
TRANSYLVANIAN REVIEW

Vol. XXI, Supplement No. 2, 2012

Institutional Structures and Elites in Sălaj Region and in Transylvania in the 14th–18th Centuries



Edited by
ANDRÁS W. KOVÁCS



ROMANIAN ACADEMY
Center for Transylvanian Studies

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Publication indexed and abstracted in the Thomson Reuters Social Sciences Citation Index®, in Social Scisearch® and in the Journal Citation Reports/Social Sciences Edition, and included in EBSCO's and ELSEVIER's products.

On the cover:

The coat of arms from 1418 of the Csese (Kese) of Dans and of Keresztúr family, inherited later by the Wesselényi family (National Archives of Hungary, Collection of pre-1526 charters, DL 105473). Photo by ÉRIKA CZIKKELYNÉ NAGY.

Maps by BÉLA NAGY

This work was supported by CNCISIS-UEFISCSU, project number PN II-RU code/2010. Title of the research project: Institutional Structure and Elites in Sălaj Region in the 14th–17th Centuries (Structuri instituționale și elite din Țara Silvaniei în secolele XIV–XVII), code: TE_204.

Transylvanian Review continues the tradition of **Revue de Transylvanie**, founded by Silviu Dragomir, which was published in Cluj and then in Sibiu between 1934 and 1944.

Transylvanian Review is published 4 times a year by the **Center for Transylvanian Studies** and the **Romanian Academy**.

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EDITORS' NOTE

THE PRESENT volume is the first result of a still ongoing research process and has as its subject the territory of today's Sălaj county. This region, which in the Middle Ages was divided for administrative reasons between Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties, had its own name already at the beginning of the 15th century. The fortunate survival of the Wesselényi family archive ensures a rich source material for the research of this geographic area. The Wesselényi was the most prominent family in Sălaj in the modern age and their archive contains the inherited collections of earlier local landowners, too. The title of the research project – Institutional Structures and Elites in “Silvania” Region in the 14th–17th centuries – indicates the directions of our interest. The present project proposes a complex research in the field of social, economic and administrative history of the Medieval and Early Modern Sălaj. Accordingly, the studies in the present volume discuss the formation and functioning of counties in this region before the middle of the 16th century, the local political elite, the community of landowners, the *loca credibilia* (places of authentication) operating on this territory. The Wesselényi family archive is presented from the perspective of the problems of source edition. Any historical research of these documentary collections is very promising in its results as the Sălaj region was and still is a transition and contact area between Transylvania and the territory known in the modern age as Partium (an area in many ways very different from the first one). Further studies related to the early modern and modern history of Transylvania and the Partium are also included in the volume, creating a wider picture of the past of this territory.

A vast amount of mostly unpublished and hardly known archival material is worked up by the studies of this volume. Most of the writings deal with the history of institutions, a line of inquiry rather neglected in Romanian historiography.

For this reason, we trust that despite the – seemingly – local topics, our research brought more generally applicable results, also in questions of methodology.

Family names are used in the form which is generally accepted in secondary literature. When different variants of a name are used in Romanian and Hungarian literature, both forms are listed and if necessary, a third version is recorded as well, the one appearing in the documentary source. Settlements are mentioned by their current official name (in the language of the country they belong to today) but the old place name is also given. The same method is applied in the case of nowadays non-existent administrative units (counties) and that of other geographical names. As for depopulated and extinct settlements, the original name from the source is used. Christian names are translated into English in the case of persons known in Anglo-Saxon historiography – this applies mainly to rulers and to the princes of Transylvania. When there is no established English variant for a name (usually in the case of lesser known persons), we proceeded in two ways. The first name of the persons from the period preceding the middle of the 16th century is translated into English, while the variant according to one's nationality is used in the case of persons from later periods, when the vernacular was increasingly used and ethnicity could be better distinguished.

We gratefully appreciate the financial support given by the Executive Unit for the Financing of Higher Education and University Scientific Research (CNCSIS – UEFISCSU) to our research project.



ANDRÁS W. KOVÁCS

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES
AND ELITES IN SĀLAJ REGION
IN THE 14TH-17TH CENTURIES

Editing and Publishing Historical Sources in the Research Institute of the Transylvanian Museum Society*

TAMÁS FEJÉR

THE TRANSYLVANIAN Museum Society (Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület), the earliest Transylvanian scholarly society (founded in 1859) established its research institute in 2006 mainly with the aim of editing the medieval and early modern sources of Transylvania. The institute and its agenda of source edition is closely intertwined with the scholarly figure of the late Zsigmond Jakó (1916–2008), a prominent member of the national and international scholarly community of medievalists. As a member of the Romanian and Hungarian academies and a former president of the Transylvanian Museum Society (1990–1994), Professor Jakó persistently urged the research units he had been directing to be reorganized into a research institute. According to his view, it was only a high level of institutionalization of editing and publishing sources through which the Transylvanian medieval and early modern studies would flourish. He reckoned the same institutional framework would enhance the emergence of a new generation of scholars who were to establish an up-to-date corpus of medieval and early modern sources. Moreover he aimed at establishing common grounds for the divergent research by setting forth some fundamental principles on how to edit both the sources from before 1542 and the early modern ones.

* This work was supported by CNCSIS-UEFISCSU, project number PN II-RU code/ 2010. The title of the research project: Institutional Structure and Elites in Sălaj Region in the 14th–17th Centuries (Structuri instituționale și elite din Țara Silvaniei în secolele XIV–XVII), code: TE_204. The present paper was accepted for publishing in 2010.

Working Methods

OUR RESEARCHES are treating and compiling the edition of sources in a way that is less characteristic to the Romanian historical establishment: in forms of abstract (*regesta*). It is well-known that during the second half of the 20th century the *regesta* became the most widely used form of Hungarian editing of medieval sources.¹ Even though the *in extenso* edition is usually considered of complete and lasting value, this abridged form of editing and publishing has proved to be most suitable and practical when dealing with hundreds of thousands of charters. On the other hand, if we take into account the regression of the expertise in Latin and palaeography even of historians, the latest information regarding medieval and early modern times can be disseminated in a broader circle of general audience only using this method.

In *How to compile regesta for the repertorium of medieval Transylvanian charters. Methodological advices*² written by Zsigmond Jakó along the regulations of Iván Borsa,³ the *regesta* is defined as a Hungarian abstract of the charter containing “the description of the fact that has legal significance. Furthermore it sums up all the names, geographical names, all the Hungarian and vernacular (i.e. non-Latin) words that occur in the text, all the titles and dignities of the individuals, all the relevant occurrences and expressions, and all the data regarding the institution, the chancellery that granted the charter. It also contains the comments upon the sealing of the charter, the description of the monetary units, units of measurement, etc.” The *regesta* is not meant to cover all the details of the charter, and it is not able to cover all the technicalities of such a document. But those who need the original Latin document will be able to recover it based on the archival shelfmark. So the *regesta* only commends certain aspects to the attention of the reader, and minutely leads her/him to the place where further information is available. Let us also stress that all the *regesta* contain similar clusters of information, regardless of whether they discuss published or unpublished charters, since most of the earlier publications are hardly available.

According to the generally established custom, researchers draft the *regesta* piece by piece, charter by charter. Accordingly, the charters transcribed entirely or focusing on their contents are singled out from the transcribing charter, and published in their own chronological place. Meanwhile the charter singled out is referred to in the place of the transcribing charter. A charter that is transcribed focusing on contents is a document that has, at least, its year and the granter included into the transcribing charter. The case of the references (*Urkunden-Erwähnungen*) is much more problematic. These are highlighted and individually compiled into *regesta* only when they can be dated exactly or approximately, otherwise they are left within the text of the respective charter.

Two cases should be foregrounded here: when unambiguous variants of technical terms are not to be found, or when longer excerpts of texts are ambiguous. In these cases the original Latin terms and excerpts are used in brackets so as to make the meaning of the original text as clear as possible. This solution is to be used only in exceptional and inevitable cases so that the multiple brackets and the frequent alternation of the Hungarian and Latin passages should not affect the intelligibility of the *regesta*.

The boundary inspections (*reambulatio metarum*) inform in a highly precise and instructive way about the former relationships of a certain place, therefore they are included into the text of the *regesta* in their original size and language; likewise, the extra sigillum notes (*extra tenorem*) or the notes regarding the management of the chancellery of the Principality and that of the places of authentication. In the text of the *regesta* the dates given along the ecclesiastical feast days are transformed according to our contemporary (Gregorian) calendar. This is followed by the original form of the date abbreviated and put into parentheses, since it is only the original text that can serve as a proof for the accurateness of the transcript of the dating. As far as the dating of the early modern sources is concerned, the dating of the charters that were written after December 25, 1590 is adjusted to the new, Gregorian calendar, since at the Transylvanian Diet held on September 21, 1590 the Estates of the Realm consented to its introduction beginning with Christmas Day of the same year.⁴

Our research programmes pay special attention to the indexes containing all the names and names of places that occur in the *regesta*, respectively to the headwords that will arouse scholarly interest. In fact these detailed indexes are preparing an exhaustive database of the historical archontology and topography of medieval and early modern Transylvania. The managers and researchers of the different programmes apply similar principles to the catalogue of the used bibliographic and archival sources.

In what follows let us map the research programmes and results of the Institute of Research that are based on the above-mentioned principles of source editing and publishing.

1. The Collection of Transylvanian Medieval Charters (*Codex Diplomaticus Transsylvaniae*)

THE MAIN aim of one of the major enterprises of Hungarian and Romanian medievalism is “to establish strong foundations for the scholarly and modern research of the medieval history of Transylvania by exhaustively collecting, editing and publishing the medieval documentary sources.”⁵ It was

already in 1943 when the Transylvanian Museum Society and the Transylvanian Scientific Institute (Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet) started the preparations for editing the archive materials of medieval Transylvania, but the first volume of the Collection of Transylvanian Medieval Charters could be published only half a century later thanks to Zsigmond Jakó. The volume resulting from the “one-man-research workshop” of the professor was published by the National Archives of Hungary. In the introduction of the publication Jakó was the first to sum up and assess the history of Transylvanian source editing, publishing and research done by Hungarian, German and Romanian researchers. Moreover, the same introduction established the basic principles to be followed by the further work of editing these sources. In the followings we shall detail these recommendations.

Jakó identifies the historical Transylvania of the centuries of the Middle Ages with the seven inner Transylvanian counties under the jurisdiction of the voivode (Inner Solnoc [Belső-Szolnok], Dăbâca [Doboka], Cluj [Kolozs], Turda [Torda], Alba [Fehér], Hunedoara [Hunyad], Târnava [Küküllő] counties), Szeklerland and Saxon land, respectively the counties of Middle Solnoc (Közép-Szolnok) and Crasna (Kraszna) from the so-called Partium. This is the broad area the data of which are included into the Collection of Transylvanian Charters. In Jakó’s view the verge of the Transylvanian Middle Ages and therefore the bordering event of the medieval charter sources is not the battle of Mohács (1526), but the Ottoman Occupation of Buda (1541), the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom, since this latter was to start the stately dissolution of the kingdom and the formation of the Principality of Transylvania. According to Zsigmond Jakó’s estimation of the Transylvanian historical charters, there are about 30–35,000 such diplomas from before 1542,⁶ but he underlines that due to the unknown quantity of the transcriptions this number could be much higher (the number of abstracts to be drafted is surely above 35,000). Let me stress that Jakó has a broader notion of the concept of the charter: it is used as an umbrella term not only for the different legal documents, but also for the practical (non-literary) use of literacy, i.e. missive letters or economic documents (rendering of accounts, registers). According to Jakó the material included and to be included into the collection should be gathered according to the following two principles: 1. charters issued by medieval Hungarian institutions should be collected as exhaustively as possible today, 2. charters issued by foreign institutions that have already been published. Thus every charter which is related to the historical Transylvania, to the Transylvanian settlements and inhabitants and which has been preserved either in the original or in transcriptions, in pre-17th century copies and in major collections of copies of charters is to be included into the Collection of Transylvanian Charters. Should a charter have even a single data referring to Transylvania, it is thought to be included into the collection. In such cases a shorter, concise *regesta* highlighting

the Transylvanian aspects is drafted. Besides the authentic charters also the forged ones are included. Of course, the forgeries are clearly distinguished from the authentic ones. Viewed from this perspective, it is a distinctive merit of the hitherto published volumes that they treat their material on the basis of independent source criticism: in contrast to the former publications the texts are accompanied by concise and clear critical comments. Therefore, thanks to the series, historical research is able to work with sources screened by up-to-date professional source criticism. The volumes are completed by map inserts informing the reader about the history of the settlements, the management of the churches or about other types of relationships of the historical Transylvania.

From the second volume the “one-man-research workshop” was complemented with András W. Kovács, then, from the third volume onwards, with Géza Hegyi. After Zsigmond Jakó passed away, it has fallen on them to carry on with the scholarly enterprise: they have to edit, supplement and index the abstracts he had already prepared for edition, and to go on with the exhaustive editing tasks of the *regesta* after 1400. Regarding the supplements of the series, the number of the texts is still growing, since based on the also growing electronic database of the National Archives of Hungary⁷ the new editors reveal novel “Transylvanian” charters and data.

Three volumes have been published in the series. They contain 2,893 Hungarian *regesta* of the charter material from between 1023–1359. The fourth volume is expected to be published in 2013 and is planned to comprise 1,000–1,200 abstracts of the charter materials of the period between 1360–1372. According to the editors’ estimation the series will reach the end of the 14th century with two-three more volumes.⁸

2. The Protocols of the Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) and Cluj-Mănăştur (Kolozsmonostor) Places of Authentication Dating from after the Secularization (1556)

IT IS well-known that places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) is the umbrella name for those ecclesiastical institutions (chapters and convents) which issued authentic charters in response both to the request of private persons and authorities.⁹ It was the birth of the Principality of Transylvania and the beginnings of the Reformation that opened up a new file in the life of the two places of authentication functioning in medieval Transylvania:¹⁰ the Alba Iulia/Transylvanian chapter and the Cluj-Mănăştur convent.¹¹ After the 1556 secularization of the Catholic ecclesiastical institutions, the Estates of the Realm were aware of the

importance of the places of authentication and had special interest in protecting their archives so as to guard their ceaseless usage. Therefore the Diet ordered the archives of the chapter and convent to be controlled both by the prince and the Estates of the Realm, and appointed lay letter searchers (*requisitores litterarum*) who were well-informed in matters of legal issues. They were remunerated by the prince. Until 1575 their only task was to transcribe charters when being ordered so by the authorities. As a matter of fact, the reorganization of the *loca credibilia* took place in 1575 after a transitional period of two decades. At this time the *requisitores* of both the chapter and the convent were instructed in detail regarding their work, and the two places of authentication were given new seals.¹² This reorganization actually transformed the two places of authentication into princely offices producing also the protocols that are our objects of research.

In fact these protocols were meant to improve the preservation of the legal documents granted by the *loca credibilia*. Based on them, the *requisitores* issued authentic transcripts at the request of the clients. At the time being twenty volumes of protocols of the Alba Iulia chapter¹³ and twenty-eight volumes of protocols of the Cluj-Mănăştur convent¹⁴ dating from the age of the Principality are preserved in the National Archives of Hungary.

The scholarly literature has already clarified the historical authenticity of the protocols. Therefore let us only mention that they are abounding in valuable facts and historiography has hardly used them even though – with the exception of the *Libri regii* – there is no cluster of sources from the 16th and 17th centuries to be compared to them regarding their unity and continuity. The borderline of authority and competence between the two places of authentication was the Mureş (Maros) river, even though smaller areas overlapped. On the southern part of the river the Alba Iulia chapter (the counties of Alba, Hunedoara, Târnava, Zărând [Zaránd], Severin [Szörény]), on its northern side the Cluj-Mănăştur convent (Cluj, Turda, Dăbâca, Inner Solnoc, Middle Solnoc and Crasna county) was the competent authority.

The protocol entries under research can be divided into two main groups. The declarations (*fassiones*) are based on the request of individuals in matters of private law (for instance, sale and purchase, pawning, exchange of landed property, donation etc). The reports (*relationes*) were usually written down at the request of the prince. These were documents like interrogations (*inquisitio*), boundary inspections (*reambulatio metarum*) and entering into possessions (*introductio, statutio*). The mainly Latin entries were more or less chronologically written into the protocols in full or abridged form. Nevertheless the volumes are chronologically overlapping since the *loca credibilia* employed several *requisitores* who in their turn kept their “own” protocols.

The aim of the editors is to deal with surviving protocols of the places of authentication from the reorganization that took place in 1575 till the end of the 17th century. Nevertheless the editing and publishing is not done protocol by protocol. This means that besides the entries of the protocols of a certain period the volume of *regesta* contains every entry to be found in later protocols, but referring to the respective period. It is a clear advantage of this method that the research foregrounds the material of a certain place of authentication in a clear-cut chronological line. All the *regesta* volumes contain a short codicological description of the protocols informing about the archival shelfmark, the size, the length, the present-day state of preservation, the period and state of binding, the watermark of the manuscript.

Until now 974 *regesta* were published in the first volume of the series containing entries from between 1575 and 1599 of the protocols of the Alba Iulia chapter.¹⁵ The next two volumes of *regesta* are planned to contain the protocols until the end of Gabriel Bethlen's reign (1600–1629), while another volume will be dedicated to the entries drafted under the reign of George Rákóczi I. (1630–1648). According to the calculations of the editors, the protocols ranging till the end of the reign of Prince Michael Apafi I. (1690) (i.e. all the material of the protocols in the period of the Principality of Transylvania) will result in about 7–8,000 abstracts.

As far as the protocols of the Cluj-Mănăstur convent are concerned, a first volume is planned to include the entries between the 1575 reorganization and 1590.

3. The *Libri regii* of the Transylvanian Princes

ALREADY THE name *Libri regii*¹⁶ of the Transylvanian princes highlights that these copy books or protocols taken in the Chancellery of the princes continued the practice of the royal court of Buda, a tradition introduced by the Angevins in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹⁷ Though Transylvania – being an autonomous state and a vassal of the Ottoman Empire – was not ruled by kings, but by elected princes, these books were called *Libri regii* not only by the historical tradition, but also by the scholarly study of sources, and each title bears the name of the prince at issue. According to some data, sometimes they were called even *Liber Văivodalis*.

The clerks of the princely chancellery (to be more precise at the so-called *cancellaria maior* branch of the chancellery) copied those important charters into these books which issued permanent rights and privileges in the name of the

prince, or were related to matters of clemency. Therefore documents such as donations of nobility, estates, offices and honours, privileges, exemptions, rules and regulations of corporations and social organizations can be found here. The very same books also included a large number of princely approvals (*consensus*) necessary for the validity of testaments and a large variety of private documents (buying and selling, exchanges of landed property, donations, mortgage, etc.). If the beneficiary lost his/her charter, an authentic transcription was issued upon request and on the orders of the prince based on the entries of the *Libri regii*.

There is no doubt that the *Libri regii* do not contain all the charters issued by the princely chancellery, but we do not know the rules of selection. Probably there was no rule that selected the charters to be copied or to be left out regarding their content. The charters were registered in a rather loose chronological order, mostly in full text, in most cases preserving the text that came closest to the original. Besides, there are some that lack the usual formulae, otherwise reproducing the content of the charter in detail. But the terse, a few-lines-long abstract, shorter than the others, is more frequent, just mentioning the content and the names of the persons. We can be certain that the last two kinds of texts, the detailed ones and mostly the few-lines-long abstracts do not contain all the information that had once been in the full-text version of the charter, but despite this fact they can also be used as historical resources. Most of the documents enrolled into the *Libri regii* are written in Latin, but several Hungarian and a few German private letters and guild regulations are to be found among the transcripts due to the princely confirmations.

Today the archive of the Alba Iulia chapter preserved by the National Archives of Hungary has twenty-seven original *Libri regii*¹⁸ and three volumes of photocopies.¹⁹ Two other original volumes from the Cluj-Mănăstur convent can be counted also here. These are to be found in the archives of the convent also in the National Archives of Hungary. Consequently the historical research can take into account 30 volumes of *Libri regii*, but originally their number must have been much higher, since we have knowledge also of other volumes that have been destroyed or lost.

The value of the *Libri regii* as a historical source is given first of all by the variety of the documents being copied into them, and the abundance of information related to almost any aspect of the society in the age of the principality. The variety of the content of this cluster of sources makes possible a wider range of uses, but most of all these contents can become first-hand sources for local history, genealogy and archontology.

The series contains the *regesta* of all the preserved *Libri regii* separating all the volumes of each and every prince into different units regardless of the number of volumes. The work holds together all material of every ruler in strict chronological

order and in a sole series of numbers, restarting the numbering in the case of each prince. Let us stress that each *regesta* volume will open with the transcripts or references from earlier centuries. All the *regesta* volumes contain a short codicological description of the *Libri regii*. Following the archival shelfmark, these inform about the size, the length, the present-day state of preservation, the period and state of binding, the watermark of the manuscript.

Until this moment two volumes have been published as part of the series. They include 2,540 *regesta* of six volumes of *Libri regii* preserved from the period between 1569 and 1602 and compiled under the reign of John Sigismund, Christopher Báthory and Sigismund Báthory.²⁰ The volume of *regesta* to follow focuses on the *Libri regii* of Stephen Bocskai from 1606 and Sigismund Rákóczi from between 1607 and 1608 (circa 800 abstracts). A further volume will be published based on the two *Libri regii* of Gabriel Báthory from the years 1608–1610.

4. The Archives of the Wesselényi Family from Hodod (Hadad)²¹

THE AIM of the scrutiny is to improve and modernize the research of the local history of Sălaj (Szilágyság) by publishing the archival materials that reach up to the 17th century out of the 700-year archival heritage of the Baron Wesselényi family.²² It is a certainty that the research of the medieval and early modern institutional and social history of the Sălaj region that used to stretch from the former Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties has to be based mainly on the archival materials of this family. The model for editing and publishing this material is the latest published volume of the series entitled *The Archives of the Transylvanian National Museum* which has an exemplary way of treating the archives of the Wass family from Țaga (Cege).²³ Consequently we deal with the materials of the Wesselényi archives from before 1690 in a twofold manner: either by compiling Hungarian abstracts, or publishing the documents in their entirety when they are especially important regarding the family or the general historical research. The documents dated after 1690 are presented in a concise manner from fascicle to fascicle. As far as possible, this short presentation enumerates all the names of places and individuals who are referred to in the fascicle. It is the duty of these brief descriptions to inform the researchers about the quantity and nature of the sources. An alphabetical index summing up all the writers and receivers of the letters will present the missive letters to be found in the archival material. The introductory paper of the publication will detail the history of

the family, its family relationships, its estates. Moreover it will inform about the constitution, the compounds of the archives, the ordering of these archives in the past, and the provenance of their parts (since certain estates and the documents referring to them came to be owned by the family in different historical periods and due to diverging ways of taking possession of the estates and various family relations). The volume will contain map inserts informing about the possessions of the family and a family tree. Since an exhaustive and comprehensive picture on these aspects can be obtained only after a future thorough research of the whole archival material, let us only sketch the beginnings of the family's career and the history of the family archives in brief.

Miklós and Farkas, members of the Wesselényi family originating from Nógrád county, fled to Transylvania after 1556 due to their role in the rebellion of Ferenc Bebek, being persecuted for disloyalty.²⁴ Already by the 1560s Miklós (1504–1584) had a noteworthy bureaucratic career: between 1563 and 1568 he acted as *director causarum*, and was appointed *prothonotarius* between 1568 and 1584.²⁵ He acquired an estate in Geaca (Gyeke, then Cluj county) and established the basis for the Geaca-based side of the family. Already in 1646 the spear side of the family died out with Miklós's grandchild Boldizsár Wesselényi, the *comes* of Dăbâca county (1615–1646)²⁶ and *arendator decimarum* of the Principality (1634–1646).²⁷ After a short Transylvanian stay, his brother, Farkas (1502–1582) returned to Hungary. But his son Ferenc (1540–1594) had a paramount role in the rise of the family and in establishing the Transylvanian estate and prestige of the family. From his early youth Ferenc Wesselényi entered Prince Stephen Báthory's service and followed him also to Poland after the latter was elected king (1576). As treasurer and councillor he was a man of confidence of the king there. In 1582 he was granted baronial title for services rendered,²⁸ and by means of a deed of gift dated on March 6, 1584 he was given the castle of Hodod in Middle Solnoc county, the *oppida* Hodod and Jibou (Zsibó), and other 17 estates and parts of estates detailed in the charter.²⁹ This gift made the family ascend from the lesser nobility to the Transylvanian aristocrats. One of the sons of Ferenc, István already became councillor, from 1607 to 1614 he was the *comes* of Middle Solnoc county,³⁰ from 1614 to 1622³¹ his brother Pál holds the same office in the same county, and becomes chamberlain (*cubicularius*)³² between 1608 and 1613. The most important career of the Hungarian side of the family was that of the son of the late István, Ferenc (1605–1667) who was granted the title of count in 1646, and the diet of 1655 in Bratislava (Pozsony) elected him palatine of Hungary. The Transylvanian line of descent was carried on by the above mentioned Pál. Besides other noteworthy representatives of public life among his descendants are István Wesselényi (1674–1734), the diary writer³³ and Miklós (1796–1850), one of the outstanding politicians of the reform era.³⁴

From the end of the 16th century the family came to be related to the major aristocratic families of Transylvania: the Gyulafis, the Bánfis, the Lónyais, the Kornis, the Béldis, the Bethlens, the Rhédeis, the Telekis, etc. As we already mentioned, the main possessions of the Transylvanian side of the family were in Middle Solnoc county, but naturally the increase of the influence went hand in hand with the new possessions, whether by means of merits or by marital politics. Therefore from the 17th century onwards the documents and charters accompanying the possessions contain data referring not only to the already mentioned Middle Solnoc county, but to almost the whole of Transylvania, and also the Partium.

The ascension, the growth of the authority and wealth of the family from the 16th century onwards naturally brought about the increase of the amount of the archival documents referring to the family. The most part of the archival material of the Transylvanian side of the family was preserved in the Transylvanian National Museum Archives, an institution that used to function within the Transylvanian Museum Society.³⁵ After the Transylvanian Museum Society was discontinued in 1950, the management of these archives was taken over by the Cluj Department of the Library of the Romanian Academy under the name of Historical Archives.³⁶ In 1974 the material was transferred to the Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch (Cluj-Napoca). In what follows we detail the inventory and status of the archives of the Wesselényi family according to the 1949 register of the Transylvanian National Museum Archives:

1. The archive from Jibou of the Wesselényi family was entrusted to the care of the Transylvanian Museum Society in 1896 (78 fascicles, 20,000 letters, 3 running metres of volumes). It has documents from the period between the 13th and 19th centuries.³⁷ At the time being it is kept in the custody of the National Archives Cluj County Branch³⁸ and in the University Library of Cluj. The archive from Jibou of the Wesselényi family used to be temporarily preserved in Gârceiu (Görcsön) by Baron Miklós Wesselényi (1845–1916), the *comes* of Sălaj county. In 1896 the family deposited it at the Museum Society.³⁹ The archive transported to Cluj in 1896 amounted to 14 large cases and it was Zoltán Ferenczi (1857–1927), the director of the common library of the Museum Society and the Franz Joseph University of Cluj who organized the archives for the first time.⁴⁰ In the second half of the 1930s Lajos Kelemen (1877–1963) and Attila T. Szabó (1906–1987) put into shape a new order. They arranged the documents into 78 groups (at this time the archive had about 20,000 documents).⁴¹ Let us mention here that the constitution and organization of the personal archive of Miklós Wesselényi (1796–1850) within the archive of Jibou was carried out by József Venczel (1913–1972) at the end of the 1940s on behalf of the Archives. Nevertheless his presentation of the collection could be published only in 2002.⁴² At the end of the summer of 1943 a part of the Transylvanian National Museum

Archives, seven cases of the medieval charters and other materials thought to be important were transported from Cluj in order to rescue the materials still deposited in the University Library from the battle line.⁴³ The cases contained also the medieval charters of the Wesselényi family's archive from Jibou. After the end of the war and the banning and discontinuation of the Transylvanian Museum Society, the National Archives of Hungary were returned to their former place of preservation, i.e. to the University Library. Following their arrival the archival materials were deposited in the manuscript archive of the library.⁴⁴ Unfortunately the documents rescued from the Wesselényi archive were never included again into the archive from Jibou handled then already by the Cluj Department of the Library of the Romanian Academy. Not even in 1974 was the former unity of the archive regained when the Museum Society Archives were taken over by the National Archives Cluj County Branch. Thus the awkward situation emerges that the greatest part of the medieval materials of the Wesselényi family archive are preserved in the University Library of Cluj (Special Collections),⁴⁵ on the other hand the archive itself is in the Cluj County Branch of the National Archives. Let us mention here also that the well-known handbook on the historical sources of Hungary⁴⁶ informs also about an archive of Gârceiu of the Wesselényi family. There is no such an archive, and the error is probably due to the former place of preservation of the documents: as we have already mentioned the archive of Jibou was in Gârceiu at the time of the handover in 1896.

From 1896 onwards the rich material could finally be used by the scholarly research. Already in November 1896 Gyula Kincs, professor of the Reformed Grammar School of Zalău (Zilah) asked for permission to do research.⁴⁷ A similar request was handed in to the Transylvanian Museum Society by Mór Petri in 1898 and János Karácsonyi in 1900.⁴⁸ At the same time borrowing became possible. Several items were borrowed personally,⁴⁹ or by means of an institution⁵⁰ from the Museum Society.

2. *The archive from Hodod of the Wesselényi family* was entrusted to the care of the Transylvanian National Museum Archives in two instalments, in 1940 and in 1947 (30 fascicles, not ordered). It contains documents dated from between the 16th and 19th century.⁵¹ At the time being it is preserved in the National Archives Cluj County Branch.⁵² Our investigation about the fragment of the archive delivered in 1947 has established only a few circumstances: at that time the material was preserved by Count Degenfeld family. Kristóf Degenfeld's (1841–1922) wife was Terézia Wesselényi (1860–1924), and the family entered into the possession of large estates through her person. One of these estates was the castle of Hodod.⁵³ In all appearances Géza Kovách (1925–2004) delivered the fragment of the archive from Hodod to the Archive of the Museum Society in April 1947⁵⁴ as a result of the steps taken by the Transylvanian National Museum Archive to save the Wesselényi documents of the Degenfelds.⁵⁵

3. *The fragment of the Cluj archive of the Wesselényi family* was taken over by the Transylvanian National Museum Archives (2 fascicles, not organized). It used to contain documents from the 18th and the 19th century.⁵⁶ For the time being we were unable to locate it in the National Archives Cluj County Branch.

4. *The archive from Dragu (Drág) of the Wesselényi family* was entrusted to the care of the Transylvanian National Museum Archives in 1949 (4 fascicles). It contains documents from the 14th to the 18th century in a chronological order.⁵⁷ In fact the archive is only the remainder of the Dragu archive of the family. This fragment was handed to the Museum Society Archive by György Bethlen (1888–1968), the son of Sarolta Wesselényi and Count Ödön Bethlen, a prominent figure of the interwar political life.⁵⁸ At the time being the fragment is to be found in the National Archives Cluj County Branch.⁵⁹

5. The Wesselényi family also had a smaller corpus of documents reaching back till the 15th century in the archive of the Calvinist College of Cluj (*Kolozsvári Református Kollégium*) formerly preserved by the Transylvanian National Museum Archives.⁶⁰ This could be only partly traced back in the National Archives Cluj County Branch. On the other hand these documents, the three medieval charters and some texts from the 17th century⁶¹ are not to be found in the inventory of the present-day collection of the college. However in July 1903 in the library of the college Lajos Kelemen saw the two cases that contained materials on the Wesselényis, and at the same time he succeeded to copy the inventory compiled about their content.⁶² Based on this, the research shed light on the fact that at the time being some of these documents are to be found in the archive from Hodod of the Wesselényi family.⁶³ And since we know that the compiler of the inventory, József Wesselényi (1769–1826) was a descendant of the Hodod side of the family, in all likelihood the material originally belonged to the archive of Hodod of the family, but sometime in the beginning of the 19th century it was transferred to the library of the college due to reasons we still not know. The fragment of the archive came to be part of the Transylvanian National Museum Archive partly together with the former archive of the college in 1944,⁶⁴ and partly in the beginning of 1945 thanks to Emánuel Brüll (1884–1951), the custodian of the college library.⁶⁵ As it has already been mentioned, a certain part of it was included into the family archive of Hodod probably after 1950.

6. A major archival fragment, rich in medieval charters of the Transylvanian side of the Wesselényi family, is preserved by the National Archives of Hungary.⁶⁶ The part of the documents that are dated between 1528 and 1844 totals 0.56 running metre.⁶⁷ The charters compiled before Mohács were classified to the Collection of Diplomats (Diplomatikai Levéltár).⁶⁸ Let us stress here that circa 30 charters from before 1526 were included into the family archive from the archive of the former Sălaj county.⁶⁹ It was the same archive that stood at the origins of some other documents from the period between 1716 and 1914,

but these were singled out, separated and reorganized into a new collection under the name *Szilágy county* (P 636).⁷⁰ These documents entered the family archive after the constitution of the county in 1876, in all certainty in the period Baron Miklós Wesselényi acted as *comes* of Sălaj county.

Even though it still cannot be established when and how this fragment of archive came to the possession of the National Archives of Hungary, it is no doubt that originally it was part of the Jibou archive of the family. In 1899 János Karácsonyi published a short article on the coat of arms of the Wesselényi family⁷¹ informing also that he revealed the grant of arms based on a copy of Sándor Bölöni, a custodian of the Museum of Oradea. The latter made his copy from the original preserved in the archive of the family then still to be found in Gârceiu. As we already noted, the Jibou archive preserved in Gârceiu was entrusted to the care of the Museum Society in 1896. Since today the original of the grant of arms is in the National Archives of Hungary,⁷² for reasons we cannot identify a certain part of the Jibou archive was left in Gârceiu, and then transferred to the National Archives of Hungary.

Our research focuses on exploring and editing these archives. Let us note here that the identification of the parts of archives (for instance, those dispersed due to marriages) that would complete the core archives is not our main goal. In spite of it this is a major task of the future, since the dispersed materials could bring new data to the forefront in matters of historical possessions and inheritance.

From a thematic point of view the documents of these archives do not differ from the other family archives: besides the documents related to the right of possession, the correspondence of the members of the family (for instance the whole personal correspondence of the personal archive of the younger Miklós Wesselényi consists of 10,237 items⁷³), the documents related to their office and kept by them, records of economic nature and those related to the management of the possessions were preserved in a higher number. From the period before 1542 about 280–300 charters (i.e. archival units) have been preserved in original or in copies, and in their turn these stored the texts of about 500 documents. Let us highlight here that out of these the digital images of the charters from before 1526 can be accessed on the website of the National Archives of Hungary. But the medieval part of the archive focuses not on the Wesselényi-family, but on the Jakcs family from Coșeiu (Kusaly) who died out on the male line in 1582. As we already alluded to it, this is due to the fact that the possessions of the Jakcs family (the castle Hodod, the *oppida* of Hodod and Jibou etc.) together with the charters referring to them were given as a gift to Ferenc Wesselényi in 1584.

The archives are hardly unknown to the scholarly world, but only a few explored systematically the materials referring to the period before the 17th century. One

of these was Mór Petri who surveyed the archive from Jibou for his monograph on Sălaj county.⁷⁴ Others include Attila T. Szabó who made public the abstracts of the Hungarian documents from before 1600 of the archive from Jibou,⁷⁵ and A. A. Rusu who published documents from before 1355 of the same archive in abstracts and with full texts.⁷⁶ Of course, the most important enterprises of the Romanian and Hungarian medieval studies (*Codex Diplomaticus Transylvaniae*, *Documenta Romaniae Historica, C. Transilvania*, *Charters of the Sigismund Era*, *Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*) published a dozen charters from the archives of the family. Besides these major editions, the scattered publications (to use a popular nineteenth-century term for them: the so-called *oklevélkalászatok*) also revealed several documents from the period we dealt with.⁷⁷

SUMMARIZING THE core ideas of the paper: in the Research Institute of the Transylvanian Museum Society the editing and publishing of sources follow the track once laid out by Professor Zsigmond Jakó. The essence of the research he initiated is that the sources produced in Latin and other languages, used in medieval and early modern Transylvania should be published in the form of Hungarian abstracts. Thus this written heritage will be accessible also to the broader circle of those interested, or to historians not having any knowledge of Latin and palaeography. Until now the research programmes of source edition and publication made available more than 6,400 abstracts. Most of these have been unknown for historiographic research. As far as our experience shows nowadays they are used more and more. This situation is also a clear sign that the editing and publishing of historical sources seems to be an excellent scholarly opportunity through which these working groups can make themselves useful for both the Romanian and the Hungarian historical research. Finally let us express our hope that these scholarly enterprises will help the Transylvanian medieval and early modern research surmount the difficulties and backlog by improving the editing and publishing of historical sources. □

Translated by LEVENTE SZABÓ

Notes

1. The abstract form became widespread due to editions like *A nagykállói Kállay-család levéltára* (1224–1386) (The archive of the Kállay family from Nagykálló) (2 vols., Budapest: Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság, 1943), edited by Imre Szentpétery, respectively the so-called *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (Documents of the Sigismund Era) (1387–1424), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai*, II,

- Forráskiadványok, no. 1, 3–4, 22, 25, 27, 32, 37, 39, 41, 43, 49 (11 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1951–2009) begun by Elemér Mályusz and continued by Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth and Tibor Neumann.
2. Typewritten manuscript, undated. Based on this and under the guidance of Professor Jakó, the researchers of the institute drafted a detailed regulation regarding the editing of early modern charters. The regulation bore in mind the characteristics of the charter-issuing practice of the early modern charters. We present the practice and methodological prerequisites of the *regesta* based on these two regulations.
 3. Elemér Mályusz and Iván Borsa, eds., *A Szent-Ivány család levéltára 1230–1525* (The archive of the Szent-Ivány family 1230–1525), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai*, II, Forráskiadványok, no. 14 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988), 5–10.
 4. Sándor Szilágyi, ed., *Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transylvaniae. Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek (1540–1699)* (21 vols., Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1875–1898), (henceforth: *MCRT*), vol. 3 (1576–1596), 374.
 5. Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae. Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transylvanas illustrantia. Erdélyi Okmánytár. Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez*, vol. 1 (1023–1300), vol. 2 (1301–1339), vol. 3 (1340–1359), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai*, II, Forráskiadványok, no. 26, 40, 47 (Budapest: Akadémiai and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1997–2008), vol. 1, 7. Our sketch of the research is based on the introduction of the publication: “A középkori okleveles források kutatása Erdélyben” (The research of medieval documentary sources in Transylvania), especially on pages 30–32.
 6. In his “Erdélyi forráskiadás az utóbbi félévszázadban” (Transylvanian source editing in the last fifty years), *Levéltári Közlemények* 75, no. 1 (2004): 3, Jakó estimates there are 35–40,000 charters from before 1542. The digital facsimile of most of these medieval Transylvanian sources can be accessed in the online database of the National Archives of Hungary, <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&a=start> (accessed 13 October 2011).
 7. György Rác, ed., *Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica. A középkori Magyarország digitális levéltára* (Digital archives of medieval Hungary) (DL-DF 4.3.) (Budapest: Arcanum and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008, DVD-ROM). See also: György Rác, “Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica. Medieval Hungary online: The online portal of the National Archives of Hungary on medieval charters,” *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 56 (2010): 423–444.
 8. Géza Hegyi and András W. Kovács, “Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae,” *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 56 (2010): 420–421.
 9. The places of authentication have a wide scholarly literature. Out of this let us only mention: Franz Eckhart, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 9 (1914): 395–558; Imre Szentpétery, *Magyar oklevéltan* (Hungarian diplomatics), (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1930), 74–77, 121–138, 214–222; Tamás Kófalvi, “Places of Authentication (loca credibilia),” *Chronica*. Annual of the Institute of History, University of Szeged 2 (2002): 27–38; László Solymosi, “Die glaubwürdigen

- Orte (loca credibilia) Ungarns im 14–15. Jahrhundert,” *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 55 (2009): 175–190.
10. László Papp, *A hiteles helyek története és működése az újkorban* (The history and activity of the places of authentication in the modern age) (Budapest: “Élet” Irodalmi és Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1936), 56–68, 108–117. On the activity of the Alba Iulia chapter after secularization see: Zsolt Bogdándi and Emőke Gálfi, “The Alba Iulia chapter of authentication after secularization,” *Colloquia. Journal of Central European History* 13, no. 1–2, (2006): 290–304.
 11. On the places of authentication in medieval Transylvania see: Francisc Pall, “Contribuții la problema locurilor de adeverire din Transilvania medievală (sec. XIII–XV)” (Contributions to the issue of the places of authentication in medieval Transylvania, 13th–15th centuries), *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* 2 (1957): 391–405; On the activity of the Alba Iulia chapter before secularization see: Károly Vekov, *Locul de adeverire din Alba Iulia. (Secolele XIII–XVI)* (The Alba Iulia place of authentication. [13th–16th centuries]) (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul De Studii Transilvane and Gloria, 2003). For the protocols of the Cluj-Mănăstur convent before 1556 see: Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei* (The Protocols of the Cluj-Mănăstur convent) (1289–1556), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok*, no. 17 (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai, 1990).
 12. Sigismund Jakó, “Instrucțiuni arhivistice ale oficiilor din Transilvania 1575–1841” (Archival instructions of Transylvanian offices), *Revista Arhivelor* (Seria Nouă) 1, no. 1, (1958): 51, 54–56.
 13. The collection called *Protocolla* (F2) are to be found within the archive of the Alba Iulia chapter. Cf. Trócsányi Zsolt, *Erdélyi kormányhatósági levéltárak* (Transylvanian governmental archives) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 134; Antal Beke, *Kimutatás a gyulafehérvári káptalannak őrizete alatt volt országos levéltár átadásáról* (Report on the handover of the national archive of the Alba Iulia chapter) (Budapest: Az Athenaeum R. Társ. Könyvnyomdája, 1884), 9–11.
 14. These are to be found in the collection called *Protocolla, Libri regii et Styliionaria* (F 15) within the archive of the Cluj-Mănăstur convent. Cf. Trócsányi, *Kormányhatósági lt*, 140.
 15. Zsolt Bogdándi and Emőke Gálfi, eds., *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei* (The protocols of the Transylvanian chapter) vol. 1 (1222–1599) *Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok*, no. VIII/1. (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006)
 16. On the *Libri regii* in more detail see: Tamás Fejér and Anikó Szász, “The so-called Libri Regii Protocols of the Transylvanian Princes,” *Colloquia. Journal of Central European History*, 13, no. 1-2, (2006): 272–289. A digital format of the *Libri regii* has been provided by historians from Miskolc: Éva Gyulai, ed., *Az erdélyi fejedelmek oklevelei (1560–1689) Erdélyi Királyi Könyvek* (The charters of the Transylvanian princes [1560–1689]). Transylvanian Libri Regii) (Budapest: Arcanum; Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kara, 2005, DVD-ROM)
 17. On the medieval Hungarian *Libri regii* see Imre Hajnik, *A királyi könyvek a vegyes házakbeli királyok korszakában* (The royal *Libri regii* under the reign of the mixed dynasties), *Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből*, vol. VIII/3 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1879); Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan*, 181–184. The *Libri*

- regii* from after 1526 were digitally published by the researchers of the National Archives of Hungary: Zsuzsanna Vissi, Gabriella Trostovszky, István Németh, Csilla Tuza, Judit Csavlek, Gabriella Magyar, György Németh, eds., *Libri Regii. Királyi Könyvek 1527–1918* (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár and Arcanum, 2006, DVD-ROM), <http://mol.arcanum.hu/digidat/opt/a100513.htm?v=moldigidat&a=start&a1> (accessed 13 October 2011).
18. Beke, *Kimutatás*, 5–9; Trócsányi, *Kormányhatósági lt.*, 133.
 19. These contain the photocopies of the volume compiled under the reign of Sigismund Báthory in 1601–1602. The original manuscript is preserved in Vienna.
 20. Tamás Fejér, Etelka Rácz, and Anikó Szász, eds., *Az erdélyi fejedelmek Királyi Könyvei* (The *Libri regii* of the Transylvanian princes) vol. I (1569–1602), Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok no. VII/1–3, part VII/1, János Zsigmond Királyi Könyve 1569–1570 (The *Liber regius* of John Sigismund 1569–1570), VII/2. Báthory Kristóf Királyi Könyve 1580–1581 (The *Liber regius* of Christopher Báthory), VII/3. Báthory Zsigmond Királyi Könyvei 1582–1602 (The *Libri regii* of Sigismund Báthory 1582–1602) (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2003–2005)
 21. The members of the research programme entitled: Institutional Structure and Political Elite in Sălaj Region in the 14th–17th centuries (Structuri instituționale și elite din Țara Silvaniei în secolele XIV–XVII) funded by CNCIS (code: TE_204) are: András Kovács, Anikó Szász, Géza Hegyi, Tamás Fejér. The website of the project: <http://www.familyhistory.ro/>
 22. Mór Petri (1863–1945) compiled his monograph on the county of Sălaj established in 1876 (*Szilágy vármegye monographiája*) (The monograph of Sălaj county) (6 vols., Zaláu: Szilágy vármegye közönsége, 1901–1904). This scholarly work dating from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries serves as a starting point of almost every later elaboration on the region, but the researcher of the 21st century cannot be satisfied with the material he used and dealt with.
 23. Antal Valentiny and András W. Kovács, eds., *A Wass család cegei levéltára* (The archive from Țaga of the Wass family), *Az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltára* no. 3 (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006).
 24. The most useful scholarly work treating the history of the family stretching to the 17th century: Farkas Deák, *A Wesselényi család őseiről* (On the ancestors of the Wesselényi family), *Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből* no. VII/8 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1878)
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 26. *MCRT*, vol. 7 (1614–1621), 258; Deák, *Wesselényi család*, 21.
 27. Trócsányi, *Központi kormányzat*, 325.
 28. Jakó Zsigmond and Radu Manolescu, *Scrierea latină în evul mediu* (The Latin writing in the Middle Ages) (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1971), Album, 32–33.
 29. Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch (Direcția Județeană Cluj a Arhivelor Naționale, Cluj-Napoca; henceforth: Nat. Arch. Cluj), Wesselényi of Jibou family archive (Fond no. 250), Documente medievale (1533–1585), no. 119.

30. Nat. Arch. Cluj, Wesselényi of Hodod family archive (Fond no. 460), no. 14; Trócsányi, *Központi kormányzat* 36.
31. Nat. Arch. Cluj, Wesselényi of Hodod family archive (Fond no. 460), no. 22; Wesselényi of Jibou family archive (Fond no. 250), Acte cronologice apartinătoare membrilor familiei Wesselényi și rudelor lor (Chronological documents belonging to the members of Wesselényi family and their relatives), no. 4 (1616–1630).
32. Trócsányi, *Központi kormányzat*, 321.
33. Wesselényi István, *Sanyarú világ. Napló, 1703–1708* (Wretched World. Diary 1703–1708), eds. András Magyarai and Lajos Demény (2 vols., Bucharest: Kriterion, 1983–1985)
34. Trócsányi Zsolt, *Wesselényi Miklós* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1965).
35. On the Transylvanian National Museum Archives see: András Kiss and Rudolf Wolf, “The Archives of the Transylvanian Museum, 1842–1950,” *Transylvanian Review* 4, no. 3 (1995): 72–94. Treated in detail by András Kiss, “Az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltárának kialakulása és története” (The formation and history of the Archives of the Transylvanian National Museum), in *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület gyűjteményei* (The Collections of the Transylvanian Museum Society), ed. Sipos Gábor (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2009), 183–237.
36. For a short overview cf.: Teodor Pompiliu, Mihail Triteanu, and Liviu Ursuțiu, “Arhiva Istorică a Bibliotecii Filialei din Cluj a Academiei Republicii Socialiste România” (The historical archive of the Cluj Department of the Library of the Romanian Academy), *Revista Arhivelor* 10, no. 1 (1967): 125–136.
37. Kiss, “ENM Levéltára,” 234.
38. Wesselényi of Jibou family archive (Fond no. 250), 23.5 running metres; the documents from before 1600 were classified into the Collection of medieval charters (Colecția de documente medievale).
39. “But a major and noteworthy increase of our manuscript archive is due to Sir Baron Miklós Wesselényi, the *comes* of Sălaj county who made an eternal deposit to the library of the Transylvanian Museum Society, depositing all the manuscripts and the whole archive of the Wesselényi family. He also ordered a 180-forint worth cabinet to preserve the archives. The organization of the archive will take place in the summer of the current year (1897).” *Erdélyi Múzeum* 14 (1897): 346.
40. *Erdélyi Múzeum* 17 (1900): 233.
41. After the completion of the work Attila T. Szabó informed the researchers on the principles of this organization. Cf. Attila Szabó T., “A Wesselényi-levéltár és XVI. századi magyar iratai” (The Wesselényi archive and its 16th century Hungarian documents), *Levéltári Közlemények* 16 (1938): 205–208.
42. József Venczel, *Iffabb Wesselényi Miklós személyi levéltára* (The personal archive of the younger Miklós Wesselényi), *Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltára*, no. 2 (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2002).
43. Zsigmond Jakó, *Jelentés az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltárának 1943. évi működéséről* (Report on the activity of the Transylvanian National Museum Archives concerning the year 1943) (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1944), 5.
44. Kiss, “ENM Levéltára,” 215–216.

45. Their catalogue: Lista documentelor feudale ale familiei Wesselényi, redactate în limba latină (The list of feudal documents in Latin of the Wesselényi family).
46. Kosáry Domokos, *Bevezetés Magyarország történetének forrásaiba és irodalmába* (Introduction to the sources and scholarly literature of the history of Hungary), Series I, vol. 1. Általános rész (General part), I–II (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1970), 764. Cf. also: National Archives of Hungary, Photographic Collection of Diplomatics (Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény), U 506. This collection contains the digital images of the medieval charters of the Archive from Jibou preserved in the University Library of Cluj.
47. Nat. Arch. Cluj, Archive of the Transylvanian Museum Society (henceforth: Arch. Trans. Mus. Soc.), Historical Archive (no. 230), 14/1896.
48. Ibid., 5/1898, 2/1900.
49. E.g. Viktor Récey in 1899, the already-mentioned Zoltán Ferenczi from Budapest in 1899–1901, Samu Kardos in 1903. Ibid., 2/1899, 16/1899, 1/1900, 11/1901, 2/1903.
50. E.g. the University Library of Budapest for Zoltán Ferenczi in 1904 and for Jenő Barbul in 1906, the Library of the Hungarian National Museum for Károly Papp in 1906. Ibid., 7/1904, 29/1906, 1/1906.
51. Kiss, “ENM Levéltára,” 234.
52. Wesselényi of Hodod family archive (Fond no. 460), 5 running metres of documents. The charters dating from before 1600 were included into the *Colectia de documente medievale* (Collection of medieval charters).
53. Gyöngy Kovács Kiss, ed., *Álló és mozgóképek. Vázlat az erdélyi főnemességről* (Still pictures and motion pictures. Sketch on the Transylvanian aristocracy) (Kolozsvar: Korunk, [2003]), 65–66.
54. He sent an interesting account to Zsigmond Jakó about the on-the-spot investigation: cf. Nat. Arch. Cluj, Arch. Trans. Mus. Soc., Historical Archive (no. 230), 24/1947.
55. Unfortunately the letters themselves have been lost. Ibid., 16/1947 (A Degenfeld-féle hadadi Wesselényi lev. megmentése érdekében írt levelek) (Letters written with the aim to save the Wesselényi archive of Hodod).
56. Kiss, “ENM Levéltára,” 234.
57. Ibid.
58. The certificate of the handover has been lost. Cf. Nat. Arch. Cluj, Arch. Trans. Mus. Soc., Historical Archive (no. 230), 9/1949. (Bethlen György letétbe helyezi a Wesselényi család drági levéltárának maradványait) (György Bethlen deposits the remains of the archive from Dragu of the Wesselényi family.)
59. Wesselényi of Dragu family archive (Fond no. 227).
60. Zsigmond Jakó, József Sebestyén, and György Bözödi, “Az erdélyi levéltárvédelem múltjából” (From the past of the Transylvanian archival protection), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 56, no. 1–2 (1994): 101–102. As a matter of fact it survived in the archival collection of the Calvinist College of Cluj together with some other, smaller archival deposits.
61. Two fascicles that according to their archival shelfmark belong to the material of the Wesselényi family occurring in the archival collection of the Calvinist College.

62. Wesselényi of Jibou family archive (Fond no. 250), no. 2. (Inventare de arhivă, 1712–1903), fol. 537–538.
63. For instance, the charter of Sigismund Rákóczi dated 23 February 1607, which appoints István Wesselényi, the *comes* of Middle Solnoc county. At the time being this charter is to be found in: Wesselényi of Hodod family archive (Fond no. 460), no. 14. The privilege charter of the Hungarian king Ferdinand II dated from January 16, 1627, granting baronial title to Zsigmond Lónyai is to be found in the very same collection under no. 94.
64. Jakó, Sebestyén and Bözödi, “Levéltárvédelem,” 101–102; Kiss, “ENM Levéltára,” 228.
65. Nat. Arch. Cluj, Arch. Trans. Mus. Soc., Historical Archive (no. 230), 55/1945.
66. The *Archivum Familiae Wesselényi* (E 199) is also in the custody of the National Archives of Hungary. The most part of its material was created during the office years and life of the above-mentioned Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi. Most of the items are linked to his years of work as a palatine and chief captain of Upper Hungary. But since our task is to explore the archives of the Transylvanian side of the family, we do not deal with this cluster of sources from the period between 1583 and 1732. For a detailed overview of the collection see: Ferenc Maksay, *A Magyar Kamara Archívuma* (The archives of the Hungarian Treasury) (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1992), 138–139.
67. And is to be found in the collection P 702. For a short overview see: István Bakács, ed., *Kisebb családi és személyi fondok*, III., 650–1560. Alaptörzsszámok. Repertórium (Smaller family and personal collections, vol. 3, no. 650–1560. Repertory) Levéltári leltárak, vol. 53, Magyar Országos Levéltár, P Szekció (Budapest: Magyar Országos levéltár, 1971) 67–70.
68. The archival shelfmark of the collection is Q 288. Cf. Iván Borsa, ed., *A Mohács előtti gyűjtemény* (Collection of pre-Mohács charters), Levéltári leltárak, vol. 54, Magyar Országos Levéltár (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1972), 35. The digital images of the charters can be studied on the website of the National Archives of Hungary: <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a100517htm?v=pdf&a=start> (accessed 13 October 2011).
69. For the archive of Silágy county see: Kosáry, *Bevezetés*, 378; Kovách Géza, “A Szilágy vármegyei levéltárak kalandos útja a II. világháború után” (The adventurous fate of the archives of the former Sălaj county after WWII.), *Levéltári Szemle* 45, no. 2 (1995): 82–88.
70. István Bakács, ed., *Kisebb testületi, egyesületi és intézményi fondok*. Repertórium (Smaller collections of corporate bodies, associations and institutions. Repertory), Levéltári leltárak, vol. 51, Magyar Országos Levéltár, P Szekció (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1970), 23.
71. “A báró Wesselényi család eredeti czimere. (Szines hasonmással és a szöveg közt három rajzzal)” (The original coat of arms of the Wesselényi family. With a colour facsimile and three drawings), *Turul* 17 (1899): 153–157.
72. Collection of Diplomatics, no. 105473.
73. Venczel, *Wesselényi Miklós*, 11.

74. See footnote no. 22.
75. Szabó T., “Wesselényi lt,” 209–235.
76. “Documentele medievale ale familiei Wesselényi” (Medieval documents of the Wesselényi family), *Acta Musei Porolissensis* 5 (1981): 311–346.
77. For instance Zoltán Köblös published the charter of the Polish king Stephen Báthory dating from 3 April 1582, granting baronial title to Ferenc Wesselényi (Cf. *Genealógiai Füzetek* 1 [1903]: 138). He also published the charter of the Hungarian king Ferdinand II dating from 16 January 1627 about the baronial title of Zsigmond Lónyai (Cf. *Genealógiai Füzetek* 2 (1904): 44.)

Abstract

Editing and Publishing Historical Sources in the Research Institute of the Transylvanian Museum Society

The aim of the paper is to present the research programmes of the Research Institute of the Transylvanian Museum Society (Cluj-Napoca), dealing with the edition of the medieval and early modern sources of Transylvania: The Collection of Transylvanian Medieval Charters (*Codex Diplomaticus Transsylvaniae*), The Protocols of the Alba Iulia and Cluj-Mănăştur Places of Authentication Dating from after Secularization (1556), The *Libri regii* of the Transylvanian Princes and the Wesselényi Family Archives from before 1690. These programmes follow the fundamental principles on how to edit both the sources from before 1542 and the early modern ones, laid out by Professor Zsigmond Jakó (1916–2008), a prominent member of the national and international scholarly community of medievalists. The essence of the research he initiated is that the sources produced in Latin and other languages, used in the medieval and early modern Transylvania, should be published in the form of Hungarian abstracts (*regesta*). This abridged form of editing and publishing has proved to be most suitable and practical when dealing with hundreds of thousands of charters, on the other hand this written heritage will be accessible also to the broader circle of general audience or historians not having any knowledge of Latin and palaeography.

Keywords

Transylvanian Museum Society, source editing and publishing, medieval charters, regesta, places of authentication, *Libri regii*, family archive, Wesselényi family

The Authorities of Middle Solnoc and Crasna Counties in the Middle Ages*

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SĂLAJ COUNTY, as an administrative unit of contemporary Romania, was organized in 1968. During the Middle Ages (that is, up to 1541 – according to the conventions of Transylvanian historical research), its territory was shared by Crasna (Kraszna) and Middle Solnoc (Középszolnok) counties, as well as partially by Cluj (Kolozs), Dăbâca (Doboka) and Inner Solnoc (Belső-Szolnok). In the second part of the 16th century, a new administrative unit, the Chioar region (Kővár-vidék) was formed on the territory of Middle Solnoc county (comprising the lands east of the river Someș [Szamos]), and this division remained unchanged practically up to 1876.¹ The counties Crasna and Middle Solnoc, as a matter of fact, fell outside the borders of the historical Transylvania: for example, a document issued in 1370 regarding Solnoc county mentions Rădaia (Andrásháza), a settlement in Cluj county as belonging to the Transylvanian parts, another charter, from 1379,² mentioning several estates from Crasna and Alba (Fehér) counties only considers the latter one as part of Transylvania,³ and finally, an enumeration from 1522 counts Crasna among the Hungarian counties, as opposed to Inner Solnoc, which is included among the Transylvanian ones.⁴ In a very strict sense, besides the Székely (Szekler) and Saxon Seats and other specially formed territories (like the Brașov and Bistrița regions [Brassó-vidéke, Beszterce-vidéke] and Făgăraș land [Fogaraszöld]), Transylvania consisted of the seven counties (Inner Solnoc, Dăbâca, Cluj, Turda [Torda], Alba, Hunedoara [Hunyad], Târnava [Küküllő]) which were placed under the authority of the voivode of Transylvania. The Meseș (Meszes) mountains were considered as the border between Hungary and the Transylvanian territory.⁵ The present study discusses the medieval administration

* This work was supported by CNCSIS-UEFISCSU, project number PN II-RU code/2010. The title of the research project: Institutional Structure and Elites in Sălaj Region in the 14th–17th Centuries (Structuri instituționale și elite din Țara Silvaniei în secolele XIV–XVII), code: TE_204. The author is research fellow of the Transylvanian Museum Society (Cluj-Napoca). The present paper was accepted for publishing in 2011.

of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties. These two, the predecessors of the present day Sălaj county, were connected with many ties to Hungary, but also to the historical Transylvania, in the case of the latter mainly due to the fact that the voivodes of Transylvania were also *comites* of Solnoc county.⁶

On the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom the first counties were organized during the reign of King St. Stephen (1001–1038). In the evolution of the counties, the historical literature distinguishes between the period of royal counties and that of nobiliary counties. The royal county was based on the castle system; that is, royal castles, and the estates rendered to provide for these. The inhabitants of the castle system were the castle-warriors (*iobagiones castri*), who were assigned to do military service, and the castle folk – agricultural and maintenance workers (*castrenses*). The castle lands, the *iobagiones castri* and the *castrenses* together formed what is known in the literature as ‘várispánság’ or ‘county (*comitatus*) of the castle’. Not only the *várispánság*, but the whole territory of the county belonged under the jurisdiction of the royally appointed count or ‘ispán’ (*comes*), however, in the time of the Arpadians, he had no legal authority over the free landowners yet. The *várispánság* gave the officials of the county, the most important of whom were the *comes* (*ispán*) and his judicial deputy (*comes curialis*), as well as the military prefect (*maior exercitus*). The centre of the royal county was the *castrum*, usually earthworks (the remnants of some have been identified by archeologists). The alienation of the royal castle lands in the 13th century and at the beginning of the 14th century resulted in the dissolution of the *várispánság* and of the royal castle system, which constituted the basis of royal counties. The most important characteristic of nobiliary counties is the emergence of *iudices nobilium* in addition to the *vice-comites* at the assize courts (*sedes iudiciaria* or *sedria*) of the county. The *iudices nobilium* were the most important elected officials of the nobiliary county formed by the early 14th century both in Hungary and Transylvania. These officials were elected by the county nobility, probably annually, and the office itself was created by a decree of the central government in the last decades of the 13th century. The Hungarian term ‘szolgabíró’ (*iudex nobilium*) means a servant, that is, an assistant judge, which refers to the position of these officials: they assisted the *comes* in the administration of the county. Their number in Transylvania was two in each county, while outside Transylvania, apart from a few exceptions, usually four. The appearance of *iudices nobilium* in the documentary sources is an infallible sign of the completion of the development of nobiliary counties in Transylvania, which happened, just like in the rest of the country, at the beginning of the 14th century. In the Hungarian Kingdom, a county was led by a royally appointed *comes*, though in most of the cases these officials were holding other high dignities as well, and from the mid-14th century, they did not participate in the life of the county. The *vice-comes* (or *vice-comites*) replaced the *comes*, and

together with the *iudices nobilium* constituted the authorities of the county, whose major activity consisted of performing judicial tasks at the *sedes iudiciaria* of the county.⁷ In the seven Transylvanian counties the *comites* were appointed by the voivode (and not by the king) from among his *familiares*, so the rank of these equalled only that of the *vice-comites* of the Hungarian counties.⁸

Solnoc County

IT IS WELL-KNOWN that in 15th-century Hungary there were three Solnoc counties: Outer Solnoc, Middle Solnoc and Inner Solnoc. In the 11th century, at the early stages of development of the county system, these three formed one large and contiguous county from Szolnok (by the Tisa river, Hungary) to Dej (Dés);⁹ when the county and the *várispánság* of Solnoc was formed, the North-Transylvanian salt road and its surroundings were placed under the control of Szolnok castle.¹⁰ According to a different theory, the county surrounding Szolnok castle expanded to the east of Sătmar (Szatmár) and Bihar (Bihar) counties, forming the eastern block of Solnoc county, and being actually cut off from this.¹¹ (Later, this eastern part, which in the early times was not considered part of Transylvania,¹² developed into Middle and Inner Solnoc counties.) Thus, the circumstances of the formation of the county are still being debated.¹³ The *castrum* of Szolnok has not been archeologically identified yet. Its name, which provided the name of the county as well, was derived from the name of a person through Hungarian eponymy.¹⁴ In case its name can be related to *comes* Szolnok, deceased in 1046, Solnoc county was organized already in the first half of the 11th century; the earliest reference to its *castrenses* occurs in 1075.¹⁵ Attempts to differentiate between the three parts of the county can be registered as early as the 13th century;¹⁶ its four *iudices nobilium* are mentioned for the first time in 1299.¹⁷ The office of *comes* of Solnoc was merged with the office of voivode of Transylvania by Stephen, son of the king (1245–1261) in 1261.¹⁸ As the different parts of the county still formed a single organizational unit, its *comes* was the *comes* of the whole county. (In the first decades of the 19th century, a long debate started upon the question which of the three Solnoc counties might this have been, as well as upon the relations between the three parts of the county in these early times).¹⁹ Very possibly, the merger of the two offices can be considered as a measure taken for protecting the Transylvanian borders.²⁰ From this time up to 1467 – with a short break²¹ – voivodes of Transylvania bore the title of ‘*comes* of Solnoc county’ (*comes comitatus Zonuk/Zolnuk*), however, in the 15th century voivodes did not have authority over Outer Solnoc and Middle Solnoc counties anymore.²² By the end of the 13th and at the beginning of the 14th century, the formation of

the nobiliary county Solnoc was completed and the differentiation of the three parts became clearly visible. Thus, from a geographical point of view, two major, non-connected territories existed: the one surrounding the settlement Szolnok and stretching along the river Tisa (Hungary), and the ‘eastern block’ (this latter situated on the territory of today’s Romania). At the beginning of the 14th century, the territory along the Tisa, together with the western part of the ‘eastern block’ formed a single county in Hungary, under the name Outer Solnoc, and was organized after the fashion of Hungarian counties, while Inner Solnoc was a separate nobiliary county, belonged to Transylvania, and followed the organizational patterns specific to that territory (in the first county there were four *iudices nobilium*, in the latter only two).²³ A *comes* was appointed by the voivode at the head of Inner and Outer Solnoc, they called themselves *comes* or sometimes *vice-comes* (the *comes* of Outer Solnoc was the voivode himself).

After 1426,²⁴ the previously undivided Outer Solnoc was split into two parts: the eastern territories formed a separate nobiliary county called Middle Solnoc, while the name Outer Solnoc was carried on by the part stretching along the river Tisa.²⁵ Although the voivode continued bearing the title of *comes* of Solnoc, the counties Middle Solnoc and Outer Solnoc had their own *comites/vice-comites* and *iudices nobilium*.²⁶ The usage of names was uncertain for a long time. At the beginning of the 14th century, in 1279 the earliest,²⁷ the above mentioned territories belonging to Hungary were collectively called Outer Solnoc – compared to Transylvania and Inner Solnoc county. The name Outer Solnoc was used by the voivode to refer to these territories,²⁸ and also by the county officials (*vice-comes* and *iudices nobilium*)²⁹ and the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur,³⁰ though sometimes it is simply mentioned as Solnoc county.³¹ Settlements from Inner Solnoc were also often referred to simply as from Solnoc county;³² the earliest mention of the name Inner Solnoc occurs in a document from 1320.³³ The name Middle Solnoc appears in a county document for the first time in 1409,³⁴ however, at this time the territories belonging to the later Outer Solnoc and Middle Solnoc counties were not divided yet into two separate nobiliary counties, and county officials alternately defined themselves as from Solnoc or Middle Solnoc (1418).³⁵ In 1414, the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur mentions the settlement Mocirla (Valea Pomilor, Mocsolya)³⁶ from Middle Solnoc as still belonging to Outer Solnoc, the same happens with the settlement Bulgari (Nyírmon) in 1416,³⁷ while a charter issued by the palatine in 1415 refers to several estates in Middle Solnoc as being in Solnoc county.³⁸ Nevertheless, later on, the name Middle Solnoc occurred in more and more documents; royal mandates, for example, used this naming in 1416, 1418 and 1424.³⁹

In this way, we can speak about three Solnoc counties after 1426. Outer Solnoc county was situated west of the other two, along the river Tisa, neighboured by Pest, Heves, Csanád, Békés counties, as well as Jazygian and Cuman Seats,

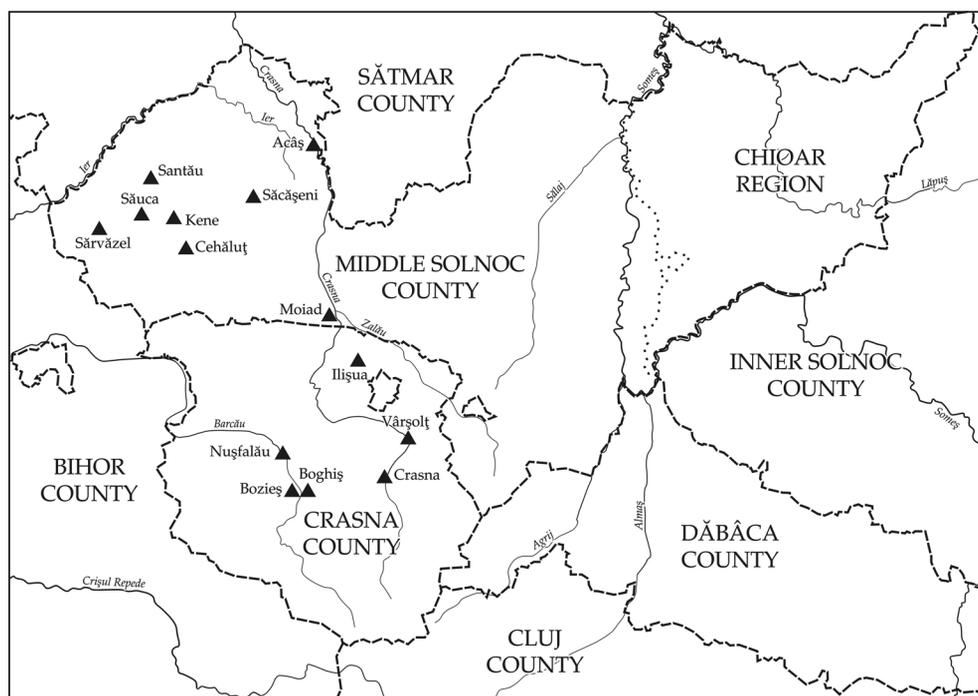
having as its most important settlement the market-town of Szolnok.⁴⁰ Several hundreds of kilometres away, north-east of the Meseş mountains, in the region of the Crasna and Someşul Mare rivers lay Middle Solnoc county (its more renowned settlements and castles were Tășnad [Tasnád], Hodod [Hadad], Coșeu [Kusaly], Ceheiu [Csehi], Zalău [Zilah], Chioar).⁴¹ Inner Solnoc was situated to the east of Middle Solnoc, on the territory of Transylvania, bordered by Dăbâca; ~~Crasna and Bihor counties~~ in the south, and by Sătmar in the north. Its land was crossed by the rivers Someşul Mic and Someşul Mare (these two unite at the town Dej), and the river Lăpuş (Lápos) in the north; its most important castle lordships were those of Unguraş (Bálványos) and Ciceu (Csicsó), both royal castles in the 14th century and thus being under the command of the voivodes of Transylvania.

By the end of the 13th century, the nobiliary county had been formed in Solnoc as well, and functioned similar to the other counties in Hungary. The earliest document of the nobiliary county Outer Solnoc (*Zolnuk exterioris*) dates from 1299: it was issued, without place of issue, by *comes curialis Gregorius* and his four *iudices nobilium*, and refers to the estate of Șarmășag (Sarmaság; later part of Middle Solnoc) and to a lawsuit between several noblemen of the county, as well as to the settlement ending the suit.⁴² This is the earliest surviving document issued by the *sedes iudiciaria*. Judicial activity, the most important function of the nobiliary county, starting with the 14th century was performed in the name of the voivode at the occasional assemblies of the county (*congregatio generalis*) or at the more regular county court (*sedes iudiciaria*, abbreviated as *sedria*)⁴³ sessions held by the *vice-comes* and the four *iudices nobilium*.

In Hungary, during the realm of the Arpadians the palatine or another baron of the realm, or sometimes the *comes* would preside over the general assemblies, by command of the king.⁴⁴ In 1219, for example, a certain *comes Martinus*,⁴⁵ and occasionally, such as in 1279 or in 1291 in Oradea (Várad), the king himself presided over the *congregatio generalis* which was held for more counties at the same time, among others for Crasna and Solnoc too.⁴⁶ Later on (in 1317, 1320, and 1322),⁴⁷ Dózsa Debreceni, *comes* of Bihor, Szabolcs and Sătmar chaired the assemblies summoned for the counties in the region east of the Tisa (Tiszántúl), including Solnoc county, as special judge representing the king.⁴⁸ From 1333, assemblies of the county were held in the name of the voivode, however, the voivode, who was also *comes* of Solnoc, was represented by his deputy, the *vice-comes* (this latter was sometimes addressed to as *comes*).⁴⁹ Apparently, the four *iudices nobilium* occasionally summoned assemblies also in the absence of the *vice-comes*, at least this is indicated by voivode Thomas Szécsényi's (1321–1342) order from 1333, which was addressed to the *iudices nobilium* of the county and directed them to give his deputy, the *vice-comes* a share in the fines collected at the *congregatio*

generalis.⁵⁰ The documents of further assemblies were all issued in the name of the voivode (1366, 1379, 1406).⁵¹ Assemblies were held in Cehăluț (Csaoly) in 1334,⁵² in Sărvăzel (Szarvad)⁵³ in 1335, 1337, 1345, 1346, 1352, and in 1353 in Săuca (Szódemeter),⁵⁴ while in 1366 in *Kene*⁵⁵ – settlements which later constituted part of Middle Solnoc. It appears that assemblies were summoned for the eighth day of a major religious holiday,⁵⁶ later these were held on Mondays. By the end of the 14th century, general assemblies convoked in the name of the palatine became rarer and rarer.⁵⁷ The voivodes held assemblies for Solnoc county in the second half of the 14th century and also at the beginning of the 15th: in 1379 and in 1406 the *congregatio* took place nearby *Kene*,⁵⁸ a settlement no longer existent today in the neighbourhood of Silvaș (Szilvás, Tasnádszilvás), Săuca and Tășnad; a further one, in 1406, was held in the vicinity of the town Szolnok.⁵⁹ In 1464, King Matthias (1458–1490) made an attempt to revive the institution of judicial assemblies⁶⁰ but seemingly without any success. For example, in 1472, he delegated the Judge Royal (*iudex curie regis*) Stephen Bátori to preside over a judicial assembly (*congregatio generalis, congregatio seu iudicium generalis*) for several counties, among which for Outer Solnoc, but the nobility did not make their appearance, and eventually, in the time of the Jagiellonians, general assemblies disappeared altogether.⁶¹ The task of these assemblies was to eradicate thieves, murderers and other criminals;⁶² the *congregatio generalis* for Solnoc county discussed different legal cases (e.g. status cases), levied fines and passed sentences of capital punishment; however, the surviving documents give evidence generally of minor law suits.

Some of the documents issued by the *vice-comes* and the *iudices nobilium* in the first decades of the 14th century do not indicate the place of issue,⁶³ or fail to specify if they record the activity of a general assembly or a county court. Supposedly, the documents issued in 1327 in Moiad (Mojád),⁶⁴ in 1330 in Săuca⁶⁵ and then in Santău (Szántó, Tasnádszántó)⁶⁶ reveal the proceedings of the county court. Beginning with 1363, the above mentioned *Kene* settlement (in the western part of the county) provided the location of the *sedria*.⁶⁷ It is important to mention that the surviving documents issued by Outer Solnoc county in the 14th century refer exclusively to territories which later constituted Middle Solnoc, however, during this century the western part of the county, the territories along the Tisa, fell under the jurisdiction of the voivode of Transylvania,⁶⁸ and the two parts of the county had the same *vice-comes* (for instance, *magister Gallus, vice-comes* of Outer Solnoc is mentioned in relation with both areas).⁶⁹ In the 1420s, the western part, the Tisa-region broke away from the so far unitary Outer Solnoc county but (up to 1452) *Kene* still served as a location of the *sedria* for the remaining Middle Solnoc area. During this period, in exceptional cases, the *sedria* was also held in Szolnok (Hungary, 1380, 1381)⁷⁰ and in Santău (1409).⁷¹ In 1457,⁷²



Locations of the general assembly (*congregatio generalis*) and of the county court (*sedes iudiciaria*) in Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties in the Middle Ages.

the county court was relocated to the nearby Săcăşeni (Szakácsi; east of Tăşnad) and remained there for almost twenty years, until May 1476.⁷³ In July 1476,⁷⁴ the *sedria* was summoned to the market-town Acăş (Ákos; north-east of Tăşnad), and this remained its location until 1522.⁷⁵ Each of the above mentioned locations were nobiliary estates: Săuca belonged to the Szödemeteri family (their name comes from the Hungarian name of the settlement) and to the Csire of Álmosd (the village was place of a weekly market in the Middle Ages),⁷⁶ Kene was owned by the Csaohlyi family,⁷⁷ Săcăşeni belonged to several families,⁷⁸ while the possessor of Acăş was the Ákos family.⁷⁹ The exact reasons that determined the change of location are not known, however, the accessibility of the settlement was always a primary concern. For example, when a settlement was annexed from one county to another, the proximity of the place of the *sedria* was always the main motivation, e.g. in 1410, when the villages Oaia (Vaja, Cigányvaja) and *Chompaz* were attached to Crasna.⁸⁰

A charter (reinforcing the possession of certain estates) issued in Şamşud (Sámsond) by the *vice-comes* and the four *iudices nobilium* in 1395 was not dated in the location of the *sedria*,⁸¹ nor was the one (a receipt) issued by the two *vice-comites* and two *iudices nobilium* in Szolnok in 1407.⁸²

After initial alternations (Wednesdays⁸³ or the eighth day of important religious holidays⁸⁴) the administration of justice always took place on Mondays (*feria secunda*).⁸⁵ The (*vice-*)*comes* and the four *iudices nobilium* attended these meetings, the voivode (or voivodes), however, who was the *comes* of the county, did not. The charters issued by the authorities of Middle Solnoc county were drawn up in the name of the *vice-comites*, the actual persons in charge of the government of the county, and usually of the four *iudices nobilium*, though these latter were mentioned only on a general level.⁸⁶ If the cases discussed concerned the whole county, the charter was issued in the name of the collective of the county nobility (*universitas nobilium comitatus Zolnok mediocris*, 1520).⁸⁷ The same happened when the *iudices nobilium* were personally concerned in the lawsuits (1515).⁸⁸ In case one of the two *vice-comites* was involved in the proceedings, the document regarding that matter was issued in the name of the other *vice-comes* and the four *iudices nobilium*.⁸⁹ The county court was the first instance where the county nobility could turn for administration of justice; the cases discussed here were usually insignificant, such as inquests,⁹⁰ protestations,⁹¹ pawning⁹² or alienation⁹³ of smaller and less valuable estates, adjudication,⁹⁴ deferment of hearings,⁹⁵ advocacy matters,⁹⁶ etc.

