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PAPAL POWER, LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND PRETENDERS: THE CHURCH OF CROATIA, DALMATIA AND SLAVONIA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE THRONE OF THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY-CROATIA (1290–1301)

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Cuvinte cheie: Carol Robert, Šubići, Angevinii, Bonifaciu al VIII-lea, dioceza din Šibenik

King Ladislas of Hungary died in 1290 and the country was plunged into a twenty year succession crisis perpetuated by strong oligarchs who supported various pretenders. Andrew III the Venetian (r.1290–1301) received backing by the Hungarian prelates and was crowned king, while the pope favored the Angevins of Naples, primarily Mary of Hungary and her descendants, son Charles Martel (1271–1295) and grandson Charles Robert (1288–1342). Following Andrew's death, most of the oligarchs supported Wenceslas III of Bohemia (1289–1306) and Otto III of Bavaria (1261–1312) before finally recognizing Charles Robert's claim with coronations in 1309 and 1310.

The arrival of Charles Robert to the throne of Hungary and the role played by the Apostolic See was in the focus of a number of works, from fourteenth century chronicles¹ to modern day national historiographies.² Here I would like

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¹ *Chronicon pictum*, the fourteenth-century illuminated chronicle described that Charles Robert gained the throne with the help of the pope from Rome. *Képes Krónika*, ed. Tarján Tamás and Geréb László (Budapest: Magyar Hirlap – Maecenas Kiado, 1993), 112.

² A brief list of most recent works which should be consulted for further bibliography and which also reveal that the interest in the question of the arrival of Charles Robert to the throne of Hungary was present in all the modern national historiographies: Blanka Brezováková, "Politický zápas Anjouovcov o uhorskú korunu" [Anjous' Political Struggle for the Hungarian Crown], *Historický časopis* 39 (1991), 569–587; Zoltán Kosztolnyik, "Did the Curia Intervene in the Struggle for the Hungarian Throne during the 1290s?," in *Régi és új peregrináció: Magyarok*

to contextualize the available sources depicting local events within a broader international context. The aim is to understand the developments and the motivations of the participants involved and to understand these developments on a wider scale.

A different set of questions will be asked which would allow us to fully contextualize the role of the Apostolic See during the period of 1290–1301.³ I will concentrate on the changes in the relationship between papal power, local communities and pretenders and connect these changes with the succession crisis. How did the popes use the succession crisis to intervene and take over the election of prelates from the local communities?⁴ How did the Angevins, particularly Mary, use their contacts with Rome to obtain support from the Šubići? How did the Šubići profit from the Church reform in their lands?⁵ The focus of the research will be on the southern dioceses, namely on the prelates of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, but other parts of Hungary will be included depending on the context.

The Apostolic See and the Elections

The normal procedure for appointing a prelate, even the metropolitan-prelate, in the thirteenth century was election by the cathedral chapter,

külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon, vol 1, ed. Imre Békési (Budapest-Szeged: Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszuson, 1993); Serđo Dokoza, “Papinska diplomacija i dolazak anđuvinske dinastije na hrvatsko-ugarsko prijestolje” [Papal diplomacy and the arrival of the Angevin dynasty on Croatian-Hungarian Throne], in *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna diplomacija* [Croatian Medieval Diplomacy], ed. Mladen Andrić and Mirko Valentić (Zagreb: Diplomatska akademija Ministarstva vanjskih poslova Republike Hrvatske, 1999); Andreas Kieseewetter, “L'intervento di Niccolò, Celestino V e Bonifacio VIII nella lotta per il trono ungherese (1290–1303),” in *Bonifacio VIII. Ideologia e azione politica*, ed. Ilaria Bonincontri (Rome: Istituto storico italiano, 2006), 162–5; Robert-Marius Mihalache, “The Holy See's Intervention in the Struggle for the Occupation of the Hungarian Throne (1290–1310),” *Transylvanian Review* XX, Supplement 2/1 (2011): 155–164; Wojciech Kozłowski, *The Thirteenth-Century 'International' System and the Origins of the Angevin-Piast Dynastic Alliance*, Ph.D. dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2014).

³ While this paper is primarily concerned with the years between 1290 and 1301, these questions will also be applied to the following decades as well, in order to observe the effects these developments had.

⁴ The process was noted but not fully researched by Serđo Dokoza, “Kronološki pregled povijesti Zadarske nadbiskupije do početka 14. stoljeća” [Chronological overview of the history of the Archdiocese of Zadar until the Fourteenth century], in *Sedamnaest stoljeća zadarske Crkve: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o 1700. obljetnici mučeništva sv. Stošije (Anastazije)*, ed. Livio Marijan (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2004), 205–206.

⁵ Damir Karbić has conducted considerable work on the period of the Šubići. He wrote his PhD and a number of articles on the topic of Šubići, which will be used throughout this paper.

confirmation and consecration by the spiritual superior and, in case of the metropolitan, by receiving the *pallium*.⁶ From 1257 the papacy claimed that all disputed elections were *causa major*, to be judged solely by the popes, which led to the gradual papal appropriation of the appointment of the prelates.⁷

The archbishops of Split and Zadar were metropolitan-prelates, which means that they were inspecting, confirming and consecrating the prelates subordinated to them. But their positions were not identical. The archbishop of Split was subordinated directly to the Apostolic See and the papacy demanded that all prelates subordinated to the pope to go to Rome for confirmation and consecration.⁸ Zadar, on the other hand, was subordinated to the patriarch of Grado who claimed the title of *primas* of Dalmatia,⁹ an honorary title that gave the patriarch the right to confirm and consecrate the archbishop of Zadar.¹⁰

Croatia and Dalmatia were not unified under a single ruler. The archdiocese of Split and its suffragans¹¹ accepted the rule of the Hungarian kings, with the archbishop of Split having no superior but the pope, while Zadar and its suffragans¹² were for centuries, with short interruptions, under the Venetians (1116–1358). First, it is necessary to analyze papal interference in Church

⁶ The rights of the cathedral chapter were especially promoted during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216). On the gradual development, see: Jörg Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest: Episcopal Elections in Normandy and Greater Anjou, c. 1140–c.1230* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 29–53; On *pallium* see: Steven Schoenig, *The Papacy and the Use and Understanding of the Pallium from the Carolingians to the Early Twelfth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 2009).

⁷ Geoffrey Barraclough, “The Making of a Bishop in the Middle Ages: The Part of the Pope in Law and fact,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 19/3 (1933): 285–7; Robert Benson, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968): 185, 199; Katherine Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments in England, c. 1214–1344: From Episcopal Election to Papal Provision* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 46–47.

⁸ This was not always the case, as elected prelates could ask the pope for dispensation to be consecrated by other bishops, normally suffragans, and not to travel to Rome. This was the case with Archbishop Peter of Split (1297–1324). The pope allowed him to be consecrated by the bishop of Naples, then by any available bishop, and then he ordered Split’s suffragan-bishops of Trogir and Hvar to do the consecration. Tadija Smičiklas, Marko Kostrenčić, Emilij Laszowski, ed. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae: Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. VII. (Zagreb: JAZU, 1909), 281, May 21, 1297; 305–306, May 18, 1298; 506, May 18, 1298 (further: CDC); Also, see: Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments*, 45–46.

⁹ The patriarch of Grado claimed the title during the twelfth century and maintained it until 1451. Joan Dusa, *The Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities: Development and Transformation* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 59–62.

¹⁰ Since the Third Lateran Council (1179) *primas* was able to confirm and consecrate his suffragan-archbishops. On the development see: Benson, *The Bishop-Elect*, 8, 168–169, 182–183.

¹¹ Duvno, Hvar, Knin, Krbava, Makarska, Nin, Senj, Skradin, Šibenik and Trogir.

¹² Krk, Rab and Osor.

politics, namely the appointments of the prelates during the period of 1290–1301 and position the cases of Split, Zadar and their suffragans within these developments.

In 1287 Archbishop Lawrence Periander (r.1245) died in Venetian Zadar and the cathedral chapter gathered to elect his successor.¹³ The chapter *conven-erunt in unum* and elected Andrew Capsoni, a canon from Padova. Although Padova was a suffragan of Aquileia, with whom Grado was competing for ecclesiastical supremacy¹⁴, Andrew was also a citizen of Venice, so his election should have been favorable to Venetian authorities. But the patriarch of Grado complained to the pope¹⁵ because Andrew did not seek his confirmation. Pope Nicholas IV (1288–1292), the first Franciscan friar ever elected as pope, reacted by sending Cardinal-priest John Cholet of Santa Cecilia as legate to investigate. Andrew eventually withdrew his bid; instead of allowing the chapter to elect a new prelate, the pope claimed the diocese (*ad provisionem ipsius ecclesiae*) and appointed John de Anagni (1297–1297), also a Franciscan friar. Federico Bianchi claimed that John was a close friend of Pope Nicholas IV and that John followed Nicholas on his travels through Dalmatia.¹⁶

Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) eventually transferred John to Trani. The pope alone could transfer prelates between dioceses, which also gave him the opportunity to immediately appoint the successor. The pope also had the right to appoint the successor of a prelate who died in Rome. These two papal prerogatives were considerably expanded at the end of the thirteenth century and they allowed the pope to slowly appropriate control of the appointments of prelates.¹⁷

Until recently, John's transfer has often been quoted in Croatian

¹³ The papal charter depicting the subsequent events was published in: CDC VII, 19–20, February 10, 1291.

¹⁴ On the background of the conflict see: Thomas Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2007), 24.

¹⁵ There were two patriarchs during the period between 1287 and 1291: Guido (1279–1289) and his successor Lorenzo di Parma (1289–1295). It was probably Lorenzo who complained since the pope reacted only in late 1290 or early 1291.

¹⁶ Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Zara cristiana, dell'arcidiacono capitolare* (Zadar: Tipografia Woditzka, 1877), 44. Nicholas also used to be the provincial of the Franciscans in Dalmatia and Istria, appointed in 1272, but he stopped with this function when he was elected in 1274 as the minister general of the Order of Friars Minor. Therefore, it is questionable how much this experience of two years helped him to be acquainted with the ecclesiastical and political situation in Croatia-Dalmatia during his pontificate almost 15 years later. Daniele Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi* [Bishops of Trogir] (Split: Književni krug, 2010), 210.

¹⁷ The right to translate prelates was formulated during the pontificate of Innocent III. Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops. The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1984), 85–100.

historiography as proof that the papacy intervened in the Church politics of Dalmatia-Croatia with the aim of bringing the Angevins to the throne.¹⁸ It was common for the pope to transfer prelates within the borders of a single realm as Zadar was not part of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia but of the Republic of Venice, and Trani was a Venetian-dominated port within the Kingdom of Naples and the Venetians' main contact for trade there.¹⁹

Following John's transfer the pope appointed Henry de Tuderto (1297–99)²⁰, who died at the Roman Curia in 1299; the pope then appointed James de Fuligno (1299–1312).²¹ That fact that in 1312 the cathedral chapter elected Alexander (1312–14)²², while Pope Clement V (1305–1314) rejected Alexander and appointed Nicholas de Setia in 1312, further corroborates this new approach of the papacy.²³ Both Alexander and Nicholas were Dominican friars, so it seems that, in this case, membership in an order did not play a role in the appointment. In fact, the first local person who would be accepted by the papacy was John Butuan in 1322, although he was probably acceptable because he had a prior good relationship with the Curia.²⁴ For over 30 years the papacy

¹⁸ Quite recently in Dokoza, "Papinska diplomacija," 274, who quoted an older work by Šandor Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anžuvina za prijestolje ugarsko-hrvatsko do prve krunidbe Karla Roberta* [The Angevin struggle for the throne of Hungary-Croatia until the first coronation of Charles Robert] (Zagreb: C. Albrechta, 1893), 30.

¹⁹ The court in Naples put great effort into keeping the competing Florentines and Venetians apart. Venetians were situated in Trani, Florentines in Barletta. They clashed in Manfredonia and Brindisi. David Abulafia, "Venice and the Kingdom of Naples in the Last Years of Robert the Wise 1332–1343," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 48 (1980): 194. It was also common for priests in the Republic of Venice to be promoted or translated within the dioceses under the domination of Venice, although in this period this was not as well established as later in the fifteenth century.

²⁰ CDC VII, 283–284, June 18, 1297.

²¹ CDC VII, 343–344, June 15, 1299.

²² Damir Karbić placed the election and rejection of Alexander in the context of papal-Venetian conflicts over Ferrara, the rebellion of Zadar against Venice and the takeover of the city by the Šubići. The Šubići and Alexander had certain contacts and it could be that the Šubići influenced the Zadar's cathedral chapter to elect Alexander. Yet the papal rejection of Alexander follows the pattern established previously by the Curia. The pope rejected the election of the cathedral chapter, claimed that the right to appoint was in papal hands (*ad provisionem ipsius ecclesie Iadrensis*) and provided Zadar with a new prelate. The popes did this regularly in the period from 1291 to 1322. Damir Karbić, "Crkvena politika Šubića Bribirskih do sloma Kliške grane u 1356." [Ecclesiastical Policy of the Šubići of Bribir until the Fall of the Branch of the Counts of Klis (1356)], in *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u čast Franje Šanjeka*, ed. Lovorka Čoralić and Slavko Slišković (Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina; Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2009), 143–145.

²³ CDC VIII, 316–7, July 31, 1312.

²⁴ During Legate Gentile mission in Hungary-Croatia (1308–11) John sided with Gentile in legate's conflict with the clergy of Zadar.

appointed and consecrated the prelates in Rome²⁵, excluding Grado from the process despite his official primacy over Zadar. The patriarch would only appear again in consecrating John in 1322.²⁶ In fact, the nature of the ecclesiastical relationship between Grado and Zadar, and its political implications for Venice, remain unexplored. I am unfamiliar with any dissonant tones coming from the patriarch of Grado because he was left out of the confirmation and consecration of the archbishop of Zadar. Also, during the period in question the patriarch of Grado was still performing canonical visitation of churches and monasteries of Zadar.²⁷

Disputed elections within a bishopric were settled by the metropolitan; however, the popes slowly claimed the right to settle disputed elections themselves. In fact, there was no need to have two or more candidates for a position, as it was enough to have a formal complaint for the pope to become involved.²⁸

Due to the lack of sources it is not always easy to assess the developments in smaller dioceses²⁹, but it seems that the cases for Zadar's suffragans were similar to Zadar. In 1290 the cathedral chapter in Krk could not decide between John of Krk, a Franciscan friar, and Zacharia, a Dominican friar. Pope Nicholas IV, a Franciscan himself, rejected both and instead appointed Lambert (1290–1299), who was a Franciscan friar himself. Lambert was most likely appointed due to his close connections with Pope Nicholas, but this link remained and got stronger even under Boniface VIII.³⁰ In fact, Pope Boniface would also appoint the next two bishops of Krk from the ranks of the Franciscans, although it is worth noting that here the pope fully used the two recently established rights of the papacy: the right of papal appointment after the transfer of the prelate and after the prelate's death in Rome.³¹ The popes also appointed the Franciscans

²⁵ Nicholas IV and Clement V consecrated John de Anagni (1291) and Nicholas of Setia (1312), while Boniface VIII left the consecration of Henry de Todi (1297) and James de Fuligno (1299) to the bishop of Porto and Santa-Rufina. Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 45–46.

²⁶ Bianchi, *Zara cristiana*, 47.

²⁷ Visitation meant that the Church superior was evaluating the ecclesiastical institutions under his care. For example, in 1306 Patriarch Egidio visited monasteries in Zadar. CDC VIII, 125–129.

²⁸ Barraclough, "The Making," 293–294, 297.

²⁹ For instance in Rab where it seems that the elections were settled on the local level. Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. V. (Venice: Apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1751), 234–4. (further IS)

³⁰ There are several papal charters providing Lambert with privileges from the papacy, and in 1296 Boniface appointed Lambert as papal vicar in Rome. CDC VII, 2–3, 78, 218.

³¹ CDC VI, 691–2, March 8, 1290; Following Lambert's transfer in 1299 Boniface appointed as his successor Mathew, and after Mathew's death in Rome, the pope again appointed successor, Thomas. Conrad Eubel, ed., *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive summorum pontificum*, vol. 1 (Munster, 1913), 518 (further: HC); CDC VIII, 31–2, August 13, 1302.

in Osor. In 1290 Nicholas IV appointed Michael³², a friar and the main inquisitor in Dalmatia, while in 1295 Archbishop John of Zadar rejected the choice of the cathedral chapter of Osor, canon Thomas, who was deemed unworthy. This was all normal procedure as the metropolitan was the one who confirmed and consecrated his suffragan bishops. Pope Boniface VIII got involved and tasked Archbishop John to appoint somebody from the Franciscan order as the new bishop of Osor. John appointed friar Angelus (1295–1315).³³ These cases provide good examples of the papacy's new approach. The popes mediated in disputed elections, even if they were supposed to be mediated by the metropolitan-prelate, and promoted papal candidates or members of the Franciscan Order. Further, it seems that the popes kept a close eye on the dioceses in which it was involved and utilized subsequent elections to expand their prerogatives.

From these examples we can see a combination of several elements: complaints to the papacy regarding problems in the election, papal interference in some of the problematic elections and also use of newly formed right to appoint successors to the prelates who died at the Curia. In all the above mentioned cases there were no examples where the pope previously made a reservation – while in some cases the pope ordered the archbishop to find a suitable candidate, in most he simply appointed a prelate. The Curia began to appropriate the appointments of prelates even before its further development during the pontificate of Pope John XXII (1316–1334).³⁴ The result was the same: the papacy appropriated the appointments of prelates, and members of the mendicant orders were favoured, especially Franciscans during the pontificate of Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII. Never before had the papacy intervened on this scale in the election of the prelates, especially in favour of the mendicants.³⁵

Franciscans were viewed as ideal mediators in local disputes. Both popes, Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII, had close links with the Franciscans. Nicholas

³² IS V, 197. It seems there was probably another bishop between Michael and Angelus by the name of James (Jacobus) who died in 1295, but nothing more is known about him.

³³ *Mandatur provisio ecclesie Absaren*, it seems that Thomas did not know Latin adequately. CDC VII, 209–10, October 2, 1295; Jadranka Neralić, *Priručnik za istraživanje hrvatske povijesti u tajnom vatikanskom arhivu od ranog srednjeg vijeka do sredine XVIII. stoljeca (Schedario Garampi)* [Manual for researching Croatian history in Vatican secret archives], vol. 1 (Zagreb: Hrvatski institute za povijest, 2000), 96, no. 46.

³⁴ See the development in: Jadranka Neralić, *Put do crkvene nadarbine: Rimska Kurija i Dalmacija u 15. stoljeću* (A way to the ecclesiastical carrier: The Roman Curia and 15th-century Dalmatia) (Split: Književni krug, 2007), 146–148.

³⁵ Only in Trogir were some bishops Franciscan friars, but they were elected. See: HC, 490; Willliell Thomson, *Friars in the cathedral: the first Franciscan bishops 1226–1261* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1975), 129–136.

was the minister general of the Order (1274–1279), and the first friar to become pope, while Boniface was one of the members of the commission to provide an authoritative commentary on the Franciscan Order's Rule.³⁶ During the 1280s and 1290s there was an increase in consecration of Franciscans as bishops across Christendom: Michael Robson identified 23 in 1280s and 36 in 1290s.³⁷ This favoritism by the papacy towards the mendicants should be further researched, for the appointments came in a period of conflict over episcopal autonomy. The papacy was expanding its privileges, and the claims of the Franciscan and Dominicans masters that prelates derived their jurisdiction from the papacy and had no right to resist the papal privileges suited this endeavor well.³⁸

Following the peace treaty between Zadar and Venice in 1247, the Venetians demanded that the count and archbishop of Zadar always be elected from Venice and that the archbishop be confirmed and consecrated by the patriarch in Grado.³⁹ It is hard to conclude why Venice allowed papal involvement in the appointment of prelates on the territories under Venetian rule. The most likely reason is a combination of common respect for papal authority and the Venetian tendency not to fully enforce their rights regarding the Church in Zadar in this period. The Venetians would fully enforce their right to appoint the Venetian prelates only after 1420. The situation with Split was a bit different, since it and its suffragans were part of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. Interferences into the appointments there could have been seen as the infringement on the territory of the kings of Hungary, although the ability of the king to affect cathedral chapter elections depended on the strength of the particular king.⁴⁰

Next I will concentrate on the appointment of the archbishop of Split in 1297 and the establishment of the diocese of Šibenik in the following year, although the situation with suffragans will also be reviewed. While with the examples from Zadar and its suffragans I have shown how the papacy appropriated the appointments of the prelates, the situation with Split and Šibenik shows how much political motives dictated papal attitudes toward filling a

³⁶ Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 98.

³⁷ Robson, *The Franciscans*, 106.

³⁸ Brian Tierney, *Foundation of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonist from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), XVI.

³⁹ Treaty is published in: Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Charters about relationship between South Slavs and the Venetian Republic], vol. I (Zagreb: JAZU, 1868): 69. For background on the conflicts see: Ferdo Šišić, "Zadar i Venecija od godine 1159. do 1247," [Zadar and Venice from 1159 to 1247], *Rad JAZU* 142 (1900): 264–74.

⁴⁰ It seems that during the thirteenth century there were several instances of popes and Hungarian kings conflicting over the appointment of the archbishop of Split. See: Judit Gal, "The Roles and Loyalties of the Bishops and Archbishops of Dalmatia (1102–1301)," *Hungarian Historical Review* 3 (2014): 476–477.

vacant diocese and how legal and political consideration were involved.⁴¹ The questions surrounding Split and Šibenik reveal how much the political situation in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia was connected with the links created between the popes, the Angevin rulers of Naples and the local oligarchs.

The Popes, the Angevins, the Oligarchs

Immediately following the death of King Ladislas IV, his sister Queen Mary of Naples claimed the throne of Hungary for herself⁴², but the Angevins were met with difficulties along the way. In Hungary Andrew III claimed the throne and maintained it mostly through the support of the Hungarian clergy, on whom the king bestowed important positions and donations in Hungary.⁴³ Meanwhile, Naples was still embroiled in the protracted war with Sicily and Aragon. Charles II spent several years (1284–1288) imprisoned by Peter III of Aragon, during which time Naples was managed by two regents, Robert of Artois and Legate Gerard.⁴⁴ It is worth noting that Gerard was the same person sent to Split in 1297 and was therefore intimately familiar with the dealings of the Neapolitan court.

