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## Polish and Hungarian lords in the entourage of Władysław, King of Poland and Hungary 1440–1442<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction

In just a few days following the death of Sigismund of Luxembourg in December 1437, Hungarian lords chose the Austrian prince, Albert the Magnanimous, as king and crowned him together with his wife on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1438<sup>2</sup>. However, Albert was not given much time on the Hungarian throne, because during the 1439 campaign against the Ottomans he also became a victim of the the epidemic that broke out in his army and fell into eternal sleep at Neszmély, near Győr, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1439<sup>3</sup>. Since Albert passed away

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<sup>2</sup> D. Szabó, *Albert királyné választása* [in:] *Emlékkönyv Fejérpataky László életének hatvanadik évfordulója ünnepére*, szerk. I. Szentpétery, Budapest 1917, pp. 312–325, here: pp. 317–318; E. Mályusz, *Az első Habsburg a magyar trónon*, "Aetas" 1994, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 120–151, here: p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Magyarország történeti kronológiája*, vol. 1: *A kezdetektől 1526-ig*, szerk. K. Péter, L. Solymosi, Budapest 1986, p. 259.

without a successor, the Hungarian – and thusly the Czech and the Austrian – thrones were left empty. Albert's last will for the lords of his countries was to set up a regency council until his wife Elizabeth of Luxembourg gave birth to their child, since the queen was pregnant at the time. Nonetheless, the will of the deceased king had very little *raison d'être*: the leaders of his countries did not wish to cooperate with each other. The primary goal of the Hungarian noblemen was to quickly find an heir to the throne, as a year earlier Murad II, the Ottoman Sultan, had led a successful campaign against Serbia, the southern neighbour of Hungary<sup>4</sup>. The Hungarian-Serbian counter-offensive had not taken place in autumn 1439, so it could have been anticipated that the Sultan was going to take advantage of the king's death and carry on with another campaign (this assumption was proved to be correct by the siege of Nándorfehérvár in 1440)<sup>5</sup>. Consequently, it was necessary to elect a new king, preferably someone who could provide foreign support to the country. There was no shortage of candidates. As a possible option emerged Lazar, son of the Serbian despot Đurađ Branković, who was present at the diet held in Buda in January 1440. Many noblemen saw an alternative in Władysław III of Poland as well. The choice of the Jagiellonian ruler was made more propitious by the military power of the country behind him and the personal union that existed in the Anjou era. During the diet, the words of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Bishop of Kraków, and Jan Taszka Koniecpolski, Polish Royal Lord Chancellor, could likely carry considerable weight, as they were both seasoned diplomats<sup>6</sup>.

The electing diet eventually came to a broad political consensus on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1440 and sent a delegation to Władysław III of Poland in order to invite him to the Hungarian throne<sup>7</sup>. The envoys,

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<sup>4</sup> I. Tringli, *Az újkor hajnala: Magyarország története 1440–1541*, Budapest 2003, pp. 16–17.

<sup>5</sup> P. Szabó, *1440 – Nándorfehérvár első oszmán–török ostroma és előzményei*, Szeged 2015, doctoral thesis.

<sup>6</sup> J. Dąbrowski, *Władysław I Jagiellończyk na Węgrzech (1440–1444)*, Warszawa 1922, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> AGAD, zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych [charters collection] (hereafter: zdp), no. 5574; *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, vol. 2, ed. A. Lewicki, Kraków 1891, no. 268. Cf. Á. Novák, *Az 1440. januári királyválasztó országgyűlés oklevelének megerősítői* [in:] *Micae mediaevalis VII: Fiatall történések dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európaról*, szerk. Cs. Farkas, A. Ribí, K. Gy. Veres, Budapest 2018, pp. 121–138.

however, advanced on their journey extremely slowly; they were merely at Prešov on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February<sup>8</sup>. Meanwhile, Elizabeth of Luxembourg together with her lady-in-waiting Helene Kottanner (Hungarian: Kottanner Jánosné Wolfram Ilona) stole the Holy Crown of Hungary from the castle of Visegrád<sup>9</sup>. The reason for this was that in the case of delivering a boy, the Queen wished to ensure that her offspring would be crowned. Her calculations were not in vain; a few days later she gave birth to a boy, who later became known as Ladislaus the Posthumous, King of Hungary.