The charters issued by the county did not preserve the names of the *comites* who were not involved in the government of the county, thus, regarding the times when voivodes did not bear the title of *comes* anymore we might come across the name of the *comites* in other than county documents.⁹⁷

As up to the 1420s (the separation of Middle Solnoc) voivodes acted also as *comites* of the county, they chose the *vice-comites* of Outer Solnoc from among their *familiares*. Although vice-voivodes were deputies of the voivodes, they were not simultaneously *vice-comites* of Solnoc.⁹⁸ In some documents *vice-comites* are even referred to as *comites*, since they acted as deputies of the voivodes in Outer Solnoc. In 1333, for example, voivode Thomas Szécsényi himself mentioned John, son of Peter of Cehăluț (Csaholyi) as his *comes*.⁹⁹ In 1351 – when prince Stephen of Anjou was at the head of Transylvania, but at the same time the office of voivode was held by Thomas Gönyűi – *magister* Dezső, *vice-comes* of Outer Solnoc and his four *iudices nobilium* acted in the name of both of the above mentioned.¹⁰⁰ *Familiaritas* is usually rarely mentioned in the documents, it occurs, for example, in cases when a *comes* sends a written order to his deputy. In 1427, Ladislaus Csáki, voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of Middle Solnoc (1426–1437) calls Sigismund of Dindești (Dengelegi) ‘his’ *vice-comes* (*vicecomes noster*).¹⁰¹

Royal castles and lordships played an important part in the government of the kingdom, as a matter of fact, the control over the country was made possible by the system of castles, these having mainly political and military rather than economic role. Royal castle lordships did not have immediate impact on the government; larger territorial units were formed around the castles, which

were then entrusted to royal officials.¹⁰² In Outer Solnoc (on the territory of the later Middle Solnoc) there were two castles, Cheud (Aranyos) and Chioar.¹⁰³ The castle of Cheud was built in the 13th century and went into royal possession in 1317. At the beginning of the 14th century the *castellans* of this castle were appointed by the king, however, in 1341–1342 the voivode as *comes* of the county chose this official, probably because usually the *comes* of a county came in charge of the royal castles situated on the territory under his authority. Later it belonged under the authority of the *comes* of Sătmar, Maramureş (Máramaros) and Ugocea (Ugocea) counties, and eventually, in 1383, Cheud was demolished. The castle of Chioar appears in documents as a donation to the Drágfi of Beltiug (Béltek) in 1378 (its earlier history is unknown).¹⁰⁴ All this, however, did probably not influence too much the power of the voivode, as he owned the Transylvanian royal castles for the whole length of his office-holding.¹⁰⁵

After 1426, the separated Middle Solnoc and Outer Solnoc had their own *comites*, though in Middle Solnoc this office continued to be given, sometimes, to the voivode of Transylvania, e.g. Ladislaus Csáki (1426–1437) or voivode John Hunyadi (1441–1446; in such cases the *vice-comes* was chosen from among the *familiars* of the voivode). Until 1458, Middle Solnoc and several other neighbouring counties together were ruled by the same *comes*. Ladislaus Csáki was *comes* of Solnoc and Bihar (1426); George Csáki was *comes* of Middle Solnoc (1426–1427) and simultaneously of Sătmar, Ugocea and Crasna (1419–1428). The deputy of John Hunyadi, *comes* of Middle Solnoc, was at the same time *vice-comes* of Sătmar and Crasna (1446); Paul Parlagi, as *familiaris* of Hunyadi, became *comes* of Middle Solnoc (1455) after holding the same office in Sătmar (1449–1453).¹⁰⁶

In the course of their careers, *comites* of Middle Solnoc county had the possibility to occupy other positions as well with the help of their lords. Albert Nagymihályi “Ungi”, for instance, started off as fine collector and *vice-comes* of Middle Solnoc (1409–1410)¹⁰⁷ along voivode Stibor Stiborci (1395–1401, 1409–1414) and succeeded in obtaining a position in the royal court (in 1410, he is mentioned as a page), whereas later he became prior of Vrana (1417–1433) and *ban* of Croatia (1419–1426).¹⁰⁸ Anthony Roskoványi was castellan of Sáros (1439–1440), appointed by John Perényi, then became (*vice-comes*) of Middle Solnoc (1443–1445) by the side of voivode John Hunyadi, and simultaneously functioned as *comes* of Sătmar and Crasna as well (he is mentioned in this latter position in 1445).¹⁰⁹ George of Doba (Dobai), *vice-comes* of Middle Solnoc (1495–1498) was previously vice-voivode of Transylvania between 1494–1495¹¹⁰ beside Bartholomew Drágfi of Beltiug, voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely (1493–1498). Except for these examples, the activity of *vice-comites* outside their county was quite rare during the 15th century, mainly because they did not usually have the opportunity to obtain important positions somewhere else.

The origins of 14th century *vice-comites* of Middle Solnoc is generally unknown. For decades starting with the last third of the 14th century, the majority of the *vice-comites* whose estates are known had their landed property outside Middle Solnoc.¹¹¹ In some cases, however, we know of “local” noblemen who held this office, e.g. John Csaholyi (of Cehăluț; 1333–1334, though the bulk of his estates was in Sătmar county), Andrew of Sudurău (Szodorói) (1450) or John of Sărvăzel (Szarvadi) (1436; but his fellow *vice-comes* was from Gacsály, Sătmar county).¹¹² Although *vice-comites* performed the administration of the county, this did not render local geographical knowledge indispensable for them. It is probable that *vice-comites* Michael Parlăgi and John Horváth, who were at the same time *castellans* of the castle of Deva (Déva; part of the voivodal *honor*) have their origins outside Middle Solnoc. (The office-holding of these two confirms that the voivode of Transylvania – between 1468–1472, John Pongrác of Dindeleag/Dindești [Dengeleg] –, who appointed them as *castellans* was at the same time *comes* of Middle Solnoc as well.) During the last decades of the 15th and the first third of the 16th century, the vice-comites of Middle Solnoc come from local noble families, from families having their small landed properties around the Ardud (Erdőd) and Chioar estates of the Drágfi of Beltiug,¹¹³ or from lesser noble families from the neighbouring counties (Sătmar, Crasna).¹¹⁴ A document from 1462 mentions trespassing *familiares* of the Drágfi of Beltiug, originating from Middle Solnoc and Ugocea counties.¹¹⁵ According to paragraph no. 60 of King Matthias’ law from 1486, the *comes* was obliged to choose his deputy from among the local nobles of his county,¹¹⁶ which, apart from a few exceptions, was complied with.

During the 15th century, the office of *vice-comes* was, in most of the cases, held by two nobles, though in 1464 three *vice-comites* are mentioned in the county.¹¹⁷ Ranks were seldom signalled in front of their names, one of the rare exceptions is Peter of Mesentea (Mindszenti), whose name appears preceded by the title *egregius* in the document issued by the county nobility in 1515.¹¹⁸ (*Comites*, if they by means of their other dignities were barons of the country, were referred to with the title *magnificus*.¹¹⁹) Little is known about the properties of *vice-comites*. It is certain that they did not possess extensive landed property but only partial estates, however, there are no data about the exact number of their serf sessions (*sessio*).

County documents in Middle Solnoc (and Crasna) were issued by the (*vice*-)*comes* and the four *iudices nobilium*.¹²⁰ These latter were usually not mentioned by name, thus they can only be identified when they acted in specific cases (to perform examinations, county authorities usually sent out a *iudex nobilium* or a county delegate).¹²¹ Sometimes other sources can help identifying *iudices nobilium*: a charter issued by the chapter of Oradea in 1334 mentions the name of the four

iudices nobilium who were in office at that time. Just like in all other counties, *iudices nobilium* in Solnoc came from among the local nobility, and were, in all known cases, insignificant lesser nobles.¹²² From the year 1524, even the name of the county notary (Albert of Șarmășag/Sarmasági) is known.¹²³

Crasna County

CRASNA COUNTY, which was named after the river that runs across its territory,¹²⁴ lay south of Middle Solnoc, neighbouring on Dăbâca, Cluj and Bihor counties. Its prominent settlements were Șimleu Silvaniei (Somlyó, Szilágyosomlyó), Crasna and Nușfalău (Nagyfalu, Szilágynagyfalu). The time of the formation of the county is unknown. Although its castle is already mentioned in an 11th century record (of doubtful authenticity), the first information of its *comes* has survived from around 1164.¹²⁵ The castle and lordship of Valcău (Valkó), which became a royal estate in 1317, occupied a sizeable part of the county. From that time on, up to 1341, the castellan of Valcău held the office of *comes* of Crasna. In 1341, however, the castle was acquired by *magister* Doncs of Zvolen (Zólyomi). As there was no royal estate in the county, the *comes* of Sătmar was appointed to the position of *comes* of Crasna county, an official who was at the same time governing Maramureș and Ugocea counties as well.¹²⁶ Thereafter, from a period of long decades hardly any data can be found regarding the *comites* of the county: in 1454, voivode John Hunyadi appoints two *vice-comites* at the head of Crasna (Sylvester of Balc/Bályoki and Thomas of Siciu/Szécsi, 1454),¹²⁷ in 1473 the voivode of Transylvania receives the office of *comes*, and in 1479, the latest, the Drágfi of Beltiug are granted the hereditary title of *comes perpetuus* of the county.

As mentioned above, at the end of the 13th century the king himself presided over the general assemblies held for several counties (among which Solnoc and Crasna) in Oradea in 1279 and 1291.¹²⁸ Later on, similar to the other counties of the Hungarian Kingdom, the assemblies for Crasna were summoned in the name of the palatine: at first for several neighbouring counties together in changing locations (in 1314 in Adorian [Adorján] for Bihor, Békés, Solnoc and Crasna,¹²⁹ in 1317 in Sălacea (Szalacs) for the previously mentioned counties and also for Szabolcs,¹³⁰ in 1322 in Kállósemjén for Sătmar, Szabolcs, Solnoc and Crasna.)¹³¹ Following the first third of the 14th century, assemblies were held in the name of the palatine mostly for Bihor and Crasna counties together in Dealul Orășii (Váradhegyfok; 1364),¹³² Mișca (Micske; 1341),¹³³ or in the nearby Oradea (1343, 1349, 1370, 1372, 1397, 1435),¹³⁴ and sometimes for Crasna alone, in the neighbourhood of Nușfalău (1412; the *vice-comes*, the four *iudices nobilium*,

and the assessors were recorded to attend this assembly).¹³⁵ To a special order of the king it was not the palatine who chaired the assembly for Crasna but, for example in 1409, Peter Perényi, *comes* of the Székely and of Maramureş presided over a *congregatio* (nearby Nuşfalău).¹³⁶

Less than twenty pre-1526 documents issued by Crasna county have survived. The county *sedria* is first mentioned in a charter from 1333; in that year Nuşfalău was its location and remained so until 1364.¹³⁷ In 1347, the county court was moved to Boghiş (Bagos).¹³⁸ After a long gap, the next known county document dates from 1474, it was issued in Vârşoţ (Varsolc).¹³⁹ Later, the *sedria* was replaced to Nuşfalău (1481),¹⁴⁰ then further to Bozieş (Bozjás, Szilágyborzás; 1492),¹⁴¹ then again to Nuşfalău (1510),¹⁴² from there to Ilişua (Ilosva, 1516–1518)¹⁴³ and finally to Crasna (1542, 1544).¹⁴⁴

Less is known about the officials of Crasna county than about their colleagues in Middle Solnoc. From the middle of the 14th century, for roughly one hundred years, the *comites* of Crasna were appointed from among members of illustrious families, who already held other important dignities and who were, without exception, *comites* of Sătmar county as well.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the two *comites* mentioned in 1454 were lesser nobles from Middle Solnoc and Crasna, and due to their modest social status they did not receive the office of *comes* of Sătmar along with their office in Crasna. Only a few *comites* are known by name from before 1479, and even fewer are those of whom we have further information as well. One of these officials, a certain Jacob (son of Gregory), *vice-comes* of Crasna (1347) and Sătmar (1353–1354) can be identified with Jacob “Erdélyi” of Săcăşeni,¹⁴⁶ who was from Middle Solnoc, just like John of Cehăluţ (Csaholyi) (1333–1334). John “Bátor” of Pányok (1335) came from Ung county, John (Idai) of Szikszó (1335–1341) from Abauj,¹⁴⁷ Anthony Roskoványi, *comes* of Sătmar and Middle Solnoc originated from Sáros county. Each of them came from the lesser nobility. After 1479, the office of *vice-comes* was obtained, without exception, by *familiares* of the Drágfy of Beltiug family and were all either local nobles or coming from the neighbouring counties: Sătmar or Middle Solnoc.¹⁴⁸ (The Drágfy family acquired the office of *comes* of Crasna in 1479, at the latest.) It is certain that the lack of information about any further office-holdings of these officials is not due to our limited knowledge of the archontology of the period. The majority of them were lesser nobles with modest amount of landed property, and the position of *vice-comes* was almost the only opportunity of their participation in public life. Just like in Middle Solnoc, from the 15th century the position of *vice-comes* of the county was shared by two officials simultaneously. They mostly came from the same geographic and social circle as their colleagues in Middle Solnoc.

The county documents register the name of only a few of the *iudices nobilium*; the number of these was four, similar to most of the counties in the Hungarian

Kingdom. In 1347, Jacob of Bilghez (Bülgezdi) and Peter, son of Michael of Ratin (Rátoni) are referred to as *comes* (the title is used only as a rank, and does not signal office-holding),¹⁴⁹ which means that in the first part of the 14th century *iudices nobilium* were still elected from among the most distinguished nobles of the county.

The Drágfi of Beltiug Family, Perpetual *Comites* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna Counties

THE HEREDITARY title *comes perpetuus* (perpetual *comes*) was usually granted to bishops or members of the upper nobility, who thus became *comes* of a county. Examples for such title donations can be found during the realm of the Arpadian kings¹⁵⁰ or at the beginning of the 14th century, and in the Sigismund era,¹⁵¹ but mainly in the second half of the 15th century.¹⁵² In the first decades of his reign, King Matthias had as his aim to appoint bishops as perpetual *comites* of the county where their cathedral town was (for example the bishop of Oradea was made perpetual *comes* of Bihor), but he also started to donate this title to lay nobles. At the time of the extensive land donations after the death of Louis I (1342–1382) and in the middle of the 15th century, the majority of royal castles went into private property, and their owners claimed the title of *comes* as well, which earlier went together with the castle.¹⁵³ The title of perpetual *comes* was attached to the ownership of a castle lordship.¹⁵⁴ In Transylvania, for example, after 1482, the castellans appointed by the lord of the castle of Hunedoara held this office: first prince John Corvin (son of King Matthias, †1504) and after him the castellans chosen by the further owners of the estate.¹⁵⁵ Thus, when a castle was given in donation, the beneficiary could receive the title of *comes* of the respective county,¹⁵⁶ although the estates of the country passed several bills in order to impede these donations.¹⁵⁷ Sometime in the 1470s, the Drágfi family received the hereditary title of *comes perpetuus* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna: Bartholomew Drágfi of Beltiug is mentioned as *comes* of Middle Solnoc (1479–1488) and all (known) *comites* succeeding him at the head of the two counties are members of this same family.

The Drágfi of Beltiug family is of Romanian origin, they trace their descentance from Drag, son of the Moldavian voivode Sas, but melted into the Hungarian aristocracy. The rise of the family started during the reign of King Louis I: Drag and his brother, Balk were *comites* of Sătmar (1377–1388), Maramureş (1378–1382) and Ugocea (1392) counties and *comites* of the Székely (1387–1390); while their third brother, John is referred to as *comes* of the Székely in 1390. Later on, several other members of the family held important offices. Nicholas is

mentioned as one of the high dignitaries of the country (1439–1444), *Sandrin* was a knight of the royal court (1419)¹⁵⁸ and Bartholomew was appointed voivode of Transylvania (1493–1498). At the time of King Matthias' death, this latter Drágfi was numbered among the richest landowners of the country, three castles, two manor houses, eight market towns and about 200 villages were in his property.¹⁵⁹ He had estates in Middle Solnoc and Sătmar: the castles of Chioar¹⁶⁰ and Ardud¹⁶¹ together with the large lordships surrounding them, and furthermore, the castle of Șoimi (Sólyomkő; Bihar county)¹⁶² and the *castellum* of Ceheiu.¹⁶³ Nicholas Drágfi is the first member of the family who is mentioned as *comes* of Middle Solnoc (1460), but he was also *comes* of Ugocea and probably of Crasna, too (the *comites* of these two counties are not known for the year in question). At this point they probably did not have the title of perpetual *comes* of the county as Nicholas was followed in his office by at least three voivodes from other families: John Pongrác of Dindești (voivode of Transylvania: 1462–1465; *comes*: 1465), John of Szentgyörgy and Bazin (voivode: 1465–1467; *comes*: 1466), and then Blaise Magyar (voivode: 1472–1475; *comes*: 1473) – this latter was *comes* of Crasna county as well (1473). After these three, the succeeding *comites* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna came exclusively from the Drágfi family: first Bartholomew appears as *comes* of Middle Solnoc (1479–1488), he later became voivode of Transylvania, then his son,¹⁶⁴ John is referred to as *comes* of both counties (between 1507 and 1526)¹⁶⁵ – he also held other important offices as well (he was Master of the Treasury and Judge Royal).¹⁶⁶ Of course, many further family members can be found in charge of these two counties (see the *Appendix*). They used the title of *comes* mainly in documents issued on their own private matters, but at the beginning of the 16th century they were sometimes addressed as *summus comes*.¹⁶⁷ In case they were holding a high dignity, they had the right to the title *magnificus*.¹⁶⁸ Between 1530–1535, Michael Jakcs of Coșeiu is mentioned as *comes* of Middle Solnoc (he probably was only *vice-comes*),¹⁶⁹ but along with him, already in 1532,¹⁷⁰ Caspar, son¹⁷¹ of John Drágfi is also referred to as *comes* of the same county. Caspar was *comes* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties between 1532–1544.¹⁷² After his death in 1545,¹⁷³ King Ferdinand (1526–1564) gave these offices to Caspar's sons, George and John (1545),¹⁷⁴ though as George was still underage, the king transferred the commission to Anthony Druget of Homonna in a charter issued on 2 October 1546.¹⁷⁵ In 1551, still due to George Drágfi's being underage, King Ferdinand appointed George Bátori, the stepfather and guardian of the boy, as administrator of the two counties.¹⁷⁶ In 1556, George Bátori was referred to as *comes supremus* of the two counties¹⁷⁷ while George Drágfi had already been deceased by that time, and with him the family died out on male line.¹⁷⁸ George Bátori was husband of Anna Bátori, the widow of Caspar Drágfi and Anthony Druget.¹⁷⁹ The castle lordship of Chioar, property of the Drágfi, was inherited by

the Bátori family,¹⁸⁰ and it seems that this also earned them the title of perpetual comes of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties.

After a short period of uncertainty, in the second half of the 16th century, Middle Solnoc, Crasna and the region of Chioar (which over the decades grew to be an independent administrative unit) became part of the forming Principality of Transylvania, and from that time on their *comites* were appointed by the princes of Transylvania.¹⁸¹

Appendix

THE PRE-1458 archontology of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties: Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 166–167, 209–211; Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 146, 200–201; András W. Kovács, “Szécsényi Tamás erdélyi vajda familiárisairól” (On the *familiaries* of voivode Tamás Szécsényi), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 67, no. 3–4 (2005): 84–85. – For a list of the known *iudices nobilium*, see notes 122 and 149 of the present study.

Supplement to the pre-1458 Archontology of Middle Solnoc and Crasna Counties

Crasna (Kraszna) county

Gul magister, *vice-comes of the county and vice-castellan of Valcău/Valkó castle*
13 Jan. 1338 (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 974).

magister Stephen “Doncsfi” of Zvolen (Zólyomi), comes of Crasna county
8 Aug. 1346 (*CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 339).

magister Jacob “Erdélyi” of Săcășeni (Szakácsi; son of Gregory), vice-comes 15
Nov. 1347 (*CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 430).

Nicholas de Borzy [Boziási?] vice-comes 22 Sept. 1422 (*ZsOkl*, vol. 9, no. 990).

Solnoc county

comes Nicholas (18 Sept. 1325, DL 62683 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 532) was not comes of Outer Solnoc (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 200), but of Inner-Solnoc¹⁸² and is identical with comes Nicholas, son of Peter [Gerendi?] (2 Aug. 1325 and 4 Oct. 1325: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 529 and 537; W. Kovács, *Az erdélyi vármegyék archontológiája*, 25).

Ladislaus (son of Hegun), comes, [1314–1317] (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 226).

magister Lökös (Leukus), comes, 29 Oct. 1330 (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 682).

magister John “Magnus” [of *Cebăluț/Csaholyi*]¹⁸³ (*son of Peter*), comes, 14 Jun. 1333 (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 772); 4 July 1334 (*ibid.*, no. 815); 12 Sept. 1334 (DL 96173). – His deputy: *Paul* “Magnus” 25 Apr. [1333 or 1334] (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 773).

magister John [*Szikszói/Idai*] (*son of Paul*), comes, 18 Sept. 1335 (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 859); 8 Nov. 1335 (*ibid.*, 2, no. 867); 9 Jun. 1337 (*ibid.*, no. 934–936); around 24 Jun. 1341 (DL 108165); 27 Sept. 1341 (*CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 73). – For the identification of *magister John*, comes of Solnoc county, see Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 200 and Antal Fekete Nagy, *A Balassa család levéltára 1193–1526* (The archive of the Balassa family 1193–1526), ed. Iván Borsa, *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai*, II, *Forráskiadványok*, no. 18 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), no. 93 (8 Mar. 1338).¹⁸⁴

Emeric and Jacob, vice-comites, 24 Nov. 1344 (*AOkI*, vol. 28, no. 769).

magister Andrew (*son of Endre*), vicecomes, 31 Dec. 1352 (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 681).

magister John son of Ladislaus, vicecomes, 7 Aug. 1363 (DL 51991, see: *A nagykállói Kállay-család levéltára. Az oklevelek és egyéb iratok kivonatai* [The archive of the Kállay family. The abstracts of the documents and other writings], *A Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság kiadványai* no. 1–2 [Budapest: A Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság, 1943], vol. 2, no. 1468); 11 Dec. 1363 (DL 52010 = *Kállay*, vol. 2, no. 1488).

magister Gallus, vicecomes, 22 Mar. 1389 (Collection of Miklós Maleczky, DF 286490).

John son of George of Doob [!], vicecomes, 19 Apr. 1395 (in the abstract published he mistakenly appears as: *of Decht*, see *ZsOkI*, vol. 1, no. 3927).

Drági [—], vicecomes, 22 July 1395 (*ZsOkI*, vol. 1, no. 4043).

magister John son of George Bători [of *Șimleu Silvaniei/Somlyó*] and *magister Michael son of Tamás Csarnavodai* (*de Charnauada*) [*de genere Káta*], vice-comites, 4 Sept. 1402 (DL 84318).¹⁸⁵

Ladislaus, son of Peter of Dragu (*Drági*) and [—] “*Barla (dictus)*” *Derzsi*, vice-comites, 31 Oct. 1407 (DL 65396).

Albert “*Ungi*” *Nagy Mihályi*, vicecomes, 9 Dec. 1409 (*ZsOkI*, vol. 2/2, no. 7216 = DL 65005); 15 Mar. 1410 (*ZsOkI*, vol. 6, no. 1115 = DL 105472). Simultaneously fine collector of Stibor, voivode of Transylvania and comes of Solnoc county.¹⁸⁶

Sigismund of Dindești (*Dengelegi*), vicecomes, 10 Jan. 1418 (*ZsOkI*, vol. 6, no. 1359 = DL 65399).

Thomas [vicecomes?] 3 Apr. 1430 (DL 65027).

Middle Solnoc county

Thomas, son of Thomas Gacsályi and John, son of Paul of Sărvăzel (Szarvadi), vice-comites, 14 May 1436 (DL 65408).

John and Ladislaus Ugrai [Biharugra], vice-comites, 12 May 1438 (DL 65047).

**The Archontology of Middle Solnoc
and Crasna Counties (1458–1541)**

(On the archontology of Middle Solnoc county see also: Pesty, *Eltűnt vármegyék*, vol. 1, 117).

Andrew Bátori [of Ecsed], *comes* of Middle Solnoc county (1458).

17 Sept. 1458 (DL 39588 = *Levéltári Közlemények* 9 [1931]: 98). Simultaneously Master of Stewards (*magister dapiferorum*) (1458) and *comes* of Sătmăr county between 1457–1458 and 1469–1494 (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 25; *SzatmărOkl*, 33).¹⁸⁷

Middle Solnoc

*Valentine of Ghenci (Gencsi) and Benedict Gyarmati, vice-comites,¹⁸⁸ 9 Jan. 1464 (DL 81544 = *ZichyOkl*, vol. 12, 278–279); 18 Jun. 1464 (DL 65086), and along with the above mentioned, also Osvát Valkai of Sarmaság.*

Nicholas Drágfi of Beltiug, *comes* of Middle Solnoc county (1460).

7 Mar. 1460 (*KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1430); DL 56560 [around 1460?], here *comes* of Middle Solnoc and Ugocea counties¹⁸⁹

John Pongrác of Dindești, *comes* of Middle Solnoc county (1465).

4 Mar. 1465 (National Archives Cluj County Branch, Archive of Cluj, DF 281272); 20 May 1465 (DL 27179). At the same time voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely (1462–1465), ban of Severin (Szörény) (1465).¹⁹⁰

Middle Solnoc

Demeter Porkoláb and Ladislaus Sáp, vice-comites, 3 Jan. 1466 (DL 30042).

John Szentgyörgyi and Bazini, *comes* of Middle Solnoc county (1465–1466).

11 Feb. 1466 (*SzOkl*, vol. 3, 87). At the same time voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely (1465–1467).¹⁹¹

John Pongrác of Dindești, voivode of Transylvania 1468–1472 [comes of Middle Solnoc county?]

Middle Solnoc

Ladislaus of Craidorolț (Daróci) and *Albert of Uinimăt (Újnémeti)* (1467–1476), *vice-comites*, [after 25] July 1467 (National Archives Cluj County Branch, Transylvanian National Museum Archives, Bánffy family archive, DF 260920); 30 May 1468 (DL 65091).

Michael Parlagi and *John Horvát, vice-comites*, at the same time castellans of Deva/Déva, 11 Sept. 1469 (DL 81692).

Albert of Uinimăt (Újnémeti) (1467–1476) and *Michael son of Martin from Nusfalău (Nagyfalu)*, *vice-comites*, [30] Apr. 1470 (DL 65099).

Michael son of Martin from Nusfalău and *Nicholas Gelbert of Ilișua*, *vice-comites*, 30 July 1470 (DL 70949 = *PerényiLt*, no. 536).

Blaise Magyar, *comes* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties (1473).

9 Feb. 1473 (*Ub*, vol. 6, 544); 9 Mar. 1473 (DL 28860). Voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely (1472–1475).¹⁹²

Members of the Drágfi of Beltiug family bearing the office of *comes* or the title *comes perpetuus*

Bartholomew Drágfi, *comes* of Middle Solnoc county (1479–1488).¹⁹³

22 Jun. 1479 (DL 65119); 6 Mar. 1488 (DL 27956).

George Drágfi, *comes* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties (1503–1508).

1503 Feb. 6. (DL 69884); 24 Aug. 1505 (Bánffy family archive, DF 261085); before 21 Apr. 1508 (DL 105531, here mentioned as *comes* of Middle Solnoc county).

George Drágfi (1507) and John Drágfi (1507–1526), *comites* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties.

1507 (DL 46832).

John Drágfi, *comes* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties (1507–1526).¹⁹⁴

29 Jun. 1513 (DL 26674, 107408); 18 Aug. 1514 (DL 89043 = *MonRustReb*, 195); 9 Jan. 1515 (DL 31005); 25 Sept. 1515 (DL 25567–255568); 24 Dec. 1515 (DL 25571); 8 May 1516 (Bánffy family archive, DF 261111); 20 Feb. 1517 (*KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3620); 28 Nov. 1518 (*Házi, Sopron*, vol. I/6, 375); 7 May 1520 (DL 65472 = *MonRustReb*, 494–495); 7 Apr. 1521 (DL 74408 = *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 448); 25 Mar. 1525 (National Archives Cluj County Branch, Trans. Nat. Mus. Arch., Bethlen de Iktár family archive, DF 255142); 24 Aug. 1526 (DL 65220, 74420); 27 Aug. 1526 (DL 24323).

Middle Solnoc

Michael Jakcs of Coșein,¹⁹⁵ comes (!) (1530–1540)

28 Jan. 1530 (*KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 4283); 31 Dec. 1530 (NatArchHung, P 2269, The collection of copies made by Miklós K. Papp, no. 163, its original: NatArchHung, archive of the chapter of Transylvania, fasc. XVI, no. 59.); 14. Febr. 1533 (Wesselényi of Jibou archive); 3 May 1533 (Ibid., DF 254915); 17 Jun. 1533 (*KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 4418); 27 May 1535 (Ibidem, no. 4531); 10. Jan. 1540 (Wesselényi of Jibou archive).

Caspar Drágfi, *comes* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties (1533–1540).¹⁹⁶

3 May 1533 (Wesselényi of Jibou archive, DF 254915); 1 Mar. 1536; 13 Oct. 1539; 21 Mar. 1540; 24 Dec. 1540 (*KárOkl*, vol. 3, 196, 217, 223, 226).

Vice-comites

Middle Solnoc county

Andrew “Magnus” (1475)¹⁹⁷ and *Stephen Nagy (Magnus)* (1475), vice-comites, 10 Apr. 1475 (DL 65114).

Albert of Uinimăt (Újnémeti) (1467–1476) and *George of Doba (Nagydobai/Dobai) litteratus* (1476, 1486, 1495–1498), vice-comites, 6 May 1476 (DL 65117); 15 July 1476 (DL 88583).

Martin Szele of Cățălul unguuresc/Meseșenii de Jos/Kecel (1485), vicecomes, 1485 Mar. 30. (*KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2521).

George of Doba (Dobai), vicecomes (1476, 1486, 1495–1498)¹⁹⁸ 11 Dec 1486 (DL 105523).

Denis Kaplyon of Lelei [Lele] (1495–1510, 1515) and *George of Doba (Dobai)* (1476, 1486, 1495–1498), vice-comites, 1495 Oct. 26. (DL 82090); 30 July 1498 (DL 97547).

Denis Kaplyon of Lelei (1495–1510, 1515) and *Paul of Sălățig*¹⁹⁹ (*Szilágyszegi*) (1504), vice-comites, 5 Feb. 1504 (DL 65189); [after 3 July] 1507 (Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, DF 244205); n. d. (DL 82819).

Denis Kaplyon of Lelei (1495–1510, 1515) and *Michael of Deja (Désházi)* (1509–1512), vice-comites, 23 July 1509 (DL 72427); 10 Jun. 1510 (DL 82316), only Denis Kaplyon is mentioned here; 18 Apr. 1512 (DL 65456).

Michael of Deja (Désházi) (1519–1512) and *Peter of Mesentea (Mindszenti)* (1512, 1515–1522), vice-comites, 4 Oct. 1512 (DL 105534).

Denis Kaplyon of Lelei, [vicecomes] (1495–1510, 1515) [around 19 Feb.] 1515 (DL 82425).

John of Sărmășag (Sarmasági) (1515–1522) and *Peter of Mesentea (Mindszenti)* (1512, 1515–1522), vice-comites, 4 Jun. 1515 (DL 30077); 4 Feb. 1521

(DL 105988); 30 Jun. 1522 (National Archives Bihor County Branch, Oradea/Nagyvárad, Collection of charters/Colecția de documente foi volante, Miscellanea, DF 278569), only John Sarmasági is mentioned here.

*Ladislaus Körösi*²⁰⁰ of *Săcășeni* (*Szakácsi*; DL 36377) or *Lelei* (DL 65219) (1524) and *John Kaplyon* (1524), vice-comites, 11 Nov. 1524 (DL 36377); [after 11 Nov. 1524] (DL 65219).

John Pap (1535) and *Nicholas of Hereclean* (*Haraklyáni*) (1535) 5 July 1535 (*f. II. p. Visit. Mar.*, Hung. Nat. Arch., P 635, *The archives of Szilágyi of Acățari/Akosfalva*, fasc. 1).

Crasna county

Andrew “Magnus” (1474)²⁰¹ and *Peter of Riseghea* (*Reszegei*) (1474), vice-comites, 11 Jan. 1474 (National Archives Cluj County Branch, Transylvanian National Museum Archives, Bánffy family archive, DF 261021).

Ambrose Mándi (1481–1485) and *Ladislaus Szennyesi* (1481), vice-comites, 13 Feb. 1481 (Bánffy family archive, DF 261045); 30 Mar. 1485 (*KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2521), only Mándi is mentioned here.

magister George of Bozieș (*Bozjási*) (1486), vicecomes, 11 Dec. 1486 (DL 105523). *George of Ratin* (*Rátoni*) (1492) and *Matthew of Bozieș* (*Bozjási*) (1492), vice-comites, 4 Sept. 1492 (DL 105528).

Stephen of Moiad (*Majádi*) (1505–1516) and *Luke “Magnus” of Ratin* (*Rátoni*) (1505–1516), vice-comites, 16 Sept. 1505 (Bánffy family archive, DF 261085).

Stephen of Moiad (*Majádi*) (1505–1516), vicecomes, [before 21 Apr.] 1508 (DL 105531).

Luke “Magnus” of Ratin (*Rátoni*), vicecomes (1505–1516), 10 Sept. 1510 (DL 65454).

Stephen of Moiad (*Majádi*) (1505–1516) and *Luke “Magnus” of Ratin* (*Rátoni*) (1505–1516), vice-comites, 24 Jun. 1516 (Bánffy family archive, DF 261112).

Caspar Spácai [of *Doba Mare/Nagydoba*]²⁰² (1516–1518) and *Nicholas Szele* (*Zele*) [of *Cățălul unguresc/Meseșenii de Jos*] (1516–1518), vice-comites, 16 Dec. 1516 (DL 65464); 6 July 1518 (DL 65467).

egregius Blaise Nádasi (*Nadasy*) of *Ilișua* (1526) and *egregius Ladislaus Peres of Horoatu Crasnei* (*Krasznahorvát*) (1526), vice-comites, 1526. I. 8. (DL 105546).²⁰³

Paul Peres of Horoatu Crasnei (1544) and *Bartholomew of Ip* (*Ippi*) (1544), vice-comites, 30 Sept. 1544 (Hung. Nat. Arch., P 702, Wesselényi family archive, fasc. 1, no. 18, *f. III. a. Dionisii mart.*).

□

Notes

1. Mór Petri, *Szilágy vármegye monographiája* (The monograph of Sălaj county) (6 vols., Zalău: Szilágy vármegye közönsége, 1901–1904), vol. 1, 92; Frigyes Pesty, *Az eltűnt régi vármegyék* (The disappeared old counties) (2 vols., Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1880), vol. 1, 107; Ferenc Maksay, *Magyarország birtokviszonyai a 16. század közepén* (Land ownership in Hungary in the mid-sixteenth century), A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok no. 16 (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), vol. 1, 401; Mária Szentgyörgyi, *Kövár vidékének társadalma* (The society of Chioar region), *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből: Új sorozat* no. 56 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), 30; Jenő Molnár, “Területi-közigazgatási felosztás Erdélyben (1867–1968)” (Territorial and administrative division of Transylvania between 1867–1968), *Korunk* 9 (1992): 89, 95; Árpád Varga E., *Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája. Népszámlálási adatok 1850/1869–1992 között* (Ethnic and religious statistics of Transylvania. Census data between 1850/1869–1992), *Múltunk könyvek* (6 vols., Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány; Csíkszereda: Pro Print, 1998–2002), vol. 2, *Bihar; Máramaros, Szatmár és Szilágy megye* (Bihar, Maramureș, Sătmar and Sălaj counties) (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány; Csíkszereda: Pro Print, 1999), with map supplements.
2. Samu Barabás, ed., *Codex diplomaticus sacri Romani imperii comitum familiae Teleki de Szék. A római szent birodalmi gróf széki Teleki család oklevéltára* (2 vols., Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1895; henceforth: *TélOkl*), vol. 1, 161 (29 Apr. 1370).
3. In an enumeration of Anna Bátori’s possessions: “item Somlyo, Perechen, Chehÿ, Gywlakutha, Gergthelethe [!], Kerestheleke, Badachon et Hÿdweg in de Karazna, necnon Mÿkloslaka in Transsilvania habita in Albensi comitatibus et aliis ubilibet inter ambitum huius regni Hungarie existentibus et habitis.” See Sabin Belu, Ioan Dani, Aurel Răduțiu, Viorica Pervain, Konrad G. Gündisch, Adrian Rusu, Susana Andea, Lidia Gross and Adinel Dincă, eds., *Documenta Romaniae Historica, C, Transilvania*, vol. 10–15 (1351–1380) (6 vols., Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România; Cluj: Editura Academiei Române, 1977–2006), vol. 15, 621 (2 Sept. 1379).
4. The widow of Peter Bánffy bestows upon her daughter “totales portiones suas et universa iura tam castra quam possessionaria in castris Walko et possessionibus Olahwalko, Maghyarwalko, Naghfalw, Karazna et Zowan in de Karazna in partibus regni Hungarie extra Transsilviam ad idem castrum pertinentes ac Sebeswar alio nomine Kalathazeg, necnon oppidis Banfy Hwnyadya in de Kolos et Regen in de Thorda, item possessionibus Bonczhyda, Walazwth, Borsa, Fewldwar, Kozaarwar ac Czerk in de Doboka et tota provincia Zemesnyewydeke vocatis in de Zolnok interiori in hiis partibus Transsilvanis.” See Elemér Varjú and Béla Iványi, eds., *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli losonczi Bánffy család történetéhez* (Cartulary on the history of the family Bánffy of Losonc de genere Tomaj) (1214–1526) (2 vols., Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1908–1928), vol. 2, 503 (8 Jan. 1522).

5. Ferenc Piti, "A Vay család berkeszi levéltárának 1342–1382 közötti oklevelei" (Medieval charters in the archive of Berchez of the Vay family), *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve*, 52 (2010): 475 (no. 262, 11 Apr. 1368).
6. On this problem see the study of Géza Hegyi in the present volume.
7. A general overview of medieval counties: István Tringli, "Megyék a középkori Magyarországon" (Counties in medieval Hungary), in *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére* (Honoris causa. Studies in honour of Pál Engel), eds. Tibor Neumann and György Rácz, *Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok no. 40. – Analecta Medievalia no. 3* (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete; Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009), 487–518. On the functioning of counties see as well Norbert C. Tóth, *Szabolcs megye működése a Zsigmond-korban* (The functioning of Szabolcs county in the Sigismund era) (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs Községért Kulturális Közhasznú Alapítvány, 2008).
8. Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* (Secular archontology of Hungary 1301–1457), *História Könyvtár, Kronológiák, adattárak*, no. 5 (2 vols., Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996), vol. 1, 246. For the *familiaritas* in the counties see Martin Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 173–178.
9. Károly Tagányi, József Kádár, László Réthy, József Pokoly, *Szolnok-Doboka vármegye monográfiája* (The monography of Solnoc-Dăbâca county) (7 vols., Dej: Szolnok-Doboka vármegye közönsége, 1901–1905), vol. 1, 231–234 (In the chapter entitled "The development of Solnoc and Dăbâca counties" by Károly Tagányi).
10. György Györffy, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his work), 2nd ed. (Budapest: Gondolat, 1983), 209, 331; Idem, *Geographia historica Hungariae tempore stirpis Arpadianae. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* (4 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987–1998), vol. 3, 505.
11. Gyula Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* (Formation of the counties in Hungary), *Nemzet és emlékezet* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1988), 437–438; Idem, "Die Entstehung der Komitatsorganisation unter Stephan der Heiligen", in Ferenc Glatz, ed., *Etudes historiques hongroises 1990* (Budapest: Institute of History of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1990), vol. 1, 13–25.
12. Gyula Kristó, *Early Transylvania (895–1324)* (Budapest: Lucidus, 2003), 93–94.
13. Kristó, *Vármegyék*, 434–440.
14. Lajos Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* (Etymological dictionary of geographical names), 4th ed. (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), vol. 2, 590. Thus, the name of the county does not come from the name of a later settlement in Middle Solnoc, called Zalnoc (cf. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 1, 57–58), whose name is of Slavic origin (Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek*, vol. 2, 799).
15. Artlla Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* (Secular archontology of Hungary 1000–1301), *História könyvtár. Kronológiák, adattárak*, no. 11 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011), 209; on the sources cited here see *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, eds. Alexander Domanovszky and Emericus Szentpéteri (2 vols., Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938. Reprint,

- Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999; henceforth: *SRH*), vol. 1, 342; *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke (1001–1301)*, eds. Emericus Szentpétery and Iván Borsa (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1923–1987; henceforth: *RegArp*), vol. 1, no. 20.
16. In 1234, Solnoc county (i.e. the territory of Middle and Inner Solnoc) is mentioned as belonging to the Transylvanian Diocese, see Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae: Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transsylvanas illustrantia. Erdélyi Okmánytár: Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez*, vol. 1 (1023–1300), vol. 2 (1301–1339), vol. 3 (1340–1359), A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok, no. 26, 40, 47 (3 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1997–2008; henceforth: *CDTrans*), vol. 1, no. 174; in 1271, Outer Solnoc (*Kyuzonuk*) county is mentioned, see Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (tom. I–XI, 40 vols., Buda: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1829–1844), vol. V/1, 157, cf. National Archives of Hungary (Magyar Országos Levéltár), Budapest (henceforth: Nat. Arch. Hung.), Collection of pre-1526 charters, Photocopies (Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény; henceforth: DF) 209907; while in 1279, Särvazel is referred to as a settlement in Outer Solnoc (1279: *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 374. = *RegArp*, no. 3017), however, only transcripts (from 1323 and 1330, respectively) have survived of both documents and it is possible that the name of the county was adapted to the actual situation.
 17. *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 579. The complete document is published in: Imre Nagy, Iván Nagy, Dezső Véghely, Ernő Kammerer, Ferenc Döry, Pál Lukcsics, Antal Áldásy, and Samu Barabás, eds., *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeő. A zichi és vasonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára* (12 vols., Pest and Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1871–1931; henceforth: *ZichyOkm*), vol. 2, 371–372 (before 31 July 1299).
 18. Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 38 (*RegArp*, no. 1270). Certain signs indicate an even earlier unification of the two offices, e.g. in 1258, Ernye, *ban* of Transylvania (c. 1258–1260) takes measures regarding the privileges of the *hospites* in Dej (Solnoc county) (*CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 218). The last data on a *comes* of Solnoc without the title of voivode is registered from 1258 (Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 38).
 19. József Kemény, “Az erdélyi vajdák zonuki grófságiokról” (About the dignity of count of Zonuk of the voivodes of Transylvania), *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, 1830, no. 14: 105–107 (3 Apr. 1830); Idem, “Vissza-felelet T. Torma József úr feleletjére az erdélyi vajdák zonuki grófságjok eránt” (An answer to József Torma’s reply regarding the dignity of count of Zonuk of the voivodes of Transylvania), *Nemzeti Társalkodó*, 1830, no. 25–26: 193–197, 204–207 (19. and 26 Jun. 1830); József Torma, “M. Gróf Kemény József úrnak észrevételeire” (Response to the observations made by count József Kemény), *Nemzeti Társalkodó* 1830, no. 22: 172–176 (29 May 1830); Idem, “M. gr. Kemény József úr visszafeleletére (25–26. szám) a vajdák grófságjok eránt másodszeri felelet” (Second response to count József Kemény’s answer regarding the dignity of count of Zonuk of the voivodes of Transylvania), *Nemzeti Társalkodó* 38–39 (18 and 25 Sept. 1830): 297–300, 305–312. See as well

- József Torma, A zonuki grófságról (I–XII) (On the countship of Zonuk), *Történelmi Tár* 8 (1885): 481–503, 674–714; 9 (1886): 58–94, 250–283, 447–479, 679–694; 10 (1887): 79–101, 339–355, 511–526, 685–700; 11 (1888): 64–79, 301–333. László Gorove, “Szolnokvári viszontagságoknak folytatása” (Questions related to the history of Solnoc), *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* 6 (1821): 38–62; Idem, “A Szolnoki viszontagságokhoz járuló toldalék” (Appendix to the questions related to the history of Solnoc), *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* 8(1821): 45–82.
20. Kristó, *Early Transylvania*, 98.
 21. In 1317, Dózsa Debreceni is not voivode yet, but he is already *comes* of Solnoc (1317: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 274), in 1320, he holds both offices, see Gyula Kristó, László Blazovich, Lajos Gécz, Tibor Almási, Tamás Kőfalvi, Ildikó Tóth, Ferenc Makk, Ferenc Piti, and Ferenc Sebők, eds., *Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andagavensium illustrantia 1301–1387. Anjou-kori oklevéltár 1301–1387*, vols. 1–15 (1301–1331), vol. 17 (1333), vol. 19–20 (1335–1336), vol. 23–28 (1339–1344), vol. 31 (1347), (Budapest–Szeged, no publisher, 1990–2010; henceforth: *AOkl*), vol. 5, no. 721 (12 March 1320).
 22. Iván Janits [Borsa], *Az erdélyi vajdák igazságszolgáltató és oklevéladó működése 1526-ig* (The charter issuing and juridical activity of the voivodes of Transylvania until 1526) (Budapest: no publisher, 1940), 27.
 23. András W. Kovács, *Az erdélyi vármegyék középkori archontológiája* (The archontology of medieval Transylvanian counties), *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek*, no. 263 (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2010), 25–29 (Middle Solnoc county).
 24. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 201.
 25. Nat. Arch. Hung., Collection of pre-1526 charters (Diplomatikai Levéltár; henceforth: DL) 13298 (26 Jan. 1439), from this time on, the *sedria* of the county took place in Szolnok; see DL 97991 (23 Sept. 1510).
 26. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 201.
 27. *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 374 ([Dec.] 1279).
 28. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 772 (14 Apr. 1333).
 29. *Ibid.*, no. 813, 815–816 (4 July 1314).
 30. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 13, 460 (21 March 1368).
 31. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 612 (6 Oct. 1327); *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (Charters of the Sigismund era), vol. 1–2/1–2 (1387–1410), ed. Elemér Mályusz (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951–1958); vol. 3–7 (1411–1420), eds. Elemér Mályusz and Iván Borsa (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1993–2001); vol. 8–9 (1421–1422), eds. Iván Borsa and Norbert C. Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2003–2004); vol. 10 (1423), ed. Norbert C. Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2007); vol. 11 (1424), eds. Tibor Neumann and Norbert C. Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2009), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok*, no. 1, 3–4, 22, 25, 27, 32, 37, 39, 41, 43, 49 (henceforth: *ZsOkl*), vol. 2/1, no. 5687 (22 Oct. 1400).
 32. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 63 (19 May 1307).
 33. *Ibid.*, no. 362 (19 Apr. 1320).
 34. *ZsOkl*, vol. 2/2, no. 7216 (9 Dec. 1409).

35. Ibid., vol. 6, no. 1359 (10 Jan. 1418); no. 2419 (10 Oct. 1418). Cf. Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* (Historical geography of Hungary in the Hunyadi era), Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon. Gr. Teleki József művének folytatása gyanánt, no. 6–8, 9c (4 vols., Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890–1913; repr. 1985), vol. 1, 545.
36. DL 26582 = *ZsOkl*, vol. 4, no. 2693 (15 Nov. 1414).
37. *ZsOkl*, vol. 5, no. 1794 (22 Apr. 1416).
38. Ibid., no. 1230 (13 Nov. 1415). Further similar examples for using the name Solnoc when referring to Middle Solnoc: *ZsOkl*, vol. 3, no. 839 (20 Aug. 1411); vol. 5, no. 282 (23 February 1415), no. 387 (19 March 1415).
39. Ibid., vol. 5, no. 2403 (7 Nov. 1416); vol. 6, no. 2501 (8 Nov. 1418); vol. 11, no. 328 (21 March 1424), no. 628 (3 June 1424). Cf. Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 665; Pesty, *Eltűnt vármegyék*, vol. 1, 90–92, 100.
40. On the historical geography of Outer Solnoc see Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 665–674. On the market town of Szolnok: *ibid.*, 666; Pesty, *Eltűnt vármegyék*, vol. 1, 100–102.
41. On the medieval historical geography of Middle Solnoc see Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 545–578; Pesty, *Eltűnt vármegyék*, vol. 1, 88–89, 92–93.
42. *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 579 = *ZichyOkm*, vol. 2, 371–372 (before 1 July 1299).
43. Enikő Csukovits, “Sedriahelyek – megyeszékhelyek a középkorban” (Sedes iudicarie – county seats in the middle ages), *Történelmi Szemle* 39 (1997): 365.
44. On general assemblies see Géza Istványi, “A generalis congregatio” (The congregatio generalis), part. 1–2, *Levéltári Közlemények* 17 (1939): 50–83; 18–19 (1940–1941): 179–207; István Tringli, “Két szokásjogi norma a közgyűlések működéséről” (Two customary norms regarding the general assemblies), *Történelmi Szemle* 39 (1997): 387–400.
45. Tringli, “Közgyűlések működése,” 392, the cited document: *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 104 (year 1219).
46. *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 365 (30 Jan. 1279); *ibid.*, no. 463 (5 Jan. [1291]); Istványi, “Generalis congregatio,” 55. Further examples: Tringli, “Közgyűlések működése,” 392.
47. Special judge delegated on behalf of the king in Bihar, Szabolcs, Sätmar, Solnoc and Crasna counties: *AOkl*, vol. 4, no. 527 (1 Aug. 1316), *ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 78 (22 March 1318); *ibid.*, vol. 6, no. 115 (5 May 1321). Comes of Bihar and Szabolcs: *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 553 (19 Aug. 1317), *ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 77 (22 March 1318); comes of Sätmar and Szabolcs: *AOkl*, vol. 6, no. 408 (11 Jan. 1322), no. 411 (16 Jan. 1322), no. 581 (22 May 1322).
48. General assembly in Sälacea for Bihar, Szabolcs, Sätmar, Solnoc and Crasna counties: *AOkl*, vol. 4, no. 608 (25 Oct. 1317); in Szakoly (today in Hungary) for Szabolcs, Sätmar and Solnoc counties, *ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 721 (12 March 1320); in Újsemjén for Sätmar, Szabolcs, Solnoc and Crasna counties (*ibid.*, no. 587; 24 May 1322).
49. For example: comes: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 813 (4 July 1334); vice-comes: *Ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 438 (24 Dec. 1347).
50. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 772 (14 Apr. 1333).

51. See the above enumeration. The assembly in 1366 was summoned by the king.
52. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 813, 815–816 (4 July 1334).
53. *AOKl*, vol. 28, no. 769 (24 Nov. 1344).
54. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 855–856 (4 Sept. 1335), no. 859 (18 Sept. 1335), no. 934–936 (9 June 1337); *Ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 298 (24 Oct. 1345), no. 365 (18 Dec. 1346), no. 639 (23 Jan. 1352); no. 684 (in the year 1353).
55. *A Perényi család levéltára 1222–1526* (The archives of the Perényi family 1222–1526), ed. István Tringli, *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok*, no. 44 (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008; henceforth: *PerényiLt*), no. 119 ([after 3 Aug.] 1366); *Kene*, depopulated settlement in the neighbourhood of Tășnad (Tasnád), Middle Solnoc/Sátmar county.
56. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 815–816 (4 July 1334).
57. Cf. Istványi, “Generalis congregatio,” 179–180.
58. Private collection of János Kopács, Hungary (DF 292451, 10 Oct. 1379); *DocRomHist C*, vol. 15, 639 (10 Oct. 1379); *ZsOkl*, vol. 2/1, no. 5044 (6 Oct. 1406). An assembly summoned by the voivode was held for Outer Solnoc: DF 250222 (29 July 1381).
59. *ZsOkl*, vol. 2/2, no. 5086 (2 Nov. 1406); Gyula Benedek, “Külső-Szolnok megyei oklevelek a XV. századból” (15th century documents regarding Outer Solnoc county), *Zounuk: A Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve* (Szolnok), 5 (1990): 254.
60. Tringli, “Közgyűlések működése,” 395.
61. *PerényiLt*, no. 553 (4 Nov. 1472); Tringli, “Közgyűlések működése,” 396.
62. Istványi, “Generalis congregatio,” 73.
63. E.g. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 532 (18 Sept. 1325); DL 96173 (12 Sept. 1334).
64. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 612 (6 Oct. 1327); Csukovits, “Sedriahelyek,” 384.
65. *AOKl*, vol. 14, no. 352 (DL 64017, 18 June 1330).
66. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 682 (29 Oct. 1330).
67. “[...] *in sede nostra iudiciaria, in villa Kene*” (DL 51991, 7 Aug. 1363, *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 161). The last judicial activity in the settlement: *ZichyOkm*, vol. 9, 313–317 (7 Feb. 1452). In 1367, the settlement *Kene* is mentioned as ‘*in qua sedes iudiciaria vicecomitis et iudicum nobilium comitatus predicti [sc. Zonuk] existeret*’ (*DocRomHist C*, vol. 13, 307; 11 Jan. 1367), cf. Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei 1289–1556* (The records of the convent of Cluj-Mănăștur, 1289–1556), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok*, no. 17 (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990; henceforth: *KmJkv*), vol. 1, no. 833 (year 1450). About *Kene* see Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 557.
68. *AOKl*, vol. 10, no. 153 (25. Apr. [1326]); Pesty, *Eltűnt vármegyék*, vol. 1, 90–91.
69. Imre Nagy, Iván Páur, Károly Ráth, Arnold Ipolyi (Stummer), and Dezső Véghely, eds., *Codex diplomaticus patrius [Hungaricus], Hazai okmánytár* (8 vols., Győr–Budapest: MTA Történelmi Bizottsága, 1876–1891), vol. 7, 416 (12 May 1380); *ZichyOkm*, vol. 4, 252 (9 Feb. 1383). Cf. Gyula Benedek, “Oklevelek Külső-Szolnok vármegye XIV. századi történetéből” (Documents regarding the

- 14th century history of Outer Solnoc county), *Zounuk: A Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve* (Szolnok) 6 (1991): 318.
70. DL 98076 (9 July 1380); DF 250222 (29 July 1381).
 71. *ZsOkl*, vol. 2/2, no. 7216 (9 Dec. 1409).
 72. *ZichyOkl*, vol. 9, 584 (DL 81267, 1 Aug. 1457). About the settlement, see Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 563.
 73. DL 65117 (6 May 1476). However, on one occasion, in 1475, the county officials issue a document in Taşnad: DL 65114 (10 Apr. 1475).
 74. DL 88583 (15 July 1476), *in loco sedis nostre iudicarie, videlicet Akosy*.
 75. Romanian National Archives Bihor County Branch, Oradea (Direcția Județeană Bihor ale Arhivelor Naționale, Oradea), Colecția de documente foi volante, Miscellanea, DF 278569 (30 Jun. 1522); Nat. Arch. Hung., P 635, Szilágyi of Acățari/Ákosfalva family archive, fasc. 1. (5 July 1535, *f. II. p. Visit. Mar.*). For more details about settlements that gave home to *sedes iudicarie* in Solnoc county see Csukovits, “Sedriahelyek,” 384.
 76. *ZsOkl*, vol. 1, no. 903 (28 Jan. 1389); Pál Engel, *Hungary in the Late Middle Ages. Digital vector map and attaching database about the settlements and landowners of medieval Hungary. Magyarország a középkor végén. Digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről* (Budapest: Térinfo Bt. and MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2001), Szödemeter (Säuca). Wednesday was the market day here. Cf. Boglárka Weisz, “Vásárok a középkorban” (Markets in the Middle Ages), *Századok* 144 (2010): 1445.
 77. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 3, 639–642.
 78. *Ibid.*, 365–369.
 79. Engel, *Digital Map* (Ákos).
 80. *ZsOkl*, vol. 2/2, no. 7411 (9 Mar. 1410); *Chompaz* (Csompassz), depopulated settlement near Gârceiu (Görcsön), Crasna, then Middle Solnoc county; Oaia, today part of Crișeni (Cigányi), Crasna/Sălaj county.
 81. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 4043 (22 July 1395).
 82. *Ibid.*, vol. 2/2, no. 5880 (1407).
 83. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 532 (18 Sept. 1325).
 84. *Ibid.*, no. 612, 813, 815–816.
 85. *AOkl*, vol. 14, no. 352 (18 Jun. 1330).
 86. The same can be observed in Crasna county as well.
 87. Antonius Fekete Nagy, *Monumenta rusticorum in Hungaria rebellium anno MDXIV*, eds. Victor Kenéz and Ladislaus Solymosi, red. Geisa Érszegi, Publicationes Archivi Nationalis Hungarici, II, Fontes no. 12 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979; henceforth: *MonRustReb*), 494–495 (7 May 1520, DL 65472).
 88. DL 65463 (4 Jun. 1515); DL 82316 (10 Jun. 1510).
 89. DL 82425 ([around 19] Feb. 1515).
 90. DL 30077 (4 Jun. 1515).
 91. DL 99272 (14 July 1516).
 92. DL 82494 (12 Apr. 1518); DL 82819 (n. d.).

93. DL 97547 (30 July 1498).
94. DL 65465 (12 Apr. 1518).
95. DL 65476 (21 Jan. 1521).
96. DL 65117 (6 May 1476).
97. According to András Kubinyi's observation, "the source material at our disposal is not enough to give us information about the identity of the *comites* and *vice-comites* of all counties, not to mention the possibility of compiling complete archontological lists – even for the counties which have relatively abundant sources," see András Kubinyi, "A megyésispánok 1490-ben és Corvin János trónörökösödésének problémái" (The *comites* in 1490 and the the issue of John Corvin's succession), in *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* no. 16 (Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Múzeum, 1982), 169.
98. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 11–15.
99. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 772 (14 Apr. 1333).
100. *Ibid.*, no. 605 (between 9 and 30 May 1351).
101. *Oklevéltár a gróf Csáky család történetéhez* (Cartulary on the history of the Csáky family), ed. László Bártfai Szabó, vol. I/1–2, A körösszegi és adorjáni gr. Csáki család története. vol. 1, *Oklevéltár* (Budapest: without publisher, 1919), vol. I/1, 344 (22 Sept. 1427).
102. Pál Engel, *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban (1387–1437)* (Relations between royal power and the aristocracy in the age of Sigismund, 1387–1437), *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből. Új sorozat*, no. 83 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), 13–14.
103. Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 548.
104. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 268 (Cheud), 351 (Chioar).
105. *Ibid.*, 11.
106. *Ibid.*, 201.
107. *ZsOkl.*, vol. 6, no. 1115 = DL 105472 (15 Mar. 1410).
108. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 173.
109. *Ibid.*, 205.
110. *Székely oklevéltár* (Diplomatarium of the Székely), eds. Károly Szabó, Lajos Szádeczky, and Samu Barabás (8 vols., Cluj: A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Kolozsvári Bizottsága, A Székely Történelmi Pályadíj-alapra Felügyelő Bizottság, 1872–1898; Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1934; henceforth: *SzOkl.*), vol. 8, 159–160; its original: Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch, Cluj-Napoca (Direcția Județeană Cluj ale Arhivelor Naționale, Cluj-Napoca; henceforth: Nat. Arch. Cluj), Transylvanian National Museum Archives (Erdély Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltára; henceforth: Trans. Nat. Mus. Arch.), Collection of Bertalan Török, DF 244554, 24 Nov. 1494); DL 29886 (24 July 1495).
111. Paul Bernóti, *comes* of Middle Solnoc county, *familiaris* of Emeric Lackfi, voivode of Transylvania (1370): Zărând county (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 33; Bernót, depopulated settlement in the neighbourhood of Zerind/Nagyzerénd, Zărând county); Andrew Kalondai, *familiaris* of Ladislaus Losonci, voivode of Transylvania (1377–1378): Nógrád county (*ibid.*, 122; Kalonda, today in Slovakia); Michael

- Csarnavodai (1402): Bereg county, see Tibor Neuman, *Bereg megye hatóságának oklevelei 1299–1526* (The charters of the Bereg county authorities 1299–1526) (Nyíregyháza: Móricz Zsigmond könyvtár, 2006), 121. John Páznádi and Roland Lépes, *vice-comites* of voivodes Jacob Lack and John Tamási (1407): Timiș and Zărand counties (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 187, 145; Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 2, 56); Ladislaus Drágyi (1407; of Dragu): Dăbâca county (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 65); Denis Bályoki (of Bâlc; 1397), John and Ladislaus Ugrai (1438–1439), Emeric Hatalmas of Körtvélyes (1451): Bihar county (ibid., vol. 2, 21, 249; *KmJkv*, vol. 1, 964; Körtvélyes, depopulated settlement in the neighbourhood of Pelbárthida, Bihar county, Hungary); Albert “Ungi” Nagymihályi (1409–1410): Ung county (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 173); John, son of George Bátori (1402), Sigismund Dengelegi (*familiaris* of the Csáki family, 1418, 1427) and his kinsman, Bernard Dengelegi (1446), or Ladislaus Bátori (1446), just like Thomas Gacsályi (1436): Sătmar county (ibid., vol. 2, 25, 59, 79); Anthony Roskoványi (1443–1445) from Sáros county (ibid., vol. 2, 205); Anthony Török of *Hezdench* (1451): probably from Tolna county (ibid., vol. 2, 246).
112. The source of the enumerated archontological data: Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 200–201.
113. Middle Solnoc county: Daróci, Désházi, Dobai, Kaplyon of Lelea, Kőrösi, Mindszenti, Sarmasági, Szilágyszegi, Újnémethi (see the appendix, cf. Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 567–578; Engel, *Digital Map*, Daróc).
114. Sătmar county: Gencsi, Gyarmati (Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 494; Péter Németh, *A középkori Szatmár megye települései a XV. század elejéig* [The settlements of medieval Sătmar county before the 15th century], A nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum kiadványai, no. 60 [Nyíregyháza: Jósza András Múzeum, 2008], 104); Crasna county: Gelbert of Ilișua, Ilosvai, Keceli, Nagyfalusi, Szele of Cățalul unguresc/Meseșenii de Jos/Kecel (Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 580–590); Szabolcs or Sătmar county: Parlagi.
115. Middle Solnoc county (Bagosi, Bideskúti, Majádi, Szentkirályi), Ugocea county (Csatóházi, Veres of Tivadarfalva), see DL 105504 (15 May 1462).
116. *Decreta regni Hungariae 1458–1490*, eds. Franciscus Döry, Georgius Bóna, Geisa Érszegi, and Susanna Teke, Publicationes Archivi Nationalis Hungarici, II, Fontes no. 19 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989), 299.
117. DL 65086 (18 Jun. 1464).
118. DL 65463 (4 Jun. 1515); DL 65465 (12 Apr. 1518).
119. DL 65472 = *MonRustReb*, 494–495 (7 May 1520), John Drágfi.
120. In 1327, a document issued by the county was drawn up in the name of the *comes* and only two of the *iudices nobilium*, probably because the other two were involved in the respective lawsuit (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 612).
121. Sometimes the county delegate was a *iudex nobilium*, though this aspect is not always mentioned, e.g. *Synka*, son of Pete, *iudex nobilium* (*CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 746) was county delegate in 1347 (ibid., no. 438).
122. In a document issued by the chapter of Oradea in 1334 (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 801) the following *iudices nobilium* are mentioned without the name of their personal

estate, which functioned as their surname: Peter, son of Barta *Bartavölgyi*, Peter, son of Lampert *Csányi*, Stephen *Moni* (?) (for their identification see *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 955; *ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 36 and 66). The names of the known *iudices nobilium*: Dezső *comes*, son of Peter, and Stephen, son of Ugrin (1327: *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 612); Peter Szentkirályi (1334: *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 815); *Synka*, son of Peter [Parlagi?] (1354), see Ferenc Piti, Norbert C. Tóth, and Tibor Neumann, *Szatmár megye hatóságának oklevelei. Documentele autorităţii comitatense din Sătmar. Documents of the Authorities of Szatmár County* (1284–1524), A Nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum Kiadványai, no. 65 (Nyíregyháza: Jósza András Múzeum, 2010), no. 132 (henceforth: *SzatmárOkl*); *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 746; county delegate in 1347: *ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 438; Nicholas, son of Bece Szunai (*de Zuna*; 1368: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 13, 447); Ladislaus, son of Paul Balázsházi (1418: *ZsOkl*, vol. 6, no. 2419); Stephen Ramocsa (*Ramacha*) of Mineu (Menyő; 1436: DL 65408); Bege Damján of Keresztúr and Martin Kis (*Parvus*) of Lelei (1466: DL 30042); Valentine and Francisc Bodó *iudices nobilium* [between 1480–1483?], see Norbert C. Tóth, “Lehetőségek és feladatok a középkori járások kutatásában” (Prospects and objectives in the research of medieval districts), *Századok* 141 (2007): 420–421; Peter Pelei (1515: DL 30077); Sebastian Dabóci (*Dabooczy*) of Mineu, Stephen Szuna (*Zwna*) of Eriu-Meřenę (today: Ady Endre/Mindszent, Gregory Szunai (*de Zwna*) and Paul Lőrinc (*Lewryncz*) of Doba (1520: *MonRustReb*, 501–502); Sebastian Dabóci (*Dabooczy*) of Eriu-Meřenę and Paul Lőrinc of Doba (1521: DL 105988); Thomas Pelei, Stephan Csires (*Chyres*) of Eriu-Meřenę, Valentine György (*Gewrgb*) of Doba (1524: DL 36377).

123. DL 36377 (11 Nov. 1524).

124. The name is of Slavic origin (Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek*, vol. 1, 805).

125. Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 166. According to Gyula Kristó, the county was formed in the decades around the turn of the 12th century (Kristó, *Vármegyék*, 487), however, in Györffy’s opinion Crasna county and the diocese on its territory was organized at the beginning of the 11th century (Györffy, *Geographia historica*, vol. 3, 503, 505).

126. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 146, 454; *SzatmárOkl*, 29–31.

127. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 454.

128. *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 365 (30 Jan. 1279); *ibid.*, no. 463 (5 Jan. [1291.]); Istványi, “Generalis congregatio,” 55.

129. *AOkl*, vol. 3, no. 849 (22 Nov. 1314).

130. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 608 (25 Oct. 1317).

131. *Ibid.*, vol. 6, no. 587 (24 May 1322).

132. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 13, 104 (between 1 Sept. and 6 Oct. 1364).

133. *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 65 (27 Jun. 1341).

134. *Ibid.*, no. 166 (21 Oct. 1343), no. 521 (29 Aug. 1349); for the year 1370 see DL 38189; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 14, 113 (30 Jan. 1372); *ZsOkl*, vol. 1, no. 5009 (10 Oct. 1397); *ibid.*, vol. 2/1, no. 1306 (15 Nov. 1401); 1435: DL 65404, 65407, 30434, 38266, 65405. Cf. Istványi, “Generalis congregatio,” 67.

135. *ZsOkl*, vol. 3, no. 1574 (14 Jan. 1412).

136. *Ibid.*, vol. 2/2, no. 7155 (28 Oct. 1409). Cf. *ibid.*, no. 7494 (18 Apr. 1410).

TRANSYLVANIAN REVIEW

Vol. XXI, Supplement No. 2, 2012

Institutional Structures and Elites in Sălaj Region and in Transylvania in the 14th–18th Centuries



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137. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 785 (31 Aug. 1333); *ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 339 (8 Aug. 1346). The locations of the *sedria* are recorded in: Csukovits, “Sedriahelyek,” 382.
138. *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 430 (15 Nov. 1347).
139. Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch, Transylvanian National Museum Archives, Bánffy family archive, 11 Jan. 1474 (DF 261021).
140. Bánffy family archive, 13 Feb. 1481 (DF 261045); DL 65122 (4 Sept. 1481).
141. DL 105528 (4 Sept. 1492). Today, the settlement is called Bozięș.
142. DL 65454 (10 Sept. 1510), *in oppido* [*Naghfa*]*lw*. In the 15th century Nușfalău received the right to hold markets (Weisz, “Vásárok,” 1436).
143. Bánffy family archive, 24 Jun. 1516 (DF 261112); DL 65464 (16 Dec. 1516); DL 65467 (6 July 1518).
144. Nat. Arch. Hung., P 702, Wesselényi family archive, fasc. 1, no. 34 (30 Sept. 1544); Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch, Transylvanian National Museum Archives, Wesselényi of Jibou family archives, 30 Apr. 1542 (document issued in the name of the *universitas nobilium comitatus de Crazna*).
145. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 146; *SzatmárOkl*, 29–30.
146. See *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 592; *SzatmárOkl*, 28.
147. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 25, 231.
148. George Bozjási (of Bozięș), 1486–1492; Mathew Bozjási, 1492; Luke “Magnus” of Ratin (Rátoni), 1505–1516; Nicholas Szele of Cățălul unguresc/Meseșenii de Jos/Kecel, 1516–1518 (Crasna county); Peter of Resighea (Reszegei); 1474; Ambrose Mándi, 1481; Ladislaus Szennyesi, 1481 (Sătmar county); Stephen Majádi, 1505–1516; Caspar Spăcai of Doba, 1516–1518 (Middle Solnoc county).
149. *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 430 (15 Nov. 1347). The notary of the county, a certain *magister* Nicholaus is also mentioned here.
150. Attila Zsoldos, “Örökös ispánságok az Árpád-korban” (Perpetual comities in the Arpad period), in *Aktualitások a magyar középkorkutatásban. In memoriam Kristó Gyula (1939–2004)* (Actualities in Hungarian medieval research. In memoriam Kristó Gyula 1939–2004), ed. Márta Font, Tamás Fedeles, and Gergely Kiss (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem BTK Történettudományi Intézet Középkori és Korajújkori Történeti Tanszék, 2010), 73–92.
151. Norbert C. Tóth, “Az örökös ispánságok Zsigmond király korában” (Perpetual comites in the age of King Sigismund), *Történelmi Szemle* 3 (2011): 467–477.
152. Imre Hajnik, *Az örökös főispánság a magyar alkotmánytörténetben* (The comes perpetuus in Hungarian history), *Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből*, vol. XIII/10 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1888), 6.
153. Kubinyi, “A megyéispánok 1490-ben,” 169.
154. Hajnik, *Örökös főispánság*, 6.
155. András W. Kovács, “Administrația comitatului Hunedoara în evul mediu” (The administration of Hunedoara county in the Middle Ages), *Sargetia* 35–36 (2007–2008): 206–208; Elemér Mályusz, *Az erdélyi magyar társadalom a középkorban* (Hungarian society of Transylvania in the Middle Ages), *Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*, no. 2 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1988), 49; Kubinyi, “A megyéispánok 1490-ben,” 171.

156. Hajnik, *Örökös főispánság*, 8.
157. Law enacted in 1503, article 3; 1498, art. 57 and 1504, art. 3, see Hajnik, *Örökös főispánság*, 8, 23.
158. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 29, 65.
159. The source of the following enumeration: Pál Engel, “A magyar világi nagybirtok megoszlása a 15. században” (The division of secular latifundium in Hungary in the 15th century), in *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok* (Honor, castle and county: Selected studies), ed. Enikő Csukovits, Millenniumi magyar történelem (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 52, 68 and note no. 139. About the genealogy of the family see Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia* (Hungarian medieval database: Secular archontology of Hungary and Hungarian medieval genealogy) [CD-ROM] (Budapest: Arcanum and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001; henceforth: Engel, *Genealógia*), Drágfi (bélteki); Vladimír Rábik, Beáta Vida, “Bélteki (Beltiug) Drágffy család a magyar királyság történetében” (The Drágffy of Beltiug in the history of the Hungarian kingdom), *Turul*, 82 no. 2 (2009): 33–45.
160. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 351. About the donation of the castle of Chioar to the Drágfi: Antonius Fekete Nagy et Ladislaus Makkai, eds., *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum*, Etudes sur l’Europe Centre-Orientale. Ostmitteleuropäische Bibliothek, no. 29 (Budapest: Universitas Scientiarum Budapestinensis, 1941; henceforth: *DocVal*), 279–280 = *DocRomHist C*, vol. 15, 468–469 (20 July 1378); cf. Szentgyörgyi, *Kövár*, 19. A list of the villages pertaining to the estate: *ZsOkl*, vol. 2/2, no. 3723 (15 Mar. 1405).
161. Ferenc Maksay, *A középkori Szatmár megye* (The medieval Sätmar county), Település- és népiségtörténeti értekezések, no. 4 (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1940), 133–134; permission to the Drágfi to erect a castle at Ardu/Erdőd: DL 15102 (20 Sept. 1456). Bartholomew Drágfi started to build the castle of Ardu in 1482, see *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 6 (1859): 9.
162. The donation for Bartholomew Drágfi: DL 88531 (22 Aug. 1472).
163. Imre Nagy, ed., *Sopron vármegye története. Oklevéltár* (A history of Sopron county. Charters) (2 vols., Sopron: Liptass Károly, 1889–1891; henceforth: *Sopron okl.*), vol. 2, 620–622 (13 Mar. 1524).
164. *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3468 (9 July 1508).
165. DL 46832 (1507); DL 26674 (29 Jun. 1513); DL 31005 (9 Jan. 1515); DL 25567–255568 (25 Sept. 1515); DL 25571 (24 Dec. 1515); National Archives Cluj County Branch, Transylvanian National Museum Archives, Bánffy family archive, DF 261111 (8 May 1516); *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3620 (20 Feb. 1517); *Sopron szabad királyi város története* (The history of the town of Sopron), ed. Jenő Házi, Part I, vol. 1–7, Part II, vol. 1–6, Sopron 1921–1943 (henceforth: Házi, *Sopron*), vol. I/6, 375 (28 Nov. 1518); *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 448 (7 Apr. 1521); National Archives Cluj County Branch, Transylvanian National Museum Archives, Bethlen of Iktár family archive, DF 255142 (25 Mar. 1525); DL 65220, 74420 (24 Aug. 1526); DL 24323 (27 Aug. 1526); Hajnik, *Örökös főispánság*, 62–63.