The imprisonment and war with Sicily offered Charles's wife, Mary, and their firstborn, Charles Martel, a bigger role in the kingdom. Mary issued charters referring to herself as *filia Regis Ungariae* and vicar regent of Sicily. Mary was also very active in diplomatic activities with other countries, particularly with King Edward of England who addressed his letters directly to Mary rather than to the regents. It is particularly interesting that Edward supported the Angevin claim on Hungary from the start.⁴⁵ As designated heir, Charles Martel led the Angevin armies and, after 1289, acted as regent.⁴⁶ In June 1291

⁴¹ Geoffrey Barraclough stated that the popes had deep political interest in any important election. Barraclough, "The Making," 183–184.

⁴² She was sister Ladislas's sister.

⁴³ The prelates in Hungary directly benefitted from the reign of King Andrew as he rewarded them with donations of lands and influential positions as chancellors and vice-chancellors at the royal court. Such donations were also evident in Zagreb, but they completely lacked for the Church in Croatia and Dalmatia. Kiesewetter, "L'intervento," 157–159.

⁴⁴ Gerard was one in a line of legates that popes would nominate to uphold their suzerain rights in Naples, which the popes considered as their fief granted to the secular rulers. Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily 1266–1305* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 103–4.

⁴⁵ Attila Bárány, "The English Relations of Charles II of Sicily and Maria of Hungary," in *Le Diplomatie des Etats Angevins aux XIIIe et XIVe Siecles*, ed. István Petrovics and Zoltán Kordé (Rome: Accademia d'Ungheria in Roma, 2010), 76–77.

⁴⁶ Mario Gaglione, *Converrà ti que aptengas la flor: Profili di sovrani angioini, da Carlo I a Renato (1266–1442)* (Milano: Lampi di stampa, 2009), 123.

Mary was named vicar of Provence, Forcalquier and Avignon.⁴⁷ Charles thus entrusted the safekeeping of his core provinces to two of the people closest to him. In 1292 Mary transferred her rights to Hungary to Charles Martel⁴⁸, who in April attempted to obtain recognition from the councils of the Dalmatian cities.⁴⁹ After some initial setbacks, Martel attempted to gather an army in 1294 to invade Hungary through Northern Italy⁵⁰, but this attempt seems to have failed and further attempts were stalled by Martel's death in September 1295 due to plague.⁵¹ Following Martel's death, Charles II's other three sons were released from the Aragonian captivity in which they had been placed as part of the settlement between Aragon, Sicily and Naples.⁵²

The Apostolic See, on the other hand, did not unconditionally support the Angevin claim. Pope Nicholas IV never referred to Mary or Charles Martel in relation to their Hungarian titles, but instead called them *Regina Sicilie* and *Princeps Salernitanus*.⁵³ Andreas Kiesewetter rightly concluded that the Apostolic See could not intervene against Andrew III, as he was an internationally recognized ruler and any action against him could be isolating.⁵⁴ This changed in 1296. By that time Pope Boniface had recognized the Angevin claim⁵⁵, and Charles II had excluded Charles Robert, the eight year old son of Martel, in favour of Robert. Already a grown man, Robert was appointed the duke of Calabria in 13 February, yet it took an entire year (until 24 February 1297) for the pope to recognize the decision by Charles II.⁵⁶ While Charles

⁴⁷ Matthew Clear, "Mary of Hungary as queen, patron and exemplar," in: *The church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: art, iconography, and patronage in fourteenth century Naples*, ed. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 45–46.

⁴⁸ CDC VII, 67–8, January 6, 1292.

⁴⁹ The councils of Split, Trogir and Šibenik at first delayed their answer and in the end decided that they would accept Charles Martel if he crowned himself in Székesfehérvár. Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anžuvínaca*, 22–23.

⁵⁰ Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból*, vol. III (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottsága, 1876), 115–8.

⁵¹ Vladimír Vasko, "Počiatky vlády Anjouovcov v Uhorsku," *Historia Nova* 6 (2013): 32–33.

⁵² In order of birth: Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert the Wise and Raymond Berengar. Jean Dunbabin, *Captivity and imprisonment in Medieval Europe, 1000–1300* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 85.

⁵³ Kiesewetter, "L'intervento," 152.

⁵⁴ He referred to period of Nicholas IV, but this was also applicable later. Kiesewetter, "L'intervento," 157.; Although, as noted before King Edward of England supported the Angevins to the throne of Hungary.

⁵⁵ Although Boniface probably just continued the policy of his predecessor, Celestine V, who crowned Charles Martel in Rome in 1294. Blanka Brezováková, „Politický zápas Anjouovcov o uhorskú korunu," *Historický časopis* 39 (1991): 572.

⁵⁶ Louis was next in line after Martel, but he renounced his claim to the throne, probably in

Martel was acting vicar and stood to inherit all of the titles, Charles II then divided the titles very specifically, maintaining the integrity of the core Angevin provinces: the Regno and Provence. Following the division of 1296, Queen Mary played a bigger role regarding the question of the throne of Hungary, maintaining contacts with the oligarchs of Hungary-Croatia. The favourable contact between the Angevins and the Šubići oligarchs became key to church policy. In order to understand their need to rely on one other, it is necessary to shortly outline these contacts.

After 1290 four oligarchical families went to Naples in order to obtain privileges from the Neapolitan court: the Frankapani, the Koszegi, the Babonići and the Šubići. The Koszegi relied upon the Angevins following their initial conflict with Andrew. Yet despite his conflict with Andrew throughout the entire 1290s, and his excommunication by Archbishop Lodomer of Esztergom, one of Andrew's strongest prelate-supporters, John Koszegi only went to Naples in 1292, when he obtained the right of war (*liberum belli ius et ferri licentiam*) against Andrew.⁵⁷ The Babonići, on the other hand, were the regular enemy of the Koszegi in the past and had greater contacts with the Angevins. Radoslav Babonić tried to maintain his position by obtaining privileges from both Naples and Andrew III, balancing between the two courts. Radoslav obtained privileges from both courts until 1295 when Andrew's mother, Duchess Tomasina Morosini, took some of Radoslav's forts, citing his infidelity to the king.⁵⁸ The Babonići only appeared in Naples in late 1299 when it became clear that Charles Robert would be sent to Hungary, but even then they were still balancing between the Angevins and Andrew III.⁵⁹ Count Dujam Frankapan visited

January 1296, and the third son of Charles II, Robert, was knighted and proclaimed the duke of Calabria, which was from that time on recognized as the title borne by the eldest son instead of the prince of Salerno, a title which Charles Robert received. Charles Robert was also only named as the heir to the title of the Kingdom of Hungary, and thus eventually denied any rights in Naples. According to Kelly in the eyes of both Pope Boniface VIII and Charles II, Charles Robert was an unacceptable successor since he already inherited the rights to Hungary. See: Margaret Toynbee, *St. Louis of Toulouse and the process of canonisation in the fourteenth century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929), 101–102; Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon, Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 8.

⁵⁷ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, [History of Croats since the oldest times until end of the 19th century], vol. I, ed. Trpimir Macan (Rijeka: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, Tisak "Riječka tiskara," 1972), 268; Archbishop Lodomer excommunicated John Koszegi, but Archbishop Gregory in 1299 revoked the excommunication. See: György Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. VI. (Buda: Regiae Universitatis Vngaricae 1829), 225–226.

⁵⁸ Hrvoje Kekez, *Plemićki rod Babonića do kraja 14. stoljeća* [The kindred Babonići], Ph.D. dissertation (Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji, 2011), 68–77.

⁵⁹ Kekez, *Plemićki rod Babonića*, 82–4.

Naples only in 1291 together with Radoslav Babonić.⁶⁰ Dujam is mentioned only in 1300 when Charles II informed him about the departure of Charles Robert and promised to confirm all his properties if he came to Naples to escort Charles Robert.⁶¹ It seems that Dujam did not go to Naples. In fact, of all the families, the Šubići were the only ones who maintained regular contacts with Naples due to economic and political ties as well as the proximity of both sides of Adriatic.⁶² This was because the Dalmatian cities under the Šubići's rule, the Šubići's representatives, and Count George himself regularly visited Naples and Rome.

Although the Šubići maintained strong economic and diplomatic ties with the Angevins, they only fully backed Charles Robert after Queen Mary helped them in reforming the church organisation on the territories under their rule. This was the reason for the establishment of the diocese of Šibenik, but to accomplish this it was necessary for the Šubići to appoint someone reliable as the archbishop of Split. It is therefore necessary to understand the background of the conflicts over the diocese of Šibenik, which lasted for decades and included the local communities, the oligarchs Šubići and the archbishop of Split.

The Šubići slowly established their rule over most of Dalmatia from the 1260s.⁶³ The three important members of the Šubići were Paul, who was briefly potestas of Trogir (1272) and count of Split (1273–1277) before becoming ban of Croatia-Dalmatia (after 1275), and his brothers George and Mladen. George was count of Šibenik (1267–1303) and Trogir (1281–1304); Mladen, count of Split (1277–1301).⁶⁴ These cities maintained certain degrees of municipal autonomy. Yet it seems that the Šubići's reign was strongest over Šibenik, the city closest to their center of rule in Bribir. Despite their relatively consistent power, they repeatedly encountered problems in Trogir; the citizens' preference toward Italian city magistrates hampered Šubići attempts to assume full control of the city.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ CDC VII, 34, June 6, 1291.

⁶¹ CDC VII, 367, February 10, 1300; 386–387, May 8, 1300.

⁶² Miroslav Granić, "Jadranska politika Šubića Bribirskih," [The Adriatic politics of the Šubići]. *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 36 (1994): 43–4; Damir Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir: A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*, Ph.D. dissertation, (Budapest: Central European University, 2000), 60.

⁶³ Already in 1230s the Šubići had obtained some level of control over Dalmatia, but this was shaken during the reign of King Bela IV (1235–1270) who tried to contain the power of the oligarchs. The realm underwent serious problems during the 1260s, which enabled the Šubići to again increase their power in Croatia and Dalmatia. See: Granić, "Jadranska politika," 37–8.

⁶⁴ Grga Novak, *Povijest Splita* [The History of Split], vol. 1 (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1978), 178, 180.

⁶⁵ Granić, "Jadranska politika," 40.; Damir Karbić, "Odnosi gradskoga plemstva i bribirskih knezova Šubića: Prilog poznavanju međusobnih odnosa hrvatskih velikaša i srednjovjekovnih

In an ecclesiastical sense Šibenik belonged to the diocese of Trogir. The conflicts between Šibenik and Trogir lasted for the entire thirteenth century and mostly revolved around incomes and tithes.⁶⁶ Yet from the 1270s the clergy of Šibenik started to demand the establishment of the diocese of Šibenik and election of their own bishop. In 1274 the clergy of Šibenik even elected Bishop Paul (1274–1287) who received confirmation by Archbishop John of Split (1266–1294). At that time Paul and George Šubići were in conflict with Trogir⁶⁷, and the borders of the archbishop of Split almost fully coincided with the Šubići rule.

Following Bishop Paul's death the clergy of Šibenik decided to elect a new bishop, a Venetian citizen by the name Leonard Falieri (1287–98). This time they did not have support and Archbishop John revoked the recognition, claiming that he had been pressured by the secular Šubići authorities.⁶⁸ It seems that in 1288 the clergy of Šibenik tried, with the backing of secular supporters, to obtain support for their bishop and separate diocese by claiming control over the cathedral chapter of Morinje.⁶⁹ Pope Nicholas IV appointed a three-member-committee to deal with the case, and the committee realized that some documents aimed at helping Šibenik's case were forged.⁷⁰ Archdeacon James appears to have been the first to recognize the forgery. Later the bishop of Skradin, Paul Šubići's seat of power, was warned by Archbishop John not to perform his episcopal duties in Šibenik because that was the territory of bishop of Trogir.

From these examples, the following can be concluded. With the establishment of firm control over Šibenik, the Šubići supported the attempts to elect a bishop and establish a separate diocese. They explored different options to

dalmatinskih komuna," [Relationship between city nobility and counts Šubići of Berberio], *Povijesni prilozi* 35 (2008): 47–50; and "Uloga bibrirskih knezova u osnutku šibenske biskupije," [The Role of the Counts of Bribir in the establishment of the bishopric of Šibenik], in *Sedam stoljeća šibenske biskupije*, ed. Vilijam Lakić (Šibenik: GK "J.Šižgorić," 2001), 56–57.

⁶⁶ For the background see: Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, 335–340.

⁶⁷ Granić, "Jadranska politika," 39.

⁶⁸ Ivan Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* [Historical Accounts about Trogir], vol. I (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1979), 202–232, 244–249, 289–90, 307–309. Also, Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, 336–337.

⁶⁹ A cathedral chapter which was destroyed by the "Greek heretics". The rights over this chapter were claimed by both the clergy of Trogir and Šibenik in attempts to prove which see was older.

⁷⁰ A confirmation that it were the Šubići who were deeply involved into this issue was the fact that Count George warned the bishop of Trogir not to go to Rome to discuss the possibility of the establishment of the new diocese in Šibenik. George also decided to suspend his position of count of Trogir in that year and he threaten Trogir with war. Farlati, *Trogirski biskupi*, 210; Granić, "Jadranska politika," 55–6; Nada Klaić, *Povijest grada Trogira: Javni život grada i njegovih ljudi* [History of Trogir: Public life of the city and its inhabitants] (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1985), 178.

accomplish this ranging from obtaining the support of the archbishop of Split, forging documents and even having the bishop of Skradin intervene in Šibenik. Yet all these options failed as the Šubići lacked the papal support for their plans, particularly after 1287 when Archbishop John opposed the plans to secede Šibenik from Trogir.

In 1294 Archdeacon James was elected as the archbishop of Split. At this point James already had a career in Split and was familiar to the Roman Curia.⁷¹ Although it cannot be said with certainty that he was against the establishment of a separate diocese in Šibenik, the Šubići could have viewed him as someone who would oppose the new diocese and therefore continue the policy of Archbishop John. In 1297 Pope Boniface VIII did not recognize the choice by the cathedral chapter of Split, stating that it was not done according to the rules, and Archdeacon James was forced to give his resignation to Legate Gerard Bianchi, titular bishop of Sabina. Although it is difficult to say who complained, the most obvious party was the clergy with connections with the Šubići. From the previous examples, and the fact that the same people were involved in the problems surrounding the establishment of the diocese of Šibenik in 1274, 1288 and 1298, we can safely say that the Šubići expected that a friendly archbishop in Split could push for the main goal of the Šubići's politics – the establishment of the diocese in Šibenik. The fact that Count George was twice in Rome (1290 and 1293) suggests that he was trying to obtain the confirmation for Šibenik.⁷² On the recommendation of Neapolitan Queen Mary of Hungary, Boniface appointed her chaplain Peter (1297–1324), a Franciscan friar, as the new archbishop.⁷³ Immediately after Peter's appointment, Šibenik was elevated to the status of bishopric. In 1298 Peter, together with another prelate appointed by Boniface, Archbishop Henry of Zadar, announced in Šibenik the papal decision to elevate that place to the rank of city and diocese. Peter and Henry appointed and consecrated the new bishop Martin, a Franciscan friar.⁷⁴

As has been shown, this success came only with the support of Queen Mary. Her chaplain was appointed archbishop in Split and she persuaded Pope Boniface to grant the Šubići what they wanted – Church reform on the

⁷¹ Ante Gulin, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli: Loca credibilia Dalmacije, Hrvatskog primorja, Kvarnerskih otoka i Istre* [Croatian Medieval Cathedral Chapters of Dalmatia, Croatian Littoral, Kvarner islands and Istria] (Zagreb: HAZU, 2008), 32–33.

⁷² Karbić, "Uloga bibrirskih," 59–60.

⁷³ *quia tamen infra tempus a iure statutum idem archidiaconus non fuit negotium electionis huiusmodi prosecutes, dicta election iuribus, si que habuit, extitit vacuata*," CDC VII, 277–8, May 10, 1297.

⁷⁴ CDC VII, 304–5, June 23, 1298. The new diocese was even established before the pope granted Peter pallium. CDC VII, 305–6, May 18, 1298.

territories of their rule.⁷⁵ In fact, following the establishment of the new diocese, contact between the Angevins and the Šubići increased. Starting from August 1298 the Šubići were regularly addressed in Naples as *dilectos consanguineos*, the family relatives of the Angevins.⁷⁶ In August 1299 Charles II, in the presence of Queen Mary, confirmed the possessions of the Šubići in Croatia and Dalmatia⁷⁷, while in September ships were prepared to carry the queen from Brindisi (or Monopoli) to Split.⁷⁸ It seems that Mary was not only waiting for the Šubići to come to Naples to ask for privileges, but she also actively participated in the negotiations. Not long after, in November, the court allowed safe passage for Count George Šubići, who was on his way to Naples to invite Charles Robert to claim the throne.⁷⁹ The Angevins obtained the necessary support to send Charles Robert to Hungary, while the Šubići obtained the desired Church reform of their territories.

From the above it is evident what the Angevins and the Šubići sought to gain from this deal, but what the Apostolic See stood to gain remains unclear.

Papal Legalism or Papal Opportunism?

Papal interference in Split and Zadar came in the form of two legates, John Cholet⁸⁰ and Gerard Bianchi⁸¹, sent to Zadar and Split respectively. Belonging to the ranks of the cardinals of the Sacred College, these men were not only the most important papal legates who were often sent on delicate missions, but whose importance as the group increased during the thirteenth century. At the end of the century the Apostolic See introduced the common services (*servitia communia*), an income shared between the cardinals and the popes, which was paid by the newly appointed prelate following the confirmation. Also, in 1289 Pope Nicholas IV gave the cardinals half of the income that the Apostolic See

⁷⁵ The Angevins obtain prelatships for at least three more Franciscans in their service. Toynbee, *St. Louis*, 106.

⁷⁶ Although, it should be noted that the first use of this term was in 1295, it did not appear again until 1298 after which it was more regular. See: Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, 161–164; and CDC VII, 313, 353, 361–362.

⁷⁷ CDC VII, 353–354, August 4, 1299.

⁷⁸ CDC VII, 356, September 29, 1299.

⁷⁹ CDC VII, 357, November 19, 1299.

⁸⁰ He performed important missions to France, even offering, on behalf of the pope, the French king's son the throne of Aragon. Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 243.

⁸¹ Gerard was one in a line of legates that popes would nominate to uphold their suzerain rights in Naples, which the popes considered as their fief granted to the secular rulers. Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily*, 103–4.; Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, 223–257.

possessed at the time which meant that the cardinals had immediate interest in appointments done by the papacy.⁸² From the time of Boniface VIII frequent are sources listing the payments of these services by the Croatian and Dalmatian episcopacy.⁸³ This demonstrates the gravity the popes placed on elections in these metropolitan sees and the interest that the popes and the cardinals shared in controlling the appointments. Cardinals had by that time become an important factor in papal politics and administration. As seen from the examples of cardinal legates John and Gerard, the papacy was closely examining the episcopal elections in Croatia-Dalmatia.⁸⁴

It is hard to judge the personal behavior of the pope. We can only judge his actions and, from those, speculate about the motivations for his decisions. Despite Boniface's intricate relationship with the Angevins, he still had to consider the interests and position of the Apostolic See. Norman Zacour pointed out that Boniface VIII relied on only a small number of trusted cardinals and often reserved the most important affairs for himself.⁸⁵ We can clearly see the personal touch of certain popes: Nicholas IV favoured his brethren Franciscans, Boniface VIII took a more legalistic approach, Benedict XI favoured his brethren Dominicans, and so on. Popes needed a conflict in order to intervene in a particular election, as the disputed elections fell under the jurisdiction of the pope. The lack of sources for some smaller diocese can corroborate this conclusion, as the appointments of prelates therein followed the usual procedures and did not leave any written evidence.

Andreas Kiesewetter argued that the popes did not intervene in any other dioceses than Šibenik and Split, but papal intervention could only happen in the event of a problematic election and consequent complaint to Rome.⁸⁶ Here we are also hampered by lack of evidence, since very few sources remain for cases where there were no problems with the election of the prelate.⁸⁷ As we have seen in the previous examples of Zadar, Split and their suffragans, the popes at this time

⁸² William Lunt, *Papal revenues in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia Press, 1934), 26–7, 81–91.

⁸³ Josip Barbarić et al, eds, *Monumenta Croatica Vaticana: Camera apostolica; Obligationes et solutiones; Camerale primo (1299–1560)*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1996).

⁸⁴ Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments*, 139; Norman Zacour, "The Cardinals' View of the Papacy, 1150–1300," in *The religious roles of the Papacy: Ideals and realities, 1150–1300*, ed. Christopher Ryan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1989), 421–424.

⁸⁵ Zacour, "The Cardinals' View," 435.

⁸⁶ Kiesewetter, "L'intervento," 165.

⁸⁷ Election and intervention present in: Split, Hvar, Zadar, Šibenik, Krk, Osor, and Zagreb. Election but no intervention present in: Knin, Krbava, Nin, Senj, Skradin, Rab, and Trogir. For the second category it is worth to note that except for Trogir in the cases of other bishops we are lucky to know their names as not much is known about their pontificate.

did not actively remove prelates but intervened only in disputed elections, using this opportunity to quash elections of unsuitable candidates and appoint prelates closely connected to the Roman Curia. In fact, the popes started to slowly appropriate the appointments of prelates or at least lay out the legal groundwork for it well before the pontificate of John XXII. Already the constitution *Licet ecclesiarum* (1265) provided the pope with the right to appoint the benefices of all the minor clerics who died at Roman Curia, but it was Boniface VIII who, with constitution *Praesenti declaramus* (1294–1303), extended the right of appointment of all the clerics who died within a two-day journey from Rome.⁸⁸ With the bull *Quamquam in casu* Boniface also claimed the right to appoint a bishop if the previous one had been elected illegally.⁸⁹ The bull was announced in 1298 and we can assume that it was previously enacted in the case of Split.

