

DER HOF KAISER SIGISMUNDS

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SIGISMUND OF LUXEMBOURG AND THE VETERANS OF THE “BOSNIAN WARS”

Bosnia and Hungary had a long history of military conflicts before the age of King Sigismund. In fact, these neighbours had been in almost permanent dispute since the 12th century. While Bosnia sought to retain its independence, Hungary wanted to include the Bosnian state in the Realm of St Stephen. Although the influence of Hungary was at times decisive, it failed to impose full authority over its smaller neighbour¹.

The Bosnian state expanded from a rather small core in the region between present-day Sarajevo and Zenica. Even after it had increased its territory, it was protected by natural barriers such as mountains and narrow gorges, which were overlooked by a series of forts. Even if attackers penetrated this wall of defence, they were unable to establish permanent rule due to a lack of manpower and a harsh climate in winter. Bosnian rulers and nobles either retreated to mountain refuges, waiting for the end of the military season, or used the advantage of well-known terrain to deliver military blows to the enemy. Larger Hungarian campaigns against Bosnia, usually organised or led by its kings, were somewhat more successful, especially in the periods of internal strife between the Bosnians, but their territorial gains were only temporary. With the exception of the mainly lowland regions of Usora and Soli, south of the river Sava, and western Hum in the period between 1357 and 1382, no other part of the Bosnian state was controlled by Hungarian troops or fort garrisons for more than a few years up to 1463².

Diplomatic and military wars between the Hungarian King Louis I of Anjou and the Bosnian Ban Tvrtko in the late 1350s and early 1360s provide examples of three types of veterans that emerged from such conflicts. These types are identical to the ones we shall encounter during Sigismund's “Bosnian Wars”³. Both sides acknowledged their heroes, enemies and a third group consisting of traitors and those who changed sides during the conflict. In the charters, the heroes were adorned with epithets of fidelity, devotion and loyal service, while the enemies were more often presented as a collective body. Only in rare cases were the key players of the opposing party directly named. The Bosnians

1 ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija Bosne* 40–80.

2 ĆOROVIĆ, *Teritorialni* 3–47; MRGIĆ RADOJČIĆ, *Rethinking* 43–64.

3 CD *Zichy* 3, no. 156, 170; *Hazai oklevéltár*, no. 253; ŠIŠIĆ, *Körmend*, no. 13–15; *Héderváry-család oklevéltára*, ed. RADVANSZKY, *ZÁVODSZKY*, no. 62; THALLÓCZY, *Studien* 16–27, 58–64, 332f., 336–347; *Documenta Valachorum*, no. 127; ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija Bosne* 121–132; ANČIĆ, *Klatno* 153–173; ENGEL, *Zur Frage* 31–35; ENGEL, *Neki problemi* 61–65; *Wass család levéltára*, ed. KOVÁCS, no. 130f.

were known to be a nation of heretics, notorious infidels, perfidious enemies and, in the later period, followers of the Turks. The traitors were always personally named and often depicted in the same or more expressive way than the enemies – as infidels, perjurers, reprobates⁴. The line between war heroes and traitors was often thin, especially in the marcher regions on the border between the feuding states. Motivated either by the presence of large, victorious armies or by the ideas of security and the elevation of their own positions, marcher lords were prone to switching sides, temporarily or for good – depending on circumstances and the general situation. In such a way, the traitors of one side could become the heroes of the other and vice versa. Sometimes it happened in multiple iterations. The family of the Hrvatinić offer a good example⁵.

Since the beginning of his 50-year reign in Hungary, King Sigismund of Luxembourg was entangled in conflicts with Bosnia which lasted, in various stages, until his death. Although these conflicts that we shall call the “Bosnian Wars” were both militarily and politically peripheral in comparison with some other challenges that Sigismund encountered during his long rule, they were not regarded as irrelevant by contemporaries, nor should they be treated as such by historians⁶. These wars not only shortened Sigismund’s influence in Bosnia, but also deprived him of certain territories (Dalmatia, and parts of Croatia, Slavonia and Southern Hungary), especially in the periods between 1387 and 1394, and between 1398 and 1409⁷. In three cases the conflict with Bosnia coincided with the rebellion of Hungarian nobles (in 1387, 1401 and 1403). The rebels, willingly or unwillingly, joined the Bosnians in a league that supported Ladislav of Naples, pretender to the Hungarian throne, son of Sigismund’s predecessor Charles (II) of Durazzo⁸. Even after the end of the third revolt of nobles, when most of them were pardoned, large parts of the Realm of St Stephen remained in Bosnian hands. Ultimately, they were not retaken by the power of a victorious army, but through a change in the political orientation of the prominent Bosnian marcher lord Hrvoje Vukčić⁹. Six times Sigismund intervened in Bosnia, leading his armies in person (in 1394, 1398, 1405, 1407, 1408 and 1410). But

4 For instance: ZsO 1, no. 1669; ZsO 2.2, no. 6311; ZsO 6, no. 320; ZsO 10, no. 1531; ZsO 12, no. 927.

5 Šišić, Hrvoje, *passim*; MRGIĆ RADOJČIĆ, *Donji Kraji* 42–108.

6 RAČKI, *Pokret*; ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija Bosne* 150–271; MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund* 13–15, 17, 21, 37f., 43, 61, 75, 77, 107, 113f., 129–131, 139–142, 161–164; HOENSCH, *Sigismund* 51, 71–76, 89, 111–113, 138f., 164, 283, 342, 438; ENGEL, *Realm* 195–208, 210, 233–236, 264; FINE, *Balkans* 394–398, 453–468, 472–478.

7 ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija Bosne* 169–227; ANČIĆ, *Bosanska vlast*, *passim*; ANČIĆ, *Klatno* 202–233; LOVRENOVIĆ, *Klizište* 23–148; ISAILOVIĆ, *Politika* 23–184.

