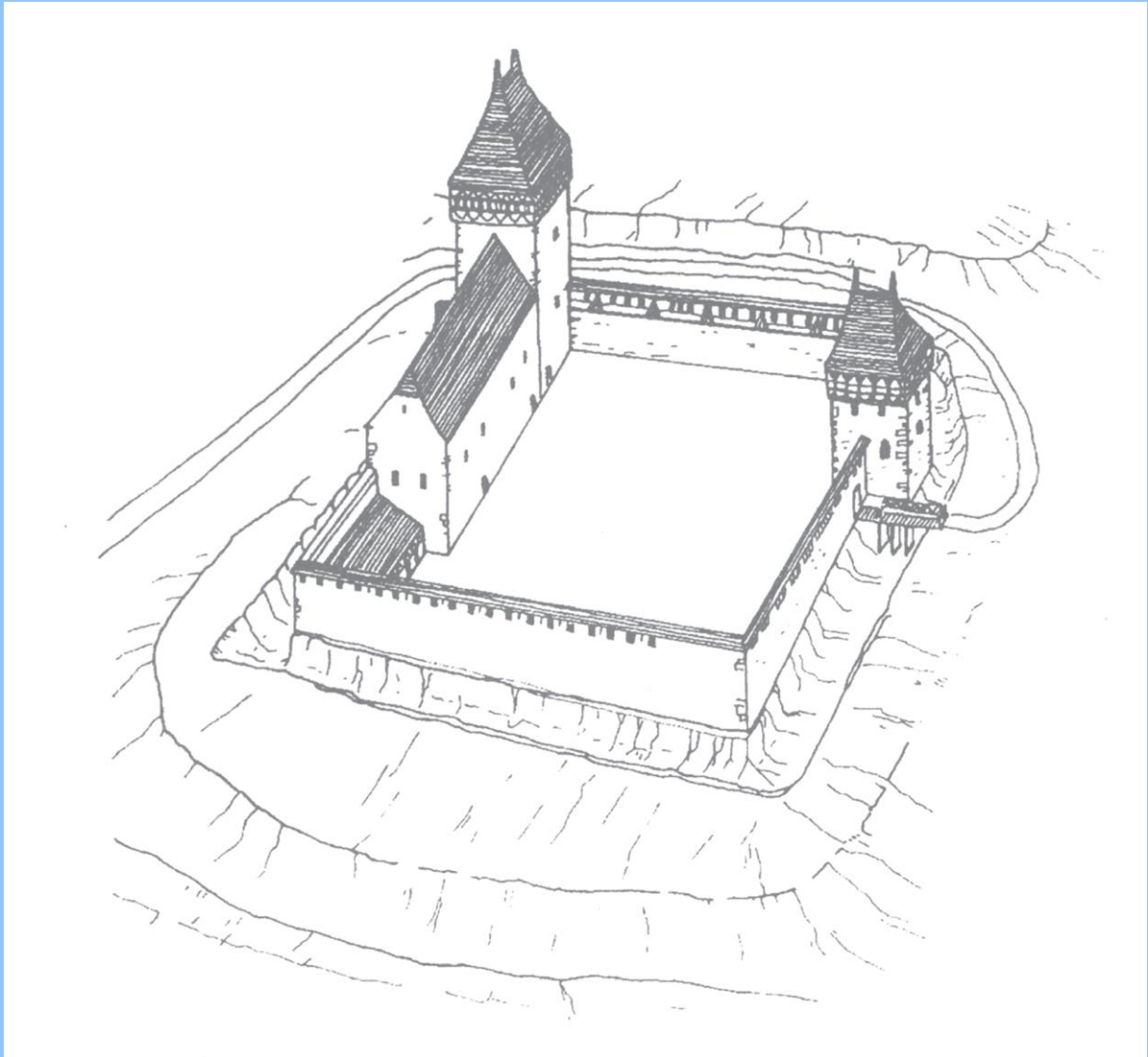
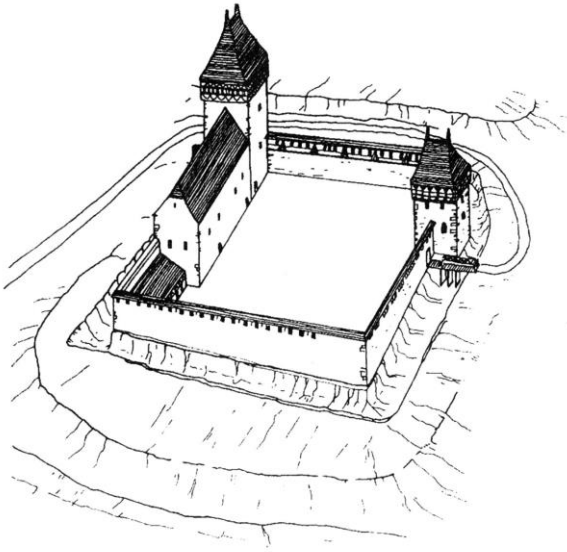


# Castrum Bene 16



**Castle and Economy**





# **Castrum Bene 16**

*Kutina – Sisak, Sisak-Moslavina County,  
Croatia  
May 21<sup>st</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> 2019*

## **Castle and Economy**

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Conference

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Castrum Bene 16 participants, Castle Ribnik

# Contents

**Silvija Pisk**

Preface

**Werner Meyer**

Wirtschaftliche Ursachen des Burgensterbens im Spätmittelalter – ein Überblick.....8

**Diana Duchoňová, Tünde Lengyelová**

Versorgung und Wirtschaftshintergrund der Burgen in Ungarn im 16. – 17. Jahrhundert.....28

**Dieter Barz**

Wirtschaftliche Aktivitäten in Burgen des 10./11. Jahrhunderts im archäologischen Kontext..46

**Adrian Andrei Rusu, Szócs Péter Levente**

Castles, gold- and gold-mining in Transylvania and the eastern parts of medieval Hungary....59

**Lukas Johannes Kerbler**

Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Eisengewinnung und -verarbeitung auf den mittelalterlichen Burgen Feinfeld und Sachsenhof, Niederösterreich.....77

**Pavol Maliniak**

From rise to decline? Some features of the management of Čabrad' estate in the Late Middle Ages and in the beginning of the Early Modern History.....99

**Danko Dujmović**

The network of trading places and castles in today's Moslavina region.....111

**Tatjana Tkalčec, Tajana Trbojević Vukičević**

Archaeozoological evidence of dietary habits of small castle inhabitants in the medieval Slavonia.....124

**Michael Rykl**

Die Feste als ein Speicher und der Speicher als eine Feste (nicht nur) in Böhmen.....153

**Jana Mazáčková, Petr Žaža, Daniela Vaněčková**

Life (inside) of the Rokštejn Castle.....181

**Dominik Nowakowski**

Die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der ländlichen Herrensitze Schlesiens im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit.....193

**Andrej Janeš**

The Castle Estate: A Self-sufficient or Dependent Economy – the Case Study of Grižane Castle in the Vinodol Valley.....219

**Sófalvi András**

Castles and Customs in the Middle Ages on the Southern Borders of Transylvania.....235

