

The Black Death in the Kingdom of Hungary – Sources, Limitations, Interpretations*

András Vadas 

Department of Medieval History, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, 6–8 Múzeum körút, 1088 Budapest, Hungary; vadas.andras@btk.elte.hu

Received 24 January 2024 | Accepted 27 May 2024 | Published online 24 July 2024

Abstract. Western scholarship has studied the mid-fourteenth-century cataclysm of the Black Death for centuries. In contrast, due to the limited number of contemporary narrative sources, in East Central Europe, until recently historians discussed it only marginally. In the past decades, not independent of the emergence of new methods, such as archaeogenetics and palynology, and novel approaches to studying the Black Death such as climate and environmental history, scholars have increasingly turned to the analysis of the multiple waves of the second plague pandemic in this region. Recent studies have drawn attention to the apparent lack of data on the Black Death in the region while pointing to the potential role of the later waves, such as the *pestis secunda* and *tercia*, as well as later medieval and early modern recurrences of the epidemic in the historical demography of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. The paper provides an overview of the written evidence of the Black Death in Hungary and publishes *in extenso* some of the most important documentary evidence of the episodes of the epidemic in the Kingdom of Hungary. It argues that, unlike in the case of Bohemia and Poland, the first wave of the plague can be relatively well pursued by a critical analysis of the written evidence.

Keywords: Black Death, disease history, environmental history, King Louis I the Great, Kingdom of Hungary, charters, chronicles, Neapolitan campaign

The Black Death was undoubtedly the largest demographic, economic, and social cataclysm in premodern Europe and probably well beyond it in Asia and Northern Africa as well. The sources of the mid-fourteenth-century events have been studied for at least two centuries, thus we have a detailed image of several aspects of the Black Death in the Mediterranean, Western and Northern Europe.¹ Over the past

* The research has been supported by the ÚNKP-23-4 New National Excellence Program of the Ministry for Culture and Innovation from the source of the National Research, Development, and Innovation Fund. I am tahnkful to Gábor Mikó for his essential paleographic aid.

1 Campbell, *The Great Transition*; Benedictow, *The Complete History*. For more recent developments on the appearance of the Black Death in Eastern Europe, see: Barker, “Laying the Corpses”; Slavín, “From the Tian Shan.”

decades, important results have been published about the spread of the disease in the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman world,² as well as in some parts of East Central Europe, such as Poland and Bohemia.³ Research has also pointed to the spread of the plague in Dalmatia;⁴ however, some parts of East Central Europe have received considerably less scholarly attention in this respect, such as the Kingdom of Hungary. Similarly, while crucial studies have approached the spread of the disease using natural scientific means that had not been utilized before in explaining the importance of the Black Death such as big data palynology, research has largely omitted the issue of what the situation was in medieval Hungary.⁵ A third major development in recent research sheds light on the geography of the plague, using archaeogenetics. Thanks to the development of ancient DNA analysis, we already have considerable data on the spread of the pathogen from Central Asia toward Western Eurasia.⁶ However, similar to the written accounts, and recent pollen-based works on the impact of the Black Death, ancient DNA results are missing not only for the mid-fourteenth-century wave itself but also for the later waves of the second plague pandemic in the region. This explains why East Central Europe, especially Hungary, is largely missing from many of the overviews of the Black Death, and even when it is present, it is often based on speculation and is loaded with preconceptions. The paper attempts to provide an overview of the written evidence of the mid-fourteenth-century plague wave and publishes *in extenso* some of the most important documentary evidence of the known instances of the Black Death at the turn of the 1340s and 1350s. Hopefully, this will lead to at least a partial reconsideration of the spread of the plague in the region, shedding light on the possible directions of the spread of *Yersinia pestis* in the broader area of the northern Balkans and the Romanian principalities. The focus is on the written evidence, which to this date is the sole source for understanding the exact chronology of the spread of the plague in the late 1340s.

The state of the art – The Black Death in the Kingdom of Hungary

For quite some time now, research in Hungary and in the neighbouring countries that shared their territories with the medieval Kingdom of Hungary has considered the demographic and economic impact of the Black Death. However, with

2 Bartsocas, “Two Fourteenth Century”; Tsiamis et al., “Epidemic Waves”; Tsiamis, *Plague*; Varlik, *Plague*.

3 Guzowski, “Did the Black Death”; Mengel, “A Plague on Bohemia”; Nodl, “Impacts.”

4 Ravančić, “Prilog proučavanju”; Blažina Tomić and Blažina, *Expelling the Plague*, 42–67.

5 Izdebski et al., “Palaeoecological Data.”

6 Spyrou et al., “Phylogeography”; Spyrou et al., “The Source”; Keller et al., “A Refined Phylochronology.”

considerably fewer sources—or at least chronicles and annals—that testify to the presence of the plague than in Western Europe or in the Mediterranean, it has usually been up to the different scholars' taste whether they attributed this to the lighter touch of the plague or to the fact that much of the medieval Hungarian source material is lost. Some have suggested that the Black Death seriously impacted the settlement pattern in the Great Hungarian Plain and that the mid-fourteenth-century and subsequent waves may have been among the reasons for the process of abandoning settlements there.⁷ Others have not attributed major importance to the Black Death in the abandonment of settlements and the formation of the numerous late medieval deserted (*deserta*) peasant plots.⁸ In Hungarian historiography, probably Erik Fügedi has dedicated most attention to the presence of the Black Death and the later waves of the plague in the Kingdom of Hungary. In his 1992 overview of the demography of medieval Hungary, he stated that “having surveyed the sources, it can be argued [...] that the Black Death did not cause such catastrophe as it did in Western Europe.”⁹ Fügedi was one of the first historians to focus systematically on the crisis years, studying the available source material for his analysis. Apart from surveying the charter evidence that was researchable at the time, he was innovative in looking at an area that no one had scrutinized before, that is the functioning of the state administration during 1349, which according to the sources to be discussed hereafter, was the year when the Black Death hit Hungary the hardest. He examined the noble congregations held by the palatine of Hungary (*congregatio generalis palatinalis*), which went with week-long events at designated places in the counties where the nobility of the respective county or (two counties) was present, and where the palatine adjudicated in legal disputes.¹⁰ As Fügedi argues, these events were attended by large crowds and, in the case of mass deaths and turbulence, they would have been postponed. He demonstrates that in 1349 the palatinal congregations were probably uninterrupted throughout the country. He discusses what happened in the Hungarian palatinal congregations but does not analyze Slavonia or Transylvania. It is worth noting that right at the time that a source alludes to the plague (to be discussed hereafter) in Transylvania, the judicial forum of the vice-voivode of Transylvania was uninterrupted.¹¹ However, it seems that in 1349

7 Balogh, “Adatok az Alföld,” 149.

8 Szabó, “Hanyatló jobbágyság.” For a thorough criticism of Szabó's assessment of the abandonment of the peasant plots, see: Neumann, “Telekpusztásodás.”

9 “A forrásokot áttekintve egyrészt azt kell megállapítani [...], hogy még így sem beszélhetünk olyan katasztrófáról, mint amilyen Nyugat-Európát sújtotta.” Fügedi, *A középkori*, 29.