8 On Ladislav see: HÓMAN, *Angioini* 442–535; CUTOLO, *Ladislao*, *passim*; FILIPOVIĆ, *Colluding* 361–389.

9 Šišić, *Hrvoje* 23–237; LOVRENOVIĆ, *Vitez* 257–294; MRGIĆ RADOJČIĆ, *Donji Kraji* 42–108; LOVRENOVIĆ, *Klizište* 23–220; ISAILOVIĆ, *Politika* 23–215.

even his decisive victories near Dobor Castle (in 1394 and 1408) turned out to be of short duration and without lasting consequences¹⁰. Two attempts to achieve his coronation as King of Bosnia – in 1395 and 1410 – failed due to the direct or indirect opposition of Bosnian magnates¹¹. Finally, the disastrous defeat of the Hungarian army by the Turks, summoned by Hrvoje Vukčić, in the Lašva valley in 1415, was one of the most cited tragedies in Sigismund’s charters and in the diplomatic practice of his officials’ chanceries¹².

As mentioned above, Sigismund fought the Bosnians for decades. Times of peace and cooperation existed, but they were burdened by distrust and the inner divisions of Bosnia. During the first three decades of the 15th century, the Bosnian higher nobility acquired a great level of autonomy from the central authority. Most of the nobles who became powerful during the Hungarian-Bosnian Wars began to fight among themselves and follow their own policies¹³. In the same period, Turkish influence rose, sometimes backed by local magnates¹⁴. Thus, Sigismund could never count on the support of “all Bosnia” and that is why he harboured suspicion towards its elite, even in times of peace. A specific organisation of the so-called Bosnian Church, which was considered heretical and to which most of the country belonged, did not contribute to a softening of the King’s attitude. Catholic missionaries were active, but they did not gain much ground in Sigismund’s era. Similarly, the organisation of crusades against the Turks did not gain momentum and Bosnia did not play any significant role in the military projects that were ongoing at the time. In fact, the Bosnians were a possible target of crusading actions themselves¹⁵.

There were many stages of Sigismund’s “Bosnian Wars”. The first one lasted from his ascension to the throne in 1387 to the defeat of the Horváti family near Dobor in 1394¹⁶. The second phase started in 1398, when Bosnian magnates deposed Queen Jelena Gruba, the widow of the late King Dabiša. With the election of a new king, Ostoja, they adopted a new and unfriendly position towards Hungary and Sigismund’s claims to the Bosnian

10 Itinerar, hg. HOENSCH 59, 65, 75, 78–80, 84; Itineraria, ed. ENGEL, C. TÓTH 68, 74f., 84, 86–89, 91f.; ZsO 14, no. 530.

11 ANČIĆ, Na rubu Zapada 14–20, 262–267; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 73–81, 143–168; FOSTIKOV, Jelena Gruba 29–44.

12 LOVRENOVIĆ, Lašva 275–295; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 175–212; KRANZIERITZ, A Lašva 959–986; ISAILOVIĆ, The Battle. See footnote 39.

13 ČIRKOVIĆ, Istorija Bosne 166–250; ČIRKOVIĆ, Rusaška gospoda 5–17.

14 ŠABANOVIĆ, Turska vlast 37–51; ČIRKOVIĆ, Istorija Bosne 176, 184f., 193f., 207, 240–250, 253–271; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 179–195, 215–277.

15 ČOŠKOVIĆ, Crkva 217–442; LOVRENOVIĆ, Modeli 9–57; FINE, Bosnian Church, passim.

16 ČIRKOVIĆ, Istorija Bosne 153–174; MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 13–38; HOENSCH, Sigismund 51, 71–76; ENGEL, Realm 201f.; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 23–81.

throne¹⁷. The conflicts, which were sporadic, did not finally end until 1411, but resumed in 1413 until 1415 when the Turks intervened and delivered a severe blow to Hungary in the Battle of Lašva¹⁸. During all these phases, Hrvoje Vukčić remained either Sigismund's principal antagonist or his most distrusted ally. This marcher lord from Western Bosnia hailed from a notable family of the Hrvatinićs who served both Hungarian and Bosnian rulers, and were disposed to change sides, depending on the political climate. In the early 14th century they were clients of Croatian magnates, the Šubići of Bribir, but in 1322 they switched sides and supported the claims of the Bosnian Ban Stephen (Stjepan) II. However, during the conflict between Louis I of Anjou and Stephen's successor Tvrtko (from 1357 to 1363) many members of the family deserted their Bosnian suzerain. By a decree of Louis I, they exchanged their forts and lands in Bosnia for estates in Slavonia, in the County of Križevci (Körös). Hrvoje's father Vukac remained loyal to Tvrtko and rose to greater power in the Western Marches, called Donji Kraji (i.e. Lower Regions)¹⁹.

During Louis's and Tvrtko's "honeymoon of peace" in the 1370s, which included the latter's coronation as King of the Serbs and Bosnia, Hrvoje seemed to be connected to both rulers' courts. However, after the Hungarian king's death and the ensuing civil war, he became the principal general in Tvrtko's offensive armies. He and his brother Vuk swiftly regained the whole region of Donji Kraji. Alongside the leaders of the rebellion against Queen Mary and her husband King Sigismund (Ivan of Paližna and the Horváti brothers) they also attacked counties in Slavonia. When they ultimately failed to gain ground there, as well as in Srem (Syrmia), in 1387/1388, their campaign was redirected to Croatia and Dalmatia, which they partly occupied by the summer of 1390²⁰. Even after King Tvrtko's death (in March 1391), Hrvoje supported the Hungarian pretender Ladislas of Naples and was *de facto* ruler of Southern Croatia and Dalmatia until 1394²¹. After the dissolution of the coalition with the Horváti and their defeat at Dobor in 1394, Hrvoje and Vuk Vukčić, together with the Bosnian King Dabiša, made peace with Sigismund and retreated from those parts of Hungary which they controlled²². Despite his ostensibly dual allegiance, dating from the summer of 1393, which should have been transferred

17 Šišić, Hrvoje 127–134; ĆIRKOVIĆ, Istorija Bosne 174–186, 192–204; HOENSCH, Sigismund 89; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 85–94; SCHWEDLER, Rituelle Diplomatie 418–420.

18 Šišić, Hrvoje 127–237; ĆIRKOVIĆ, Istorija Bosne 192–214, 240–244; MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 139f.; HOENSCH, Sigismund 111–113, 138f., 283; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 95–212.

19 Šišić, Hrvoje 23–237; MRGIĆ RADOJČIĆ, Donji Kraji 42–108; MRGIĆ RADOJČIĆ, Povelja 167–184.