<b>Ádám Novák</b>	
The detailed survey of the three demesnes of the Perényi family until 1465.....	246
<b>Ivan Alduk</b>	
Financing the construction and maintenance of fortifications in Dalmatia in the 15th and 16th century - selected examples.....	263
<b>Felix Biermann, Normen Posselt</b>	
Burg, Schloss und Stadt in der Prignitz (Nordwestbrandenburg) – Ausgrabungen an einer mittelalterlichen Motte in Meyenburg.....	274
<b>Katarína Harmadyová</b>	
Belege der mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Wirtschaftstätigkeit auf der Burg Theben (Devín) und in ihrem Hinterland.....	291
<b>Piotr Lasek</b>	
Aedificia ante castrum. Economic and auxiliary steadings of ducal Mazovian castles in the XVth and XVIth century.....	306
<b>Zlata Gersdorfová</b>	
Der Fall von Janowitz. Der Heerezug der böhmischen königlichen Städte gegen das Raubadel im Jahre 1520.....	321
<b>Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, Máté Varga</b>	
Counterfeiting and castle-building: synchron baronial trespasses at Várpalota? Traces of a special mint at the mid-15th-century residence of Nicholas Újlaki.....	332
<b>Artur Boguszewicz</b>	
Burgen aus der Sicht der Wirtschaftsanthropologie. Beispiel Schlesien.....	345
<b>Miroslava Cejpová</b>	
Die Bauform der Küchen auf den Adelssitzen in den tschechischen Ländern im 13. - 16. Jahrhundert.....	368
<b>Silvija Pisk</b>	
„Burg und Wirtschaft“ in schriftlichen mittelalterlichen Quellen – Fallstudie Regnum Sclavoniae.....	384
<b>Domagoj Pintač</b>	
Castrum Bene Conferences, 1989-2019.....	396
<b>Jan Salm</b>	
Drawings from the Conference Castrum Bene 16.....	405

## Preface

In spring of 2019 (May 21-25), the 16th International Castellological Conference *Castrum Bene* "Castle and Economy" / "Burg und Wirtschaft" was held in Kutina and Sisak, organized by the Department of History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, the Moslavina Museum in Kutina and the Historical Association Moslavina. For our readers we have prepared a tangible result of the conference — a collection of papers.

The *Castrum Bene* International Castellological Association brings together leading Central European fortification experts (archaeologists, historians, art historians, architects) with the aim of exchanging experiences and knowledge of Central European castellologists, in order to jointly explore, conserve and popularize as many medieval fortifications as possible. The association was founded in 1989 in Hungary and currently represents scientific castellologists from Hungary, Austria, Romania, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Croatia, and each of the countries has one permanent representative in the Presidency, as well as a deputy.

Castellology is a complex interdisciplinary process that requires the involvement of primarily archaeologists, historians, art historians and architects. Therefore, the *Castrum Bene* International Castellological Association organizes biennial conferences in order to exchange knowledge and experiences of castellologists from different scientific disciplines and regions.

Croatia officially joined the Association in 2011. The first official Croatian representative in the *Castrum Bene* Presidency was Tajana Pleše, PhD, and she was succeeded in 2016 by the author of this preface and the former deputy. In 2017 at Książ Castle Croatia took over the presidency of the Association, along with the obligation to organize a major international castellological conference (2019) which was the first scientific international castellological conference *Castrum Bene* organized in Croatia.

The 16th *Castrum Bene* Conference was attended by 55 participants from 11 countries (Germany, Switzerland, Slovakia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Austria, Slovenia, Romania, Hungary, Italy and Croatia). 34 presentations were held and 8 posters were presented. Most of the lectures were presented in the premises of the Moslavina Museum in Kutina while one session was organized in the Sisak Fortress.

At the meeting of members of the Presidency in the fall of 2018 in Kutina, it was agreed that the topic of the 16th international *Castrum Bene* conference will be "Fortress and Economy". The term economy refers to three very important medieval segments - taxation (in goods or money), economy and trade (purchase / sale of surplus). Namely, fortifications were often centres of local and regional economic network, and economy was a key factor for daily regular life of fortifications and for their daily development or abandonment. Since "Burg und Wirtschaft" is a rather broad term, the presentations' topics ranged from the analysis of outbuildings on forts, through medieval diet to fort management, i. e. economic profitability and their abandonment. Likewise, the tools and resources of fortification researchers are different, and consequently have crucially influenced the ability to select and process a topic. Chronologically, the focus of the topics was the period from the 10th to the 16th century, and geographically the conference primarily dealt with the area of Central and South-eastern Europe, but the topics covered the area from the Baltic to the southern Adriatic. In short, the conference discussed what economy looked like in and around the forts from different scientific



perspectives. Using examples of single forts, the researchers presented a variety of topics related to agriculture, crafts and trade, and at the same time researched the influence of economy on fortifications, fortifications as centres of economic power and economic relations among fortifications and their suburbs.

An unavoidable part of *Castrum Bene* conferences are expert excursions to forts. On this occasion, in cooperation with the Conservation Department in Bjelovar, the Croatian Conservation Institute, the Sisak City Museum, the Karlovac City Museum, the Conservation Department in Karlovac and the Ozalj Heritage Museum three excursions with expert guidance were realized. After the opening and the first sessions the participants climbed the largest medieval fortress in Moslavina, Garićgrad. The next day the participants toured the castle of Zrin, Kostajnica and Sisak. During an all-day field part of the conference, the castellologists visited Novigrad na Dobri, Dubovac, Ozalj and Ribnik. I would like to thank Mr. Peter Frankopan for the opportunity to enter the interior of Ribnik. Namely, according to the participants' feedback, they were impressed by Croatian cultural heritage and they were especially impressed by Ribnik, a rare example of a preserved "wasserburg" in Europe.

The conference was held under sponsorship of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia, as well as the Sisak-Moslavina County, the towns of Popovača and Kutina, the Moslavina Museum in Kutina, the Sisak City Museum, the Historical Association Moslavina and the Department of History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. Thanks are due to all others who participated in the preparation of the conference and contributed to the conference going according to plan, who provided a stimulating atmosphere for scientific discussion and enabled the participants to keep the Croatian *Castrum Bene* conference in good memory.

I would dare say that the conference was a success and that we marked the 20th anniversary of the *Castrum Bene* Association well with interesting presentations, colourful posters, a good atmosphere, new friendships and plans for future collaboration. This is confirmed by the written works in this collection. Unfortunately, not all orally presented papers (and posters) from the conference will be published in the collection. Also, the publication of the collection was planned for last year. However, that year was challenging for all of us, personally and professionally. We fought the pandemic, earthquakes and other demons, but also the lack of funds for culture, so I consider the printing of this collection (even with a small number of articles) a small personal victory and a great pleasure. I would like to thank Stela Kos and Jasmina Uroda Kutlić for their work on the collection, collecting funds for publishing, as well as for all the technical work on editing and arranging the texts. The reviewers also deserve thanks for taking over the reading of the texts without hesitation and hence helping to make the collection even better. And finally, I would like to thank all the participants of the conference, and especially the authors of the articles who sat down, took the time and wrote the texts despite the crazy times.

With faith in new cheerful, challenging and instructive *Castrum Bene* conferences and accompanying collections,

Silvija Pisk, February 2021

## Ádám Novák<sup>1</sup>

### *The detailed survey of the three demesnes of the Perényi family until 1465*

#### **Introduction**

Mainly Pál Engel's and András Kubinyi's research pointed out that authority over people was the source of political power in the middle ages.<sup>2</sup> We know that owning a piece of land in itself did not provide any particular power if peasants did not live on and cultivate the land. A good example of this is the vast Homonna/Humenné territory of the Druget family.<sup>3</sup> Those domains were of great importance, which were protected by a castle (castrum/fortilatum or castellum). Therefore, not only the quantitative, but the qualitative examination of the holdings of an aristocratic family is also important.

