On the problem of the king’s personal jurisdiction and the functioning of the *personalis presentia* in Sigismund’s absence see Ch. III.2.3.1.

<sup>730</sup> Pipo’s wife Barbara asked her brother-in-law to inform her husband about the decisions taken by the magnates assembled in Buda. ZsO V/924.

<sup>731</sup> In the charter issued by a group of barons on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1416 in Pécs: *nobis nuper videlicet non longe ante simul generali convocacione pro certis factis domini nostri regis Bude constitutis et existentibus*. MNL OL DL 43338 and 71377 (ZsO V/2255.)

<sup>732</sup> C. TÓTH, A király helyettesítése 296, n. 49.

barons traditionally fulfilled duties at central judicial courts, to which activity the *deliberatio*-notes apparently refer to.) While the royal council around Sigismund was dominated by the lower *aulici* and experts of non-aristocratic origin, the governing and consulting bodies/persons in the Kingdom of Hungary seem to have been typically aristocratic. Whether the ruling elite – i.e. the queen, the vicars, Özdögei or the “regency council” of barons – was working together with a formal, continuously functioning, small advisory group or they indeed took the decisions on their own, remains obscure for the moment. Nonetheless, as an example from August 1415 shows it is very likely that instead of a permanent consulting body every now and then experts were invited to give advice on current matters. In this concrete case Kanizsai, Pipo Ozorai and the two financial advisors, Marc of Nuremberg and Andreas *Holthalbreth*,<sup>733</sup> discussed the problem of the decline of mining activity in Kremnica (Körmöcbánya) and decided to order the tax officers (*comitibus vel vicecomitibus urburarum*) to pay seven florins (*florenos nove monete*) instead of the usual six for a mark of mined silver (*marca argenti*).<sup>734</sup> The consultation took place on Sigismund’s personal order which was communicated most probably by Pipo, who had returned shortly before from his visit taken to Sigismund in Constance and Basel. Compared to the Kingdom of Hungary, the imperial administration in Sigismund’s absence seems to have been more an “executive” than a “decision-making” one. Nonetheless, this estimation definitely requires further refinement, more precisely the evaluation of the charters issued by i.a. the count palatine during the periods in question.

### III.2.3. Administration of Justice: Central Judicial Courts in Sigismund’s Lands

This subchapter aims at giving an overview of the Hungarian and imperial central judicial system in order to present the frameworks in which the jurisdictional activity related to the king or derived from his authority took place. Since works on legal and constitutional history deal with the topic extensively, based on these secondary sources I am going restrict myself to sketching the development and the most important characteristics of the systems. A special emphasis is going to be laid only on the question whether and to what extent did the functioning of the central judicial courts depend on the presence of the ruler. (III.2.3.1.)

<sup>733</sup> Marc of Nuremberg: among other duties count of the mining chamber in Kremnica, see MÁLYUSZ, Zsigmond központosító törekvései 172–173. Andreas *Holthalbreth* is mentioned in the charter as *scansor dicti domini nostri regis*, most probably *campsor regius*, i.e. royal banker who was entitled to change gold florins to silver denars and vice versa. See GYÖNGYÖSSY, Pénztörténet 251.

<sup>734</sup> MNL OL DF 250017, ZsO V/968.

In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary the main periods of legal history are that of the “traditional law” until 1848, while the era of the modern legal system started in 1861.<sup>735</sup> The traditional law was dominantly customary law, the *antiqua et approbata consuetudo*, which was recorded in a written form by Stephen Werbőczy at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth century for the first time.<sup>736</sup> Royal decrees (*decreta*), privileges (*privilegia*) and statutes (*statute*) played a subordinated role in legal practice for a long time,<sup>737</sup> even if there was absolutely no hierarchy between customary law and royal ordinances. The regulations of royal decrees could become part of the customary law as it happened in the case of *praefectio* introduced by Charles of Anjou in 1332, but also customary law could influence royal legislation. An example of the latter is the renewal of the Golden Bull (1222) in 1351 when Louis of Anjou did not include the fourth article of the original document into the confirmation because it was in conflict with the traditional system of *avicitas*.<sup>738</sup>

A charter issued by Sigismund on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1421 in Uherský Brod (Ungarisch Brod, Magyarbród) gives a concise summary of the central judicial system: the king released Nicholas Ásgúti Dacsó, his sons and his wife from paying judges’ part of the fines<sup>739</sup> which were imposed on them *in nostra personali aut speciali sive palatinali et iudicis curie nostre presentiiis*.<sup>740</sup> The judicial courts of the palatine and the judge royal were the earliest ones which developed at the Hungarian royal court. As the duty of personal jurisdiction heavily burdened the king already in the eleventh century, soon was the palatine authorized to pass sentence in the name of the king at the court of the *presentia regia*. Then, however, his own jurisdiction (*curia palatinalis*) had been established in the twelfth century, as a consequence of which the judge royal (*comes curialis*, from the thirteenth century *comes curiae regiae*) took over the palatine’s role and duties. (**Appendix 2**) They became the great or ordinary judges (*iudices ordinarii*) of the kingdom, the documents were issued at their chanceries in their own name under their seal. It must be noted, however, that the palatines and

<sup>735</sup> The term “feudal law” used by older scholarship to characterize the pre-1848 Hungarian legal system is extremely problematic. A very brief overview of the Hungarian central judicial courts TIMÓN, Verfassungsgechichte 675–683. A concise legal history from the late nineteenth-century HAJNIK, Bírósági szervezet, the most recent one BÉLI, Magyar jogtörténet. Besides, inquires and papers on various specific aspects of medieval legal history – unfortunately only in Hungarian.

<sup>736</sup> The most recent edition by BAK–BANYÓ–RADY (eds.), Tripartitum.

<sup>737</sup> BÉLI, Magyar jogtörténet 25. On decrets BÓNIS, Begriff and TEKE, Begriff.

<sup>738</sup> *predictas litteras ipsius domini Andree regis ... de verbo ad verbum presentibus insertas acceptantes ratificantes et approbantes simul cum omnibus libertatibus eisdem expressis excepto solummodo uno articulo modo prenotato de eodem privilegio excluso, eo videlicet quod nobiles homines sine herede decedentes possint et queant ecclesiis vel aliis quibus volunt in vita et in morte dare vel legare possessiones eorum vendere vel alienare, imo ad ista facienda nullam penitus habeant facultatem, sed in fratres proximos et generationes ipsorum possessiones eorundem de iure et legitime, pure et simpliciter absque contradictione aliquali devolvantur.*“ Facsimile- and text edition: ÉRSZEGI (ed.), Aranybulla.

<sup>739</sup> I.e. that part of the fines to which the judges were entitled to.

<sup>740</sup> MNL OL DL 31408; ZsO VIII/406. See also n. 159.

judge royals were usually magnates for whom these offices were sheer source of income. The everyday administration of justice was organized and run by the proto-notaries, who were not chancery officials but “masters of sentence” (Hung. “ítélőmester”).

After the jurisdiction at the *presentia regia* became independent from the ruler the forum of the king’s personal jurisdiction was called *specialis presentia regia*. Nevertheless, this “institution” developed in the same way as the court of *presentia regia* and in Sigismund’s time it was already a judicial court with its own structure and personnel. Its nominal head was the chancellor but he also had a vicegerent: between 1401 and 1427 magister James who bore also the title of *diffinitor causarum in speciali presentia nostrae maiestatis*. When Sigismund indeed passed sentence in person the sources speak of the *personalis presentia regia*. By the middle of the fifteenth century this forum also developed to a separate judicial court led by the judge royal, chancellor and then by the secret chancellor, but it ceased to exist in 1464. From then on the kings of Hungary very rarely decided court cases in person (*propria in persona*), only when these issues concerned perpetual counts (*comites perpetui*) or acts of caprice (*actus maioris potentiae*).

With regard to the Holy Roman Empire in the early fifteenth century the *Hofgericht* and the *Kammergericht* have to be taken into consideration.<sup>741</sup> In 1235 (*Mainzer Landfriede*) Emperor Frederick II re-organized the *Hofgericht* based on the model of the Sicilian *Magna Curia*. According to his directives the court judge or judge royal (*Hofrichter*) appointed for at least the period of a year had a general juridical competence except in cases related to princes and *andere hohe sachen* which remained royal prerogatives.<sup>742</sup> For record-keeping (*Achtbuch, Urteilsregister*) and issuing charters a court scribe (*Hofschreiber*) was responsible. This new system of a permanently officiating judge royal, however, did not become firmly established until the reign of Emperor Louis IV.<sup>743</sup> Under Charles IV and Wenceslas usually two *Hofrichter*s were in office at the same time, and in cases of their absence or conflict of interest further vices (*Hofgerichtsstatthalter*) were appointed.<sup>744</sup> A new phase started with King Rupert’s reign when there was again only one judge royal who received an annual payment from the royal chamber. Two procurators

<sup>741</sup> Works focusing on the central imperial jurisdiction, i.e. on *Hofgericht* and *Kammergericht* i.a. BATTENBERG, *Achtbuch*; BATTENBERG, *Hofrichter*; BATTENBERG, *Gerichtsschreiberamt*; BATTENBERG, *Herrschaft*; BATTENBERG, *Hofgerichtssiegel*; BATTENBERG, *Kammergerichtsbarkeit*; DIESTELKAMP, *Hofgericht*; DIESTELKAMP, *Königgerichtsbarkeit*; FRANKLIN, *Reichshofgericht*; LECHNER, *Reichshofgericht*; MORAW, *Hofgericht*; MORAW, *Noch einmal*; PRESS, *Reichskammergericht*; SPANGENBERG, *Entstehung*; TOMASCHEK, *Höchste Gerichtsbarkeit*; WOHLGEMUTH, *Urkundenwesen*.

<sup>742</sup> *Wir setzen, daz unser hof habe einen hofrihter, der ein friman si. Der sol an dem ampt beliben zem minsten ein jar, ob er sih reht und wol behaltet. Der sol alle tage ze geriht sitzen ane den suntag und ane groze hohziten, und sol allen liuten rihten, die im chlagent, und von allen liuten, ane fursten und ane ander hohe liute, swa ez get an ir lip oder an ir reht oder an ir ere oder an ir erbe oder an ir lèn, und von anderen hohen sachen. Daz wellen wir selbe rihten.*

<sup>743</sup> BATTENBERG, *Herrschaft* 21–22.

<sup>744</sup> List: BATTENBERG, *Hofrichter* 252–253, n. 65.

(*Hofgerichtsprokuratoren*) were employed as a result of which the scribe stopped representing clients and concentrated only on tasks of recording. From then on the chancery of the court had at least one permanent subnotary.<sup>745</sup> Nonetheless, although in an organizational-structural sense the *Hofgericht* was relatively independent, it could operate only at the king's place of residence and its continuous functioning was not assured.

The *Kammergericht*, which was mentioned by this name in 1415 for the first time, developed from the king's personal jurisdiction and represented his unlimited and unrestrictable judicial authority. According to Johann Lechner the *Hof-* and the *Kammergericht* were "two strictly separated courts of justice with different fields of competence existing side by side at the royal court." The court cases in which the *Hofgericht* could not proceed due to restrictive privileges were delegated to the *Kammergericht*,<sup>746</sup> from the jurisdiction of which nobody was exempt – as Emperor Sigismund emphasized it in 1434 and in 1435.<sup>747</sup> Still, the basic problem is that "the exact position of the *Hofgericht* in the curial jurisdiction has not been cleared yet"<sup>748</sup> and this observation seems to be valid for the early history of the *Kammergericht* as well.

### **III.2.3.1. The Personal Jurisdiction of the King: Remarks on the Personalis Presentia and Kammergericht**

The forum of the king's personal jurisdiction in the early fifteenth-century Hungary was the *personalis presentia regia*. Unlike the other central law courts, which administered justice during the jurisdictional periods called *octavae* in Visegrád or later in Buda, the king heard and determined legal issues when- and wherever he decided to do so. The litigants were notified to appear in front of the king on a concrete day with the formula *ubi Deo duce intra ambitum regni nostri Hungarie fuerimus constituti*. During Sigismund's stay in Hungary the *personalis presentia* regularly handled court cases.<sup>749</sup> Before his leave for Italy the last summons was issued on 16<sup>th</sup> September 1412,<sup>750</sup> which ordered the defendants of a property debate to appear in front of the king on 8<sup>th</sup> November. As they failed to meet their engagement they were fined on 13<sup>th</sup> November 1412, when Sigismund

<sup>745</sup> BATTENBERG, *Rationalität* 325–326.

<sup>746</sup> LECHNER, *Reichshofgericht* 32/74.

<sup>747</sup> BATTERBERG, *Herrschaft* 25, 176 n. 130, 132.

<sup>748</sup> MORAW, *Noch einmal* 109. Corroboration formula: *wir obgenanter grave Gunther ... tzu urkunde haben wir de obgenanten unsers herren des kunigs und des heiligen richs hoffgerichts insigel an diß vidimus laßen hencken*. Both the archives of the *Hofgericht* and the *Kammergericht* are lost, only a *Hofgerichtsordnung* (1409) and Sigismund's *Achtbuch* survived. JESERICH–POHL–UNRUH (eds.), *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte* I. 47.

<sup>749</sup> ZsO III/85, 185, 190, 666, 698, 814, 826, 944, 1109, 1140, 1184, 1262, 1294, 1680, 2036, 2124, 2373, 2392, 2430, 2454, 2941.

<sup>750</sup> ZsO III/2686.

was already in Bihács (Bihać).<sup>751</sup> Between 1413 and 1419 only a few documents mention the *personalis presentia* by name. In two cases the date of the trial was postponed until Sigismund's return to Hungary,<sup>752</sup> in other two cases the collegiate chapters of Pozsega (Požega) and Vasvár were ordered to report back to the *personalis presentia* on ongoing processes.<sup>753</sup> On 27<sup>th</sup> October 1413 the vice-voivode of Transylvania transferred a case to the presence of the king upon request of the litigants who did not accept his decision.<sup>754</sup> Finally, on 8<sup>th</sup> November 1414 the defendants of another property debate protested because in spite of their appeal, the lawsuit to be handled by the king, the proto-notary of the palatine gave a final judgement.<sup>755</sup>

Considering the king's personal jurisdiction over Hungarian subjects and the *personalis presentia regia* two questions need to be answered. First, are there any evidences of legal actions taken by Sigismund between 1413 and 1419 outside the borders of the kingdom? Second, the legal historian George Bónis wrote that when the ruler was not staying in the territory of the realm, i.e. between 1414 and 1419 and especially in the 1430s, the royal vicars chaired the *personalis presentia regia*.<sup>756</sup> There is no doubt, the vicars had the right to proceed and pass sentences (see Ch.III.1.2.1.2.) but is it justified to identify their judicial activities with the king's personal jurisdiction?

The answer to the first question is definitely yes. Of course, nobody was ordered to appear at the king's court in Italy, France or in the Empire, but Sigismund did not hesitate to dispense justice for all who were staying with or came to him.<sup>757</sup> An analysis of documents corroborated with the Hungarian secret seal showed that Sigismund issued mandates related to property debates,<sup>758</sup> tithe disputes<sup>759</sup> and acts of caprice,<sup>760</sup> decided to free litigants from paying the judging fee<sup>761</sup> or changed the judicial authority in charge.<sup>762</sup> He also gave orders to postpone processes<sup>763</sup> or the contrary, to give final judgement.<sup>764</sup> In other words, the *personalis presentia regia* kept functioning at

<sup>751</sup> ZsO III/2941.

<sup>752</sup> ZsO IV/604, 110; ZsO V/1507

<sup>753</sup> ZsO IV/716, 797.

<sup>754</sup> ZsO IV/1225. See also VI/1997, 2105.

<sup>755</sup> ZsO IV/2654. See also IV/1555, 1556.

<sup>756</sup> BÓNIS, Jogtudó 143–145; BÓNIS, Kúriai irodák 218, 237.

<sup>757</sup> Mostly towns sent delegates to the royal court, e.g. the Saxons of Transylvania, ZIMMERMANN–WERNER (eds.), Urkundenbuch III. 564–568, nr. 1708–1712; Kolozsvár (Cluj) ZsO V/57, Nagyszombat (Trnava) V/130; Kassa (Košice) V/209, VI/75, 359, 396, 408, 413; Körmöcbánya (Kremnica) ZsO VI/848–853; Szeben (*cives de Zepsy*, Sabinov) V/730 (895).

<sup>758</sup> ZsO V/129, 351, VI/137, 293, 454.

<sup>759</sup> ZsO V/57, 130, 209.

<sup>760</sup> ZsO V/197, 198, 495; VI/202.

<sup>761</sup> ZsO IV/496, 898, V/1824, 2505, VI/154 etc.

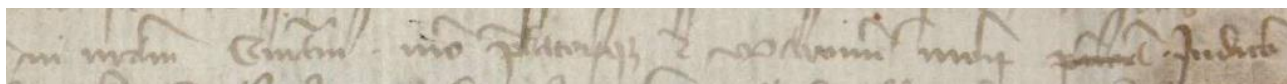
<sup>762</sup> ZsO VI/153.

<sup>763</sup> ZsO IV/1826; V/54, 730

<sup>764</sup> ZsO VI/618, 1272, 1336.

Sigismund's mobile court, although its "scope of action" was definitely restricted for technical reasons: in most cases it was impossible to pass a final judgement without summoning the parties. These lawsuits were then postponed or delegated to another judge.

In my opinion, these conclusions also give an answer to the second question. As Sigismund indeed administered justice between 1413 and 1419 in person, the decisions of the royal vicars can hardly be considered as those of the *personalis presentia regia*. Moreover, as pointed out in Ch.III.1.2.1.2, they did not have full authority in cases of high treason and capital crime. Thirdly, if in Sigismund's absence the king's personal jurisdiction had really been substituted by the jurisdiction of the vicars, it would be difficult to find a reason why every now and then trial dates were postponed until the return of the ruler.<sup>765</sup> Finally, also the chancery terminology made a distinction between the *personalis presentia regia* (see above) and the forum which issued judicial documents under great seal in Sigismund's absence.<sup>766</sup> Although there was apparently no consensus how to refer to the latter, the scribes and notaries tried to avoid the use of expressions similar to the ones designating the "regular" central law courts (*presentia, specialis presentia, personalis presentia*). On 31<sup>st</sup> July 1415 litigants were called *coram nobis ac dictis prelatibus et baronibus nostris*,<sup>767</sup> on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1416 *in nostram curiam nostro prelatorumque et baronum nostrorum iudicio*.<sup>768</sup> The telling detail lies in the expression which was crossed out by the scribe of the second charter: here he had put the word *presentiam* which was then replaced by the term *iudicio*. In my opinion this means that in the chancery's (and contemporaries') understanding it was definitely *not* the *personalis presentia regia* which intended to handle the issue.



MNL OL DL 53911  
(7th November 1416)

**Image 9: Charter reference to the "law court of the great seal" 1416**

<sup>765</sup> ZsO IV/604, 2740; V/4, 730 (also V/895); VI/1336. Following this logic the judicial documents issued under great seal between 1416 February and June 1417 should also be considered as the decisions of the *personalis presentia regia*. This would be even more problematic if it was a baronial council and not a royal vicar which ruled the kingdom in this period, see Ch. III.1.2.1.3.

<sup>766</sup> Examples of such documents are a letter of final judgement: ZsO V/1838, *inquisitoria*: V/2165, 2215, VI/173, 430, *statutoria*: V/1616, 2200, VI/209, *metalis*: V/2248, postponement: V/2283, 2442, delegation of the lawsuit to other law court: VI/166, *evocatoria* (to the *specialis presentia*) VI/241 etc.

<sup>767</sup> MNL OL DL 103464.

<sup>768</sup> MNL OL DL 53911.

It is true, however, that with regard to the recording of court decisions a change can be observed after Sigismund's leave. Normally the verdicts of the *personalis presentia* were put in a written form by the great chancery and the documents were sealed with the Hungarian majestic seal.<sup>769</sup> Nonetheless, when Sigismund was staying outside the borders of the realm he had only the secret chancery and secret seal at his disposal; therefore, it was reasonable that this organ took over the tasks of issuing charters related to lawsuits. It is not by accident that the first evidences of the existence of a proto-notary at the secret chancery come from 1416.<sup>770</sup> As in Hungary this function was not only notarial but also judicial one – the proto-notaries were called “ítélőmester”, “masters of sentence” in Hungarian –, the emergence of this office suggests that in these years the secret chancery indeed started to deal with legal issues. At the same time the royal vicars in Hungary definitely needed an authentic seal to corroborate i.a. court documents, so they applied the Hungarian great seal on them. Still, I believe that this technical change in chancery practice did by far not mean that the vicars were presiding the *personalis presentia regia* when they administered justice.<sup>771</sup> Instead, both the ruler and the vicars had their own forum to deal with court cases. Staying abroad put practical limits to the king's personal jurisdiction but he did not stop exercising it.

In the Holy Roman Empire writs of summons issued in the 1410s named the “royal court” as place of the king's personal jurisdiction.<sup>772</sup> From 1415 on there are scattered evidences for the existence of two judicial law courts in the royal curia: besides the long-established *Hofgericht* sources refer every now and then to the so-called *Kammergericht*.<sup>773</sup> Before 1455, however, the latter was not an institutional body with its own personnel and chancery. It must be also emphasized that there was absolutely no hierarchy between these two forums, as in the middle ages the secular jurisdiction in the Holy Roman Empire was characterized by one-step processes, i.e. it was a single-

<sup>769</sup> BÓNIS, Kúriai irodák 219.

<sup>770</sup> Martin Bossányi, mentioned as proto-notary in MNL OL DL 91099. BÓNIS, Jogtudó 103.

<sup>771</sup> A further aspect why the vicarial jurisdiction can easily be identified with that of the king (i.e. with the *personalis presentia regia*) is that the charters of the royal vicars were in general issued in the name of the king. C. TÓTH, Nádor 131–132.

<sup>772</sup> E.g.: *darumb fördern wir, als dein rechter Erbherr, dich fur vns vnd gebieten dir auch erstlich und vestiglich mitt diesem brieffe, das du dich vor vns in vnserm hofe versprechen vnd verantwortten sollest*, CDB I/7. 140–141, nr. 31 and 32; *Dorumb von Romischer kunglicher maht und gewalt setzen vnd bescheyden wir uch dorumb ewern andern rehttag fur uns oder wem wir die sache beuelhen in unsem kunglichen houe vber sechs wochen vnd drey tage nach dem tag, als uch dieser brief geantwort ist*. UB Lübeck VI. 38–39, nr. 37. Hofgerichtsladungen unter Sigi: Battenberg, Gerichtsschreiberamt 284–285.

<sup>773</sup> LECHNER, Reichshofgericht 70–85. The name *Kammergericht* does not refer to any financial aspect (JESERICH–POHL–UNRUH (eds.), *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte* 47–48.), the term was borrowed most probably from Wenceslas' Bohemian chancery (DIESTELKAMP, *Königgerichtsbarkeit* 27). In writs of summons the *Hofgericht* used the formula “*XY sol sich verantworten vor des ... hern Sigmunds Romischen kunigs hofrichter*” (BATTENBERG, *Gerichtsschreiberamt* 284–285), other charters ordered the parties to appear in front of the king at his court (*vor vns in vnserm hofe*).



level system without instances.<sup>774</sup> As for the king's utmost judicial authority, he could decide litigations in person when- and wherever he wanted, and in his presence no one other could act as judge.<sup>775</sup> At the royal law court (*Hofgericht*) the judge royal (*Hofrichter*) had the right to pass sentence in all lawsuits except the cases of imperial ban (*Reichsacht*) and which pertained princes or individuals of this status. These cases fell under the competence of the sovereign. The chancery of the *Hofgericht* issued the documents in the king's or the judge royal's name under the seal of the judicial court (*Hofgerichtssiegel*), the decisions of the *Kammergericht* were recorded by the imperial chancery in the name of the ruler.<sup>776</sup> For this thesis and regarding the development of the *Kammergericht* the interesting question is whether it is possible to find evidence of Sigismund's personal jurisdiction taking place outside the traditional frameworks of the *Hofgericht* in the first decade of his German kingship.

While staying in the Kingdom of Hungary there was certainly no imperial judicial writing body around Sigismund. Nonetheless, John Kirchen, former notary of the *Hofgericht* and notary of Sigismund's imperial chancery, had ample experience in issuing documents related to lawsuits. Therefore, it was self-evident that in 1412 it was him who compiled the writs of summons addressed to the council of Lübeck<sup>777</sup> and to certain nobles in Brandenburg,<sup>778</sup> which were sealed with Sigismund's imperial seal.<sup>779</sup>

The first evidences of the functioning of the *Hofgericht* under Sigismund's rule come from 1415. Between 9<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> January 1415 Peter Wacker left the imperial chancery and became the notary of the royal law court,<sup>780</sup> and from then on there are continuous evidences for the activity of the judge royal Günther of Schwarzburg in Constance.<sup>781</sup> Here, Sigismund's decisions concerning imperial ban were put in a written form by the chancery and were recorded in the *Achtbuch* by the notary of the *Hofgericht*. So far the procedure corresponds to the traditional imperial practice referred to above. Nonetheless, the imperial chancery kept on being involved in judicial affairs, which at least raises the possibility that the king's personal jurisdiction went beyond the

<sup>774</sup> DIESTELKAMP, *Königsgerichtsbarkeit* 19, 28.

<sup>775</sup> The rulers of the early fifteenth century still took over the chair of the *Hofgericht* every now and then. As Friedrich Battenberg wrote "Seit König Ruprecht beschränkten sich die Funktionen des Königs im Hofgericht immer mehr auf Verkündung und Aufhebung Achtsprüchen, obwohl er nie ganz auf die Wahrnehmung des persönlichen Vorsitzes im Hofgericht verzichtet hat." BATTENBERG, *Hofgerichtssiegel* 64.

<sup>776</sup> On the relation of the two chanceries see BATTENBERG, *Gerichtsschreiberamt* 217–222.

<sup>777</sup> RI XI/195. See also BATTENBERG, *Gerichtsschreiberamt* 264–265.

<sup>778</sup> RI XI/367–373. CDB I/7. 140–141, nr. 31–32; I/12. 239 –240, nr. 38.3.

<sup>779</sup> Wenceslas and Rupert: Kirchen as notary of the *Hofgericht* issued charters at the imperial chancery. BATTENBERG, *Gerichtsschreiberamt* 146–147; Moraw, *Kanzlei Ruprechts* 496.

<sup>780</sup> On Peter Wacker see BATTENBERG, *Gerichtsschreiberamt* 149–163.

<sup>781</sup> Günther of Schwarzburg died in 1418 and his office was taken over by John of Lupfen.

institutional frameworks of the *Hofgericht*.<sup>782</sup> Moreover, on 11<sup>th</sup> July 1415 Sigismund ordered certain notables from Brandenburg to appear at his court with the words „so ist vnser ernstliche meynunge, das dieselben ... zu vns, wo wir dann sin werden, vnuerzogenlich kommen,“<sup>783</sup> which recalls the above cited formula “*ubicumque protunc Deo duce intra ambitum regni nostri fuerimus constituti*“ used to call the litigants to the court of the *personalis presentia* in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>784</sup> Therefore, regarding the first decade of Sigismund’s German kingship I tend to see a tendency of detaching the king’s personal jurisdiction from the *Hofgericht* which, as Friedrich Battenberg wrote, fulfilled predominantly notarial and quasi-notarial duties and its main task was to deal with and record everyday issues.<sup>785</sup> Such a practice recalls the Hungarian one sketched briefly in the introduction of this subchapter and corresponded to the established routine of the Sigismund-administration. In an imperial context, however, it can be interpreted as further hints for the emergence or existence of the *Kammergericht*.

