

Zwischen Ostsee und Adria II.

Ostmitteleuropa im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit.
Die Mobilität von Menschen, Gütern, Geld, Diplomaten, Reliquien



Zwischen Ostsee und Adria II.

Zwischen Ostsee und Adria II.

Ostmitteleuropa im Mittelalter und in der Frühen
Neuzeit. Die Mobilität von Menschen, Gütern, Geld,
Diplomaten, Reliquien

Herausgegeben von

Attila Bárány, Roman Czaja, Helmut Flachenecker, László Pószán

Debrecen, 2024.

Memoria Hungariae 16.

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON ATTILA BÁRÁNY

Das Projekt Nr. TKP2021-NKTA-34 wurde mit Unterstützung des Ministerium für Kultur und Innovation Ungarns des Nationalen Forschungs-, Entwicklungs- und Innovationsfonds im Rahmen des TKP2021-NKTA Förderprogramms realisiert.

Die Veröffentlichung des Buches wurde von der Universität Debrecen unterstützt.

Herausgeber:

Attila Bárány, Roman Czaja, Helmut Flachenecker, László Pószán

Mitarbeiter der Herausgeber Renáta Visegrádi

Koordinator: Ádám Novák

Umschlag, Typographie:
Sándor Ónadi

ISSN 2498-7794

ISBN

978-963-490-652-0 (Print)

978-963-490-653-7 (Online)

ISSN 2498-7795 (Print)

ISSN 2786-1163 (Online)

© 2024, Universität Debrecen Forschungsgruppe „Ungarn im mittelalterlichen Europa“

© Autoren

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt.

Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Herausgebers unzulässig und strafbar.

Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

Titelbild:

Hartmann Schedel, *Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi*, Nürnberg, 1493.

(Schedelsche Weltchronik/Nürnberger Chronik/Chronicon mundi)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 287.

<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00034024>

Titelseite: Prussia, fol. 288v.

Rückseite: Dalmatia, fol. 268r.

Veröffentlichung der Forschungsgruppe „Ungarn in Mittelalter Europa“ der Universität Debrecen



Druck und Bindung:

Printart-Press Kft., Debrecen, Ungarn

Direktor: Balázs Szabó

Debrecen, 2024

Inhalt / Contents

Attila Bárány – Roman Czaja – László Pószán – Helmut Flachenecker: <i>Vorwort</i>	7
---	---

I. Mobilität den Personen / Mobility of the Persons

Márta Font: <i>To the Question of Exile in the Middle Age. Refugees from Eastern Europe in Medieval Hungary in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries</i>	13
---	----

Péter E. Kovács: <i>Ein ungarischer Baron wird venezianischer Bürger</i>	39
---	----

Attila Bárány: <i>Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick at the court of King Sigismund of Luxemburg</i>	57
---	----

Sławomir Józwiak – Adam Szweda: <i>Von Meissen in den Deutschordensstaat in Preußen: Die Karriere von Johannes Sonnenwald in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts</i>	95
--	----

Rafał Kubicki: <i>Pilgrimages of the residents of Elbląg (Germ. Elbing) in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the light of their wills</i>	105
---	-----

Ádám Novák: <i>World Travelers: The Perényis. Journeys of Two Generations</i>	123
--	-----

Attila Györkös: <i>Mobility, Settlement and Repatriation. A History of a French Family in Early sixteenth Century Buda</i>	147
---	-----

István Hiller: <i>Der Dolmetscherprozess. Die Tätigkeit des Wiener Hofkriegsrats und die Dolmetscher der Habsburger in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts</i>	157
--	-----

Helmut Flachenecker: <i>Der Deutsche Orden im Distrikt der Kumanen und Jaszogen – Exercitium militare und der Griff nach erneuertem Ruhm und Ehre</i>	177
--	-----

Réka Bozzay: <i>Alexander Salonthay de Salontha: Soldat, Pflanzler, Wirtschaftsschriftsteller. Ein Leben in Ungarn, den Niederlanden und Suriname im 18. Jahrhundert</i>	209
---	-----

II. Mobilität den Waren, Gelder und Reliquien / Transfer of Goods, Money and Relics

László Pószán: <i>Handel und Warenverkehr zwischen Ungarn und dem Balkan im Mittelalter</i>	237
Jürgen Sarnowsky: <i>Die hansischen Kaufleute und der Mittelmeerraum</i>	271
Mateusz Wiktor Maćkiewicz: <i>Elbing carters and wagenknechts from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries</i>	287
Nicholas Coureas: <i>Contacts between Venetian Cyprus and Dalmatia during the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (1473–1569)</i>	315
Tamás Fedeles: <i>Der Weg des Geldes. Geografie und Dynamik der finanziellen Beziehungen zwischen Ungarn und Heiligen Stuhl im Spätmittelalter</i>	331
Dieter Heckmann: <i>Russische Hilfgelder für Ordenspreußen im Jahre 1517</i>	363
Attila Tózsá-Rigó: <i>Interregionale Beziehungen Mährens, mit besonderem Hinsicht auf ungarischen Verbindungen in der ersten Hälfte der frühen Neuzeit</i>	373
Antal Molnár: <i>Migrating bones. Refugee relics from Hungary and the Balkans in mid-sixteenth-century Ragusa</i>	393
Renger E. de Bruin: <i>Mission abroad. Diplomatic activities of Utrecht Teutonic Knights from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries</i>	407
<i>Autoren / Authors</i>	437



Vorwort

Aufgrund seiner geografischen Lage stand und steht der große geografische Raum zwischen der Ostsee, der Adria, dem Schwarzen Meer und der Ägäis, Mitteleuropa, in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart im Mittelpunkt verschiedenster Bewegungen, Kontakte, Wechselwirkungen und Konfrontationen zwischen Ost und West sowie Süd und Nord. In der Spätantike und im Frühmittelalter begegneten sich in dieser ausgedehnten Region, vor allem in den Donauebenen, die Bewegungen unterschiedlicher germanischer Völker (Goten, Gepiden, Vandalen, Langobarden usw.) aus nordwestlicher Richtung nach Südosten und der aus dem Osten kommende Zug östlicher Völker (Sarmaten, Hunnen, Awaren, Bulgaren, Ungarn, Petschenegen, Kumanen) nach Westen. Es ist kein Zufall, dass das kaiserzeitliche Rom die meisten seiner Soldaten in den Donauprovinzen stationierte, und im Reich im Wesentlichen derjenige Kaiser sein konnte, den die Donaulegionen unterstützten. Diese Völkerwanderungen veränderten fortlaufend die politische und machtpolitische Landkarte der Region, ihre sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Verhältnisse sowie ihre Beziehungsgeflechte, welche oft den Verlauf der historischen Entwicklung einzelner Landstriche und Regionen in immer neue Richtungen lenkten. Ab der Wende vom 10. zum 11. Jahrhundert, insbesondere jedoch nach dem Schisma von 1054, suchte diese Region, auf der Suche nach ihrer eigenen Position zwischen dem vornehmlich durch das Karolinger Reich verkörperten *Occidens* und dem durch Byzanz repräsentierten *Oriens*, in zunehmendem Maße die Nähe des Westens, behielt jedoch – mit zeitlich unterschiedlicher Intensität – stets ihre Verbindungen zum Osten bei. Für Mitteleuropa brachte dieser Zwischenzustand und die geografische Lage einerseits erhebliche wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Vorteile, andererseits führte er jedoch in politischer und militärischer Hinsicht nicht selten zu tragischen und zerstörerischen Konsequenzen.

Von der Ostsee bis zur Adria (sowie dem Mittelmeer und dem Schwarzen Meer) erstreckt sich ein Gebiet, dessen mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche wirtschaftliche, politische und kulturelle Vernetzungen eine Vielfalt aufweisen, die in vielerlei Hinsicht bis heute prägend für das Schicksal der hier lebenden Nationen und Völker ist. Aufbauend auf mehr als sieben Jahrzehnten Forschungsarbeit zu diesem Thema begannen wir im Jahr 2023 mit der Vorstellung dieser Beziehungen in einem Band mit dem Titel „Zwischen Ostsee und Adria I. Ostmitteleuropa im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Politische, wirtschaftliche, religiöse und wissenschaftliche Beziehungen“. Dieser Band, der von einer internationalen Autorenschaft verfasst wurde, umfasst 18 Studien. Mit dieser neuen Publikation möchten wir zur besseren Kenntnis der mittelosteuropäischen Vergangenheit beitragen. Nach der Veröffentlichung von „Zwischen Ostsee und Adria I.“ erhielten wir aus Fachkreisen zahlreiche Ermutigungen zur Fortsetzung des Projekts. Neben der Beschaffung der für die Veröffentlichung erforderlichen finanziellen Mittel baten die bisherigen ungarischen und polnischen Herausgeber (Attila Bárány, Roman Czaja, László Pószán) Professor Helmut Flachenecker aus Würzburg um seine Mitwirkung, um neue Perspektiven und Erkenntnisse einzubringen, was er auch annahm.

