

# *Western Europe and Hungary in 1346 as reflected in the daily life of a diplomatic mission*

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There are several medieval sources left by envoy delegations and diplomatic missions in Western European archives. Hungarian medieval records, however, offer few such documents. Thus documents, such as the one on which the following study is based, are extremely rare. The source in question is a document revealing the diplomatic arrangements before the first Italian campaign of Louis the Great (1342–1382) against Naples. It sheds light on the daily life of a fourteenth-century envoy and provides insight into medieval life.

On 18 September 1345, Prince Andrew, the younger brother of King Louis the Great and the husband of Joan, the successor to the throne of Naples, was assassinated. Catharine Valois, princess of Taranto and titular empress of Constantinople, was behind the crime.<sup>1</sup>

On the news of Prince Andrew's death, Pope Clement VI sent a letter of sympathy to King Louis, to Queen Elisabeth, and to Prince Stephen. He also promised to punish and anathematise the offenders. King Louis and Queen Elisabeth sent several delegations to the Papal Court in Avignon seeking a diplomatic solution

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<sup>1</sup> I. Miskolczi, *Magyarország az Anjouk-korában*. [Hungary in the Angevin Period] Budapest 1923, 42–43; I. Miskolczi, "Nagy Lajos nápolyi hadjárata." [The Neapolitan Campaign of Louis the Great] *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* (1933), 46. For details see: A. Pór, *Nagy Lajos 1326–1382. Magyar Történeti Életrajzok*. [Louis the Great 1326–1382. Hungarian Historical Biographies] Budapest 1892, 89, 101–141; B. Hóman, and Gy. Szekfű, *Magyar történet*. [Hungarian History] Vol. 2, Budapest 1936, 180–184; Gy. Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*. [The Wars of the Angevin Period] Budapest 1988, 103–104; I. Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*. [King Louis the Great] Budapest 1989, 71–72.

to the crime, but they were of no avail,<sup>2</sup> and the king of Hungary opted for military intervention.

Louis the Great was the member of a coalition created by France seeking European hegemony. Charles Arton of Luxembourg, margrave of Moravia, who was elected as anti-king against Emperor Louis of Bavaria by the French king, Philip VI (1328–1350), Pope Clement VI, the Neapolitan Kingdom, the Hungarian Kingdom, and according to the Visegrád agreement of 1339, through Hungary, Poland also belonged to the league.<sup>3</sup> As a result of the murder of Prince Andrew, Joan of Naples became the open enemy of the Hungarian Kingdom. The French and the Bohemian kings as well as the Papal Court of Avignon opposed the Hungarian ruler's decision to seek a military solution to the dynastic affront in Naples. From the old coalition only Casimir III, king of Poland remained on the side of Louis the Great.<sup>4</sup> To avenge Prince Andrew's death, the Hungarian king then sought supporters among the enemies of his former allies. He established contact with Louis of Bavaria, who bore the imperial crown. And in return for the support of the emperor, he betrothed his younger brother, Prince Stephen, to the daughter of Louis of Bavaria.<sup>5</sup> The Prince of Austria also promoted the campaign. The Hungarian ruler, in coalition with Louis of Bavaria and the Prince of Austria, established diplomatic relations with Edward III (1327–1377) of England as well.<sup>6</sup>

Hitherto, the Hungarian scholarly literature knew about two sources detailing relations with the English ruler. In these charters issued by Edward III, the king expressed sympathy with the Hungarian royal family, affirmed that the murder

<sup>2</sup> About the attempts of the peaceful and diplomatic arrangements of the matter and their failures see the following works: Pór, *Nagy Lajos*, 101–104; V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szentzsékkal. A magyar királyság megalapításától a konstanzi zsinatig*. [The Ecclesiastical and Political Relations Between Hungary and the Holy Roman See. From the Foundation of the Hungarian Kingdom Until the Council of Constance] Budapest 1901, 187–193; Miskolczi, *Magyarország az Anjouk korában*, 44–46; Miskolczi, "Nagy Lajos nápolyi hadjárata," 46–47; I. Miskolczi, *Magyarolasz összeköttetések az Anjouk korában. Magyar-nápolyi kapcsolatok*. [Hungarian-Italian Relations in the Age of the Angevin Rulers. Hungarian-Neapolitan Relations] Budapest 1937, 87–96; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 105; Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*, 72–74.