The envoys arrived in Kraków only at the end of February. Already on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1440 Władysław III referred to himself as the “chosen King of Hungary”<sup>10</sup>. Along with the Polish lords he issued a diploma on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1440, according to which he attempted to take the Hungarian throne<sup>11</sup>. Thereafter he gathered his company for more than a month. The king was still in Kraków on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April 1440. He was in Sącz on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April, and he arrived to Kežmarok/Käsmark with his company on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April at the latest<sup>12</sup>. Jan Długosz, the canon of Kraków, listed the names of the Polish noblemen who were in the company of the king<sup>13</sup>. Accordingly, several prominent people of the royal court joined Władysław – besides the heads of the chancellery and the bishop and dean of Kraków, so did the Voivode of

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<sup>8</sup> B. Iványi, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára 1319–1526*, vol. 1, Budapest 1910, no. 354.

<sup>9</sup> *A korona elrablása. Kottanner Jánosné emlékirata 1439–1440*, trans. K. Mollay, Budapest 1978.

<sup>10</sup> “Electus rex Hungariae [...] feria quarta ante Dominicam Letare”, cf. AGAD, zdp, no. 357.

<sup>11</sup> One copy of the diploma was placed in the Hungarian Royal Archives, presumably by the Hungarian envoys, then transferred to Vienna, and then, after WWI, back to Hungary, to the Diplomatical Photo Collection of the Hungarian National Archives (hereafter: MNL OL DL). Its unique value lies in the fact that 14 seals of Polish lords can be seen on it still in good condition. MNL OL DL 39 291. The diploma can be viewed online in the Hungaricana database: <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/search/> (Downloaded: 15.09.2018). Its publication: *Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego Królestwa Węgier*, t. 1–5, red. S.A. Sroka, Kraków 1998–2012, here: t. 1, nr 68.

<sup>12</sup> S.A. Sroka, W. Zawitkowska, *Itinerarium króla Władysława III 1434–1444*, Warszawa 2017; see also: Á. Novák, *Additions to the itinerary and seals of King Władysław I of Hungary in the light of recent Hungarica research* [in:] *The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic diplomacy and foreign relations*, ed. A. Bárány with B.A. Bacsa (*Memoria Hungariae*, vol. 2), Debrecen 2016, pp. 41–55.

<sup>13</sup> Długosz, lib. 11/12, p. 224. He names 31 people in his list, then mentions two more by name in the description of their way to Buda: *ibidem*, pp. 224–300.

Kraków, the Castellans of Rozprza and Międzyrzecz, the Marshal, and the Treasurer of the Crown, the representatives of many voivodships, and several young lords from noble families.

## The most important supporters of King Władysław in June 1440

The allies of Queen Elizabeth put great pressure on the slowly marching Polish ruler; on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1440, Ladislaus the Posthumous was crowned King of Hungary by the Archbishop of Esztergom Dennis Szécsi and a small group of Hungarian lords at Székesfehérvár. The coronation was attended primarily by those noblemen (Ladislaus Garai and Ulrich of Celje) who were relatives of the Queen and the officials of her court. However, the Palatine of Hungary Lőrinc Hédervári, who was also the Castellan of Buda, opened the castle gates before Władysław and his company on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May<sup>14</sup>. Marching into the city, King Władysław wished to negotiate with the envoys of Elizabeth, and thus he issued a safe-conduct for them on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June<sup>15</sup>.

The peculiarity of the diploma is that both the Hungarian and Polish noblemen placed their seals on it. From the Polish side, only the greatest ecclesiastic and secular lords strengthened the diploma, on which we can find the seals of voivodes and castellans. This so-called multi-sigillic diploma lists the closest supporters of Władysław from both the Hungarian and Polish side. It has long been recognised by Hungarian historiography; the list of the people who placed their seals on it from the Hungarian side has been published by Pál Engel<sup>16</sup>. Silicone gum replicas were made of its seals in the 1960s under the instructions of the Centre for Art Historical Documentation. As a result of the procedure, which was relatively new at the time, these replicas – along with a couple hundred others – were placed in the collection of the Research Group for Art History within the Hungarian Academy

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Á. Novák, *Az 1440...*, p. 126.