In my PhD dissertation I examined the history of the first six generations of the determining family of the 15–16<sup>th</sup> centuries, namely the Perényi family of Terebes.<sup>4</sup> The leading theme of the dissertation was the history of landholding, because in my opinion the foremost goal of the medieval noble families was to keep and expand their territory. We must see that not greed or the desire for power was behind all this, but this was the way to improve their family's chance of survival.

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<sup>1</sup> Ádám Novák is a member of the DE "Hungary in Medieval Europe" Research Group. The research was financed by the Higher Education Institutional Excellence Programme (NKFIH-1150-6/2019) of the Ministry of Innovation and Technology in Hungary, within the framework of the Energetics thematic programme of the University of Debrecen.

<sup>2</sup> Pál, Engel, "A magyar világi nagybirtok megoszlása a XV. században 1–2.," in *Engel Pál: Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok*, eds. Csukovits Enikő (Budapest, 2003), 13-72.; Pál, Engel, "A magyarországi birtokszerkezet átalakulása a Zsigmond-korban (Öt északkeleti megye példája)" in Csukovits eds., *Honor, vár, ispánság*, 451–471.; Pál, Engel, *A nemesi társadalom a középkori Ung megyében* (Budapest, 1998).; András, Kubinyi, "A kaposújvári uradalom és a Somogy megyei familiárisok szerepe Újlaki Miklós birtokpolitikájában," *Somogy megye múltjából. Levéltári Évkönyv* 4, (1973): 344. András, Kubinyi, "Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében", *Történelmi Szemle* 46, (2004): 1-30.

<sup>3</sup> The dimensions of the demesne in Zemplén county far exceeded the dimensions of the neighboring estates, yet we can only find a few villages and serf tenures there. Engel, *A nemesi társadalom*, 46-50.

<sup>4</sup> I have defended my doctoral thesis on 20 November 2018, its publication is due in 2020.



The Perényi family coat of arms from the gravestone of János Perényi: bearded head looking to the right between eagle wings

Several members of the family served their king as high ranking military officers. Péter Perényi for instance, was the comes of several counties as the familial of Louis I of Hungary. His sons later took part in the many campaigns of Sigismund as barons. The secret chancellor Imre Perényi and his sons with their companies enhanced the shine of Sigismund's court from England through Constance to Rome. In today's presentation I attempt to examine the economic background of the Perényi family, on which they were able to base their military power and representational ambitions. I am going to highlight three of their domains, which are unique from one point or another and are in the possession of the family from the very beginning. I will briefly present the history of the family and the size of their holdings, then examine the domains of Terebes/Trebišov, Füzér and Szinye/Svinia in detail.

### **Briefly on the Perényi family**

The three branches of the Perényi family, the Nyaláb, the Rihνό and the Terebes branch originate from Orbán and his sons, who were active in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> The latter operated separately since

<sup>5</sup> The Rihνό branch: The descendants of Miklós, the son of Orbán have lost most of their lands in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and lived a humble noble life in Karász until the family died out in 1514, hence the "noble" title that was often used. The Nyaláb branch: The descendants of János, the son of Orbán have later become barons, thus they are often called the "baronial" branch, but we frequently encounter the "Little Perényi" and "junior" appellations as well. The Terebes branch: Imre, the great-great grandson of István, the son of Orbán have acquired the title of palatine from Vladislaus II, therefore his family is retrospectively called palatine as well. See: István, Tringli, "Hunyadi Mátyás és a Perényiek", *Levéltári Közlemények* 63, (1992): 175–192. 176-177. and 180.; Pál, Engel, „Középkori magyar genealógia”, in *Magyar középkori adattár (DVD)*, (Budapest, 2001). In the paper I consistently indicate the center of residence only.

one of the sons of Orbán, namely István. Péter Perényi, the son of István, served Louis I as comes<sup>6</sup> and castellan.<sup>7</sup> In 1385/86 he presumably already stood alongside Sigismund,<sup>8</sup> for which his son Miklós became Master of the Cupbearers, rising firstly to the baronial ranks in his family.<sup>9</sup> After his assignment as the Ban of Szörény,<sup>10</sup> his brother János took the office of the Master of the Cupbearers.<sup>11</sup> They obtained several holdings, moreover, Miklós independently received a domain (Sárospatak).<sup>12</sup> Following this, he adopted the “pataki” surname. Both Miklós and János died on the battlefield of Nicopolis in 1396.<sup>13</sup>

Thus Imre, their brother became the senior male member of the family. With the death of János, he inherited the Master of the Cupbearers title,<sup>14</sup> and later became the Secret Chancellor in 1405.<sup>15</sup> As a faithful servant, he was an important support for Sigismund, and later he acquired grants of land with the exclusion of his nephews. After he died, Miklós, the son of Miklós “pataki” represented the family at the royal council in 1420 as the Master of the Horses.<sup>16</sup> The sons of Imre, István and János were less dominant at the time. They received an office in 1431 only after the death of Miklós in 1428, they jointly became Masters of the Stewards in 1434.<sup>17</sup>

1428 and 1437 are two milestones in the history of the family, which greatly determined their role in the coming decades. On one hand, with the death of Miklós, the joint holding merged in the hands of István and János, while on the other, their regional authority was lessened with losing the Patak domain. When István died in 1437,<sup>18</sup> all lands and resources of the family was passed down to János. He relied on these during the forthcoming “cloudy times”. He was one of the greatest landholders of the region until his death in 1458. Then he left his fairly intact lands to his son, what’s more, he was even able to expand the domain.

<sup>6</sup> *Ispán* (Comes) of Abaúj (5 April – 1 August 1363); *Ispán* of Turóc (27–28 November 1374) Engel, “Archontológia”. *Ispán* of Bars (28 November 1374 – 4 January 1375) Pál, Engel, „Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457”, in *Magyar középkori adattár (DVD)*, (Budapest, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Castellan of Regéc (first: 22 Marc 1360, second: 17 January 1377 – 8 February 1380) Engel, “Archontológia”.; Castellan of Csejte/Čachtice (19 February 1362) Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény 209 828.; Castellan of Jászóvár/Jasov (1 August 1363); Castellan of Árva/Orava (13 November 1382) Engel, “Archontológia”.

<sup>8</sup> Court knight (5–13 February 1386 and 7 May 1387) Engel, “Archontológia”, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Levéltár 7192. and DL 7262.

<sup>9</sup> 22 August 1387 – 28 April 1390, Engel, “Archontológia”.

<sup>10</sup> 19 August 1390 – 10 Marc 1392, MNL OL DL 47 933. and Engel, “Archontológia”.

<sup>11</sup> 23 May 1390, Engel, “Archontológia”.

<sup>12</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár. I–II/1–2.* (1387–1410) Organized by Elemér Mályusz; III–VII. (1411–1420) The manuscript of Elemér Mályusz was supplemented and edited by Iván Borsa; VIII–IX. (1421–1422) Borsa Iván, C. Tóth Norbert; X. (1423). C. Tóth Norbert; XI. (1424) Neumann Tibor, C. Tóth Norbert; XII. (1425) Released by Norbert C. Tóth, Bálint Lakatos, XIII. (1426) Released by Norbert C. Tóth, with the assistance of Gábor Mikó, Bálint Lakatos. Bp. 1951–. (A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok I, 3-4, 22, 25, 27, 32, 37, 39, 41, 43, 49, 52, 55.) Vol I. Nr. 1674.