<sup>3</sup> Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*, 45. The above league will reach its peak with the Holy Roman imperial coronation of the former anti-king, Charles IV. Hóman-Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 169–171.

<sup>4</sup> Hóman-Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 185–186.

<sup>5</sup> G. Wenzel, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból*. [Hungarian Diplomatic Memoranda from the Angevin Period] 3 vols. Budapest 1875, 2: nos. 175, 179; Pór, *Nagy Lajos*, 114; Miskolczi, *Magyarország az Anjouk korában*, 44; Miskolczi, "Nagy Lajos nápolyi hadjárata," 47; Hóman-Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 185; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 109; Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*, 73.

<sup>6</sup> Pór, *Nagy Lajos*, 114; Miskolczi, *Magyarország az Anjouk korában*, 44; Miskolczi, "Nagy Lajos nápolyi hadjárata," 47; Hóman-Szekfű, *Magyar történet*, 185; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 109; Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*, 73. According to Fraknói in the previous year the English ruler made an offer to Louis the Great for establishing a league. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései*, 194.

of Prince Andrew should be avenged and offered assistance.<sup>7</sup> From these charters it transpires that Louis the Great's envoy was Siegfried, abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Garamszentbenedek.

Abbot Siegfried was among the most prestigious ecclesiastical personalities of his time. He started his ecclesiastical career in Széplak. Later, in 1330, he was appointed head of the abbey of Garamszentbenedek, and from 1355 until 1365 he was the superior of the monastery of Pannonhalma. Before becoming the abbot, presumably as a member of the royal chapel, he contributed to administering the matters of the kingdom, since according to the sources the king named him as his favourite chaplain. His essential merit was the revival and renewal of the Hungarian Benedictine monasteries which were on decline and struggling with disciplinary and financial problems. He bore the brunt of reforming the movement until the appearance of the *Summa Magistri* bull of Pope Benedict XII and even after that, since we know that at the end of the 1330s he acted as the apostolic *visitor* of the Hungarian Benedictines. Siegfried had significant connections to the Holy See and visited the court of Avignon in 1340 and 1344.<sup>8</sup> The experience gained during these visits and during his tenure in the royal chapel, provided him with legal and diplomatic knowledge making him suitable for promoting the Neapolitan campaign to the King of England.<sup>9</sup> The abbot did not disappoint. From a charter of Edward III dated to 18 March it is also known that the English king sent his own envoy, Monk Walter de Mora, to Hungary to convey his favourable answer to King Louis' initiative. The memory of the delegation led by Siegfried was also preserved among the financial accounts of Edward III in a charter dated to 6 April 1346, in which there is an entry about a gift in the value of 20 marks. Edward III probably meant this to Louis the Great, since it was reg-

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<sup>7</sup> "...ad vindicandum tantum scelus... daremus libenter consilium et innamen..." in T. Rymer, *Foedera, Litterae, and Acta Publica*. London 1925, Vol. 3, Pars 1, 75–76; G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. 42 vols. Buda 1829–1844 (henceforth: *Fejér*) 9/1: 368–369; F. Trautz, "Die Reise eines englischen Gesandten nach Ungarn im Jahre 1346." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 60 (1952), 360–361.

<sup>8</sup> L. Erdélyi, and P. Sörös, *A pannonhalmi Szent Benedek Rend története*. [The History of the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma] 12 vols. Budapest 1902–1912 (henceforth *PRT*) 2: 57; H. L. Csóka, *Szent Benedek fiainak világtörténete, különös tekintettel Magyarországra*. [The World-History of the Sons of Saint Benedict With Special Regard to Hungary] Budapest 1969, 549, 552, 556–557; E. Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*. [Ecclesiastical Society in Medieval Hungary] Budapest 1971, 237. On the reform movement closely connected to Siegfried's name see recently: S. Homonnai, "A magyarországi bencések 14. századi reformtevékenysége." [The Fourteenth-Century Reform Activity of the Hungarian Benedictines] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis* 110 (1999), 43–55.