„Zwischen Ostsee und Adria II.“ enthält im Vergleich zum Vorgängerband eine zusätzliche Studie, sodass der Band insgesamt 19 Artikel umfasst, die in Übereinstimmung mit der Hauptthematik der Mobilität in zwei große Gruppen unterteilt sind. Die erste Gruppe umfasst 10 Studien, die sich im Wesentlichen mit der Mobilität der Menschen im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit beschäftigen. Darunter finden sich Beiträge, die individuelle Lebenswege und Schicksale oder bestimmte Zeiträume aus dieser Perspektive beleuchten, sowie Studien, die sich mit der Geschichte verschiedener Gruppen, Gemeinschaften und Organisationen auseinandersetzen. Zu dieser ersten Gruppe zählen die Artikel von Péter E. Kovács, Attila Bárány, Sławomir Józwiak und Adam Szweda, Attila Györkös sowie Réka Bozzay. Die zweite Gruppe, die sich mit den Geschichten von Gruppen und Organisationen befasst, umfasst die Arbeiten von Márta Font, Rafał Kubicki, Ádám Novák, István Hiller und Helmut Flachenecker.

Die zweite große thematische Gruppe besteht aus 9 Studien, die sich mit den Bewegungen von Waren, Geld, religiösen Reliquien und diplomatischen Beziehungen befassen. In Übereinstimmung mit dem Hauptthema und dem Titel der bisherigen und aktuellen Bände hat Jürgen Sarnowsky über die Aktivitäten und Bewegungen der Hanse-Kaufleute zwischen der Ostsee und dem Mittelmeer geschrieben. László Pószán befasst sich mit dem mittelalterlichen Handel zwischen dem Königreich Ungarn und dem Balkan, Nicolas Coures untersucht die Beziehungen zwischen Zypern und der Adria an der Schwelle vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit, und Attila Tózsza-Rigó betrachtet die Wirtschaftsbeziehungen Mährens zur Frühneuzeit, insbesondere die mit Ungarn. Mateusz V. Maćkiewicz beleuchtet den Warentransport und den Güterverkehr des spätmittelalterlichen Ostseehafens Elbing (Elbląg). Zwei Studien zeigen die „Wege“ des Geldes auf: Tamás Fedeles analysiert die spätmittelalterlichen Finanzbeziehungen zwischen Ungarn und dem Heiligen Stuhl, während Dieter Heckmann die russische finanzielle Unterstützung des Deutschen Ordens im Jahr 1517 darstellt. Renger de Bruin stellt die diplomatischen Aktivitäten der Utrechtschen Ordensprovinz des Deutschen Ordens in Mitteleuropa und darüber hinaus vor.

Wir hoffen, dass diese neuen Studien und Beiträge zur Geschichte Mitteleuropas als weitere Bausteine für die Forschung zu diesem Thema dienen und zur Stärkung der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit beitragen werden.

Attila Bárány, Roman Czaja, Helmut Flachenecker, László Pószán

I. Mobilität den Personen / Mobility of the Persons



ÁDÁM NOVÁK

World Travelers: The Perényis. Journeys of Two Generations*

“Quid de motu castrorum dicam? Quis tormenta, que tunc incidunt, possit enumerare? Quanta equorum est cura? Quanta armorum? Quot urgent angustiet transeunda sunt alta flumina, pontes ancipites ascendendi, equitandum in tenebris, in pluvia, in vento, in nivibus, in luto, in glacie, in fluminibus, in spinis, in nemoribus, in saxis, in precipitiis, in abruptis collium inter latrones, inter hostes”.¹

From the above quotation of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, it is clear that medieval travel involved great fatigue and numerous hardships. Despite this, research in recent decades has shown that members of the Hungarian aristocracy regularly undertook these challenges. Although the routes taken during military campaigns might first come to mind, their travels could have had various purposes.² These could include pilgrimages to renowned and lesser-known destinations.³ They could also have accompanied a ruler’s entou-

* The author is a member of the HUN–REN–DE: “The Military History of Medieval Hungary and Central Europe” Research Group. This project has received funding from the HUN–REN Hungarian Research Network.

¹ Excerpt from a letter written by Aeneas Silvius to Johann von Eich (November 30, 1444). *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. Wolkan, Rudolf. (Fontes rerum Austriacarum 61–62, 67–68.). Wien, 1909–1918. Band I/1. n. 166. 489.

² For example: Pószán, László, “Fegyveres zarándoklatok: a keresztes háborúk”, In. Szonda, István (ed.), *A víz szakrálisága. Vallási terek, vallási migráció és a vízkultusz*. Debrecen, 2015. 35–44.; Veszprémy, László, “Zarándokok és zarándoklatok a 11. századi Magyarországon”, In. Bárány, Attila – Pószán, László (eds.), *Európa és Magyarország Szent László korában*. Debrecen, 2017. 57–70.

³ A few examples without aiming for completeness: Bárány, Attila, “Political Pilgrimage in Later Medieval Central Europe: A case study of a Hungarian traveller to Ireland”, In. Harris, Mary N. – Agnarsdóttir, Anna – Lévai, Csaba (eds.), *Global Encounters European Identities*. Pisa,

rage on their travels. They could participate in diplomatic missions, whether to the center of a neighboring great power or to the courts of distant rulers.⁴ In my study, I examine the travels of two generations of the Terebes branch of the Perényi family from these four perspectives. What theaters of war did they traverse? What diplomatic services did they perform? What shrines did they pilgrimage to? What significant representational events did they attend in the company of the ruler? To answer these questions, I work with various types of sources, including excerpts from a collection of narratio parts of fifteenth-century royal donation letters, which our research group is preparing for publication.

The Terebes branch of the Perényi family⁵

The ancestors of the Perényi family, especially Orbán, have uncertain origins. It is certain, however, that through his services to Stephen junior king (1262–1270), he acquired his initial holdings in Abaúj County, including Perény (Perín). He could have been a knight of Styrian origin, serving the king, but

2010. 203–214.; Csukovits, Enikő, “Wallfahrten im mittelalterlichen Europa”, In: Farbaky, Péter – Serfőző, Szabolcs (eds.), *Ungarn in Mariazell – Mariazell in Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung. Ausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Budapest im Museum Kiscell, 28. May – 12. September 2004*. Budapest, 2004. 15–22.; Fedeles, Tamás, “„Bosniae ... Rex ... Apostolorum Limina Visit”. Die Romwallfahrt von Nikolaus Újlaki im Jahre 1475”, = *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 31, 2014, 99–117.; Fedeles, Tamás, *Peregrini: A középkor jámbor utazói / Krotki putnici srednjega vijeka / The Pious Travellers of the Medieval Period*. Pécs, 2015. In Hungarian: Csukovits, Enikő, “A lovagi zarándoklat”, = *Történelmi Szemle* 43:1–2, 2001, 33–42.; Csukovits, Enikő, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*. Budapest, 2003.; Csukovits, Enikő – Majorossy, Judit, “Pozsonyi peregrinusok. (Végrendeleti zarándoklatok a középkori városi gyakorlatban.)”, In: Neumann, Tibor (ed.), *Várak, templomok, ispotályok: tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. Budapest, 2004. 29–69.; Majorossy, Judit, “A késő középkori szentföldi zarándoklat hétköznapijai”, In: Laszlovszky, József – Majorossy, Judit – Zsengellér, József (eds.), *Magyarország és a keresztény háborúk. Lovagrendek és emlékeik*. Máriabesnyő–Gödöllő, 2006. 139–172.

⁴ Bárány, Attila, “‘On Tour’ from Aachen to Rome. King Sigismund and His Hungarian Entourage (1414–1433)”, = *East Central Europe* 47:1, 2020, 107–137.; E. Kovács, Péter, *König Sigismund in Siena*. Budapest, 2018.; E. Kovács, Péter, *Die Krönung Kaiser Sigismund in Rom*. Debrecen, 2022.