166. *Magister tavernicorum regalium* in 1520, 1522: *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3760, 3877; Tamás Fejér, Etelka Rácz, and Anikó Szász, eds., *Az erdélyi fejedelmek királyi könyvei* (Libri Regii protocols of the Transylvanian princes), vol. I (1569–1581) János Zsigmond, Báthori Kristóf királyi könyvei (Libri Regii protocols of John Sigismund and Christopher Báthori), fasc. 1, *János Zsigmond királyi könyve 1569–1570* (Libri Regii protocols of John Sigismund), Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok no. VII/1 (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2003; henceforth: *Királyi Könyvek*, vol. I/1), no. 10; Judge Royal (*iudex curie regis*) (1526: *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 4136).
167. *MonRustReb*, 494–495 = DL 65472 (7 May 1520).
168. *Ibid.*
169. *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 4283 (28 Jan. 1530); no. 4418 (17 Jun. 1533); no. 4531 (27 May 1535).
170. Nat. Arch. Hung., P 702, Wesselényi family archive, fasc. 1, no. 18 (3 Aug. 1532, II. d. f. VI. p. Petri ad vinc.).
171. *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 4750 (6 May 1540).
172. Nat. Arch. Hung., P 702, Wesselényi family archive, fasc. 1, no. 18 (3 Aug. 1532); *Codex diplomaticus comitum Károlyi de Nagy-Károly. A nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára (1253–1707)*, ed. Kálmán Géresi (5 vols., Budapest 1881–1897; henceforth: *KárOkl*), vol. 3, 196 (1 Mar. 1536), 217 (13 Oct. 1539), 223 (21 Mar. 1540), 226 (24 Dec. 1540). In the documents mentioned he uses the title of *comes*; *Királyi Könyvek*, vol. I/1, 586.
173. Hajnik, *Örökös főispánság*, 63.
174. Nat. Arch. Hung., A 57 (Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár), Libri regii, vol. 2, p. 100 (25 Nov. 1545), all quotations from the Hungarian *Libri regii* are taken from the following digital edition: *Libri regii 1527–1918* [DVD] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár and Arcanum, 2006); *KárOkl*, vol. 3, 271 (24 Apr. 1552): Georgius Dragphi de Belthek comes, comitatum Zolnok mediocris et de Carazna comes perpetuus; Hajnik, *Örökös főispánság*, 63.
175. Nat. Arch. Hung., A 57, Libri regii, vol. 2, 168–169 (2 Oct. 1546); Hajnik, *Örökös főispánság*, 62–63; *KárOkl*, vol. 3, 241 (Druget is mentioned as *comes* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties on 26 Apr. 1548).
176. Nat. Arch. Hung., A 57 (Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár), Libri regii, vol. 2, 507–508 (13 Aug. 1551); gyámság: *ibid.*, vol. 3, 134–135 (7 Apr. 1553); Hajnik, *Örökös főispánság*, 63.
177. *KárOkl*, vol. 3, 289 (10 Jun. 1556, George Bátori, *comes* of Sätmar, Szabolcs, Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties).
178. *Ibid.*, 289 (1556 Jun. 10.).
179. Hajnik, *Örökös főispánság*, 63.
180. Szentgyörgyi, *Kövár*, 19; *KárOkl*, vol. 3, 288–290 (10 Jun. 1556).
181. Imre Lukinich, *Erdély területi változásai a török hódítás korában 1541–1711* (Changes in the territory of Transylvania during the time of the Turkish conquest, 1541–1711) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1918), passim; Gábor Barta: “A történelmi Erdély és határai” (The historical Transylvania and its borders), in *Mappa Transilvaniae et Partium regni Hungariae repertoriumque locorum obsectorum. Erdély*

- és a Részek térképe és helységnevtára*, ed. by János Herner, based on János Lipszky's work printed in 1806 (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1987), 210; Pesty, *Eltűnt vármegyék*, vol. 2, 68 (Chioar region); Miklós Lázár, "Erdély főispánjai 1540–1711" (The *comites* of Transylvania, 1540–1711), *Századok* 23 (1889): 131–147 (Chioar region).
182. The *iudices nobilium* mentioned in the document are from Inner Solnoc county.
183. The data supporting this identification: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 454 (Csaholyi).
184. At this time *familiaris* of Thomas Szécsényi (voivode of Transylvania), then *comes* of Gömör county (1343–1344), see Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 231.
185. Bátori was *vice-comes* of Sătmar county as *familiaris* of Gregory Csáki and Denis Marcali, *comites* of the Székely and of Sătmar and Ugocea counties (1402–1403) (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 25; *SzatmárOkl*, 30–31). Between 1402–1403, Nicholas Csáki and Nicholas Marcali were voivodes of Transylvania and *comites* of Solnoc county (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 13). On Michael Csarnavodai see *ZichyOkl*, vol. 5, 51 (6 Dec. 1397) and *ZsOkl*, vol. 3, no. 1650, quoted by Engel, *Genealógia*, genus Káta, table no. 3, Csarnavodai (Surányi).
186. In 1410, *iuvenis aule* at the royal court, later prior of Vrana, Croatia (1417–1433) and *ban* of Croatia (1419–1426), see Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 173.
187. Later he became guard of the Hungarian Crown (1490–1493), *comes* of Szabolcs (1491–1494) and Záránd counties (1491–1496), see Norbert C. Tóth, "Ki kicsoda az ecsedi Bátori családban" (Whos's who in the Bátori of Ecsed family), *Szabolcs-szatmár-beregi Szemle* 43, no. 1 (2009): 14–16.
188. Benedict Gyarmati became later *vice-comes* of Sătmar county (1475–1479) (*SzatmárOkl*, 33).
189. Nicholas Drágfi became later *comes* of Sătmar county (1468) (*SzatmárOkl*, 33).
190. Master of the Stewards (*magister dapiferorum*) (1461–1463), voivode of Transylvania (1462–1465, 1468–1472, 1475–1476) and *comes* of the Székely (1462–1465), castellan of Gurghiu, *ban* of Severin/Szörény (1465: *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 86). *Comes* of Békés county (1470, 1471: DL 16985 and 74615), *comes* of Timiș county (1470, 1472: DL 17035 and 97345). András Kubinyi, "Bárók a királyi tanácsban Mátyás és II. Ulászló idejében" (Barons in the royal council during the reign of Kings Matthias Corvinus and Valdislav II), *Századok* 122 (1988): 206.
191. 1465: Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia (Romania), The private archive of the chapter of Transylvania, DF 277596; 1467: Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Georg Müller, Michael Auner, Gustav Gündisch, Herta Gündisch, Gernot Nussbächer, and Konrad G. Gündisch, eds., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* (1191–1496) (7 vols., Sibiu and Bucharest: Ausschuss des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde and Verlag der Rumänischen Akademie, 1892–1991; henceforth: *Ub*), vol. 6, 292–295. See as well Kubinyi, "Bárók a királyi tanácsban," 207; Zoltán Kordé, "Szentgyörgyi János erdélyi tevékenysége 1465–1467-ben" (The activity of John Szentgyörgyi in Transylvania in 1465–1467), in *Studia professoris – professor studiorum: Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára* (Studia professoris – professor studiorum: Studies in honor of Géza Érszegi on his 80th birthday),

- ed. Tibor Almásy, István Draskóczy, and Éva Jancsó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005), 145–153.
192. Captain of Upper Hungary (1459, 1462, 1463, 1464), *ban* of Croatia and Slavonia (1470–1472), *ban* of Dalmatia and Bosnia (1470–1471). See Kubinyi, “Bárók a királyi tanácsban,” 205; Richárd Horváth, “A Felső Részek kapitánysága a Mátyás-korban” (The captaincy of the Upper Parts under the reign of King Matthias), *Századok* 137 (2003): 953–954.
193. Master of the Cup-bearers (*magister pincernarum regalium*), Master of the Stewards (*magister dapiferorum regalium*, 1468–1474, 1479–1480), *aule familiaris* (1478: DL 32852), *magister cubiculariorum* (1490–1493), see Kubinyi, “Bárók a királyi tanácsban,” 204. Voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely (1493–1498, DF 246778 and 240822), at the same time *comes* of Szabolcs county between 1494–1497, see Norbert C. Tóth, *Szabolcs megye hatóságának oklevelei* (The charters of the Szabolcs county authorities), vol 2 (1387–1526), Jósa András Múzeum Kiadványai no. 53 (Budapest–Nyíregyháza: Jósa András Múzeum, 2002), 13. *Comes* of Sätmar (1494–1498; *SzatmárOkl.*, 34) and Ugocea counties, between 1497–1498, see Norbert C. Tóth, *Ugocea megye hatóságának oklevelei (1290–1526)* (The charters of the Ugocea county authorities [1290–1526]) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia and Magyar Országos Levéltár Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár Kutatócsoport, 2006), 20. † on 26. Oct. 1501 (*Történelmi Tár*, 1898, 566). See also Ioan Lupaş, “Der siebenbürgische Woiwode Bartholomäus Dragfi 1493–1498,” in: *Zur Geschichte der Rumänen: Aufsätze und Vorträge* (Sibiu: Hauptverlag der Deutschen Volksgruppe in Rumänien, 1943), 154–161.
194. Master of the Cup-bearers (*magister pincernarum regalium*, 1508–1514), Master of the Stewards (*magister dapiferorum regalium*) (1510–1515), *Camerarius/magister tavernicorum regalium* (1518–1523), *comes* of Timiş (1524, 1525: DL 8263, DF 255142), captain of Lower Hungary (1525: DF 255142; Kubinyi, “Bárók a királyi tanácsban,” 206; *MunRustReb*, 195).
195. Deputy of Middle Solnoc county at the national assembly held at Buda in 1527 convoked by King John Szapolyai, see *Monumenta comitialia regni Hungariae. Magyar országgyűlési emlékek* (henceforth: MOE), vol. 1 (1526–1536), ed. Vilmos Fraknoi (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia), 129.
196. † in 1545 (*Történelmi Tár*, 1898, 567).
197. *Vice-comes* of Crasna county in 1474.
198. In 1487, advocate of Bartholomew Drágfi, see János Mihályi, ed., *Máramarosí diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból* (14th and 15th-century charters from Maramureş) (Máramaros-Sziget: Mayer és Berger könyvnyomdája, 1900), 589. Vice-voivode of Transylvania between 1494–1495 (1494: Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch, Trans. Nat. Mus. Arch., Collection of Bertalan Török, DF 244554 = *SzOkl.*, vol. 8, 159–160; 1495: DL 29886); as *familiaris* of Bartholomew Drágfi, Dobai was also one of the executors of Drágfi’s will in 1500; see Vladimír Rábik, ed., *Középkori oklevelek a nagyszombati Szent Adalbert Egyesület levéltárában (1181) 1214–1543* (Medieval documents in the Archives of the Saint Adalbert Society of Trnava [1181] 1214–1543), *Capitulum* no. 7 (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, Történeti Intézet, Középkori és Kora Újkori Történeti Tanszék, 2010), 164.

199. As *familiaris* of Bartholomew Drágfi, Dobai was also one of the executors of Drágfi's will (1500: Rábik, *Szent Adalbert*, 164).
200. Deputy of Middle Solnoc county at the national assembly held at Buda in 1527 convoked by King John Szapolyai, see *MOE*, vol. 1, 129.
201. *Comes* of Middle Solnoc county in 1475.
202. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 4, 92.
203. In December 1525, Ferenc Fancsikai (*de Fanchyka*), deputy Judge Royal and Tamás Várdai, *protonotarius iudicis curie* held a general assembly for the nobility of Crasna county in Nuşfalău in the presence of the *vice-comites* and two *assessores*.

Abstract

The Authorities of Middle Solnoc and Crasna Counties in the Middle Ages

The present study discusses the formation and functioning of medieval Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties (administrative units organized by the central administration) from the 11th century up to 1541. Starting with the last decades of the 13th century, the authorities of each of these two counties consisted of a *comes* (appointed by the king in Crasna and by the voivode of Transylvania in Middle Solnoc county) and four noble judges (*iudices nobilium*) elected from among the local nobility. Between 1261 and 1476, voivodes of Transylvania bore the title of 'comes of Solnoc' (*comes comitatus Zolnuk*), however, all three parts of the formerly undivided county, Inner, Middle and Outer Solnoc had their own *comites/vice-comites*, and from the beginning of the 15th century voivodes did not have authority over Outer Solnoc and Middle Solnoc counties any more. In Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties, judicial activity, the most important function of the nobiliary county, starting with the 14th century was performed in the name of the voivode at the occasional assemblies of the county (*congregatio generalis*) or at the more regular county court (*sedes iudiciaria*, abbreviated as *sedria*) sessions held by the *vice-comes* helped by the four *iudices nobilium*. Sometime in the 1470s, the Drágfi of Beltiug family received the hereditary title of *comes perpetuus* of Middle Solnoc and Crasna counties, and from that time on the *comites* of the two counties were members of this same family, while *vice-comites* were chosen from their *familiares*.

Keywords

Transylvania, medieval counties, Solnoc, Crasna, *comes*, *iudex nobilium*, *comes perpetuus*, Drágfi of Beltiug.

The Affiliation of Medieval Sălaj (Szilágy) Region in the Mirror of Social Relations*

GÉZA HEGYI

MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA is usually defined as the eastern province of the Kingdom of Hungary, comprising the Transylvanian basin, meaning the overall 15th century territories of the seven counties of central Transylvania (Hunedoara [Hunyad], Alba [Fehér], Târnava [Küküllő], Turda [Torda], Cluj [Kolozs], Dăbâca [Doboka], and Inner Szolnok [Belső-Szolnok]), as well as the Szekler and Saxon seats and districts.¹

Zsigmond Jakó (1916–2008) has recently proposed a somewhat distinct approach in his Introduction to volume I of *Erdélyi Okmánytár* (Transylvanian Document Collection): “by historic Transylvania we mean the one-time formation which belonged under the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian voivode within the Hungarian Kingdom. That is, the seven counties of central Transylvania, and the Saxonland (Szászföld) and Szeklerland (Székelyföld). We include Middle Szolnok (Közép-Szolnok) and Crasna (Kraszna) counties from the Partium, but not Zărând (Zaránd). The first two counties belonged under still unexplained common jurisdiction of the palatine and the voivode before the 15th century but formed an integral whole with Central Transylvania later on. At the same time, Zărând had a fate that connected it to the Hungarian Great Plain all along.”² Jakó’s view on the matter was later taken over by Gyula Kristó (1939–2004) as well in his book on the history of Transylvania in the 10th–13th century, who applied it to support his particular theory of Transylvania “in movement”.³

* This work was supported by CNCSIS-UEFISCSU, project number PN II-RU code/2010. The title of the research project: Institutional Structure and Elites in Sălaj Region in the 14th–17th Centuries (Structuri instituționale și elite din Țara Silvaniei în secolele XIV–XVII), code: TE_204. The author is research fellow of the Transylvanian Museum Society (EME), Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár). The present paper was accepted for publishing in 2012.

The additional element of the new concept of Transylvania in contrast to the traditional one is therefore the inclusion of Middle Szolnok and Crasna counties. Jakó however failed to bring evidence for his approach (as also the representatives of the traditional perspective), neither did he formulate precisely what he meant by the “common jurisdiction” of the two additional counties. Indeed, the introduction of a document collection offers no sufficient space for such clarifications; moreover, in case of source publication it is merely a technical matter to establish the limits of the territory included into the source collection.⁴ However, once we take this new concept of Transylvania as a matter of fact – as did Kristó –, making it one of the milestones of the speculations on the distant past of this region, it becomes unavoidable to investigate how real this image is.

The problem is primarily of an administrative nature, while it evidently cannot be restricted to this aspect only. The main reason for this is that the concept of “medieval Transylvania” is manifold: as we have seen, Jakó defined it as the totality of counties and seats under voivodal jurisdiction,⁵ others as a geographic region or a local society living by its particular identity and customary law, while most researchers used these meanings alternately, not being aware that the territories covered by these definitions were not identical, while still, of course, greatly overlapping (e.g., the territories of the seven central Transylvanian counties were included by every researcher). This differentiated image of Transylvania makes it necessary to approach the question of the affiliation of Sălaj region with greater complexity. Provided our results justify that the society of Sălaj region had stronger informal relations with the province than with Hungary, and completing it with the facts of common knowledge that the Transylvanian voivodes held the function of *comes* of Szolnok, or being aware of the range of the Transylvanian diocese, then this territory – from a certain point of view, e.g. that of a comprehensive document collection – can be considered Transylvania, even if the secular jurisdiction or the conception of the age do not justify it.

In what follows I wish to examine these informal aspects of the subject, in order to decide, from a geographical, social historical, and institutional perspective, whether these two counties can be considered parts of Transylvania or of the inner territory of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁶

My research comprises the period between 1200 and 1424. The setting of the time limits was decisively determined by the available sources: prior to the early – or rather mid – 13th century, literacy in Hungary was insignificant enough not to yield data for the history of minor regions;⁷ on the other hand, the charter material of our concern for the period preceding 1424 is almost completely published,⁸ while for the subsequent period it is hardly known, therefore one may only draw pertinent conclusions and make statistical comparisons up to the above date.⁹ However, the time limit set up because of practical reasons is historically

also relevant: both Jakó and Kristó refer to the fact – albeit in different approaches – that the affiliation of the two counties is only problematic prior to the 14th century, and the most difficult problems (the inner differentiation of Szolnok county, the *comes* of Szolnok office held by the voivodes) are only relevant for the period preceding the 1410s/1420s.

After putting forth the subject of this paper, some words must be said about the use of certain concepts. 1) Just like in the beginning of the paper, I shall continue to refer to *Middle Szolnok county*, although an administrative territory by this name only appears towards the very end of the investigated period – before that the area belonged to Outer Szolnok (Külső-Szolnok) county as its eastern block. However, in order to differentiate it from the regions around the Tisza, it seemed more appropriate to use this denomination for sake of clarity, despite its being anachronistic. 2) So as not to write out each time the names of Middle Szolnok and Crasna counties, when speaking about both at once, I shall use the collective name *Sălaj region*. Although this name is currently only used to denote a more restricted ethnographic area or a present-day shire (județ), this procedure is not quite inaccurate or arbitrary, since there is evidence that the name was used for commonly terming both regions as early as the Middle Ages,¹⁰ and during the 18th–19th century the name seems to have been generalized.¹¹ 3) Also for the sake of brevity, in the followings the name *Hungary* will be used for the central territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, excepting Transylvania and Slavonia (and for our purposes also Crasna and Middle Szolnok counties.) It is important to note, however, that this terminology is merely of a technical nature, and cannot be regarded as a stance in the debate concerning Transylvania's distinct status.¹² 4) The denomination *Transylvania* will be used in the traditional sense (seven counties + Szeklers + Saxons).

The protagonists of the analysis will be therefore the three separate entities defined above: the Sălaj region, Hungary, and Transylvania, where the two latter ones – along certain characteristics – will serve as reference points for the former.

Geographical position

BEFORE PROCEEDING with the investigation and comparison of the social and institutional relations connecting the Sălaj area to its neighbouring regions, a short outline of its geographic position would be in order. Firstly, so that the reader would be able to locate the region in question even in the lack of previous knowledge; secondly, because from the point of view of the subject matter, it is important to decide whether geographically speaking this region belongs to the Hungarian Great Plain or the Transylvanian Basin.

Undoubtedly, the geographical position has always significantly influenced – even if not always determined – people’s settling, the movement of merchandise and information, as well as the division of administrative borders.

The core of Sălaj region is formed by a 200 to 400 meters high hilly area, delimited on the south-west by Plopiș (Réz) mountain (918 m), on the south-east by Meseș (Meszes) mountain (996 m), on the east by Someș (Szamos) river, and on the north by Codru (Bükk) mountain (580 m). The hills slowly turn into a plain towards the west, therefore the Tășnad (Tasnád) area of Middle Szolnok county, the so-called Valea Ierii (Érmellék), is an organic part of the Great Plain.¹³ The eastern part of the county is the Țara Chioarului (Kővárvidék) region, with mountainous area to the south (400 to 795 m), while the northern part forms a common basin with the surroundings of Baia Mare (Nagybánya), which belonged to Sătmar (Szatmár) county.¹⁴

The hilly area of Sălaj region is divided by rivers flowing towards north and west, partly affluents of the Someș river, like the rivers Sălaj (Szilágy) and Crasna (Kraszna) with the Zalău (Zilah) stream flowing into the latter, and partly affluents of the Criș (Körös) rivers, like the rivers Ier (Ér) and Barcău (Berettyó).¹⁵ The two important regions determined by these rivers are Tövishát, delimited by the Zalău stream and the Someș, and Crasna area in the valley of the Barcău and Crasna. The fertile hills covered with oak forests yielded favourable living conditions ever since ancient times for the farming settlers, while the mountains covered with thick beech forests remained uninhabited for a long time.¹⁶

It can be concluded therefore that the Sălaj region slopes towards the Hungarian Great Plain, is opened in the direction of the Satu Mare (Szatmár) plains and the Baia Mare basin, but it is separated from the Transylvanian basin by mountains covered with woods, divided only by two larger passages: the Meseș gate and the flow of the Someș at Var (Szamosörmező).¹⁷ True, both were routes of decisive importance determined by the transportation of salt, partly by land, partly by water, from Dej (Dés) and Ocna Dejului (Désakna) to Hungary, more precisely Sălacea (Szalacs) and Satu Mare.¹⁸

The boundaries of the two counties covering this region mirror the area’s geographical characteristics, and also point to the fact that their administrative effect cannot be considered absolute. The Plopiș mountain has always been a boundary towards Bihor (Bihar) county, as well as the lower flow of the Lăpuș (Lápos) and Crasna rivers and the Ier river towards Sătmar county. However, the boundary between Crasna and Middle Szolnok county was obviously not following any geographical reasoning; and at first Middle Szolnok county was not closed down by Codru and Meseș mountains, but in the 14th century it probably only extended to Sălaj river on the north (Țara Codrului [Bükkalja], as part of the domain of Ardud [Erdőd] might have still belonged to Sătmar county¹⁹), while

to the south-east it comprised the valley of Agrij (Egregy) stream, and extended as far as the valley of Almaş (Almás) stream, to the territory of Sânmihaiu Almaşului (Almásszentmihály) and Sânta Măria (Almásszentmăria).²⁰ On these two lines the natural boundary was eventually followed, but on the north-east after the division of Szolnok county around 1320, the source region of Lăpuş river fell to Inner Szolnok²¹ and remained there despite the fact that the Breaza (Ilosvai) mountain clearly delimited it from the central area of this Transylvanian county.

Social relations

THE METHODS of sociology offer several possibilities for displaying the social relations of a region – however, the range of methods applicable for the mostly property right-oriented source types of the Middle Ages is much more restricted.²² Accordingly, in what follows I shall try to present one single connected problem, with a fair documentary background: the origin of landowner families of Sălaj region.

At this point, the question rises: to what extent does the origin of landowner families represents the social relations in the region? Does this generalized image not mirror simply that it was mere incidence where a family tried to gain more property, and was it not then merely a matter of size, that is to say, the territory of Hungary was much bigger than that of Transylvania, and accordingly, the proportion of the nobility in direct connection with the king was also bigger, and thus the mathematical chance that the new landowner in Sălaj region would come from the territory of Hungary and not Transylvania was also much higher?

Although there are arguments to confront these doubts (e.g., that the nobility mainly tried to get new land next to their existent estate), first of all it was not the reason, but the result of the new landlord's settling down what mattered: even if he did settle down in this new place, he could maintain his relationships with his distant kins for a long time, or if he did not live there, the inhabitants of his estate had to be in constant contact with his residence. One way or another, by his person new connections were created between the various regions.

Although the investigation of the local nobility would evidently be worth an entire monograph, this paper will only yield a restricted vertical analysis and a horizontal section of the subject.

1) In a first approach I shall enlist the landlords of the most important estates, that is, castles (with their domains), and examine whether, by their origin, they can be considered Hungarian or Transylvanian families.

On the territory of Sălaj region there were five castles in the 13th-16th century: Valcău (Valkó) and Şimleul Silvaniei (Szilágysomlyó) in the southern and central

part of Crasna county, and Hodod (Hadad), Cheud (Aranyos), and Chioar (Kővár) in north-eastern Middle Szolnok county.²³

The first known landlord of the domain of Şimleu, probably settling at the time of the Hungarian conquest, was one branch of the kindred of Csolt.²⁴ The kindred, the ancestor of which was Vata, the leader of the pagan uprising from 1046, originated from the southern part of the Great Plain, county of Békés.²⁵ In 1258/59, his descendent by the same name sold Şimleu and its belongings to two of the potentates of the age, Palatine Roland (1248–1260) and the Queen's court judge, Maurice (1251–1259).²⁶ The former was a member of the Paks branch of the kindred of Rátót, holding estates all over the country (in Slavonia, the Transdanubian parts, and Upper Hungary),²⁷ but later he appeared no more as the landlord of Şimleu. Maybe because he handed over his estates in this region to his brother-in-law, the above mentioned Maurice *de genere* [henceforth: *d.g.*] Pok, originating probably from Mórchida, Győr county.²⁸ The castle of Şimleu was probably built by Nicholas, son of Maurice, twice voivode of Transylvania (1277, 1315–1316).²⁹ The estate belonged to his heirs, the Meggyesis³⁰, until 1351, when his grandson, Simon, *comes* of Bratislava (1351–1360) handed it over to his sister's, Anna's husband, Ladislaus Bátori *d.g.* Gútkeled, originating from Nyírbátor, Szabolcs county, as her filial quarter,³¹ whose descendants, the Báthoris de Şimleu, owned it until their 17th century extinction.³²

The Valcău domain was founded in 1249, when King Béla IV (1235–1270) donated the villages of Zăuan (Szilágyzovány), Nuşfalău (Szilágynagyfalu), and Valcău to the Judge Royal (*iudex curie regis*), Paul *d.g.* Geregye (1248–1254), landowner in Bihar county.³³ The construction of Valcău castle can perhaps be connected to his name, or to the name of Kopasz *d.g.* Borsa, also from Bihar county, as the latter gained the most important estates of the sons of Pál after their 1277–1278 uprising, among which also, by all indications, the estate of Valcău as well.³⁴ At any rate, the king's men conquered the castle from his son, Bekch, this time after the uprising of the Borsas.³⁵ The castle was royal property until 1341, when the king exchanged them with *magister* Donch, *comes* of Komárom (1332–1344), landowner in Zvolen (Zólyom) county, for his castles in Upper Hungary.³⁶ In 1372, after the extinction of the Zólyomi family, the domain was the property of John Gönyüi *d.g.* Csór, *magister ianitorum* (1361–1374), as royal donation.³⁷ His major estates lay in and around Nógrád, Győr, Fejér, and Vukovar (Valkó) counties, so he can also be regarded as coming from Hungary.³⁸ His descendants did not live for three more generations: the male branch of the family died out in 1402, thus Valcău and its belongings were inherited by the sons of his daughter “made son” [the institution of *prefectio*], Ladislaus and George Bánfi de Losonc *d.g.* Tomaj,³⁹ and rested in their possession until the 19th century.⁴⁰ The Bánfis are the only family of castle lords that can be connected to Transylvania in the medieval history of Sălaj region: although their roots are in Hungary

(Nógrád county), but their seat was located in the eastern province since as early as the 14th century.⁴¹

On the estate of Sălaj or by its other name Cheud, there was a castle already in 1246.⁴² At this time it was said to be the hereditary land of Paul son of Nicholas of the Sárvármonostor branch (Sătmar county) of Gútkeled kindred, and it remained indeed the property of his heirs until 1317, until they lost all their estates when they got involved into the uprising of Kopasz *d.g.* Borsa and Moys, son of Moys.⁴³ Afterwards, during most of the 14th century, it was royal domain, and it functioned as a separate territory in Middle Szolnok county, ruled by a *comes*, until 1344.⁴⁴ However, the large-scale castle-donations during the reign of King Sigismund I (1387–1437)⁴⁵ affected Cheud as well: it was granted already in 1387 by the king to the sons of Jakcs, originating from Coșeiu (Kusaly) in Middle Szolnok, and extending in its area.⁴⁶ Their descendants, divided into several branches, remained in the possession of the domain until the family's extinction in 1582, only its seat was soon moved to Hodod.⁴⁷

The history of Hodod is rather simple: it was part of the royal domain of Arduđ until 1383. At this time it was donated to the already mentioned family, Jakcs de Coșeiu.⁴⁸ They had built the castle of the place before 1399, which became their main seat.⁴⁹ Its fate was later connected to the domain of Cheud.⁵⁰

The prehistory of Chioar is the most obscure of the five domains of Sălaj region. In the early 13th century its territory was covered by Fenteuș (Fentős) forest, belonging to Satu Mare castle, and mostly uninhabited at that time, donated between 1213 and 1216 by King Andrew II (1205–1235) to the Szentgyörgyi branch of Hontpázmány kindred, having estates around Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg).⁵¹ King Béla IV (1235–1270) probably took it back from them as an undue donation,⁵² at any rate there is no mention of it any longer as a Hontpázmány estate. Since in 1246 the Sălaj region estates of the previously mentioned Paul, son of Nicholas *d.g.* Gútkeled extended to the area around Lăpuș river, he could have been the next landlord of the domain, and the anonymous castle mentioned here could also refer to the castle of Chioar.⁵³ Following the restoration of Charles I's age (1301/1310–1342), it became again a royal castle (perhaps already as early as 1315, if – as we suppose – the fortification of *Cheever* can be identified with it⁵⁴). In 1378, King Louis I donated it to Balk and Drag, of Romanian origin from Maramureș (Máramaros) region⁵⁵: their descendants, the Balkfi and Drágfi de Beltiug (Béltek) families, were common owners of the castle and domain of Chioar until 1424, then they shared it, but after the disloyalty of the Balkfis in 1470 their estates were confiscated and given back to the Drágfis until the family's extinction in 1555.⁵⁶

To summarize, it can be said that the five castles of Sălaj region – in addition to the king – belonged to 13 families during the Middle Ages. Of them, only one family originated from Transylvania (Bánfi de Losonc), one was local (Jakcs de

Coșeiu), whilst the other 11 came partly from neighbouring (Csolt, Gútkeled, Geregye, Borsa kindreds, Bátori de Șimleu and Drágfi de Beltiug families), partly from distant Hungarian counties (Hontpázmány, Rátót, Pok kindreds, Zólyomi and Gönyűi families).

2) For the horizontal investigation, it will suffice to measure the proportion and internal distribution of the foreign nobility of Sălaj region at a given time section. The time period of our interest is the beginning of year 1341. Firstly, because for the previous periods the data available are not enough to compile the complete cadastre of the settlements and landowners of Crasna and Middle Szolnok counties. Secondly, 1341 was the year when the royal estates (and indirectly also the royal power) reached their highest extension,⁵⁷ that is, the presence of the foreign landowners was still at a minimum, since most of them came later, after the slow erosion, then (following 1387) redistribution of the royal domains.

In this year we find, besides the king, three ecclesiastical institutions and 83 noble families among the landowners of the two counties.⁵⁸ Most of them lived here ever since the first centuries of the Arpadian age, and they arose largely from royal servants (*servientes regis*) and castle warriors (*iobagiones castri*),⁵⁹ but the proportion of foreign landowners is also significant. There are three larger groups to be differentiated among them.

a) The least connections with their origins had the families who – although proved to have been coming from “outside” – by the mid-14th century had no other possessions in other counties. Of these, the followings can be regarded as being of Transylvanian origin: the Szentkirályi *d.g.* Farkasagmánd, owning lands in Eriu-Sâncrai (Érszentkirály),⁶⁰ and the Moni family, who exchanged their purchased land at Băgaciu (Kisbogács), Dăbâca county for Naimon (Nagymon) of the Gerendi family.⁶¹ The ancient seat of the Lelei *d.g.* Kaplony family was in Sătmar county, but everything indicates that by the 14th century they had sold all their estates there, since later they were only mentioned in connection with Lelei (Lele).⁶² The Borzási *d.g.* Napkormeszte family, who was donated Boziș (Szilágyborzás) in 1227, probably settled over to Crasna from Szabolcs county.⁶³ The Csányi *d.g.* Szentemágócs family from the Transdanubian parts got in the possession of three quarters of Cean (Tasnádcsány) in 1244.⁶⁴ The Dráhis previously having their seat in Nógrád county can also be included into the list, who had lost all their estates in the 1310s taking sides with those who revolted against the king, but eventually, in 1321, thanks to Voivode Thomas Szécsényi (1321–1342), they received back three of their estates in Sălaj region.⁶⁵ In the first half of the 14th century, the Meggyesis donated to their *familiaris*, Sutak, the settlement of Uileacu Șimleului (Somlyóújlak), previously belonging to Șimleu.⁶⁶

b) There were also families which resided on their estates in Sălaj region, but – regardless of their origin – had properties outside the two counties. One

branch of our old acquaintances, the Borsa kindred's, named themselves after Camăr (Kémer), but they owned the Transylvanian Cuzăplac (Középlak), Cluj county.⁶⁷ The Récseis also had interests in the Transylvanian county of Dăbâca.⁶⁸ One branch of the Pocsajis *d.g.* Ákos moved from Bihar to Supuru (Szopor) in Sălaj region in the 13th century, but they kept their part in their old estates, while their relatives who remained in Bihar owned Pir (Szilágypér) and Săuca (Szódemeter) in these areas.⁶⁹ The Szarvadi family, who owned Sărăuad (Tasnádszarvad), a quarter of Cig (Csög), and Szentmiklós, destroyed ever since, in Middle Szolnok, and gained significant influence as *familiares* of Kopasz *d.g.* Borsa around 1300, bought Balc (Bályok), Bihar county, in 1298.⁷⁰ For a while they also occupied some other estates around Biharea (Bihar) village, which were rightfully the properties of the Genyéteis, landowners of Ghenetea (Genyéte), Kispacal (now part of Vișoara [Érszöllős]) and Ghida (Berettyódéda) in Crasna county.⁷¹ The Petőfi de Szántó *d.g.* Zsidó family probably arrived to Santău (Tasnádszántó) and Silivaș (Tasnádszilvás) during the officeholding of their ancestors, Pető Zsidói *comes* of Sătmar (1317–1321, 1323–1330). It was during this time that they gained their donations in Sătmar county, while preserving their parts in their ancient estates in Pest county.⁷²

c) The third category are the landlords who did not set up their residence in Sălaj region because their estates here only made up a small part of their properties scattered over several counties. First of all, the bishopric of Transylvania must be mentioned with three estates (Tășnad, Zalău [Zilah], and Aghireș [Egrespatak]),⁷³ and the chapter of Oradea (Nagyvárad) with one estate in Sălaj region (Carastelec [Kárásztelek]).⁷⁴

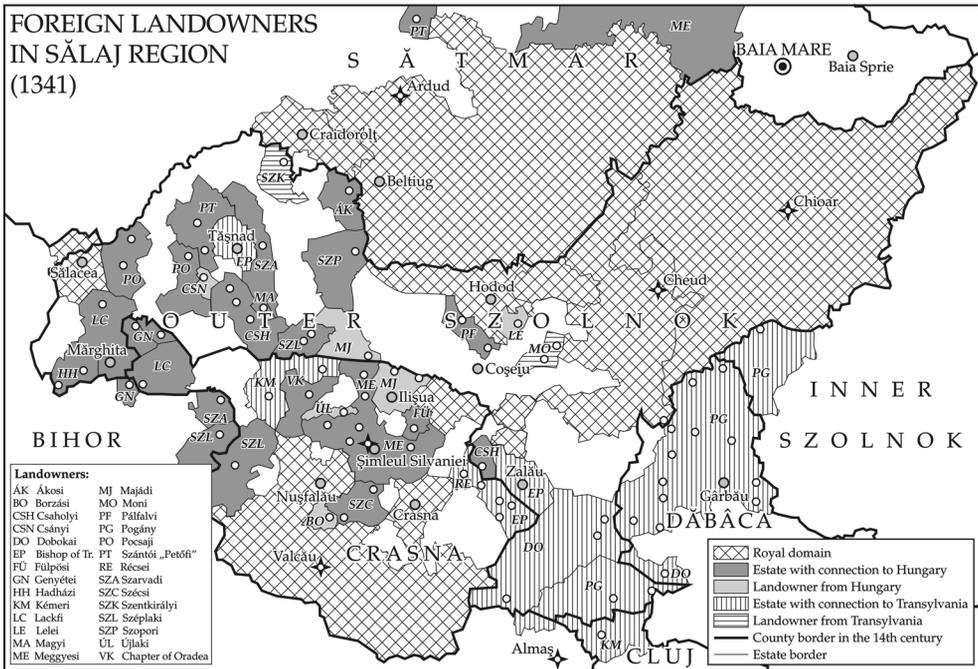
Of the secular owners, the first ones to appear were the Ákosi branch of the Ákos kindred: although their main seat had been and remained in Pest county, by the evidence of the kindred's Romanesque monastery of Acâș (Ákos) they had already had estates in this region in the 12th–13th centuries.⁷⁵ The Bihar county branch of the Pocsaji *d.g.* Ákos family has already been mentioned. The Széplaki *d.g.* Turul family also originated from this region, whose ancient estates along Barcău river extended to Crasna county: these were divided in 1327 among the three branches of the family.⁷⁶ The Egyedmonostor branch of the Gútkeled kindred had most of their estates also in Bihar and Szabolcs counties, but two villages of their estate of Diosig (Bihardiószeg), Apáti (today part of Crestur [Apátkeresztúr]) and Abrămuș (Vedresábrány) fell to Middle Szolnok, just like the estate of Petreu (Monospetri) of the monastery of their kindred. These estates became the property of the Hadházi family, one of their branches, after the 1338 division.⁷⁷

The monastery of the Csaaholyis *d.g.* Káta was located at the seat of their estate, in Nyírcsaaholy, but during the 13th century they also built up a smaller domain in Middle Szolnok county, with the estates of Cehăluș (Magyarcsaaholy), founded

by them, the since deserted Kene, Orratlanhida, Rof, Szölce, and Ülmez, a quarter of Cean, and the more distant village of Panic (Szilágypanit).⁷⁸ Another gentry family owned – besides Păulești (Szatmárpálfalva), Sătmar county – the villages of Archid (Szilágykered) and Ser (Szilágyszér) of Tövishát as well: in this case it is difficult to decide which was the family's residence, since they were alternately called Széri and Pálfalvi.⁷⁹ There has already been mention of the Meggyesi *d.g.* Pok family: their main property was that around Medieșul Aurit (Aranyosmeggyes) castle in Sătmar county, but they acquired the domain of Șimleu in 1258, too. The estate of Sici (Somlyószécs) was cut out from this block in 1319, as a donation to their faithful *familiaries*, sons of Lukas *d.g.* Becsegergely, originating from the Transdanubian parts and settled in Sătmar county, ancestors of the Fülöpösi and Szekeresi families.⁸⁰ The Magyi family from Szabolcs county might have possibly acquired the village of Orbău (Tasnádorbó) next to Cehăluț in the same way, perhaps as *familiaries* of the Csaholyis.⁸¹

Two families of the upper aristocracy of the Angevin period acquired estates in Sălaj region: the Szécsi *d.g.* Balog family got in the possession of Boghiș (Szilágybagos) and the adjacent lot of Monyoród, deserted by now, sometime between 1285 and 1341 (but most probably in 1322); however, these estates were but a small proportion of their extended properties lying mostly in the northern parts of Hungary.⁸² The star of the Lackfi *d.g.* Hermán family only started to rise at that time (it culminated in the time of King Louis I, between 1342 and 1375), but they had already acquired extensive estates along the low course of Maros river (in Arad, Timiș [Temes], Cenad [Csanád], and Hunedoara counties), while only had three villages in Sălaj region: Cheț (Magyarkéc), Marghita (Margitta), and Iteu (Lüki).⁸³

One can only find four Transylvanian landowners in this subcategory, and they appeared quite late in Middle Szolnok county. The village and surroundings of Românași (Alsóegregy) at the eastern feet of the Meseș were the estates of the Dobokais *d.g.* Kökényesradnót, probably since the 1260s or 1270s, when the members of this family from Nógrád county, Ban Mikud and *magister* Emeric, as faithful servants of the younger king Stephen (the later Stephen V, 1262/1270–1272) gained large estates and settled down in Transylvania.⁸⁴ Stephen Pogány *d.g.* Hontpázmány, relative and main *familiaris* of Transylvanian voivode Thomas Szécsényi (1321–1342), also came to Transylvania from the north-western corner of Upper Hungary in 1329, and here he acquired estates by the dozen, among which Sânmihaiu Almașului and Sânta Măria in 1332.⁸⁵ Also around the same time (1334, 1338) another *familiaris* of Szécsényi, Matthew Mátéházi, coming to Transylvania from Gemer (Gömör) county, and settling down in Iklódszentivány (now part of Iclod [Nagyiklód]), tried to acquire half of Lelei village in Sălaj region as well,⁸⁶ with much lesser success, because the estate never



appeared again as owned by his descendants. Similarly, the Sălaj region acquisitions of the Bánfi de Losonc family in the 1330s were also very short-term, except perhaps for the village of Ilye near Zalău, deserted by now.⁸⁷

Groups	Families with connections to Transylvania	Estates	Families with connections to Hungary	Estates
a)	2	2	5	6.75
b)	2	5	4	8.25
c)	1+4	8	2+13	31.25
Total	9	15	24	46.25

TABLE 1: Foreign landowners in Sălaj region (1341).

Translating those said above into figures (see Table 1), one may find again that the proportion of families and estates with connections to Hungary exceed by far those of connections to Transylvania – even if in this case their proportion (2,5–3 to 1) is not that extreme than in the case of castle owners. It must be noted that in the largest c) subcategory the families registered as Transylvanian landowners were all, without exception, originating from Hungary, and it was merely incidental that they came first to Transylvania (in some cases very recently), and only then extended towards Sălaj region.

If representing the settlements with “foreign relations” on a map, it can be noticed that those connected to Transylvania were grouped around Zalău, while those connected to Hungary were located mostly in Crasna county and the Valea Ierii. It is not accidental therefore that by the end of the 14th century the territories east of the Meseş were adjoined to Dăbâca county, while the villages lying at the confluence of Ier and Barcău rivers to Bihor county (obviously, by the request of the owners).⁸⁸

Authorized places of authentication

AS COMMONLY KNOWN, places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) were particular institutions of medieval Hungary, ecclesiastical bodies (cathedral chapters and collegiate chapters, as well as monastic convents) which had authentic seals, accepted by everybody, and thus, beginning with the 13th century, could issue authentic documents: declarations, reports, and transcripts.⁸⁹

a) Declarations (*fassio*) were used to write down personal legal transactions (sale and purchase contracts, letters of hypothecation, division letters [*littere divisionales*], procuratory letters [*littere procuratorie*], protests, etc.), on the request of private persons who personally or through their trustees turned to the place of authentication. (Sometimes however, for instance in case of testaments, the deputy of the place of authentication was delegated to the client).

b) Reports (*relatio*) were drawn up on the basis of official orders – of the king, the voivode, the palatine, etc. – once the authority conducting the official transaction (property delimitation, property registration, interrogation, etc.) and the person entrusted as a witness by the place of authentication reported their common action. Although due to its character the action usually took place “in the field” (on or around the estate in question), if the parties were called in for making a pledge, it could have also taken place in front of the place of authentication.⁹⁰ It must be mentioned that it usually also comprised the text of the order (*mandatum*), or more rarely it only referred to it.

c) The transcription (*transumptum*) actually meant the official copy of an earlier document, by which the place of authentication included it into the charter it issued. For this operation, an oral request of the private person was enough if he possessed the charter to be transcribed, but if he hoped to find the document in the archive of the place of authentication, he had to obtain the written consent of the competent authorities.

As regards the territorial jurisdiction of the places of authentication, in case of declarations and transcriptions we know of no restrictions: the client was free to choose the chapter or convent to issue the charter.⁹¹ Obviously, this was

most often the institution closest to the person's residence, but in case of serving as a *familiaris* at the other end of the country or in the case of military service it were often quite distant places of authentication which happened to be at hand. However, it is still disputed whether the authority of places of authentication in case of reports had a central regulation or was simply formed by practice. At any rate, rulers always tried to make order: according to the laws issued in 1298 and 1351, it was the closest place of authentication, while according to King Sigismund's 1410 charter, the place of authentication of the same county which had to be delegated to the scene.⁹² Some researchers claim to see the results of these regulations,⁹³ others however think that these were not put into practice, and the field of operation of the institutions was only determined by "physical constraints (difficult transportation, bad roads), and the operation of neighbouring places of authentication".⁹⁴ One way or another, it is a fact that the areas were more restricted and better outlined than in the case of declarations, which however does not mean that they could not overlap: on the territory of a particular county several places of authentication could have operated simultaneously, perhaps with different frequency.⁹⁵

Accordingly, a new point of view in the elaboration of our subject is to find out whether the Sălaj region belonged under the authority of Hungarian or Transylvanian places of authentication. In case of declarations and transcripts, this would "only" represent the local society's stronger relations to certain institutions, but the *relationes* (could) also mirror a semi-official space-relation, since the interests of the party involved⁹⁶ were also doubled by that of the authorities when choosing the places of authentication for reports.⁹⁷

On the territories of Middle Szolnok and Crasna counties there was no viable place of authentication during the Middle Ages (the only local institution which could have functioned as such, the Benedictine convent of Meseș, disappeared before it could gain any significance⁹⁸), therefore we must take into consideration four Hungarian (chapters of Oradea and Eger, convents of Dealul Orăzii [Váradhegyfok], and Leles [Lelesz]), and two Transylvanian (chapter of Transylvania at Alba Iulia [Gyulafehérvár], and convent of Cluj-Mănăstur [Kolozsmonostor]) places of authentication.⁹⁹ Except for the chapter of Eger and the convent of Dealul Orăzii, the authenticating activity of the rest has already been thoroughly researched, with short references to their territorial authority¹⁰⁰ – without following up, however, their dynamics with the periodical statistics of the issued charters in a county-based distribution.¹⁰¹ Therefore I could not compare their results for the two counties, so I collected – aiming at completeness – all the charters related to Sălaj region issued by places of authentication prior to 1424. I managed to identify 454 charters – 23 transcriptions, 187 declarations, and 244 reports (including the texts of 42 trials by ordeal). I handled as individual

items not only the charters extant in the original or in full text transcription, but also those known from content transcription or mention, and instead of lost reports I used the extant *mandatum*, if there was any.

1) *Declarations and transcriptions*. From the period preceding the Mongol invasion, we only know three declarations (two from 1215, one from 1219), all three made in front of the Oradea chapter.¹⁰² These data must be handled very cautiously, of course: not only are they not suitable for generalizations due to their small number, but their preservation is lucky chance (all three come from the famous list of ordeal of fire of the Oradea chapter, while in case of the other chapters, although trials by ordeal were held there as well, there are no such registers extant). Nevertheless, if we take a look at the charters of the next 60 years, we are not wrong to conclude that during the 13th century the local people primarily went to the chapter of Oradea to have their legal affairs written down: although the documents issued there make up only half of the 12 cases (5 declarations and 1 transcript), the remaining six cases do not come from neighbouring places of authentication, but quite “exotic” ones. These were obviously not products of customary relations, but incidental ones: for instance, Stephen *d.g.* Gútkeled, *comes* of Nitra (Nyitra) (1245–1246), later Palatine in the royal court (1246–1247), who acquired Aluniş (Szamosszéplak) and bought half of the domain of Sălaj, had his legal affairs written down at the chapters of Nyitra and Székesfehérvár.¹⁰³ Similarly, Palatine Roland *d.g.* Rátót (1248–1260), and Maurice *d.g.* Pok, the queen’s court judge (1251–1259), on purchasing the domain of Şimleu, also chose this latter place of authentication.¹⁰⁴ The widow of *comes* Turul visiting the chapter of Óbuda in 1270 already lived at that time in the nunnery of Buda, while Panit *d.g.* Miskolc, as well as his *servientes*, the Parasznyais, to whom he granted the estate of Boghiş, turned to the chapter of Eger, although they were originally from Borsod.¹⁰⁵

Period	Places of authentication (number of declarations and transcripts)							Total
	Oradea	Eger	Alba Iulia	Dealul Orăzii	Cluj-Mănăştur	Leles	other	
1215–1241	3	*	*	-	-	-	*	3
1242–1299	5+1	1	0	0	-	0	5	12
1300–1334	9	0	6+1	11+1	0	0	1	29
1335–1352	16+2	0+1	2+2	11+2	3+1	0	2	42
1353–1389	39+7	1	1+1	-	12	4	1	66
1390–1413	9+1	0	1	-	6	1+2	1	21
1414–1424	16+1	0	0	-	16	4	0	37
1215–1424	109	3	14	25	38	11	10	210

* = no data

- = no activity of authentication

TABLE 2: Declarations and transcripts concerning Sălaj region until 1424.

The situation changed around 1300: the Premonstratensian monastery of Dealul Orăzii, founded in the immediate proximity of Oradea, soon joined in the issuing of charters in Sălaj region, in addition to the chapter of Oradea. For the early 14th century, the proportion of charters issued by this body exceeded those issued by the Oradea chapter (11 vs. 9), although it dropped a bit somewhat later. For the period between 1300 and 1352, the two institutions were fairly equally present in the life of the region, producing together more than 72% of its private literacy. We could say that – although not consciously but under the pressure of the ever growing need for literacy – they divided the “market” between them.

In this period, although in a much lesser proportion, Transylvanian institutions also began to appear in the line of places of authentication. First, it was only the chapter of Transylvania (and not very rarely, too: in 25 % of the cases between 1300 and 1334), then after its rebirth in 1339¹⁰⁶ the monastery of Cluj-Mănăştur as well. However, even their common proportion decreased, which hints to the fact that the greater choice was not a result of increasing social need – the convent only started to take over the (restricting) place of the chapter in the region. The Transylvanian institutions were primarily needed when one of the parties originated from Transylvania, such as the Dobokais giving up their estates in Sălaj region (1300, 1310), Jacob Gerendi, buying and later selling the estate of Mon (1323, 1324), or Thomas Régeni (ancestor of the Bánffy family), taking in pledge, among others, some estates beyond the Meseş (1332).¹⁰⁷ The Derzsi family, owner of Sighetu Silvaniei (Szilágysziget), had connections with the chapter of Transylvania by one of their members, Nicholas, canon and archdeacon of Sătmar.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, it is also clear that the proximity of the monastery of Cluj-Mănăştur started to attract the lesser nobility of Zalău region (the Fürményesi or Keceli families) ever since 1341.¹⁰⁹

The role of the other places of authentication in this half a century was still tangential or incidental as well: the Dráhis renounced their Nógrád county estates in front of the chapter of Esztergom (1321); and only one estate of the Lackfis, who parted over dozens of their estates in front of the chapter of Arad, fell to this region (1342).¹¹⁰

In 1353, as it is commonly known, radical changes occurred about charter issuing institutions. At this time – as a result of the law of year 1351 ordering the closing of lesser, that is, easily influenced places of authentication – among others, the authentic seal of the convent of Dealul Orăzii was also redrawn, and thus its authenticating activity ceased.¹¹¹ Its clients were taken over by the chapter of Oradea, which issued 70% of the declarations and transactions in the 35–40 years left of the Angevin age (that is, proportionately the same amount as previously together with the convent of Dealul Orăzii). Its primacy in the region was

unquestionable even as late as the 1380s, to such an extent that it was visited even from the most distant corners of Middle Szolnok county, east of the Meseş.¹¹²

In the long run, however, it was the monastery of Cluj-Mănăştur which profited from the disappearance of the monastery of Dealul Orăzii. Taking into account the number of charters issued in the period between 1353 and 1389, it was on the second place after the chapter of Oradea, although far behind it (12 vs. 46). Its proportion was still due to the trust of the lesser nobility around Zalău (the Keceli, Horváti, Fürményesi, Moni, Csompaszi etc. families),¹¹³ and it was also natural for Transylvanian clients to seek its services (the Dobokai and Kidei families).¹¹⁴ In Sigismund's time it slowly reached behind its rival from Oradea, which around 1420 – instead of its earlier preponderance – had to do with a fragile relative majority. At this time the logic of distances was already valid, and Sălaj region practically fell to two sides: the landowners living around Tășnad and in the western parts of Crasna county went to Oradea, those from eastern Crasna to Cluj-Mănăştur, while the inhabitants of Tövishát went to both places to make their declaration.

However, we only meet the other Transylvanian place of authentication, the chapter, two or three times after 1353, mostly in connection with the local affairs of the bishop of Transylvania.¹¹⁵ In a word, he shared the fate of curiosities such as the cathedral chapters from Bač (Bács) and Esztergom, which had a temporary role due to Ladislaus Szakácsi, *familiaris* of the archbishop of Kalocsa, and John Petőfi de Szántó court knight.¹¹⁶ Our old acquaintance, the chapter of Eger also appears only once, in 1370, as the authenticator of the procuratory letter of the Magyis of Szabolcs county, suing for Orbäu.¹¹⁷ It never appeared again in this region – its place was taken over by the convent of Leles appearing in 1359, first by procuratory charters,¹¹⁸ later, after the end of the 1370s, by more serious declarations, but – in opposition with its great outburst in the matter of reports – it gained no more importance before 1424 (its proportion was below 10%). This probably had to do with its distant location.

2) *Reports*. In the literature it is said that the formation of the places of authentication was decisively influenced by their role in trials by ordeal.¹¹⁹ What is more, ordeals themselves can be regarded as archaic forms of one particular category of an authenticating procedure on the request of official organs, the swearing of an oath before the place of authentication.¹²⁰ Thanks to the Register (*registrum*) of Oradea, we know of 42 ordeals of fire in this region, made in front of the chapter of Oradea in the decades preceding the Mongol invasion (more precisely, in the years 1213–1221). Next to these, there is one more note which is not a trial by ordeal, but the formulation in writing of an estate registration, which means that it can rightly be regarded as an early form of *relatio*.¹²¹ Although it

may occur again to us that the role of this institution in Sălaj region could be increased merely because of the fortunate preservation of sources, the proportion of the cases listed above (as compared to the 389 notes of the register¹²²), just like the map drawn on the basis of the place names occurring in the register¹²³ is evidence enough that the Szolnok county part of Sălaj region and Crasna county (together with Bihor, Békés, and Sătmar counties) formed already at that time the central territory of the authority of the place of authentication of Oradea.¹²⁴

The image of the early 13th century dominance of the chapter of Oradea is enforced by the statistics of the following hundred years. By the end of the Arpadian age, of the seven known cases it was only once that not them, but the local St. Margaret convent of Meseş, was requested as a witness¹²⁵ – this is in fact the only report which was not issued by any one of the six places of authentication investigated here. (In case of the reports there are then no “exotic” institutions, which justifies the existence of legal regulations and our presuppositions regarding a restricted territory of authority). The situation was similar between 1300 and 1334: five of seven reports could be connected to the chapter of Oradea. The presence of the chapter of Transylvania which signed the other two was probably due to a mistake: King Charles I (1301/1310–1342) who issued the orders, or the privileged person, Stephen Pogány, *castellanus* of Cetatea de Baltă (Küküllővár), thought that the estates of Sânmihaiu Almaşului and Sânta Măria, registered in the first case (1332), and delimited in the second case (1334), were situated in Inner Szolnok county,¹²⁶ which at that time belonged to the territory of authority of the chapter of Transylvania.

An important change occurred around 1335: the convent of Dealul Orăzii, which had become the greatest competition for the chapter of Oradea in terms of declarations for the previous two or three decades, – probably due to the fast increase in the number of cases to handle – managed to gain the trust of the authorities, too. The need for this new actor in this region is very well exemplified by the fact that it had an equal proportion of cases with the Oradea chapter (12 vs. 13). The presence of the other two chapters (Transylvania and Eger) could be considered incidental (the Transylvanian one did not even occur later on), and was only explained by the person enjoying the privilege: in 1335 the above mentioned Thomas Régeni and his siblings living in Transylvania had to be registered into their estate in Ilye¹²⁷ of Crasna county, and in 1341 the rights of John Csaolyi of the Upper Tisza region to the estate of Cizer (Csizér) had to be attested.¹²⁸

The cessation of the authenticating activity of the convent of Dealul Orăzii in 1353 (see above) turned upside down the territories of authority also in report issues. Most of its activity, just like in the case of *fassios*, was taken over (or we should say: back) by the chapter of Oradea, which was thus responsible for issuing

Period	Places of authentication (number of reports and ordeals)							Total
	Oradea	Eger	Alba Iulia	Dealul Oraşii	Cluj- Mănăştur	Leles	others	
1208–1241	1+(42)	*	*	-	-	-	*	1+(42)
1242–1299	6	0	0	0	-	0	1	7
1300–1334	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	7
1335–1352	13	1	1	12	0	0	0	27
1353–1389	44	3	0	-	7	6	0	60
1390–1413	23	0	0	-	6	13	0	42
1414–1424	11	0	0	-	10	37	0	58
1215–1424	103	4	3	12	23	56	1	202

* = no data

- = no activity of authentication

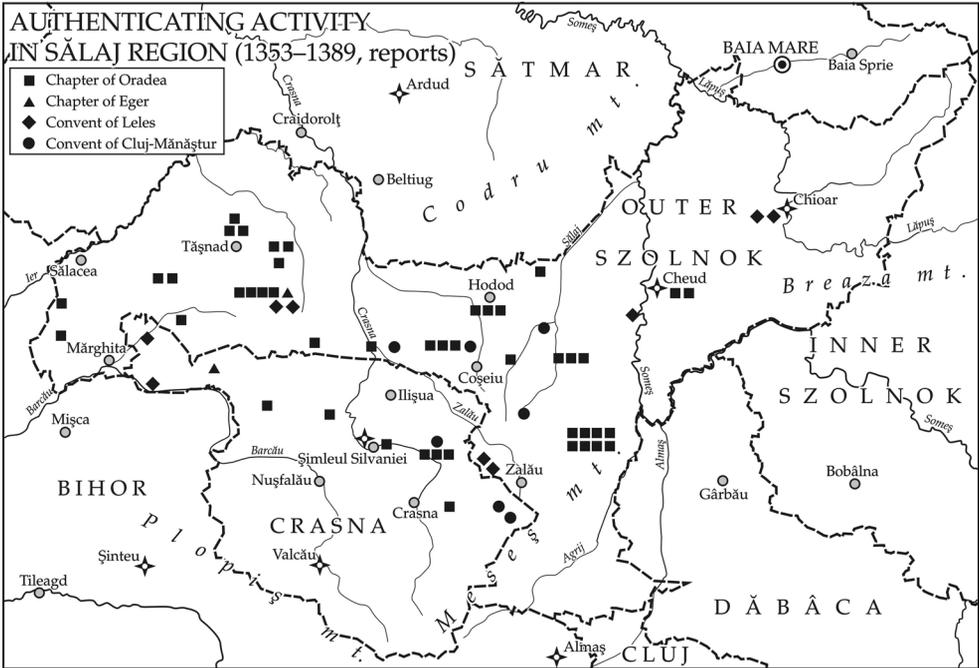
TABLE 3: Ordeals and reports concerning Sălaj region until 1424.

almost three quarters of the reports in the period preceding 1389, and more than half of them for the next 25 years as well. Taking oaths were exclusively directed to this body until the middle of the Sigismund-age.¹²⁹ Its field of activity up to this point covered the entire region except for the Țara Chioarului.

Although to a lesser extent, other bodies also profited from this reorganization. The monastery of Cluj-Mănăştur, which in the meantime forced back the chapter of Transylvania from northern Transylvania, gained ground in Sălaj region as an officially authorized place of authentication only after a few years of *fassionalis* activity.¹³⁰ It is also true, however, that in the case of *relatios* it could not attain such importance, and even later it could hardly manage to increase it;¹³¹ its influence did not cover entirely the two counties, only the valley of the Zalău stream and the estates of the lesser nobility and the bishopric of the Tövishát (from where came, also, most of the people who made declarations there).¹³²

From the north it was first the chapter of Eger which tried to take part in the fieldwork (1358, 1361, 1372) – typically in the cases of the Cudars from Borsod or the Magyis from Szabolcs¹³³ –, but in the 1370s its place was taken over by the convent of Leles, present in the region since 1363, and soon becoming popular. By the number of its reports, it caught up with the Cluj-Mănăştur convent already in the Angevin age, leaving it behind on a third place around 1390, then, breaking the long hegemony of the chapter of Oradea around 1410–1415, it undoubtedly became the number one place of authentication of the region (its proportion between 1414 and 1424 was already 64%, whereas in the first period of the Sigismund age it was only 31%, and before that even as low as low 10%!).

This is an astounding development taking into account that, compared to its rivals, the convent of Leles was farthest from the region: for the shortest of delegations, the target (Craidorolţ [Királydaróc]) was at a 108 km distance in a straight line from it, while the most distant but frequently visited castle of Chioar



was 160 km away. (In comparison, those from Oradea had to count with distances of 45–110 km, while those from Cluj-Mănăştur of 55–120 km). Was its fast advancement due to the efficient working methodology used? Or was it some kind of central regulation – e.g., the previously mentioned order from 1410 – in the background? It will remain the task of future research to answer these questions...

It can be concluded therefore that the vast majority – two-thirds to three-quarters – of the declarations and reports connected to Sălaj region for a long 200 years (1208–1413) were written in the *scriptoria* of Oradea (or Dealul Orăzii).¹³⁴ Their influence only diminished in the first half of the 1410s: for *fassios* they were only forced to share the first place with the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, but for *relatios* they had to hand this first place over to the Leles convent.¹³⁵ This is however no significant change from our point of view, since the results are the same: the decisive places of authentication in the region were throughout the whole period those from Hungary.

Completing this finding with the information that its geographical location connects the Sălaj region primarily to the Great Plain, and the landowners originating from other counties also arrived from the central areas of the Kingdom, it can be claimed that the network of informal relations connected Middle Szolnok and Crasna counties less to Transylvania, and much more to Hungary. As a direct result of the preponderance of Hungarian landowners and places of authentication, the sources referring to the history of the region are not found in typically Transylvanian archives, but in the family archives of local (Wesselényi, Becszy) or Szabolcs and Sătmar county noble families (Kállay, Vay, Zichy, Károlyi) as well as the archives of the convent of Leles. This way the two counties are separated from Transylvania also in what regards their sources.

This final conclusion must be somewhat nuanced by admitting that, compared to other Hungarian counties bordering on Transylvania (e.g. Arad, Zărand, Bihor), it was still Middle Szolnok and Crasna which had most connections with the province – and that is why the question of where they belonged could be asked at all for this (and not another) region.



Translated by EMESE CZINTOS

Notes

1. Cf. *Korai magyar történeti lexikon* (Encyclopaedia of early Hungarian history), eds. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), s.v. “Erdély”.

2. Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae. Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transylvanas illustrantia. Erdélyi okmánytár. Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez*. Publicationes Archivi Hungariae Nationales II, Series fontium 26., 40., and 47. (3 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1997–2008; henceforth *CDTrans*), vol. 1, 30.
3. Gyula Kristó, *Early Transylvania (895–1324)* (Budapest: Lucidus, 2003), 22. Cf. Idem, *A feudális szétagolódás Magyarországon* (Feudal fragmentation in Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 105–107, 109–110.
4. A good example for this is the Transylvanian sub-series of the collection of charters initiated by the Romanian Academy (Mihail Roller, ed., *Documente privind istoria României. Seria C. Transilvania*. [Documents relating to the history of Romania. Series C. Transylvania] [6 vols., Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1951–1955; henceforth: *DIR C*], continued by: Sabin Belu, Ioan Dani, Aurel Răduțiu, Viorica Pervain, Konrad G. Gündisch, Marionela Wolf, Adrian Rusu, Susana Andea, Lidia Gross, and Adinel Dincă, eds., *Documenta Romaniae Historica. Seria C. Transilvania*. [6 vols., Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romîne; Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academiei Române, 1977–2006; henceforth: *DocRomHist C*]), publishing the sources of present-day Romania's territory within the Carpathian Basin, although this area was not an organic whole during the Middle Ages.
5. By this, Jakó also committed the mistake, frequent in Romanian and Hungarian literature alike, to regard the voivode as the ruler of the entire Transylvania. In reality, the voivode's jurisdiction only covered the seven counties, the Szekler *comitatus* was attached to this function only after 1461, while the Saxons were never subordinated to the voivode – see: Iván Janits, *Az erdélyi vajdák igazságszolgáltató és oklevéladó tevékenysége 1526-ig* (Jurisdictional and charter issuing activity of Transylvanian voivodes before 1526) (Budapest, 1940), 20–23. The three units at once were only usurped by voivode Ladislaus *d.g.* Kán (1294–1315) between 1301 and 1310, profiting of the times of anarchy. Cf. Tudor Sălăgean, *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislau Kán 1294–1315* (A voivode of Transylvania: Ladislaus Kán 1294–1315) (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2007), 74, 99–111.
6. A similar research has been conducted for the other province of the Kingdom of Hungary, Slavonia: Boglárka Weisz and Attila Zsoldos, “A báni joghatóság Szlavóniában és a Dráván túl” (Jurisdiction of Bans in Slavonia and across the Drava), in “*Fons, skepsis, lex*”. *Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* (“Fons, skepsis, lex”. Festschrift in honour of 70 years old Ferenc Makk), eds. Tibor Almási, Éva Révész and György Szabados (Szeged: SZTE Történeti Segéd tanulmányok Tanszék and Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010), 469–482.
7. Cf. László Solymosi, “Schriftlichkeit und Gesellschaft in der Arpadenzeit. Diplomatistische und sphragistische Abhandlungen. (Zusammenfassung),” in idem, *Írásbeliség és társadalom az Árpád-korban* (Literacy and society in the Arpadian era) (Budapest: Argumentum, 2006), 255–270. There is evidence for 28 charters with reference to Transylvania and the Sălaj region prior to 1200, but four of these are forgeries, three others are interpolated, and another six of them are only known by mentions

- (cf. *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 1–28). One textually confusing, probably interpolated charter of the 28 is connected to the history of Crasna county, while three others (an original one and two mentioned ones) are connected to the later Middle Szolnok county (*CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 6, 10–11, 18).
8. The most important and comprehensive series of publication of charters: on Transylvania: *CDTrans*, vols. 1–3 (1023–1359) and *DocRomHist C*, vols. 10–15 (1351–1380); on Hungary: Imre Szentpétery and Iván Borsa, eds., *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* (tom. I–II/4, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1923–1987; henceforth *RegArp*) (1001–1301); Gyula Kristó, László Blazovich, Lajos Géczi, Tibor Almási, Tamás Kőfalvi, Ildikó Tóth, Ferenc Makk, Ferenc Piti, and Ferenc Sebők, eds., *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia* (26 vols., Budapest – Szeged, 1990–2011; henceforth *AOkl*) (1301–1331, 1333, 1335–1337, 1339–1344, 1347) and Elemér Mályusz, Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth, and Tibor Neumann, eds., *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (Charters of the Sigismund era), *Publicationes Archivi Hungariae Nationalis II.: Series fontium* 1., 3–4., 22., 25., 27., 32., 37., 39., 41., 43. and 49. (tom. I–XI, 12 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1951–2010; henceforth *ZsOkl*) (1387–1424).
 9. The digitization of the charters initiated by the Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archive), and primarily by György Rácz chief department head was enormously helpful for my work. As a result of this process, as of 2010, the 108372 items of original medieval charters (Diplomatic Archive, henceforth DL), as well as the 93876 charter facsimiles (Diplomatic Photo Collection, henceforth DF) are now available on the internet in the form of digital images (<http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf>).
 10. When all the counties of the country were listed for the special tax payment for year 1416, Middle Szolnok and Crasna were missing from the list, but the name *Zilágh* – which was not really a county – substituted them: Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus regni Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (tom. I–XI., 40 vols., Buda, 1829–1844; henceforth *CDHung*) vol. X/8, 564–569 = *ZsOkl* vol. 5, no. 2255. Cf. Enikő Csukovits, “Ismerték-e a késő középkori magyar udvarban az összes megyét?” (Did they know all the counties in the late medieval Hungarian court?), in *Aktualitások a magyar középkorkutatásban. In memoriam Kristó Gyula (1939–2004)* (Actualities in Hungarian medievalistics. In memoriam Gyula Kristó), eds. Márta Font, Tamás Fedeles, and Gergely Kiss (Pécs: PTE TTK Középkori és Korajútkori Történeti Tanszék, 2010), 100–103, 109–110.
 11. Cf. Mór Petri, *Szilágy vármegye monographiája* (The monograph of Szilágy county) (6 vols., Zaláu: Szilágy vármegye közönsége, 1901–1904), vol. 1, 87–88.
 12. Romanian historiography generally considers Transylvania a different country (*regnum*), with roots going back to the 9th–11th century autochthonous state formations – see: Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* (The Voivodate of Transylvania) (4 vols., Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1971–1989), vol. 1, 19–22, 28–31, 66–81, 186–202; Ioan Aurel Pop et al., eds., *Istoria Transilvaniei* (History of Transylvania) (3 vols., Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2003–2009), vol. 1, 236, 256–266; Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului*

- al XIII-lea. Afirmarea regimului congregațional* (Transylvania in the second half of the 13th century. The rise of the congregational regime) (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2003), 403–415. The most substantial representative of the Hungarian point of view: Kristó, *Feudális széttagolódás*, 94–138. Cf. Martyn Rady, “Voivode and ‘Regnum’: Transylvania’s Place in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary,” in *Historians and the History of Transylvania*, ed. László Péter (Boulder: East European Monographs; New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 87–101.
13. Cf. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 1, 111–120.
 14. Mária Szentgyörgyi, *Kővár vidékének társadalma* (The society of Chioar region), *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből*. Új sorozat no. 56 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), 11.
 15. Cf. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 1, 124–132.
 16. The delimitation of Fenteuș (Fentős) forest in 1231 proves that no human settlement really existed in Țara Chioarului region then: *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 391–394 = *RegArp* no. 471. Cf. Szentgyörgyi, *Kővár*, 11, 15.
 17. I must note that the Meseș gate was not the pass connecting Românași (Alsóegregy) and Zalău (Zilah) through the Meseș mountain, but the valley connecting Ortelec (Vártelek) and Creaca (Karika). See: Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 1, 223–226.
 18. Kristó, *Transylvania*, 172–176. Salt tax had been collected already in 1165 at Meseș gate (*DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 356–357 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 10). On the road-system see: György Györffy, *Geographia historica Hungariae tempore stirpis Arpadianae. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* (4 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963–1998), vol. 3, 508 + map of Crasna county; István Draskóczy, “Szempontok az erdélyi sóbányászat 15–16. századi történetéhez” (Perspectives on the history of salt mining in the 15th–16th century), in *Studia professoris–professor studiorum. Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára*. (Studies in honour of 60th birthday of Géza Érszegi), eds. Tibor Almási, István Draskóczy, and Éva Jancsó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005), 96–99.
 19. Cf. Antal Fekete Nagy and László Makkai, eds., *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia, usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum*. Études sur l’Europe Centre-Orientale, no. 29. (Budapest: Universitas Scientiarum Budapestinensis, 1941), 426, 473–475.
 20. In 1332–1334 these were called Outer Szolnok county estate (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 759–760, 764, 768, 800, 806, 836), just like Românași in 1363 (DL 73695). The latter however already belonged to Dăbâca county in 1393 (DL 73802), therefore the county boundary was on the Meseș at that time. On the boundary of Bihor, Crasna and Dăbâca counties around 1300, see Györffy: *Geographia historica*, vol. 1–3, annex of maps.
 21. Cf. *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 368–369, 388 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 476, 503; *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 407, vol. 2, 155–156; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 235, 528.
 22. Prior to the mid-15th century, even the research of marital relationships of the nobility has to face serious difficulties, since the wives, as a result of their limited legal capacity, were rarely mentioned. The situation will predictably improve as genealogical research will have compiled the genealogies of landowner families in Sălaj region,

as a result of the processing of the complete source material. At present, we can only say that prior to the 1360s we only know the names of 14 married couples from Sălaj area, and in five of these cases one member of the couple did not come from Sălaj region – notably, they all came from Szabolcs or Sătmar counties, also from Hungary.

23. Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* (The secular archontology of Hungary 1301–1457), História Könyvtár. Kronológiák, adattárak, no. 5. (2 vols., Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996), vol. 1, 262. Engel included Cehu Silvaniei (Szilágycseh) into the list, too, but the only data on this: *Cheever* (ibid., vol. 1, 292, cf. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 318–320; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 323) must be identified, in my opinion, with Chioar.
24. One member of the kindred, Gyula son of Vata, appeared as the lord of Kórógy village, then part of the estate, but deserted by now, as early as 1213: *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 45 (no. 17) = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 48.
25. János Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* (The Hungarian kindreds before the middle of the 14th century) (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 2004), 401–405.
26. *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 26–31 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 229–230. On identifying the customers and fixing the period while they were dignitaries, see: Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* (The secular archontology of Hungary 1000–1301), História Könyvtár. Kronológiák, adattárak, no. 11 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2011), 20, 66.
27. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 915–927.
28. Ibidem, 897–902. On his being Roland's brother-in law, see: ibid. 916.
29. Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 39; Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 11, 415; Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Castelarea carpatică* (The Carpathian castellation) (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2005), 535–536.
30. They got their family name after Medieșul Aurit (Aranyosmeggyes), gained by voivode Nicholas in 1280 as a dowry of his wife (*RegArp* vol. II/2–3, no. 3091).
31. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 84–88 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 629. Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 166.
32. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 2, 141–151, 327–360.
33. *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 427–428 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 209. For identifying Paul d.g. Geregye and his dignitaries, see: Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 31. On their early estates: Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 461.
34. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 224–231; Györffy, *Geographia historica*, vol. 3, 505–506, 521–522; Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* (The last Arpadians) (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 411–414; Sălăgean, *Transilvania*, 181–185; Rusu, *Castelarea*, 534.
35. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 318–320 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 323. Cf. ibid, no. 304. On dating the events see: Pál Engel, “Az ország újraegyesítése. I. Károly küzdelmei az oligarchák ellen” (Reunification of the Country. Fights of Charles I against the oligarchs [1310–1323]), in idem, *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok* (Honor, castle, comitatus. Selected studies), Millenniumi magyar Történelem, ed. Enikő Csukovits (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 344–345; Gyula Kristó, “I. Károly király harcai a tartományurak ellen (1310–1323)” (Fights of King Charles I against the oligarchs [1310–1323]), *Századok* 137 (2003): 331–332.

36. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 587–595 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 73–75. Cf. *AOkl* vol. 25, no. 567; Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 454.
37. DL 6073. Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 48, 454.
38. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 407–413.
39. Elemér Varjú and Béla Iványi, eds., *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli losonczi Bánffy család történetéhez* (Cartulary on the history of the Bánffy de Losonc d.g. Tomaj family) (2 vols., Budapest, 1908–1928; henceforth *BánfOkI*), vol. 1, 371–373, 504–507. Cf. *ibid.* 524–525; Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 454.
40. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 2, 245–253.
41. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 1014–1020.
42. Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár*, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, no. 6–13., 17–18., 20., 22. (12 vols., Pest – Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1860–1874; henceforth *ÁÚO*), vol. 7, 215; *CDTrans* vol. 1, no. 202. Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 268; Rusu, *Castelarea*, 510–511.
43. Sălaj as a property of Paul, his son Lothard and their descendants: *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 328–329 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 203; *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 390–391 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 299, 386, 507. On their uprising and defeat: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 318–320 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 323. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 336, 508, 561; Engel, “Az ország újraegyesítése,” 344–345.
44. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 268. Cf. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 469, 496, 706, 801; vol. 3, no. 66, 73, 166, 183–184.
45. Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London–New York: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2001), 199–201.
46. *ZsOkI* vol. 1, no. 31, 399; vol. 2, no. 4370.
47. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 2, 16–28, 34–37, 403–428.
48. Cluj-Napoca, Biblioteca Centrală Universitară “Lucian Blaga”, Colecții speciale (Lucian Blaga Central University Library, Special Collections Departement; henceforth BCU Cluj, Col. spec.), Archive of the Wesselényi family of Jibou (Zsibó), no. 31–35 (1 Jan., 31 Jan., 20 Febr., 24 May 1383) = DF 254805–254808.
49. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 324.
50. See Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 2, 81–85.
51. DL 74 = *RegArp* no. 308; *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 391–394 = *RegArp* no. 471. Cf. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 665–672; Szentgyörgyi, *Kövár*, 16.
52. On conservative property policy of King Béla IV see: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 98.
53. *ÁÚO*, vol. 7, 215 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 202. Cf. Szentgyörgyi, *Kövár*, 16–18.
54. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 318–320 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 323. Cf. Rusu, *Castelarea*, 511, 547.
55. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 15, 468–469. Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 351–352.
56. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 2, 361–374; Szentgyörgyi, *Kövár*, 18–19.
57. Practically, it covered half of the territories of the two counties. Three of the four castles were owned by the king, one of which, the castle of Valcău, he exchanged exactly in the second half of this year – see above.
58. My data collection on this issue will hopefully be published in a future article on the 14th–16th century situation of estates in the county. It must be noted that in

- the case of extended kinships I regarded as one family only those branches which owned the land undivided; after the redistribution each branch is regarded as separate families. Cf. Pál Engel, “Erbteilung und Familienbildung,” in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... Festschrift in Honour of János M. Bak*, eds. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University, 1999), 411–421.
59. Especially the lesser nobles of the Tövishát owning one single village can be suspected to have originally been castle warriors – see: DL 105472 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 813, 856; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 87–89.
 60. Emil Jakubovich, “Az Agmánd nemzetség teljesebb neve és egy ismeretlen ága” (A more complete name and an unknown branch of the Agmánd kindred), *Turul* 32 (1914): 43–45 = *AOkl* vol. 28, no. 769. On that this kindred should be considered as a Transylvanian one, see: László Makkai, “Honfoglaló magyar nemzetségek Erdélyben” (Hungarian conqueror kindreds in Transylvania), *Századok* 78 (1944): 164–165, 168–172; Kristó, *Transylvania*, 213.
 61. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 303–304 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 311; DL 57146 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 506.
 62. DL 31082 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 961. Cf. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 752.
 63. *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 229–230 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 6, 147. Cf. Kristó, *Transylvania*, 111.
 64. DL 64014 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 197, 228, 615–616, 630, 632. Cf. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 971.
 65. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 416. The estates received back: Moiad (Majád), Lompirt (Szilágylompért) and Ilișua (Selymesilosva). Later the family changed its name to Majádi: *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 554.
 66. Cf. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 84–88 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 629. In 1338 Sutak and his brother, Nicholas, were mentioned as neighbours of Carastelec (Kárásztelek), so they had to own already Uileacu Șimleului (DF 260747 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 977.).
 67. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 387–388, 393–394, 871–873; vol. 3, no. 645, 692, 704, 712. Their second estate in Sălaj region, close to Camăr, was Doh: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 945, 974, 977; On Cuzăplac: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 293–295 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 1022.
 68. They owned in Crasna county – besides Recea (Krasznarécse) – Pálvára and Kisrécse, too, both deserted by now (DL 62703 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 642, 649); they bought Panticeu (Páncélcseh) in 1314, gained Recea-Cristur (Récsekeresztúr) in 1320 as royal donation (both in Dăbâca county), and got parts in Sânger (Mezőszengyel) and Băraii (Báré) by marriage (*DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 132; vol. 1, 355; vol. 2, 395–396 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 225, 369, 622; DL 29127 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 1044). Their expansion continued later, getting Șieu-Cristur (Bethlenkeresztúr) and Feleac (Fellak) in 1364: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 226–230, 237–241.
 69. They were called Szopori already in 1297 (*CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 563). On their kins in Bihor county, see: Imre Nagy and Gyula Tasnádi Nagy, eds., *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis. Anjou-kori okmánytár*. Monumenta Hungariae Historica

- (7 vols., Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1878–1920; henceforth *AOkm*) vol. 4, 227–228; vol. 5, 502–503; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 284–285 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 770. On Săuca: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 161.
70. On their estates in Sălaj region and on the career of Ladislaus, son of Hegen: *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 199–200, 469–470 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 372–374, 585; *CDHung*, vol. VI/2, 274–275 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 563, 603; DL 86488, 97944 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 115, 440; *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 15–16 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 706; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 152–153, 155–156 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 668, 671. On buying Balc: *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 442–443.
71. On their estates: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 245 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 245; BCU Cluj, Col. spec., Archive of the Wesselényi family of Jibou, no. 38 (31 Jul. 1386), no. 40 (8 Jan. 1388) = DF 254811, 254813 = *ZsOkl*, vol. 1, no. 384. On their suit against the Szarvadis: 11 Nov. 1337, 3 Jan. 1338: BCU Cluj, Col. spec., Wesselényi family of Jibou, no. 10 (DF 254784) = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 959, 971. On localizing the occupied estates, deserted by now, see: Györffy, *Geographia historica*, vol. 1, 656–657.
72. They were called Szántói for the first time in 1358 (*DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 264 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 1006). On Pető as *comes* of Sătmar: Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 188; vol. 2, 194, 220. On their estates in Middle Szolnok and Sătmar counties: DL 6102. On their origins and estates in Pest county (Galgamácsa and Zsidó, that is present-day Vácegres) see: János Karácsonyi, “A gróf Csákyak és Becskyekek ősei” (The ancestors of Csáky and Becsky counts), *Turul* 11 (1893): 105–112. Later, they built up a large domain in Banat (Bánság) region, too – cf. Richárd Horváth, Tibor Neumann, and Norbert C. Tóth, eds., *Documenta ad historiam familiae Batori de Ecsed spectantia*, vol. 1, *Diplomata 1393–1540* (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat, 2011), 29–31.
73. *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 417 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 201; *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 234–235, 239–240 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 387, 391; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 449–452 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 1112. Cf. Zsigmond Jakó, “Az erdélyi püspökség középkori birtokairól” (The medieval estates of the Transylvanian bishopric), in Szabó István *emlékkönyv* (Festschrift in honour of István Szabó), ed. István Rácz (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 1998), 144–146.
74. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 945, 974, 977; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 14, 698.
75. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 79–81 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 87. Cf. Péter Levente Szócs, “The Abbey Church of Ákos. The Architectural and Functional Analysis of a ‘Kindred Monastery’ Church,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 155–180; Kristó, *Transylvania*, 204–205.
76. In Crasna county, they divided village Ip (Ipp): DL 28896 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 601. Besides Ip, they owned Zalnóc (Zálnok) and the deserted Csalános, too, since cca 1270: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 328–330 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 300; vol. 3, no. 792, 1043.
77. *AOkl* vol. 3, no. 213; Imre Nagy et al., eds., *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et de Vásonkeő. A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára* (12 vols., Pest–Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1871–1931),

- vol. 1, 530–534. The family got Abrămuț in 1333/4 as dowry (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 769/2, 811). On Petreu: Imre Nagy et al., eds., *Codex diplomaticus patrius Hungaricus. Hazai okmánytár* (8 vols., Győr–Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1865–1891), vol. 7, 124. Cf. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 494–506.
78. They gained Rof in 1270/1277, Cean and Ülmez in 1275, the others must be earlier acquisitions, cf. *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 131, 176, 501–503 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 288, 335, 354; *ÁÚO*, vol. 9, 555 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 312, 369–370; DL 40567 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 668–669; DL 40650 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 784–785; DL 40672 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 809, 815. Although they claimed in 1341 village Cizer (Csizér), too, it wasn't their estate in deed either then or later (*DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 581–582, 587–591 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 56, 60, 63, 73). Cf. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 771–773.
79. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 15, 8–10. Cf. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 687–688 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 503; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 378–386 = *CDTrans* vol. 3, no. 1014.
80. About the donation: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 416 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 319; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 84–88 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 629. On the origin of the family: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 447–448 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 978; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 129–132 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 918. Cf. Péter Németh, “Két szatmári család eredetéről. A Becsegergely nemzetség szatmári ága” (The roots of two families from Sătmar: The Sătmar branch of the Becsegergely kindred), in *Studia professoris–professor studiorum. Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára* (Studies on the occasion of Géza Érszegi's 60th birthday), eds. Tibor Almási, István Draskóczy, and Éva Jancsó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005), 233–237.
81. Their local rights were mentioned for the first time in 1355 (DL 70653 and 41820).
82. Both villages were donated in 1285 by Panit *d.g.* Miskolc to Parasznyais (*DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 268–269 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 419). However, the Szécsis – being in the king's confidence because of their merits earned in the civil war (1315–1321) – gained all the estates of Ban Panit in 1322, and – as it seems – they validated retroactively this royal donation. (It could also happen that the Parasznyais had taken part in the fights on the wrong side, and that facilitated their unhousing.) Boghiș and Monyoród were mentioned by name as a property of Szécsis in 1341 for the first time (*DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 590–591, 592–595 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 73, 75; cf. DL 100025). On the merits and gained estates of the Szécsis: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 281, 639. Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 222.
83. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 2, 403–405 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 672; DL 87130 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 88; DL 41533. Castles Simontornya and Csáktornya in Transdanubian parts were gained by them later, in 1347, respectively in 1350 (*CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 400, 577). On their career: András W. Kovács, “Voievozii Transilvaniei în perioada 1344–1359” (Voivodes of Transylvania between 1344 and 1359), in *Itinerarii istoriografice. Studii în onoarea istoricului Costin Feneșan* (Historiographical itineraries: Festschrift in honour of historian Costin Feneșan), ed. Dumitru Țeicu, Rudolf Gräf, Adrian Magina (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română. Editura Centrului de Studii Transilvane, 2011), p. 37–65.
84. On Românași: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 394–395 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 174; DL 73695. Its 14th century belongings, with the date of their first mention: 1335:

- Sângeorgiu de Meseş (Meszesszentgyörgy) (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 835), 1379: Bucium (Vármező) (*DocRomHist C*, vol. 15, 603–604), 1391: Chichişa (Kékesnyárló) and Romita (Romlott) (BCU Cluj, Col. spec., *Colecția de documente medievale* [Collection of medieval charters], no. 39 = DF 253668). On the origins and career of Mikud and Emeric, see: Karácsonyi, *Nemzetsegek*, 795–799; Kristó, *Transylvania*, 164–166, 202; Sălăgean, *Transylvania*, 121–130, 134–135, 147. Ban Mikud owned some villages north from Jibou, in the valley of Someş river, too (*CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 595), but these were given over by his heirs in 1300 to their brothers-in-law, members of the Monoszló kindred, who got rid of these estates, as it seems, in the early 14th century (cf. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 469). However, we find them later among the belongings of castle Cheud (*ZsOkl*, vol. 1, no. 599; vol. 2, no. 4370).
85. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 759–760, 764, 768, 800, 806, 836–837. On István Pogány's career: Karácsonyi, *Nemzetsegek*, 663–665.
 86. *DIR C*, *veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 324–325 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 816; DL 31082 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 961.
 87. Cf. *DIR C*, *veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 275–276, 354–355, 361, 429–430 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 755, 851, 865, 967, 976.
 88. On “transfer” of the estates: Norbert C. Tóth, *Szabolcs megye működése a Zsigmond-korban* (The functioning of Szabolcs county in the Sigismund era) (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs Községért Kulturális Közhasznú Közalapítvány, 2008), 19–22.
 89. The most important works, written about the places of authentication: Ferenc Eckhardt, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungsband 9, no. 2 (1914): 395–558; L. Bernát Kumorovitz, “A leleszi konvent oklevéladó működése 1569-ig” (The charter issuing activity of the convent of Leles), *Turul* 42 (1928): 1–39; Imre Szentpétery, *Magyar oklevéltan* (Hungarian diplomatics) (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1930), 75–76, 121–138, 214–222; Francisc Pall, “Contribuții la problema locurilor de adeverire din Transilvania medievală (sec. XIII–XV)” (Contributions to the problem of places of authentication in medieval Transylvania [13th–14th century]), in idem, *Diplomatica latină din Transilvania medievală* (Latin diplomatics in medieval Transylvania), ed. Ionuț Costea, (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2005), 274–292; Iván Borsa, “A hiteleshelyekről” (About places of authentication), in “*Magyaroknak eleiről*”. *Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* (“On the ancestors of the Hungarians”: Festive studies in honour of 60 years old Ferenc Makk), ed. Ferenc Piti (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000), 99–106; László Solymosi, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte (*loca credibilia*) Ungarns im 14–15. Jahrhundert,” *Archiv für Diplomatik* 55 (2009): 175–190.
 90. The exceptions above show that the procedure of regarding all declarations as internal works and reports as external works of the place of authentication as usual in the literature is oversimplifying.
 91. Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan*, 217. However, it was an indirect restriction that the place of authentication had to be sure about the identity of the person who requested the action; see *ibid.*, 125–126.
 92. *Ibid.*, 216–217; Tamás Fedeles, “A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi vonzáskörzete (1354–1526)” (The territorial jurisdiction of the chapter of Pécs as a place of

authentication, 1314–1526), in *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok. A III. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2003. május 8–9.) előadásai* (Studies on medieval history: The lectures of the 3rd PhD conference on medieval studies, Szeged, 8–9 May 2003), ed. Boglárka Weisz (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2003), 9. On the other hand, the royal collegiate chapters of Székesfehérvár and Buda had had a nationwide authority already in the Arpadian age, a privilege got later by the convent of Székesfehérvár of St. John's knights, then, in 1498, by the chapter of Bosnia, too; see *ibid.*, 9–10; Ildikó Tóth, “Káptalan a déli határszélen (A boszniai székeskáptalan területi hatóköre a XIV. század közepéig)” (Chapter at the southern frontier. The territorial jurisdiction of Bosnian chapter before the mid-14th century), in “*Magyaroknak eleiről,*” ed. Ferenc Piti, 618; László Solymosi, “A székesfehérvári káptalan hiteleshelyi működésének sajátosságai” (The characteristics of the authenticating activity of the Székesfehérvár chapter), in *idem, Írásbeliség és társadalom,* 114–116; *idem,* “Die glaubwürdigen Orte,” 183.

93. Iván Borsa noticed that in the Kállay-archive mostly containing Szabolcs county material the place of the Eger chapter was taken over practically completely by the Leles (Lelesz) convent after 1351 (Borsa, “A hiteleshelyekről,” 101). Another example of central regulation is when King Matthias, donating a new seal to the convent of Hronský Beňadik (Garamszentbenedek) in 1462, clearly enlisted all the counties where the ecclesiastical body could send their people as witnesses – cf. Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan,* 217; Solymosi, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte,” 183–184.
94. Tóth, “Káptalan a déli határszélen,” 618; Fedeles, “A pécsi székeskáptalan vonzáskörzete,” 9; Gyula Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés a középkori Magyarországon* (Approach to landscape and spatial organization in medieval Hungary), Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár no. 19 (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2003), 171–172.
95. Kumorovitz, “A leleszi konvent,” 4–5; Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan,* 136, 216–217; Pall, “Contribuții,” 283–284.
96. On the fact that the petitioner had a word to say in choosing the authorized persons and the place of authentication, see: Pál Engel, “Királyi emberek Valkó megyében” (Homines regii in Vukovar county), in *idem, Honor, vár, ispánság,* 592.
97. Iván Borsa exhorted the separate investigation of the two kinds of jurisdictions, too: Borsa, “A hiteleshelyekről,” 103.
98. We know only one report issued by them in 1270: *DIR C, veacul XIII,* vol. 2, 120–121 = *CDTrans,* vol. 1, no. 283.
99. Cf. Solymosi, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte,” 188–189.
100. Kumorovitz, “A leleszi konvent,” 4–5; Gábor Sipos, “A kolozsmonostori konvent hiteleshelyi működése” (The authenticating activity of the convent of Cluj-Mănăstur), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies of cultural history), eds. Elek Csetri, Zsigmond Jakó, and Sándor Tonk (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1979), 43; Árpád Varga, “A váradai káptalan hiteleshelyi működése” (The authenticating activity of the chapter of Oradea), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies of cultural history), eds. Elek Csetri, Zsigmond Jakó, Gábor Sipos, and Sándor Tonk (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1980), 29.

101. More recently, there are examples of such researches, but only for the places of authentication of southern Hungary the archival material of which was decimated, and only for the period before 1353: László Koszta, “Püspöki székhely és városfejlődés. Pécs központi funkciói és vonzáskörzete a 14. század közepéig” (Episcopal seat and urban development: Central functions and jurisdiction of Pécs before the mid-14th century), in *Kelet és Nyugat között. Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére* (Between East and West: Historical studies in honour of Gyula Kristó), ed. László Koszta (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1995), 233–272; idem, “A pozsegei káptalan hiteleshelyi tevékenysége 1353-ig” (The authenticating activity of chapter of Požega prior to 1353), *Századok* 132 (1998): 3–46; Tóth, “Káptalan a déli határszáron”; Márton Parlagi, “A bácsi káptalan hiteleshelyi tevékenysége a 14. század első felében” (The authenticating activity of the chapter of Bač in the first half of the 14th century), in *Tanulmányok a középkorról. A II. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2001. április 3.) előadásai* (Studies on medieval history: The lectures of the 2nd PhD conference of medieval studies, Szeged, 3 April 2001), eds. Boglárka Weisz, László Balogh, and József Szarka (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2001), 95–112; Fedeles, “A pécsi székeskáptalan vonzáskörzete”; Péter G. Tóth, “A csanádi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi vonzáskörzete (1239–1353)” (The jurisdiction of the chapter of Cenad as a place of authentication, 1239–1353), in *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 6. A VI. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2009. június 4-5.) előadásai* (Studies on medieval history no. 6. The lectures of the 6th PhD conference of medieval studies, Szeged, 4–5 June 2009), eds. Péter G. Tóth and Pál Szabó (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010), 21–35. The temporal changes within the chosen period have only been researched so far by Koszta and Tóth.
102. *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 75 (no. 136), 76 (no. 140), 100 (no. 228) = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 76, 84, 92. In reference to the fact that, in time, besides trials by ordeals, *fassionalis* notes being only related to these in person, were becoming ever more frequent, see: János Karácsonyi and Samu Borovszky, *Regestrum Váradinense examinum ferri candentis ordine chronologico digestum, descripta effigie editionis a. 1550 illustratum. Az időrendbe szedett váradi tüzesvaspróba-lajstrom az 1550-iki kiadás hű másával együtt* (Budapest: Váradi Káptalan, 1903), 135; Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan*, 121; Pall, “Contribuții,” 285.
103. 1246: *ÁÚO*, vol. 7, 215 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 202; 1246: *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 328–329 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 203. On dignitaries of Stephen *d.g.* Gútkeled: Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 19, 175, 310.
104. 10 Nov. 1258?: *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 26–27 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 229.
105. 20 Aug. 1270: *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 131 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 288; 1285: *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 268–269 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 419. Cf. Györffy, *Geographia historica*, vol. 1, 739, 745, 800.
106. See: Sipos, “A kolozsmonostori konvent,” 38.
107. 1 July 1300, 22 Oct. 1313, 1323, 9 Oct. 1324: *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 595; vol. 2, no. 214, 469, 506; 20 Aug. 1332: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 275–276 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 755.

108. 20 May 1303: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 27.
109. *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 50, 248.
110. 1321: *AOkm*, vol. 1, 640–642 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 416; 1 May 1342: *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 88.
111. Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan*, 137, 214–215; Pall, “Contribuții,” 288; Solymosi, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte,” 177, 187–188.
112. 4 July 1379: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 15, 603–605; 18 Mar. 1380: *ibid.*, 717–719.
113. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 278–279; vol. 11, 272–273 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 764, 773, 1013; DL 96428; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 13, 460; vol. 15, 107–108; DL 105458.
114. DL 96428, 41434; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 44–45.
115. 4 Nov. 1360: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 570–571; 20 Aug. 1411: *ZsOkl*, vol. 3, no. 839.
116. 24 Apr. 1371: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 14, 27; 28 Jun. 1393: DL 7856 = *ZsOkl*, vol. 1, no. 2992.
117. 2 Jul. 1370: DL 41820.
118. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 424; vol. 14, 115.
119. Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan*, 121; László Solymosi, “A világi bírászkodás kezdetei és az oklevéladás” (The beginnings of the secular judgement and the issue of charters), in *idem, Írásbeliség és társadalom*, 166–167.
120. The only important difference is that the latter sends no written answer to the judge, who announces the final sentence on the basis of the oral report of the summoner (*pristaldus*).
121. *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 42 (no. 1) = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 36. It differs from the later classical form inasmuch as in this case the deputy of the authorities proceeds on his own, since the place of authentication was only obliged to send a witness after 1231. The early character of reports is also strengthened by the fact that the chapter did not only make written notes of the case, but actually issued a charter “*ut executio huius cause sciatur a posteris*”.
122. And to top it all, many of these – as we could see – weren’t ordeals in deed, but declarations.
123. Ilona K. Fábrián, *A Várad Regestrum helynevei. Adattár* (The toponyms of the Register of Oradea: Database), Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár no. 13 (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1997), 160/161.
124. This is enough in itself to refute the opinion (Kumorovitz, “A leleszi konvent,” 4) that the authority of the place of authentication was first following the territories of dioceses. There is no doubt that Sălaj region and Sătmar county had already belonged by that time to the diocese of Transylvania (cf. DL 90749) – yet, they fell under the authority of Oradea.
125. *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 120–121 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 283.
126. 6 Oct., 8. Dec. 1332: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 760, 764; 18 Mar., 25 May 1334: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 800, 806.
127. A settlement deserted by now – cf. Györffy, *Geographia historica*, vol. 3, 513–514 + annex of Crasna counties map.

128. 11 July, 13 Oct. 1335: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 354–355, 362 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 851, 862; 28 Apr., 18 May 1341: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 581, 581–582 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 56, 60.
129. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 129–132 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 918; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 198; *ZsOkl*, vol. 2/1, no. 111, 247, 1306.
130. It was issuing declarations in matters concerning Sălaj region since 1345 (*DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 231–232 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 248), but it went out to this region together with an authorized person (*homo regius*) for the first time in 1359 (*DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 432–434 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 1097).
131. Its proportion was 18% of declarations issued between 1353 and 1389, whilst only 12% of reports of the same period (later 14%, then 17%).
132. It only went out twice to more distant places: Hotoan (Érhatvan) and Camăr (27 Nov. 1414: *ZsOkl*, vol. 4, no. 2749; 19 Apr. 1422: *ZsOkl*, vol. 9, no. 527). In the latter case it had to be present because one of the litigant parties was the chapter of Oradea, which then of course could not act because of its involvement.
133. 1 July 1358: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 297–298 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 1024, 1026; 20 May, 16 Jun. 1361: DL 5024; 12 May, 7 Sept. 1372: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 14, 204–205, 269–271.
134. This general image is all the more trustworthy because – distinctly from the intact archives of the convent of Lelesz or the decimated, yet still rich archive of the place of authentication of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur – the archive of the chapter of Oradea was completely destroyed during the Turkish siege of 1660 (cf. Varga, “A váradi káptalan,” 26), and I could only use the copies preserved in family archives to compile the list. Therefore, with regard to the number of charters issued, Oradea is in fact under-represented.
135. It must be noted that no significant difference is perceivable in the distribution of the two kinds of authenticating activities for most of the analyzed period. The “official point of view” presupposed for *relatios* was thus not really observed (not only the authorities in general, but the judges themselves had no “favourite” place of authentication), in both cases it was practically the initiating party who decided which place of authentication to choose. The active role of the authorities was limited to restricting the number of places of authentication available as witnesses to the closest ones (in our case to three after 1353).

Abstract

The Affiliation of Medieval Sălaj (Szilágy) Region in the Mirror of Social Relations

During the last two decades, some new views have emerged concerning the affiliation of medieval Middle Szolnok and Crasna counties (present-day Sălaj region). The study tries to decide whether these two counties can be considered parts of Transylvania or of the inner territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, examining the informal relations of the local society with the surrounding territories between 1200 and 1424. The aspects considered are geographical, social historical, and institutional. The author finds that the targeted counties were connected much more to Hungary from this point of view. Only one family of all the medieval owners of local castles (13 in number) had arrived from Transylvania. In 1341, 34 of 87 landowners (including the king as well) had external roots, but only 9 in the eastern province. For the authenticating activity, the Hungarian church institutions (especially, for this period, that of the chapter of Oradea) played an overwhelming role: they issued 75-85% of the local documents.

Keywords

Sălaj, Transylvania, Hungary, social relations, foreign landowners, places of authentication

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES
AND ELITES IN TRANSYLVANIA
IN THE 15TH-18TH CENTURIES

Remarks on the Careers of the Vice-voivodes of Transylvania in the Late Middle Ages (1458–1526)*

ANDRÁS W. KOVÁCS

THE VOIVODE of Transylvania, appointed by the king of Hungary, was one of the most important officials in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. The person of the voivode and the duration of his appointment were always dependent on the power relations between king and aristocracy; the Transylvanian nobility, however, never had the possibility to influence the sovereign's decision. The voivode was also member of the royal council, and in the 14th century he rarely left the court, where the political battles between rival factions took place. He usually visited the province governed by him on the occasion of general meetings (*congregatio generalis*) with the purpose of juridical procedures held for the Transylvanian nobility and certain privileged groups (such as the Székelys/Szeklers and the Saxons) or at the time of military campaigns started from Transylvania (as the voivode was military commander of the Transylvanian nobility). The rest of the problems related to the governing of the province were left to a deputy, the vice-voivode (*vicevaynoda*).¹

Although generations of historians have significantly contributed to the research on the office of voivode, they seemed interested mostly in its beginnings for a long time, and only a very few showed interest in the evolution of the institution or in the persons who occupied the position of voivode. The prosopographical approach in the research of the evolution of this office was introduced for the first time in Romanian historiography by Zsigmond Jakó (1916–2008) as he

* This work was possible with the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007–2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project number POSDRU/89/1.5/S/61104 with the title “*Social sciences and humanities in the context of global development – development and implementation of postdoctoral research*”. Paper presented at the conference “Recent Studies on Past and Present: New Sources, New Methods or a New Public?” held in Bucharest on 25–28 September 2011.

explored the voivodal chancellery,² and the method was also successfully applied in the study of individual voivodes of Transylvania from the time of King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437).³ The prosopographical method, completed with archontological and genealogical research has become widely used in the last decades, mainly due to the work of Hungarian medievalist Pál Engel (1938–2001), who compiled the secular archontology of medieval Hungary for the period 1301–1357 (volume 2 contains a prosopographical supplement).⁴ He also prepared the genealogical trees of those Hungarian noble families which gave the political actors in the Middle Ages (families of high dignitaries, of officials of different ranks, owners of castles, etc.).⁵ Apart from the political elite, the functioning of the government in Hungary during the reign of the Angevine kings is well-known, once again due mainly to Engel's work.⁶ As for the time of the Arpadian kings, Attila Zsoldos recently completed the secular archontology and prosopography of Hungary up to 1301.⁷ These two archontologies processed all relevant documentary sources available today.

Thus, the secular archontology and prosopography of medieval Hungary (and Transylvania) cover the years only up to 1457, and although there are several lists available on later periods, they are incomplete or inaccurate. Francisc Pall (1911–1992), one of the editors of the *corpus* of medieval documents concerning Transylvania published by the Romanian Academy,⁸ drew up a list of voivodes and vice-voivodes from the beginnings up to 1541.⁹ However, as in the 1950s he could not research the collections of the National Archives of Hungary, the work remained – against his wishes – incomplete. Still, for several decades it counted as one of the most accurate compilations. Pall didn't prepare a prosopographical database, so his work informs us only about the duration of the appointment of voivodes and vice-voivodes. As for the functioning of the voivodal and vice-voivodal office, the work of Iván Borsa (1917–2006) published in 1940 on the charter issuing and judicial activity of the voivodes of Transylvania has to be mentioned here as the most remarkable exploration in the field.¹⁰

Analysing the data concerning 14th century vice-voivodes of Transylvania, Pál Engel found that, during the Angevin period, they belonged to the second strata of court nobility, their group consisting of knights and youth of the royal court, as well as of the *familiares* of barons (holders of major offices). They originated from the most well-off families of the county nobility, nevertheless, their wealth was much below that of the aristocratic families, who generally owned castles and aspired to high dignities.¹¹ A similar analysis was not carried out regarding the 15th and 16th centuries (though the entirety of individual biographies sheds light on the evolution of the institution as well).

In most of the cases the officials of lower or medium rank and importance are not known at all, and, thus, they have remained obscure for historiography, “void

of any personality”. This applies to an even greater degree to vice-voivodes. In the followings, I shall discuss not the activity of vice-voivodes (which basically consisted of judicial and military duties) but rather their person and career; the study of any important office also involves the research of the careers of those people who were holding a certain office. My analyses are based on a prosopographical database of vice-voivodes, which focuses on information such as *familiaritas*, family ties, property matters, any further positions held, etc.

Vicevayuoda is the name used for the deputy of the voivode in contemporary documents. On some special occasions, however, they were mentioned as vice-governor or captain. In 1458, in rather anarchical times, John Geréb of Vingard (Vingárd)¹² acted as vice-voivode of Transylvania having the title of captain general (*partium Transsilvanarum capitaneus generalis*) and then of vice-governor (*vicegubernator partium Transsilvanarum*). He deputized for his lord, the governor of Hungary, Michael Szilágyi (1458), to whom he owed this appointment.¹³ Szilágyi himself mentions Geréb as vice-voivode in one of his charters.¹⁴ In 1459, during the imprisonment of Szilágyi, Geréb used the title of captain general again, though this time he was appointed by the king.¹⁵ In 1460, he appears as *belliductor*,¹⁶ then in the same year he is mentioned once again as Szilágyi’s vice-governor (appointed by Szilágyi). Stephen Erdélyi – along with his title of vice-voivode – used the title of captain (*capitaneus*) as well (1476).¹⁷

Identification

THE ORIGINS and family background of vice-voivodes are not always known; the documents issued by them record their name but address judicial matters and almost never deal with their own estates and family. In the 14th century, the charters issued by voivodes and vice-voivodes usually mentioned only the Christian name of these two dignitaries;¹⁸ of course, nothing further was needed as their contemporaries knew them very well. In the 15th century, however, when family names had developed and came into usage among the nobility,¹⁹ voivodes and vice-voivodes started to use these names as well,²⁰ which makes their identification a relatively easy task for researchers. Thus, they can be linked to known families – belonging usually to the middle nobility – and they can also be marked on genealogical tables.

Even so, the identity of those vice-voivodes who had commonly used names is quite obscure. Such is the case of Peter Kis (*Kÿs, Parvus*), who held the office for one year between 1474–1475,²¹ and only three vice-voivodal documents survived from this period. Except for his name, which was as common in those times as it is nowadays, we know nothing about him yet. Moreover, this could well have

been only a “nickname”, and other sources might mention him by his “real” name. Very probably, he should be searched for among the *familiares* of his lord, voivode Balázs (*Blasius*) Magyar (1472–1475),²² who during his career held important offices and acted mainly as military commander in several parts of Hungary.

A similar case is that of vice-voivode John *de Waradino* (1472),²³ who is recorded in one single document. Since there was more than one settlement with the name *Várad* in the country, it is difficult to decide which he was named after. From the middle of the 15th century very often two voivodes were appointed at the same time, and both of them chose a deputy, a vice-voivode. It is almost by chance that we know which of the two voivodes was John *de Waradino* appointed by: the only surviving document issued by him was dated in Gornești (Gernyeszeg; Turda/Torda county), which at that time belonged²⁴ to the estates of Nicholas Csupor (1468–1472),²⁵ one of the two voivodes in office. Thus, John *de Waradino* must have been the *familiaris* of this latter. Similarly, little is known about Michael Almási (*Almasy*), *familiaris* of Stephen Bátori, mentioned as vice-voivode of Transylvania in one single document (1492).²⁶

As soon as the Hungarian archontology for the period 1458–1526 is completed, we might be able to identify these little-known vice-voivodes; however, for now, we can register only the fact of their office-holding.

***Familiaritas* and Career**

VICE-VOIVODES were always appointed by the voivode from among his *familiares*.²⁷ In 1510, for example, when King Vladislaus II (1490–1516) notified the Székely about the appointment of John Szapolyai as voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely, pointed out that they owed obedience to *the vice-voivode and vice-comes of the Székely, a person to be appointed by the voivode*.²⁸ The relation between lord and *familiares* was usually long-lasting. We can see that the voivodes who were appointed more than once filled the position of vice-voivode with the same person on all occasions. This is how a number of vice-voivodes held the office twice: for example Stephen Erdélyi senior of Şintereag (Somkerék; *Erdeli de Somkerék*; between 1462 and 1465, and in 1476),²⁹ both times as *familiaris*³⁰ of John Pongrác (1462–1465, 1468–1472, 1475–1476),³¹ Dominic Bethlen (Betlen) of Iktár (*Bethlen de Iktar*; 1468–1472, 1475–1477),³² also twice and also as *familiaris* of Pongrác. All along his career, George “Rikalf” Tarkői (*Georgius filius Rycalff de Tharkew*; 1450–1458, 1460)³³ was *familiaris* of the Rozgonyi family: as vice-voivode and *vice-comes* of the Székely he was deputy to John Rozgonyi, voivode of Transylvania (1449–1458, 1460–1461) and *comes* of the Székely (1448–1458), while in 1453,

he acted as *vice-comes* of the Székely, this time in the service of Reynald Rozgonyi, *comes* of the Székely.

Vice-voivodes sometimes mention in documents that they owe their appointment to the voivode.³⁴ The duration of office-holding of vice-voivodes always corresponds with that of the voivodes; when the king replaced a voivode, the complete administration was to be changed as well: that is, all the officials appointed by the voivode (such as vice-voivodes, the castellans of royal castles, the *comites* of the Transylvanian counties) had to give up their position. However, cases are known when the voivode kept in office the deputy of his predecessor – for shorter or longer periods. For example, Dominic Bethlen remained vice-voivode for a few months under the newly appointed voivode, Peter Geréb of Vingard (Vingárt; *Gereb de Vyngarth*; 1477–1479);³⁵ Leonard Barlabási of Idrifaia (Hederfája; *Barlabassy de Hederfaya*), vice-voivode and *vice-comes* of the Székely (1501–1525),³⁶ appointed in office by Peter Szentgyörgyi (*de Sancto Georgio*; 1498–1510),³⁷ was kept by the next voivode, John Szapolyai (*de Zapolya*; 1511–1526).³⁸ In this latter case, the explanation is that the two subsequent voivodes, Szentgyörgyi and Szapolyai, were close political allies;³⁹ in most other cases, however, a probable reason is that it took some time for the newly appointed voivode to entrust his *familiaris* with the position and in the meantime the previous vice-voivode was needed to carry out the official tasks.

Vacancy in the position of vice-voivode (as well as in that of voivode) was quite rare, and the reason for these cases is not always known. In the second part of 1459, in a rather confused political situation, the *comites* of the Székely were assigned by the king to manage the voivodate (instead of voivodes and vice-voivodes) – they held the *congregatio generalis* for the Transylvanian nobility.⁴⁰ Following the anti-royalist uprising of 1467 in Transylvania, King Matthias withdrew the voivodes, and thus, the vice-voivodes lost their position, too. No information is available of any vice-voivodes for a period of two years after the middle of 1472,⁴¹ which might be explained by the striking decrease in the number of vice-voivodal documents as a result of the voivodes' personal involvement in the governing of Transylvania starting with the 1460s; this applies especially to voivodes John Pongrác (1462–1465, 1468–1472, 1475–1476) and John Szentgyörgyi (1465–1467).⁴²

Voivodes were not compelled to choose their deputies from among the local nobility. As in Transylvania there was no secular *latifundium* except for that of the Corvinus family, the local nobility did not have the power to equal that of the voivode, and thus was unable to force the latter to appoint a vice-voivode from among the locals (as opposed to the Slavonian situation, where the *ban* of Slavonia was forced to take in consideration the opinion of the local nobility).⁴³ Thus, the majority of vice-voivodes had their origins outside of Transylvania. For example:

George “Rikalf” Tarkői (1450–1458, 1460) was from Sáros (Šariš) county; two vice-voivodes of Sebastian Rozgonyi (1458. IX.–1460 XI., 1461. III.–XII.), Sigismund Sártványi (*de SARTHWAN*) of Párovce (Páruca; 1458–1460)⁴⁴ and his colleague in that office, John Farkas of Nitrianska Streda (Szerdahely; *Farkas de Zerdahel*; 1458–1459) were from Nyitra (Nitra) county;⁴⁵ Ladislaus Nádasdi (*de Nadasd*; 1465–1467)⁴⁶ had estates in Vas county, in Western Hungary (he was *vice-comes* of that county between 1454–1455, 1457, 1470). Dominic Bethlen had estates in Timiș (Temes) county, and his colleague, John Rédei (*de Rede*; 1468–1472),⁴⁷ came from Heves county. These examples show that the office of vice-voivode didn’t require any local knowledge, the same noblemen could hold office in any part of the country in the service of the king or other high dignitaries. Besides the above mentioned, Benedict ‘Gibárt (Gebárt)’ Szilkeréki (of Șintereguț/Cornești; *Gebarth de Zylkerék*; 1459–1460, 1461–1462)⁴⁸ is a good example: he originated from Transylvania and before vice-voivodeship, served the king in Slavonia as *aule familiaris*⁴⁹ (and in exchange was rewarded with landed properties in Transylvania). His case well illustrates the usual career of a middle noble: service in the royal court then service (*familiaritas*) of a member of the aristocracy.⁵⁰

Amongst the vice-voivodes we can find several Transylvanians, too: Stephen Kemény of Mănăstireni (Gyerőmonostor; *Kemen de Gerevmonostora*; 1456–1458)⁵¹ had estates in Cluj (Kolozs) county; John of Ilia (Illyei; *Iohannes Dionisii de Illye*; 1466–1467)⁵² was member of a noble family from Hunedoara (Hunyad) county. Two other vice-voivodes of Sebastian Rozgonyi, Benedict “Gibárt” of Șintereguț (Szilkeréki) and George Szentiványi (*de Zenthnywan*; 1461–1462),⁵³ were lesser nobles from Inner Solnoc county.

During the second half of the 15th century, usually two vice-voivodes were appointed at the same time. In the first third of the 16th century, it can be observed that one of them was of Transylvanian origin, while the other (with one exception) came from outside of the voivodate, from other parts of Hungary.⁵⁴ During his extremely long office-holding (24 years), the Transylvanian Leonard Barlabási shared vice-voivodeship with non-Transylvanian colleagues.

During their careers, some vice-voivodes held other important offices, too. Stephan “Szaniszlófi” Bátori (*Stephanus Zanyzloffy de Bathor*) of Șimleu Silvaniei (Somlyó) for example, who was vice-voivode of Transylvania and *vice-comes* of Székely (1521–1522)⁵⁵ as *familiaris* of voivode John Szapolyai (1511–1526), acted also as *comes* of Szabolcs county (1520, 1529–1533), and in the service of Queen Mary of Hungary he was appointed as castellan of the castle of Mukacheve (Munkács) and *comes* of Bereg county (1524–1526). From 1529 to 1533, he even held the office of voivode of Transylvania.

Vice-voivode Stephen of Tileagd (Telegdi; *de Thelegd*; 1487–1493, 1495–1498)⁵⁶ was appointed as counsellor of the king (*consiliarius*, 1502), then elected

as treasurer (1504–1505) and after 1503, performed diplomatic duties in the service of the king. His wealth and desire for representation are shown by the construction works he ordered on his estate at Tileagd (Telegd), in Bihar (Bihar) county: he had the church expanded in Renaissance style and commissioned a memorial stone made of red marble to immortalize his memory.

For the duration of their office-holding, voivodes received ‘*pro honore*’ the Transylvanian royal castles and they appointed the castellans in charge of these. Although a comprehensive database of Transylvanian castellans for the late Middle Ages is not available, it is known that in the period in question certain *familiares* of the voivode served as castellans before being appointed as vice-voivodes. Lazarus Zsoldos of Rumince (Runya; *Soldos de Rwnya*) was castellan of Bran (Töröcsvár, Alba/Fehér county; 1481–1482), and later became vice-voivode (1486);⁵⁷ he received both positions as *familiaris* of Stephen Bátori of Ecsed, voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely (1479–1493). As vice-voivodes, Nicholas Hagymás of Beregsău (Berekszó; *Hagymas de Berekszo*; 1494, 1517–1519)⁵⁸ and Ladislav Scherthinger (*Scherthinger*; *Cherthingher*; 1505–1508)⁵⁹ were also castellans of Deva (Déva; in 1519 and 1505–1508, respectively).⁶⁰ Both Bran and Deva belonged to the *honor* of the voivode, thus, he appointed the castellans as well. The fact that a voivode appointed his distinguished *familiares* to the position of castellan can be explained by the important role these castles played in the defence of the Transylvanian borders.

Vice-voivode Dominic Bethlen (1468–1472, 1475–1477) is also recorded as ban of Severin (Szörény) in 1478,⁶¹ while Nicholas Hagymás occupied the same position in 1515.⁶² Very probably both of them achieved this dignity due to their military qualities.

In 1461, voivode Sebastian Rozgonyi shared the office of *comes* of the Székelys with Ladislaus Losonci Dezsőfi. (The *comes* of the Székely was a royal official appointed as the head of the East-Transylvanian Székely seats and mainly performed military duties in the quality of military commander of the Székely). The next voivode, John Pongrác also received the title of *comes* of the Székely in 1462, and shared it with Reynald Rozgonyi. As of 1463, voivodes became the exclusive owners of the title of *comes* of the Székely. Thus, between 1463 and 1526, with the exception of two shorter periods, voivodes were also *comites* of the Székely. In 1467 John Daróci, then from 1504 to 1507 John Tárcai, the queen’s favourite, acted as independent *comes* of the Székely.⁶³ The merging of the two offices (of voivode and of *comes* of the Székely) was triggered by the Ottoman threat and can be seen as a measure taken for the protection of borders as in this way the voivode commanded over both the Transylvanian and the Székely forces. Some of the vice-voivodes also held the office of *vice-comes* of the Székely, but not all of them. For instance, Dominic Bethlen did, but his fellow vice-voivode, John

of Ilia did not. Moreover, there are cases when a third person, other than the vice-voivodes, was appointed for the position.⁶⁴ Vice-voivodes who were also *vice-comites* of the Székely, received the castellanship of Gurghiu (Görgény) as well, the castle lordship being part of the *honor* of the *comes* of the Székely (though it was situated outside of the Székely Seats, in Turda county).

As already mentioned before, the *comites* of the Transylvanian countries were appointed by the voivodes of Transylvania. In some cases vice-voivodes received the title of *comes* of a county. From the period relevant for our research, John Rédei (1468–1472), previously *comes* of Heves county (1461–1467), is known as *comes* of Hunedoara (1468–1469),⁶⁵ while vice-voivode Benedict Túri (1505–1507) was also *comes* of Turda county.⁶⁶

Generally, vice-voivodes acquired offices with the help of their lord, so *familiaritas* was a decisive factor in their career. George Dobai (*Dobay*; of Doba)⁶⁷ acted in 1487 as advocate for the Hungarian aristocrat of Romanian origin, Bartholomew Drágfi (*Dragffy*) of Beltiug (Béltek), that is, he was in the private service of the latter. Later on, he also received official assignments, for example, he became vice-voivode (1494–1495) when Drágfi was voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely (1493–1498),⁶⁸ then *vice-comes* of Middle Solnoc county (1495–1498), as his lord was also perpetual *comes* (*comes perpetuus*) of Middle Solnoc (1479–1488) and had extensive possessions in that county. Moreover, as *familiaris*, in 1500, he was designated as one of the executors of Drágfi's testament.

Vice-voivode Stephen Horvát (*Horwath*) of Zărând (Zaránd; 1482–1486),⁶⁹ *vice-comes* of Zărând county (1473–1497, probably with intermissions), was castellan of Şiria (Világosvár, Zărând county; 1481–1499), his lord being Stephen Bátori of Ecsed, voivode of Transylvania (1479–1493)⁷⁰ and owner of the respective castle.⁷¹ Another vice-voivode and *familiaris* of Bátori, John Verbóci (vice-voivode: 1483–1484)⁷² was *vice-comes* of Zărând county in 1485, probably also as a *familiaris* of Bátori.

Paul Magyi (*de Magh, Maghy*; vice-voivode: 1502–1503),⁷³ *familiaris* of voivode Peter Szentgyörgyi (1498–1510), became deputy Judge Royal (*viceiudex curie*, 1501–1504) as Szentgyörgyi held the position of Judge Royal (1500–1517). (It should be noted that the merging of the two functions, voivode and *iudex curie regis*, was meant to extend voivodal power.)⁷⁴ Nevertheless, in 1504, Magyi enrolled in the service of another high dignitary of the country, palatine Emeric Perényi and became deputy palatine. Obviously, the change of loyalties did not break his career.

Vice-voivode and *comes* of the Székely, Nicholas Turóci (*Thwroczy*; 1512–1516),⁷⁵ son of the historian and chronicler John Turóci (c. 1435–c. 1490) owes his position of vice-voivode to voivode John Szapolyai (1511–1526), the greatest landlord in Turóc (Turiec) county. Between 1515–1517, Turóci also acted

as prothonotary (*protonotarius*) in Transylvania. As *familiaris* of Szapolyai, he also became castellan of Sklabiná (Szklabonya; today in Slovakia) and *comes* of Turóc county (1518–1526). Besides this, he acted as *protonotarius* at various courts of law.⁷⁶ Of all the vice-voivodes, Magyi and Turóci seem to be outstanding, inasmuch as they pursued an ‘intellectual’ career as well.

After his vice-voivodeship, Anthony Kendi (*Kendy*; of Chendru/Cornești; 1477–1479),⁷⁷ very probably a member of the prestigious Kendi family from Dăbâca (Doboka) county, acted as King Matthias’ (1458–1490) diplomat in Venice in 1485;⁷⁸ the background of this commission is not known.

As we could see, most vice-voivodes generally held offices as *comites* and *castellans* during their careers. They belonged to the upper strata of the county nobility and worked in the service of aristocrats, as their leading *familiares*, but could never rise to positions of great importance.⁷⁹

The assistance of a lord did not result merely in official commissions. Stephen Erdélyi, *familiaris* and vice-voivode of John Pongrác was granted royal amnesty after his involvement in the Transylvanian anti-royalist uprising due to the intercession of his lord.⁸⁰ Official relationships could also bring donations of landed property; just to mention some examples: Nicholas of Ocna Sibiului, senior (Vizaknai; *de Wyzakna*), vice-voivode (1439–1446, 1448, 1451, 1460, 1463–1465), deputy governor of Transylvania (1446–1447, 1450–1452) and *vice-comes* of the Székely (1460)⁸¹ received estates in 1447, 1450 and 1453 (in Târnava/Küküllő, Turda and Alba/Fehér counties) from governor John Hunyadi and King Ladislaus V.⁸² In 1462, as a reward for military services performed for John Hunyadi and King Matthias Corvinus, John of Ilia (Illyei) received landed properties in Hunedoara (Hunyad) county from the king;⁸³ another similar case is that of Nicholas Hagymás, who – already as vice-voivode, in 1517 – was rewarded for unknown services with estates in Hunedoara county.⁸⁴ Two vice-voivodes, Stephen Erdélyi and John Geréb, were granted the taxes paid by the Romanians living on their estates, as well as the ‘sheep fiftieth’ (*quinquagesima ovium*), the tax due from Transylvanian Romanians to the king.⁸⁵

Social Status, Wealth and Honorific Titles

THE ABOVE examples show that vice-voivodes could not generally advance on the social ladder so much as to achieve an outstandingly important position in the royal court; however, in the service of voivodes, and due to it, they obtained several more or less important offices. (The two exceptions, as already mentioned, were Telegdi and Bátori, whose bright career can be explained by their family background).

Lacking other sources, the extent of the landed property of vice-voivodes can be approximated from the number of the villages possessed. In the 15th and at the beginning of the 16th century vice-voivodes usually owned only a few villages, or even less, but this was enough not only for being considered important noblemen of their county, but also provided them with sufficient financial support to be able to engage themselves in the service of a lord. (This was done with the view of political and financial advancement). Benedict “Gibárt (Gebárt)” of Şintereguţ/Corneşti (Szilkeréki, 1459–1460, 1461–1462), whose death was followed by an inquisition into the obligations of his serfs, had possessions in at least four villages in Dăbâca and Inner Solnoc counties, and also in the family estate of Şintereguţ.⁸⁶ The children of Michael Almási, who most probably held the office of vice-voivode only for a brief period (1494), inherited 29 partially deserted serf sessions in three villages in Dăbâca county, 7 horses, 5 oxen and 15 sows.⁸⁷ The two aforementioned vice-voivodes were of relatively small means, but they probably represent an extreme inside their group.

Generally, most vice-voivodes were important landowners in their county and had substantial possessions. The family of Nicholas Hagymás counted among his properties a manor house in Galád (Timiş county), which was the centre of their estates, overseeing 30–35 villages in two counties (Timiş and Cenad/Csanád).⁸⁸ In addition, they also had estates in Kőrös and Zala counties, where they acquired, on the basis of an inheritance agreement signed with the Szentgróti family, a further manor house (Slanje, Szlavinja) and a castle (Szentgrót).⁸⁹

Voivodes who were members of the royal council could obtain royal donations for their *familiaves* much easier than they could have done it by themselves. Even so, vice-voivodes did not acquire significant estates, the only exception might be John Geréb of Vingard, vice-voivode (1450, 1458) and governor of Transylvania (1445, 1460), who received the castle of Făgăraş (Fogaras) as donation from King Matthias.⁹⁰ This appreciation, however, was not addressed to the vice-voivode’s person but to a relative of his, Matthias Geréb, who was cousin of the king. (All the same, in 1469, King Matthias had the castle confiscated from the family.)

The careers of vice-voivodes Bátori and Telegdi were in some degree different from that of their colleagues as both were members of families of an outstanding wealth. The Telegdis’ estates included 28 villages in Cenad, Arad, Timiş and Bihor counties; the manor house already existent in the early 16th century (1516) at Makó (Cenad county) very probably also belonged to the family.⁹¹ The family of vice-voivode Stephen “Szaniszlófi” Bátori – the branch of Şimleu Silvaniei (Somlyó) – possessed landed property mainly in Sătmar (Szatmár) and Crasna (Kraszna) counties, the centre of their estate being in the latter, at Şimleu Silvaniei. Around the middle of the 16th century, the Bátoris of Somlyó were the most

prominent landlords of Crasna county: Andrew, the son of (vice-)voivode Stephen “Szaniszlófi” Bátori possessed 287 serf households (*porta*) in 24 settlements.⁹² In 1519–1520 the vice-voivode and his family (brothers, cousins) got hold of the castle of Seini (Szinyér) in Sătmar county, together with its belonging estates, in accordance with an agreement about the legacy of the Móríci family signed with their even richer and more influential relatives, palatine Stephen Bátori of Ecsed and his brothers, as well as with the Drágfi family.⁹³ After the defeat of the Hungarian Kingdom at Mohács, Stephen Szaniszlófi Bátori became voivode of Transylvania (1529–1533), and the political advancement of the family was uninterrupted: his son, Stephen, was appointed as voivode (1571), then elected as prince of Transylvania (1571–1586) and, eventually, king of Poland (1576–1586), while the other son, Christopher, became the deputy of his brother in the principality with the title of voivode, and held this position until his death (1581).

The Illyei family had their shares in more than sixty estates in Hunedoara and Arad counties (the most important of these are: Geoagiu/Algyógy, Ilia and Zădăreni/Zádorlaka) but their ascending career was broken after their involvement in the anti-royalist uprising of 1467. In 1468, King Matthias had the estates of the family confiscated, and later they were able to regain possession of only a small part of those.⁹⁴ The Kemény family was possessor at Mănăstireni and in its neighbourhood in Cluj county, while, through his wife, Stephen Kemény acquired estates in several villages in Târnava county, too.⁹⁵ Stephen Erdélyi had shares in 18 villages in Inner Solnoc and Turda counties but these were all seized by King Matthias after the owner’s participation in the uprising of 1467.⁹⁶

Generally, vice-voivodes came from families with smaller properties, estates consisting of several villages. The Bethlens of Iktár had property in Békés, Timiș and Zărand/Zaránd counties (Gyoma, Iktár, Betlenősi, etc.), Leonard Barlabási had possessions in Târnava (Idrifaia), Alba (Micoșlaca/Miklóslaka, Uioara de Jos/Csongva) and Turda county (Zau de Câmpie/Záh). George Dobai had his main estates in Middle Solnoc county (Doba/Nagydoba, Doba Mică/Kisdoba).

With the exception of the above mentioned (the castle of Făgăraș of the Vingárdi and the castle of Szinyér of the Szaniszlófi), none of the vice-voivodes possessed a castle (which had much rather a political than economic significance as it made possible the control over a smaller region and was a criterion of political power in the Middle Ages).⁹⁷ Nevertheless, fortified manor houses were in the possession of several vice-voivodes: Stephen Erdélyi (1462–1465, 1476) had one built in Gornești; the manor house in Vingard was probably commissioned by John Geréb (1458); the Szerdahelyi family had a manor house in Nitrianska Streda;⁹⁸ the Illyei at Ilia in Hunedoara county and at Zădăreni, Arad county).⁹⁹ There is data on the construction of a country-house in the case of Leonard Barlabási.

Authority and influence was just as important as landed property and offices; however, it is much more difficult to assess. Nevertheless, a good example is the case of John Illyei, who acted as one of the representatives of the Transylvanian nobility in 1459, when the agreement of alliance with the Székelys and the Saxons was put down in writing, then later, during the anti-royal uprising of 1467, he was elected, already as vice-voivode, as one of the leaders of the Transylvanian nobility.¹⁰⁰

The usage of honorific titles is very informative. While voivodes, just like other high dignitaries of the country, used the title *magnificus*, vice-voivodes were not entitled to this. They were called *egregius*,¹⁰¹ a title applied in the case of the middle nobility (and which is translated into contemporary Hungarian as *vitézlő*). In each county there were only a few families belonging to this class.¹⁰² Vice-voivode and deputy-governor John Geréb is mentioned with both titles, *magnificus* and *egregius*.¹⁰³ He is the only vice-voivode whose family, due to the close kinship with King Matthias, succeeded in winning its way up into the aristocracy. The family was able to keep its influence even after the ruler's death. Peter, one of the sons of John Geréb, became captain of Upper Silesia (1476), voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely (1477–1479), Master of Janitors (*ianitorum regalium magister*, 1486–1489), *magister curie regie* (1491–1494), Judge Royal (*iudex curie regis*, 1494–1500), *comes* of Bereg county (1495) and palatine (1500–1503); another of John's sons, Ladislas, was bishop of Transylvania (1475–1501), then archbishop of Kalocsa (1501–1502), while the third son, Matthias, served as ban of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (1483–1489).¹⁰⁴

Due to their wealth and social status, as *familiares* of aristocrats, the families which gave the vice-voivodes in the second half of the 15th and in the first part of the 16th century could often obtain offices even in earlier times. Several members of the Şimleu branch of the Bátori family held offices as castellans and *comites* along the 14th and 15th centuries, just like the Erdélyis of Şintereag in the 15th century. Anthony Erdélyi became vice-palatine (1423), while Nicholas Erdélyi vice-voivode (1448). In the second half of the 14th century, a member of the Bethlen of Iktár family, Peter, was *vice-comes* of Caraş (Krassó) county and castellan of several castles (Golubac/Galambóc, Unguraş/Bálványos, Deva) in the service of Denise Lackfi. John Geréb, father of the above mentioned vice-voivode, held the office of vice-voivode, too; one of the ancestors of Nicholas Hagymás was *comes* of Timiş county in the 14th century, while another of his forefathers besides being *comes* of Timiş county was also ban of Severin/Szörény and is mentioned among the high dignitaries of the country in 1440.¹⁰⁵

Nevertheless, the members of the families which gave the later vice-voivodes held offices mainly inside their own counties: the Zsoldos of Rumince family counts among its members *vice-comites*, *comites* and castellans functioning in Gömör

and Borsod counties, where their estates lay.¹⁰⁶ At least two members of the Szerdahelyi family were *vice-comites* of Nyitra county throughout the 15th century;¹⁰⁷ Michael Kendi was appointed *comes* of Inner Solnoc county (1539), while Gál Kendi became *comes* of Dăbâca (1513–1524).¹⁰⁸ The father of vice-voivode Leonard Barlabási was castellan of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) castle.

The case of the Geréb and the Bátori families show that vice-voivodes could greatly help their families' social advancement. This is even more evident in the case of those families where there are no data about any previous office-holdings. The Verbőci seemed an unimportant family of lesser nobles with only a few serfs, living in Bereg and then in Ugocsa county; the first member of the family to hold an office was scribe John, later vice-voivode. All his estates and connections were inherited by his nephew, Stephen,¹⁰⁹ who succeeded in obtaining one of the most important offices in the country, he became palatine (1525), and after 1526, chancellor of John Szapolyai. George of Doba (Dobai) became vice-voivode while in the service of Bartholomew Drágfi, but his family was one of the most respectable in their country already at the beginning of the 16th century: Anthony of Doba (Dobai) appeared as deputy of Middle Solnoc county at the general assembly of 1518,¹¹⁰ Demetrius Dobai was *provisor* of John Drágfi's castle of Ardud (Erdőd) and was granted a coat-of-arms by King Louis II in 1519 for his services rendered in the suppression of the peasants' revolt.¹¹¹ In the Kemény family the first member who received an important office was vice-voivode Stephen, and his grandson, John, continued this line: he became vice-voivode and *vice-comes* of the Székely (1555).¹¹² The same situation applies to the Kendi family: Anthony was the first to hold an important office but his grandson – if our identification is correct¹¹³ –, Francis Kendi became vice-voivode of Transylvania (1530–1534), Master of the Treasury (*magister tavernicorum regalium*, 1539) then voivode of Transylvania (1553–1556),¹¹⁴ and throughout the 16th century, several other members of the family were appointed to the Council of the Prince.¹¹⁵

In some rare cases there are no data of any other family member to hold an office except for the one vice-voivode. For example, in the Túri family, Benedict is the only member who appears in the documents to have played a role in public life.

Besides warfare and judicial duties, little is known about the other activities of vice-voivodes. It is certain that in their unofficial capacity they attended to their own estates and lawsuits against neighbours or relatives. The majority of medieval Hungarian documentary sources relates about lawsuits regarding landed property, but usually the details they give about the involved parties refer only to the rights of these to the estate in question and the name of their relatives. Exceptional and thus valuable information is that vice-voivode Nicholas of Ocna Sibiului (Vizaknai) senior mentioned in his will from 1465, besides his estates,

a number of silver and golden vessels, ornaments, a house in Ocna Sibiului and one in Sibiu (Szeben), considerable sums of money and livestock, which he bequeathed to his family, to ecclesiastic institutions and to his *familiares* (among whom to his chaplain and his scrivener) not forgetting to point out that all those goods had not been left to him by his ancestors but he acquired those himself in many different employments.¹¹⁶ Vice-voivode Leonard Barlabási (1501–1525) is mentioned as having been a patron of arts during his life, who left in his will from 1525¹¹⁷ considerable amounts of money to several Transylvanian ecclesiastic institutions. It is also known that he had a manor house built on his estate at Idrifaia. In his will, he made provisions about his burial in the (Franciscan) friary in Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely) and he donated to the same friary weapons (*arma*) from Freisach and a horse, which had to be used during the funeral procession. He also left a sum for the education of his son, as well as valuables among which a silver-plated dagger (*ensis*) and a silver- and gold-plated sword (*framea*). A part of his goods was intended for his servants (*servitoribus nostris*).

Marriage Ties

GENERALLY, MARRIAGE ties connected vice-voivodes with the same well-off county nobility they originated from.¹¹⁸ Apart from the names, rarely are there records in documentary sources about the wives of these officials (as the estate went down the male lines), though the financial situation of their families is known. The social status and wealth of vice-voivodes did not make possible for them to marry women from outstandingly rich or distinguished families. The exceptions again are the Telegdis and Bátoris who, coming from the upper nobility themselves, chose from that circle: Telegdi married a woman from the aristocratic Bebek family,¹¹⁹ while Bátori married into the Telegdi family.¹²⁰ Even when the wife did not belong to the aristocracy, the union was meant to enhance social connections: Nicholas Turóci (1512–1516) became the brother-in-law of Judge Royal (*iudex curie regis*) Ambrose Sárkány and got employed by him as a *protonotarius*.¹²¹ Vice-voivode Stephen Tomori (*Thomory*; 1520–1525),¹²² whose family had estates in Borsod, Abaúj and Zemplén counties, purchased a property in Transylvania, in Stâna de Mureș/Ciuci (Csúcs), Alba (Fehér) county and extended his estates by marrying the daughter of a local well-off nobleman, Thomas Miske of Cisteiu (Csesztve). Many of the vice-voivodes did not go far from their homes: Dominic Bethlen, owner in Békés county married Anna Ábrámfi of *Gerla de genere* Csolt, daughter of a prominent family from the same county.¹²³ Similarly, Michael Almási married from his home county, his wife came from the noble family Páncél of Panticeu (Páncélcseh);¹²⁴ Anthony Kendi and his

wife, Catherine Wass of Țaga (Cege) both had their estates in Dăbâca county. Benedict Túri, landowner in Turda county, married Anna, daughter of Stephen Veres of Sfăraș (Farnas), who had estates in the neighbouring Cluj county.

It seems that the possibility of writing the biographies (in the modern sense of the word) of vice-voivodes is out of reach. The most we can do is to clarify their origins and the important stages of their careers as historical research can be done only within the limits of the sources. Nevertheless, as we could see, this is enough to get a clear picture of the social composition of the second-line political elite of Transylvania.



Translated by ÁGNES BARICZ

Notes

1. The most important bibliography on the evolution of the voivodal office: Iván Janits [Borsa], *Az erdélyi vajdák igazságszolgáltató és oklevéladó működése 1526-ig* (Diplomatic and juridical activity of the voivodes of Transylvania until 1526) (Budapest: no publisher, 1940); Gyula Kristó, *Early Transylvania (895–1324)* (Budapest: Lucidus, 2003); Idem, *A feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon* (Feudal disintegration in Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 94–138; Elemér Mályusz, *Az erdélyi magyar társadalom a középkorban* (Hungarian society of Transylvania in the Middle Ages), *Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*, no. 2 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1988); Zsigmond Jakó, “Az erdélyi vajdák kinevezéséről” (On the appointment of the voivodes of Transylvania), *Levéltári Közlemények* 63 (1992): 71–82; László Makkai, “Transylvania in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom,” in *History of Transylvania*, ed. Béla Köpeczi, vol. 1 (From the Beginnings to 1606), East European Monographs no. 581; Atlantic studies on society in change no. 106 (Boulder, Colorado and Highland Lakes, New Jersey: Atlantic Research and Publications Inc., 2002), 371–441; Ioan Bogdan, “Originea voevodatului la români” (The origins of voivodate at the Romanians), in *Analele Academiei Române*, Seria II, Tom. 24 (1901–1902), *Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* (Bucharest: Romanian Academy, 1902), 191–207; Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* (The Transylvanian voivodate) (4 vols., Cluj-Napoca, 1972–1989); Martyn Rady, “Voivode and ‘Regnum’: Transylvania’s Place in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary,” in *Historians and the History of Transylvania*, ed. László Péter (Boulder: East European Monographs; New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 87–101.
2. András Kubinyi, “Jakó Zsigmond, a történettudós” (Zsigmond Jakó, the historian), *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 68, no. 3–4 (2006): 5; Zsigmond Jakó, “Organizația cancelariei voievodale ardelene la începutul secolului al XVI-lea” (The organization of voivodal chancellery in Transylvania at the beginning of the 16th century), *Hrisovul. Buletinul Școlii de Arhivistică* 6 (1946): 111–148, also in Hungarian: Idem, *Az*

- erdélyi vajda kancelláriájának szervezete a XVI. század elején*, Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek no. 202 (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1947).
3. Zsigmond Jakó, “Három erdélyi vajda Zsigmond király korában” (Three voivodes of Transylvania of the Sigismund era), in Idem, *Társadalom, egyház, művelődés. Tanulmányok Erdély történelméhez* (Society, church, culture: Studies on the history of Transylvania), METEM könyvek no. 18 (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1997), 57–74.
 4. Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* (The secular archontology of Hungary 1301–1457), História Könyvtár. Kronológiák, adattárak, no. 5 (2 vols., Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996; henceforth: Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*). Archontologies containing the list of 15th century voivodes were published also by Erik Fügedi (1916–1992) but these were built on a much narrower database than what is accessible nowadays; see Erik Fügedi, *A XV. századi magyar arisztokrácia mobilitása* (The mobility of the Hungarian aristocracy in the 15th century), Történeti statisztikai kötetek (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1970), 108–109.
 5. Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia* (Hungarian medieval database: Secular archontology of Hungary and Hungarian medieval genealogy) [CD-ROM] (Budapest: Arcanum and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001; henceforth: Engel, *Genealógia*).
 6. Pál Engel, *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok* (Honor, castle and county: Selected studies), ed. Enikő Csukovits, Milleniumi magyar történelem (Budapest: Osiris, 2003).
 7. Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* (Secular archontology of Hungary 1000–1301), História könyvtár. Kronológiák, adattárak, no. 11 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011).
 8. Sabin Belu, Ioan Dani, Aurel Răduțiu, Viorica Pervain, Konrad G. Gündisch, Adrian Rusu, Susana Andea, Lidia Gross, and Adinel Dincă, eds., *Documenta Romaniae Historica, C, Transilvania*, vol. 10–15 (1351–1380) (6 vols., Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România; Cluj: Editura Academiei Române, 1977–2006).
 9. Pall Francisc, “Voievozii și vicevoievozii Transilvaniei” (Voivodes and vice-voivodes of Transylvania), in *Documente privind istoria României. Introducere* (Documents regarding the history of Romania: Introduction), vol. 1 (Bucharest: Romanian Academy, 1956), *Anexa II* (Appendix no. 2), 497–505. In 1998, Engel declared about Pall’s archontology of voivodes that: “it is the best database of the voivodes of Transylvania”, see Pál Engel, “Archontológia” (Archontology), in Iván Bertényi, ed., *A történelem segédtudományai* (Auxiliary sciences of history), *A történettudomány kézikönyve* no. 1 (Budapest: Osiris, 1998), 39.
 10. See note no. 1. So far, the research has been hindered by the fact that the largest part of the medieval documentary sources (pre-1541) concerning the history of Transylvania can be found scattered in many different archives of several Central-European countries (mainly Hungary, Romania, Slovakia), and the majority of them is still unpublished. The total number of these documents can be approximated

- to 30–35000. There are two series which collect and publish medieval documents concerning the history of Transylvania: the full-text edition of documents prepared by the Romanian Academy (*Documenta Romaniae Historica*) reached with its last volume the year 1380, while the *Codex Diplomaticus Transsylvaniae*, edited by Zsigmond Jakó (1916–2008), got up to 1359 with its third volume (Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae: Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transylvanas illustrantia. Erdélyi okmánytár: Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez*, A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok, no. 26, 40, 47; 3 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1997–2008). However, the research of the 15th century has not made much progress. There are available, of course, thematic collections of documents, editions of family archives which cover the 15th century as well, but these are scarce, and the publications of documents related to the topic proposed in the present paper are quite scattered. The completion of the database of documents regarding the history of medieval (pre-1526) Hungary offers new possibilities to mediévistic research and it can be said without exaggeration that professional historical research has never had such possibilities before. The project was carried out by the National Archives of Hungary and the catalogue contains all surviving medieval documents that concern the history of Hungary and Transylvania. Furthermore, quite recently, the National Archives of Hungary made accessible on the Internet the digital photographs of all medieval documents that have been preserved in their collections, thus bringing about a true explosion of information on the history of medieval Transylvania. See György Rácz, *Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica. Medieval Hungary online: The online portal of the National Archives of Hungary on medieval charters*, in *Archiv für Diplomatik. Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, begründet durch Edmund E. Stengel, herausgegeben von Walter Koch und Theo Kölzer, 56 (2010): 423–444. Website: <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf>.
11. Pál Engel, “Néhány XIV. századi erdélyi alvajda származása” (The origins of several 14th century vice-voivodes), in András Kovács, Gábor Sipos, and Sándor Tonk, eds., *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Festschrift in honour of Zsigmond Jakó on his 80th birthday) (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996), 176–186.
 12. John Geréb of Vingard (son of vice-voivode John, father of voivode Peter). Knight of the royal court (*miles aule*, 1437), brother-in-law and *familiaris* of John Hunyadi, governor of Transylvania (1445), castellan of Gurghiu/Görgény (1448–1457), vice-voivode (1450; Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 83), captain general of Transylvania under governor Michael Szilágyi (Jan. 1458), see Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Georg Müller, Michael Auner, Gustav Gündisch, Herta Gündisch, Gernot Nussbächer, and Konrad G. Gündisch, eds., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* (1191–1496) (7 vols., Sibiu and Bucharest: Ausschuss des Vereines für siebenbürgische Landeskunde and Verlag der Rumänischen Akademie, 1892–1991; henceforth: *Ub*), vol. 6, 1; vice-governor and vice-voivode of Transylvania (March – Sept. 1458); *Ub*, vol. 6, 8, 26 and National Archives of Hungary (Magyar Országos Levéltár), Budapest (henceforth: Nat. Arch. Hung.), Collection of pre-1526 charters

(Diplomatikai Levéltár; henceforth: DL), no. 30841. Captain general of Transylvania appointed by King Matthias (May–June, 1459), see DL 28404 and Nat. Arch. Hung., Collection of pre-1526 charters, Photocopies (Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény; henceforth: DF) no. 253601, ed. *Székely oklevéltár* (Diplomatarium of the Székely), eds. Károly Szabó, Lajos Szádeczky, and Samu Barabás (8 vols., Cluj: A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Kolozsvári Bizottsága, A Székely Történelmi Pályadíjalapra Felügyelő Bizottság, 1872–1898; Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1934; henceforth: *SzOkl*), vol. 1, 178–179. Governor of Transylvania (1460. IV–XII., *Ub*, vol. 6, 75, 85–86 and DL 107568), *familiaris* of Michael Szilágyi (DL 37235). Castellan of Hunedoara (Hunyad; 1465: *Ub*, vol. 6, 224), *salium regalium camararum de Dees et Zeek comes* (1466: *Ub*, vol. 6, 239, 248). As a donation he received the castle of Unguraş (Bálványos; 1458: *Ub*, vol. 6, 8; 1462: DF 278419) and shares in several estates in Alba/Fehér (1466, 1468–1470: *Ub*, vol. 6, 270, 366, 417, 421, 440) and in Turda/Torda county (1468: *Ub*, vol. 6, 369). In 1464, King Matthias donated to him the castle lordship of Făgăraş/Fogaras (*Ub*, vol. 6, 195), seized it back in 1469 (*ibidem*, 432–433) but eventually returned it to him in 1471 (*ibidem*, 509–510). In 1456, King Ladislaus V granted him the tax called *quingagesima ovium* collected on his estates, which donation was reinforced by King Matthias in 1465 (*Ub*, vol. 5, 523, vol. 6, 208). In 1459, he was mentioned as *vice-comes* of the Székely (*SzOkl*, vol. 8, 91–92), in 1462 he acted as tax collector in the Saxon Seats (*Ub*, vol. 6, 121). His wife: Sophia, daughter of governor Ladislaus Szilágyi of Horogszeg (today Banatsko Veliko Selo, Serbia); † before 10 June 1472. Cf. András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex* (Budapest: Balassi, 2008), 18–19, 59; Árpád Nógrády, “A lázadás ára” (The price of rebellion), *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 67, no. 3–4 (2005): 134–135; Géza Hegyi, “Bálványosvár és a nagypolitika (1456–1463). A Várdai és a losonci Dezsőfi család küzdelme a bálványosi uradalomért” (High politics and the castle of Unguraş: The struggle of the families Dezsőfi of Lučenec and Várdai de Kisvárda for the castle lordship of Unguraş), *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 67, no. 3–4 (2005): 122–123. On his family see Engel, *Genealógia*, genus Kacsics, table no. 6, Geréb, vingárti; Pál Engel, “A magyar világi nagybirtok megoszlása a 15. században” (The division of secular latifundium in Hungary in the 15th century), in *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok* (Honor, castle and county: Selected studies), ed. Enikő Csukovits, Millenniumi magyar történelem (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 52, 68, note no. 138; Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 83; Péter E. Kovács, “A Hunyadi-család” (The Hunyadi family), in Gyula Ráczó and László V. Molnár, eds., *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára* (Matthias Corvinus: Memorial volume on the 500th commemoration of his death) (Budapest: Zrínyi, 1990), 45.

13. *per regiam clementiam ex voluntate domini capitalis gubernatoris in partibus Transsilvanis vicegubernatori constitutus* (*Ub*, vol. 6, 12).
14. DF 277539, ed.: *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki* (Charters regarding the history of Romanians), ed. Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki (23 vols.; I–XXI. Supl. I–II. Bucuresci: Academia Română, 1887–1942; henceforth: *Hurmuzaki*), vol. II/2, 109–110.