10 Szöcs, “A nádori,” 45; Szöcs, *A nádori intézmény*; C. Tóth, *A nádori és helytartói*; Ribi, “A nádori közgyűléseken.”

11 Farkas, “Erdély Lackfi István,” 75, 77.

in Slavonia, somewhat exceptionally, no noble gatherings were held.¹² Even if these data are somewhat contradictory, Fügedi is right in raising this point when assessing the Black Death, as already during King Louis's reign (in 1381), there was an instance when not only a judicial forum but other legal actions were also officially postponed due to the plague.¹³

Independent of Fügedi's results, the archaeologist József Laszlovszky also argued that "We have less data on the spread of the plague in East Central Europe compared to the situation in Western Europe. They indicate that the impact of the epidemic was weaker in the East. We must, of course, exercise caution, as the lack of information on the plague does not necessarily mean that the epidemic did not claim large numbers of victims."¹⁴ In his paper published in 1994, he argues for a lighter touch of the mid-fourteenth-century plague attributing it to lower population density, the preceding Mongol invasions, and the economic well-being in Hungary around the time of the Black Death. Since Laszlovszky's paper, the most important contributions have been associated with the publication of the summaries of the complete corpus of mid-fourteenth-century charter evidence (*Anjou-kori oklevéltár* [Angevin Cartulary]), which Andrea Kiss and her colleagues have meticulously analysed.¹⁵ Using the surviving charter evidence, they verify the presence of the plague in the country from the end of 1348 to 1350 and verify some of the later fourteenth-century waves. A paper by Annamária Bartha also touches upon the plague when discussing health issues of King Charles I and King Louis I the Great.¹⁶ Finally, in a volume published during the COVID-19 pandemic, Tamás Fedeles gives an overview of recent research on the Black Death, but mostly focusing on areas outside Hungary.¹⁷

East Central Europe as well as Hungary have certainly been represented in the main works on Eurasian plagues. They include the still frequently quoted but by now largely outdated two-volume monograph of Jean-Noël Biraben¹⁸ and the

12 B. Halász, "Generalis congregatiók," 283–98.

13 *A zichi és vászonkeői*, vol. 4, 217–8. no. 181.

14 "Wir besitzen relativ weniger Angaben über die Verbreitung der Pest in Ostmitteleuropa als in bezug auf die westeuropäische Situation. Aus diesen geht hervor, dass die Wirkung der Epidemie im Osten geringer war. Wir müssen natürlich Vorsicht walten lassen, da wegen des wesentlich geringeren Quellenbestandes die fehlenden Angaben zur Pest nicht unbedingt bedeuten, dass die Epidemie nicht doch Opfer in grosser Anzahl forderte." Laszlovszky, "»Per tot discrimina«,," 46.

15 *Anjou-kori oklevéltár*; Kiss, "Weather and Weather-Related"; Kiss, Piti, and Sebők, "Rossz termések"; Kiss, Piti, Sebők, and Teiszler, "Food Crisis."

16 Bartha, "Károly Róbert."

17 Fedeles, "»Oly rettegés.«"

18 Biraben, *Les hommes*. For its criticism, see: Roosen and Curtis, "Dangers."

monumental undertaking of Ole J. Benedictow.¹⁹ Finally, scholars of East Central Europe have dealt with the issue of the plague in Hungary mostly in the context of the foreign sources they were working with.²⁰ The only important exception is a recent study by the Slovak historian Adam Mesiarkin who, in his overview of the Black Death, also discusses the spread of the epidemic in Hungary. His work is important, as using evidence provided by charters, that are usually overlooked by monographers of the Black Death, he draws attention to the shortcomings and flaws of Benedictow's treatment of the spread of the disease in the region.²¹

Sources and lack of sources

For studying the Black Death, research in Western Europe, the Mediterranean, as well as in most of Central Europe relies on narrative sources. However, the respective chronicles and annals are almost completely missing from Hungary. The most important, and one of the no more than a handful of domestic narrative sources from the age of the Black Death is the chronicle by John of Küküllő (*Iohannes de Kikullew*). In his short work, he mentions epidemics during the reign of King Louis I the Great (1342–1382) but fails to provide any further detail. As in the chapter concerned, he lists all sorts of disasters—epidemics, dearth, earthquakes, locusts—the reference remains quite vague and is hardly interpretable.²² It is therefore certainly not sufficient to rely on this narrative. One (almost) contemporary data coming from the 1360s worth noting is preserved in the Chronicle of the Unknown Franciscan (*Anonymus Minorita Chronica*). This otherwise important source however does not tell of the Black Death in Hungary but testifies to its appearance in the lands of the Golden Horde in 1346.²³ Apart from these reports, contemporary narratives from outside Hungary also testify to the presence of the Black Death in Hungary. The most relevant is the Annals of Miechów, which describes the spread of the plague in

19 Benedictow, *The Complete History*, 512–14.

20 Guzowski, “Did the Black Death.”

21 Mesiarkin, “Stredovýchodná Európa.”

22 “De pestilentia fame et terremoto. 215. Item eciam tempore sui regiminis pestilencie per loca particularia, et eciam per totum regnum Hungarie, et eciam in aliis vicinis regnis viguerunt. Et fames diversis temporibus per locustas et mures, spicas frugum et aliarum segetum corrodes, et per siccitates temporum, ac aeris tempestates inualuerunt. Et pluribus vicibus terremoto per loca factus est.” *Chronicon Dubniciense*, 191.

23 “Nam anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo sexto dominus deus misit pestilenciam in eos, que tantum in eos deseuyt, quod infra paucos menses, ut dicitur, trecentena milia tartarorum prostravit et consumpsit.” *Chronicon Dubniciense*, 148. The source is preserved in the fifteenth-century Chronicle of Dubnic. On the source, see Kristó, “Utószó”; for the manuscript, OSZK, Cod. Lat. 165.

Hungary, putting it in the context of the flagellant movement, of which we have no additional contemporary data.²⁴ Other contemporary and later fourteenth-century sources also report the spread of the plague in Hungary, but unlike the Miechów annals, they mostly include generic references to its appearance in the area, as well as in other regions of Europe. The most often quoted contemporary chronicle is that of Gilles li Muisis.²⁵ Another group of narrative sources that have been problematized in the context of the Black Death in Hungary concerns the military campaign of Louis I the Great to Naples in 1347–1348,²⁶ as the related sources that also give an account of the plague in Italy allowed for some speculation concerning the spread of the disease associated with the Hungarian military campaign in Italy. From the later narratives, the most frequently quoted one in the context of the Black Death in Hungary is that of Jan Długosz, whose work also encompasses the epidemics in the Carpathian Basin.²⁷ Several further fifteenth-century chronicles also give accounts of the Black Death in the fourteenth century, noting its appearance in Hungary.²⁸

Narrative sources utilized by Western research, such as manorial and urban hearth counts,²⁹ burial records,³⁰ tax registers, Peter's Pence registers,³¹ tutelage and orphanage accounts,³² and others, are almost completely absent in Hungary for the

24 “Anno Domini 1349. nuncii Thartarorum venerunt ad regem Polonie. Eodem anno mortalitas magna fuit in regno Ungarie, multe civitates et ville deserte habitatoribus vacuate, unde multe turme hominum tam de Ungaria quam de aliis partibus adiuncti circuibant flagellantes se, in lutum cadentes, magnam conpuncionem et penitenciam aliis indixerint, virgines eciam parwe et magne de villis sparsis crinibus in modum processionis tamquam vesane discurrebant, verberantes se, et pernoctabant in silvis ad quendam Gregorium quem pro sancto colebant, sed deluse a dyabolo plures ex eis perierunt.” *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 2, 885.

