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TRAVELLING TO ITALY IN THE SUMMER OF 1501
LESSONS LEARNED FROM A BOOK OF ACCOUNTS*

In the State Archives of Modena,¹ the collection of documents related to the court of Ippolito I d'Este² is held in the fonds called Amministrazione dei Principi.³ Among the books of accounts grouped according to the ecclesiastical positions of Ippolito we can find eight account books from Eger.⁴ Out of these eight volumes, seven were published by Péter E. Kovács in 1992.⁵ The published books of accounts, however, do not include the quire marked as AdP 711 in the archival catalogues,⁶ even though it is classified among the Eger account books. The source stands out from the rest of the Eger account books, both in terms of its contents and its external appearance. It is a short Latin note, six pages in length, created by folding and binding two approximately A4-sized sheets of paper. Although it is an account, it gives details of the expenses of a journey from Eger to Italy dated to the summer of 1501, as transpires from the first line of the summary of expenses: "Recessi de Agria 25 Iunii 1501". It can be assumed that it was left out of the textual edition because it is only indirectly related to the economic matters of the bishopric of Eger, and thus does not entirely fit into the series of account books.⁷ The most plausible explanation is that it may have been placed among the account books of the bishopric simply as a result of its dating, as no other extant short records of expenses of this kind related to Eger have survived on their own. However, in spite of the fact that the text does not mention either the author, the traveller or their companions by name,

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¹ Archivio di Stato di Modena.

² Ippolito I d'Este (1479–1520), Archbishop of Esztergom (1486–1497), Bishop of Eger (1497–1520), Cardinal (1493–1520).

³ Archivio di Stato di Modena, Archivio Camerale, Amministrazione dei Principi (AdP). Discussion of the fond: Kuffart, "Modenában őrzött esztergomi számadáskönyvek és az esztergomi érsekség udvartartása," 9–10.

⁴ 710–717. (Vestigia database no. 2232., 828., 2233., 2288., 2289., 2290., 2291., 2292).

⁵ E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*.

⁶ ASMo ASE AC AdP 711., Old archival call number: Reg. 34; Microfilm: HU-MNL-OL-X-1996, MF 8619; Vestigia database no. 828.

⁷ E. Kovács, "Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon," 101. n. 4.

based on the dating and the personal style of the first line I have tried to associate the source with a person, and place it in its appropriate context.

The journey recorded in the account book began on 25 June 1501 in Eger (Agria), and ended on 20 July 1501 in Ferrara. Messengers, couriers, diplomats, agents travelled regularly between Ferrara and Buda (Ofen) or Eger without leaving behind such detailed accounts of their journeys' expenses. Having examined the accounting system of Ferrara and its elements used in Hungary,⁸ the individual officials' daily administrative accounts appeared at the lowest level of the documentation. These accounts were then meant to be collected in books of accounts and general ledgers both in Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran) and later in Eger. Based on this system of accounting, it is unsurprising that the individual case accounts have rarely survived, as they were recorded at a higher level, after which their preservation became no longer necessary. In the case of the source examined here, the travel expenses were finalised only after the group's arrival in Ferrara, therefore it should have been registered not in the Eger, but rather in the Ferrara books of accounts of Ippolito I d'Este.⁹ Supposedly, it was when the archival materials of the d'Estes were put in order during the 19th century that this book of accounts was placed among the account books related to the management of the bishopric of Eger, as a result of Agria appearing in its first line.

The identity of the author

Even at first reading it is noticeable that the text uses the first person, singular verb form of the Latin verb: *recessi*, in the meaning 'I have left'. The first person, singular verb form shows that the text is a personal narration although compiled later after the arrival to Ferrara. This indicates that it may have been one of Ippolito's Italian courtiers who returned to Ferrara in the summer of 1501 and recorded the accounts of their journey. This is reinforced by a linguistic evidence: the text was written in Latin, but there are several instances of the use of words that are similar to Latin but are rather Italian, e.g. *feratura* in the sense of 'horse harness'. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that in their description of the journey, the author moves with confidence between Eger and Esztergom, and equally in the Italian parts, but is considerably more

⁸ Kuffart, "Modenában őrzött esztergomi számadáskönyvek és az esztergomi érsekség udvartartása," 12–16; Kristóf, "Bortizedbélők a késő középkori egri számadáskönyvekben," 223–24.

⁹ My research into this issue in the Modena archives have not met with success so far, as there is no reference to this journey in the Ferrara book of accounts referring to this year. It is possible that this is precisely the reason why this account book has survived, as they did not discard this quire since the data had not been processed.

uncertain when documenting the middle section of the journey. In order to identify the author, the chronologically relevant records of the pertinent Eger books of accounts¹⁰ were used, together with information from the Ferrara correspondence.

Having overcome the administrative obstacles, the archbishop's seat in Esztergom and the bishop's seat in Eger were exchanged between Ippolito I d'Este and Tamás Bakóc¹¹ without difficulty.¹² However, the establishment of Ippolito's court in Eger was moving ahead at a significantly slower pace, because *vicarius* and *gubernator* Ludovico Floreno, despite having formally entered into his office already in 1498, began his actual work only from the following year.¹³ Though Bakóc tried hard to create the impression that the courtiers of Ippolito were unable to govern the bishopric of Eger profitably,¹⁴ Floreno reported of a plentiful harvest as early as the summer of 1499. Regardless, in the summer of 1499 those in Ferrara were still giving much thought to the question of how the situation could be optimised, that is, how the smallest possible investment could be used to generate the largest possible income. Floreno reported in July that he was conducting negotiations in Esztergom concerning renting out the bishopric once again,¹⁵ since in 1498 Bakóc rented the tithes of the Eger bishopric for two years, but in 1499, he did not renew the lease.¹⁶ Furthermore, the governor gave a report on the events of the diet, giving a detailed account of the rumour that had already spread widely concerning Ippolito's intention to hand the bishopric over to his younger brother Giulio,¹⁷ who would have been will-

¹⁰ ASMo ASE AC AdP 712. (Vestigia database no. 2233); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 62–79; ASMo ASE AC AdP 713. (Vestigia database no. 2288); E. Kovács, 80–123; ASMo ASE AC AdP 714. (Vestigia database no. 2289); E. Kovács, 124–52.

¹¹ Tamás Bakóc (1442–1521), elected Bishop of Eger (1493–1497), Bishop of Eger (1497–1498), Archbishop of Esztergom (1498–1521), Cardinal (1500–1521), Chancellor (1491–1521).

¹² Kristóf, “‘Nostro protectore e benefactore singulare’: Bakóc Tamás és Estei Hippolit kapcsolata (1496–1520),” 67–71; Kristóf, „I rapporti tra Tamás Bakóc ed Ippolito d’Este”; Kuffart, „Bakóc Tamás és Estei Hippolit cseréje.”

¹³ C. Tóth, *Magyarország késő középkori főpapi archontológiája: Érsekek, püspökök, illetve segédpüspökeik, vikáriusaik és jövedelemkezelőik az 1440-es évektől 1526-ig*, 29; Bónis, „Olasz vikáriusok Magyarországon a reneszánsz korában és a Beneéthy-formuláskönyv,” 92–93; Ludovico Floreno doct. decr.; governor, vicarius, 9 February 1498 National Archives of Hungary, Photographic Collection of pre-1526 Documents (HU-MNL-OL-U-DF) 229141–11 June 1501 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 229184.

¹⁴ Fraknoi, *Erdődi Bakócz Tamás élete*, 82–83.

¹⁵ 7 July 1499 Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books (MTAK MS.) 4997.10., ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/21, 5. (Vestigia database no. 510., 1451).