⁵ For the family history, refer to my monograph based on my doctoral dissertation: Novák, Ádám, “A terebesi Perényi család története a 15. század közepéig”, (PhD diss., University of Debrecen, 2020).

it is definite that he acquired the territory of Detek through his military merits before 1271. From him stem the three branches of the Perényi family. The descendants of Orbán's son Miklós became known as the Rihno or Karász branch of the Perényi family, often referred to as a noble, non-aristocratic branch. By the mid-fifteenth century, they had lost most of their estates and lived on a modest noble lifestyle. The descendants of Orbán's son János became known as the Nyaláb branch of the Perényi family, later achieving baronial status, hence called the baronial branch, also known as Kisperényi or the "younger". Imre, great-grandson of Orbán's son István, obtained the office of palatine from King Ladislaus II, hence retrospectively referred to as the palatine branch. In the following, we present the travels of two generations of this branch.

Orbán's son István fathered Péter, who during the reign of King Louis I (1342–1382) served in various capacities primarily in the northeastern counties, holding the office of ispán (comes) in several counties. At the peak of his career, he became the castellan of Diósgyőr, where he served Sigismund of Luxemburg, newly crowned as king in 1387, at the helm of the region's most important castle. Péter is known to have traversed the country extensively; he was also the castellan of Árva (Orava) castle and carried out royal orders from Buda. His name was widely recognized in most northeastern counties due to his authority. There is no information suggesting his involvement in the Neapolitan campaigns or other military ventures of King Louis I. His sons, Imre, János, and Miklós, rose to baronial rank, held court dignities, or served as bans. Our analysis begins with them.

Miklós Perényi, the ban of Szörény/Severin

Péter's son Miklós, who was likely the eldest of the three brothers, became the cupbearer of King Sigismund (1387–1437) from August 22, 1387.⁶ Miklós, along with his family members, joined the campaign to Serbia around September 12, 1389, as attested by the donation of László Semsei, a member of his entourage. They captured the fortress of Borač on November 8, and the

⁶ Engel, Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*. Budapest, 1996. 44.

rewards were distributed between December 1 and 7 in Temesvár (Timișoara).⁷ Upon their successful return from the campaign, King Sigismund generously rewarded his soldiers, including Miklós. The king highlighted Miklós's courage during the sieges of Borač and Čestin castles as the justification for his grant. In June–July 1390, as part of a counter-attack against earlier raids, Miklós Perényi, accompanied by László Sárói, the ispán of Temes/Timiș, defeated the enemy in an open battle in the Braničevo district of Serbia, capturing several flags which he sent to his sovereign.⁸ Following these exploits, in August 1390, Sigismund appointed Miklós as the ban of Szörény/Severin.⁹ Miklós proved himself as a capable soldier, as evidenced by the donation letter:

“(...) nuper in regno Rassae dum celerata cohors Turcorum ausu temerario idem regnum intravit cordaque plurimorum christicolarum saevienter conturbavit, ex tunc annotatus Nicolaus banus inter caeteros nostros proceres veluti Tyro egregius iam dictos Turcas crucis hostes tam viriliter quam potenter agrediens non sine magno bellico certamine plurimos ex eisdem lancea et in ore sui gladii fugam convertit, sicque nostrae claritati et dictae sacrae coronae gratos exhibuit famulatus”.¹⁰

The duties that came with the position were far from easy, as he assumed responsibility for the defense of the eastern part of the Turkish borderlands. Turkish aggression was steadily increasing, and as ban of Szörény/Severin, he used the revenues from royal castles in his territory to organize its defense. During Sigismund's southern campaign, from 1390 to 1391 winter, Miklós and his men spent time beyond the Száva/Sava river, including an unsuccessful

⁷ Engel, Pál, “A török-magyar háborúk első évei, 1389–1392”, = *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 111, 1998, 12–28. 14–15.

⁸ Engel, A török-magyar háborúk első évei, 1998. 17.

⁹ *Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica*, <https://adatbazisokonline.mnl.gov.hu/adatbazis/dldf> (Accessed on 15 June 2024) Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára Diplomatikai Levéltár és Diplomatikai Fotógyűjtemény [Hungarian National Archives Diplomatic Archives and Fotocollection, hereinafter DL–DF] DL 47 933.

¹⁰ DL 7645.; *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*. [Sigismund Archives] I–XV. Editor-in-chief: Mályusz, Elemér – Borsa, Iván – C. Tóth, Norbert – Neumann, Tibor – Lakatos, Bálint – Mikó, Gábor – Péterfi, Bence. (A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II: Forráskiadványok 1, 3–4, 22, 25, 27, 32, 37, 39, 41, 43, 49, 52, 55, 59, 61.) Budapest, 1951–2023. [hereinafter ZsO] I. n. 1674.; Vö. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, Tom. I–XI. Edd. Fejér, Georgius. Budae, 1829–1844. [hereinafter CDH] X/1. 610–614.

attempt to reclaim Galambóc/Golubac.¹¹ He was relieved of the ban's office before March 1392, likely due not to military incompetence but because of the advance of the Bebek family and the old aristocracy.¹² After this, fewer sources mention him, and he focused on his new acquisition, establishing his residence in Újhely, Zemplén county.¹³ His last significant journey was part of another southern campaign.

The Battle of Nicopolis in 1396 is often considered a milestone in several respects. It marked not only the decline of chivalric warfare but also the sunset of anti-Ottoman offensive campaigns and Crusader ventures. In September 1396, a Hungarian-Wallachian-French army aimed to capture Nicopolis castle, an important Danubian stronghold in the Balkans. Sultan Bayezid I, arriving to relieve the castle, forced the Western forces into battle despite being outnumbered four to five times. The description and assessment of the battle varied in different national historiographies, but it is certain that amidst the fluctuating fortunes of battle, panic spread among the Crusaders, and they suffered immense losses during their retreat to Danube ships.¹⁴ This battle caused significant upheaval in the lives of noble Hungarian families involved. Péter Perényi's three sons, along with their familiares, fought alongside the monarch. Among the three vigorous sons, Miklós and János met their end on the battlefield of Nicopolis. Miklós primarily accompanied the ruler within the kingdom, serving as a military baron and gaining familiarity with the North-Balkan region and its inhabitants, where fate ultimately caught up with him.

Imre Perényi, Secret Chancellor

Miklós and János' journeys ended at Nicopolis. For their brother, Imre, however, it was just the beginning. After the battle, King Sigismund returned to the Kingdom of Hungary by circumnavigating the Balkan Peninsula.¹⁵

¹¹ Engel, *A török-magyar háborúk első éve*, 1998. 22.

¹² Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 1996. 32–33.

¹³ ZsO I. n. 3031.

¹⁴ Pálosfalvi, Tamás, *From Nicopolis to Mohács: A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389–1526*. Leiden–Boston, 2018. 55–65.

¹⁵ *Itineraria regum et reginarum (1382–1438)*. Eds. Engel, Pál – C. Tóth, Norbert. (Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam, 1.). Budapest, 2005. [hereinafter *Itineraria*] 72.

Following his landing in Dalmatia, on February 25, 1397, somewhere along the road between Toplica and Körös, the king appointed Imre as cupbearer.¹⁶ Although Imre had previously left the country as a student at the University of Prague,¹⁷ it is possible that his first truly significant journey was this one, accompanying his king from Nicopolis, through the Danube, across the Bosphorus and the Straits, to the shores of the Adriatic Sea.

Imre, who had ascended to the ranks of the barons, had to prove his worth at the king's side. At this time, he led the Terebes branch of the Perényi family as the guardian of five sons and a daughter. It is no wonder, then, that he is frequently seen accompanying the traveling king. It seems likely that Imre was with the king from the time of his landing in Dalmatia, and in May 1397 he likely participated in the diet for the election of the palatine, as he served as a relator in Esztergom on June 3, 1397.¹⁸ From there, Sigismund's journey led to Nagyszombat (Trnava).¹⁹ Imre also accompanied the king on his Bosnian campaign in 1398.²⁰ In 1399, he participated in the royal campaign against Prokop, Margrave of Moravia, who had seized territory in Liptó County.²¹ Imre played a significant role in the siege of Nagyvár (now Szielnic, Liptovská Sielnica), as noted in a later donation letter, which states:

¹⁶ Engel, Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1996. 44.

¹⁷ Haraszti Szabó, Péter, "A prágai egyetem 14. századi hallgatói és a királyi udvar kapcsolatrendszere", In: Gál, Judit – Kádas, István – Rózsa, Márton – Tarján, Eszter (eds.), *Micae Mediaevales IV. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*. Budapest, 2015. 77–92. 86. footnote 55.

¹⁸ C. Tóth, Norbert, "Nádorváltások a Zsigmond-korban", In: Mikó, Gábor – Péterfi, Bence – Vadas, András (eds.), *Tiszteletkőr. Történelmi tanulmányok Draskóczy István egyetemi tanár 60. születésnapjára*. Budapest, 2012. 53–65. 57–59.; ZsO. I. n. 4807.