<sup>9</sup> S. Márki, "Magyar utazók a középkorban." [Hungarian Travellers during the Middle Ages] *Földrajzi Közlemények* (1890), 158; Pór, *Nagy Lajos*, 114; *PRT* 2: 57–58; Csóka, *Szent Benedek fiainak*, 556, 589; D. Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos kora*. [The Age of Louis the Great] Budapest 1990, 64.

istered as an amount given to Abbot Siegfried.<sup>10</sup> The records documenting the envoy's arrival to Hungary, when he was received by Queen Elisabeth and King Louis, are valuable not only for diplomatic historians, but also for the analysis of the fourteenth-century material culture.

The document in question is the travel account of the Dominican Monk Walter de Mora, the envoy of King Edward III, which contains all the expenses incurred during his journey through Europe from 25 March until 13 July 1346.<sup>11</sup> The account is a few pages long and the document includes entries regarding expenses and a few explanatory words. Monk Mora kept an accurate booking of his expenses and paid attention to note similar items down in different, well-defined groups. Thus, his account can be divided into four parts:

The amounts paid for food and nightly accommodation in the different towns.  
The money expended on clothes, riding costumes, and shoes.

The *denarii* spent on buying horses and harnesses as well as on stables and shoeing. Within this part, with the title of "other expenses," there is another category, in which four differing entries were indicated. The expenses related to water transportation, the money spent on boats, river crossing, and ship rental.

From the first and biggest part of the account Mora's route can be outlined. However, in order to get a full picture of the entire journey – that is, to reveal this medieval itinerary from traversing the sea, the inland route by horse and the journey on rivers – the first chapter and the last group of entries on water transport should be treated together.<sup>12</sup>

Accordingly, the route of the English envoy was the following – indicating the most important stations: Gravesend, Sluis, Ghent, first river crossing on the Schelde at Dendermond, than through the Maas on the stone bridge in Maastricht. After passing Aachen and Cologne, they crossed the Mosel at Coblenz, then they reached Mainz, Nürnberg and Regensburg, where they celebrated Easter. In fact, Regensburg was the starting point of the trading route running along the Danube that was navigable from this point downwards. However, they chartered the ship from Vilshofen, they arrived within less than half a day to Passau, and finished their river trip on the Danube at Vienna. The first Hungarian station of the English delegation was in Óvár. The route in Hungary was as follows: they crossed the Rába river in Győr, then came Komárom where, due to the

<sup>10</sup> "*cuidam abbati de partibus Hungarie nuper venienti in nuncium domino regi de rege Hungarie*" Trautz, "Die Reise eines englischen Gesandten," 360, note 11.

<sup>11</sup> Trautz, "Die Reise eines englischen Gesandten," 363–368.

<sup>12</sup> For the minutely detailed reconstruction of the journey see: S. Homonnai, "'Eundo in nuncium regis versus regem Hungariae.' Egy diplomáciai út és költségei 1346-ban." [*Eundo in nuncium regis versus regem Hungariae. A Diplomatic Journey and Its Expenses in 1346*] *Aetas* 14:3 (1999); S. Homonnai, "Egy angol követ a 14. századi Magyarországon." [An English Envoy in Fourteenth-Century Hungary] in *Tanulmányok a középkori magyar történelemből. Az I. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 1999. július 2.) előadásai.* ed. S. Homonnai, F. Piti, I. Tóth. Szeged 1999, 17–27.

location of the town, they had to cross the Danube twice.<sup>13</sup> Mora, after staying one day in Esztergom, arrived to the Hungarian royal court in Visegrád, where his delegation spent six days. Then they went on to follow Louis the Great, who was on the way to the town of Zara in order to relieve it.<sup>14</sup> Mora, therefore, – in order to hand over Edward III's letter – set off towards the Adriatic coast. The English envoy was probably not happy about this "jaunt" to the seaside, since his resources were running low. So far in his journey he had spent approximately 2,600 *denarii*, more than half of the total of 4,800 *denarii*, for the whole mission. From Fehérvár the English delegation headed along the southern bank of Lake Balaton: after Somogyvár and Segesd at Zákány they crossed the Drava, then came Kapronca, Kőrös and Rakovec. Finally, they caught up with the Hungarian king in Zagreb. Mora and his retinue set forth again on their journey after three days, and they got back to Visegrád in almost the same amount of time that it took them to Zagreb. Back in the royal court the envoy had to wait an additional six days for an answer from the Queen.