20 ANČIĆ, Bosanska vlast 8–35; HOENSCH, Sigismund 71, 74; ĆIRKOVIĆ, Kosovska bitka 53f., 60–65; ANČIĆ, Klatno 202–233; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 30–65; GRAČANIN, Ivan Paližna 237–267.

21 ANČIĆ, Bosanska vlast 36–83; MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 37f.; ISAILOVIĆ, Politika 27–51.

22 ĆIRKOVIĆ, Đakovački 3–10; ŽIVKOVIĆ, Odmazda 103–134; MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 38, 139;

solely to Sigismund after Dabiša's death (1395), Hrvoje became principal leader of the anti-Hungarian party²³. When Sigismund intervened against that party in 1398, he failed to defeat it, only prompting Vukčić to capture another Slavonian county – the County of Dubica, which he held until 1402. In this period, Hrvoje severely pressurised the neighbouring nobles of Sigismund's realm, especially the noble kindreds of Blagajski and Zrinski²⁴. During the second rebellion against the King of Hungary, in 1401, Vukčić, the Bosnian King Ostoja and most of the magnates of Bosnia supported Ladislav of Naples in his renewed claim for the Hungarian throne. The fact that the rebellions of 1401 and 1403 were ephemeral did not prevent the Bosnians from regaining Southern Croatia and Dalmatia by the end of 1403, with the notable help of the Neapolitan navy²⁵.

Hrvoje became Duke of Split (Spalato) and formed his own personal state between the river Sava and the Adriatic Sea. In 1404 he deposed King Ostoja who had an unbalanced policy, and engaged in negotiations with Sigismund, only to put the young and easily manageable Tvrtko II on the throne²⁶. Sigismund's armies intervened every year from 1404 to 1408, with the King coming personally to Bosnia on three occasions (1405, 1407 and 1408). Many Hungarian magnates and nobles distinguished themselves in these campaigns (János Maróti, Filippo Scolari i.e. Pipó Ozorai, Péter Perényi etc.), but none of them inflicted a blow strong enough to topple Bosnian domination in the southernmost part of the Realm of St Stephen. Even the occupation of an important fort of Srebrenik and the informal capital Bobovac (the fortress in which the Bosnian crown was kept), where the deposed King Ostoja was installed as a pro-Hungarian puppet ruler, had no serious effect on the overall situation. It was Hrvoje's dissent with his previous partners that brought their mutual cause to an end²⁷. Ladislav of Naples was retreating

HOENSCH, Sigismund 74–76; ENGEL, Realm 201f.; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 70–79; FINE, Balkans 454–458; FILIPOVIĆ, Bosna i Turci 273–301.

23 ĆIRKOVIĆ, Istorija Bosne 173–186, 192–197; ISAILOVIĆ, Povelja 87–97; SCHWEDLER, Rituelle Diplomatie 418–420.

24 Alsó-szlavóniai okmánytár, ed. THALLÓCZY, HORVÁTH, no. 82; ŠIŠIĆ, Nekoliko isprava, no. 36; ZsO 1, no. 5410, 5433, 5437, 5438, 5557; ZsO 2.1, no. 29, 88, 521, 995; ČOŠKOVIĆ, Dubica 43–53; HOENSCH, Sigismund 89; ANČIĆ, Na rubu Zapada 18f., 261f.; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 87–96; KARBIĆ, MILJAN, Pavao I. 99–102. It seems that Hrvoje was collaborating with the Turks since the mid-1390s, if not even earlier. See: TRPKOVIĆ, Tursko-ugarski sukobi 114–117; TOŠIĆ, Bosna i Turci 91–94; FILIPOVIĆ, Colluding 361–389.

25 ŠIŠIĆ, Hrvoje 132–158; ĆIRKOVIĆ, Istorija Bosne 194–203; MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 59–69, 171; HOENSCH, Sigismund 111–113; ENGEL, Realm 202–208; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 95–107; FINE, Balkans 459–463; ISAILOVIĆ, Politika 72–107.

26 ŠIŠIĆ, Hrvoje 159–187; ĆIRKOVIĆ, Istorija Bosne 195–204; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 101–115; ISAILOVIĆ, Politika 99–134.

27 ŠIŠIĆ, Važan izvor 135; ZsO 2.1, no. 3779, 3962, 4108–4110, 4122, 4153, 4168–4187, 4201, 4761, 5118;

from the Balkans, preoccupied with his Italian policy, while other Bosnian magnates such as Grand Voivode Sandalj Hranić Kosača and *Knez* (Count) Pavle Radinović, wanted to broaden their power and influence, which led them into conflict with Hrvoje²⁸. After the serious defeat of the Bosnian nobility near Dobor in 1408, Hrvoje made peace with Sigismund and accepted his suzerainty²⁹. He was not followed by the rest of the magnates, who deposed King Tvrtko II only to return Ostoja, the former pro-Hungarian pretender to the throne³⁰. In 1410 Hrvoje was named Viceroy of Bosnia after he promised to bestow the Crown of Bosnia upon Sigismund. Sigismund's army entered Bosnia twice in 1410, but failed to accomplish its goal. The King had to be satisfied with some forts and towns that Hrvoje relinquished³¹.

After this campaign Sigismund adopted a more diplomatic approach by putting aside his claim to the crown. Finally, he made peace with the Bosnian king and nobility in 1411 and seemingly put an end to the long-lasting war³². All his Bosnian vassals – King Ostoja, Duke Hrvoje, Grand Voivode Sandalj Hranić and possibly *Knez* Pavle Radinović – took part in the convention and tournament in Buda in 1412, commemorating the Treaty of Lubowla between Sigismund and Władysław II of Poland³³. However, the policy of “divide and rule” was not fully successful, since both Sigismund and Hrvoje were displeased with each other. Hrvoje's position was in question, since he was no longer needed and could not be trusted, although he was made godfather to Sigismund's daughter in 1409³⁴. From 1413 to 1419 Sigismund was mainly abroad (in Italy and the

ZsO 2.2, no. 5231, 5255, 5312, 5334, 5531, 5552, 5593, 5613, 5635, 5637, 5706, 5710, 5720–5727, 5753, 5793, 5832, 5909, 5952, 6104, 6105, 6111–6134, 6325–6330, 6333–6335, 6347–6349, 6410, 6416–6418, 6492, 6496, 6524, 6534, 7134, 7633; ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija Bosne* 204–211; Itinerar, hg. HOENSCH 75, 78–80; HOENSCH, Sigismund 138f.; ENGEL, *Realm* 233f.; Itineraria, ed. ENGEL, C. TÓTH 84, 86–88; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 121–142; FINE, *Balkans* 463–465; ISAILOVIĆ, *Politika* 152–157, 164–166.