The number of prelate translations dramatically increased during the pontificate of Boniface VIII. Yet, unlike Boniface IX (1389–1404) who later directly intervened in the succession crisis in Hungary (1382–1409) by translating unfavorable prelates and replacing them with papal supporters, this cannot be claimed for Boniface VIII. Instead, Boniface either quashed the election of the prelate and provided the dioceses with a new one (Split and Zadar) or waited for the prelate to die and then appointed a new prelate (Esztergom and Kalocsa). In this way, papal interference was not seen as an abuse but as enforcing the papal prerogatives regarding the administration of the Church.⁹⁰

Trogir, for example, offered a potential opportunity in 1297 when Gregory (1282–1297), a Franciscan monk from Ancona, died and the cathedral chapter appointed Liberius (1297–1319), a Benedictine monk.⁹¹ Yet the lack of sources showing the papal involvement indicates a lack of the conflict which would enable the pope to intervene and suggests that the election remained in the context of the local events – election by the cathedral chapters and then confirmation by the metropolitan, the archbishop of Split.

Local developments can contribute to our understanding of the wider situation, namely that the context of the papal policy in regards to solving the disputed elections during the 1290s can be applied to better understand the

⁸⁸ Harvey, *Episcopal Appointments*, 134.

⁸⁹ Joachim Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire: The Conflict over Supreme Authority and Power in the Church* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 370.

⁹⁰ Pennington notes that “no publicist, theologian, or lawyer” at the time questioned the papal right of translations. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 100.

⁹¹ Ivan Lucić found in a source from 1297 that one John was elected bishop. A month later John was no longer mentioned but instead the source names Liberius. John either died or was rejected but no other sources are available. Lucić, *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru I*, 346).

election of Gregory Bickei. The bishop of Győr and royal vice-chancellor was elected as the new archbishop of Esztergom following the death of Lodomer in 1298. His election was disputed by part of the cathedral chapter, while the new archbishop also soon became an opponent to Andrew. The king soon replaced the archbishop as royal vice-chancellor with the bishop of Csanad, and tried to have that bishop appointed as archbishop, replacing Gregory. The pope did an unusual thing, as he neither confirmed nor rejected Gregory but instead named him the procurator of the diocese, in the process giving Gregory additional powers including the permission to excommunicate those who would oppose Gregory's rule. Gregory became the chief proponent of the Angevins and fierce opponent of Andrew, yet in the process lost the support of the Hungarian high clergy, which consolidated its support for King Andrew by turning to Archbishop John of Kalocsa as the new leader of the Hungarian Church.⁹² Gregory's conflict with the king could have signaled to both the Šubići and the Apostolic See that the time had come to send Charles Robert to Hungary and use the political crisis to take over the throne.⁹³ In fact, it was Gregory, together with the Šubići, who went to Naples in 1300 to bring Charles Robert to Hungary.

It does not seem that the pope was involved in the appointments of prelates in Zagreb during the 1290s. After 1301 the popes were more active and direct in appointing prelates, with direct implications for the prelates working in support of Charles Robert's claim to the throne. For this purposes the papacy used the policy of transfers, a departure from the previous papal policy of non-involvement, at least in regards to Zagreb and central Hungary. With the death of John of Kalocsa and Gregory of Esztergom (1302–1303) the pope claimed the right to appoint their successors.⁹⁴ However, several things happened here. Gregory died at the Papal Curia, which gave the pope the right to appoint his successor. Since the transfer of a prelate was also a papal prerogative, Pope Benedict IX (1303–1304), previously Boniface's most valuable legate Nicola Boccasini, transferred Bishop Michael of Zagreb (1296–1303), previously a close supporter of Andrew III, to the position of archbishop of Esztergom. Michael, appointed as the bishop in 1296 through close connections with King Andrew, was thus rewarded by the pope for his active service in promoting the Angevin cause.

⁹² A good example is the *Decretum* of 5 August 1298 when higher clergy, led by John of Kalocsa, together with lesser nobility firmly acknowledged Andrew's reign against any other pretenders or rebels. János Bak, ed., *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. 1 (1000–1301) (Salt Lake City: Schlacks, 1989), 46–50; 114–117. For an overview of the situation with Gregory see: Szentgyörgy, *Borba Anžuvínaca*, 31–2, 34–5.; Skorka, "With a Little Help," 243–244.

⁹³ As suggested by Skorka, "With a Little Help," 243–260.

⁹⁴ Although John's successor Stephen was elected, it seems that the pope still decided to appoint him by use of papal provision. HC, 197.

This transfer gave the pope the right to appoint the next bishop of Zagreb, and Benedict here appointed Augustine Kažotić, who was from Trogir and from the same order as Benedict – the Dominicans.⁹⁵ Prior to that the pope had not intervened in the election of the bishop of Zagreb for some time, suggesting either that there was no complaint from the cathedral chapter or that the influence of King Andrew III on that see was too strong.⁹⁶

The establishment of the diocese of Šibenik represented a widening of the social network for the local oligarchs who in the changed political circumstances obtained a direct link to the Papal Curia. Following the establishment of the new diocese, the contacts between the Šubići and the papacy only improved and brought privileges to both the Šubići and their supporters. These contacts affected the development and spread of the territories under the Šubići's rule, as Archbishop Peter of Split obtained the papal privilege to establish new dioceses. Two were established on the territory of the diocese of Split, which followed the expansion of the Šubići's rule to the southeast.⁹⁷ On the other hand, the people connected with the Šubići benefited from the links that the Šubići established with the papacy. For instance, in 1302 Pope Boniface VIII appointed Bishop-elect Leonard of Šibenik as the archbishop of Crete, while in 1314 Pope Clement V appointed Archbishop-elect Alexander of Zadar to the same see as Leonard. Curiously, the pope also connected Leonard's new function with the position of Latin Patriarch of Constantinople.⁹⁸

The Šubići maintained their political and economic contacts with the Angevins even after Charles Robert's arrival to Hungary. Paul and George went to Rome and Naples and the royal court in Naples gave gifts to the Šubići but

⁹⁵ ... *nos provisionem dicte ecclesie Zagradiensis ea vice disposition sedis apostolice reservantes...*, CDC VIII, 60, December 9 1303.

⁹⁶ During the thirteenth century the pope tried to intervene twice, first trying unsuccessfully to investigate the royal candidate Philip (1248), and later appointing papal candidate Timothy (1263) by directly rejecting the royal candidate. Following the death of John (1287–95), who was the candidate of the cathedral chapter, Michael became the next bishop. His appointment was most probably came on the suggestion by King Andrew as the cathedral chapter had good relationship with the king and Michael was brother of *comes Siculorum* Peter (1294–1299). Michael would act as the backbone of the royal rule in Slavonia. (CDC VII, 192–193, 285–287).

⁹⁷ Very little is known of the first several decades about these two dioceses. Peter established Duvno and Makarska, both situated at the edges of the rule of the Šubići and both clearly marking in which direction the Šubići were expanding their rule. Damir Karbić presumed that they were established between 1305 and 1311. Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, 340. Also, see: CDC VIII, 289–290.

⁹⁸ Despite the fact that the patriarch was not in Constantinople, this was politically and financially still influential position. Leonard was appointed in 1302, while with the appointment of Alexander in 1314 the union between Constantinople and Crete was terminated. Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, 337–339; also HC, 206, 215.

it seems that accomplishment of the main purpose – to bring the Angevin pretender to Hungary – also weakened the links between the oligarch family and Naples. During the second coronation of Charles Robert in 1309, performed in the presence of Legate Gentile, the Šubići were not personally present but were instead represented by Archbishop Peter.

Conclusion

While scholars have often understood the popes, the Šubići, and the Angevins as working together throughout the entirety of the 1290s, this is not necessarily true. The events of 1297–1299 particularly reveal the multiple interests and perspectives of these three parties, which became fully recognizable when they were eventually aligned in 1298 with the establishment of the diocese of Šibenik. The popes frequently intervened and took over the appointments of the prelates from the local communities in pursuit of their own interests. On the other hand the Angevins, led largely by Queen Mary, used their connections in Rome to obtain support for the Šubići, who in return obtained access to the papacy, from which they benefitted in the following decades. The same members of the Šubići had been in power since the 1270s, yet their attempts regarding Church reform in the areas they controlled met opposition, both locally and internationally. The actions available to the Angevins in their attempts to claim the throne changed during the 1290s, matching both the developments in Naples and the changing circumstances in the Kingdom of Hungary. Thus, the changes occurring during the 1290s in Church organization on an international level interacted with and affected the changes on the local level.

Although the papacy had intervened in Church policy in Croatia-Dalmatia before, during the 1290s papal interference and the expansion of papal rights reached an unprecedented level. The papacy used all of the mechanisms at its disposal. It claimed jurisdiction in the disputed elections, sent cardinal-legates to investigate, and expanded papal rights in cases of the transfer of prelates and the deaths of prelates in Rome. On one hand this necessitated conflict within the local communities, which then gave the pope the right to intervene, but even when conflict was not present, the pope could use his expanded powers to influence appointments. While this was the case for Croatia-Dalmatia, the example of Zagreb (Michael in 1296) showed a different situation: the lack of conflict during the election could suggest the extent of royal power regarding the appointments of the prelates in areas closer to the centre of the kingdom. This can be further corroborated with the situation in Esztergom when the papacy chose a careful approach to the election, an approach which in fact benefited both the Angevins and the papacy.

What one could conclude from this paper is that the papacy had a clear mission of the expansion of its rights, but what the sources show was the gradual increase in papal power, which increased throughout this period. Further, it is evident that this expansion also depended on the personal dispositions of the individual popes. While prior to 1297 the papacy increasingly involved itself in disputed elections, the events of 1297–99 led the papacy to expand its powers and possibilities for involvement in the succession crisis. Rather than simply supporting or opposing a certain pretender to the throne, the Apostolic See became aware of its options to influence the succession crisis, as the crisis also helped the papacy to pursue certain goals and expand its pool of possible allies.

Sometimes it is difficult to fully understand the local dynamics and multiple relationships between various parties. For instance, due to the nature of sources it is difficult to reveal the positions of the “losers” towards the papal appropriation of prelate appointments, namely the cathedral chapters, local clergy and the prelates-elected who were forced to resign. In fact, based on their response – or sometimes lack of response – we might conclude that the local communities obeyed the papal decisions even when they did not agree with them. Yet the local factor must have influenced the dynamic of the relationship between the appointed prelates and their communities.

On the other hand, the lack of influence or even presence of the secular rulers of Croatia and Dalmatia – King Andrew III and the Republic of Venice – can also be understood in different ways. During the 1290s there was a lack of efficient royal control in Croatia, but the absence of Venice regarding the appointment of the prelates is difficult to explain. It could be that, unlike a century later, during this period Venice had no direct influence on the appointments, leaving this instead to its patriarch of Grado.

Croatia-Dalmatia represents only a smaller province of Christendom, with a small sample of sources incomparable with its western counterparts. But on the basis of this small region, wider and far-reaching conclusions in the dynamics of papal power, local communities and pretenders can be seen.

**PUTEREA PAPALĂ, COMUNITĂȚI LOCALE ȘI PRETENDENȚI:
BISERICA DIN CROAȚIA, DALMAȚIA ȘI SLAVONIA ȘI LUPȚA
PENTRU TRONUL REGATULUI UNGARIEI-CROAȚIEI (1290–1301)**

Rezumat

Cercetările anterioare s-au concentrat mai ales asupra modului în care Sfântul Scaun a sprijinit sau nu, a obstrucționat sau a ignorat accederea Angevinilor la tronul Ungariei între 1290 și 1301. Indiferent de opțiunea papală istoricii au argumentat cum anume se

explică schimbările care au apărut în această perioadă în organizarea bisericii în Croația, Dalmația și Slavonia și rolul pe care aceste schimbări l-au jucat în urcarea apoi a lui Carol Robert pe tronul Ungariei, în 1301. În schimb, eu am analizat evoluțiile locale și modul în care acestea s-au interconectat cu situația internațională și cum s-au influențat unele pe celelalte. Ceea ce include evaluarea motivelor din spatele acțiunilor a trei actori majori care l-au adus pe Carol Robert în Ungaria: Sfântul Scaun, curtea Angevină din Napoli și oligarhii locali, nobilii Šubići. Cu toate că se pot aduce și alte explicații privind cooperarea dintre acești trei factori, respectiv, cei de natură culturală, economică și politică, studiul de față se concentrează asupra schimbărilor din cadrul structurilor bisericii locale. Am urmărit modul în care fiecare dintre părțile implicate a contribuit la aceste evoluții și cum au utilizat spre propriul folos reformele bisericii locale. Studiul evaluează agendele inextricabil legate ale Sfântului Scaun, Angevinilor și nobililor Šubići la finele secolului al XIII-lea.

THE RIVAL AND THE VASSAL OF CHARLES ROBERT OF ANJOU: KING VLADISLAV II NEMANJIĆ*

Aleksandar Krstić**

Keywords: Vladislav II Nemanjić, Stefan Dragutin Nemanjić, Charles Robert of Anjou, Medieval Serbia, Medieval Hungary

Cuvinte cheie: Vladislav al II-lea Nemanjić, Ștefan Dragutin Nemanjić, Carol Robert de Anjou, Serbia medievală, Ungaria medievală

When Vladislav, the son of Serbian Crown Prince Stephen Dragutin and his Hungarian wife, Princess Katalin, was born sometime around 1270, it looked like he would have splendid future. As the first-born prince, it could be expected that one day he would succeeded to the throne of his grandfather King Stephen Uroš I (1243–1276), that he would rule “all Serbian and maritime lands”, and that he would be listed, according to the usual custom, among the saint rulers of the Nemanjić dynasty when he left this world. However, the result of future events gave him a different role, so instead of becoming a protagonist, Vladislav was an episode player on the stage of Serbian medieval history.

It is generally considered that the marriage between Serbian Prince Dragutin and Katalin, the daughter of the Hungarian “younger king” Stephen was concluded, or at least agreed after the defeat of King Uroš I in the battle with the Hungarian forces in Mačva in the spring of 1268.¹ This certainly happened before 3th July 1271, at the time when Katalin’s father Stephen V (1270–1272)

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¹ Mihailo Dinić, “O ugarskom ropstvu kralja Uroša I,” *Istorijski časopis* I (1948): 30–36; Sima Ćirković, “Srpske i pomorske zemlje kralja Uroša I,” in S. Ćirković ed., *Istoriја srpskog naroda* vol. I (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga hereafter SKZ, 1981), 352; John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009), 203; Gál Judit, “IV. Béla és I. Uroš Szerb uralkodó kapcsolata,” *Századok*, CXLVII/2 (2013): 481–483, 491–492.

was already sitting on the Hungarian throne.² The Serbian Crown Prince got the same title as his father-in-law. In this way the institution of “younger king” passed from Hungary to the Serbian medieval state, in which it, although significantly transformed, lasted until 1371.³ Dragutin had expected that with the title he would also get a part of the Serbian state to govern. Serbian Archbishop Danilo II explicitly stated that such expectations existed at the Hungarian court, too. Furthermore, it can be assumed that the sharing of power and creation of the special Dragutin’s territory were among the conditions of the Serbian-Hungarian peace and marital agreement.⁴

Since King Uroš I systematically strived to centralize the kingdom and to degrade the previous appanages under the control of the members of the lateral branches of the Nemanjić dynasty,⁵ he did not want to hand over a part of the state to his heir Dragutin. The “younger king” eventually rebelled against his father with the Hungarian military assistance and overthrew him off the throne in 1276.⁶ Thus Vladislav, who was in early childhood, became the heir of the Serbian throne.⁷ It was the first important change that occurred in the

² Augustinus Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, vol. I (Romae, 1859- Osnabrück 1968²), 303; Ćirković, “Kralj Stefan Dragutin,” *Račanski zbornik* III (1998): 13.

³ Arhiepiskop Danilo II i drugi, *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*, ed. Đura Daničić (Zagreb, 1866), 13; Milka Ivković, “Ustanova ,mladog kralja’ u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji,” *Istorijski glasnik* 3–4 (1957): 60–61, 71–72; Ćirković, “Srpske i pomorske zemlje,” 352; Ćirković, “Kralj Stefan Dragutin,” 12–13; Rade Mihaljčić, “Mladi kralj,” in S. Ćirković, R. Mihaljčić ed. *Leksikon srpskog srednjeg veka*, (Beograd: Knowledge, 1999), 413–414. On the other hand, Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića. Diplomatička studija* (Beograd: SKZ, 1994), 50–51, claims that the title of “younger king” was introduced in Serbia under the Hungarian influence, but even before Dragutin’s engagement, because he was depicted as the heir of the throne in the fresco in the monastery of Sopoćani in 1265. For the substantial differences between the Hungarian and the Serbian institution of the “younger king,” see: Gál, “IV. Béla és I. Uroš,” 485–491.

⁴ Danilo II, *Životi*, 13–16; Ivković, “Ustanova,” 60–61.

⁵ Ćirković, “Srpske i pomorske zemlje,” 354–355; Ćirković, “Kralj Stefan Dragutin,” 13; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 203–204.

⁶ Danilo II, *Životi*, 15–19; Ćirković, “Srpske i pomorske zemlje,” 352–353, 355–356; Ćirković, “Kralj Stefan Dragutin,” 13–14; Sima Ćirković, *The Serbs* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 48–49; István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars – Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 99–100; Aleksandar Uzelac, “Kumani u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji,” *Glasnik Istorijskog arhiva Valjevo* XLIII (2009): 8–9.

⁷ Vladislav was the firstborn son of Dragutin, which was testified by the documentary sources (Tadija Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. VII (Zagreb: JAZU, 1909), 103) as well as by the portraits of Vladislav and his brother Urošić in the nartex of the church in Arilje in Western Serbia (the main endowment of King Dragutin) from 1296: Ivan Đorđević, “O

life of the child, whose name should also announce his royal future.⁸ However, Stephen Dragutin ruled the Serbian state only for six years (1276–1282) and his rule was not sufficiently illuminated by the sources. He was certainly in close relationships with Hungary, as well with King Charles Anjou of Naples, who was the cousin of Dragutin's mother Jelena (Helen). It seems that King Stephen Dragutin was included in Charles' plans for organizing the wide anti-Byzantine coalition. In domestic affairs Dragutin, after the overthrow of his father, apparently tried to strengthen his position by relying on his mother. Queen Jelena received a particular territory in the south-western parts of the Serbian state, from the coastal region to the valley of the river Ibar, which she governed for more than three decades.⁹

At the beginning of 1282 the king had an accident when he fell off a horse and broke his leg. The injury appeared to be serious, and the king's opponents among the nobility took advantage of the situation. In such circumstances, the king was forced to hand the Serbian throne over to his younger brother Stephen Uroš II Milutin. The handover of power took place at the assembly of Deževu in the spring of 1282, but the conditions under which the change at the throne was agreed remained rather vague. The main source for the assembly of Deževu was Archbishop Danilo II (1324–1337), who, as the loyal supporter of King Milutin,

portretima u Arilju: slika i istorija,” in *Sveti Ahilije u Arilju: istorija, umetnost*, Zbornik radova (Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 2002), 140–141, 144; Dragan Vojvodić, *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija u Arilju* (Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 2005), 171, pl. 33. Therefore, S. Ćirković was wrong when he claimed that Urošić was the elder son of King Dragutin: Ćirković, “Srpske i pomorske zemlje,” 496.

⁸ Vladislav could get his name after the paternal uncle of his father, the former Serbian king Vladislav I (1234–1243), but also after his maternal uncle, the Hungarian king Ladislav (László) IV (1272–1290).

⁹ Ćirković, “Srpske i pomorske zemlje,” 356; Ljubomir Maksimović, “Počeci osvajачke politike,” in *Istorija srpskog naroda* vol. I, 437, 439; Miloš Blagojević, “Srpsko kraljevstvo i ‘države’ u delu Danila II,” in V. J. Đurić ed., *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, Zbornik radova (Beograd: SANU, 1991), 143–145; Ćirković, “Kralj Stefan Dragutin,” 14–15; Miroslav Popović, *Srpska kraljica Jelena između katoličanstva i pravoslavlja* (Beograd: Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet, 2010), 44–54. Ivan Đurić, “Deževski sabor u delu Danila II,” in *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, 176–178, argues that Milutin had his domain after Dragutin came to the throne, but also that he had a royal title. However, the latter thesis does not seem likely. Cf. Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, 119, n. 66. Vlada Stanković, *Kralj Milutin (1282–1321)* (Beograd: Freska, 2012), 68–69, goes a step further, bringing the assumption of the joint rule of the brothers and Queen Jelena in the entire period from 1276 to 1299, namely, that up to 1282 Dragutin had the supreme power and Milutin thereafter. The author based this hypothesis on, in our view, the wrong dating of Milutin's marriage to the Hungarian Princess Elizabeth in the period from 1276 to 1284. For arguments that Milutin's marriage to Elizabeth was concluded in the last decade of the 13th century, see: Aleksandar Uzelac, “O srpskoj princezi i bugarskoj carici Ani (Prilog poznavanju brakova kralja Milutina),” *Istorijski časopis* LXIII (2014): 33–39.

displayed events tendentiously, without providing the substance of the agreement. According to the hagiographic character of his work, Danilo II explained Dragutin's decision to abdicate primarily by spiritual reasons, namely by the king's repentance over his acting towards his father Uroš. The psychological condition in which Dragutin found himself after a serious injury could indeed have an influence on his decisions. On the other hand, by insisting on the story of God's punishment and Dragutin's repentance, Danilo II legitimized Milutin's rise to power and the right of his lineage to the Serbian throne.¹⁰ According to King Dragutin's claims a quarter of a century later, when he already was in perennial conflict with his brother, he had left the throne only temporarily, until he was healed.¹¹ Modern Serbian historiography mainly accepts the interpretation that is close to the narrative of the Byzantine historian Georgios Pachymeres. According to him, Dragutin's demission of the throne was irrevocable, but it was agreed that Milutin would be succeeded by one of the sons of the former king Dragutin (which means, by the elder Vladislav or by the younger Urošić).¹² This

¹⁰ Danilo II, *Životi*, 24–28, 106–107. Cf. Mihailo Dinić, "Odnos između kralja Milutina i Dragutina," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* (=ZRVI) III (1955): 52; Danica Popović, "Kult kralja Dragutina – monaha Teoktista," ZRVI XXXVIII (1999–2000): 311–312, 324; Stanković, *Kralj Milutin*, 62–66.

¹¹ Olgierd Górka ed., *Anonymi descriptio Europae orientalis: imperium Constantinopolitanum, Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Ruthenia, Ungaria, Polonia, Bohemia, anno MCCCVIII exarata* (Cracoviae: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum, 1916), 34; Tibor Živković, Vladeta Petrović, Aleksandar Uzelac eds, *Anonymi descriptio Europae orientalis. Anonimov opis istočne Evrope*, kritičko izdanje latinskog teksta, prevod i filološka analiza Dragana Kunčer (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2013), 124–125, 166, note CXL.