Unsurprisingly, the *Hofgericht* did not follow Sigismund to Aragon, France and England. Nevertheless, Peter Wacker, notary of the royal law court, was quite mobile in these months: in 1416 he accomplished legal-diplomatic missions in Brabant, Lübeck and Meißen<sup>786</sup> and in January 1417 he was with Sigismund in Luxembourg. From February 1417 until November 1418 the *Hofgericht* regularly issued documents in the German territories (Constance, Basel, Strassburg, Hagenau, Baden, Ulm, Regensburg), in January 1419 in Passau and Vienna, in 1420 in Bohemia. Interestingly enough, two charters dated from 30<sup>th</sup> April and 1<sup>st</sup> May 1419 attest that by that time the judge royal John of Lupfen as well as Peter Wacker, the notary of the royal law court, were in the king’s entourage in Hungary.<sup>787</sup>

Peter Moraw emphasized the importance of the king’s personal jurisdiction being flexible, unrestricted and unbound.<sup>788</sup> Thus, somewhat paradoxically, this traditional form of administering justice had a potential for developing the royal jurisdiction to a professional one. Under circumstances it could bring about changes such as involving trained jurists in decision making or introducing new practices as it was the case with the appeal by the end of Sigismund’s rule.<sup>789</sup>

<sup>782</sup> Besides, Battenberg identified six charters of the imperial chancery dated from 1417 and 1418, which were written by Peter Wacker, the notary of the *Hofgericht*. BATTENBERG, *Gerichtsschreiberamt* 269–270, nr. 33–38, also p. 153.

<sup>783</sup> CDB II/3. 237–238, nr. 1351. (RI XI/1822) - *Ad m. d. r. Joh. prepos. de Strigonio vicecancell.*

<sup>784</sup> E.g. ZsO III/85, 185, 698, 814.

<sup>785</sup> BATTENBERG, *Hofrichter* 289. The king decided in lawsuits related to the city of Straßburg (2025, 2036, 3160), the prince of Bavaria (RI XI/2793, 2935), Pappenheim and Marquart von Schellenberg (RI XI/2118). See n. 782.

<sup>786</sup> BATTENBERG, *Gerichtsschreiberamt* 157, 160.

<sup>787</sup> RI XI/3850, 3860.

<sup>788</sup> JESERICH-POHL-UNRUH (eds.), *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte* 47–48. C.f. with MORAW, *Hofgericht* 311: *Der Hofrichter gehört nicht in bürokratische „moderne“ (wie zu einem Teil die Hofgerichtsnotare), sondern in patrimoniale, archaische zusammenhänge hinein.*

<sup>789</sup> DIESTELKAMP, *Appellation*; WEITZEL, *Dinggenossenschaft* 1308.

Likewise, the emergence of the office of the proctor (*Fiskalprokurator*) was definitely a step towards specialization.<sup>790</sup> In spite of this, scholarly opinion concerning the nature of king's personal jurisdiction in the Empire in the fifteenth century is not unanimous. Regarding the *Hofgericht*, i.a. Heinrich Koller said it was an outdated institution when it ceased to exist around 1451, while others saw the reason of its disappearance in the professional character and independent functioning of its chancery.<sup>791</sup> In terms of the *Kammergericht* Friedrich Battenberg wrote that it hardly contributed to the emergence of professionalism and bureaucratic specialization,<sup>792</sup> whereas Bernhard Diestelkamp considered it as “gate, through which scholarly law (*gelehrtes Recht*) penetrated the judicial institutions of the royal court.”<sup>793</sup> At any rate, an interesting problem for further research is why the imperial system did not tolerate the existence of parallel or independently functioning central law courts as it was the case in the Kingdom of Hungary.

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<sup>790</sup> The first evidences of its existence come from 1421. JESERICH–POHL–UNRUH (eds.), *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte* 49.

<sup>791</sup> A summary of the scholarly views DIESTELKAMP, *Königsgerichtsbarkeit* 23–25.

<sup>792</sup> BATTENBERG, *Kammergerichtsbarkeit* 526.

<sup>793</sup> DIESTELKAMP, *Königsgerichtsbarkeit* 27.

## IV. Spatial Features of the Sigismund-Administration

While in the previous chapter the main actors, “institutions” and characteristics of the governmental activities of the Sigismund-administration were analyzed, this one focuses on the spatial and geographic features of Sigismund’s rule. Thus, the main research question of this section is *where* the administrative-governmental tasks referred to in chapter III.2. were carried out – a question which cannot be handled separately from the problem of royal residence(s) and capital city. The first subchapter (Ch. IV.1) concentrates on those sites where Sigismund spent longer periods of time or which he visited on several occasions, but which cannot be considered as permanent royal administrative centers. In view of the fundamental characteristic features of the administrative and governmental structure of the Holy Roman Empire it is hardly surprising that nearly all the imperial halts recorded in Sigismund’s itinerary belong to this category. Yet, Sigismund was not a ruler without any adequate royal residence. In the late fourteenth–early fifteenth century Buda and Visegrád in the Kingdom of Hungary were suited to play such a role.<sup>794</sup> Besides, in the 1420s and 1430s Nuremberg and Pressburg seem to have received Sigismund’s special attention.

Court, residence and capital city – these terms are closely related to each other.<sup>795</sup> “Residence” can be defined in many ways but hardly without referring to the court.<sup>796</sup> In fact, Peter Moraw wrote that Hans Patze, the founder of the *Residenzen-Kommission* at the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen, should have spoken of “*Hofforschung*” instead of “*Residenzenforschung*.”<sup>797</sup> Oliver Auge and Karl-Heinz Spiess summarized the correlations between the changes in late medieval court “structure” and development of residences as follows:

In the High Middle Ages (...) the court was moving together with the ruler all over the land. In the Late Middle Ages it anchored more and more to the gradually developing residences, whereas the ruler was still mobile – even if only to a more limited extent. Institutions and organizations like the council, the royal law court (*Hofgericht*) and the chancery with the

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<sup>794</sup> C.f. with HOENSCH, Itinerar 1, according to whom “König/Kaiser Sigismund konnte Zeit seines Lebens seine vielfältigen herrschaftlichen Funktionen nur durch ständiges Umherziehen wahrnehmen. Diese Reiseherrschaft erwies sich vor allem deshalb als notwendig, weil es weder in Ungarn noch im Deutschen Reich zur Bildung einer wirklichen Hauptstadt gekommen war, in der Teile des Hofes und der Verwaltung dauerhaft hätten sesshaft werden können. In Böhmen dagegen hatte sich – nicht zuletzt während der glanzvollen Regierung Karls IV. – Prag als unangefochtenes Regierungszentrum etabliert, wobei die wichtigsten Kron- und Hofämter in der Prager Burg auf dem Hradschin residierten. Im Reich der St. Stefanskronen galt während der Herrschaft des Hauses Anjou Ofen (Buda) als ein „rechter Ort“ und Lieblingsaufenthalt der Könige, ohne aber zur eindeutigen Metropole des Landes aufzurücken. Im nahegelegenen Visegrád und dem Erzbischofsitz Gran (Esztergom) nahmen die Herrscher genauso häufig ihren Aufenthalt wie im königlichen Palast zu Ofen.”

<sup>795</sup> ENGEL–LAMBRECHT, Hauptstadt. See also AHRENS, Herrschaftsvorort.

<sup>796</sup> STUDT, Residenz; GERLICH, Residenz; MORAW, Residenz; NEITMANN, Residenz; HIRSCH, Residenz; ENGEL–LAMBRECHT, Hauptstadt; PATZE–PARAVICINI, Zusammenfassung.

<sup>797</sup> MORAW, Residenz 462. On the *Residenzenforschung* in English see BUZÁS–LASZLOVSKY–MÉSZÁROS (eds.), Visegrád 11–17.

registers and archives, which had had their origins in the court, had been developing in its environs and had accompanied the king on his journeys in the beginning, became entrenched to the principal place (*Hauptort*) and detached from the closer court.<sup>798</sup> The “immobility” of these bodies made a place to a full-fledged residence. During this process of spatial affixing also the courtiers and dignitaries started to sheer off from the king’s actual household and his palace, and they began to establish themselves and their families in their own houses in the city, which then served as their temporary or permanent residence.”<sup>799</sup>

Talking about royal residences, however, one also faces the problem of the difference between a royal residence and a capital city. As regards the medieval Kingdom of Hungary this issue was dealt with exhaustively by András Kubinyi in an article published in 1994,<sup>800</sup> but the *Hauptstadtproblem* was also the starting point for Hans Patze’s research on residences.<sup>801</sup> When studying the problem of administration, residence and capital city the characteristic features of urban development, the infrastructural conditions of settlements and their relations to the court cannot be disregarded either<sup>802</sup> – nevertheless, in the present thesis this aspect does not get a particular emphasis and it is not going to be investigated in details. The following paragraphs aim at analyzing in which concrete form the problem of “court–residence–capital city” manifested in the early-fifteenth-century Holy Roman Empire and Hungary, and how the Sigismund-administration adopted itself to these circumstances.

#### IV.1. Temporary Residences and Whereabouts in the Holy Roman Empire

Peter Moraw identified the *Kontinuitätsproblem* (problem of continuity) and *Koherenzproblem* (problem of coherence) as the two fundamental characteristics of the political-administrative system of the late medieval German realm.<sup>803</sup> The “problem of continuity” refers to the lack of dynastical stability as a result of the Empire being an elective monarchy: the fourteen kings of the German late Middle Ages belonged to six (or rather eight) dynasties and only on one occasion (Charles IV–Wenceslas) the son succeeded his father on the throne.<sup>804</sup> Consequently, there was virtually no chance of establishing a long-lasting royal center or a first city in the territory of the realm: the

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<sup>798</sup> That is the court around the king.

<sup>799</sup> AUJE–SPIESS, Hof und Herrscher 6.

<sup>800</sup> KUBINYI, Főváros. See also KUBINYI, Herrschaftsbildung.

<sup>801</sup> HIRSCHBIEGEL, Fürstliche Höfe. Klaus Neitmann said that in terms of the Late Middle Ages there is no point of arguing about the problem of “capital city or residence?”, because such a distinction developed gradually and very slowly, if at all. NEITMANN, Residenz 32.

<sup>802</sup> PARAVICINI–RANFT, Hof und Stadt 15; SZENDE, Városkutatás.

<sup>803</sup> Moraw formulated this thesis in numerous articles, see e.g. JESERICH–POHL–UNRUH (eds.), *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte I*. 23–24; MORAW, *Königliche Herrschaft 188–189*; MORAW, *Franken* 125.

<sup>804</sup> MORAW, *Gedanken* 47.

Empire was an “Empire without a capital” (*Reich ohne Hauptstadt*)<sup>805</sup> or, rather an “Empire with several capitals.”<sup>806</sup> Neither a royal “core-territory” existed in the Empire, the German kings of the later Middle Ages relied and resided on their dynastic lands or “home-territories” (*Hausmacht*). This point takes us directly to the other structural problem of the Holy Roman Empire, that of “coherence.”

It is rather obvious that rulers were normally accompanied by chancery personnel, counsellors, servants, royal knights and soldiers, sometimes also by the queen and her ladies-in-waiting. Moreover, princes, prelates, envoys and diplomatic delegations were drawn to the places where monarchs were staying.<sup>807</sup> Thus, lodging and catering facilities determined where the royal court could have an overnight stay or a longer halt. Sovereigns had to find sites which disposed of the necessary infrastructure and financial resources and, last but not least, the owners or inhabitants of which – princes, bishops or urban communities – were willing to provide their services to the king. In this sense, from the point of view of the German kings the Holy Roman Empire was divided into six different zones: 1. the homelands of the rulers (*Hausmachtterritorien*), 2. king-friendly regions (*königsnahe Landschaften*) (Franconia, the Middle Rhine-Lower Main region and parts of Swabia; for a while also the area around the Saale and Middle Elbe), 3. regions which were willing to co-operate with the king from time to time (*königsoffene Landschaften*; Upper-Rhine and inner Lower-Rhein territories), 4. territories of those prince electors who actively interacted with the rulers (that is the western prince electors), 5. territories of the rival dynasties (in the late Middle Ages the Habsburg, the Luxemburg and the Wittelsbach) and 6. distant zones (*königsferne Gebiete*) of the north and the outer south-west. The lack of political unity reflected by this division was referred to by Moraw as the “problem of coherence.”

It is hardly surprising that the German kings of the later Middle Ages could count primarily on their homelands; Sigismund, however, lacked such a territorial basis in the Empire. His most important political partners turned to be the king-friendly territories, more precisely the imperial cities of these regions (*königsnahe Reichsstädte*).<sup>808</sup> Peter Moraw has already noted that due to the special circumstances most probably Sigismund’s rule would be the best subject for a study on the

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<sup>805</sup> BERGES, Reich 1.

<sup>806</sup> MORAW, Hauptstadtproblem; MORAW, Mittelpunktfunktion 449; HEIMPEL, Deutsches Mittelalter 144-159.

<sup>807</sup> MORAW (ed.), Unterwegssein 12.

<sup>808</sup> Since the interregnum the rulers tended to choose imperial free cities as places of their stay instead of bishopric settlements (HEINIG, Reichsstädte 186.), for which Anna Maria Drabek thinks to find the reason in the *Gastungspflicht* (DRABEK, Reisen 58, cf. with LexMA IV. 1138 “*Gastung*” and LexMA VII. 1796 “*servitium regis*”; BRÜHL, Fodrum 116–219.) On the second place stood bishopric cities in general; these, in contrast to lay sovereigns, did not reject to welcome the king even if their lord was in bad terms with him. The *Reichsstädte* of the distant zones tried to avoid hosting the king and preferred to have them far away.

functioning of king-friendly political elements in the Empire.<sup>809</sup> Of course, this subchapter does not intend to deal with this complex issue but aims at analyzing the question whether any central-imperial administrative or governmental role can be connected to these cities in Sigismund's time. The starting point is the king's itinerary, which was first published by Jörg K. Hoensch in 1995<sup>810</sup> and ten years later by Pál Engel und Norbert C. Tóth.<sup>811</sup> In spite of the difficulty that itineraries of medieval rulers do not correspond perfectly their actual travelling routes and stays, their analysis, in my opinion, does contribute to a better understanding of administrative practices and systems.<sup>812</sup>

Itineraries are compiled on the basis the information found in archive material and narrative sources. As regards the former, the possible loss of once existing documents or the fact that perhaps no chancery activity took place at a certain site where the ruler stayed for a shorter or longer period of time cause insoluble problems. Considering narrative sources they are in many cases inaccurate in terms of precise dating – Windecke's chronicle is a telling example. Therefore, it must be admitted and accepted that medieval itineraries can hardly ever be complete or indisputably correct,<sup>813</sup> with the consequence that the numbers presented in the appendices are not reliable in a strict statistical sense. I firmly believe, however, that Sigismund's itineraries, which are based on the data of thousands of charters and of numerous narrative sources, adequately reflect the main spatial characteristic features of his rule.

After his election to German king Sigismund was staying in Hungary for almost another two years. Here, he visited several places but the dominance of Buda and Visegrád in his Hungarian itinerary is undebatable (Ch. IV.2.1. and **Appendix 13**). Then, by the end of September 1412 he set out from Buda and after two longer stays in Fehérvár (3<sup>rd</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> October) and Zagreb (26<sup>th</sup> October – 8<sup>th</sup> November) via Croatia, Dalmatia and Istria he arrived in Udine on 15<sup>th</sup> December. The king spent one and a half year fighting against Venice in Friuli and Northern-Italy<sup>814</sup> before he finally left for the inner parts of the Empire in the middle of 1414.

Sigismund's itinerary in the Empire was determined by events such as the coronation in Aachen, the Council of Constance or later in the 1420s–1430s the Imperial Diets (*Hoftag*). Apart from Constance there were seven settlements in the territory of the Holy Roman Empire where he spent more than two weeks at one go between 1414 and 1419: Koblenz (1414), Aachen (1416),<sup>815</sup>

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<sup>809</sup> MORAW, König, Reich 817.

<sup>810</sup> HOENSCH, Itinerar.

<sup>811</sup> ENGEL– C. TÓTH, Itineraria.

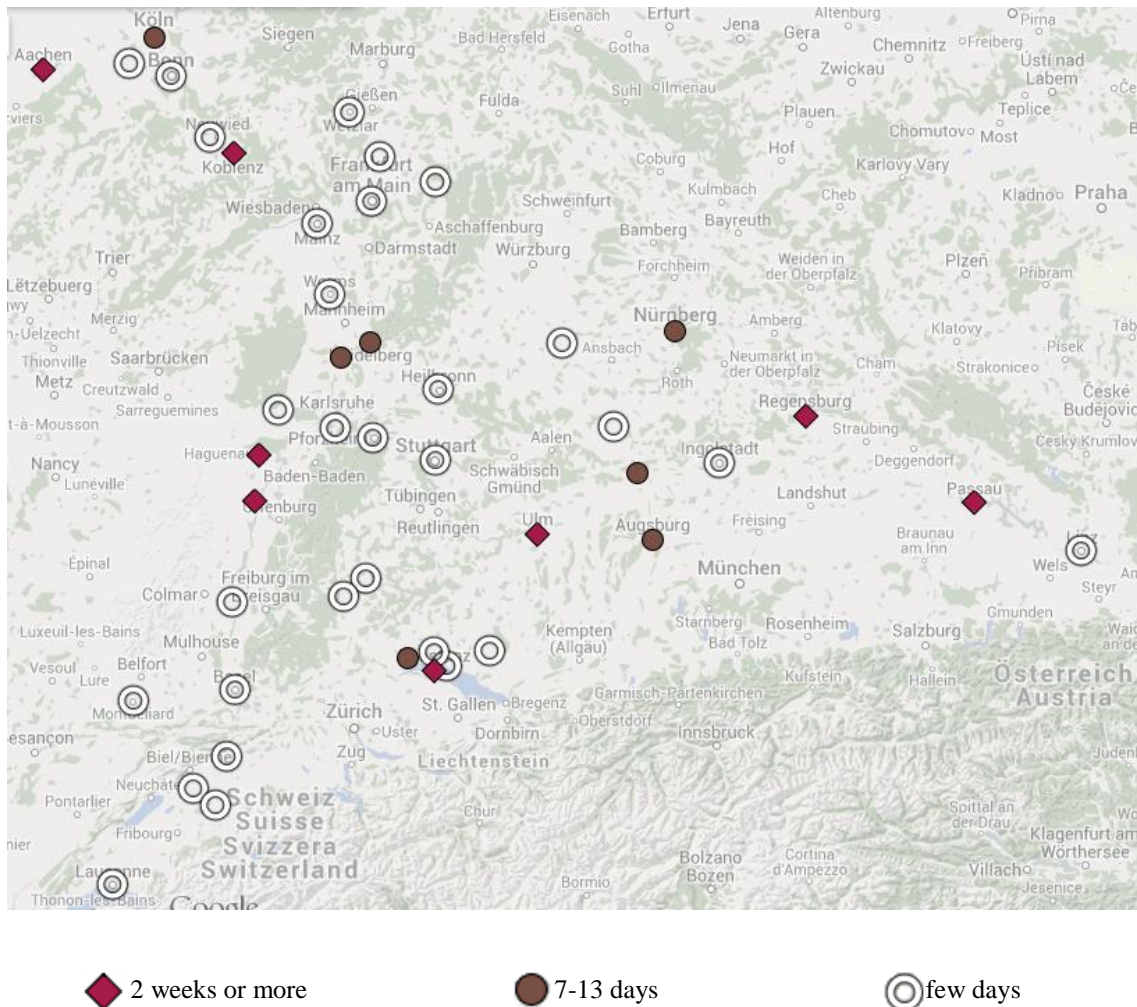
<sup>812</sup> See also OPPL, Herrschaft.

<sup>813</sup> E. KOVÁCS, Megjegyzések 105–106.

<sup>814</sup> Recently E. KOVÁCS, Itinerárium.

<sup>815</sup> On the way back from England Sigismund spent twenty-three days here. In 1414 on the occasion of the coronation he apparently left after a week.

Strassburg (1418),<sup>816</sup> Hagenau (1418), Ulm (1418), Regensburg (1418) and Passau (1418–1419). Nevertheless, also Speyer, Heidelberg, Nuremberg, Cologne, Radolfzell, Donauwörth and Augsburg were able to host the king for more than a week. (**Appendix 14**)



**Figure 13: Sigismund's stays in the Empire 1414–1419**

This list clearly illustrates what the above mentioned problem, the lack of *Hausmacht* meant for Sigismund in terms of staying in the Empire. Unlike Wenceslas and Rupert, who resided first and foremost in Bohemia (Prague) and in the Palatinate (Heidelberg) and spent considerable periods of time only in Nuremberg and in Frankfurt,<sup>817</sup> Sigismund did not have any other option than “hopping” from one king-friendly urban commune to the other, from one princely residence to the other. It is not by accident that eleven of the thirteen settlements listed above were imperial or free

<sup>816</sup> Another six days in 1414.

<sup>817</sup> HEINIG, *Reichsstädte 187–188*. Wenceslas resided dominantly in Prague, Bettlern (Zebrač) and Nuremberg; apart from these further stays are recorded in Frankfurt, Cologne and Mainz. Rupert spent six out of ten years in his homelands, stayed often, though only for short periods, in Frankfurt and almost a year in Nuremberg. (Besides, in Strassburg and Augsburg twice, in Cologne, Regensburg and Ulm once.)



cities,<sup>818</sup> whereas in Koblenz and in Passau Sigismund's supporters, the Archbishop Werner of Trier and Bishop George of Hohenlohe hosted the king. The relations between the king and the cities were, of course, mutual as both parties gave and received – political support, loans, privileges. The rulers' recurring presence in these cities maintained and strengthened the already existing contacts and they contributed to the “renewal and intensifying of the outposts of the *Hausmacht*”<sup>819</sup> – in the case of Sigismund rather to the establishment of an alternate power base.

Yet, in spite of Sigismund's relatively long and/or recurrent stays the “royal administration” appeared only as an independent on-the-go “institution” in the above listed places, and technically no central administrative-governmental functions (judicial or financial) were anchored long-term to any of the settlements. The case, which requires a somewhat longer *excursus*, is that of Constance (and that of Nuremberg in Ch. IV.2.2). Between 1415 and 1418 Sigismund spent about 600 days in the town, the average length of a stay was about three months.<sup>820</sup> Although Constance also belonged to the above mentioned group of king-friendly free and imperial cities, her outstanding position in Sigismund's itinerary is clearly due to the council. It must not be forgotten, however, that it was Sigismund who decided for this site when preparing the meeting. A number of things spoke for the settlement: it was located in the territory of the *regnum teutonicum* but close to Italy and the Mediterranean. Furthermore, as an important commercial center it was not only a member of the *Magna Societas Alamannorum* (*Große Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft*) but maintained excellent contacts with the southern parts of the continent. Important roads and trading routes ran in the close neighborhood of the town<sup>821</sup> whereas shipping on the Bodensee made it possible to provide the city with the necessary goods at a good price.<sup>822</sup> Of course, it was not a coincidence that the town caught Sigismund's attention. Quite a few of his advisors (Frischhans and Hans Conrad of Bodman, John of Lupfen, Caspar of Klingenberg) came from this region; the most influential of them was Eberhard of Nellenburg, who apparently made notable financial profit of Sigismund's decision.<sup>823</sup>

<sup>818</sup> For the terminology see HEINIG, *Reichsstädte* 48–54.

<sup>819</sup> HEINIG, *Reichsstädte* 186.

<sup>820</sup> Recently on his stay and the council BRAUN et al. (eds.), *Konstanzer Konzil* (Essays); BADISCHES LANDESMUSEUM (ed.), *Konstanzer Konzil* (Katalog).

<sup>821</sup> FRENKEN, *Wohnraum* 114.

<sup>822</sup> BUCK (ed.), *Richental* 7. ...wöl lög da von ain wirdige statt, hies Constenz ... und lag an dem Rin und stieß der Bodensee daran ... da brächt man ze schiff alle genugsammen und möchtind die schiff uff und nider gon. ... Do kemen in all herren ... und wer dahin in dem krieg kem, der hett herberg, essen und trinken, och alle sin notdurft in gemainem und geichem kouff, das herren und menglich wunder nem. Und wär och ain statt, da flaisch, vischhöw und haber, och alles, so man bedörfft, in gar ringen kost komen möchte.

<sup>823</sup> FEGER, *Konzil* 311. Frenken says that the count was most probably involved in speculations, FRENKEN, *Wohnraum* 128.

Constance's task was not easy but it seems that on the whole she met the expectations set for a congress-city.<sup>824</sup> Benedictus de Pileo (Benedetto da Piglio) wrote to his brother on 14<sup>th</sup> February 1415:

Constance is a small city, housing an amazing diversity of people. Concerning its length it is about two throws of a good ballista, its width totals up to one throw. ... It seems incredible that such a small place lodges and hosts thousands of men and horses. ... This place provides dazzling white bread, wine which is said to be better than the Falernian, all sorts of meat, milk, cheese, eggs, fish, fresh fruits, straw wine – why to continue? It offers an overflow of everything basic or luxurious required for life, religious feasts, festive activities and the daily needs of men and horses, whatever you can think of.<sup>825</sup>

It can be hardly said, how many people came together in Constance. The population of the town at the beginning of the fifteenth century is estimated between six and eight-thousand; according to Helmut Maurer's calculations at the time of the council approximately 20,000 people were accommodated there on average.<sup>826</sup> The chronicler of the council, Ulrich Richental provided an impressive list of clerics and lay lords who visited Constance<sup>827</sup> and he did not forget to mention the craftsmen, bankers and courtesans (*cortisani, wechsler, brotbekken, schnider*) accompanying them either.<sup>828</sup> Sigismund, just like many other nobles,<sup>829</sup> came with a considerable number of courtiers, not to talk about the administrative personnel. Referring to his arrival in the city in 1417 Peter Wormditt wrote to Grand Master Michael Küchenmeister that once the king was in the town, it became impossible to find good places to stay (*went so der romische konig komen wirt, so wil es vaste swer warden umb bequeme hußer*).<sup>830</sup> Wormditt was familiar with the situation that the accommodation in Constance was expensive<sup>831</sup> and the number of places were limited: grooms found accommodation in the stalls together with the horses, servants of noble lords in the neighboring villages. Even empty wine-barrels were used as beds.<sup>832</sup>

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<sup>824</sup> FRENKEN, Wohnraum; FEGER, Konzil.

<sup>825</sup> *Constantia est civitas parva et mirabiliter multarum gentium capax. Habet in longitudine spatium quantum fere vinceret bona balista in duobus iactibus, et in latitudine quantum in uno iactu transiret. ... quasi incredibile videtur hunc tam angustum locum tot virorum, tot equorum millia continere et pascere. ... Locus iste pane candidissimo, vino ut dicunt Falernum vincente, omni genere carniū, lacte, caseo, ovis, piscibus, pomis etiam nunc recentibus, uvis nunc passis sed suo tempore maturis, quid singula prosequar? Omnibus abundans est quae ad vitam, cultum, ornatum et usum hominum et equorum necessaria et splendida excogitari possunt.* WATTENBACH, Benedictus 128–131.

