

Additions to the itinerary of King Sigismund's travels along the Rhine (1414–1418)¹

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ABSTRACT

It is a well-known fact in research that medieval German rulers also used river routes during their travels. In recent years, however, there has been an increasingly in-depth and comprehensive investigation of the actual rivers to which and the periods of time from which the imperial river cruises can be traced. The question of whether the waterway or land route was preferred when approaching the riverbanks has also been raised by more recent researchers. Obviously, late medieval source materials provide more information on this issue, thus the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg can also be covered by this field of research.

By examining King Sigismund's travels on the Rhine it can be stated that the monarch took a boat wherever he could on the middle and upper reaches of the Rhineland, regardless of the direction of the river, unless his governmental policy required him to leave the Rhine. On the Constance–Basel route, however, he did not necessarily take advantage of the opportunities for navigation, and it seems that he sometimes opted for land travel. However, the characteristics of sources from the Sigismund period does not allow us to perform quantitative studies that would allow us to show the percentage difference between the frequency of land and water transport.

The meeting of the royal couple in 1414 - following the realisation of Sigismund's political intentions - was also organised in the Rhine region, and instead of the monarch

1 In another study, I examined the practical factors related to King Sigismund's Rhine voyages, such as the navigability of these river sections, the organisation of the voyages, the identification of the different types of ship, the movements of the royal retinue on the river, and the royal representation associated with the voyages. This analysis entitled *Notes on managing King Sigismund's fluvial voyages on the Rhine*, will be published in Volume X of *Micae Mediaevales*, organised by the Medieval Doctoral Conference of the ELTE Doctoral School of History, which is currently being edited and will include the papers of the conference of the medievalist PhD students held on 12–13 November 2020.

waiting for the arrival of his wife from the Kingdom of Hungary in Nuremberg, they started to travel together only from the Middle Rhine region. Furthermore, it appears that their 'joint' journeys were often combined with parallel journeys, and that the royal couple might have been further apart from one another for a certain period of time as they opted for different transport arrangements. It is assumed that in such cases the queen remained on the water for as long as possible. The meeting place could then either be the end of the river cruise or, as in the case of Frankfurt, a station of major importance from the point of view of the representation of the monarch.

KEYWORDS: journey, river transport, Rhine, Sigismund of Luxemburg, Queen Barbara, itinerary, envoy reports, chronicle

Introduction

King of Hungary and Germany, Sigismund of Luxembourg, first entered the territory of the Kingdom of Germany as elected German ruler in July 1414 to participate in his coronation, and then in the ecumenical Council of Constance, led by himself. Following his campaign in northern Italy, he travelled to Basel, Switzerland via Bern, where he embarked on a boat on the Rhine heading for Aachen to be crowned. The coronation took place on 8 November 1414, before the aforementioned journey continued to its final destination of Constance, where the council was opened on 5 November; from here, at certain intervals, various governmental or diplomatic affairs (Aragon–French–English) took him away for a few days, or in more particular cases for months, until the second half of May 1418. It is clear from the research aids and the itineraries of the monarchs already compiled in German and Hungarian that the travelling monarch followed the course of various stretches of the Rhine – or even its tributaries, such as the Main – on several occasions during this period. It is well known in the research that medieval German rulers used river routes to travel. In recent years, however, there has been increasingly in-depth and comprehensive research on the fact that imperial fluvial journeys can actually be traced back to specific rivers and periods. A question formulated more recently is whether the water route or perhaps travelling on land was preferred when approaching the river banks.² Obviously, late-medieval source material provides more detailed information for examining this question, thus the period of Sigismund of Luxembourg's reign can be included here to some extent.

2 German researchers examined this topic within the framework of the project "DFG Schwerpunktprogramm 1630 Häfen von der Römischen Kaiserzeit bis zum Mittelalter (2012–2020)". Achim Thomas Hack has analysed the voyages of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III based on the aforementioned point of view. Hack 2019, 79–104.