¹⁶ Kristóf, “‘Nostro protectore e benefactore singulare’: Bakóc Tamás és Estei Hippolit kapcsolata (1496–1520),” 71–72.

¹⁷ Giulio d’Este (1478–1561), illegitimate son of Duke Ercole I d’Este (1431–1505).

ing to live in Hungary.¹⁸ According to the assumptions of Floreno, the person behind the rumours may have been Queen Beatrice,¹⁹ whose positions would have improved considerably if any of her relatives had stayed permanently in his diocese. As an alternative to renting out the tithes, the name of Taddeo Lardi was once again brought up, as he had earlier been recommended by Bakóc, who mentioned that Lardi would be glad to return to the service of Ippolito.²⁰ Since Floreno could not find a satisfactory solution for the situation, Giulio Cesare Cantelmi set off on 26 November 1499²¹ with instructions to rent out the incomes of the bishopric, collect the money, and reduce the number of persons in their care, in order to reduce local expenses. In addition, he was also to reassure Queen Beatrice.²² In April 1500, a resolution had still not been achieved concerning renting out the incomes of the bishopric, in spite of Cantelmi's negotiations with Bakóc.²³ Eventually, after lengthy wrangling, in Ferrara the decision was made to choose Taddeo Lardi after all, who was already in Eger in September 1500.²⁴ Nevertheless, he officially took the position of *gubernator* in Eger only from 7 May 1501.²⁵ Lardi first came to Hungary in 1487, and appeared among the Italian familiars in Esztergom as a seneschal, majordomo of the Buda house of the archbishop (1487–1497), treasurer (1487–97), and chamberlain (1489–1492). For many years he also performed the role of seneschal and chamberlain (1487–1489, 1492–1497) as well.²⁶ Between 1493 and 1502 he was archdeacon in Gömör, and at the same time in Pankota as well, but this latter position he exchanged for the archdeaconship in Ung in 1498. From 1501, he was *gubernator* in Eger, a member of the chapter, and from 1501 until his death he was *custos* in Eger.²⁷ In 1508 he passed over the tasks of governor to

¹⁸ 7 July 1499 MTAK MS. 4997.10., ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/21,5. (Vestigia database no. 510., 1451).

¹⁹ Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), from 1476 wife of King Matthias I (1458–1490), between 1490 and 1500 wife of King Vladislaus II (1490–1516).

²⁰ 31 January 1499 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 289034; Byatt, "Ippolito I d'Este."

²¹ Cantelmi bishop of Nice stayed in Hungary between 1499 and 1503, on the instructions of Duke Ercole I d'Este. In 1501 Ippolito granted him the living of Pieve di San Faustino to Cantelmi. Cantelmi died in July 1503. Borghi, „Il Maestro di Celano Pelumi: nuovi studi sulla committenza per ricostruire un'identità,” 28.

²² 26 November 1499 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b.3/22,1. (Vestigia database no. 1456).

²³ 7 April 1500 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/23,4. (Vestigia database no. 1460).

²⁴ 17 September 1500 ASMo ASE AC AdP 760. (Vestigia database no. 790); 1500. ASMo ASE AC AdP 761. (Vestigia database no. 791); Bónis, „Olasz vikáriusok Magyarországon a reneszánsz korában és a Beneéthy-formuláskönyv,” 93.

²⁵ ASMo ASE AC AdP 713. (Vestigia database no. 2288); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 101.

²⁶ Kuffart, „Modenában őrzött esztergomi számadáskönyvek és az esztergomi érsekség udvartartása,” 39, 43, 67, 82, 95, 160, 170, 185–86.

²⁷ C. Tóth, „Az egri káptalan archontológiája (1387–1526),” 52., 61; C. Tóth, *Magyarország késő*

Ercole Pio on the instructions of Ippolito.²⁸ Then, after Pio had been recalled, he once again fulfilled the position of governor in 1510–1511. The elderly and sickly Lardi died in 1512. His Renaissance tombstone can be seen to this day in Kassa (Cassovia, Kaschau, today Košice, Slovakia).²⁹

The sources testify not only to the Bishop's intentions and the ideas shaping them, but concerning the minor details of the execution of these ideas too. In this way, it is possible to reconstruct the change of governor in Eger with considerable accuracy. On his last working days in Eger, on 15 June 1501, governor Floreno was still levying the tithe in the Nádasd tithe district in the county of Abaúj.³⁰ A few days later, on 19 June 1501, Pietro Lardi, the new Eger castellan, reported to his master that the envoy had arrived on 14 June and that the takeover of the castle had been completed.³¹ The takeover of administrative duties must have taken place over the next few days, as the new governor, Taddeo Lardi recorded in the book of accounts dated 23 June 1501 that he had received 1500 florins from Floreno for the pay of the bishop's banderium.³² On the same day, according to Lardi's records, he handed over the amount of fl. 16 d. 67 to Floreno on the order of their master, requesting that Floreno take it to Ferrara, to chamberlain Pandolfo Silvestri as the price of certain books that had already been ordered and paid for by Pietro Maria Montelini.³³ (Montelini had already

középkori főpapi archontológiája: Érsekek, püspökök, illetve segédpüspökeik, vikáriusaik és jövedelemkezelőik az 1440-es évektől 1526-ig, 30; E. Kovács, "Léhűtők Egerben: Mindennapi élet Estei Hippolit egri püspök udvarában," 157; Teke, "Egy firenzei kereskedő a Jagellókorban: Raggione Bontempi 1488–1528," 136; Balogh, "La capella Bakócz," 137; Taddeo Lardi doct. decr.; custos of Eger, governor. 29 June 1501 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 216503 – 6 December 1508 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 216965; 21 October 1510 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 278354 – 8 December 1511 HU-MNL-OL-U-DF 272284.

²⁸ On the career of Ercole Pio, his activities in Eger see the relevant study in this volume, and: Domokos, "A pestis és a gepárd: Ercole Pio, Estei Hippolit egy ügynökének beszámolója Magyarországról (1508–1510)"; Domokos and Erős, "Ercole Pio e le indulgenze di Eger"; Domokos and Erős, "Ercole Pio és az egri székesegyház építésének ügye"; Domokos, *A jámbor Herkules: Estei Hippolit bíboros egri kormányzója, Ercole Pio beszámolója Magyarországról 1508–1510*.

²⁹ E. Kovács, "Léhűtők Egerben: Mindennapi élet Estei Hippolit egri püspök udvarában," 157–58; Berkovits, "La pietra sepolcrale di un umanista ferrarese a Cassovia."

³⁰ ASMo ASE AC AdP 712. (Vestigia database no. 2233); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 74.

³¹ 19 June 1501 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/25,1. (Vestigia database no. 1497).

³² ASMo ASE AC AdP 714. (Vestigia database no. 2289); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 125.

³³ Montelini had served Ippolito in Hungary since 1494. He was listed as chancellor in the 1494 Esztergom account book. MTAK Ms. 4998.7/ASMo ASE AC AdP 702. (Vestigia database no. 2175). In the following years he continued to write regularly from Hungary. Montelini was in charge of the affairs of Tommaso Fusco, Bishop of Comacchio, secretary to Ippolito I d'Este, relating to his canonry of Esztergom, such as the conversion of the revenues of his benefice and their transfer to Italy. 3 November 1501 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb.

been in Buda since November 1501 as the agent of Duke Ercole, and the ordered books probably travelled to Eger in his baggage.³⁴) Furthermore, Lardi paid the amount of fl. 2 d. 30 as severance pay to a groom called Inber, who had previously served in Ferrara.³⁵ Lardi did not delay, and took up his post on the following day. On 24 June 1501 he levied the wine tithe in Borsod, in the Kazavölgye tithe district.³⁶ It can be deduced from this series of events that it was Ludovico Floreno, former *vicarius* and *gubernator* of Eger who departed in the direction of Italy on the 25 June 1501. The author's person and his experience in accounting offers explanation for the detailed recording of the expenses of this journey, and possibly for the survival of the book of accounts as well.