¹² *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaelae et Andronico Paleologo libri XIII*, ed. I. Bekker, vol. II (Bonnae, 1835), 273; Dinić, "Odnos," 50–56; Ivković, "Ustanova," 66; Maksimović, "Počeci," 438–439; Maksimović, "Kralj Dragutin u očima Vizantinaca," *Račanski zbornik*, vol. III (1998): 100. On the other hand, there are different opinions. Leonidas Mavromatis, *La Fondation de l'Empire Serbe: le kralj Milutin* (Thessalonique: Center for Byzantine studies, 1978), 16–27, believes that the question of who was to succeed Milutin was not decided at Deževu. Čirković, "Kralj Stefan Dragutin," 17–19, considers that today we cannot find out the true nature of Deževu agreement. Đorđević, "O portretima u Arilju," 142–144, points out that based on the preserved portraits of Dragutin's sons in the monasteries of Đurđevi Stupovi (1282/83?) and Arilje (1296) one can't conclude that Dragutin emphasized the hereditary rights of his offspring to the Serbian throne. Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, 124–126, and Jovanka Kalić, "Kralj Dragutin između Đurđevih Stupova, Beograda i Arilja," *Račanski zbornik*, III (1998): 32, concluded that Vladislav was depicted as the heir of the throne in the founder's composition in the chapel of Đurđevi Stupovi. According to Vojvodić, *Zidno slikarstvo*, 171, portraits of the sons of Dragutin and Milutin demonstrate that the issue of succession was not definitely solved in Deževu or in the next few decades, because neither of them was depicted as the heir to the throne. However, Vojvović claims that the iconographical context of the portraits of the princes shows that both Dragutin and Milutin tried to justify the rights of their sons to the Serbian throne.

interpretation is supported by the fact that until the end of the reign of Uroš Milutin in 1321 the problem of the heir to the throne remained open, which caused many complications, and multiple family discords within the Nemanjić dynasty. In any case, Stephen Dragutin retained the royal title¹³ and he was given a part of the country to administrate it. His area covered the northern parts of the Serbian state¹⁴, including a very important mining center in Rudnik, where precisely at that time the intensive exploitation of silver ore began.¹⁵ Dragutin provided a stable and substantial income that way.

The domain positioned in the neighbourhood of Hungary, with which Dragutin was firmly family and politically connected, soon enabled him the significant territorial expansion. In the second half of 1284, Hungarian King Ladislas IV (1272–1290) gave to his brother-in-law King Dragutin the regions of Mačva in northern Serbia and Usora and Soli in Bosnia, which were previously managed by Queen Mother Elizabeth. These territories represented the family appanage of the members of the Árpád dynasty or their relatives for a long time. Since Mačva was also named “Sirmia ulterior”, Dragutin was informally called the “king of Srem” by his Serbian contemporaries and posterior generations.¹⁶ At that time Ladislas IV was in military conflict with Dorman and Kudelin, the independent Bulgarian lords of Cuman origin, who ruled the regions of Kučevo and Braničevo at the right bank of the Danube.¹⁷ Transferring

¹³ Dinić, “Odnos,” 53–56, argues that Dragutin didn’t “officially” have the royal title after his abdication in 1282. This conclusion is then accepted by several eminent Serbian scholars: Maksimović, “Počeci,” 438–439; Ćirković, “Kralj Stefan Dragutin,” 11. However, a number of sources (written, visual, numismatic) testify that after his abdication in 1282 Dragutin was considered the king, both in his land and outside of it (including the West), with due emphasis of the Milutin’s primacy: Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, 118–126.

¹⁴ Mihailo Dinić, *Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku* (Beograd: SKZ, 1978), 134–147; Maksimović, “Počeci,” 439; Blagojević, “Srpsko kraljevstvo i, države,” 145; Ćirković, “Kralj Stefan Dragutin,” 19; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 217–218; Popović, *Srpska kraljica*, 51–54.

¹⁵ Mihailo Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji i Bosni*, vol. II (Beograd: SANU, 1962), 3; Sima Ćirković, Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, Ruža Ćuk, *Staro srpsko rudarstvo* (Beograd: Vukova zadužbina- Novi Sad: Prometej: 2002), 28, 34–35.

¹⁶ Dinić, “Odnos,” 69; Dinić, *Srpske zemlje*, 132–133, 281; Jovanka Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd u srednjem veku* (Beograd: SKZ, 1967), 66; Maksimović, “Počeci,” 441; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 102–103; Sima Ćirković, “Zemlja Mačva i grad Mačva,” *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* LXXIV 74/1–4 (2008): 5, 10–11; Đura Hardi, “Gospodari i banovi Onostranog Srema i Mačve u XIII veku,” *Spomenica Istorijskog arhiva “Srem” VIII* (2009): 77–78.

¹⁷ Wenzel Gusztáv, *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* XII (Pest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1874), 439; Györffy György, “Adatok a románok XIII. századi történetéhez és a román állam kezdeteihez,” *Történelmi Szemle VII* (1964): 14–19; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 103–107; Aleksandar Uzelac, *Pod senkom psa. Tataři i južnoslovenske zemlje u drugoj polovini XIII veka* (Beograd: Utopija, 2015), 118–120, 204–205.

the aforementioned territories to Stephan Dragutin, the Hungarian monarch tried to strengthen the defence of the southern border, but also to tie his relative and neighbour more tightly, and in that way to increase the Hungarian influence in the Serbian state. According to his position, Dragutin was the largest vassal of his brother, the Serbian king, and at the same time he became (or remained) the vassal of his brother-in-law, the Hungarian king. Later in the same 1284, King Dragutin became also related with the Bosnian ruling family, by marrying the daughter Jelisaveta (Elisabeth) to Stephen I Kotroman, the son of Ban Prijezda.¹⁸

Obtaining Mačva, Usora and Soli, Dragutin's domain was more than doubled. That significantly changed the position of King Dragutin and the center of his power. It is notable that since then he was residing, as far as is now known, primarily in the newly acquired possessions on the northern border of his realm. Dragutin placed his court in the town of Debrč on the Sava, and he also stayed in Belgrade, which for the first time in history, albeit temporary, came under the administration of one Serbian ruler.¹⁹ The brothers Milutin and Dragutin closely cooperated during next years. Together they eliminated the threat for the Serbian state which was represented by Dorman and Kudelin, and their lands Kučevo and Braničevo were joined to Dragutin's state around 1292. In these fighting with Dorman and Kudelin, Dragutin was also supported by his Hungarian relative Andrew III in 1291/1292.²⁰ Thus, the increased territory of Dragutin stretched from Belgrade and Kosmaj mountain to the Iron Gates on the Danube and to the town of Ravno (nowdays Čuprija) in the Morava valley. Removing the hostile neighbors and territorial expansion in the Danube region

¹⁸ Gregor Čremošnik, *Istorijski spomenici Dubrovačkog arhiva*, vol. III/1. *Kancelarijski i notarski spisi 1278–1301* (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, hereafter SKA, 1932), 137; Vladimir Ćorović, *Historija Bosne* (Beograd: SKA, 1940), 207; Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe početkom XIV veka," in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. I, 450; Ćirković, "Kralj Stefan Dragutin," 17; Jelena Mrgić, *Severna Bosna 13–16. vek* (Beograd: Istorijski institute, 2008), 60–63.

¹⁹ Danilo II, *Životi*, 43–44, 47, 97; Dinić, *Srpske zemlje*, 46–47; Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd*, 66–69; Kalić, "Kralj Dragutin," 33–34; Sima Ćirković, "„Crna Gora“ i problem srpsko-ugarskog graničnog područja," in *Valjevo – postanak i uspon gradskog središta* (Valjevo: Narodni muzej, 1994), 61–62.

²⁰ Danilo II, *Životi*, 114–122; Smičklas, *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. VII, 309; Szentpétery Imre, Borsa Iván, *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikái jegyzéke. Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico diplomatica*, vol. II/4 (1290–1301) (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, 1987), 124–125, no. 3951, 201, no. 4182; Dinić, *Srpske zemlje*, 97–98, n. 35; Maksimović, "Počeci," 443, n. 28; Ćirković, "Zemlja Mačva," 11; Aleksandar Uzelac, "Tatars and Serbs at the End of the Thirteenth Century," *Revista de istorie militară* V–VI (2011): 11–13; Uzelac, *Pod senkom psa*, 205–210, believes that King Milutin married the Hungarian Princess Elisabeth the most probably in 1292, as a result of the Serbian-Hungarian cooperation against Dorman and Kudelin.

strengthened Dragutin's position and enabled him to act more independently as a ruler.

At the same time, the process of weakening of royal power in Hungary and the rise of powerful oligarchs, with the creation of their independent and semi-independent areas, was advancing during the reign of the last Árpáadian king Andrew III (1290–1301), who was faced with open pretensions of the Neapolitan Angevins to the Hungarian crown.²¹ This situation provided the opportunities and possibilities for Stephen Dragutin to strengthen the position of his family, as both the Hungarian king and his Angevin rivals tried to win him over to their side. The Angevins were maternal relatives of Dragutin²², but they were also connected through his wife Katalin, the sister of Neapolitan Queen Maria. King Dragutin and his son Vladislav supported the claims to the Hungarian crown of Charles Martel. That was the reason why he bestowed Vladislav the Duchy of Slavonia as the hereditary possession, and King Charles II of Naples confirmed this donation of his son on August 19, 1292.²³ By all accounts, it was a formal donation, because King Andrew III granted the Duchy of Slavonia to his mother Tomasina (1295) and his uncle Albertino Morosini (1298).²⁴ However, King Dragutin sought to legalize the right of his son to the possession of Slavonia on both sides, so in 1293, Vladislav got married to

²¹ Bálint Hóman, *Geschichte des ungarischen Mittelalters*, vol. II (Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter, 1943), 222–235, 263–269; Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526* (London–New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 110–111; Kristó Gyula, *A feudális széttagolódós Magyarországon* (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1979) 139–204.

²² The degree of kinship of King Charles of Naples and his “dear cousins” Serbian Queen Jelena and her sister Maria has not been precisely determined. There is an assumption, still without final confirmation, that Queen Jelena was the daughter of the lord of Srem John Angelos and Matilda of Požega, the daughter of Margaret of Namur and Henri, Count of Vianden. Matilda was the niece of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople Baldwin II: Gordon McDaniel, “On Hungarian-Serbian Relations in the Thirteenth Century: John Angelos and Queen Jelena,” *Ungarn-Jahrbuch, Zeitschrift für die Kunde Ungarns und verwandte Gebiete* XII (1982–1983): 47–50. In that case, Jelena's marriage to the Serbian king (sometime around 1250) primarily resulted from the Serbian-Hungarian relationships, and not from the Serbian-French, or the relations between Serbia and the Latin East, as it was considered in the earlier Serbian historiography. See also: Stanković, *Kralj Milutin*, 52–54.

²³ Smičklas, *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. VII, 103–104; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povjest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. I (Zagreb, 1899), 269–272, vol. II/1 (1900), 6–7; Ćorović, *Historija*, 213, 220–222; Dinić, “Odnos,” 51–52, 57, 66; Ćirković, “Unutrašnje borbe,” 450; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 208; Đura Hardi, “Da li je u Mitrovici 1314. godine došlo do susreta ‘sremskog kralja’ Dragutina i ugarskog kralja Karla Roberta?,” *Spomenica Istorijaskog arhiva “Srem”* 6 (2007): 104.

²⁴ Klaić, *Povjest Hrvata* I, 275, 285; Zsoldos Attila, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* (Budapest: História. MTA Történettudományi intézete, 2011), 181–182.

Constance, the granddaughter of Albertino Morosini.²⁵ The similar policy of cooperation both with the last Árpáadian king and the Angevins, in order to increase the estates and to secure their own positions, also pursued some other magnates in Hungary and Croatia at the time (for example, The Slavonian ban Radoslav of Vodica, and even Paul of Bribir, the main pillar of the Angevin party).²⁶

When King Uroš II Milutin, after years of war, agreed with the Byzantines and by marriage to Princess Simonis became imperial son in law in 1299²⁷, the balance of power in Serbia generated from the Deževano agreement was fundamentally disturbed. Through the marriage to the Byzantine princess, King Milutin legalized conquests in Macedonia and significantly raised his international reputation, and it became clear that the priority in succession to the throne would have his offspring from this matrimony.²⁸ This afflicted the interests of Dragutin's sons in the most direct way, and very soon led to the strife and military conflict between the royal brothers. Open war between Stephen Dragutin and Uroš Milutin broke out in 1301. At first, it looked like that King Milutin achieved some successes since in November 1301 he managed to occupy Rudnik, the important town and mining centre of King Dragutin. However, the fighting then flared up on Milutin's territory, including the area of the mine Brskovo, today Mojkovac in Montenegro (1303).²⁹ Only fragmentary data have been preserved on that warfare, but it is known that the situation in Serbia was very confusing and variable, that anarchy and insecurity spread and that the neighbours were drawn in the conflict, indirectly or directly. Namely, at

²⁵ The envoys of King Stephen Dragutin and Queen Katalin, the Bosnian Bishop Basil (*Basilio*) and Ragusan Vita Bobaljević concluded the marriage contract with the Morosini family in Venice on 24th August 1293: Jovan Radonić, *Dubrovačka akta i povelje*, vol. I/1 (Beograd: SKA, 1934), 83–84; Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe," 450; Ruža Ćuk, *Srbija i Venecija u XIII i XIV veku* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1986), 21–22; Popović, *Srpska kraljica*, 88; Ivana Komatina, *Crkva i država u srpskim zemljama od XI do XIII veka* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2016), 386–387.

²⁶ Klaić, *Povjest Hrvata* I, 272–274, II/1, 5–6; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1976), 417–421; Damir Karbić, "Šubići Bribirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322)," *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU XXII* (2004): 15.

²⁷ Dinić, "Odnos," 56–58; Maksimović, "Počeci," 445–447; Stanković, *Kralj Milutin*, 95–113.

²⁸ Pachymeres, vol. II, 273–274, 286; Dinić, "Odnos," 58, 61–62, 67; Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe," 449–450; Ćirković, *The Serbs*, 51–52; Maksimović, "Kralj Dragutin," 100–101; Stanković, *Kralj Milutin*, 101–103, 105, 110–111, 117.

²⁹ Čremošnik, *Kancelarijski i notarski spisi*, 164; *Monumenta Ragusina. Libri reformationum*, vol. V, 1301–1336 (Zagrabie, 1897), 27, 58, 60, 68; Vladimir Mošin, Sima Ćirković, Dušan Sindik, *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćiriličkih povelja i pisama Srbije, Bosne i Dubrovnika*, vol. I: 1186–1321 (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2011) 341–347; Dinić, "Odnos," 59–60; Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva*, vol. II, 4; Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe," 451–452; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 256–257.

the same time the expansion of the Croatian ban Paul of Bribir and his brother Mladen started into Bosnia and the Serbian region of Hum.³⁰

Finding himself in the conflict both with Dragutin and the Bribirians, during the first decade of the 14th century King Uroš II Milutin developed a lively diplomatic activity in the West to reverse the situation in his favour. He sought the protection of Pope Benedict XI (1303–1304) and expressed his readiness to accept the Church union.³¹ The same offer, to convert into Catholicism with the whole country, the Serbian king also presented to the new Pope Clement V (1305–1314) in 1308.³² At that time, King Milutin expected the Pope to legalize the status of his son Stephen.³³ That had certainly been associated with the king's plan to emphasize Stephen as the successor of the Serbian throne versus the descendants of Dragutin.³⁴ At the same time, Milutin made an alliance with Philip of Taranto, the uncle of Charles Robert (1306), and then with the titular

³⁰ Mihailo Dinić, "Comes Constantinus," *ZRVI* VII (1961): 5–10; Sima Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države* (Beograd: SKZ, 1964), 77–80; Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe," 453–454, 460, 473; Siniša Mišić, *Humuska zemlja u srednjem veku* (Beograd: DBR Publishig/Filozofski fakultet, 1996), 54–55. Karbić, "Šubići Bribirski do gubitka," 17, 21–22. On the other hand, A. Uzelac and B. Radovanović pointed out that none of the Ragusan documents, which refer to the warfare in Serbia from 1301 to 1305, explicitly mentioned clashes between Dragutin and Milutin. The authors thus believe that some accounts and indications in those documents about the war between Milutin and Ban Paul of Bribir, Dinić wrongly attributed to the later fighting between Milutin and Dragutin. The Bribirians were the common enemies to both of the royal brothers at that time, and the open conflict between Dragutin and Milutin didn't start until 1308: Aleksandar Uzelac, Bojana Radovanović, "Crkvena i svetovna politika kralja Milutina prema zapadnim silama početkom XIV veka – nekoliko novih zapažanja," in *Sveti car Konstantin i hrišćanstvo/Saint Emperor Constantine and Christianity*, vol. I, ed. D. Bojović (Niš: Centar za crkvene studije, 2013), 602–603. Although some of this remarks could be true, the facts are that Rudnik passed from Dragutin's to Milutin's hands in 1301, and that it was returned to the elder brother after the conflict was over.

³¹ Theiner, *Monumenta Hungariae*, vol. I, 410; Dinić, "Odnos," 62; Popović, *Srpska kraljica*, 85.

³² Augustinus Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia (1198–1549)*, vol. I (Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1863), 127–130; Miodrag Purković, *Avinjonske pape i srpske zemlje* (Požarevac, 1934), 11–17.

³³ The Pope ordered his legates to influence the Serbian king in order to leave some part of his country to his "illegitimate" son: Uzelac, Radovanović, "Crkvena i svetovna politika," 596, n. 21. Stephen was, by all accounts, born in some kind of morganatic marriage before Milutin ascended to the throne: *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. VI (SANU: Beograd, 1986), 40–42, n. 82 (commentary of LJ. Maksimović); Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj – kult Stefana Dečanskog* (Beograd: Balkanološki institut/Clio, 2007), 205–208, 211, 227–228, 260–261.

³⁴ It seems that Stephen became heir to the throne and replaced the old Queen Jelena in governing of Zeta and the other coastal regions already in 1306, and certainly before 1309: Dinić, "Odnos," 62, 67; Ivković, "Ustanova," 67; Marica Malović, "Stefan Dečanski i Zeta," *Istorijski zapisi* LI (1979): 16–17; Blagojević, "Srpsko kraljevstvo i države," 145–146; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, 129, 133–140; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, 225–232.

Latin Emperor Charles of Valois (1308).³⁵ Although it was an evident anti-Byzantine alliance, Milutin's later cordial ties with his father-in-law Andronicus II and the absence of any real will to carry out the ecclesiastical union with Rome show the real reasons of such Western policy of the Serbian king. They can be found in the current European developments – the plans of Charles of Valois and the Papacy for the restoration of the Latin Empire, and in Milutin's on-going clashes with his brother and with the Bribirians over the territory of Hum.³⁶ It is certain that the changing of the church orientation would have caused a huge uproar in the country and turned many royal supporters against him, especially those from the ecclesiastical circles. This would certainly have been used by King Dragutin.

The position and actions of King Dragutin and his family during the decade of fighting over the Hungarian throne are only partially known, but from those few data the evolution of attitude and ambitions of the "king of Srem" can be seen. In the beginning, Dragutin and his wife Katalin supported the pretensions of their Neapolitan cousin Charles Robert. When the son of Charles Martel departed for Hungary in early 1300, his grandfather King Charles of Naples wrote to his "very dear sister", Serbian Queen Katalin, to negotiate with the Hungarian barons and nobility in order to recognize Robert Charles as the king of Hungary.³⁷ During his fight for the Hungarian throne in the first years of the 14th century, Charles Robert stayed in the southern parts of the kingdom. According to Đura Hardi, Charles Robert took up residence with his royal household at the Cistercian monastery of Belafons (Bélakút) in Petrovaradin in Srem from the summer of 1301 until the first half of May 1304. The choice of Charles' location was probably significantly influenced by his main local

³⁵ Thallóczy Lajos, Barabás Samu, *A Blagay-család oklevéltára. Codex diplomaticus comitum de Blagay* (Budapest: MTA, 1897), 70–71; Mavromatis, *La Fondation*, 55–57, 123–136; Dinić, "Odnos," 62; Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe," 456; Stanković, *Kralj Milutin*, 123–124; Živković, Petrović, Uzelac, *Anonymi descriptio*, 32–39.

³⁶ Before the papal legates King Milutin justified himself that the union with the Catholic Church couldn't be performed because of the fear of his mother (who, by the way, came from the Catholic family and was undoubtedly inclined to Catholicism) and his brother: Guillaume Mollat ed., *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, vol. I (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1914), 65; Purković, *Avinjonske pape*, 17; Dinić, "Odnos," 67; Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe," 455–457; Popović, *Srpska kraljica*, 96; Stanković, *Kralj Milutin*, 121–126. Insincere attitude towards the papacy provided Milutin very bad image in *Anonymi descriptio Europae Orientalis*, ed. Górká, 35; ed. Živković, Petrović, Uzelac, 124–126; Uzelac, Radovanović, "Crkvena i svetovna politika," 596–600.

³⁷ A month later, on 10th February 1300, Charles II informed the most important supporters of the Angevins in Hungary, among them King Stephen Dragutin and Queen Katalin, that his grandson Charles Robert departed for Hungary: Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. VII, 363, 367; Ćorović, *Historija*, 215; Dinić, "Odnos," 57.

supporter and powerful overlord of the area Ugrin Csák. But another reason why this particular spot on the Danube was chosen to be king's seat should be sought in the support of his cousin and neighbour Stefan Dragutin, too.³⁸

However, several years later, Dragutin came into conflict with the young Angevin king, who at that time still struggled to consolidate his position in Hungary.³⁹ It was mostly considered in historiography that Dragutin's confrontation with the Hungarian monarch was the consequence of his alliance with the Transylvanian voivode Ladislas Kán, made in 1308. As it is well known, the Transylvanian voivode came into the possession of the crown of St. Stephen when he captured his former ally Otto of Bavaria. It was also believed that open fighting between Dragutin's and the forces loyal to Charles Robert started no later than the spring of 1309. Actually, that happened at least a year and a half earlier. According to a charter of Charles Robert issued on October 13, 1307, the "king of Serbia Stephen" ravaged the territory of Srem and took the captives, wherefore the military detachments of Ugrinus Csák crossed the Sava, defeated the army of King Stephen, and also of palatine Tyuz, apparently Dragutin's chief dignitary, and sent their flags to King Charles.⁴⁰ The alliance between Stephen Dragutin and Ladislas Kán was strengthened by the marriage between the voivode's daughter and the son of the Serbian monarch.⁴¹ The sources don't tell

³⁸ Đura Hardi, "Petrovaradin – the "Seat" of Charles Robert of Anjou," in *The Cultural and Historical Heritage of Vojvodina in the Context of Classical and Medieval Studies*, ed. Đ. Hardi (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 2015), 139–168, esp. 161–168.

