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THE MARRIAGE OF KING ANDREW II AND BEATRICE D'ESTE  
(SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR, 14 MAY 1234)

The State Archives of Modena<sup>1</sup> hold the original document certifying the marriage of King Andrew II of Hungary<sup>2</sup> and his third wife Beatrice,<sup>3</sup> daughter of Margrave Aldobrandino I of Este,<sup>4</sup> among “Membranacei” (Parchments), a collection of state and family matters in the “Archivio Segreto Estense” (the private archives of the Este family), also known as the “Serie Generale” (Diplomatic Series).<sup>5</sup> The wedding took place in the Basilica of the Assumption in Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia, Stuhlweißenburg), the traditional coronation and burial site of Hungarian kings, on Sunday 14 May 1234. The document is probably the only surviving copy of the original ones issued on this occasion by Zanebonus de Lonado,<sup>6</sup> a notary public authorised by Emperor Frederick II.<sup>7</sup> Zanebonus claimed that multiple copies had been made with the same validity. The document actually contains two contracts: it begins with the delivery of the engagement gift and includes a description of the wedding.

The tradition of men giving engagement gifts dates back to antiquity and initially constituted betrothal, hence the name *donatio ante nuptias*, but it meant a promise of marriage as a direct consequence. In the 6th century, Emperor Justinian,<sup>8</sup> in addition to stipulating that a woman’s dowry and the future husband’s engagement gift had to be of equal value, allowed the donation to take place after the wedding had been concluded, in which case it was called *donatio propter nuptias*. In Székesfehérvár, this happened on the day of the wedding, but immediately before the ceremony. The case is legally an instance of *inter vivos* donation, as stated in the above document. From the 3rd century onwards, the bridegroom’s engagement gift was part of the dowry, so that it

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<sup>1</sup> Archivio di Stato di Modena.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew II of Hungary/Andrew of Jerusalem (1177–1235), King of Hungary and Croatia (1205–1235).

<sup>3</sup> Beatrice d’Este (1215–before 8 May 1245), Queen consort of Hungary (1234–1235) as the third wife of King Andrew II of Hungary.

<sup>4</sup> Aldobrandino I of Este (c. 1190–1215), Margrave of Este and Ferrara.

<sup>5</sup> ASMo ASE CeS, Membranacei, cassetta II, n. 52.

<sup>6</sup> The current name of the notary’s place of origin is: Lonato del Garda.

<sup>7</sup> Frederick II (1194–1250) was King of Sicily (1198–1250), King of Germany 1212–1250), King of Italy and Holy Roman Emperor 1220–1250) and King of Jerusalem 1225–1250).

<sup>8</sup> Justinian I (482–565), Eastern Roman Emperor (527–565).

was due to the woman in case the marriage was dissolved.<sup>9</sup> Precisely this rule was sanctioned by the formula *in hoc sibi dotem constituit* concerning Andrew II's significant gift to Beatrice. In other words, i.e. the engagement gift became part of the dowry of the young bride.

The engagement gift included in the dowry indeed represented a high value as it amounted to 5000 silver marks and was to be delivered in annual instalments of 1000 marks over five years directly to the queen and her heirs (!), granting them complete freedom to use the amount.<sup>10</sup> This suggests that the king, indeed an elderly man of about sixty years at the time, was thinking not only of the safety of his young bride (aged seventeen),<sup>11</sup> but also of their possible joint heirs. Also, this measure seemed to be highly necessary as King Andrew had to look after the interests of his young wife in the event of apparently inevitable hostilities between Beatrice and the future King Béla IV,<sup>12</sup> born of his first marriage to Gertrude of Merania,<sup>13</sup> daughter of Berthold IV, Duke of Merania.<sup>14</sup> At that time, Béla already shared his father's rule of the country and was recognised as heir to the throne by right of primogeniture, and was regarded as such because his father, under pressure from the barons who were hostile to him for his reforms, which seemed contrary to Hungarian tradition and customary law, had acknowledged the coronation of the eight-year-old Béla by the lords as soon as 1214.<sup>15</sup> A year after the wedding, on 21 September 1235, Andrew II died. From that time onwards, the royal power was effectively exercised by his designated successor, Béla. Logically, this situation prompted the new

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<sup>9</sup> On the forms of marriage, see Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*; Duby, *Matrimonio medievale: Due modelli nella Francia del dodicesimo secolo*. Recommended to the author by Professor Andrea Padovani. The latter work focuses on the Kingdom of France. For Italy, refer to Torelli, *Lezioni di storia del diritto italiano, Diritto privato II: La famiglia*; Rasi, *La conclusione del matrimonio nella dottrina prima del Concilio di Trento*.

<sup>10</sup> To appreciate the value of the sum, it is worth noting that in 1217, Andrew II agreed with the Venetian Republic to ship 550 silver marks to the Fifth Crusade.

<sup>11</sup> ASBo Genealogia estense figurata a medaglioni, c. 7. Next to the picture of Beatrice d'Este in profile is the text "This is Beatrice, illegitimate daughter of the above named Aldobrandino, born in 1217, married to King Andrew of Hungary, widowed in 1236 with her son Stephen" ("*Questa è Beatrice figliola naturale del sopradetto Aldrovandino, nacque nel 1217, fu maritata allo re Andrea di Ungharia, et del 1236 rimase vedova con Stephano suo figliolo*"). The manuscript is probably that of Alberto Lollio (1508–1589). The author acknowledges the help of archivist Rossella Rinaldi.

<sup>12</sup> Béla IV of Hungary (1206–1270), King of Hungary and Croatia (1235–1270).