The itinerary

Having departed on 25 June 1501, they reached Pest within two days. It appears evident from the entries that the author was a regular traveller on the Eger-Pest route, stopping for meals on the bishopric's lands wherever possible, and he made arrangement for accommodation in Pest well in advance. After the entry on 26 June, Floreno next dated their arrival on Sunday 28 June. The question arises as to what happened on 27 June, as they had spent the previous night in Isaszeg, therefore the distance would not in itself justify the delay of one day in their arrival. It appears that Floreno made an error in dating the entries. The 28 June in 1501 in fact fell on a Monday, therefore we can be almost entirely certain that they arrived in Pest on Sunday 27 June. As he probably noticed the error on one of the subsequent days, he made an elegant correction. He did

Ungh. b. 3/31/1. (Vestigia database no. 1613), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294684; 15 February 1502 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,3. (Vestigia database no. 1623), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294693. In 1502, the idea of rewarding him with a Hungarian benefice was raised in earnest. Although Montelini wanted a pleasant canonry, the governor, Taddeo Lardi with the support of Bakóc, recommended him to the parish of St. James of Eger, which had been vacant due to the death of the previous parish priest. 20 March 1502 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,4. (Vestigia database no. 1624), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294694; 18 May 1502 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,5. (Vestigia database no. 1625), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294694; 20 May 1502 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,6. (Vestigia database no. 1626), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294696; ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,7. (Vestigia database no. 1627), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294697; ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,8. (Vestigia database no. 1628), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294698; 5 June 1502 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,9. (Vestigia database no. 1629), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294699. He is certainly recorded as the parish priest of St. James until 18 September 1509: ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 4. 4/5,4. (Vestigia database no. 1752), HU-MNL-OL-X-DF 294813. He was also included in Ippolito's estate inventory. 1520: MTAK Ms. 4996.13. (Vestigia database no. 381).

³⁴ 3 November 1501 ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/31,1. (Vestigia database no. 1613)

³⁵ ASMo ASE AC AdP 713. (Vestigia database no. 2288); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 108.

³⁶ ASMo ASE AC AdP 712. (Vestigia database no. 2232); E. Kovács, 69.

not cross out the incorrect dates, but he entered the day following the entry on 30 June as the last day in June, and as a result, the entries were harmonised with the actual passage of time by 1 July. On the day following their arrival in Pest, dated 29 June in the book of accounts – in reality 28 June – they crossed the Danube and spent the night in Szántó.³⁷ On the following day they stopped in Esztergom, where they stayed until 1 July. As a former governor of Eger, in all probability Floreno still had official duties in Esztergom; what is more, the representatives of Duke Ercole staying in Buda and Esztergom probably used the occasion to send reports to Ferrara with him. Stefano Raguseo³⁸ mentions in his letter dated 18 July 1501 in Buda that he wishes to report on the developments that have taken place since the departure of Floreno.³⁹ The most interesting news for the Ferrara court must have concerned the crusade against the Turks announced in the spring of 1501, because in the spring diet not only the alliance with the Pope and Venice was announced, but the commanders of the attacking troops, too. The king declared a mobilisation in July.⁴⁰ Raguseo reports in his letter on the preparations for the later armed diet, about which Floreno could not yet carry any certain news.

The part of the route between Esztergom and Szombathely is the most difficult to reconstruct. They left Esztergom on 1 July, after the *prandium*, and arrived in Nyergesújfalu by the evening, where they held a fast in honour of the following day's feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It appears that on 2 July they moved further away from the line of the Danube, but the reason for this, together with the distance covered on the day, has not been satisfactorily clarified. They arrived in Komárom on 3 July, and reached Szombathely via Győr on the evening of 4 July. The uncertainty of the author is noticeable, as he is travelling in an unknown territory, and the transcription of the foreign-sounding Hungarian geographical names appears rather arbitrary. Therefore, the identification of the daily stations, beyond the more significant settlements, is difficult.⁴¹ It is not only the identification of the place names on

³⁷ A former village in the area of today's Pilisvörösvár.

³⁸ Raguseo was formerly the barber to King Matthias, between 1494 and 1496 he was the vice-provisor of Esztergom, in 1496–1497, he was the provisor. Domokos and Schrödl-Libárdi, "Donato Aretino magyarországi levelei a Modenai Állami Levéltárban," 94–95., 106–7; Kuffart, "Modenában őrzött esztergomi számadáskönyvek és az esztergomi érsekség udvartartása," 165, 172, 181. In 1500–1503, he was the provisor of Eger. E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 91.

³⁹ ASMo ASE C. Est. Amb. Ungh. b. 3/19,5. (Vestigia database no. 1440).

⁴⁰ In more detail: C. Tóth, "Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés: Adatok a királyi adminisztráció működéséhez."

⁴¹ To identify geographical names and reconstruct the route, I used the first military survey of Hungary (1782–1785): <https://mapire.eu/hu/map/firstsurvey-hungary/?layers=147&bbox=2109270.2409009957%2C6019117.903762623%2C2134781.0990911736>

this part of the route that presents problems, but the distances travelled each day are also unusual. Examining the whole of the journey from Eger to Ferrara, depending on the terrain, they travelled 50–60 km on average, completing approximately 40 km on the hardest mountain terrain. Although the section between Esztergom and Szombathely cannot be regarded as particularly difficult, we can still observe considerable differences when compared to their usual speed. On 2–3 July, they needed more than one day to cover the distance between Nyergesújfalu and Komárom – approximately 38 km – even if they made a detour for unknown reasons. By contrast, they covered the distance of 41 km between Komárom and Győr in a single afternoon, and completed the approximately 100 km between Győr and Szombathely on the following day. It is reasonable to suppose that the author may have recorded the entries referring to this – to him unknown – section of the journey in retrospect, and the reason for the unclear place names and unusual distance data could be his possibly uncertain memory and lack of knowledge of the region, and probably also replaced the place names that were foreign to him.

From Szombathely they travelled via Monyorókerék and Szentgotthárd, reaching Radkersburg on the evening of 6 July, where they may have spent the following day resting and making some preparations for the mountainous terrain. They set off for the ascent into the Alps on the morning of 8 July. Travelling along the river Drava, through Marburg (today Maribor, Slovenia), they reached Villach on 11 July, via Klagenfurt. After the exhausting ascents and particularly the last 40 km or more between Klagenfurt and Villach, they spent the following day resting in Villach. It is worth noting that the way the German place names are recorded gives the impression that the author was not a regular traveller on this route. However, the identification of the uncertain readings has been made considerably easier by the fact that the landscape allowed a single passable road through the mountains, therefore it was relatively easy to find the stops along the route.⁴²

From Villach, they set off towards Italy on 13 July. They descended from the mountains along the route via Tarvisio–Malborghetto–Riasutto–Venezia–San Daniele del Friuli–Sacile. Travelling via Treviso–Padova–Rovigo, they crossed the Po at Pontelagoscuro and reached Ferrara in the afternoon of 20 July. The most demanding points along the Italian section of the journey undoubtedly proved to be the river crossings (Tagliamento, Adige, Po). It is conspicuous that

%2C6026761.60659114 (last access: 10 October 2020) and the CD-ROM database edited by Pál Engel: Magyarország a középkor végén (Hungary at the End of the Middle Ages).