³⁹ Hóman, *Geschichte*, vol. II, 275–288; Engel, *The Realm*, 128–130; Kristó Gyula, Makk Ferenc eds, *Károly Róbert emlékezete* (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1988), 15–20; Gyula Kristó, "I. Károly király főúri elitje (1301–1309)," *Szazadok* CXIII/1 (1999): 41–61; Đura Hardi, *Drugeti: povest o usponu i padu porodice pratilaca anžujskih kraljeva* (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 2012), 85–90.

⁴⁰ The charter records the merits of Matthew, Paul and Michael, the sons of Ugrin: ...*Dum Stephanus rex Servie partes regni nostri Hungarie, scilicet Syrmiam captivas abducendo, incendia committendo et spolia diversimoda exercendo devastaret, iidem favore fidelitatis et in nate bonitatis eorum accensi cum certis fidelibus magistri Ugrini ultra fluvium Zava transiendo, nec rebus nec persone percentes militari sua victoria et fideli famulatu validum exercitum eiusdem Stephanum regem devincentes et maiorem exercitus eius seu precessorem videlicet Tyuz palatinum debelando, vexillum eiusdem in Budam nobis transmiserunt...* Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Diplomatikai fényképgyűjtemény (DF) 285245, the facsimile of the document from Slovenský národný archív, Bratislava (the archive of the Zay family); Kristó Gyula, *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*, vol. II (1306–1310) (Budapest–Szeged, 1992), 112, no 247.

⁴¹ *Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis. Gentilis bibornok magyarországi követségének okiratai 1307–1311*, in *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* I/2 (Budapest, 1885), 371–373; Dinić, "Odnos," 64–65; E. Szentpétery ed., *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* I (Budapestini: Nap Kiadó, 1999²), 486; Kristó Gyula, "Laslo Kan i Transilvanija," *Studia historica ASH* CXXXIV (1980): 21–22; Hardi, *Drugeti*, 90. There is an

us the name of the Serbian prince who was married to Kán's daughter, but it is believed that that was Vladislav, because an informed Serbian writer from the 14th century claimed that Dragutin intended the Serbian throne to his other son Urošić.⁴² However, Urošić became a monk and died at the young age, and today it isn't known when it exactly happened.⁴³ In genealogical terms, Vladislav Nemanjić had the same rights to the Hungarian crown, which was in possession of his wife's father, as well as Charles Robert of Anjou: Vladislav was the grandson, while Charles I was the great-grandson of King Stephen V. Admittedly, Maria, the grandmother of Charles was the elder, and Serbian queen Katalin the younger daughter of Stephen V, but the thing that primarily disqualified one Nemanjić to become the Hungarian ruler was his Orthodox faith.⁴⁴ The papal legate Cardinal Gentile condemned the marriage between the daughter of Ladislav Kán and the son of a "schismatic king" and put the Transylvanian voivode under the interdict at the end of 1309.⁴⁵ In the meantime,

erroneous belief in the Romanian historiography that the daughter of Ladislav Kán was married to Stephen Uroš (later King Stephen III Dečanski), the son of King Stephen Uroš II Milutin: Nicolae Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité orientale*, vol. III: *Les fondateurs d'état* (București: L'Académie Roumaine, 1937), 183; Răzvan Mihai Neagu, *Politica beneficală a papalității de la Avignon în Transilvania (1305–1378)* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2013), 213. Based on that inaccurate identification, Tudor Sălăgean makes his conclusions on the Serbian-Transylvanian alliance as the part of wider political cooperation in the context of the ambitious projects of Charles of Valois in Central-Eastern Europe: Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea. Afirmarea regimului congregațional* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2007), 309–312.

⁴² That was stated by the continuator of the work of Danilo II: Danilo II, *Životi*, 357. The obstacle to this conclusion is the fact that Vladislav married Constance Morosini in 1293, and one her image was preserved, where she was titled as Serbian Queen. If that was not a later anachronism, it would mean that she was the wife of Vladislav as well after 1316: Dinić, "Odnos," 65–66.

⁴³ He was buried in his father's endowment in Arilje: Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi* (Sremski Karlovci: SKA, 1927), 72–73; Dinić, "Odnos," 65–66.

⁴⁴ Although he praised Dragutin as a friend of Catholics, Anonymous advocated the thesis of Angevins and the Catholic Church that only the descendants of the Neapolitan Queen Mary of Hungary were entitled to the throne, because she was the only daughter of Stephen V who remained in the Catholic faith, since her sisters were married to the "schismatics": *Anonymi descriptio*, ed Górká, 54; ed. Živković, Petrović, Uzelac, 38, 125, 144. A particular issue is why Anonymous did not mention the conflict between Stephen Dragutin and Charles Robert, especially if his work was not finished in the spring of 1308, as O. Górká thought, but at the end of 1310, or at the beginning of 1311, as it was evidenced by Živković, Uzelac, Petrović, *Anonymi descriptio*, 51–64.

⁴⁵ Previously, the synod in Buda generally condemned all marriages that Catholics were entered into with *heretico patereno, gazaro, scismatico vel alii fidei christiane contrario, maxime Ruthenis, Bulgaris, Rasis (=Serbs) et Littuanis: Acta legationis Gentilis*, 371–374; Dinić, "Odnos," 65, n. 54, 55; Sălăgean, *Transilvania*, 323–325.

during the September of 1308, the Hungarian king stayed in Srem, which was most probably connected with Dragutin, i.e. with his alliance to Ladislav Kán.⁴⁶ It is possible that the fighting of Stephen Dragutin and his supporters with the adherents of Charles Robert in the areas of Srem and Valkó counties continued during 1308 and 1309. Namely, some documents from 1309 and 1310 mention the destruction which King Dragutin and his loyal men from Hungary did in Srem, but it is not clear whether this refers to the struggle which is discussed above and mentioned in the charter of 1307, or to the later conflicts.⁴⁷ However, faced with the ecclesiastical sanction, Ladislav Kán had to give up his grand plans, and to submit to Charles Robert in 1310.⁴⁸

Thus, because of the circumstances, Stephen Dragutin was in situation to simultaneously lead the fight on two fronts, in an effort to ensure the Serbian crown to one son (probably Urošić) and the Hungarian crown to the another son (apparently Vladislav). He continued the conflict with the Hungarian king during 1311 and 1312, after Ladislav Kán submitted to Charles Robert.⁴⁹ At the same time, his cause also had good perspectives in Serbia, where the majority of nobility abandoned King Uroš Milutin. However, with the help of mercenaries gathered from Byzantium and the other side, King Milutin had managed not only to suppress the rebellion among the nobility at the end of

⁴⁶ Kristó, *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* II, 188, no 432; Dinić, *Srpske zemlje*, 283; Hardi, "Petrovaradin," 151, 158, 164.

⁴⁷ On 2nd July 1309, the bishop of Srem Ladislav stated that he had put some of the documents in a safe shelter for the destruction and devastation of the villages and burning of churches which King Stephen of Serbia committed in the whole province of Srem: *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae* I/2, 313; Kristó, *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* II, 301, no. 685. On 2nd March 1310, Charles Robert awarded Paul of Gara for his loyalty with the possession of Drenovac in Požega County. Among other merits, he defeated and captured some Ikon, the son of Erard, who, as an ally of Serbian King Stephen, attacked possessions of Ugrin Csák in Srem and Valkó counties: Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus* VIII, 259–260; Klaić, *Povjest Hrvata* II/1, 11, 13; Dinić, "Odnos," 64–65, n. 53.

⁴⁸ Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe," 459; Kristó, "Laslo Kan i Transilvanija," 21–22; Kristó, Makk, *Károly Róbert emlékezete*, 20–21; Engel, *The Realm*, 130; Hardi, *Drugeti*, 90–91, 127. Sălăgean, *Transilvania*, 325–326, points out that the marriage contract between the daughter of Ladislav Kán and the Serbian prince (who was the son of Dragutin, and not of Milutin as the author believes) wasn't cancelled after voivode's reconciliation with King Charles Robert.

⁴⁹ After the death of Vincent, the archbishop of Kalocsa, who was last mentioned as alive at the end of May 1311, the newly elected Archbishop Demetrius could not come to Rome for consecration until the end of 1312, because *nobilis vir Stephanus, qui rex Servie in illis partibus nuncupatur*, seized some property and rights of his church: Theiner, *Monumenta Hungariae*, vol. I, 442–443; Kristó Gyula, *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* III (1994), 186, no 412; Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe," 459–460, n. 29; cf. Engel Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. I (Budapest: MTA, 1996), 64.

1311 or during 1312, but likely to strike a blow to brother Stephen Dragutin.⁵⁰ The peace between the two Serbian kings, apparently concluded during 1312, shows that neither side won a decisive victory.⁵¹ The issue of the inheritance of the Serbian throne seems to remain open, as indicated by the formulation concerning future Serbian rulers in Milutin's charters issued in those years⁵², and by the rebellion of his eldest son Stephen in 1314.⁵³ On the other hand, in his confirmation of King Milutin's donation charter for the monastery of St. Stephen in Banjska (1314/16), Dragutin had to sign as "the former king". This clearly shows his subjection to the younger brother as the only legal king at that time.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Danilo II, *Životi*, 357–359; Dinić, "Odnos," 69–70; Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe," 458; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 257–258; Aleksandar Uzelac, "Najamničke vojske kralja Stefana Uroša II Milutina," *Vojnoistorijski glasnik* II (2011): 13–15, 22, 25; Uzelac, "Tatars and Serbs," 16–17; Uzelac, *Pod senkom psa*, 251–253.

⁵¹ At that time, Archbishop Nicodemus (1317–1324) was the abbot of the Serbian monastery Hilandar at the Mount Athos. At the behest of kings Milutin and Dragutin and the *sabor* (the diet), he went to Constantinople to inform the imperial court of the reconciliation achieved in Serbia. According to Nicodemus, the essence of the agreement was that "the brothers will be unique and rule together the entire Serbian lands according to the God's words": Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, vol. I (Beograd: SKA, 1902), 22. At the end of 1312 and beginning of 1313 Rudnik was again in the possession of King Dragutin: Dinić, "Odnos," 71–72; Ćirković, "Unutrašnje borbe," 460; Dragić Živojinović, "Arhiepiskop Nikodim I," *Istorijski časopis* XL (2011): 103–104.

⁵² In the documents issued by the chancery of King Milutin it was not openly specified who was the heir to the throne. In some king's charters as possible future Serbian ruler, in addition to his son and other relatives, nephews were mentioned too: Mošin, Ćirković, Sindik, *Zbornik*, 444, 468; Dinić, "Odnos," 76; Ivković, "Ustanova," 66–67; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, 140–144, 149, and *Sveti kralj*, 233–235, also mentions the possibility that the agreement provided that Vladislav would inherit only his father's land.

⁵³ Stephen's rebellion against his father, which ended with his blinding and seven-year exile in Constantinople, most likely was the consequence of the changing of his status as the heir to the throne after the reconciliation of Milutin and Dragutin: Dinić, "Odnos," 76–79. S. Ćirković interpreted Stephen's rebellion primarily as a reaction to the arrival of Despot Demetrius Palaiologos, the brother of Queen Simonis, in Serbia. It looked like that King Milutin was benevolent regarding the ambitious plans of Empress Irine to ensure the Serbian crown to her own son: Ćirković, "Unutrašnja politika kralja Milutina," in *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. I, 462–465; Ćirković in *Vizantijski izvori*, 178–179, n. 56. However, it seems more likely that the young despot came to Serbia after Stephen's rebellion and his removal from the candidacy to the throne. His elder brother Theodore, Margrave of Monferrato, also came to Serbia in 1316: Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, 235–236, 239. Stanković, *Kralj Milutin*, 129–132, assumes that Milutin exiled Stephen to Constantinople due to his expectations of a descendant from the marriage with Queen Simonis.

⁵⁴ Mošin, Ćirković, Sindik, *Zbornik*, 471; Dinić, "Odnos," 55, 71–72; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, 121, n. 74, 123, 127–128, 148, relying also on the numismatic sources,

After settling with his brother, Dragutin intended to continue the fight in Hungary. In the summer of 1313 he was preparing the army to cross the river Sava, but he received an invitation from his brother and senior to join him in a campaign against the Croatian Ban Mladen II, who, after the death of Ban Paul in 1312, renewed expansion in Hum. King Dragutin suspended preparations for the war in Hungary, and sent military support to his brother. It seems that the military detachments of kings Milutin and Dragutin in the Littoral were led by their sons Stephen and Vladislav, who stayed in Dubrovnik in November 1313, in the span of ten days.⁵⁵ The following year, by all accounts, Dragutin officially reconciled with Charles Robert, whom he presumably met in Sremska Mitrovica in the early February of 1314.⁵⁶

Before his death, King Stephen Dragutin handed over the authority to his son Vladislav at the state assembly of their country. Informing King Milutin of the new situation, Stephen Dragutin, following the example of his ancestors, became a monk and died on March 12, 1316.⁵⁷ Settling the relations with the Hungarian ruler, who claimed the supreme right to a significant part of the country of Dragutin and Vladislav, probably involved taking the oath of the vassal fidelity of the new “king of Srem” to Charles Robert. However, the question is whether Vladislav II even arrived to formalize his position to the Hungarian crown, since King Milutin soon took the opportunity and detained his nephew.⁵⁸ Milutin occupied the whole territory of Vladislav, including the

believes that Dragutin lost his king's title only by the peace agreement in 1312. On the other hand, Đurić, “Deževski sabor,” 172–175, 191, believes that the term “former king” does not indicate Dragutin's renunciation of the royal title and the crown, but his loss of the position of sovereign monarch in 1282.

⁵⁵ It is not known what Milutin with the help of Dragutin achieved in this fighting: Dinić, “Odnos,” 68; Dinić, “Comes,” 8–9; Ćirković, “Unutrašnje borbe,” 460; Hardi, “Da li je u Mitrovici,” 106; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, 235.

⁵⁶ King Charles stayed in Sremska Mitrovica (*villa Sancti Demetrii*) on 4th February 1314: Nagy Imre, *Anjoukori okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*, vol I (1301–1321) (Budapest: MTA, 1878), 334; Dinić, “Odnos,” 73–74; Engel Pál, “Az ország újreagaztatása, I. Károly küzdelmei az oligarchák ellen (1310–1323),” *Szazadok* CXXII/1–2 (1988): 104, 133, 137; Hardi, “Da li je u Mitrovici,” 101, 106–110; Hardi, *Drugeti*, 127.

⁵⁷ He was buried in the monastery Đurđevi Stupovi, which was built by his great-grandfather and the founder of the dynasty Stephen Nemanja. King Dragutin was the second founder or patron of the monastery. It seems that Dragutin, consistently insisting on his ties with Nemanja, in that way also wanted to emphasize the rights of his lineage to the Serbian throne: cf. Kalić, “Kralj Dragutin,” 35. There are different opinions among the scholars about the credibility of the story of Danilo II, according to which the dying monk Teoctist expressed a wish that his saintly cult should not be established: Danilo II, *Životi*, 49–52; cf. Ćirković, “Unutrašnja politika,” 472; Popović, “Kult kralja Dragutina,” 317–325; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, 135–139.

⁵⁸ [Pseudo]Brocardus (i.e. Guillaume Adam), *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*, ed. Ch.

parts which Dragutin had received from the Hungarians.⁵⁹ The reaction of the Hungarian king was fast; Charles attacked the Serbian ruler and occupied the castle of Mačva on the river Sava early in 1317.⁶⁰ Serbian-Hungarian fighting in the provinces of Mačva and Srem continued the next year with the counter-offensive of King Milutin.⁶¹ Charles Robert also fit his confrontation with King Milutin into the framework of a broader anti-Serbian alliance. He made a pact with his uncle Philip of Taranto, and two Angevins had strong support from Pope John XXII in their action against the Serbian king. In the summer of 1318 Croatian Ban Mladen II for the third time occupied some parts of the Serbian territory.⁶² Probably the biggest part of possessions that were once ceded to king Dragutin, including Belgrade, was returned under the rule of the Hungarian crown during the great expedition of Charles Robert in August and September of 1319.⁶³ However, the Serbian-Hungarian military conflicts over the territories and possessions in the Danube and the Sava region continued in several occasions during the 14th century.⁶⁴

Kohler, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, vol. II: Documents Arméniens (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1906), 437; M. Madii de Barbazanis, "Historia de gestis romanorum imperatorum et summorum pontificum," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* III, ed. J. Schwandtner (Vindobonae, 1748), 643; Dinić, "Odnos," 74; Ćirković, "Unutrašnja politika," 472; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 260–261.

⁵⁹ King Milutin leased revenues from the customs of the market places in Mačva and Lipnik in the Drina region to Ragusans: Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. VIII, 543–544; Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva*, vol. I (1955), 46; Sima Ćirković, "Beograd pod kraljem Dušanom?," *Zbornik Istarskog muzeja Srbije* XVII–XVIII (1981): 41.

⁶⁰ Nagy Imre, Páur Iván, Ráth Károly, Véghely Dezső, *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius*, vol. I (Győr, 1865), 124; Nagy, *Anjoukori okmánytár*, vol. II, 69–70; Engel, *Az ország újregzesítése*, 115, 127, 134–142, n. 123, 162; Hardi, *Drugeti*, 128.

⁶¹ Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. VIII/2 (Buda, 1832), 199–200; Nagy, *Anjoukori okmánytár*, vol. II, 128–129; Ćirković, "Beograd," 40–41.

⁶² Theiner, *Monumenta Hungariae*, vol. I, 830; Ćorović, *Historija*, 239; Bálint Hóman, *Gli Angioini di Napoli in Ungheria 1290–1403* (Roma: Reale accademia d'Italia, 1938), 115–126; Dinić, "Comes," 9–10; Ćirković, "Unutrašnja politika," 473–474. Karbić, "Šubići Bribirski do gubitka," 22–23, states that Mladen II acted primarily as the ally of Phillip of Tarento.

⁶³ Nagy Imre, Nagy Iván, Véghely Dezső, *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo*, vol. I (Pest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1871), 169–170; Nagy, *Anjoukori okmánytár* II, 93. On 2nd July 1320, Pope John XXII informed the German princes and Czech and Polish kings about the great success of the Hungarian king against the "schismatics", and invited them to come to help him in that fight: Theiner, *Monumenta Hungariae*, vol. I, 470; Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd*, 70–71, 359–360; Ćirković, "Beograd," 41–42; Engel, *Az ország újregzesítése*, 127, 138, 142; Engel, *The Realm*, 132, 134; Hardi, *Drugeti*, 128–130.

⁶⁴ Ćirković, "Beograd," 42–45; Sima Ćirković, "O jednoj srpsko-ugarskoj alijansi," *ZRVI* XLIV (2007): 414–417; Engel, *The Realm*, 134–135, 152.

Removing his rebellious eldest son Stephen and nephew Vladislav as potential heirs to the crown, in the last years of his life King Uroš Milutin began to prepare his younger son Konstantin for future ruler.⁶⁵ However, at the time of the king's death on October 29, 1321, the question of a successor was not definitively resolved. Turmoil in the country, which began even during Milutin's illness and ruthless struggle for Serbian crown between half-brothers Stephen and Konstantin, ended in defeat and murder of the latter and the crowning of Stephen III Dečanski on January 6, 1322, enabled Vladislav II to escape from imprisonment.⁶⁶ Vladislav II took power in the territory of his father, relying on the local nobility, and maybe he had the help of the Hungarian king. Although he was not able to restore his father's country to the full extent – Bosnian ban Stjepan II Kotromanić ruled Usora and Soli already in 1323⁶⁷ – for a few years Vladislav II managed to survive as a monarch. He organized his court with appropriate dignitaries and administrative apparatus, minted money⁶⁸, gave regal revenues in the lease to the citizens of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and guaranteed them freedom of trade.⁶⁹ It seemed that the situation in the Serbian state was similar to that from the time of Milutin and Dragutin. However, the dispute

⁶⁵ Ivković, "Ustanova," 69; Sima Ćirković, "Vladavina Stefana Uroša III Dečanskog," in *Istorija srpskog naroda* vol. I, 496; Marica Malović-Đukić, "Konstantin – sin kralja Milutina," *Istorijski zapisi* III–IV (1985): 74–75; Branislav Todić, "Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom i roditeljima monasima na fresci u Gračanici," *Saopštenja* XXV (1993): 12, 14, 17–22; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, 145–149.

⁶⁶ M. Madić de Barbazanis, "Historia," 646; Danilo II, *Životi*, 155–159, 164–173; A. Davidov, G. Dančev, N. Dončeva-Panaiotova, P. Kovačeva, T. Genčeva, *Žitie na Stefan Dečanski ot Grigorii Camblak* (Sofia: BAN, 1983), 98–99; Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, 49; [Pseudo] Brocardus, *Directorium*, 438; Malović-Đukić, "Konstantin," 70; Sima Ćirković, "Vladavina," 496–497; Ćirković, *The Serbs*, 62; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, 253–258, 261–262; Vladeta Petrović, "O tr'penie svetago kralja," *Istorijski časopis* LIV (2007): 93–100.

⁶⁷ Mrgić, *Severna Bosna*, 66. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 265, mixed the Serbian king and the Bosnian ban, so he was wrong when states that Stephen Dečanski had added "Bosnia and Usora" to his title in 1323 and "Soli" in 1324, suggesting that he occupied these regions.

⁶⁸ Sergije Dimitrijević, "Novčane emisije kralja Dragutina, Vladislava II i kralja Milutina," *Starinar* XXVII (1976): 131–134, pl. III–V; Vujadin Ivanišević, *Novčarstvo srednjovekovne Srbije* (Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 2001), 242.