The delegation returned to England by a slightly different route: they went round Komárom, through Vas to Óvár, then came Hainburg, Vienna, Passau and Regensburg. After Regensburg, in Miltenberg, it went by boat on the Main via Main-Frankfurt to reach Mainz. There again it chartered a ship and travelled up to Cologne on the Rhine.

The delegation arrived to Ghent via Aachen where Mora had to interrupt his journey for a while. He was "held back" by William Stury, the commissioner of King Edward III. Stury had been staying in Flanders for several months to lay the ground for the next phase of the Hundred Years' War leading up to Cressy (Crécy) and gain the support of local towns for Edward III. Stury wanted to communicate the news to the English king through Mora.<sup>15</sup> To cross the sea Mora hired a ship for 160 *denarii*, that is for 40 *denarii* more than at the time of the first crossing. Immediately after landing at Ospringe, he rented a two-wheeled carriage up to Rochester, then with relayed horses he rode via London to Portsmouth where he passed over to the Isle of Wight, and finally at Freshwater he

<sup>13</sup> Gy. Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*. [The Historical Geography of Hungary in the Arpadian Age] 4 vols. Budapest 1963–1998 (henceforth ÁMF) 3: 429, 432.

<sup>14</sup> In July 1345 Louis the Great conducted a campaign against the barons of Croatia sympathizing with Venice in order to put down their riots. The Croatian lords and the Dalmatian towns submitted themselves in succession to the Hungarian king, and Zara also requested the control of the Hungarian ruler. Therefore, Venice began a campaign against Zara. The relief troops led by Stephen Kotromanics did not provide appropriate help, thus from the autumn of 1345 until the spring of 1346 Zara alone had to beat off the Venetian attacks. For the aid supplication of the envoys of Zara, this time Louis the Great himself departed for the release of the town. Pór, *Nagy Lajos*, 68–94; M. Wertner, "Nagy Lajos király hadjáratai (1342–1382)." [The Campaigns of King Louis the Great (1342–1382)] *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* (1918), 70–71, 74; Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 98–102, 104–106; Bertényi, *Nagy Lajos király*, 60–61.

<sup>15</sup> Trautz, "Die Reise eines englischen Gesandten," 361.

managed to catch up with his ruler. Edward III had already gone on board and was waiting for fair wind to sail to Cressy. The journey which began on 25 March in Windsor ended on 13 July.

After having outlined the political details and the route of the envoy, let us investigate other details that can be gleaned through a closer analysis of Mora's entries. In England during the entire Middle Ages the same monetary system was in use: 1 pound was equal to 20 silver *solidi*, and from this amount 240 *denarii* were minted.<sup>16</sup> In the Middle Ages their denomination differed from country to country, but their division everywhere followed the monetary system of Charlemagne.<sup>17</sup>

The resolution of the abbreviations to be found in the account is the following:

Li. = *libra* (pl. *librae*) – the Latin term for pound

s. = *solidus* (pl. *solidi*)

d. = *denarius* (pl. *denarii*).

Furthermore,

1 *libra* = 20 *solidi* = 240 *denarii*

1 *solidus* = 12 *denarii*.

With the help of this formula, each financial item can easily be converted into *denarius*, thus making it easier to compare expenses.

The English envoy received 20 *librae*, that is 4,800 *denarii*, for covering the expenses of his journey. In comparison, the gift intended to the Hungarian king worth 13 *librae* 6 *solidi* and 8 *denarii*, that is 3,200 *denarii*.<sup>18</sup> In this light, 4,800 *denarii* was rather tight to cover the expenses of a delegation for 110 days. In fact, at the end of the journey the amount proved insufficient. The list of expenses provides data for comparing Western European and Hungarian prices on food and accommodation.

In the Middle Ages there were two main meals during the day. The first meal, the *prandium*, took place sometime in the morning – often late in the morning, around noon. Perhaps this luncheon was a richer meal than the second one, the *cena*, which usually was consumed around six o'clock in the evening or even later.<sup>19</sup> In the account of Mora each breakfast had its own entry. However, there is only one entry detailing the cost of a *cena*: the one in Aachen, when the cost of the

<sup>16</sup> B. Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet*. [Hungarian Monetary History] Budapest 1916, 36, 50; Zs. Kulcsár, *Így éltek a középkorban. Nyugat-Európa a XI–XIV. században*. [So Lived in the Middle Ages. Western Europe in the Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries] Budapest 1967, 213; H. Pirenne, *A középkori gazdaság és társadalom története*. [The History of Medieval Economy and Society] Budapest 1983, 177. P. Engel, "A 14. századi magyar pénztörténet néhány kérdése." [Some Questions of the Fourteenth-Century Hungarian Monetary History] *Századok* 124 (1990), 27, 69.