⁴² For the identification of Austrian geographical names, I used the map of the first military survey of Inner Austria (1784–1785) <https://mapire.eu/hu/map/firstsurvey-inner-austria/?layers=138&bbox=1478941.2309983212%2C5859941.159808494%2C1485318.9455458655%2C5861852.085515624> (last access: 10 October 2020)

the author's pen becomes considerably more confident and animated on Italian ground, as he was moving across a familiar landscape. It was noticeable even on a first, superficial examination of the book of accounts that the stations of the Italian part of the journey were recorded much more accurately and clearly than the rest, which presupposed the hypothesis that the author of the book of accounts must be among the Italian courtiers of Ippolito.

As a result of the detailed records of Floreno, the data in the book of accounts can be compared to similar sources from the age. Owing to the lively diplomatic and commercial connections between the Italian states and Hungary, the routes across the passes of the Alps were regularly traversed by couriers, embassies, merchants, and private individuals with their escorts, and pilgrims. A comparative analysis of Floreno's accounts can be begun by examining the most familiar journey, that of Bishop Ippolito. In the late winter and early spring of 1520, Ippolito I d'Este returned from Eger to Ferrara. The accounts of this last journey of his were discussed by Péter E. Kovács.⁴³ Unsurprisingly, between Eger and Esztergom Floreno and his bishop travelled along the same route, at a similar speed. Members of the Eger court travelled along this route countless times between 1497 and 1520. They dealt with the distances and managed time with experience. The reason for the slight differences was that in 1520, Ippolito and his escort were forced by the snow to make several minor detours.⁴⁴ It is noticeable that both travellers departed from Esztergom after lunch, evidently having completed their official and ceremonial duties, and both arrived in (Nyerges)Újfalu by evening.⁴⁵ The timing of the departure and the distance covered raises the possibility that the travel infrastructure had already been established to some extent on the Buda–Vienna route by the beginning of the 16th century. We may think of inns capable of offering board and accommodation even for larger groups. (Although Floreno and his company were fasting in preparation for the feast of the Visitatio [Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary], their horses were amply provided for.) The routes followed by the bishop and his courtier separated after Újfalu.

The most popular route from Hungary towards Italy followed the line of the Danube from Buda as far as Bruck an der Leitha. There the traveller would turn to the south, via Wiener Neustadt across the Semmering Pass, through Friesach and Feldkirchen to Villach, reaching Italy at Tarvisio. This route had been in use since as early as the 12th century, and it was called the *Venediger Strasse* or “Venetian Road”. As a result of the increasing traffic, and its popu-

⁴³ E. Kovács, “Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon.”

⁴⁴ E. Kovács, 105.

⁴⁵ E. Kovács, 106.

larity among Hungarians, sources also called it the *Ungarweg* or “Hungarian Way” in the late Middle Ages.⁴⁶ Ippolito and his escort approached Italy on this route. One of the causes and equally one of the consequences of the popularity of the route was its highly developed travel infrastructure. It was not only the bishop of Eger who could reasonably expect to find space for his large retinue in the inns; even impecunious pilgrims could find what they were looking for. Nevertheless, in spite of a road that was considered comfortable in the age, the bishop’s retinue began to split up already in Austria, around the Semmering Pass. The animals and the baggage carts lagged behind because of the hard road conditions. Finally, at Villach, they separated completely. Ippolito continued his journey with a smaller escort, and they left money for Nicolò Monti, who was leading the party lagging behind.⁴⁷ Villach was the intersection of the roads crossing Austria in the direction of Italy. This is where the routes of Floreno in 1501 and Ippolito in 1520 met once again, and from here they continued their journey to Ferrara by the same route.

In spite of the difficulties of the journey over land, exhausting for man and beast alike, not many travellers chose the sea route when heading to Italy.⁴⁸ Although the inconveniences caused by the passes could be avoided at sea, and with favourable winds it was considerably faster to reach Venice from Dalmatia, in adverse weather conditions this form of travel could be regarded as neither safe nor comfortable. For travellers journeying towards the inner regions of the country, when weighing advantages and risks, a sea journey was the solution only when a large and slow escort, together with a significant amount of baggage, had to be arranged for. In June 1486, Cesare Valentini, the envoy from Ferrara, was commissioned by Duke Ercole to go to Hungary to prepare for Ippolito’s seizure of the Esztergom archiepiscopal seat. In addition to Valentini’s reports, Giovanni Maria Parenti, who describes the journey in detail in his account, provides a kind of diary of the embassy’s journey from Venice to Hungary. After a forced wait due to adverse weather conditions, they left Venice on 15 June 1486, deciding to follow the coast due to contrary winds, which gave Parenti the opportunity to record in detail what he saw. On 18 June, they passed the southernmost tip of the Istrian peninsula and the next day they disembarked at Zengg. From here they set off on 21 June, now on land. After three days’ travel, they arrived in Zagreb on the 24 June, where they awaited the instructions of Queen Beatrice and after receiving the instructions did they set off via Fehérvár to Esztergom and then to Pressburg (Posonium, Pozsony, to-

⁴⁶ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 116.

⁴⁷ E. Kovács, “Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon,” 118–19.

⁴⁸ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 116.

day Bratislava, Slovakia). Parenti's purpose was clear, the meticulous itinerary provided the data to prepare and plan the child Ippolito's future journey.⁴⁹ After long and careful preparations⁵⁰ the young archbishop of Esztergom left Ferrara on 18 June 1487. They travelled barely 10 km on land, before boarding a ship at Francolino, sailing along the Po, and arriving in Chioggia, where they first put into port on the Adriatic coast. They set out to cross the sea on 20 June. The stretch between the Lido di Venezia and Piran was the hardest for traveller and sailor alike. They covered 100 miles, or approximately 150 km, in around six hours, without putting in at port. They docked at Rovinj on 23 June, and Pula on 24, arriving in Zengg (Senia, today Senj, Croatia), already Hungarian territory, on 26 June.⁵¹ After a short rest, they continued the journey on land, and arrived in Zagreb after three days' riding, where they had a long delay, waiting for the escort provided by the king. They at last left for Sopron (Ödenburg) via Kapronca Koprëinitz, today Koprivnica, Croatia), following the royal couple only on 24 July, and finally arriving in Sopron on 7 August 1487.⁵² For the same reason, because of their escort and baggage, Anna of Foix-Candale, bride of King Vladislaus II, travelled the distance between Venice and Zengg by ship in the summer of 1502.⁵³

Eleven years before the first Hungarian journey of Ippolito, his aunt, Beatrice of Aragon left Naples for her new home in the early autumn of 1476. The princess and her retinue left Naples on 18 September 1476, boarding ships in Manfredonia on 2 October. Beatrice's sister, duchess Eleonora, expected the arrival of the Neapolitan fleet on 5 October in Ferrara, and had the coast watched day and night with great concern. Although Beatrice and her retinue were sailing along the coast, the adverse weather conditions caused them considerable hardships before they could dock at the estuary of the Po in the middle of the month, on 14 October. After a week's festivities and enjoying the hospitality of Ferrara, they set off once again on 21 October. First, they travelled to Chioggia, where the fleet was moored. Possibly because of the inclement weather they decided that Beatrice and a small escort would continue the journey on land,

⁴⁹ Kuffart, "Il diario di Giovanni Maria Parenti sul viaggio verso il Regno d'Ungheria (1486)," 294–96.

⁵⁰ Fraknoi, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szent-Székkal. 1418–1526*, 2:234–37; Galla, "Mátyás király és a Szentszék," 28–29; E. Kovács, "A Szentszék, a török és Magyarország a Hunyadiak alatt"; Kristóf, "Gabriele Rangone (Veronai Gábor) pályája (1410/20–1486)," 77–78.