⁶⁹ In the letter to the count and the municipality of Dubrovnik from 25 October 1323, confirming that the Držić brothers paid the money they owed to him, Vladislav signed as *rab Hristov gospodin Vladislav* ("the servant of Christ, master Vladislav"). However, the phrase "kingdom of me" was repeated more than ten times in the document, and in the accompanying notes to this document from 1323 and 1325, the Ragusans explicitly titled Vladislav as a king. The fact that Vladislav on his only surviving document was not signed as the king, N. Porčić associated with his attitude towards Stephen III Dečanski: Nebojša Porčić, "Pismo kralja Vladislava II knezu i opštini dubrovačkoj (1323, oktobar 25)," *Stari srpski arhiv* I (2002): 33–36, 45. It seems that the royal relatives for a time coexisted relatively peacefully, since traders from

between the two Serbian kings broke out in 1323 over the possession of Rudnik, an important mining centre that had a significant role in the previous confrontation of their fathers. Already at the end of 1323 King Stephen III Dečanski took over Rudnik, and then in 1324 the nearby fortress Ostrovica, also in the region of Rudnik, passed to him.⁷⁰ In 1325 or, more probably in 1326, King Stephen III succeeded to expel his cousin Vladislav II from the whole of his territory.⁷¹ Vladislav II had sought refuge in Hungary, where, according to the testimonies of the later Serbian chroniclers (the second part of 14th – the first part of 15th century), he remained until his death.⁷²

There is no later information of Vladislav II, who was about 50 years old when he was expelled out of his state. If the data of the Serbian chroniclers are true, then the claims of Mauro Orbini that Stefan Dečanski captured Vladislav and that he died in prison are false. In Orbin's description of the struggles for the Serbian throne after the death of King Milutin there are other errors and inaccuracies (for example, that Vladislav was the son of Milutin, or that Konstantin died in a clash with Vladislav, and not with Stefan Dečanski). However, Orbin gave an interesting characterization of Vladislav II as incompetent ruler, useless and inexperienced in the art of war. This is why, according to Orbin, Vladislav, although a relative of the Hungarian king, did not enjoy good reputation in Hungary and didn't receive any help from that side.⁷³ It is not known how long he lived in Hungary, if he had any property in that country, when and how he died. Judging by the fresco portraits which were made after his death, Vladislav II did not live to an old age.⁷⁴ No one also knows what happened to

Dubrovnik operated without disruption in both Serbian states during 1322 and 1323: Ćirković, "Vladavina," 497.

⁷⁰ *Monumenta Ragusina*, vol. I: 1306–1347 (Zagrabie, 1879), 103, 105, 109, 115–116; Danilo II, *Životi*, 174; Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva*, vol. II, 4; Ćirković, "Vladavina," 498; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, 258–260; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 263–264.

⁷¹ Even on September 19, 1326, in the will of the Ragusan Vito Bobaljević, Vladislav II was entitled as *rex*, who owed some money to this merchant: Ćirković, "Vladavina," 498–499, n. 9.

⁷² Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, 72–73.

⁷³ Mauro Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi* (Pesaro, 1601), 253–254; cf. Sima Ćirković, "Komentari i izvori Mavra Orbina", in Mavro Orbin, *Kraljevstvo Slovena*, prevod Zdravko Šundrica (Zrenjanin: Sezam Book, 2006), 313.

⁷⁴ In the fresco "Family tree of the Nemanjić dynasty" in the monastery of Peć patriarchy, painted before 1337, Vladislav II was depicted as a grown man with a long brown beard and hair, while his brother Urošić was shown as a young beardless man, since he died young. In the same fresco, Stefan III of Dečani, who at the time of death in 1331 was about 55 years old, was depicted like Vladislav II, with long brown beard, while the kings Uroš I, Dragutin and Milutin were painted as old men with long grey beards. In the fresco of Nemanjić family tree in the monastery of Visoki Dečani, painted around 1347, Vladislav II looks much older: his beard is shorter than beard of Stefan Dečanski, but it is greyer. Kings Uroš I, Dragutin and Milutin were

his sons, who were mentioned in a letter of Vladislav from 1323.⁷⁵ In this way, the specific creation called the “country of King Stephen” disappeared after four decades of existing, and three generations of descendants of King Milutin ruled Serbia during its greatest period in the 14th century.

RIVALUL ȘI VASALUL LUI CAROL ROBERT DE ANJOU: REGELE VLADISLAV AL II-LEA NEMANJIĆ

Rezumat

Vladislav al II-lea (cca. 1270–după 1326) a fost fiul regelui sârb Ștefan Dragutin (1276–1282, m. 1316) și al reginei Caterina Árpád. Obligat să cedeze tronul fratelui său mai tânăr, Ștefan Uroš al II-lea Milutin (1282–1321), Dragutin și-a păstrat titlul regal și părțile nordice ale statului sârb. În anul 1284 a primit de la fratele său vitreg, regele ungar Ladislau al IV-lea, posesiunile ungare de la sud de Sava și Dunăre (Belgrad și Mačva). Ștefan Dragutin a susținut drepturile fiilor săi la tronul Serbiei, fapt pentru care s-a războit cu fratele său, Milutin, timp îndelungat (1301–1312). În același timp, l-a căsătorit pe fiul său Vladislav cu fiica voievodului Transilvaniei, Ladislau Kán, și și-a anunțat candidatura la tronul Ungariei. Deși acest fapt a determinat conflictul militar dintre Carol Robert și Ștefan Dragutin (1307–1313), pretențiile prințului sârb nu au pus serios în primejdie autoritatea tânărului rege Angevin. Vladislav al II-lea i-a succedat tatălui său la conducerea statului (1316), cel mai probabil ca vasal al regelui Carol Robert. Cu toate acestea, Vladislav a fost capturat în curând de unchiul său, Milutin, care a ocupat și teritoriile acestuia. Acest fapt a dus la conflictul dintre Milutin și Carol Robert și, după moartea regelui sârb, Vladislav al II-lea a refăcut, pentru un scurt timp, statul (1321–1326). Expulzat de fiul lui Milutin, regele Stefan al III-lea Dečanski (1321–1331), Vladislav al II-lea a fugit în Ungaria, unde cel mai probabil a și murit.

also portrayed as much older than Vladislav II and Stephen III of Dečani in the same fresco: Sima Ćirković, Vojislav Korać, Vojislav J. Đurić, *Pečka patrijaršija* (Beograd: Jugoslovenska revija, 1990), 138–139, 233; Branislav Todić, Milka Čanak-Medić, *Manastir Dečani* (Beograd: Muzej u Prištini, Mnemosyne: 2005), 146; *Istorija srpskog naroda* vol. I, pl. XXXIX–XL.

⁷⁵ Porčić, “Pismo kralja Vladislava,” 34, 36, 42.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE URBAN NETWORK OF HUNGARY IN THE EARLY ANGEVIN PERIOD

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Keywords: urban development, Angevins, trade, mining, privileges

Cuvinte cheie: dezvoltare urbană, Angevini, comerț, minerit, privilegii

Urban centres, old and new

The ascent of a new ruling dynasty, the Angevins, to the Hungarian throne, brought with it first and foremost political and administrative changes and then in consequence and more gradually, social and economic ones.¹ Urban development has not until recently been regarded as a field where a change of dynasties would have brought with it conspicuously new trends. During the last few years, however, new studies scrutinizing the reign of Charles I (1301–1342) and his urban policy (or the lack of it) have raised a set of related questions about the nature of urban growth in the Carpathian Basin and the driving forces behind it in the first half of the fourteenth century.²

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¹ See in general: Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 124–194; on particular innovations in governance: Enikő Csukovits, “Az Anjou-kori intézményi újítások nápolyi párhuzamai,” [Neapolitan parallels of institutional innovations in the Angevin period], in Tibor Neumann, György Rácz, eds, *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére* [Studies in honour of Pál Engel] (Budapest and Piliscsaba: MTA-TTI – PPKE, 2009) (Társadalom és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok 40. / *Analecta medievalia* III), 19–62; and the special thematic issue 2013/2 of the journal *Hungarian Historical Review* on the Angevin period: <http://www.hunghist.org/index.php/forth-coming/79-hhr-issue/150-volume-2-issue-2-2013> (last accessed 8 June 2016).

² Attila Zsoldos, “Károly és a városok,” [Charles and the towns] in Boglárka Weisz, ed., *Pénz, posztó, piac. Gazdaságtörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Coins, cloth, commerce. Studies on the economy of medieval Hungary], (Budapest: MTK BTK TTI, 2016), 265–283;

Archaeological and historical research on the towns that served as Charles's residences in various periods of his reign have added much new material and inspiration to this discussion. Timișoara (Temesvár), his first "purpose-built" seat, was chosen after a period of hesitation between Szeged, Lipova (Lippa) and Timișoara. Along with the publication of a thorough monographic overview of the town's medieval history, the discovery of Charles' fortified residential tower has shed new light on the built environment surrounding the monarch, and hopefully further research will reveal even more about the standards of living and the presence of his retinue there.³ At Visegrád, his new choice of a seat in the *Medium regni* after the consolidation of his reign from 1323 onwards, both the Upper Castle and the first period of the urban palace as well as the settlement surrounding the latter have been investigated,⁴ and a recent study also partly discussed Nagymaros, a town whose growth on the other bank of the Danube was almost like an extension to Visegrád.⁵ Finally, regarding Buda, which was not an "official" royal residence but where the king often sojourned and held important summits, a new monograph clarifies the way in which it gradually became the financial and commercial capital city of the kingdom.⁶

Katalin Szende, "Mennyit ér a kiváltság? Városprivilegiumok kibocsátása és rendelkezéseik betartása I. Károly alatt," [What is the privilege worth? Issuing and (dis)regarding town privileges in Hungary during Charles I's reign], in *Ibid*, 285–339. In this article I give an extensive account of Charles measures concerning cities and towns, with detailed source references which I will not repeat here due to limitations of space.

³ István Petrovics, "The Fading Glory of a Former Royal Seat: the case of medieval Temesvár," 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), 527–538; István Petrovics, *A középkori Temesvár. Fejezetek a Bega-parti város 1552 előtti történetéből* [Medieval Timișoara. Chapters from the history of the town by the Bega before 1552] (Capitulum IV.) (Szeged: JATE Press, 2008); Zsuzsanna Kopeczny, "Reședința regală medievală de la Timișoara," [The medieval royal residence at Timișoara], *Analele Banatului*, Serie Nouă, Arheologie–Istorie, XXI (2013): 211–231.

⁴ Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky (eds), *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013); László Iván, *A visegrádi vár története a kezdetektől 1685-ig* [The history of Visegrád castle up to 1685] (Visegrád: MNM Mátyás Király Múzeuma, 2004); Gergely Buzás, József Laszlovszky and Orsolya Mészáros, eds, *The Medieval Royal Town at Visegrád. Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014).

⁵ Orsolya Mészáros, Gábor Serlegi, "The impact of environmental change on medieval settlement structure in Transdanubia," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62 (2011): 199–219.

⁶ Enikő Spekner, *Hogyan lett Buda a középkori Magyarország fővárosa? A budai királyi székhely története a 12. század végétől a 14. század közepéig* [How did Buda become the capital of medieval Hungary? The history of the medieval royal seat from the late twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century] (Budapest: BTM, 2015), shorter English version: Enikő Spekner, "Buda before Buda: Óbuda and Pest as Early Centres," in Balázs Nagy, Martyn Rady, Katalin Szende, András Vadas,

The same monograph also offers a detailed itinerary of Charles and his queen,⁷ which makes it possible to relate his decisions concerning the cities and towns of his realm to his movements and to political events, particularly his struggles for the “re-unification of the country,” in Pál Engel’s term.

All these new materials, as well as the growing international interest in the relationship between seigneurial power and the development of towns in various polities of medieval Europe⁸ make it even more timely to reassess royal urban policy in the light of the new political and economic circumstances in Hungary in the Angevin period. This overview will concentrate on two interrelated sets of questions. First, what new elements did this period add to the already existing number of cities in the Carpathian Basin, including the range of “new towns” that emerged in the course of the great social changes of the thirteenth century, and how did they consolidate the already existing urban network? And second, how much can the processes we observe be considered as a logical continuation of the preceding decades, or to what extent were they due to the accession of a new ruling dynasty and its hard-fought but ultimately successful struggle to centralize royal power? Besides analysing the developments in the Kingdom of Hungary, wherever possible, I will point to parallel developments and possible analogies in other parts of contemporary Central Europe.

A comparison between the thirteenth-century urban network of the Carpathian Basin and the modern one demonstrates that the backbone of the settlement system was already in place before 1300.⁹ The rulers of the indigenous Árpadian dynasty had issued between 1201 and 1299 altogether 87 privileges to 52 settlements (including confirmations or extensions of previously granted charters).¹⁰ The thirteenth century was an equally decisive period for town foundation in other polities of Central Europe as well – in the lands of the Czech crown, in Silesia and in the various provinces of the politically fragmented Polish territories. The similarities also apply to the legal aspect of urban

eds, *Medieval Buda in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 71–91; András Vég, “Urban Development and Royal Initiative in the Central Part of the Kingdom of Hungary in the 13th–14th centuries: Comparative Analysis of the Development of the Towns of Buda and Visegrád,” in Ferdinand Opll, ed., *Stadtgründung und Stadtwerdung. Beiträge von Archäologie und Stadtgeschichtsforschung* (Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 2011), 431–446.

⁷ Spekner, *Hogyan lett Buda*, 139–183.

⁸ See e.g. Anngret Simms, Howard Clarke, eds, *Lords and Towns in Medieval Europe. The European Historic Towns Atlas Project* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

⁹ Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The last Árpadians] (Budapest: MTA TTI, 1993), 50–60, 223–230.

¹⁰ Katalin Szende, “Power and Identity: Royal privileges to the towns of medieval Hungary in the thirteenth century,” in Michel Pauly, Alexander Lee, eds, *Urban Liberties and Civic Participation from the Middle Ages to Modern Times* (Trier: Porta Alba, 2015), 27–67.

development, namely that the rulers were ready to charter their towns, i.e. to grant them privileges to promote new sites and attract more settlers (termed *hospites* in the sources, i.e. guests) to them as well as to acknowledge and consolidate existing developments by legal means.¹¹

It is important to note that the geographical distribution of privileged settlements covers the entire kingdom. Contrary to what might be presumed, namely that royal measures spread from the centre to the periphery, the chronological sequence of the privileges shows in fact that the royal charters were issued particularly to promote settlement of peripheral regions such as central and southern Transylvania, north-eastern Hungary and Slavonia. In the middle and second half of the thirteenth century towns in the central part of the kingdom followed suit.¹² Therefore, when assessing Charles's activity in this respect, one needs to take into account that most of the strategically important places had already received their charters before his arrival. He also "inherited" entire areas for which collective privileges had been granted, such as the Andreanum for the Saxons of Transylvania, issued in 1224, and the charter of the Saxons of Spiš (Szepes/ Zips), issued in 1271 and reconfirmed in 1317, which made it unnecessary to promote individual settlements within these regions.¹³

Royal seats

In order to obtain a systematic overview of the additions and changes to the urban network in the period we are examining, it seems to be useful to proceed according to a functional typology of the various centres. The most prestigious centres were undoubtedly the royal seats, the successive importance of which was already mentioned in the introduction of this essay. Charles I's reign was indeed varied in his choice of residences, but it did not follow the pattern of the old-style itinerant kingship any longer. His alternation between seats followed political and strategic considerations, and each of his seats were considered "stable" to the extent that he made his retainers and chief dignitaries of the kingdom settle beside him.

Security was a major consideration in Charles's selection of seats. In 1317

¹¹ Eduard Mühle, ed., *Rechtsstadtgründungen im mittelalterlichen Polen* (Städteforschung, A 81) (Cologne–Vienna: Böhlau, 2011); Jiří Kejř, *Die mittelalterliche Städte in den Böhmisches Ländern* (Städteforschung, A 78) (Cologne–Vienna: Böhlau, 2010).

¹² Szende, "Power and Identity," 39–45. The classic study by Erik Fügedi, "Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok," [Medieval Hungarian towns privileges] *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 14 (1961), 17–107 (Reprinted in his *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek* [Mendicant friars, burghers, nobles] (Budapest, 1981), 238–311, 493–509, did not include Transylvania and Slavonia in its scope, which left Fügedi unaware of the patterns mentioned here.

¹³ Zsoldos, "Károly és a városok," 269.



1. Rulers' seats and residences in East Central Europe in the fourteenth century (map prepared by András Vadas)

the choice fell on Timișoara because its surroundings were the only substantial area in the county that was not controlled by any of the oligarchs – big enough for the mustering of armed forces and rich enough to make it possible to finance their upkeep. From here he could easily reach both Transylvania and the Transdanubian estates of the Kőszegi family, one of his chief opponents at that time.¹⁴ Six years later his choice fell on Visegrád by the Danube, where besides (or rather above) the urban palace the strong walls of the Upper Castle and the Lower Castle offered protection in times of danger. Nevertheless, this pattern of translocation was not unique to Charles, since even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries signs of fixed residence are still more or less sporadic in many parts of Europe. Settling on a definite location for a “capital city” is not a practice seen until the late Middle Ages or even beyond. In this respect Hungary shares similarities with the polities east and south of it. The example of Visegrád, where the private residences of the main judges and other dignitaries of the realm also served as agencies of state administration, still displays the archaic pattern of personal bonds between the ruler and his confidants.¹⁵

¹⁴ See more on this in Spekner, *Hogyan lett Buda*, 96–98.

¹⁵ Orsolya Mészáros, “Topography and Urban Property Transactions,” in Buzás, Laszlovszky, Mészáros, *The Medieval Royal Town at Visegrád*, 125–178. At the same time, some judiciary

This was apparently also the model that prevailed in the case of the seats of the Serbian, Bosnian, Moldavian and Wallachian rulers. For example, when the Moldavian princely court was transferred from Siret to Suceava, the great boyars and the high clergy also moved to the vicinity of the new seat.¹⁶ Likewise the seats of the French monarchs and their retinues changed time and again during the Hundred Years' War, and even as late as the second half of the fifteenth century the Habsburgs switched the sites of their courts between Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, Graz and Innsbruck.¹⁷

A peculiarity of Visegrád was, however, that Charles apparently realized that neither its surrounding area and layout nor its networking potentials were adequate for a stand-alone royal seat – far from being able to play the role of the economic and commercial centre of the country it could barely even provision itself. To make up for the latter drawback, he granted extensive privileges to Nagymaros, the *hospes*-community on the opposite bank of the Danube. Thus Nagymaros became a town under direct royal control, with rights including freedom of movement for its settlers; judicial autonomy with the free election of judges and a right of appeal to the king; free election of the priest of their own parish that was directly subordinated to the archbishop of Esztergom; right to fishing, the gathering of firewood and the harvesting of timber from the royal forest of Pilis; and country-wide exemption from tolls. This enabled Nagymaros, one of the few settlements that received their very first privileges from Charles, to both produce and procure food and other services for the royal court and the magnates of the realm.¹⁸

At the same time, it is worth noting that no evidence survives that either Timișora or Visegrád was granted an urban charter by Charles. Historical research so far has mostly explained this fact as being due to the large-scale destruction of written documents, which indeed happened, particularly in the Ottoman period and its aftermath. Nevertheless, the lack of privilegial charters can be ascribed in my view rather to the intentions of the king. Extensive liberties and civic autonomy may not have been desirable in a settlement that housed the royal

activity, especially the court of the vice-palatine, was located at Óbuda, see Spekner, *Hogyán lett Buda*, 112–119 and her extensive gazetteer on the locations of the various courts, *Ibid.*, 253–369.

¹⁶ Laurențiu Rădvan, *At Europe's Borders: Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 257–258; on Serbia and Bosnia: 87–103. On this pattern see also Katalin Szende, “Buda and the urban development of East Central Europe,” in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 526–553.

¹⁷ Peter Moraw, “Zur Mittelpunktfunktion Prags im Zeitalter Karls IV,” in Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, Klaus Zernack, eds, *Europa slavica – Europa orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1980), 445–489, here 446–447.

¹⁸ 1324. május 22: Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* I–XI (henceforth: CD) (Buda, 1829–1844), vol. VIII/2, 514–517.

court and the highest-ranking dignitaries, and in areas restricted by swamps in case of Timișora and by steep slopes and the Danube in case of Visegrád it did not make sense to offer inducements to attract high numbers of new settlers. Finally, the town charters included not only rights but also duties and obligations that would not have been generally applicable to the population of these places most of whom were noblemen and not citizens in the legal sense.¹⁹

However, in economic terms—and this refers back to the other deficiency of Visegrád – the real centre of the country was undoubtedly Buda. The city became ever more attractive under Charles I's and Louis I's reigns for settlers from other parts of the realm or abroad: from Vienna and particularly from Regensburg, which was the commercial capital of the entire Danube basin in the fourteenth century.²⁰ In 1331 Charles granted Buda the right to hold a second annual fair, which testifies to the growing volume of commercial exchange. This increase in wealth and population provided the background for the topographic development of the city and its suburbs.²¹ Buda's leading role is reflected by the fact that the "rights of Buda" became the most widespread and favoured points of reference for bigger and smaller settlements alike. Of course, this did not mean that all the rights and exemptions of Buda granted already by the Árpadian rulers, such as the staple right or the grants of annual fairs, automatically applied to these other places. It depended on the local circumstances how much of the broad framework offered by the 'rights of Buda' could be put into practice in specific contexts.²²

Diocesan sees

The second important group of cities to be considered besides the royal seats are the bishops' sees. As far as the Carpathian Basin itself is concerned, the process of founding bishoprics that commenced simultaneously with the establishment of royal power from the beginning of the eleventh century had been concluded and consolidated by the early twelfth century. King Ladislas I (1077–1095) "corrected" those choices among the ten early seats that did not stand the test of time by moving the bishopric of Bihar (Bihar) to Oradea

¹⁹ Mészáros, *Royal Town of Visegrád*, 90–92 offers a detailed survey of the privileges of Nagymaros, and assumes that Visegrád also had a similar charter; I elaborate my argumentation why this was not necessarily the case in Szende, "Mennyit ér a kiváltság?" 287–288.

²⁰ István Draskóczy, "Commercial Contacts of Buda along the Danube and beyond," in *Medieval Buda in Context*, 278–299.