<sup>13</sup> Gertrude of Merania (c. 1185–1213), Queen consort of Hungary, wife of King Andrew II (1205–1213).

<sup>14</sup> Berthold IV of Andechs (c. 1159–1204), Margrave of Istria and Carniola (as Berthold II), Duke of Merania (1180/82–1204).

<sup>15</sup> Radulović, "L'Ungheria nella prima metà del Duecento: Rivolgimenti interni e pressioni esterne," 80.

queen, a stranger in the court anyway and expecting a baby, to seek refuge in German territory. She was probably forced to flee the Kingdom of Hungary in male attire, as it was rumoured that she was expecting a child not with Andrew but with the palatine. Given the transitional situation, the new king, Béla, was quick to impose an exemplary punishment on the palatine for the disgrace he had brought on the royal house.<sup>16</sup>

At the time of the wedding, Andrew was particularly generous to his young bride. In addition to the engagement gift and the incomes and rights of the successive queens of Hungary, he gave her a *gratia specialis*: he promised her 1000 silver marks from his royal treasury for each year of his remaining life. This generosity must have seemed superfluous to Béla, as he explicitly disapproved of his father's policy of donations by which András sought to secure the support of his power through new personal relationships. The king made huge donations to his barons from the royal estates and undertook costly military campaigns, which posed challenges for the treasury and imposed a heavy burden on the remaining assets of the crown.

After the financial provisions of the contract were laid down, the document stated that the religious wedding would take place immediately. In accordance with the provisions of Catholic canon law and the formulas approved by the Church, from the 12th century onwards there were major changes in the way marriages were celebrated as a marriage could only be contracted by the free will of both parties. Questions on this determination were addressed to the betrothed couple by Guidotto da Correggio, Bishop of Mantua,<sup>17</sup> as part of the *interrogationes* part of the ceremony. The bishop came from a prestigious family which, during the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century, sought to establish an independent city-state in Parma. At the time of the wedding, Guidotto also held the office of magistrate (*podestà*) in the city, and a year later he was killed by the citizens of Mantua in response to his attempt to reduce the influence of the city commune.<sup>18</sup> The document describes in detail that the marriage was entered into by the full consent of the parties (*per verba de praesenti consentire*). The prelate first asked Andrew and then Beatrice if they would marry each other, and the marriage was immediately validated by the expressed will of both parties (*quod sic volebat*). As transpires from the document, the section called *interrogationes et responsiones* was followed by the symbolic ceremony of putting the ring on the bride's finger, a symbol of the marriage blessed by the priest, based on the mutual will of the parties, and

<sup>16</sup> Radulović, 133–34.

<sup>17</sup> Borso da Coreggio (?–1235), Bishop of Mantua (1231–1234).

<sup>18</sup> Gardoni, “Pro fide et libertate Ecclesiae immolatus: Guidotto da Correggio vescovo di Mantova (1231–1235),” 131–87.

which also represents the authority of the Church in the sacrament. In this way, Andrew married Beatrice with the ring (*desponsavit annulo maritali*).

The two unions took place in front of a large number of people in the church, of whom the twelve most important were recorded by name. The order of names in the text also reflects an order of precedence, with the line opened by the Hungarian ecclesiastical dignitaries, Archbishop Robert of Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran)<sup>19</sup> and Bishop Bartholomew of Veszprém (Vesprimium, Wesprim)<sup>20</sup>. Primarily loyal to the Pope, Archbishop Robert also played a role in the conversion of the Cumans in the 1220s. He also came into open conflict with Andrew II a few years before the wedding, because of the king's permissive attitude towards the provisions of the 1231 Golden Bull on the matter of offices held by infidels, Jews and Muslims. As a result, in 1232 the archbishop even excommunicated the palatine and the royal treasurer and placed the kingdom under interdict. The archbishop revoked the measure at the request of the king and by agreement with the papal legate, but reinstated it in 1235, a few months before the king's death. The two Hungarian archpriests were followed by ten Italian dignitaries as members of Beatrice's entourage, all from the territory of the Marquisate of Treviso. Named after its most important town, the state was founded in the 10th century by Emperor Otto I<sup>21</sup> as the Marquisate of Verona, which underwent fundamental changes in the 1230s during the reign of Frederick II. Frederick expanded its territory, adding Trento, Mantua and Brescia to the cities of Verona, Vicenza, Padua and Treviso, and to minor centres (Ceneda, Feltre, Belluno, Bassano, Monselice) as far as the Oglio river, and officially recognised the new name in a 1234 document.<sup>22</sup> In order of dignity, three counts were listed first, Maginardo of Aquileia, Martino di S. Martino of Mantua and Rambaldo's son *Schenelda* of Treviso, descendant of the first 10th century count of Treviso, also named Rambaldo.<sup>23</sup> They were followed by five *domini milites*, all from Mantua: Matteo da Correggio, Castellano dei Caffari, Guglielmo Vicedomini, Bonaventurino degli Archelardi and Arnaldo di Saviola. The list was closed by two noblemen: dominus Occatus of Padua and dominus

<sup>19</sup> Robert (?–1239), Bishop of Veszprém (1209–1226), Archbishop of Esztergom (1226–1239).

<sup>20</sup> Bartholomew (?–?), Bishop of Veszprém (1226–1244).

<sup>21</sup> Otto I/Otto the Great (912–973), King of East Francia (936–973) and Holy Roman Emperor (962–973).

<sup>22</sup> Castagnetti, "Dalla Marca Veronese alla Marca Trevigiana, in Istituzioni, società e potere nella Marca Trevigiana e Veronese (secoli XIII–XIV): Sulle tracce di G. B. Verci," 16–22.