25 “Rumores etiam magni erant quod in Hongaria, in Alamannia, in ducatu Brabantiae de civitatibus, de villis, de castris, de oppidis et de villis campestribus homines erant provocantes se ad invicem et adunantes modo ducenti, modo trecenti, modo quingenti et plures secundum possibilitatem patriae, et ibant per patriam triginta tribus diebus continuis, bis in die, nudis pedibus et corpore praeter femoralia, capucia habentes, se scorpionibus usque ad sanguinis effusionem verberantes.” *Recueil des chroniques*, vol. 2, 341. See also: “deinde quod eadem mortalitas successiue in Austriam Ungariam, Bavariam, Moraviam, Bohemiam, provinciam Reni, Sweuiam et alias prouincias Almanie etc. invadit.” Sudhoff, “Pestschriften,” 48.

26 For the route, see: Csukovits, “I. Nagy Lajos.”

27 Długosi, *Annales*, Liber 9, 252, 257. For its English translation, see: *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, 298–301.

28 E.g., Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum*, vol. 12, col. 746. *Düringische Chronik*, 591–92; Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum*, vol. 2, 249. Cp. Székely, “A jobbágyság földesúri,” 281.

29 Blockmans, “The Social and Economic Effects.”

30 E.g., Gras, “Le registre paroissial”; Cipolla, “I libri dei morti.”

31 Guzowski, “Did the Black Death.”

32 Roosen and Curtis, “The »Light Touch«.”

period studied here. These sources have been exceptionally important in the respective countries or smaller administrative units, as despite the methodological problems they raise, they can be used for establishing how strongly certain areas were affected by the Black Death.³³ In the lack of this type of evidence, it is almost impossible to address the population loss in Hungary.

What scholars in Hungary can utilize is also available in other countries. However, unlike the above sources, legal documents that concern land transactions, donations, legal disputes, and other judication contain relevant data at random and are almost completely unsuited for drawing conclusions on mortality rates. Nonetheless, the legal source material surviving from the Angevin period in Hungary has been extensively researched over the past years, and thanks to the summaries and *in extenso*, charter editions can be studied almost in their entirety.³⁴ The data these sources provide still offer a rather sketchy picture, only partially allowing for tracking the spread of the disease. In the coming section, these data will be overviewed and assessed.

A survey of the surviving evidence: The Black Death in Hungary in the late 1340s

The path of the spread of the Black Death in the Kingdom of Hungary is anything but clear based on the surviving written evidence; neither is it clear if we look at the appearance of the disease in the broader region. The Black Death may potentially have arrived in the Kingdom of Hungary from three directions. First, although there is an almost complete lack of sources from the area, research suggests that the port cities on the western shore of the Black Sea were amongst the first areas contaminated following the breakout in Crimea in early 1346.³⁵ From these ports, the disease may have penetrated the inland areas of the Romanian principalities, subsequently reaching Transylvania.³⁶ The second possible theory is that the disease reached the coastal towns of Dalmatia, from where it may have spread through Croatia and Slavonia, eventually reaching all parts of Hungary.³⁷ The third possible direction, which is fairly prevalent in the literature in Hungary but lacks any actual evidence, is that the disease was brought to Hungary as part of the 1347–1348 military campaign

33 Benedictow, *The Complete History*.

34 See most importantly: *Anjoukori okmánytár* and *Anjou-kori oklevéltár*.

35 Barker, “Laying the Corpses”; Benedictow, *The Complete History*, 140–46.

36 Cp. Pach, “A Levante-kereskedelem.”

37 Benedictow, *The Complete History*, 198–99 and 510.

of King Louis I the Great to Italy.³⁸ To evaluate and decide on the direction that the disease may have taken before it arrived in the Kingdom of Hungary, we should evaluate the chronology that these routes support. If the disease had arrived from the Black Sea area directly from Crimea and the areas of the Golden Horde, the disease would have reached the eastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1347 at the latest. Although some early works suggested its early arrival, not even in the vicinity of the Kingdom of Hungary is there any written evidence of the presence of the Black Death before the very end of 1347, when the towns along the eastern coast of the Adriatic (such as Dubrovnik) were first affected by the plague.³⁹ Dubrovnik and the Adriatic coast however were certainly not infected from the ports in the western part of the Black Sea. This makes the first hypothesized route highly improbable and leads to the second possibility, namely that the disease first appeared on the Adriatic coast, spreading towards the inland areas of the Balkans, and then towards inland Croatia, Slavonia, and other parts of Hungary. The arrival of the plague in most cities along the coast can be dated to early 1348, which suggests the arrival of the disease in Hungary in the spring of the same year.

According to the third route, the plague was carried to Hungary by the soldiers returning to the country from plague-ravaged Italy. Italian cities were indeed affected during the military campaign of King Louis I, as attested in several sources, including the frequently cited chronicle of Matteo Villani.⁴⁰ Naples was first hit by the Black Death in the second half of March 1348.⁴¹ How long it lasted is not completely clear but the decision of the king's return to Hungary in May was probably related to the outbreak of the plague in the Kingdom of Naples. He returned to Hungary through Barletta and Vrana, reaching Buda and Visegrád in late May or early June.⁴² According to Villani, he had little entourage on this journey, and his

38 Bartha, "Károly Róbert," 26–27; Fedeles, "»Oly rettegés«,” 53.

39 Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja*. Cp. Bartha, "Károly Róbert," who based her statement on the collection of Gyula Magyary-Kossa, suggested that the Black Death was already in Hungary in 1347. Idem, *Magyar orvosi emlékek*, vol. 3, 55 no. 175 (which is based on early modern compilations).

40 *Cronica di Matteo Villani*, vol. 1, cap. 13.

41 Benedictow, *The Complete History*, 233–58, esp. 253.

42 "...avendo fatto armare nel porto di Barletta una sottile galea, subitamente, improvviso a tutti quelli del Regno, all'uscita di Maggio l'anno 1348, vi montò suso con poca compagnia, e fece dare de' remi in acqua, e senza arresto valicò sano e salvo in Ischiavonia, e di là con pochi compagni a cavallo se n'andò in Ungheria. Questa subita partita di cotanto re fu tenuta follemente fatta da molti, e da lieve e non savio movimento d'animo, e molti il ne biasimarono. Altri dissono che provvedutamente e con molto senno l'avea fatto, avendo diliberato il partire nell'animo suo per tema della mortalità, e non vedendo tempo da potersi scoprire contra i baroni, i quali sentiva male disposti alla sua fede, come detto è, e commendaronlo di segreto e provveduto

army stayed in Naples for the rest of 1348. Although the literature recurrently associates the spread of the plague in Hungary with the king's return, there is no source to back up that theory, and the fact that he had little entourage does not necessarily support that *Yersinia pestis* spread along with this return journey.⁴³ If nonetheless this should be the case, it supports the emergence of the Black Death in Hungary in the summer of 1348.