Fluvial routes and stations on the Rhine

In the context of King Sigismund's first boat voyage in 1414, it is assumed that he sailed all the way down the Rhine from Basel to Koblenz.³ The identifiable stops on this journey were Straßburg⁴–Speyer–Worms–Mainz–Bingen–Koblenz⁵. However, for reasons of imperial policy, the Emperor turned back from Koblenz, and sailed up a reach of the Rhine to Heidelberg. From there he made his way overland to Nuremberg.⁶

Some information about the sailing from Koblenz is available from the reports of the envoys of Frankfurt. The first identifiable stop was Rhens, where Sigismund stayed with the envoys on 2 September, and it is also recorded that he stayed on board his ship and ate there. The German envoys were working to strengthen their privileges. They asked the city council to send them money to Mainz for this purpose, thus Sigismund's fluvial voyage to Mainz is also likely.⁷

After his stay in Nuremberg, the Emperor returned to the Rhine region in October through Heilbronn⁸, where he first visited Speyer again.⁹ From Speyer, he headed north

3 According to Windecke, King Sigismund arrived in Basel on the Rhine. Windecke 2008, 52; According to Justinger's Bern Chronicle, the monarch, on the other hand, set out from Bern in early July 1414 and arrived in Basel via Solothurn, only joining the river route there. Justinger 1871, 219; in his work, the Polish historian Jan Długosz only mentions that he set off for Aachen on reaching the Rhine: "[...] ex Hungaria in Rheni et Germania partes descendens in Aquisgranum venit." Długosz 2000, 44.

4 Chronicon Alsatiae 1592, 96.

5 After entering German territory, the Emperor convened a political assembly in Speyer, and later in Koblenz. Annas 2004, 219; Daldrup 2010, 151–152; Sigismund's stay in Bingen is not mentioned in any of the itineraries, but according to the Frankfurt embassy reports he travelled there directly from Mainz. FRC I. 1863, 256–258, nr. 465–466; Engel – C. Tóth 2005, 97–98; Hoensch 1995, 93.

6 According to Eberhard Windecke, Sigismund was planning to return to the Kingdom of Hungary. However, Windecke was not a member of the imperial entourage at this time, so he did not witness the events. He did not join the entourage until later, in the spring of 1415 in Constance. Windecke 2008, 53, Skorka 2009, 35–36; Jörg K. Hoensch explains the events as follows: Sigismund was disappointed, however, because not all of the elector princes turned up in Koblenz for the meeting he had called. But if he had gone home and not been crowned at Aachen, he would also have been deprived of his role as patron at the Council of Constance. For this reason, he did not risk the crown and instead sought to find a solution to the various internal conflicts, first in Franconia and then in the Rhineland. Thus it was only after the negotiations for a territorial peace between the Franks and the Swabians that he reverted to his original goal and continued his journey towards Aachen. Hoensch 1996, 186–187; Volk 1999, 273.

7 "*Auch heldet unser herre der kunig eczunt zu schiffe by Rense by dem kunigstül, und iszet, und meinet zu stunt vurter heruff zu faren.*" FRC I. 1863, 261–262, nr. 472; ZsO IV. 1994, 550, nr. 2428; Szanka 2019, 20.

8 In Heilbronn, negotiations took place on the aforementioned peace treaty concerning the territory of Swabia, the Rhineland and Alsace. Hoensch 1996, 187.

9 Joseph Aschbach, in his monograph on Sigismund, raised the possibility that the monarch travelled to Speyer via Heidelberg. This means he would not have travelled directly from Heilbronn