<sup>23</sup> For Schinella, the son of Rambaldo, Count of Treviso, we have a record from 1211, see Varanini, "Azzo VI d'Este (+ 1212) e le società cittadine dell'Italia nord-orientale: Convergenze e divergenze di progetti politici fra XII e XIII secolo," 140. For the counts of Rambaldo, including those in the 10th and 11th centuries, see Castagnetti, *Il Veneto nell'alto medioevo*, 127, 129, 140, 227.

Raimundus of Treviso. The composition of the entourage clearly reflects the most important allies of the House of Este in the political and marriage treaty with the Kingdom of Hungary. A heavy presence of the lords of Mantua (seven including the officiating bishop), two representatives of Treviso, including the Count himself, the equally important presence of Aquileia, and finally Padua, albeit in a less definite form. Incidentally, the Este family, headed by Marquis Azzo VII (d. 1264) from 1215, did not fare the best during this period. Azzo took over the title after the death of his brother, Aldobrandino I, whose death frustrated a potential reconciliation with the Marquisate of Ancona, and the new Margrave, involving other allies (Verona, Mantua, Padua), was drawn into open war with Salinguerra II of the Torelli family.<sup>24</sup> Eventually, he was forced to leave Ferrara between 1224 and 1239, returning only in 1240, while he also fought Ezzelino III da Romano,<sup>25</sup> supported by the Emperor Frederick himself.

The marriage had, of course, political aims. For the Estes, it was aimed at providing political stability for the House of Este, which sought a balance of power with the families of the Marquisates of Ferrara and Treviso (the Torellis and the da Romanos), wavering between the Pope and the Emperor. The marriage was also designed to provide valuable political-economic capital for the Este's allies, thanks to the linking of two major areas of transit and communication. On the one hand, the Marquisate of Treviso, situated between Venice and South Germany, Austria and Hungary, and on the other, the vast Kingdom of Hungary, which encompassed much of Central Europe from the Adriatic to the Carpathians, and which struggled at times with both internal difficulties and external threats, as it was a frontier zone to the Muslims, bastion of Byzantium and to the Slavic peoples, from which it had to resist attacks from the violent and pagan steppe peoples. For the Estes, however, the approach to the Hungarian throne remained a temporary event and a pipe dream that lasted no more than a year (1234–1235). Attempts at an approach between the Hungarian crown and the House of Este had been made thirty years before, when a decision was made in the Hungarian court in the presence of four Este delegates about the marriage of Margrave Azzo VI<sup>26</sup> and Alice,<sup>27</sup> daughter of Raynald of

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<sup>24</sup> Salinguerra II Torelli (1164–1244), Italian nobleman and politician, podestà di Ferrara (1195).

<sup>25</sup> Ezzelino III da Romano, called the Terrible (1194–1259), Italian condottiere and politician, lord of the Marca Trevigiana.

<sup>26</sup> Azzo VI (1170–1212), Italian nobleman and condottiere, Margrave of Este (1190–1212).

<sup>27</sup> Alice of Châtillon (1181–1235), Marchioness consort of Marquis Azzo VI d'Este.

Châtillon,<sup>28</sup> sister of Queen Anne-Agnes of Hungary,<sup>29</sup> wife of King Béla III.<sup>30</sup> The marriage, which was probably supported by Pope Innocent III<sup>31</sup> given the interests of the Principality of Antioch, which had been created to protect the crusaders, and the family that ruled it, was contracted on 21–22 February 1204 in the church of Sancta Maria de Clemena in Friuli, in the presence of the nobles of the Marquisate of Verona and Salinguerra Torelli II, who was at peace with Azzo VI for a rare and brief period.<sup>32</sup> Azzo's marriage to the Princess of Antioch also gave him local political advantages which brought him closer to the title of Margrave of Treviso. He had acquired this title by the time of the marriage in 1204, and the bride's dowry gave him possessions and jurisdiction over the castle of Cologna Veneta and the surrounding territory of Baldaria, Zimella and Bagnolo.<sup>33</sup> The Hungarian royal couple, Béla and Anna-Agnes, had four offspring, King Emeric,<sup>34</sup> Margaret,<sup>35</sup> the future King Andrew II and Constance.<sup>36</sup> Likewise, Azzo sired Beatrice,<sup>37</sup> Costanza,<sup>38</sup> Aldobrandino I<sup>39</sup> and the future Azzo VII.<sup>40</sup> Aldobrandino I sired Beatrice, who became the third wife of Andrew II, and was thus a cousin of his deceased maternal father-in-law.

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<sup>28</sup> Raynald of Châtillon (c. 1125–1187), Prince of Antioch (1153–1160/1161) and Lord of Oultrejordain (1175–1187).

<sup>29</sup> Anna of Antioch/Agnes de Châtillon (c. 1154–c. 1184), Queen of Hungary, first wife of King Béla III (1172–1184).

<sup>30</sup> Béla III (c. 1148–1196), King of Hungary and Croatia (1172–1196).

<sup>31</sup> Lotario dei Conti di Segni (1161–1216), Pope Innocent III (1198–1216).

<sup>32</sup> The original of the dowry document, issued on 16 January 1210, is preserved in the State Archives of Modena (ASMo ASE CeS, Membranacei, cassetta II, n. 63), cf. Muratori, *Delle antichità estensi*, 378–381.

<sup>33</sup> Varanini, "Azzo VI d'Este († 1212) e le società cittadine dell'Italia nord-orientale: Convergenze e divergenze di progetti politici fra XII e XIII secolo," 148–49.

<sup>34</sup> Emeric (1174–1204), King of Hungary and Croatia between 1196 and 1204.