<sup>826</sup> MAURER, Konstanz 35–36. For the participants see HARDT, Constantiense Concilium V, 2. 11–50; RIEGEL, Teilnehmerlisten (published without the lists); BALLENTINE, Representatives.

<sup>827</sup> BUCK (ed.), Richental 138–207.

<sup>828</sup> BUCK (ed.), Richental 168–169.

<sup>829</sup> According to Richental Archbishop John of Mainz came with 600 horses, Count Palatine Louis and Frederick of Nuremberg with 400, FRENKEN, Wohnraum 124.

<sup>830</sup> FRENKEN, Wohnraum 119.

<sup>831</sup> On 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1414 the city council maximized the price of a double-bed room in two gulden per months, shortly after they fixed a(n even) lower price. FRENKEN, Wohnraum 122.

<sup>832</sup> FRENKEN, Wohnraum 123. The city council checked also the surrounding settlements for additional housing opportunities; Richental himself went to Thurgau. FEGER, Konzil 321. C.f. with Sigismund's stay in Siena in 1432 and 1433, E. KOVÁCS, Siena.

Sigismund stayed in at least four different places during the time he spent in Constance.<sup>833</sup> Besides the *Haus zur Leiter* (“The Ladder”) close to the church of St. Stephen, the house at the end of the then Münstergasse (today Katzgasse)<sup>834</sup> and the abbey of Petershausen,<sup>835</sup> in 1417 he was accommodated in the Augustinian monastery in the Mordergasse (today Rosgartengasse).<sup>836</sup> The frescos of the nave of the Trinity Church were the ruler’s gift to the hermits.<sup>837</sup> In fact, these sites fit to a general pattern: Sigismund tended to use predominantly burgher houses and monasteries as places of accommodation. In 1414 in Basel he was staying in the house of the cathedral canon Jost Schürin,<sup>838</sup> in Strassburg (1414) and in Augsburg (1418) in patrician houses.<sup>839</sup> In Freiburg im Üchtland he preferred the Franciscan,<sup>840</sup> in Bern the Dominican friary.<sup>841</sup> Even in Nuremberg he – and the German kings in general – chose to stay in the city instead of the residence of the Zollern during their visits.<sup>842</sup> There is no information where Sigismund was housed in Frankfurt in 1414, but before his arrival Jacob Brun and Konrad Wisse, the envoys of the city, wrote from the royal court to the council that vice-chancellor John Esztergomi needed an accommodation close to that of the king.<sup>843</sup>

The royal court with the appertaining administrative bodies (chanceries, *Hofgericht*), the two *Hoftags* (1415, 1417)<sup>844</sup> and the visits of – first and foremost German – prelates, princes (or at least their delegates) and envoys of cities fostered by the king’s presence must have had a significant influence on the life of townsmen of Constance. Still, the protocols of the town council reveal

<sup>833</sup> Ulrich von Richental informs us as follows: *Gelich nach dem, do zoch unser herr der künig mitt den küniginen und mit miner fröwen von Wirtemberg glich in das huß, genant zû der Laiter vor sant Steffan, das dozemäl Conratz in der Bund genant Rüll waz, und beliben darinn dry tag und nächt. Do zoch der hertzog von Sachßen in des kirchherren huß uff den Platten, darinn er och belaiß, untz daz er von Costentz riten wolt. Nach den dryen tagen, do zoch unser herr der künig mit den küniginen usser der Laiter gen Petershusen in das closter; und was da ettwelang zit. Und was das die sach, das er die Unger nit wol in der statt behaben mocht von irs groß unfrids wegen, und kond sy des ersten nit wol gezemmen, als darnach beschach. Darnach wol by vier wochen, do zoch unßer herr der kung wider in die statt und ließ die Unger zû Peterßhusen, die da vil unrichtikait ze Peterhusen anfiengen. Es ward inn aber nit ze lieb, dann die von Peterßhusen, wenn gelöff ward oder geschray, do luffend sy zesammen und leitend sich uber die Unger und züchtigottend die. Unßer herr der künig, der zoch in des Friburgers hoff an Münstergassen. Die römisch künigin und die von Wossen zugend in des Bündrichs hoff, darinn sy och beliben, der daran gelegen ist. Die von Wirtemberg zoch in herr Hannsen Bischoffs hoff, och daby gelegen, hinder sant Steffan, darinn sy och belaiß.* BUCK (ed.), Richental 23.

<sup>834</sup> MAURER, Konstanz 18.

<sup>835</sup> RÖBER (ed.), Petershausen.

<sup>836</sup> MAURER, Konstanz 18; FRENKEN, König und Konzil. Bündrichshof: today Lanzenhof.

<sup>837</sup> Heinrich Grübel, Kaspar Sünder and Hans Lederhoser painted them in less then four months. DERSCHKA, Wandbilder; DERSCHKA, Konstruierte Vergangenheit.

<sup>838</sup> WURSTISEN, Basler Chronik 252 (book IV, c. 21.)

<sup>839</sup> DRABEK, Reisen 121, n. 228.

<sup>840</sup> RÜEGG, Hohe Gäste 3.

<sup>841</sup> JUSTINGER, Berner Chronik 218; HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 486.

<sup>842</sup> TWELLENKAMP, Burggrafen 160.

<sup>843</sup> On 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1414, Rhens: *Und darumb duncket uns gut sin, daz ir yme [probst Johann, i.e John Esztergomi] die herberge bestellet eczwaz in der nehe by unsers herren der koniges herberge.* JANSSEN (ed.), Frankfurt I. 261–262, nr. 472.

<sup>844</sup> RTA VII, 255–384. BOOCKMANN, Reichstag.

surprisingly few details about the measures taken for the reason of the king's stay (or that of the council).<sup>845</sup> In fact, a regulation issued by the municipality of Koblenz gives a more thorough picture of what the visit of the monarch meant for the host town. In 1411 Sigismund was planning to go to Aachen and he apparently intended to stay in Koblenz for a while. Thus, the town council took measures and although Sigismund arrived only three years later, the regulations were not made in vain: it seems that in 1414 as well as on the occasion of Frederick III's visit in 1475 very similar or the same policies were put in force. In accordance with the council's decision during the ruler's stay most of the gates were kept closed, the few used ones (*Leerpforte*, *Fährpforte* and *Lindenpforte*) were guarded by twelve to twenty-four persons each. In order to prevent fire people equipped with bags and buckets were waiting at the Grain Market (*Kornmarkt*) at night and the streets were well-illuminated. Also the major and their servants rode along the streets from time to time at night, the aim of which control was to prevent riots and fires. The butchers and bakers were ordered to provide meat and produce bread in a sufficient amount, and the prices – just like in Constance – were maximized (2 schillings for a meal, 10 schillings for 1 sester oat, 1 schilling for hay and straw per horse per day).<sup>846</sup>

During the council Constance was indeed the place of imperial governmental administration. When the king was present in the city the court institutions and the *Hofgericht* had their seat here,<sup>847</sup> when he left the Count Palatine Louis was residing in Constance as Sigismund's representative (imperial vicar) and protector of the council.<sup>848</sup> On the whole, however, during these years no closer links developed between the royal court and the town of Constance. In relation with the king and royal court the city council concentrated on very practical issues such as safety, accommodation and catering,<sup>849</sup> and in exchange for the services Sigismund granted them the right to seal with red wax and the so called "*Blutzagel*" (*ainen roten Zagel*) for the banner as a symbol of the *ius gladii*.<sup>850</sup> Nonetheless, neither Sigismund nor his advisors seem to have had intention to strengthen Constance's positions<sup>851</sup> or to establish administrative bodies in the town and make Constance to a permanent royal administrative center. Thus, the city remained far from becoming a royal residence.

<sup>845</sup> FEGER, Konzil 315–319.

<sup>846</sup> MICHEL, Koblenz 184–185.

<sup>847</sup> Between 14<sup>th</sup> January and 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1415 as well as between 17<sup>th</sup> February 1417 and 4<sup>th</sup> June 1418. BATTENBERG, Hofgerichtssiegel 257–263.

<sup>848</sup> EBERHARD, Ludwig 71–77.

<sup>849</sup> Otto Feger noted that Konstanz "am Konzil nicht viel mehr beteiligt war als durch die Stellung von Verpflegung und Unterkunft." FEGER, Konzil 321.

<sup>850</sup> C.f. with FEGER, Konzil 328–329, according to whom there are no evidences that the town-dwellers strove for privileges other than those "which satisfied their vanity."

<sup>851</sup> Sigismund rejected the city council's wish for a market (*Handelsmesse*) and privileged economic status (*das wir in der Hanse in Flandern syen mit andern Österlingen; möcht das nit sin, das wir den die rechten hetten als Kölner und die von Nürnberg*), FEGER, Konzil 328.

A telling fact is that after the council Sigismund came back here only once, at the end of 1430–beginning of 1431. The reason for this lies probably not only in the inner tensions and social problems the city was characterized by after the years of economic boom, but also in the unpaid debts Sigismund accumulated during his stays. Before leaving the town in 1418 he had made these recorded in two copies and agreed with the members of the council that he would leave golden and silver objects as collaterals. Then, however, he changed his mind and informed the town council that he would have been in a rather uneasy situation if he had to travel without tableware; thus, instead he placed cloths in pawn and issued a (new) letter of debt. It is hardly surprising that he has never released his royal belongings. The really annoying thing for the people of Constance was, however, that the textiles were of absolutely no use for them: they were all decorated with the royal coat of arms, thus literally impossible to sell.<sup>852</sup>

Apart from Constance and the above-mentioned king-friendly imperial free cities where Sigismund could spend even weeks when it was necessary there was a group of settlements he used for a short, usually one-night stays (**Appendix 14**). These, however, had even less chance to acquire a stable central position in the political-governmental system of the Empire. During the first decade of Sigismund's German kingship the imperial administration kept being attached to the travelling court; the settlements which come up in the itinerary acted simply as hosts which temporarily provided the physical space for this mobile "courtly" administration. In the Holy Roman Empire there was no permanent royal seat or capital city, and Sigismund, lacking the territorial basis (*Hausmacht*), did not have a dynastic residence which could eventually serve as a center.

## IV.2. Permanent Centers – Royal Residences

### IV.2.1. Buda and Visegrád

In the Kingdom of Hungary the circumstances were different, although up to the thirteenth century neither here did the kings favor one single permanent place of residence. Instead, they used several "residence sites" (*Residenzorte*) such as Fehérvár, Esztergom, Buda or Dömös.<sup>853</sup> These settlements were located in the central part of the kingdom where they were rather easy to approach. It is not by accident that primary sources between the eleventh and sixteenth-century refer to the triangle of

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<sup>852</sup> FEGER, Konzil 330–331.

<sup>853</sup> On royal residences and castles in Hungary MAGYAR, Királyi székhelyek; BUZÁS–KOVÁCS, Udvari élet (with reconstruction drawings).

Óbuda-Esztergom-Fehérvár as *medium regni*.<sup>854</sup> A few of the settlements of the *medium regni* performed central functions<sup>855</sup> and they obtained a special character during the centuries: Esztergom became the ecclesiastical center of the kingdom whereas Fehérvár, where the rulers were crowned, became the symbolic site of the royal power. Talking about royal residence and capital city we have to focus on two urban centers, Buda and Visegrád.<sup>856</sup> The geographical and topographical characteristics of the settlements were similar: they were located in the *medium regni* along the river Danube, with castles built on well-defendable hilltops.<sup>857</sup> In terms of long distance trade Buda, which formed an economic unit together with Pest, was the most important town of the kingdom since the first half of the fourteenth century; according to András Kubinyi's ranking system it was the first settlement in Hungary with 55 points, the only really big city of the country.<sup>858</sup> Buda was referred to as *sedes regni*, *maxima civitatum* and *civitas principalis* already in 1308, and in terms of royal representation the city and its townsmen played a unique role.<sup>859</sup> Nevertheless, from 1323 until the beginning of the fifteenth century (except for the period 1347–1355) the rulers were resided in Visegrád. Although this town belonged to the group of second-rate towns, in diplomatic and administrative-governmental sense after Buda it was the second most important settlement in the kingdom. With regard to the Anjou- and Luxembourg-era Orsolya Mészáros considered Visegrád as a “residence town” in the sense that it was more than a permanent residence of an itinerant court but less than a privileged, economically dominant, representative capital city where all the ruling functions are concentrated.<sup>860</sup> The town, however, gradually lost its significance after the royal court had moved away,<sup>861</sup> which also meant that the duality of the “medieval capital” of Buda and the royal residence of Visegrád was replaced by Buda's hegemony: Buda became capital and residence.<sup>862</sup> The aim of the following paragraphs is to present the signs which hint at this change in the 1410s.

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<sup>854</sup> First KUMOROVITZ, Buda. For more detailed information on the subject see ALTMANN et al. (eds.), *Medium Regni*; on the impact of long-distance trade routes on the urban development of the towns of *medium regni* SZENDE, *Towns* 171–183.

<sup>855</sup> On the theory of central places in Hungary see the articles written by András Kubinyi, esp. KUBINYI, *Városhálózat* but also KUBINYI, *Városfejlődés* and KUBINYI, *Központi helyek*.

<sup>856</sup> A recently summary of the problem FELD, *Königsrezidenzen*.

<sup>857</sup> On the thirteenth-fourteenth century development of Buda and Visegrád see VÉGH, *Urban development*.

<sup>858</sup> KUBINYI, *Magyarországi városhálózat* 49.

<sup>859</sup> KUBINYI, Buda. In the second half of the fifteenth century also *sedes et solium dignitatis regiae* and *solium regale*, KUBINYI, *Hof* 148.

<sup>860</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 102. On the problem of residence–residence town–(royal) seat–capital city MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 13, 100–102, on the concept of residence BUZÁS–LASZLOVSKY–MÉSZÁROS (eds.), Visegrád 11–17.

<sup>861</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 58–62. After 1426 the royal couple did not visit Visegrád.

<sup>862</sup> KUBINYI, *Magyarországi városhálózat* 49. See also KUBINYI, *Főváros*; KUBINYI, *Herrschaftsbildung*; KUBINYI, *Nagybirtok*.

Although in connection with the ruler the terms *residencia personalis*, *residencia specialis* or *residencia continua et perpetua* indicating a permanent place of residence do not appear in the charters,<sup>863</sup> the data of King Sigismund's itinerary in the Kingdom of Hungary indisputably attest Buda's first and Visegrád's second place. Between August 1403 and November 1412 Sigismund stayed thirty-eight times (a total of 974 days) in Buda, and twelve times (128 days) in Visegrád. As for the latter it is interesting to note that Sigismund's recurring sojourns in Visegrád are dated only from 1409; before that he spent only once (1405) eleven days there. In these years Sigismund often visited Zólyom (Zvolen, before 1406), Tata (from 1409 on), Végles (Vígľaš) and Pressburg.<sup>864</sup>

Of course, here again, the itinerary is only a starting point.<sup>865</sup> In order to prove that one or the other settlement can really be considered as royal residence it is necessary to address other questions; the issue of the immovable institutions referred to by Oliver Auge and Karl-Heinz Spiess in the description quoted at the beginning of the chapter is only one of these. Based on the results of the predominantly German scholarship the following aspects are going to be investigated here: 1. The representative appearance of the space.<sup>866</sup> 2. The functioning of the place as an administrative center, concretely the presence of the chamber, chanceries and archives for performing the tasks of central administration. In the case of the Kingdom of Hungary the seat of the central judicial courts is also a decisive factor. 3. The presence of a collegiate chapter (partly for the training of chancery and administrative personnel), foundation of monasteries and churches. 4. The possession of real estates (houses) by the ruling elite as well as by the administrative and court personnel in the city. 5. The use of the place as royal burial site. 6. University.<sup>867</sup>

As for the last two indicators neither Buda nor Visegrád meets the criteria. The cathedral of Fehérvár can be considered to some extent as the traditional burial place of the Hungarian kings but it was by far not the only one. The first royals buried there were the founder St. Stephen (†1038) and his son Emmerich (†1031). Then, however, most of the kings of the Árpád dynasty preferred their own foundations as burial places and only a few twelfth-century rulers (Coloman, Béla II, Géza II, Ladislas II, Stephen IV, Béla III and Ladislaus III) and the Anjous, Charles and Louis,

<sup>863</sup> In the Hungarian archive material these Latin expressions, similarly to that of *locus habitationis* or *domus habitationis*, were used mostly in letters of citation and they refer to the place where the given person was most likely to find, i.e. to his permanent place of residence in a legal sense. KUBINYI, Főváros 303.

<sup>864</sup> Zólyom and Végles was built during Louis of Anjou's reign, Tata and Pozsony became royal residence castles under Sigismund's rule. BUZÁS–KOVÁCS, Udvari élet. Due to political reasons Sigismund spent longer periods of time in Kassa (Košice) and Diakó (Đakovo) as well.

<sup>865</sup> Also NEITMANN, Residenz 20.

<sup>866</sup> A related aspect is the permanent spatial manifestation of practical tasks related to courtly life and representation such as safety, catering, clothing etc. SZENDE, Városkutatás 18.

<sup>867</sup> Zur Residenzfrage und -definition vgl. z. B. NEITMANN, Residenz; MORAW, Residenz; STUDDT, Residenz 755–756; ENGEL–LAMBRECHT, Hauptstadt 21–22; PATZE–PARAVICINI, Zusammenfassung.

chose again this site.<sup>868</sup> In fact, Louis I erected a new chapel (St. Catherine) in the cathedral and most probably he planned to make it the burial place of his family. Nevertheless, his second daughter Mary, Sigismund's first wife, decided for Oradea (†1395) and more than forty years later the Luxemburg ruler also found his final resting place there. Their choice was definitely influenced by the by that time flourishing cult of St. Ladislaus, whose relics were lying there.<sup>869</sup> Queen Barbara was buried in Prague, Sigismund's and Barbara's daughter Elisabeth in Fehérvár.

Sigismund indeed made efforts to establish a university in Hungary. He was not the first in this respect as his father-in-law, Louis the Great, had already founded one in Pécs in 1367.<sup>870</sup> The foundation bull for the second Hungarian university with four faculties (free arts, theology, law and medicine) was issued by Pope Boniface IX on 6<sup>th</sup> October 1395; its chancellor became Lucas Szántói, provost of Buda and bishop of Csanád.<sup>871</sup> The university, however, was not located in Buda or Visegrád but in Óbuda, which was the seat of the collegiate chapter of Buda.<sup>872</sup> Between 1403 and 1410 it was not functioning, on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1410 Pope John XXIII signed the re-foundation charter, the copy of which is preserved in the Vatican Secret Archives.<sup>873</sup> According to Ulrich Richental seven professors represented the University of Óbuda at the council of Constance, and the delegation was headed by the university chancellor Lambert Sluter of Geldern. Thanks to the chronicler also the coat of arms of the college has been handed down to us. After the mid-fifteenth century primary sources do not mention the institution or any teaching activity in Óbuda.

<sup>868</sup> On royal burials in the medieval kingdom of Hungary see LASZLOVSZKY, Gertrúd.

<sup>869</sup> C.f. with KLANICZAY, Holy Rulers 175. and KERNY, Begräbnis 475, according to whom Sigismund's decision for Oradea was most probably motivated by the Anjou family tradition.

<sup>870</sup> The foundation charter was issued by Pope Urban V on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1367 in Viterbo for a university with three faculties. The initiative came most likely from Bishop William of Pécs; after his death the university fell into decline and by the end of the fourteenth (according to some scholars by the middle of the fifteenth) century it stopped functioning.

<sup>871</sup> From 19<sup>th</sup> October 1395.

<sup>872</sup> On Óbuda see ALTMANN et al. (eds.), *Medium Regni* 89–109, on the university DOMONKOS–SZÉKELY–BERTÉNYI (eds.), *University of Óbuda*; SZÖGI–VARGA (eds.), *Universitas Budensis* and FONT–SZÖGI (eds.), *Universitätsbildung*. The collegiate chapter functioned as one of the *loca credibilia* of the kingdom, in the thirteenth century its provost was royal vice-chancellor.

<sup>873</sup> Digital photos of the charter: <http://www.uni-obuda.hu/files/image/1006.jpg>





**Image 10: Coat of Arms of the University of Óbuda**

Writing about the royal palace in Buda Antonio Bonfini says that before Matthias Corvinus' time there had been nothing worth seeing except for the magnificent edifices erected in the time of Sigismund.<sup>874</sup> Indeed, during Sigismund's reign grandiose construction works took place both in Buda and in Visegrád. These works actually started under Louis I who donated the so-called *Kammerhof*, the royal house in Buda, to the Pauline monks in 1381<sup>875</sup> and relocated his residence to the other end of the castle hill. The buildings of the first courtyard (so-called "Nagyudvar," Great Yard) next to the Stephan's Tower in the Buda palace were most probably erected in the Anjou-period.<sup>876</sup> Louis planned to build an impressive residence complex in Visegrád, too, where the construction works were going on during his entire rule almost without interruption.<sup>877</sup> Queen Mary and Sigismund continued and finished these plans; the result was glamorous and splendid.

The first construction works in Buda which can be connected to Sigismund's name were modifications to the Stephan's Tower: two small buildings were attached to the western and eastern sides of the tower, the first became *domus tavernicalis*, the other was used as residential wing.<sup>878</sup> The so-called *Csonkatorony* ("Unfinished-Tower") was erected as an addition to the Anjou-palace of the Great Yard but at the same time it was an integral part of a new courtyard. The most impressive edifice of this second courtyard, which was separated from the rest of the castle hill by a trench, was a palace of 70/75x20 meters in the northern side. This building is not identical with the so-called "Friss-palota" mentioned in the sources, which was in fact a town house at a so far non-

<sup>874</sup> *Budensem arcem, ubi praeter magnifica Sigismundi edifice nihil spectatione dignum erat, ... nimis exornavit.* BONFINI, *Rer. Ung.* 631. (Decadis IV. Liber VII.)

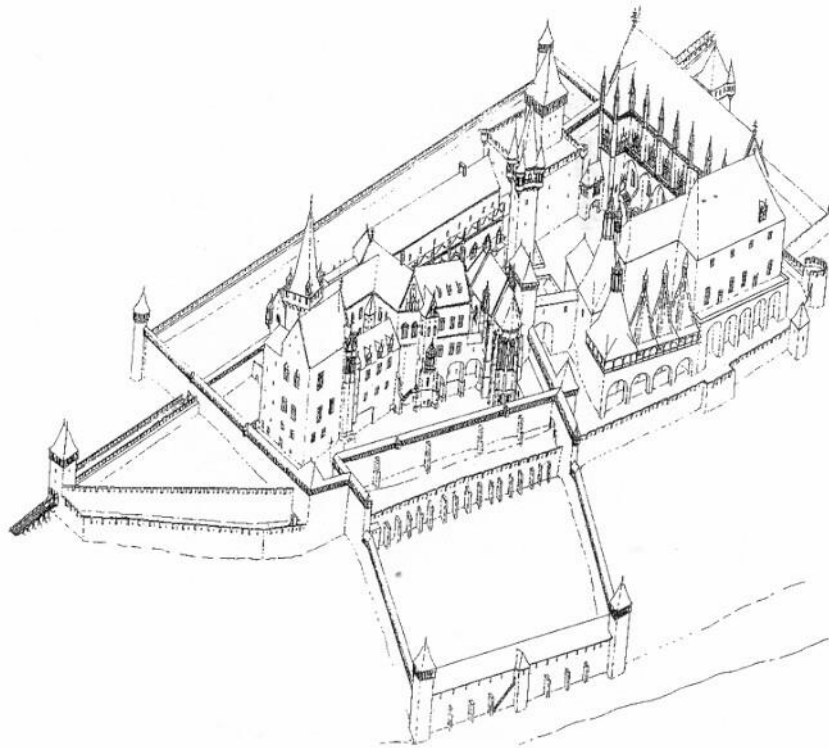
<sup>875</sup> In the sources *curia nostra regalis* (1362), *antiqua domus regis* (1416) and *Chammerhoff* (1423). VÉGH, *Buda I.* 269–272. The monks exchanged the *Kammerhof* for Hermann of Cilli's house located in the *media platea* on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1423 (MNL OL DL 11384).

<sup>876</sup> For details see MAGYAR, *Budai palota*; GEREVICH, *Budai vár*.

<sup>877</sup> BUZÁS-LASZLOVSZKY (eds.), *Medieval Palace* 26–63.

<sup>878</sup> ALTMANN et al. (eds.), *Medium Regni* 193, but also MAGYAR, *Budai palota* 94–95.

identified site.<sup>879</sup> The biggest room of Sigismund's palace used for receiving envoys and organizing festive events was referred to by Windecke as the "great hall" (*große Stube*<sup>880</sup>) and by Hans Seybold as a 100 steps long and 25 steps wide vaulted hall with 8 columns in the middle.<sup>881</sup>



**Image 11: The Royal Palace of Buda in the 1420s**  
ALTMANN et al. (eds.), *Medium Regni* 192.

In Visegrád Sigismund made alterations both on the citadel and the palace by the river Danube. The new, third wall of the castle on the citadel and the representative gate did not have a real defensive-military function but strengthened the residence character of the complex.<sup>882</sup> The buildings of the palace by the river Danube were lying on an area of approx. 14400 square meters around a huge reception courtyard. According to recent investigations great (council) halls were located in the northern and western, a mint in the south-eastern, the living area (royal suites) in the north-eastern wing of the building complex. Opposite to the gate tower a chapel was raised, whilst arcades, niches, fountains and gardens contributed to the splendor of the building complex.<sup>883</sup> The major works of the Sigismund-period can be dated to the first half of Sigismund's reign, i.e. before 1409,

<sup>879</sup> VÉGH, Buda I. 137–138. MAGYAR, Budai palota 117. On Sigismund's palace see also BUZÁS–VÉGH, Zsigmond-palota; BUZÁS, Hozzászólás; NAGY, Friss palota.