¹⁹ Cf. *Itineraria*, 73.

²⁰ *A középkori magyar királyság történelmi kronológiája 997–1526*. Vols. I–II. Eds. Zsoldos, Attila – Csukovits, Enikő – Skorka, Renáta – Pálosfalvi, Tamás – Horváth, Richárd – Neumann, Tibor. Budapest, 2023. [hereinafter *Kronológia*] I. 341.

²¹ In 1385, Sigismund sought help from his cousins, Margraves Jobst and Prokop of Moravia, to secure the Hungarian throne. Later, conflicts arose between them due to disputes over territories. Sigismund managed to reach an agreement with Jodok in 1388, but his relationship with Prokop deteriorated. Sigismund first campaigned against Prokop in 1390. Then, taking advantage of Sigismund's absence in 1397, Prokop, allied with Ladislaus of Opole, a Silesian duke, invaded Turóc/Turiec and Liptó/Liptov counties. Cf. *Kronológia*, 319. 326, 329, 339. As part of his autumn campaign in 1399, Sigismund personally led a campaign against Prokop, targeting Nagyvár castle in Liptó county. Cf. *Itineraria*, 77.

“(…) cum numerosa multitudine gentis nostre duram obsidionem statuendo ipsum castrum unacum militibus proceribus et clientibus nostris armis bellicis suffultris undique expugnare cepissemus, memoratus Emericus in sua proceritate multum animosus et expers belli, dum expugnationem dicti castrum viriliter et strenue insisteret, mox ex ictu cuiusdam sagitte per quoddam genus baliste a dicto castro in eum dimisse in suo pede grave vulnus suscepit, ex quo quidem vulnere idem Emericus quodam insanabili morbo tam graviter infectus in suo pede perpetuam inconvalescentiam percepit, preterea pridem temporibus proxime praeteritis”.²²

We hear about him again on September 14, 1402, when he was the twenty-second signatory to affirm the treaty between King Sigismund of Hungary and Albert IV Duke of Austria in Pozsony (Bratislava).²³ During the rebellion against Sigismund, 1403, he remained loyal to the king and, along with his relative Péter Perényi, defeated the rebel forces of István Debrői near the town of Patak. The intensity of the battle is eloquently described in the previously mentioned donation letter:

“(…) viriliter preliaturus in campo se opponens nonnullosque ex ipsis nostris infidelibus et rebellibus ex forti impulsu sue lancee prosternens alios autem in fortitudine sui brachii suo mucrone morti tradens et perimens idem Emericus de Peryn in veloci equi sui cursu inter bellatorum pedes in terram prostratus extitisset, sed tandem divini adiutorii remedio interveniente absque alicuius relevaminis adminiculo, in virtute sue animositatis et virium suarum potentia suum equum reascendens viresque viribus addens multos ex nostris infidelibus inibi interemit (...)”.²⁴

Following this event, while sources mention him, there is no reference to his position as cupbearer. This should not be seen as a fall from favor but rather as a result of Sigismund’s comprehensive chancellery reform in the spring of 1405. As an aftermath of this reform, Perényi was appointed *secretarius cancellarius*, or secret chancellor, sometime between May 28 and June 9, 1405. The literature often highlights that he was the first layperson to

²² DL 9432/2.; ZsO II. n. 6209.; CDH X/8. 480–486.

²³ Lővei, Pál, “Az ország nagyjainak és előkelőinek 1402. évi oklevelén függő pecsétek”, In: Neumann, Tibor –Rácz, György (eds.), *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére*. Budapest–Piliscsaba, 2009. 149–182. 162. n. 22.

²⁴ DL 9432/2.; ZsO II. n. 6209.; CDH X/8. 480–486.

be appointed to this position.²⁵ The role of the secret chancellor required diplomatic and political tasks that typically demanded educated individuals, usually from the clergy. As previously mentioned, Imre studied at the University of Prague and was presumably destined for a church career, only to be forced into secular life by his family's tragedy at Nicopolis (the death of his brothers). However, one should not overestimate Perényi's influence at Sigismund's court due to his new position. According to Elemér Mályusz: "his duty was more obedience than providing counsel".²⁶

Due to the nature of the chancellery position, it is difficult to trace Perényi in historical sources. He did not issue documents independently, nor do we encounter him as a relator.²⁷ We can assess the first three years of his chancellorship through a donation letter issued on July 10, 1408. This document clearly shows that he participated in grand diplomatic travels. The letter describes one such journey as follows:

"(...) eximii consilii et ingenii legalitate et maturitate prefulgentem circumspicientes et agnoscentes trans partes maritimas in ardua ambasiata ad quamplurimos principes et duces direxeramus, (...) ipso autem per maris discrimina evadente et per plures dies et noctes navigante, tandem superne virtutis protectus gratia ab inimicorum manibus extitit liberatus".²⁸

The phrase "across the sea" (trans partes maritimas) does not precisely define the direction of the mission. It is possible that Imre Perényi participated in the search for or the return of Margit Himfi from Crete. Margit, the daughter of Benedek Himfi, the Bulgarian ban, was robbed by a Turkish marauding band around 1391–92. Despite her family's search efforts over the years, news of her only arrived in 1405, when a relative, Miklós Marcali, the former Voivode of Transylvania, went to retrieve her. Margit was living on the island of Crete as a slave to a Venetian nobleman named Giorgio Darvasio, with whom she had two daughters. Darvasio released her without

²⁵ Mályusz, Elemér, "Zsigmond király központosító törekvései Magyarországon", = *Történelmi Szemle* 3:2–3, 1960, 162–192. 178.; Mályusz, Elemér, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1984. Cf. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 90–91.

²⁶ Mályusz, Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon, 1984. 81.

²⁷ Bónis, György, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1971. 101.

²⁸ DL 9432/2.; ZsO II. n. 6209.; CDH X/8. 480–486.

ransom, covering her travel expenses, and arranged for her journey to Venice, from where Margit returned to the Kingdom of Hungary.²⁹

The narrative of the document suggests that Imre Perényi might have traveled with Miklós Marcali across the Aegean Sea. The document also mentions a second mission:

“(…)in nostris legationibus et expeditionibus arduis non solum nostrum et regni nostri, verum totius Christianitatis commodum, utilitatem et profectum tangentibus ad Chalapiam Turcorum imperatorem in Turkyam vice versa dirigentes idem ab inde post multa dispendia et incommoda, que finale exterminium sue vite tangebant et respiciebant cum votivo fine et optata relatione pluribus mensibus et diebus evolutis ad regnum nostrum fuit regressus”.³⁰

According to Elemér Mályusz, during the year 1407, Perényi embarked on a diplomatic mission to Sultan Çelebi (Süleyman, 1402–1411). During this mission, Perényi and his entourage were captured but managed to escape after several days and nights of navigating.³¹ The text interestingly credits Perényi’s Turkish mission with ensuring Hungary’s safety from Turkish attacks. It is indisputable that Turkish forces did not attack Hungarian territories between 1402 and 1413. This period of safety was primarily due to Timur’s victory over Bayezid at Ankara in 1402 and the subsequent internal political turmoil during the Ottoman Interregnum.³² While the Turkish internal strife served Hungarian interests, it is debatable how much of this long-term stability can be attributed to Imre Perényi’s diplomacy. This likely reflects an overemphasis on the secret chancellor’s merits.³³

It can be stated that these two journeys posed significant challenges for Perényi, both financially and physically. In this era, it was not a common occurrence for a Hungarian baron to travel such great distances to the far more perilous eastern territories within the span of three years. While the success

²⁹ E. Kovács, Péter, “Egy magyar rabszolganő Krétán a 15. században”, In: Neumann – Rácz, *Honoris causa*, 2009. 105–123.

³⁰ DL 9432/2.; ZsO II. n. 6209.; CDH X/8. 480–486.

³¹ Mályusz, Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon, 1984. 81.

³² Pálosfalvi, From Nicopolis to Mohács, 2018. 22.

³³ Mályusz, Elemér, *Királyi kancellária és krónikás a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1973. 40–45.

of these missions cannot be deemed significant in light of subsequent events, they undoubtedly had a profound impact on Perényi's life.

In the frequently cited charter, it is also mentioned that as the secret chancellor, Perényi was responsible for the royal secret seal. Therefore, it was necessary for the document to be confirmed by the seals of the eleven other present individuals. However, it can be excluded that Imre Perényi personally kept the secret seal, and the "itinerary" of the secret seal does not indicate Perényi's exact whereabouts. This assertion is supported by the cited charter, as Perényi could not have taken the royal seal with him on the months-long diplomatic missions. The compatibility between diplomatic absence and chancellery duties was ensured by having Perényi's deputy chancellor, chosen from among his familiares, safeguard the royal secret seal. Consequently, while we can use documents endorsed with the royal secret seal to approximate the king's location,³⁴ this does not necessarily coincide with the chancellor Perényi's location.