<sup>15</sup> MNL OL DL 13 554; *Supplementum ad Vestigia Comitiorum apud hungaros ab exordio regni eorum in Pannonia, usque ad hodiernum diem*, vols. 1–3, ed. M.Gy. Kovachich, Buda 1798–1801, here: vol. 1, p. 492.

<sup>16</sup> P. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* [in:] *Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV. Családtörténet, heraldika, honismeret*, Budapest 2003, ch. 7, 1440B.

of Science<sup>17</sup>. The identification of the seals was also done at that time. The diploma records the following lords from the Polish side<sup>18</sup>:

Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Bishop of Kraków (8); Jan z Tęczyna, Voivode of Kraków (9); Sędziwój of Ostroróg, Voivode of Poznań (10); Mikołaj of Ossolin [Balice], Castellan of Radom (11); Wincenty of Szamotuły, Castellan of Międzyrzecz (12); Przedbór Koniecpolski, Castellan of Rozprza; Jan Taszka Koniecpolski, Polish Chancellor (13); *Mikołaj Lanckoroński of Brzezie, Polish Marshal*; Andrzej Miłośnik of Lubin, Polish [Vice-]Treasurer (14); Piotr Oporowski, Greater Standard-Bearer of Łęczyca (15).

The negotiations failed, however. Thus, at one point in time the country had two kings. We identify Ladislaus the Posthumous as legally crowned king (Archbishop of Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Holy Crown of Hungary). Although he was only a couple months old and did not have an extensive base of supporters, he was still the legitimate heir of King Albert and, last but not least, he was related to the recently crowned Frederick III. On the other side stood Władysław in his prime – 16 years old at the time – who had been ruling Poland for six years now and was chosen and supported by a large group of Hungarian and Polish lords. The most important castle and city of the kingdom fell into his hands; he stationed an army of several thousand at Buda. His situation was aggravated by the fact that he did not possess the Holy Crown, and Elizabeth most obviously did not offer it to him.

Hence, he not only needed the assistance of the Hungarian lords, but of the estates' as well. By the 29<sup>th</sup> of June 1440 he had gained that support, the proof of which is represented by the diploma issued on that day. In it, the estates of the realm – 8 high priests, 55 lords, and the envoys of 28 counties – strengthened under oath the choosing of Władysław as Hungarian King and invalidated the coronation of Ladislaus the Posthumous<sup>19</sup>. After that, the king and his supporters marched to Székesfehérvár and – not having the Holy Crown – Dennis Szécsi crowned him with the crown from the reliquary of St. Stephen

<sup>17</sup> A. Sunkó, *Pecsetgyűjtemény V szekció*, Budapest 2006 (MOL segédletei 23), p. 58.

<sup>18</sup> The numbers in brackets indicate the sequence number of the seal, counting from the left side of the diploma. The name Mikołaj Lanckoroński z Brzezia is in italic to indicate that his seal vanished during the centuries.

<sup>19</sup> AGAD, zdp, no. 5575. *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lituaniae*, vol. 1, ed. M. Dogiel, Vilnae 1758, pp. 54–56.

on the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1440; and thus he became Ulászló I<sup>20</sup>. From this point onward, the country had two crowned kings and at the end of summer began the political and later armed struggle for the throne.

## The joint Polish-Hungarian royal council of Władysław

Before we continue with our discussion, it is worth saying a few words about the chancellery and the usage of the seal of Władysław. The Polish and Hungarian chancelleries are undoubtedly distinct. On his Hungarian diplomas, and only on them, until the summer of 1440 he used his royal secret seal. On Polish-related diplomas, depending on the context, he used his Polish royal secret seal and his “middle” seal<sup>21</sup>. The greater seal was applied onto diplomas that granted rights. According to the Polish diploma-issuing tradition, the formula that strengthened these diplomas listed the names of those that were present with the king. The first such diploma known was issued on the 28<sup>th</sup> of September 1440<sup>22</sup>. The names of the present Hungarian and Polish lords can be read after the *presentibus ibidem* introductory formula:

Simon Rozgonyi, Bishop of Eger, Hungarian Chancellor; John de Dominis, Bishop of Zengg/Senj; Lőrinc Hédervári, Palatine of Hungary; Sędziwój of Ostroróg, Voivode of Poznań; Mikołaj Szarlejski, Castellan of Inowrocław; Przedbór Koniecpolski, Castellan of Rozprza; Mikołaj of Ossolin [Balice], Castellan of Radom; Jan Tazka Koniecpolski, Polish Chancellor; Piotr Woda of Szczekociny, Polish Vice-Chancellor.

Besides testifying about the composition of the closest council of Władysław, the list shows that Władysław sat with the nobles of his two countries and made decisions with their participation. This may imply that the personal union operated within real frames.

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<sup>20</sup> AGAD, zdp, no. 5581; *Historia critica regum Hungariae. Ex fide domesticorum et exterorum scriptorum concinnata*, Ordine 1–42, ed. I. Katona, Pest 1779–1817, here: Ordine 13, pp. 91–99.

<sup>21</sup> *Sigilla regum et reginarum Poloniae. Pieczęcie królów i królowych Polski ze zbiorów Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 18–20; cf. Á. Novák, *Additions...*, pp. 48–50.

<sup>22</sup> AGAD, zdp, no. 3346.

## The first year of infighting

In late summer of 1440 the conflict escalated between Władysław and Elizabeth, who was engaged in politics on behalf of Ladislaus. While on the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1440 most of the barons who held office strengthened the coronation of Władysław, by the end of the month opposing groupings formed. At the end of July the ruler replaced several noble officials and confiscated the Hungarian lands of Serbian despot Đurađ Branković. The widow Queen Elizabeth had collected a significant amount of funds in August 1440 by pledging the Holy Crown and several western lands to Frederick III. She supposedly used this capital to hire Jan Jiškra, Czech mercenary captain, and his 5,000 soldiers, who arrived in the eastern part of Upper Hungary in September<sup>23</sup>. Major military events took place for the first time in January 1441. The army of Elizabeth attacked from two directions. One of them led from the castle of the Archbishop of Esztergom towards Buda; its only result, however, was the shattering of Budafelhévíz. In response, the army of Władysław besieged Esztergom, which quickly resulted in a ceasefire agreement. The other attack was launched from the south by Ladislaus Garai and John Kórógyi. The Ban of Szörény, John Hunyadi, and the Ban of Macsó, Nicholas of Ilok, halted their advance at Báticasék<sup>24</sup>. Afterwards, the aim of King Władysław and his army was to put an end to the resistance of Ulrich of Celje, the finest ally of Elizabeth. Władysław succeeded in his efforts and Ulrich pledged his allegiance to him on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1441 at Szombathely<sup>25</sup>.

At the same time, in the name of Ladislaus the Posthumous, Jan Jiškra evoked a solid resistance in Upper Hungary. By the end of 1440 or the beginning of 1441 he had already controlled the military-and-trade route that connected the Kingdom of Hungary with the Kingdom of Poland. Thus, chasing Jiškra away and creating a link betwixt his two countries was of utmost importance for Władysław. In 1440 he already sent an army against the mercenary captain, but this battalion did not get involved in an actual fight with Jiškra's troops.

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<sup>23</sup> Á. Novák, *Hadi események és résztvevői a Felső Rézéken 1440 és 1445 között – Azok a bizonyos „zavaros idők”* [in:] *Elfeleltett háborúk: Középkori csaták és várostromok 6–16. század*, szerk. L. Pószán, L. Veszprémy, Budapest 2016, pp. 310–330, here: p. 312.

<sup>24</sup> I. Tringli, *Az újkor hajnala...*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>25</sup> Gy. Feiszt, I. Ulászló dunántúli hadjárata 1441 [in:] *Határon innen, határon túl; Tanulmányok Tilcsik György 60. születésnapjára*, szerk. I. Bariska, L. Mayer, Szombathely 2012, pp. 115–122.