15. *supremus capitaneus regie maiestatis in partibus Transsilvanis constitutus* (DL 28404, 14 May 1459).
16. DL 27673.
17. DF 247364 (ed.: *Ub*, vol. 7, 87), *per magnificum Iohannem de Pongracz de Dengelek vaivodam Transsilvanum ac comitem Siculorum in partibus Transsilvanis capitaneus constitutus*; DF 275289.
18. Engel, *Alvajda*, 177.
19. On late medieval family names see András Kubinyi, “Családnévadás a középkori Magyarországon” (Naming practices in medieval Hungary), in János Stirling, ed., *In virtute spiritus. A Szent István Akadémia emlékkönyve Paskai László tiszteletére* (In virtute spiritus: Festschrift by the Saint Stephen Academy in honour of László Paskai) (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2003), 96–112.
20. Janits, *Az erdélyi vajdák*, 86–87.
21. Peter Kis (*Kys, Parvus*), vice-voivode (1474–1475): DL 107477 and DL 29532.
22. Balázs Magyar, voivode (1472–1475): DL 36867 (ed.: *Ub*, vol. 6, 636), DF 247037 (ed.: *Ub*, vol. 7, 52); András Kubinyi, “Bárók a királyi tanácsban Mátyás és II. Ulászló idejében” (Barons in the royal council during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus and Vladislaus II), *Századok* 122 (1988): 205; Richárd Horváth, “A Felső Részek kapitánysága a Mátyás-korban” (The captaincy of the Upper Parts of Hungary under the reign of King Matthias), *Századok* 137 (2003): 953–954.
23. *Ub*, vol. 6, 528.
24. Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* (Historical geography of Hungary in the Hunyadi era), Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon. Gr. Teleki József művének folytatása gyanánt, no. 6–8, 9c (I–III, V; 4 vols., Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890–1913; repr. 1985), vol. 5, 669.
25. Nicholas Csupor, voivode (1468–1472): *Ub*, vol. 6, 318; DL 32778 (ed. Elemér Mályusz, “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban. Első közlemény” [The charters of the medieval Pauline cloisters of Slavonia and Croatia in the National Archives of Hungary], *Levéltári Közlemények*, 3 [1925]: 108).
26. Michael Almási, vice-voivode (1492): in 1495, he was mentioned among those well-off Transylvanian noblemen who were paid out from the royal treasury for their work related to the collection of the royal tax, cf. Johann Christian von Engel, *Geschichte des ungrischen Reiches und seiner Nebenländer*, vol. 1 (Halle: Johann Jakob Gebauer, 1797), 160, cited by András Kubinyi, “Erdély a Mohács előtti évtizedekben” (Transylvania in the decades before Mohács), in István Rácz, ed., *Tanulmányok Erdély történetéről* (Studies on the history of Transylvania) (Debrecen: Csokonai Kiadó, 1988), 69, 72; Miklós Lázár, *Székely ispánok és alispánok a mohácsi vészig* (Comites and vice-comites of the Székely before the battle of Mohács) (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1881), 40; Tibor Neumann, “Békekötés Pozsonyban – országgyűlés Budán. A Jagelló-Habsburg kapcsolatok egy fejezete (1490–1492)” (Peace treaty at Pressburg – general assembly at Buda: A chapter of the history of Habsburg–Jagello relations, 1490–1492), *Századok* 145 (2011): 322–323. He takes in mortgage a share in Jimbor/Szászszombor and Fundătura/Jenő estates in Dăbâca/Doboka

- county, see Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei 1289–1556* (The records of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, 1289–1556), A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok, no. 17 (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990; henceforth: *KmJkv*), vol. 2, no. 2669–2770, 2681 (year 1488). Mentioned in 1488 as Michael Almási of Panticceu/Cseh (Dăbâca county; *ibidem*, no. 2681). According to his family name, he possessed landed property in Almaşu/Almás in Cluj/Kolozs county. His wife: the widow of Thomas Drági: *Angleta*, daughter of Peter Páncél of Panticceu (1492: *ibidem*, no. 2772, 2831). *Egregius* (1492: *ibidem*, no. 2831). He had shares in the estates Panticceu, Chiochiş/Kékes and Apatiu/Apáti (Dăbâca county) (*ibidem*, no. 3308); † before 1497 (*ibidem*, no. 3015).
27. András Kubinyi, “Historische Skizze Ungarns in der Jagellonienzeit,” in idem, *König und Volk im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarns. Städtentwicklung, Alltagsleben und Regierung im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, Studien zur Geschichte Ungarns no. 1 (Herne: Tibor Schäfer Verlag, 1999), 332. – Hungarian version of the study: András Kubinyi, “A Jagelló-kori Magyarország történetének vázlatja” (An outline of the history of Hungary in the Jagellonian era), *Századok*, 128 (1994): 288–319.
 28. *SzOkl*, vol. 3, 176. Cf. Julius [Gyula] Szekfű, “Die Servienten und Familiaren im ungarischen Mittelalter,” *Ungarische Rundschau*, 2 (1912): 550–551.
 29. Stephen Erdélyi senior of Şintereag/Somkerék, vice-voivode (1462–1465, 1476): DL 62878 and 74169; 1476: *Ub*, vol. 7, 87. At the same time (as *vice-comes* of the Székely), he was also castellan of Gurghiu (Görgény; 1463–1465), see DL 83758 and Samu Barabás, ed., *Codex diplomaticus sacri Romani imperii comitum familiae Teleki de Szék. A római szent birodalmi gróf széki Teleki család oklevéltára* (2 vols., Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1895; henceforth: *TelOkl*), vol. 2, 87. *Vice-comes* of Bodrog county (1453) and *comes* of Maramureş/Máramaros county (1456), probably in the service of the Hunyadi family (Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 1, 117, 154). Son of Anthony Erdélyi, vice-palatine (1423). In 1462, King Matthias granted him the tax *quingagesima ovium* collected on his estates (*TelOkl*, vol. 2, 76–77). In 1467, he appeared as one of the leaders of the anti-royalist uprising (*Ub*, vol. 6, 293). His possessions: *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 93–94. On his family see: Engel, *Genealógia*, genus Becsegergely, table no. 4: Erdélyi, somkeréki; Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 69; Gyula Décsényi, “A somkeréki Erdélyi család 1415. évi czimeres levele és nemzedékrendje” (The grant of arms of 1415 and the family tree of the Erdélyi de Şintereag family), *Turul*, 10 (1892): 105–112.
 30. “[...] *per magnificum Iohannem de Pongracz de Dengelek vaivodam Transsilvanum ac comitem Siculorum in partibus Transsilvanis capitaneus constitutus*” (1476: *Ub*, vol. 7, 87).
 31. John Pongrác, voivode (1462–1465, 1468–1472, 1475–1476): 1462–1465: DL 45000 (ed.: László Bártfai Szabó, *Pest megye történetének okleveles emlékei 1002–1599-ig* [Documents regarding the history of Pest county] [Budapest: private edition, 1938], 228) and DL 13736; 1468–1472: *Ub*, vol. 6, 318 and DL 97345; 1475–1476: DF 231533, DL 27704 (ed.: *Ub*, vol. 7, 119 [no. 4157]).
 32. Dominic Bethlen of Iktár, vice-voivode (1468–1472, 1475–1477): 1468–1472: DF 257742 and DL 29836 (ed.: *Ub*, vol. 6, 527); 1475–1477: DF 245338

- (ed.: *Ub*, vol. 7, 60) and DL 29534. *Familiaris* of voivode John Pongrác (1468: *Ub*, vol. 6 343; 1470: *ibidem*, 458). Ban of Severin (Szörény) in 1478, see Frigyes Pesty, *A szörényi bánság és Szörény vármegye története* (The history of the banate of Severin and of Severin county), vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1877), 285; Idem, *Krassó vármegye története* (The history of Caras county), vol. 3, *Oklevéltár* (Charters) (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1882), 443. *De Ikthar* (*Ub*, vol. 6, 458); *de Bethlenewsy* (*ibidem*, 427). *Egregius* (1476: *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 127). He had estates in Timiș (Temes), Zărand (Zaránd) and Békés counties; † before 16 Jan. 1480, see Iván Borsa, ed., *A Justh család levéltára 1274–1525* (The archives of the Justh family), Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok no. 20. (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1991; henceforth: *JusthLt*), no. 315. His wife: Anne “Ábrámfi” Gerlai. On his family see Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 657, 661, 749, vol. 2, 74; Engel, *Genealógia*, Betlen, Bethlen, iktári, ősi, gyomai; idem, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 35; János Karácsonyi, “Bethlen Gábor fejedelem ősei” (The ancestors of prince Gabriel Bethlen), *Turul* 15 (1897): 52–53; *JusthLt*, passim; Kubinyi, “Tárcai,” 121–122.
33. George “Rikalf” Tarkői, *vice-comes* of the Székely in 1453 (*Ub*, vol. 5, 406 and DF 246953) as *familiaris* of the *comes* of the Székely, Reynald Rozgonyi. Vice-voivode, 1450–1458, 1460 (DF 257877, DL 30841; DF 246473, ed. *Ub*, vol. 6, 83) and once again *vice-comes* of the Székely (1460: *Ub*, vol. 6, 83). Son of John. *Familiaris* (1460: DL 15452) of John Rozgonyi, who was voivode (1449–1458, 1460–1461) and *comes* of the Székely (1448–1458). In 1458, he acts on the orders of vice-governor John Geréb (DL 30841). His wife was Magdalene, daughter of voivode Nicholas Vizaknai (1457: *KmJky*, vol. 1, no. 1259). *Egregius* (1455: *Ibidem*, vol. 1, no. 1194); † before 16 Nov. 1466 (*Ub*, vol. 6, 266). On his family see Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 240; Engel, *Genealógia*, kindred of Rikalf, table no. 3: Tarkövi; Zoltán Kordé, *A székely ispáni méltóság története a kezdetektől 1467-ig* (The history of the office of *comes* of the Székely from the beginnings up to 1467), Debrecen 2003 (PhD thesis, manuscript, Debrecen University Library), 37–38.
34. *Stephanus Erdely de Somkerek per dominum Iohannem Pongracz wayuodam Transsilvanum etc. in hiis partibus Transsilvanis in persona sua constitutus* (DL 27701); *Stephanus Erdely de Somkerek per magnificum Iohannem Pongracz de Dengelek vaivodam Transsilvanum ac comitem Siculorum in partibus Transsilvanis capitaneus constitutus* (*Ub*, vol. 7, 87).
35. Peter Geréb of Vingard (Vingárd), voivode (1477–1479): DF 247040 (ed. *SzOkl*, vol. 3, 98–99) and DF 246478 (ed.: *Ub*, vol. 7, 208–209).
36. Leonard Barlabási (Barlabássy), vice-voivode and *vice-comes* of the Székely (1501–1525): DL 46555 and 37024. Son of John Barlabási, castellan of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár). Of Cisteiu (Csesztve; 1503: DF 244474). *Familiaris* of Stephen Bátori, voivode of Transylvania (1492, 1493), Richardus Horváth, Tiburtius Neumann, and Norbertus C. Tóth, ed., *Documenta ad historiam familiae Bátori de Ecsed spectantia*, vol. 1, *Diplomata 1393–1540*, A nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum kiadványai no. 67 (Nyíregyháza: A Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2011; henceforth: *BátoriOkl*), 181; *SzOkl*, vol. 1, 276. Vice-voivode

- of Transylvania and *vice-comes* of the Székely (1501–1525) as *familiaris* of voivode Peter Szentgyörgyi and then of John Szapolyai. *Comes* of Gurghiu (Görgény) between 1503–1504, see Antal Valentiny and András W. Kovács, eds., *A Wäss család cegei levéltára* (The archives of Ţaga of the Wäss family), *Az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltára* no. 3 (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006; henceforth: *WässLt*), no. 518, and *Hurmuzaki*, vol. XV/1, 165. Leonard Barlabási is known to have been a patron of arts and bequeathed different sums to several ecclesiastical institutions in Transylvania (1525: *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 450–455). He was in contact with a humanist circle in Alba Iulia, his coat of arms can be found in the cathedral of Alba Iulia and in the church of Daia Secuiască (Székelydálya). He had a country house built in Idrifaia (Héderfája, Târnava/Küküllő county) (1508) and possessed another one in Ozd (Ózd, Alba/Fehér county). In 1492, King Vladislaus II donated to him the estates of Stephen Tátéi (*BátoriOkl*, 181) and further properties in Cluj/Kolozs and Turda/Torda counties in 1513 (1513: DL 28485); † in 1525. Wives of Leonard Barlabási: 1. *Eufrosina*, daughter of Ladislaus Zsombori (Sombory) (1492: DL 26448). 2. Elaine, daughter of Sigismund Haranglábi (1509: DL 27403). 3. Madeleine (1523: *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3945). On his career and family see: Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 5, 433, 748, 910; Jolán Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance* (The renaissance in Transylvania) (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943), 171–172, 235, 255, 301; Géza Entz, *Erdély építésze a XIV–XVI. században* (The architecture of Transylvania in the 14–16th centuries) (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996), 304, 419.
37. Peter Szentgyörgyi, voivode (1498–1510): DL 84736 and DL 30262. Meanwhile he bore the title of *comes* of the Székely until August 1504 (DF 278543, DL 74298), and again from the beginning of 1507 (DF 212124); Kubinyi, “Bárók a királyi tanácsban,” 207.
 38. John Szapolyai, voivode (1510–1526): DF 280508 (ed. *SzOkl*, vol. 3, 174) and Romanian National Archives, Cluj County Branch, Archives of the city of Bistrița, 23 Sept. 1526, no. 817 (ed.: Albert Berger, Ioan Dordea, Ioan Drăgan, and Konrad G. Gündisch, *Urkunden Regesten aus dem Archiv der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen* (1203–1585), ed. Ernst Wagner, Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens, no. 11/I–III [3 vols., Köln, Weimar and Wien: Böhlau, 1986–1995] [henceforth: Berger, *Regesten*], vol. 1, no. 914).
 39. András Kubinyi, “A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik (szervitoraik)” (The Szapolyais and their *familiares* [servants]), in *Tanulmányok Szapolyai Jánosról és a kora újkori Erdélyről* (Studies on John Szapolyai and on early modern Transylvania), *Studia Miskolcinen-sia* no. 5 (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2004), 188.
 40. DL 30844; DL 27318 (*Ladislaus de Labathlan Siculorum ac supremus capitaneus, necnon Stephanus de Hederfaya ac Michael de Zenthywan de Bystricia comites, nunc vero per regiam clementiam pro faciendo moderativo iudicio in medio nobilium, Siculorum et Saxonum partium Transilvanarum iudices specialiter deputati*); *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 73; DF 255282; *Ub*, vol. 6, 64.
 41. On 25 June 1472, Peter *de Waradino* is mentioned as vice-voivode (DF 247349, ed. *Ub*, vol. 6, 528), while his successor in this office, Peter *Parvus*, appears in documents for the first time on 10 August 1474 (DL 107477).

42. Janits, *Az erdélyi vajdák*, 50; Kubinyi, “Erdély,” 67.
43. András Kubinyi, “Historische Skizze Ungarns in der Jagellonienzeit,” 332–333.
44. Sigismund Sártványi of Párovce (Páruca), vice-voivode (1458–1460): DF 252968 (ed. *WassLt*, no. 455), DL 74153. Vice-voivode as *familiaris* of Sebastian Rozgonyi. He had a property in Sártvány (Esztergom county); in 1483, he was mentioned as castellan of Sántava (Sempte; Pozsony county) being in the service of the Rozgonyi family, and later he was elected as noble juror in Nitra/Nyitra county (1488), see Tibor Neumann, “Választott nemesi esküdtek Nyitra megyében (Az 1486. évi 8. tc. végrehajtása)” (Elected noble jurors in the county of Nyitra: The execution of act 8 of 1486), *Századok*, 139 (2005): 275–276.
45. John Farkas of Nitrianska Streda (Szerdahely), vice-voivode (1458–1459): DF 252968 (ed. *WassLt*, no. 455), DF 244847 (ed. *Ub*, vol. 6, 60). Very probably from Nyitra county (1462: DL 50197; 1464: DL 59516; 1470: DL 98199, 98106; 1472: DL 50216, 102847). At that time Nitrianska Streda belonged to the estates of Hrádok (Temetvény, Nyitra county) of voivode Nicholas Újlaki, cf. DL 14726 (year 1453) and Tibor Neumann, “Nyitra megye hegyentúli járásának kamarahasznáosszéírása 1452-ből” (The roll of *lucrum camerac* of the Tramontane district of Nitra county from 1452), in Tibor Neumann and György Rác. eds., *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére* (Honoris causa: Studies in honour of Pál Engel), Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok no. 40. – Analecta Medievalia no. 3 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete; Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009), 231. John Farkas of Nitrianska Streda is not identical with John Farkas of Herina (Harina), who was his contemporary but had estates in Transylvania. See *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 39 (1448); Bálint Kis, “Erdély régi családai. A Zéchéniek, Gerébek s még némely velök egy törzsű család” (Old families of Transylvania: The Zéchéni, the Geréb and some other families from the same ancestors), *Turul*, 29 (1911): 104.
46. Ladislás Nádasdi, vice-voivode (1465–1467): DL 74170 and 30882 (as *familiaris* of voivode John Szentgyörgyi). *Vice-comes* of Vas county (1454–1455, 1457, 1470), see Ede Reiszig, *Vás vármegye tisztikara a középkorban* (The officials of Vas county in the Middle Ages) (Kőszeg: no publisher, 1940), 25; Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 2, 838, 846. The family had its roots in Vas county, see János Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* (The Hungarian kindreds until the middle of the 14th century) (Budapest, Nap kiadó, 1995², 842; Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 2, 778, 838; Engel, *Genealógia*, genus Nádasd, table no. 1, Nádasdi; Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 171). The identification suggested by Pall (“Voievozii,” 505), originating Nádasdi from Nădăștia, Hunedoara/Hunyad county, is therefore incorrect.
47. John Rédei, vice-voivode (1468–1472): DF 257742 and DL 27323. *Vice-comes* of Heves county (1461–1467) see Péter Havassy, *Heves megye középkori tisztségviselői* (Medieval officials of Heves county), *Studia Agriensia* no. 6 (Eger: Dobó István Vármúzeum, 1986), 39–40. Vice-voivode (1468–1472), *familiaris* of voivodes John Pongrác (1462–1465, 1468–1472, 1475–1476; 1470: *Ub*, vol. 6, 458–459) and Nicholas Csupor (1468–1472), see *SzOkl*, vol. 1, 212 (year 1469), DL 28418, Elemér Varjú and Béla Iványi, eds., *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli losonczy Bánffy*

- család történetéhez* (Cartulary on the history of the family Bánffy of Lučenec de genere Tomaj) (1214–1526) (2 vols., Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1908–1928; henceforth: *BánfOkl*), vol. 2, 153 (year 1473). At the same time *comes* of Hunedoara county (1468–1469; DL 45325 and 45359). In 1473, he was condemned to death and forfeiture of his estates on grounds of trespassing (DL 27194). He takes in mortgage estates in Cluj/Kolozs and Turda/Torda counties (1469: *BánfOkl*, vol. 2, 125). *Egregius* (1473: DL 28418). See as well László Bártfai Szabó, “Proscriptio I. Mátyás király korából” (Proscription from the time of King Matthias), *Turul*, 23 (1905): 15–16; Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 83; Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 204; András Komáromy, “A kis-rédei gróf Rhédey családról” (On the family Rhédey of Kisréde), *Turul*, 1 (1883): 119–138; István Draskóczy, “Besitz und Gesellschaft beim niedrigen Adel Ungarns in Mittelalter: Die Familie Rédei in 13–15. Jahrhundert,” *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae Sectio Historica*, 25 (1987): 21–50.
48. Benedict “Gibárt (Gebárt)” of Şintereguţ/Corneni (Szilkeréki), vice-voivode (1459–1460; 1461–1462): *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1402 and DL 74153; DL 27674 and 29822) as *familiaris* of voivode Sebastian Rozgonyi (1461: DL 29292; 1461: *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1590). Son of Nicholas (1461: *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1544). *Egregius* (1461: DL 28991). Receives donations of landed property in Dăbâca and Inner Solnoc counties from King Matthias (1470: DL 27337; cf. *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 5196; 1475: DL 27354). The family estates were in Şintereguţ/Corneni (Szilkerék/Szükerék, Inner Solnoc county), see: Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (tom. I–XI, 40 vols., Buda: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1829–1844), vol. X/1, 273 (year 1386); DL 27906 (year 1461). Resided in the royal court: DL 27375; Benedict “Erdély” Szilkeréki, *familiaris* of the royal *aula*, served the king in Slavonia before 1475 (DL 27353). On his family see Károly Tagányi, József Kádár, László Réthy, and József Pokoly, *Szolnok-Doboka vármegye monographiája* (The monograph of Solnoc-Dăbâca county) (7 vols., Dej: Szolnok-Doboka vármegye közönsége, 1901–1905), vol. 6, 529. Variants of his name: *Gyabrth* (1461: DL 27322); *de Bard* (1461: DL 28991).
49. DL 27353 (mentioned with this title in 1475); DL 27375 (the presence of Gibárt in *curia regis* is mentioned).
50. András Kubinyi, “Egy üzletelő és diplomata várúr Mohács előtt: Ákosházi Sárkány Ambrus” (Trader, diplomat and lord of the castle before Mohács: Ambrus Sárkány from Ákosháza), in Nóra Pamer, ed., *Gerő László nyolcvanötödik születésnapjára. Tanulmányok* (For the 85th birthday of László Gerő: Studies), *Művészettörténet – műemlékvédelem* no. 6 (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1994), 266.
51. Stephen Kemény of Mănăstireni (Gyerőmonostor), vice-voivode (1456–1458): DL 74135, 30841. Castellan of Bologa (Sebesvár, Cluj county; 1439) as *familiaris* of Stephen Bánfi of Losonc; *familiaris* of John Hunyadi (1451: DL 30189), castellan of Gurghiu (Görgény, Turda county; 1451). In 1458, Kemény acts on the orders of vice-governor John Geréb (DL 30841). † before 23. Nov. 1461. Wives of Stephen Kemény: Elaine, daughter of George Haranglábi from Târnava/Küküllő county, then Catherine, daughter of Peter Kémeri, a lesser noble from Crasna/Kraszna

- county (1441, 1458: *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 376 and 1298). On his family see Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 5, 512–517; Engel, *Genealógia*, Mikola kindred, table no. 5, Radó és Kabos, gyerőmonostori; Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 127; Tudor Sălăgean, “A Deputy Voivode of Transylvania on the Eve of the Battle of Belgrade: István Kemény of Mănăstireni,” in Ana Dumitran, Loránd Mádly, and Alexandru Simon, eds., *Extincta est lucerna orbis: John Hunyadi and his Time* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2009), 199–202.
52. John Illyei (of Ilia; son of Denis), vice-voivode (1466–1467): DL 30881 and DL 30882. In 1462, King Matthias rewarded John Illyei (*egregius*) with share in several properties in Hunedoara county in return for military service carried out for governor John Hunyadi and himself (DL 29525). Illyei joined the uprising of 1467 against King Matthias, who, as a consequence, donated Illyei’s estates to voivode John Pongrác (1468). In 1473, he was pardoned by the king, see Nógrády, “Lázadás,” 136; Idem, “Mennyit ér a kegyelemlevél?” (What is worth the royal letter of mercy?), in Tibor Neumann and György Rácz, eds., *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére* (Honoris causa: Studies in honour of Pál Engel), *Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* no. 40. – *Analecta Mediaevalia* no. 3. (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete; Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009), 241–244. On his family see Engel, *Genealógia*, genus Ákos, no. 7, Illyei, Folti; Emil Petrichevich Horváth, “Az Ákos-nemzetségi Folthy-család és a nemzetség címere” (The Folthy de genere Ákos family and the coat of arms of the kindred),” *Turul*, 51 (1937): 40–42; Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 5, 173, 181
53. George Szentiványi, vice-voivode (1461–1462), DL 27674 and 29822. *Familiaris* of voivode Sebastian Rozgonyi (1458. IX.–1460. XI., 1461) (1461: DL 29292). He had possessions in *Zenthywan* (Szentivány; depopulated settlement near Iclodul Mare/Nagyiklód, Inner Solnoc county; *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1873). Son of Andrew, son of Nicholas (1442: *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 430). Advocate (1467: *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1720).
54. Kubinyi, “Erdély,” 66; András Kubinyi, “Historische Skizze Ungarns in der Jagellonienzeit,” 332.
55. Stephan “Szaniszlófi” Bátori, vice-voivode (1521–1522): DL 47427, DF 246595. Son of Nicholas. In 1500, he visited Rome with his family and became member of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit. As a *familiaris* of John Szapolyai (1518) he became *comes* of Szabolcs county (1520), vice-voivode of Transylvania and *vice-comes* of the Székely (1521–1522); in the service of queen Mary of Hungary he appears as castellan of Mukacheve (Munkács) and *comes* of Bereg county (1524–1526). Regent of the king in Transylvania (*locumtenens regie in partibus Transilvanis*), voivode of Transylvania, *comes* of the Székely and *comes* of Szabolcs county (1529–1533); † before 8 July 1534. His wife: Catherine Telegdi. See Vince Bunyitay, *Liber Confraternitatis Sancti Spiritus de Urbe. A római Szentlélek-társulat anyakönyve (1446–1523)*, *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae*, Series 1, volume no. 5 (Budapest: no publisher, 1889; reprint: 2000), 116; Balogh, *Renaissance*, 173; Kubinyi,

- “Szapolyaiak,” 228; András Kubinyi, “A középbirtokos nemesség Mohács előestéjén (The well-off county nobility before Mohács),” in Ferenc Szvircsek, ed., *Magyarország társadalma a török kiűzésének idején* (Society in Hungary at the time of the expulsion of the Turks), *Discussiones Neogradiensis* no. 1 (Salgótarján: Nógrád Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1984), 11; Tibor Neuman, *Bereg megye hatóságának oklevelei 1299–1526* (Charters of the Bereg county authorities 1299–1526) (Nyíregyháza: Móricz Zsigmond könyvtár, 2006), 20; *KmJkv*, vol. 2, passim. On his family see Engel, *Genealógia*, genus Gútkeled, no. 1, branch of Rakamaz, table no. 5, Bátori, somlyói; Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 52.
56. Stephen Telegdi, vice-voivode (1487–1493, 1495–1498): DL 36513, DF 245166 and DL 26462, DF 252680, p. 30. Dezső Makay, “A Csanád nemzetség – A Thelegdy család” (The Csanád kindred: The Thelegdy family), *Turul*, 13 (1895): 177–179; Frigyes Sváby, “XII. Lajos francia király czimer-adománya a Telegdiek részére” (The donation of coat of arms to the Telegdi by French King Louis XII), *Turul*, 8 (1890): 64; József Fögel, *II. Ulászló udvartartása (1490–1516)* (The court of King Vladislaus II) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1913), 56, 114–115, 123; Sándor Márki, *Dósa György*, Magyar történelmi életrajzok (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1913), 226–227; Gábor Barta and Antal Fekete Nagy, *Parasztháború 1514-ben* (Peasant war in 1514) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1973), 29, 80, 190; Péter E. Kovács, “Egy törökellenes szövetség tervezete 1502-ből” (The project of an anti-Ottoman alliance from 1502), *Levéltári Szemle*, 40, no. 1 (1990): 51, 59; László Blazovich and Lajos Gécz, *A Telegdiek pere 1568–1572* (The trial of the Telegdi 1568–1572), *Dél-Alföldi évszázadok* no. 6 (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 1995), 25–26; Kubinyi, “Bárók a királyi tanácsban,” 177; Tamás Emödi, “A Telegdi család és a reneszánsz művészet néhány emléke a 16. századi Bihar és Bereg vármegyékben” (The Telegdi family and some renaissance art works in 16th century Bihar and Bereg counties), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 47, no. 3–4 (1998): 177. On his family see Engel, *Genealógia*, genus Csanád, no. 1, main branch, table no. 2.: Telegdi; Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 241; Makay, “A Csanád nemzetség,” 64–71, 124–135, 167–198.
57. Lazarus Zsoldos (*Soldos*) of Rumince (Runya), vice-voivode (1486): DL 62924, *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2608. Held estates in Gemer (Gömör) county, see Bálint Ila, *Az Abaffy család levéltára 1247–1515. A Dancs család levéltára 1232–1525. A Hanway család levéltára 1216–1525* (The archives of the Abaffy family 1247–1515. The archives of the Dancs family 1232–1525. The archives of the Hanway family 1216–1525), ed. Iván Borsa, *A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai II: Forráskiadványok 23* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993; henceforth: *HanwayLt*), no. 271 (year 1508). Castellan of Bran (Töröcsvár; 1481–1482: *Ub*, vol. 7, 265, 322), vice-voivode (1486) as *familiaris* of Stephen Bátori of Ecsed (1482: *Ub*, vol. 7, 322; 1486: *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2611), voivode of Transylvania (1479–1493). *Vice-comes* of Gömör county (1506: DL 20667; 1507: DL 61086; 1509–1511: *HanwayLt*, no. 275–278; DL 61091 and 61094, Béla Iványi, “A márkusfalvi Máriaassy család levéltára 1243–1803” [The archives of the Máriaassy of Markušovce family 1243–1803], *Közlemények Szepes vármegye múltjából* [Levoča], 9 [1917] [henceforth:

- MáriássyLt*], no. 307). *Egregius* (*HanvayLt*, no. 287). On his family see Engel, *Genealógia*, genus Hanva, table no. 1.
58. Nicholas Hagymás of Beregsău (Berekszó, Timiș county), vice-voivode (1494, 1517–1519): DF 245410 (ed.: *Hurmuzaki*, vol. XV/1, 140) and DF 245195; DF 275319 (ed.: Antal Beke, *A kolozsmonostori konvent levéltára* [The archives of the convent of Cluj-Mănăstur] [Budapest: Athenaeum, 1897; offprint from *Történelmi Tár*, years 1896–1898] [henceforth: Beke, *KmLt*], no. 367), DL 47288; deputy at the general assembly, see Martinus Georgius Kovachich, ed., *Supplementum ad vestigia comitiorum apud Hungaros*, vol. 2 (Buda: Typographia Regiae Universitatis Pestanae, 1800), 334; castellan of Deva (1519: DL 30446). In 1494, he was probably *familiaris* of voivode Bartholomew Drăgfi (1493–1498), then between 1517–1519, *familiaris* of John Szapolyai (1511–1526). Ban of Severin (Szörény) in 1515, see DF 254965 (ed.: Pesty, *Szörény*, 156), DF 254966 a DF 254967 (ed.: Pesty, *Krassó*, vol. 3, 500–501). In 1517, already as vice-voivode, received landed properties in Hunedoara (Hunyad) county as a reward for unspecified services rendered to the sovereign. (DL 27606). On his family see Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 80; Engel, *Genealógia*, Hagymás(i), berekszói; Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 93; György Petrovay, “A berekszói Hagymás család elei” (The predecessors of the Hagymás family), *Turul*, 15 (1897): 127–129. His seal with coat of arms: DL 28694, see György Klösz, *A magyar királyi Országos Levéltár diplomatikai osztályában őrzött pecsétek mutatója* (Index of the seals stored in the Royal Hungarian National Archives) (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1889), 13.
59. Ladislaus Schertinger, vice-voivode (1494; 1505–1508): DF 247475 (ed.: *Hurmuzaki*, vol. XV/1, 172); *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt. Erster Band: Rechnungen aus 1503–1526*, Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen (Brașov: H. Zeidner, 1886), 187. Castellan of Deva (1505–1508), for 1505, see: DF 247475; 1508: DF 255077; 1509: *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt und der Sächsischen Nation*, vol. 1 (1380–1516), Quellen zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens aus Sächsischen Archiven, Erster Band, I. Abteilung: Rechnungen I. (Sibiu: Ausschuss des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde), 509. With John Szapolyai’s army, in 1515, Schertinger took part in the siege of Žrnov (Zsarnó; today in Serbia), a castle occupied by the Ottomans. See Szerémi György, *II. Lajos és János királyok házi káplánja emlékirata Magyarország romlásáról 1484–1583. Georgii Sirmiensis epistola de perditione regni Hungarorum*, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, II. Scriptores, vol. 1, ed. Gusztáv Wenzel (Pest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1857), 72; György Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról* (Memoires of the decline of Hungary), translated by László Erdélyi and László Juhász ([Budapest:] Szépirodalmi könyvkiadó, 1979), 83 (I thank Norbert C. Tóth for drawing my attention to this detail). He seems to have remained in Transylvania even after the end of his office-holding; in September 1512, he issued a quittance in Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Szeben) on the loan received from the judge of Bistrița (Beszterce, see DF 247558, ed. Berger, *Regesten*, vol. 1, no. 558). His seal with coat of arms: DL 46778. In November 1513, Schertinger appeared as captain of the royal army sent to Transylvania, together with John Bornemissza, castellan

- of Buda and vice-voivodes Leonard Barlabási and Nicholas Turóci (DF 247566, ed. Berger, *Regesten*, vol. 1, no. 572), cf. Gustav Gündisch and Paul Binder, “Frământări în preajma războiului țărănesc din 1515” (Disturbance before the peasants’ war of 1515), *Studii. Revistă de istorie* (Bucharest), 20, no. 2 (1967): 300. In 1521, a certain John Serthinger, probably a relative of Ladislaus is mentioned at Pápa (Veszprém county), who acted in the name of his lord, John Szapolyai (DL 68526).
60. Before becoming vice-voivode (1502–1503), Paul Magyi was castellan of Deva (Déva) in 1492, see note no. 73.
 61. See note no. 32.
 62. See note no. 58.
 63. Kubinyi, “Erdély,” 67. Zoltán Kordé, “Das Amt des Szekler Gespans und Kronstadt vor 1467,” *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History University of Szeged Hungary*. 3 (2003): 70. – John Daróci, castellan of Zvolen (Zólyom; 1465–1466), *comes* of the Székely (1467). See András Kubinyi, “A Mátyás-kori államszervezet,” in Gyula Rázsó and László V. Molnár, eds., *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. évfordulójára* (Matthias Corvinus: Memorial volume on the 500th commemoration of his death) (Budapest: Zrínyi kiadó, 1990), 132, note no. 149; Jolán Balogh, *A művészet Mátyás király korában* (Art at the time of King Matthias) (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1966), vol. 1, 79; József Teleki, *A Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon* (The Hunyadi era in Hungary) (9 vols., I–VI/1., X–XII, Pest 1852–1863), vol. 3, 543. On John Tárcai, *comes* of the Székely (1504–1507) see András Kubinyi, “Tárcai János, az utolsó székely ispán. (Genealógiai és prozopográfiai tanulmány)” (John Tárcai, the last *comes* of the Székely: Genealogical and prosopographical study), *Mediaevalia Transilvanica*, 7–8 (2004): 117–137.
 64. *Vice-comites* of the Székely who did not hold the office of vice-voivode: Nicholas Sikesd of Tirimioara (Teremi; 1470: *Ub*, vol. 6, 439–440); John Komjáti (*de Komjath*; 1472: DL 27531); Peter Huszár of Tornynos (*Hwzar de Thornos*) and Barnabas Tarnai (*Tharnay*; 1473: *SzOkl*, vol. 8, 398–399); Lawrence Ramocsa (*Ramocha*; 1481–1485), Michael Ramocsa (1481) and George Gégényi (*Gegeny*; 1481) (*SzOkl*, vol. 1, 235–236; DL 56190); Thomas Farkas of Herina (Harina; 1493: *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 190).
 65. In the 14th century, the vice-voivode of Transylvania held the office of *comes* of Alba county but from the beginning of the 15th century the *comes* of Alba county was not the vice-voivode anymore, the office was occupied by one or two of his deputies, who were usually called ‘*vice-comites*’. See András W. Kovács, “Voievozi și vicevoievozi ai Transilvaniei la conducerea comitatului Alba în Evul Mediu” (The voivodes and vice-voivodes of Transylvania as *comites* of Alba county in the Middle Ages), *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, 15, no. 1 (2011): 7–41.
 66. Benedict Túri, vice-voivode (1505–1507): DF 247475 (ed. *Hurmuzaki*, vol. XV/1, 172 and Berger, *Regesten*, vol. 1, no. 451), DF 255318. *Comes* of Turda (Torda) county (1512: DF 260916). *Homo regius* in 1514 and 1516, see *BánfOkl*, vol. 2, 446, 450 and Antonius Fekete Nagy, *Monumenta rusticorum in Hungaria rebellium anno MDXIV*, eds. Victor Kenéz and Ladislaus Solymosi, red. Geisa Érszegi, Publicationes Archivi Nationalis Hungarici, II, Fontes no. 12 (Budapest: Akadémiai

- Kiadó, 1979; henceforth: *MonRustReb*), 416. Had estates in Tureni (Túr) and Ceanu (Csán), Turda county (1493, 1501: *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2898, 3215). *Egreggius*. Wife: Anna, daughter of Stephen Veres of Sfăraș (Farnas; 1515: DL 30271). Mentioned between 1493–1522 (*KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2898 and 3843). *Thwry* (*ibidem*, no. 2898); † before 1523 (*ibidem*, vol. 2, no. 3888). On his family see Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 5, 829–830.
67. George Dobai, vice-voivode (1494–1495): DF 244554 (ed.: *SzOkl*, vol. 8, 159–160), DL 29886. Had landed properties in Doba and its surroundings, in Middle Solnoc county (*KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1562; vol. 2, no. 2888, 3018, 3072). *Comes* of Middle Solnoc county (1476: DL 65117, 88583; 1486: DL 105523). *Homo regius* (1477: DL 27936). Advocate of Bartholomew Drágfi in 1481, 1487 and 1492, see DL 71068, János Mihályi, ed., *Máramarosi diplomák a XIV. és XV. századból* (Documents from Maramureș county from the 14th and 15th centuries), Máramaros vármegye története no. 1 (Sighetul Marmăției: Mayer és Berger könyvnyomdája, 1900), 589, and 29869. Between 1495–1498, *vice-comes* of Middle Solnoc as deputy of Bartholomew Drágfi; later *perpetual comes* of the same county (1495: DL 82090; 1498: DL 97547). Executor of the testament of Drágfi, see Vladimír Rábik, ed., *Középkori oklevelek a nagyszombati Szent Adalbert Egyesület levéltárában (1181) 1214–1543* (Medieval documents in the Archives of the Saint Adalbert Society of Trnava [1181] 1214–1543), Capitulum no. 7 (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, Történeti Intézet, Középkori és Korai Újkori Történeti Társaság, 2010), 164; † before 24 May 1503 (*KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3283). Donation of landed property by Vladislaus II: DL 27976. On Dobai see as well András Kubinyi, “Historische Skizze Ungarns in der Jagellonienzeit,” 332.
68. Bartholomew Drágfi of Beltiug (Béltek), voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely (1493–1498): DF 246778 and 240822. *Comes* of Middle Solnoc county (1479–1488): DL 65119 and DL 27956. See also Ioan Lupaș, “Der siebenbürgische Woiwode Bartholomäus Dragfi 1493–1498,” in idem, *Zur Geschichte der Rumänen: Aufsätze und Vorträge* (Sibiu: Hauptverlag der Deutschen Volksgruppe in Rumänien, 1943), 154–161.
69. Stephen Horvát of Zărând (Zaránd), vice-voivode (1482–1486): DF 246500 (ed.: *Ub*, vol. 7, 327; 1486: DF 257822). *Vice-comes* of Zărând (Zaránd) county (1473–1497, probably with intermissions), 1473: *JusthLt*, no. 280 (DL 63259); 147[6?]: DF 227257; 1477: *BánfOkl*, vol. 2, 196 (DL 18000); 1478: DL 18012 and 18013; 1481: DL 18464 and 18465; 1485: DL 19048; 1487: DL 19272 and 19273; 1495: DL 68456; 1497: DL 94610). Castellan of Șiria (Világosvár, Zărând county), 1481: *Ub*, vol. 7, 280; 1482: *Ub*, vol. 7, 330, DL 26432; 1484: Imre Nagy, Iván Nagy, Dezső Véghely, Ernő Kammerer, Ferenc Dóry, Pál Lukcsics, Antal Áldásy, and Samu Barabás, eds., *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő. A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára* (12 vols., Pest and Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1871–1931), vol. 11, 379 (this same document mentions him mistakenly as *comes* of Zărând county); 1499: DL 59876 and 59881, cited by: Norbert C. Tóth, “Ki kicsoda az ecsedi Bátori családban” (Whos’s who in the Bátori of Ecsed family), *Szabolcs-szatmár-*

- beregi Szemle*, 43 (2009): 18. *Egregius* (1487: DL 72047). His name regularly appears as *Stephanus Horwath de Zarand* (1486: DF 257822, *Ub*, vol. 7, 410–411). *Familiaris* of Stephen Bátori. In 1490, he was said to be around 40 years of age, see Iván Nagy and Albert Nyáry, *Magyar diplomaciai emlékek Mátyás király korából 1458–1490* (Diplomatic sources of Hungary from the time of King Matthias [1458–1490]), vol. 4 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1878), 195. † before 14 June 1504, see Emőke Gálfi, ed., *Az aradi káptalan jegyzőkönyv-töredéke* (1504–1518) (Fragments of the protocols of the Arad chapter [1504–1518]), Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek no. 270 (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2011), no 10. On his family see also Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 751.
70. Stephen Bátori of Ecsed, voivode (1479–1493): *Ub*, vol. 7, 213; 1493: DF 271051; Jakó, “Az erdélyi vajdák kinevezéséről,” 83–84. On Stephen Bátori see C. Tóth, “Ki kicsoda a Bátori családban,” 16–18; Richárd Horváth, “Életrajzi szilánkok ecsedi Bátori István politikai pályafutásáról (1458–1479)” (Biographical fragments about the political career of Stephen Bátori of Ecsed [1458–1479]), *Szabolcs-szatmár-beregi Szemle*, 43 (2009): 48–81; Tibor Neumann, “Bátori István politikai szerepe II. Ulászló uralkodása alatt” (The political role of Stephen Bátori during the reign of Vladislaus II), *Szabolcs-szatmár-beregi Szemle*, 43 (2009): 83–127.
71. Richárd Horváth, “Az ecsedi Bátoriak várbirtokai a kései középkorban” (The castle lordships of the Bátori of Ecsed family in the late Middle Ages), *Szabolcs-szatmár-beregi Szemle*, 41 (2006): 311–312.
72. John Verbóci, vice-voivode (1483–1484): DF 275403 (ed.: Beke, *KmLt*, no. 256), DL 28640. *Familiaris* of Stephen Bátori (1483: DF 275403). *Vice-comes* of Zărând county in 1485 (DL 19048). Acquired estates in Hunedoara (Hunyad) county through his wife, *Lucia*, daughter of Nicholas Brancsikai (1484, 1485: *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2481, 2517). *Egregius* (1492: *ibidem*, no. 2800). *Litteratus*. On his career see as well Vilmos Fraknói, “Werbőczy István a mohácsi vész előtt” (István Werbőczy before the battle of Mohács), *Századok* 10 (1876): 438; András Komáromy, “Werbőczy István származása” (The ancestors of István Werbőczy), *Századok* 29 (1896): 163–165; Vilmos Fraknói, *Werbőczy István életrajza* (The biography of István Werbőczy), *Magyar Történelmi Életrajzok* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1899), 9; András Kubinyi, “István Werbőczy als Politiker vor Mohács,” in Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők, eds., ... *The Man of Many Devices Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in honor of János M. Bak* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 559; *Idem*, “Werbőczy Mohács (1526) előtti politikai pályafutása” (The career of Stephen Werbőczy before Mohács [1526]), in Hamza Gábor, Ádám Boóc, and Csongor Buzády, eds., *Tanulmányok Werbőczy Istvánról. Studien über István Werbőczy*, MF könyvek no. 21 ([Budapest]: Professzorok Háza, 2001), 66.
73. Paul Magyi, vice-voivode (1502–1503): DF 246694 (ed.: *Hurmuzaki*, vol. XV/1, 157), DL 71084, ed.: István Tringli, ed., *A Perényi család levéltára 1222–1526* (The archives of the Perényi family), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai*, II, Forráskiadványok, no. 44 (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008; henceforth: *PerényiLt*), no. 704. In 1492, castellan of Deva as *familiaris* of voivode Stephen Bátori (the other castellan was John Horvát, 1492, DF 255055, cited by Neumann,

- “Bátori István politikai szerepe,” 112). Deputy Judge Royal (*viceindex curie*) between 1501–1504 (*PerényiLt*, no. 699–700, 704). Later (1504), Magyi became vice-palatine in the service of Emeric Perényi see *PerényiLt*, no. 715 and György Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* (The legal intelligentsia in pre-Mohács Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó), 1971, 356–357.
74. Kubinyi, „Erdély,” 67.
 75. Nicholas Turóci, vice-voivode (1512–1517): DL 30994 and DL 50325. *Proto-notarius*: Zsigmond Jakó, “Az erdélyi vajda kancelláriájának szervezete a XVI. század elején” (The organization of the chancellery of Transylvanian voivodes at the beginning of the 16th century), *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 52 (1947): 56; Bónis, *Jogtudó értelmiség*, 341–342; Castellan of Sklabiná (Szklabonya) and *comes* of Turóc county (1518–1526), see Iván Borsá, “Turóc vármegye ispánjai és alispánjai 1526-ig” (The *comites* and *vice-comites* of Turiec county until 1526), *Levéltári Közlemények*, 60 (1989): 210; József Főgel, *II. Lajos udvartartása 1516–1526* (The court of King Louis II, 1516–1526) (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1917), 38; Elemér Mályusz, *A Thúróczy-krónika és forrásai* (The Thúróczy Chronicle and its sources), Tudománytörténeti tanulmányok no. 5 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967), 89; Kubinyi, “Sárkány Ambrus,” 269; Kubinyi, “Szapolyai,” 185.
 76. Jakó, “Az erdélyi vajdai kancellária szervezete,” 56; Bónis, *Jogtudó értelmiség*, 341–342.
 77. Anthony Kendi, vice-voivode (1477–1479): DL 62905 and DL 28424. Mentioned as *egregius* (*KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 2257). Had estates in Chendru/Cornești, Dăbâca county, signed a letter from there in 1478 (DL 27206). In 1495, he was mentioned among those well-off Transylvanian noblemen who were paid out from the royal treasury for their work related to the collection of the royal tax (Engel, *Geschichte des ungrischen Reiches*, vol. 1, 160, cited by Kubinyi, “Erdély,” 69, 72). On his family see: *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1807, 2019, 2045, 2064. *Kendy*: DL 28270.
 78. Vilmos Fraknoi, “Mátyás király magyar diplomatái” (Hungarian diplomats of King Matthias), *Századok* 33 (1899): 780–783.
 79. András Kubinyi’s review of Erik Fügedi’s book (*A XV. századi magyar arisztokrácia mobilitása*, Budapest, 1970 [The mobility of 15th century Hungarian nobility]), see *Századok* 107 (1973), 753, 755. From the second part of the 15th century, office-holding barons and some others, usually the members of the wealthiest families were counted among the aristocracy.
 80. *TélOkl*, vol. 2, 94, cited by Nógrádi, “Kegyelemlevél,” 237.
 81. Nicholas of Ocna Sibiului (Vizaknai), vice-voivode (1460, 1462–1465): *Ub*, vol. 6, 83, 93–94 (year 1460); DL 62878 and 74170 (between 1462–1465). Castellan of Bran/Töröcsvár (1448: *Ub*, vol. 5, 230). *Iudex regis* of Sighișoara/Schässburg/Segesvár Seat and *gereb* of Ocna Sibiului/Vizakna; *comes Cibiniensis* (1464: *Ub*, vol. 6, 168); his will from 1465: *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1676, *Ub*, vol. 6, 218–220. *Egregius* (DL 26399). ; † before 14 Aug. 1466 (*Ub*, vol. 6, 252). Wives of Nicholas Vizaknai: 1. Catherine Erdélyi, sister of Stephen Erdélyi, vice-voivode (1459: *TélOkl*, vol. 2, 72); 2. Christina *Rykalph* Tarkói (*Ub*, vol. 6, 266; *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 1676). On his family see Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 5, 837, 970; Engel,

- Genealógia*, Vizaknai; Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 260; Bálint Kis, “A Vizaknai család” (The Vizaknai family), *Turul* 15 (1897): 19–28; Pál Török, “A vizaknai Vizaknai család. Középkori magyar nemes családok Erdélyben, V.” (The Vizaknai of Ocna Sibiului family: Medieval Hungarian noble families of Transylvania, part 5), *Magyar Családtörténeti Szemle*, 8 (1942): 241–254; Lidia Gross, “Nicolae senior de Ocna Sibiului – vicevoievod al Transilvaniei (Aspecte genealogice)” [Nicholas senior of Ocna Sibiului, vice-voivode of Transylvania: genealogical aspects], in: Susana Andea, ed., *Transilvania (sec. XIII–XVII). Studii istorice* (Transylvania, 13–17th centuries: Studies in history) (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academiei Române, 2005), 126–138.
82. *Ub*, vol. 5, 202–203, DL 30449, 26399.
83. See note no. 52 (DL 29525).
84. See note no. 58 (DL 27606).
85. See note no. 12. and 29. I thank Géza Hegyi for drawing my attention to these data.
86. DL 27375. Royal donation act for Szilkeréki regarding these estates: 1470: DL 27337 ~~and~~; cf. *KnJkv*, vol. 2, no. 5196.
87. *KnJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3308.
88. DL 30888, cited by Tibor Koppány, *A középkori Magyarország kastélyai* (Castles of medieval Hungary), *Művészettörténeti Füzetek* no. 26 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999), 145, 169; had estates in Timiș/Temes county: at Kókénd (today Kikinda/Nagykikinda), Galád, Révgalád, Vámhalom (depopulated settlements nearby Kikinda/Nagykikinda), Becicherecu Mic (Kisbecskerek), Verezegyház (depopulated settlement nearby Șandra), Bák (near Biled/Billéd); Beregsău Mare (Berekszó), Szentjakab, Vaja (near Beregsău Mare), Szilas (in the neighbourhood of Sânmihaiu German/Németszentmihály), Körtvélyes, Szovánd, Vejte (nearby Săcălaz/Szakálháza), Rejt (in the neighbourhood of Boka/Bóka), Livezile (Tolvád), see Pál Engel, *Hungary in the Late Middle Ages. Digital vector map and attaching database about the settlements and landowners of medieval Hungary. Magyarország a középkor végén. Digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről* (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001) [CD ROM]; Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 708; vol. 2, 13, 28, 38, 47, 80, 122, 233; vol. 3, 152.
89. Petrovay, “A berekszói Hagymás család”, *Turul*, 1897, 129; DL 30319, 68040; Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 2, 257; Koppány, *Magyarország kastélyai*, 226.
90. Pál Engel, “A magyar világi nagybirtok”, 55, 71, note no. 173.
91. Koppány, *Magyarország kastélyai*, 176.
92. Ferenc Maksay, *Magyarország birtokviszonyai a 16. század közepén* (Land possession in Hungary in the middle of the 16th century), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai*, II, *Forráskiadványok* no. 16 (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), vol. 1, 429.
93. *BátoriOkl*, 277–280, 286–289, 294–297, 297–300; Tibor Neumann, “Verbóci István 1520. évi utazásai Szatmár megyében. A somlyói Bátoriak és a Móroc-örökség” (The travels of Stephen Verbóci in Sătmăr county: The Bátori of Șimleul Silvaniei family and the heritage of the Móroc family), *Szabolcs-szatmár-beregi Szemle*, 41 (2006): 294–300; Maksay, *Magyarország birtokviszonyai*, vol. 2, 745, 751.

94. Nógrády, “Kegyelemlevél,” 241–244; Csánki, *Történelmi földrajz*, vol. 1, 785 (Illyei family); vol. 5, 42, 53 (Geoagiu), 51, 97 (Ilia), 173 (Dienessi).
95. *KmJkv*, vol. 1, no. 376, 932, 1767.
96. *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 24–26, 76–77, 88–89, 93–94; *Ub*, vol. 6, 292–295.
97. András Kubinyi, “Hungary’s Power Factions and the Turkish Threat in the Jagellonian Period” (1490–1526), in István Zombory, ed., *Fight Against the Turk in Central-Europe in the First Half of the 16th Century* (Budapest: Society for Church History in Hungary and Historia Ecclesiastica Foundation, 2004), 119.
98. Koppány, *Magyarország kastélyai*, 147–148, 244.
99. Nógrády, “Kegyelemlevél,” 241.
100. Elek Jakab, ed., *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez* (Chartulary to the first volume of the history of Cluj), vol. 1 (Buda: Magyar királyi egyetemi könyvnyomda, 1870), 203; *Ub*, vol. 6, 293–295; Nógrády, “Kegyelemlevél,” 241–244; Nógrády, “Lázadás,” 136.
101. For example Dominic Bethlen (1476: *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 127), Michael Almási (1492: *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2831), George Dobai (1493: *KmJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2892), etc.
102. Kubinyi, “Hungary’s Power Factions,” 118.
103. In 1458, as vice-governor he is called *magnificus* (*Ub*, vol. 6, 13–14, 25, royal charter) or *egregius* (*Ub*, vol. 6, 23, document issued by the vice-voivode; *Ub*, vol. 6, 40, royal charter). His father, John, was a vice-voivode, too.
104. E. Kovács, “Hunyadi,” 45; *Magyar katolikus lexikon* (Hungarian Catholic encyclopedia), vol. 4, editor-in-chief István Diós, ed. Viczián János (Budapest: Szent István Társulat), 1998, s. v. Geréb László.
105. Engel, *Magyarország archontológiája*, vol. 2, 25 (Bátori), 69 (Erdélyi), 35 (Bethlen), 83 (Geréb), 93 (Hagymás).
106. Ibidem, 266. Further data: Vincent Zsoldos, *aule familiaris*, see József Teleki, ed., *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon* (The Hunyadi era in Hungary), vol. 11 (Pest: Emich Gusztáv könyvnyomdája, 1855), 153, *vicecomes* of Gömör county in 1475, 1476 and 1478, see DL 17662, 17666, 61063–61065, 2535, Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Magyarország bányászatának kritikai története* (A critical history of mineral industries in Hungary) (Budapest: 1880), 381 and *HanvayLt*, no. 244; Andrew Zsoldos, *comes* of Borsod county in 1476 (*MáriássyLt*, no. 19), captain of Diósgyőr (Borsod county) in 1477, 1475 and 1477–1478, *comes* of Borsod and Gemer/Gömör counties (1475), see DL 70315, 67066, 56024, 18045, DF 25777 and Béla Iványi, ed., *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára 1319–1526* (The archives of the free royal town of Bardejov 1319–1526), vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910), no. 1977, 1983 and Kálmán Géresi, ed., *A nagy-károlyi gróf Károlyi-család oklevéltára. Codex diplomaticus comitum Károlyi de Nagy-Károly* (5 vols., Budapest: Kocsi Sándor utóda könyvnyomdája, 1881–1897; henceforth: *KárOkl*), vol. 2, 471.
107. Veronika Novák, “Nyitra, Bars és Abaúj vármegyék tisztségviselői és oklevélkiadásuk 1526-ig” (The authorities of Nyitra, Bars and Abaúj counties and their charter issuing activity until 1526), *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi Levéltári Évkönyv*, vol. 16 (Nyíregyháza, 2003), 52–53.

108. Michael Kendi, *comes* of Inner Solnoc county (1539: Berger, *Regesten*, vol. 1, no. 1413); Gál Kendi, *comes* of Dăbâca/Doboka county (1513–1524: *KárOkl*, vol. 3, 88–89; DF 247759, reg.: Berger, *Regesten*, no. 816).
109. Kubinyi, “Werböczy,” 66; Bónis, *Jogtudó értelmiség*, 337.
110. Dezső Szabó, *A magyar országgyűlések története II. Lajos korában* (The history of general assemblies in Hungary in the time of Louis II) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1909), 123.
111. *MonRustReb*, 353.
112. *KnJkv*, vol. 1, 79, vol. 2, no. 5402.
113. Gallus, son of Anthony Kendi (1497, 1500: *KnJkv*, vol. 2, no. 3024, 3125); Francis, son of Gallus (1506: DL 30512).
114. Francis Kendi, vice-voivode: *Hurmuzaki*, vol. XV/1, 359–360 (year 1530), *SzOkl*, vol. 3, 250 (year 1534); *magister tavernicorum*, 1539–1540: *KnJkv*, vol. 2, no. 4685, 4757; envoy of Transylvania (1542), see Levente Závodszy, ed., *A Héderváry-család oklevéltára (Diplomatarium of the Héderváry family)*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1922), 125, 128; title: *magnificus* (1552: *KnJkv*, no. 5148); voivode: (1553, 1556: *ibidem*, no. 5234, 5442).
115. Zsolt Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540–1690* (The central government of Transylvania 1540–1690), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai III., Hatóság- és hivataltörténet no. 6* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 29–30.
116. *Ub*, vol. 6, p. 218–220.
117. *TelOkl*, vol. 2, 450–455.
118. See notes no. 12, 26, 32–33, 36, 51, 66, 72.
119. Engel, *Genealógia*, genus Csanád, no. 1, main branch, table no. 2, Telegdi.
120. *Ibidem*, genus Gútkeled, no. 1, branch of Rakamazi, table no. 5, Bátori, somlyói.
121. Kubinyi, “Sárkány Ambrus,” 268.
122. Stephen Tomori, vice-voivode (1520–1525): DF 244422 and 255232. His original name was Stephen Tókus of Szakácsi, and adopted the name Tomori, which was considered to be more distinguished, after moving to Transylvania. As *familiaris* of the royal treasurer (*thesaurarius regius*) John Bornemissza, he was castellan of Făgăraș (Fogaras) castle (1507) and *commendator* of the lordship of the abbey of Cluj-Mănăstur (Kolozsmonostor, 1520–1523). Vice-voivode and *vice-comes* of the Székely (1520–1525), councillor (1527) of King John Szapolyai (the former voivode), then vice-voivode again (1528–1529) and count of the salt chamber of Transylvania (1530). His wife: daughter of Thomas Miske of Cisteiu (Csesztve). † before 1533 (*KnJkv*, vol. 2, no. 4399). On his career see *KnJkv*, vol. 1, 74–75; Kubinyi, “Szapolyaiak,” 185–186; István Draskóczy, “Az erdélyi sókamarák ispánjai, 1529–1535. (Az erdélyi sóbányák sorsa a Szapolyai korszakban)” (Lieutenants of the salt chambers in Transylvania between 1529–1535: Salt mines in Transylvania in the age of John Szapolyai), *Levéltári Közlemények* 75, no. 1 (2004): 32.
123. Engel, *Genealógia*, genus Csolt, table no. 2: Ábránfi (gerlai); Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 401–405.
124. *KnJkv*, vol. 2, no. 2772, 2831.

Abstract

Remarks on the Careers of the Vice-voivodes of Transylvania in the Late Middle Ages (1458–1526)

The voivode of Transylvania, appointed by the king of Hungary, was one of the most important officials of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. The vice-voivode (*vicevayvoda*), who was the deputy of the voivode, was appointed by the latter from among his *familiaries*. The career of vice-voivodes before 1457 is well known, but the archontology and prosopography of these officials has not been completed yet for the period 1457–1526. The present study analyses the careers of vice-voivodes, their social status, marriage strategies and the wealth of their families in this latter period. The majority of vice-voivodes was chosen from among the well-to-do county nobility from outside of Transylvania. Between 1463 and 1526, with the exception of two shorter periods, vice-voivodes were also *vice-comites* of the Székely. Most vice-voivodes held offices as *comites* and *castellans* during their careers but normally they could not advance on the social ladder so much as to achieve an important position in the royal court. In most of the cases, vice-voivodes were important landowners in their home county and marriage ties connected them with the well-off nobility of the same county.

Keywords

Transylvania, medieval history, vice-voivode, *familiaritas*, archontology, prosopography, *vice-comes* of the Székely, well-to-do county nobility.

Transylvanian Places of Authentication and Ecclesiastical Intellectuals in the Middle Ages

EMŐKE GÁLFI

THIS PAPER aims to discuss the relationship between two essential ecclesiastical institutions' secular functions and the ecclesiastical intellectuals in the Middle Ages. However, prior to a detailed discussion of this relationship, the paper briefly presents the relevant literature, including the pitfalls and contradictions therein.

Although some basic studies have been published regarding the literature on the Transylvanian places of authentication (the Transylvanian chapter and the Cluj-Mănăştur [Kolozsmonostor] convent),¹ and the institution and operation of the convent may be deemed as being explored from this point of view, the literature on the Transylvanian chapter is rather incomplete and, in some cases, even inaccessible.² As Zsigmond Jakó has written a social portrait of the Cluj-Mănăştur convent,³ and Gábor Sipos has described its operation as a place of authentication,⁴ in the convent's case I shall rely mainly upon these works. However, the only monographic discussion⁵ of the institution and personnel of the Transylvanian chapter proved to be rather incomplete in comparison with the abovementioned publications. Although it contains much useful data, it still, apparently, failed to use the most recent research results,⁶ and it provides very little information on the functioning of the place of authentication. A possible explanation for these deficiencies is that a recently developed webpage (www.arcanum.hu), which contains the collection of charters of the National Archives of Hungary issued before the Battle of Mohács, was not available to the author who, while reviewing a large number of sources, failed (or had no means) to be exhaustive due exactly to this huge volume of works. Apart from the abovementioned work, it is an agreeable fact that several studies are currently ongoing, which evaluate the two places of authentication in Transylvania and their personnel, and some of the results have already been published in various places.⁷

The relevant literature describing the ecclesiastical intellectuals and, in general, the ecclesiastical society also contains major inequalities. The literature at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century abounded in monographs and studies on the life, ecclesiastical and political activity of the bishops, and their role from a cultural history point of view, and several works of reference have been published in the last fifty years in this topic.⁸ Therefore, the role and significance of the leading class of the ecclesiastical society in Hungary may be broadly considered to be explored. However, there is only a rather scarce literature dealing with the middle class. Although specific studies have been published on the history of the chapters,⁹ we know almost nothing about the canons themselves. Two essential works have attempted to remedy these deficiencies and present the middle class of the chapters in Buda, Fehérvár, Győr, Bratislava (Pozsony)¹⁰ and Pécs,¹¹ as well as the mobility of the canons using the method of modern social history. Finally, as regards the literature on the ecclesiastical lower class, it can be stated that there are almost no data available on the clerics of chorus (*clericus chori*) and the chaplains of parish churches.¹² No monographic work has been published in this topic, and only some publications concerning the activity of certain places of authentication provide data on them, for they were frequently sent to external authentication tasks as witnesses. In summary, this would be the list of monographs and studies published that can be used in this topic.¹³

On the territory of the medieval Transylvanian Voivodate, two institutions have been established, which carried out authentication activity and continued to operate even during the modern age: the Transylvanian chapter and the Cluj-Mănăştur convent. According to the medieval tradition, going back to the 14th century, the latter one was established in the 11th century by the king, its founder being King Ladislas I (1077 to 1095).¹⁴ The archaeological excavations at the abbey, begun in the 1970's, seem to confirm this tradition; in addition, it is also supported by the fact that King Ladislas I established two monasteries for the Benedictine order, one at Sâniob (Szentjobb) in Bihar (1095), and another at Somogyvár (1091). The Benedictine monks played a major role in spreading the Christian faith, and this must have been the primary function of the Cluj-Mănăştur convent, as well.

Due to its early establishment and its status of royal abbey, the abbey of Cluj-Mănăştur was exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop responsible for this area (that is, the bishop of Transylvania). During the 12th and 13th centuries, the bishops of Transylvania tried to eliminate this privilege, and that is why the first written accounts of Cluj-Mănăştur concern the conflicts that arose over such exemptions. The litigation between the Bishopric and the abbey in the papal court went on until the invasion of the Tatars, when reaching a sound agreement seemed to be the only way in Transylvania after such large-scale

destruction. Beginning with the second half of the 13th century, our sources no longer make reference to the contestation of the *exemptio*.

All evidence indicates that the monastery was destroyed, and even its survival was much in doubt as a result of the invasion of Tatars in 1241. Though the Bishopric of Transylvania probably made no attempt to facilitate the reorganization of the abbey, it seems that the monastery was re-established around 1280, and previous opinions, according to which the monastery was destroyed again during the invasion of Tatars in 1285, cannot be justified. The first authenticated charter, known to us, is dated September 8th, 1308. It has a rudimentary structure, and the three remains of strings on the fold indicate that, in addition to the convent's seal, it was confirmed by other seals, as well.

During the late 13th and early 14th century, only sporadic data are available on the convent due to the internal conditions in the country, and it is known that King Charles I (1308–1342) managed to gain control over the internal anarchy only at the end of the 1320s. The functioning of the convent fully reflected the national conditions, as demonstrated by the fact that the archbishop of Esztergom was forced to remove abbot Haidenricus from his position in 1311, and from that time on, his successors were not elected abbots with full rights, but appointed alternates.

Under the strong reign of King Charles I, the situation of the abbey was cleared, and the abbots tried to improve the monastery's financial situation, providing thus a sound foundation for the operation of the place of authentication. This prosperous time of the place of authentication had lasted until the middle of the 15th century. Under the reign of King Mathias, characterized by a tendency to centralize power, the king provided remuneration for those in the service of the court by giving the assets of the church under their command as payment. More and more secular officials were endowed with ecclesiastical benefits as a sign of the king's favour, who regarded these benefits just as a source of income. It was no different for Cluj-Mănăştur, where the commending abbots were usually not even in the monastery, and the abbey itself became a domain of the king to be used to award merits in the royal court. Only one part of its former role was kept unchanged, that is, being a place of authentication, which also served secular purposes.

The beginning of the 16th century was marked by a series of reform efforts within the order of St. Benedict. These efforts were led by Mathew Tolnai, chief-abbot of Pannonhalma, who tried to recover the Benedictine abbeys fallen into the hands of the laity, and ordered that the bull "Benedictina" (1336) be observed, a chapter to be held every two years, and that (apostolic) visitators to be sent to check the monasteries. The signs indicative of these reform efforts appeared in Cluj-Mănăştur in 1510, and then in 1518: the order's chapter elected a new

abbot in the person of Martin Nagyszombati, a position which he apparently declined. Despite these reform efforts, the decline of this institution continued, and it lost its position as a result of the spreading of Reformation. Nevertheless, the social demand for the activity of the places of authentication did not decline, and thus, in 1556, following the secularization of the church's assets, the management of such places was entrusted to secular officials, the so-called requisitors, while the order was dismissed.

The circumstances in which the cathedral chapter¹⁵ attached to the bishopric of Transylvania originated are still not clear. The literature usually considers that it has been established by King St. Ladislav for it also attributes the establishment of the cathedral chapters in Hungary to him. The text of the first authenticated charter issued by this chapter is known from 1231, based on a transcript dated 1280. Its structure reflects the uncertainties typical of authenticated charters not yet fully formed: the date recorded in the front, in the *promulgation*, is a rather archaic feature, found in the charters recorded in the registry of Oradea (Várad; 1209 to 1221) and the publications of the chapter in Székesfehérvár (1184 to 1232), however, after 1233 recording the date at the end of the charter became the common practice countrywide.

The earliest archives of the Transylvanian chapter were destroyed in 1241 during the invasion of Tatars, and the church burnt by them remained without a bishop for two years. The new bishop is mentioned for the first time in 1244, and its canons after 1248. The first charter, dated after the Tatar invasion, is known from 1252, in the transcript of a later fragment of a register.

In 1277, the cathedral and its chapter were hard hit again: Gaan, the son of *comes* Alard arrived from Ocna Sibiului (Vizakna), attacked the bishopric to revenge the death of his father and burnt down the city, including the cathedral, the chapter and those who have sought refuge there. A report of the archbishop of Kalocsa from 1309 indicated that the church's equipment, books and probably the archives were destroyed again by that date. After this last destruction, a relatively peaceful period followed in the life of the chapter. Larger scale destruction occurred once again after the secularization in 1556 and 1557 (during a transitory phase of the formation of the Principality), after the chapter had been scattered, when the archives of the place of authentication remained derelict and issuance of charters was suspended for a longer period of time.

Until the secularization in 1556 and 1557, the charter issuance activity of the two Transylvanian places of authentication had remained largely unchanged and in accordance with the Hungarian practice adopted in the Middle Ages. After the assembly of the Transylvanian Diet (*Comitia Regni*) held in 1557, these institutions started to develop along different paths, when custody of the archives

at the places of authentication was assumed by “outstanding nobleman”, that is, “requisitors” or “document searchers”.¹⁶

The study of the personnel and intellectuals of these two places of authentication raises the following question: should this class be called the order of ecclesiastical intellectuals during the entire Middle Ages, or they were, in fact, secular intellectuals at the end of this period?

In order to answer this question, I shall start by describing what the notion of “intellectuals” (*intelligentsia*) meant in the Middle Ages. In his major work on legal intellectuals, György Bónis provides the following definition of this class: “By legal scholars I refer to those who, in addition to the knowledge of arts (*artes*), have mastered the science of Roman law and canonical or domestic law at a university or in practice, who used this knowledge in their activity in politics, diplomacy, justice, contract transactions or administration, and earned their living or eventually made their fortune as lawyers or officials.”¹⁷ Apart from this, we can state that, in general, in the Middle Ages the term “intellectuals” referred to those who were professionally engaged in intellectual activities and earned their living with such activities. To put it simply, a distinction between secular or ecclesiastical intellectuals can be made, depending on whether they were working in secular or ecclesiastical institutions, but the reality was much more diversified.

Zsigmond Jakó makes the following remarks on the intellectuals in the Middle Ages in one of his major studies: “There is no other product during the feudal period, which is of such great importance for the development of the European society and culture, as the division of this traditional group into intellectuals and clergy.”¹⁸ This division, and the secularization of the ecclesiastical intellectuals, started everywhere within the order of ecclesiastical intellectuals, and the evolution of the lay intellectuals was closely intertwined with the intellectuals of the clerical society for a long time. That is the reason why the abovementioned author includes those who formally had an ecclesiastical status in the class of secular intellectuals, and who held secular intellectual posts and their career was facilitated by activities carried out in the benefit of the secular society.¹⁹

The spread of the use of written legal evidence, and an increased demand for the issuance of charters by the places of authentication made it necessary for the secular priests to adapt their culture to the requirements of the secular society. In the medieval Catholic church, the majority of the qualified secular priests had no theological studies, (and the majority of) the clerics mastered the secular subject matters of the seven liberal arts based on antique traditions.²⁰ The education of such qualified clerics enabled them to carry out intellectual activities, and from this point of view it did not matter that these activities were conducted within the church or the secular society.

This group of the elite ecclesiastical intellectuals, which is clearly distinct from the monastic order, carried out political and diplomatic tasks on behalf of the court and was granted titles of high priest and ecclesiastical benefice for its secular services. This category included all Transylvanian bishops in the 16th century,²¹ who graduated from university, with only two exceptions. There are no data available on Francis Perényi²² (1508 to 1514), although his well-known humanistic education indicates the likelihood that he had some kind of university degree. Similarly, though we have no information on his university studies, John Statileo was highly proficient in Latin.²³ Very often a group of humanists formed around the bishop²⁴ (as it was the case of Ladislás Geréb and Francis Várdai), the members of which were also diplomats of the court.

Based on a similar mechanism, the middle class of secular clergy became the beneficiary of canonical stallums and richer parishes. Due to an increase in the number of its members, at the end of the 14th century this middle class resented that foreigners were granted benefices in Hungary, and after a century, even native educated clerics had difficulties in finding a post. In an attempt to solve this problem, the simultaneous possession of several benefices was prohibited.²⁵

Starting with the beginning of the 15th century, the increase in the size of the ecclesiastical middle class was associated with an increase in the general education of its members. While at the beginning of the 14th century it was considered sufficient if a future canon was able to read, at the end of the century one was required to speak, write and read in Latin.²⁶ In the 15th century, though not mandatory, a university degree proved helpful in gaining a benefice to which the middle class was possibly entitled.²⁷

The university degree has not been included in any of the chapter statutes, but this option may have been exercised even during holding the post of canon, which also provided exemption from the obligation of permanent residence. The chapters often covered the costs of studies by donating canonical stallums in the hope that they would get in exchange qualified personnel for the authentication activity or the management of economic and legal affairs of the chapter. Consequently, even if the statutes did not require a university degree, the chapters endeavoured to have personnel with such degree, as well.

The contradiction between the lay education of the secular clergy and its clerical nature was solved by the Reformation. Some priests were assimilated in the order of protestant priests, while others became secular intellectuals.

Another group of the ecclesiastical intellectuals, distinct from the secular clergy, was represented by the monastic communities, in this case, in particular, the intellectuals of the Benedictine order.²⁸ Within this order, there was a great gulf between an abbot managing a monastery and the simple monks living in that monastery. The abbot had control over the assets and estates, and used only as

much of the income from his properties as absolutely necessary for the sustenance of the monks, the latter being dependent on the abbot, who exercised even disciplinary power over them.

This difference between the head of the convent and the monks was even more conspicuous in cases where the monastery was headed not by an abbot, but a governor or a lay commander. Though some of the monks stood out from the rest, due to their mandates or offices (in particular, a *prior*, *custos*, or *cantor*), such positions were usually only temporary, and did not lead to the development of a more privileged group.

As regards intellectual proficiency, the members of the monastery were less educated than the begging friars, but still they were able to carry out their educational mission conferred on them by the church in the Middle Ages. Although they did not represent the most progressive form of ecclesiastical education, they still had a great influence through their frequent contacts with the public and its problems during their authentication activity. There were no leading scientists or famous humanists among the convent members; however, they played a major educational role through the spreading of literacy and written practices in Transylvania.

In summary, it can be concluded that the proper ecclesiastical intellectuals were in the monastic orders both in Transylvania and Hungary, while those members of the chapters who assumed secular intellectual posts, the secular clergy included, were in fact secular intellectuals in clerical gowns.

A closer study of the intellectuals of the two abovementioned places of authentication makes it necessary to describe the structure of the institutions that employed them.

As regards the number of its members, the Transylvanian chapter was a middle-sized one, since in the 14th century it had 24 canonical stallums, while in 1496 this number reached 27.²⁹ In comparison, Esztergom or Veszprém had 39 or 36 canons, respectively, (to mention only the largest ones); at the other extreme, Nitra (Nyitra) or Kalocsa had 12 (in the 15th century) or 10 canonical stallums, respectively.³⁰

The classical structure of the Hungarian cathedral chapters and collegiate chapters was as follows: provost, lector, cantor and custos, sub-provost (if a collegiate chapter functioned near the cathedral chapter) and, finally, master canon. The archdeacons of dioceses had also such canonical stallums, in Transylvania thirteen in total. We would have a more precise picture of the members of these chapters if their statutes would still exist, but besides the statutes of Zagreb (Zágráb; 1334)³¹ and Oradea (1374),³² we know only of the Collection of Acts of the collegiate chapter in Dealul Orăzii (Váradhegyfok),³³ written between 1495 and 1497, and the Protocol on Church Visitation³⁴ of the church in Esztergom,

dated 1397, to which all customs were added that had already been in use up to that time. Finally, we also know of a fragment of the statute of the chapter in Bratislava, dated 1521.³⁵

Although the Transylvanian chapter most certainly had statutes (as indicated by the list of tithes dated 1504³⁶), these are no longer available to us, and thus only the lines on dignitaries in the privilege charters, the chapters' list of tithes³⁷ and personal data of some canons give us an idea about these bodies in the 16th century (and for the entire period of the Middle Ages). The lines on dignitaries in the charters issued by the places of authentication usually specify the *dignitarius*, that is, the dignitaries, which included the lector, the cantor and the *custos*. This is a classical model, but the lines on dignitaries of different chapters may vary more or less depending on their customs: thus the publications of the place of authentication in Pécs specify the sub-provost, as well,³⁸ while the charters of the chapter in Arad exclude the provost, and specify the master canons present at that time, as well.³⁹

With one exception,⁴⁰ the lines on dignitaries used by the Transylvanian chapter during the Middle Ages usually specify the provost, the cantor, the custos and the dean,⁴¹ and consistently ignore the lector, which suggests that this honour, even if it originally existed in the Transylvanian chapter, ceased to exist within a short time. According to Géza Hegyi, the post of lector was eliminated at the end of the 13th century as a result of the breakdown of community life, and the associated duties were divided between the schoolmaster (*scolasticus*) and the notary (*notarius*), whose fees together did not amount to the remuneration of the lector.⁴² The partial transfer of this post is demonstrated by the fact that during the allocation of the tithes, the schoolmaster has been listed many times among the other dignitaries of the chapter, and its share of each item was frequently similar to that of the cantor, the custos or the dean.⁴³

In his study on the protocol of the chapter in Buda, dated in the late period of the Middle Ages, András Kubinyi⁴⁴ pointed out that the lines on dignitaries written nearly at the same time specified the same names, which can be explained by authoritarianism according to the author.

Thus, the abovementioned dignitaries and deans were the most prominent members of the Transylvanian chapter. If we take into account that, based on the chapter's list of tithes⁴⁵, the persons mentioned in these lines on dignitaries received an entire share for canon, in addition to their regular fees, we have no reason to doubt the above statement. Though the lion's share of the work was not carried out by them, the data available suggest that the reports were recorded not only in the presence of simple master canons, but also of the chapter's dignitaries.⁴⁶

During the legal (preparatory) phase of the work carried out at the place of authentication of the Transylvanian chapter, the declarations (*fassio*) were recorded

and the administrative orders were implemented by the members of the chapter, however, the roles were clearly separated as regards the so-called external and internal works. While it seems that recording of declarations and sealing of charters have been carried out exclusively in the presence of canons, at the beginning of the 16th century the Transylvanian chapter's canonical body, unlike other bodies, carried out almost no external authentication activity, a member of the ecclesiastical lower class, usually a *rector altarum* being almost always designated for such assignments.

As we mentioned in the section on research history of this paper, the institution and the social portrait of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, including the intellectuals, may be considered to be already processed,⁴⁷ therefore we shall describe only in outline the structure of the convent and the work done by the monks (nevertheless, we processed the convent's publications on the authentication activity for seven years, as well⁴⁸). In his basic work, Zsigmond Jakó has dealt separately with those employees of the place of authentication who performed notary functions,⁴⁹ and his data clearly shows that these functions were mostly secular functions during the Middle Ages, and therefore, similarly to the chapter's notaries, this paper shall not address their persons and activities.

The abbots, governors, commanders and landstewards constituted a clearly separate group within the convent, and though many of them were members of the ecclesiastical intellectuals, they did not take part in the authentication activity during the period concerned, so this paper shall not cover this group.

From a social history point of view, two groups of monks living within the walls of the monastery formed a closed unit: the ordained priests and the simple lay friars. Among them, similarly to the ecclesiastical lower order of the Transylvanian chapter, only the names of those are known today who contributed to the authentication activity as delegated witnesses. Based on their work, they were probably the most educated residents in the monastery: they could write and knew Latin, as demonstrated by the ad-hoc records made on-site, on the backside of the mandates. In most cases they were not simple friars, but ordained priests and presbyters (again, similarly to the ecclesiastical lower order of the Transylvanian chapter).⁵⁰

There are no accurate data on the number of the convent's personnel, but this number was probably maximum 12 and minimum 7 or 8. As these data refer almost exclusively to the monks who carried out authentication tasks, the existence of only four or five friars can be demonstrated, but it is known that the convent has always sent the more educated and imposing members as commissioners. Though the monks constituted a unit closed to the outside world, there was no brotherly equality among the convent's members as required by the regulations. Some members received functions due to their distinguished

origin or their merits, which provided them with a more favourable position compared to others.

As in the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, it was not usual to specify the list of functionaries in the privilege charters with pendant seals (cf. lines on dignitaries in the privilege charters of the Transylvanian chapter), the names of the persons in the abovementioned functions were mentioned only incidentally in the convent's charters. Of the functions existing in the Benedictine convents, only the *prior*, the *custos* and the *cantor* is used by the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur.⁵¹ In addition to the functionaries and ordained priests of the convent, the monastic community also included subdeacons and deacons (*subdiaconi* and *diaconi*), who were the altar servers (*acolyti*) covering the lower ecclesiastical orders. The personnel of the monastery included clerics of chorus (*clerici chori*) or monastery priests (*clerici monasterii*), whose title of *magister* suggests that they were educated priests who entered a monastery but have never professed themselves in an order.

It is rather difficult to draw conclusions about the origins of the convent members due to the fact that in most cases the family name is missing. The Benedictine monasteries in Hungary recruited most of their members from the classes below the nobility, and did not provide major advancement in the social hierarchy, but ensured a safe living and carefree life for their monks. The children of lower rank noble families or wealthier urban citizens also joined the Benedictine order, for it provided a better chance for social advancement (and helping their relatives.) Similarly to other monasteries, in the case of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur it can be assumed that most of the members came from the surrounding communities (Cluj [Kolozsvár], Cluj-Mănăştur, Dej [Dés], Turda [Torda]) and the northern part of Transylvania.

The study of the convent's publications demonstrate that, in addition to their utmost accuracy, there is not much information to be added to the data based on the protocols of the place of authentication, processed by Zsigmond Jakó. We did not manage to find any other member of this place of authentication whose name is not also mentioned in the protocols. Nevertheless, these publications differ from the materials of the protocols in that they include a greater number of documents on the external authentication activity, and thus provide a more detailed picture on the delegated persons and their activities.