<sup>35</sup> Margaret of Hungary (1175–1223), Byzantine Empress, wife of Isaac II Angelos (1186–1204), Queen of Thessalonica, wife of Bonifacio of Montferrat (1204–1207). She was regent of Thessalonica during the minority of her son Demetrius of Montferrat in 1207–1216. Wife of Nicholas I of Saint Omer (1217–1223).

<sup>36</sup> Constance of Hungary (1180–1240) the second Queen consort of Ottokar I of Bohemia (1199–1240).

<sup>37</sup> Beatrice I d'Este (1192–1226), nun, beatified by Pope Clement XIII.

<sup>38</sup> Constanza d'Este (c. 1205–?).

<sup>39</sup> Aldobrandino I d'Este (c. 1190–1215), the second Margrave of Ferrara of the Este House.

<sup>40</sup> Azzo VII d'Este (c. 1205–1264), lord of Ferrara and Este (1215–1222 and 1240–1264).

### The textual tradition and different legal designations of the document

According to current research, the eminent humanist Pellegrino Prisciani<sup>41</sup> was the first to copy the document. Prisciani lived in the Este court, where, as superintendent of the ducal archives, he was commissioned to compile a history of Ferrara and the Este dynasty. He included the marriage donation letter in the seventh volume of his lengthy *Historiae Ferrariae*, which was probably planned to be ten volumes long and ultimately remained unpublished.<sup>42</sup> As the person in charge of the archives, he had easy access to the document and was able to copy and study it in detail. Given the importance of the marriage, Prisciani took great care to describe the event and to copy the document as accurately as possible, including a fine pen-and-ink drawing by an anonymous assistant of the young Beatrice with a crown on her head, walking among flowers. Above the drawing, he added an explanatory inscription, *Beatrice Estensis Regina Ungariae*. A look at Prisciani's copy shows that, while remaining faithful to the original text (e.g. retaining the original spelling of the personal names *Andrias* and *Zanebonus*), he also normalised or modernised some of the personal names. For example, he changed the name of Margrave *Aldevrandini* into *Aldrovan-dini* or *Aldrevandini* elsewhere, or *de Gaffaris* from the family name *de Caffaris* in Mantua. He took the latter approach to some place names, spelling them in the forms used in Prisciani's time, e.g. changing *Coregia* to *Corrigia* (now *Correggio*), *Saviolla* to *Saviola* (*Villa Saviola* in Mantova), and *Lonado* to *Lonato* (*Lonato del Garda*). Prisciani's classicising tendency is also evident in the Latin text (*inrevocabilis* > *irrevocabilis*, *milia* > *millia*, *peccuniam* > *pecuniam* etc.).

Also, there is a conspicuous missing portion. Prisciani did not copy the phrase *predicta domina regina* in line eight of the original document, presumably by mistake. This omission is of particular importance for the reconstruction of the textual tradition of the document, since it is also found in printed editions of the 18th and 19th centuries. The absence of this phrase is a tell-tale sign that later editions are based on the copy of Prisciani, although they do not usually cite it as a source.

The first printed edition of the document (*editio princeps*) was produced by Ludovico Antonio Muratori,<sup>43</sup> a renowned historian and librarian of the Este House. He published the document in 1717, without indicating any source or

<sup>41</sup> Pellegrino Prisciani (c. 1435–1518), professor of astronomy at the University of Ferrara, court librarian and historiographer of the House of Este.

<sup>42</sup> ASMo MS n. 131, cc. 45v–46r. Only five of the volumes of *Historiae Ferrariae* have survived in their entirety.

<sup>43</sup> Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), provost of abbey of Pomposa, Italian historian, writer, numismatist, diplomat, jurist and librarian.

place of preservation.<sup>44</sup> He titled the document *Donation in connection with marriage*.<sup>45</sup> Later, after expressing personal satisfaction at being the first to publish the document, he called it a *document of dowry* in another work,<sup>46</sup> and then mentioned marriage in another work.<sup>47</sup> Muratori kept the modifications introduced by Prisciani.

He even went further in the normalisation of the text, which simply calls the Hungarian king *Andreas*. The lack of text in Prisciani's autograph is also present here, revealing that Muratori was working from a copy of the 15th century humanist. Thanks to the spread of printed editions, Muratori's polished version of the text was adopted by later editions, as evidenced by the tell-tale omission (*predicta domina regina*).

The German Johann Christian Lünig<sup>48</sup> published the text of the document in 1725, still without mentioning the location of the original document or its source. He called the document a *donation contract: Instrumentum Donationis inter vivos, ab Andrea II Rege Hungariae, Uxori suae, Beatrici filiae quondam Domini Aldrovandini, Marchionis Estensis, facta, d.d. 14 maji, an. 1234*.

The Jesuit historian György Pray<sup>49</sup> published the document in the first volume of *Annales regum Hungariae* in 1763, which he called a contractual document or public contract which records the dowry (*nuptias Albae Regiae celebratas esse constat ex pactionum tabulis, quibus dos Beatrici publica fide ab Andrea constituta fuit, or cui dotem publicis tabulis constituit*).<sup>50</sup> Pray, unlike his predecessors, in footnote q, precisely indicated the source he used, the above work by Lünig. In the notes he also made some unexpected remarks, make a distinction between exemplars and autographs, in footnote r: *Exemplar. habet Gloria. Male autem legerit, qui ex autographo desumpsit*, then in s: *In exemplari est, Laudemiaque*, in t: *Exemplar male habet Rumbertus*. By the term exemplar, Pray presumably intended to refer only to the Lünig print, leaving open the question of who copied it from the original. It seems inconceivable that Pray had access to the original, although his diligence in manuscript research is well

<sup>44</sup> Muratori, *Delle antichità estensi*, 420–421.