⁵¹ Morselli, *Ippolito I d'Este e il suo primo viaggio in Ungheria (1487)*, 26–27; Kuffart and Neumann, "Olyan szép kísérete lesz, mint kevés úrnak Itáliában: Az esztergomi érseki udvartartás szervezése 1486/87 folyamán," 10–11.

⁵² Morselli, *Ippolito I d'Este e il suo primo viaggio in Ungheria (1487)*, 32–33.

⁵³ Györkös, "II. Ulászló házassága és a francia diplomácia," 110.

while part of the courtiers and the larger part of the baggage arrived in Hungary via the sea route. The future queen was in Treviso on 29 October, already in Villach in the beginning of November, and travelling along the Drava, probably via Klagenfurt, they crossed the Hungarian border at Pettau (today Ptuj, Slovenia).⁵⁴ One of the obvious reasons for choosing the route – apart from the inclement weather – was the fear of Turkish raids, and since Beatrice was travelling directly to Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia, Stuhlweißenburg), it was a logical choice to follow the Drava across Styria, Slavonia and Transdanubia to reach the coronation city, rather than take the more northerly *Ungarweg*. Tommaso Daineri, a diplomat from Ferrara, followed a similar route when he came to Buda in the winter of 1501. He reported to Duke Ercole I d'Este on 25 February 1501, on the circumstances of his arrival in Hungary. He left Ferrara and followed the usual route via Venzona, reaching Villach, where he learned that he had a choice between two routes in the direction of Hungary. Although before his departure, Archbishop Ippolito, as an experienced traveller, recommended that he take the more northerly route, in the direction of Vienna, he decided to listen to the advice of locals and chose the “second route” because of the more comfortable accommodation. As a result, he left Villach and travelled along the Drava via *Merhanberg* (Marenberg/Radlje ob Dravi) and *Marchburg* (Maribor), crossing the border at *Ratisburg* (Radkersburg). From there, he arrived in Buda via Vasvár, Veszprém and Székesfehérvár.⁵⁵ Moreover, the same route was used by the papal legate Cardinal Pietro Isvalies when he arrived in Hungary around the same time, in January 1501.⁵⁶ Beatrice must evidently have followed the same route in 1476 when she was on her way to Fehérvár.

Comparing Floreno's reconstructed journey with the known variations, it is notable that he combined the two most commonly used routes on land. West of Esztergom, he left behind the main road to Vienna that travels along the Danube, so that reaching Komárom and Győr once again, he could say a final goodbye to the Danube, turning to the southwest towards Szombathely, and continuing his journey towards the Alps from there. We may suppose that Floreno was persuaded to travel on the “second road” by Daineri, based on his positive experiences gained a few months earlier, or possibly even followed the advice of Isvalies. However, the Transdanubian stops of Floreno do not fit into this plan. Finishing his duties in Esztergom, he could have turned directly

⁵⁴ Berzeviczy, *Beatrix királyné (1457–1508): Történelmi élet- és korrajz*, 161–64.

⁵⁵ Daineri's letter dated 25 February 1501 Foucard, “Lettere di Tommaso Dainero ad Ercole duca di Ferrara,” 7–8. In his later letters, Daineri sends his reports to his master with detailed descriptions of Hungary, and gives an account of the Corpus Christi day procession and celebrations in the year 1501.

⁵⁶ Nemes, “Pietro Isvalies bíboros veszprémi püspök,” 12–13.

towards Veszprém, taking the road along the north shore of Lake Balaton. Instead, he made a considerable detour. The stops on the Transdanubian section that can be identified with certainty are connected only by the person of the bishop of Győr, Ferenc Szatmári (1495–1508), younger brother of Bakóc,⁵⁷ and Floreno never failed to record precisely every single instance of hospitality received on bishops' estates. Could it be that the reason for such a large detour was nothing more than a few free meals? Hardly. I suppose that he must have received some kind of instructions from Bakóc while he was still in Esztergom, which he could fulfil by making a detour before they arrived in Győr. From then on, he returned to his original plan and journeyed in the direction of the Drava. From the whole journey, it is only some of the Transdanubian settlements that could be hardly identified, and the uncertain transcriptions of names strengthen the hypothesis that the author was moving as a complete stranger in a region that was unknown to him. Even though it can be felt on the Austrian section as well that the German place names are foreign to him, since they were joining the route that he had chosen, and from which he may have received earlier information, their movement is easy to follow, and the place names are identifiable. Naturally, on this part of the journey the geographical conditions did not allow them to choose alternative routes. After Villach, when arriving in Italy, the entries of the book of accounts become truly confident and animated. It was noticeable already at the first, superficial reading that the author felt most in his element during this part of the journey. This impression has also strengthened the hypothesis that the author of the book of accounts must one of the Italian courtiers of Ippolito.

Travel time

The itinerary of the 1501 journey, the travel time and the speed that can be calculated from these becomes interesting when compared with various other Italian journeys. Ippolito's journey in 1520 lasted from 7 February until 25 March, or 48 days in total. Not counting the time, they spent in Buda and Esztergom, the bishop and his retinue reached Italy in 32 days. Of these, the Hungarian part of the journey, from Eger to Bruck, counting the actual travel time, was completed in 14 days. The Austrian and Italian parts of the journey described above were covered in nine days each.⁵⁸ (This calculation considers the speed of the fastest members of the company, comprising Ippolito and his direct escort, without considering those who were lagging behind.) In conse-

⁵⁷ C. Tóth, "Erdődi Bakóc Tamás érsek rokonsága: Rekonstrukciós kísérlet," 11–12.

⁵⁸ E. Kovács, "Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon," 107–8.

quence, according to the calculations of E. Kovács, the bishop and his retinue were able to maintain a speed of 20–25 km a day even on the mountain roads, while on level ground, they could even cover an average of 35–40 km a day.⁵⁹ Floreno and his companions left Eger on 25 June 1501, and arrived in Ferrara in the afternoon of 20 July. Their journey took 26 days in total. Of these, deducting the days of 29–30 June spent in Esztergom, the days of rest on 7 July in Radkersburg and 12 July in Villach, they spent 22 days on the road. They covered the Eger–Radkersburg distance in ten, the Austrian part in seven, and the Italian part in five days. Based on the data, they covered 50–60 km a day on average, and it was only on the harder mountain terrain that their daily performance was reduced to around 40 kilometers per day (on the parts between Radkersburg–Maribor, Maribor–Marenberg, Villach–Tarvisio, and Riasutto–Venzone). This speed is not extraordinary in the context of Hungary and Italy. In his universal chronicle (*I Diarii*), Marin Sanudo recorded the time of departure and arrival of couriers as well. Based on this it is easy to see that correspondence posted in Buda in the direction of Venice needed 2–3 weeks to arrive.⁶⁰ When translated into numbers, this means that the distance of approximately 750 km could be covered under this amount of time in daily instalments of 45–50 km. Based on the correspondence of István Várdai, canon of Várad,⁶¹ later archbishop of Kalocsa, chief and secret chancellor (*summus et secretarius cancellarius*),⁶² written from Ferrara between 1447–1449, Dávid Molnár examined the same question. He ultimately accepts the 46 km daily average for 750 km, and thus supposes that Várdai's letters covered the Buda–Ferrara distance with ease in 2–3 weeks.⁶³ However, Dávid Molnár is wrong in the sense that the Buda–Ferrara distance is closer to 950 km. Therefore using 46 km as an average speed, the couriers would barely cover the distance in three weeks. The 50–60 km daily average speed maintained by Floreno and his escort is much more realistic. This calculation is confirmed by Dorottya Kriston as well, who refers to a letter of Francesco Fontana⁶⁴ in her investigation into the spreading of the news

⁵⁹ E. Kovács, 108.

⁶⁰ E. Kovács, 109.