The first option is almost completely impossible based on the written evidence from Hungary, as the first reference to the presence of the Black Death is from December 1348. The location of this data is certainly important, as it is from Transylvania, and not from the western part of the country close to Italy or the Adriatic coast.⁴⁴ Two notes are worth making based on this reference. First, this would have meant the Transylvanian presence of the *Yersinia pestis* for almost two years (from late 1346/early 1347 to late 1348), which is very unlikely based on the general patterns of the disease. Second, as there is a considerable geographic and time gap (ca. seven months) between the data on the spread of the disease in Italy and the Adriatic coast and the first reference from Hungary (Transylvania), it is practically difficult to argue for either the second or the third route as the origin of the epidemic's arrival in Hungary. Benedictow suggests that the disease spread from the Adriatic coastal cities through Croatia to Hungary. He however shows little familiarity with the political and economic situation and with the position of Croatia when suggesting "however, not only politically a weakly integrated feudal political construction it was also a relatively dispersedly settled and economically poorly integrated territory."⁴⁵ This is important in his reasoning, as he tries to explain why it took more than a year for the disease to reach Eastern Hungary. Benedictow wanted to make sense of the first data that was known to him, a charter from Oradea (Várad) in medieval Eastern Hungary, present-day Western Romania, that testifies to the appearance of the plague in the summer of the same year in Oradea. As also noted by Adam Mesiarkin, Benedictow tailored his overview of the Hungarian data to argue for the slow advancement in Hungary, which is largely undermined by the fact that the disease was already present in Transylvania in late 1348, not only in the

partimento." (*Cronica di Matteo Villani*, vol. 1. cap. 14). For his route back, see: Csukovits, *Az Anjouk Magyarországon II*, 42. On his arrival at Buda, see: *Chronicon Dubniciense*, 153 that dates it to 11 June. For the actual late May arrival, see: *Anjou-kori oklevéltár*, vol. 32 (1348).

43 Fedeles, "»Oly rettegés«,” 53.

44 "...propterea quod ipsi octava evenisset in diem dominicum, propter venerationem eiusdem diei et propter instantem plagam et periculum mortis deponere non posset iuramentum predictum et iurare nollet..." (*Documente privind istoria, Veacul XIV. C. Transilvania*, vol. 4, 685–6. no. 671). Cp. Farkas, "Erdély Lackfi István," 75, 77.

45 Benedictow, *The Complete History*, 512.

middle of 1349.⁴⁶ It is also worth noting that the source Benedictow used does not refer to mass death at the time the charter was issued, which is 26 June, but to many lives taken in the year 1349.⁴⁷ One further circumstance makes it unlikely that the epidemic was raging in late June. In answer to the call of the Transylvanian nobility, King Louis travelled to the area at the beginning of July, which he probably would not have done, considering that he left Naples partially to flee the plague.⁴⁸

These data suggest that by summer 1349 the disease had been present for quite some time throughout the Kingdom of Hungary. This is confirmed by other data as well. The Black Death is likely to have been present in the central-eastern parts of Hungary in spring 1349, as attested by a last will from 17 March, in which the heirless testator (Beke son of Thomas) endowed the bishopric of Eger with vineyards he had acquired. According to the document, Beke chose to testate because of “the deathly times” (*mortalitatis tempore*).⁴⁹ Naturally, pestilential times can be interpreted in different ways, including the presence of the plague in the region; nonetheless considering the other contemporary references from Hungary, it should probably be read as an indication of the disease’s presence in the very area. Dated in these weeks, another source also reports the presence of the epidemic in the country. As part of the peace negotiations between King Louis I and the state council of the Venetian Republic, several diplomatic correspondences survived from the year. On 4 April, in a letter, the Venetian council reasons not sending envoys to Hungary with rumors of the ravaging plague.⁵⁰ In response to this letter, in June King Louis said that the plague had ceased in Hungary, which made it possible to continue the peace negotiations.⁵¹

By the time the peace treaty plans were formulated, the plague had started to spread again, or at least this is what Andrea Dandolo reported to Perugia in early October as

46 Mesiarkin, “Stredovýchodná Európa,” 19.

47 MNL OL DL 4055. For its edition, see: Appendix no. 2.

48 Wenzel, *Magyar diplomacziái*, vol. 2, 360–61 no. 290.

49 MNL OL DF 209 980. For its edition, see: Appendix no. 1.

50 “Et ut hoc, quod supradicitur, pateat per effectum, nisi forte casus mortalitatis, que esse dicitur in partibus Ungarie, per quem cives nostri timerent venire ad illas partes, quia de anno preterito substinuerunt casum similem mortalitatis, solempnes ambaxatores nostros presentialiter mitteremus, sed habito, quod cessaverit, illos ad excellentie vestre culmem transmittemus.” Wenzel, *Magyar diplomacziái*, vol. 2, 346 no. 284. For its more recent edition, see: *Venezia – Senato*, vol. 12, 36–73, no. 64.

51 “Super quo sciat Vestra Dilectio, quod permissione Divina plaga huiusmodi, que ut plurimum orbem giravit universum, nunc in Regno nostro eiusdem clementia disponente cessavit.” Wenzel, *Magyar diplomacziái*, vol. 2, 348–49, no. 286. Cp. the follow up letters: Wenzel, *Magyar diplomacziái*, vol. 2, 350–51 no. 288; 351–59 no. 289; 360–61 no. 290. For the first two, see: *Venezia – Senato*, vol. 12, 130–32, no. 212, 136–39, no. 220–25.

recent news from Hungary.⁵² This letter also informs of the death of the fourteen-year-old wife of Louis I, Margaret of Bohemia, but unlike suggested by some scholars, it does not say whether she died of the plague or something else.⁵³ Three days later, a letter the Venetian council sent to their envoys in Hungary also mentions the news of the plague.⁵⁴ On 9 November, Venice sent a further letter to its envoys, ordering them to try to reach out to the king in case he was in good health or alive. This led many historians to believe that Louis himself was also infected by the plague, although this is not hinted at in the letters; it is simply implied that according to their information many people in Hungary were infected.⁵⁵ One further circumstantial evidence is worth noting. In November, as part of a lawsuit that intended to settle a land dispute by taking an oath at the piece of land near Sopron (in Western Hungary), one of the persons involved died, while two others were sick, and therefore could not attend. It is noteworthy though that the document does not refer to them as affected by the plague.⁵⁶

While there are fairly numerous references to the plague from 1349, there is practically no direct data from 1350. From 1351, however, two sources are important to mention. They both testify to the plague in the preceding period. The first is a charter from 23 June 1351, in which nobles from Uzsa (in Western Hungary) settled a dispute in which the previous absence of one of the parties involved was reasoned by the person's anguish during the plague in the area. This is a rural part of the country with few major settlements but with important trade routes in the region connecting the Adriatic with central Hungary.⁵⁷ It is important to note that the charter refers to the plague in the previous years (in the plural!).⁵⁸ The other relevant data from the same year also tells of the previous plague but refers to it in the singular ("in anno pestilencie").⁵⁹ Similarly to the above-discussed charter from the summer

52 Wenzel, *Magyar diplomacziái*, vol. 2, 370 no. 299.

53 "De partibus Hungarie habemus nova, quod epidemia mortalitatis deseivit multum ibidem; et quod Regina Hungarie, consors domini Regis nuper ad Dominum transmigravit." Wenzel, *Magyar diplomacziái*, vol. 2, 370 no. 299.