<sup>17</sup> Pirenne, *A középkori gazdaság*, 177.

<sup>18</sup> In the course of medieval diplomatic missions it became a custom that the envoys took gifts with themselves. N. Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*. Munich 1995, 103.

<sup>19</sup> Kulcsár, *Így éltek a középkorban*, 48; A. Kubinyi, "A középkori anyagi kultúra kutatása és néhány módszertani problémája." [The Investigation of Medieval Material Culture and Some of Its Methodological Problems] *Aetas* (1990/3), 56.

dinner and the lodging was altogether 24 *denarii*. The next morning, at the same place, they paid 19 *denarii* for breakfast.

Therefore, the comparison of the above two sums confirms the assumption that breakfast was the richer meal, since the 24 *denarii* included dinner and an accommodation charge. I believe that in the other entries of the account the accommodation fees likewise contain – though they are not indicated separately – the amount paid for dinners.

Comparing the sums paid for breakfasts and nights, the following can be derived: up to Regensburg the *prandium* usually cost more than the evening shelter, while from Regensburg until the end of the journey the nightly expenses were higher, and less was paid for the *prandium*. How can this be explained?

The delegation led by Mora celebrated the Easter in Regensburg on 16 April. Until then they pursued their way fasting. This is well represented in the sum paid on the “culmination day” of the Lenten tide, on Good Friday: for breakfast and accommodation altogether 24 *denarii* was paid. In Regensburg, however, eating restrictions ended.

Hence, it seems fair to suppose that the menu was enriched after Regensburg. Judging from the tendency of the sums paid for the nights to raise, the variable was the content of the dinners. In Lenten times, supposedly, only one modest evening meal was allowed, and it is plausible that some abstained from dinner. Thus, the *prandium* remained the more nutritious meal. It is also possible that after Lent from Regensburg onwards, not only *prandium* but also *cena* were consumed daily, and this caused a rise of expenses for boarding as it included the price of the dinner. Both assumptions can be matched with the rise occurring in the amounts paid for the nights.

With what else the menu could be enriched after the Lent except meat? For the crossing towards Flanders bread, wine, and fish were taken on board. However, on the main and while crossing the Channel back to England meat was consumed exclusively.

Concerning eating, the term “*mane in prandio*” – that is “in the morning for breakfast” – was to be read in the entry registered at Mainz, which specifies the time definition of the first main meal of the day. This points to the fact that the travellers consumed the *prandium* some time late in the morning or around noon; equivalent of lunch. Otherwise, the envoy would not have laid special emphasis on the fact that in the above case – differing from customary time – they had their *prandium* in the morning. Sometimes the members of the delegation had their meal not in a certain town but on board. Travelling on the Danube the first meal of the day was always consumed on the ship. It happened so while crossing the sea from Flanders back to England as well. This can be inferred from the “*in navi*” expression used at the related entries. In other cases they themselves took the food on board – “*ad navem*” – buying it still in London, as it happened at the beginning of the journey, or before boarding while travelling on the Main and the Rhine. The self-obtained food-products were cheaper than the sums paid for meals – supposedly eaten in inns or guesthouses. On board they took wine, bread, fish, meat as well as forage for the horses. On the Main they could have

consumed their dinner on board or they had not eaten at all, since in their lodging site, in Seligenstadt, they paid only 9 *denarii* for the night. This price was too low to contain a meal as well. During the journey on the Rhine, beside the hay and fodder carried on board, only wine was recorded as food. In this case the travellers had breakfast before boarding – “*mane in prandio*” – and in the evening – deducing from the price – they also had dinner.

Let us see some particular data with relation to Western Europe and Hungary.