⁶¹ Kristóf, “‘Vester Stephanus de Warda scholaris iuris canonici.’ Várdai István egyetemi éveit Itáliában..”

⁶² After his coronation in 1464, King Matthias Corvinus united the former chief and secret chanceries into one office, under the leadership of two chief and secret chancellors of equal rank.

⁶³ Molnár, “Egy ezüstcsempész kanonok?: Várdai István itáliai peregrinációs költségei (1448–1449),” 91–92.

⁶⁴ Francesco Fontana, physician of Ferrara, a diplomat of King Matthias, nephew to Gabriele Rangoni bishop of Eger (1476–86). Kristóf, „Gabriele Rangone (Veronai Gábor) pályája (1410/20–1486),” 66.

of King Matthias's death. According to Fontana, the 620 km distance between Vienna and Milan was comfortably covered by a rider in ten days, and based on her research, Dorottya Kriston also judged the 60 km as a daily speed to be a comfortable average.⁶⁵ A similar conclusion is reached by Tamás Fedeles in connection with the speed of medieval pilgrims. A traveller on foot could cover 25–40 km a day on average, a merchant travelling by cart an average of 30–45 km a day, and a rider in haste could cover 50–60 km a day on average.⁶⁶ In sum, Floreno and his companions covered the Eger–Ferrara distance of nearly 1100 km with the speed of an average courier. This speed presupposes that they set off in a small group, with nearly identical equipment, and little baggage. As the book of accounts contains no individual data, we can only make assumptions concerning the identities of the travellers based on their expenses.

The expenses

The everyday expenses can be divided into two groups, and are recurring elements in the book of accounts. The recorded expenses were structured by the needs of the people and the provisions required for the horses. In the case of the travellers, lunches and dinners were recorded, and in some cases probably the costs of accommodation and the expenses related to the horses were recorded together, whereupon they entered the amount paid with the simple formula 'all counted together' (*omnibus computatis solvi/exposui*). The price of accommodation as an independent entry is given by Floreno only in Radkersburg; on the days of rest, in Villach, Venzon and Treviso, he makes references to their lodgings for the night, and on these occasions, he records higher amounts compared to the average expenses. Based on their costs, we may suppose that these particular lodgings represent a higher level of service.

Besides these costs, looking after the horses appeared among the expenses on a daily basis. They purchased hay and oats for them every day, and on average they spent some money every other day on maintenance or mending the harnesses. They purchased medicine for the horses in Esztergom, and wheat in Győr, on one occasion each. It seems certain that every traveller made the whole journey on horseback. There is no reference to carriages or carts in the book of accounts, and they were travelling light. All of these data are in line with the conclusions drawn from the speed of the travelling party. In fact, we

⁶⁵ Kriston, "Újabb források Mátyás király halálhírének történetében," 85.

⁶⁶ Fedeles, *Isten nevében utazunk: Zarándokok, búcsújárás, kegyhelyek a középkorban*, 222–23. Further data: courier riding post 130–135 km/day; Spanish and French extraordinary couriers 150–200 km/day; river boat downstream 100–150 km/day; sea sailboat up to 120–200 km/day; and a fast galley 200 km/day.

can claim that based on the accounts they had an uneventful journey, as no unexpected payment can be found in the book of accounts. It is noticeable that, in total, they spent approximately the same amount on provisions for horses as for people. Apart from the daily expenses, we can find river crossings and hiring mountain guides on the side of expenses (on 28 June, the fee for crossing the Danube; on 8 July they hired two servants, for 1 florins each between Radkersburg and Maribor, and on 9 July between Maribor and Marenberg; on 13 July at Tarvisio the fee for the mountain guide; on 16 July the price for the crossing of the Tagliamento, on 17 July crossing the Piave and on 18 July the Po). I have left the largest expense to the last: the payment for the armed escort. On the Eger–Győr section, ten armed men escorted the travellers, for a payment of 12 fl. 50 d. On the Szentgotthárd–Radkersburg section they had eight riders accompanying them whose payments, including their accommodation, added up to 5 fl. 50 denars. On the later parts of the journey there is no sign of their having hired armed men. The question arises: why did they need an armed escort? The entries in the bishopric’s books of accounts recorded such expenses exclusively on the occasions when they wanted to transport larger amounts of money to Ferrara.⁶⁷ It is in fact not an unlikely hypothesis that Floreno as outgoing governor was carrying a larger sum to his master. It is interesting to note that whenever he writes about dismissing the armed men, Floreno always uses the first person singular: ‘they were escorting me’, ‘they were coming with me’—undoubtedly, he was the most important person, and must have been carrying the valuables. In other entries, however, he often uses the first person, plural: ‘we had breakfast’, ‘we had dinner’, ‘we had a rest’, etc. The hypothesis of sending money is supported by the fact that in the books of accounts for the year 1501,⁶⁸ there are no larger sums sent to Ippolito, which were meticulously recorded in all other years, and the court in Ferrara awaited the money arriving from Eger with unconcealed greed. In this unusual situation, as I have shown above, Floreno handed the position in Eger over to Lardi, but it was not necessary to record the clear profits of the Eger bishopric’s incomes, as Floreno could take personal responsibility for getting the money to its destination, and it is possible that they also used this amount to cover the costs of the journey as well. This would explain the independent survival of the book of accounts, since the expenses created during the journey could not be properly recorded either in Eger or in Ferrara. This could also explain the seem-

⁶⁷ In 1507 Bakóc insisted that 17 of his armed men protected the money sent to Ippolito between Esztergom and Vienna. Lardi carefully recorded that the Archbishop’s generosity cost 18 florins, since the fee of the escort was paid by the Eger court. ASMo ASE AC AdP 716. (Vestigia database no. 2291); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 263.

⁶⁸ ASMo ASE AC AdP 712., 713., 714. (Vestigia database no. 2233., 2288., 2289).

ingly simple style of travelling, the speed, and possibly even why they did not choose the busier Ungarweg. It appears from the book of accounts that Floreno paid for the expenses of his companions as well, as opposed to the 1520 journey of Ippolito, when members of the retinue received a salary, and based on the amount meted out in this way, they provided for themselves along the way.⁶⁹ We may suspect that one of Floreno's companions was the groom called Inber from Ferrara who received his severance payment from the new governor Lardi in the days before the departure.⁷⁰ Regarding the size of the company, we may have one more piece of information to guide us. On 16 July Floreno recorded, in connection with the costs of crossing the Tagliamento, that they had paid the ferryman for five horses. Judging from this, it is probably not too farfetched to conclude that the company travelling from Eger to Ferrara in the summer of 1501 must have numbered at least two, and at most five persons.

The total of the book of accounts was 99 florins. Floreno calculated in florins (fl.) all along the journey, distinguishing only the locally used currencies of change from each other. Any amount below one florin here recorded in Hungary in denars (d.), in Austria in kreuzers (c.), and in Italy in bagattinos (β).⁷¹ From adding up the expenses it appears that he used a 1:1 rate for exchanging and settling the entries recorded in the diverse currencies.⁷²

Out of the 99 fl. expenses 18 fl. (18%) was the fee for the armed escort, which is undoubtedly the largest item among the journey's expenses. The remaining 81 fl. covered the expenses of the travellers and the horses. If we consider the highest possible number of travellers, i.e. five, and the distance of 1100 km as calculated above, with 81 fl, it means that 68 km cost 1 gold florin. This sum was not extraordinarily high when compared to the expenses of contemporary travellers, and it allowed them to travel in average comfort, although this is not indicated by the laconic entries in the book of accounts. In 1447, the Hungarian journey of Gergely, a servant of István Várdai, cost a similar amount, with approximately 60 km costing 1 fl.⁷³ In connection with the trial over the tithes

⁶⁹ E. Kovács, "Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon," 124.