54 "Cum habeantur nova satis certa, quod mortalitas maxima et orrenda est in partibus Hungarie; quod si ita est, non esset bonum exponere tanto periculo personas nostrorum Ambaxatorum..." (Wenzel, *Magyar diplomacziái*, vol. 2, 369, no. 298 and *Venezia – Senato*, vol. 12, 253, no. 415).

55 Wenzel, *Magyar diplomacziái*, vol. 2, 370–71, no. 300 *Venezia – Senato*, vol. 12, 286–87, no. 469.

56 MNL OL DF 201 774. Edited in: Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város*, vol. I/1, 93–95 no. 155.

57 MNL OL DL 91 428. Edited in: *Zala vármegye*, vol. 1, 508–9 no. 323.

58 "tempore ruinose mortalitatis annis proxime preteritis" *Zala vármegye*, vol. 1, 508–9 no. 323.

59 "accedens ad nostram presenciam Ladizlaus, filius Petii, filii Stephani, filii Bartholomei de Samuchkezy dixit et coram nobis viva voce est confessus, quod cum ipse iudicio divino tempore sue puericie existat orbatus utroque parente unicusque frater eiusdem in anno pestilencie decessit ab hac luce et sic ipse cum tribus sororibus suis innuptis omni spe destitutus remansisset" MNL OL DF 248 652. Edited in *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 4, 66 no. 33.

of 1349, this piece of data also indicates the plague's presence in the territory of the bishopric of Oradea. The final charter to be considered is from Sopron from 1354. The document testifies to a lasting conflict between the citizens and the seemingly scandalous parish priest (Heinrich). The latter bequeathed things to the parish in last wills during "the times of mortality" (*tempore mortalitatis*). Some of the things however that Heinrich acquired through the wills were then somehow obtained by the town's jurors leading to a lawsuit between the town and the priest.⁶⁰ From the point of view of the present work, however, it is the fact that the wills were made at a time of high mortality is that carries relevance.

Apart from the above-mentioned data from 1349, there is one further reference that is important not only concerning the presence of the Black Death in the surroundings of Oradea but also of the scale of the mortality there.⁶¹ In the statutes of the cathedral chapter of the bishopric, one of the caputs dispensed the dwellers of the villages of the chapter (lying mostly in the counties around Oradea) from paying the 'pig tenth' (*porcorum decima*) to repopulate the settlements after the plague.⁶² This is one of the very few indications that tell of the local, larger-scale impacts of the Black Death regarding population loss. It is worth noting that under the lordship of the chapter there were typically small rural settlements scattered in the hilly areas of Bihar County with only a handful of them having more than some thirty peasant plots.⁶³

One last source should be considered as an indirect indication of the lack of tenant peasants (*iobagiones*) in the Kingdom of Hungary in the aftermath of the Black Death: the laws of Louis I on the tenant peasantry.⁶⁴ Of the king's laws issued in 1351, three concerned the peasantry, including the introduction of the ten percent tax (*nona*) to be paid by tenants to their landlords, as well as the act that provided tenants with the freedom of movement. Both were interpreted by the historian

60 "item quod tempore mortalitatis preterite legata in testamentis ecclesie ipsi iurati recepissent." Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi*, vol. I/1, 102–4 no. 168. Heinrich had already been the parish priest in Sopron during the years of the Black Death. Cp. Házi, *Sopron középkori*, 8–10.

61 For the estates of the cathedral chapter of Oradea: Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség*, vol. 2, 271–85.

62 "Porcorum decime in nostris tenutis olim ubique pro nostra communitate exigebantur, sed ab huiusmodi decimarum solutione subditos nostros a tempore prime pestis, idest circa annos Domini MCCCXLVIII. exemimus, ut eo facilius ville nostre per pestem desolate statum pristinum sortirentur ; modo vero solum illi ad dandam porcorum decimam obligantur, qui in Zeplak et eius districtu commorantur, prout supra in capitulo : Harum autem 2 continetur, porcis et apibus in silvis et pascuis cum episcopo communibus, pro tempore exigendis, inter nos et eundem equaliter dividendis." Bunyitay, *A váradi káptalan*, 51.

63 Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség*, vol. 2, 271–85.

64 *Decreta Regni Hungariae 1301–1457*, 124–40. For the interpretation of Louis' laws in this context, see: Szabó, "Az 1351. évi jobbágytörvények," 521–22.

István Szabó and others as consequences of the lack of tenants in the country.⁶⁵ As pointed out by critics of Szabó's thesis, these acts did not originate from the period after the Black Death but rather were long-term processes in crystallizing social status and, as such, should hardly be interpreted as reactions to the plague.⁶⁶

Conclusions

The above survey of sources may not be complete but there is little chance that substantial unknown documentary evidence might come to light in the coming years. This means that when evaluating the mortality of the Black Death of the late 1340s, we should build on these sources. The evidence presented demonstrates that, unlike in Poland and Bohemia, this wave of the Black Death certainly had significant impacts on the population in Hungary. Two points however are still unclear: first, when and from which direction *Yersinia pestis* arrived, and second, what the rate of mortality was.

The survey nonetheless shows that by analysing the complete corpus of written evidence of the plague years in Hungary, significantly more data can be obtained on the epidemic. These data contribute to a more nuanced view of the spread and especially of the lasting presence of the Black Death in Hungary for at least a year from late 1348. The data also shows that while unquestionably the most comprehensive work on the spread of the Black Death, Benedictow's monumental plague narrative is not always accurate regarding specific regions.

Appendix

1. MNL OL DF 209 980.

Beke son of Thomas having no legal heir in these deathly times and because of his admiration for the Church of John the Apostle testates his acquired vineyards next to the road leading from Eger to Szőlös (Zezeus) to the bishopric of Eger.