For accommodation and food items the prices can be compared on the basis of four different aspects:

1. The amounts paid only for lodging.

In Hungary these expenses ranged between 21 and 30 *denarii*, on average the nightly accommodation of the delegation cost 25/26 *denarii*. In Western Europe before Easter the lowest sum was 12, while the highest sum was 20 *denarii*, on average the travellers paid 16/17 *denarii* per night. After Easter, for the above-described reasons, the prices increased: there were lodging fees from 16 up to 27 *denarii*, on average a night cost 21 *denarii*. In Western Europe we come across both before and after Easter with certain outstandingly striking 9 *denarii* items. The highest amount paid for accommodation was in Hungary: in Buda, Somogyvár and Zákány. All in all, the amounts paid for the nights were higher in Hungary than anywhere else during the journey.

2. The amounts paid only for breakfast.

In Hungary the prices ranged between 21 and 29 *denarii*, on average the delegation paid 25/26 *denarii* for breakfast. In Western Europe before Easter the two end values were 19 and 25 *denarii*, on average 21/22 *denarii* were paid for the first meal of the day. However, after Easter the lowest sum was 13 *denarii*, while the top extreme was still 25 *denarii*, on average 18/19 *denarii* was paid. The decrease of the latter average price also indicates the practice of eating twice a day. By having food in the evening as well did not call for a rich first meal, as needed before Easter. There was only one outstandingly high amount noted in Hainburg at Pentecost when they paid 37 *denarii* for the first meal. Except for this, the most expensive breakfast can again be connected to Hungary. In Segesd it cost 29 *denarii*. Summing up, the prices paid for breakfasts were again higher in Hungary.

3. The expenses spent during one day and a night altogether.

Concerning Hungary such data can be cited only approximately: in Zagreb the delegation stayed for three days and nights in the camp of the king paying 122 *denarii*, therefore the charges of one day and a night were about 40 *denarii*. The six days spent in Visegrád required 225 *denarii*, which meant around 37 *denarii* for a day and night. In Western Europe the prices in this respect were surprisingly consistent before Easter: in Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg and Regensburg the delegation paid 42 *denarii* for the expenses of one day and a night. After Easter, however, one can only find such entries in the account with relation to more than one day. Averaging the data, the expenses of a day and night ranged between 15 and 40 *denarii*. Thus, with respect to this type of expenditure, Hungary and Western Europe showed similar prices.

## 4. The sums expended for a night and breakfast altogether.

In Esztergom such expenses totalled 46, in Fehérvár 45 *denarii*. There are two such Western European data in the account: there is an item of 41 *denarii* in Aub, and of 24 *denarii* in Kallmünz. Consequently, it seems that Hungary was more expensive in this respect as well.

It also has to be noted that in England, the envoy usually paid lower average sums in each of the four categories.

In the first part of the account, especially in case of the sums paid for eating and night accommodation the higher expenses paid for in Hungary are striking. Yet the higher costs were not characteristic of the whole country. Indeed, higher costs occurred only when going from Visegrád towards Zagreb. Prices charged in Esztergom were comparable to that of other European big cities. The English envoy himself gave an explanation for the high prices: "...*exercitus regis omnia cara faciebat*," that is "the royal army made everything more expensive." The Hungarian army marching towards Dalmatia, generated a general jump in prices in the middle and southern part of the Transdanubian region.

The English royal delegation performed almost the entire journey on horseback, so no wonder that a separate chapter was dedicated to the expenses spent on horses. In this group of entries the most frequently recurring item was shoeing. It seems that horseshoes of newly bought horses could least stand the hardship and rigours of the road. In general, each fourth–seventh day one of the horses had to be shod, a procedure that was relatively inexpensive, ranging between 4 and 12 *denarii*. On average, in Hungary, one can count on 7, while elsewhere in Europe the cost was of 8 *denarii* for shoeing. We can also compare the price of horses, Monk Mora bought two horses in Buda for 780 *denarii*, while he spent 1,000 *denarii* for the same in Ghent. No entry was to be found in the account concerning the price of stable usage; it was always entered together with the shoeing expenses. Therefore, one can only guess that the daily fee of stables could not have been more than 4 *denarii*. The common cost of a stable and shoeing in Zagreb for three days was 21, in Vienna – coming towards Hungary – was 20, and in Cologne it was 18 *denarii*. However, on the way back home in Vienna they paid a higher 40 *denarii*. An explanation should be found in the additional phrase of "entirely new shoeing," since in other places where Mora had his horses shod the expenses were noted down without any adjectives. In the earlier cases, perhaps, the horseshoes had only been fastened or mended, but on the way back in Vienna he probably needed completely new horseshoes that might have cost much more. Horse harnesses, on the other hand, were rather expensive: in Ghent the English envoy spent 80 *denarii* on saddle, snaffle, belts and thongs. In Visegrád one single snaffle bit cost 12 *denarii*.