<sup>45</sup> Donazione per cagion di Nozze.

<sup>46</sup> *Strumento dotale*. See Muratori, *Annali d'Italia dal principio dell'era volgare sino all'anno 1500 compilati da Lodovico Antonio Muratori bibliotecario del serenissimo duca di Modena*, 225.

<sup>47</sup> Muratori, *Chronicon Estense*, 14.

<sup>48</sup> Johann Christian Lünig (1662–1740), German jurist, historian and publicist.

<sup>49</sup> György Pray (1723–1801), Hungarian Jesuit abbot, canon, librarian of the University Library of Buda and historian.

<sup>50</sup> Pray, *Annales regum Hungariae ab anno christi CMXCVII ad annum MDLXIV deducti ac maximam partem ex scriptoribus coevis, diplomatibus, tabulis publicis, et id genus litterariis instrumentis congesti opera, et studio*, I. 242.



known. He discovered around 1770, among other things, the codex named after him, which is now kept in the Széchényi Library, and which also preserves the first long coherent record of the Hungarian language from the late 12th century.<sup>51</sup> In the notes, he recorded the misspelled names of persons and places, and inserted their correct reading as *coniectura* in the main text.

The historian István Katona<sup>52</sup> published the document in 1783,<sup>53</sup> which he named as a *contractual document recording Beatrice's dowry*,<sup>54</sup> and as its source he cited Pray's work, whose text he strictly followed.<sup>55</sup>

György Fejér<sup>56</sup> published the document in 1829,<sup>57</sup> with an annotated appendix indicating multiple sources in chronological order: the editions of Pray, Katona and Lünig.<sup>58</sup> He calls the document a *contractual document by which Andrew II establishes the dowry of Beatrice d'Este*.

The text of the document was taken from the book<sup>59</sup> by József Illés<sup>60</sup> and incorporated into his book *Introduction to the History of Hungarian Law* in 1910.<sup>61</sup>

Finally, we should mention a reprint of the Muratori version of the text in Albert Nyáry's book<sup>62</sup> *István Postumus and the Este Heritage*, which is the first among the sources published in the appendix.<sup>63</sup> Exiled from his native country subjected to the Habsburg Empire, Nyáry was commissioned by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to conduct research on Hungarian history, and ended up in Modena, where he studied the materials of the Este Archives, which had been opened to researchers by the newly-formed Kingdom of Italy just a year earlier in 1862.

<sup>51</sup> Pray Codex: NSZL Manuscript Collection, MNY 1.

<sup>52</sup> István Katona (1732–1811) Jesuit abbot-canon, historian, librarian.

<sup>53</sup> Katona, *Historica critica regum Hungariae stirpis Arpadianae ex fide domesticorum et externorum scriptorum*, V.:690–92.

<sup>54</sup> *Pactionum tabulae quibus dos Beatrici constituitur*.

<sup>55</sup> In footnote b, the reference is. Ann. R. H. P. I. p. 242., which can be easily resolved as Pray, *Annales regum Hungariae ab anno christi CMXCVII ad annum MDLXIV deducti ac maximam partem ex scriptoribus coaevis, diplomatibus, tabulis publicis, et id genus litterariis instrumentis congesti opera, et studio*.

<sup>56</sup> György Fejér (1766–1851) Hungarian historian, provost-canon, and director of the University Library of Pest.

<sup>57</sup> Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, III/2. 376–378.

<sup>58</sup> Apud Pray ann. R. H. P. I. p.242. Katona Tom. V. p. 690. Exscriptum est ex Ios. Chris. Lünigii Codice Tom. I. p.1582.

<sup>59</sup> Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, III/2. 376–378.

<sup>60</sup> József Illés (1871–1944) legal historian, university professor and ordinary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

<sup>61</sup> Illés, *Bevezetés a magyar jog történetébe: A források története*, 265–267.

<sup>62</sup> Albert Nyáry (1828–1886) historian, archivist, heraldist, corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

<sup>63</sup> Nyáry, *Postumus István es az estei örökség*, 65–67.

The textual variations that appear in these manuscripts and editions are given in the footnotes of the transcription.

Text of the engagement present document  
*Transcription principles and distinguishing marks*

/ end of line

[ ] addition of illegible letters or words due to ink fading

< > other additions

The punctuation follows modern (Italian) rules, and the use of capital letters has been normalised by the publisher.

To separate the parts of the document (deed of donation, wedding, signature of witnesses), the publisher inserted spaces not in the original.

The editors corrected proper names actually written in lower case in the original to upper case initials in accordance with the national practice (Estensis, Mantuanus, Strigoniensis, etc.), and converted the designation of sources in the manuscript, cited in the critical footnotes, into a siglum.

The footnotes include the autograph copy of Prisciani, and the editions of Muratori, Lünig, Pray, Katona and Fejér, in chronological order.

For historical notes, see the introduction above.