28 ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija Bosne* 214–227; ISAILOVIĆ, *Politika* 158–174.

29 Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten, hg. ALTMANN 20; ŠIŠIĆ, *Hrvoje* 202–206; DINIĆ, *Vindeke* 352–367; ZsO 2.2, no. 5909, 5952, 6104, 6105, 6111–6134, 6325–6330, 6333–6335, 6347–6349, 6410, 6416–6418, 6492, 6496, 6524, 6534, 7134, 7633; MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund* 55, 75f., 113f.; HOENSCH, Sigismund 138f.; ENGEL, *Realm* 210, 233f.; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 137–146; FINE, *Balkans* 465f.; ISAILOVIĆ, *Politika* 164–170; SCHWEDLER, *Rituelle Diplomatie* 416.

30 ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija Bosne* 209–212; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 143–148; ISAILOVIĆ, *Politika* 170–174.

31 *Diplomatarium Ragusanum*, ed. THALLÓCZY, GELCHICH 189–200; ZsO 2.2, no. 7641, 7675, 7835, 7880, 7882, 7944, 7965–7977, 7984–7994, 7997, 8013–8015, 8019, 8054, 8138; ENGEL, *Realm* 234; ANČIĆ, *Na rubu Zapada* 14–20, 262–267; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 148–154; FINE, *Balkans* 466f.; ISAILOVIĆ, *Jedan izvor* 135–145.

32 LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 166–168; FINE, *Balkans* 467f.

33 MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund* 107; HOENSCH, Sigismund 164; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 169–171; FILIPOVIĆ, *Viteške svečanosti* 285–306.

34 ŠIŠIĆ, *Hrvoje* 210–233; MRGIĆ RADOJČIĆ, *Donji Kraji* 90–93; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 144–146, 171–178.

Holy Roman Empire) and Hungarian policy was conducted by Queen Barbara and the barons. Hrvoje had a long-lasting cooperation with the Turks, but that issue was raised only after the Hungarian court and marcher nobles decided to make a move against him. In late spring of 1413 Vukčić was attacked because he was accused of pillaging the lands of Sandalj Hranić who was at the same time engaged in the civil war between the sons of Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I. Marcher lords from Slavonia (mainly from the County of Zagreb which was traditionally loyal to Sigismund) and Southern Hungary had a history of conflicts with Hrvoje and the Bosnians which seemed to have had a personal dimension. They most certainly enjoyed the support of the Hungarian court. Initially they were quite successful, occupying many of Vukčić's forts and possessions in both Donji Kraji and Croatia, and prompting his expulsion from Split³⁵.

Considering the possibility that his end was near, Hrvoje decided to summon the Turks – and justify his reputation. The presence of the Turks persuaded the other Bosnian nobles to withdraw their support for the campaigns against Hrvoje. After two years of extensive pillaging that reached the borders of Venice and Austria, the Ottomans returned to Bosnia in the summer of 1415³⁶. On 2nd July, in the valley of the River Lašva near present-day Travnik, they clashed with a large Hungarian army led by the elite of the Slavonian and South Hungarian nobility. This army was roundly defeated, probably with more or less direct Bosnian help³⁷. Many commanders of Sigismund's army were taken into captivity (János Maróti, Pál Csupor, János Garai, László Töttösi, Márton Ders, János Harap, Péter Szepesi, Rudolf Alben, István Cikó Pomázi, Frank de Gyula, Bertalan Fánecy Gordovai, two brothers from the Chep of Gherteniš family, etc.). Some of them died in prison, while the others returned to their homeland a few years later after paying a substantial ransom of 65,000 gulden (Garai, Maróti, Szepesi)³⁸. The sheer number of references to this battle in Sigismund's charters over the following years and decades tes-

35 Šišić, Hrvoje 226–232; MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 77, 139f.; ENGEL, Realm 235; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 171–178; FILIPOVIĆ, Bosansko kraljevstvo 214–225, 227f.

36 Šišić, Hrvoje 232–236; ČIRKOVIĆ, Dve godine 29–42; ZsO 4, no. 2373, 2379, 2384, 2528, 2741; ZsO 5, no. 161, 212, 416, 433, 532, 580, 610, 625, 636, 637, 639, 645, 703–705, 713; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 175–178, 180, 196–201; FINE, Balkans 468; ISAILOVIĆ, Mihailo Kabužić 395–397; ISAILOVIĆ, JAKOVLJEVIĆ, Šah Melek 441–453.

37 ČIRKOVIĆ, Dve godine 29–42; SZAKÁLY, Phases 79; MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 139f.; HOENSCH, Sigismund 138f., 283; ENGEL, Ungarn und die Türkengefahr 65f.; ENGEL, Realm 235f.; ČIRKOVIĆ, Posredovanje 232–239; LOVRENOVIĆ, Lašva 275–295; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 196–212.

38 Thuróczy, Chronicle, ed. MANTELLO 76–78; ČIRKOVIĆ, Posredovanje 229–240; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 205–212; KRANZIERITZ, A Lašva 959–986; FILIPOVIĆ, Bosansko kraljevstvo 227–250; ISAILOVIĆ, The Battle; BOLDEA, Două destine 26–30, 36. Pál Csupor was supposedly executed by Hrvoje Vukčić who had a personal grudge against him. Chronicles say that Hrvoje ordered Csupor to be sewn into ox-skin and thrown into a river. See footnote 52.

tifies to the impact and dimensions of the Hungarian defeat³⁹. On the other hand, Hrvoje died undefeated in 1416. The Ottoman Turks started to become an inevitable factor of Bosnian politics and the Hungarians withdrew from Bosnia for almost a decade⁴⁰.