In the early 1410s, the Hungarian-Polish conflict took center stage in Hungarian diplomacy. Tensions between the two countries first flared after the death of King Louis the Great. This was partly due to the occupation of Galicia-Volhynia, which were supposed to revert to the Hungarian crown after the death of Casimir III, a stipulation the Poles did not honor. Additionally, the conflict arose from the Polish monarch's claim to the Hungarian throne following Queen Mary's death (1395). The conflict was initially resolved with an agreement at Igló (Spišská Nová Ves) in the summer of 1397, where Władysław II and Sigismund agreed to a sixteen-year peace.³⁵ It is unclear whether Perényi participated in the negotiations to renew this peace during the talks at Késmárk (Kežmarok) from April 6 to 18, 1410, as the list of negotiators has not survived.³⁶ However, Perényi was actively involved in subsequent negotiations: in 1411, he was a member of the delegation tasked with negotiating the extension of the armistice.³⁷

³⁴ Itinerárium, 10–11.

³⁵ Pósan, László, "Sigismund von Luxemburg und der erste Frieden von Thorn", In: Roman, Czaja – Eduard, Mühle – Andrzej, Radziwiński (eds.), *Konfliktbewältigung und Friedensstiftung im Mittelalter*. Torun, 2012. 123–133. 123–125.

³⁶ Kronológia, 363.

³⁷ ZsO III. n. 1235–36.

A letter copy related to the negotiations has survived, in which an unknown author addresses Władysław II with a question, as the negotiations had reached a deadlock regarding Moldavia. Elemér Mályusz correctly dated the undated letter to after November 11, 1411, and identified the authors: Judge Royal Simon Rozgonyi, ispán of Sáros county János Rozgonyi, former ispán of Székelys Péter Perényi (from the Nyaláb branch), and secret chancellor Imre Perényi. According to Mályusz, it is most likely that Imre Perényi, as the senior of the four secular men and holding the position of secret chancellor, personally wrote to the Polish king.³⁸ The negotiations culminated in the signing of the Peace of Lubló (Stará Ľubovňa) on March 15, 1412.³⁹ However, Perényi did not confirm this agreement, as a later document reveals that the chancellor had fallen ill. This implies that Perényi's health prevented him from advising Sigismund, thus excluding him from the peace preparations. In the summer of 1412, Perényi was among those ordered by Sigismund to prepare the pawn of 16 towns of Szepes/Spiš and to negotiate peace with King Władysław II of Poland.⁴⁰ The negotiations were successful, and the pawning took place on November 8 in Zagreb, with Imre Perényi among the confirmers of the document.⁴¹

Sigismund travelled west to end the schism in the Church at the end of 1412,⁴² but Imre did not accompany him. Between April 26 and May 3, 1413, and likely for a longer period, Imre Perényi stayed at his estate in Jánosd, Abaúj County, again due to illness.⁴³ This marks the second instance we learn of his illness. It appears that Imre Perényi's health severely deteriorated by the 1410s. A leg wound he sustained caused permanent damage, exacerbated by constant diplomatic travels.⁴⁴ As a chancellor in his forties or fifties at the time, he would have struggled with the hardships and consequences of

³⁸ ZsO III. n. 1196.

³⁹ *Varsói Magyar Oklevéltár*. Ed. Novák, Ádám. Debrecen, 2024. [hereinafter *Varsói Magyar Oklevéltár*] 66–70.

⁴⁰ ZsO III. n. 2694–6.

⁴¹ Wagner, Carolus, *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani*. Tom. I–IV. Viena, 1774, Posonii–Cassoviae, 1778. I. 212–216.

⁴² *Itineraria*, 96.

⁴³ ZsO IV. n. 536.

⁴⁴ Compare the above quotes.

these journeys amid the conditions of the era. Only in November 1414 did he join his king at the coronation in Aachen.⁴⁵ He likely left the Council of Constance already in the autumn of 1415, possibly accompanying Queen Barbara. He spent the year 1416 and the summer of 1417 in the Kingdom of Hungary,⁴⁶ returning to Constance around the turn of 1417 and 1418, presumably with the queen.⁴⁷ On March 18, 1418, in Constance, he submitted a petition to Pope Martin V, seizing what was likely his last opportunity to be in the presence of the pope in a city.⁴⁸ Shortly thereafter, perhaps still in Constance or on the journey home, he passed away. He is recorded as having died on July 25, 1418.⁴⁹

Imre Perényi, as the secret chancellor, undertook extensive travels comparable to his contemporaries. He journeyed from Aachen through Konstanz to Szepesség/Spiš, then across the Balkan Peninsula to the Aegean Sea and Asia Minor, covering a significant part of the known world. His life was not made easier by the injuries he sustained in various battles and the hardships of travel. In his final years, his frequent illnesses were partly attributable to these challenges. Undoubtedly, he passed on his diplomatic and travel experiences to his sons István and János, who could build their political careers on these foundations.

Miklós Perényi, Master of the Horse

Perényi Miklós, the son of Miklós ban of Szörény/Severin, known as the younger Miklós, was already serving as a court youth for King Sigismund in 1409.⁵⁰ He participated in the campaign against Venice in 1412⁵¹ and partly accompanied Sigismund on the travels related to the Council of Constance.

⁴⁵ Bárány, “On Tour” from Aachen to Rome, 2020. 122. It was thus that they left Hungary at the end of September. Cf. *Itineraria*, 172. Sigismund was in Aachen from November 5, 1414. *Itineraria*, 98.

⁴⁶ ZsO V. n. 1926.; 2296.; 2362.; 2388.; ZsO VI. n. 687.

⁴⁷ *Itineraria*, 173–174.

⁴⁸ ZsO VI. n. 1657.

⁴⁹ ZsO VI. n. 2205.

⁵⁰ ZsO II. n. 6928.

⁵¹ ZsO IV. n. 1446–1447.

He was certainly with the monarch on July 29, 1413, in Brixen in northern Italy,⁵² and on December 21, 1413, in Lodi.⁵³ According to a donation made by Sigismund to Perényi's familiar, Illés Felsőbárcai:

“(...) per ipsum sub diversitate locorum et temporum, toto suo posse, summa cum diligentia, deuotionis constantia, et sollititudine indefessa, nobis et sacro nostro regio diademati exhibitis laudabiliter et impensis, volentes sibi premisorum suorum serii itioium intuitu (...)”⁵⁴

In 1414, Miklós participated in the coronation of Sigismund in Aachen.⁵⁵ Following the coronation, Sigismund traveled to open the Council of Constance. During this journey, Miklós may have parted ways with the King at Lake Constance, returning to Hungary in 1415 with Queen Barbara and his uncle, Imre Perényi.⁵⁶ As a result, he did not accompany Sigismund further west into the German territories. However, in early 1418, Miklós possibly rejoined his uncle Imre and returned to Constance.⁵⁷ Miklós became a constant member of Sigismund's entourage. Between June 20 and 25, 1418, he served as a relator for the King's charters in Strasbourg.⁵⁸ During this time, Sigismund appointed him as the ispán of Máramaros (Maramureş) county, overseeing significant salt revenues.⁵⁹ By 1419, Miklós was again alongside the king in Kassa,⁶⁰ and his loyal service led to his appointment as Master of the Horse in 1420.⁶¹ In 1421, Sigismund appointed Miklós as the captain of the Vág (capitaneus terre fluvii Wagh) region to counter the increasing Hussite raids.⁶² Consequently, Miklós participated in the crusade against Bohemia, appearing in Žač on January 13, 1422.⁶³ He was also involved in the Polish-

⁵² ZsO IV. n. 898.

⁵³ ZsO IV. n. 1446–1447.

⁵⁴ DL 83565. ZsO IV. n. 1447. Jászay, Pál, “A Múzeum tárcája. Historiográfiai forgácsok”, = *Új Magyar Múzeum* 2:1, 1851–52, 825–826.

⁵⁵ Bárány, “On Tour” from Aachen to Rome, 2020. 122.

⁵⁶ *Itineraria*, 172–173.

⁵⁷ ZsO VI. n. 1691.

⁵⁸ ZsO VI. n. 2067., 2088.

⁵⁹ ZsO VI. n. 2067.

⁶⁰ ZsO VII. n. 671.