### Original

ASMo ASE Casa e Stato, Membranacei, cassetta II, n. 52. Parchment document, 28 x 21.5 cm. In good condition, except for a small tear at the beginning of line 20, above the word *verba*, and some sporadic ink fading, which does not prevent readability. – On the recto, at the top of the document, a modern archival inscription in pencil: “1234 – 14 – Mag.o – Rog.o Lonadi Zanibono”, with the serial number 52 circled in the right-hand corner. At the bottom of the document a small oval stamp reads “Archivio di Stato \*Modena\*”. – The verso bears inscriptions by at least six different hands from different periods. Three are legible under UV light: 1/ “Reina B(eatri)xia de ...” – Probably this is the earliest inscription. 2/ “A n.o 83” – An earlier inscription. 3./ “... dne Beatrici Rege Ungarie” – Dates from the 15th century, partly obscured by a later inscription, only the last words are legible. 1./ “Despons.º Beatricis filia(e) Aldobrand. March. ux.i And.ae Regis Hung.ae cum donat.ne Marcharum quinque millium arg.ti. An. 1234”, followed by “45” – 17th century note and mark in black ink, below which is entry No. 3. 2./ “(n.187 Inv.o 1545)” – Probably 19th century inscription in red ink under No. 4, referring to the 1545 document list, still kept in the State Archives of Modena: ASMo ASE Cancelleria, Archivio segreto ducale, 3 – *Inventario deli instrumenti*,

*investiture et altre cose de la Tore, 1545.* On the recto of page 10, the following inscription: “N.o 187. inst.o conc.e Andrea re de Ongaria promette et dona a m.a Biatrice sua mogliera fig.la che fu del M. Aldrovandino cinquemillia march. d’oro. L’anno 1234 – n. 187.” 3./ “Donazione di 5000 marche d’argento fatta da Andrei re d’Ungheria a sua moglie Beatrice del Marchese Aldebrandino of Este” – The latest pencil note – Notary: Zanebono de Lonado.

*Manuscript copy*

Pr: Pellegrino Prisciani (Ferrara, ca. 1435–19 January 1518): *Historiae Ferrari-ae*. Lib. VII, cc. 45v–46r (ASMo MS n. 131).

*Publications and sigla*

F: *György Fejér*: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Buda, 1829. III/2. 376–378.

I: *József Illés*: *Bevezetés a Magyar jogtörténetbe. A források története*. [Introduction to the History of Hungarian Law. A History of Sources.] Budapest. 1910, 265–267.

K: *István Katona*: *Historica critica regum Hungariae stirpis Arpadianae ex fide domesticorum et externorum scriptorum*. Pest, 1783. V. 690–692.

L: *Johann Christian Lünig*: *Codex Italiae diplomaticus*. Frankfurt – Leipzig, 1725–1732, t. I, coll. 1581–1582, doc. XLIV.

M: *Ludovico Antonio Muratori*: *Delle antichità estensi ed italiane*. Vol. I. Modena, 1717, Parte Prima, Cap. XLI. 420–421.

P: *György Pray*: *Annales regum Hungariae*. I–V. Vindobonae, 1763–1770. I. 242.

Omn: versions available in both copy and print

Impr: versions only available in printed editions

*14 May 1234, Székesfehérvár, Basilica of the Assumption*

On the occasion of their marriage, King Andrew II of Hungary donates 5000 silver marks to his fiancée Beatrice, daughter of the late Marquis Aldobrandino I of Este, which he will give directly to Beatrice for five years. In addition, for each additional year of her life, he will donate to her 1000 silver marks from his personal purse as a *gratia specialis*. Simultaneously, the Bishop of Mantua, Guidotto, solemnly celebrates the rites of matrimony, after both parties have expressed their free will to be united in marriage in the interrogations and Andrew II has symbolically put a ring on his wife’s finger.

(*Signum tabellionis*) In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Dominus<sup>64</sup> Andrias,<sup>65</sup> Dei gratia Ungarie,<sup>66</sup> Dalmacie,<sup>67</sup> / Glorie,<sup>68</sup> Galacie,<sup>69</sup> Ramie,<sup>70</sup> Servie,<sup>71</sup> Laudemieque<sup>72</sup> rex, nomine mere ac pure et inrevocabilis<sup>73</sup> / donationis, que<sup>74</sup> esse dicitur inter vivos, donavit quinque milia<sup>75</sup> marchas<sup>76</sup> argenti domine<sup>77</sup> Beatrici regine,<sup>78</sup> / [u]xori sue,<sup>79</sup> filie<sup>80</sup> quondam felicitatis<sup>81</sup> domini Aldevrandini<sup>82</sup> marchionis Estensis, promittendo se daturum et solitum<sup>83</sup> predictae<sup>84</sup> domine<sup>85</sup> Beatrici uxori sue<sup>86</sup> et suis heredibus<sup>87</sup> predictas<sup>88</sup> quinque milia<sup>89</sup> marchas argenti hinc ad quinque / annos completos ita, quod in quolibet anno istorum quinque<sup>90</sup> annorum solvere debeat et sibi solvere teneatur et suis heredibus<sup>91</sup> mille / marchas argenti, obligando se et suum

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<sup>64</sup> Pr: Domenus.

<sup>65</sup> Impr: Andreas.

<sup>66</sup> PKF: Ungariae.

<sup>67</sup> FPK: Dalmatiae.

<sup>68</sup> L: Glorie. P: Croatiae, in footnote r: "Exemplar habet Gloriam. Male autem legerit, qui ex autographo desumpsit. Videtur notaryndum Croatiae." KF: Croatiae.

<sup>69</sup> PrPKF: Galatiae. ML: Galatie.

<sup>70</sup> P: Ramiae. KF: Ramae.

<sup>71</sup> Pr: Sernie. PKF: Serviae.

<sup>72</sup> Pr: Laudemiaeque. L: Laudemieque. P: Lodomeriaequae, footnote s: "In exemplari est Laudemiaeque sed ejusdem credo errore factum." KF: Lodomeriaequae.

<sup>73</sup> Omn: irrevocabilis.

<sup>74</sup> PKF: quae.

<sup>75</sup> Omn: millia.

<sup>76</sup> F: marcas.

<sup>77</sup> PrPKF: dominae.