once more for his coronation in Aachen. Meanwhile, Queen Barbara and her attendants (200 horsemen)¹⁰ also arrived in the Kingdom of Germany, and we know that they marched into Nuremberg on 13 October. According to a report from the Straßburg envoys in Heilbronn dated 15 October, the queen planned to travel on to Frankfurt on 16/17 October.¹¹ Based on a description by Eigil von Sassen, the envoy from Friedberg, it is known that the queen was on her way from Frankfurt to Mainz. By the time she reached the Rhine region, they only had to plan where to meet Sigismund. Given the directions, it would have been a logical solution for them to continue their journey together from Mainz. According to the Frankfurt embassy reports, the arrival of the king and queen in Mainz was expected from 22 October. In a letter dated 24 October, however, it was clarified that the date of the royal march was changed to the following day, to 25 October.¹² According to the report of the envoys of Amadeus VIII Count of Savoy, written in Aachen right after the coronation on 12 November, the royal couple met in Mainz on 23 October and left from there for Bonn by ship on 25 October.¹³ According to Eigil, Barbara left for Mainz on 25 October and two days later she was on her way to Bingen, where Sigismund was staying at that time. However, the monarch did not wait for his wife in Bingen, but travelled to Walluf, a little north of Mainz, to meet her.¹⁴ As to why Sigismund and Barbara did not meet in Mainz, the source does not provide a precise explanation.¹⁵ Moreover, according to Eigil, Sigismund again made the Bingen–Walluf section by sailing up the Rhine. From Walluf they travelled together to

to Speyer by land, but would have made a short detour of 15–20 km on the Neckar down to Heidelberg, and only from there would he have continued his journey to Speyer. However, the Neckar route is not confirmed by Aschbach's reference, in fact, two accounts of the city envoys in Heilbronn refer to overland transport regarding the transport plan to Speyer: "*und verstanden wir daz er gen Spir wolt, als er ouch uf morn zinstag dahin meinert riten...*" DRTA VII. 1878, 228 nr. 159; "*Dan er uff meint gein Spir zu riden.*" FRC I. 1863, 265, nr. 476; Aschbach 1838, 408, 451. Appendix XVI.

10 DRTA VII. 1878, 230, nr. 159.

11 DRTA VII. 1878, 230, nr. 159.

12 FRC I. 1863, 266–267, nr. 478–479.

13 Finke 1928, 447, nr. 459; Büttner 2012, 501.

14 Daniela Dvořáková, accepting Eigil's description in her monograph on Queen Barbara, establishes the Queen's itinerary and the meeting place of the royal couple. Dvořáková 2017, 93.; Although Andreas Büttner also cites Eigil von Sassen's report, according to the envoys' correspondence, she still accepts the meeting place of Mainz. Büttner 2012, 501; Hoensch says that the place where Sigismund and Barbara met was Heilbronn. However, this assumption is not confirmed by the charters he cites. Moreover, in the itinerary he compiled, he indicates a stay at Walluf-Bingen, and at this point he refers to Eigil von Sassen's description as well. Hoensch 1995, 93, Hoensch, 1996, 187.

15 Eigil von Sassen 1865, 302–303; Otto Volk, on the basis of the Frankfurt correspondence, believes that Sigismund eventually avoided Mainz, and that negotiations concerning Mainz affairs took place at the archbishop's residence in Eltville am Rhein, from where he travelled to Bingen. However, we have very unclear information about the chronology of his intended and actual whereabouts. Volk 1999, 274; FRC I. 1863, 266–267, nr. 478–479.

Aachen, following the Rhine to Bonn.¹⁶ Based on information in the presented sources, it would be difficult to determine the exact location of the meeting of the royal couple, in any case, it seems certain that they were together by 27 October.

Dates of Sigismund's stays	Places of Sigismund's stays	Dates of Barbara's stays	Places of Barbara's stays
24 September – 5 October	Nuremberg		
after 5 October	Kadolzburg–Windsheim		
8–11 October	Rothenburg o.d. Tauber		
11–16 October	Heilbronn	13–16/17? October	Nuremberg
18–22 October	Speyer		
		24–25 October	Frankfurt
25 October	Mainz?	25 October	Frankfurt–Mainz
?	Bingen–Walluf–Bingen?	27 October	Mainz–Walluf–Bingen
28 October – 2 November	Boppard–Koblenz–Andernach–Bonn		Together with Sigismund towards Aachen
2–4 November	Bonn–Aachen		

Figure 1.¹⁷

After his coronation in Aachen, Sigismund returned to the region of the Rhine to travel to the site of the Council of Constance. In both itineraries, the route Aachen–Lechenich–Bonn–Cologne–Andernach is uniformly indicated, based on the charter sources. So he presumably sailed upriver on the Rhine to Andernach, and from there he continued his journey overland in the direction of Wetzlar–Friedberg–Gelnhausen to Frankfurt.¹⁸