<sup>13</sup> Engel „Geneologia”.

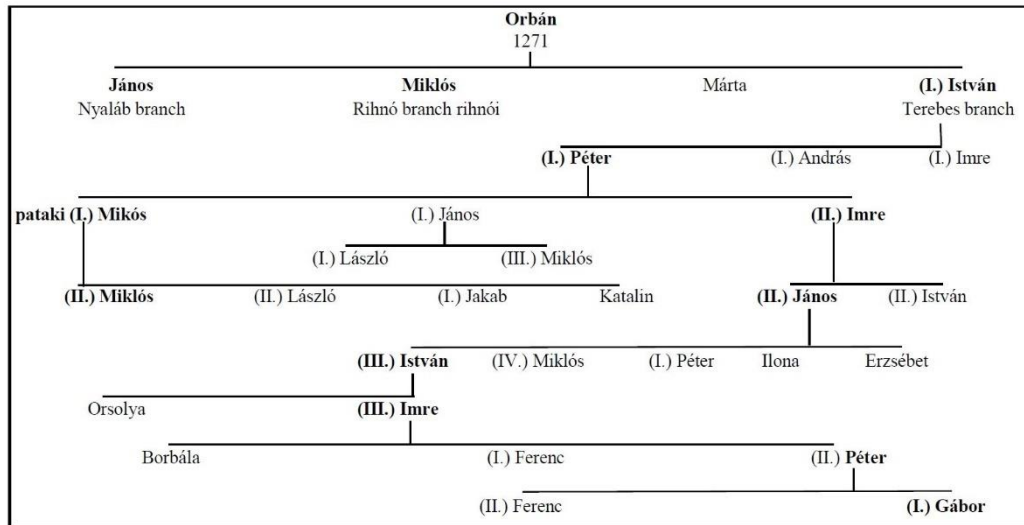
<sup>14</sup> 25 February 1397 – 19 December 1403, Engel, “Archontológia” and Norbert, C. Tóth Norbert, *A leleszi konvent statutoriae sorozatának 1387–1410 közötti oklevelei. (Pótlás a Zsigmondkori oklevéltár I–II. kötetéhez.)*, (Nyíregyháza, 2006) (A Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Levéltár kiadványai II. Közlemények 36.). Nr. 128.

<sup>15</sup> Miklós Felcsebi Orosz, the familial of Perényi is mentioned as Vice Chancellor. *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*, Vol II. Nr. 3958.

<sup>16</sup> Engel, “Archontológia”.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Engel „Geneologia”.



The simplified genealogical table of the family

### Holdings of the Perényi Family of Terebes

The diplomas of the family did not survive in full, however, we still have an outstanding amount of sources on the family, as several domain listings survived.<sup>19</sup> The Perényi families of Terebes and Nyaláb conducted a heritage contract in 1430,<sup>20</sup> then the Perényi family of Terebes and the Kórógyi family did the same in 1454.<sup>21</sup> The family received new land grants from Ladislaus the Posthumous in 1455<sup>22</sup> and from Matthias in 1465.<sup>23</sup> Also, the rare listings of the *droit de regales* of 1427,<sup>24</sup> 1431<sup>25</sup>, 1441<sup>26</sup> and 1457<sup>27</sup> partially cover their holdings.

The Castellan of Diósgyőr Péter Perényi only had small and scattered lands in 1382 however his grandson János at the time of his death in 1458 was the seventh greatest landholder in the whole country, and the greatest in the North-Eastern region.<sup>28</sup> Péter Perényi obtained his first considerable grant in 1386, which was Alsóregmec.<sup>29</sup> This village, together with three others later became part of the Füzér domain. Sigismund of Luxemburg gave the Terebes/Trebišov in 1387<sup>30</sup> and the Füzér domains in 1389<sup>31</sup> to Péter and his sons.

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that the charter material referred to as the “Archive of the Perényi family” (Q 148.), which is kept in the MNL OL DL, contains mainly the written matters of the Nyaláb branch only.

<sup>20</sup> MNL OL DF 209 849. and Isvtán, Tringli eds. *A Perényi család levéltára 1222–1526*, (Budapest, 2008) (A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok 44.) Nr. 438.

<sup>21</sup> MNL OL DL 24 541. Cf. Tringli, “Hunyadi Mátyás és a Perényiek”, 181.

<sup>22</sup> MNL OL DL 14 909. and DL 14 908. Cf. Tringli, “Hunyadi Mátyás és a Perényiek”, 182.

<sup>23</sup> MNL OL DF 209 861. Cf. Tringli, “Hunyadi Mátyás és a Perényiek”, 184.

<sup>24</sup> Pál, Engel, *Kamarahaszna-összeírások 1427-ből*, (Budapest, 1989) (Új Történelmi Tár 2.).

<sup>25</sup> Norbert, C. Tóth, “Lehetőségek és feladatok a középkori járások kutatásában” *Századok* 141, Nr. 2. (2007) 391-470. 411-418.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem* 458-462.

<sup>27</sup> István, Kádas, “Nógrád megye adójegyzéke 1457-ből”, in *Pénz, posztó, piac. Gazdaságtörténelmi tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*, Boglárka, Weisz (Budapest, 2016) 31-82. 42-71.

<sup>28</sup> Engel, “A magyar világi nagybirtok”, 30.

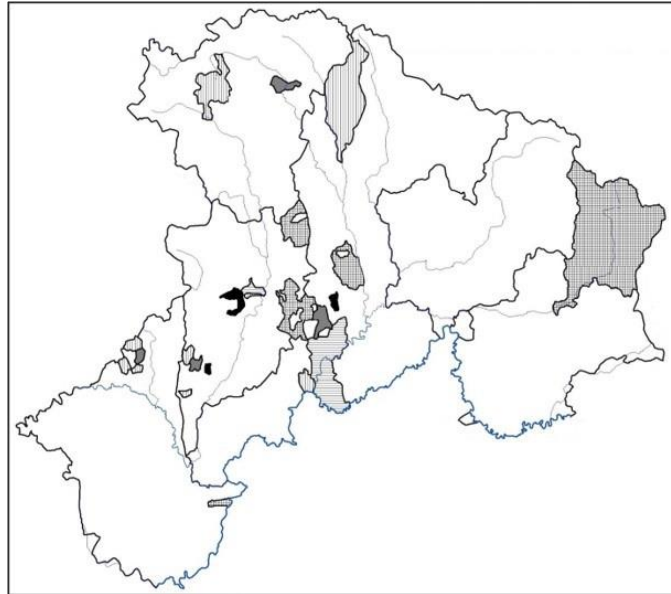
<sup>29</sup> MNL OL DL 7190. and DL 24 690. Cf. Szilárd, Süttő Szilárd *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya. Magyarország politikai története Nagy Lajostól Zsigmondig, az 1384–1387. évi belviszályok okmánytárával. I–II. kötet*, (Szeged, 2003) II. 326–327., 329.

<sup>30</sup> MNL OL DF 209 831.