In the early 1420s Sigismund chose a more subtle diplomatic approach to the Bosnian question. The political climate in Bosnia had already changed. Tvrtko II, who returned to his homeland as a Turkish pretender in 1420, was soon ready to reconsider his political orientation. The magnates, Kosačas and Pavlovićs, were on the steady road to full emancipation from royal authority, and Turkish influence was gradually growing stronger. In this atmosphere, instead of using military pressure or demands for the crown, the Hungarian king tried to win over Tvrtko and his nobility for the Christian cause in another manner. He distributed lands to the members of the Bosnian political elite and sent Catholic missionaries to their reportedly heretical land⁴¹. The Zlatonosovićs from the region of Usora were the first nobles of importance who concluded an agreement with Sigismund (circa 1415). Sandalj Hranić Kosača entered negotiations around 1422, while the Pavlović family remained under decisive Ottoman influence⁴². Relations between King Tvrtko II, previously Hrvoje's and the Turkish trustee, and King Sigismund grew warmer around 1425. At the same time, a Hungarian diplomatic mission was led by another veteran of the "Bosnian Wars", Pál Besenyő of Ózdöge, the unsuccessful commander of a campaign against Hrvoje Vukčić in the early 1400s⁴³. However, Sigismund's distrust of the invariably unreliable Bosnians was fixed. Therefore, the military plans drawn up by his court in 1432–33 did not rely on the Bosnians. They were disregarded as Christian allies and placed among the possible foes (along with the Hussites and the

39 ZsO 5, no. 791, 894, 925, 926, 953, 995, 1000, 1046, 1330, 1407, 1518, 1536, 1539, 1542, 1554f., 1561, 1566, 1573, 1580, 1597, 1605, 1768, 1782, 1901, 1939f., 1942, 1947, 1948, 1968, 2138, 2146, 2158, 2255, 2292, 2382, 2401, 2405, 2421, 2426, 2512, 2565, 2572; ZsO 6, no. 39, 71, 152, 168, 320, 457, 481, 496, 510, 514, 517, 528, 545, 627, 644, 662, 775, 800, 811, 881, 900, 902, 965, 1046, 1102, 1126, 1415, 1541, 1791, 1977, 1987, 2264; ZsO 7, no. 120, 148, 290, 302, 754, 1298, 1415, 1460; ZsO 13, no. 70; ZsO 15, no. 1083.

40 Šišić, Hrvoje 235–237; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 215–220; FILIPOVIĆ, Bosansko kraljevstvo 227–292.

41 ĆIRKOVIĆ, Istorija Bosne 249–261; ŽIVKOVIĆ, Tvrtko II 78–118, 183–188; ŠUNJIĆ, Bosna i Venecija 176–189; LOVRENOVIĆ, Modeli 9–57; ČOŠKOVIĆ, Crkva 73–118; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 226–241; FINE, Bosnian Church, passim.

42 ĆIRKOVIĆ, Istorija Bosne 246–261; ZsO 5, no. 654; ZsO 7, no. 2113; ENGEL, Zur Frage 30; ENGEL, Neki problemi 60f.; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 229–231; KURTOVIĆ, Sandalj 216–220, 255–259.

43 CDH X.5, no. 276; CD Zichy 8, no. 191; ZsO 2.2, no. 7641, 7663; ZsO 5, no. 995; ZsO 6, no. 481; ZsO 13, no. 1048, 1340; ZsO 15, no. 550; HOENSCH, Sigismund 112; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 232–235. Other participants in Sigismund's wars against Bosnia were also rewarded over the course of years. See: ZsO 6, no. 481, 1693, 1889, 1913; ZsO 7, no. 148, 290, 1415, 1460; ZsO 9, no. 251, 734; ZsO 10, no. 1275, 1293, 1359, 1531; ZsO 13, no. 897; ZsO 15, no. 1083; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 232f., 237f., 245f.

Turks) – not only because of the supposedly heretical nature of the Bosnian Church and frequent alliances with the Turks, but also because of the resentment which Sigismund and his nobles cultivated over a long period, winning the battles but losing the war⁴⁴.

Despite their differences, in the mid-1430s Tvrtko II's bonds with Catholicism and the Hungarian court grew stronger. Yet his policy was not without opposition. Some of the nobles, acting with the Turks, tried to crown the King's cousin, Radivoj Ostojić. Therefore, Tvrtko departed from his kingdom in 1434 and asked for the support of his Hungarian colleague. Matkó Tallóci (Talovac), Sigismund's favourite, intervened in 1434 and his partially successful military campaign led to a temporary retreat of the Ottoman army⁴⁵. In early 1436, Sigismund issued a series of charters, rewarding certain Bosnian allies from “his kingdom of Bosnia” (*de nostro regno Bozne*) for their services⁴⁶. Tallóci did not surrender all the castles he seized from the Turks to Tvrtko II, but instead kept some of them for himself. When the Bosnian king returned to his homeland and faced reality, he opted for an agreement with his nobles and the Sultan; soon after, all Hungarian fortresses in Bosnia were lost to the Ottomans⁴⁷. Sigismund did not find Grand Voivode Sandalj Hranić Kosača loyal either. In an internal struggle for power within Bosnia, Sandalj frequently sought support from the Turks. He was an ally of the Serbs who fought Tvrtko II in Usora and afterwards fell into conflict with Juraj Vojsalić, a nephew of Hrvoje Vukčić and an ally of Tvrtko II and Sigismund. These wars, although local, had a strong influence on the regional political climate. Sandalj died in March 1435 and his

44 *Quemadmodum prelati et barones regni Hungarie iam plures concitaverunt et moverunt regnicolas contra Hwzitas, sic et nunc relinquitur per maiestatem regiam arbitrio eorundem prelatorum et baronum, ut in levatione regnicolarum contra Hwzitas faciant illud, quod eis videbitur faciendum. Quia tarnen maiestas sua respectum et considerationem habet ad guerras, que tam ex parte Hwzytarum, quam Turcorum et aliunde habentur; et attento potissime, quod rex Bozne et Boznenses multis insolentiis et iniuriis affecerunt regnum et regnicolas Hungarie, ideo maiestas sua hoc respectu prelatos, barones et nobiles regni sui ordine subscripto divisit, si eis sic fiendum appareat, quorum una pars contra Turcos, alia contra Hwzitas, tertia contra Boznam continuum respectum pro regni defensione et hostium offensione habere teneantur, sicut hec divisio apparet in subscriptis.* DRH 1301–1457 416–419, 426f.; MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 136–138, 150f.; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 272–276. In a letter from circa 1410, a Hungarian nobleman made an interesting remark to László Töfftösi: *Boznenses rapinam diligunt, non iusticiam* (CD Zichy 12, no. 72; ISAILOVIĆ, Pogled iznutra 48f.).