16 Eigel von Sassen 1865, 303; Walluf–Bingen–Boppard–Koblenz–Andernach–Bonn. Hoensch 1995, 93–94.

17 Figures 1–2 are based on the cited research aids – the German and Hungarian itineraries – and the published source material in German, mainly the city envoy reports. Any discrepancies in dates are indicated by question marks, and any additional information that may supplement the itineraries is indicated in bold. See most recently the latest revised edition of the itinerary written in Hungarian in the form of an online map database: Szatucsek et al. 2020, online document: <https://itinerarium.mnl.gov.hu/> (Latest download: 15.08.2021); Renáta Skorka and Béla Nagy compiled an illustrative map about the travels of King Sigismund (1412–1419, 1430–1434). Online document: <https://tti.abtk.hu/terkepek/1412-1419-1430-1434-luxemburgi-zsigmond-utazasai> (Latest download: 15.08.2021)

18 Engel – C. Tóth 2005, 98, Hoensch 1995, 94; During the reign of the Stauffs, the Wetterau region was a royal possession, and the towns there, such as Wetzlar, Friedberg and Gelnhausen, were elevated to the status of imperial towns. In the Wetterau area, the late medieval town federations that were dominant in the late Middle Ages were established in the second half of the 13th century. It is known that during the reign of Sigismund they rarely came into direct contact with the monarch. At that time, Frankfurt in particular played a decisive role in the economic and internal political life of the three cities. Frankfurt's role as mediator meant that they were well informed about imperial politics and they could rely on Frankfurt's help and mediation in their

According to the Cologne annals, the monarch travelled to Bonn with his wife after the coronation. In fact, it is also mentioned that, unusually, he had no intention of visiting Cologne at all, even though the established tradition was that Cologne was the third and last main stop of the coronation ceremony.¹⁹ This was due to the conflict between the king and the city council over the so-called *Judensteuer*.²⁰ Sigismund finally changed his mind and rode off to Cologne with Barbara,²¹ where, among other things, the *Judensteuer* issue was settled.²²

Eigil von Sassen also makes an interesting contribution to the events in Cologne: the day after Sigismund marched in, Eigil rode with the emperor to Brühl²³ – a mile and a half from Cologne – to the Archbishop of Cologne, and they returned to Cologne only the next day, also by land.

economic difficulties. Fahlbusch 1983, 119–126; Schmieder 1998, 70–71.

- 19 As early as the 13th century, the entry into Cologne after the coronation in Aachen was recorded in the itineraries of the monarchs. The main purpose of the stay in Cologne was to visit the relics of the three holy kings, the Three Magi. In fact, this ceremony concluded the coronation celebrations, so at this point the electors had already bid farewell to the monarch. Drabek 1964, 67; Hoensch 1996, 189.
- 20 From the 14th century onwards, German rulers, including King Sigismund, often levied extraordinary taxes on Jews because of their supposed wealth, in addition to the ordinary taxes. Moreover, Sigismund increased these revenues considerably compared to his predecessors. Since the extraordinary taxes placed a heavy burden on the Jews and began to reduce their financial capacity, the monarch repeatedly found himself in increasing conflict with German cities. Heinig 1983, 81–82, 88–89.
- 21 In several places in the narrative source material, 16 November is mentioned as the date of Sigismund's entry into Cologne. For example, the Friedberg envoy Eigil von Sassen and the Cologne historian Aegidius Gelenius, who wrote in the first half of the 17th century, both mention this date. Eigil von Sassen 1865, 304, Gelenius 1645, 245; *Kölner Chroniken I.* 1875, 360, note no. 6; RI XI,1, 1896–1897, nr. 1314–1321; It is known that the relics of the three holy kings arrived in Cologne in 1164. The 250th anniversary of the event was therefore in 1414, which may be an interesting date in terms of confirming the legitimacy of the monarchs. However, we have not found any reference to this either in the above-mentioned sources or in German literature. Drabek 1964, 67; Hoensch 1996, 189; Aschbach, 1838, 411–412.
- 22 *Kölner Chroniken II.* 1876, 101, 141.
- 23 Brühl was a favourite residence of the Archbishops of Cologne from the second half of the 13th century, when it was elevated to the status of a town. The archbishop of the time also built a moat there. Paravicini 2003, 86 – 87.