A year later, at the beginning of July 1441, took place the siege of Košice, which had been occupied by the mercenaries. Władysław commissioned the mercenary Jan Čapek of Sán, who was also of Czech nationality. The king did not participate in the siege personally. The encirclement was, however, breached by an exonerating army from the outside and Čapek was forced to leave the city walls on the 30<sup>th</sup> of August 1441<sup>26</sup>.

As the infighting brought alternating results, the parties decided to congregate and negotiate a ceasefire. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of September 1441, the lords gathered at Buda sent several envoys in the name of Władysław to the mediations under the leadership of the Bishop of Eger, Simon Rozgonyi<sup>27</sup>. The negotiating party included Wincenty of Szamotuły, who alone from the Polish company of the king gained a Hungarian office. Indeed, the diploma mentions him as the Castellan of Visegrád, which was undoubtedly a position of trust, as Visegrád was the location of the treasury and the safekeeping place of the crown. As we saw, its protection was of strategic importance. Although blurry, the seal of the Castellan is still viewable on the diploma today.

But the negotiations did not produce a favourable outcome for a long time. The loss of the Uplands and mine-cities, including Kremnica and its mint, started to affect the treasury of Władysław. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of January 1442 Queen Elizabeth entrusted the protection of Zvolen and the mine-cities to the successful Jan Jiskra, who from this point on operated as Chief Captain<sup>28</sup>.

Several diplomas from 1441 have survived which can give us an account on the Polish company of Władysław. Below are the names of the affirmants of the Polish diplomas of Władysław. According to this, Łukasz z Górki, mentioned before as the Cupbearer of Poznań, was now a voivode. This means that he was near the king when the previous voivode, Sędziwój Ostroróg, passed away, and was thus able to attain the title. It is important to acknowledge that new people also appeared in the king's close entourage. Firstly, we must mention the voivode of Podole, but several officials arrived from Sandomierz and Lublin as well. They were obviously members of the contingent which arrived at the turn of 1441 due to the recruiting efforts of

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<sup>26</sup> Á. Novák, *Hadi események...*, p. 315.

<sup>27</sup> MNL OL DL 39 293.

<sup>28</sup> Á. Novák, *Hadi események...*, p. 317.



Jan z Tęczyna, the Voivode of Kraków, and Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the Bishop of Kraków<sup>29</sup>.

Łukasz of Górką, Voivode of Poznań; Jan z Tęczyna, Voivode of Kraków; Hryćko Kierdejowicz, Voivode of Podole; Jan Głowacz Oleśnicki, Castellan of Sandomierz; Mikołaj Szarlejski, Castellan of Inowrocław; Przedbór Koniecpolski, Castellan of Rozprza; Wincenty of Szamotuły, Castellan of Visegrád; Warsz of Samborzec [Ostrów], Castellan of Lublin; Mikołaj Lanckoroński of Brzezie, Marshal of Poland; Janusz [Jan] Kochłowski [“de Dambski”], Cupbearer of Kalisz; Paweł Złodziej of Biskupice, Castellan of Zawichost; Jan of Szczekociny, Captain of Lublin; Sylwester [Lasota] of Zdziechów, Provost of Skalbmierz; Piotr Skóra of Gaj, Judge of Poznań; Benedykt [Bieniak] z Będlewa, Standard-Bearer of Poznań; Mikołaj Słaka of Ławszów, Standard-Bearer of Sandomierz; Mikołaj Parawa of Lubin; Wojciech of Żychlin, Vice-Chancellor; Piotr Polak of Lichwin<sup>30</sup>.

## The company of the Polish king in 1442

The year 1442 started with the struggle for the castle of Bratislava, since Elizabeth had set up her headquarters in the city, although the castle was under the authority of Stephen Rozgonyi, Comes of Bratislava, who happened to be the brother of George Rozgonyi, the Judge Royal of Władysław, and Simon Rozgonyi, the Chancellor of the king. Elizabeth and her army had encircled the castle, and King Władysław wished to break this siege personally. However, he did not succeed, thus suffering yet another spectacular defeat after Košice. At the end of May, Simon Rozgonyi and Ladislaus Lévai Cseh marched against the mine-cities with 4,000 Polish and Hungarian horsemen. The attackers committed great devastation; they spoiled churches

<sup>29</sup> Cf. J. Dąbrowski, *Władysław...*, p. 41.