<sup>31</sup> MNL OL DL 7480.



In 1393 Miklós, the son of Péter was granted separately with the Patak domain.<sup>32</sup> Following the Battle of Nicopolis, Imre and his nephews were jointly granted with the domain of Svinia,<sup>33</sup> but only Imre was granted with the castles of Csorbakő,<sup>34</sup> Újvár/Hanigovce and Sztropkó/Stropkov.<sup>35</sup> With the exception of Patak, at the time of the death of Miklós, the son of Miklós in 1428, the lands concentrated in the hands of the sons of Imre.



The demesnes of the Perényi family of Terebes in 1428<sup>36</sup>

In 1430, János, István and the Perényi family of Nyaláb jointly received the market town of Gömör.<sup>37</sup> Until 1437, István and János pledged several more holdings from the king, including the castle of Fülel/Fil'akovo.<sup>38</sup> With the death of István, all lands concentrated in the hands of János. From Albert II of Germany he acquired the castle of Sáros/Šariš<sup>39</sup> and the market towns of Emőd and Vizsoly.<sup>40</sup> He was able to maintain his land rights until his death, so the lands of his sons stretched from the counties of Heves, Nógrád, Gömör, Borsod, Sáros, and Zemplén to Bereg. In 1465, a comprehensive list was made on the size of the lands, which is the reason why we chose this as a closing date.

Based on the available sources, we edited a table containing their lands and manors. As a supplement, we expanded the tables with the relevant taxation data and domain listing diplomas. The prepared tables with the donations allow us to examine the composition of the holdings occasionally in six separate timelines, thus its development can also be traced. The timelines vary from land to land, but for example in the case of Füzér, we can observe the changing of the

<sup>32</sup> See footnote nr. 16.

<sup>33</sup> MNL OL DF 209 838.

<sup>34</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. II. Nr. 2724. and Nr. 2716.

<sup>35</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. II. Nr. 7599.

<sup>36</sup> Based on *Magyarország a középkor végén. Digitális térkép és adatbázis a Magyar Királyság területéről (CD-ROM)*, Pál, Engel eds. (Budapest, 2001).

<sup>37</sup> *A Perényi család levéltára* Nr. 420.

<sup>38</sup> Fülel: MNL OL DL 12 770. The two Telekes village near Csorbakő castle: *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. XII. Nr. 921-2.

<sup>39</sup> MNL OL DL 13 410.

<sup>40</sup> MNL OL DL 71 976.

accessories in 1398, 1427, 1430, 1454, 1455, and 1465. Based on this, we can conclude the economic power and development of a given holding, and its place within the land structure of the family.

Hereinafter we will discuss three of those holdings in detail. The family was able to rely on the economic power of the lands throughout the examined period. The base of the family was the Terebes/Trebišov territory in Zemplén, with a market town as its center. The vast Füzér holding in Abaúj was protected by a strong rock castle. In the heart of the Szinye/Svinia territory laid no castle nor château, only a church with a churchyard at best, but nonetheless it was an enormous agricultural area. Unfortunately, we only have indirect sources to examine the economic potential, but this could be a base of comparison regarding the examination of medieval Hungarian castles.

### **The Terebes/Trebišov demesne and the adjoining lands (Zemplén county)**

The holding that lies in the middle of Zemplén county was bordered by the Bodrog/Ondava river on the East, and the Tokaj-Prešov mountains on the West. The largely flat area had advantageous agricultural conditions. Terebes/Trebišov was already inhabited in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and its castle is first mentioned in the 14<sup>th</sup> century under the name Parics.<sup>41</sup> The flatland castle surrounded by a ditch was given by Charles I of Hungary to Fülöp Druget, then to Vilmos. After the latter died in 1342, the land reverted back to the king and was managed by the comes of Zemplén until it was donated in 1387.<sup>42</sup> Its rank as a market town was mentioned first only in 1439.<sup>43</sup> The manor court operated here in the 14<sup>th</sup> century until 1464.<sup>44</sup>

A weekly Saturday market was already held here in the 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>45</sup> and Miklós Perényi, together with his brothers, gained the right to hold a weekly market on the 8<sup>th</sup> September, which is the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>46</sup> The area of the holding is 135 square kilometers, and regarding the number of its gates, it was presumably the largest holding under the chancellery of Imre Perényi.<sup>47</sup> From 1387 it was the base of the descendants of the castellan Péter Perényi, and later, following the death of his brother and cousin, János Perényi moved his headquarters here sometime at the end of the 1430s. The Miglész land tenure that wedged into the demesne, and the nobles living there were oppressed on several occasions.<sup>48</sup> A bridge passed through the Trnavka stream in the Vécse/Vojčice area.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. Vol I–II*, Imre, Szentpétery and Iván, Borsa Iván, (Budapest, 1923–1987) Nr. 928.

<sup>42</sup> Engel, “Archontológia”, Terebes.

<sup>43</sup> MNL OL DL 57 691.

<sup>44</sup> Enikő, Csukovits, “Sedriahelyek – megyeszékhelyek a középkorban”, *Történelmi Szemle* 39, (1997) 363–386. 385.

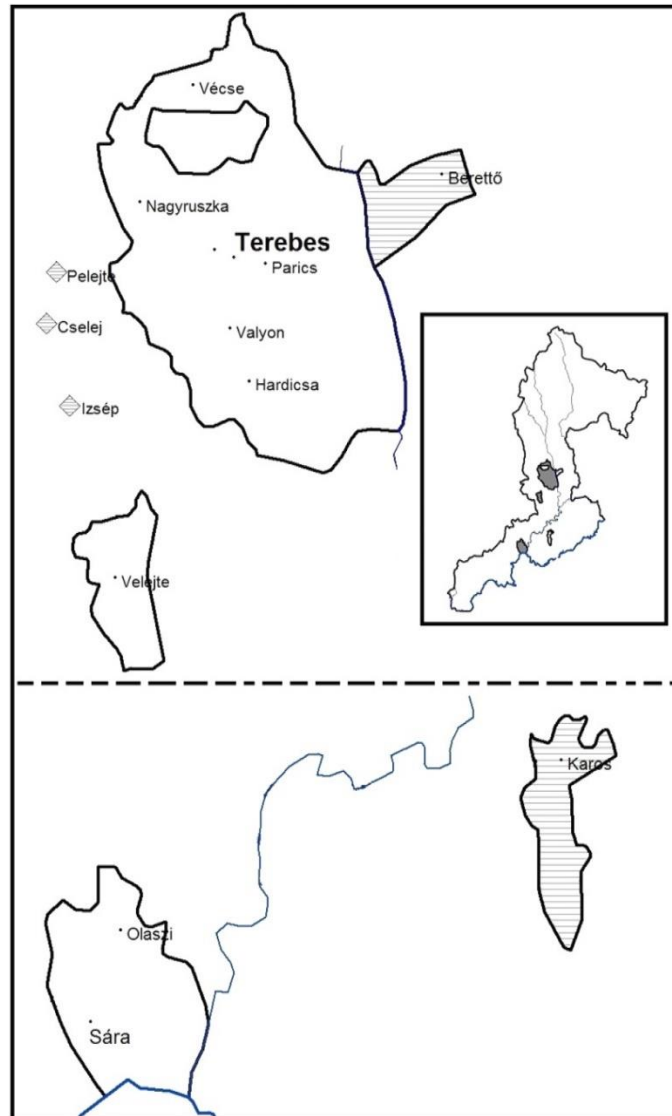
<sup>45</sup> Boglárka, Weisz, *A királyketteje és az ispán harmada*, (Budapest, 2013) 399.