45 ŽIVKOVIĆ, Tvrtko II 120–125, 150–152, 163–177; MÁLYUSZ, Kaiser Sigismund 98, 140; HOENSCH, Sigismund 438; ENGEL, Ungarn und die Türkengefahr 66; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 223–225, 235–238, 253–259, 263–265; FINE, Balkans 475f.; FILIPOVIĆ, Boravak 229–245.

46 RUDIĆ, Restoje 173–180; ISAILOVIĆ, Nekoliko podataka 153–177; RUDIĆ, TODORVIĆ, Povelja 211–224; ANČIĆ, Od zemlje 73–79, 85f.

47 SZAKÁLY, Phases 83; ŽIVKOVIĆ, Tvrtko II 171–188; ENGEL, Zur Frage 41f.; ENGEL, Neki problemi 72; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 255–257, 263–265; FINE, Balkans 475–478; FILIPOVIĆ, Bosansko kraljevstvo 309–341.

foes, including the Hungarian and Croatian nobility as well as the pro-Hungarian Bosnians, tried to take over the lands of the Kosača family, thus prompting Sigismund's last military engagement in Bosnia. However, the campaign ultimately failed. Shortly before his death, Sigismund decided to prevent a new era of disorder by negotiating with Sandalj's heir (Stjepan Vukčić Kosača) and confirming all his possessions⁴⁸.

Finally, we should address the central issue of the personalities involved in these prolonged "Bosnian Wars" of King Sigismund. Who were the heroes, enemies and traitors in the historical sources created by the king, his chancery and loyal nobles of the Realm of St Stephen? There are dozens of names in Hungarian charters, mostly those issued by Sigismund himself. Among the loyal heroes, the most distinguished were the Barons of the Realm. For instance, the Garai (Gorjanski) family acquired several charters between 1397 and 1455 in which their services to the king against the Bosnians and the rebels were prominently praised and rewarded⁴⁹. The same services were acknowledged to the Bebek and Kanizsai families shortly before their first rebellion in 1401⁵⁰. Some of the magnates rose to substantial reputation and power, partly due to their military engagement against the Bosnians. Such were the cases of the leaders of the campaigns in the 1390s and early 1400s – Antal Somkerekéi (defender of Knin), János Maróti, Ban of Mačva (1404, 1405), Péter Perényi (1405), Filippo Scolari i.e. Pipó (Spano) Ozorai (1406)⁵¹. Among those rewarded were also members of the families Alsáni, Károlyi, Lopataki, Macedóniai, Alben, Kórógyi, Rozgonyi, Losonci, Himfi, Kisvárdai, Upor, Szántói, Nagymihály, Marczali, Vajdalfalvai, Kállay, Nadasdy, Blagajski, Frankapan, as well as the castellans of some Hungarian fortresses in Bosnia and the leaders of the royal Vlachs from Croatia (such as Butko, son of Branko). The most celebrated heroes were those who suffered captivity or death after the Battle of Lašva in 1415. Despite their defeat and the heavy ransom to the Turks and Bosnians, the Hungarian court seemed

48 *Diplomatarium Ragusanum*, ed. THALLÓCZY, GELCHICH 390–392, 529; CDCF 1, no. 272; ČIRKOVIĆ, Herceg Stefan 8–15, 21f.; ROKAI, Poslednje godine 95–101; ŽIVKOVIĆ, Tvrtko II 173–181; TOŠIĆ, Drijeva 141–143; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 253–266; FINE, Balkans 476–478; KURTOVIĆ, Sandalj 329–334; SMILJANIĆ, Povelja 117–135.

49 CDH X.4, no. 313; CDH X.6, no. 396; CDH 11, no. 28; TELEKI, Hunyadiak kora 10, no. 223; CDP 7, no. 401; CD Zichy 5, no. 128; ŠIŠIĆ, Nekoliko isprava, no. 108; ZsO 9, no. 734.

50 CDH X.1, no. 241; CDH X.2, no. 252; CD Zichy 4, no. 378; NAGY, Sopron 1, no. 383; Alsó-szlavóniai okmánytár, ed. THALLÓCZY, HORVÁTH, no. 82; ŠIŠIĆ, Nekoliko isprava, no. 7, 12, 36; ZsO 1, no. 4094, 4656, 5557, 5561, 5891.

51 CDH VII.3, no. 11, 95–102; CDH X.4, no. 127, 180; Teleki család oklevéltára, ed. BARABÁS, no. 221; THALLÓCZY, ÁLDÁSY, Magyarország és Szerbia, no. 94; ŠIŠIĆ, Nekoliko isprava, no. 37, 71, 72, 97, 121; VERESS, Gyula, no. 7, 13; ZsO 2.1, no. 3231, 4802; ZsO 2.2, no. 5787, 5832; ZsO 4, no. 2379, 2528, 2741; ZsO 5, no. 1026, 1046, 1782, 1950, 2255, 2421; ZsO 6, no. 510; ZsO 9, no. 251; ZsO 10, no. 1359; ZsO 11, no. 788, 869; ZsO 14, no. 758.

to have sincere sympathy for the victims of Lašva, especially since some of them were amongst the most prominent persons of the southern part of the Realm, where the most distinguished fighters against the Bosnians came from⁵². It has already been mentioned that there are dozens of extant charters containing reference to this battle, putting it almost on a par with Nicopolis⁵³. In a later period of Sigismund’s reign, i.e. in the 1430s, Matkó Tallóci was the most prominent personality of the “Bosnians Wars”. He was the leader of the campaign against the Turks and enemies of King Tvrtko II, as well as against the heir of Sandalj Hranić⁵⁴. There were also some lesser nobles who received rewards for their engagement in the wars (this was the case of the castellans serving the Alben family in the marcher county of Vrbas, e.g. Nikola Hrvat of Plavić, and also of several county nobles whose court sessions were postponed due to their participation in military campaigns)⁵⁵.