⁶¹ In the list of dignity: DL 33551.

⁶² ZsO VIII. n. 452.

⁶³ ZsO IX. n. 38.

Hungarian peace negotiations, sealing the peace of Késmárk (Kežmarok) in March 1423.⁶⁴ Following the negotiations, he hosted the royal entourage twice on his estates: in Kucsín (Kučín) on April 17, 1423, and in Patak on June 9, 1423.⁶⁵ Miklós spent the years 1425–1426 in the Vág region.⁶⁶ His life came to a tragic end during the siege of Galambóc (Golubac), where he passed away in the evening of July 13, 1428, in the camp.⁶⁷

Miklós Perényi primarily served in the royal entourage, accompanying the king to Lombardy, the German provinces, and Aachen, the city of Charlemagne. During his travels, he developed a close relationship with King Sigismund. Even before his baronial appointment, he acted as an intermediary for the king's will in the chancellery, often securing donations for his familiars as a relator. The Florentine envoy to Sigismund, Piero Guicciardini, noted that the king was deeply saddened by Miklós's death and considered him one of his dearest barons.⁶⁸ Throughout his journeys, Miklós experienced the finest aspects of Western chivalric culture. He proudly bore his coats of arms and the emblem of the Order of the Dragon, as evidenced by a page from an unfinished armorial created during the Council of Constance.⁶⁹ Although slightly inaccurately (confused with his kinsman Miklós, son of Pál Perényi), the herald lists him second as Master of the Horse. The rounded, slightly right-leaning shield features a dragon in the top left corner, spewing flames and biting its tail, with a cross on its back – the emblem of the Order of the Dragon. Though somewhat blurred, an “S”-shaped chain, known as the SS collar or chain of office, the motto of the House of Lancaster, is discernible around the dragon's neck. The significance of this chain will be discussed in more detail through Miklós's cousins, János and István.

⁶⁴ Varsói Magyar Oklevéltár n. 48–51.

⁶⁵ Itineraria, 114.

⁶⁶ Esztergom: ZsO XII. n. 821., Trencsén (Trenčín): ZsO XII. n. 1323.; Magyarbród (Uherský Brod): ZsO n. XIII. 528., Pozsony (Bratislava): ZsO XIII: n. 550., Trencsén (Trenčín): ZsO XIII: n. 819.

⁶⁷ ZsO XV. n. 823.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Jékely, Zsombor, “Armorial and Grants of Arms: Heraldic representation of Hungarian nobles at the time of the Council of Constance: Heraldic representation of Hungarian nobles at the time of the Council of Constance”, In: Bárány, Attila (ed.), *Das Konzil von Konstanz und Ungarn*. Debrecen, 2016. 155–178. 177.

István Perényi, Master of the Table

Before 1406, two sons were born from the marriage of Imre Perényi: István and János. They entered King Sigismund's court at a very young age. By the end of 1414, they joined the royal entourage after the coronation in Aachen, accompanied by Queen Barbara and their father, Imre.⁷⁰ The young Perényi brothers accompanied Sigismund to Perpignan in 1415, where the king held negotiations with King Ferdinand I of Aragon between September and October. Written sources confirm this, alongside the tombstones of István from Rudabánya and János from Trebišov, bearing the insignia of the Orden de la Jarra y el Grifo.⁷¹

In the autumn of 1415, King Sigismund continued his diplomatic travels, meeting Charles VI in Paris and personally visiting King Henry V in London to discuss the unification of the Church.⁷² The Imrefi brothers accompanied him, evidenced by several members of the Perényi family adopting the motto of the English royal dynasty, the House of Lancaster, known as the “SS chain” or collar, a rare honor in Central Europe and beyond. This unique privilege is primarily evidenced by the tombstone of János Perényi from Trebišov, and also appears on the aforementioned coat of arms scroll. Attila Bárány's writings caution that the SS chain is not the insignia of the Order of the Garter, but rather a symbol associated with the English royal dynasty. Its strict bestowal suggests political motives and indicates the highest royal favor. Since Sigismund himself received this honor, it can be assumed that the Perényis partly earned it through their association with him,

⁷⁰ At the coronation in Aachen, only Imre Perényi is mentioned by name, but as we have seen, Perényi could accompany Zsigmond to this event and could have brought his sons with him.

⁷¹ Lővei, Pál, “Abguß der Grabplatte des Oberst-Truchsessen István Perényi (†1437)” and “Abguß der Grabplatte des Oberst-Schatzmeisters János Perényi (†1458)”, In: Takács, Imre – Jékely, Zsombor – Papp, Szilárd – Poszler, Györgyi (eds.), *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismund von Luxemburg 1387–1437*. Budapest–Mainz, 2006. 348–349.

⁷² More about the background of diplomatic travel and dynastic relationships: Bárány, Attila, “A chapter in the relations of Sigimund of Luxemburg and England: a joint effort against heresy”, In: Sarnowsky, Jürgen – Kwiatkowski, Krzysztof – Houben Hubert – Pósán, László – Bárány, Attila (eds.), *Studies of the Military Orders, Prussia, and Urban History: Essays in Honour of Roman Czaja on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*. Debrecen, 2020. 161–184. 162–164.

or they themselves accomplished deeds that merited recognition from the English monarch.⁷³

The precise formulation of their services during travels related to the Council of Constance according to a document from 1439:

“(…) quibus ipse eidem condam domino imperatori patri nostro et sacre regni nostri Hungarie corone, sub locorum et temporum varietate et presertim alias ipso condam patre nostro in sacro Constanziensi concilio pro unione sacrosancte universalis ecclesie et pro inveterati pestiferique scismatis extinctione laborante, semper cum decenti suorum familiarium comitiva Germanie, Francie, Anglie, Aragonie et alias quamplures regnorum ac mundi partes cum dicto condam patre nostro perlustravit suoque lateri cum omni fidelitatis eximia constantia iugiter et continue astitit et adhesit (…).”⁷⁴

This was the sons of Imre first trial by fire alongside Sigismund during their of several years journey. Later, István – together with his brother János – reached Prague during the first crusade campaign in Bohemia (May–November 1420).⁷⁵ In 1426, Sigismund pledged two estates in Borsod county to the two brothers, describing their services in the charter as follows:

“(…) Johannis et Stephani, filiorum condam magnifici Emerici de Peren, aule nostre familiarium, quibus ipsi celsitudini nostre in quampluribus nostris et regnorum nostorum predictorum agendis prosperis et adversis sub diversitate locorum et temporum et presertim in exercitiis nostris per nos plerisque versus dictum regnum nostrum Bohemie pro extirpandis et elidendis Huzitis hereticam pravitatem in obprobrium et scandalum Christianitatis divinitatisque contumeliam dirigentibus et faventibus instauratis per suorum laudabilium operum efficaciam et indefessam sollicitudinem pre ceteris suis participibus (…).”⁷⁶

⁷³ Bárány, Attila, “English chivalric insignia in Hungary”, In: Bárány, Attila – Orosz, István – Papp, Klára – Vinkler, Bálint (eds.), *Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: arisztokraták Magyarországon és Európában. Learning, Intellect and Social Roles: Aristocrats in Hungary and Europe: Learning, Intellect and Social Rules: Aristocrats in Hungary and Europe*. Debrecen, 2014. 73–96. passim.

⁷⁴ DL 13410.

⁷⁵ ZsO VII. n. 2215.

⁷⁶ DL 1184., ZsO XIII. n. 1006.

After the campaign in Bohemia, there is no record of István and János being part of the king's immediate entourage. Significant change came in 1430 when Sigismund embarked on another grand journey westward to secure the imperial crown in Rome.⁷⁷ Before their departure on June 25, 1430, in Köpcsény, they received a land grant jointly with the sons of former Royal Judge Péter Perényi.⁷⁸ Subsequently, István and János parted ways: János returned home to his estates, while István accompanied Sigismund and was away from Hungary from August 1430 to January 1435. In the autumn of 1430, István was with Sigismund when the ruler summoned the nobility of the empire to Nuremberg and Ulm due to the Hussite campaign. From September 13 to October 31, the Hungarian retinue stayed in Nuremberg.⁷⁹ István may have been a member of the diplomatic embassy sent by Sigismund to Pope Martin V in late 1430–31. According to papal records, István Perényi, along with others such as László Csapi and Mátyás Gatalóci, appeared before the pope on January 22, 1431, receiving full absolution and permission to use a portable altar.⁸⁰ The mission likely succeeded, as evidenced by grants received on April 19, 1431, during the imperial assembly in Nuremberg. István, along with his brother János and Péter Perényi's son, received donations from Sigismund. István's title Master of the Table was also mentioned alongside his name.⁸¹

On November 25, 1431, István was present in Milan alongside other magnates when Sigismund was crowned King of Italy. According to the research of Péter E. Kovács, István Perényi received tasks from Sigismund while he was staying in Siena (1432–1433). In January 1433, he was sent with 14 mounted escorts to Montepescali, and in February to Batignano.⁸²

⁷⁷ E. Kovács, *König Sigismund in Siena*, 2018. 13–20.