Date: 17 March 1349

Previous edition: —

(O)mnibus Christi fidelibus tam presentibus, quam futuris presens scriptum inspec-turibus capitulum ecclesie Agriensis salutem in omnium salvatore. Ad universorum noticiam tenore presencium volumus pervenire, quod Beke filius Thome, iobagio filiorum Emerici filii Pauli de Heues feria tertia proxima post dominicam oculi,

65 Szabó, "Az 1351. évi jobbágytörvények"; Szabó, "Az 1351. évi 18. törvénycikk."

66 Cp. Gulyás, "Lex és consuetudo."

anno videlicet nativitatis Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo nono in nostri presentia personaliter comparendo dixit et publice est confessus, quod quia ipse a puericie sue temporibus hucusque ad dictam ecclesiam beati Johannis apostoli specialem habuisset devocionis affectum et nunc haberet, et quia eciam in hoc mortalitatis tempore divina sit disponente clementia heredum solacio sit destitutus haberetur, ut non alii successores nisi ipse solus cum domina uxore sua adhuc inter vivos remansisset, igitur ipse quandam vineam suam empticiam iuxta stratam publicam ab hinc de Agria in villam Zeleus ducentem et intra limites civitatis Agriensis existentem tum ex causis premissis, tum ex eo, ut ipse per hec et alia bona, opera sua, que facere intenderet, Deo permitente(!) terrenis celestia, transitoriis eterna caducisque perempniter mansura in celesti commutare posset gerarchia, cum suis utilitatibus quibuslibet et pertinentiis et eo iure eaque plenitudine, qua dicta vinea dicto empcionis ad ipsum, quo supra, devoluta et hactenus per ipsum habita extitisset et possessa, cum consensu prenominata domine, uxoris sue dedisset, donasset et contulisset, et exnunc coram nobis ac presentibus nobilibus viris Iohanne filio Thome de Zeleus et altero Iohanne filio Petri de Chereukuzy comitatus de Heues per eundem Beke cautela pro maiori pro testibus adductis dedit et contulit predictae ecclesie beati Johannis apostoli et evangeliste nunc et pro tempore ipsam feliciter gubernanti sub federe testamentarie dispositionis et in forma elemosinaria perpetuo possidendam, tenendam pariter et habendam nullum ius, nullum ve dominum amplius pro se et dicta domina, uxore sua in eadem reservando, dando eciam dicto domino nostro episcopo ipsam vineam in vita sua vel in morte sive pro annotata ecclesia sancti Johannis apostoli reservandi vel alicui altario de eadem ecclesia aplicandi(!) vel aliis religiosis sive ecclesiis condonandi plenariam potestatem testimonio presencium litterarum nostrarum et auctoritate, cuius rei testimonium perpetuamque stabilitatem presentes contulimus sigilli nostri autentici et pendentis munimine roboratas ac alphabeto intercisas, eciam Nicolao prae[posito], Iohanne lectore, Iacobo cantore, Iohanne custode dominis, item Iohanne de Borsod Davide de Zab[ouch, P]etro de Heves, Dominico de Borsua, Andrea de Pankata, Iohanne de Zemplen, Georgio de Ta[rcha, Ladislao de Patha] archy-dianocis et aliis multis nostram ducentibus et in dicta ecclesia nostra iugiter deo [famulantibus. Datum in] die et anno supradictis regnante Lodovico illustri rege Hungarie Chanadino Strigoniensi archiepiscopo, Colochensi se]de vacante et domino nostro venerabili in Christo patre Nicolao Dei et apostolica gratia ep[iscop]o Agriensi existentibus.]

At the back of the charter with contemporary handwriting: Perpetuacio Beke filii Thome de Heues super quadam vinea, quam contulit ecclesie sancti Iohannis.

2. MNL OL DL 4055.

Demetrius, bishop of Oradea makes note that the bishopric's collector, John Bobos, son of Martin, died of plague while having remained in debt to his church with 40 denars. To cover this debt, the bishopric a plot and two vineyards of the deceased were filed to the bishopric. These then were bestowed on Benedict (Magnus) son of Sebastian for his services.

Date: 26 June 1349

Previous edition (with gaps): *Anjoukori okmánytár*, vol. 5, 289–90 no. 156.

Nos Demetrius dei et apostolice sedis gratia episcopus Waradiensis significamus tenore presentium quibus expedit universis quod cum potencia divina per pestem indieibilem anno in presenti sub anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quadrigesimo nono emergentem multorum vitam temporalem fine inevitabili contulisset, et quondam Johannes Bobos filius Martini iobagio noster de vico Yenecia vocato, exactor decimarum nostrarum de Kalacha, posita nobiscum racione, nobis racione dictarum decimarum nostrarum in quadraginta marcis denariorum debitor remansisset, et per eandem pestem debitum universe carnis persolvisset, nos ecclesiam nostram nolentes in damno dictarum quadraginta marcarum relinquere, cum de facultatibus seu rebus eiusdem cum quibus nos persolvi deberemus sciscitari cepissemus, res sue alie preterquam fundus suus in vico predicto Venecia vocato existens, et due vinee, quarum una in monte Vmlas, cui ex parte orientis vinea ecclesie de Bezermen et a plaga meridiei vinea Ladislai filii Stephani vicinantur, alia vero in territorio Bihoriensi in monte supra Koachy adiacenti, cui ab oriente vinea Blasii filii Pauli et a plaga occidentis via de Byhor in Chatar transiens vicinantur situatur, reperte exstitissent, et per arbitrium proborum virorum extimacione condigna preeunte, iidem fundus et predictae vinee Johannis Bobos supradicti nobis pro triginta marcis statute et assignate exstitissent, nos volentes in recompensationem servitorum Benedicti magni filii Sebastiani officialis nostri de Huzyuozow et de Tenke nobis et ecclesie nostre ab antiquo exhibitorum, licet maiora meruisset, aliquali occurrere paternali cum favore, ipsum fundum Johannis dicti Bobos filii Martini cum vineis annotatis, eidem Benedicto magno officiali nostro perpetuo duximus conferendum, dantes eidem in vita vei in morte legandi donaudi, vendendi ac quoquomodo alionandi facultatem. In cuius rei testimonium patentes nostras literas patentes autentici sigilli nostri appensione communitas eidem duximus concedendas. Datum Waradini, feria sexta proxima aute festum sanctissimi regis Ladislai et confessoris, anno domini supradicto.

Archival sources

- Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL OL) [Hungarian National Archive. State Archive], Budapest
 Diplomáciai Fényképgyűjtemény (DF)
 Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL)
 Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (OSZK) [Széchényi National Library], Budapest
 Cod. Lat.

Literature

- A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára / Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo*, 12 vols. Edited by Imre Nagy, Iván Nagy, and Dezső Véghely. Pest – Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1878.
- Anjou-kori oklevéltár*, 52 vols [Angevin Cartulary]. Editor in chief, Gyula Kristó and Tibor Almási. Szeged – Budapest: JATE – MNL OL, 1990–2023.
- Anjoukori okmánytár / Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*, 7 vols. Edited by Imre Nagy and Gyula Tasnádi Nagy. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1878–1920.
- Annals of Jan Długosz*. Translated by Maurice Michael, with commentary by Paul Smith. Chichester: IM Publications, 1997.
- B. Halász, Éva. “Generalis congregatiók Szlavóniában a 13–14. században” [General Congregations in Slavonia in the 13th and 14th Centuries]. *Történelmi Szemle* 59 (2017): 283–98.
- Balogh, István. “Adatok az Alföld középkori régészetéhez” [Data to the Medieval Archaeology of the Great Hungarian Plain]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 80, no. 2 (1953): 141–50.
- Barker, Hannah. “Laying the Corpses to Rest: Grain, Embargoes, and Yersinia Pestis in the Black Sea, 1346–48.” *Speculum* 96 (2021): 97–126 <https://doi.org/10.1086/711596>.
- Bartha, Annamária. “Károly Róbert és Nagy Lajos egészsége és betegségei” [The Health and Illness of Kings Charles I and Louis I]. In *Műhelyszemináriumi dolgozatok I.* [Research papers, I], edited by Szilvia Kovács, and Éva Révész, 7–36. Szeged: SZTE BTK Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2013.
- Bartsocas, Christos S. “Two Fourteenth Century Greek Descriptions of the »Black Death«.” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 21 (1966): 394–400. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhmas/XXI.4.394>
- Benedictow, Ole J. *The Complete History of the Black Death*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781787449312>
- Biraben, Jean-Noël. *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et*