Dates of Eigel von Sassen's stays	Places of Eigel von Sassen's stays	Dates of Sigismund's stays	Places of Sigismund's stays
4–11 November	Aachen	4–12 November	Aachen
11 November	Jülich		
12 November	Cologne		
		13–14 November	Lechenich
		16–19? November	Bonn
		16? November	Cologne
17 November	Brühl	17–18? November	Brühl
18–27? November	Cologne	18–27 November	Cologne
27–29? November	Bonn	27? November	Bonn
29–30 November	Remagen		
30 November – 1 December	Andernach	1–2 December	Andernach
1–3 December	Koblenz		
3–4 December	Lahnstein		
4–5 December	Braubach–Eltville		
5–6 December	Mainz		
6–7 December	Frankfurt a. M.	6–7 December	Wetzlar
7–9 December	Friedberg	7–9 December	Friedberg
		9–10/11? December	Gelnhausen
		10/11–14/15? December	Frankfurt a. M.
		14/15–17? December	Mainz
		17 December	Oppenheim
		22 December	Stuttgart
		24 December	Überlingen
		on the night of 24–25 December	Constance

Figure 2.

The information that Sigismund sailed up the Rhine from Cologne²⁴ is mentioned by Eberhard Windecke and Konrad Justinger, a Bernese chronicler.²⁵ According to Windecke they sailed up to Mainz, or in Justinger's opinion to Speyer. On the other hand, Eigel von Sassen's information on Sigismund's route is not entirely clear. Although Eigel describes a longer route from Cologne on 27 November to Frankfurt, it is not clear from the description how long they travelled together and where they parted company. The charter sources show that Sigismund followed the Rhine to Andernach until 2 December, arriving in Wetzlar on 6 December.²⁶ The question remains as to what other stops were made between the

24 After Cologne, the first stop was Bonn again. *Kölner Chroniken II*. 1876, 52.

25 Windecke 2008, 53; Justinger 1871, 221; Aschbach 1838, 415, note no. 67.

26 Engel – C. Tóth 2005, 98; Hoensch 1995, 94.

two places of stay, and how long the king stayed on the Rhine.²⁷ The main purpose of Eigil's journey may have been to get back to Friedberg before Sigismund, for he said he left Friedberg on 7 December to meet the monarch in Wetzlar.²⁸

Sigismund then arrived in Frankfurt, taking the Wetzlar–Friedberg–Gelnhausen route.²⁹ The queen herself is mentioned in the sources known to me in connection with her stays in Bonn, Cologne and then only in Frankfurt.³⁰ Given that only one relatively detailed record survived about Sigismund's presence in Friedberg, which does not even mention the queen in terms of gifts,³¹ the question arises of whether the royal couple might have approached Frankfurt on two separate routes, and she might have stayed on the waterway of the Rhine and then of the Main, similarly to Eigil von Sassen.³²

We know from chronicle sources that the king travelled on the Rhine from Frankfurt to Mainz by boat.³³ But then, according to Eigil, Sigismund chose the overland route from Mainz to Oppenheim.³⁴ However, it is no longer possible to determine how long he stayed on the Rhine during his journey, because, as the itineraries indicate, only Stuttgart and Überlingen can be identified as his places of stay before Constance.³⁵

27 Aschbach also assumes that King Sigismund travelled to Koblenz on the Rhine, and from there he took the Lahn river to Wetzlar. However, the written sources available to me and cited by Aschbach do not confirm that Sigismund also sailed on the Lahn. Aschbach 1838, 412.