<sup>78</sup> PrPKF: reginae.

<sup>79</sup> PrPKF: suae.

<sup>80</sup> PKF: filiae.

<sup>81</sup> PKF: memoriae.

<sup>82</sup> Pr: Aldrevandini. Impr: Aldrovandini.

<sup>83</sup> Pr: soluturum. ML: solutorum. PKF: solutorum.

<sup>84</sup> PKF: praedictae.

<sup>85</sup> PKF: dominae.

<sup>86</sup> PKF: suae.

<sup>87</sup> PF: haeredibus.

<sup>88</sup> PKF: praedictas.

<sup>89</sup> Omn: millia.

<sup>90</sup> The notary wrote an e instead of an i, then corrected it.

<sup>91</sup> P: haeredibus.

regnum totum, donec predictam<sup>92</sup> pecunie<sup>93</sup> quantitatem sibi et suis / heredibus<sup>94</sup> solverit et attenderit<sup>95</sup> ita, quod<sup>96</sup> ipsam pecuniam<sup>97</sup> totam sive argentum<sup>98</sup> predicta domina regina<sup>99</sup> apud / se habeat et habere debeat et de ea quicquid<sup>100</sup> sibi placuerit ad suam voluntatem et<sup>101</sup> voluerit facere, faciat. Et in hoc sibi / dotem constituit. Concedendo eciam,<sup>102</sup> idem dominus rex Andrias,<sup>103</sup> eidem domine<sup>104</sup> regine,<sup>105</sup> omnes redditus,<sup>106</sup> proventus, / utilitates, rationes et iura,<sup>107</sup> que<sup>108</sup> et quas ullo<sup>109</sup> tempore hinc retro habuerunt seu habere consueverunt regine<sup>110</sup> Ungarie.<sup>111</sup> Et / insuper faciens ei gratiam specialem, promisit dare ei et solvere omni anno in vita sua ultra dotem et omnia predicta<sup>112</sup> de / sua Camera speciali mille marchas argenti vel tantum, quod inde de suis redditibus<sup>113</sup> possit tantum argentum<sup>114</sup> / ab ea omni anno percipi et haberi.

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<sup>92</sup> PKF: praedictam.

<sup>93</sup> PrML: pecunie. PKF: pecuniae.

<sup>94</sup> PF: haeredibus.

<sup>95</sup> Pr: attendent (?). KF: attenderit (f. appenderit).

<sup>96</sup> Pr: quidem.

<sup>97</sup> Omn: pecuniam.

<sup>98</sup> At this point the copies and editions examined include a word missing in the original. Pr: productum. ML: predictum. PKF: praedictum.

<sup>99</sup> The absence of the phrase *predicta domina regina* will be a useful guide when compiling a series of editions. The words are missing from the Prisciani transcription and then from all the printed editions.

<sup>100</sup> PF: quidquid.

<sup>101</sup> KF: ut.

<sup>102</sup> Omn: etiam.

<sup>103</sup> Impr: Andreas

<sup>104</sup> Impr: the word domine is missing.

<sup>105</sup> PKF: reginae.

<sup>106</sup> KF: reditus.

<sup>107</sup> MLP: jura.

<sup>108</sup> PKF: quae.

<sup>109</sup> P: illo.

<sup>110</sup> PKF: reginae.

<sup>111</sup> PK: Ungariae. F: Hungariae.

<sup>112</sup> PKF: praedicta.

<sup>113</sup> KF: reditibus.

<sup>114</sup> At this point, the word argentum in the original is followed by a deleted punctuation mark, which neither Prisciani nor later editors indicated.

Et ibi,<sup>115</sup> in continenti<sup>116</sup> interrogatus<sup>117</sup> idem dominus Andrias,<sup>118</sup> Dei gratia Rex Ungarie<sup>119</sup> a domino/Guidocto, Dei gratia episcopo Mantuano, si volebat Beatricem, filiam felicis<sup>120</sup> memorie<sup>121</sup> quondam Aldevrandini,<sup>122</sup> / marchionis Estensis in<sup>123</sup> suam uxorem legitimam et in ipsam ut in<sup>124</sup> suam<sup>125</sup> uxorem legitimam<sup>126</sup> per<sup>127</sup> verba de / presenti<sup>128</sup> consentire. Respondit, quod sic volebat et sibi placebat, et dicebat et faciebat in omnibus, ut dictum est / superius.<sup>129</sup> Et eodem modo<sup>130</sup> interrogata<sup>131</sup> predicta<sup>132</sup> domina Beatrice ab eodem domino episcopo Mantuano, si volebat dominum / Andreas,<sup>133</sup> Dei gratia regem Ungarie<sup>134</sup> in suum<sup>135</sup> virum legitimum<sup>136</sup> et in ipsum tamquam<sup>137</sup> in virum legitimum<sup>138</sup> / per verba de presenti<sup>139</sup> consentire. Respondit, quod sic volebat et sibi<sup>140</sup> placebat, et dicebat et faciebat in omnibus, ut / dictum est superius.

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<sup>115</sup> Impr: the word ibi is missing.

<sup>116</sup> ML: incontinenti.

<sup>117</sup> Pr: interrogatus.

<sup>118</sup> Impr: Andreas.

<sup>119</sup> PrPK: Ungariae. F: Hungariae.

<sup>120</sup> Pr: foelicis.

<sup>121</sup> PKF: memoriae.

<sup>122</sup> Omn: Aldrovandini.

<sup>123</sup> L: the word in is missing.

<sup>124</sup> PF: the word in is missing.

<sup>125</sup> Pr: suum.

<sup>126</sup> Impr: legitimam.