⁷⁰ ASMo ASE AC AdP 713. (Vestigia database no. 2288); E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 108.

⁷¹ Commonly known as "small denars." The currency was used in the cities of Northern Italy, Padova, Treviso, Ferrara, Modena and Venice from the end of the 13th century.

⁷² As a result of the decree of the year 1467 King Matthias succeeded in stabilising the exchange rate between the florin and the denar. 1 gold florin = 100 silver denars. This exchange rate was successfully maintained over nearly 50 years, and not even King Vladislaus II was forced to make changes. The Hungarian gold florin was for a long time considered to be of equal value with the Venetian ducat. Gyöngyössi, "Magyar pénztörténet (1000–1526)," 252., 264., 267.

⁷³ Molnár, "Egy ezüstcsempész kanonok? Várdai István itáliai peregrinációs költségei (1448–1449)," 92.

of Sasad, the journey of Simon of Treviso and his companions from Vienna to Rome in 1453 likewise cost 1 fl per person for every 60 km.⁷⁴ By contrast, the budget of the majority of pilgrims in the 15th and 16th centuries was considerably smaller. In the wills of the burghers of Pressburg, from the amounts dedicated to pilgrimages 1 fl could cover as many as 100–150 km.⁷⁵ If we continue to use a five-member group and a 26-day journey for our calculations, it means that the daily allowance, including provisions for the horses, came up to 62 denars per person. Since Floreno often recorded all expenses related to men and horses as one item, we can only guess the daily “subsistence allowance” of the travellers. As I have presented above, approximately equal proportions of daily expenses were spent on the travellers and horses respectively, therefore we may approximate the amount spent daily on each traveller as roughly 31 denars. This daily amount could be regarded as particularly high even when compared to the expenses of Ippolito’s 1520 journey, because members of the bishop’s retinue, when we deduct their salary and other cost-reducing factors from the daily expenses, received an average of 14 denars per person.⁷⁶ We have reason to suppose that the approximately 30 denars/day allowance in 1501 granted the former governor of the bishopric of Eger and his companions a level of comfort comparable to that of the elite of the bishop’s retinue in the year 1520. Furthermore, we can also claim that this daily budget helps to complete the picture that we have assembled from small data, and the data deduced by comparing diverse sources support each other. I believe that it could be successfully proved that it was indeed Ludovico Floreno who returned to Ferrara with a small retinue in the summer of 1501, and in spite of the scant data found in the book of accounts, we have been able to reconstruct even the conditions of their journey.

Ludovico Floreno fulfilled his mission, arrived in Ferrara, and successfully gave an account of the expenses accrued during his journey. His later career, however, is lost in the mists of time, and we can only hope that systematic archival research in the near future will unearth further biographical data concerning his person.

⁷⁴ C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan a 15. században. II. A sasadi tizedper 1452–1465 közötti „krónikája”*, 30.

⁷⁵ Csukovits, *Középkori magyar zarándokok*, 91–99.

⁷⁶ E. Kovács, “Egy középkori utazás emlékei: Estei Hippolit utolsó utazása Magyarországon,” 126–27.

The source

When transcribing the Latin text, I have expanded the abbreviations, taking into consideration the linguistic features of each, with the exception of the currencies (fl. = florenum, d. = denarius, c. = kreuzer, β = bagattino). Geographical names and names of months were uniformly capitalised. The apparatus contains crossed-out words and notes helping the interpretation.

On the final page of the booklet we can find calculations, notes probably hastily scribbled as reminders, together with a bookkeeping fragment⁷⁷ whose contents are not connected to the accounts. It would appear that some kind of leftover paper was used for recording the expenses during the journey.

Reference code: ASMo ASE AC AdP 711., old archival reference code: Reg. 34.; Microfilm: HU-MNL-OL-X 1996, MF 8619; Vestigia database no. 828.

<1 r.> [Ag]ria	Recessi de Agria 25	
1501	Iunii 1501	
	Fecimus prandium in Tothfalu ⁷⁸ et exposui	fl. 0 ⁷⁹ d. 28
	Fecimus cenam in Gionges ⁸⁰ et nil solvimus	
	Eodem die premisi unum famulum ad capiendum hospitium in Pesth ⁸¹ et dedi medium fl. pro emendo feno et pro expensis suis	fl. 0 d. 75
	d. 25	
	26 Iunii	
	Fecimus prandium in Hathwan ⁸² et exposui	fl. 0 d. 90
	Fecimus cenam in Hyssa zech ⁸³	fl. 0 d. 93
	28 Iunii die dominicae ⁸⁴	
	Fecimus prandium in Pesth et exposui	fl. 0 d. 49
	Exposui in avena ibi in Pesth	fl. II

⁷⁷ In the accounting fragment the names of the settlements Mirra (Tarnaméra), Pyspeky (Gyöngyöspüspöki), Solmos (Gyöngyössolymos) appear, which can be found in the same order, with the same amounts paid in the Eger book of accounts for the year 1500. ASMo ASE AC AdP 710., (Vestigia database no. 2232). E. Kovács, *Estei Hippolit püspök egrí számadáskönyvei (1500–1508)*, 8.

⁷⁸ Tótfalu, today Tófalva

⁷⁹ crossed out: d

⁸⁰ Gyöngyös

⁸¹ Pest

⁸² Hatvan

⁸³ Isaszeg

⁸⁴ As 28 June 1501 was feria II, he most probably made a mistake/an error in the dates and they arrived in Pest on 27, a Sunday.

In cena ⁸⁵ in Pesth exposui	fl. 0 d. 51
29 Iunii	
In Pesth pro prandio exposui	fl. 0 d. 62
pro feraturis equorum	fl. 0 d. 12
pro stabulo in Pesth	fl. 0 d. 38
pro vino	fl. 0 d. 26
pro transitu Danubii ⁸⁶	fl. 0 d. 22
pro acceto et sale	fl. 0 d. 7
In Sancto ⁸⁷ pro cena	fl. I d. 10
Die 30 Iunii	
In Strigonio ⁸⁸ pro prandio	fl. I d. 7
Item spixi ⁸⁹ in avena	fl. II d. 21
pro cena	fl. 0 d. 62
Die ultimo Iunii ⁹⁰	
In Strigonio pro prandio	fl. 0 d. 96
pro cena	fl. 0 d. 93
pro feno exposui in Strigonio	fl. I
pro feraturis equorum	fl. 0 d. 24
pro medicina equorum	fl. 0 d. 16
<hr/>	
	<i>fl. 16 d. 92</i>
<1 v.> Die primo Iulii	
In Strigonio pro prandio	fl. I d. 21
pro avena	d. 56
In cena fuimus in Wfalu, ⁹¹ et non fecimus cenam, quia erat vigilia Visitationis	
pro feno	fl. 0 d. 58
pro vino	fl. 0 d. 31
pro feratura equorum	fl. 0 d. 35
I Wgnii ⁹² 2 ^o Iulii	
<hr/>	
⁸⁵ crossed out: cenas	
⁸⁶ Duna	
⁸⁷ Szántó a former village in the area of today's Pilisvörösvár	
⁸⁸ Esztergom	
⁸⁹ Probably an incorrectly conjugated form of the Italian verb 'spendere'.	
⁹⁰ As June is a 30-day month, the earlier scribal error was corrected in a way that the last day of the month was entered into the account twice, thus reestablishing the balance between the time passed and the calendar.	
⁹¹ Nyergesújfalu	
⁹² probably Bőny	