The reports included in these publications show that, unlike the chapter, this convent almost never sent witnesses from the ecclesiastical lower order. Except for a few cases, these witnesses were all ordained priests⁵² who professed themselves in the highest order (the term *sacerdos* or *presbiter* is mentioned next to their names) and their title was *religiosus vir*. If, however, they abandoned this practice, it was because of the high workload on the place of authentication (similarly to the chapter), as it was usually the case before judicial days. In these cases they sent

notaries or scribes, as well,⁵³ and in such cases we have the possibility to learn about some members whose identity remained unrevealed up to that time. Due to its many tasks, the convent sometimes needed to employ two notaries, but it is true that the data available refer to only one year,⁵⁴ and further sources would be needed to determine whether this was an isolated event or a frequent phenomenon. As in the case of the Transylvanian chapter, the convent also had its skilled members who were sent to carry out the on-site external activities.

Taking into account the above, the following question raises: why did the convent send in almost all cases monks who represented a more educated group to carry out external activities, while the Transylvanian chapter employed only members of the ecclesiastical lower order for this purpose? As regards the monks' education, it can be stated that the monks taking part in the authentication activity could read and write in Latin, and were probably well-skilled in the practice of law and administration. The Benedictine order did not impose particularly demanding requirements for the education of the monks, and it is a fact that the monastery schools of the Benedictine order, as compared to the schools of chapters have remained on the level of the early Middle Ages. The apprentices were taught to chant, sing, keep masses and other tasks related to the liturgical rites by a few experienced monks, and no special teachers were involved in this activity. The Reform Statute dated 1336 required that the applicants be taught Latin, logics and philosophy, and that the more talented apprentices be sent to university at the order's expense, but there are no indications that these provisions were observed by the Hungarian Benedictine order.⁵⁵

As a result of the fact that the Benedictine order failed to provide modern education to its members, the order lost its attractiveness for those who wanted to learn and to advance due to their education. This order was unable and did not want to create conditions favourable for learning and education for its members, and therefore, the prominent educational role of the monastic community had shrunk during this late and declining stage of the convent's existence compared to the period prior to the 14th century.

As regards the members of the chapter, it can be stated that the middle and upper groups professed the most progressive ideas of that time, and that even the lower order had the appropriate level of knowledge to carry out the activities presented inside the chapter. Therefore, it can be assumed that these two groups (the lower order of the chapter and the upper group of the convent's monks) had an almost identical level of knowledge.

□

Notes

1. The most important studies are, including but not limited to, the following: Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei 1289–1556* (The convent records from Cluj-Mănăştur, 1289–1556), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai*, II, Forráskiadványok, no. 17 (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990; henceforth: *KmJkv*); Gábor Sipos, “A kolozsmonostori konvent hiteleshelyi működése” (The activity of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur as a place of authentication), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in cultural history), eds. Elek Csetri, Zsigmond Jakó and Sándor Tonk (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1979), 33–50; Antal Beke, ed., *Az erdélyi káptalan levéltára Gyulaféhérvárt* (The archive of the Transylvanian chapter in Alba Iulia) 1889–1895, off-print of the corresponding volumes of the *Történelmi Tár* 12–16 (1889–1893); Remig Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (The history of the chapter-schools in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910).
2. In particular, we refer here to a single monographic discussion of this topic: Károly Vekov, *Locul de adeverire din Alba Julia (secolele XIII–XVI.)* (The place of authentication from Alba Iulia. 13th–16th centuries) (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română and Casa de Editură și Tipografie Gloria, 2003).
3. *KmJkv*, vol. 1, 93–131.
4. Sipos, “A kolozsmonostori konvent,” 33–50.
5. Vekov, *Locul de adeverire*.
6. Vekov, *Locul de adeverire*. Though the basic work by Köblös on the ecclesiastical middle order appears in the References section (439) (cf. footnote 9), there is no sign of it in the final version of this work, and a modern discussion on the activity of the place of authentication in Pécs, published by László Koszta in 1998, contains no references to the abovementioned work, to mention only the most important ones.
7. Bálint Lakatos, “Az erdélyi káptalan és a püspöki udvar tagjai görbe tükörben. Történeti bejegyzések Pelei Tamás főesperes Erasmus kötetében (1515–1530 k.)” (The members of the Transylvanian chapter and of the Bishop’s court in curved mirror [1515–1530]), *Fons* 16 (2009): 431–470; Géza Hegyi, “Az erdélyi dékánkanonoki tisztség betöltése az Árpád- és Anjou-korban” (The election of the deans in the Transylvanian Chapter during the period of the Arpadians and Angevins), in *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 6. A VI. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia előadásai* (Studies in medieval history: The proceedings of the 6th Ph.D.-conference in medievalistics), eds. Péter G. Tóth and Pál Szabó (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010); Zsolt Bogdándi, “A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori levélkeresői” (The requisitors of the Cluj-Mănăştur convent in the age of the Principality), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 72, no. 3–4 (2010): 43–72.
8. Vilmos Fraknoi, *Bakócz Tamás élete* (The life of Thomas Bakócz), *Magyar Történelmi Életrajzok* (Budapest: Méhner Vilmos kiadása, 1889); Pál Tóth Szabó, *Szatmári György prímás* (Archbishop György Szatmári), *Magyar Történelmi Életrajzok* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1906); Vince Bunyitay, *A váradi püspökség története* (The

- history of the bishopric from Oradea) (4 vols., Oradea, Debrecen: no publisher, 1883–1935); János Temesváry, *Erdély középkori püspökei* (The Transylvanian bishops during the Middle Ages) (Cluj-Napoca: Minerva, 1922); Kálmán Juhász, *A csanádi püspökség története* (The history of the bishopric from Csanád) (7 vols., Makó: Csanád vármegye közönsége, 1930–1947); Erik Fügedi: “A XV. századi magyar püspökök” (The Hungarian bishops of the 15th century), *Történelmi Szemle* 8 (1965): 477–498; Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* (The ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971).
9. Koloman Juhász, *Die Stifte der Tschanader Diözese im Mittelalter* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1927); Kálmán Juhász, *A csanádi székeskáptalan a középkorban (1030–1552)* (The cathedral chapter from Csanád in the Middle Ages), *Csanádvármegyei könyvtár*, 38 (Makó, 1941); Ferenc Kollányi, *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100–1900* (Canons of Esztergom 1100–1900) (Esztergom: Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Káptalan, 1900); József Vágner, *Adalékok a nyitrai székeskáptalan történetéhez* (Considerations on the history of the cathedral chapter from Nitra) (Nitra, 1896); Pál Winkler, *A kalocsai és bácsi főkáptalan története alapításától 1935-ig* (The history of the cathedral chapters from Kalocsa and Bács from beginnings until 1935) (Kalocsa: Árpád Részvénytársaság nyomdája, 1935).
 10. Tamás Fedeles, *A pécsi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő középkorban (1354–1526)* (The members of the cathedral chapter from Pécs in the Late Middle Ages), *Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből* no. 17. (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2005).
 11. József Köblös, *Az egyházi középréteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában* (The ecclesiastical middle class in the age of King Matthias and the Jagellonians), *Társadalom és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* no. 12 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1994).
 12. Ferenc Kollányi, *A magyar katolikus alsópapság végrendelkezési joga* (The last will legislation of the Hungarian lower clergy) (Esztergom: 1890); László Koszta, “Adalékok a székesegyházi alsópapság XIII–XIV. századi történetéhez” (Considerations on the history of the ecclesiastical lower class in the 13th–14th century), *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 86 (1988): 15–26.
 13. On the bibliography see Köblös, “Egyházi középréteg,” 7, 89–98.
 14. Sipos, “A kolozsmonostori konvent,” 34; *KmJkv*, vol. 1, 19–25.
 15. Zsolt Bogdándi and Emőke Gálfi, eds., *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei 1222–1599*. (The protocols of the Transylvanian chapter 1222–1599) (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006), 10, <http://mek.oszk.hu/07700/07766/index.phtml>
 16. Sándor Szilágyi, ed., *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek (Monumenta comitialia regni Transsylvaniae)* (Budapest: A M. T. Akadémia Könyvkiadó-hivatala, 1877), vol. 2, 81, 89, 107, 176, 340; Zsolt Trócsányi, *Törvényalkotás az Erdélyi Fejedelemségben* (Codification in the Transylvanian Principality) (Budapest: Gondolat, 2005), 212–215.
 17. György Bónis, *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* (The legal intellectuals in Hungary before Mohács) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 11.
 18. Zsigmond Jakó, “Az erdélyi értelmiség kialakulásának kezdetei” (The Beginnings of the formation of Transylvanian intelligentsia), in *Írás, könyv, értelmiség* (Writing, books, intelligentsia), ed. Zsigmond Jakó (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1976), 10.

19. Jakó, “Az erdélyi értelmiség,” 10, 17–18.
20. Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban* (Academic peregrination of the Transylvanians in the Middle Ages) (Bucharest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1979), 94–96.
21. The following names speak for themselves: Ladislav Geréb (1476–1501), Dominic Kálmáncsehi (1501), Nicholas Bácskai (1502–1504), Sigismund Thurzó (1504–1506), Francis Perényi (1508–1514), Francis Várdai (1514–1524), John Gosztonyi (1524–1527), John Statileo (1528–1542).
22. Bunyitay, “A váradi püspökség,” 367–377.
23. Bónis, “Jogtudó értelmiség,” 322.
24. Jolán Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance* (The Renaissance in Transylvania) (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943), 51–52, 64–67, 90–93.
25. Elemér Mályusz, *A konstanzi zsinat és a magyar főkegyúri jog* (The Council of Konstanz and the Hungarian patronate law), *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből: Új sorozat*, no. 9 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1958), 75–84, 123–131.
26. Mályusz, “A konstanzi zsinat,” 104–110.
27. Köblös, “Egyházi közélet,” 37–46.
28. *KmJkv*, vol. 1, 93–131.
29. Mályusz, “Egyházi társadalom,” 117.
30. Fedeles, “A pécsi székeskáptalan,” 48–49.
31. I. K. Tkalčić, ed., *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagradiensis*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Car. Albrecht, 1874), 1–149.
32. Vince Bunyitay, *A váradi káptalan legrégebbi statutumai* (The Oldest Statutes of the Chapter from Oradea) (Oradea: Franklin-Társulat nyomdája, 1886).
33. Vince Bunyitay, “Szent László sírjának káptalana Váradon” (The Chapter of the Grave of King St. Ladislav in Oradea), *Történelmi Tár* 2 (1879): 181–186.
34. Ferenc Kollányi, “Visitatio Capituli e. m. Strigoniensis anno 1397,” *Történelmi Tár* 24 (1901): 73–106, 239–272, 243.
35. Nándor Knauz, “Balbi Jeromos, II. Lajos király tanára” (The teacher of King Louis II, Jerome Balbi), *Magyar Sion* (1886): 246–261, 321–327.
36. National Archives of Hungary (Magyar Országos Levéltár), Budapest (henceforth: Nat. Arch. Hung.), Collection of pre-1526 charters, Photocopies (Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény; henceforth: DF), 277689: fol. 5^v. “iuxta capitulare decretum”.
37. Samu Barabás, “Erdélyi káptalani tizedlajstromok. Huszti András levele” (The tithe registers of the Transylvanian chapter. The letter of András Huszti), *Történelmi Tár* 34 (1911): 401–442; DF 277689.
38. Fedeles, “A pécsi székeskáptalan,” 57–59.
39. Nat. Arch. Hung., Collection of pre-1526 charters (Diplomatikai Levéltár, henceforth: DL), 36349. 110^r. no. 1, 110^v. no. 1–2.
40. In 1286 a lector called Tomas is mentioned. Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae: Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transsylvanas illustrantia. Erdélyi okmánytár: Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez*, vol. 1 (1023–1300), vol. 2 (1301–1339), vol. 3 (1340–1359), A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok, no. 26, 40, 47 (3 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai

Kiadó and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1997–2008; henceforth: *CDTrans*), vol. 1, no. 422.

41. The dean in medieval Hungary was not a *dignitarius* as it was in other European chapters. Although the dean was elected annually, its place in the lines of dignitaries and the account of incomes places this office close to the dignitaries.
42. Géza Hegyi, *Az erdélyi káptalan Árpád- és Anjou-kori személyzete* (The members of the Transylvanian chapter in the age of the Arpadians and Angevins) (manuscript, 2008).
43. DF 277689; Barabás, “Tizedlajstromok,” 401–442.
44. András Kubinyi–Erik Fügedi, “A budai káptalan jegyzőkönyve” (The register of the chapter from Buda) *Történeti statisztikai évkönyv 1967–1968* (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal Könyvtára, Országos Levéltár, 1970), 20.
45. Barabás, “Tizedlajstromok,” 401–442.
46. DL 29315; Beke, “Az erdélyi káptalan,” no. 812.
47. Cf. footnotes 3 and 4.
48. DL 26471–27792 (1500–1507).
49. *KmJkv*, vol. 1, 120–131.
50. Their list: *KmJkv*, vol. 1, 96–101.
51. *KmJkv*, vol. 1, 111–120.
52. This also complied with the laws in force, see Georgius Bónis and Vera Bácskai, eds., *Decreta Regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns 1301–1457* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976), 268.
53. January 4th, 1501: presbyter Martin, convent’s notary (DL 28665); July 10th, 1504: scribe Sebestyén, convent’s notary (DL 28669); December 28th, 1504: scribe Thomas (*scriba*) (DL 27105).
54. Two accounts from 1500 (DL 26474, 27232), which mention two notaries: scribe Sebestyén on October 31st and notary Martin on December 31st. Since we know that Sebastian Kesztölci assumed the post of notary until 1521, we may conclude that these two notaries worked at the same time.
55. Mályusz, “Egyházi társadalom,” 246–247.

Abstract

Transylvanian Places of Authentication and Ecclesiastical Intellectuals in the Middle Ages

This study's aim is to discuss the relationship between two essential ecclesiastical institutions' secular functions and the ecclesiastical intellectuals in the Middle Ages. The paper starts with some considerations on the bibliography related to this topic, focusing on the pitfalls and contradictions therein. After the short presentation of the medieval history of the Convent of Cluj-Mănăştur and of the Transylvanian chapter the author tries to answer a fundamental question about the personnel of these places of authentication: can this social strata be called ecclesiastical intelligentsia during all the Middle Ages, or, towards the end of this period we could rather consider them secular intellectuals? The conclusion is that the proper ecclesiastical intellectuals were in the monastic orders both in Transylvania and Hungary, while those members of the chapters who assumed secular intellectual posts, the secular clergy included, were in fact secular intellectuals in clerical gowns.

Keywords

Transylvania, Middle Ages, places of authentication, intellectuals, clergy

Remarks on the Activity of the Cluj-Mănăștur Place of Authentication in the Age of the Transylvanian Principality

ZSOLT BOGDÁNDI

ALTHOUGH THE places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) were typical Hungarian institutions, the research on their history started relatively late, and the scientific inquiry has increased only in recent decades. These studies, however, focus only on the period of the Middle Ages, and they present these institutions' history until the reform in 1351 or rather until the revision of the seals in 1353.¹ The later Middle Ages or the centuries after the battle at Mohács have remained outside the area of interest of the researchers exploring the emission of documents and diplomas by these institutions. There are, however, a few exceptions. Among these exceptions an outstanding study is that by Bernát Kumorovitz on the issuance of documents of the convent from Leles (Lelesz), which has the merit of processing a great amount of archive materials by using a correct methodology and taking into account the institution's history.²

The famous historian of the Middle Ages, Iván Borsa describes the questions that should be posed by a future monographer of these institutions, warning about the fact that "one should not forget that after Mohács, the places of authentication have worked during three centuries and a quarter."³ László Papp, the researcher of the pre-modern history of these institutions, could not reach the archives of Lelesz and those of the Transylvanian places of authentication.⁴ Without the abovementioned archives no monograph of the places of authentication can and should be written.

A researcher interested in the history of these institutions during the Transylvanian principality can easily find out that the bibliography of the places of authentication consists of a summary chapter of a monograph, a few studies and editions of sources. The monographer of the pre-modern history of these

institutions, László Papp has arrived to his conclusions on the Transylvanian places of authentication without having consulted the archives of the chapter or of the convent. The convent's protocols kept before the secularization have been published by Zsigmond Jakó in 1990.⁵ In the preface of these two monumental volumes, the author drafted the later history of the *loca credibilia* and its archives, creating thus a basis for further research. Recently, Attila Sunkó published some studies and sources about the early modern Transylvanian places of authentication, but because of his inaccuracies, only a small part of his conclusions can be accepted and only with great caution.⁶ The same can be said about the recently published study of Károly Vekov about the chapter of Alba Iulia in the period of secularization.⁷ Furthermore, in recent years, as a result of the initiative of Zsigmond Jakó, the edition in Hungarian abstracts (*regesta*) of the early-modern protocols kept by the two places of authentication from Transylvania has started; the first result of this project has been the publication of a volume of abstracts, with a brief introduction, containing the 16th century protocols of the chapter of Alba Iulia.⁸

On the territory of the developing Transylvanian principality there were three ecclesiastical institutions which took part in the issuance of authentic charters: the chapter of Transylvania residing in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur (Kolozsmonostor) and the chapter of Oradea (Várad). Their medieval history has been already partially studied, but in neither of these cases did the research cover their activity during the Transylvanian principality.⁹ Only in the case of Oradea we could refer to the lack of sources because, after the capture of the fortress, the chapter's archives perished, but even so one could attempt, on the basis of the issued charters, to reconstruct its activity (we already have such an example for the convent of Szekszárd).¹⁰ Although truncated, the archives of the other two *loca credibilia* are preserved in the collections of the National Archives of Hungary,¹¹ so all further scientific investigations are possible. The research of their early modern activity and the publication of a major part of the protocols remains an urgent and possible task of the historians. The publication of these sources would largely extend our knowledge of Transylvanian law and history of institutions, and they would generate a basic collection of sources for further research.

The main aim of this study is to present the characteristics of the charter-issuing activity accomplished by the early-modern Transylvanian *loca credibilia* by examining the case of the authentication place of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, where the majority of the protocols have been preserved. We attempt to answer the following questions: whether the reorganized and secularized convent, which has preserved its designation and has been moved together with the archives to Cluj (Kolozsvár), has met the expectations of the society in terms of preservation of the documents

and issuing of charters? How did it work and what was its role in the Transylvanian society?

As a result of the secularization occurred in 1556–1557, the monks of Cluj-Mănăştur abandoned the monastery, and the convent perished as an ecclesiastical institution. The new institution, which had been created after twenty years of experimentation to replace the *loca credibilia* of the convent, had an essentially secular nature. Despite this, we insisted in this study on the denomination of *convent of Cluj-Mănăştur*, although in this case the *convent* means *loca credibilia* and not an ecclesiastical institution. This is due to the fact that, based on our sources, it seems clear that during the time of the Principality, the *convent* was the name of the place of authentication and the term *convent of Cluj-Mănăştur* was usually used.¹²

The basis of this research is given by the recordings from 28 protocols kept between 1576 and 1690.¹³ Since these charters were mostly full-text copied, they seemed to be a sufficient source to support my conclusions on the charter-issuing activity without using other important sources. I have examined the published charters on the basis of the materials of some family archives. I have also used the *Miscellanea* fund of the convent and the archives of the chapter and convent kept in the collections of the Batthyaneum library from Alba Iulia. Although I have not searched all the archives of the convent, the greatest challenge was still to review and process the great amount of the archive materials (more than 15000 pages). I believe that a greater pool of data will not essentially alter the conclusions of this paper.

The arbitrarily designated time limit used in my study, which is the end of the independent principality of Transylvania in 1690, is partly explained by this huge amount of sources. Neither the abovementioned year, nor 1729, when the convent reentered under the jurisdiction of the church, had brought any major changes in the organization of the *loca credibilia*; the decreasing charter-issuing activity of the convent was continued by the secular requisitors and the archive-role increasingly gained importance. The activity of the place of authentication ended in 1872, and the institution's history also came to an end that year. However, in my paper I undertook the task of presenting the history and activity of this specific institution only for the period of the principality; further research should insist on the history of the convent's archives in the 18th–19th centuries.

After the establishment of the Transylvanian state, the *loca credibilia* which entered under its jurisdiction underwent a peculiar transformation. On the same grounds as similar institutions from Hungary, a specific Transylvanian institution, the office of the requisitors came into being to satisfy the needs of the society for authentic charters and to ensure the conservation of the archives. After twenty years of uncertainty, during which the secularized institution issued copies from the convent's archives under the seal of the city, the time for

reorganization had arrived.¹⁴ The appointed requisitors had the right to complete all the activities done earlier by the places of authentication, but because their number was low, other institutions (envoys of the voivodes, counties) had gradually taken their place in the external authentication activity. In this process, the articles of *Approbatæ* presumably constituted a turning point. From the second half of the 1650s, the external authentication activity (inspection of boundaries, seisin of estates to new owners, inquiry, etc.) was likely to disappear.

In the Middle Ages and also in the period of the principality the places of authentication carried out their role essentially for two large client-groups, so two important forms of activity developed.¹⁵ One of these groups was constituted by private clients (especially noblemen) who came to the places of authentication to obtain charters about their legal matters (buying or selling domains, mortgages, different arrangements, wills, etc.). Before the secularization the declarations were certainly made in the convent's church, but after the *loca credibilia* had been moved inside the walls of the town, the reception took place in the houses of the requisitors. The parties involved in the legal act could appear not only personally, but one could send an authorized representative (procurator) to make the declaration.

The other group using the places of authentication was constituted by the officials (king, voivode, etc.) who commissioned these institutions to carry out different legal actions (inspections of boundaries, seisin of domains to new owners, inquiry, etc.). In the age of the principality important changes took place in the external authentication activity. The role of the convent decreased very much and the activities on behalf of private clients (*introductio*, inspections, inquiries, etc.) were undertaken by other legal executors, such as the envoys of the voivodes and the counties. At the same time the requisitors were commissioned by the princes with new tasks in the administration of the state (inspections of the local authorities, registering the domains of the state, etc.).

The disasters that occurred in 1658, and the subsequent long-term instability caused such a break in the activity of the convent that we could consider it as the end of the institution's early-modern history. Thereafter the charter-issuing activity was more and more casual, the place of authentication became mere depository of charters and produced copies of the documents in its custody. One could say that it was the moment which marked the end of the institution's history and the beginning of the archive's history. As a result of the measures taken by the princes and the Orders, in the age of the principality the archives of the convent together with the *sacristia* of the chapter from Alba Iulia and probably also Oradea played the role of the state's "National Archives".

However, before all these, the convent was one of the most important charter-issuing institutions from Transylvania together with the prince's chancery, the Chapter from Alba Iulia and the requisitors of Oradea. Their activity was influenced

to a great extent by their location. For example, after the convent had been moved to the town of Cluj (Kolozsvár), the typically “noble” institution gained an “urban” character. The requisitors were usually important office-holder burghers and the burghers’ confidence in the place of authentication increased.¹⁶ Despite the fact that it was forbidden by the articles of the *Tripartitum*, the citizens of Cluj increasingly addressed the convent to issue charters on their urban heritage. The new location and the social changes seriously affected the charter-issuing activity, and they defined the types of diplomas and the number of clients who came to this institution to solve legal matters. Moving to the town changed even the way these legal declarations (*fassiones*) were made. The majority of the archive materials were kept in the requisitors’ houses and the documents were also drawn up there (although we find some examples that the reception of the *fassio* took place in a *conservatoria domus*). The charter-issuing activity was disrupted by the practice of the princes (especially during the Rákóczi) to entrust the requisitors with estate or administrative tasks, which previously did not belong to the activity field of a *loca credibilia*. As the prince’s paid office-holders, they participated in the administration of the country.

The relationship between the convent and the county of Cluj (Kolozs) started in the medieval era and persisted afterwards as one of the requisitors was often the holder of a county-office, such as a scribe or tax-collector. These offices were concentrated not just because the place of authentication and the *sedria* resided in the same town, but also due to the fact that the requisitors were well-educated clerks who were always in contact with the nobility of the county. They knew the currently pending litigations and issued almost all legal documents.

The quality of the charter-issuing activity was also determined by the way the requisitors perceived their office, how they were educated and whether they used due diligence in their work. We believe that the biographical data on the requisitors and the considerable amount of archival materials left by them show that the interest for history and sense of responsibility played a significant role in the exercise of their duties.

In a review of the history of the convent during the principality, one could raise the question whether this secular institution subordinated to the princely power can still be defined as *loca credibilia*. Bearing in mind the definition used for the medieval places of authentication,¹⁷ the chancellery managed by the requisitors certainly does not fit into this category, since it was not an ecclesiastical institution. From our outline we could conclude that the requisitors proceeded as a body (corporation) based on the reputation offered partly by the prince and partly by the secular institution of the convent. Just as before, they issued charters, with small changes preserving the old customary patterns, upon the request of their clients or the letters of mandate of the princes. Although the

princes have entrusted the requisitors with tasks which previously were not part of the duties of the places of authentication and their archives took a “national” character, the basic area of activity of the *loca credibilia* remained the same as before: compiling the charters and taking custody of the convent’s archives. This clearly distinguishes this institution from the other establishments, which were also engaged in the charter-issuing activity and carried out legal actions (county, prince’s chancery, etc.) and renders it similar to the ecclesiastical *loca credibilia* from Hungary. In compiling the charters, these institutions and the requisitors from Transylvania used the same formulae based on medieval patterns.

Finally, in order to reflect on the activity of the convent from Cluj-Mănăştur during the age of the principality, we should compare László Papp’s point of view, based on the previous literature and law-articles, and the *impedimentums* listed in 1655 by one of the requisitors, István Pálfi, with the “products” of the convent’s activity: the registers (*protocolla*) and the charters. Both the quantity and the quality of the preserved archive materials prove that the reorganized convent remained for a long time one of the major charter-issuing institutions of Transylvania. □

Notes

1. Suggested readings in foreign languages about the charter-issuing activity of the places of authentication are: F. Eckhart, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 9 (1915): 395–558; György Bónis, “Les autorités de foi publique et les archives des loci credibiles en Hongrie,” *Archivum* 12 (1962): 97–104; Tamás Kófalvi, “Places of Authentication (*loca credibilia*),” *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History. University of Szeged*, 2 (2002): 27–38; László Solymosi, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte (*loca credibilia*) Ungarns im 14–15. Jahrhundert,” *Archiv für Diplomatik* 55 (2009): 175–190.
2. Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz, “A leleszi konvent oklevéladó működése 1569-ig” (The charter-issuing activity of the Leles convent until 1569), *Turul* 42 (1928): 1–39. Also see by the same historian: “A leleszi konvent országos levéltára” (The national archives of the Leles convent), *Levéltári Közlemények* 10 (1932): 223–255.
3. Iván Borsa, “A hiteleshelyekről” (About the places of authentication), in “*Magyaroknak eleiről*”. *Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendősk Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* (Festschrift for the sixty year old Ferenc Makk), eds. Ferenc Piti, György Szabados (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000), 99–106.
4. The basic work on the modern history of the places of authentication is still László Papp, *A hiteleshelyek története és működése az újkorban* (The history and activity of the places of authentication in the modern age) (Budapest: “Élet” Irodalmi és Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1936).

5. Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei 1289–1556* (The convent records from Cluj-Mănăştur, 1289–1556), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai*, II, Forráskiadványok, no. 17 (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990).
6. Attila Sunkó, “Levélkeresők. A Gyulafehérvári Káptalan és a Kolozsmonostori Konvent requisitorainak archontológiája a XVI–XVII. században” (Requisitors. The archontology of the requisitors from the chapter of Alba Iulia and Convent of Cluj-Mănăştur during the 16th–17th centuries), *Fons* 11 (2004): 277–327; Attila Sunkó, “A Gyulafehérvári Káptalan és a Kolozsmonostori Konvent Levéltárának működésére vonatkozó iratok” (Documents concerning the activity of the archives from the chapter of Alba Iulia and the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur), *Lymbus. Magyarágtudományi forrásközlemények* (2003): 75–110; Attila Sunkó, “Debreceni János életpályája. A Gyulafehérvári Káptalan levéltárosának élete, végrendeletének tükrében” (The life of János Debreceni. The life of an archivist of Alba Iulia’s chapter reflected in his testament), *Fons* 9 (2002): 305–343.
7. Károly Vekov, “A gyulafehérvári káptalan hiteleshelyi tevékenysége és a 16. századi szekularizációja” (The activity of the chapter of Alba Iulia as a place of authentication and its secularization in the 16th century), in *Loca credibilia. Hiteleshelyek a középkori Magyarországon* (Loca credibilia. Places of authentication in medieval Hungary), eds. Tamás Fedeles and Irén Bilkei (Pécs: Fény Kft., 2009), 131–141.
8. Zsolt Bogdándi and Emőke Gálfi, eds., *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei 1222–1599* (The protocols of the Transylvanian chapter 1222–1599) (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006), <http://mek.oszk.hu/07700/07766/index.phtml>
9. On the medieval history of these institutions see: Károly Vekov, *Locul de adevărire din Alba Iulia (secolele XIII–XVI.)* (The Place of Authentication from Alba Iulia. 13th–16th centuries) (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română and Casa de Editură și Tipografie Gloria, 2003); Gábor Sipos, “A kolozsmonostori konvent hiteleshelyi működése” (The activity of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur as a place of authentication), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in cultural history), eds. Elek Csetri, Zsigmond Jakó and Sándor Tonk (Bucharest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1979), 33–50; Árpád Varga, “A váradi káptalan hiteleshelyi működése” (The activity of the chapter of Oradea as a place of authentication), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in cultural history), eds. Elek Csetri, Zsigmond Jakó, Gábor Sipos, Sándor Tonk (Bucharest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1980), 20–35.
10. On Szekszárd see: Ferenc Szakály, “A szekszárdi konvent hiteleshelyi és oklevéladó működése 1526-ig” (The activity of the convent of Szekszárd as a place of authentication until 1526), in *Tanulmányok Tolna megye történetéből*, vol. 1, ed. Attila Puskás (Szekszárd: Tolna megyei Tanács Levéltára, 1968), 9–60.
11. Zsolt Trócsányi, *Erdélyi kormányhatósági levéltárak* (The Transylvanian government archives) (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1973), 125–148.
12. For examples see: Attila Szabó T., ed., *Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár* (Historical dictionary of the Hungarian vocabulary in Transylvania), vol. 7 (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó and Bucharest: Kriterion, 1995), 199–200.
13. *Magyar Országos Levéltár. A kolozsmonostori konvent levéltára. Protocollumok* (F15). (Hungarian National Archives. The Archives of the convent from Cluj-Mănăştur. Protocolla F15)

14. On the new organization see: Zsolt Bogdándi, “Az erdélyi hiteles helyek működése a szekularizációt követően” (The activity of the places of authentication from Transylvania after the secularization), in *700 éves a közjegyzőség Magyarországon* (700 years of public notary activity in Hungary), ed. Gábor Rokolya (Budapest: Magyar Országos Közjegyzői Kamara, 2008), 41–53.
15. On the stages of activity of the *loca credibilia* see Kőfalvi, “Places of authentication,” 34–37.
16. On the requisitors from Cluj-Mănăştur see Zsolt Bogdándi, “A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori levélkeresői” (The requisitors of Cluj-Mănăştur during the age of the principality), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 72, no. 3–4 (2010): 43–72.
17. Gyula Kristó, ed., *Korai magyar történeti lexikon* (Early Hungarian historical dictionary) (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1994), 263–264.

Abstract

Remarks on the activity of the Cluj-Mănăştur Place of Authentication in the Age of the Transylvanian Principality

The main aim of this article is to present the characteristics of the charter-issuing activity accomplished by the early-modern Transylvanian *loca credibilia* by examining the case of the authentication place of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, where the majority of the protocols have been preserved. We attempt to answer the following questions: did the reorganized and secularized convent, which had preserved its designation and had been moved together with the archives to Cluj, meet the expectations of the society in terms of preservation of the documents and issuing of charters? How did it work and what was its role in the Transylvanian society?

Keywords

Transylvania, charters, places of authentication, convent, protocols

Fortress-Building in 16th-Century Transylvania

The Recruitment of Labour Force*

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DURING THE years that followed the disaster of Mohács (1526), the external affairs of the Hungarian Kingdom were marked by the growing Ottoman threat in the Carpathian Basin. At the same time, within the country, the break-up of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom provoked a long rivalry between the parties of the heirs of the crown: Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1526–1564) and John Szapolyai (1526–1540). These circumstances urged the modernization process of the defensive system within the Carpathian Basin by adopting the new technique of the bastion fortification. The modern fortresses built in the Principality of Transylvania – during the 16th and 17th centuries – by combining bastions with straight curtains preferably in polygonal ground plans, were on one hand aimed at containing the Turks, while on the other hand, especially in the case of the fortresses situated on the north-eastern border of Transylvania, were meant to prevent the penetration of the Habsburg armies into Transylvania. The reconstruction of the history and topography of each fortress is an obvious and essential concern of our historiography.¹ In addition the sources provide yet another line of research as well – practically unexploited so far – that focuses on the organizational background of the construction sites in question. Therefore the subject of the study was determined by the nature of the historical records available, mainly referring to logistical issues of the construction sites of the fortresses studied, such as hiring the Italian architects and mobilizing the workforce

* This work was possible with the financial support of the Sectorial Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007–2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project number POSDRU 89/1.5/S/60189 with the title “Postdoctoral Programs for Sustainable Development in a Knowledge Based Society”. The research was partly supported by grant of the Szülőföld Alap, project no. 6273/2010 as well.

from the Saxon and Szekler Seats, the Hungarian towns, and from the estates of the respective fortresses.

Given the repeated destruction along the centuries of the central archives of the principality, in the attempt to reconstruct the initiatives outlined in the princely chancellery in fortification matters, the researcher can only rely on the princely orders and town accounts – that attest the execution of the latter – preserved in the town archives of Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz), Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt), Brașov (Brassó, Kronstadt) and partly Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schässburg).² Same as in other regions north of the Alps, the Italian engineers and architects who were engaged in a large number and under favourable conditions in the service of the Transylvanian princes have played a decisive role in the establishment of the bastion fortification technique in the domestic architecture as well. The historical records that we have gone through attest the continuous comings and goings of these *fundatores* in our region.

In January 1540 a certain *Dominicus*, an Italian architect in the service of king Szapolyai, resided in Gherla (Szamosújvár). The evidence – a letter signed by this *fundator* and addressed to the judge of Bistrița – has been lost, however, two *registrae* of the original document were preserved. The one published by Albert Berger³ mentions very briefly that the royal architect had expressed his wish to visit the town of Bistrița. Wilhelm Wenrich⁴ gives a more detailed excerpt of the letter, specifying that, according to the architect's own account, King John had summoned him to Transylvania to build the new fortress of Gherla. Thus, we may conclude that in January 1540, the royal architect Dominicus was busy in Gherla with the construction of the bastioned fortress. The researcher Jolán Balogh identified the above mentioned Dominicus with Domenico da Bologna, the architect that we find in the service of King Ferdinand I of Hungary starting in 1531. He worked in Vienna, Wiener Neustadt (Austria), and most probably in other locations as well, providing essential services to the country in the prevention of the Ottoman occupation.⁵ However, due to the poor historical evidence, we cannot associate his activity with specific buildings.⁶ In 1533 Domenico da Bologna was appointed as royal architect, probably as a reward for his former activity in the service of King Ferdinand I. Later, around 1540 Domenico went over to King John's service, drawn probably by promises of a higher salary. Contemporary sources emphasized the merits of the architect in connection with the fortification of the capital Buda; however, modern research has revoked the decisive role ascribed to Domenico in this work.⁷ Since the fortification of Buda had already started in 1531, before his engagement to the court of John Szapolyai, it must have been designed and led by other architects. Although there's not much evidence concerning the details of Domenico's activity in Szapolyai's service, the fact that his efforts have been rewarded with a number of properties

in Buda, suggest that he must have completed important tasks on the royal construction sites. The original letter of donation issued by Szapolyai's chancellery is lost, there is only a draft of a *nova donatio* (issued by Ferdinand I of Habsburg a month after Szapolyai's death, in August 1540) that refers to it, confirming the right of ownership of *Dominicus de Bononia Architectus* to the houses from Buda.⁸ Following the death of his rival to the throne of the Hungarian Kingdom, it seems that the Habsburg sovereign attempted to regain the architect to his own side. Thus in August 1540 he again offered Domenico the position of royal architect for a 50 florins monthly wage, and even issued a passport (*salvus conductus*) for him and his serfs, to use on their journey to the royal court in Vienna.⁹ However the architect did not take advantage of Ferdinand's goodwill, since in September 1540 and even a year later he was still in Buda.¹⁰ In preparation for the siege of Ferdinand's troops, Domenico da Bologna fortified the castle of Buda following George Martinuzzi's (†1551) orders. He built strong earthen ramparts behind the enceinte walls in order to strengthen the walls as well as for the emplacement of the guns for defence.¹¹ After the Habsburg siege of Buda, in 1541 he is no longer mentioned in the Carpathian Basin. Thus the only fortress that can be associated almost certainly with Domenico da Bologna's activity is that of Gherla, where he worked in 1540.¹²

Except for Gherla, the other fortresses built around the middle of the 16th century can be attributed to the Italian architects that had arrived in Transylvania between 1551 and 1556, when the province came temporarily under the rule of Ferdinand I of Habsburg. The stirring activity of Italian architects on the Transylvanian fortification sites in these years could leave the impression that the consolidation works of the defensive system had come to a steady course. Giovanni Battista Castaldo for example, the commander of the royal troops in Transylvania between 1551 and 1552, supported the fortification of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), Cluj-Mănăştur (Kolozsmonostor), Oradea (Nagyvárad) as well as the modernization of the defensive walls of Sebeş (Szászsebes), Sibiu and Sighișoara. In the meantime the military commander ordered the consolidation of the fortresses in the Banat region – at Lugoj (Lugos), Caransebeş (Karánsebes), Lipova (Lippa) and Timișoara (Temesvár) – that had been under permanent Ottoman threat coming from the west. He also intended to secure the borders and passes between Transylvania and the neighbouring Romanian principalities – Moldavia (Moldova) and Wallachia (Țara Românească) – by building frontier fortresses in the Brașov region, as well as in the Oituz (Ojtoz) and Buzău (Bodza) passes. The analysis of the historical records concerning the subject reveals the character of *Alexander capitān[us] architectus regiae maiestatis*, who was apparently the busiest architect in Castaldo's service. The figure who is referred to in the sources most often only by his first name and his origin – Alessandro da Urbino – was most probably also the man

who went by the names Alessandro Clippa or Alessandro Cavolini da Urbino, whom we find at the beginning of the 1550s at the fortresses of Sibiu, Lipova and Timișoara.¹³ He started working in Transylvania in the summer of 1551, when he designed the imposing Haller Bastion from Sibiu.¹⁴ In 1552 the priority in terms of fortifications passed to other regions of the province, therefore the architect – still the only competent architect in Castaldo's service¹⁵ at the time – left Sibiu. In January 1552 we find him in Lugoj¹⁶ and Caransebeș¹⁷ where he considered methods for the reconstruction of these castles. In the spring of 1552 he directed the construction of the fortresses of Timișoara and Lipova. At the same time he was in charge of securing the passes towards Moldavia – Oituz and Buzău – where he travelled on several occasions to analyze the site for the construction of frontier fortresses.¹⁸ Presumably during his stops in Brașov, on the way to the Moldavian passes, Alessandro da Urbino had the opportunity to inspect the building site from the Brașov Citadel, that was to be extended in that very period.¹⁹ Although our sources do not specify that Alessandro had contributed to this fortification work, it is a fact that the magistrate of Brașov rewarded him at the end of February 1552 with two oriental carpets and 10 florins, presumably in recognition of his services brought to the city. Furthermore, the fact that after a month he returned to Brașov invited by the magistrate in order to continue the constructions of certain strongholds, suggests in our opinion his contribution to the construction of the Citadel.²⁰ The constructions from Lipova started in April 1552 under the supervision of the same Alessandro who built a fortress there with four bastions. The construction had not been finished yet, when at the news of the surrender of Timișoara to the Turks (on the 27th of July 1552), the captain of Lipova, terrified by the consequences of an eventual defeat, decided to empty the castle.²¹ Following this event, classified as treason by the royal authorities, da Urbino disappeared from Transylvania. He is last mentioned in January 1553 in a letter addressed by Radu Ilie (Haidăul) – the voivode of Wallachia (Nov. 1552 – May 1553), to whose court the architect probably fled – to Castaldo, announcing him about master Alessandro's death, being killed in a horse-riding accident.²²

The architect called Sigismondo da Pratovecchio da Pisa (de Prato, de Preda) came to Transylvania together with his son, Felice, probably also during the rule of Castaldo. The circumstances in which they were hired into the service of King Ferdinand are still unknown, but before that they must have served the duke of Florence, Cosimo I de Medici. The fact that Sigismondo informed the duke of his constructions in Vienna (?) in 1550 could confirm this presumption.²³ In the 1540s, Sigismondo worked on modernizing the defensive walls of Vienna, Győr (Hungary) as well as on some public buildings in Austria. In the winter of 1551–1552 we find Sigismondo and Felice already in Oradea

where they were assigned to finish the modernization works of the castle that had begun in the time of the bishop George Martinuzzi.²⁴ In a letter dated 13th of March 1552 from Oradea, Sigismondo advised the king on certain aspects of the fortress designed there. We learn from this letter that they planned to replace the obsolete defensive walls of Oradea with a modern fortress defended by four bastions. Apparently Sigismondo even sent a plan (?) of the fortress to the king. Unfortunately, the drawing has been lost, and there is no other information available concerning the construction. In these circumstances we tend to believe that this early, bastioned project for the fortress of Oradea failed to materialize after all. The endless delay of the works caused, it seems, Castaldo's objections to Sigismondo da Pratovecchio, as it turns out from a letter of the commander dated on the 9th of March 1552: "Sigismundus est in Varadino, sed etsi hic [at Sibiu] esset, nescio ad quid serviret cum nihil unquam concludat."²⁵ The most significant centre of their activity in Transylvania was the castle of Khust (Huszt, Ukraine). Felice da Pisa was sent there to start the construction of the fortress before the 23rd of June 1552.²⁶ The survey of the castle and the plans of the new defensive works were made by his father, Sigismondo. The king agreed to the project in July and ordered its initiation. We find Felice da Pisa on the building site of Khust in the following years as well, until the completion of the fortress in 1554. In the meantime, he worked on the fortification of Baia Mare (Nagybánya) and in the Northern part of the Hungarian Kingdom at Levice (Léva, Slovakia), Košice (Kassa, Slovakia) and at the castle of Šariš (Sáros, Slovakia). His father worked in Lipova and Timișoara in 1551, later, in 1553, we find him in Eger (Hungary) and Muráň (Murány, Slovakia).²⁷

Besides Alessandro da Urbino and Sigismondo da Pratovecchio the military engineer Sforza Pallavicino had also worked on the fortresses of Lipova and Timișoara, while another architect, Martino Spazio, is also mentioned as being on the construction site of Timișoara. Andrea da Treviso (Trevisano) was referred to as *supremus magister* among the masons and builders from Transylvania. After 1554 he worked in Timișoara and probably in Alba Iulia as well. Antonio da Bufalo arrived in Transylvania in the summer of 1554 for an inspection of the fortresses in the area, but his stay extended to several months. He worked as a royal architect in Alba Iulia, he laid the foundations of a fortress in Gurghiu (Görgény) and overtook probably the modernization works of the defensive wall of Sibiu as well after master Andreas had left. In a letter addressed to the Royal Treasury in February 1555, the architect complained that he hadn't been paid by the bishop Paul Bornemisza for his work on the fortress of Alba Iulia. He died towards the end of 1556.²⁸ Francesco da Pozzo, Antonio da Spazio and Christophoro Stella are also architects that worked in Transylvania in the 1550's, but their activity hasn't been associated with specific buildings so far.²⁹

The Habsburg rulers of the Hungarian Kingdom maintained their claims to Transylvania even after the return of Queen Isabella and implicitly the return of the Szapolyai family to the throne of the principality (1556). The fact that the Habsburg kings of Hungary often supported the construction of the Transylvanian fortress system must have been done in the hope of the reunification of the former territories of the medieval Hungarian state. This was most often done by sending military architects in royal service to the region. On other occasions, in the periods of more strained diplomatic relations between the two powers, the royal military architects were frequently drawn to Transylvania by the more favourable salaries promised by the princes. This was the case of Domenico da Bologna for example. The above phenomenon can be generally demonstrated for all categories of craftsmen in royal service, indicating that the Habsburg authorities did not succeed in preventing this from happening.

The prolonged construction of the modern fortress of Oradea³⁰ provides examples for every way in which Italian architects would be engaged in princely service. The geographic proximity of the Oradea fortress from Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti) ruled by the Habsburgs and even more, the similarity between the ground plans of the two pentagonal fortresses built within 4 years of one another, suggest the use of regular polygonal ground plan-style in Transylvania by the example of Satu Mare. Therefore, it is believed that the designer architect of Oradea too – presumably *Julius Caesar fundator* who resided in Oradea in 1570 – must have come to Transylvania from the Hungarian Kingdom. It is very likely that this Giulio Cesare was lent to Prince John Sigismund (1556–1571) as a consequence of the easing of the diplomatic tensions between the two powers after the Treaty of Speyer (1570).³¹

The designer architect must have left Transylvania by 1572, since in 1573 the prince (Stephen Báthory, 1571–1586) had already asked the Hungarian king Maximilian I (1564–1576) to send an architect and 20 masons to Oradea. In February 1573 the king promised to “lend” his architect, who was active in Tokaj (Hungary) at the time. As for the masons, he refused the prince’s request through fear that the sultan would find out about this obvious support of the Habsburgs towards the construction of the Transylvanian fortress.³² Our sources don’t reveal the cause for which the architect (most probably Johannes Planck) hadn’t been sent to Oradea after all. We can only assume that this was related to the cooling relations between the two sovereigns, due to the strengthening movement of Gáspár Bekes directed against the prince and supported by King Maximilian.

Ottavio Baldigara, one of the busiest and most skilled Italian architects in the service of the Hungarian kings in the last third of the 16th century, worked for more than two decades on military construction sites in Hungary, especially in the upper parts of the country. The fact that in 1584 and 1585 he was sent

with King Rudolf's (1576–1608) consent to correct the fortification-errors of the fortress of Oradea, was the result of negotiations conducted in this purpose by Stephen Báthory, king of Poland and prince of Transylvania. The architect had a decisive role in the completion of the fourth bastion of the fortress.³³ Besides exploiting their diplomatic relations with the courts of Vienna and Prague (Praha, Czech Republic) in order to obtain architects for the constructions in Transylvania, the Báthorys took advantage of their direct relations with Italy as well. Simone Genga arrived in Oradea in September 1584 at the summons of the Polish king, Stephen Báthory, sent to the abbot Stanislav Reszka in Rome and to his nephew, the cardinal Andrew Báthory.³⁴ Thus the generous offer of the king and his intervention mentioned above had convinced the architect of the grand duke of Tuscany³⁵ to go over for a while in the service of Stephen Báthory. Simone Genga was soon followed by his brothers: Flaminio, Fabio, Fulvio and Giovanbattista. After the death of Stephen Báthory, Genga continued his activity in the principality in the service of Prince Sigismund Báthory (1588–1602 with interruptions), with the consent of the grand duke of Tuscany.³⁶ In the autumn of 1595, the prince allowed the architect – already aged 70 – to return to Italy. However, in the next spring, we find Simone Genga in Transylvania again, where he died a few years later. He was murdered together with his brother, Fabio, in the castle of Vințu de Jos (Alvinc). Their death must have occurred around 1601,³⁷ since in December 1601 Simone's former house from Alba Iulia was given to another *familiaris* of the prince.³⁸

As reflected in the data presented so far, on the military construction sites of the 16th century Transylvania the planning, the demarcation of the foundations, the choice of the construction techniques of the fortresses as well as the controlling of the accuracy of the work was in the charge of foreign architects, in most cases Italians. These specialists were usually employed by the prince and received a fixed salary for the whole time of their service. In the case of Simone Genga for example, it is known that besides his monthly wage,³⁹ Sigismund Báthory provided boarding for him and his four serfs and as well as fodder for their horses. The prince held Simone in high esteem insomuch as he was appointed princely arch-chamberlain (*praefectus cubiculi*), he was even given a house in the capital, Alba Iulia, and certain parts of properties in Hunedoara (Hunyad) county.⁴⁰ In 1595, on the occasion of Simone's temporary return to Italy, Sigismund Báthory intervened on his behalf to Pope Clement VIII, asking him to receive the architect among the cardinals.⁴¹

Ottavio Baldigara worked in the service of the prince under different terms. He remained in the employment of the Viennese court, and was deputed with the consent of the Habsburg sovereign to Transylvania where he stayed for short periods, only for as long as it required to solve the task he had been requested

for. Concerning his wage, it is known that when he left the construction site of the fortress of Oradea, he was rewarded on behalf of the king of Poland with precious gifts: a golden necklace worth 300 golden florins, a horse worth 100 florins, 40 martens, a chalice and 500 florins. These gifts were meant to encourage him to go back to Transylvania again in the future if needed.⁴²

Besides this favoured group of the architects we must refer to the other, more numerous group of workmen who contributed to the constructions: skilled craftsmen or free masters from the towns, as well as the peasants living on the estates belonging to each fortress. Quite a large proportion of the sources refer to the recruitment of stonemasons, builders, brick makers, carpenters, joiners etc. that left each spring from the towns of the principality for the princely construction sites.⁴³ The initiator and head of these constructions was the prince, who often signed himself the letters addressed to the town magistrates summoning skilled labourers or ordering building materials to the fortress building sites. On several occasions, the prince Stephen Báthory sent the list of the craftsmen that were needed to proceed with the fortification of Oradea.⁴⁴ However, the response of the magistrate of Bistrița to such a letter in the spring of 1572 suggests that the prince wasn't very well informed about what was going on with the workmen on the site, e.g. he wasn't aware that out of the six masons listed two were already in Oradea, one had died a year before at the same fortress, another two had already been summoned to another princely construction site, as for a certain *Franz* there was no such mason in the guild. They couldn't send brick makers either, since there were only four of them left in the town.⁴⁵

On other occasions the craftsmen were recruited and building materials were ordered by the senior staff members of the fortresses (captains, prefects, provisors) who acted on the behalf and under the control of the prince. The town mayor or the judge forwarded to the guilds the workforce requirements, who then named the masters that were to leave together with their journeymen and apprentices for the princely building sites. The guilds were obliged by statutes to obey the demands of the prince in this respect.⁴⁶

There's not enough evidence to determine the number of the workmen that activated annually on the princely construction sites.⁴⁷ However we can estimate the number of the Saxon craftsmen sent to build the fortress of Oradea in the 16th century. It seems that in the first two years only stonemasons and builders were needed, at least 17 and 5 of them respectively in 1569. Starting in 1570, as the bricklaying had begun, besides the stonemasons and builders 52 Saxon brick makers arrived on the building site. In the following year around 200 brick makers were claimed out of which 35 were from the District of Bistrița, 38 from the District of Brașov and the rest from the Saxon Seats. In the following years their number gradually decreased: in 1572 the Saxon University had

demanded the recruitment of 150 brick makers for the building site from Oradea – the Districts of Braşov and Bistriţa assigned 24 and 39 of them respectively –, then between 1579 and 1583 only around 75-80 brick makers were required, as from 1589 on even fewer were sent to the fortress: around 50 each year, out of which around 7-10 came from the District of Bistriţa.⁴⁸ The decreasing number of the craftsmen active in Oradea towards the end of the century reflects the reducing pace of the work, a permanent tendency until the second decade of the 17th century. Besides the Saxons, the Transylvanian counties and the free royal towns⁴⁹ were also obliged to send craftsmen and unskilled labourers to the princely building sites. The noblemen from Middle Solnoc, Crasna and Bihor Counties had to provide day-workers through the whole period of the construction of Oradea. Furthermore the analysis of the mason's marks of the fortress has confirmed that local craftsmen had worked continuously on the construction.⁵⁰

The craftsmen working on the princely building sites were provided a weekly wage and/or boarding. The cost of the building materials (including their transportation) and the cost of the transportation of the workmen were later deducted from the taxes owed by the town to the treasury. The continuous delay of the wages, the bitter living conditions on the military construction sites, the prolonged hard work and absence from home, the continuance of the work sometimes even in winter explains the general renitence of the craftsmen against these labour obligations and their repeated escapes from the princely building sites. The stonemasons were in the worst situation due to the fact that their work wasn't influenced directly by frost, thus they were obliged to work in Oradea in some cases even in winter time. In 1572 for example, the captain of the fortress discharged two stonemasons after almost 40 weeks of service in the fortress. In the same year a certain Stenczel stonemason from Sibiu had worked in Oradea for 11 months, while a stonemason called Michael was sent home after 26 weeks.⁵¹ It is no wonder that from the craftsmen's point of view the labour on the princely construction sites was equivalent to exile.⁵² The frequent escapes and general dissatisfaction of the workmen can be explained by the obsolescence of the building organization, since the peasants of the neighbouring area worked to fulfil communal work obligations, whereas the urban handicraftsmen were bound by guild regulations to take part in the princely building projects, under circumstances that were, in any case, disadvantageous to them.

Thus the present research has highlighted a few Transylvanian peculiarities of the organization of fortress building. First of all the survival of medieval organizational patterns as well as the centralization of the princely commission must be noted. As the head of the princely construction sites, the prince himself controlled all aspects of the construction down to the smallest details, even tracking (through correspondence) the workmen who fled. In conclusion, in order to

make sure that the construction continued, the sustained effort of the sovereign was essential, however it is very difficult to judge its efficiency. The contemporary sources and the analysis of the fortresses built in the 16th century certify that in Transylvania the accomplishments in this field remained far behind the requirements of the princes, and well behind the achievements of the states of similar size within the Holy Roman Empire. We consider that the fallback of the principality in this respect was most likely caused by the constant lack of man-power⁵³ and money, which can be explained by the principality's sparse population and the survival of medieval economic structures.

To sum up – taking into account all fortifications, not only those built on the estates of the treasury – it appears that between 1539 and 1600 a mere ~~ten~~, modestly sized⁵⁴ (with the exception of Oradea) fortresses (the Citadel of Braşov, Gherla, Leţ, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Beclean, Şimleu Silvaniei, Khust, Lipova and Oradea for the most part) were built, largely following the requirements of the bastioned technology. In addition, the fortifications of some five towns (Alba Iulia, Sebeş, Sibiu, Sighişoara and Braşov) were partly modernized, with the inclusion of bastions. Thus the population of Transylvania could not supply a specialized labour force for establishing and maintaining a denser and more modern castle network than it actually was. Very illustrative from this point of view is the example of Oradea, the construction of which dragged on for nearly six decades, meaning it could be realized only through the efforts of two generations. In contrast, the four-bastion castle of Ghent in the Netherlands, with a somewhat smaller perimeter than Oradea,⁵⁵ was built in five years, starting in 1540.⁵⁶

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Notes

1. The latest overview of the subject with further bibliography: Klára P. Kovács, “The Construction of Bastioned Fortresses in 16th-Century Transylvania,” in *Studies in the History of Early Modern Transylvania*, ed. Gyöngy Kovács Kiss, Atlantic Studies on Society in Change no. 140. – East European Monographs no. 786 (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Monographs; Highland Lakes, New Jersey: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc., 2011), 359–395.
2. The primary sources on which the study relies are: Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch, Cluj-Napoca (Direcția Județeană Cluj a Arhivelor Naționale, Cluj-Napoca; henceforth: Nat. Arch. Cluj), Bistrița Town Archives, Account books (Primăria Oraşului Bistrița, seria IVa); Nat. Arch. Cluj, Bistrița Town Archives, Correspondence (Primăria Oraşului Bistrița, seria I; henceforth: POB); Nat. Arch. Cluj, Cluj Town Archives, Account books (Primăria Municipiului Cluj, Socotelile oraşului Cluj); Nat. Arch. Cluj, Cluj Town Archives, Correspondence (Primăria

Municipiului Cluj, Fasc. III); Romanian National Archives Braşov County Branch, Braşov (Serviciul Judeţean al Arhivelor Naţionale Braşov, Braşov), Braşov Town Archives, Account books (Primăria Municipiului Braşov, Socoteli alodiale; henceforth: POBv); Romanian National Archives, Sibiu County Branch, Sibiu (Serviciul Judeţean al Arhivelor Naţionale Sibiu, Sibiu), Sibiu Town Archives, Account books (Magistrat, Socoteli consulare); National Archives of Hungary, Microfilm Collection, X 896 (Magyar Országos Levéltár, Mikrofilmtár, X 896 – microfilm copies of the records preserved in the National Archives of Austria: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Ungarische Akten, Allgemeine Akten; henceforth: MOL X 896). The research of the archival material is still ongoing, therefore the present study cannot offer an exhaustive analysis of the activity of Italian architects in the principality, yet is limited solely to recently discovered data that amend the previous knowledge on this topic.

3. Albert Berger, ed., *Urkunden-Regesten aus dem Archiv der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen. 1203–1570* (Records and *regestae* from the Bistriţa town archives in Transylvania. 1203–1570), *Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens*, no. 11/I-II (2 vols., Cologne-Weimar-Vienna: Böhlau, 1986), vol. 1, no. 1442.
4. Wilhelm Wenrich, “Künstlernamen aus Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Vergangenheit”, *Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 22 (1889): 46.
5. Jolán Balogh, *Az erdélyi renaissance. I. 1460–1541* (The Transylvanian renaissance) (Cluj-Napoca: Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet, 1943), 209–211; Jolán Balogh, *Váradinum. Várad vára* (Varadinum: The castle of Oradea), *Művészettörténeti Füzetek* (Cahiers d’histoire de l’art), no. 13/1–2 (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), vol. 2, 341.
6. Contrary to the statement of the study signed by Kovács-Țoca, the biographical information published by Balogh referring to the architect, does not necessarily imply the presence of da Bologna at Regensburg, Innsbruck, or Linz. András Kovács and Mircea Țoca, “Arhitecți italieni în Transilvania în cursul secolelor al XVI-lea și al XVII-lea” (Italian architects in Transylvania during the 16th and 17th centuries), *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Historia* 2 (1973): 20.
7. István Feld, “A magyarországi építészet Szapolyai János korában” (Architecture in Hungary in the age of John Szapolyai), in *Tanulmányok Szapolyai Jánosról és a kora újkori Erdélyről* (Studies on John Szapolyai and early modern Transylvania), eds. József Bessenyei et alii (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2004), 73; András Végh, “A középkori várostól a török erődig” (From medieval town to Turkish fort), *Budapest régiségei* 31 (1997): 299, note 75.
8. MOL X 896, W 339, f. 46 (26 Aug. 1540).
9. Balogh, *Erdélyi renaissance*, 210; MOL X 896, W 339, f. 47 (26 Aug. 1540).
10. MOL X 896, W 339, f. 29 (10 Sept. 1540), 47 (13 Sept. 1540).
11. According to Antonio Mazza’s contemporary account referring to the siege: “*Da tutte le parti di detta cittate (!) che erano deboli, [il frate – Martinuzzi] gli e fatto un terrapieno honesto et ben fondato, opera tutta di un inzegnero Bolognese, chiamato Dominico, qual solea essere a servicii del Re di Romani, et per non esser intertenuto con provisione sufficienti, ne pagato di quella che l’havea quando gli occorreva il bisogno gia pochi anni*

si era accostato al Re Giovanni, dal quale era stato benissimo veduto et acarecciato.” Apud Balogh, *Erdélyi renaissance*, 210.

12. The former bibliography presumed his contribution at the construction of the castle from Vințu de Jos, commissioned by George Martinuzzi as well. (Jolán Balogh, “A renaissance építészeti és szobrászati Erdélyben,” *Magyar Művészet* 10/5 (1934): passim; József Biró, *Erdélyi kastélyok* (Castles from Transylvania) (Budapest: Új idők, 1943), 41; Cornelio Budinis, *Gli artisti Italiani in Ungheria* (Italian architects in Hungary) (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1936), 85. These presumptions have been excluded by recent researches. See the latest study on the construction history of the castle: András Kovács, “Az alvinci kastély és leltárjai” (The Castle of Vințu de Jos and its inventories), in *Erdély 17–18. századi építészeti forrásaiból*, (Historical records concerning Transylvanian buildings from the 17th and 18th centuries), ed. Zsolt Kovács, Sapiientia Könyvek, Társadalomtudomány no. 31 (Cluj-Napoca: Scientia, 2004), 9–10.
13. Maggiorotti and Banfi had identified Alessandro da Urbino with Alessandro Cavolini da Urbino already in 1933. Despite this the authors of the study on Italian architects working in Transylvania, that was published in 1973 treat the three names as separate persons. See: Leone Andrea Maggiorotti, Florio Banfi, “Le fortezze di Temesvár e di Lippa in Transilvania,” *Atti dell’Istituto di Architettura militare* 3 (1933): note 50; Kovács and Ţoca, “Arhitecți italieni,” 20–21. However the historical sources of the period reflect a coherent string of data that document the activity of the same Alessandro on the construction sites of the Transylvanian fortresses between 1551 and 1552.
14. Ludwig Reissenberger, “Über die ehemaligen Befestigungen von Hermannstadt” (On the former fortifications of Sibiu), *Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 29 (1899): 331.
15. In January 1552 the commander mentioned that he planned to fortify Alba Iulia, but as he only had one architect – Alessandro –, he intended to call more specialists from Italy. S[amu] B[arabás], “Erdély történetére vonatkozó regesták. 1551–1553-ig” (*Regestae* on the history of Transylvania from 1551 until 1553), *Történelmi Tár* 14 (1891): 442.
16. The historical sources that we can rely on neither confirm nor contradict the supposition of Sebestyén referring to the activity of Alessandro da Urbino at the construction of the trapeze-shaped, bastioned outer defence wall. Gheorghe Sebestyén, *O pagină din istoria arhitecturii din România. Renașterea* (A page from the history of architecture in Romania. The renaissance) (București: Editura Tehnică, 1987), 126.
17. The historical evidence shows however that the pentagonal, bastioned fortress was built only in the last decade of the 17th century. Sebestyén, *O pagină*, 94–98.
18. B[arabás], “Regesták,” 643, 645, 647–649, 651–652; S[amu] B[arabás], “Erdély történetére vonatkozó regesták. 1551–1553-ig” (*Regestae* on the history of Transylvania from 1551 until 1553), *Történelmi Tár* 15 (1892): 143, 147–148, 152. The construction of the fortresses in the passes was hindered on the one hand by the opposition of the Szeklers, and on the other hand by the beginning of the Ottoman

siege of Timișoara, that had focalized every energy on the Banat. See as well: Zsigmond Lóránd Bordi, “Az ojtozi-szorosi Rákóczi-vár 2004. évi régészeti kutatása” (Archaeological Research on the Rákóczi fortress in the Ojtoz Pass in 2004), *Acta Siculica* (2007): 306–307.

19. See the latest study on the construction history of the Citadel: Klára P. Kovács, “Adatok a brassói Fellegvár építéstörténetéhez” (Contributions to the construction history of the Citadel of Brașov), in *Liber discipulorum. Tanulmányok Kovács András 65. születésnapjára* (Liber discipulorum: Studies for the 65th birthday of András Kovács), eds. Zsolt Kovács, Emese Sarkadi Nagy and Attila Weisz, (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Entz Géza Alapítvány, 2011), 104–108.
20. MOL X 896, W 660, f. 7 (3 March 1552), f. 65^v (7 March 1552), f. 113^r (15 March 1552), f. 119^r (16 March 1552), f. 203 (26 March 1552); POBv 313, V/8, 323, 332, 337–338.
21. Ferenc Szakály, ed., *Bernardo de Aldana magyarországi hadjárata. [1548-1552]* (The Hungarian expedition of Bernardo Aldana), *Bibliotheca Historica, Történelmi és Művelődéstörténeti Sorozat* (Budapest: Európa, 1986), 43, 204–207, 211–212, 233–234; Maggiorotti, Banfi, “Le fortezze,” 36–39.
22. Endre Veress, ed., *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești* (Charters on the history of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia), (11 vols., Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1929–1939), vol. 1, 124; Kovács and Țoca, “Arhitecți italieni,” 20–21. Contrary to the information found in the cited works the voivode of Wallachia at the time was not Radu Vodă Paisie, who ruled only until 1545.
23. See for example Sigismondo da Pratovecchio’s letter to Cosimo I de Medici, dated 22 April 1550: http://documents.medici.org/document_details.cfm?entryid=6353&returnstr=orderby=SendPlace@result_id=14370 (downloaded on 2 Febr. 2011.)
24. B[arabás], “Regesták,” *Történelmi Tár* 14 (1891): 441–442.
25. MOL X 896, W 660, f. 75^v (9 March 1552).
26. “Felicem, filius Sigismundi architecti ad fortificationem Huzt incipiendat miseram” – Castaldo to archduke Maximilian of Austria (son of Ferdinand I, the later emperor Maximilian II): MOL X 896, W 662, f. 104 (23 June 1552, Vienna).
27. Concerning the works of Sigismondo and Felice of Pratovecchio see: József Herzog, “Adatok a hazai építészet XVI. századi történetéhez” (Contributions to the domestic architecture in the 16th century), *Magyar Művészet* 2/4 (1926): 243; Vidor Pataki, “A XVI. századi várépítés Magyarországon” (The construction history of the 16th century fortresses in Hungary), *A bécsi Magyar Történelmi Intézet Évkönyve* 1 (1931): 106–108; Brigitte Hauptner and Rudolf Hauptner, “Der Tätigkeit Italienische Festungbaumeister im Rahmen der Reichsverteidigung in und um Wien”, in *Architetti e ingegneri militari italiani all'estero dal XV al XVIII secolo*, ed. Marino Viganò (Livorno: Istituto Italiano dei Castelli, 1994), 210–211; Jolán Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* (Stone-cutting workshops in Cluj: The 16th century) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 204, 208, 311; Endre Marosi, “Itáliai hadiépitészek részvétele a magyar végvárrendszer kiépítésében 1541–1592 között” (The contribution of Italian architects in the construction of the frontier fortress system of Hungary between

- 1541 and 1592), *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 47 (1974): 47, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56–57, 59, 62, 67, 68. The cited studies mention neither the kinship of the architects, nor their activity in Oradea.
28. Pataki, “Várépítés,” 108; Kovács and Țoca, “Arhitecți italieni,” 20–22; Costin Feneșan, “Antonio Bufalo, ein italienischer Architekt in Diensten der Habsburger und sein Wirken in Siebenbürgen (1554–1555),” in *Miscellanea in honorem Radu Manolescu emerito*, eds. Zoe Petre and Stelian Brezeanu (Bucharest: Editura Universității București, 1996), 201–205; Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Hoffinanz Ungarn, RN 5, Konv. 1555 Apr., f. 1–14; RN 6, Konv. 1556. Dec., f. 2–7.
29. Pataki, “Várépítés,” 108; Kovács and Țoca, “Arhitecți italieni,” 20–22.
30. The bastioned fortress situated on the north-western frontier of Transylvania was built on a roughly regular pentagonal ground plan between 1568 and 1627. Oradea was the most significant fortress of the principality both strategically and in terms of the domestic evolution of the military architecture during the 16–17th centuries as well. For the short history and for further bibliography see: P. Kovács, “Bastioned Fortresses,” 369–371.
31. This presumption has been launched and debated by András Kovács, who went even further by identifying Giulio Cesare with a member of the well-known Baldigara family, which had worked even on the fortress of Satu Mare. György Domokos disagrees, stating that Giulio and Cesare Baldigara were actually two distinct and separate people. András Kovács, “L’architetto del’anno 1570 della fortezza di Oradea” (The architect of the fortress of Oradea in 1570), in *Omaggio a Dinu Adameșteanu* (Homage to Dinu Adameșteanu), ed. Marius Porumb (Cluj-Napoca: Clusium, 1996), 255–256; György Domokos, “Újabb adatok a szatmári erődítmény építéstörténetéhez az 1660–1670-es években” (New data on the construction history of the fortification at Satu Mare in the 1660s and 1670s), *Castrum* 4 (2006): 47, footnote no. 2.
32. Balogh, *Varadinum*, vol. 2, 79.
33. György Domokos, *Ottavio Baldigara. Egy itáliai várfundáló mester Magyarországon* (Ottavio Baldigara: An Italian fortress constructor master in Hungary), *A Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum Millenniumi Könyvtára* no. 2 (Budapest: Balassi, 2000), 60–62.
34. Balogh, *Varadinum*, vol. 1, 48–49; vol. 2, 89, 91.
35. Simone Genga worked in the service of the grand duke of Tuscany on the construction of the fortresses from Grosseto, Terra del Sole, Sasso di Simone, San Martino (San Piero a Sieve), Radicofani between around 1569 and 1577. See: Giuseppina Carla Romby, “‘Munita Thuscia’ I cantieri della difesa nello stato mediceo del ‘500’”, in *Fortezze d’Europa. Forme, professioni e mestieri dell’architettura difensiva in Europa e nel Mediterraneo spagnolo*, ed. Angela Marino (Roma: Gangemi, 2003), 143–147. After 1576 he was called to Styria (Steiermark, Austria) in the service of Archduke Carol (brother of Emperor Maximilian II and father of Princess Maria Crstierna, the wife of Sigismund Báthory). We find him on the fortification sites of Graz, Radkersburg and Fürstenfeld. It seems that he also worked in Hungary, but we don’t know the exact locations of his activity there. After the grand duke of Tuscany had lent Simone to the king of Poland (1584), the architect worked in Poland and in

- Transylvania. See: Kovács and Țoca, *Arhitecți*, 23–24; Balogh, *Varadinum*, vol. 2, 345–355.
36. Balogh, *Varadinum*, vol. 2, 347–348.
 37. Contrary to Szamosközy's statement (1602), that has been adopted by the modern bibliography as well. See: Balogh, *Varadinum*, 354; Tamás Kruppa, "Erdély és a Szentszék kapcsolatainak ismeretlen kérdésköréhez. Fabio Genga Római tárgyalásai 1594-ben és 1596-ban" (Little known issues about the relations between Transylvania and the Holy See. Fabio Genga's negotiations in Rome in 1594 and 1596), *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 117/4 (2004): 1192.
 38. Tamás Fejér, Etelka Rácz, and Anikó Szász, eds., *Az erdélyi fejedelmek királyi könyvei* (Libri Regii protocols of the Transylvanian princes), vol. I (1569–1602) *Báthory Zsigmond Királyi Könyvei. 1582–1602* (Libri Regii protocols of Sigismund Báthori), *Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok*, no. VII/3 (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2005; henceforth: *Királyi Könyvek*, vol. I/3), no. 1728.
 39. 75 florins in the service of Stephen Báthory, 76 talers in the service of Sigismund Báthory.
 40. *Királyi Könyvek*, vol. I/3, no. 1494, 1728, 1775; See also *ibid.*, no. 1392; Erika Kiss enumerates a line of specialists – among them Simone Genga as well – that were rewarded for their works in the princely service with nobiliary title and properties in the capital. There is no further data concerning the nobility of Genga, however he was addressed in the official records as *generosus*. Erika Kiss, "Ötvösök és megrendelők a királyi Magyarország és a fejedelemség udvaraiban" (Goldsmiths and commissioners in the courts of the Hungarian Kingdom and of the Principality), in *Emlékkönyv Kiss András születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Festschrift on the 80th birthday of András Kiss), eds. Sándor Pál-Antal, Gábor Sipos, András W. Kovács, and Rudolf Wolf (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2003), 247.
 41. Tamás Kruppa, ed., *Erdély és a Szentszék a Báthory korszakban. Kiadatlan iratok (1574–1599)* (Transylvania and the papacy under the Báthorys. Unpublished documents [1574–1599]), *Adattár XVI?XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, vol. 37 (Szeged: 2004), no. 68, 72. Genga didn't become cardinal after all. See *ibid.*, footnote 773.
 42. Kovács and Țoca, "Arhitecți italieni," 23; Balogh, *Varadinum*, vol. 2, 94.
 43. Among these Gherla and Oradea were the most important ones in the 16th century. There's not much evidence concerning the construction sites of the smaller princely fortresses from Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely) and Leț (Lécfalva). The situation of the construction of the town walls of Brașov, Sibiu, Sighișoara is slightly different, since these were not princely domains, thus the workers were mainly local craftsmen. Similarly, the nobiliary fortresses like Beclean (Bethlen) and Șimleu Silvaniei (Szilágysomlyó) were built by the workers living on the surrounding estate that belonged to the fortress.
 44. POB no. 3660 (27 Mai 1572); Balogh, *Varadinum*, vol. 2, 79–80 (28 Febr. 1573.)
 45. POB no. 3660 (27 Mai 1572).
 46. Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó*, 28, 33.

47. The following statements are based on the town accounts and correspondence of Cluj, Bistrița, Sibiu and Brașov (see: note 3). The records of the Transylvanian Diets from the 16th century were utilized as well (see: Sándor Szilágyi, ed., *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek. Monumenta Comitalia Regni Transylvaniae*, (21 vols., Budapest: MTA, 1875–1898), vol. 1–4.) The data regarding this aspect have been partly edited in the following publications: Berger, *Urkunden-Regesten*; Albert Berger, Ioan Drăgan, Ioan Dordea and Konrad Gündisch, eds., *Urkunden-Regesten aus dem Archiv der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen. 1571-1585* (Records and *regestae* from the Bistrița Town Archives in Transylvania. 1571–1585), *Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens*, no. 11/III (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 1995); Alexandru Avram, “Din contribuția maselor populare transilvănene la lupta antiotomană. Constructorii cetății din Oradea în ultima treime a secolului al XVI-lea” (On the contribution of the Transylvanian masses to the anti-Ottoman war. The builders of the fortress from Oradea in the last third of the 16th century), *Studii și Comunicări, Arheologie-Istorie* 20 (1977): 51–69; Balogh, *Varadinum*, vol. 2, 74–155. Since there is not much evidence concerning other Transylvanian towns, and the accounts of the princely constructions have been lost, the number of the workmen active on the building of these fortresses cannot be estimated.
48. See also the estimations of Emödi. János Emödi, *Történeti adatok Nagyvárad múltjából* (Historical data from Oradea’s past), (2 vols. Oradea: Literator, 1998), vol 2, 23–24.
49. The town accounts of Cluj certify the continuous sending of local craftsmen to the princely constructions, but usually without mentioning their number.
50. Emödi, *Történeti adatok*, 24–25, il. 22/XI.
51. POB no. 3607; Avram, “Din contribuția”, 57.
52. See for example the complaints of the stonemasons Jacob from Bistrița and Johannes Kroner (from Brașov) addressed to the town magistrate of Bistrița in 1584 and 1585: POB no. 5186, 5194.
53. Our sources attest that the princes always claimed more craftsmen for the building sites than there were enrolled in the town guilds. This fact shows clearly the permanent lack of skilled labour country-wide.
54. The length of the bastion-faces didn’t exceed 30 meters.
55. The defensive perimeter of Oradea is approximately 1400 meters, that of Ghent is some 1000 meters.
56. See Pieter Martens, “Construction and Destruction of Military Architecture in the Mid-16th-Century Low Countries: Some Observations on Labour Force,” in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History*, eds. Malcolm Dunkeld et alii (Cambridge: Construction History Society, 2006), vol. 2, 2115; P. Kovács, “Bastioned Fortresses,” 375–378.

Abstract

Fortress-Building in 16th-Century Transylvania. The Recruitment of Labour Force

The study seeks to highlight the main characteristics of the organization of the military construction sites in 16th-century Transylvania related to the recruitment of labour force (military engineers and architects, skilled craftsmen and day workers). The author provides new data concerning the activity of the Italian architects: Domenico da Bologna, Alessandro da Urbino, Sigismondo and Felice da Pisa and Simone Genga. The second part of the study describes the process of the recruitment of craftsmen and unskilled labourers as well as the working conditions on the princely building sites mostly through the example of the fortress from Oradea. Finally the author tries to identify the factors that caused the fallback of the principality in terms of fortifications in the 16th century. Among these the lack of money, the outdated organization of the construction sites and the permanent lack of man-power in the rarely populated state of Transylvania were probably the most important.

Keywords

Italian architects; Renaissance fortresses; bastion fortification; military architecture; organization of labour force; fortress building sites; Oradea; Gherla.