<sup>30</sup> We have based our collection on the diplomas of Władysław strengthened with his Polish middle seal. Our efforts were facilitated by the work of Stanisław A. Sroka (*Itinerarium...*), which also served as guidance, as it lists all the diplomas of Władysław together with their publications. Soon we will publish our collection in full with regard to the years 1440–1444. In Polish more recent historiography, see: Z. Pentek, *Polscy uczestnicy wyprawy warneńskiej*, “Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et Studia” 1997, vol. 8, pp. 93–108.

and monasteries, and as a result of their ravage a significant part of the archive of Kremnica perished too<sup>31</sup>.

Pope Eugene IV assigned Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini as messenger of peace to put an end to the continuous fighting. Peacekeeping in the Hungarian Kingdom was important for the Papal Court, as they could not challenge the ever-expanding Ottoman Empire without the Hungarian ruler and his army. Indeed, they besieged – although failed to capture – Nándorfehérvár (now Belgrade) in 1440 and John Hunyadi achieved a victory of worldwide importance in Wallachia over the supreme commander of the Rumelian troops during the summer of 1442, but the threat had not yet passed. The effective activity of the cardinal resulted in negotiations between the envoys of Elizabeth and Władysław in August 1442<sup>32</sup>. The safe-conduct issued on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1442 to Elizabeth and her envoys by Władysław and his supporters at Buda raised the ceasefire negotiations to the next level<sup>33</sup>.

With the assistance of the list and the sealers of the diploma, the broader council of King Władysław can also be identified. According to the text of the diploma, Władysław swore to the integrity of the envoys of the enemy; his words were then strengthened by 34 people – Polish and Hungarian high priests, barons, and noble envoys – who placed their seals next to the king's. Although the list does not mention Jan of Lichiń and Ladislaus Losonci, their seals can also be found at the bottom of the diploma<sup>34</sup>. It is worth mentioning that the oath-takers were listed in strict hierarchical order and placed their seals correspondingly in relation to the seal of Władysław, which was, naturally, placed in the middle (19).

First came the seals of the Hungarian bishoprics, based on their significance, placed left of the ruler's (14–18.). Then we can read the names of the most distinguished secular lords who were closest to the king: the Rascian despot, the Count of Zagoria and Celje, the palatine, the Voivode of Transylvania and the Ban of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia – we find them on the right (20–24.). Before the other

<sup>31</sup> Á. Novák, *Hadi események...*, p. 318.

<sup>32</sup> I. Tringli, *Az újkor hajnala...*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>33</sup> Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien (hereafter: HHStA), 1442, VIII, 17; J. gróf Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon. Oklevéltár*, vol. 10, Pest 1853, no. 54, pp. 118–120.

<sup>34</sup> Jan of Lichiń instead of Hryčko Kierdejowicz, Voivode of Podolia: no. 12. Ladislaus Losonci: no. 28.

Hungarian noblemen, the diploma mentions the leaders of the Polish company of the king. Their seals can be found left of the ruler's, after the high priests' (13–6.). They are followed by the second line of Hungarian seculars: the Master of the Doorkeepers, former barons, sons of former barons, and representatives of mid-clergy, who placed their seals right of the ruler's, after the most prominent seculars (25–29.). Then came the representatives of middling nobility. Firstly, the Hungarian noble envoys (30–35.), then the Slavonian noble delegates (5–2.), and finally the Transylvanian emissaries, whose seals were hanged at the bottom on both sides (1 and 36.).