Among the veterans rewarded by King Sigismund were also some Bosnians who switched sides during the wars, or supported King Tvrtko II when he was opposed by a large portion of the nobility. The most notable cases were those of Vuk Vukčić after 1394, Raup of Livno and Miloš Družić, son of Vuk of Guča Gora, after 1413 and Restoje Milohna and the Mačić family in 1436⁵⁶. It is interesting that Raup and Družić were Hrvoje’s castellans, who settled with the Hungarians and received substantial estates in

52 CDH X.1, no. 238, 275; CDH X.5, no. 367; CDH X.6, no. 16, 150, 395; CDH X.7, no. 294; CD Zichy 5, no. 432; CD Zichy 6, no. 365; CD Zichy 9, no. 404; Sztáray család oklevéltára, ed. NAGY I, no. 328; Zala vármegye oklevéltár, ed. NAGY, VÉGHÉLY, NAGY 2, no. 119; Temesvármegye IV.1, ed. ORTVAY, PESTY, no. 246, 258, 323, 329, 333, 348, 351, 359; Blagay-család oklevéltára, ed. THALLÓCZY, BARABÁS, no. 106, 108; Šišić, Važan izvor 135; CDCF 1, no. 340; Šišić, Nekoliko isprava, no. 1, 94, 106, 109, 113, 114, 122, 123, 131; ZsO 1, no. 1669; ZsO 2.1, no. 3962, 4873, 5036, 5118; ZsO 2.2, no. 5635, 5637, 7134, 7633, 7675; ZsO 5, no. 704, 1580; ZsO 6, no. 168, 320, 457, 496, 545, 662, 900, 902, 965, 1541, 2380; ZsO 7, no. 302; ZsO 9, no. 251; ZsO 13, no. 368; ZsO 15, no. 1083; ĆIRKOVIĆ, Posredovanje 229–240; LOVRENOVIĆ, Lašva 275–295; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 205–212; ISAILOVIĆ, The Battle. László Töttösi was among the most mentioned victims of the Lašva disaster in preserved documents. See: CD Zichy 5, no. 128, 471; CD Zichy 6, no. 244, 261, 267, 277, 279–283, 285, 295, 296, 299, 310, 313, 328, 331, 343; CD Zichy 11, no. 13; CD Zichy 12, no. 72, 89; Šišić, Nekoliko isprava, no. 83, 124, 126; ZsO 2.2, no. 8138; ZsO 5, no. 713, 894, 1407, 1542, 1554, 1555, 1566, 1573, 1942, 1947, 1968, 1977, 2382, 2401; ZsO 6, no. 152, 510, 514, 528, 644, 881, 1102, 1126; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 209f.; FILIPOVIĆ, Bosna i Turci 292–294.

53 See footnote 39.

54 MÁLYUSZ, Tallóci fivér [in German: MÁLYUSZ, Gebrüder Tallóci]; Tošić, Drijeva 141–143; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 253–267.

55 ZsO 15, no. 1083; ENGEL, Zur Frage 41; ENGEL, Neki problemi 71.

56 THALLÓCZY, Studien 354–356; MRGIĆ RADOJIĆIĆ, Donji Kraji 92, 98f., 246; RUDIĆ, Restoje 173–180; ISAILOVIĆ, O familijarima 132–136; ISAILOVIĆ, Nekoliko podataka 153–177; ANČIĆ, Od zemlje 73–79, 85f.; ISAILOVIĆ, Jedan izvor 135–158.

Slavonia and Southern Hungary. Both of them received confirmation of their possession on the same day in September 1425, along with some other veterans from the estate of Beryvoy-Szentistván. We do not know whether Sigismund rewarded those nobles on the same day for a reason, or whether it was simply by chance or convenience⁵⁷.

As we can see, some traitors to the Bosnian cause were rewarded by King Sigismund. However, Sigismund's side also had its own disloyal persons (*infideles*). In the case of the "Bosnian Wars", most of these persons belonged to the lesser nobility. The only prominent persons named were the Horváti brothers, Ivan of Paližna and the Korpádi family⁵⁸. Some traitors regained the King's grace after they had repented and distinguished themselves in fighting (i.e. the Castellan of Szegvár). The most common act of treason was usually the support of rebel groups in the marcher areas along the border with Bosnia, or the surrender of forts to the Bosnians (the example of Peter of Podolya who relinquished the fortress of Vesela Straža to Hrvoje in 1414)⁵⁹. The case of Ivaniš Nelipčić must also be addressed. This Croatian noble, who controlled a vast territory south of the River Krka, had an ambiguous role in the early 1390s. In the early 1400s, he turned into one of the most prominent supporters of the Bosnians. However, in late 1408 he swapped sides, along with his brother-in-law, Hrvoje Vukčić, and became a trusted ally of King Sigismund, to whom he remained loyal until his death in 1435⁶⁰. Most of the higher nobles who were suspected of cooperation with the Bosnians were eventually pardoned if they repented. Interestingly, there are also documents that refer not to actual, but rather potential treason – a contract between the Zrinski and Krčki (later Frankapan) family from 1390 contains an article that envisages the nullification of the agreement if Pavao Zrinski is forced to cooperate with the pillaging Bosnians. The same Pavao was supposed to pay a ransom of 200 ducats in 1400 in order to protect his lands from Hrvoje's attacks, after another Croatian noble of the Kurjaković family stated that all of them should be aware that "...*Bosnenes opera et sermone potentes [esse]*"⁶¹.

57 ZsO 12, no. 995–997.

58 CDH X.1, no. 193, 238, 240, 241, 291, 337; CDH X.2, no. 246; CDH X.3, no. 77 here 82 (*ab pestifero olim priore Auranae*), no. 154 here 144f., no. 40 here 312–319 (*vti nephandissimi facinoris alumni mala malis accumulare non verendo*); CDH X.4, no. 127; CDH XI, no. 28 (*Joannem Horwathy capitalem hostem et infidelem regium suamque detestabilem cohortem*); KUMOROVITZ, Budapest Emlékei III.1, no. 51.