The Inquisitors in the Judicial Practice of Cluj at the End of the 16th Century

LÁSZLÓ PAKÓ

AS A result of the 16th-century political and economic changes, by the second half of the century the local government of the free royal town of Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) had been established. In matters of administration, jurisdiction and lawmaking the community of the citizens had managed their affairs according to their own regulations, being obliged to obey only the authority of the prince. The court of the town, that had the rights to proclaim capital punishment (*jus gladii*), exercised jurisdiction over its citizens; furthermore over every foreigner that committed a crime within the town-walls. The first judge (*iudex primarius*) and the royal judge (*iudex regius*) constituted the first instance of the town court in the hierarchy of the judicial institutions of Cluj; their decisions were censored by the inner council of the twelve jurors. The town notary, the town attorneys (*procuratores*), the executioner, the grab (*poroszló*), the summoners (*törvénytisztogatók*), and in exceptional cases even the members of the assembly of the *centumviri* (council of the hundred men) had as well certain duties in the judicial practice of the town. In this typical institutional framework of the early-modern European towns had emerged at the end of the 16th century the institution of the inquisitors (*directores causarum*) in Cluj.

Previous research has treated the activity and function of the institution only superficially. András Kiss merely noted its existence and summarized the range of its activities.¹ In what follows we would like to enlarge the knowledge concerning the judicial practices of the town in the era of the Principality, by investigating the reasons and circumstances of the establishment of the institution, its role in the jurisdiction of the town, and its influence on the latter.

The Establishment of the Institution

THE FIRST order of the general assembly of the town concerning the regulation of their activities dates from March 1587; however, one can find data attesting their judicial practices from the previous years as well. The two inquisitors of the town, called “*inquisitores malefactorum*”, are already mentioned in the witch trials of the year 1584.² In the first years of their activity their competence seems to be identical with that of the town attorneys: they plead the town mainly in cases involving criminal law.

Regarding the circumstances that brought forth the establishment of the institution, we must emphasize the growing effort of the town officials to tighten the control over the community of the town in order to insure increased security and order. That is because in the second half of the 16th century, due to the arrival of a great number of immigrants – refugees from the territories of the former medieval Kingdom of Hungary occupied by the Ottoman Empire, as well as several merchants and servants – in the town known for its security and its prosperous economic, commercial and religious life, the rate of delinquency increased.³ Consequently the council of the hundred tried to maintain the order by yearly repeated enactments and by the establishment of a more effective institutional system.⁴ Thus, this typical environment for the 16th century had served as a soil for the emergence of the institution of the inquisitors.

In the establishment of the institution a major role was played by the process that started in the canon law in the time of pope Innocent III, who reintroduced the inquisition procedure in the Constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). In short time the inquisition procedure was adopted in the secular criminal law as well. This meant that, as opposed to private prosecution, since that time public institutions could initiate and conduct the proceedings of a trial as well. The adoption of the measure in the secular law was eased by the endeavours of the centralizing governments to control the judicial power within their territories by replacing the private with public authority and by the officialization and bureaucratization of the judicial power. By the introduction of the inquisitorial procedure the state had initiated and assumed control over prosecutions, and in the meantime, by using different methods – like torture – it acquired the necessary information to successfully prosecute the enemies of the government and to gain or maintain control over the society. As Laura Ikins Stern stated, we are witnessing an “erosion of the concept of crime as a private matter”; moreover “as the concept of crime changed from crime as private matter to crime as a public matter, the public institutions became responsible for more and more parts of the procedure.”⁵ In Florence and other Italian city-states this process already started at the end of the 13th century,⁶ while on the territories of the German law it

first appeared at the end of 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, in the law codices of the time, attesting the reception of the Roman law.⁷ Until the middle of the 16th century the judicial practice of Cluj had been marked by the adversarial system, which meant that the trials were started only through private initiation.⁸ From the year 1572 onwards there is evidence showing that the government of the town – as public authority, represented by advocates – initiated the prosecution of criminals.⁹

The personality and the activity of György Igyártó had a determinant influence on the further evolution of this process and on the establishment of the institution of the inquisitors. As a well-known private attorney of the citizens in the 1580's, he had also represented the magistrate in the court in public affairs. Due to his activity the number of public prosecutions in the judicial practice of the town had considerably increased.¹⁰ However, his authority and influence served him in most selfish affairs as well: he summoned to court people he had been in conflict with.¹¹ Furthermore, in the year 1586 many such cases were brought to light in which in return for money he betrayed his clients and took the part of their opponents.¹² As a matter of fact Igyártó's abuses led the council to the conclusion that the public prosecution of the criminals could only be effective if the elected inquisitors were not engaged at the same time as attorneys in private cases; thus, the chances of serving private interests in opposition to the town's interest could decrease considerably.

The Duties of the Inquisitors

THE ORDER of the assembly of *centumviri* given on the 14th of March 1578 can be regarded as the first attempt of the town's law-makers to delineate the duties of the inquisitors. *“Beholding the flood of sin which took over the town, two important men were chosen, namely András Eötweös [and] Andreas Beuchel, to guard in the name of the town the sacred honour of God, on whose guidance they have given their oath. Those citizens charged with evil deeds shall be cited, and if their sinfulness is revealed they shall be arrested indiscriminately [by them]. They should prove against them by the testimonies of their meek neighbours, and as the privileges of the town show, if two conclusive witnesses testify against them, they shall be punished accordingly. If there will not be seven witnesses to testify against them, the charged ones will have the possibility to free themselves by an oath deposed with seven compurgators. Other privileges of the town shall be guarded by them as well, namely they shall see after the heritage of those departed without offspring.”*¹³ Thus, the inquisitors were charged to take immediate action against criminals in cases that did not involve private accusation.

Meanwhile their activity was continuously monitored by the *centumviri*. The latter occasionally even summoned them to take part in the pursuit, arrest and citation to court of the criminals. A committee formed by well-known attorneys or members of the inner council – former first judges and jurors – was constituted as well to support the activity of the inquisitors.¹⁴ The members of the committee were: Tamás Budai, a successful goldsmith and a prominent member of the magistrate, who had been elected first judge, royal judge, juror, steward, auditor, tax rectifier and mill supervisor for several times; his brother-in-law, Stephanus Pulacher, a tailor who by the time of his nomination in the committee had been already elected as royal judge, auditor, tax collector and tax rectifier of the town; Gáspár Vicei, a member of one of the most famous families of Cluj, who had been elected juror, tax collector, tax rectifier and auditor as well; the scribe Lucas Trauzner, who, after he had left the office of the town's notary, became a reputable advocate of the principality, and eventually achieved important offices in the state government.¹⁵ The inquisitors were obliged to follow the instructions of the town's first judge as well; furthermore they were supposed to intervene at the denouncements made by private persons. In 1592 for instance, responding to the demands of the two injured parties, they brought to court two Romanians accused of serial theft and robbery.¹⁶ In 1600 the inquisitors sued Mihály Segesvári at the relation of his former master, Stephanus Pulacher, accusing him of theft and robbery committed in the town after joining the foreign armies in wartime.¹⁷ In the same year, at the relation of the wife, they arrested a man who had beaten his mother-in-law to death.¹⁸

On the other hand, there were cases that featured the inquisitors as possible criminals. András Ötvös, a former councillor, due to an unproved murder suspicion was expelled from the council of the hundred.¹⁹ Another case features Gergely Balásfi, the inquisitor elected in the year 1593, who was charged of complicity to murder.²⁰ Both conflicts arose following their appointments as inquisitors, however, the further development of the cases is unknown. Apparently Ötvös' conflict was solved in the period of his two years long office-holding; while Balásfi had to, or was forced to abandon his office. The fact that he had been among the few inquisitors in function for merely one year seems to sustain our assumption that he had been forced to abandon his activity due to the charges raised against him.

According to the order given in March 1587, the inquisitors gained an important role in the management of the revenues of the town as well. Since the charter of Prince Stephan (István) Báthory from the year 1575 onwards the movable and the immovable goods of those citizens who died without offspring devolved upon the town.²¹ The validation of the acquired privilege, however, in numerous cases provoked a vehement opposition between the town and the treasury, or the

heirs who claimed the goods in question. The settlement of these affairs initially burdened the attorneys of the town or other members of the magistracy;²² however, after 1587 this duty had been assigned to the inquisitors. Thereafter, the assembly of the hundred had only supervised their activities, and, if needed, summoned them to intervene in cases concerning the incomes of the town.²³ In the acquisition of the goods the inquisitors frequently encountered impediments that required the intervention of the town's court. They cited mainly widowed citizens, from whom they claimed that part – one third or two thirds – of the wealth of the departed which was owed to the town either due to the lack of offspring, or according to the testament of the departed.²⁴ In many cases these suits dragged on for years, and the decision of the court often favoured the heirs.²⁵ In some cases, though, the inquisitors acquired properties even through violation of the heir's right.²⁶

The analysis of the range of activity of the inquisitors has shown that in the establishment of the institution the pattern had most certainly been provided by the state office of the prosecutor of the treasury (*director causarum fiscalium, kincstári jogüggyigazgató*). Regarding their duties, the similarities between the two institutions are clearly visible. As Zsolt Trócsányi had already pointed out, the main role of the prosecutor of the treasury had been the defence of the legal rights of the treasury, but in fact, in modern terms, he was the chief public prosecutor of the state.²⁷ In the same way the inquisitors from Cluj were in charge of the town's goods, being at the same time public prosecutors as well. The leading role of Cluj in creating a separate institution that was in charge of initiating public prosecutions should be pointed out as well, since in other Transylvanian towns of those times no such institution could be found. However, the circumstances necessary for its establishment were present in other parts of the country as well: the practice of public accusation spread also in the other jurisdictions, and other towns had equally gained the right to take over the goods of those citizens who departed without heirs. In Cluj the process must have been considerably accelerated by the favourable relationship between the officials of the town and the central government of the state.

Election, Career, Knowledge, Social Status

THE ASSEMBLY of the *centumviri* elected annually two inquisitors among themselves, consistently taking into account the existing parity system between the Hungarian and Saxon citizens in the nomination of the town officials.²⁸ Their appointment lasted for one year; however, the prolongation was quite usual.

	1584	1585	1586	1587	1588	1589	1590	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599
Imre Sala	x															
András Ötvös				x	x											
Andreas Beuchel				+	+											
Balázs Fábián							x									
Stephanus							+	+	+		+	+				+
Mintler/Palástos																
Márton Nyírő								x	x							
Gergely Balásfi												x				
Nicolaus Mark											+					
István Szabó/Jenei												x	x	x	x	x
Paulus Vildner													+	+		

x = Hungarian inquisitors; + = Saxon inquisitors

Thus, out of the 10 officials between the years 1587–1599, Stephanus Mintler/Palástos had been in place for six years (with an intermission of two years), while István Szabó/Jenei had been inquisitor for five consecutive years. András Ötvös, Andreas Beuchel, Márton Nyírő and Paulus Vildner had filled the office for at least two years, and merely four people were inquisitors for only one year, namely Imre Sala, Balázs Fábián, Gergely Balásfi and Nicolaus Mark.²⁹ Regarding the election of these officials, it can be noticed that in four years both inquisitors were re-elected, and in 1598 one of them occupied his office again after a few years of intermission. In two cases one of the members was re-elected, new-comers being nominated as their partners; in 1594 a former inquisitor had been appointed together with a novice. Thus, 1593 was the only year when both of the officials were elected for the first time. Hence, this information proves that the main principle followed by the *centumviri* in the election of the inquisitors was the transmission of the acquired knowledge and experience. Similarly to the attorneys, the inquisitors did not benefit of special theoretical training either, thus the bequeathing of the acquired experience and practice gained a great importance.

As members of the assembly of the *centumviri*, all the inquisitors were respected citizens, who possessed inherited property in the town and paid tax. There is scarce data concerning their personality, their knowledge in juridical and economical matters, or their experience in the hereditary practices of the town. However, by analyzing their careers as office-holders and their other activities performed before or by the time they were elected as inquisitors, we can draw certain conclusions on these matters. András Ötvös worked as a steward (*dispensator; sáfárpolgár*), auditor (*exactor; számvető*) and tax rectifier (*dicator; vonásigazgató*),³⁰ similarly to Andreas Beuchel, who had taken part in the administration of the town's incomes as an auditor and tax rectifier.³¹ Balázs Fábián worked as a mill supervisor (*malombíró*) and as the butchers' supervisor (*látómester*),³² Stephanus Mintler/Palástos was the captain of a town-quarter (*capitaneus quartae, fertálykapitány*) and the butchers' supervisor,³³ Paulus Vildner had been judge of the

trade (*iudex fori, vásárbíró*)³⁴ and Imre Sala was a member of the goldsmith's guild and worked as hospital master (*magister xenodochii, ispotálymester*) too.³⁵ Through these offices they presumably acquired a considerable practical knowledge that could be effectively utilized in the administration of the town's income. Regarding their juridical knowledge it is known that Ötvös had become a member of the inner council even before being elected as inquisitor, and often took part at the court interrogations as the town's official emissary. In the year 1585 he represented the town at the court of justice of the prince in Alba Iulia (*Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg*).³⁶ Nyíró and Mintler had often been engaged as arbiters (*fogott bírák*) in debates between citizens concerning properties or other assets.³⁷ István Jenei/Szabó was mentioned as clerk (*literatus, deák*), which may suggest that he had certain juridical knowledge; in the case of Gergely Balásfi it is merely presumed that he possessed juridical training as well.³⁸ In April 1583 Imre Sala was sent by the court to intervene and gather information about a debate on property rights between two citizens.³⁹

Based on these data one may affirm that these officials possessed higher knowledge than the average citizens concerning the juridical and economical matters of the town. Additionally there is no reference to any other advocatory activity in the case of either of these officials, a fact which repeatedly confirms our assumption, that the inquisitors had indeed taken part only in the trials initiated by the town as public authority. The inquisitors are nowhere to be found in the trials of the town magistrate started against other municipalities; well-known advocates from the counties or from the town were hired in those cases.

Regarding their careers after leaving the office of inquisitors, many of them were elected as tax rectifiers, tax collectors, auditors or they were assigned as arbiters. Only some of them acquired the highest positions in the town magistrate: András Ötvös became first judge and royal judge of the town, Andreas Beuchel had been elected as a member of the inner council and afterwards he became royal judge as well.⁴⁰ The sources, hence, reveal that the office of the inquisitors did not necessarily provide opportunities for spectacular and rapid professional, social or material mobility for their office-holders. Even if András Ötvös eventually managed to access important state offices, it happened mainly owing to his wealth and his economical and social relations. Although all of them were members of the council of the hundred, implying prestige, honour and notable positions, they did not necessarily belong to the highest elite, nor to the most determinant characters of the town's management. The two persons that do not fit the pattern were the inquisitors between 1587 and 1588, András Ötvös and Andreas Beuchel. They were elected, however, in the period when the assembly of the *centumviri* was trying to delineate the competence of the inquisitors, and by the election of more influential characters they attempted to urge the development of the institution.

The Inquisitors in the Judicial Practice of the Town

IN WHAT follows, we will try to demonstrate the influence of the institution on the judicial practice of the town through the investigation of lawsuits initiated by the inquisitors. The registers of the *centumviri* reveal that the inquisitors were required to intervene in cases like homicide, adultery, fornication, slander, bigamy, or against the disturbers of the town's peace and order.⁴¹ Furthermore the *centumviri* firmly requested their involvement in the pursuit, arrest and conviction of the wine smugglers as well.⁴² Occasionally they intervened against those who refused to pay taxes on town estates and services.⁴³ At the beginning of 1602 the inquisitors were asked to bring to court all those citizens who during the recent war times had left the town by joining the enemy and returned there only after the danger had passed.⁴⁴

The judicial records of the town provide further data on the activity of the inquisitors.⁴⁵ For the beginning we have to focus on the relationship between the inquisitors and the advocates of the town, and on the appearance of the inquisitorial procedure in the judicial activity of the town. As mentioned before, the latter is linked to the person of György Igyártó, who as the town's advocate had issued 19 trials between 1584 and 1586 in cases involving witchcraft, homicide, fornication, adultery, theft, and arson. In the same period the inquisitors themselves have acted six times against people who committed homicide, fornication, rape, blasphemy and acquired illegally amnesty from the prince. Thus, we might draw the conclusion that in the above mentioned period the competences of the town attorneys and of the inquisitors had not yet been clearly distinguished, causing numerous overlaps in their activities. It is, however, obvious, that due to their joined action the percentage of the procedures started through public initiation had increased in the town-court. Hence, the spread of this type of procedure resulted directly in the increasing number of criminal suits, a process in which besides the town attorneys the inquisitors played a major role as well.

The records of the 1590s show that, according to the ordinance of the council enacted in 1587, the inquisitors had indeed taken over the initiative in every public initiated trial. The analysis concerning the types of lawsuits initiated by the inquisitors reveals the following:

	Number of trials (1590 -1600)		Percentage of the trials initiated by the inquisitors
	In total	Initiated by the inquisitors	
Homicide	33	14	42,5
Fornication, adultery	22	12	54,5
Theft, larceny	51	8	15,7
Assault	64	2	3,1
Forbidden weapon usage	3	2	66,6
Desertion	1	1	100
Cheating	8	1	12,5
Defamation, slander	38	1	2,6

The inquisitors focused on the crimes that endangered the security and public order of the town's society, mainly the security of the human life, the family and public morality, and to a lesser extent they dealt with trials concerning the material belongings of the citizens.

While comparing the number of the trials initiated by the inquisitors to the overall number of the trials of the same type, one can easily notice that some types have occurred exclusively due to the intervention of the inquisitors; moreover, in other cases – like in charges of fornication, adultery and homicide – the number of the cases had doubled. Thus, before the appearance of the public initiated procedures, the principals of such crimes were more likely to escape the penalty than afterwards. The most illustrative is the case of sexual crimes – fornication and adultery –, in which the inquisitors were the suitors in almost two third of the cases. There are several adultery cases, in which one of the parties had been charged with adultery, while the other with the concealment of the crime; thus, in such cases the initiation of a private procedure was highly improbable.⁴⁶

Investigating all these aspects strictly in respect of the homicide trials, the following image emerges:

	1572–1576			1582–1586			1590–1594			1597–1600		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Homicide	6	1	16,6	16	4	25	14	9	64,3	19	5	26,3
Infanticide				1	1 (p)	100	2	2	100	1	1	100
Child-murder							2	2	100	1	1	100
Feticide										1		
Assassination with robbery	1	1	100	3	3 (1d, 2p)	100	2	2	100	2		
Premeditated murder	2			7			1			5	3	60
Manslaughter	1			3			2			8		
Hiring of an assassin							1	1	100			
Homicide committed in group							1					
Intention of homicide										1		
Homicide in self-defence				1			1					
Unknown	2			1			2	2				

A – total number of trials; **B** – number of the public initiated trials (p - procurators)⁴⁷; **C** – percentage of the trials initiated by the inquisitors

For the beginning we must point out that from the 1580s, in parallel with the spread of the public initiated procedures, the number of homicide charges had suddenly increased. The inquisitors together with the advocates of the town, initiated the procedures as public prosecutors in 25% of the cases; meanwhile, due to their appearance, new, previously unknown types of trials (infanticide, murder and robbery) occurred before the court. In the last decade of the century, after the inquisitors had entirely taken over the control of the inquisitorial procedures, we cannot, however, notice a growth in number of the procedures, but the rate of their presence in these procedures had doubled and further increased the number of new type of trials. They had brought to court for the first time parents accused with filicide, and summoned to court a former inquisitor and member of the *centumviri*, Gergely Balásfi, with the accusation of hiring a murderer.

Concerning the outcome of the cases initiated by the inquisitors, we investigated the sentences given by the court. Of the fourteen homicide trials in five cases the sentences are missing. Two cases of assassination and robbery and one of murder ended with the accused persons being sentenced to death. Three maids accused with infanticide were banned out of the town, because, although the charges of infanticide couldn't be confirmed, the fact that they had given birth to children attested their illicit relationships. Three men accused of beating their child to death had been condemned to death in first instance, but in appeal the jurors changed the sentences, based on the lack of evidence, giving them the opportunity to save themselves by oath. These figures show that in 66% of the cases the accused were condemned, and in the rest of the cases only the lack of evidence spared the life of the accused.

	Number of trials (1590-1600)	Condemnation	Acquittal	Unknown
Homicide	14	6	3	5
Fornication, adultery	12	7	5	
Theft, larceny	8	5	1	2
Assault	2	1		1
Forbidden weapon usage	2	1		1
Cheating	1			1
Desertion	1	1		
Defamation, slander	1			1
In total	41	21 (70%)	9 (30%)	11

The same pattern emerges if examining all the trials initiated by the inquisitors in the 1590s. Without taking into account the unknown sentences, 70% of the cases ended with the condemnation of the accused, and only in 30% of the cases the defendant got the opportunity to free himself by oath. It must be emphasized that in these latter cases the culprits got the chance to free themselves only due to the lack of evidence, not because their innocence had been proven.

Nevertheless we know of a single case in which the defendant swore on his innocence being discharged this way, while in all the other cases the historical records are missing. These data reveal the effectiveness of the initiatives of the inquisitors, and although not all their cases ended up with conviction, they succeeded in facing the accused with justice, an act that could become an exemplary measure for other eventual criminals as well.

In most of the cases their intervention was of crucial importance due to the fact that often the circumstances of the crime – the time and the location, the extermination of the victim, the lack of the witnesses – considerably facilitated the escape of the criminals and limited the interference of private accusers to a great extent. In cases of domestic violence the presence of the inquisitors had also proven to be determinant taking into consideration the fact that the intervention of private accusers in such cases was highly improbable. Hence, by their interventions the protection of the family, and in broader terms, through the family, the protection of the whole society as well had benefited.

The introduction of the inquisitorial procedure, besides having increased the number of the homicidal cases and having introduced new types of suits, also resulted in certain changes in the private initiated cases. Namely, in the late 1590s, in cases of feticide or murders with robbery, besides the inquisitors private persons appeared as well as demandants.

Finally, the analysis of the records of the town accounts reveal further types of trials initiated by the inquisitors, such as actions prosecuted for crimes like bigamy, arson, failure to accomplish the assumed work in the vineyards of the town, or wine selling at an unjustified high price.⁴⁸

Conclusions

HOWEVER, DUE to the shortage of the historical sources it is yet impossible to determine the precise role of the institution in the judicial practice of the town, especially at the beginning of its activity; nevertheless, there is enough data to attest that the appearance of the inquisitors stimulated greatly the development of the judicial practice of the town. Their appearance coincides with the spread of the inquisitorial procedure, but their role gained importance most probably after the year 1587, when their competences and duties had been accurately delineated by the *centumviri*. The inquisitors were charged to take up the efforts of the town's magistrate that had been trying since the middle of the century to provide an institutional frame for the persecution and the punishment of those criminals who endangered the order of the town and the society. The growth in number of both the type of the crimes prosecuted and the number

of criminal trials started through private or public initiation at the court of the town proves a more effective impeachment of the criminals; furthermore, it clearly indicates the growing role of justice in the disciplining process of the society. The fact that in the last decade of the 16th century only 10% of the trials started at the court of the town were initiated through public initiation also indicates that the *replacement of private by public authority* in this disciplining process was only at its beginnings.⁴⁹

The changes occurred in the judicial practice of the town due to the spread of the inquisitorial procedure and the establishment of the institution of inquisitors can be listed among other political, social and religious changes noticeable in the second half of the 16th century. These are all closely linked to the town's endeavour to become independent from Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben) and from the whole Saxon *Universitas* in every aspect of the town-life, actually to the eventual effects of this endeavour. From the end of the 1550s, when in terms of the appealing authority of the town's court the magistrate managed to gain independence from the Saxon *Universitas*, an extensively and profoundly normative domestic jurisdictional system was required. Thus the establishment of the institution of inquisitors is most certainly one of the results of these rationalizing and reorganizing actions taken within the judicial apparatus of the town.



Translated by DALMA GÁL

Notes

1. [András Kiss], "Primăria municipiului Cluj-Napoca" (The archive of the municipium of Cluj-Napoca), in *Îndrumător în Arhivele Statului. Județul Cluj* (Guide to the National Archives. Cluj county) vol. 2 (Bucharest, Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Socialistă România, 1985), 64; Idem, "The First and Last Witchcraft Trial in Kolozsvár", in *Studies in the History of Early Modern Transylvania*, ed. Gyöngy Kovács Kiss (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Monographs; Highland Lakes, New Jersey: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc; New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 509, 520.
2. The first case in which they are mentioned reveals that together with a town attorney – György Igyártó – they set free a woman charged with witchcraft in exchange for a certain sum of money. In the same year the inquisitors were mentioned again, when they summoned to court a man charged with rape. Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch, Cluj-Napoca (Direcția Județeană Cluj ale Arhivelor Naționale, Cluj-Napoca; hereafter cited as: Nat. Arch. Cluj), The Town Archive of Cluj (Arhiva orașului Cluj; hereafter cited as: TAC), *Court Protocols* (Protocoalele de judecată; hereafter cited as: CP), II/7, 350–352, 586. – László Pakó, "A korrupt boszorkányüldöző. Igyártó György prókatori tevékenységéről" (The corrupt witch-hunter.

- On the advocatorial career of György Igyártó), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 73, no. 3–4 (2011): 96.
3. Kiss, “Witchcraft”, 500–505.
 4. In the second half of the century the town council annually repeated its orders against the nightly disturbers of silence, sleigh-riders, pub attendants, gamblers, loafers, blasphemous people, bullies, and against suspicious and vicious women. The prohibitions regarding feasting and mask-wearing on the streets of the town can be listed in the same category. Nat. Arch. Cluj, TAC, *Regestrum Centumvirorum* (Protocoalele adunărilor generale; hereafter cited as: *RCV*), I/1, 13; I/3, 11^v, 108, 141^v–142, 143, 154, 161^v, 183–183^v, 197^v, 241, 249^v; I/4, 3, 6, 15^r–15^v; I/5, 1^v, 2, 3, 6, 21^v, 22, 31, 35^v, 49^v, 57, 61^v, 63, 64^v, 84, 88, 98, 105, 106–106^v, 111^v, 113^v, 115, 116, 116^v, 122^v, 137^v–138, 146^v, 148^v, 156^v, 180, 183^v, 184, 214; Elek Jakab, *Kolozsvár története* (The History of Cluj), vol. 2. (Budapest: Kolozsvár város közönsége, 1888), 113–114, 187–188, 349; András Kiss, “Farsangolás Kolozsvárt – 1582-ben” (Carnival in Cluj in 1582) in Idem, *Források és értelmezések* (Sources and interpretations) (Cluj-Napoca and Bucharest: Kriterion, 1994), 103–109.
 5. Laura Ikins Stern, *The Criminal Law System of Medieval and Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 5–6, 299; Eadem, “Inquisition Procedure and Crime in Early Fifteenth-Century Florence,” *Law and History Review* 2 (Fall 1990): 299; Brian P. Levack, “State-building and Witch Hunting in Early Modern Europe,” in *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe. Studies in Culture and Belief*, eds. J. Barry, M. Hester, G. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 97, 104.
 6. Ikins Stern, *The Criminal Law*, 228; Eadem, “Inquisition,” 298; Eadem, “Public Fame in the Fifteenth Century,” *The American Journal of Legal History* 2 (Apr 2000): 198.
 7. The codices of the *Wormser Reformation* (1498), the *Constitutio Criminalis Bambergensis* (1507) and the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* (1532) were already based on the dichotomy of the adversarial and the inquisitorial procedures, and their dominant procedure was the inquisitorial. György Bónis, *Buda és Pest bírósági gyakorlata a török kiűzése után 1686–1708* (The judicial practice of Buda and Pest after the expulsion of the Turks 1686–1708) (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1962), 71–72.
 8. Kiss, “Witchcraft”, 509. After the analysis of the criminal dispositions of the *Statuta Iurium Municipalium Saxonum in Transylvania* from 1583, Günther H. Tontsch pointed out at the same time that even the statutory criminal law of the Saxons still preserved a private character in a great number of crimes, although in the rest of the Transylvanian law in the 16th century the intervention of the state, the so-called “publicizing” of the criminal prosecution, denotes generalizing trends. Günther H. Tontsch, “Dispozițiile penale ale statutelor municipale săsești din anul 1583” (The criminal regulations of the Saxon municipal statutes from 1583), *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Series Iurisprudentia* 18 (1972): 84.
 9. *RCV* I/3, 67^v. – There is evidence of a case issued between 1556 and 1566, and another from the year 1570 when the inner council instructed two town attendants to sue those who had committed adultery. In my opinion, these attempts are private suits

- launched to the impulse of the town, rather than public initiated procedures. *CP* II/5, 87–90, 104–105.
10. He initiated lawsuit against delinquents who jeopardized the morality, security, life and properties of the town dwellers. Amongst the charges there were as follows: fornication, adultery, pandering, witchcraft, mendicancy, fraud, theft, assault, robbery, arson, infanticide. *CP* II/7, 206–209, 215–223, 222a-b, 225–228, 243–252, 254–259, 261–266, 268, 270–272, 275–278, 281, 285–287, 301–303, 453–454, 455, 458–459, 491–493, 502, 559, 561–574, 603, 608a-b; Andor Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára* (Charters of Hungarian witch-trials) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910), 27–71; Nat. Arch. Cluj, TAC, The Town Accounts of Cluj (Socotelile oraşului Cluj; hereafter cited as: *TA*), 3/XXIV, 12; 3/XXV, 1–3.
 11. He brought Anna Rengő in front of the court charging her of organizing illegal carnivals in the town. Thus a long conflict emerged between them. Rengő accused him of poisoning his wife, of adultery, furthermore of the murder of his own son, who was born from his illicit affair. In response between 1582 and 1583 Igyártó summoned to court with the charge of witchcraft, adultery, pandering, slander, theft and false testimony the witnesses that testified against him in the above mentioned case. *CP* II/7, 106–108, 126–127, 137–140, 142–143; Kiss, “Farsangolás,” 103–109; Komáromy, *Magyarországi boszorkányperek*, 23–26; László Pakó, “Bíróság elé került boszorkányvádaskodás Kolozsvárt, 1592–1593” (Witchcraft accusation at the court of Cluj, 1592–1593), *Korunk* 5 (2005): 98–107.
 12. From April 1586 onwards there is evidence on legal actions launched by Igyártó against Lukács Beregszászi, against the attendant of the latter and against Zsófia Teremi. According to the testimonies, Igyártó was involved in several cases where he himself acted as the legal representative of both parties, or made secret arrangements with the opponents of his own clients; moreover, he even abandoned his own client taking the part of the opponent. As the town’s procurator he had set free prisoners and dropped the charges against them in return for material goods. *CP* II/7, 583–594, 584c-j, 615–621; Pakó, “A korrupt boszorkányüldöző,” 97–100.
 13. *RCv* I/5, 24^v–25.
 14. *RCv* I/5, 65.
 15. For further information on their careers, see: Ágnes Flóra, “«From Decent Stock»: Generations in Urban Politics in Sixteenth-Century Transylvania,” in *Generations in Towns: Succession and Success in Pre-Industrial Urban Societies*, eds. Finn-Einar Eliassen and Katalin Szende (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 223–224; Eadem, *Prestige at Work. Goldsmiths of Cluj/Kolozsvár in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Saarbrücken: VDM, 2009), 44, 51–52; András Kiss, “Egy XVII. századi irodalom pártoló polgár” (A bibliophile citizen from the 17th century), in Idem, *Források*, 189–190; Veronka Dáné, “A Trauznerek a fejedelemség korában” (The Trauzners in the time of the Transylvanian principality), in *Emlékkönyv Kiss András születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Festschrift on the 80th birthday of András Kiss), eds. Sándor Pál-Antal, Gábor Sipos, András W. Kovács, and Rudolf Wolf (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2003), 81–89.
 16. *CP* II/8, 136–139; *TA* 5/XIV, 9.

17. *CP* II/9, 400–401, 419a–c, 419.
18. *CP* II/9, 416.
19. László Pakó, “Hatalmi konfliktus vagy területi összefogás? A kolozsvári százférfiak tanácsa és a városi igazságszolgáltatás a 16. század második felében” (Conflict of power or corporative bond? The assembly of the *centumviri* and the jurisdiction of Cluj in the second half of the 16th century), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 72, no. 3–4 (2010): 82–83.
20. *CP* II/8, 246–251.
21. Elek Jakab, *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár történetének második és harmadik kötetéhez* (Charters to the history of Cluj) (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Egyetemi könyvnyomda, 1888), 97–98 (charter no. L.)
22. In an ordinance from February 1580 the *centumviri* had appointed either the town’s procurators, or the jurors for the management of these tasks. *RCv* I/3, 211.
23. In April 1588 they asked the inquisitor to summon the widow of an apothecary, because together with her lover they had lavished the fortune of her orphan; the fortune, which, in case of the child’s death, would have fallen into the property of the town. *RCv* I/5, 220.
24. The accounts of the inquisitors from the years 1590–1598 provide several examples. *TA* 4/XVI, 15; 5/III, 22; 5/XI, 21, 23; 5/XIV, 9–12; 5/XVII, 22; 5/XX, 167–182; 6/V, 18; 6/XI, 28; 6/XIX, 28; 7/IV, 27; 7/X, 1; 7/XVI, 95–98; 8/IV, 31.
25. *TA* 5/XX, 177, 181.
26. In the autumn of 1592 a widow appealed the town court, determined to prove the blood-relationship between her and Balázs Nagy, by right of which she could claim goods that had been previously taken by the inquisitors. *CP* II/8, 284–285. For other similar cases from 1593 and 1600 see: *CP* II/8, 386; II/9, 447.
27. Zsolt Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540–1690* (The central government of Transylvania 1540–1690), *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai III: Hatóság és hivataltörténet no. 6* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1980), 363.
28. For further information about the parity system in the election of the town officials, see: Ágnes Flóra, “A Portrait of the Urban Elite of Kolozsvár in the Early Modern Period,” in Kovács Kiss, *Studies in the History*, 452–453.
29. Due to the scarcity of the documents in the cases of Sala, Ötvös, Beuchel, Fábíán, Mintler and Szabó even longer periods spent in the office might be considered.
30. *TA* 3/II, 22; 3/VI, 8, 11; 3/X, 8, 10; 3/XXIX, 1; 4/II, 1a; 6/V, 1a; *RCv* I/4, 2; I/5, 19^v, 20^v, 47, 49^v, 59^v, 104^v, 126, 146^v; Pál Binder: *Közös múltunk* (Our Common Past) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1982), 301.
31. *TA* 3/XXIII, 1; 3/XXIX, 1; 5/XVII, 1; 6/XIX; *RCv* I/5, 29, 30^v, 60^v, 61, 62, 87^v, 104^v, 114.
32. *TA* 3/VI, 12; 3/X, 12; 3/XIV, 14; 3/XX, XXIII, 12; *RCv* I/3, 160, 204^v, 249^v; I/5, 2^v, 58.
33. *RCv* I/5, 58.
34. *RCv* I/5, 2^v, 11^v, 50^v, 63; *TA* 4/XXI, 49; 6/VIII, 214.
35. *TA* 3/XV, 21; 3/XXIII, 12; *RCv* I/5, 3 (data by courtesy of Enikő Rüszt-Fogarasi); Ágnes Flóra, “Kolozsvári ötvösregesztrum (1549–1790)” (The register of the goldsmith

- guild in Cluj 1549–1790), in *Lymbus. Magyarságtudományi Forrásközlemények* (2003): 34.
36. *RCv* I/3, 248^v; I/4, 2; I/5, 1^v; *CP* II/7, 16, 25, 27, 401, 491, 503, 507, 528; *TA* 3/XXII, 5, 63.
37. Márton Nyíró is mentioned in the year 1593 as he witnessed, together with Gergely Vas, a division between the wife of Lukács Kötélverő and István Zsemlesütő concerning their great grandmother's heritage. *CP* II/8, 328. In November 1590, after their divorce, Illés Fodor and his former wife Angalit had divided their wealth in the presence of the following arbiters: Stephanus Mintler/Palástos, Péter Fejér and György Szabó. András Kiss, *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár történetéhez* (Charters to the history of Cluj) (manuscript by courtesy of András Kiss.)
38. Zsolt Bogdándi, "A kolozsvári Balásfiak. Egy deákcsalád felemelkedése a 16. században" (The Balásfi family from Kolozsvár. The rise of a clerk family in the 16th century), *Református Szemle* 6 (2003): 809.
39. *CP* II/7, 180.
40. *RCv* I/5, 49, 179^v, 200^v, 246^v, 273^v; I/6, 2; *TA* 6/XXIX, 76; Binder, *Közös múltunk*, 283–284.
41. *RCv* I/5, 31, 198, 269; Sándor Kolosvári and Kelemen Óvári, *Corpus statutorum Hungariae municipalium. A magyar törvényhatóságok jogszabályainak gyűjteménye* (The collection of the laws of Hungarian legal authorities), vol. 1 (Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottmánya: 1885), 231–232.
42. *RCv* I/5, 113^v–114, 115, 214^v, 269.
43. *RCv* I/5, 134, 255^v.
44. *RCv* I/5, 205^v.
45. Our research is based on the records issued between the years 1582–86, 1590–94, and 1597–1600.
46. In the year 1593 both Mihály Kis and his wife were brought to court by the inquisitors due to the fact that, although the husband had reported to the authorities the adultery committed by his wife, they fled the town together. *CP* II/8, 369–370; *TA* 5/XX, 170, 176; 5/XXI, 17. In 1600 the inquisitors summoned István Asztalos, his wife and two other women to court. The women were cited because in the absence of the husband they have met young men in his house; and Asztalos was summoned because he failed to denounce the women to the authorities, although he was aware of their deeds. *CP* II/9, 394–395, 404.
47. No indication means that the inquisitors were the accusers.
48. *TA* 5/XIV, 10, 12; 5/XX, 170, 173–174; 6/XVII, 133–134.
49. As a comparison, in Florence between 1425 and 1428 71.8% of the trials from the court of the town were started through public initiation. Moreover, previous research has also shown that the process of replacement of private authority in initiating the prosecutions had already been in progress by the middle of the 14th century. Ikins Stern, *The criminal law system*, 203–204.

Abstract

The Inquisitors in the Judicial Practice of Cluj at the End of the 16th Century

The two inquisitors of the town (*inquisitores malefactorum*) are mentioned for the first time in the judicial protocols of the town in 1584, but the first regulation of their duties dates from March 1587. The establishment of the institution was marked by a series of circumstances: the growing efforts of the town officials to tighten the control over the community of the town, the introduction of the inquisitorial procedure, and the judicial activity of a town-advocate called György Igyártó. The inquisitors were charged to take action against criminals in cases that did not involve private accusation, and gained an important role in the management of the town's revenues as well. The two inquisitors were annually elected among the *centumviri*. Their activity focused on the crimes that endangered the security and public order of the town's society – mainly the security of the human life, the family and public morality – and to a lesser extent on trials concerning the material belongings of the citizens. The data presented shows that the appearance of the institution stimulated greatly the development of the judicial practice of the town. They were charged to take up the efforts of the town's magistrate to provide an institutional frame for the persecution and punishment of the criminals. The growth in number of both the type of the crimes prosecuted and the number of criminal trials started through private or public initiation at the court of the town proves a more effective impeachment of the criminals; furthermore, it clearly indicates the growing role of the justice in the disciplining process of the society. These changes can be listed among other political, social and religious changes of the second half of the 16th century, that are closely linked to the town's endeavour to gain full independence in every aspect of the town-life.

Keywords

Early Modern Transylvanian legal system, judicial practice of Cluj, inquisitorial procedure, social disciplining, inquisitor, town-advocate, town magistrate, homicide

The Manorial Court of the Reformed Parish of Cluj (1676–1695)

ANIKÓ SZÁSZ

AFTER THE close examination of the body of research concerning the jurisdiction of Transylvanian manorial courts, one may rightfully state that the research in question did not engage in a thorough examination of this institution, due to the fact that only a few such fragmentary studies and blueprints are to be found.¹ The mere understanding of the function of such institution is obscured, not only by lack of source publications, but also by the fact that the possibilities of revealing such sources are scarce, as András Kiss has duly pointed it out. This is, on the one hand, due to the fact that: “the production of written records of litigations were customary only in the case of more significant and regularly functioning manorial courts, furthermore this process reached a general practice only during the 18th century.” The documents produced during the trials of the manorial courts and estate administration had survived in greater number from the 18th century onwards as compared to the previous century, since the use of written records had been introduced initially in the case of greater manors, afterwards it had gradually been applied by the administration of the middle-sized and small manors. The production of written records had become an instrument of work supervision and estate administration in the second half of the 17th century in the case of both Transylvania and Hungary. On the other hand, the contemporary approach was the following: “the value of the document was determined by its legal content”; due to the fact that the legal decisions concerning the serfs were not granted the privilege of written form, the number of such records in the archives are scarce.²

Throughout the 17th century the Reformed Parish of Cluj (Kolozsvár) had gained certain properties by heritage and hypothec outside the walls of the city. Hence the parish and its curators were entrusted the task of organizing the husbandry and also the right of jurisdiction over the serfs who inhabited the estates in question, similarly to other manorial courts with limited legal effects in Transylvania. The purpose of this paper is to delineate the function of the

manorial courts presided over by the parish; contributing, throughout this research, to the establishment of a clearer view upon the organizational particularities of the 17th century reformed parish, as well as to the development of the manorial courts in the early modern Transylvanian society.

Transylvanian Manorial Courts

ALTHOUGH THE function of Transylvanian manorial courts exhibits in many respects particular features, the source publications containing the documents of 16th–17th century manorial courts from the great domains situated in Hungary, as well as the studies investigating the function of courts, have served as comparative material to a comprehensive approach towards the issue.³ The work of Ferenc Eckhart has proven to be the first extensive and detailed survey of criminal law in the landlords' manorial court. Endre Varga's publication presented the manorial courts' jurisdictional practices concerning penal, civil law and manorial issues. The comprehensive study of Alajos Degré unravels relevant aspects such as the fact that the manorial jurisdiction had undergone significant alterations in the 18th century, more accurately its previous broad area of influence had become more intensively monitored, limited and controlled by the newly acquired centralized policy of enlightened despotism, aiming the obliteration of the serfs' total exploitation. Lately István Kállay has pinpointed the fact that the management of the feudal manor is not limited merely to the management of husbandry, it extends its influence upon civil services and jurisdiction. Through their studies, István Kállay and Ferenc Eckhart draw the attention upon the litigations performed by the landlords outside the manorial courts, as practices which had functioned almost concurrently.⁴ Based on recent researches, one might gain a uniform perspective over the organizational aspects of the manorial courts of complete jurisdiction from Hungary; in contrast to such a clear survey, the jurisdictional practices performed by mid- and petty landlords had remained in a nearly uninvestigated state.⁵

The origin of the Hungarian manorial courts can be dated to approximately the 12th century; however, the manorial courts of complete jurisdiction functioned from the 14th century onwards. Transylvanian data with respect to the manorial courts of limited jurisdiction is recorded around 1342, and the existence of courts of complete jurisdiction is dated around the year 1363. The first surviving records of a manorial court in Hungary have been issued around the second half of the 16th century.⁶

The litigations of the manorial courts of the 17th century were based on the jurisdictional approach set forth in Werbőczy's work, *Tripartitum* (Hármaskönyv).⁷

According to the latter source the sole judge of the serf is his landlord, who exercises his legal competences through the institution of the manorial court. Theoretically, all landlords possessed this right, in practice, however, complete jurisdiction and the right to inflict capital punishment was granted only to the landlords of greater authority. According to the investigations performed in Hungary, in the 16th–17th century the manorial courts of complete jurisdiction were functioning exclusively on the greater, far-flung domains. The landlord monitoring and controlling the manorial court exercised complete jurisdiction over all his subjects; his decisions were irrevocable, furthermore he was also granted the right to decide on matters involving capital punishment. On some parts of the domain matters were dealt with by manorial officers in lower degree manorial courts of limited jurisdiction; in order to appeal against decisions made in such courts one had to address the higher manorial court of complete jurisdiction. The manorial courts, which were presided over by mid- or petty landlords possessed the same degree of legal authority as the above described lower degree manorial courts; however, there is but little information available on the function of the former type of manorial courts.⁸

The Transylvanian manorial courts were of complete or limited jurisdiction, the landlord exercising his jurisdiction over all serfs, cottars, servants and soldiers who inhabited his estates.⁹ Furthermore, due to the fact that the legal judge of the serf was his landlord, the complainers against the serf had to address his landlord in legal matters, other courts could be addressed in the same matter only in case the landlord denied or omitted to exercise his jurisdiction (*impensio*).

It is most probable that manorial courts of complete jurisdiction had functioned in fiscal domains, however the existence of such manorial courts can be backed up with written records only in the domains of Făgăraș (Fogaras), Hunedoara (Hunyad), Gurghiu (Görgény), Gilău (Gyalu), Vințu de Jos (Alvinc), Cetatea de Baltă (Küküllővár) and Zlatna (Zalatna). András Kiss had appointed greater focus to the fact that manorial courts of Făgăraș, Hunedoara, Gurghiu and Gilău were privately handled before being under legal influence of fiscal authorities, and their administrative and legal management was unaltered even in the period of private tenure. This meant that the landlord who owned the domain did not accept the legal authority of the county over the territories he had recently received, he himself enjoying the privileges of a *liber* (free) baron. The Diet tried to rectify this situation in many instances with no notable success. Such cases were, however, scarce and eventually this privilege (*liber baronage*) was abolished by the *Approbatæ* as well, with the exception of the one from Făgăraș county.¹⁰

The permeation of manorial courts of complete jurisdiction in Transylvania was clogged by the particular situation. The fact that some landlords had only parts of estates in different locations and villages did not facilitate the function

of manorial courts of complete jurisdiction, the function of which was determined by the economic apparatus of the manor in question. Due to this fact, in cases of crimes which threatened public safety the landlords were bound to solicit the authority of the county (*comitatus*), through which they were able to exercise jurisdiction.¹¹

The Transylvanian manorial court of limited jurisdiction had served, on the one hand, as second-instance court and also as highest court of justice in minor matters issued by the court of the villages; on the other hand, it had also exercised its jurisdiction in the following legal actions: serfs against serfs and also serfs against their own landlord. The more serious cases, the matters of major trespass exceeded the limited authority of manorial jurisdiction, such cases were discussed in courts of the county (*comitatus*), or in partial courts (*sedes partialis*) of the former.¹² Those legal matters that were omitted by the landlord were transferred to the county courts or to the subsidiary departments (*sedes filialis*) after they were established.¹³ In manorial courts besides matters concerning private accusations (*delictum privatum*),¹⁴ penal law and civil suits and issues concerning the convention between the landlord and serfs were also dealt with, which were brought in court for different reasons, such as: omission of services or duties, violations of manorial privileges or to appoint bailers.

The above mentioned partial courts of the county were established in the midst of the 17th century.¹⁵ The first such partial court was formed in Cluj county in the year 1664, afterwards the partial courts of Inner-Solnoc (Belső-Szolnok), Turda (Torda) and Hunedoara (Hunyad) county were established. The tumult of suits accumulated in the county courts burdened the function of such institutions, thus to ease this situation the county courts transferred the less significant suits to the two partial courts formed at different locations of the county named after their geographic position, Upper (Felső) and Lower (Alsó).

The authority of manorial courts was extended to all the cases, which exceeded the legal tether of village courts and were not of such importance as to be dealt with in county courts, as elaborated in what follows: the penal suits, which imposed penalties from 1–4 forints to 40 forints, those exceeding this sum were brought to the higher or the partial courts of the county. In matters concerning the manor and in civil cases limitations were not required, due to the fact that according to the regulations the value of a serf together with his fortune did not exceed the sum of 40 forints.

There is relatively scarce information concerning the legal authority of such village courts. It is, however, certain that the judge exercises his jurisdiction, either single-handedly, or in company of his co-jurors over all minor crimes committed in the small community, such as: in cases of small damages, injuries, thefts, breach of peace etc. Furthermore, the judge was granted right to decide in less significant

cases involving serfs from different villages.¹⁶ The contemporary regulations determined the legal authority of such a judge based on the uppermost limit of the imposed penalty, which was generally altering. In the midst of the 17th century the landowners in Abaúj and Gömör counties meant to regulate the authority of such judges by setting the upper limit to 1 forint, not only due to the fact that through this procedure they secured their profit gained from jurisdiction, but also aiming to bulk the judges' possible abuse. On the other hand, in Maramureş (Máramaros) county the upper limit was 3 forints, while in Vas and Veszprém counties penalties of 4 forints were allowed.¹⁷ Other upper limits of penalty were set as follows: in Sepsi, Kézdi and Orbai counties¹⁸ 2 forints, in Târnava (Küküllő) county's *statutum* (regulation records) from 1617 and in the princely instructions set out to the judge of Făgăraş (1676), furthermore in the domains of Vinţu de Jos (1676), Gilău (1652, 1679) and Cătina (Katona, 1692) the upper limit was 1 forint, whereas in Odorhei (Udvarhely) county (1615, 1649, 1666), the domains of Zlatna (1673) and Gurghiu (1688) the penalty fee was set to 3 forints.¹⁹ Suits involving higher sums of penalty needed to be brought to manorial courts.

One of the legal duties of the landlord was to deputize and defend his serfs who were incapable²⁰ of taking legal action, and were to be summoned to county court only in the presence of their landlord in suits, which exceeded the legal authority of manorial courts, thus needed to be brought to higher courts of justice, which were empowered to deal with capital punishments. In addition to this, according to the jurisdictional demands of the county, the landlord was required to lock up and prevent the possible escape of the serf suspected of committing a serious crime, and secure his presence in court.²¹

The participants to the trials of the manorial courts were the following: the landlord in his quality of president of court, or the landlord's officer, the jurymen (*assessores*), who were consulted by the judge in taking decisions, a *iudex nobilem* (official of the county), the accuser, the complaining claimant, the accused, the respondent, furthermore, depending on the nature of the case, attorneys (*procuratores*). The participation of the *iudex nobilem* was compulsory in order to ensure the legality of the procedure. He was not granted to take part in the decision-making; however, he was the person who made a record of the events of the trial, which was subsequently handed on to the county court. His participation in the trial was of key importance if the complaining claimant was a foreign landlord, or the serf of a foreign landlord, because only through him could the landlord of the respondent be summoned to preside over the manorial court, furthermore he was in charge of announcing the participants about the date and location of the procedure. Regularly in the course of one trial the same *iudex nobilem* was entrusted with all the legal duties of a *iudex nobilem*, hence he gained a clear view upon every detail of the trial.

No detailed records were produced of the regulations of manorial courts, which were based on customary law. During this period, in the 17th century, the practices concerning civil and penal law were not as sharply distinguishable. Criminal proceedings can be sectioned as follows: arrest under warrant, subpoena, inculpation, appearance, warrant of the attorney, objections and censures, *litis contestatio*, debate, substantiation, verdict, legal redress and execution. The civil trial started by sending a written admonishment (*admonitio*), afterwards, if this procedure proved to be inefficient, then the claimant filed the statement of claim, which subsequently triggered the citation to the court of the respondent. This process was followed by the appearance, warrant of the attorney, objections and censures, *litis contestatio*, debate, substantiation, verdict, legal redress and execution.²²

The procedure was performed differently in case the serf has committed a crime against a foreign person. In such cases the foreign party claimed gratification (*impensio*) from the serf's landlord; such a gratification could only be claimed by a landlord in his or his serf's behalf. The procedure started with the admonishment filed by the claimant and addressed to the landlord, and it contained the rapport of the event, and required the bringing of the case to the manorial court within the regular terms (which meant the 15th day following the event in Hungary and the 8th day in Transylvania). After the warning the landlord set the date of the trial.²³

The manorial court was not strictly held in one particular place and was not determined by a set timetable, it was held whenever and wherever it was needed. The juries were summoned most probably several times during the course of a year, however some trials involving a gratification had to be discussed within a set timeframe.²⁴ The fact that the manorial jurisdiction had been also practiced outside the manorial courts is probably due to the increased number of cases, the high expense and time consuming nature of such procedures (the daily wages and the cartage of the jury, provision of their accommodation, alimony of the prisoners). According to the sources from Hungary, the landlords single-handedly and on the spot delivered and executed the verdict in minor matters of their serfs. Such verbal litigations, which took place outside the manorial courts, were most likely practiced in Transylvania as well, however this fact cannot be proven by written records of such events.²⁵

As stated beforehand, there were issues brought to the manorial courts involving *criminal law, private accusations (delicta privata), civil and manorial lawsuits* as well. However, these suits were not distinguished on the above mentioned bases, they entered into two categories: summary trials and formal trials. Most of the trials discussed in manorial courts were summary trials. Such trials followed the course of formal, written trials, but they were the shorter version of formal trials, characterized by verbal production and less formality. No attorneys were required,

which would turn the trial into a formal one. The manorial courts favoured the summary trials even in more serious cases and trials involving gratification were discussed in such manner. The summary trial was introduced by the citation and hearing of the claimant, afterwards the accusation was verbally submitted in court, together with the pleadings and the objections of the respondent. The witnesses were immediately heard; the verdict was rendered and became effective instantly. There were no means to appeal. The matter was dealt with in one or two sessions. The manorial court produced written records of the trials, which were signed by the members of the court. These records contained the date and subject of the trial, the name of the parties, the action at law, the response of the respondent and eventually the verdict. The trials performed according to the laws, legal customs and practices of the principality were called written or formal trials. Such trials were performed in case one of the parties required it, or solicited the help of an attorney.²⁶ The serfs had also the right to employ attorney, this was regularly a more experienced serf with greater communicative competences.

The more important instruments of *substantiation* were the testimony of witnesses, the oath and the warrants. If the court could not make a decision based on the warrants and the hearing of witnesses, the placement under oath was introduced. Such procedure was only granted to one party or to its co-jurors. It often occurred that the manorial courts pronounced conditioned verdicts, meaning that the verdict depended on the result of the oath: after the trial within a set timeframe the enactment of the verdict depended solely on the given oath.²⁷

There is seemingly scarce information concerning the regulations and customs of *penalty* in 17th-century Transylvania.²⁸ Based on the source literature from Hungary and on the source publications from Transylvania, one may conclude that the penalties were of a varied typology, and even within that typology the value of the sums was highly altering. According to the *urbariums* (registers of the serfs that belonged to the same estate) not only on different parts of Transylvania but also on different settlements of the same domain the penalties imposed for the same crimes or delinquencies were not always identical, the local customs formed them in different manner. During their appraising trip on purpose of producing the *urbarium*, the estate officers recorded the sums issued by the courts as penalties.

These *urbariums* contained the following types of penalties: fees issued as penalties in case of attack as attempted murder; in case of maltreatments, which have as effects visible physical traces: bruises, lumps and can serve as proof when shown to the authorities; in cases of applied aggression; in cases of minor theft; in cases of adultery; in cases of denying presence in court; in cases of unworthy accusation and eventually in cases of violation of restraint. The sum attributed to the village judge by the landlord or the officer varied depending

on the settlements.²⁹ More data proves the fact that the penalty for minor trespass was 12 forints, a sum that was received by the landlord or the officer, but in cases which issued lower penalties, the village judge also benefited from it as a payment of his work.³⁰

The Manorial Court of the Reformed Parish of Cluj

THE ARCHIVES of the parish contain relatively few documents about the manorial court of the reformed parish of Cluj. These documents were generated in the manorial court of the parish (which was attributed the qualities of the landlord) and contain 11 warrants and a fragmentary record of several trials of the manorial court, the latter consisting merely of three pages. The warrants (records of the *iudex nobilium*, admonishments and letters of guarantee) were dated between 1676–1695 and the records are from 1677.³¹ The latter recorded in an excerpt form the trials of the manorial court, which took place in Filea de Sus (Felsőfüle) in the course of two days, more accurately on the 20th and 21st of October 1677.³²

In what follows, we seek to render the function of the manorial court based on the surviving body of texts, documents. As mentioned before, in the late 17th century the parish gained possession, by means of heritage and hypothec, of plots of land inhabited by serfs. There is no accurate data with reference to the number of the parish serfs, however based on some remaining *urbariums*, one might presume that in the decade of the 1690s there were approximately 100 serfs under the authority of the parish. The parish and its curators were entrusted with the due insurance of the legal rights of the serfs and also the management of their trials.

The Authority, the Location and the Participants of the Manorial Court

THE CURATORS were required to exercise their jurisdiction over all the subjects who lived on the estates of the parish irrespective of the fact that they were serfs, cottars or servants. All such cases were under the legal authority of the parish, which exceeded the tether of the village courts; however, the trials involving capital punishment were transferred to the county courts. The manorial court's limited jurisdiction was backed up by those letters of guarantee which were written by the curators in case of summoning certain

serfs to the county court with the charge of serious crimes. In such cases the curator was required to legally represent his serfs who were not granted legal action in county court.

The manorial court functioned as a *second-instance court* in minor matters, which arose amidst the serfs, more accurately cases in which the accused or both parties were inhabitants of the manor belonging to the parish. These cases had been brought to the manorial court after appealing the decision taken in the village courts. The manorial court was the *first-instance court* engaged in discussing the more significant cases between the serfs, cases which were initially filed in these courts. Amongst these matters there were debates over house heritage, meadow ownership, theft of hive, unauthorized reaping and wrongful appropriation of hay.

Amongst the cases which reached the manorial court through appeal was one involving two serfs from Săcel (Asszonyfalva), and had as its subject the ownership of a meadow. The judge of Săcel transferred the case to the village court of Filea de Sus. In the trial of the latter village court the property rights were duly clarified, however, the payment of the sum of 40 forints required by the claimant was adjudged to the respondent, who at the beginning of the trial agreed to pay such a sum, yet in the hope that the higher court would release the payment of this sum, he appealed to the manorial court.³³ The village judge from Filea de Sus exercised his legal authority over three villages situated in Turda county, Săcel, Filea de Sus and Filea de Jos (Alsófüle). In the Middle Ages these villages belonged to a local administrative unit called *kenesiatus* administered by the *knez* (*kenesius*).³⁴ This denomination also existed in the late 16th century.³⁵ Even if the above mentioned sources do not imply this function, the mentioned appeals addressed from the lower forum of Săcel prove the fact that the function of the *knez* existed in the second half of the 17th century as well.

With respect to the manor courts of the parish, information of their function survived only about the trials of the courts of Cluj and Filea de Sus. The records of the *iudex nobilium* prove that in the courts from Cluj mainly formal procedures took place, trials held within a given timeframe. These trials were mostly brought to court by foreign landlords who required gratification (*impensio*). Generally, these trials were held at the residence of the main curator.³⁶ They only discussed one case at a time after the date has been set and the *iudex nobilium*, the attorneys and the assessors were called upon.

However, in the fragments surviving from 1677 it is revealed that in the manorial court from Filea de Sus summary trials were held, initiated by the serfs of the neighbouring three villages (Săcel, Filea de Jos and Filea de Sus) against each other. Many cases were discussed here, most likely those cases which had been accumulated during the periods before the trials and were not bound

to a given date; verdicts were returned in the case of six trials, in addition to this, the records mention the following: the arrangement of an oath, a notice concerning the next procedure, the payment of two penalty fees set beforehand, the recording of the violation of a command or a restraint, furthermore about a procedure concerning a bail assumed in order to redeem a runaway serf.³⁷ The parish had serfs in other villages as well, and in order to serve their legal interest, the parish presumably summoned its court in the respective village. About these procedures, however, the surviving fragments fail to provide any data.

The participants to the manorial court held in Cluj were, apart from the claimants and the respondents, one curator,³⁸ in quality of presiding judge, the *iudex nobilium*, the assessors and the attorneys. The participating officials to the manorial court from Filea de Sus are not recorded in the above mentioned source; however, it is probable that, besides the parties, one curator and the *iudex nobilium*, the village judge also participated in the trial. The fragmentary proceedings do not contain any record about the presence of attorneys.

Admonishment and Citation

THE FIRST part of the trial was the citation (*citatio*). We have no information whatsoever with respect to the details of the citation in the case of the courts held in Filea de Sus, however one might rightfully presume that it followed the general customs. The citation of the parties took place via a stamped citation letter, or verbal notice, delivered by the village judge or a manorial representative. Those who denied presence to court, thus violating the legal command, apart from the usual forfeits were charged with additional penalty.

The manner in which the court had been summoned in cases of gratification was revealed by the reports realized during three trials brought to court by the complainant in order to request gratification. The subject of one of the trials involved the appropriation of hay, a trial initiated by László Csáki's serf, Márton Nagy Varga from Sânmihaiu Almaşului (Almásszentmihály, Dăbâca [Doboka] county) in September of the year 1676 against the serf of the parish, Márton Bekecz from Aiton (Ajton, Cluj [Kolozs] county). The case had been discussed, in first instance at the village court of Aiton, but Márton Bekecz, the respondent, did not accept the verdict of the court, which most likely proved to be unfortunate for him and appealed to the manorial court of the parish.³⁹ On the eighth day the claimant, Márton Nagy Varga seeking to attend the court went to its set location in Cluj, but the trial was postponed due to the illness of the main curator, Mihály Budai and to the absence of the other curators. The manorial court could not be summoned even on the next day, the 21st of September 1676, because the

curators had more ardent issues to solve on the Lower partial court of the county. Mihály Budai summoned the *iudex nobilium* Miklós Szentsimoni, and had him written an admonishment (*admonitio*), which would inform Márton Nagy Varga about the fact that the trial must be postponed to the eighth day.

The other trial, which involved request of gratification started through the admonishment written and sent by the *iudex nobilium*. The letter contained Ferenc JÓ Bágyi's demand to the addressee to set the day of the trial. Even if the citation should have been sent to the respondent in Aiton, the claimant addressed his letter to the parish in Cluj. Following this event the main curator set the date and location of the trial and with the help of the *iudex nobilium* informed the claimant Ferenc JÓ Bágyi about the date and the location of the trial. The main curator had to assure the presence of the accused at the court. All these events were recorded and handed on to the county by the *iudex nobilium*.⁴⁰

There were cases when a landlord cited the parish serfs not merely to the manorial court but to the partial court of the county with the charge of minor trespass. Such a procedure was performed by the wife of János Was from Țaga (Cege), Éva Ébeni who cited to the partial court of Sărmașu (Nagysármás; Cluj county) on the eighth day (*ad octavum*) three serfs with the mentioned above charge. The claimant asked the *iudex nobilium* to write an *instructio* through which the latter announced the serfs or their families about the citation. In these instances they informed the accused about the content of the charge, furthermore of the particular article on the bases of which charges are being initiated against them (“*iuxta Approbatas Constitutiones et habet. par. 4, tit. 1, art. 28*”), in cases of this caliber (charges of minor trespass), a brief procedure would take place (“*iuxta brevem iudiciarum processum*”).⁴¹

However, such trials were in most cases transferred back from the partial court of the county to the manorial courts.⁴² This must have occurred in the case of the above mentioned trial, since on the 23rd February the trial against the serfs was reopened in the manorial court by the representative of the claimant in the presence of the *iudex nobilium*: the parish received an admonishment to summon the manorial court on the eighth day, with the remark that the respondents will be cited to court in Aiton. The main curator, Mihály Budai accepted the request and informed the claimant through the representative of the latter and through the *iudex nobilium*, Miklós Szentsimoni, about the fact that he intends to open the case in the manorial court from Cluj.⁴³

Appearance and Objections

THE NEXT section of the trial consisted of the *appearance*. In case of the absence of the claimant, the respondent was granted acquittal. If the respondent denied his presence to court, the judge pronounced a judgment in default against him, thus granting the possibility for the claimant to take legal action, however, this might easily be remedied by the respondent. As soon as both parties were present, the trial was opened (*proclamatio*), followed by the statement of claim performed by the complainant or his legal representative. Afterwards the respondent could present his objections, however the manorial court did not grant him as many possibilities to object as the county court did. In case the court approved the objections, the case was closed.⁴⁴

The details of the trials discussed in the court from Filea de Sus are not in the least unambiguous, due to the fact that the surviving fragments of its proceeding only contain a brief description of the trials and the verdicts.

However, the *iudices nobilium* recorded two trials, which took place in Cluj. The above mentioned trial opened by the wife of János Was, Éva Ébeni did not reach the state of appearance. On February 1677, following the requests of the claimant, Mihály Budai, the main curator of the parish set the date of the trial on the 2nd of March, and demanded the serfs (respondents) to come from Aiton to Cluj. Furthermore he requested the presence of the county assessors to the trial (providing them their usual wages), who would serve as fellow judges, besides the usual presence of the *iudex nobilium*.⁴⁵

This trial was postponed due to the absence of the claimant Éva Ébeni, who did not even send an attorney. Although her trustee, Gergely Kávási, was present in court on that day, he did not hold the office of an attorney. Due to the fact that on formal trials only those could fulfil the post of an attorney who, besides being granted to take legal action, detained such an errand, more accurately they were able to present a *litterae procuratoriae* at the beginning of the trial.⁴⁶

On this day Éva Ébeni through her trustee, Gergely Kávási, and through the *iudex nobilium*, Miklós Szentsimoni warned the main curator, Mihály Budai, about the fact that she expects them at her residence. Nevertheless, according to the legal instructions the trials should be held in the manorial court of the respondent's landlord. When arriving to the residence of Budai, Gergely Kávási and Szentsimoni realized that the main curator was ready to preside over the manorial court. Budai's response to the admonishment of Éva Ébeni was that he had previously informed the claimant about the location of the trial through the *iudex nobilium*. He consequently provided the proper conditions for the trial to be held, and hereby expresses his objections with respect to the most arbitrary conduct of the claimant. Through the *iudex nobilium*, he endeavoured

to draw the attention of Éva Ébeni to the fact that her absence as well as the absence of her attorney empowers him to clear the charges against the serfs.⁴⁷

Following this event, they came to the arrangement that the trial should be postponed to the next day. On the 3rd of March, Mihály Budai by his own initiative requested the presence of the *iudex nobilium* Miklós Szentsimoni, he himself paid his wage. On the previous day the *iudex nobilium* had been the trustee of the claimant. The manorial court gathered once again in the residence of Mihály Budai, the record of the trial mentions also the presence of the accused serfs and the assessors. According to the regulations, the main curator did not act in defence of the accused serfs, this was dealt with the help of the attorney, Gáspár Szőlósi, who due to the repeated absence of the claimant proposed the acquittal of the accused. After the proposal (*propositum*) Mihály Budai, in his quality of presiding judge had acquitted the parish serfs.⁴⁸

The absentee complainant, Éva Ébeni expected the main curator to have held the manorial court at her residence. Due to the fact that this had been omitted she cited the main curator to the Lower partial court of the county with the charge that the main curator did not meet her requirements with reference to the trial, in doing so she adverted the proper article (“*iuxta articulum Approbatarum Constitutionum* par. 4, tit. 1, art. 28”). The citation was written, on her demand, by another *iudex nobilium*, who delivered it to Budai on the same day. He himself not being at home the message was delivered to his servant, who assumed the responsibility of forwarding it.⁴⁹

If the claimant had cited the absentee respondent to the partial court of the county, the latter either obligated the landlord of the respondent to summon the manorial court, or delivered a verdict based on its own tether.⁵⁰ It seems that Éva Ébeni’s obdurate conduct concealed her determination, that the trial should be discussed in the partial court rather than in the manorial court, since from the first instance on the 13th of February she cited the serfs to former court.

One might rightfully presume that the main curator took into consideration the possibility of the case’s transfer to the partial court, he did not intend to delay the regular discussion of the trial, thus, as mentioned, he summoned the manorial court on the 3rd of March, and delivered a verdict in the presence of the *iudex nobilium* and the assessors. Hence, he could use the records realized by the *iudex nobilium* in case the trial was transferred to the partial court, which was needed since he was cited to the latter court by Éva Ébeni. There is no available information on the further development of the case, but the partial court most likely did not amend the verdict delivered by the manorial court.

We mean to mention another procedure, in which the appearance took place, but later the trial was dismissed because of formal censures. On the 1st of May in 1681 both parties were represented by attorneys in the manorial

court of the parish in Cluj. The claimant, landlord Ferenc Jó Bágyi from Cluj was represented by his attorney György Szántó from Fântânița (Köbölkút; Cluj county), the attorney of the parish is not mentioned in the records produced by the *iudex nobilium*. The charge is also unknown. In this case Mihály Budai also called upon assessors to join him in the process of decision-making, and summoned the accused serf.⁵¹

After the participants have gathered in court, in the presence of the *iudex nobilium*, János Székely, the trial was proclaimed (*proclamatio*), then the attorneys of the two parties had written the *levata* (lifting of the trial). Afterwards, Budai, the main curator had set forth formal objections, which were to be handled by the *iudex nobilium* and the assessors. Since they have accepted these objections, the procedure ended with the closing, dismissing of the trial. Objecting to this decision, the attorney of the claimant, György Szántó, challenged the main curator through the *iudex nobilium* to summon the court for the second time in the course of the same day. The answer of the curator was that he would be willing to summon the court but only in conformity with the regulations. The claimant, Ferenc Jó Bágyi was waiting in the course of that day for the court to reopen the case; since this did not take place, he, together with the *iudex nobilium* went to Budai's house in order to set forth his objections regarding Budai's neglect to summon the court.⁵²

***Litis Contestatio* and Substantiation**

THE THIRD session of the trial is the *litis contestatio* (statements and debate), within which the respondent needed to make a statement about the issues related in the statement of claim. About the debate itself between the claimant and the respondent there is little surviving information, there is merely a hint about it in the records.⁵³

In order to reach a verdict, the instruments of evidence were indispensable, the most relevant of which were the oath and the confession of the witnesses. The remaining fragments of the records stand as proof for the fact that the decision-making process in the court from Filea de Sus was mainly based on the oath. From the six trials discussed, in the case of four the verdict was delivered mainly based on the oath.⁵⁴ As the records duly illustrate it, similarly to the examples from Hungary, in these manorial courts as well the practices which rendered a verdict depending on the given oath, were not at all absent. The testimonies of the witnesses were taken into consideration only in two of the mentioned cases.

Adjudication and Penalty

THE PROVIDING of evidence was followed by the adjudication. In the manorial court from Filea de Sus, the curator had managed to take an impartial, equitable decision, while delivering the verdict he paid great heed to the indemnifications and to their proper bringing into effect. The trials discussed on that particular court could not be objected. Apart from the verdicts delivered in the court from Filea de Sus, other courtly instructions were noted.

There is information about only one trial discussed by the presiding judge, the main curator in the court of the parish from Cluj, and the charge of the trial is the above mentioned minor trespass. Based on the little information concerning this trial, one might deduce the fact that the main curator endeavoured to deliver a favourable verdict or an acquittal for his serf, however the claimant could appeal to the partial court of the county where he was able to present his objections with reference to the former trial. The records of the *iudex nobilium* duly reflect the protective conduct of the curator who tried to acquit his serfs, however he could rightfully deliver an acquittal verdict by adverting the fact that the claimant failed to present himself in court twice.⁵⁵

The manorial court from Filea de Sus discussed trials of civil, criminal law and concerning manorial issues, while that from Cluj delivered verdict in cases involving private accusations and penal law. In the year 1677 the court held in Filea de Sus discussed the following trials: debate over the ownership of a meadow and a house, refusal of the payment of a promissory note, theft of beehive, violation of a command or restraint and fights (injury). Furthermore the court from Cluj discussed charges as illegal appropriation of wheat and minor trespass.⁵⁶ Apart from the above mentioned trials in the court from Filea de Sus a case involving a manorial issue was also discussed: the issue of bail in the case of a runaway serf.⁵⁷

The fragmentary records of the court from Filea de Sus contain only a few types of penalty. For the theft of two beehives the penalty is of 12 forints. The serf who used the land of someone else was also charged with the same penalty, even if he was denied the usage of the land by the legal authority of “camp of the lord”, as well as those who violating the restraints had illegally mowed the meadow of someone else. A claimant was charged with 3 forints for the derogatory disturbance of the respondent, and in the case of another trial the penalty was of 1 forint for the neglect of the stamp of the judge.⁵⁸ The records contain references to the partial or whole payment of the sum on the spot.⁵⁹

Other Legal Obligations of the Parish

ONE OF the main legal obligations of the parish was to insure the representation of its serfs in county court and proceed in their favour in case the matters exceeded the authority of the manorial court of the parish. Apart from this, the county required the parish administrative to arrest its serfs who were accused of more serious crimes, to assure bails for them, to provide a letter of guarantee for them, and to assure their presence in court. With the assistance of the landlord, and provided that 40 forints were paid to the county, the accused could be granted clemency by the *vicecomes* depending on the given circumstances.⁶⁰

In some of the cases the statements of the bailers proved to be sufficient; this fact served as a condition on which the accused was granted freedom until the trial. For instance the curator István Markó explained his decision of Tamás Mád's placement under bail, the latter being a serf from Săcel, on the 28th of June 1691 by the fact that he should not place the serf in goal. In the case of Tamás Mád's possible flee the bailers were demanded to discover his whereabouts, to capture him and take him back to the village as this practice was regular in case of runaway serfs. After the serf had been brought before the court and the verdict had been delivered, the statement of the bailer lost its validity.⁶¹

In other cases the agreement with a bailer was not sufficient. Kriszta Kercze from Filea de Sus – a local serf, who represented the parish serfs of Săcel, Filea de Jos and Filea de Sus – following the instruction of one of the curators, locked in stocks the serf from Filea de Jos, German Sipos on the 14th of August 1695.⁶²

As the above mentioned examples illustrate, the curator István Markó could have intervened in order to hinder the arrest, since he himself had issued the serf's agreement of guarantee. Another similar example is that involving a colt theft, in this case also, as the content of the letter of guarantee proves, the curator was obliged to legally represent his serf from Săcel in the county court.⁶³

The manorial courts of Transylvania were not regulated by the contemporary laws, their function can be followed only through the documents created in the course of the trials, and the publishing of these documents would greatly favour the development of the research. Based on the above presented documents, one cannot draw conclusions of general validity, however, the data found and tackled can surely call the attention upon certain particularities. Similarly to the other manorial courts of Transylvania, the manorial court of the parish was of limited jurisdiction, which could exercise its jurisdiction in all cases, except for those involving capital punishment, which were to be dealt with in the county court. The manorial court tackled legal issues of penal and civil law, private accusations, and in addition to these, manorial matters were discussed as well.

Most probably in order to have more trials discussed, with the exception of those in which the curator had to deliver a verdict in eight days, the manorial court commuted periodically from one village to another, discussing summary trials in the presence of the *index nobileium*. The court from Cluj housed those formal trials which were initiated by other landlords against the serfs of the parish, cases in which the former demanded the summoning of manorial courts. It is, however, curious to notice that even at the end of the 17th century the verdicts were delivered in many cases in a medieval fashion, depending on the oath. □

Translated by DALMA GÁL

Notes

1. Andrei Kiss, “Forul dominal în Transilvania” (The manorial court in Transylvania), *Revista Arhivelor* 12, no. 2 (1969): 59–70; András Kiss, “A vármegyei filiális szék keletkezéséről” (On the formation of *sedes filialis*), in Idem, *Források és értelmezések* (Sources and interpretations) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1994), 39–69; Veronka Dáné, “Az őnagysága széki ügy deliberalá. Torda vármegye fejedelemségkori bírósági gyakorlata” (“His Highness’ court has deliberated it in such manner”. The juridical activity in Turda county during the age of the Principality), *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek* 259 (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézete; Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2006), 39–43, 69–73; David Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVII-lea* (Serfdom in Transylvania in the 17th century) (2 vols., Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1986–1987), vol. 1, 403–449.
2. Kiss, “Filiális szék,” 46.
3. Endre Varga, ed., *Úriszék. XVI–XVII. századi perszövegek* (Manorial courts. 16th–17th century trial documents), Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai no. 2, Forráskiadványok no. 5 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1958; henceforth: *Úriszék*); Ferenc Eckhart, *A földesúri büntetőbíráskodás a XVI–XVII. században* (The criminal jurisdiction of the landlords in the 16th–17th century) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1954); Alajos Degré, “Úriszéki peres eljárás a Déldunántúlon a XVIII–XIX. században” (The litigation of the manorial courts in Déldunántúl in the 18th–19th century), *Levéltári Közlemények* 32 (1961): 101–128; István Kállay, *Úriszéki bíráskodás a XVIII–XIX. században* (The jurisdiction of the manorial courts in the 18th–19th century) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985); Idem, “Az úriszéken kívüli földesúri bíráskodás” (The manorial jurisdiction performed outside the manorial courts), in *Jogtörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies in law history), no. 4, ed. Andor Csizmadia (Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1980), 159–186; Imre Hajnik, *A magyar bírósági szervezet és perjog az Árpád- és a vegyesházi királyok alatt* (The Hungarian court organization and trial rights under the reign of the Árpád dynasty and the mixed dynasty kings) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1899), 97–104; Barna Mezey, ed., *Magyar jogtörténet* (Hungarian law history), Osiris Tankönyvek (Budapest: Osiris, 2007), 422–441.