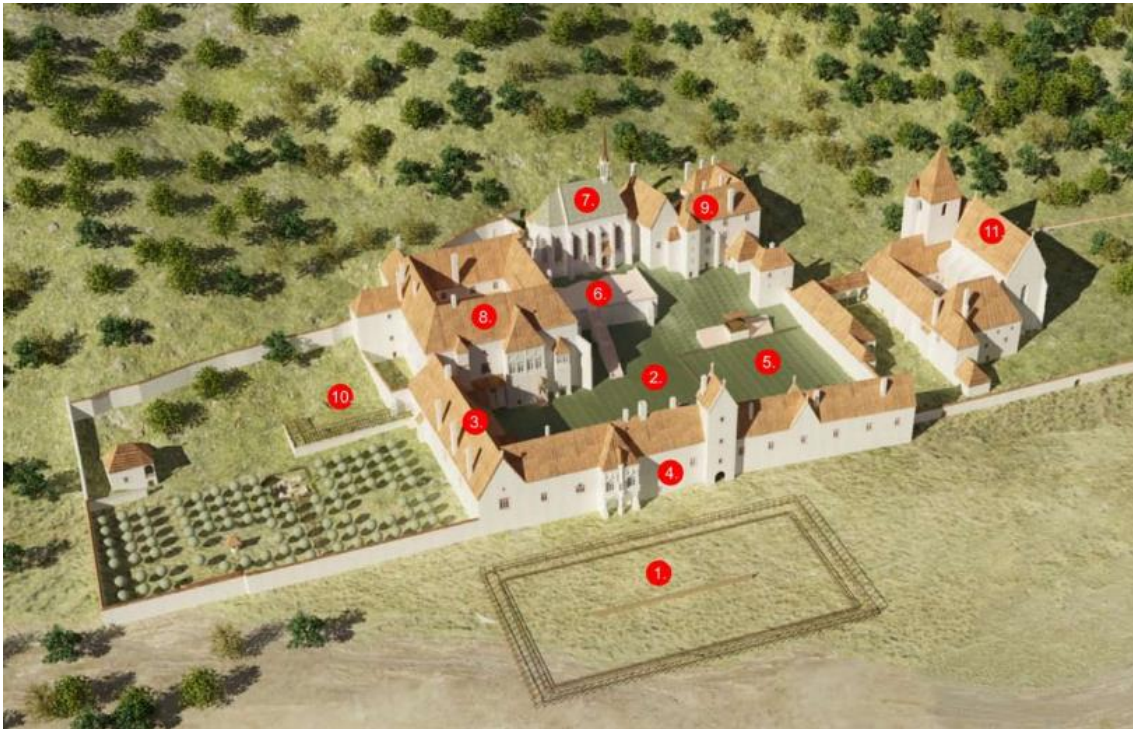
<sup>880</sup> WINDECKE, Denkwürdigkeiten 186.

<sup>881</sup> *der Sal ist hundert schritt lanng vnd XXV schritt praitt vnd hat In der mitt nach der lenng herab, acht hoch pfeiler, da die gewelb zue geschlossen sein.* SEYBOLD 52.

<sup>882</sup> On replacing old castles of defensive character with representative palace buildings see STUDDT, Residenz 756.

<sup>883</sup> BUZÁS–LASZLOVSZKY (eds.), Medieval Palace 143–196; BUZÁS, Visegrádi palota 93; BUZÁS, Kápolna 114. See also BUZÁS–SZÓKE, Visegrádi vár; LASZLOVSZKY (ed.), Medieval Visegrád; BUZÁS (ed.), Visegrád.

and included construction of the south-western kitchen wing and alterations in the north-eastern palace.<sup>884</sup> Only the Franciscan friary (see below) was erected later, in the mid-1420s.<sup>885</sup>



**Image 12: The royal palace of Visegrád at the beginning of the sixteenth-century**  
Reconstruction by Gergely Buzás and Márton Zoltán Tóth. (BUZÁS–KOVÁCS, Udvari élet 11)

1) Field for equestrian games, 2) reception courtyard, 3) great hall, 4) kitchen, 5) field for infantry tournament, 6) terrace in front of the chapel 7) chapel dedicated to Virgin Mary, 8) royal suits, 9) domicile of the court judge, 10) garden, 11) Franciscan friary.

<sup>884</sup> BUZÁS–LASZLOVSZKY (eds.), *Medieval Palace* 63–65, 150.

<sup>885</sup> BUZÁS–LASZLOVSZKY (eds.), *Medieval Palace* 112. Fig. 201. and chronological ground plan at the very end of the book.



**Image 13: Ground plan of the Visegrád palace at the end of the Sigismund period**  
 BUZÁS-LASZLOVSKY (eds.), *Medieval Palace* 62, Fig. 94.

In the case of diplomatic events it was clearly Buda which played the role of the host. Already in 1366, when the royal residence was still in Visegrád, King Louis I met Emperor John V Palaiologos in Buda. In 1395 Paulus de Armaninis, Francesco Gonzaga's envoy wrote to his lord that Sigismund received him there in the house of the archbishop of Esztergom.<sup>886</sup> By that time the old royal house (*Kammerhof*) had already been donated to the Pauline monks and it is possible that the palace was not yet suitable and representative enough for diplomatic meetings and negotiations. In 1412 Sigismund received King Wladislas of Poland and a number of other Central-European rulers here,<sup>887</sup> in 1424 John VIII Palaiologos and King Eric of Denmark. Besides, Sigismund was seriously thinking of organizing the council aiming at the union of the Latin and Orthodox churches in Buda. In 1437 even the possible places of accommodation were registered,<sup>888</sup> but in the end the synod took place in Ferrara-Florence.<sup>889</sup>

As for the foundation of new ecclesiastical bodies Sigismund established a chapel outside the Buda palace dedicated to Virgin Mary and St. Sigismund in 1410, about which Windecke reports as follows: *In der selben wilen stifte konig Sigemont ein halp thumherrnstift in der stat zu Ofen in der Juden gassen in der nuwen capellen in gotes ere und och in sant Sigemunts ere.*<sup>890</sup> According to Bernát Kumorovitz the construction works finished around 1417/1418, the artistic

<sup>886</sup> THALLÓCZY, Mantova 101.

<sup>887</sup> The list of the participants ZsO III/2224. On Wladislas' visit C. TÓTH, Zsigmond és Ulászló.

<sup>888</sup> BTOE III/2. 284–285, nr. 1162.

<sup>889</sup> See also NAGY, Royal summits.

<sup>890</sup> WINDECKE, Denkwürdigkeiten 179, c. 201.

furnishings by 1424.<sup>891</sup> The model for this Buda church was the Church of Our Lady (*Frauenkapelle*) in Nürnberg founded by Charles IV, which was also a royal (imperial) chapel with a double patronage (Our Lady-Wenceslas) erected in a residence town.<sup>892</sup> In terms of Visegrád, in 1424 Franciscan observants arrived here from Bosnia and they took over the once royal chapel (St. George) of the Anjous located by that time already outside the palace walls.<sup>893</sup> Sigismund's original intention was to build a house for the monks and transform the chapel to church but then he changed his mind and decided to erect a monastery and a completely new church dedicated to Virgin Mary.<sup>894</sup>

Talking about the main institutions of administration the chancery, the archives and the treasury are considered as indicators of the residence status of a settlement. Regarding the royal writing organs in Hungary the great chancery and the chanceries of the central judicial courts require an investigation, as the secret chancery was always travelling together with the ruler. In fifteenth-century Hungary the judicial courts of the chief judges (judge royal, palatine and master of the treasury) just as the office of the royal chaplain (*comes capellae regiae*) were integrated into the central, i.e. curial system, and they were working at the royal seat.<sup>895</sup> (In the first four centuries of the Kingdom of Hungary the functions of the royal chapel changed considerably. Until King Béla III the royal chaplain was responsible for the great seal, from ca. 1185 for the ring seal. Between 1317 and 1374 the royal chapel was functioning as a *locus credibilis*<sup>896</sup> at the royal court and its documents authenticated with the royal middle seal were issued in the name of the chaplain. By Sigismund's time it fulfilled tasks related to jurisdiction: complaints were submitted here and this body decided at which court a given case should be dealt with. At that point this "*audentia*" issued the necessary mandates in the name of the king.<sup>897</sup>) In the fourteenth-century the judicial courts had their seat in Visegrád, the houses of the judges served as their workplaces.<sup>898</sup> Earlier it was supposed that the courts moved to Buda some time between 1405 and 1408. Yet, according to the results of my investigations published in 2008 between the end of 1412 and 1415 they were surely

<sup>891</sup> KUMOROVITZ, Várkápola 123–124. See also PAPP, Statues.

<sup>892</sup> VÉGH, Szent Zsigmond 25–29; VÉGH, Buda I. 70. See also *Budapest régiségei* 33 (1999): 7–139. and TÓTH, Szentkultusz. On the castle hill of Buda there was another royal chapel dedicated to Virgin Mary which was located in the palace (*curia*) itself.

<sup>893</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 49, 52–53.

<sup>894</sup> LUKSICS, Oklevelek 160, nr. 744 and 172, nr. 818. LASZLOVSZKY (ed.), Medieval Visegrád 28; BUZÁS–LASZLOVSZKY (eds.), Medieval Palace 207–218. See also LASZLOVSZKY, Crown; LASZLOVSZKY, Ferences kolostor.

<sup>895</sup> Except of course the *congregatio palatini generalis* which took place in different parts of the kingdom. BÉLI, Magyar jogtörténet 234–235.

<sup>896</sup> Chapters or convents acting as places of authentication in Hungary-Croatia (instead of public notaries). Their members served as witnesses to legal acts, authenticated private instruments with their seal and kept archives. See ECKHART, Glaubwürdige Orte.

<sup>897</sup> KUMOROVITZ, Kápolnaispán 458–465; KUMOROVITZ, Audentia.

<sup>898</sup> BUZÁS–LASZLOVSZKY–MÉSZÁROS (eds.), Visegrád 175–176, 177.

functioning in Visegrád during the session periods (*octavae*) and the final move to Buda took place only by end of 1415.<sup>899</sup> It seems that in Buda the judges were also working in their own houses.<sup>900</sup>

A similar pattern can be detected in the issuing of the documents authenticated with a great seal. Before Kanizsai's leave (January 1416) and after Sigismund's return (February 1419) the great chancery was moving mostly together with the royal vicar and the king and thus issued documents in different places, whereas between February 1416 and March 1419 all the charters are dated from Buda. Unfortunately, there are hardly any information regarding the exact location of the great chancery in Visegrád<sup>901</sup> or in Buda. Taking the analogies into consideration it is possible that just like in Prague under the rule of Charles IV the chancery did not use a "public building" but it was bound to the very person of the chancellor also in a spatial sense.<sup>902</sup> John Kanizsai (chancellor 1387–1403) surely had houses in both in Visegrád and Buda,<sup>903</sup> whereas Eberhard of Alben (chancellor 1404–1419) conceivably possessed a property in Buda: in his testament dated from 1433 his nephew John (also chancellor 1420–1433) left "all the houses and palaces" he owned in Buda to his successors at the seat of the bishopric of Zagreb.<sup>904</sup> From the first half of the fourteenth century there are evidences that – at least a part of – the official documents were stored in the chancellor's and the vice-chancellor's houses in Visegrád,<sup>905</sup> while in Buda the archives was located in the already mentioned *domus tavernicalis*. This building provided place for the treasury, too, where also the crown jewels were deposited after they had been moved from Visegrád to Buda.<sup>906</sup> Nevertheless, due to the problems related to the exact location and thus the dating of the *domus tavernicalis*<sup>907</sup> the only thing which can be said for sure is that the archives and the treasury were moved from Visegrád to Buda in the second half of Sigismund's rule at the latest.<sup>908</sup>

Finally, when sketching the main trends of the real estate possession of the kingdom's ruling elite in Visegrád and Buda we can rely on two monographs published in the past ten years by

<sup>899</sup> KONDOR, Királyi kúria. The last court sessions were held in Visegrád on the octave of St. Michael in 1415.

<sup>900</sup> VÉGH, Buda I. 318–321.

<sup>901</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 50. C.f. with BUZÁS–LASZLOVSZKY–MÉSZÁROS (eds.), Visegrád 43, n. 149. and oklevéltár nr. 23.

<sup>902</sup> MORAW, Über den Hof 88. According to SPANGENBERG, Kanzleivermerke 476, the chancery and the place of the council meetings were located close to each other.

<sup>903</sup> ZsO III/2728: *Bude in domo habitationis reverendissimi in Christo patris domini Iohannis archiepiscopi Strigoniensis*.

<sup>904</sup> VÉGH, Buda I. 297.

<sup>905</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 27, 66–67.

<sup>906</sup> Under Charles and Louis of Anjou the crown jewels were kept in the Visegrád castle (together with the Polish crown, C.TÓTH, Zsigmond és Ulászló 346.) RUPP, Magyarország I. 43, 46; WENZEL, Visegrád 397; BERTÉNYI, A magyar korona 68–69.

<sup>907</sup> MAGYAR, Budai palota 94–95. The western wing of the Stephan's Tower was built under Sigismund, the south-western palace at the western side of the great yard cannot be dated precisely (Angevin or Luxembourg-period). MAGYAR, Budai palota 76–78.

<sup>908</sup> SZENTPÉTERY, Oklevéltan 183. He was of the opinion that the relocation took place already under the reign of Louis I. On the archives see also R. KISS, Közjog 298–300.

Orsolya Mészáros and András Végh.<sup>909</sup> The aim of the authors was to collect all the available information regarding the medieval topography and the real estate owners of the two settlements in the late Middle Ages. Talking about Buda under Sigismund's rule, besides the high dignitaries and their family members (John and Nicholas Kanizsai, Nicholas and Johannes Garai, Simon Rozgonyi and his sons Stephen and George, Stibor, Filippo and Andrea Scolari, Nicholas Marcali etc.) also important financial advisors (Francesco Bernardi, Hans Siebenlinder), courtiers and knights owned houses in the city. Even the Serbian Despots Stephen Lazarević and George Branković were in possession of a domicile there. Written sources related to Visegrád are preserved in a lesser number,<sup>910</sup> but the judge royals James Szepesi,<sup>911</sup> Frank Szécsényi<sup>912</sup> and Simon Rozgonyi<sup>913</sup> surely owned houses in the town. The latter was lying next to Peter Cudar's dwelling, who was i. a. master of the cupbearers between 1360 and 1372 and ban of Slavonia between 1368 and 1381.<sup>914</sup> It seems that in the beginning of 1410s the high dignitaries were still interested in acquiring real estates in Visegrád: in 1412 the Kanizsai family managed to obtain a plot next to the one they had already possessed there, in 1413 Stibor tried to get hold of the house of the deceased James Szepesi. Stibor, however, was not successful as Szepesi's daughter Margarethe appealed at the court of the palatine against the donation and her objection was sustained.<sup>915</sup> The fact that after 1415 no charters dealing with real estate transactions survived could perhaps hint at the dropping interest in buying real estates in Visegrád,<sup>916</sup> which might have been an outcome of royal law courts' move to Buda.<sup>917</sup> Nevertheless, the vice-chancellor John Szászi definitely had a residence in the city between 1421 and 1423.<sup>918</sup> Topographical changes of the town structure can be observed only in the 1430s, when town dwellers started to take over buildings once belonging to high dignitaries and court officials.<sup>919</sup>

Although a precise dating in most of the studied aspects is not possible, it seems very likely that from 1415 on Visegrád gradually but undoubtedly lost importance for the benefit of Buda. For another ten years, until the middle of the 1420s there are evidences of governmental-residential activities taking place there (itinerary of the royal couple, foundation of the Franciscan friary, vice-

<sup>909</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád and VÉGH, Buda.

<sup>910</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 13–15.

<sup>911</sup> Judge royal in 1372 and between 1373 and 1380.

<sup>912</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 182. Judge Royal between 1397 and 1408.

<sup>913</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 141–142, 172–173. Judge royal between 1409 and 1414. 1397: Nicholas Tótselymesi donated a house (*domus et fundis curie*) to Mag. Ladislaus Rozgonyi and his brother Simon Rozgonyi.

<sup>914</sup> Further documents from 1363 and 1364, MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 68, 78, n. 361, 124–125, 130–132. etc. Peter Cudar owned a house in Buda as well, VÉGH, Buda I. 218–219.

<sup>915</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 70, 146, 148.

<sup>916</sup> The charters related to Visegrád collected in MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 105–160.

<sup>917</sup> KONDOR, Királyi kúria.

<sup>918</sup> BÓNIS, Jogtudó 104; MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 73, 184.

<sup>919</sup> MÉSZÁROS, Visegrád 99.

chancellor Szászi's house possession), after then the town and the royal palace "served as an accessory residence besides Buda."<sup>920</sup>

#### IV.2.2. Plans of a Capital? The Cases of Pressburg and Nuremberg

Sigismund as ruler ... intended to establish his fame (*splendor*) purposefully by dedicating himself to tasks which pertained the whole western Christian world: he wanted to put an end to the Great Schism, to create the union with the Greek Orthodox Church, to fight against the Ottomans, to succor Byzantium and to free the Holy Land.<sup>921</sup>

Jörg K. Hoensch wrote these sentences in his Sigismund-biography but also Alois Gerlich and Dieter Weiss expressed a similar opinion on the pages of the third volume of the *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte*. They emphasized the fact that after becoming the King of the Romans Sigismund demonstrated everywhere "that he did not want to get involved in the grueling triviality of local-territorial everyday life; instead, he aspired to concentrate his energies on the major tasks related to the Empire and Church."<sup>922</sup> In other words, to certain extent Sigismund sacrificed the "management" of his second kingdom to all-European affairs and the inner imperial matters stayed outside the focus of his political interests at least for a while.

Yet, it was not only his character which drove him to this direction but, in my opinion, also the circumstances of governing he got used to in the Kingdom of Hungary. There, except the highest levels of decision making (at the royal council or at the judicial court of the *personalis presentia regia*) Sigismund did not have to deal with practical governmental-administrative issues personally. Compared to the Holy Roman Empire, where for the functioning of the imperial bureaucracy the ruler's personal presence was still very much needed, most of the central (curial) administrative institutions in fifteenth-century Hungary were independent from the very person of the king and from the royal court understood as the close surroundings of the ruler. A telling example is that of the *Hofgericht*: although the presence of the king at the meetings was not necessary any more, the institution was not working when he was not staying in the Empire and so in the absence of the ruler there was practically no central-imperial judicial high court. In Hungary the *personalis presentia regia* was also the personal jurisdiction of the king but it had an exclusive competency only in cases of serious crimes (high treason and *actus maioris potentiae*); all the other

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<sup>920</sup> BUZÁS–LASZLOVSZKY–MÉSZÁROS (eds.), Visegrád 93.

<sup>921</sup> HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 503.

<sup>922</sup> KRAUS (ed.), Geschichte Frankens 420.



processes could be handled on a higher instance at the other curial law courts in Buda or in Visegrád. (See Ch. III.2.3.)

Such a “royal presence”-centered administrative-governmental system was especially disadvantageous for the land when the ruler was the king of several countries or – due to reasons of military expeditions or diplomatic journeys – he was often not accessible.<sup>923</sup> In the first half of the fifteenth-century the need of a reform targeting the imperial administrative-governmental system became evident and not only *Reformatio Sigismundi* but also tractates compiled by Job Vener, Nicholas of Cusa<sup>924</sup> and John Schele<sup>925</sup> addressed the problem.<sup>926</sup> From time to time the Sigismund-administration faced one or another concrete aspect of the problem, too, and it indeed tried to find solutions to them.<sup>927</sup> It must be emphasized, however, that these early “reform-steps” taken by the ruler and his administrative personnel were not parts of a general concept or well-developed program aiming at the “modernization” of the imperial bureaucracy (at least there is no evidence of the existence of such an overall concept in Sigismund’s court) but practical responses to existing everyday difficulties of the administrative-governmental system.<sup>928</sup> In my understanding, also the indications hinting at the growing importance of Pressburg and Nuremberg in the 1420s must be interpreted in this context.

The question of a suitable administrative-governmental center and an imperial capital city had already been touched upon by Job Vener in his tractate in 1417.<sup>929</sup> Most probably around this time – after the end of the Council of Constance – the issue became a current one for Sigismund himself, too. In fact, after Wenceslas’ death Prague would have been a plausible option but the political situation in Bohemia made it impossible for Sigismund to develop a stable administrative-governmental center there.<sup>930</sup> On the other hand, he expressed his wish to establish his seat in the castle of Devin (Dévény) located approx. 15 km west of Pressburg already in 1413 or at the very beginning of 1414 in a letter written to Stibor of Stiboricz (*volumus in eodem [castro de Wyii] facere locum nostre residencie et mansionis*),<sup>931</sup> which suggests that the idea of shifting the center

<sup>923</sup> Also KOLLER, Reformpläne 64. WEFERS, Das politische System 2: “Ein wesentliches Kriterium für den Zusammenhalt dieses Gemeinwesens [Reich] war seine Herrscherbezogenheit.”

<sup>924</sup> *Concordia Catholica*.

<sup>925</sup> KOLLER, Reformpolitik 21–23.

<sup>926</sup> LexMA VII. 634–635; ANGERMEIER, Reichsreform; KOLLER, Reformpläne.

<sup>927</sup> WEFERS, Das politische System 2–3: “Die Vergrößerung des Innovationspotential unter dem Druck der Krise ist für die Erforschung politischer Entwicklungsprozesse ein Phänomen von besonderer Wichtigkeit. Als „Krise“ wird dabei eine Situation verstanden, bei der die Fähigkeit eines Systems auf die Anforderungen der Umwelt adäquat zu reagieren, unerwartet aufs äußerste beansprucht wird. So müssen neue ... Organisationsstrukturen entwickelt werden.”

<sup>928</sup> See also KOLLER, Reformpolitik.

<sup>929</sup> HEIMPEL, Die Vener von Gmünd II. 1128–1140.

<sup>930</sup> KOLLER, Ausbau 429, KOLLER, Reformpläne 65, KOLLER, Reformpolitik 22–23. See also MORAW, Mittelpunktfunktion.

<sup>931</sup> HEIMPEL, Aus der Kanzlei 179. Dating ZsO IV/662.

to the border of the two realms emerged soon after his election to a German king. Devin finally did not get any special function but Pressburg came to the fore.<sup>932</sup> It had a perfect geographical location as it was the westernmost town in Hungary, from where the king could easily get to Bohemia or to the Empire; it was also ideal for (diplomatic) meetings with the Austrian princes or envoys from the Empire.<sup>933</sup> Besides, the town had flourishing economic connections with southern-German territories,<sup>934</sup> and such an orientation can be detected also in the extra-urban connections of the Pressburg burghers.<sup>935</sup> On 28<sup>th</sup> September 1421 Elisabeth's engagement to Albert was conducted in the town, in 1429 an Imperial Diet summoned here.<sup>936</sup> From 1426 on Sigismund spent frequently longer periods of time here and after 1429 he clearly preferred Pressburg to Buda as a place of residence:<sup>937</sup> under the supervision of Stephan and George Rozgonyi the Romanesque citadel of Pressburg was gradually converted to a Gothic palace. After construction works in the 1420s which aimed at the reinforcement of the fortifications in regard to the Hussite threat, from 1429 on Konrad von Erling was commissioned to erect a representative royal residence.<sup>938</sup> The relations between the royal court and the town in the early fifteenth-century were also tightened by the setting up of a mint<sup>939</sup> and by the continuation of the works on the parish church of St. Martin.<sup>940</sup> In July 1436 a solemn charter confirmed the coat of arms of the town, and in 1437/1438 the new king Albert of Habsburg was elected here. Although during Sigismund's reign Pressburg did not replace Buda as a capital, the growing influence of the royal administration and the court on the life of the town is obvious. The town created a new office, namely that of the chamberlain, the functions and competencies of the major changed, to certain town positions (e.g. judge of the Jews) the king proposed candidates, the *Corpus Christi* confraternity became a lay elite religious companionship by the 1420s and topographical changes took place insofar as the location of royal houses (*domus regis*), craftsmen's workshops, public baths and brothels (*frauenhaus*) shifted.<sup>941</sup> Judit Majorossy

<sup>932</sup> Between 1386 and 1389 it belonged to the Margraves of Moravia, since 1390 it was in Lessel Hering's hands. For the first time Sigismund tried to release it in 1411 (RI XI/140) but in this respect only Nicholas Garai was successful in 1414. In 1417 Garai paid another 12 000 ducats to Sigismund as pledge sum for the castle; finally, Sigismund donated it to him and her wife Anne of Cilli in 1419. Until 1459 it was owned by the Garai family, then by the Counts of Szentgyörgy-Bazin (until 1520).

<sup>933</sup> SZENDE, *Between Hatred and Affection*. Pressburg is also depicted on the oldest city plan of Vienna, on the so-called *Albertinischer Stadtplan* (1421/1422).

<sup>934</sup> SKORKA, Pozsony; SKORKA, Pozsony gazdasági szerepe. "In the first half of the fifteenth century Pressburg took over the leading role from Buda in the transit trade from the west." DRASKÓCZY, *Commercial Contacts* 287.

<sup>935</sup> MAJOROSSY, *Regionalitás*.

<sup>936</sup> RI XI/7473a, 7486–7495; JANSSEN (ed.), *Frankfurt* 368–371, nr. 679–681.

<sup>937</sup> Besides Sigismund's itinerary see also ORTVAY, *Pozsony* 12–42.

<sup>938</sup> SZÜCS, *Középkori építészet* 318, on Konrad von Erling *ibid.* 316–317, detailed accounts from the year 1434 *ibid.* 340–356. On the architectural details of the construction works see PAPP, *Residenz*.

<sup>939</sup> GYÖNGYÖSSY, *Pénzverde* 2 and 4, n. 12.

<sup>940</sup> Principally the western part of the church was erected under Sigismund's reign. SCHMIDT, *Bécs* 256.

<sup>941</sup> MAJOROSSY, *Pozsonyi elit*. On the town hall see also MAJOROSSY, *Judge's House* 163.

considered these changes related to the presence of the royal court as “short-term residential tendencies.”<sup>942</sup> Such trends re-emerged later under King Matthias’ reign when the town got the right to seal with red wax (1459) and the king founded Hungary’s third university here (*Academia Istropolitana*, 1467). Nonetheless, in the second half of the fifteenth century Pressburg did not play the same residential role as in Sigismund’s time. After the battle of Mohács (1526) the town served as refugee for Queen Maria and it became a “provisory capital city” (*locus autem administrationis Regni donec Deo auspice regnum recuperabitur*).<sup>943</sup>

It seems that in the 1420s the Sigismund-administration tried to assign also Nuremberg a stable central function.<sup>944</sup> Peter Moraw pointed out that besides the dynastic residences (*Hausmachtsresidenzen*) one of the king friendly imperial cities usually served as a further center of a somewhat different character but with similarly important functions. For most of the time this city was Nuremberg, then under Maximilian Augsburg.<sup>945</sup> Also Paul-Joachim Heinig characterized late medieval Nuremberg along these lines as the “perhaps most important city,” the “secret capital” of the Empire; by the fifteenth-century a political, communication and financial center.<sup>946</sup> Both Louis IV (the Bavarian) and Charles IV favored Nuremberg and came often here: the former seventy-four, the latter fifty-nine times.<sup>947</sup> Charles called it the “noblest and best located town of the Empire” (*furnemste und basz gelegiste Stat des Reichs*)<sup>948</sup> and in the Golden Bull of 1356 the town got the right to host the first imperial diet after the election of the new German king (*in opido Nuremberg prima sua [regis Romanorum futuri imperatoris] regalis curia haberetur*)<sup>949</sup>. Unlike Charles and Wenceslas, Rupert did not make members or groups of the upper middle-class (*großbürgerliche Verbände*) an “institutionally” integrated part of his administrative apparatus but he strongly relied on the city Nuremberg as a political partner.<sup>950</sup> The Nurembergers contacted also Sigismund soon after his election and sent envoys to Hungary: in the autumn of 1411 Peter Haller, Jacob Grolant and Sebold Pfinzing, in the spring of 1412 Albrecht Fleischmann, Erhard Schürstab and Sebold Pfinzig turned up at the royal court.<sup>951</sup> Although in 1414–1419 Sigismund visited Nuremberg only once (on his way to Aachen), between 1410 and 1437 he spent a total of 238<sup>952</sup> days here, which is

<sup>942</sup> MAJOROSSY, Pozsonyi elit 190.