59 CDH X.2, no. 392; CDH X.5, no. 206; THALLÓCZY, Jajca 61f.; ENGEL, Zur Frage 39; ENGEL, Neki problemi 69f.; ZsO 11, no. 869.

60 Šišić, Željezno, no. 28, here 167–169; Šišić, Nekoliko isprava, no. 128; LOVRENOVIĆ, Ivaniš 199–220; BIRIN, Nelipac 91–157.

61 CDCF 1, no. 162; ANČIĆ, Na rubu Zapada 18f., 261f.; KARBIĆ, MILJAN, Pavao I. 95.

The enemy was, as noted earlier, a mostly faceless and collective entity. Only some of the key players were mentioned, especially those who were at some previous point cooperating with Sigismund and were thus considered traitors. That was the case of Hrvoje Vukčić, and to some extent of Sandalj Hranić⁶². After he made peace with the Hungarian king in late 1408, Hrvoje’s possessions were confirmed and he was given the position of Count of Požega and estates in the County of Somogy (such as Segesd). All of this was taken away from him when he was proclaimed a notorious enemy and infidel in 1413⁶³. The only other nobles mentioned personally as enemies in the charters were Hrvoje’s brother Vuk (until his reconciliation with Sigismund in 1394) and Petar Pavlović, son of Bosnian magnate *knez* Pavle Radinović. Petar collaborated with the Turks, and it seems that he had a role in the Bosnian attacks on Hungary in the 1400s and 1410s, and in the Battle of Lašva⁶⁴. Otherwise, the Bosnians were considered a collective enemy, a heretical nation adorned with unflattering epithets, which could be found in Hungarian charters from Sigismund’s age: *scismatici Boznenses; perfidi Boznenses; nonnulli Boznenses regni nostri infideles; Christicolarum trutulentii oppressores Boznenses; protervi Boznenses; pagani Boznenses; Turcorum videlicet Boznensium tyranica rebellio; nostri aemuli Turci ac Boznenses et Wiklephistae; nefandi patereni; persecutores Christianorum gentis Boznenses*, and so on⁶⁵.

In conclusion, it is possible to assert that the so-called “Bosnian Wars” represented a very significant series of conflicts on the southern border of Sigismund of Luxembourg’s realm, although they were not treated as such in general historiography. They were not a mere local issue, but a long-lasting conflict with many ongoing consequences, the most important of which were losses of Hungarian territories in Dalmatia and Croatia

62 CDH X.6, no. 395; ZsO 14, no. 660 (*Zandal, vaivoda de Bozna, paterinae iniquitatis alumpnus*); Teleki család oklevéltára, ed. BARABÁS, no. 221 (*per nefandos paterenos, Herwoyam vayvodam Boznensem et suos complices*); Blagay-család oklevéltára, ed. THALLÓCZY, BARABÁS, no. 108 (*tempore cum Horwoya wayvoda et Wlk banus cum valido exercitu Boznensium incurrerat tenuta seu possessiones ipsius magistri Pauli*); Alsó-szlavóniai okmánytár, ed. THALLÓCZY, HORVÁTH, no. 82 (*proditionis filius Herwoya wayvoda cum ceteris sibi adherentibus Boznensibus*); ZsO 10, no. 1275 (*pro eliminandis et exinaniendis quibusdam nostris tunc infidelibus, videlicet Boznensibus et presertim Herwoya duce Spaleti*).

63 ENGEL, Zur Frage 29f., 36–41; ENGEL, Neki problemi 59f., 67–71; MRGIĆ RADOJČIĆ, Donji Kraji 89–93; LOVRENOVIĆ, Klizište 143–178.

64 CDH XI, no. 28; Blagay-család oklevéltára, ed. THALLÓCZY, BARABÁS, no. 108; ZsO 6, no. 1046; ZsO 14, no. 459; ISAILOVIĆ, Jedan izvor 140–142; ISAILOVIĆ, Prilog 175–195.

65 CDH X.1, no. 238; CDH X.4, no. 127, 180, 312; CDH X.6, no. 144; Bullae Bonifacii IX 1, no. 203f.; Bullae Bonifacii IX 2, no. 463; Zala vármegye oklevéltár, ed. NAGY, VÉGHÉLY, NAGY 2, no. 119; Teleki család oklevéltára, ed. BARABÁS, no. 221; Blagay-család oklevéltára, ed. THALLÓCZY, BARABÁS, no. 121; THALLÓCZY, ÁLDÁSY, Magyarország és Szerbia, no. 94; ZsO 2.2, no. 6311; ZsO 6, no. 320; ZsO 10, no. 1531; ZsO 12, no. 995.

(first to Bosnia itself, and then to Venice) and the acceleration of Ottoman attacks. These wars were closely intertwined with rebellious movements and dynastic issues within the Realm of St Stephen, and the Bosnian leaders took every opportunity to oppose Sigismund's domination in the region. According to the charters issued by the Hungarian court and nobles, but also the chronicles of the same period, Sigismund and his followers harboured a deep distrust and resentment towards Bosnia and the Bosnians⁶⁶. This was not only because of the decennial instability which this country in the heart of the Balkans brought to the king in Buda, challenging his superior position. The central event of this cycle of mistrust and conflict was the battle in the valley of the Lašva river (July 1415), whose impact on both the military capacities and public opinion of Hungary was deep and bitter. Although this battle was a blow delivered mainly by the Ottomans, the Bosnians set the stage and played a considerable part in the fighting, profiting from the defeat of the Hungarians on their soil. Most of the veterans of the "Bosnian Wars" mentioned in Sigismund's or his retainers' documents were either participants (loyal or treacherous) in the 30-year clash with Hrvoje Vukčić, or the heroes/victims of the Battle of Lašva. In the later years of Sigismund's reign, when the power of the Bosnian state was largely reduced by internal divisions and the Ottoman threat, the King strove to ensure the loyalty of the rulers and nobles of Bosnia, but his former resentment was still featured in his charters, as well as in his strategic military plans.

66 ISAILOVIĆ, Pogled iznutra 46–49.