According to József Teleki, the publisher of the diploma – here and there complemented with family names based on the collection of Pál Engel<sup>35</sup> – the hierarchical order of Władysław's fellow oath-takers is as follows:

Simon Rozgonyi, Bishop of Eger (18); John de Dominis, Bishop of Várad (17); Matthias Gatalóci, Bishop of Veszprém (16); Peter, Bishop of Csanád (15); Joseph, Bishop of Bosnia (14.); Đurađ Branković, ascian despot (20); Frederick II, Count of Celje and Zagoria (21); Lőrinc Hédervári, Palatine of Hungary (22); Nicholas Újlaki, Voivode of Transylvania and Ban of Macsó (23); Matkó Tallóci Ban of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia (24); Piotr Odrowąż of Sprowa, Voivode of Lwów (13); Hryćko Kierdejowicz, Voivode of Podolia (12)<sup>36</sup>; Mikołaj Lasocki Dean of Kraków (11); Jan Tazska Koniecpolski, Polish Royal Lord Chancellor (10); Wawrzyniec Zaremba z Kalinowej, Castellan of Sieradz (9)<sup>37</sup>; Piotr Skóra z Gaju, Judge of Poznań (8); Przedbór Koniecpolski Castellan of Rozprza (7)<sup>38</sup>; Mikołaj Słaka of Ławszów, Standard-Bearer of Sandomierz (6), Ladislaus Pálóci, Master of the Doorkeepers (25); Stephen Bátori, former Judge Royal (26); John Marcali, Comes of Somogy (27); Vincent Szakcsi, Provost of Hánta (29). The noble envoys of the Hungarian Kingdom: Clement Tetétleni (31); Daniel Kustáni (30.); Peter Rédei (32); Nicholas Varjas (33); Michael Pócs (34); George Bresztolci (35). The noble envoys of Slavonia: Benedict Nelepec of Dobrakucsza (5); Ladislaus Roh of Décsé (4); Peter Szénaharaszti Péter, scribe (3); John Vidfi of Korbova (2). The noble envoys of

<sup>35</sup> P. Engel, *Magyarország világi...*, ch. 7, 1442.

<sup>36</sup> Seal no. 12 belongs to another person, who could be Jan of Lichiń. We cannot find his name in the text. See the Appendix.

<sup>37</sup> We can find his seal with no. 7. Seal no. 9 unidentifiable. See the Appendix.

<sup>38</sup> Seal no. 9 belongs to another person, who could be Wawrzyniec Zaremba. See the Appendix.

Transylvania: Nicholaus Apafi of Almakerek (1); Ladislaus, son of Benedict Szarkadi (36)<sup>39</sup>.

During the second half of 1441 reinforcements arrived from Poland under the leadership of Piotr Odrowąż of Sprowa, Voivode of Lwów<sup>40</sup>. This is most likely the reason why new people appeared in the company of Władysław. According to the testimony of the diplomas, their names are:

Jan Odrowąż, Archbishop of Lwów; Jan Kraska of Tarnów [Lubnica], Provost of Lwów; Teodoryk of Buczacz, Castellan of Kamieniec; Mikołaj of Ściborze [Szarlejski], Castellan of Inowrocław; Dzierśław of Rytwiany, Captain of Chełm; Grzegorz of Branice, Captain of Radom; Jan of Rzeszów<sup>41</sup>.

As a result of the safe-conduct, negotiations could begin between the parties. After a lengthy conciliation, Queen Elizabeth and Władysław met in person at Győr on the 25<sup>th</sup> of November 1442, and made peace in the same place on the 13<sup>th</sup> of December. In accordance with the agreement, Elizabeth reserved the right of governing the country for his son, while acknowledging the reign of Władysław. Anna, the elder daughter of the Queen, was engaged to Władysław, and her younger daughter to his brother, Casimir IV Jagiellon, Grand Duke of Poland and Lithuania. However, shortly after the hardly accomplished peace treaty, Queen Elizabeth unexpectedly passed away on the 19<sup>th</sup> of December 1442; thus, the fragile peace had crumbled and the infighting gained momentum once again<sup>42</sup>.

## Appendix

Buda, the 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1442

Władysław, the Polish-Hungarian King, and the Polish and Hungarian estates provide a safe-conduct [*salvus conductus*] to Queen Elizabeth of Luxembourg.

<sup>39</sup> The numbers in brackets indicate the number of the seals placed at the bottom of the diploma from left to right. The boldened ones are viewable partially or in full.

<sup>40</sup> J. Dąbrowski, *Władysław...*, p. 55.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. fn. 30.

<sup>42</sup> I. Tringli, *Az újkor hajnala...*, p. 22.