<sup>943</sup> DEÁK, *Zentralfunktionen* 163–172; SZENDE, Maria.

<sup>944</sup> HOENSCH, *Itinerar* 9–10.

<sup>945</sup> JESERICH–POHL–UNRUH (eds.), *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte* I. 34.

<sup>946</sup> HEINIG, *Reichsstädte* 18, 21, 188. On financial aspects STROMER, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz*; Nuremberg as communication center SPORHAN-KREMPPEL, *Nürnberg*; POLÍVKA, *Nürnberg*; HOFMANN, *Raumfunktion*.

<sup>947</sup> GOETZ, *Nürnberg* 12.

<sup>948</sup> *Mon. Zoll.* IV. 106–107, nr. 95

<sup>949</sup> FRITZ (ed.), *Goldene Bulle* 87, c. 29, 1.

<sup>950</sup> MORAW, *König, Reich* 814.

<sup>951</sup> RI XI/121a, 206a.

<sup>952</sup> HEINIG, *Reichsstädte* 188: 223 days.

the third longest period after the council-cities of Constance and Basel.<sup>953</sup> In the 1420s and 1430s the Imperial Diet met seven times (1421,<sup>954</sup> 1422, 1426, 1430, 1431 and twice in 1438) in the city; thus, besides playing a leading role in financing the kingdom Nuremberg became also a political center. Under Sigismund's reign Frankfurt, Mainz and Regensburg did not back the kingdom with loans and presents any more, Strasbourg and Cologne did it only for a short while.<sup>955</sup> Nuremberg, on the other hand, was always ready to support the ruler, even without direct rewards. In 1414 the king received presents in value of 1000 fl. (and Queen Barbara for 400 fl.), in 1422 for 800 and 400 fl., in 1430, when his stay cost the city 11 815 fl., for 900 fl.<sup>956</sup> Sigismund, of course, compensated the town with privileges: in total he issued forty-two confirmations and thirty-three times he conferred new rights.<sup>957</sup> On 29<sup>th</sup> September 1423 he gave the right to hold a yearly market (*Handelsmesse*) of 14 days in spring starting on the feast of the Holy Lance, and this privilege was confirmed on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1424. In 1431 the market received the status of an imperial market (*Reichsmesse*) and its length was extended to 24 days – which, of course, resulted in tensions first of all with Frankfurt.<sup>958</sup> Besides, with the same charter issued on 29<sup>th</sup> September 1423 Sigismund ordered to bring imperial insignia from Karlstein (castle of Karlštejn in Bohemia) to Nuremberg to be safeguarded here “for ever, irretrievably and indisputably.” Due to the Hussite wars these could not stay in Bohemia and Sigismund's decision for Nuremberg was again a reward for the city's financial and political support.<sup>959</sup> Via Visegrád and Buda the insignia finally arrived in the city on 24<sup>th</sup> February 1424 and from then on they were presented to the public every year on the feast of the Holy Lance.<sup>960</sup>

Also the burghers of Nuremberg appeared at the royal court soon. Albert Fleischmann was officially proto-notary at the imperial chancery, in fact rather Sigismund's diplomat,<sup>961</sup> Sigismund Stromer became royal servant (*Hofgesinde*) in 1425 and five patricians were dubbed knight in 1433.<sup>962</sup> It must be noted, however, that the presence of Nurembergers around Sigismund was not a

<sup>953</sup> On Sigismund's arrival in Nürnberg in 1414 RTA VII. 214–222, nr. 151-155; *Chron. Nürnberg* III. 337–348. In 1431 Sigismund stayed in Nuremberg between February and May and then between June and September.

<sup>954</sup> Sigismund was not present.

<sup>955</sup> HEINIG, *Reichsstädte* 112–124. Ulm and Augsburg were not active in this sense either under Sigismund's predecessors.

<sup>956</sup> HEINIG, *Reichsstädte* 122–124, 216–221. The present given by the city of Aachen to Sigismund and Barbara RTA VII. 250, nr. 171.

<sup>957</sup> KAMMEL, *Sigismund und Nürnberg* 480. Nevertheless, in April 1412 Nuremberg paid 2000 gulden for the confirmation of their privileges (RTA VII. 166–169, nr. 121, here p. 168–169.), though this money went to the chancery personnel and not to Sigismund (KOLLER, *Reformpolitik* 19).

<sup>958</sup> SCHNELBÖGL, *Reichskleinodien* 131.

<sup>959</sup> SCHNELBÖGL, *Reichskleinodien* 90–91.

<sup>960</sup> RI XI/5619. On the feast SCHNELBÖGL, *Reichskleinodien* 106–129. For parallels OPAČIĆ, *Architecture*.

<sup>961</sup> RI XI/121. See n. 304.

<sup>962</sup> KAMMEL, *Sigismund und Nürnberg*.

new phenomenon as the administration of the Hungarian mining and minting chambers had been in the hands of Nuremberg companies (Kammerer-Seiler and Flextorfer-Zenner) for quite a while, and Ulrich Kammerer as well as Marc of Nuremberg occupied leading financial posts in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>963</sup>

The analyses conducted in chapters III and IV revealed that the spatial conditions of ruling influenced the development of the administrative system but also the main characteristic features of the latter affected where governmental-administrative acts could take place. The spatial characteristics of Sigismund's governmental administration can be summarized in four points. 1. With regard to the Kingdom of Hungary the fact that the functioning of (most of) the curial administrative bodies was independent from the person of the king resulted in spatial stability. In the time of the Angevin kings and at the beginning of Sigismund's rule Visegrád, from the middle of the 1410s Buda was a firm and established royal administrative center. 2. In the late-medieval Holy Roman Empire the central administration was attached to the king's person, in a spatial sense to the ruler's dynastic-royal residence. Since Sigismund did not have a territorial base in the realm and most of the time he was on the move, in his case the central institutions were operating at the travelling court. The settlements recorded in his German itinerary provided a temporary physical space for the administration but they did not obtain any long-lasting central administrative or royal residential character. 3. Nonetheless, due to the considerably increased amount administrative issues and related documents, and because most of the dignitaries and officials did not leave the territory of the Empire such a travelling administration was hardly manageable. As an alternative solution from the 1420s Sigismund apparently tried to rely on Nuremberg, the "secret capital" (Heinig) of the Empire, and took measures which, on a long term, could have contributed to making the city a stable, "non-dynastic" imperial center. 4. Finally, from the late 1420s he spent more and more time in Pressburg where i.a. also the castle was gradually transformed to a royal residential palace. This decision must have been motivated by practical political-administrative considerations: Pressburg, located by the river Danube, was the westernmost town in Hungary, from where Sigismund could reach the other parts of his multiple kingdom, i.e. Bohemia and the Empire rather quickly and easily.

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<sup>963</sup> STROMER, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz* 90–154; GYÖNGYÖSSY, *Gazdag föld* 257–259; ARANY, *Florentine Families* 43–56, 109–117; DRASKÓCZY, *Commercial Contacts*. Nuremberg played an important role in Buda becoming an international trading center KUBINYI, *Magyarországi városhálózat* 49–50.



**Image 14: Charlemagne and Sigismund**

Panel paintings by Albrecht Dürer (1512) ordered by the city council of Nuremberg for the Treasure Chamber in the Schopper House where the imperial regalia were kept the night before they went on ceremonial display on the feast of the Holy Lance.

## V. Conclusion: Sigismund's Rule and his Multiple Kingdom

“How successful a medieval ruler has to be?”<sup>964</sup> Oliver Auge searched the answer to this question in an article written on King Rupert and his rule. Besides referring to scholarly opinions of German historiography he focused on three aspects and studied how Rupert's activity can be evaluated as a Wittelsbach, as count palatine and as King of the Romans. Applying these research principles on Sigismund, his deeds should be rated from the point of the Luxembourg dynasty, the Kingdom of Hungary, the Holy Roman Empire and Bohemia. Nonetheless, based on the results of investigations conducted in the framework of this thesis dealing with only ten years of Sigismund's rule such a general picture cannot be presented here. It is possible, however, to appraise Sigismund's first decade as King of Hungary and King of the Romans. How successful was he in “wearing two hats,” did he manage to meet or eliminate the challenges of ruling and administering two realms? What were the elements which can be considered as achievements and what were his failures in the first ten years of this personal union? In other words, was he really so overwhelmed with the tasks as usually suggested by both German and Hungarian historiographies?

The first part of this concluding chapter deals with these questions by lining up the conclusions around the dichotomies of dynastic-universal and medieval-modern. (Ch.V.1.) The second part touches upon political theory insofar as it summarizes the most important features of this personal union. For reasons explained below I did not focus on questions whether and to what extent the one or the other realm or Sigismund's composite monarchy as a whole fit to the trends of – western – state development, if the Holy Roman Empire should be considered as a powerless and impotent *monstrum*, a *Sonderweg*, or certain social-political institutions characteristic of the Kingdom of Hungary (or other lands of East-central Europe) as “degenerated edition” of a specific western model.<sup>965</sup> Based on the results of the previous chapters the last part highlights those points where the two systems met in terms of functioning and discloses how the two parts of this multiple kingdom influenced each other. (Ch. V.2.)

### V.1. Dynastic or Universal, Medieval or Modern?

The first question to be analyzed here is whether or to what extent Sigismund's political aims and decisions were motivated by dynastic interests and how his success in acquiring the German crown influenced or changed his political targets. With regard to the Polish-Teutonic conflict Sabine

<sup>964</sup> AUGE, Ruprecht.

<sup>965</sup> SZÜCS, Vázlat 61–62.

Wefers said that at least until August 1411 Sigismund's decisions and diplomatic steps were determined by the Luxembourg family interests competing with that of the Jagellonians.<sup>966</sup> Martin Kintzinger, on the other hand, could not identify strong dynastical elements in Sigismund's politics<sup>967</sup> and neither did Pál Engel when he studied the characteristics of Sigismund's rule. The Balkans and the Ottoman advance, Bohemia and the Hussite problem or Western Europe alternately stood in the focus of Sigismund's politics.<sup>968</sup>

Dynastic policy in general aimed at preserving and passing on the family's possessions to the descendants intact and, if possible, augmented.<sup>969</sup> This aim could be achieved either by dynastic marriages or by wars. Unlike most of his contemporaries Charles IV, Sigismund's father realized the opportunity offered by family ties and marriage contracts: during his reign he developed twenty-nine marriage plans with which he intended to strengthen the Luxembourg positions in East-Central-Europe, i.e. in Poland and in Hungary.<sup>970</sup> It is not by accident that none of Charles' predecessors left such a huge complex of territories to his successors as he did.<sup>971</sup> In this regard, however, Sigismund had a very limited sphere of action. His first wife, Mary of Anjou died in a horse accident while being pregnant, and from his second marriage with Barbara of Cilli only a daughter, Elisabeth was born. Sigismund's military campaigns were not entirely successful either, in most cases he could be happy when he could take control of (Bohemia) or did not lose (Dalmatia, Friaul) the territories he was entitled to.

In one respect, however, Sigismund's way of ruling can be labelled as dynastic. Medieval as well as early modern monarchs thought of their lands as their own possession and acted as their owners.<sup>972</sup> This view manifested not only in marriage contracts but also in succession matters, dynastic wars or pledgings. Although this feature of governing is considered to be the characteristic of Western-European dynastic states of the early modern period, in my opinion, it was a basic principle of politics in the high and later middle ages all over Europe. Talking about Sigismund an example of this attitude is how he was dealing with the issue of inheritance regarding the Kingdom of Hungary. As Wenceslas complained (according to Windecke):

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<sup>966</sup> WEFERS, *Das politische System* 28 -29.

<sup>967</sup> KINTZIGER, *Hausmachtspolitik* 41.

<sup>968</sup> ENGEL, *Travelling King* 94–100.

<sup>969</sup> VAN CAENEGEM, *Historical Introduction* 77.

<sup>970</sup> VELDTRUP, *Eherecht* 13.

<sup>971</sup> HOENSCH, *Die Luxemburger* 174.

<sup>972</sup> SASHALMI, *Államfejlődés* 100, 102. C.f. with REYNOLDS, *Kingdoms* 325: "Although in much discourse king and kingdom were undifferentiated and although boundary between public and private interest and property was not always drawn consistently, nevertheless some people were capable to make distinction between king and kingdom, private profit and public welfare. ... Even before the tenth century kings had on occasion distinguished their family inheritance from royal office."



On our first journey our brother the King of Hungary ensured us that we were going to inherit the Kingdom of Hungary and he issued a document about that. Somewhat later he gave the very same kingdom to our cousin and prince, the Margrave Jobst of Moravia; seventy lords put their seal on the charter. And just now he promised this realm to our uncle and prince, Duke Albert of Austria, Styria etc.<sup>973</sup>

Similarly, there were no traces of consultation when he agreed on the borders of Austria and Hungary with Albert IV or decided over Elisabeth's betrothal with Albert V.<sup>974</sup> Besides, although the Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary formed two separate entities in administrative, structural and political sense, there are examples of pledging estates in one realm to subjects of the other, as it happened in the case of Frederick of Nuremberg who received i.a. the castles of Pressburg and Komárom, the town of Tata etc. in July 1410.<sup>975</sup> Every now and then Sigismund granted imperial coats of arms to Hungarian subjects<sup>976</sup> and at the beginning of his German kingship members of the Hungarian aula received imperial positions: Kanizsai and Esztergomi at the imperial chancery, Stibor, Pipo, Nicholas Marcali and John Maróti in Friuli.<sup>977</sup> Vice versa, George Hohenlohe became the administrator of the archbishopric of Esztergom in 1418 without any problems.<sup>978</sup> It is hardly surprising that most probably the Hungarian gold mines provided the raw material for Sigismund's imperial monetary reform starting in 1418.<sup>979</sup>

Although for the question of dynastic ruling it would be extremely informative how the financial resources were managed, such conclusions are impossible to be drawn since it cannot be said from which incomes exactly which expenditures were paid. Pledging charters and documents of loans, for instance, do not give clear indication whether these sums of money were meant to

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<sup>973</sup> *Ouch an der ersten reise do glopt uns unser bruder konig von Ungern das konigrich von Ungern, das erbelich uf uns solte gefallen, daruf er uns sinen gûten brief geben hat. Und darnoch zu hant so hat er das selbe konigrich verschriben unserm vetter und fursten marggrofen Jost zu Merhern und das vermacht mit sübenzig herren ingesigelen. Und aber ietzunt hat er das selbe konigriche unserm öheim und fürsten herzig Albrecht herzoug zu Östenrich zu Stier etc verschriben.* WINDECKE, *Denkwürdigkeiten* 58, c. 64. ZsO II/1 1833, 1895, 1900, 1917, 1937. Hungary's prelates, barons, nobles and towns confirmed on Albert's succession on 21<sup>st</sup> September 1402. On the charter there are 112 seals, the text has recently been edited by Péter Kóta in LÖVEL, *Pecsétek* 156–157.

<sup>974</sup> ZsO III/1023, 1030. *In dem selben jore, als man zalt tusent 411 jor vor sant Michels tag, do was [zu Ofen] konig Sigemint unde burggrofe Fridrich von Nüremberg und herzog Ernst von Osterich und herzog Albrecht von Österich der jung, der was wol bi sin 14 jorn, und der grofe von Maideburg, item Rûprecht von Walsee, her Hans von Missen, item Hartnit von Bottendorf, item her Cristoffel von Liechtenstein. Do wart herzog Albrecht des koniges Sigemondus dochter zü der ee geben und gelopt. Und wart her Rûprecht von Walsen dem herzogen con dem konige zu eime fürmonder geben: daz verdroß herzog Ernst gar sere.* WINDECKE, *Denkwürdigkeiten* 23, c. 24.

<sup>975</sup> *Mon. Zoll.* VI. 618–619, nr. 561. *Viginti milia florenum auri puri eidem de fisci nostri regalis ... assignanda deputavimus ... Et volentes eundem de rehibicione ipsorum viginti millium florenorum auri indubium reddere et utique certificare civitatem et castrum Posoniense, item castra Komarom, Geztes et Vytan, nec non opida Nezmeel et Tata ac locum venacionis nostre Gerencher vocatum cum ipsius pertinentiis (etc.) ... duximus obligandum.*

<sup>976</sup> To Anton Somkerekí in 1415 (MNL OL DL 104 871; *Mon. Herald.* I. 37–38, nr. 3), to Stephan Kólkedí in 1429 (MNL OL DL 50 521, *Mon. Herald.* II. 39–40, nr. 11.) and to John and Anton Básznai in 1434 (MNL OL DF 202553, *Mon. Herald.* II. 47–48, nr. 15.)

<sup>977</sup> Stibor and Pipo (besides Frederick of Ortenburg) in November 1411, Marcali and Maróti in May 1412.

<sup>978</sup> C. TÓTH, Esztergom; SCHWEDLER, Hohenlohe.

<sup>979</sup> REINERT, *Reichsprägung* 173.

satisfy the king's personal or the/a country's needs; in fact, the two possible "beneficiaries" always appear together in these sources (*nostris et regni nostri arduis agendis* or *pro arduis nostris et regni nostri negotiis*).<sup>980</sup> Nevertheless, it seems that in general the regular royal revenues of a given land were usually spent to the administration of the very land and direct cross-financing between the Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary was not even exceptionally practiced. It is true, however, that Sigismund did not make a distinction from where he paid his debts or covered the expenses of magnates or dignitaries: that is how Frederick of Nuremberg became the pledgee of Komárom and his brother John received imperial taxes as a compensation for his military services in Hungary.<sup>981</sup> Nevertheless, in this respect Sigismund's finances definitely require further research.

Sigismund knew how to impress people around him with his profound knowledge, language skills (he fluently spoke seven languages) and eloquence. It cannot be argued that he had the talent and apparently also the enthusiasm for diplomacy; mediating, negotiating or searching for solutions seem not to have been straining to him at all, especially when it was about "large-scale" diplomatic projects. As Jörg K. Hoensch wrote, he was resolute to enhance his *splendor* by devoting himself to great issues which concerned the western Christendom as a whole.<sup>982</sup> He took the tasks and duties related to the *officium imperiale* very seriously and, at least for a while, he indeed managed to stop the weakening of royal power and restore the prestige of the Empire.<sup>983</sup>

The German kingship practically meant the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, and the concept of the empire<sup>984</sup> in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries comprised the idea of universalism. By bringing the legal, theological and philosophical traditions together Dante "produced a theory of universal imperial rule" in his *De monarchia* already around 1310, and this work had a long-lasting influence on western political thought.<sup>985</sup> Thanks to his tutor Niccolò Beccari and his relations to Italian humanists<sup>986</sup> Sigismund must have been familiar with these ideas, although it is doubtful whether he really thought of himself as a universal lord, a true *dominus mundi*. Sándor Csernus interpreted his stay in Paris as a manifestation of imperial universalism<sup>987</sup> and Sigismund's concerns about the western schism or the union of the Orthodox and Latin Churches indeed point to this

<sup>980</sup> Recently on pledgings see INCZE, War from loan.

<sup>981</sup> ZsO II/7784; RI XI/1905.

<sup>982</sup> HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 503.

<sup>983</sup> HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 524.

<sup>984</sup> Since the twelfth century "the Empire of the Roman law and medieval political thought" was the Holy Roman Empire. While the papacy and the canon lawyers saw the empire "as an office within the Church, a tool to be employed in the service of spiritual power," the imperial side considered it "as a political institution that did not obtain its legitimacy from the papacy." MULDOON, Empire 86, 142.

<sup>985</sup> MULDOON, Empire 90–93. See also FOLZ, Empire 145–161.

<sup>986</sup> HOENSCH, Kaiser Sigismund 36; PAPO, L'umanesimo 29–38. On Sigismund's library FRAKNÓI, Bibliotheca 88–89, n. 7.

<sup>987</sup> CSERNUS, Francia források. Peter Haldén understood universalism as "the idea that an order can, could or ought to, in a normative sense, be extended to cover the entire world or the theological cosmos." HALDÉN, Empire 282.

direction. In his book on the reform of the Empire Heinz Angermeier noted that by the fifteenth century the “national” and dynastic aspirations connected to the imperial rule diminished and the emperorship was understood as a supranational “institution” of Christendom as a whole.<sup>988</sup> Nevertheless, many issues which could be and were labelled as efforts aiming at safeguarding the welfare of western Christianity (e.g. Ottoman or Hussite wars) had also a practical side and thus a “double,” universal and current political character. Thus, in Sigismund’s case dynastic and universal were not competing or mutually exclusive but complementary attitudes, they could exist together without any problems. As Susan Reynolds pointed out: “Governments then often tried to assimilate the public good to governmental interest and governmental interest to the private interest of the rulers.”<sup>989</sup>

It is similarly difficult to appraise Sigismund’s politics and means of governing as clearly medieval or modern. To start with, there is no doubt, in his way of thinking and behavior Sigismund was strongly influenced by medieval traditions. He was educated according to chivalric values and ideas, he admired Alexander the Great and King Ladislaus of Hungary, he thought of his father Charles IV and father-in-law Louis of Anjou as ideals to be followed.<sup>990</sup> Nevertheless, being an intelligent and open-minded monarch he did not hold himself aloof from novelties and innovations, which made it possible that occasionally “modern” elements appeared in the administrative-governmental system of the time. When talking about a “modern governmental system” or “modern administration” as opposed to medieval scholars usually refer to professional and specialized bureaucracy with officials of lay and middle-class (burgher) origin on the one hand, centralization on the other. Of course, it cannot be said that the Sigismund-administration was modern in its character but signs of such a tendency could be identified. The “modernization” of record keeping at the chancery was first fostered by Johannes Kirchen (1417) then by Caspar Schlick (1433), while Conrad of Weinsberg tried to make the financial administration more effective.<sup>991</sup> Also Sigismund’s imperial monetary policy, both in technical and iconographic sense, aimed at centralization and standardization.<sup>992</sup> Having a look at the appointment of chancellors and vice-chancellors we also witness a change – even though not in the 1410s but two decades later. Up to the 1430s Sigismund’s chancellors (Eberhard of Alben, John Kanizsai, George of Hohenlohe, John of Alben) were nominal heads of the writing organs, while the vice-chancellors steered the real work. In 1433,

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<sup>988</sup> ANGERMEIER, *Reichsreform* 53.

<sup>989</sup> REYNOLDS, *Kingdoms* 325.

<sup>990</sup> HOENSCH, *Kaiser Sigismund* 37, 489, 503.

<sup>991</sup> KOLLER, *Reformpläne* 71; KOLLER, *Registerführung* 170–173. Nevertheless, until the death of Emperor Frederick III such efforts were isolated, not parts of a general reform. *Ibid.* 175.

<sup>992</sup> REINERT, *Reichsprägung*.

however, the two vice-chancellors Matthias Gatalóczi and Caspar Schlick became chancellors which clearly pointed to the direction of professional bureaucratization. Besides, officials of lay and middle-class origin appeared in the central administration: Emmerich Perényi and Caspar Schlick became the first lay chancellors, whereas Perényi's vice George Késmárki was not only of middle-class origin but also *baccalaureus in artibus*.<sup>993</sup> Similarly, the notaries of the *Hofgericht* between 1350 and 1450 represented the burgher element in the noble environment of the royal court, had close contacts with south-German cities and some of them pursued studies.<sup>994</sup>

Learned jurists, who started to play a decisive role at judicial courts in the fourteenth century, gradually became involved in governmental administration<sup>995</sup> and diplomacy. Unlike in the fourteenth century when “important embassies were always led by a pre-eminent individual, prelate or a high-ranking noble” in the fifteenth “there was inevitably an increasing preponderance of specialists, of businessmen and above all of lawyers.”<sup>996</sup> As examples Benedict Makrai or Ottobono Belloni can be mentioned: Makrai was involved in settling the dispute between Poland and the Teutonic Order, while Ottobono Belloni was usually sent to Aragon to King Ferdinand with Michael Kusalyi Jakcs.<sup>997</sup> On 16<sup>th</sup> February 1416 the latter were appointed as Sigismund's plenipotentiaries and procurators.<sup>998</sup> Talking about office-holders and officials in general, János Bak's observation made in connection with Matthias Corvinus' rule is also valid for Sigismund's time: “The clerks and legal practitioners whose numbers increased under Matthias Corvinus and his Jagello successors, and whose *relationes* appear even more frequently on the documents were different from the old type aristocratic council members but hardly civil servants in any Renaissance or modern sense.”<sup>999</sup> He also noted that the chamber and treasury were the least medieval-feudal in their nature, even though the structure of royal incomes was archaic.<sup>1000</sup> The active participation of professional businessmen of Italian or south-German origin in financial affairs was not a new phenomenon of the Sigismund-era, already in the last decades of the fourteenth century they played a dominant role in regnal financial politics – in Hungary as well as in Central-Europe in general.<sup>1001</sup>

<sup>993</sup> C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 45, 61, 62.

<sup>994</sup> The first *Hofgerichtsnotar* of middle-class origin was John Kirchen.

<sup>995</sup> MORAW, *Gelehrte Juristen* 107–118; BÓNIS, *Jogtudó*. Nevertheless, this trend is not discernable at the *Hofkanzlei*, MORAW, *Gelehrte Juristen* 111–113.

<sup>996</sup> GUENÉE, *States and Rulers* 145–146. On envoys and embassies see also DALDRUP, *Zwischen König und Reich*.

<sup>997</sup> ZsO V/904, 988, 1391, 1419. On 1st September 1415 also Archdeacon Thomas of Hont, *decretorum doctor*.

<sup>998</sup> ZsO V/1546.

<sup>999</sup> BAK, *Matthias Corvinus* 342.

<sup>1000</sup> BAK, *Matthias Corvinus* 344; BAK, *Monarchie*.

<sup>1001</sup> Recently ARANY, *Florentine Families*.

During Sigismund's reign some of the late medieval judicial and administrative bodies made their first steps on the way of becoming offices in a modern sense. Peter Moraw referred to the *Hofgericht* ("an island with elements of early bureaucratization") and its chancery as institutions in the functioning of which both "medieval elements and modern features" could be identified,<sup>1002</sup> while György Bónis pointed out that from the early fifteenth century the *personalis presentia regia* started to lose its exclusively aristocratic character. Originally it was a forum where the king and the magnates passed sentence but from 1409 on there are evidences that vice-chancellors, proto-notaries and "*legis et iuris periti viri*" took part in sessions.<sup>1003</sup> The setting up of the office of fiscal procurator in the Holy Roman Empire was a step taken towards the departmental specialization of jurisdiction,<sup>1004</sup> and the royal council, the closest advisory body around Sigismund also lost its princely-baronial character – as demonstrated in Ch. III.1.1.2. and III.2.2. Lower-ranked nobility and courtiers took part in its everyday work and from time to time experts were invited to consult in financial or diplomatic matters. As for the financial administration Heinrich Koller pointed out that in the time of Conrad of Weinsberg the royal chamber was not mobile any more but resided at the chamberlain's seat.<sup>1005</sup>

Efforts taken towards centralization are less visible. In an administrative sense the term "centralization" refers to the growing dominance of the central authority over local administration,<sup>1006</sup> and if we accept Guenée's opinion, according to which "the ruler's power depended primarily on the activities of the central administration,"<sup>1007</sup> this aspect was crucial for successful ruling. In the Kingdom of Hungary the need for (further) centralization was not really an issue in Sigismund's time. The curial institutions were effective and loyal in operating even without the ruler at centers related to the royal power, i.e. at the royal residence (Visegrád) or in the capital (Buda). What can be seen in Hungary, however, is that by the end of Sigismund's rule the territorial governmental-administrative offices were concentrated in the hands of a few baronial families: besides Queen Barbara the Rozgonyi, the Csáki and the Tallóci family managed to create an established system of *dominia*.<sup>1008</sup>

In the Holy Roman Empire the structural problems (*Kontinuitäts-* and *Koherenzproblem*) blocked the development of a central administration independent from the very person of the ruler.