Thus in regard to the upkeep of horses, there were no sharp divergences, as prices were similar in Hungary and Western Europe.

The expenses incurred with water transport can also be compared.

In Hungary, three such entries are to be found in the account. However, the exact price was clearly indicated only at one of them: at Győr, for crossing the Rába the delegation paid 6 *denarii*, whereas the document is damaged at the en-

tries describing the cost of ferries on the Danube at Komárom and on the Drava at Zákány. Nevertheless, due to the fact that at the end of each greater item a summary appeared, namely the total sum was indicated, and that the part on water transportation is blank only at the above two places, these two missing Hungarian expenses can be deduced. The two items together were "worth" 24 *denarii*. This amount should not be divided in two but in three because at Komárom the Danube was crossed twice. Thus, the crossing tariff over the two mentioned rivers was 8 *denarii* on average. In the course of the Western European part of the journey, the Shelde was crossed for 3–3, the Mosel for 6, and the Main for 5–5 *denarii*. Therefore, it was more expensive to cross rivers in Hungary.

It is also worth comparing the prices of river and maritime navigation. On the Danube – progressing in time – we come across with daily ship rental fees of 24, 18, and 30 *denarii*, while on the Main and Rhine, they hired a ship for 20 *denarii* per day. As compared to these prices, the sum paid for traversing the sea was extremely high: to cross the Channel between England and Flanders for the first time cost 120 and for the second 160 *denarii*.

Among the entries on clothing listed in the English envoy's account, no Hungarian data are to be found, therefore no similar comparison to the above can be made.

Concerning the travelling speed, there is no significant difference between Hungary and Western Europe.

Given the bad road conditions of the Middle Ages, in one day a horseman was able to cover 50–70 kilometres.<sup>20</sup> In the fourteenth century an equestrian messenger could overcome 50–80 kilometres a day.<sup>21</sup> In Monk Mora's account the daily accomplishments provide a diversified picture, they were ranging on a wide scale from 36 to 115 kilometres. In the light of the given data, Mora proceeded with an average daily speed of 78–80 kilometres, which adjusted to the medieval transport circumstances.

There is only one piece of information concerning the travelling speed of a two-wheeled carriage: the distance from Ospringe to Rochester (35 kilometres) was fulfilled within half a day, therefore its daily mileage corresponds to that of a horseman.

It is worth mentioning some expenses closely related to the envoy's mission, for which Mora did not open a separate chapter, but tagged them to the end of the items connected to horses. Several entries can also be found among the notes of the Exchequer at the end of the account. Some coats of arms representing the official character of Mora's journey and designating his employer's identity were painted for 45 *denarii*.<sup>22</sup> The envoy had to pay for the safe-conducts provided in Bavaria, Austria, and in Hungary ensuring the immunity and safety of the dele-

<sup>20</sup> L. Tarr, *A kocsis története*. [The History of Cars] Budapest 1968, 169; Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, 141.

<sup>21</sup> Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, 141.

<sup>22</sup> The envoys had to be "striking," their clothes, jewelry, and harness had to indicate their significance. Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, 102.

gation; and in the same countries he also had to compensate the royal and imperial escort. To the latter he paid altogether 240 *denarii*. The generally accepted "accessory" of an envoy's office, the grafting money,<sup>23</sup> given to Queen Elisabeth's *magister ianitorum* amounted to 24 *denarii*, which almost corresponded to the sum of a single meal and accommodation.

The total expenditure incurred during the journey by the English royal envoy aggregated to more than 7,580 *denarii*.<sup>24</sup> It is known that Mora was given 4,800 *denarii* for his expenses. According to the note of the Exchequer, however, Mora rendered an account of 6,600 *denarii* and, in addition, he listed two other items of 60 and 600 *denarii*. Namely, as stated by the official registration, he spent 7,260 *denarii*.