- méditerranéens*, vol. 1, La peste dans l'histoire; vol. 2, Les hommes face à la peste. Paris: Mouton, 1975. <https://doi.org/10.3917/popu.p1975.30n6.1144>
- Blažina Tomić, Zlata and Vesna Blažina. *Expelling the Plague: The Health Office and the Implementation of Quarantine in Dubrovnik, 1377–1533*. Montreal–Kingston: McGill–Queen's University Press, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780773597112>
- Blockmans, Willem Pieter. "The Social and Economic Effects of Plague in the Low Countries, 1349–1500." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 58 (1980): 833–63. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.1980.3301>
- Bonfinis, de Antonius, *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, 4 vols. Edited by I. Főgel, B. Iványi, and L. Juhász. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1936–1976.
- Bunyitay, Vince. *A váradi káptalan legrégebbi statutumai* [The Oldest Statutes of the Chapter of Oradea]. Oradea: [Edition of the author], 1886.
- Bunyitay, Vince. *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig* [The History of the Bishopric of Oradea from Its Foundation to the Present], 3 vols. Oradea: [N.p.], 1883–1884.
- C. Tóth, Norbert. *A Magyar Királyság nádora. A nádori és helytartói intézmény története (1342–1562)* [The Palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary: The History of the Institution of the Palatine and Governor, 1342–1562]. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat and Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2020.
- Campbell, Bruce M. S. *The Great Transition: Climate, Disease and Society in the Late-Medieval World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139031110>.
- Chronicon Dubniciense cum codicibus Sambuci Acephalo et Vaticano, cronicisque Vindobonensi picto et Budensi accurate collatum*. Recensuit et prefatus est M[atthias] Florianus. *Historiae hungaricae fontes domestici* I/3. Quinque-Ecclesiis: [Typis M. Taizs], 1884.
- Cipolla, Carlo. "I libri dei morti." In idem. *Le fonti della demografia storico in Italia*, vol 2, 851–66. Rome: CISP, 1972.
- Cronica di Matteo Villani*, vol. 1. Edited by Ignazio Moutier. Florence: Il Magheri, 1825.
- Csukovits, Enikő. "I. Nagy Lajos magyar király útja Nápolyba" [The Journey of King Louis I the Great to Naples]. *Századok* 155 (2021): 1167–80.
- Csukovits, Enikő. *Az Anjouk Magyarországon II. rész. I. (Nagy) Lajos és Mária uralma (1342–1395)* [Angevins in Hungary, part 2. The Reign of King Louis I the Great and Queen Mary]. Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet 2019.
- Długoski, Ioannis. *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, Liber 9. Edited by Jan Dąbrowski. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe, 1978.

- Documente privind istoria României. Veacul XIV. C. Transilvania*, 4 vols. București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1951–1955.
- Decreta Regni Hungariae: Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns 1301–1457*, edited by Franciscus Döry, Georgius Bónis, and Vera Bácskai. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1976.
- Düringische Chronik des Johann Rothe*. Jena: Frommann, 1859.
- Farkas, Csaba. “Erdély Lackfi István vajdaságának éveiben (1344–1350)” [Transylvania in the Years of the Voivodeship of István Lackfi (1344–1350)]. In *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 11* [Studies in Medieval History, vol. 11], edited by Gábor Thoroczkay, 71–88. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2021.
- Fedeles, Tamás. “»Oly rettegés kerítette hatalmába az egész világot«: A 14. századi nagy pestisjárvány” [The Great Plague of the Fourteenth Century]. In *Dögvészkalauz: Járványok és gyógyításuk története az ókortól napjainkig* [Epidemics and Their Cures from Ancient Times to the Present], edited by Dóra Czeferner and Tamás Fedeles, 41–74. Pécs–Budapest: Pécsi Történettudományért Kulturális Egyesület–Kronosz, 2021.
- Fügedi, Erik. *A középkori Magyarország történeti demográfiája* [Historical Demography of Medieval Hungary]. Történeti Demográfiai Füzetek 10. Budapest: KSH, 1992.
- Gras, P., “Le registre paroissial de Givry (1334–1357) et la peste noire en Bourgogne.” *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes* 100 (1939): 295–308. <https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1939.449196>
- Gulyás, László Szabolcs. “Lex és consuetudo: a magyarországi jobbágyköltözés középkori szabályrendszere” [Lex and consuetudo: the Rules Regulating the Movement of Peasant Tenants in Medieval Hungary]. *Történelmi Szemle* 50 (2018): 373–96.
- Guzowski, Piotr. “Did the Black Death Reach the Kingdom of Poland in the Mid-Fourteenth Century?” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 53 (2022): 193–223. https://doi.org/10.1162/jinh_a_01832.
- Házi, Jenő. *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete* [Medieval Church History of Sopron]. Sopron: Székely Nyomda 1939.
- Házi, Jenő. *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, 13 vols [The History of the Free Royal Town of Sopron]. Sopron: Székely, Szabó és Társa Könyvnyomdája, 1921–1943.
- Izdebski, Adam et al. “Data Indicates Land-Use Changes across Europe Linked to Spatial Heterogeneity in Mortality during the Black Death Pandemic.” *Nature Ecology & Evolution* 6 (2022): 297–306. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41559-021-01652-4>.
- Keller, Marcel et al. “A Refined Phylochronology of the Second Plague Pandemic in Western Eurasia.” (in review).