28 Eigil von Sassen 304.

29 Wetzlar and Frankfurt were linked by a long-distance trade route to Cologne. Fahlbusch 1983, 118. Although the election of Sigismund had already taken place years earlier, in 1410/1411, a visit to Frankfurt as the official city of the king's election, even if it had only been symbolically linked to the coronation ceremony, could be considered essential for the representation of the monarch. Kondor 2014, 83; Schenk 2003, 330–331; The plan to visit Frankfurt was raised twice before the coronation (in August and October 1414). FRC I. 1863, 259, nr. 468, 263, nr. 476; Aschbach also linked the reason for the cancellation of a planned visit to Frankfurt in October 1414 to the question of the taxation of the Jews. Since Frankfurt would have reduced the amount of the tax levied by the monarch, it was not paid to the monarch at that time. Aschbach 1838, 408; Ultimately, they were unable to defend themselves against the levied taxes. Heinig 1983, 89.

30 The chronicle gives a detailed description of the gifts given to the king and queen and the types of baldachin made for their entry. Lersner 1734, 39.

31 DRTA VII. 252–254, nr. 175; Daniela Dvořáková, in her monograph on Queen Barbara, interpreted the source passage I cited as meaning that the queen remained in the king's entourage all along. However, it should also be mentioned that she did not include information about Barbara's stay in Frankfurt in her work. Dvořáková 2017, 98.

32 Given that navigation upriver could roughly correspond to a slow walking speed, the average daily speed (about 15km/day) calculated from the length of the journey between Cologne and Frankfurt and the dates of their stay also seem to justify our question. Ohler 1986, 53–56, 138, 142.

33 Lersner 1734, 39.

34 Aschbach, accepting Justinger's chronicle, believed that Sigismund sailed up the Rhine from Mainz to Speyer. Aschbach 1838, 415.

35 Hoensch 1995, 94, Engel – C. Tóth 2005, 98.

The Frankfurt records of Frederick III's coronation tour can serve as a point of reference for the naval exercise at the mouth of the Rhine-Main. Frederick III sailed up the Rhine from Cologne to Mainz, then, after a few days in Wiesbaden, he re-embarked at Kosteim and from there sailed on to Frankfurt.³⁶

In the source material, not only the sections south of Cologne are likely to be used by boat. We know from Windecke's memoirs that in 1416, after his stay in England, Sigismund returned to the continent and reached Nimwegen from Dordrecht via the Rhine–Waal route.³⁷ The written sources suggest that there was a direct waterway link between Cologne and England for commercial purposes until around the 10th–12th century. According to German research, this meant that Cologne ships were already plying the North Sea in large numbers in the early period, and that in the earlier period seafaring vessels could have reached as far as Cologne from London.³⁸ This meant that Sigismund's uphill journey could be made along that route without any disruption.

Another detectable shipping route was the Rhine section between Constance and Basel. According to the itineraries, the possibility of Sigismund's river voyage from Constance is raised several times. The sources only contain generalisations regarding the circumstances of the journey, such as Sigismund travelled down the Rhine towards Basel.³⁹ It is clear that the Rhine Falls, a little south of Schaffhausen, interrupted these voyages. However, the contradictory nature of the information in the sources often makes it difficult to determine which mode of transport the monarch might have chosen after the falls were bypassed.

Ulrich von Richental recorded in his Chronicle of Constance that in July 1415, when Sigismund set out on his tour of Western Europe, he travelled by boat to Schaffhausen, and

36 FRC II. 1866, 48, nr. 72.

37 Windecke 2008, 64, 77; Bárány 2017, 32.

38 From the 13th century onwards, the appearance of large seagoing vessels such as the kogge, with their adapted harbour conditions and ability to carry larger quantities of goods, meant that the practice of launching river vessels into the sea and towing sailing ships to Cologne because of their increased draught could be completely abandoned. German research suggests that goods were also likely to have been transferred from the river ships to cruise ships at Dordrecht for example. Looz-Corswarem 2018, 100–106.