<sup>1002</sup> MORAW, Noch einmal 104–107; MORAW, Königliche Herrschaft 200.

<sup>1003</sup> BÓNIS, Jogtudó 146–147.

<sup>1004</sup> HEINIG, Gelehrte Juristen 172.

<sup>1005</sup> KOLLER, Reformpläne 71.

<sup>1006</sup> "Centralization" can also refer to "unification and the reduction of local sovereignties." Bak, Matthias Corvinus 346.

<sup>1007</sup> GUENÉE, States and Rulers 132.

<sup>1008</sup> ENGEL, Királyi hatalom 65.

The new monarchs had to set up their own royal administration each and every time (although there were personal continuities between the administrative systems) which was then functioning at their dynastical seat of residence. The difference between the two kingdoms is visible if we consider that while in Hungary even the baronial government of 1402 used the central royal administrative institutions (only that they made a new seal), in the Holy Roman Empire the vicars did not take control over the institutions of the royal administration at times of interregnum or ruler's absence but they relied on their own administrative resources. Although in practice this imperial system definitely caused difficulties – especially when taking over the tasks from the previous “team” –, in general it did not block the functioning of governmental administration. For Sigismund, however, it became a heavy drawback. The increasing number of documents issued and preserved by administrative bodies gradually prevented them from accompanying the ruler on the continual journeying, so they stayed behind at the royal residence.<sup>1009</sup> Nonetheless, Sigismund did not have a territorial basis or permanent seat in the Empire as a consequence of which he – unlike his predecessors – was forced to strive for the establishment of a firmly located imperial center independent from any *Hausmacht*-territory. The strengthening of Nuremberg's position pointed to this direction. Besides, the mobile character of his reign could have fostered the establishment of an administration operating effectively also without the active participation of the ruler. In my opinion, the foregrounding of the *Kammergericht* as main forum of the king's personal jurisdiction could have helped to transform the *Hofgericht* into an independently functioning central judicial court or to strengthen features of this kind. Yet, in the end nothing like that came to existence. Should it be considered as Sigismund's failure?

Heinz Angermeier in his book on the reform of the Empire sketches a very positive picture of Sigismund. He talks about him as initiator and considers his reign the beginning of the reform era – even if the ruler's efforts remained practically fruitless.<sup>1010</sup> Although I would argue his statement according to which “the idea of the reform was already present when Sigismund came to power,”<sup>1011</sup> in general his conclusions resonate with my observations that the Luxembourg ruler was indeed aware of problems related to government and administration and he was striving to find solutions. Heinrich Koller sees Sigismund's role somewhat differently and emphasizes that although Sigismund was open to calls for reform, “in the first years of his rule he tried to restore old

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<sup>1009</sup> Bernhard Guenée as well as Oliver Auge and Karl-Heinz Spiess pointed out: “The later medieval ruler was still itinerant, his administration was not.” GUENÉE, *States and Rulers* 129; “Im Spätmittelalter setzte er [der Hof] sich dann mehr und mehr an den entstehenden Residenzen fest, wiewohl der Herrscher weiterhin, wenn auch in eingeschränkterem Maße, mobil blieb.” AUGE–SPIESS, *Hof und Herrscher* 6.

<sup>1010</sup> ANGERMEIER, *Reichsreform* 26, 35–36, 55–84.

<sup>1011</sup> ANGERMEIER, *Reichsreform* 69–70.

routines, revive practices of the Stauffer period and, above all, to use his father's governmental techniques in the correct manner."<sup>1012</sup> It must be noted, however, that these intentions in fact corresponded to the medieval notion of reform, as the word *reformare* was understood in the sense of "resuming the original form, restoring or re-establishing the earlier state of things."<sup>1013</sup>

The urgent need of changes was also discussed in works of political theory including the so-called *Reformatio Sigismundi*.<sup>1014</sup> It was compiled after Sigismund's death, most probably in 1439 in Basel, but "it is possible that the *Reformatio Sigismundi* indeed aimed at presenting the Emperor's plans or it even does so."<sup>1015</sup> Moreover, the anonymous author of the *Reformatio* apparently knew John Schele's tractate written around 1436, who was definitely familiar with the Emperor's ideas.<sup>1016</sup> Such tractates and works of political theory prove that the reform of the Empire is not only a modern scholarly concept but the contemporaries also saw the need, discussed possibilities and evaluated means and measures. They are collections of reform ideas of certain periods or groups but, as Angermeier noted, they never present the real state of the reform.<sup>1017</sup> Therefore, an issue which is worth further investigation but exceed the frames of the present thesis is the relation between political theory and political reality.<sup>1018</sup>

## V.2. Two Crowns – Sigismund's Multiple Kingdom

The administrative-governmental features and measures mentioned above can indeed be seen as steps contributing to specialization, professionalization and bureaucratization as a result of which medieval-feudal structures started to vanish. One important point, however, must be made here. Even though the need of a sweeping reform was an important theme of fifteenth-century political discussions, the concrete measures and changes mentioned above were not motivated by some spirit or will aiming at abstract notion of modernization but by the practical needs of the royal power: it was crucial to improve the efficiency of the governmental administration, to find supporters other than the traditional feudal-baronial elite or to get money in all possible ways. Under the given circumstances it was a practical must to take these concrete steps and enforce changes which then

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<sup>1012</sup> KOLLER, Reformpolitik 25.

<sup>1013</sup> ANGERMEIER, Reichsreform 22.

<sup>1014</sup> ANGERMEIER, Reichsreform 84–99.

<sup>1015</sup> KOLLER, (ed.), Reformatio 7.

<sup>1016</sup> KOLLER, Reformpolitik 15, 21–22.

<sup>1017</sup> ANGERMEIER, Reichsreform 90, 97–98.

<sup>1018</sup> In the frameworks of such a research Sigismund's entire rule needs to be studied, especially because he apparently dedicated himself to reforms with greater eagerness only after his imperial coronation. ANGERMEIER, Reichsreform 70–84.

proved to be functioning on a long term – and so they became integrated elements of later polities labelled by scholars as “modern states.”

I would like to emphasize this because I am convinced that models and theories can indeed contribute to the understanding, sometimes even to the reconstructing historical reality.” They can help scholars understand the reasons behind the existence or non-existence of certain phenomena referred to in or missing from the sources and in certain cases they facilitate revealing or correcting failures of interpretation. Nevertheless, these models should not be trusted unreservedly. On the one hand, “most narratives and theories of the shift from medieval to modern outline linear histories of no return” and research often tends to project modern state backwards into history.<sup>1019</sup> Obviously neither Sigismund nor any other ruler or representative body took concrete steps with the intention of creating a new type of order (e.g. the “modern state”) but it happened the other way around: a series of answers given to existing problems and challenges led to the change of the system. Therefore, I believe, it is mistaken to leave these direct and very concrete causes out of consideration when explaining the history of Europe in terms of state building – and exactly this is the second weakness of numerous models. In most cases theory is strictly separated from the “practical side” and “concrete form” of its research objects. For instance, terms and characterizations – centralized government, professionalization, bureaucratization etc. – of works dealing with one or another aspect of European state formation are hardly ever confronted with the sometimes in greater, sometimes in lesser number but still existing evidences of political-administrative “reality” of the time. “First-hand” archival documents produced by the very objects of the research are completely missing from these studies. Moreover, apart from this rift between “political ideas and political reality”<sup>1020</sup> the “disregard” of the praxis and reality appears on a second level, too. As Susan Reynolds wrote,

medieval political thought is generally studied only, or largely, through the works of systematic and academic writers. ... Political thought is not, however, the prerogative of political philosophers, jurists, or theologians. Kings, barons, and even commoners, as human beings thought too, though less systematically. ... To understand the ideas which informed lay collective activities we need to look not at treatises written by intellectuals but at records of law-suits, at charters and chronicles, and at all the other documents in which the activities themselves were recorded. These were written by clerks, and most chronicles, for instance,

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<sup>1019</sup> HALDÉN, *Empire* 281–282.

<sup>1020</sup> A colloquium held in Göttingen in 1996 aimed at exploring “the interface between political ideas and political reality in the Middle Ages.” The organizers also pointed out that the “theme, because it lay on the borderlands between theory and praxis, provided the participants (who were both historians and political scientists) with particularly difficult questions. ... The papers given and the accompanying discussions showed the fruitfulness of this approach.” CANNING–OEXLE (eds.), *Political Thought* 7.



were written by monks ... but nevertheless they were observers of the lay scene and were much closer to it than were most of the treatise-writers.<sup>1021</sup>

Such a one-sided approach can easily lead to oversimplified if not biased conclusions.<sup>1022</sup> It is not by accident that with regard to the late-medieval political-governmental system of the Holy Roman Empire Peter Moraw argued for the equal consideration of the abstract and the concrete, of the classification and the objects to be classified, Sabine Wefers for a method proceeding from the concrete towards the abstract without determining the features to be looked for in advance.<sup>1023</sup> In my research I tried to move along these lines with the intent of placing the results of my analytical investigations into a wider, theoretical context at the end of the study. In spite of this, in this last subchapter I am not going to search for an answer to the question whether or how Sigismund's realms and his personal union fit into the "model" of European state building and that for a very plausible reason. At present models of European state formation are models of western state development concentrating on England and France, taking only occasionally Scandinavia, the Iberian peninsula and the Holy Roman Empire into consideration. Other parts of the continent do not appear in the analyses at all. Thus, for the moment such an evaluation would be methodologically mistaken. The question whether the different development is really to be considered a "deviation from the norm" (*monstrum, Sackgasse, Sonderweg* etc.) or perhaps another model is needed to explain these processes – a model which also takes regional structural differences into consideration<sup>1024</sup> – requires further research from historians and political theorists.

Therefore, to close down the present study it is going to be focused on what can be said about the Hungarian-German personal union in the light of the research conducted so far. Was it more than the accidental, temporary and nominal engagement of two politically, economically, socially and culturally different sovereign kingdoms? If yes, in what way? When dealing with such questions political theory usually concentrates on the representative assemblies and on the question whether there was a common forum in the union or each constituting land had its own institutions operating independently and separately. In the case of Sigismund's composite state, however, other characteristics than this need to be taken into consideration.

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<sup>1021</sup> REYNOLDS, *Kingdoms* 4–5.

<sup>1022</sup> For instance, a lot has been written on diets and parliaments (representative institutions) but hardly anything on royal councils. The term "*status*" is referred to or analyzed in almost all publications whereas there is hardly anything to find on "*regnum*." The influence of wars on finance and administration is usually an important aspect in works dealing with early modern statehood, but in terms of the (high and) later middle ages it is very rarely dealt with.

<sup>1023</sup> "...das Einzelne mit de Ganzen untrennbar zusammenhängen scheint, so dass weitgespannte Abstraktion und konkrete Details, die Einordnung und das Einzuordnende, das gleiche Recht haben." MORAW, *Königliche Herrschaft* 187; "Das ältere deutsche Mediävistik hat ihrem Bemühen, das spätmittelalterliche Reich zu erklären, lange Zeit ein Verständnismodell zugrunde gelegt, das vom abstrakten Anstaltstaat hergeleitet war. Dabei galt das Interesse der Forschung traditionell mehr dem Gefüge als dem Funktionieren." WEFERS, *Das politische System* 1.

<sup>1024</sup> SZÜCS, *Vázlat*.

By following a very similar iconographic pattern Sigismund's majestic and secret seals clearly proclaimed the unity of his realms. The imperial eagle (*Reichsadler*) was put as the main figure on the ruler's fifth Hungarian secret seal, his second Hungarian great seal became the model of the majestic seal used as a German king and vice versa in the case of the majestic seals used after 1433. Besides, on verso of the gulden minted in 1419 in Nuremberg the imperial eagle can be seen with the Hungarian double cross on his chest. But to which extent did these iconographic declarations correspond to the administrative reality of the personal union?

**Image 15: Iconographic patterns on Sigismund's seals and coins**



Sigismund's Hungarian and German secret seal<sup>1025</sup>



Sigismund's Hungarian and German majestic seal used before 1433<sup>1026</sup>

<sup>1025</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.15 (MNL OL DL 57476) and DOZA Urk. 2904.

<sup>1026</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.11 (MNL OL DL 8295) and TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.12.



Sigismund's Hungarian and German majestic seal used after 1433<sup>1027</sup>



Gulden minted in Nuremberg in 1419<sup>1028</sup>

Merging and mingling of the two administrations manifested first and foremost on a personal level, whereas on an “institutional” level influences and interactions can be perceived. The most important common point was certainly the king himself. The “institutions” which were attached the most to his very person, i.e the travelling court (*aula*) and the royal council were of course not doubled but, as it was demonstrated in the previous chapters, their composition changed in a way that both Hungarian and imperial subjects found entry to these. Although the forum of the king’s personal jurisdiction was also the royal council, due to the completely different imperial and Hungarian law systems it would have been very difficult to pass sentence with an assembly of mixed composition. Therefore, it is somewhat surprising that in a few cases Hungarians (Nicholas Garai, Hermann of Cilli, Stephan Rozgonyi, Benedict Makrai, Provost Benedict of Fehérvár) were involved in

<sup>1027</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.22 (MNL OL DL 64295) and TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.18.

<sup>1028</sup> TAKÁCS (ed.), *Sigismundus* 3.51.

decisions concerning imperial lawsuits. It was also the different practice and tradition which made a structural unification of the chanceries impossible; this, however, did not prevent Sigismund from appointing members of the Hungarian *aula* (Kanizsai, Esztergomi) as leaders in the imperial chancery. In terms of leadership, in the 1420s he even tried to concentrate the control of the three chanceries (Hungarian great, Hungarian secret and imperial) in one hand (John of Alben). Finally, fields of competence were not always shared between the writing organs but in certain cases delegated entirely to the imperial authorities. Documents related to foreign politics (letters of credence, peace treaties, agreements etc.) were issued there even if negotiations were conducted by Hungarian counsellors or the diplomatic matter in question pertained exclusively the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>1029</sup> Thus, with regard to diplomacy the Sigismund-administration understood the multiple kingdom definitely as one political entity.

Apart from these direct interactions and “infiltrations” institutional practices of one administration could cause changes in the other system. Before Sigismund’s rule there were no vice-chancellors at the imperial chancery, this was clearly the influence of the Hungarian practice. At the same time the appointment of royal vicars was a German specific which Sigismund implemented in the Kingdom of Hungary – although the career of the institution did not last long here. It is also interesting to note that according to recent research the imperial “*Graf*” title of the counts of Cilli became a model for Hungarian magnates and from the beginning of the fifteenth century many of them (Kórógyi, Frangepán, Tallóci) strived for it with the intention of improving their prestige. The “*Grafs*” had the right to seal with red wax and this title preceded all the other in the *intitulatio* – even that of the palatine.<sup>1030</sup>

In the later middle ages empires, composite monarchies and multiple kingdoms “had become the overwhelmingly most important form of polity in Europe.”<sup>1031</sup> Whereas with regard to the early modern age these political formations are considered as “the greatest causes of instability,”<sup>1032</sup> fourteenth-fifteenth-century personal unions were apparently well-functioning political entities, integrated and established parts of the European political system. Sigismund’s multiple kingdom was one of these formations but in order to put it into the context of European state formation further studies of late medieval personal unions and their comparative analyses need

<sup>1029</sup> SZILÁGYI, Personalunion 180–183. E.g. ZsO III/2694.

<sup>1030</sup> Tibor Neumann’s lecture (“Főnemesi címek kialakulása a középkori Magyarországon”) held at Eötvös Lóránd University Budapest on 11<sup>th</sup> March 2015.

<sup>1031</sup> KOENIGSBERGER, Monarchies 11; ELLIS (ed.), Empires and States xiv. On composite states and multiple monarchies see also ELLIOTT, Composite Monarchies.

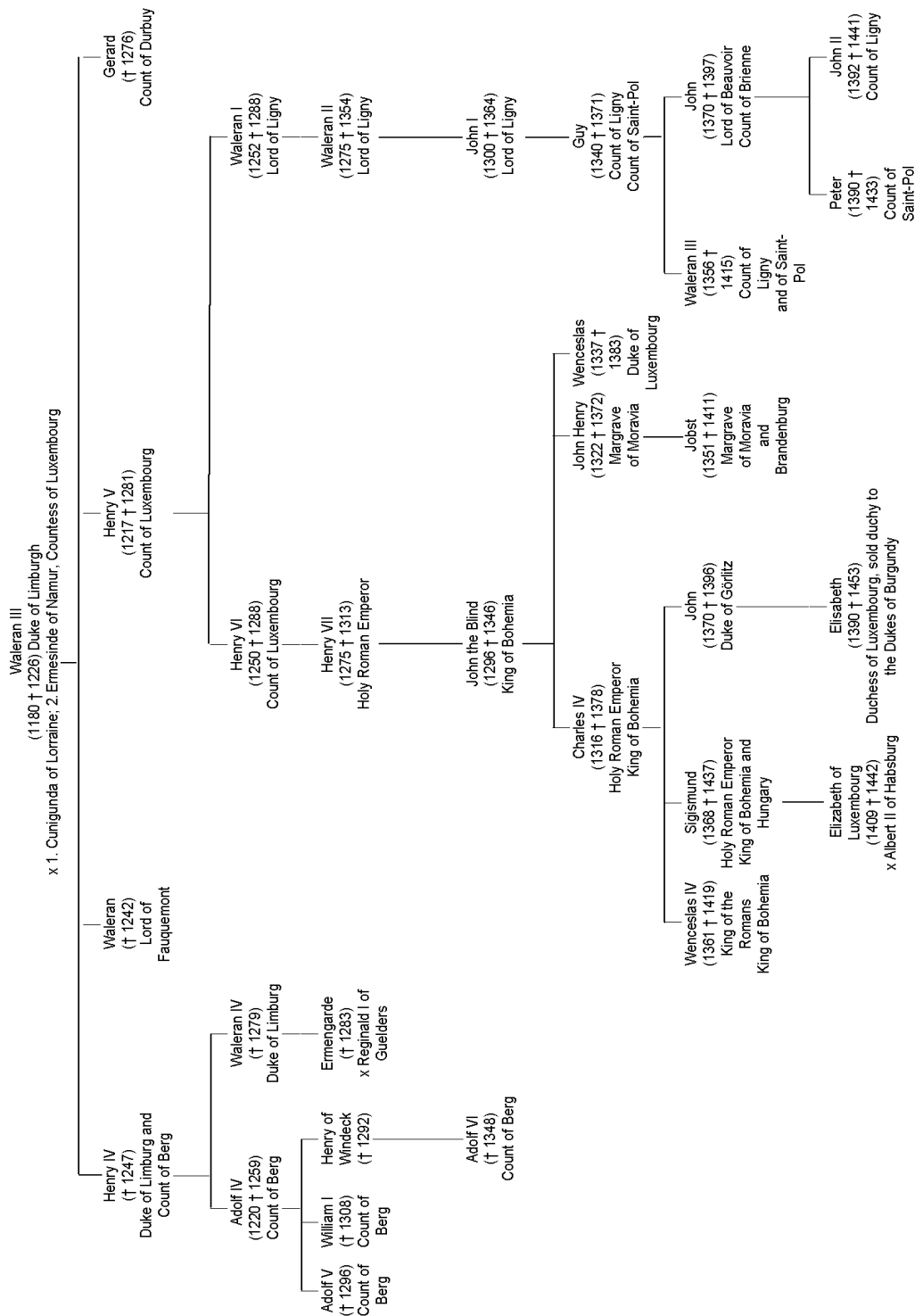
<sup>1032</sup> RUSSEL, Composite Monarchies 133.

to be done. Studies which focus less on the political development than on the structural characteristics and working mechanisms of these polities.

Sigismund's reign, as pointed out at the beginning of the thesis, is often approached very critically or negatively. In view of the results of the present research the main reason for this, in my opinion, is that it does not fit into any of the classical categories describing ways and forms of governing. Instead, it can be characterized by a series of dichotomies which in Sigismund's case are not opposed or contradictory but complementary: his rule was still medieval but in some respect already modern, his kingly attitude simultaneously dynastic and universalist, and his administration resident and mobile which combined elements of continuity with reforms. And even though he lost many battles in the most different fields, his resolute commitment to meet the expectations and respond to challenges ensured that he gained important victories on the political scene of the Western Christendom time and again.

# APPENDICES

**Appendix 1: The Luxemburg Dynasty 1180–1440**  
(simplified)



Appendix 2: Central judicial courts in Hungary in the 11<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries

	11th c.	12th c.	13th c.	14th c.	15th c.	
					1st half	2nd half
<i>curia regis</i> (since the 1470s <i>tabula regia</i> )			1296: <b>specialis presentia regia</b>  king and chancellor →	1378–79: <b>personalis presentia regia</b> King →  <b>specialis presentia regia</b> chancellor / <i>specialis presentiae maiestatis vicesgerens</i> →	<b>personalis presentia regia</b> king, later judge royal or chancellor (1435), secret chancellor (1453) →  <b>specialis presentia regia</b> <sup>1</sup> chancellor / <i>specialis presentiae maiestatis vicesgerens</i> →	<b>propria in persona</b> king  1464: <b>personalis presentia regia</b> Personal <sup>2</sup>  1499: <b>sedes personalitia</b> Personal
	<b>presentia regia</b> king and palatine / <i>comes palatinus</i> / →	<b>presentia regia</b> king and judge royal / <i>comes curialis</i> / →	<b>presentia regia</b> judge royal / <i>iudex curiae regiae</i> / →  tavernicus <sup>4</sup> / <i>magister tavernicorum</i> /	<b>presentia regia</b> judge royal / <i>iudex curiae regiae</i> / or his vice <sup>3</sup> / <i>viceiudex curiae regis</i> / →	<b>presentia regia</b> judge royal / <i>iudex curiae regiae</i> / →	<b>presentia regia</b> judge royal / <i>iudex curiae regiae</i> /
	<i>curia palatinalis</i>	since ca.1110: palatine's jurisdiction in <i>curia sua</i> →	palatine's jurisdiction in <i>curia sua</i> →	since 1342: palatine →	palatine →	mid-15th c.: <b>sedes tavernicalis</b>  Palatine

<sup>1</sup> Until 1429. (BÓNIS, Jogtudó 128.)

<sup>2</sup> *cancellarius personalis presentiae regiae, personalis presentiae locum tenens*

<sup>3</sup> between 1260 and 1380

<sup>4</sup> passes sentence at the court of the *presentia regia* in cases related to towns



**Appendix 3: Chancellors and vice-chancellors of the Hungarian and imperial chanceries (1387–1437)**  
(on the following page)

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 32. Also bishop of Transylvania (1389–1391), ENGEL, *Arch. Gen.*

<sup>2</sup> Provost of Oradea (Várad), c.f. with C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 67–69.

<sup>3</sup> MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund* 68–69, 290.

<sup>4</sup> C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 64, 73 n. 360.

<sup>5</sup> C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 25.

<sup>6</sup> John of Aussig. C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 55, 58.

<sup>7</sup> C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 57.

<sup>8</sup> C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 45, 61, 62.

<sup>9</sup> First mentioned as imperial chancellor on 8<sup>th</sup> July 1411 (DF 241435; ZsO III/1014). According to Ulrich Richental Kanizsai died on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1417, Forstreiter says on 18<sup>th</sup> May 1418 (FORSTREITER, *Die deutsche Reichskanzlei* 23). Nonetheless, there is a charter issued in Kanizsai's name dated from 20<sup>th</sup> May 1418 (DF 236431; ZsO VI/1934; Fejér X/6. 143.); he was referred to as "late" only on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1418 (DF 236429; ZsO VI/2090).

<sup>10</sup> C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 40.

<sup>11</sup> Between late August 1419 and early August 1420, C. TÓTH, *Hiteleshely* 422.

<sup>12</sup> C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 22, 25. Also cathedral canon of Pécs (since 1412), died in 1428. FEDELES, *Pécsi székeskáptalan* 446.

<sup>13</sup> *Custos* of Čazma (Csázma). BÓNIS, *Jogtudó* 130.

<sup>14</sup> C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 55, 74. Also bishop of Vác (1438–1439), ENGEL, *Arch. Gen.*

<sup>15</sup> FORSTREITER, *Kanzlei Sigmonds* 23–24; RI XI Neubearb. I. 172 and 173 n. 4.; C. TÓTH, *Archontológia* 38.

<sup>16</sup> Cathedral canon of Zagreb, BÓNIS, *Jogtudó* 110.

	Chancellor	Vice-chancellor	Secret chancellor	Secret vice-chancellor	Imperial chancellor	Imperial vice-chancellor
1387	1387–1403 John Kanizsai Archbishop of Esztergom	?	1388–1390 Peter Knoll <sup>1</sup>	?	Wencelas' and Rupert's chancellors	—
1388						
1389						
1390						
1391						
1392						
1393						
1394						
1395						
1396						
1397						
1398						
1399						
1400						
1401						
1402						
1403	1403–1404 Lambert of Geldern <sup>5</sup>	1402–1404 John Uski <sup>6</sup>				
1404	1404–1419 Eberhard Bishop of Zagreb	?	1405–1418 Emmerich Perényi	1405–1409 Nicholas Csebi (Csicseri) Orosz	1411–1417 John Kanizsai <sup>9</sup> Archbishop of Esztergom	1412–1417 John Esztergomi <sup>10</sup>
1405						
1406						
1407						
1408						
1409						
1410						
1411						
1412						
1413						
1414						
1415						
1416						
1417						
1418	1411–1425 John Szászi <sup>12</sup>	1419–1423 Emmerich und Matthew Pálóczi	1419–1423 Ladislaus Csapi	1417–1423 George of Hohenlohe	Bishop of Passau	Vacant
1419						
1420	1421–1433 John of Alben Bishop of Zagreb	?	1423–1433 John of Alben Bishop of Zagreb	1424–1433 Matthias Gatalóci <sup>14</sup>	1423–1433 John of Alben Bishop of Zagreb	1422–1430 Franz Gewitz / Gewitsch <sup>15</sup>
1421						
1422						
1423						
1424						
1425						
1426						
1427						
1428						
1429	1428–1430 Andreas Szentgyörgyi <sup>13</sup>					
1430	1433–1439 Matthias Gatalóci <sup>14</sup>	?	1433–1439 Matthias Gatalóci <sup>14</sup>	?	1433 – Caspar Schlick	—
1431						
1432						
1433						
1434						
1435	Stephen Büki <sup>16</sup>		Stephen Büki <sup>16</sup>			
1436						
1437						

**Appendix 4: Changes of the *corroboratio* and *intitulatio* in the Hungarian charters in 1411**  
(based on the originals)

			Great		Secret	
			Before 1411	After 1411	Before 1411	After 1411
Privileges	SP	Title	Hung. until: <b>18<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1411</b> <sup>1</sup>	Rom. from: <b>20<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1411</b>	NONE	<i>litterae armales</i> issued outside the Kingdom of Hungary from 1414 on: Romanorum Rex • <i>pendenti secreto nostro regio sigillo quo ut rex Hungarie utimur</i> • <i>sigilli nostri secreti quo ut rex Hungarie utimur appensione</i>
		Corrob	<i>litteras nostras privilegiales pendentis autentici sigilli nostri novi dupplicis munimine roboratas</i>	<i>litteras nostras privilegiales pendentis autentici sigilli nostri novi dupplicis quo ut rex hungarie utimur munimine roboratas</i>		
Letters patent	SI recto	Title	NONE		Hung. until <b>26<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1411</b>	Rom. From <b>6<sup>th</sup> Febr. 1411</b>
		Corrob			—	<b>6<sup>th</sup> Febr. – 30<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1411:</b> Not uniform <sup>2</sup>
Letters patent	SI verso	Title	Hung. until <b>6<sup>th</sup> Febr. 1411</b>	Rom. From <b>23<sup>rd</sup> Febr. 1411</b>	NONE <sup>3</sup>	
		Corrob	—	<i>Presentes autem sigillo nostro maiori quo ut rex hungarie utimur fecimus consignari</i>		
Letters closed		Title	Hung. until [1410]	Rom. From <b>4<sup>th</sup> May 1411</b>	Hung. until <b>18<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1411</b>	Rom. From <b>9<sup>th</sup> March 1411</b>
		Corrob	—	<i>Presentes autem sigillo nostro maiori quo ut rex hungarie utimur fecimus consignari</i>	—	<b>9<sup>th</sup> March – 7<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1411:</b> <i>sub sigillo nostro solito / sub solito nostro sigillo</i> <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Except in April 1411 MNL OL DL 63734, DF 228561, 281705; in July 1411 MNL OL DL 7091, DF 210892, 210893; on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1411 MNL OL DF 285867 (rex Romanorum).