⁷⁸ *A Perényi család levéltára 1222–1526*. Ed: Tringli István. Budapest, 2008. (A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok 44.) [hereinafter Perényi] n. 420.

⁷⁹ Bárány, "On Tour" from Aachen to Rome, 2020. 126–127.

⁸⁰ *Diplomata pontificum saec. XV. XV. századi pápák oklevelei I–II*. Ed. Lukcsics, Pál. Budapest, 1931–1938. (Monumenta Hungariae Italica. Olaszországi Magyar Oklevéltár) [hereinafter Lukcsics] I. 261–262. For Perényi: Vol. I. n. 1442., 1444. and 1446.

⁸¹ Perényi, n. 436.

⁸² Bárány, "On Tour" from Aachen to Rome, 2020. 127–127. Cf. E. Kovács, *König Sigismund in Siena*, 2018. 258–262 and 276–278.

It's true that István's name does not appear among the Roman petitioners of 1433, possibly because he had already obtained the necessary permissions two years earlier. In 1435, he returned to the Kingdom of Hungary with his sovereign. However, during this journey, he fell ill and passed away in 1437, likely before January 22.⁸³ King Albert of Habsburg, in his donation to István's brother János, remembered István's death as follows:

“(...) sic nonminus in nostri memoria revolventes illa preclara et laudedigna fidelitatum obsequia, quibus etiam condam magnificus Stephanus de eadem Peren consimiliter magister dapiferorum annotati condam domini Sigismundi imperatoris et regis patris nostri, frater scilicet carnalis ipsius Johannis de Peren, nunc magistri tavernicorum nostrorum, pretacto condam patri nostro, in partibus Almanie, Lombardie et Tuscie, ad quas pro susceptione sacrarum coronarum imperialium intraverat, gratum se reddidit et acceptum intentissimisque frigorum densitatibus, viarum discrimibus et aliis incomoditatum fatigationibus graviter affectus ceterorumque plurimorum laborum oneribus sic laccessitus extitit, sicque in viribus defecit, quod tandem paucis tempore sue vite expleto, postquam prefatus condam pater noster susceptis votive coronis imperialibus, de predictis exteris regionibus, ad hoc regnum nostrum Hungarie rediit, in lecto egritudinis decumbens, vitam finivit temporalem (...)”⁸⁴

This clearly illustrates that during the extensive journeys of the time, under the contemporary conditions, not everyone could endure numerous hardships without issue. István Perényi crossed the Apennine Peninsula several times, and the consequences of these trials were illness and ultimately death. His passing at the height of his strength was a great loss to the family, as he died without an heir, leaving his brother János as the sole adult male family member.

János Perényi, the Master of the Treasury

János's journeys occasionally diverged from his brother's path. In the autumn of 1419, he could have been a member of the army against Venice. On October 1, at the behest of King, Dénes Marcali, he led troops into northern Italy, Friuli.⁸⁵

⁸³ On January 22, he no longer appeared in the list of dignitaries: DL 95 000.

⁸⁴ DL 13410.

⁸⁵ ZsO VII. n. 991–993 and Kronológia, 382.

Little is known about the campaign's duration, but it likely extended until the spring of 1420.⁸⁶ János Perényi may have been a member of this expedition, obtaining permission on April 12, 1420, in Florence to use a portable altar from the Pope.⁸⁷ Besides the opportunity for freer religious practice, his motivation may have included a desire for representation and the prestige of appearing at the papal court, a significant status symbol. The portable altar continued to be useful for him, especially from the spring of 1420, when Sigismund waged war on the excommunicated lands of Bohemia.⁸⁸

We can encounter the name of János Perényi among four distinguished Hungarians who, on January 20, 1429, received safe conducts from Venice for up to sixty people to travel to the Holy Land.⁸⁹ This information was transmitted through the work of Wenzel Gusztáv in our historical literature.⁹⁰ However, the printed source from 1854 published by Gusztáv does not definitively clarify whether this János was the son of Imre or János, the son of Péter from the Nyaláb branch of the Perényi family. It is possible that János, son of Imre, considered the late 1420s an appropriate time to join his companions, including Imre Marcali and Henrik Tamási, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁹¹

János played an important role in negotiations with the Poles during the 1430s. In 1434, he was part of the delegation that negotiated with Polish envoys in Kežmarok. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the redemption of Szepesség (Spiš). According to Jan Długosz, the composition of the delegation included Máté Pálóci, the Palatine, Péter Perényi's son János, and "Ioannes maior de Peren," meaning János, son of Imre Perényi, as the third representative.⁹²

⁸⁶ ZsO VII. n. 1010–1011., 1705.

⁸⁷ Lukcsics, vol. I. 269. At that time, Pope Martin V held his seat in Florence.

⁸⁸ Pope Martin V issued his bull on March 1, 1420, declaring a crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia. Shortly thereafter, in early May 1420, Sigismund advanced into Bohemia. *Kronológia*, 383.

⁸⁹ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 2003. 110.

⁹⁰ Wenzel, Gusztáv, "Jeruzsálemi magyar alapítványok és zarándoklatok", = *Új Magyar Múzeum* 4:1, 1854, 471–474. 474.

⁹¹ We know that his father also wished to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but due to illness, he requested exemption from his vow before his death. Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 2003. 152.

⁹² *Ioannis Dlugossii: Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*. Liber I–XII. Ed. Dabrowski, Jan. Varsaviae–Cracoviae, 1964–2005. Lib. XI. 166. Cf. Wagner, *Analecta Scepussii sacri et profane*, II. 96.

Although the negotiations were not successful, his involvement in such missions underscored his growing influence during Sigismund's reign. After Sigismund's death, King Albert appointed János as Master of the Treasury in 1438 and entrusted him with another important mission related to Poland. On May 3, 1439, from Pozsony (Bratislava), János Perényi, along with other dignitaries, was sent as an envoy to King Władysław III of Poland, alongside Bishop-elect Benedek of Győr, István Rozgonyi, the ispán of Pozsony, and others.⁹³

The mission was successful, and upon their return on June 27, 1439, János received a significant grant from Albert: the last royal castle in the northeastern part of the country, Sáros (Šariš).⁹⁴ Following Albert's death in October 1439, János was present among the barons and prelates who convened in Buda in January 1440. As a result, he became a member of the delegation sent to King Władysław III.⁹⁵ The negotiations in Kraków led to Władysław III assuming the elected Hungarian royal title on March 9, 1440.

Following his return from the Polish mission, although a very eventful decade awaited János – marked by several instances of imprisonment, armed conflicts, and negotiations primarily in the Upper Regions – it is confirmed that he did not leave the country again until 1450. Within the framework of the Holy Year of 1450, he made a pilgrimage to Rome for full absolution, also requesting permission to use a portable altar for himself and his wife.⁹⁶ He timed his visit for the autumn of that year, after the plague epidemic had subsided. Despite the fact that János Vitéz de Zredna requested and obtained permission for the country's residents to receive absolution without pilgrimage – citing the nation's foreign and domestic political situation and the significant danger posed to pilgrims – Perényi chose to undertake the journey. He was unafraid to leave his office and estates behind, which might explain why he does not appear in records until the spring of 1451. It is possible that Perényi's trip to Rome was not solely for religious purposes but may have

⁹³ Varsói Magyar Oklevéltár, n. 56.

⁹⁴ DL 13410.

⁹⁵ Varsói Magyar Oklevéltár, n. 58–59.