39 For May 1418, we can list the following examples. According to Windecke, "*King Sigismund set out from Constance on the Rhine for Basel.*" Windecke 2008, 70; According to the Röteler Chronicle, the monarch travelled down the Rhine towards Hagenau. Basler Chroniken V. 1895, 173; After the period of the Council of Constance, King Sigismund also sailed on this route in 1433, which is clearly identifiable. The monarch was then on his way to the Council of Basel after his coronation as emperor in Rome. The Venetian envoy Andrea Gataris, who travelled with him, gave a detailed account of the routes and the means of transport involved. According to his account, Sigismund took advantage of water transport wherever he could, and sailed through Swiss territory via Lake Wallenstadt and Lake Zurich, on the Limmat and then down the Aare, a tributary of the Rhine, to reach the Rhine itself south of Schaffhausen, following Klingnau. From there they sailed down to Basel in just one day, without any obstacles. Wackernagel 1885, 8–11; Schenk 2012, 388–389.

from there continued his journey by land.⁴⁰ This is the date when Barbara left Constance, and after a long detour, returned to the Kingdom of Hungary. The queen left Constance about ten days before Sigismund's departure. According to Richental, she sailed first to Schaffhausen and from there continued her journey down the Rhine. This information is confirmed by letters sent from Constance to Frankfurt⁴¹, except that, with regard to the monarch, they mention riding, not sailing. On the other hand, the Justinger Chronicle also reports that Barbara travelled south from Basel with Sigismund to Aarberg which is in present-day Switzerland.⁴² If these last two accounts are to be believed, the possibility arises that Barbara and Sigismund travelled to Basel separately, on two different routes and at different times, where they met again. This would be intriguing because it would also confirm our earlier hypothesis that, given the opportunity, the queen chose the more comfortable boat trip rather than the overland ride.

After the Council had ended, when Sigismund left Constance for Basel in May 1418, the circumstances of this journey – similarly to before – are difficult to determine. According to Windecke's description, King Sigismund chose to travel by boat.⁴³ However, according to Ulrich von Richental's chronicle, in this case Sigismund returned to the city of the Council after a few days, i.e. he left Constance for Basel twice during this period. In his monograph, Joseph Aschbach explains this by reference to the fact that the meeting with the count of Savoy had been postponed in the meantime. Richental mentioned land transport for the first journey, but in his description of the second journey he did not allude to its circumstances.⁴⁴

40 Péter E. Kovács refers to this contradiction, since, in addition to the Richental Chronicle, he mentions a certain Petrus Pulka, an envoy of the University of Vienna, who had received information in Constance that Sigismund had travelled from Constance to Basel by boat. E. Kovács 2013, 226.

41 The Frankfurt envoys dated the letter on 7 July, stating that: "daz unser gnädige frow die kungin den Rin ab ist, und die hant sich willen zu seczen gen Ensishain." FRC I. 1863, 293, nr. 506; ZsO V. 251, nr. 833; Richental was also close to this date, setting the Queen's departure at 9 July. Richental 2014, 106; Daniela Dvořáková equally determined this ten-day difference between the dates of the king's and queen's departures. Dvořáková 2017, 104; According to Renáta Skoraka's study, the Queen left Constance only two days earlier than Sigismund. Skoraka 2020, 106.

42 After Sigismund set off for Geneva, Barbara travelled with princes and other lords via Basel to Mülhausen. According to charter sources, she was still there on 27 September, having asked Straßburg for a loan to cover their daily needs. According to correspondence from Frankfurt, Barbara had originally planned to travel from Constance to Ensisheim, a little north of Mülhausen. Richental 2014, 106; FRC I. 1863, 293–294, nr. 506–507; Justinger 1871, 235–236; RI XI,1. 1896–1897, nr. 1891a; Engel – C. Tóth 2005, 173; Áldásy 1927, 49; E. Kovács 2013, 218, note no. 201; For more on the circumstances and reasons for Queen Barbara's return home, see Skoraka 2020, 85–115.