<sup>46</sup> MNL OL DF 209 833.

<sup>47</sup> Based on Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén*.

<sup>48</sup> See *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. VIII. Nr. 1105. and Vol. XI. Nr. 259.

<sup>49</sup> Weisz, *A királyketteje és az ispán harmada*, 429.



The demesne of Terebes and its accessories<sup>50</sup>

Around one third of the people of Terebes/Trebišov could have lived in Velejte as it was the ancestral land of the Perényis.<sup>51</sup> Imre Perényi pledged the territory from the Rihnó branch before October 1411 presumably to enlarge his own holding, but Gergely Perényi of Rihnó redeemed it for fifty-eight forints. The hole area of the territory of 15.6 square kilometers.<sup>52</sup>

The Olasz holding was granted to Imre by Sigismund in 1403, against which the Csicseri family protested for decades.<sup>53</sup> While this land was not strictly part of the Terebes/Trebišov holding, it was still listed right after the latter on the domain listings, furthermore, its governance was most likely carried out from Terebes/Trebišov.<sup>54</sup> It was located South of Sárospatak, where the Bodrog

<sup>50</sup> Based on Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén*.

<sup>51</sup> See table Nr. 1.

<sup>52</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. III. Nr. 1008. Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén*.

<sup>53</sup> Ödön, Kárfy, "Csicsery család levéltára I–V", *Magyar Történelmi Társulat* 48, (1900) 385–410; 49, (1901) 41–70; 223–238; 554–564; 50, (1902) 6–80.

<sup>54</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. IX. Nr. 921.



met the Tisza river before the Tisza was regulated. Hence, it is not surprising that the mill of Olaszi was already mentioned in 1332.<sup>55</sup> A part of Olaszi was the village of Sára, the toll of which was the result of creating a crossing place on the Tisza. Its area is 38.6 square kilometers.<sup>56</sup>

Name and settlement	Donation (1387)	1430	1441	1454	1455	1465	Number of gates 1441	The name of the settlement today
Terebes castle, market town and duties	castrum Therebes	castrum Therebes	Felsetherebes	Therebes castrum, oppidum, cum tributo	Therebes castrum, oppidum, cum tributo	Therebes castrum, oppidum, cum tributo	78	Trebíšov and ruins (SK)
			Alsotherebes				143	
Vécse village	(...) sicum universis,	Weche	Veche	Wecze	Vecse	Weche	38	Vojčice (SK)
Ruszka village	siuis villis	Rwzka	Nagyruska	Ruska	Ruszka	Naghruska	38	Veľký Ruskov (SK)
Valyon village		Valyon	Valon	Valyon	Valyon	Walyon	50	perished
Hradisa village	tributo, juribus (...)	Hradzicza	Hradischa	Haradistha	Haradiscsa	Haradystha	9,5	Zemplinské Hradište (SK)
Perics village		Paricz	Parych	Parizch	Parics	Parych	8	perished
Velejte 1/3 village		Velethe	Velethe maioris	Velethe	Velethe	Welethe	23	Veľaty (SK)
			Velethe minoris				16	
Izsép village			Iseep			Isyp	4	Nižný Žipov (SK)
Olaszi village	Olazy (1403)	Olazy		Olasy	Olaszy	Olazy		Bodrogolaszi
Sára village and duties		Saara		Sara cum tributo	Sara cum tributo	Sara cum tributo		Sárazsadány
Berettő village						Berethe		Bracovce (SK)
Cselej village						Cheley	35, and 9 from that free	Čeľovce (SK)
Karos village						Karos		Káros
Pelejte village						Pelehthe	15 and 5.5	Plechotice (SK)
? (Zemplén)						Vadi		?

Changes in the composition of the Terebes demesne

With its more than four hundred peasant socages, this was the most significant Perényi holding, however only judging by the number of socages, we are unable to make conclude the number of actual peasants living there. The road of regional significance that went across the market town gave it a high rank. The regional road that connected Kassa/Košice with Lelesz/Leles, the most important place of authentication went through the town. The weekly market and the noble gatherings granted an assured source of commercial income for the land owners. The Olaszi territory was of particular importance, where the profit of river crossing was collected for the holders by an official. The result was that a noble seat was built in Terebes/Trebíšov, ad later, the Perényis also established a monastery for the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit.

**The domain of Füzér and adjoining lands (Abaúj county)**

On the top of a volcanic rock cone, lies the castle of Füzér at the foot of the Nagy-Milic, the highest peak of the Tokaj-Prešov mountains. There is a papal diploma from 1264 which provides evidence that the owner of the castle at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century was master “Blind” Andronicus from the Kompolt genus. Most probably he built the castle, and Andrew II bought it from him, thus it could have been one of the castles that were built before the Mongol invasion. Béla IV of Hungary gave it to his daughter Anne, who was the widow of the prince of Halych, namely Ratislav. In the first year of his rule in 1270, Stephen V of Hungary gave the castle and its belongings to the captain Mihály Rosd and his brother Demeter. Shortly afterwards, the family died out and the domain reverted back to the king. The settlements of Füzér, Füzéralja, Nyíri, Kajata, Biste/Byšta and

<sup>55</sup> Tamás, Vajda, “1326 és 1344 közötti okleveles adatok a hazai vízimalmokról”, in *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok VII.* Attila, Kiss P., Ferenc Piti and György, Szabados eds. (Szeged, 2012) 375-410. 388.

<sup>56</sup> Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén.*

Kápolna have surely existed during the era of the Árpád dynasty, just like Vereng, which a hundred years later could only keep its tolls, and three other villages that are lost since.<sup>57</sup>



The castle of Füzér before and after its renovation in the 2010s<sup>58</sup>

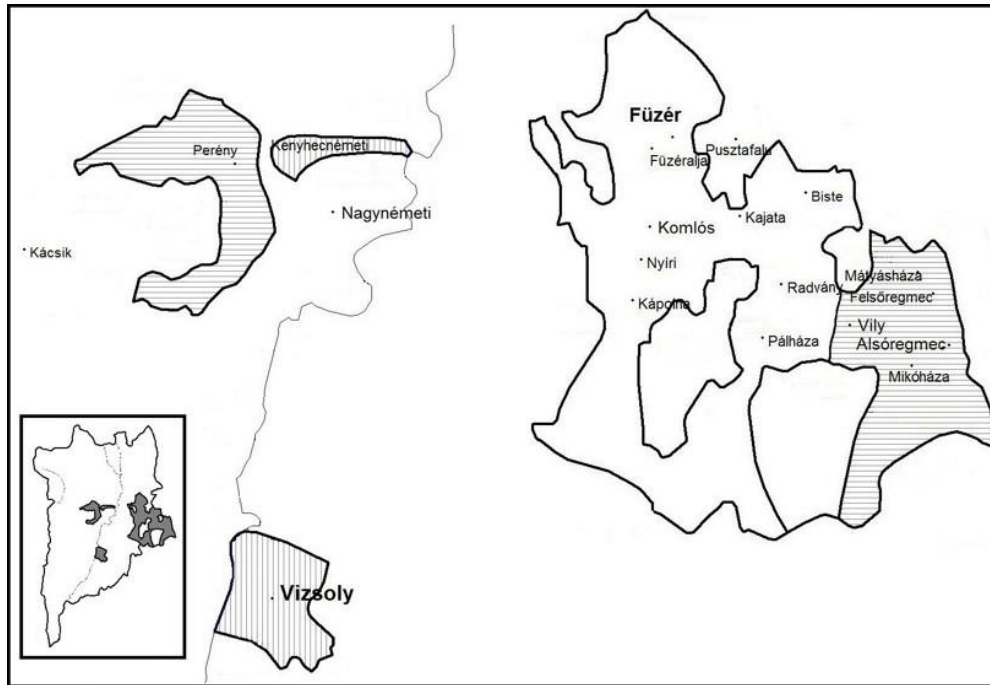
Furthermore, the domain included Telkibánya as well, for which later mining rights were granted and separated from the domain. These formed one half of the Füzér domain in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. On the South, it was bordered by the Radvány holding, which fell under the authority of the Comes of Patak, and only became part of the Füzér domain after its disruption.<sup>59</sup> Füzér remained a royal