⁹⁶ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 2003. 22., Lukcsics, II. n. 1137.

included a diplomatic mission. However, there is no evidence of this in the literature, and proving or disproving it requires further research.⁹⁷

János Perényi's next foreign journey was related to the release of King Ladislaus V (Ladislaus the Posthumous, 1440–1457). In February 1452, a delegation was sent from the Diet assembled in Pozsony (Bratislava) to Vienna to negotiate with the Austrian estates. Besides Hunyadi, the delegation included four high-ranking prelates and nineteen magnates, among them János Perényi, Master of the Treasury.⁹⁸ Historical sources and scholarly literature note that the Hungarian estates did not spend much time in Vienna; János Hunyadi was already back in Pozsony by March 11.⁹⁹ On April 13, Perényi wrote from Buda to the city of Pozsony, stating that he awaited their envoys by the octave of St. George's Day.¹⁰⁰ This visit to Austria was the last time János Perényi left the country. He died on June 24, 1458, on the feast of St. John the Baptist. His tomb, with a complex program of representation, bears an inscription that highlights all the rulers he served:

“+ Hec • est • sepultura • magnifici • d(omi)ni • Joh(an)nis • filii • emerici • de • peren • Illustrissimi • p(ri)ncipis • d(omi)ni • Sigismu(n)di dei • gra(tia) • Ro(ma)nor(um) • Imp(er)atoris • hungarieq(ue) • et • bohe(m)ie • etc • Regis • dapiferor(um) • ac • Sereniss(im)i • p(ri)ncipis • d(omi)ni • alberti • eade(m) • gra(tia) • Ro(ma)nor(um) • ac • hu(n)ga(r)ie • regi(s) • tauarnicor(um) • regaliu(m) • m(a)g(ist)ri • anno • d(omi)ni • M^o • cccc^o • • l • viii • obi(i)t i(n) • die • Jo(hanni)s • ba(ptiste)”¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ In 1450, negotiations between János Hunyadi and the Pope took place throughout the year. In the spring, the Pope released Hunyadi from his promise to Serbian despot George Branković. They also discussed matters related to the Holy Year and the right of patronage. Additionally, during the summer, they requested the Pope's intervention with Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor (1452–1493) to secure the release of King V Ladislaus.

⁹⁸ Novák, Ádám, “Hungarikák V. László gyámságának időszakából”, In: Bárány, Attila – Pószán, László (eds.) *Száműzetés, fogság, szabadulás a középkori és koraiújkorai Európában*. Debrecen, 2021. 159–184.

⁹⁹ Engel, Pál, “Hunyadi János kormányzó itineráriuma, 1446–1452”, = *Századok* 118:5, 1984, 974–997. 986.

¹⁰⁰ DF 240148.

¹⁰¹ Engel, Pál – Lővei, Pál – Varga, Lívia, “Zsigmond-kori bárói síremlékeinkről”, = *Arx Hungarica* 11, 1983. 21–48. 37–38.

János Perényi was one of those aristocrats who gained their political experience under King Sigismund and survived the tribulations of the 1440s and 1450s. During his travels, he reached Rome, London, Paris, and was the first in his family to journey to the Holy Land.

Summary

It is evident that for the Hungarian aristocracy in the first half of the fifteenth century, the active foreign policy of the Hungarian rulers – primarily Sigismund of Luxemburg – presented both significant challenges and opportunities. Those who accompanied the king on his extended travels were individuals who could represent his power and serve him even abroad. We see that the ruler delegated various tasks, both large and small, to his subjects, whether to the Pope’s court or to the Sultan’s.

These journeys imposed substantial financial burdens on the families, as they had to cover the expenses of their numerous retainers themselves. Additionally, their health often suffered due to constant travel. For instance, Imre Perényi’s sea voyages left a lasting impact, and his son István fell ill in Italy and eventually died from his illness. Despite these hardships, they undertook these challenges because they knew that only through such services could they hope for rewards from the ruler. These rewards could not only cover their expenses but also contribute to the family’s long-term survival and wealth.

From the second half of Sigismund’s reign onwards, the royal estates were distributed sparingly. Despite this, Sigismund granted Imre Perényi two castle estates, and even though primarily under pledge, sons of Imre, István and János, also acquired lands. An intangible but significant benefit of these travels, which cannot be fully documented through sources, was the exposure to various cultures and diplomatic, military, and economic situations. The Perényi family could incorporate these experiences into their daily lives, influencing their mentality, representation, material culture, and perhaps even their cuisine.

Moreover, their religious fervor motivated the wealthy aristocracy to undertake grand pilgrimages, whether to the Holy Land or to the Holy City. The examples above clearly show that the experience of faith was crucial for

the era's elites, prompting them to sacrifice their time, wealth, and even physical well-being for the salvation of their souls after death.

János Perényi's family continued to play a significant role in Hungarian domestic and foreign policy for another three generations, with travel closely linked to their roles. However, detailing this further is beyond the scope of this study.



Autoren / Authors

- Bárány Attila (HUN-REN-University of Debrecen)
Bozzay Réka (University of Debrecen)
Bruin, Renger E. de (Utrecht University)
Józwiak, Sławomir (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń)
Fedeles Tamás (University of Pécs)
Flachenecker, Helmut (University of Würzburg)
Font Márta (University of Pécs)
Györkös Attila (HUN-REN-University of Debrecen)
Heckmann, Dieter (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin)
Hiller István (Eötvös Loránd University)
E. Kovács Péter (HUN-REN-University of Debrecen)
Kubicki, Rafał (University of Gdansk)
Maćkiewicz, Mateusz Wiktor (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń)
Molnár Antal (HUN-REN Research Center for the Humanities Institute of History)
Nicholas Coureas (Cyprus Research Centre)
Novák Ádám (HUN-REN-University of Debrecen)
Pósán László (HUN-REN-University of Debrecen)
Sarnowsky, Jürgen (University of Hamburg)
Szweda, Adam (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń)
Tózsá-Rigó Attila (University of Debrecen)



HUN-REN–University of Debrecen Research Group
“Military History of Medieval Hungary and Central
Europe” Publications

Series: Memoria Hungariae

§ Das Konzil von Konstanz und Ungarn. Hrsg. von Attila Bányai unter Mitarbeit von Balázs Antal Bacsa. Debrecen, 2016. (Memoria Hungariae 1.)

§ The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations. Edited by Attila Bányai, in co-operation with Balázs Antal Bacsa. Debrecen, 2016. (Memoria Hungariae 2.)

§ Pilisi gótika. II. András francia kapcsolatai. [Gothic in Pilis. The French Relations of King Andrew II] Eds. Bányai Attila, Benkő Elek, Kárpáti Zoltán. Ferenczy Múzeumi Centrum, Debrecen–Szentendre, 2016. (Memoria Hungariae 3.)

§ “M'en anei en Ongria” Relations franco-hongroises au Moyen Âge II. Sous la direction de Attila Györkös et Gergely Kiss. Debrecen, 2017. (Memoria Hungariae 4.)

§ The Image of States, Nations and Religions in Medieval and Early Modern East Central Europe. Eds. Attila Bányai – Réka Bozzay. Debrecen, 2018. (Memoria Hungariae 5.)

§ Diplomata írók, író diplomaták. Szerk. Bányai Attila – Pusztai Gábor. Debrecen, 2018. (Memoria Hungariae 6.)

§ E., Kovács Péter: Die Krönung Kaiser Sigismund in Rom. Debrecen, 2022. (Memoria Hungariae 8.)

§ Pósan László: Magyarország és a Német Lovagrend a középkorban. Debrecen, 2019. (Memoria Hungariae 10.)

§ Hunyadi Mátyás és kora. Szerk. Bárány Attila – Kavecsánszki Máté – Pósan László – Takács Levente. Debrecen, 2019. (Memoria Hungariae 12.)

§ Száműzetés, fogság, szabadulás a középkori és koraiújkorai Európában. Szerk. Bárány Attila – Pósan László. Debrecen, 2021. (Memoria Hungariae 13.)

§ Zwischen Ostsee und Adria. Ostmitteleuropa im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Politische-, wirtschaftliche-, religiösische- und wissenschaftliche Beziehungen. Hg. Attila Bárány – Roman Czaja – László Pósan. Debrecen, 2023. (Memoria Hungariae 14.)

§ Mercenaries and Crusaders. Ed. Attila Bárány. Debrecen, 2024. (Memoria Hungariae 15.)

Fontes Memoriae Hungariae

§ Varsóban őrzött magyar vonatkozású oklevelek (1350–1386). [Hungarian-related charters in Warsaw] Ed. Ádám Novák. Debrecen, 2017. (Fontes Memoriae Hungariae I.)

§ Varsóban őrzött magyar vonatkozású oklevelek (1388–1427). [Hungarian-related charters in Warsaw] Ed. Ádám Novák. Debrecen, 2018. (Fontes Memoriae Hungariae II.)

§ Varsóban őrzött magyar vonatkozású oklevelek (1439–1489). [Hungarian-related charters in Warsaw] Ed. Ádám Novák. Debrecen, 2019. (Fontes Memoriae Hungariae III.)

§ Varsóban őrzött magyar vonatkozású oklevelek (1490–1521). [Hungarian-related charters in Warsaw] Ed. Ádám Novák. Debrecen, 2022. (Fontes Memoriae Hungariae IV.)