43 Windecke 2008, 69–70.

44 Richental 2014, 196–197, Aschbach 1839, 373, 381.

Summary

An examination of King Sigismund's travels on the Rhine shows that the monarch took a boat on the middle and upper reaches of the Rhine whenever he could, regardless of the direction of the river flow, unless his governmental policy required him to leave the region of the Rhine. On the Constance–Basel route, however, he did not necessarily take advantage of all the opportunities for navigation, and it seems that he sometimes opted for land transport on some sections. On the other hand, certain information, or the lack of it, in the sources of Sigismund's reign period does not allow us to carry out quantitative analyses that would show the differences between the frequency of land and fluvial transport by establishing percentages.⁴⁵

The royal couple's meeting in 1414 was also organised in the Rhine region upon fulfilling Sigismund's political intentions, and instead of the monarch waiting for his wife from the Kingdom of Hungary in Nuremberg, they only travelled together roughly from the Middle Rhine region. Moreover, it seems that the 'joint' journeys themselves were often combined with parallel journeys, and the royal couple chose different transport solutions, which meant that they were separated along greater distances for a certain period. We assume the queen remained on the water for as long as possible in such cases. The meeting place could then either be the end of the river navigation itself or, as in the case of Frankfurt, a station of major importance for the representation of the monarchy. ■

45 In the case of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III, the itinerary of the ruler can be compiled in sufficient detail to quantify the changes made to the means of transport. Hack 2019, 81.



Figure 3. Stations of Sigismund's travels

PUBLISHED SOURCES

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KIVONAT

Adalékok Zsigmond király rajnai hajóútjainak itineráriumához (1414–1418)

A kutatásban közismert tény, hogy a középkori német uralkodók utazásaik során a folyami útvonalakat is használták. Az utóbbi években viszont egyre mélyrehatóbban és átfogóbban vizsgálják, hogy valójában mely folyókhoz kötődően és mely időszaktól kezdve mutathatók ki az uralkodói folyami hajózások. Az is már egy újabban megfogalmazott kutatói kérdés, hogy a folyami partszakaszokat megközelítve vajon a vízi útvonalat, vagy esetleg mégis inkább a szárazföldi mozgást részesítették előnyben. Ennek vizsgálatára nyilvánvalóan a késő középkori forrásanyag szolgáltat bővebb információkat, így valamelyest már Luxemburgi Zsigmond uralkodásának időszaka is beilleszthető ebbe a kérdéskörbe.

Zsigmond király rajnai utazásainak vizsgálata alapján megállapítható, hogy az uralkodó a Rajna középső és felső szakaszán, ahol csak lehetősége volt rá, folyásiránytól függetlenül hajóra szállt, amennyiben őt a kormányzatpolitikai tevékenysége nem szította el a Rajna-vidékéről. A Konstanz–Bázel útvonalon viszont már nem feltétlenül használta ki minden esetben a hajózásra kínálgzott lehetőségeket, és úgy tűnik, hogy egy bizonyos szakaszon olykor mégis inkább a szárazföldi közlekedés mellett döntött. Ugyanakkor a Zsigmond-kori forrásadottságok azt mégsem teszik lehetővé, hogy olyan kvantitatív vizsgálatokat végezzünk, amelyek segítségével a szárazföldi és a vízi közlekedéseknek a gyakorisága között a különbségeket százalékos arányok megállapításával tudjuk bemutatni.

A királyi pár 1414. évi találkozóját – Zsigmond politikai szándékainak megvalósítását követően – szintén a Rajna vidékére szervezték meg, és ahelyett, hogy az uralkodó már Nürnbergben megvárta volna a Magyar Királyság területéről érkező feleségét, nagyjából csak a Közép-Rajna vidékétől kezdve utaztak együtt. Továbbá úgy tűnik, hogy maguk a "közös" utazásaik többször párhuzamos utazásokkal párosultak, és az uralkodói pár eltérő közlekedési megoldást választva egy bizonyos időre nagyobb távolságra kerülhetett egymástól. Feltételezésünk szerint a királyné ilyen esetben a lehető leghosszabb szakaszon a vízen maradt. Ezt követően a találkozás helye, vagy értelemszerűleg magának a folyami hajózás lehetőségének a végét jelenthette, vagy pedig, mint az Frankfurt esetében sejtethető, az uralkodói reprezentáció szempontjából kiemelkedő jelentőségű állomás volt.

KULCSSZAVAK: utazás, folyami közlekedés, Rajna, Luxemburgi Zsigmond, Borbála királyné, itinerárium, követjelentések, krónika