<sup>57</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár Vol. I-XII*, Gusztáv, Wenzel eds. (Budapest, 1860–1874.) (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria. Magyar Történelmi Emlékek. Első osztály: Okmánytárak. VI–XIII, XVII–XVIII, XX, XXII.), Vol. III. Nr. 70. and Vol. VIII. Nr. 262.

<sup>58</sup> Its renovation and reconstruction sparked several debates. Based on the proposal of the evaluation committee, the Hungarian National Commission of ICOMOS awarded the Lemon Prize for Heritage Protection to the upper castle of Füzér in 2017, which was awarded the Pro Architectura architectural The laudation of the “prize” is available at the ICOMOS website: <http://www.icomos.hu/index.php/hu/elismeresek/citrom-dij/2017> Accessed: 20 January 2020. Reactions and further writings were published and are available on the Archology portal: <https://archeologia.hu/egy-dij-margojara> Accessed: 20 January 2020.

<sup>59</sup> György, Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* Vol I-IV. (Budapest, 1987–1998) Vol. I. 133.

honor land throughout the Anjou era. This was the time when Pusztafalu and Pálháza emerged, and when the traffic toll of Nagynémeti was introduced to the incomes of the domain.<sup>60</sup>



The demesne of Füzér and its accessories<sup>61</sup>

Sigismund pledged it in 1387 for two years for three thousand forints to palatine Lesták Jolsvai,<sup>62</sup> but after it was redeemed in 1389 the king gave it to the castellan of Diósgyőr, Péter Perényi and his sons as an eternal property, to complement the previously acquired Alsóregmec and the four villages that accompanied the castle.<sup>63</sup> Kutlin was attached to the domain in 1410.<sup>64</sup> The castle and the holding remained in the family's possession until it died out in 1567. The area of the thus formed domain was 226.9 square kilometers.<sup>65</sup> Based on the comparative table, Pusztafalu seems to be somewhat shaky, as it was not listed amongst the accessories of the domain in 1427 and 1430, but from 1454 we can find it again in the listing. It appears that during the internal war the village in question became part of the Füzér domain, to which it would normally belong considering its geographical location. We are unable to determine the location of Kutlin and Vereng today, so we did not include those on the map.

Vereng was probably on the edge of the domain, somewhere around Kápolna, and Kutlin could have been somewhere around Biste, Radvány and Vily.<sup>66</sup> The case of the customs of Nagynémeti worth mentioning. The map clearly shows that it is separated from the domain, furthermore, the holding itself is not part of the domain, which caused a lot of trouble.<sup>67</sup> The situation could have

<sup>60</sup> Weisz, *A királyketteje és az ispán harmada*, 244. Ct. Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, Vol. I. 121–124.

<sup>61</sup> Based on Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén*.

<sup>62</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. I. Nr. 643.

<sup>63</sup> MNL OL DL 7480.

<sup>64</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. II. Nr. 8104.

<sup>65</sup> Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén*.

<sup>66</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. X. Nr. 466.

<sup>67</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. I. Nr. 5536.; Vol. III. Nr. 3092.; Vol. IV. Nr. 955.

changed with the acquiring of Kenyhecnémeti sometime before 1427. Perény, which is located on the right banks of the Hornád, is part of the three ancestral lands of the family, thus the Terebes branch could only possess one third of it. Since we do not have any information on how the land was distributed, we highlighted the whole domain on the map. The protector of its church is Saint George. Close to this holding lies the village of Kácsik. In the context of land concentration, the sons of chancellor Emery exchanged this territory in 1423 for the Henning/Hanigovce holding, which is located on the edge of Újvár/Hanigovce in Sáros/Šariš.<sup>68</sup>

The judgement of the holding was binary within the Perény empire. One originates from the castle's fortification, defensibility and location. The castle itself was built in a small valley surrounded by mountains, and it was not visible from any major roads, while it was only one-day travel away from Terebes, the base of the family. Upon developing the fortification of the castle they always paid attention so that in case of an attack the castle could be defended easily, in contrast to the headquarters, which lay on flatland.<sup>69</sup> That is why in later times, but presumably before as well, it served as a place of refuge.<sup>70</sup> Its second significance lies in the size of the five Southern villages (namely Mikóháza, Vily, Alsóregmec, Felsőregmec and Mátyásháza), where 128 gates were added to the Northern 146 gates in 1427, meaning that this holding was in the middle grounds regarding the amount of its gates. The local trade route from Košice to Abaújvár and Újhely to Lelesz went through its territory.

<sup>68</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* Vol. III. Nr. 96.; Vol. X. Nr. 466.

<sup>69</sup> On the castle's history, archeological excavation, construction and fortification see István, Feld, Juan Cabello, *A füzéri vár*, (Miskolc, 1980). Zoltán, Simon, *A füzéri vár a 16–17. században* (Miskolc, 2000), *Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye várai az őskortól a kuruc korig*, Gyula, Nováki, Sebestyén, Sárközy, István, Feld eds. (Budapest-Miskolc, 2007) 49–52.

<sup>70</sup> János Perényi dates five times from the castle: MNL OL DF 228 708., DF 285 007., DF 240 179., DF 242 414., and DL 84 454.