4. Kállay, *Úriszéken kívüli bíraskodás*, 159–160; Eckhart, *Büntetőbíráskodás*, 61–73.
5. *Úriszék*, 12–13; Kiss, “Filiális szék,” 57.
6. *Úriszék*, 9–10; Kiss, “Filiális szék,” 59–60.
7. *Werbőczy István Hármaskönyve (The Tripartitum of István Werbőczy)*, eds. and trans. Sándor Kolosvári, Kelemen Óvári, and Dezső Márkus, *Corpus Iuris Hungarici, Magyar Törvénytár 1000–1895* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1897; henceforth: *Werbőczy*), 3, 26.
8. Kiss, “Filiális szék,” 55–57; *Úriszék*, 9–19; Eckhart, *Büntetőbíráskodás*, 3–8.
9. One of the articles of *Approbatæ* specified that the owner landlord had the right to arrest his own or a foreign serf on his own estate, and could exercise his jurisdiction upon him by involving the *iudex nobilium*. Sándor Kolosvári, and Kelemen Óvári, eds., *Approbatæ Constitutiones Regni Transylvaniae et Partium Hungariae eidem Annexarum*, 1540–1848. évi erdélyi törvények (The Transylvanian laws of the years: 1540–1848), *Corpus Iuris Hungarici, Magyar Törvénytár 1000–1895* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1900; henceforth: *Approbatæ*), 3, 47, 19.
10. Kiss, “Filiális szék,” 60–61; Dáné, *Őnagysága széki*, 39–40; Prodan, *Secolul al XVII-lea*, vol. 1, 412–413, 422.
11. Kiss, “Filiális szék,” 61–62.
12. The minor trespass (*actus minoris potentiae*) was considered to be all kinds of illegal disturbances, minor appropriation of land, exercise of aggression, these did not belong to the domain of major trespass, which involved five cases (*quinque casus*): 1. the assault of the landlord’s manor; 2. the illegal appropriation of his estate; 3. the arrest of the landlord; 4. the wounding, the battering of the landlord 5. the murder of the landlord. In case the committer of minor trespass is a landlord, the penalty for the crime was 50 forints, if the perpetrator was a serf his penalty was 12–12.50 or 20, in both cases this sum was half of the perpetrator’s blood money (*homagium*). Ferenc Eckhart, *Magyar alkotmány- és jogtörténet* (History of Hungarian constitution and law), ed. Barna Mezey (Budapest: Osiris, 2000), 320; Dáné, *Őnagysága széki*, 80, 124, 126, 154.
13. Kiss, “Filiális szék,” 59–69; On omitting the summoning of the manorial court, the *Approbatæ* recorded the following: In case one of the serfs committed trespass or other crime, than he could be pled against in the court of his landlord, who was required to summon the court after eight (15 in the Partium) days following the day of the crime in the presence of a *iudex nobilium*. From this court, appeal could be addressed to the county court. If, however, the landlord refused to summon the court, he could be cited to the county court, where he was required to pay the blood money of his serf and was demanded to summon the manorial court, if the latter demand was denied by the landlord, the claimant won the case. *Approbatæ*, 4, 4, 28.
14. In this period the *delictum privatum* did not belong to the penal cases; the former cases were as follows: slander, aspersion, assault and injury, minor and major trespass.
15. The function of the partial court of Turda county: Dáné, *Őnagysága széki*, 35–38, 79–82, 151–170; In the year 1678 the Diet ordained the abolition of the partial county courts due to their irregular function. Notwithstanding the ban, the partial

courts continued to function due to the great demand for their services, this situation was eventually accepted by the Diet in May 1680.

16. Archives of the Reformed Church of Transylvania (The Erdélyi Református Egyházkerületi Levéltár; Cluj-Napoca), Archive of the Reformed Parish of Cluj (Kolozsvári Református Egyházközség levéltára; henceforth: *ARPC*), 2, 9, 37; Dáné, *Őnagysága széki*, 68; David Prodan, “Judele satului iobăgesc în Transilvania” (The judge in the Transylvanian serf village), *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj* 4 (1961): 217–235; The authority of the village judge was highly altering e.g. in the 16th century Hungary a landlord authorized such a village judge to deliver verdict in cases of capital punishment. István Szabó, “A parasztfalu önkormányzatának válsága az újkorban” (The crisis of the local administration of the peasant villages in the modern age), in Idem, *Tanulmányok a magyar parasztság történetéből* (Studies concerning the history of the Hungarian peasantry), eds. Kálmán Benda, et al., Történettudományi Intézet kiadványai, no. 2 (Budapest: Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet, 1948), 265–310.
17. Eckhart, *Büntetőbíráskodás*, 24; Szabó, “Parasztfalu,” 283.
18. The patent of King John II issued in 1564. Károly Szabó, Lajos Szádeczky, and Samu Barabás, eds., *Székely oklevéltár* (Diplomatarium of the Székely/Szeklers) (8 vols., Cluj-Napoca: A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Kolozsvári Bizottsága, A Székely Történelmi Pályadíj-alapra Felügyelő Bizottság, 1872–1898; Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1934), vol. 2, 176–178.
19. Sándor Kolosvári, and Kelemen Óvári, eds., *Statuta et constitutiones municipiorum Transsylvaniae ab antiquissimis temporibus usque ad finem seculi XVIII. Az erdélyi törvényhatóságok jogszabályai*, Corpus Statutorum Hungariae Municipalia. A magyar törvényhatóságok jogszabályainak gyűjteménye, Monumenta Hungariae Juridico-Historica. Magyarországi Jogtörténeti Emlékek (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1885), 278–279; Prodan, *Secolul al XVII-lea*, vol. 1, 412, 413, 416, 421; Zsigmond Jakó, *A gyulai vártartomány urbáriumi* (The urbariums of the domain of Gilău) (Pécs: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetem; Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1944), 206; István Imreh, “Udvarhelyszék legrégebb falutörvénye (1615)” (The earliest village law of Odorhei county [1615]), in Idem, *Erdélyi eleink emlékezete 1550–1850: társadalom és gazdaságtörténeti tanulmányok* (The memory of our Transylvanian forefathers 1550–1850: Studies in social and economic history) (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány; Cluj-Napoca: Polis, 1999), 134; Elek Jakab, and Lajos Szádeczky, *Udvarhely vármegye története a legrégebb időktől 1849-ig* (The history of Odorhei seat from the beginnings to 1849) (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1901), 392–394.
20. *Werbóczy*, 3, 25, 3; With respect to this legal regulation the alterations occur only in the second half of the 17th century: Dáné, *Őnagysága széki*, 37, 81.
21. The 10th paragraph of Diet decision of May 1619 ordered that the serf accused of serious charges can be arrested by his landlord, the latter being obliged to give the serf to the *vicecomes*, who had to deliver a verdict in eight days. Sándor Szilágyi, ed., *Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transylvaniae. Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek 1540–1699*, Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Magyar Történelmi Emlékek, no. 3. (21 vols., Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1875–1898), vol. 7, 516.

22. Kállay, *Úriszéki bírászkodás*, 108, 115–159; Mezey, ed., *Jogtörténet*, 423–426; Eckhart, *Jogtörténet*, 326–340.
23. Kállay, *Úriszéki bírászkodás*, 14.
24. *Ibid.*, 9, 32.
25. Sándor Újfalvi, *Emlékiratok* (Memoirs), eds. Samu Benkő, and Aranka Ugrin (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1990), 143–144.
26. Kállay, *Úriszéki bírászkodás*, 109–110, 112–114; *Úriszék*, 43.
27. *Úriszék*, 43–44.
28. The penalty should not be confounded with indemnity, compensation, which was not received by the court officials but by the injured party.
29. As mentioned above, regularly from 1 to 4 forints.
30. Jakó, *Gyalu*, 50–51, 53, 57, 64, 122, 127, 134, 142, 147, 151, 206; Prodan, *Secolul al XVII-lea*, vol. 1, 405–416.
31. Through the admonishments (*admonitio*) the claimant could demand the parish to summon court, or the latter could announce the claimant about the postponing of such a practice. The production of the letters of guarantee was necessary due to the fact that it prevented the possible flee of the serf.
32. *ARPC* 2, 8, 8/a.
33. *ARPC* 2, 8, 8a.
34. About the function of the *knez* from Filea de Jos information may be found from the year 1450: Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei 1289–1556* (The convent records from Cluj-Mănăştur, 1289–1556), A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok, no. 17 (2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), vol. 1, no. 900.
35. David Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVI-lea* (The serfdom in Transylvania in the 16th Century) (2 vols., Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1968), vol. 2, 690, 693.
36. *ARPC* 2, 1, 10.
37. *ARPC* 2, 8, 8a.
38. The presiding curator could have attained legal knowledge. This can be backed up by the fact that some of the curators, besides their office in the parish, they had occupied posts in the place of authentication of Cluj-Mănăştur: Péter Laki (1696–1703), János Szalárdi (1664–1666), István Vicei (1674–1694) worked as requisitors. Zsolt Bogdándi, “A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori levélkeresői” (The requisitors of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur during the Age of the Principality), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 72, no. 3–4 (2010): 43–72.
39. *ARPC* 2, 9, 37.
40. *ARPC* 2, 9, 56.
41. *ARPC* 2, 1, 26.
42. Dáné, *Önagysága széki*, 77–78.
43. *ARPC* 2, 1, 10.
44. Kállay, *Úriszéki bírászkodás*, 128.
45. *ARPC* 2. 1. 10.
46. Eckhart, *Jogtörténet*, 324–325.
47. *ARPC* 2, 1, 10.

48. *ARPC* 2, 1, 26.
49. *ARPC* 2, 1, 26.
50. Dáné, *Őnagysága széki*, 70.
51. *ARPC* 2, 9, 56.
52. *ARPC* 2, 9, 56.
53. *ARPC* 2, 8, 8a.
54. *ARPC* 2, 8, 8a.
55. *ARPC* 2, 1, 26.
56. *ARPC* 2, 9, 37; *ARPC* 2, 1, 26.
57. *ARPC* 2, 8, 8a.
58. *ARPC* 2, 8, 8a.
59. *ARPC* 2, 8, 8a.
60. Dáné, *Őnagysága széki*, 56, 74.
61. *ARPC* 2, 9, 92.
62. *ARPC* 2, 9, 36.
63. *ARPC* 2, 9, 91.

Abstract

The Manorial Court of the Reformed Parish of Cluj (Kolozsvár) (1676–1695)

The procedures of the Transylvanian manorial courts in the early modern age were not regulated by the contemporary laws, therefore they can be studied only based on the documents of the litigations. The research however is impeded by the fact that the amount of the historical resources concerning this issue is insufficient, and they have not been published yet.

The reformed parish of Cluj received certain properties in the neighbouring villages during the 17th century; hence in the decade of the 1690s there were approximately 100 serfs under the authority of the parish. The curators of the parish exercised their jurisdiction over the serfs via the manorial court. Similarly to most manorial courts in Transylvania, this court had also limited jurisdiction, the serfs were judged for all their offences except for those involving capital punishment. The manorial court of the parish was presided by the curator and the trials were performed in the presence of a *iudex nobilium* representing the county.

Keywords

manorial court, legal procedure, *iudex nobilium*, reformed parish, Cluj, curator

The Lord my God Has Given My Wife a Child

Childbirth in 18th-Century Transylvania*

ANDREA FEHÉR

HISTORIANS SAW the lives of women and children as something of little historical importance, belonging to the private world, while they focused on exposing the public world of men.¹ The second half of the 20th century changed that perception, due to the development of social history, and the unknowns of the population came more into view, so that there was an increasing interest to present the women in some other roles, as wives and mothers. This paper fits in this new current as it is an attempt to reconstruct contemporary attitudes toward childbearing and parenthood in Transylvania, presenting especially prenatal and postnatal care of women. We are aware of the fact that most researchers of childhood and family are concerned with finding evidence to support their arguments rather than evaluating their sources. So there are those who are *writing about the tears* and others who are *writing about laughs*, both making creative interpretations sometimes on the same narratives. The aim of this paper is not to argue about the fact that there were or there were not parental feelings or childcare, but rather to let our very few and barely representative data talk for themselves. The study aims at interpreting a wide range of published and unpublished biographical works, in the form of correspondence, diaries, autobiographies and other family papers, written by members of the political elite or by representatives of the nobility and civil servants from the 18th century, such as: György Bereczk (Vízaknai), Kata Bethlen, Miklós Bethlen, Kata Csáky, Mihály Cserei, György Rettegi, István Wesselényi.

* This work was supported by CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number: PN-II-PCE-2011-3-0040.

Fertility and Birth Control

THE TRADITIONAL perception of married life was unthinkable without births. A woman's social existence was influenced by her maternal potential.² Pregnancy also changed her position in the family, because children were regarded as God's gift, and in the same time, as a wife's proof of love and devotion.³ But birth also had a pragmatic meaning as it redefined the roles of men and women (assuming the role of father, and respectively mother – women became wives in order to become mothers),⁴ ensuring the integrity of accumulated goods, and providing ample opportunities and perspectives to extend the already existing kinships.⁵ Through centuries childbearing became the foremost obligation of the wife, her fertility scoring, in fact, her usefulness in the community. She became a responsible and respected member of a group only after fulfilling the biological and social tasks assigned to her by God. Religious faith provided a context and a meaning for the work of motherhood; furthermore biblical texts promised salvation through maternity.⁶

In light of the previous statements, it appears that the lack of fertility was seen as an evil, a source of shame, primarily for women. Sterility was usually considered to be the wife's fault. A childless woman was labelled a barren woman, and: *the higher their social position was, the unhappier was their lot.*⁷ In fact women were not accepted by their husband's family until giving birth to a child.⁸ Ecclesiastical discourse followed, of course, to obscure the negative role of the woman, explaining sterility as a curse of God, and not something that could be controlled by human beings. Yet the community regarded barren women with suspicion, as they are presented in most cases without maternal love, greedy and notably nasty. Moreover Transylvanian literature shows us some cases in which sterile women did anything to get "in possession" of a child. The most striking case is found in the memoirs of Kata Bethlen, who, after the death of her husband, had to watch how her children were taken away from her, because of religious consideration: "I started to be disrupted by Count Haller, driven by his wife of course, Zsuzsanna Apor, who never had children, and wanted to take one with force both from God and from me."⁹

So those who failed to fulfil this task (giving birth) were disregarded, rarely sympathized, but never fully accepted, they remained for a lifetime subjected to insults from both men and fertile women. Or as Thomas Aquinas had said, the woman who never gives birth is more tortured than one who has passed several times through travails.¹⁰

Regarding the Transylvanian memories, we rarely find cases in which couples, in particular because they belong to noble or bourgeois families, would have preferred a small number of survivors. More so, the sources elucidate that, after birth, women were not excessively abused by educational tasks. The studied

memories show that noble families always hired wet nurses for their children, and after weaning they requested a governess's services. Rich women, having abandoned maternal breastfeeding, had an entirely different reproduction pattern.¹¹ The period which could offer the women some safety lacked, most of the noble women giving birth every two years, so the number of offsprings was quite high in the early modern Transylvanian society.

The situation was however different for women who had extramarital relations or came from some modest social structures. Giving birth was a Christian sacred duty, in total consonance with the divine will, to avoid it (not getting pregnant) was considered already a sin.¹² But motherhood was approved only within marriage. By definition "adultery was a crime committed only by married woman, while married man was guilty only of fornication."¹³

There were three ways to negatively influence birth: the actual methods of contraception, abortion and infanticide. The abandonment of the newborn was considered to be infanticide, despite the fact that the chances of survival of a forsaken child could significantly increase.¹⁴ The law provided penalties for both cases: "How to punish a woman who kills her child? It is known that in some cases the woman or girl deviate from the right Christian path and get pregnant, and as to hide her misery, kills her baby immediately after birth and buries it where she can. These persons were earlier led to the archpriest and were judged, being forced to confess their sin. After that, the women were taken to a monastery to spend their remaining days fasting and mortifying their flesh, but the law condemns them to death today."¹⁵ The law was just as severe with men who killed their illegitimate children: "The poor priest from Leta (Léta) has impregnated a servant, when he observed that it was time for the girl to bear, he has threatened her not to dare give him away, but she didn't listen to his words. He got a knife and stuck it in the womb of the woman who fell immediately, but in the meantime the girl had sent for the midwife: when the woman saw the stabbed body, she immediately sent for the priest. [...] The man was convicted, decapitated and then impaled."¹⁶ Capital punishment, in cases of infanticide, was prohibited in a decree of 1769, which stipulated that women who had resorted to these arrangements are not criminals, and they should not be beaten or humiliated in public, drawing attention to the fact that "seduced women" had to be protected and if possible sustained until birth.¹⁷

According to Farkas Cserei's law corpus, within the Transylvanian jurisdiction they did not only punish those women who had killed already born babies, but also sentenced the cases in which a foetus with soul was killed (abortion), by the preparation of medicines or squeezing the belt, jumping, tumbling etc., and doing other practices that jeopardize the child's life, accelerating the birth. In such cases the woman is sentenced to death "totally justified."¹⁸ Physicians blamed mainly contemporary midwives, who were entitled to hold various remedies

in their pharmaceutical cases, including solutions or herbs for abortion.¹⁹ If women committed abortion before the child in the womb *was animated with soul*, they got off without death penalty, but they had to stand the consequences of their sin. Opinions about the moment when the child began to have a soul vary across Europe. Thus, in England it is considered that the *reception of a soul* took place on the 45th day after conception, when also the mother could feel the child in her womb.²⁰ Medical treatises and juridical registers reflect that, according to early modern Transylvanians, the soul moves into the body at different times for the two sexes: for boys at 40 days after conception, and for the girls only after 80 days. A few centuries ago it was thought that the child was soulless 45 days, if it was a boy, and 50, if it was a girl.²¹ These debates over the soul were then suspended by the sentence of Pope Clement XI. He was an ardent follower of the cult of the Virgin Mary and in particular of the Immaculate Conception. According to him the foetus has soul already from the moment of conception, reason for which any abortion falls within the category of infanticide.²²

Pregnancy²³

THE PERIOD preceding the birth is rarely mentioned in the memoirs we have studied, and we know surprisingly little about the actual situation. However, pregnancy is more present in the mixed annotations of family chronicles. Each family had concrete ideas about how they had to care for a pregnant woman. She had to be: “first of all filled with devotion to God, realizing the significance of the moment,” than “take care to not idle too much or eat much, she must be balanced, active, walk as much as she can, but not run, because she can miscarry, still to move, in order to keep the child small, because if she lives too quietly, the child will get fat, risking then to kill them both”. Pregnant women also had a severe diet, they were prohibited to eat food hard to digest such as beef or rabbit; then milk, cabbage, rice, chestnuts, etc... instead they should eat prunes, figs, chicken, ginger, apple with honey, but it was strictly forbidden to drink, especially dry wines.²⁴ These prohibitions and recommendations were kept in every family, especially the noble ones, all seemed to have special recipes for their pregnant wives and daughters.²⁵

Women in early modern Transylvania, in spite of being aware of the importance of prudent behaviour during the nine months, did not perceive pregnancy as a disease, and sought to carry out the same activities they normally did. So the physical work, riding or long journeys were seen by women and doctors too,²⁶ as beneficial activities to the mother and the foetus as well, considering that physical activities contribute to an easier birth. However at the end of the century

more physicians pronounced their fears about the consequences of these wanton acts. Thus, in Mátyus's opinion in premature births (in the 7th or 8th months) pregnant women were the only ones to blame for causing miscarriage because of demanding physical labour or an irregular diet.²⁷ It is curious that he also recommended pregnant women some really shocking therapies. In his view, women would be wise to stay for as long as they could in cold and wet rooms, asking their relatives to sprinkle the walls with cold water to create an ambiance as cool and moist as possible. Moreover, in the opinion of the physician, pregnant women should be carried in carriages because the speed of horses and the chaotic motion of the vehicle would help the child to find the ideal position for birth. Riding was also not out of the question.²⁸ Bethlen's wife fell ill because of such a travel in the winter of 1680: "in very rough weather, cold wind, snow and blizzards, although in a glazed carriage, but as there was in the old glazed carriages a seat that stood on four iron legs, and on this occasion it had not been put in, the cold came up through the hole and pierced my wife in the womb and loins, as the doctor maintained. Suffice is that she developed stones, was confined to bed and suffered terribly from them for four whole months until she bore a son. It was God's miracle that this child came into the world fit and well, and that his mother too recovered."²⁹ This child was her last child, although Ilona Kun survived six years after this incident.

Another controversial and extremely dangerous example is the case of István Wesselényi's wife, who was forced to bleed in the last month of pregnancy. The relatives' stupor (and even the surgeon's) shows that extreme interventions, such as bleeding or purgation were contraindicated in the last months of pregnancy. Kata Bánffi happily survived the surgery, bringing to life a healthy baby a few days later. In the perception of contemporary medicine, bleeding was one of the medications commonly used in the first months of pregnancy. Medical opinions were divided on being bled after the fifth month. Some have become reluctant to this method, as apparent from the notes of Apáczai,³⁰ others indicated this intervention even in the ninth month, in order to prevent the pain of childbirth.³¹

Birth

GIVING BIRTH was a private event, but with public significance. The child came into the world in a private place in the room where his parents lived, but surrounded by an assistance consisting of relatives and neighbours, so his birth became a public act. Hungarian women have accepted the presence of their husbands at birth in a few extreme cases, as were those in which physical force was required. Although the birth was a well organized

and highly populated event, men were not welcome. They could make themselves useful by preparing the water, calling the midwife or, in extreme cases, the priest and the doctor; otherwise they spent time with friends or servants.³² Witnessing the event was one of the main roles of women. Almost each time young children came to the world, they did so under the eyes of their grandmothers or aunts. Many of the studied memories or daily annotations prove this. We are familiar with some cases when wives did not give birth at home, but at relatives' or friends' houses. On these occasions not only the grandparents were present, but often neighbours or family friends, being present primarily out of curiosity. Those who were not married were excluded from childbirth, and those who had not borne children themselves were "deemed to lack authority."³³ Thus, the birth was a very crowded public event.³⁴

We can reconstruct the actual birth from the contemporary medical treatises. According to them, when the pregnant woman entered labour, she had to lay on her bed, waiting for about an hour, after that she began to walk around the room, or scream, or kick different objects, gestures which were supposed to release tension and prepare for the birth itself. Sources indicate that, in Transylvania, in most cases women gave birth sitting, except the obese ones, which were recommended to be left on four legs, "like animals", because it was too difficult to them to sit on the chair for a long time.³⁵ So women bore children sitting, standing, squatting or kneeling. It sometimes happened that they used each of these positions. It was important that the obstetrician or the midwife did not quarrel with mothers about appropriate ways of birth, "due to custom or instinct to choose the most convenient way". With respect to the seats, they could be drilled, resembling some classical flap seats, or constituted from two parts, with an opening angle varying from case to case. Midwives were sitting before the women on their knees; the future mothers were dressed in long robes, so nobody could have any direct, visual contact with the genitals of women. The midwives held a piece of cloth or put a vessel under the seat holes.³⁶

We have two records and multiple descriptions that show that Transylvanian women delivered sitting on a chair. It is difficult to reconstruct, we suspect that it was a traditional birthing seat with support, or two chairs placed so as to support women's thighs. On the ground were different litter sheets, as well as straw and the midwives were kneeling before the pregnant woman waiting for her child. However, some cases show that newborns had suffered injuries because of these methods. Rettegi's son remained marked for life because of the carelessness of the midwife: "Look what misery has happened to us, when my poor wife felt that the time is coming, she sat down, but once out, the child fell into the pot placed under the seat, hitting his lips, which started to swell, and unfortunately it remained so."³⁷ At the time when Rettegi wrote his memoirs, Zsigmond was

8 years old. Rettegi's subsequent notes show that his boy's lips had never returned to their original form, despite the fact that Zsigmond spent several years abroad consulting different doctors. In addition to its ugly wound "and so I wonder how could so many love him," the swelling often caused, especially in childhood, dangerous diseases, fevers and bizarre chills. The mistake considered insignificant at the moment proved to be an indelible stigma.

In the absence of internal notes, we have no clear picture of the birth, and due to the fact that women have not left traces of their existence, from documents written by men we can rarely decipher the mysteries of this event.³⁸ The only exception being of course György Bereczk, who being a doctor, felt entitled and obliged to be present at the birth of his first child: "On November the 2nd, 1699, at six o'clock in the evening, my young wife gave birth to a child, that she had carried over 10 months, she lived some unimaginable ordeal, nobody left her for a moment from 10 am, and when the time finally arrived, the foetus was already dead in her womb, and she seemed to have eased a little, but she was running again in horrible pain for 12 hours. I had no hope, when, much to the astonishment of those who were present, following the intervention of the surgeon Matthias, but with the inexperienced hands of an ignorant midwife, they have taken out of her a child, it was fat and thick, an inch wide and long as three hands, but God manifested His grace upon us leaving us at least the mother."³⁹ Not so lucky was the Bethlen family: "That winter my mother too died [...] she had been pregnant and the child died because of her illness, then she too because of the dead child. Had I been listened to, the doctor who attended her would have aborted her to remove the dead child, but my father and the doctor dared not or would not do it."⁴⁰ The case is even more curious because, as English or German social historians pointed out, the ecclesiastical legislation offered instructions in cases of caesarean section.⁴¹ If the child had died in the womb of a woman, the midwife was required to perform caesarean section, pulling the baby through a cut made on the left side of the abdomen. If women were not strong enough to perform this procedure, the doctor, or the husband had to intervene.⁴² However, the surgical intervention presented a great danger to the mother's life.⁴³

Nevertheless, the description provided by Bereczk is unique in Hungarian historiography, memoirs and journals passing over on intimate aspects, remaining silent when it came of pain experienced by women, usually writing a few words such as: "it was a prolonged labour", or "easy confinement", "the birth-throes lasted more ...". Even in the absence of descriptions, the narrative sources show that during those terrible hours, the men implored God for mercy and grace, to keep their partners and the unborn children alive.⁴⁴

The first weeks

THE HISTORICAL child of Philippe Ariès and Lawrence Stone was born to parents who have watched with indifference their helpless children and placed them immediately to a servant, usually an unwise nurse. We find the same perception of the early modern childbearing at Edward Shorter or Elisabeth Badinter,⁴⁵ according to which, in pre-industrial age, the infant mortality rate reaches so high that it is impossible to believe that there is proper care or maternal concern for the child.⁴⁶ Well, European diaries, especially the Puritan ones, prove the exact opposite attitudes. Authors such as Stephen Ozment, Sulamith Shahar and Linda Pollock, all have different opinions on the subject mentioned above. Because our paper is based on the analysis of the same class of personal documents, we are particularly interested in the work of Pollock. This adherent of *continuity* (Hanawalt), in her ambitious work (which has proposed rethinking 400 years of childhood),⁴⁷ analyzed a large number of personal sources, based on a well-elaborated analytical model. Her research shows us a different family. Taking into account the methodological model offered by this author, in the following pages we would present data referring to the first weeks of the child; however our sources do not offer such a positive image of childcare than the English or German personal documents.

The authors' constant interest in weaning suggests that it was of considerable importance in family life; a period of anxiety and uncertainty. Breast-feeding and weaning was one of the most frequently raised issues of privacy. Favourable conjuncture for cessation of breastfeeding appears in early modern Transylvanian astrological calendars too. The large number of references on this aspect of life makes it evident that the feeding of newborns was considered to be an act of utmost importance.

But in spite of advice from theologians or physicians, most children were not breast-fed by mothers (of course we are referring to the aristocracy).⁴⁸ Women had numerous problems for this reason. Our sources are aware of a significant number of deceases caused by breast infection. It is not surprising at all that each family offers in its medical book several remedies against breast hardening. Infections were either cured, or they caused the mothers' death, but curiously, the Transylvanian noble families did not realize the link between breastfeeding and breast infection. Doctors or midwives seem to have neglected the correlation between various breast infections in the wealthy families, and the poor, but healthy women, who did not face such problems. Despite numerous sources that refer to high mortality among young mothers, in some scholars' opinion, the truth is actually the opposite of the idea that we had. Studies have revealed that mortality caused by breast infection was not a common matter; birth had much more to do with life than with death.⁴⁹

One thing is sure, that the variety of recipes and “healing herbs” for women suffering from breast infection proves that this was one of the main reasons for death among young wives. From our sources we found out that the Governor’s wife, György Rettegi’s first wife, and László Wass’s too, died during the postnatal period.

The high fertility in wealthy families is explained by the custom of giving children to wet nurses soon after birth, eliminating in this way the inhibiting influences of lactation on the reproduction.⁵⁰ Thus, in Wass’s or Wesselényi’s homes, births occurred every two years, just as in the second marriage of Bethlen. In such conditions, the presence of a fosterer was indispensable. They often moved into the home of their employers and, in some cases, became part of the extended family. In return, they were asked to show sympathy and devotion to the child they breast-fed. If they served the noble family faithfully, they could even receive gifts. Our sources revealed that finding such reliable and affectionate women was quite difficult and hazardous.⁵¹ Hiring a nurse required serious investigation, about the woman’s biological features, namely the number of children she had, if they were healthy, if she suffered an abortion, etc... These women had to be healthy and clean, kept on diet to give the highest quality of milk. Most people thought that wet nurses must be affectionate, with a kind nature, because their temperament could easily be passed on to the child through their milk (which was widely believed to be blood made white in her breasts), so it was desirable for lactating women to have pleasant physical and moral qualities. Many authors preferred women who gave birth to boys; others chose the ones most resembling to the biological mother of the child, to avoid a possible gap between child and parent,⁵² and to avoid the moral corruption of the child, because they believed that the “child’s character was shaped by the milk it suckled”.⁵³

The wet nurses came usually from two categories, on the one hand they were poor women, seduced and excommunicated, who found protection and material benefits by feeding the wealthy families’ children. Moving to a noble’s house could be a very attractive possibility, especially for single mothers. On the other hand they could be peasant women from villages, whose child died or was given away.⁵⁴

In most diaries we find information on the nature of nurses and almost always economic data such as their salary or the gifts given to them. Most pieces of information on this subject are offered by the diary of Wesselényi. This family had hired about 20 nurses in Sibiu (Szeben) over a period of five years, but apparently none of them won their sympathy. The first girl ran away, abandoning the child and family, so that the author was forced to buy his daughter, Katica, a goat. The child could not grow with goat milk,⁵⁵ so the Wesselényis’ looked for another woman, but this was caught stealing. So within one year, Katica

had three wet-nurses, she was weaned at 27 months, according to the diary annotations. About Ferkő's nurse we find more information: "I've found a girl from Odorhei (Udvarhely) who was knocked up by a soldier, and had a child, but even this one was very hard to find. I gave her 20 florins per year, a shirt and a broad-cloth apron. For her child who was given up till Christmas, we paid six bushels of wheat, a pair of Saxon sandals for 2 florins. I gave her a hat and a piece of bacon for 10 pounds."⁵⁶ Yet this one fled too, and Wesselényi's wife fell into depression fearing that Ferkő would not accept the new nurse's milk. Meanwhile the family had another child, a girl who, in turn, needed another nurse, so that the author paid 17 florins for Ferkő's nurse, because she did not have any living children; 14 for the one who breast-fed Márís and 12 for her child who was kept for half a year for 16 bushels of wheat.⁵⁷ The boy was weaned at 27 months, much to the despair of his mother, who "was crying because he abandoned breast too easily." The family could not rest, because soon after Ferkő's weaning, István was born, so the family again needed two wet-nurses (Máriskó was still an infant): "the nurse costs 25, a pair of boots, thin blade for a person, six butts of wheat, 2 cups of honey, two of peas and rice, a bushel of lentils, a piece of bacon and it would be more than nice from her to pay her own child's maintenance from this goods. In five years we had 20 nurses in Sibiu, but none of these creatures I found to be with common sense."⁵⁸

As we can see, the first years of the child could be essentially reduced to the material costs required for hiring a nurse, the daily annotations of Wesselényi alternate from numbers and notes to anxiety, especially because children are frequently visited by the doctors. It is not surprising that the father became desperate "since we came to Sibiu, the whip of God is upon us, that nobody here has so many problems with keeping nurses than we have."⁵⁹ This matter was delicate taking into consideration the unfavourable situation of the exile. Employing good wet-nurses was a costly business. The nurse issue was a problem which equally affected all the existing social structures in Transylvania, including the families of public officials, like the Halmágyis, every family being forced to take nurses to fill the lack of breast milk.

With regard to the weaning age, researches have revealed that the Hungarian children were breastfed for at least a year⁶⁰ (in some families like Wesselényi, Wass over two years). Practical advice was exchanged among women; they take into account factors such as the health and age of the child, the weather and the cycle of the moon.

Many authors, however, believed that for both the child's safety and for the sake of the family, children should be breastfed by their mothers: "Otherwise I have never been healthy, am not now, as I heard from my mother because of the fact that I had been breastfed for one year by a whore, of whose

unfortunate nature my parents did not know. And once when the nurse went to the loft with a wanton womanizing man, they have taken me with them, and as long as they went about their business, I was all turned up and I fell down ... and broke my ribs. I was kept lying down for one year, during which time they couldn't treat me at all. Let this be a lesson for all, especially mothers, not to keep from breastfeeding their children; if they cannot, hire someone they trust, but do not let children in the nurse's care, but take care of them personally.⁶¹

Moreover, we can read many stories regarding the unfortunate and evil character of the nurses; these women are presented in an unfavourable light, as beings who served driven only by money and the security offered by affluent families, without being either affectionate towards the child or full of gratitude to the family. Moreover, sources reveal that some nurses, in case the child left to their care died, changed the body with a living one, probably from fear of condemnation and losing salary.⁶²

Memoirs provide us with numerous examples of the nurses' ignorance and ill intention, which, because of their negligence, could lead to tragedy, as one of Kata Bethlen's children was breastfed by a woman infected with plague: "the nurse of my son Pál fell ill with plague, but we knew nothing of it, and the mess being in her womb I thought she had a hernia, but the child had a heavy night, and the nurse could not wake up, I got up and took Pál next to me. The next morning she asked me to let her leave for her home to Hărănglab (Harangláb): she had six children, who all fell ill in three days with the plague, but we did not know about these things either. My child did not fall ill from the infected milk or from her womb's heat, although they have slept together and the new nurse slept in her infected clothes and did not catch up the plague. And this wet nurse has not once milked milk in my hands, when she felt that it was too hot for the baby."⁶³ Happily, this time, no one in the family or the household was infected with the plague. However we also have a record which proves that the family had a wet-nurse who was so beloved, that she was mentioned even in the pages of Kata Bethlen's will.⁶⁴

THE PERSONAL narratives we have analyzed revealed some aspects of childbirth and childcare, such as: childbirth was a social act, and women gave birth with the company and support of other women among whom the most important was the midwife. So childbirth took place in the domestic sphere under female authority. Our study shows that it was normal for all ranks of society to employ wet nurses, because suckling by the mother was not the normal feeding method for middle- and upper-class children. But the image of the nurse, just as the midwife's, was ambiguous or negative.

We are aware that such an investigation cannot provide a complete picture of confinement or childbearing, especially because our sources are doubly indirect: first, because they are written, second, because they are written, in general, by males more or less related to the dominant culture. This is the reason why we prefer not to make general statements regarding family life. However, Transylvanian memoirs reveal that there are no diaries or memoirs which do not reflect on the husband's fear and concern in times of crisis, or on the family's agony when it came about children, the parents being aware that the health of their offspring depends on their care and attention.



Notes

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2. Patricia Crawford, "The construction and experience of maternity in seventeenth-century England," in *Women as Mothers in Pre-industrial England: Essays in Memory of Dorothy McLaren*, ed. Valerie Fildes (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 9.
3. David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death. Ritual, Religion, and The Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 18.
4. Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1983), 100.
5. Cressy, *Birth*, 15.
6. Patricia M. Crawford and Laura Gowing, *Women's World in Seventeenth-Century England* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 194.
7. Crawford, "The construction," 19.
8. Zita Deáky and Lilla Krász, *Minden dolgok kezdete. A szülés kultúrtörténete Magyarországon (XVI-XX. század)* (The beginning of all things. The cultural history of childbirth in Hungary [16th–20th Century]) (Budapest: Osiris, 2005), 47.
9. Kata Bethlen, *Önéletírása* (Autobiography) ed. Mihály Sükösd (Budapest: Magyar Századok, 1963), 73.
10. Shulamith Shahar, *Gyermekek a középkorban* (Childhood in the Middle Ages), trans. Katalin Király (Budapest: Osiris, 2000), 71.
11. Dorothy McLaren, "Marital fertility and lactation 1570–1720," in *Women in English society 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London and New York: Routledge, 1985), 23.
12. Cressy, *Birth*, 20.
13. Crawford, "The construction," 9–10.
14. Deáky and Krász, *Minden dolgok kezdete*, 101.
15. Farkas Cserei, *A magyar és székely asszonyok törvénye* (The statute of Hungarian and Szekler Women), Biblioteca Centrală Universitară "Lucian Blaga" (Lucian Blaga Central University Library) Cluj-Napoca, Department of Special Collections, Mss. 500, 112v.

16. György Rettegi, *Emlékezetre méltó dolgok* (Things worthy of remembrance), ed. Zsigmond Jakó (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1970), 159.
17. Deáky and Krász, *Minden dolgok kezdete*, 107.
18. Cserei, *A magyar*; 113r–113v.
19. Gyula Magyar Kossa, *Magyar Orvosi Emlékek* (Hungarian medical memories) (5 vols., Budapest: Magyar Orvosi Könyvkiadó Társulat, 1940), vol. 4, 123.
20. Cressy, *Birth*, 45.
21. *XVI. századi magyar orvosi könyv* (Hungarian medical book from the sixteenth century), ed. Béla Varjas (Cluj-Napoca [Kolozsvár]: Gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet, 1943), 368.
22. Deáky and Krász, *Minden dolgok kezdete*, 112.
23. The parts about *Pregnancy* and *Child-birth* have appeared in an extended version in Andrea Fehér “When the time is coming... Childbirth in Eighteenth century Transylvania,” *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Historia* 1 (2011): 135–149.
24. *XVI. századi magyar orvosi könyv*, 365.
25. Gergely Gellén, *Orvosságos könyve mindenféle nyavalyákról embereknek és lovaknak betegségeiről, méhekről és az esztendőnek hónapjairól. Irtam én Gellén Gergely Losonc városában anno 1680* (Medicine book about people’s illnesses and all sorts of horse and bee diseases, and about the months of the year. Written by me, Gergely Gellén in 1680 in the town of Losonc), Biblioteca Centrală Universitară “Lucian Blaga” (Lucian Blaga Central University Library) Cluj-Napoca, Department of Special Collections, Mss. 679, 102–118; *The Diary of the Cserei Family*, Biblioteca Centrală Universitară “Lucian Blaga” (Lucian Blaga Central University Library) Cluj-Napoca, Department of Special Collections, Mss. 658.
26. “minden örömöm elegyes volt bánattal”. *Csáky Kata levelezése* (“All my joy was mixed with sorrow”. The correspondence of Kata Csáky), ed. Klára Papp (Debrecen: Erdély-Történeti Alapítvány, 2006), 162. Kata Csáky’s letter from 1778 to her son-in-law.
27. Physician Mátyus is the author of the first Hungarian dietetic work (1766). In his book he dedicated a chapter to pregnant women and young mothers giving them specific advices on eating habits in order to maintain the good health of the foetus and newborn, and of course themselves as well.
28. István Mátyus, “Diaetetica, az az: a jó egészség megtartásának módját fundamentumosan eléadó könyv,” (Diaetetica: an explanatory book about how to keep good health), (Cluj-Napoca [Kolozsvár]: Páldi, 1762–1766) in *A jó egészség megtartásának módjáról. Szemelvények Mátyus István Diaetetica valamint Ó és Új diaetetica című műveiből* (On how to keep good health. Excerpts from István Mátyus’s works: Diaetetica and Old and New Diaetetica), ed. Mária Szlatky (Budapest: Magvető, 1989), 357–359.
29. Miklós Bethlen, *The Autobiography of Miklós Bethlen*, trans. Bernard Adams (London: Kegan Paul, 2004), 321. The work used for this translation is Miklós Bethlen, *Élete leírása magáról*, ed. V. Windisch Éva (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1980). The Autobiography has been translated to romanian: Nicolae Bethlen, *Descrierea vieții sale de către el însuși*, trans. Francisc Pap (Cluj Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2004).
30. József Spielmann, “Mechanikus materialista elemek Apáczai Csere János élettani és orvosi felfogásában,” (Mechanical materialist elements in the physiological and medical conception

- of János Apáczai Csere) in *A hazai orvostudomány történetéből* (From our History of Medicine), ed. József Spielmann (Bucharest: Editura medicală, 1957), 100.
31. Deáky and Krász, *Minden dolgok kezdete*, 157.
 32. *Ibid.*, 127.
 33. Crawford and Gowing, *Women's World*, 194.
 34. Alan Macfarlane, *The family life of Ralph Joselin. A seventeenth century clergyman*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1977), 85.
 35. *XVI. századi magyar orvosi könyv*, 376. Otherwise researchers revealed the same recommendation for obese women in the whole Europe; Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled*, 108.
 36. Deáky and Krász, *Minden dolgok kezdete*, 163.
 37. Rettégi, *Emlékezetre*, 70.
 38. Cressy, *Birth*, 16.
 39. György Vizaknai Bereczk, *Naplóféljegyzései (1693-1717)* (Diary: 1693-1717), Biblioteca Centrală Universitară "Lucian Blaga" (Lucian Blaga Central University Library) Cluj-Napoca, Department of Special Collections, Mss. 693, 117r-117v.
 40. Bethlen, *The Autobiography*, 180.
 41. The first medieval mention of caesarean sections is not in medical literature, but in synodal legislation, because it was important not as a medical, but mostly as a spiritual life-saving procedure. This explains why the directions on how to perform such operations are placed in the sections dealing with baptism. Kathryn Taglia, "Delivering a Christian Identity," in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, eds. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler (York: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), 86-87.
 42. Shahar, *Gyermekek*, 68.
 43. Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled*, 110.
 44. Cressy, *Birth*, 28-29.
 45. Elisabeth Badinter, *A szerető anyja. Az anyai érzés története a 17-20. században* (Original title: *Mother Love: Myth and Reality: Motherhood in Modern History*), trans. András Szekeres (Debrecen: Csokonai, 1999), 309.
 46. Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), 168.
 47. Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children. Parent-child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
 48. McLaren, "Marital fertility," 28.
 49. Cressy, *Birth*, 30; Ulrike Tancke, *Bethinke Thy Selfe in Early Modern England: Writing Women's Identities* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2010), 123.
 50. Jacques Gélis, "Individualizarea copilului" (Individualizing the child/L'individualisation de l'enfant), in *Istoria vieții private* (A History of Private Life / Histoire de la vie privée), vol. 5: *De la Renaștere la Epoca Luminilor* (From Renaissance to Enlightenment / De la Renaissance aux Lumières), eds. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, trans. Constanța Tănăsescu (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1995), 15.
 51. Crawford and Gowing, *Women's World*, 203.
 52. Shahar, *Gyermekek*, 105.

53. Christine Peters, *Women in Early Modern Britain, 1450-1640* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 66.
54. Zita Deáky, “A szoptatás, a dajkaság és a csecsemőhalandóság kérdései az orvostörténeti forrásokban” (Breast-feeding, wet-nursing and infant mortality in medical sources), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 1–2 (2003): 190.
55. Family historians revealed that in the early modern European society, parents feared to give their children animal milk, especially in the first month. This could explain Wesselényi’s concern to find wet-nurses for his daughter. Ozment, *Ancestors*, 67.
56. István Wesselényi, *Sanyarú világ, Napló 1703-1708* (Wretched World. Diary: 1703-1708), ed. András Magyar (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1983), vol. 2, 537.
57. Different registers attested the fact that those nurses who had children were more expensive, because they had to pay for their children’s care. Deáky, “A szoptatás,” 191.
58. Wesselényi, *Sanyarú világ*, vol. 2, 594.
59. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 398.
60. Katalin Péter, “A gyermek és a gyermekkor a történetírásban,” (The child and childhood in historiography) in *Bölcsőtől a koporsóig* (From cradle to coffin), ed. Tamás Faragó (Budapest: Új Mandátum Kiadó, 2005), 67.
61. Mihály Cserei, *Históriája* (His history), ed. Gábor Kazinczy (Pest: Emich Gusztáv Könyvnyomdája, 1852), 103.
62. Rettégi, *Emlékezetre*, 330.
63. Kata Bethlen, *Önéletírása*, 60-61.
64. *Széki Gróf Teleki József özvegye Bethleni Bethlen Kata grófnő írásai és levelezése. 1700-1759* (The Writings and Correspondence of Count József Teleki’s widow Countess Kata Bethlen. 1700-1759), ed. Lajos Kardoss Szádeczky (Budapest: Grill, 1922), vol. 2, 563.

Abstract

The Lord my God Has Given My Wife a Child. Childbirth in 18th-Century Transylvania

It is the purpose of this study to show first, how maternity/fertility was socially perceived in 18th-century Transylvanian society, and second, how memoirs describe our ancestors’ child-bearing experiences. Therefore we have outlined some of the practices related to fertility concepts, birth and confinement. In order to complete the picture offered by the memoirs, we have also used legal or medical treatises outlining the historical, social and medical milieu of early modern Transylvania.

Keywords

memoirs, social history, child-bearing, wet-nursing, childbirth, fertility, parenthood

The Local Exercise of Power in Sătmar county at the Beginning of the 18th Century*

JUDIT PÁL

The patron-client relation

HISTORIOGRAPHY HAS dealt extensively with the development of the bureaucracy in the eighteenth century,¹ but there is still little information on the exercise of power on the local level. The functioning of institutions cannot be fully grasped without understanding the functioning of personal relations, especially not under the circumstances when the underdeveloped bureaucracy – with its low number of civil servants and very limited resources – had to face a complex set of relations and, what is more, a “feral” world which resembled Eastern Hungary in the wake of the defeat of the rebellion led by Francis Rákóczi II.

In the analysis of the development of the state and bureaucratization process in the early-modern period, the patron-client relation can serve as a useful theoretical model.² The role of the patron-client relations was often emphasized when dealing with the development of the early-modern state as well as the administration. At the time, loyalty was not yet an abstract bureaucratic loyalty, but it was much more linked to personal ties. Without the latter, in the early-modern period, it would have been very difficult to rule the state and operate offices, or even borrow money and obtain information.³ As Wolfgang Reinhard argues: “the early-modern patron-client relations constitute that system of the socially-accepted and morally-founded micro-political behaviour patterns, which is at the same time considered as the emblematic blueprint of the cultural politics of early-modern Europe.”⁴

There was certain debate surrounding this concept, some having a too wide perception of it,⁵ while others drawing the attention to its pitfalls.⁶ Demarcation

* This work was supported by CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number: PN-II-PCE-2011-3-0040.

always entails difficulties, it is not easy for instance to separate it from the kinship relations. The patron-client relation was multifaceted, its forms of manifestation being typical of a certain country or region. These relations became pervasive almost all over Europe, being present at Courts, universities, towns, the papal curia, cloisters; moreover, Reformation also spread by means of these channels (according to certain sources, Luther was one of the most efficient patrons).⁷ In Central-Eastern Europe, the phenomenon was firstly and more thoroughly analyzed by the Polish historiography. In the eighteenth century virtually the entire Polish-Lithuanian nobility was pervaded by the patron-client relations.⁸

One of the basic features of the patron-client relations is mutuality as well as asymmetry and inequality: it is about such an asymmetrical type of relationship in which the individual with a more prominent social status offers certain advantages to his client through his prestige, economic possibilities and connections, while the latter “reciprocates” with other services. However, the relation between patrons and clients went beyond material exchanges, being also characterized by immaterial factors such as service and loyalty. An important aspect is the consensus between the partners, the voluntarism from the part of the client without which the nature of the relation would be different. The patron-client relation has manifold forms, albeit it is generally characterized by durability. The stronger the hierarchy and the smaller the mobility is within a society, the more stable and lasting is the patron-client relation. However, we should keep in mind that at this point we are dealing with social roles: somebody could be patron in one social order and client in another.

Patrons played a significant role in the obtainment of offices. Helping relatives and clients obtain offices counted as a social responsibility. One of the most important – if not the most important – aspect of a career was the identification of the right patron and the development of personal relations. Ultimately, social networks also facilitated mobility. Even if bureaucratic rules were in place, they were too weak to serve as general norms. Personal relations played a much greater role than formal rules in the management of bureaucratic issues. As Valentin Grobner argues, in the early-modern period there was not so much a gap or a precipice between bureaucratic norms and practices, but rather a space where those who held bureaucratic positions moved and which they used according to their logic.⁹ The micro-historical researches on the early-modern era also indicate that there was no entirely coherent and structured norm system, and that the social actors used the cracks in the system to manipulate the norms and give various interpretations to the rules for their own interests.

Our sources do not allow us to reconstruct entire social networks, but the revelation of some of their aspects can take us closer to answering the question regarding the role that the patron-client relation played within the exercise of

power on the local level. Below, I will analyze such a “mediator” from the early eighteenth century, who acted simultaneously on several levels: he played some sort of mediating role between the town council, the state power, and the Károlyi aristocratic family.

The location: Eighteenth-century Satu-Mare

SATU-MARE WAS the longest-held territory by the *kuruc* army; its fortress was an important strategic point, thus suffering extensive damage on several occasions during the freedom fight led by Francis Rákóczi II. After the burning of the town the local inhabitants fled, and only slowly returned to their homes. According to a census conducted around the time of the Treaty of Satu-Mare, the town had a total of 101 citizens and 42 cottars, while the number of empty dwellings reached 169.

Despite the devastation, the town council took advantage of the situation in order to obtain the status of free royal town, which it had tried to obtain on several occasions before, but failed. After persistent efforts, their attempt was finally successful: the status of free royal town of Satu-Mare (Szatmárnémeti) was legally enacted in 1722. However, the expenses that accompanied the obtainment of the new status as well as the corresponding redemption of fiscal possessions and smaller royal usufructuary rights surpassed the financial possibilities of the town and finally led to its indebtedness. Furthermore, mostly due to the aforementioned problems, the town council also came into conflict with one of the most prominent landlords in the region and the Lord Lieutenant (*főispán*) of the county, Sándor Károlyi. He was disturbed by the town’s efforts for independence not only as Lord Lieutenant, but also as the owner of the two manors and one of the pubs belonging to them, over which a bitter dispute started between him and the town. The rights over the pub was the most sensitive issue in the dispute, but other thorny issues arose as well. Both parties used every strategy in the conflict, from intelligence gathering to the bribery of officials, and they also tried to mobilize all their personal connections. Károlyi also had a trusted person within the town, the *tricesimator* (collector of the one-thirtieth tax) Gábor Erős from Satu-Mare, who provided him with valuable information.¹⁰

The two “main characters”: Sándor Károlyi and Gábor Erős

SÁNDOR KÁROLYI (1669–1743) was Francis Rákóczi II’s general and trusted man, but he was able to erase his *kuruc*¹¹ past due to his role in the conclusion of the Treaty of Satu-Mare (1711). His career progressed afterward, and in 1712 he was awarded the title of Count. In the meantime he also significantly increased his wealth. In 1708, Rákóczi II pledged to him the landed estate in Erdőd, which had previously been in the property of the Treasury. In 1720, he managed to obtain a royal letter of donation for the estate. He continued to acquire new estates, and due to his manifold financial transactions he managed to extend their surface considerably, paying great attention to their organization and rendering them economically viable. After the Treaty of Satu-Mare, he remained one of the leading political figures in Hungary, playing an important role in the Diet of 1712–15 and later becoming a councillor at the re-established Royal Council of Governors (Helytartótanács).¹² Károlyi – a gifted man with a strong personality – succeeded in developing an extensive network of clients as well.¹³ In his capacity as Lord Lieutenant of Sätmar County he always paid close attention to the management of the county’s affairs. Actually, the Károlyi family was the only truly powerful aristocratic family whose wealth and social connections expanded well beyond the borders of the County.

We have little information on the origins of Gábor Erős, but we know for certain that he was a nobleman. In the seventeenth century, several members of the Erős family married into landed noble families. Gábor is first mentioned in late seventeenth-century documents as an employee of the Chamber in Szepes (where he acted as a clerk there in the period 1690–93) and a *provisor* in Satu-Mare (for the period 1694–1703), which meant that he managed the local estates of the Treasury.¹⁴ Then, he took part in Rákóczi’s rebellion. In the period 1711–23 he once again acted as *provisor* of the Treasury estates in Satu-Mare, but at the same time he held the positions of *vicetricsesimator* until 1718 and then full-fledged *tricesimator* in the same town. Thus, one can say that Erős had a typical career. At the Chamber, most bureaucrats were of noble origin, albeit there were a few with bourgeois origin as well. However, the possibilities for advancement were limited, for instance a clerk could never become a councillor. Most often, like in the case of Erős, the peak of a career meant a position at the *Tricesima* (Harmincadhivatal).

The position of *tricesimator* was a fairly important one: at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the institutions with the biggest personnel were the Chambers and the One-Thirtieth Offices. The latter played not only a supervisory role, but also a political one. In most places,

the *tricesimatori* were the representatives of the central government, and in this capacity they confronted the local landed aristocracy. They were the owners of their office, they had to offer material guarantees and were liable with their own estates. This can explain why at the time of his accession to office the average age of a *tricesimator* was 40–50.¹⁵ Thus, by 1711 Erős must have accumulated significant wealth in order to acquire a position at the *Tricesima*, albeit in his capacity as a *vicetrikesimator* at the time, he still did not count as a royal civil servant. After the rebellion led by Rákóczi, the Chamber in Szepes was reorganized and much of the former personnel had to leave.¹⁶ Therefore, Erős also had to rebuild his connection network and reassess his career.

Erős was one of Károlyi's trusted and loyal men who served under him in the *kuruc* army, and whose services Károlyi used on different occasions. As it was common practice at the time, there was no clear separation between the public official and private activities, thus Károlyi sent him either to inspect the troops or to solve financial matters. During the *kuruc* military operations, Erős was Károlyi's quartermaster officer, and in this capacity he was entrusted with the procurement of provisions for the army from the inhabitants of Satu-Mare. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Satu-Mare, Károlyi asked for clemency for several of his close associates, including Erős, thus making the latter more indebted to him. However, Károlyi also benefited a great deal from "his well-chosen connections and those individuals who supported him unconditionally."¹⁷ It is very likely that Erős acquired the position of *tricesimator* with Károlyi's support. This position was equal to that of *iudex nobilium* (szolgabíró); moreover, at the time, the *tricesimator* position was more coveted as well: it was obviously more lucrative, and apparently quite prestigious, albeit it involved "servitude," as Erős complained on several occasions.

The first Catholic offensive in Satu-Mare at the end of the seventeenth century

BASED ON the few sources at our disposal, we can claim that Erős's relationship with the town council was ambivalent. It seems that although he lived in the town, he had only official and "business" relations with the council. Erős was one of the main characters in the first big clash between Catholics and Reformed Protestants for the town leadership, which took place at the end of the seventeenth century. Taking advantage of the prevailing political situation in the country, the local Jesuits – who had settled in Satu-Mare in 1639 – attempted to forcefully tip the balance of power in favour of the Catholics in this mostly Reformed Protestant town.

One of the antecedents is that on 15 December 1690, a royal decree ordered that beginning with the following year royal commissars had to be dispatched to every local election. They were usually Chamber functionaries, and they had many prerogatives: apart from supervising the election process, they also supervised the management of the town, the administrative and judicial activity of the magistrate, as well as the situation of Churches. The instructions reveal the anti-Protestant measures.¹⁸ However, it is very likely that such commissars were not dispatched to Satu-Mare until 1694, when the Jesuits filed a complaint against the town council for having elected a Reformed Protestant *iudex primarius* (mayor). Consequently, the Chamber in Szepes annulled the results and dispatched Erős as a commissar to supervise the local elections from 1695. His personal intervention ultimately facilitated the forceful imposition of a Catholic *iudex primarium* in the town.¹⁹ After protests from the town council, they contested its privileges and ordered an inquiry against the council members.²⁰ We do not know what the result of the inquiry was, but at the end of 1697 the Chancellery finally agreed on the free election of urban office-holders. The further expansion of Catholic influence as well as the interference of central authorities in the life of the town was interrupted by the outbreak of the *kuruc* rebellion.

The Károlyi pub affair

AS WE saw above, the town was gravely affected by the events. Part of the treasury goods was also destroyed during the armed conflict. Based on the 1712 census, we were able to assess not only the extent of the Treasury's wealth, but also the magnitude of the destruction.²¹ Whereas the Treasury owned landed estates, vineyards, mills, and a brewery, the pubs represented the most important income source. There were a total number of seven pubs in the two town areas and the castle, part of which were in the ownership of the council; nonetheless, pubs generated a yearly income of 2,100 forints to the royal manor.²² Their acquisition was what the town also aimed for at the time.

Both Sándor Károlyi and the former fortress commander Gückel owned pubs in the town. The fact that the royal benefices had been in Károlyi's hands since 1708 further increased his direct interest in the town's endeavours. Erős played an interesting role in the story. As a representative of the Chamber, he had to inventory all the Treasury assets. As a client of Károlyi, however, he provided the latter with valuable inside information on the steps taken by the town council. For a while – it seems – Károlyi let him take over the pub in order to avoid an open conflict with the town representatives. One of Károlyi's letters reveals that in 1697, Gückel took over the former's pub due to accrued taxes. For a couple

of years he managed the pub, but the town council suspended its activity based on a decree issued by the Chamber in Szepes. Therefore, Károlyi sued and recovered the pub in 1703. After the Treaty of Satu-Mare, however, Gückel's men came to the fore as well. Then, Károlyi gave the pub over to the *tricesimator* Gábor Erős, because in this case the town council would not harass him anymore. He was aware that Erős – as a representative of the Chamber – could have hampered the council's redemption of Treasury assets and royal usufructuary rights. However, when he took the pub back from Erős, the council once again turned to the Chamber in Szepes.²³

Thus, for as long as Erős managed Károlyi's pub, the council did not sue him due to his power and influence. Even though we do not know every detail of the affair, it is still worth asking ourselves what the explanation of this situation might be: Erős's connections at the Chamber (given that he should have been denounced at his "own" office, the Chamber in Szepes), the direct and actual power which he exercised as a *tricesimator* in Satu-Mare, or rather the network of personal connections that he developed as a local resident? His correspondence does not reveal the latter possibility; moreover, it seems that he had very limited contact with the council, unless it was about official affairs. His sporadic references to this matter indicate that he considered himself part of the landed nobility and made derogatory remarks about the town council. His social and family connections were all linked to the county nobility.

The council left no stone unturned in order to achieve its goals: apart from the acquiring of the status of royal town, the liquidation of the Károlyi- and Gückel-owned pubs was also high on its agenda. The first goal, despite Károlyi's initial staunch opposition, proved easy to achieve. However, the achievement of the second goal was an entirely different matter. The town offered 20,000 forints for the treasury assets and the smaller royal usufructuary rights. The value appraisal and the handling of legal matters took a long time. The Chamber in Szepes entrusted Erős with the inventory of the treasury assets.²⁴ It seems that Erős played a double game. He apparently promised support to the council, while he was evidently thoughtful of the Chamber and Károlyi as well. He paid close attention to every step taken by the council and informed his patron of them; moreover, it seems he even hampered the council's endeavours as much as he could. All this did not happen "for free," but in exchange for favours. For instance, in the matter of the assignment of quarters for soldiers, Erős repeatedly requested Károlyi to intervene at the villages, where he had landed properties.²⁵

However, when the Chamber ordered the Treasury assets to be handed over to the council, Erős got into a difficult situation; obviously the order of the Chamber as well as the fear of a denunciation weighed much heavier than the pressures coming from the council. Therefore, there was a boundary – which

he could not (or did not want to?) cross – between his official duties and requirements on the one hand, and his allegiance to Károlyi, on the other. However, he did not owe any loyalty towards the council. It seems he cleverly manoeuvred between the sides, since he managed to assure even the council of his support. In the autumn of 1713, it repaid him for his services by awarding him and his inheritors two lots.²⁶ Indeed, Erős helped the council in its dispute over the Gückel pub, while in the dispute between the council and his patron he obviously defended the latter.

By the autumn of 1713, the town had got into a very tough financial situation. Thus, it embarked on a feverish search for funds, given that they had taken a 20,000 forints loan to purchase the treasury assets, and in September they were unable to pay the 8,000 forints instalment. It was not at all surprising if we take into consideration that in 1715, the town's revenues amounted to 7,400 forints from which it also had to cover the usual expenses.²⁷ It seems this was the time when Károlyi became inclined to settle with the town council, because he requested Erős to reach an agreement with it over the sale of all his town assets for 5-6,000 forints. But the agreement fell through after Erős wrote to him: "they are beggars, swimming in debt."²⁸ Due to the mounting debts, they were compelled to pledge four pubs received from the Treasury to the *iudex primarius* and several councilmen. Nonetheless, the council continued to ask various individuals for smaller or bigger loans, usually with a 10% interest.²⁹ Among the lenders one can find noblemen and army officers from the region, as well as residents of Debrecen or Levoča (Lőcse). Gábor Erős was one of the lenders. In 1715, he loaned the town 1,000 *florenus Rhenensis* and that is why he was pledged two pubs in the Némethi area of the town.³⁰ Until then, these pubs had represented one of the most important and surest revenue sources for the town and the manors. Erős was aware of this, given that he managed to obtain the pubs as pledge for the loan; the council was able to redeem them only in 1725.³¹

The patron-client relation

ERŐS MAINTAINED a steady correspondence with Károlyi. There was a formal side as well: he regularly congratulated the latter on the occasion of various religious holidays, wished him good health so that "I can benefit from it by remaining under your fatherly wings."³² Erős "courted" Károlyi on several occasions; but, due to his numerous commitments and Károlyi's trips, he only seldom visited the latter at his home in Carei (Nagykároly). Most times, however, they discussed official matters via correspondence. Erős took care of Károlyi's businesses in Satu-Mare: he placed orders with local manufacturers, made purchases,

audited the reports of the *Comites curiae* (udvarbíró) in Satu-Mare, and he closely followed the conflict between the council and the Army at Károlyi's behest. He also did several services to Károlyi's wife. Their Catholic faith was also a binding factor. Therefore, Erős went to prayer-meetings to the Károlyis several times.

He also wrote about personal matters, his illnesses, difficulties, and he asked for advice during the Tartar incursion (1717). Other times he complained about his difficult life, his long absences from home, even during Christmas; then, he was ordered to make the inventory of estates in Bihor (Bihar) County and Baia Mare (Nagybánya), but as he stated: "I am but a servant, and I must act in good faith."³⁵ This remark reveals the noblemen's relation to the bureaucratic life, but at the same time he was also aware of the material (and other type of) advantages that this job involved.

What really mattered to his patron was the inside information that he could provide due to his position. He constantly fed Károlyi with information that he obtained from the Chamber in Szepes regarding when and which estates were being listed. For instance, Károlyi wanted and finally managed to obtain ownership rights³⁴ over the manor in Erdőd which Erős inventoried and which was then appraised by the Chamber based on his inventory.³⁵ However, a complaint against Erős was filed at the Chamber which questioned the accuracy of his inventory and subsequently raised the price of the manor. In direct violation of his instructions, he sent the inventory to Károlyi, albeit he pleaded with him to keep it a secret, because it was against the rules. Later, the affair of the village of Tătărești (Réztelek) near Satu-Mare emerged amid doubts about its appurtenance. Erős again showed readiness to assist his patron: "as what shall I record and list the military food rations in Tătărești..., I am expecting your Excellency's instructions."³⁶

In 1721, in the absence of specialists, Károlyi entrusted him with the implementation of one of his pet projects, namely the construction of a glass furnace.³⁷ Apparently Erős had some knowledge in this area, and his good command of German helped him communicate with the Bohemian master builder. The reports that he wrote after his inspection visits at the glass furnace indicate his competence: he expressed his opinions on the materials, the manufactured pots and the installations, described the missing tools, made inventories, and drafted instructions, the latter in both Hungarian and German. Later, however, Károlyi entrusted his other client Gábor Badda with the supervision of the furnace's activities.

When Károlyi as well as the town became indebted, Erős offered loans to him (them). In reality, Károlyi was virtually indebted all the time – it was part of his landed estate policy – and indeed, he often resorted to loans, which counted both as great help and a mutually advantageous business venture. In exchange, Erős turned to Károlyi for different favours. For instance, he asked the latter

to take a certain official document that concerned him from the Chancellery, he requested smaller favours (wooden planks or acorn for his pigs), or he asked for his support in various official or non-official affairs. The most important show of support from Károlyi was during his appointment as *tricesimator*. After the Treaty of Satu-Mare, there were discussions about the reorganization of the *Tricesimae*, and in 1713 there was a strong rumour about the closure of the office in Satu-Mare. Károlyi was very eager to feed Erős with information in this matter as well. Erős repeatedly asked Károlyi to intervene at the Chancellery for his appointment as *tricesimator*. We are not certain what it was due to – Károlyi’s recommendation, Erős’s connections, or bribery – but in November 1720, the latter was already reporting about success to the former. On another occasion, Erős asked for help from the County via Károlyi: thus, in 1721 he built a mill, asking Károlyi to order the deputy lord lieutenant to assist in the building of the dam.³⁸

The last matter in which Erős requested Károlyi’s assistance was his attempt to seek damages from the War Council. Albeit Károlyi sent the recommendation, he blamed him for failing to obtain a vineyard for him from the Treasury. Erős vividly expressed his shock: when he read his patron’s letter, “I felt like sinking into the ground, my blood froze, and like a person beaten to within an inch of his life, my heart, body, and soul are filled with anguish;” he would never hurt anybody “let alone his Excellency, from whom I expect all the best, and whom I recognize and regard as my father-figure, second only to God.”³⁹ However, in the matter of the vineyard he considered himself innocent since – as he claimed – nobody asked for his help.

Therefore, the relationship between Erős and Károlyi was not characterized only by unilateral support, but also by the provision of smaller services by the other party. They were linked by a complex web of mutual interests. Erős also had a business relationship with Károlyi – at least for a while – in the sense that he rented two of the latter’s manor pubs (one of them in Ardud [Erdőd]). As we saw above, he sometimes came into a conflict of interests with Károlyi due to either his own dealings or his representation of the Chamber’s interests. On several occasions, he drew Károlyi’s attention to the arrears of pay or the abuses committed by the latter’s men in their dealings with the *Tricesima*. Apparently, Károlyi’s men – due to their confidence in the authority of their lord – did not observe the rules. Sometimes they denounced him to Károlyi for his alleged activities against the latter. In these situations, Erős was always compelled to exculpate himself. The rhetoric of his letters is very interesting in this respect: “I have to admit the blood froze in my veins, my heart throbbed at the thought that Your Excellency was angry with me.” He continues: “[I have already] fallen twice into your disfavour” due to “false accusers,” but “I am a steadier

servant of Your Excellency” than the accusers. He also asks him to show his usual leniency: “I honestly say it to you: I would rather be dead than be out of Your Excellency’s favour.”⁴⁰

The couple of eventful years following the Treaty of Satu-Mare – when, as we saw, Erős played an important role in the legal disputes between Károlyi and the town council – were followed by years characterized by the mutual exchange of information, smaller services as well as interventions, which lasted until 1725. There is almost no mention of our *tricesimator* in any document from the last five years of his life. The explanation can be found in Károlyi’s diary entry from April 3, 1725: “Disaster befell His Lordship Gábor Erős as he took ill with apoplexy.” However, Erős lived for another five years after falling ill, and died only in 1730. In the last years of his life, he turned to Károlyi only for a few minor favours. However, because Erős was no longer in the position to return the favours, their relationship deteriorated somehow. However, in his last letter to Károlyi from February 1730, when he congratulated him upon his return home, Erős described himself as his “long-time and loyal servant.”⁴¹

As a worthy patron, Károlyi took care of Erős’s sons as well. According to the available sources, Erős and his wife Mária Dersőffy (Dessewffy), who was also born in an upstanding noble family in Sätmar county, had three sons. After the passing of Mária he married Erzsébet Illyési, who remained his wife until the end, and with whom he had a daughter. He went to great length to ensure a good living for his sons from his first marriage, and to this end he turned to Károlyi for support. For a while, his son István worked in Károlyi’s service, later holding several official positions the same as László, while Gábor was very likely an employee at the Chamber.

Erős’s career-path can be described as successful given the difficult circumstances of the early eighteenth century: he managed to survive the defeat of Rákóczi’s freedom fight, then he occupied a position that matched his standing, and not least he succeeded in augmenting his wealth considerably.⁴²

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IN COMPARISON to other clients of Károlyi, Erős was only during the Rákóczi uprising in the direct service of his patron, which is exactly what makes their relationship interesting, as well as the fact that he held a public office. As a young man, Erős fought alongside Károlyi in the *kuruc* war, and it is very likely that the latter intervened for his pardon. This only strengthened their relationship, Erős being connected to his patron by gratitude as well as a tangled web of mutual interests. Erős himself was a relatively independent and well-off nobleman, as a *tricesimator* he held a public office, which involved important power positions on the local level, and as such, his relationship with Károlyi was founded on the system of mutual advantages. However, the very submissive and apologetic attitude

of the “autonomous” Erős when his patron became infuriated with him reflects very well on the mentality of the age. From behind the patriarchal relationship, the great distance that separated patron and client comes to light.

Sándor Károlyi, the Lord Lieutenant of Sătmar county and the wealthiest landlord in the region, developed a considerable network of clients in order to ensure his power base and the management of his estates. The bureaucratization process started to unfold only later at the end of the eighteenth century; therefore, at the beginning of the century the old world's lack of differentiation manifested itself in the absence of differentiated scopes of duties and the primacy of personal connections. Until the end of the eighteenth century we can still talk about the existence of a “patrimonial domination” if we were to use Max Weber's category; one of its features is that the concepts of “jurisdiction” and “authority” as they are understood today were virtually unknown. Later, these duties will be carried out by paid state and county civil servants as well as manorial clerks, but at the time, there was still no clear separation between them. The example of Erős illustrates this state of affairs very well, as he carried out a great diversity of duties at Károlyi's behest. But what was the basis on which the Lord Lieutenant entrusted a theoretically independent civil servant – who did not depend on Károlyi materially and even sometimes lent money to him – with various duties, including the building of a glass furnace? The difficult circumstances made people more dependent on one another. Károlyi's client network also partly served the goals of taking over a land that was almost depopulated and defenceless in front of natural forces, making his estates functional and profitable, and ultimately becoming the master of the county. Both parties depended on each other; the forms of collaboration were quite diversified, but this cannot be stripped down to a simplistic give-receive type of relationship, given that the personal character, religious ties, as well as loyalty played a major role in their relationship, and these are the aspects that made Erős a genuine client.

□

Notes

1. Wolfgang Reinhard, *Geschichte des Staatsgewalt. Eine vergleichende Verfassungsgeschichte Europas von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C. H. Beck, 1999).
2. Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Hans-Heinrich Nolte, “Patronage und Klientel: Das Konzept in der Forschung,” in *Patronage und Klientel. Ergebnisse einer polnisch-deutschen Konferenz*, ed. Hans-Heinrich Nolte, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, Heft 29 (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1989), 1–17; Antoni Maćzak, *Ungleiche Freundschaft. Klientelbeziehungen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, Klio in Polen, vol. 7. (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2005).

3. Wolfgang Reinhard characterized the clientelism as “Instrumentum Regnandi ersten Ranges.” See Wolfgang Reinhard, “Freunde und Kreaturen. Historische Anthropologie von Patronage-Klientel-Beziehungen,” *Freiburger Universitätsblätter* 37 (1998): 176.
4. Reinhard, “Freunde und Kreaturen,” 127–141.
5. There are authors such as Victor Morgan who view Feudalism as a specific manifestation form of the patron-client relation. Victor Morgan, “Some Types of Patronage, Mainly in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Klientelsysteme im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Antoni Maćzak, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien, no. 9 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1988), 91–115.
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7. For the Holy Roman Empire, see Peter Moraw, “Über Patrone und Klienten im Heiligen Römischen Reich des späten Mittelalters und frühen Neuzeit,” in Maćzak, *Klientelsysteme*, 5–12; Volker Press, “Patronat und Klientel im Heiligen Römischen Reich,” in Maćzak, ed., *Klientelsysteme*, 19–46.
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23. Nat. Arch. Hung. P 392 The Károlyi Family (Károlyi család), vol. 18, Lad. 17. no. 162a.
24. Nat. Arch. Hung. E 158, no. 47:20.
25. Nat. Arch. Hung. P 398 Károlyi Family, Missiles, no. 16240, Gábor Erős's letter to Sándor Károlyi, Satu Mare, on 22 September 1712.
26. Nat. Arch. Cluj, F 20, no. 8. Protocollum Magistratuale Ci(vi)t(a)tis Szatthmár Anno 1704 usque 1724, on 29 October 1713.
27. On January 20, 1715, they reached an agreement with the Treasury, which stipulated that it should pay a total of 41,773 *florenus Rhenensis* for the royal usufructuary rights and the stock. 1715. Antal Szirmay, *Szatthmár vármegye fekvése, története és polgári esmérete* (The position, history, and civil knowledge of Satu Mare county (2 vols., Buda, 1810), 188.
28. Nat. Arch. Hung. P 392, vol. 18, Lad. 17, no. 147. Gábor Erős' letter to Sándor Károlyi, Satu Mare, on 1 November 1713.
29. The legal interest level was 6%.
30. Nat. Arch. Cluj, F 20, no. 553/1713.
31. Nat. Arch. Cluj, F 20, no. 11.
32. Nat. Arch. Hung. P 398, no. 16231, Gábor Erős' letter to Sándor Károlyi, on 16 August 1716.
33. Nat. Arch. Hung. P 398, no. 16247, Gábor Erős' letter to Sándor Károlyi, on 2 July 1718.
34. In 1708, Rákóczi offered Károlyi the estate in Erdőd, which previously belonged to the Treasury, in return for a loan that he gave to the prince. The estate remained in his property after the end of the freedom fight, but he managed to obtain the ownership right only in 1720. Kovács, *Károlyi Sándor*, 198.

35. Nat. Arch. Hung. E 158, no. 8:18. The first inventory and assessment are dated 3 December 1713 and 1 June 1715, respectively.
36. Nat. Arch. Hung. P 398, no. 16276, Gábor Erős' letter to Sándor Károlyi, on 5 December 1720.
37. The glass furnace in Solduba (Száldobágy) was one of Károlyi's earliest such business ventures. It was finished in 1722, and it produced many good-quality products in the 1720s. However, at the end of the decade it came into a state of neglect which – despite Károlyi's support – finally led to its closure at the end of the 1730s. Kovács, *Károlyi Sándor*, 192–193.
38. Nat. Arch. Hung. P 398, no. 16278, Gábor Erős' letter to Sándor Károlyi, on 13 June 1721.
39. Nat. Arch. Hung. P 398, no. 16296, Gábor Erős' letter to Sándor Károlyi, on 14 November 1723.
40. Nat. Arch. Hung. P 398, no. 16265, Gábor Erős' letter to Sándor Károlyi, on 19 December 1719.
41. Nat. Arch. Hung. P 398, no. 16306, Gábor Erős' letter to Sándor Károlyi, on 13 February 1730.
42. In 1725, during his sickness, the Chamber inventoried his wealth, which revealed that apart from his house in Satu-Mare, estates, and vineyards he also owned several smaller estates with serfs in various villages across Satu-Mare county. Nat. Arch. Hung. E 156, no. 47: 30.

Abstract

The Local Exercise of Power in Sătmar county at the Beginning of the 18th Century

The paper analyzes the exercise of power on the local level from the early eighteenth century presenting a “mediator” from Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti), who acted simultaneously on several levels: he played some sort of mediating role between the town council, the state power, and the Károlyi aristocratic family. Sándor Károlyi, the Lord Lieutenant (*főispán*) of Sătmar (Szatmár) county and the wealthiest landlord in the region, developed a considerable network of clients in order to ensure his power base and the management of his estates. Gábor Erős was a relatively independent and well-off nobleman, as a *tricesimator* (*harmincados*) he held a public office, which involved important power positions on the local level, and as such, his relationship with Károlyi was founded on the system of mutual advantages. Both parties depended on each other; the forms of collaboration were quite diversified, but this cannot be stripped down to a simplistic give-receive type of relationship, given that the personal character, religious ties, as well as loyalty played a major role in their relationship, and these are the aspects that made Erős a genuine client.

Keywords

patron-client relation, local power, Satu Mare, 18th century

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