<sup>2</sup> *presentes autem sigillo nostro solito / consueto / solito et consueto fecimus consignari; datum sub sigillo nostro minori* etc. See p. 35.

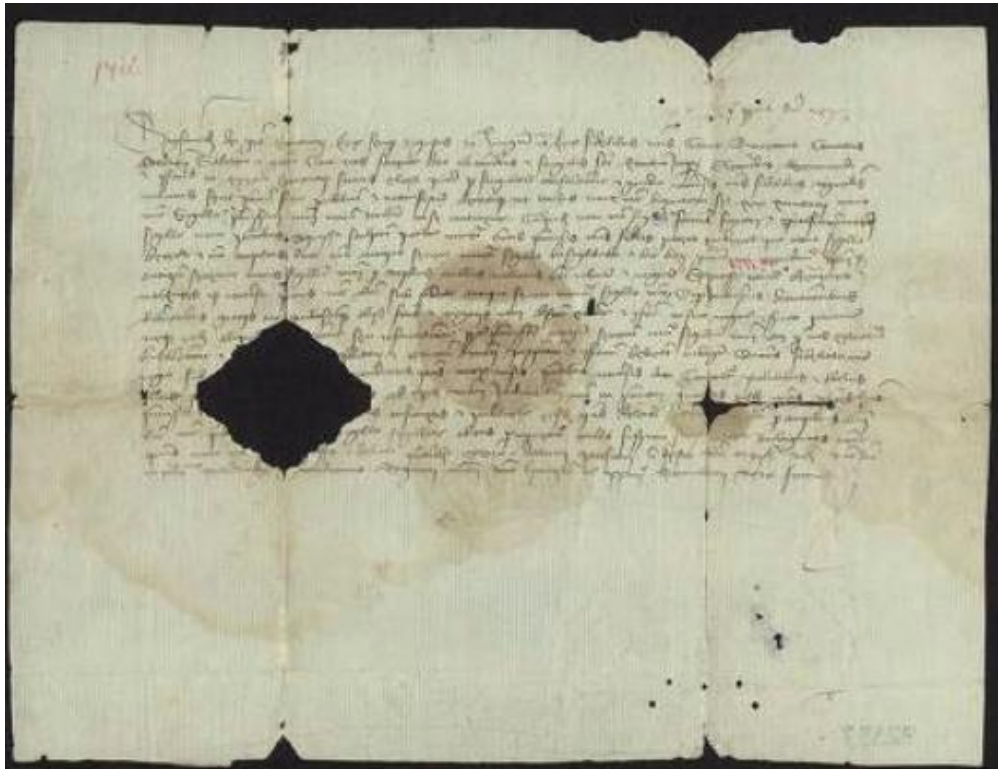
<sup>3</sup> Except MOL DL 92397 announcing the introduction of the new secret seal (**Appendix 7**).

<sup>4</sup> Also *sigillo nostro minori quo ut rex Hungarie utimur fecimus consignari* (MNL OL DL 9767).

		Middle Seal		Specialis presentia		
		Before 1411	After 1411	Before 1411	After 1411	
Privileges	SP	Title	Hung. until [1410]	Rom. From <b>7<sup>th</sup> June 1411</b>	NONE	
	Corrob	<i>sub appensione sigilli nostri mediocris</i>				
Letters patent	SI recto	Title	NONE		NONE	
	Corrob	NONE				
Letters patent	SI verso	Title	Hung. until [1410]	Rom. from <b>2<sup>nd</sup> July 1411</b>	Hung. until <b>3<sup>rd</sup> June 1411</b>	Rom. From <b>12<sup>th</sup> June 1411</b>
	Corrob	—		<i>... propter absentiam venerabilis patris domini Eberhardi episcopi ecclesie Zagrabiensis aule nostre cancellarii et sigillorum nostrorum erga ipsum habitorum sigillo eiusdem fecimus consignari</i>		
Letters closed	SI	Title	Hung. until <b>6<sup>th</sup> February 1411</b>	Rom. From <b>6<sup>th</sup> June 1411</b>	Hung. until <b>15<sup>th</sup> Febr. 1411</b>	Rom. From <b>14<sup>th</sup> Febr. 1411</b>
	Corrob	—		<i>... propter absentiam venerabilis patris domini Eberhardi episcopi ecclesie Zagrabiensis aule nostre cancellarii et sigillorum nostrorum erga ipsum habitorum sigillo eiusdem fecimus consignari</i>		

<sup>5</sup> Sometimes *presentes autem propter celerem expeditionem aliarum causarum regnicolarum nostrorum sigillo venerabilis Eberhardi episcopi Zagrabiensis aule nostre cancelarii fecimus consignari*. C. TÓTH, Hiteleshely 416.

Appendix 5: Charter announcing the introduction of Sigismund's fifth Hungarian secret seal



<sup>1033</sup> Nineteenth-century copy of the mandate addressed to the county of Bács MNL OL DL 107946, p. 5.

**Appendix 6: Entries in the *Reichsregisterbuch* (Fol. 1r–11r)**

The first fifty entries of the *Reichsregisterbuch* E, Fol.1r–11r

Fol. 1r		Fol. 1v	
1412-03-31	Kassa	1412-03-28 (cont. fol.1r)	Kassa
1412-04-26	Kassa		
1412-04-26 (Not.)	Kassa	1412-04-08	Kassa
1412-03-28 (cont. fol. 1v)	Kassa		

Fol. 2r-3r		Fol. 3v	
1411-07-08 (2r-2v-3r)	Buda	1411-07-21 (cont. fol.3r)	Visegrád
1411-07-14	Buda	<i>1411-07-03</i>	<i>Buda</i>
		1411-07-21	Visegrád
1411-07-21 (cont. fol.3v)	Visegrád	1411-08-25 (cont. fol.4r)	Visegrád

Fol. 4r		Fol. 4v	
1411-08-25 (cont. fol.3v)	Visegrád	<i>1411-08-09 (Not.)</i>	<i>Hévkút</i>
<i>1411-08-09</i>	<i>Hévkút</i>	1411- 08-28(Not.)	Visegrád
<i>1411-08-09 (Not.)</i>		1411-08-25 (cont. 5r-5v)	Visegrád
<i>1411-08-09 (Not.)</i>			

Fol. 5r		Fol. 5v	
1411-08-25 (cont. 4v-5v)	Visegrád	1411-08-25 (cont. 4v-5r)	Visegrád
		1411-08-26	Visegrád
		1411-08-25 (cont. 6r)	Visegrád

Fol. 6r		Fol. 6v	
1411-08-25 (cont. 5v)	Visegrád	1411-09-06	Visegrád
1411-08-28	Visegrád	1411-09-07	Visegrád
1411-08-28 (Not.)	Visegrád		
1411-08-31	Visegrád	1411-10-12 (cont. 7r)	Pressburg

Fol. 7r		Fol. 7v	
1411-10-12 (cont. 6v)	Pressburg	<i>1411-08-31 (cont. 7r)</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>
		<i>[1411-08-31] (Not.)</i>	<i>[Visegrád]</i>
<i>1411-08-31 (Not.)</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>	<i>1411-08-31</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>
<i>1411-08-31 (cont. 7v)</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>	<i>[1411-08-31] (Not.)</i>	<i>[Visegrád]</i>
		<i>1411-08-31</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>

Fol. 8r		Fol. 8v	
<i>1411-08-31</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>	<i>1411-09-28</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>
<i>1411-08-31</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>	<i>1411-10-05 (cont. 9r-9v)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>
<i>1411-10-02 (Not.)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>		
<i>1411-10-02 (Not.)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>		
<i>1411-10-02 (Not.)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>		
<i>1411-10-02 (Not.)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>		
<i>1411-09-12</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>		

<b>Fol. 9r</b>		<b>Fol. 9v</b>	
<i>1411-10-05 (cont. 8v-9v)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>	<i>1411-10-05 (cont. 8v-9r)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>
		<i>1411-10-07 (cont. 10r)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>

<b>Fol. 10r</b>		<b>Fol. 10v</b>	
<i>1411-10-07 (cont. 9v)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>	<i>1411-10-17 (cont. 10r)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>
<i>1411-10-17 (cont. 10v)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>	<i>1411-10-19</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>
		<i>1411-10-31 (cont. 11r)</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>

<b>Fol. 11r</b>	
<i>1411-10-31 (cont. 10v)</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>
<i>1411-11-03 (Not.)</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>
<i>1411-09-29 (Not.)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>
<i>1411-09-29 (Not.)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>
<i>1411-09-29 (Not.)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>
<i>1411-09-29 (Not.)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>
<i>1411-09-29 (Not.)</i>	<i>Pressburg</i>
<i>1411-11-20 (Not.)</i>	<i>Visegrád</i>

## Appendix 7: Palatine Nicholas Garai's services rendered for Sigismund



MNL OL DL 10390

[...] Fidelis noster dilectus magnificus Nicolaus de Gara regni nostri Hungarie palatinus etc. ad singularem nostram requisitionem et nostrum regium mandatum ad celsitudinem nostram in Istrie et in Cast accedens terras quas tunc Veneti nostri et sacre nostre regni Hungarie hostes et inimici Sacrique Romani Imperii rebelles notorii occupatas tenebant, ubi in plurimorum castrorum et fortalicioorumque circumvalacione expugnacione et obtencione nobis fideliter serviendo adherebat. Et deinde versus Foriulii partes nobiscum progrediens in quibus similiter in quamplurimorum castrorum, fortalicioorum et terrarum circumvalacione expugnacione et optencione tunc aput prefatos Venetos et eorum complices existentium, que Altissimo auxiliante expugnauimus et optinuimus potenti manu Maiestati nostre viriliter assistebat. Post hoc vero in treugarum et pacis coacti fuerunt sempe suis propriis nonmodicis sumptibus et expensis quamplures incomoditates gravissimas ad honorem nostre regie celsitudinis sacreque predicti regni nostri Hungarie corone maximum ad profectum sustulit et labores. Et demum idem Nicolaus palatinus de nostra voluntate beneplacita et permissione in prefatum regnum nostrum Hungarie regrediens ex nostre maiestatis singulari requisitione et precepto serenissimam principem dominam Barbaram predictorum regnorum reginam conthoralem nostram carissimam anno proxime preterito de eodem regno nostro Hungarie in Alemanie partes in Aquisgranum ubi cum eadem serenissima principe domina Barbara regina primam imperialem coronam favente domino honore magnifico suscepimus cum honesta ipsius familia associando et festiuitatibus susceptionis eiusdem sacre imperialis corone ibidem adherens, de eodem Aquisgrano in pretactis Alamanie partibus in Constanciensem civitatem nobiscum et cum predicta serenissima principe domina Barbara regina in ipsius propriis sumptibus et expensis proficiscendo; in qua quidem Constanciensi civitate ad extirpandum supradictum scisma pestiferum et ad felicem unionem in ecclesia dei faciendam. Pro cuiusquidem unionis felici confirmatione idem Nicolaus palatinus quia ex unione huiusmodi et perfecta sancte ecclesie Dei reintegracione universitatem christiani populi et precipue felicem populum Hungarice nationis a natione barbarica et presertim a crudelissimis Turcis liberari considerabat unacum nostra maiestate sollicitudine laboravit pervigili predictum sacrum generale concilium tunc erat et nunc exstitit congregatum nobiscum et cum antedicta serenissima principe domina Barbara regina similiter in ipsius propriis sumptibus et expensis plurima onerorum incomoda pertulit et labores. Deindeque de dicta Constanciensi civitate cum celsitudine nostra in Francie partes presertim in civitatem Narbonensem eciam cum decenti et nonmodica ipsius familia in suis propriis sumptibus et expensis venit ad nostram requisitionem et mandatum. Quemquidem Nicolaum palatinum de cuius prudentia et sollerti procuracione confisi fuimus de predicta Narbonensi civitate in regni Aragonie partes in villam Perpiniensi ad serenissimum principem dominum Ferdinandum regem Aragonium fratrem nostrum carissimum et ad antedictum Petrum de Luna cum quibus personaliter propter sancte ecclesie unionis finalem consumationem convenire sponderamus ad preparandam maiestati nostre viam nostri accessus. [...]



**Appendix 8: Relators of documents issued by the Hungarian Secret Chancery**  
November 1412–January 1419

Name	Title <sup>1</sup>	Date and archive signature of the charter	Place of issue
<b>Alsáni, John</b>	master of the cupbearers	1415-02-14 (DF 259518)	Constance
<b>Béládi, Tompa</b>	vice-master of the horses	1413-03-20 (DF 243935) <sup>2</sup>	Aquileia
		1413-05-14 (DL 58895)	Udine
<b>Benedict</b>	provost of Fehérvár	[1415-05-11	Constance] <sup>3</sup>
		[1417-04-20	Constance] <sup>3</sup>
		1417-09-18 (DL 43368)	Constance
<b>Csapi, Andreas</b>	[ <i>aule regie iuvenis</i> ]	1413-04-28 (DF 275692)	Udine
<b>Garai, Nicholas</b>	Palatine	1413-01-01 (DL 25899)	Udine
		1414-11-19 (DF 226218)	Cologne
		1415-01-01 (DL 105585)	Constance
		1415-02-02 (DL 105587) <sup>4</sup>	Constance
<b>Gebser, Peter</b>	<i>Aule regie miles</i>	1413-12-05 (DF 202066)	Lodi
<b>Hatvani, Nicholas</b>	[ <i>aule regie miles</i> ]	1416-02-03 (DL 92478)	Lyon
<b>Kompolti, Peter</b>	master of the cupbearers	1415-05-01 (DL 10342) <sup>5</sup>	Constance
		1417-05-29 (DL 58931)	Constance
<b>Kórógyi, Philip</b>	[ <i>magister tavarnicorum reginalium</i> 1413–1419]	1417-05-30 (DL 79405)	Constance
		1417-05-30 (DL 79406)	Constance
		1417-06-03 (DL 79411)	Constance
		1417-06-06 (DL 79418)	Constance
		1417-06-24 (DL 10517)	Constance
<b>Kusalyi Jakcs, Michael</b>	[ <i>aule regie miles</i> ]	1417-11-30 (DF 268857)	Constance
		1418-05-08 (DL 57166)	Constance
<b>Lévai Cseh, Peter</b>	master of the horses	1415-01-09 (DL 10296)	Constance
<b>Pálóci, Emmerich</b>	[ <i>aule regie miles</i> ]	1415-03-26 (DL 70804)	Constance
<b>Pelsőci Bebek, Andreas</b>	master of the horses	1415-04-22 (DF 253176)	Constance
		1415-04-22 (DF 253177)	Constance
<b>pataki Perényi, Nicholas</b>	[ <i>aule regie miles</i> ]	1418-06-20 (DF 250854)	Strassburg
		1418-06-25 (DL 43408)	Strassburg
<b>Pipo</b>	count of Temes	1412-12-08 (DF 230922)	Udine
		1413-04-09 (DF 253684)	Ariis
		1413-04-14 (DF 244659)	Ariis
		1413-04-28 (DL 53663)	Udine
		1413-05-21 (DL 57433)	Udine
		1413-06-02 (DL 96844)	Belluno
		1415-04-07 (DL 49779)	Constance
		1415-04-14 (DL 10332)	Constance
		1415-04-14 (DL 10333)	Constance
		1415-07-13 (DF 249464)	Constance
		1415-07-25 (DF 261157)	Basel
<b>Roskoványi, John</b>	<i>Aule regie iuvenis</i>	1418-02-27 (DL 96954)	Constance
<b>Rozgonyi, John</b>	<i>Supremus thesaurarius</i>	1418-03-06 (DL 57476)	Constance
<b>Rozgonyi, Stephan (the Elder, Ladilaus' son)</b>	[ <i>aule regie miles</i> ]	1416-05-22 (DL 84838)	London
		1416-12-13 (DL 10512)	Aachen
		1417-02-24 (DL 96927)	Constance
		1417[-02-24] (DL 96948) <sup>6</sup>	Constance
<b>Rozgonyi, Stephan (the Younger, Simon's son)</b>		1418-03-08 (DL 73 246)	Constance
		1418-04-08 (DL 23097)	Constance
		1418-09-05 (DF 282822)	Ulm

<b>Sitkei, Michael</b>	<i>Aule nostre regie iuvenis</i>	1416-08-16 (DL 10487)	Leeds
	<i>Aule regie familiaris</i>	1417-11-25 (DL 98819)	Constance
<b>Stibor the younger</b>		1415-04-01 (DL 43640)	Constance
<b>Szanai, Nicholas</b>	[vice-palatine]	1415-02-02 (DL 105587) <sup>4</sup>	Constance
<b>Szántói Lack, David</b>	[ <i>aule regie miles</i> ]	1414-07-07 (DL 10239)	Solodero
<b>Szántói Lack, James</b>	former voivode	1418-06-18 (DL 84357)	Strassburg
<b>(Kálnai) Szendi, Michael</b>	[ <i>aule regie iuvenis</i> ]	1415-03-17 (DL 49758)	Constance
		1415-03-20 (DL 72587)	Constance
<b>Walchia, Georgius de</b>	<i>Dispensator</i>	1418-01-17 (DL 70132)	Constance
		1418-01-17 (DL 70133)	Constance

<sup>1</sup> In [ ] when not mentioned in the chancery note

<sup>2</sup> In the *relatio*-note *agazonum regalium magister*.

<sup>3</sup> imperial chancery document

<sup>4</sup> *relatio Nicolai de Gara per Nicolaum de Zana facta*

<sup>5</sup> upper right corner: *commissio propria domini regis*, under the seal: *relatio Petri de Compolth*

<sup>6</sup> *Relatio Stephani de Rozgon*

## Appendix 9: Guarantors of loans granted to Sigismund

	5 August, 1413, Meran / 2 000 Dukat	14 June 1415, Constance / 23 000 ung. Gulden	1 July 1415, Constance/ 3 000 Gulden	10 July 1415, Constance / 23 000 ung. Gulden	7 November 1416, Dordrecht / 3 000 Gulden	12 April 1417, Radolfzell / 360 Gulden	9 July 1417, Constance / Schutz	20 September 1417, Constance / 360 rhein. Gulden	20 October 1417, Constance / 7 000 rhein. Gulden	20 October 1417, Constance / 8 000 rhein. Gulden	28 March 1418, Constance / 7 000 rhein. Gulden	3 May 1418 Constance / 10 400 rhein. Gulden	15 October 1418 Augsburg / 4 000 rhein. Gulden	15 December 1418 Passau / 3 500 rhein. Gulden	Mentioned on 29 June 1417 RI XI/2432
Queen Barbara		•		•											
Archbishop John of Riga												•			
Bishop Hartmann of. Chur	•														
Bishop John of Chur												•			
Albert, prior of Vrana											•				
<i>Alse(e) of Ronow (Ronaw)</i>											•			•	
Alsso of Sternberg					•										
Bernard Blessing/ Blessnitz															•
Burkart of Mannsberg	•														
Conrad of Freiburg									•	•					
Conrad of Weinsberg			•			•*		•						•	
Constance, major and council of ~							•								
David Szántói Lack											•				
Eberhard of Kirchberg													•		
Eberhard of Nellenburg			•						•	•		•			
Egon of Fürstenberg												•			
Erkinger of Sensheim			•											•	
Frederick of Nuremberg <sup>1</sup>		•		•			•		•	•		•			
Frederick of Toggenburg									•	•					
Frischhans of Bodman									•	•		•			
Günther of Schwarzburg							•		•	•					
Hans Conrad of Bodman						•*				•					
Hans of Lupfen			•						• <sup>3</sup>	•		•			
Hans of Homburg									•			•			
Hans, Count of Freiburg												•			
Haupt of Pappenheim												•	•		
Henry of Blumenau					•										
Henry of Fürstenberg												•			
Henry of Latzembock											•				
Henry Tamási											•				



**Appendix 10: Witnesses and co-sealers of Sigismund's charters**

	9 July 1411	8 November 1412	23 October 1413, Sala	8 November 1414, Aachen (3)	18 April 1417, Constance	28 April 1417, Constance	12 July 1417, Constance*	8 January 1418, Constance	14 January 1418, Constance	17 July 1418, Hagenau	16 January 1419, Linz
Archbishop Bartholomeo of Milan										•	
Archbishop Dietrich of Cologne				•							
Archbishop John Kanizsai of Esztergom						•	•				
Archbishop John of Riga					•			○	•		
Archbishop Werner of Trier				•							
Bishop Albert of Regensburg					•				•		
Bishop Conrad of Metz						•		○			
Bishop George of Passau				•	•	•	•	○	•		•
Bishop George of Trient						•		○			
Bishop John of Brandenburg					•			○			
Bishop John of Lebus					•			○			
Bishop John of Worms								○			
Bishop John of Würzburg				•							
Bishop Nicholas of Merseburg					•						
Bishop Raban of Speyer				•	•						
Bishop Simon of Trau						•				•	
Adolf, Count of Cleve				•							
Adolf, Duke of Berg, Count of Ravensberg						•					
Albert of Hohenlohe					•	•					
Albert, Duke of Saxony- Lüneburg					•	•					
Albert Schenk of Landsberg					•						
Albert Schenk of Seida											•
Anton of Chalant (cardinal)			•								
Bernard, Margrave of Baden						•			•		
Brunoro della Scala										•	
Caspar of Klingenberg						•					
Conrad, Count of Freiburg					•						
Eberhard, Count of Nellenburg					•	•					
Emicho of Leiningen				•							
Ernst, Duke of Bayern					•	•		○			
Francesco Zabarella (cardinal)			•								
Frederick, Margrave of Meissen					•	•					
Frederick, Burggrave of Nuremberg, Margrave of Brandenburg				•		•		•	•		
Frederick of Veldenz				•							
Frischhans of Bodman						•					
Günther, Count of Schwarzburg, <i>Hofrichter</i>					•	•	•		•		

	9 July 1411	8 November 1412	23 October 1413, Sala	8 November 1414, Aachen (3)	18 April 1417, Constance	28 April 1417, Constance	12 July 1417, Constance*	8 January 1418, Constance	14 January 1418, Constance	17 July 1418, Hagenau	16 January 1419, Linz
Hans Conrad of Bodman						•					
Hans, Count of Lupfen					•						
Hartmann of Chur			•								
Haupt of Pappenheim, <i>Hofmarshall</i>					•	•					•
Henry, Duke of Bayern					•	•					
Henry of Krawar											•
Hermann, Count of Cilli											•
James Szántói Lack, Voivode of Transylvania**											•
John [Albeni], Ban [of Dalmatia-Croatia]											•
John of Katzenellebogen				•							
John of Lupfen						•					•
John of Michelsberg											•
John, Prince of Münsterberg						•					
John of Wertheim				•							
Louis, Count of Öttingen, <i>Hofmeister</i>					•	•	•	•	•		•
Louis, Count Palatine of Pfalz				•					•		
Manuel Chrysoloras			•								
Nicholas, Abbot of Pegau								○			
Nicholas Garai, Palatine											•
Otto, Duke of Bayern						•					
Puota of Eulenburg											•
Rainald, Duke of Jülich				•							
Rudolf, Duke of Saxony				•	•	•					
Thomas of Rieneck				•							
Wenceslas of Duba											•
Wigleis Schenk of Geyern						•					
William of Bagnum			•								
William, Duke of Bayern					•	•		○			
William Hase of Waldeck											•
William of Frauenhof											•
William of Monfort			•								

\* also dignitaries and envoys of Savoy

\*\* voivode of Transylvania between 1403 and 1409, the queen's master of the doorkeepers and master of the household between 1413 and 1417

○ members of the judiciary court

## Appendix 11: Referents of the imperial chancery

Referents mentioned in chancery notes of documents issued by the imperial chancery

1410-08-05 Buda	Frederick of Nuremberg
1410-08-06 Buda	Frederick of Nuremberg
1411-06-30 Buda	Frederick of Nuremberg
1411-07-03 Buda	Frederick of Nuremberg
1411-07-21 Visegrád	Frederick of Nuremberg
1411-08-25 Visegrád	Pipo of Ozora
1411-08-26 Visegrád	Frederick of Nuremberg
1411-08-28 Visegrád	Frederick of Nuremberg
1411-08-31 Visegrád	Frederick of Nuremberg
1411-09-28 Pressburg	Frederick of Nuremberg
1411-09-29 Pressburg	Frederick of Nuremberg
1411-10-19 Pressburg	Ehrenfried von Seckendorff, Frederick of Nuremberg's marshal
1412-03-31 Košice	Benedict Provost of Fehérvár
1412-09-07 Buda	John Esztergomi
1413-06-26 Trento	Mikeš Jemništi
1413-08-01 Bozen	Mikeš Jemništi
1414-07-15 Frankfurt	John Esztergomi
1414-10-03 Nuremberg	Rudolf, Duke of Saxony
1414-10-15 Heilbronn	Frederick of Nuremberg
1414-10-15 Heilbronn	Raban, Bishop of Speyer ( <i>d. Spirensis</i> )
1414-10-16 Heilbronn	Frederick of Nuremberg
1414-10-22 Speyer	Frederick of Nuremberg
1414-10-22 Speyer	Raban, Bishop of Speyer
1414-10-29 Koblenz	Frederick of Nuremberg
1414-11-01 Bonn	Frederick of Nuremberg
1414-11-08 Aachen	Frederick of Nuremberg
1414-11-08 Aachen	Michael Priest*
1414-11-08 Aachen	John Esztergomi
1414-11-13 Lechenich	Frederick of Nuremberg
1414-11-16 Bonn	Frederick of Nuremberg
1414-11-26 Cologne	Conrad of Weinsberg
1414-12-13 Frankfurt	George of Hohenlohe
1414-12-14 Frankfurt	Günter of Schwarzburg
1414-12-16 Mainz	Raban, Bishop of Speyer
1414-12-17 Mainz	Raban, Bishop of Speyer
1414 Frankfurt	John Esztergomi (RI XI/1354)
1414 Frankfurt	Conrad of Weinsberg (RI XI/1355)

### January 1415 – July 1415: Constance

1415-01-02 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-01-07 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-01-08 Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-01-09 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-01-10 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-01-18 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-01-22 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-01-24 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-01-25 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-01-25 Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-01-27 Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-01-28 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-02-01 Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-02-02 Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-02-03 Constance	John Esztergomi

1415-02-03	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-02-04	Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-02-06	Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-02-06	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-02-06	Constance	Wygleys Schenck de Geyern
1415-02-14	Constance	George I von Lichtenstein, Bishop of Trento
1415-02-14	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1415-02-14	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-02-16	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-02-17	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-02-27	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-02-21	Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-02-27	Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-03-02	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-04	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-11	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-03-13	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-03-15	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-19	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-20	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1415-03-20	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-22	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-23	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-03-24	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-25	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-26	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-26	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1415-03-27	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-30	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-03-30	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-04-01	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-04-03	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-04-05	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-04-06	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-04-10	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-04-10	Constance	Rudolf, Duke of Saxony
1415-04-12	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-04-19	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-04-20	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1415-04-21	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-04-22	Constance	Wigleis Schenk of Geiern
1415-04-22	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-04-24	Radolfzell	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-04-27	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-05-02	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-05-03	Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-05-08	Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-05-11	Constance	Benedict, Provost of Fehérvár
1415-05-18	Constance	Nicholas Garai
1415-05-22	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-05-23	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-05-25	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-05-27	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-06-03	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1415-06-07	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-06-07	Constance	John Esztergomi
1415-06-10	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-06-13	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-06-14	Constance	Erkinger de Saunshaim
1415-06-21	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1415-06-26	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg



1415-06-27 Constance John Esztergomi  
 1415-07-04 Constance John Esztergomi  
 1415-07-06 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1415-07-11 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1415-07-13 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1415-07-13 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1415 Constance John Esztergomi (RI XI/1511, 1742)  
 1415 Constance R[umpold], Duke of Silesia (RI XI/1539)<sup>1034</sup>  
 1415 Basel Frederick of Nuremberg (RI XI/1877)

**July 1415 – January 1417:**

1416-03-25 Paris William Hase of Waldeck  
 1416-06-30 Leeds William Hase of Waldeck  
 1416-07-08 Leeds Matthias Lemmel  
 1417-01-28 Luxemburg William Hase of Waldeck

**February 1417 – May 1418: Constance**

1417-02-11 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-02-11 Constance *N. de Ribnitz*  
 1417-02-15 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-02-17 Constance Conrad of Weinsberg  
 1417-02-20 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-02-26 Constance Conrad of Weinsberg  
 1417-02-27 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-02-27 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-03-01 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-03-01 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-03-03 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-03-18 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-03-19 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-03-20 Constance Conrad of Weinsberg  
 1417-03-21 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-03-23 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-03-27 Constance Henry of Latzenbock  
 1417-03-29 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-03-29 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-03-30 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-03-31 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-04-02 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-04-02 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-04-03 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-04-03 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-04-04 Constance Bishop George of Hohenlohe (!, *G. Patav. episcop.*)  
 1417-04-06 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-04-15 Constance Louis of Öttingen  
 1417-04-16 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-04-19 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-04-20 Constance Benedict Provost of Fehérvár  
 1417-04-21 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-04-26 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-04-29 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-04-30 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-04-30 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-05-02 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-05-02 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1417-05-03 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1417-05-04 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg

<sup>1034</sup> Henry X Rumpold, Duke of Żagań = Henry X of Głogów.