Name and settlement	Donation (1389)	1427	1430	1454	1455	1465	Number of gates 1427	The name of the settlement today	
Füzér castle	castrum Fyzer		castrum Fyzir	tributum (...) Fyzer	castrum Füzér	castrum Fyzer		vár Füzér területén	
Füzéralja village and duties	Waralya, Fyzer cum tributo	Fyzer	Ffyziralia	Fyziralya	Füzérallya	Fyzer cum tributo	16	Füzér	
Kolmlós village and duties	Kumlos cum tributo	Komplos	Comlos	Kolmlós cum tributo	Komlós cum tributo	Komlos cum tributo	11	Füzérkolmlós	
Nyíri village	Nyry	Nyry	Nyri	Nyry	Nyry	Nyry	29	Nyíri	
Kápolna village	Kapolna cum tributo	Kapolna	Kapolno	Kapolna	Kápolna	Kapolna cum tributo	8	perished	
Biste village	Bysche	Byzthe	Byste	Byste	Bysthe	Bysthe	10	Byšta (SK)	
Pusztajfalu village	Puztawyfalu			Pusthafalw	Pystafalva	Puztafalw	12	Pusztafalu	
Radvány village	Radwan	Raduan	Radwan	Radwan	Radvan	Radwan	11	Füzérradvány	
Kajata village and duties	Karecha	Kaytha	Kaytha	Kayatha cum tributo	Kajatha cum tributo	Kayotha cum tributo	17	Füzérkajata	
Pálháza village	Palhaza	[P]alhaza	Palhaza	Palhaza	Palháza	Palhaza	13	Pálháza	
Vereng duties	tributum Werengh			tributum Vereng	tributum Verenye	tributum Wereng		perished	
Nagynémeti duties	tributum Kuzep-nempthy			cum tributum Nag-nempthy	tributum in Nagy-Nemthyben	tributo in Nagnempthy		Tomyosnémeti	
Alsóregmec village and duties	Alsorebnech (1386)	Alsow-redmech	Alsoredmecz	Also-redmecz cum tributo	Aiso-Rednecz cum tributo	Also-redmecz cum tributo	29	Alsóregmec	
Felsőregmec village		Felsow-redmech	Felsse-redmecz	Felsw-redmecz	Felső-Rednecz	Felsew-redmecz	23	Felsőregmec	
Mátyasháza village		Mathyashaza	Mathiasaza			Mathyashaza	8	Part of Felsőregmec	
Vily village and duties		Wyl	Wil	Vyl cum tributo	Vil cum tributo	Wyl cum tributo	27	Part of Vilyvitány	
Mikóháza village		Mykohaza	Mykohaza	Mykohaza	Mikohaza	Mykohaza	33	Mikóháza	
Kutfin village	Kwtlyn (1410)			Khutlin	Kuthyn		7	perished	
Perény 1/3 village (Abaúj)	Peruen	Peren	Perem	Peren	Peren	Peren	24	Perin (SK)	
Kácsik village (Abaúj)	Kwchyn (1411)	<i>Changed for Henning in 1423</i>							Part of Buzica (SK)
Kenyhecnémeti village (Abaúj)		Fel-nempthy	Nempthy	[Ne]mpty	Nempthy	Nemethy	30	Kechnec (SK)	
Vizsoly market town and duties (Abaúj)	Wyzol (1438)			oppido Vysol cum tributo	oppido Visoly cum tributo	Wysol cum tributo	31	Vizsoly	

### Changes in the composition of the Füzér demesne

Based on the data of the of the table, the holding had an income from three, then from 1465 four customs duties. A contribution to these incomes was three further tolls that were collected on the roads leading to the Terebes Valley, plus the Nagynémeti tolls that were collected on the national trade-and military route, which went from Szikszó to Košice.<sup>71</sup> No other Perényi holding had that many places for collecting customs, and it is also considered significant on a national level. While we are unsure of the amount of the tolls, based on their numbers they must have provided a great amount of income for the members of the family.

### The Szinye demesne (Abaúj county)

The domain lies East to Košice, on the Western side of the Tokaj-Prešov mountains, in the valley of the Olšovany (Ósva) stream, which flows into the Hornád river. Some of the villages already existed in the Árpád era.<sup>72</sup> The fertile valley enabled Szinye/Svinia to become a market town, thanks to its agricultural productivity. This was the last holding that the sons of the castellan of Diósgyőr, Peter Perényi acquired together.

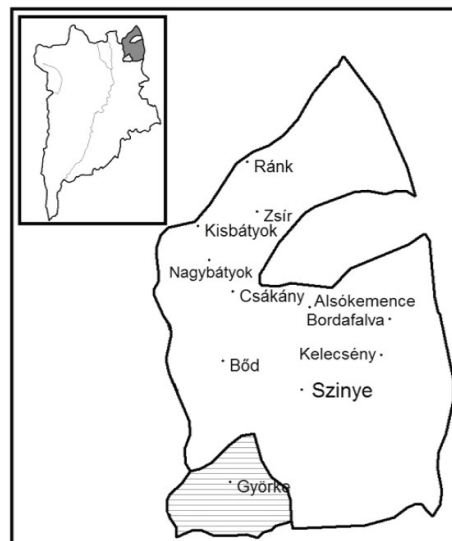
<sup>71</sup> István, Draskóczy, "Sáros megye vámhelyei a 14. században" in *Tanulmányok Borsa Iván tiszteletére*, Enikő, Csukovits eds. (Budapest, 1998) 45–62. 49.

<sup>72</sup> Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, Vol. I. Settlements of Abaúj County.



The remains of the fresco from the Szinye church

Before it was donated, the domain was referred to as a royal honor. In the center of Szinye/Svinia lies the Árpád era church on a hill, which was rebuilt in Gothic style under the Perényis in the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The frescos were also painted at that time. The average gate number of the villages in 1427 was 18, which is also noticeable. In the grant we can find the village of Györke, which then later, in 1427 we find in the possession of Ladislaus of Ruszka.



The demesne of Szinye and its accessories<sup>73</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Based on Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén*.

The importance of the holding is further enhanced by the fact that the local trade route that starts from East of Košice runs through the stream valley, goes around Rozgony/Rozhanovce and joins the main trade route, which connects Košice to Prešov.<sup>74</sup> Owing to this, Zsír/Žirovce had a customs collecting place already in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and Szinye/Svinia acquired the right of collecting taxes sometime around 1454–55, since its tolls are not yet mentioned in the 1454 contract, but it is mentioned in the new grant of 1455. In relation to the amount of its gates, it belonged to the lower middle class.<sup>75</sup>

Name and settlement	Donation (1397)	1427	1430	1454	1455	1465	Number of gates 1427	The name of the settlement today (SK)
Szinye village and duties	Zvinic cum tributo	Syna	Swinye	Swynye	<i>oppido Swynye cum tributo</i>	<i>Swynye cum tributo</i>	70	Svinica
Alsökemenche village	Kemenche	Alsow-kemenche	Kemencze	Kemecze	Kemencze	Kemecze	31	Nižná Kamenica
Böd village	Bud	Bwd	Bewth	Bewd	Beöd	Bewd	30	Bidovce
Kelecsény village	Kelechen	Kelechen	Keleczen	Kelechen	Kelechey	Kelechen	10	Košický Klečenov
Csákány village	Chakan	Chakan	Chakan	Chakan	Chakan	Chakan	20	Čakanovce
Nagybátyok village	Baayg	Nagbadyok	Nagbathk	Nagbayk	Nagybayk	Nagbaghk	22	Bačkovík
Kisbátyok village	alterum Bayg	Kussbadoch	Kysbath	Kisbayk	Kisbayk	Kysbaghk	5	perished
Zsír village and duties	Syr cum tributo	Gyr	Syr	Gyr cum tributo	Sir cum tributo	<i>Syr cum tributo</i>	12	Žirovice
Ránk village	Rank	Rank	Rank	Rank	Rank	Rank	25	Rankovce
Györke village	Gyurke							Ďurkov
Bordafalva village		Bordafalua	Bordofalwa	Bordasfalwa	Bordafalwa	Bordafalva	10	desert near Košický Klečenov
? possession						predium Ferthewskropaya		?

#### Changes in the composition of the Szinye demesne

<sup>74</sup> Draskóczy, “Sáros megye vámhelyei”, 56.

<sup>75</sup> Find more about the family and the dimensnes: Ádám Novák, *A terebesi Perényi család története a 15. Században*, Debrecen, 2020.

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