- Kiss, Andrea, Ferenc Piti, and Ferenc Sebők. “Rossz termékek, élelmiszerhiány, drágaság, (éh)ínség – és feltételezhető okaik a 14. századi Magyarországon” [Poor Harvests, Dearth, High Prices and Their Possible Reasons in Fourteenth-Century Hungary]. In *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Évkönyv 2016: Válság – Kereskedelem* [Hungarian Economic History Yearbook 2016: Crisis – Trade], edited by György Kövér et al., 23–79. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont–Hajnal István Alapítvány, 2016.
- Kiss, Andrea, Ferenc Piti, Ferenc Sebők, and Éva Teiszler. “Food Crisis in Fourteenth-century Hungary: Indicators, Causes and Case Studies.” In *The Crisis of the Fourteenth Century. Teleconnections between Environmental and Societal Change?*, edited by Martin Bauch and Gerrit Jasper Schenk, 100–29. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110660784-006>
- Kiss, Andrea. “Weather and Weather-Related Environmental Hazards in Medieval Hungary III: Documentary Evidence on the Fourteenth Century.” *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 73 (2016): 5–55.
- Kristó, Gyula. “Utószó” [Afterword]. In *Küküllei János, Lajos király krónikája – Névtelen szerző: Geszta Lajos királyról* [Chronicle of King Louis the Great – Gesta on King Louis], translated and edited by Gyula Kristó, 89–103. Budapest: Osiris, 2000.
- Laszlovszky, József. “»Per tot discrimina rerum«: Zur Interpretation von Umweltveränderungen im mittelalterlichen Ungarn.” In *Umweltbewältigung: die historische Perspektive*, edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Verena Winiwarter, 37–55. Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1994.
- Magyary-Kossa, Gyula. *Magyar orvosi emlékek. Értekezések a magyar orvostörténelem köréből* [Hungarian Medical Records. Studies in Hungarian Medical History], vol. 3. Budapest: Magyar Orvosi Könyvkiadó Társulat, 1931.
- Mengel, David C. “A Plague on Bohemia? Mapping the Black Death,” *Past & Present* 111 (2011): 3–34. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtq069>
- Mesiarkin, Adam. “Stredovýchodná Európa na mape čiernej smrti. Krátky komentár k (nielen) najnovším príspevkom do diskusie a potenciálu výskumu” [East-Central Europe on the Map of the Black Death. A Short Commentary on (not only) the Recent Contributions to the Discussion and Potential of Research]. In *Teoretické koncepty a prax medicíny v dejinách* [Theoretical Concepts and Practice in the History of Medicine], edited by Matej Gogola and Adam Mesiarkin, 11–39. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, 2023.
- Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, 4 vols, eds. Nándor Knauz et al. Esztergom–Budapest: Aegydius Horák–Archivum Primatiale–Argumentum, 1874–1999.
- Monumenta Poloniae Historica = Pomniki dziejowe Polski*, vol. 2. Edited by August Bielowski. Lwów: Druk. Zakł. Nar. im. Ossolińskich, 1872.

- Muratori, Lodovico Antonio. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 12. Milan: Ex typographia Societatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1728
- Neumann, Tibor. “Telekpusztásodás a késő középkori Magyarországon” [Abandonment of Peasant Plots in Late Medieval Hungary]. *Századok* 137 (2003): 849–84.
- Nodl, Martin. “Impacts of the plague epidemic on the Kingdom of Bohemia in the second half of the XIVth century and at the beginning of the XVth century.” *Studia Historica Gedanensia* 12 (2021): 44–62. <https://doi.org/10.4467/23916001HG.21.004.14986>
- Pach, Zsigmond Pál. “A Levante-kereskedelem erdélyi útvonala I. Lajos és Zsigmond korában” [The Transylvanian Route of Levantine Trade in the Age of King Louis I the Great and King Sigismund]. *Századok* 109 (1975): 3–32.
- Ravančić, Gordan. “Prilog proučavanju Crne smrti u dalmatinskom gradu (1348.–1353.) – raspon izvorne građe i stanje istraživosti na primjerima Dubrovnika, Splita i Zadra” [The Black Death in the Dalmatian Towns of Dubrovnik, Split and Zadar (1348–1353) – Archival Sources and the Current State of Research]. *Povijesni prilozi* 26 (2004): 7–18.
- Ravančić, Gordan. *Vrijeme umiranja: crna smrt u Dubrovniku 1348–1349* [Time of Dying: Black Death in Dubrovnik 1348–1349]. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2011.
- Recueil des chroniques de Flandre*, tom. 2. Edited by J.-J. de Smet. Brussels: Hayez, 1841.
- Ribi, András. “A nádori közgyűléseken közreműködő hiteleshelyek (a kezdetektől 1435-ig)” [Places of Authentication Assisting the Palatinal Congregations from the Beginnings to 1435]. *Történelmi Szemle* 64 (2022): 745–66.
- Roosen, Joris and Daniel R. Curtis. “The »Light Touch« of the Black Death in the Southern Netherlands: An Urban Trick?” *Economic History Review* 72 (2019): 32–56. <http://www.doi.org/10.1111/ehr.12667>
- Roosen, Joris and Daniel R. Curtis. “Dangers of Noncritical Use of Historical Plague Data,” *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 24, no. 1 (2018): 103–10. <http://doi.org/10.3201/eid2401.170477>
- Slavin, Philip. “From the Tian Shan to Crimea: Dynamics of Plague Spread during the Early Stages of the Black Death, 1338–46.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 66 (2023): 513–627. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685209-12341601>
- Spyrou, M. A. et al. “Phylogeography of the second plague pandemic revealed through analysis of historical *Yersinia pestis* genomes.” *Nature Communications* 10 (2019): no. 4470. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-019-12154-0>
- Spyrou, M. A. et al. “The Source of the Black Death in Fourteenth-Century Central Eurasia.” *Nature* 606 (2022): 718–24. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-022-04800-3>
- Sudhoff, Karl. “Pestschriften aus den ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des

- ‘schwarzen Todes’ 1348: XI.” *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 11 (1918–1919): 44–98.
- Szabó, István. “Az 1351. évi 18. törvénycikk” [Act 18 of 1351]. In *Emlékkönyv Szentpétery Imre születésének hatvanadik évfordulójának ünnepére* [For the Sixtieth Anniversary of Imre Szentpétery], 419–39. Budapest: Dunántúl Nyomda, 1938.
- Szabó, István. “Az 1351. évi jobbágytörvények” [The 1351 Tenant Peasant Laws]. *Századok* 88 (1954), 497–527.
- Szabó, István. “Hanyatló jobbágyosság a középkor végén” [Peasantry in Decline at the End of the Middle Ages]. *Századok* 72 (1938): 40–59.
- Székely, György. “A jobbágyosság földesúri terheinek növelése és az erőszakapparátus további kiépítése” [The Increasing Burden on Tenants and the Further Building of its Administration]. In *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században* [To the History of the Hungarian Tenant Peasantry in the Fourteenth Century], edited by György Székely, 276–319. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1953.
- Szőcs, Tibor. “A nádori generalis congregatio intézményének előképe és kialakulása” [Predecessors and the Formation of the Institution of the Palatinal Generalis Congregatio]. *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 135 (2013): 45–58.
- Szőcs, Tibor. *A nádori intézmény korai története 1000–1342* [Early History of the Institution of the Palatine]. Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam 5. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Támogatott Kutatócsoportok Irodája, 2014.
- Tsiamis, Costas et al. “Epidemic Waves of the Black Death in the Byzantine Empire (1347–1453 AD).” *Le Infezioni in Medicina* 3 (2011): 193–201.
- Tsiamis, Costas. *Plague in Byzantine Times. A Medico-historical Study*. Medicine in the Medieval Mediterranean 9. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110613636>
- Varlik, Nükhet. *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World. The Ottoman Experience, 1347–1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139004046>.
- Venezia – Senato. Vol. 12. *Deliberazioni. Registre XXV (1349–50)*, a cura di Francesca Girardi. Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2005.
- Wenzel, Gusztáv. *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból, 2. rész* [Documents of Hungarian Diplomacy from the Angevin Period. vol. 2]. Budapest: MTA, 1875.
- Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár, 2 vols* [History of Zala County. Cartulary]. Edited by Imre Nagy, Dezső Véghely, and Gyula Nagy. Budapest: [N.p.], 1886.