<sup>127</sup> Pr: pro.

<sup>128</sup> PKF: praesenti.

<sup>129</sup> K: the sentence beginning after superius and ending in superius is missing ("Et eodem modo ... et dictum est superius"). It continues: His itaque interrogationibus...

<sup>130</sup> The notary wrote an 'o' instead of a 'd' and corrected it.

<sup>131</sup> Impr: interrogata.

<sup>132</sup> PF: praedicta.

<sup>133</sup> Pr: Andrias. MLPF: Andream.

<sup>134</sup> P: Ungariae. F: Hungariae.

<sup>135</sup> PrMLPF: suum.

<sup>136</sup> Pr: legittimum. P: the words "et in ipsum tamquam in virum legitimum" are missing.

<sup>137</sup> Pr: tanque. F: tanquam.

<sup>138</sup> Pr: legittimum.

<sup>139</sup> PF: praesenti.

<sup>140</sup> PrMLPF: sic.

Hiis<sup>141</sup> itaque interrogationibus<sup>142</sup> et responsionibus sic factis idem dominus Andrias<sup>143</sup> rex eandem<sup>144</sup> / dominam Beatricem desponsavit annulo maritali, consentiendo in eam, ut dictum est, in omnibus et per<sup>145</sup> omnia. / Et de omnibus predictis<sup>146</sup> plura instrumenta uno tenore inde fieri rogata sunt.

Interfuere testes: dominus Robertus,<sup>147</sup> Dei gratia<sup>148</sup> / Strigoniensis<sup>149</sup> archiepiscopus,<sup>150</sup> dominus Bertholomeus,<sup>151</sup> Dei gratia<sup>152</sup> episcopus Vesperinus,<sup>153</sup> comes Maghinardus<sup>154</sup> de Acquilucia,<sup>155</sup> / comes Martinus de Sancto<sup>156</sup> Martino, comes Schenella<sup>157</sup> de Tarvisio, dominus Matheus<sup>158</sup> de Coregia,<sup>159</sup> Dominus / Castellanus de Caffaris,<sup>160</sup> dominus Wylielmus<sup>161</sup> Vicedominus,<sup>162</sup> dominus Bonaventurinus de Archelardis,<sup>163</sup> dominus Arnaldus / de Saviolla,<sup>164</sup> milites Mantuani; dominus Occatus de Padua, dominus Raymundus<sup>165</sup> de Tarvisio / et alii testes quam plures.<sup>166</sup> /

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<sup>141</sup> Omn: His.

<sup>142</sup> Pr: interrogationibus.

<sup>143</sup> Impr: Andreas.

<sup>144</sup> K: eandem.

<sup>145</sup> Pr: pro.

<sup>146</sup> Pr: dictis. PKF: praedictis.

<sup>147</sup> PrML: Rumbertus. P: Robertus, in footnote t: "Exemplar male habet Rumbertus." KF: Robertus.

<sup>148</sup> K: D. gr.

<sup>149</sup> L: Strigoniensis.

<sup>150</sup> P: archi-episcopus.

<sup>151</sup> PrPKF: Bartholomaeus. ML: Bartholomeus.

<sup>152</sup> K: D. gr.

<sup>153</sup> P: Vesprimensis, in footnote u: "Male itidem isthic scribitur Vesperinus." K and F: Vesprimiensis.

<sup>154</sup> PKF: Maginhardus.

<sup>155</sup> Omn: Aquilucia.

<sup>156</sup> KF: S.

<sup>157</sup> Pr: Schenelda. PK: Schenele. F: Schenela.

<sup>158</sup> P: Mathaeus. K: Matthaesus. F: Mathaeus.

<sup>159</sup> Omn: Corrigia.

<sup>160</sup> PrM: Gaffaris.

<sup>161</sup> Pr: Julielmus (?). Impr: Wilielmus.

<sup>162</sup> PKF: vice-dominus.

<sup>163</sup> Pr: Artehlaridis.

<sup>164</sup> Omn: Saviola. Deleted afterwards with punctuation, with overlining: dns, not indicated by any of the editors.

<sup>165</sup> PrML: Raymondinus. PKF: Raymondus.

<sup>166</sup> PrML: quamplures. PKF: quam plures.

Actum est hoc apud Albam Civitatem in ecclesia Beate<sup>167</sup> Virginis<sup>168</sup> Marie,<sup>169</sup> millesimo ducentesimo trigesimo q[uarto] / Indictione VII, die dominico, quattodecimo<sup>170</sup> intrante Maio.<sup>171</sup> /

Ego Zanebonus<sup>172</sup> de Lonado<sup>173</sup> a domino Frederico<sup>174</sup> rege notarius interfui et rogatus scripsi.<sup>175</sup>

*(Translated by Péter Horváth)*

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<sup>167</sup> P: Beatae.

<sup>168</sup> KF: B.V.

<sup>169</sup> PKF: Mariae.

<sup>170</sup> Pr: quattodecimo.

<sup>171</sup> MLP: Majo. P ends the text at Majo, then in footnote x: "Subjunguntur in fine haec verba: Ego Zanobonus de Lonalo a Domino Frederico rege Notario interfui, & rogatus scripsi. Quis hic rex hujus nominis fuerit, ignoro: nisi opiner Fridericum Imperatorem fuisse, qui Siciliae itidem rex erat." K also pauses at Maion, after which he closes the quotation mark, thus concluding the Pray transcription.

<sup>172</sup> ML: Zanobonus. F: Zambonus.

<sup>173</sup> PrMLF: Lonato.

<sup>174</sup> F: Friderico.

<sup>175</sup> At the end of the line, two signs similar to the number three.