Original: HHStA, 1442, VIII, 17.

Photo copy: Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatic Photo Collection 258 234<sup>43</sup>.

Online: source database of the MTA–DE “Hungary in Medieval Europe” Lendület Research Group: Memoria Hungariae 21061–89<sup>44</sup>.

Published: J. gróf Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon. Oklevéltár*, vol. 10, Pest 1853, no. 54, pp. 118–120.

The description of the diploma: On the diploma 39 incisions can be found for the parchment stripes that hold the seals. These are placed in one line, vertically slightly shifted in relation to each other. Two of them however (19. and 26.) were surely not used originally. At the moment 27 seals are attached to the diploma and 2 more are kept next to it, which came off. Out of the intact seals 4 are imprinted into red wax (14., 21., 24., 28.), 23 into green wax, and 2 into natural coloured wax. Many seals are blurred or only their fragments have survived.

Seals of the Polish lords<sup>45</sup>:

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<sup>43</sup> <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/search/> (Downloaded: 15.09.2018).

<sup>44</sup> <http://lendulet.memhung.unideb.hu> (Downloaded: 15.09.2018).

<sup>45</sup> For the sequence numbers, see fn. 37.



Il. 1. Seal no. 6

Note: On seal-holder parchment: *Slanka vexillifer*. A pseudo-antic camea. Possibly belonged to Mikołaj Słaka of Ławszów, Standard-Bearer of Sandomierz

Source: Memoria Hungariae 21072.



Il. 2. Seal no. 7

Note: Parchment: *Przedbóri*. However, the coat of arms of Zaremba is visible, and so the seal could belong to Wawrzyniec Zaremba of Kalinowa, Castellan of Sieradz

Source: Memoria Hungariae 21073.



Il. 3. Seal no. 8

Note: Parchment: *Judex Poznan(iensis)*. Piotr Skór of Gaj, Judge of Poznań

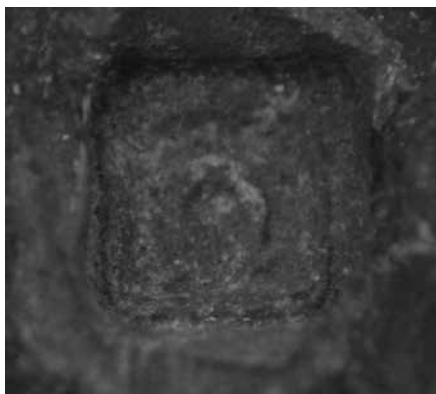
Source: Memoria Hungariae 21074.



Il. 4. Seal no. 9

Note: Parchment: unknown. Seal unidentifiable. Possibly belonged to a Polish lord (Przedbór Koniecpolski, Castellan of Rozprza?)

Source: Memoria Hungariae 21075.



Il. 5. Seal no. 11

Note: Parchment: *Decanus Craco(viensis)*. Mikołaj Lasocki, Dean of Kraków

Source: Memoria Hungariae 21076.



Il. 6. Seal no. 12

Note: Parchment: *Palatini Podolie*.

However, the coat of arms of Godziemba is visible, and so it could belong to Jan of Lichiń, Voivode of Brześć

Source: Memoria Hungariae 21077.



Il. 7. Seal no. 13

Note: Parchment: *Palatini Leopold(iensis)*. Piotr Odrowąż of Sprowa, Voivode of Lwów

Source: Memoria Hungariae 21078.



Il. 8. Seal-holder parchments

## Abstract

Polish and Hungarian lords in the Entourage of Władysław,  
King of Poland and Hungary 1440–1442

Based on the analysis of sources it can be stated that Polish presence near the king was constant and significant. The most significant officials temporarily supported the king, but did not accompany the ruler on his military campaigns. The king held Polish–Hungarian joint councils from as early as 1440. It is most probable that a significant part of the Poles took the Hungarian efforts of Władysław seriously, and many noble families saw great potential in a Hungarian service. In this paper we endeavored to call attention to the fact that a vast amount of Polish-related genealogical data (seals, itinerary supplements) can be found from this era in the Hungarian and Austrian archives. We hope that this collection will provide assistance to many in their research.