²¹ CD VIII/7. 229, see also Boglárka Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok a középkori Magyar Királyságban* [Markets, fairs and staples in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary] (Budapest: MTA BTK TTI), 31–32; Spekner, *Hogyan lett Buda*, 75.

²² Fügedi, "Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok," 290–292.

(Várad) and adding a secondary seat to Kalocsa at Bač (Bács), and he founded a new bishopric at Zagreb; his successor Koloman (1095–1116) revived the old Moravian seat of Nitra (Nyitra). The network of twelve bishoprics thus established was denser and more evenly spread than in the other Central European polities, and served the needs of the Kingdom of Hungary adequately until the end of the Middle Ages.²³

The changes in the late Árpáadian and the Angevin period were twofold. First, a southward expansion can be observed, in step with the rulers' political and military goals.²⁴ The archbishopric of Kalocsa with its second seat at Bač served as a convenient point of departure for missionary activities into the Balkans, as approved by the Papacy and promoted by the kings of Hungary in their own interests. In the course of this process, first the bishopric of Srijem (Szerém) was established in Banoštor (Bánmonostor/ Kő) by Ugrin, archbishop of Kalocsa, in 1229 and revived after the Mongol invasion of 1241/42 with a second seat at Sremska Mitrovica (Szávaszentdemeter). Next, the bishopric of Bosnia was founded in 1233/34; the difficulties of this mission are clearly shown by the fact that its seat was outside the target area, namely at Đakovo (Diakovár), north of Bosnia itself. The next foundation, the archbishopric of Belgrade, existed briefly between 1290 and 1295 and was revived by Charles I in 1322 after he recaptured the Banate of Mačva. The missionary activities of these bishoprics were often carried out by the mendicant orders, and the bishops themselves were also often appointed from the ranks of the friars.²⁵ The southernmost such bishopric was that of Vidin, created in 1365 with the aim to convert the Orthodox population of Bulgaria parallel to Louis I's military expansion into that area; however, it ceased to exist in 1369 after the defeat of the king's army.²⁶ Due to the missionary nature of these bishoprics they did not serve as focal points of urban development unless other factors of urbanization, such as strategic importance and commercial activity, were also present.

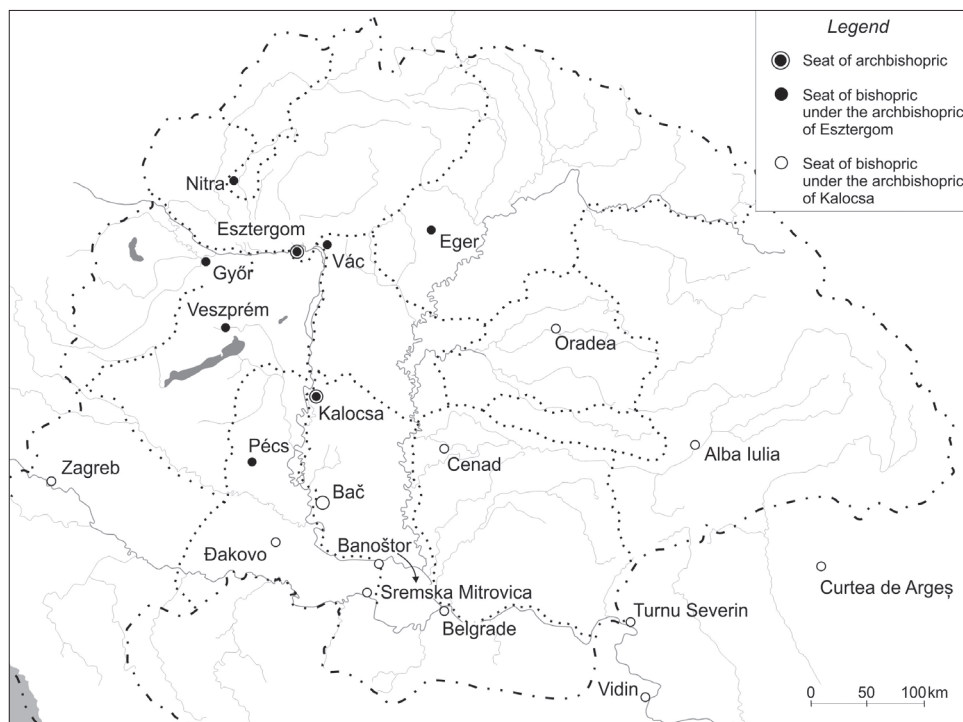
Louis I also made attempts, supported by Popes Gregory IX and Urban VI, to expand his influence through the spreading of the Catholic faith in Wallachia,

²³ Katalin Szende, András Vég, "Royal Power and Urban Space in Medieval Hungary," in Simms and Clarke, eds, *Lords and Towns in Medieval Europe* , 255–286, here: 258–260.

²⁴ Here I am not discussing the bishoprics and archbishoprics of Dalmatia which need to be considered in the full complexity on power-relations in the Eastern Adriatic. Ongoing research by Judit Gál and Mišo Petrović will shed new light on their development in this period.

²⁵ László Koszta, "Missziós püspökségek" [Missionary bishoprics], in Gyula Kristó, gen. ed., *Korai magyar történeti lexikon* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1994), 458–460; Péter Rokay, "Die Rolle Ungarns in der Verbreitung des westlichen Christentums (Katholizismus) in den südlichen Nachbarländern," in Klára Papp, János Barta, eds, *The First Millennium of Hungary in Europe* (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2002), 119–121.

²⁶ Engel, *Realm of St Stephen* , 164–165.



2. Bishop's seats existing or established by the kings of Hungary in the Angevin period, without the Dalmatian dioceses (note: the archbishopric of Kalocsa had two seats simultaneously: Kalocsa and Bač / Bács) (map prepared by András Vadas)

by establishing bishoprics in Severin (Szörény) in 1376, attached to the Banate of Severin, and in Curtea de Argeș to be in charge of the territory between the rivers Olt and Siret in 1382. These bishoprics, although set up seemingly with the approval of the voivode of Wallachia, did not outlive the death of Louis and were discontinued after the end of 1382.²⁷

The second important new trend in the Angevin period concerning the seats of bishoprics as urban centres was the increasing control over these cities exerted by the bishops. This was in clear contrast with the situation at the time of foundation, when the bishops owned only those parts of their towns that were directly connected to ecclesiastical functions. In nine cases out of the first twelve sees mentioned above, the bishop's seats were at the same time centres of secular administration, that is, seats of royal counties (*comitatus*). It was the kings' good will that decided how much of the settlements and their usufructs (tolls, customs, fishing rights, etc.) were donated to the church to complement

²⁷ Rădvan, *At Europe's Borders*, 244–245.

their extensive landed possessions. The ecclesiastical possessions were also usually divided between the bishop and one or more chapters.

The withdrawal of Hungarian royal authority from the bishops' seats started from the top, namely in the archbishop's seat of Esztergom, the head of the ecclesiastical organization in Hungary. In 1198, King Emeric (1196–1204) formally donated the still unfinished royal palace to the archbishop. In the 1250s the king and his retinue moved out for good, and the royal town was gradually taken over by the cathedral chapter. In 1239 King Béla IV even granted a charter to the archbishop of Esztergom that endowed the prelate with the right of establishing a new urban quarter by the Danube under the Cathedral Hill. The coexistence of separate parts under the jurisdiction—and most importantly, taxation—of the archbishop, the chapter and the king led to many conflicts especially in the first decades of the Angevin period.²⁸

Conversely, privileged charters granting civic rights to the royally-owned parts of bishops' towns are very few and far between. One of these is the privileged charter granted in 1248 to the civic settlement of Nitra as a reward for its burghers having provided the military retinue to King Béla IV on his flight from the Mongols to the Dalmatian coast. The autonomy and jurisdiction following the liberties of Fehérvár granted by this charter, however, was revoked in 1288 when the entire settlement including the landed properties donated to the city by the 1248 charter was ceded to the bishop's authority. Legal matters aside, the successful development of the civic settlement was impeded by topographical constraints, namely that the crossing over the River Nitra remained under the bishop's control. The transition was completed in 1336 when the entire county of Nitra was transferred from royal to episcopal overlordship.²⁹

Győr was another bishop's seat where royal and episcopal seigniorial power coexisted for a while. Here, on a strategic point overlooking the confluence of the Rába River and the Danube, Béla's son, Stephen V, initiated in 1271 the concentration of the previously dispersed settlement units into a city with a denser and more regulated ground plan, centred on a spacious oblong-shaped

²⁸ On the historical geography of Esztergom see in detail: György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, 4 vols [Historical geography of Hungary in the Árpád period] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1963–1998), vol. 2, 245–249; The 1239 privilege: András Kubinyi, ed., *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae*, vol. III/2 (Budapest: Balassi, 1997), 32–34; Boglárka Weisz, "Az esztergomi vám Árpád-kori története" [The history of the Esztergom toll station in the Árpadian period], *Századok* 137 (2003): 973–981. Conflict over jurisdictional authority and tax collection: 1315: Ferdinandus Knauz, Ludovicus Crescens Dedek, eds, *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis I–III* (Strigonii, 1874–1924), vol. II. 712–714; Act of violent trespass, 1324: *Ibid.*, III, 48–49.

²⁹ 1248: Richard Marsina, ed., *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I–II* (Bratislava: Obzor, 1970–1987), vol. II, 208–209; 1288: CD V/3, 417–419; 1336: CD VIII/4, 187–188.

market square. The turn of the thirteenth century was a period of transformation for Győr, when it turned from an administrative-military centre to a commercial one, becoming a hub of trade conveniently located on the Danube approximately half-way between Vienna and Buda. Here royal ownership lasted relatively long, indeed throughout the Angevin period, but by the end of the fourteenth century, and conclusively by 1440, the cathedral chapter took over the former royal *suburbium* with its river port and marketplace.³⁰

Zagreb was the only exception to this trend. There the royal town of Gradec that received its first charter from King Béla IV in 1242, immediately in the aftermath of the Mongol invasion, remained in royal hands (apart from short periods of pledging) throughout the Middle Ages. Gradec, walled as the result of its charter, was situated on the hilltop overlooking the episcopal city (the Kaptol) founded in the late eleventh century. The “twin cities” were in almost constant conflict with each other in the Angevin period, the largest bone of contention being the customs revenues to be collected at the bridge of the Sava River, outside both towns, and also after the wares deposited in the city.³¹ The hostilities even led from time to time to armed fights and bloodshed. Nevertheless, the Hungarian kings who gradually surrendered their presence in all other episcopal sees could not afford to leave Gradec to the bishops, because this was the place from where the entire province of Slavonia was governed and where their local governors, the bans (or occasionally princes) resided and held court. King Charles had a palace built on the hilltop, and so did his son, Prince Stephen, when he became prince of Slavonia in 1350.³² Furthermore, the town was a crucial stopover on the way to Dalmatia, the Adriatic and to Italy—including

³⁰ Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, vol. II, 595–600; Dénes Gabler, Eszter Szőnyi, Péter Tomka, “The settlement history of Győr (Arrabona) in the Roman period and in the Middle Ages,” in László Gerevich, ed., *Towns in Medieval Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1990), 9–25, esp. 22–25.; Lajos Gecsényi, “Győr középkori helyrajzához. Adatok és kérdőjelek” [The medieval topography of Győr. Data and question marks], *Győri Tanulmányok* 5 (1983): 29–45.

³¹ Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, *Entstehung und Geschichte Zagrebs bis zum Ausgang des 14. Jahrhunderts: ein Beitrag zum Städtewesen Südosteuropas im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1967); Ludwig Steindorff, “Das mittelalterliche Zagreb – ein Paradigma der mitteleuropäischen Stadtgeschichte,” *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen* 35 (1995): 135–145; Boglárka Weisz, *A királyketteje és is ispán harmada. Vámok és vámszedés Magyarországon a középkor első felében* [Two parts to the king and one to the count. Customs and toll collection in Hungary up to the middle of the fourteenth century] (Budapest: MTA BTK TTI, 2013), 437–438.

³² Bruno Škrebliin, “Ethnic groups in Zagreb’s Gradec in the Late Middle Ages,” *Review of Croatian History* 9 (2013:1): 25–59; Škrebliin, “Urban Elites and Real Estate in Medieval Town: Owners of Palaces in Medieval Gradec (Zagreb),” in Irena Benyovsky Latin, Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, eds, *Towns and Cities in the Croatian Middle Ages. Authority and Property* (Zagreb: Croatian Institute of History, 2015), 399–438.

Naples, the original homeland and political target of the Hungarian branch of the Angevins.

The prelates thus became overlords of practically all episcopal seats in the Kingdom of Hungary (apart from the royal town of Gradec in Zagreb). This meant that in legal terms the inhabitants of these cities were not full-right burghers but *jobagiones*, i.e. “tenant peasants,” of the bishops. This categorization, however, gives a distorted view of the urban character of these settlements, where the bishops often conducted a conscious commercial and settlement policy. This resulted in, for instance, the emergence of a new *civitas Teutonica* alongside the *civitas Hungaricalis* in Vác from the 1320s³³, and in the presence of free *hospites* in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) from the 1280s and foreign merchants in Pécs.³⁴ The richest bishop’s seat, Oradea, was the site of no less than twelve annual fairs by the end of the Middle Ages, in addition to being the most important pilgrimage centre in the country, namely to the grave of St. Ladislav.³⁵

These developments run contrary to those in other territories in Central Europe and (in different ways) to the rest of the continent. In the Czech and Polish lands practically all bishop’s seats were granted a settling charter (*locatio*) which established new settlement units under royal/princely control by inviting settlers there (see Table 1). This also reinforced the separation of royal and episcopal parts of those cities and limited the bishops’ control over the settlements as a whole. In many episcopal cities in the Holy Roman Empire, for instance in Cologne, developments took a different turn again. Here the burghers of (arch) bishops’ cities wrested liberties and even considerable autonomy for themselves; indeed at times they even forced the bishops to move out of the city and set up their residence on one of their properties in the countryside. This resulted in the strengthening of the central role of the cathedral cities in secular administration.³⁶

³³ András Kubinyi, “A középkori Vác 1526-ig,” [Medieval Vác up to 1526], in Vilmos Sági, ed., *Vác története I–II.* (Szentendre: PMMI, 1983), vol. I, 49–76; Mészáros, Serlegi, “The impact of environmental change,” 210–213.

³⁴ István Petrovics, “Foreign Ethnic Groups in the Towns of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages,” in Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy, Katalin Szende, eds, *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 67–89, here: 73–75; Chapters by László Koszta and István Petrovics in Márta Font, ed., *Pécs története II. A püspökség alapításától a török hódításig* [The history of Pécs. From the foundation of the bishopric to the Ottoman conquest] (Pécs: Kronosz, 2015), 53–66, 197–227.

³⁵ Katalin Szende, “*Civitas opulentissima Varadiensis*. Püspöki székhely és városfejlődés a középkori Váradon,” [Bishops’ see and urban development in medieval Várad], in Attila Zsoldos, ed., *Nagyvárad és Bihar a korai középkorban* [Oradea and Bihor in the Early Middle Ages] (Nagyvárad/Oradea: Varadinum Kulturális Alapítvány, 2014), 101–128. (Romanian version in preparation).

³⁶ Eberhard Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter*. Zweite Auflage (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 287–291.

Kingdom of Hungary		Kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland	
City	Charter	City	Charter
Veszprém	---	Prague old town	1234
Esztergom	1239 (to archbishop)	Prague Malá Strana	1257
Győr	1271 (b. 1440 to chapter)	Prague new town	1346
Alba Iulia	---	Olomouc	1239–46
Eger	---	Wrocław	b. 1242 / 1261
Kalocsa / Bač	---	Gniezno	1235
Pécs	---	Płock	1237
Cenad	---	Poznań	1253
Vác	---	Kraków	1257
Oradea	---	Kruszwica	1303, 1422
Zagreb	1242 Gradec		
Nitra	1248 (1288 to bishop.)		

Table 1: Chartering bishop's seats in Central Europe

County seats

By the beginning of the Angevin era the functioning of the county system, i.e. the system of local territorial governance, underwent significant changes. Instead of being local seats of central administration and strongholds of royal power (royal counties), the counties became the main judiciary organs of the autonomous local nobility (noble counties), although they still served as a means of mediating central orders to the local population. The county meetings could be held at almost any place and not necessarily where the former royal county castle had been built. In fact, towns with a growing degree of autonomy preferred not to become bases of the local nobility, the interests of which were so often contrary to those of the urban population. Indeed, all town charters granted exemption from the jurisdiction and authority of the *ispán* (*comes*), the leader of the county. Therefore former county centres feature less frequently among the emerging new towns.

It is hard to find a general rule as to why during the thirteenth century some former seats of royal counties retained their central role and even advanced to the rank of royal towns and others did not. For Sopron, the reason may have been the existence of stone fortifications going back to Roman times; for Pressburg (Pozsony, Bratislava) it may have been its role as border-fortress. Others again were inland centres in strategic locations, like Székesfehérvár; Timișoara and

Cluj (Kolozsvár), although in the latter case the new town developed a few kilometres away from the earlier fortress.³⁷

At the same time, county seats are good examples of how Charles's current political agenda and his promotion of towns became intertwined. Following the pacification of each territory that the king managed to win back from the oligarchs he immediately rewarded them with renewed prerogatives and with an extension of their boundaries through land donations in order to secure their loyalty. In turn, the leaders (judges) of the towns quickly recognized their chances to obtain favours for their towns and for themselves. Sopron, the "western gateway" (... *quia ipsa civitas Supruniensis pene in confinio Theutonie sita, quasi porta regni nostri appellatur* ...), for instance, had its privileges renewed in October/November 1317, April 1323 and January 1327, at times when Charles gained crucial victories over the Kőszegis, the oligarchs in the western part of the country. Already at the first instance the king also donated a substantial landed estate to Konrad, the judge of the town.³⁸

Pressburg's (Bratislava, Pozsony) charters were reconfirmed in 1313 and March 1323, parallel to Charles's struggles with the dukes of Austria for control over the Danube valley.³⁹ Likewise, in August 1316 the leaders of Cluj, in the middle of Transylvania, were able not only to regain their (although limited) liberties, but on this basis even to wriggle out from the overlordship of the bishop of Transylvania. The political motivation—the reward for taking the king's side against the former voivode of Transylvania—is clearly signalled in the justification of the charter (... *presertim novissime istis temporibus contra nostros emulos procedendo*). The extension of the liberties of Cluj in July 1331 was also connected to a recent military and political event, namely the king's ill-fated Wallachian campaign.⁴⁰ The same year saw the extension of the liber-

³⁷ The issue of royal counties and urban development is discussed in detail in: Katalin Szende, "Von der Gespanschaftsburg zur Stadt: Warum, wie – oder warum nicht? Ein möglicher Weg der Stadtentwicklung im mittelalterlichen Ungarn," in Ferdinand Opll, ed., *Stadtgründung und Stadtwerdung. Beiträge von Archäologie und Stadtgeschichtsforschung* (Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 2011), 375–405.

³⁸ Jenő Házi, ed., *Sopron szabad királyi város története. Oklevelek* [The history of the free royal town of Sopron. Charters], vols I/1–II/6 (Sopron: Székely és társa, 1921–1943), here vol. I/1, 26–28.

³⁹ 1313: Lubomír Juck, ed., *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku (1238–1350)* [Privileges of towns and market towns in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Veda Vydalel'stvo Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 1984) (henceforth: VMMS I) 84–85.

⁴⁰ 19 August 1316: Elek Jakab, ed., *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez* [Cartulary to vol. I. of the History of Cluj] (Buda: MTA, 1870) I, 31–33; 10 July 1331: Ibid., 41–42.; on the Wallachian campaign: Engel, *The Realm*, 134–136.

ties of Stary Tekov (Bars), in the central part of northern Hungary, following the consolidation of this region. The king even ordered two formerly separate satellite villages of the former county centre, Csütörtökhely and Szombathely, to be attached to Stary Tekov; but this union did not prove successful in the long run.⁴¹

These notable examples, however, should not overshadow the fact that most county seats had lost their significance by the end of the thirteenth century. The considerations that lead to their site selection in the tenth and eleventh centuries—first and foremost defensibility and local prestige—in most cases did not fit the criteria for commercially oriented towns of the thirteenth century and later. Some county centres retained their roles as local marketplaces and later developed into market towns, others carried on as villages, while a few became completely abandoned in the course of the Middle Ages. Although no systematic comparative research has been conducted, the example of the territory of Poland shows that there was a considerable reorganization during the thirteenth century (earlier in Silesia, later in the principalities further east). This, however, did not mean the degradation of the former *Kastellaneiburgen* to insignificant settlements, but rather their functional, spatial and legal reorganization, as well as the addition of further new towns in-between the former centres in order to consolidate the network of central places.⁴²

Merchant towns

'Merchant towns' is not such a clear-cut category as any of the previously discussed groups of towns. Commercial activity was much too flexible and mobile to be confined within the centres of lay and church administration discussed above. To be sure, the exchange of commodities took place in specifically designated locations already in the Árpáadian period. There were markets beside each county seat, and the bishop's seats often included more than one marketplace and/or fairground where commodities could be exchanged. The main venues of commercial activity were still the weekly markets, the growing number of which was coupled by the increase in the number of toll stations set up along the roads between these markets. Besides, villages named after the days of the week clearly indicate that their most distinctive function was to hold weekly markets.⁴³ The only such place that joined the rank of free royal towns

⁴¹ Reissuing Béla IV's charter from 1240 on 3 February 1324: VMMS I, 101; new charter on 24 April 1331: VMMS I, 118; see also Fügedi, *Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok*, 262–263.

⁴² Sławomir Moździoch, "Zur Genese der Lokationsstädte in Polen in stadtgeschichtlicher Sicht," in Hansjürgen Brachmann, ed., *Burg – Burgstadt – Stadt. Zur Genese mittelalterlicher nichtagrarischer Zentren in Ostmitteleuropa* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 149–160.

⁴³ See the detailed gazetteer of these places in Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok*, 133–176.

and received a charter (as early as 1238) was Trnava (Nagyszombat), but in the Angevin period other such places, as well as some called *vásárhely* ('market-place'), started to emerge as regional centres: Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely), Târgu Secuiesc (Kézdivásárhely) and Mercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda) in Transylvania; Rimaszombat (Rimavská Sobota) and Dunaszerdahely (Dunavská Sreda) in Upper Hungary (today Slovakia); and Muraszombat (Murská Sobota) in southern Hungary (now in Slovenia).