1417-05-05	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-05	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-05-06	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-06	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-05-06	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-05-07	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-09	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-10	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-11	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-11	Constance	Frischhans of Bodman
1417-05-12	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-12	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-05-13	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-14	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-15	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-17	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-18	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-20	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-21	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-22	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-25	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-27	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-27	Constance	Louis, Count of Brieg
1417-05-28	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-29	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-29	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-05-29	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-05-30	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-05-31	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-05-31	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-06-02	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-06-03	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-06-05	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-06-05	Constance	William Hase of Waldeck
1417-06-06	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-06-07	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-06-09	Constance	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1417-06-13	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-06-21	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-06-23	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-06-24	Constance	Eberhard of Nellenburg
1417-06-26	Constance	Wenceslas of Duba
1417-06-28	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-06-28	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-06-29	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-06-29	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-07-01	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-07-01	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-07-01	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-07-02	Constance	William Hase of Waldeck
1417-07-04	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-07-04	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-07-08	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-07-09	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-07-09	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-07-10	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-07-13	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-07-16	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-07-16	Constance	S(imon), Bishop of Trau/Trogir
1417-07-20	n. p.	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-07-20	Meersburg	Louis of Öttingen

1417-07-22 Meersburg	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-07-23 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-08-04 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg, Albert Schenk of Seida <sup>1035</sup>
1417-08-04 Constance	John Esztergomi
1417-08-05 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-08-11 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-08-12 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-08-13 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-08-16 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-08-26 Constance	John Esztergomi
1417-08-29 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-09-01 Constance	Bishop and Imperial Chancellor George of Hohenlohe (!, <i>G. Ep. Pat canc.</i> )
1417-09-01 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-09-09 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-09-10 Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1417-09-16 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-09-20 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-09-20 Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1417-09-22 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-09-22 Constance	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1417-09-23 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-09-23 Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-09-24 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-09-25 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-09-25 Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-09-27 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-10-02 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-10-04 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-10-04 Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-10-09 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-10-12 Constance	Wigleis Schenk of Geiern
1417-10-13 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-10-13 Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1417-10-19 Constance	George I von Lichtenstein, Bishop of Trento
1417-10-20 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg <sup>1036</sup>
1417-10-20 Constance	[John of Borsnitz] Bishop of Lebus[-Fürstenwalde]
1417-10-23 n. p.	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-10-23 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-10-28 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-10-30 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-10-30 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-11-05 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-11-09 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-11-12 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-11-13 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-11-14 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-11-15 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-11-15 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-11-16 Constance	John Esztergomi
1417-11-16 Constance	John (Frischhans) of Bodman
1417-11-17 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-11-17 Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-11-17 Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-11-19 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-11-19 Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-11-20 Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg

<sup>1035</sup> RI XI/2502: *Per d. Fr. march. Brand. etc. Schenk de Seyda referente Michel*

<sup>1036</sup> RI XI/2639: on the original *Ad m. d. r. Friderico marchione Brandenb. referente Joh. Kirchen*, in the register book *Ad m. d. r. Joh. Kirch*.

1417-11-22	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-11-25	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-11-25	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-11-27	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-11-30	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-12-01	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-12-03	Constance	John Esztergomi
1417-12-03	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1417-12-04	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1417-12-05	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-12-06	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-12-07	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-12-08	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-12-08	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-12-09	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-12-09	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-12-09	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-12-10	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-12-11	Constance	John Esztergomi
1417-12-11	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-12-13	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-12-14	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-12-14	Constance	John Uski, Provost of Pécs
1417-12-16	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-12-16	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417-12-17	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1417-12-19	Constance	John Esztergomi
1417-12-21	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1417-12-23	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1417-12-24	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1417	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg (RI XI/2727, 2732)
1417	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg (RI XI/2153, 2733, 2751)
1417	Constance	Louis of Öttingen, Günter of Schwarzburg (RI XI/2352)
1417	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg, Louis of Öttingen, Günter of Schwarzburg (RI XI/2725, 2726)
1418-01-01	Constance	S(imon), Bishop of Trau/Trogir
1418-01-02	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1418-01-04	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-07	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1418-01-08	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-09	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-01-09	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-10	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-12	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-13	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-14	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-15	Constance	George of Hohenlohe (2)
1418-01-15	Constance	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1418-01-16	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-16	Constance	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1418-01-17	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-18	Constance	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1418-01-19	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-20	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-01-21	Constance	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1418-01-22	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-23	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-01-23	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1418-01-23	Constance	George of Hohenlohe

1418-01-24	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-25	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-26	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1418-01-26	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-27	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-01-27	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1418-01-27	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-01-28	Constance	George of Hohenlohe (2)
1418-01-28	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1418-01-29	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1418-01-30	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-01-31	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1418-01-31	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1418-02-03	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1418-02-04	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-02-04	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-02-04	Constance	Louis of Öttingen
1418-02-04	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-02-06	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-02-07	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-02-09	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-02-09	Constance	Haupt II of Pappenheim <sup>1037</sup>
1418-02-10	Constance	George of Hohenlohe
1418-02-12	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-02-14	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1418-02-15	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-02-16	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1418-02-17	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-02-19	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-02-20	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-02-21	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-02-22	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-02-22	Constance	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1418-02-23	Constance	John V of Wallenrode, Archbishop of Riga
1418-02-23	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-02-23	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-02-23	Constance	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1418-02-23	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1418-02-24	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-02-24	Constance	Matthias Lemmel
1418-02-26	Constance	Conrad of Weinsberg
1418-[02-27]	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-03-04	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-03-06	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-03-07	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-03-09	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-03-10	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-03-12	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-03-12	Constance	Eberhard of Nellenburg
1418-03-12	Constance	S(imon), Bishop of Trau/Trogir
1418-03-13	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-03-14	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-03-20	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-03-21	Constance	Frederick of Nuremberg
1418-03-28	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg
1418-03-30	Constance	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1418-03-31	Constance	Günter of Schwarzburg

<sup>1037</sup> On the original *Ad relac. Houpt de Bappenheim marscalcko regio Joh. Kirchen*, in the register book *Ad m. d. r. Houpt marschalk referente J. K.*

1418-04-04 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1418-04-12 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1418-04-17 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1418-04-17 Constance Haupt II of Pappenheim  
 1418-04-18 Constance [John,] Bishop of Chur  
 1418-04-19 Constance John V of Wallenrode, Archbishop of Riga  
 1418-04-19 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1418-04-24 Constance John V of Wallenrode, Archbishop of Riga  
 1418-04-25 Constance John V of Wallenrode, Archbishop of Riga  
 1418-04-25 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1418-04-27 Constance Günter of Schwarzburg  
 1418-[05] Basel Bernard I, Margrave of Baden  
 1418-05-04 Constance John of Lupfen  
 1418-05-06 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1418-05-09 Constance Frederick of Nuremberg  
 1418-05-10 Constance [Simon,] Bishop of Trau/Trogir  
 1418-05-10 Constance Louis of Öttingen  
 1418-05-14 Constance Louis of Öttingen  
 1418-05-15 Constance Louis of Öttingen  
 1418-05-16 Constance Bernard I, Margrave of Baden

**June 1418 – December 1419:**

1418-06-20 Strassburg George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-06-21 Strassburg\* George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-06-22 Strassburg George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-06-23 Strassburg Bernard I, Margrave of Baden  
 1418-06-26 Strassburg George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-06-27 Strassburg George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-06-28 Strassburg Bernard I, Margrave of Baden  
 1418-06-29 Strassburg George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-03 Strassburg George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-04 Strassburg Bernard I, Margrave of Baden  
 1418-07-04 Strassburg John of Lupfen  
 1418-07-11 Hagenau George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-12 Hagenau George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-13 Hagenau George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-13 Hagenau Louis of Öttingen  
 1418-07-14 Hagenau George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-15 Hagenau George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-15 Hagenau Louis of Öttingen  
 1418-07-17 Hagenau George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-18 Hagenau George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-18 Hagenau Louis of Öttingen  
 1418-07-19 Hagenau George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-22 Hagenau George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-07-22 Hagenau Louis of Öttingen  
 1418-07-25 Hagenau Louis of Öttingenee  
 1418-07-26 Hagenau George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-08-01 Baden George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-08-03 Baden George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-08-04 Baden Bernard I, Margrave of Baden  
 1418-08-04 Baden Louis of Öttingen  
 1418-08-05 Ettlingen Louis of Öttingen  
 1418-08-07 Ettlingen Louis of Öttingen  
 1418-08-07 Ettlingen George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-08-09 Pforzheim George of Hohenlohe  
 1418-08-10 Weil (?) Bernard I, Margrave of Baden  
 1418-08-26 Weingarten S(imon), Bishop of Trau/Trogir  
 1418-09-06 Ulm John of Lupfen (! *mag. curie* RI XI/3442)  
 1418-09-08 Ulm George of Hohenlohe

1418-09-10 Ulm	George of Hohenlohe
1418-09-13 Ulm	George of Hohenlohe
1418-09-14 Ulm	Louis of Öttingen
1418-09-14 Ulm	Mikeš Jemništi
1418-09-16 Ulm	George of Hohenlohe
1418-09-17 Ulm	George of Hohenlohe
1418-09-17 Ulm	Louis of Öttingen
1418-09-18 Ulm	George of Hohenlohe
1418-09-18 Ulm	Louis of Öttingen
1418-09-22 Öttingen	Louis of Öttingen
1418-09-23 Öttingen	George of Hohenlohe
1418-09-26 Öttingen	George of Hohenlohe
1418-09-27 Donauwörth	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-02 Donauwörth	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-05 Augsburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-06 Augsburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-06 Augsburg	Louis of Öttingen
1418-10-07 Augsburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-08 Augsburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-09 Augsburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-11 Augsburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-13 Augsburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-14 Augsburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-15 Augsburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-15 Augsburg	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1418-10-16 Augsburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-24 Regensburg	George of Hohenlohe
1418-10-29 Regensburg	Louis of Öttingen
1418-10-30 Regensburg	Louis of Öttingen
1418-11-03 Regensburg	Louis of Öttingen
1418-11-06 Regensburg	Louis of Öttingen
1418-11-07 Regensburg	Louis of Öttingen
1418-12-04 Passau	Matthias Lemmel
1418-12-12 Passau	Louis of Öttingen
1418-12-14 Passau	Georg of Hohenlohe
1418-12-20 Passau	Louis of Öttingen
1418-12-29 Passau	Matthias Lemmel
1418-12-31 Passau	Louis of Öttingen
1419-01-02 Passau	Matthias Lemmel
1419-01-04 Passau	Georg of Hohenlohe
1419-01-16 Passau	Matthias Lemmel
1419-01-07 Passau	Louis of Öttingen
1419-01-08 Passau	Georg of Hohenlohe
1419-01-15 Ebelsberg <sup>1038</sup>	Haupt II of Pappenheim
1419-01-15 Linz	Louis of Öttingen
1419-01-15(?) Vienna	Georg of Hohenlohe
1419-01-25 Vienna	John of Lupfen
1419-01-28 Vienna	Louis of Öttingen
1419-01-30 Vienna	Georg of Hohenlohe
1419-01-31 Vienna	Georg of Hohenlohe
1419-02-01 Vienna	Louis of Öttingen
1419-02-02 Vienna	Georg of Hohenlohe
1419-02-07 Pressburg	Georg of Hohenlohe
1419-02-08 Pressburg	Louis of Öttingen
1419-02-14 Skalica <sup>1039</sup>	Louis of Öttingen
1419-03-04 Pressburg	Louis of Öttingen

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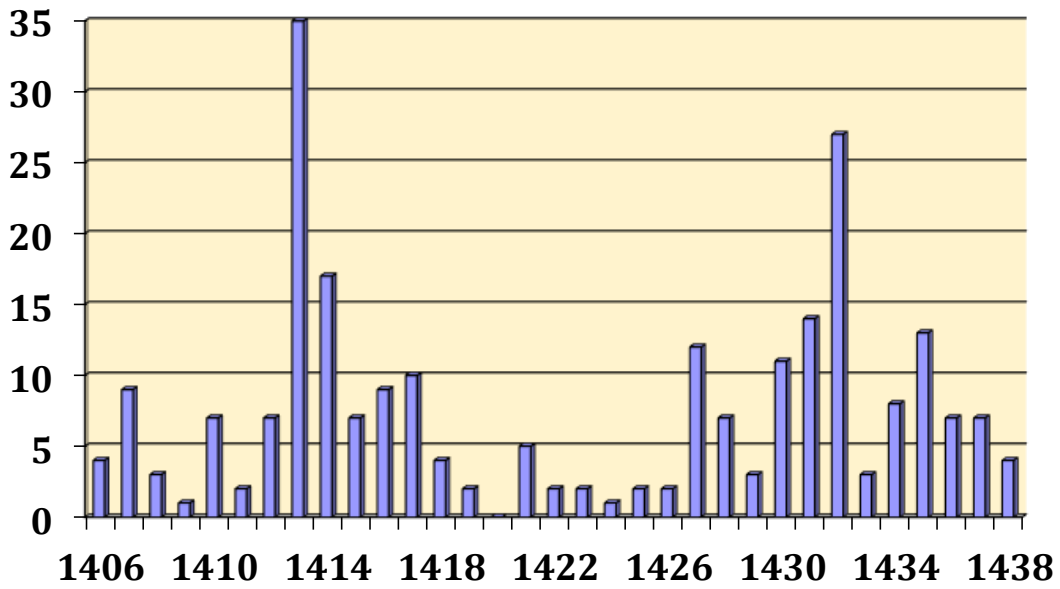
<sup>1038</sup> In Linz.

<sup>1039</sup> Szokolca, Skalitz (Slovakia).

1419-03-12 Fehérvár	Georg of Hohenlohe
1419-03-17 Esztergom	Louis of Öttingen
1419-04-10 Esztergom	Louis of Öttingen
1419-04-11 Esztergom	Louis of Öttingen
1419-04-14 Esztergom	George of Hohenlohe
1419-04-23 Visegrád	Louis of Öttingen
1419-04-23 Visegrád	George of Hohenlohe
1419-04-28 Visegrád	George of Hohenlohe
1419-05-04 Visegrád	Louis of Öttingen
1419-05-24 Kassa	Georg of Hohenlohe
1419-05-26 Kassa	George of Hohenlohe
1419-05-27 Kassa	George of Hohenlohe
1419-06-21 Kassa	George of Hohenlohe
1419-07-03 Kassa	Louis of Öttingen
1419-07-28 Esztergom	Louis of Öttingen
1419-08-12 Buda	Louis of Öttingen
1419-08-13 Buda	George of Hohenlohe
1419-08-12 Buda	Louis of Öttingen
1419-09-15 Kassa	Louis of Öttingen
1419-09-24 Varasd	John [of Waldow], Bishop of Brandenburg
1419-10-01 Varasd	John [of Waldow], Bishop of Brandenburg
1419-10-27 Neuhaus?	Louis of Öttingen
1419-10-28 Neuhaus?	George of Hohenlohe
1419-10-28 Orsova	Louis of Öttingen
1419-12-25 Skalitz	Louis of Öttingen
1419-12-29 Brno	Louis of Öttingen



Appendix 12: Queen Barbara's charter issuing



### Appendix 13: Sigismund's whereabouts in the Kingdom of Hungary 1404–1412

	days	nr. of stays		nr. of stays	days
Buda	974	38	Buda	38	974
Visegrád	128	12	Visegrád	12	128
Kassa	106	7	Zólyom	9	72
Zólyom	72	9	Tata	8	24
Pozsony	70	6	Kassa	7	106
Diakó	45	6	Végles	7	36
Nagyszombat	39	2	Diakó	6	45
Végles	36	7	Pressburg	6	70
Fehérvár	35	3	Vác	5	10
Lőcse	34	4	Esztergom	4	13
Körös	32	3	Lőcse	4	34
Temesvár	32	3	Pozsegavár	4	13
Zagreb	29	2	Debrecen	3	3
Várad	25	3	Diósgyőr	3	10
Tata	24	8	Dragotin	3	5
Késmárk	20	3	Fehérvár	3	35
Lubló	14	3	Gara	3	4
Bács	13	2	Hévkút	3	6
Esztergom	13	4	Kapronca	3	6
Pozsegavár	13	4	Késmárk	3	20
Dobor	11	1	Körös	3	32
Bihács	10	1	Lubló	3	14
Diósgyőr	10	3	Temesvár	3	32
Pécs	10	2	Várad	3	25
Vác	10	5	Zólyomlipcse	3	3
Eger	7	2	Árki	2	3
Korpona	7	2	Bács	2	13
Hévkút	6	3	Besztercebánya	2	3
Kapronca	6	3	Böszörmény	2	2
Dragotin	5	3	Breznóbánya	2	2
Nagyeng	5	2	Eger	2	7
Szentgyörgy	5	2	Korpona	2	7
Gara	4	3	Miskolc	2	2
Igló	4	1	Nagyeng	2	5
Sempte	4	2	Nagyszombat	2	39
Susicasztgyörgy	4	1	Neszmély	2	2
Tokaj	4	2	Pécs	2	10
Árki	3	2	Sempte	2	4
Besztercebánya	3	2	Szentgyörgy	2	5
Debrecen	3	3	Tokaj	2	4
Komárom	3	1	Zágráb	2	29
Világosvár	3	1	Ászár	1	1
Zólyomlipcse	3	3	Bánhida	1	2
Bánhida	2	1	Bát	1	1

	days	nr. of stays		nr. of stays	days
Böszörmény	2	2	Báta	1	1
Breznóbánya	2	2	Béla	1	1
Lippa	2	1	Bihács	1	10
Miskolc	2	2	Bjenik	1	1
Neszmély	2	2	Bojna	1	1
Nevna	2	1	Csáktornya	1	1
Sopron	2	1	Császár	1	1
Szávasztdemeter	2	1	Dédes	1	1
Ászár	1	1	Dobor	1	11
Bát	1	1	Dobronya	1	1
Báta	1	1	Dombró	1	1
Béla	1	1	Dömsöd	1	1
Bjenik	1	1	Eperjes	1	1
Bojna	1	1	Ercsi	1	1
Csáktornya	1	1	Erdöd	1	1
Császár	1	1	Érsomlyó	1	1
Dédes	1	1	Gerencsér	1	1
Dobronya	1	1	Hosszúbács	1	1
Dombró	1	1	Igló	1	4
Dömsöd	1	1	Izdenc	1	1
Eperjes	1	1	Keve	1	1
Ercsi	1	1	Komárom	1	3
Erdöd	1	1	Körmöcbánya	1	1
Érsomlyó	1	1	Környe	1	1
Gerencsér	1	1	Krapina	1	1
Hosszúbács	1	1	Krassófü	1	1
Izdenc	1	1	Krupa	1	1
Keve	1	1	Lipcse	1	1
Körmöcbánya	1	1	Lippa	1	2
Környe	1	1	Ludbreg	1	1
Krapina	1	1	Majsa	1	1
Krassófü	1	1	Maros	1	1
Krupa	1	1	Mohács	1	1
Lipcse	1	1	Nagyhatvan	1	1
Ludbreg	1	1	Nekcse	1	1
Majsa	1	1	Nevna	1	2
Maros	1	1	Nyitra	1	1
Mohács	1	1	Orsova	1	1
Nagyhatvan	1	1	Pécsvárad	1	1
Nekcse	1	1	Rudabánya	1	1
Nyitra	1	1	Siklós	1	1
Orsova	1	1	Solymár	1	1
Pécsvárad	1	1	Sopron	1	2
Rudabánya	1	1	Susicasztgyörgy	1	4
Siklós	1	1	Szalatna	1	1
Solymár	1	1	Szár	1	1

	<b>days</b>	<b>nr. of stays</b>		<b>nr. of stays</b>	<b>days</b>
Szalatna	1	1	Szávasztdemeter	1	2
Szár	1	1	Szentkereszt	1	1
Szentkereszt	1	1	Szepesbéla	1	1
Szepesbéla	1	1	Szikszó	1	1
Szikszó	1	1	Szond	1	1
Szond	1	1	Tamáshida	1	1
Tamáshida	1	1	Tétény	1	1
Tétény	1	1	Torony	1	1
Torony	1	1	Trencsén	1	1
Trencsén	1	1	Újbánya	1	1
Újbánya	1	1	Újlak	1	1
Újlak	1	1	Újvár	1	1
Újvár	1	1	Valpó	1	1
Valpó	1	1	Világosvár	1	3
Vizsoly	1	1	Vizsoly	1	1
Zsolna	1	1	Zsolna	1	1

## Appendix 14: Sigismund's whereabouts in the Empire 1412–1419

	days	nr. of stays		nr. of stays	days
Constance	600	6	Constance	6	600
Passau	55	1	Basel	5	14
Aachen	31	2	Aachen	2	31
Strassburg	27	2	Strassburg	2	27
Koblenz	26	2	Koblenz	2	26
Regensburg	17	1	Speyer	2	17
Speyer	17	2	Cologne	2	13
Hagenau	16	1	Radolfzell	2	11
Luxembourg	16	1	Mainz	2	8
Ulm	16	1	Bonn	2	6
Basel	14	5	Solothurn	2	2
Augsburg	13	1	Passau	1	55
Cologne	13	2	Regensburg	1	17
Heidelberg	11	1	Hagenau	1	16
Nuremberg	11	1	Luxemburg	1	16
Radolfzell	11	2	Ulm	1	16
Vienna	9	1	Augsburg	1	13
Donauwörth	8	1	Heidelberg	1	11
Mainz	8	2	Nuremberg	1	11
Nijmegen	7	1	Vienna	1	9
Weingarten	7	1	Donauwörth	1	8
Bonn	6	2	Nijmegen	1	7
Baden	5	1	Weingarten	1	7
Heilbronn	5	1	Baden	1	5
Lüttich	5	1	Heilbronn	1	5
Meersburg	5	1	Lüttich	1	5
Öttingen	5	1	Meersburg	1	5
Rothenburg	4	1	Öttingen	1	5
Bern	3	1	Rothenburg	1	4
Dordrecht	3	1	Bern	1	3
Ettlingen	3	1	Dordrecht	1	3
Linz	3	1	Ettlingen	1	3
Montbéliard	3	1	Linz	1	3
Andernach	2	1	Montbéliard	1	3
Frankfurt	2	1	Andernach	1	2
Kolmar	2	1	Frankfurt	1	2
Lechenich	2	1	Kolmar	1	2
Rottweil	2	1	Lechenich	1	2
Solothurn	2	2	Rottweil	1	2
Überlingen	2	1	Überlingen	1	2
Villingen	2	1	Villingen	1	2
Weil	2	1	Weil	1	2
Wetzlar	2	1	Wetzlar	1	2
Aarberg	1	1	Aarberg	1	1

	<b>days</b>	<b>nr. of stays</b>
Breisach	1	1
Dattenried	1	1
Ebelsberg	1	1
Friedberg	1	1
Gelnhausen	1	1
Ingolstadt	1	1
Lausanne	1	1
Pforzheim	1	1
Ravensburg	1	1
Seyssel	1	1
Stuttgart	1	1
Wissembourg	1	1
Worms	1	1

	<b>nr. of stays</b>	<b>days</b>
Breisach	1	1
Dattenried	1	1
Ebelsberg	1	1
Friedberg	1	1
Gelnhausen	1	1
Ingolstadt	1	1
Lausanne	1	1
Pforzheim	1	1
Ravensburg	1	1
Seyssel	1	1
Stuttgart	1	1
Wissembourg	1	1
Worms	1	1

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