fecimus prandium	fl. ⁹³ 0 d. 82
pro feno et avena	fl. 0 d. 42
In Was ⁹⁴ fecimus cenam pro cena	fl. 0 d. 72
pro feno et avena	fl. 0 d. 62
3 Iulii in Conimarino ⁹⁵	
D. Episcopus ⁹⁶ dedit nobis prandium	
pro feno	d. 4
pro feraturis equorum	d. 16
Isto die, ⁹⁷ dum essem in Iaurino, ⁹⁸ remisi ad Agriam decem equites, qui mecum venerunt, quibus dedi pro expensis	fl. 12 d. 50
Cenam fecimus in Zagnii ⁹⁹ et exposui	fl. 0 d. 25
pro feno et siligone	fl. 0 d. 22
4 Iulii in Chiabad ¹⁰⁰	
in prandio exposui	fl. 0 d. 30
pro feno	fl. 0 d. 12
Cenam habuimus in uno castro domini Iauriensis gratis in Zombath ¹⁰¹	
5 Iulii in Monorok ¹⁰²	
Exposui ad prandium	fl. 0 d. 32
pro feraturis	fl. 0 d. 6
pro feno	fl. 0 d. 9
Cenam fecimus Zenthkortha ¹⁰³ et ibi exposui	fl. 0 d. 30
6 Iulii fecimus	
prandium in Lindwawar ¹⁰⁴ et ibi exposui pro prandio et feno	fl. 0 d. 47

⁹³ crossed out: I

⁹⁴ probably Ács

⁹⁵ Komárom

⁹⁶ Ferenc Szatmári, Bishop of Győr (1495–1508)

⁹⁷ In all probability, they left the Danube around Komárom and reached Győr on the Ács–Bőny route, i.e. the stops of the journey on 2 and 3 July are reversed in the accounts. I am grateful to Tibor Neumann for his help in identifying places of uncertain names.

⁹⁸ Győr

⁹⁹ Szany

¹⁰⁰ Vámoscsalád

¹⁰¹ Szombathely

¹⁰² Monyorókerék

¹⁰³ Szentgotthárd

¹⁰⁴ Felsőlendva

	Cenam fecimus in Rokspurk ¹⁰⁵ et diem sequentem ibi quievimus, videlicet VII Iulii	
	Solvi octo equestribus, qui me associarunt a Zenthkortha usque ad Rokspurk, pro expensis in redeundo	fl. IIII
	Item solvi eis hospitium	fl. I d. 50
	pro feraturis equorum	fl. 0 d. 90
<hr/>		
		<i>fl. 26 d. 81</i>
<2 r.>	Item solvi hospiti pro equis et personis	fl. 4 d. 4
	VIII Iulii fecimus	
	prandium in una villa et exposui pro comestione et avena	tres fl. d. 25
	Cenam fecimus in Malprwk ¹⁰⁶ e solvi	fl. II
	Item dedi duobus famulis, qui associarunt a Rokspwrk usque ad Malpwrk	f. II
	9 Iulii fecimus	
	prandium in una villa, quod vocatur Sancta Margareta ¹⁰⁷	
	Et pro prandio pro avena et pro feno solvi	fl. 0 d. 66
	Cenam fecimus in Malinbergh ¹⁰⁸ et omnibus computatis solvi	fl. I c. 44
	Item solvi duos fl. duobus, qui nos associarunt a Malpurgh usque ad Malinberg	fl. II
	10 Iulii fecimus	
	prandium in Hof Lovemind ¹⁰⁹ et exposui pro comestione avena et feno	fl. 0 c. 48
	Cenam fecimus in Felkimor ¹¹⁰ et ibi omnibus computatis solvi	fl. III
	XI Iulii in Lanfork ¹¹¹	
	fecimus prandium et omnibus computatis solvi	fl. I et c. 16
	Cenam fecimus in Vilacho ¹¹² et ibi stetimus etiam die sequenti, ubi in totum exposui	fl. 6
	Item pro feraturis equorum	d. 74

¹⁰⁵ Radkersburg/Regede

¹⁰⁶ Maribor

¹⁰⁷ a former suburb of Maribor

¹⁰⁸ Marenberg/Radlje ob Dravi

¹⁰⁹ Lavamünd

¹¹⁰ Völkermarkt: based on Sanudo: Sanudo, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto (1496–1533) dall'autografo Marciano Ital. Cl. VII Cod. CDXIX–CDLXXVII*, 58–59. Felchimorch è de sopra da Villaco 40 miglia nostrani. (Völkermarkt–Villach is 60 km in air distance, which may be the equal of the forty times 1,5–1,8 km distance on “public road.”) I am grateful to Márton Szovák for the data.

¹¹¹ Klagenfurt. Sanudo mentions it as Clanforth. Sanudo, 117–18.

¹¹² Villach

	XIII Iulii	
	Prandium fecimus in abbatia ¹¹³ et ibi exposui	fl. I
	Cenam fecimus in Trivisia ¹¹⁴ et ibi exposui	fl. I c. 60
	Item unum fl. obi ¹¹⁵ in Trivisia dedi officiali pro transitu equorum videlicet	fl. I
		<i>fl. 24 c. 27</i>
<2 v.>	XIIII Iulii fecimus	
	prandium in Malborgeth ¹¹⁶ et ibi exposui	fl. 0 c. 52
	Cenam fecimus in Riazuch ¹¹⁷ et ibi exposui	fl. III
	15 Iulii	
	prandium fecimus in Venzon ¹¹⁸ et ibi stetimus per totum diem et noctem exposui	fl. 4
	Item pro feraturis equorum	fl. 0 β 18 ¹¹⁹
	16 Iulii	
	prandium fecimus in Sancto Daniele, ¹²⁰ ubi omnibus computatis exposui	fl. I β 20
	Cenam fecimus in Sacille ¹²¹ et ibi exposui ad equos et ad personas	fl. II d 40
	Item ibi dedi officiali de passu pro quinque equis nudis ¹²²	fl. 0 β50
	Item in passu illorum de rangonibus pro dictis equis	fl. 0 β50
	17 Iulii	
	prandium fecimus in Coniara ¹²³ et ibi omnibus com putatis exposui	fl. I et β50
	Item pro transitu equis ad navem	fl. 0 β22
	Cenam fecimus in Trivisio ¹²⁴ et ibi dormivimus et ibi pernoctivimus et exposui omnibus computatis	fl. III

¹¹³ Benedictine abbey in Arnoldstein

¹¹⁴ Tarvisio

¹¹⁵ The context may show that this is a corrupted form of the adverb 'ibi'.

¹¹⁶ Malborghetto

¹¹⁷ Resiutta

¹¹⁸ Venzone

¹¹⁹ β = bagattino: commonly known as "small denars." The currency was used in the cities of Northern Italy, Padova, Treviso, Ferrara, Modena and Venice from the end of the 13th century.

¹²⁰ San Daniele del Friuli

¹²¹ Sacile

¹²² The following line crossed out: dictis.

¹²³ Conegliano

¹²⁴ Treviso

Item uni famulo quem misi Ferrariam ¹	fl. I
18 Iulii	
prandium fecimus in Novale ² et ibi exposui	fl. I β20
Cenam in Padua ³ et ibi exposui fl.	fl. III
In transitu equorum ad Anguillaria ⁴ exposui	fl. 0 β90
Item in transitu ad Pontarchium ⁵ exposui	fl. 0 β72
19 Iulii	
In Rodigio ⁶ exposui in cena ⁷	fl. III
XX Iulii	
In Ponte lacuscuri ⁸ pro prandio	fl. II et d. 20
<i>Summa fl. 99</i>	

(Translated by Kinga Földvály)

¹ Ferrara

² Noale

³ Padova

⁴ Anguillara Veneta

⁵ Pontecchio Polesine

⁶ Rovigo

⁷ Instead of the correct form 'cenam'.

⁸ Pontelagoscuro