The Exchequer established the total sum of the account in 30 *librae*, namely in 7,200 *denarii*.

How much did Mora spend in reality: 7,580 or 7,260 or 7,200 *denarii*?

- In fact - due to the missing data - more than 7,580 *denarii*.
- At Mora's own option the officially accountable sum was 7,260 *denarii*.
- At the Exchequer's option the officially accountable sum was 7,200 *denarii*.

The Exchequer was able to reimburse the envoy only 2,400 *denarii* - above the sum of 4,800 *denarii* provided before the journey - therefore, the envoy met a loss of more than 380 *denarii*.

Finally, I would draw the attention to two monetary peculiarities encountered in the process of correlating English and Hungarian money. By the analysis of the Hungarian items of the invoice, I tried to change the English *denarii* according to the Hungarian rate.

In England the London mark of 233.3533-gram weight was current, which as a calculative money worth 160 *denarii*.<sup>25</sup> In Hungary, during the Angevin period, the Buda mark was in use and that equalled to the Parisian weight of 245.53779 grams.<sup>26</sup> Between 1346 and 1351, from one Buda mark 504 pieces of *denarii* were minted.<sup>27</sup> Thus, we are able to define the proportion of English and Hungarian *denarii*:

If the weight of 1 English *denarius*:  $233.3533 / 160 = 1.4584$  g,  
and the weight of 1 Hungarian royal *denarius*:  $245.53779 / 504 = 0.4871$ g,  
then 1 English *denarius* / 1 Hungarian *denarius*:  $1.4584 / 0.4871 = 2.99$ .

Therefore, we can state that, in 1346, one English silver *denarius* equalled appr. three Hungarian royal silver *denarii*. However, I have to note that the above pro-

<sup>23</sup> Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, 95.

<sup>24</sup> Several parts of the account was damaged, the price of many items are missing, especially from the first and largest part. Moreover, in the summary of this chapter there is no financial data either. Therefore, we could only take into consideration those sums at our disposal, and on that basis was the 7,580 *denarii* calculated. However, no doubt that the envoy had expended much more than that.

<sup>25</sup> Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet*, 49-50.

<sup>26</sup> Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet*, 54-55, 94-99; Engel, "A 14. századi magyar pénztörténet," 28-29, 32.

<sup>27</sup> Engel, "A 14. századi magyar pénztörténet," 65.

portion is only proximate and one should not take it for granted, since it is not known, for example, whether the two examined coins were on a similar standard of fineness, or not.

The second conclusion I deduced from the data of the above-examined account is the following.

The English royal envoy spent 12 golden florins on his journey from Zagreb to Visegrád which lasted 5–6 days. This sum, according to Mora's own remark, was equal to 30 *solidi*. Thus:

If 12 English golden florins = 30 *solidi* = 360 English silver *denarii*,  
 and 1 English silver *denarius* = 3 Hungarian silver *denarii*,  
 then 12 English golden florins =  $3 \times 360 = 1,080$  Hungarian silver *denarii*,  
 and 1 English golden florin =  $1,080 / 12 = 90$  Hungarian silver *denarii*.

We know that in Hungary, between 1344 and 1351, one Hungarian golden florin was equal to 90 *denarii*.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, comparing the above formula with the proportion of the Hungarian golden florin and *denarius*, it turns out that the Hungarian and English golden florin represented about the same value, namely they were of similar weight. This deduction supports our knowledge that the golden florin used the 3.5-gram weight Florentine golden florin known since 1252 as a standard in every country, and these countries attempted to stick to the value of that norm.<sup>29</sup>

On the basis of these rates, I hazard that in the mid-fourteenth century Hungary can be categorised among the significant countries of Europe as a Central European power not only due to its stable circumstances and dynamic foreign policy but also on the basis of its monetary conditions. It was within the norms of contemporary Europe and in many cases – as it has been investigated – proved to be more expensive. The golden florin of the country retained its value, and its silver *denarius* – being in 1:3 proportion with the English silver *denarius* – enviably high from today's perspective.

Translated by JUDITH MAJOROSSY

<sup>28</sup> Engel, "A 14. századi magyar pénztörténet," 51.

<sup>29</sup> Engel, "A 14. századi magyar pénztörténet," 43.