As far as commercial privileges granted by the kings are concerned, Charles's reign was a transitional period.⁴⁴ Holding weekly markets was so much a matter of course both for villages and towns that it was not necessary to allude to it in the privileges. The only exception to this rule was the common privilege of the four towns in Maramureş which were at the initial stage of urban development. In the case of Kosice Charles granted a privilege for a second weekly market (held on Sundays besides the older one on Thursdays) due to the increased demand.⁴⁵

At the same time annual fairs in the early Angevin period were not so common that cities and towns would have made a special effort to obtain royal grants to hold them. The three most important sites of annual fairs, Fehérvár, Zagreb and Buda, received such grants already in the Árpáadian period, but other important sites received this right only during the reign of Louis I: Sopron and Pressburg in 1344, Košice in 1347, Bardejov (Bártfa) in 1352, Bistriţa (Beszterce) in 1353, Žilina (Zsolna) in 1357, Braşov (Brassó) in 1364, and about a dozen more. It is important to point out, however, that the majority of annual fairs (many of them in relatively small settlements) were instated in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁴⁶ A new element of royal commercial policy was the granting of staple rights to Levoča (Lőcse) in 1331. This measure was also extended to select places such as Buda, Győr and Zagreb already in the Árpáadian era but was revived on a large scale only later. Louis I. was mainly concerned with the Saxon towns of Transylvania in this respect, while Sigismund used it as a tool to increase royal incomes anywhere in the country where he expected to derive customs revenues or extraordinary taxes from the cities in question. These regulations had a substantial impact on

⁴⁴ András Kubinyi, "A belkereskedelem a késő középkori Magyarországon" [Internal trade in late medieval Hungary], in András Kubinyi, József Laszlovszky, Péter Szabó, eds, *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon: gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet* [Economy in medieval Hungary. Economic history, material culture, archaeology] (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2008), 234–239; István Tringli, "Vásártér és vásári jog a középkori Magyarországon" [Marketplace and market rights in medieval Hungary], *Századok* 144 (2010): 1291–1344.

⁴⁵ Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 218–219.

⁴⁶ See the data and source references in the gazetteer in Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok*, 133–176.



3. The legal standing of the former centres of royal counties in the Angevin period (note: this map shows the medieval Hungarian names of the county seats, because they are usually identical with the names of the historical counties) (map prepared by András Vadas)

the development of individual towns as well as the urban network, and these changes were strongly bound up with the intensification of long-distance trade after the first decades of the fourteenth century. Towns that had been primarily preoccupied with expanding their boundaries and amassing landed properties: arable lands, woodlands and vineyards, now became merchant towns in the strict sense of the word. They were usually close to the borders of the kingdom, for instance Sibiu (Szeben, Hermannstadt), Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schässburg) and, further to the south-east, Brașov (Brassó, Kronstadt) in Transylvania – places where local conditions and the demands of long-distance trade favoured the emergence of new centres. Further examples are the towns of Košice, Bardejov, Prešov (Eperjes), Levoča and Sabinov (Kisszeben) in the north-east of the country.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok*, 54–75; Katalin Szende, “Towns along the way. Changing patterns of long-distance trade and the urban network of medieval Hungary,” in Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, eds., *Towns and Communication. Volume 2: Communication between Towns* (Lecce: Mario Congedo Editore, 2011), 161–225, esp. 196–221.

Mining towns

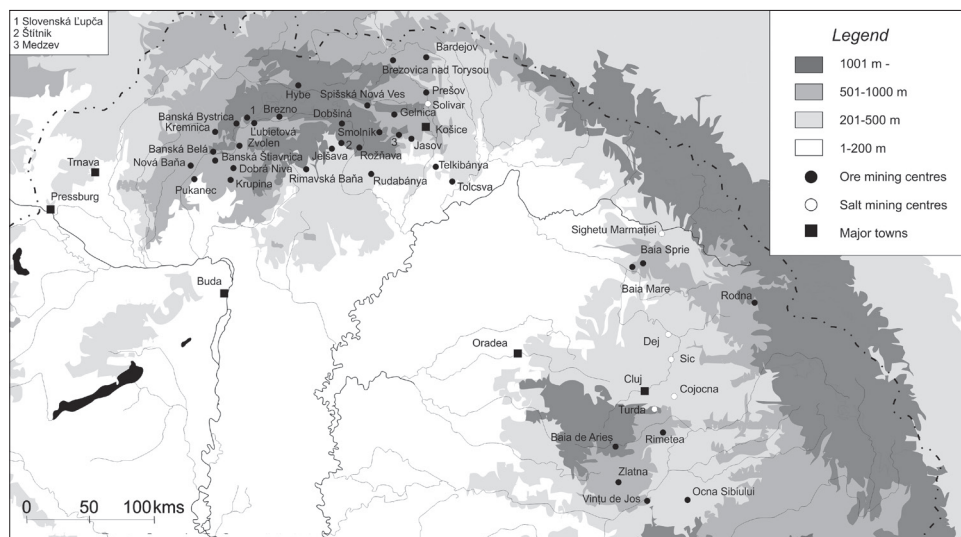
Notwithstanding all the changes discussed above, the most important achievement of the Angevin period in terms of urban development was the conscious promotion of mining towns. With Hungary providing about one-third of Europe's silver production and at least 80 per cent of its gold until the Age of Discovery, the importance of the mining towns and their contribution to the wealth of their respective regions can hardly be overestimated. The exploitation of these resources necessitated the establishment of several new settlements in Upper Hungary and Transylvania, practically all with an urban character. These were not an unprecedented phenomenon in Charles's period. The most important deposits of silver and copper at Rodna (Radna), Banská Štiavnica (Selmecebánya), Banská Bystrica (Bsztercebánya), Spisiská Nova Ves (Igló), Rožnava (Rozsnyó), Rimavska Bana (Rimabánya) had already been discovered during the thirteenth century or even before, and the Árpáadian kings had issued a number of privileges to attract skilled workforces to these places;⁴⁸ Charles did not neglect these towns either. He confirmed the 1287 privileges of Gelnica (Gölnicbánya) in 1318, and had the 1255 charter of Banská Bystrica transcribed in 1340.⁴⁹ Prospecting for ores was also included in the charters of those settlements which had not been known for mining before, both on royal properties and on private lands.⁵⁰

By the end of Charles's reign the concept of *civitas montana* became a separate urban category from the legal, administrative and economic points of view alike. His monetary reform necessitated the promotion and conscious support of gold mining towns in particular. This shift in emphasis comes through in the issuing of grants: the mining towns privileged for the first time by Charles were first and foremost centres of gold mining and production (*aurifodina*) chartered simultaneously with or shortly after the introduction of gold coinage in 1325.

⁴⁸ Oszkár Paulinyi, "Tézisek Magyarország bányagazdálkodásáról" [Theses on the economy of mining in Hungary], in his *Gazdag föld – szegény ország. Tanulmányok a magyarországi bányaművelés múltjából* [Rich soil – poor country. Studies the past of mining in Hungary] (Budapest: Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, 2005), 335–350, with the list of the main mining settlements: 343–344; Boglárka Weisz, "Mining Town Privileges in Angevin Hungary," *Hungarian Historical Review* 2 (2013:2): 288–312. For further studies see Balázs Nagy, "The Study of Medieval Foreign Trade of Hungary: A Historiographical Overview," in Philipp Robinson Rössner, ed., *Cities – Coins – Commerce. Essays presented to Ian Blanchard on the occasion of his 70th birthday* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012), 65–76.

⁴⁹ 29 August 1318: VMMS I, 91; 11 November 1340: VMMS I, 130; on Banská Bystrica see Martin Štefánik, "Die Anfänge der Slowakischen Bergstädte. Das Beispiel Neusohl," in Karl Heinrich Kaufhold, Wilfried Reininghaus, ed., *Stadt und Bergbau* (Cologne, Vienna, Weimar: Böhlau, 2004), 295–312.

⁵⁰ See some examples in CD VIII/1, 259–260 (24 July 1308); the charter of Ružomberok (Rózsahegy), 14 November 1340: VMMS I, 132–133.; Weisz, "Mining town privileges," 292–293.



4. Mining towns in Hungary in the Angevin period (map prepared by András Vadas)

These included Baia de Arieș (Aranyosbánya or Offenbánya, *Ouumberg*) in Transylvania in 1325⁵¹, and Smolník (Szomolnokbánya) that received the rights of Banská Štiavnica, perhaps in order to prepare the place for one of the royal minting chambers.⁵² Most likely Baia Mare (Nagybánya) also received its first privileges in the late 1320s, which were confirmed by Louis I in 1347 after the original perished in a fire.⁵³ Smaller gold mines also operated at smaller, privately owned towns, Telkibánya (1341) and Vyšná Boca (Bocabánya).⁵⁴ The most significant new mining town endowed with privileges by Charles in 1328 was beyond doubt Kremnica (Körmöcbánya), which was to play a key role in the minting and monetary administration of the country for several centuries to come. The royal contribution to the development of the settlement was best expressed by the device of its seal: +S·CIVITATIS·REGIS·KAROLI·DE·CREMNICIA, preserved on a charter from 1331.⁵⁵

⁵¹ 14 June 1325: Franz Zimmermann et al., eds, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, 7 vols. (Hermannstadt–Cologne–Vienna–Bucharest, 1892–1991) (henceforth: UGDS), vol. 1, 395–396.

⁵² 21 May 1327: VMMS I. 110–111, donation of forest property, before 3 July 1338: VMMS I, 127–128.

⁵³ 29 May 1329: Gusztáv Wenzel, *Magyarország bányászatának kritikai története* [The critical history of mining in Hungary] (Budapest: MTA, 1880), 410; renewed in 1347: CD IX/1, 497–503.

⁵⁴ 19 July 1341: Wenzel, *Magyarország bányászatának*, 346, 5 and 27 August 1341: Ibid., 348–349; Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 88.

⁵⁵ 17 July 1331: National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, Collection of Diplomatic Photographs (MNL OL DF) 250 152, reproduced in Szende, “Mennyit ér a kiváltság,” 306.

The mining towns did not follow the usual trajectory of urban development, but had to be established at places where the respective ores occurred. These communities, being based on one single branch of the economy, were not particularly strong at the outset and were further burdened with having to sustain the offices and officials of the royal monetary administration. The institutions of local autonomy and the connections of these towns to country-wide commercial networks were strengthened only after Charles's time, during the reigns of Louis I and Sigismund. The autonomy of the mining towns was restricted because of the presence of representatives of royal authority, the Counts of the Chamber (*Kammergrafen*).⁵⁶

The mining of precious metals was a burgeoning activity in other parts of Central Europe, too, especially in Bohemia in the fourteenth century. In this case one can speak not only of parallel developments but of direct contacts. Models were taken from abroad and miners migrated from one region to the other. Expertise from abroad was even acknowledged by the king: contrary to the general practice of adopting the liberties of Hungarian towns as models for newly chartered towns in the country, in mining towns it was acceptable to look for models from abroad. The initial population and workforce of Kremnica came partly from Kutná Hora and was most likely provided by an agreement between Charles and John, King of Bohemia. Besides such expertise Kremnica also imported the legal system of its model, because its charter ordered that all legal issues be settled according to the laws of Kutná Hora, just as in case of Banská Štiavnica, which followed the laws of Jihlava (Iglau).⁵⁷

Compared to towns involved in the mining of precious metals, those connected to salt-mining received relatively less attention by the kings. The production of salt continued according to the conditions developed in the thirteenth century. The privileges of Dej (Dés) were confirmed in 1310 and those of Turda (Torda) in 1315 and 1331.⁵⁸ There are even two counterfeit charters of Dej, forged around 1322, which were intended to strengthen the participation of the town in the salt trade. The leaders of the town decided to forge charters dating back to 1236 and 1261 respectively, thus imbuing the documents with age-old authority, instead of directly approaching King Charles who guarded

⁵⁶ Weisz, "Mining town privileges," 296–297.

⁵⁷ This concept has been elaborated by Martin Štefánik, "Die Privilegierung der Kremnitzer Bevölkerung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Münzer-Privilegien und ihre sozioökonomischen Zusammenhänge (1328–1526)," in Angelika Westermann, ed., *Montanregion als Sozialregion* (Husum: Matthiesen Verlag, 2012), 437–456. The agreement between the kings: 13 February 1327: CD VIII/3, 192–198; the privileges: 17 November 1328: VMMS I, 115–116.

⁵⁸ 8 December 1310: UGDS I, 297–29; 27 and 28 August 1331: UGDS I, 446–447; see also Weisz, *A királyketteje*, 124–125.

royal monopolies with great rigour.⁵⁹ An additional region of salt-mining, Maramureş (Máramaros) with five small salt-mining towns, started to develop around the turn of the thirteenth century, but documentary evidence only refers to this activity from 1355 onwards.⁶⁰

Private towns

The Angevin era saw the rise and spread of secondary centres of distribution, which were mostly in the hands of private landowners. The ranks of such centres were increased by the initiative of several leading magnates of the country who wished to promote settlements on their estates, just as the kings did on royal land. The trend was set by an 'old family' of oligarchs, the Kőszegis, who issued a privilegial charter to their eponymous centre, the small-town-cum-castle Kőszeg sometime around the turn of the thirteenth century – a charter that Charles I reissued and augmented in 1328 when he defeated the Kőszegis and won Kőszeg to himself.⁶¹ After the consolidation of royal power, the loyal 'new aristocracy' elevated by the king took the opportunity to develop their estate centres into towns with the king's consent. The first among these was Master Doncs, count of Zólyom, who asked for the confirmation of the old royal privileges for the settlers living on his estate at Hybe (Hibbe), and himself issued a charter to his new town named Ružomberok (Rózsahegy) based on the liberties of the royal town of Slovenská Ľupča (Zólyomlipcse).⁶²

The charters issued to these towns, however, were not enough in themselves to drive urban growth, as the example of Tamás Szécsényi, voivode of Transylvania, shows. Being one of Charles' favoured retainers, he managed to obtain royal privileges for three of his towns, Gyöngyös, Rimavská Sobota (Rimaszombat) and Szécsény on the same day, 5 May 1334⁶³, giving them the

⁵⁹ Zsigmond Jakó, "Újabb adatok Dés legrégibb kiváltságlevelének kritikájához" [New data on the critique of the oldest charters of Dej], in his *Társadalom, egyház, művelődés. Tanulmányok Erdély történelméhez* [Society, church, culture. Studies on Transylvanian history] (Budapest: METEM, 1997), 9–27.

⁶⁰ László Szabolcs Gulyás, *Városfejlődés a középkori Máramarosban* [Urban development in medieval Maramureş] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2014), 60–61; István Draskóczy, "Só a középkori Magyarországon" [Salt in medieval Hungary], in Kubinyi, Laszlovszky, Szabó, eds, *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás*, 147–162, here: 150.

⁶¹ 3 June 1328: Hans Wagner, Irmtraut Lindeck-Pozza et al., eds, *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete der Komitate Wieselburg, Ödenburg und Eisenburg*, 5 vols (Graz–Cologne–Vienna: Böhlau, 1955–1999), vol. IV, 34–37.

⁶² 26 November 1318: VMMS I, 91–92, see Ferdinand Uličný, "Listina prav mesta Ružomberka z roku 1318" [The privilegial charter of Ružomberok issued in 1318], *Slovenska archivistika* 19 (1984: 2): 134–140.

⁶³ István Draskóczy, "Gyöngyös település- és birtoklástörténete a középkorban" [The settlement

liberties of Buda (by then the most important town in the country) and the right to build stone walls. Very little of this, however, was set into practice. Two other small private towns owned by Dominic of the Ács kindred, Plešivec (Pelsőc) and Štítník (Csetnek), received liberties modelled on the charter of Krupina (Korpona, Karpfen). One of the main prerogatives in their charter was the right to hold high justice (blood court);⁶⁴ however, the two settlements were hardly bigger than villages. This cautions us against considering high justice as a sole defining criterion for advanced urban centres. The judicial liberties of Krupina were extended to Martin (Turócszentmárton) and Slovenská Lupča in 1340 as part of a transformation process of a former large royal domain to 'regular' counties that needed to have their respective centres.⁶⁵ Areas open for establishing new settlements of *hospites* (settlers) with the intention of increasing the extent of cultivated areas were mainly situated in the northern and north-eastern peripheries of the country, in counties Zólyom, Liptó, Túróc and Máramaros. At the outset it was not determined whether newly settled lands through the process of *melioratio terrae* were intended to have a rural or urban character.⁶⁶ It depended on developments in the following decades whether these freshly privileged settlements could establish themselves as towns. The growing importance of connections towards Poland and Silesia, as well as the right to set up workshops of certain basic crafts (blacksmith, butcher, brewer, baker, shoemaker) definitely aided in this respect. A significant difference compared to Silesia, Poland and Ruthenia is, however, that *locatio* (settling) under the guidance of a *Schultheiss* or *Vogt* was confined to these peripheral lands in Hungary and was by no means the main way of founding or privileging towns. A more spectacular development of private towns and market towns in Hungary took off in the decades following Charles' death due to the intention of the landowning nobility to make the centres of their estates more profitable and prestigious.

history and ownership of Gyöngyös in the Middle Ages], in Péter Havassy, Péter Kecskés, eds, *Tanulmányok Gyöngyösről*. (Gyöngyös: Gyöngyös város tanácsa, 1984), 91–128.

⁶⁴ 21 April 1328: VMMS I, 112–113.; László Örs Kolmann, "Szempontok az észak-gömöri központi helyek középkori és kora újkori fejlődésének vizsgálatához" [The development of central places in northern Gömör in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period], in Tibor Neumann, ed., *Várak, templomok, ispotályok. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Castles, churches, hospitals. Studies on the Middle Ages in Hungary] (Budapest–Piliscsaba: Argumentum–PPKE, 2004), 99–101, 112–113.

⁶⁵ Martin: 3 October 1340: VMMS I, 130; Slovenská Lupča: 11 November 1340: VMMS I, 130–131; Ružomberok: 14 November 1340: VMMS I, 132–133.

⁶⁶ Adrienne Körmeny, *Melioratio terrae. Vergleichende Untersuchungen über die Siedlungsbewegung im östlichen Mitteleuropa im 13–14. Jahrhundert* (Poznań: PTPN, 1995).

Conclusions

This cursory survey it has shown that different elements of the urban network of Hungary experienced different trajectories during the examined period. On the whole, however, urban development both benefited from and contributed to the stabilizing of the rule of the Angevins in the first half of the fourteenth century. During his long and increasingly settled reign King Charles I turned consciously towards the towns. Although he may not have had a systematically planned urban policy in the modern sense of the word, his actions served to restore the functioning order and economic potential of his realm in the long run. His son, Louis I, inherited an already consolidated polity and was able to promote those aspects of the urban economy that proved to be the most profitable: mining and trade. Thus the kings' interests coincided with that of the towns, and measures taken by the monarchs through the granting of privileges or by regulating trade and customs provided—directly or indirectly—favourable conditions for urban development. At the same time, royal involvement with episcopal seats was more and more reduced, and by the early fifteenth century it was restricted to the city of Gradec (Zagreb). Meanwhile the noble elite followed the kings' example in promoting towns on their estates, a trend that started in the period examined here and continued well into the early modern period. A further aspect of urban development that was beyond the scope of this paper but would definitely merit closer examination is the increased building activity manifested by structures made of durable materials—this was indeed a time when towns started to be “built in stone.” This was made possible by investment on the part of the monarchs, of the noble families that owned the towns and of the burghers who belonged to the urban elite. Communal investment on a larger scale appeared only later.

CONTINUITATE ȘI SCHIMBARE ÎN REȚEAUA URBANĂ DIN UNGARIA ÎN PERIOADA ANGEVINĂ TIMPURIE

Rezumat

Studiul de față analizează noile caracteristici ale dezvoltării urbane în Ungaria perioadei angevine, mai cu seamă în timpul domniei lui Carol I (1301–1342). Studiul pune în discuție fondarea de noi orașe și reînnoirea sau schimbarea statutelor privilegiate ale celor vechi conform circumstanțelor politice și economice noi, precum și preferințele politicii urbane regale. În prima jumătate a secolului al XIV-lea, dezvoltarea urbană a beneficiat, în general și, totodată a contribuit la stabilizarea domniei Angevinilor, dar diferite elemente ale rețelei urbane din Ungaria au cunoscut traiectorii diferite. În această perioadă, regatul Ungariei nu a avut o singură „cetate-capitală”, iar Timișoara, Visegrád și Buda au servit ca

reședințe regale în diferite momente, datorându-și importanța prezenței regelui și a curții regale și mai puțin unor privilegii formale. Corelarea reședinței regale cu cele episcopale s-a redus treptat, astfel că în prima perioadă a secolului al XV-lea, s-a restrâns la orașul Zagreb. Mineritul și comerțul au fost cele mai rațional dezvoltate aspecte ale vieții urbane, ele dovedindu-se profitabile pe termen lung și în cadrul cărora interesele regilor coincideau cu cele ale respectivelor orașe.

TOWNS AND CENTRAL PLACES IN THE DANUBE-TISZA/TISA-MAROS/MUREŞ REGION IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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Keywords: Medieval Hungary, Medieval urban development, Danube-Tisza/Tisa-Maros/Mures Region

Cuvinte cheie: Ungaria medievală, dezvoltare urbană medievală, regiunea Dunăre-Tisa-Mureş

I. General features of urban development in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary

The first urban civilization in the Carpathian or Middle Danube Basin was created by the Romans who had occupied this region, with the exception which is now the Great Hungarian Plain, during the first and second centuries A.D.¹ The Roman towns of the provinces of Pannonia and Dacia were swept

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¹ *History of Transylvania* 3 vols. General editor Béla Köpeczi; eds. László Makkai, András Mócsy, Zoltán Szász, Gábor Barta, editor of the English translation Bennett Kovrig, (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Monographs-Highland Lakes, N.J: Atlantic Research and Publications – New York: Columbia University Press, 2001–2002), vol. 1, From the Beginnings to 1606, 42–132; Klára Póczy, *Pannoniai városok* [The towns of Province Pannonia] (Budapest, 1976); Radu Ardevan, *Viața municipală în Dacia Romană* (Timișoara, 1998). Hungarian and Romanian archaeologists and historians disagree with each other about the fate of the Romanized population of the towns of the provinces of Pannonia and Dacia. While Hungarian scholars deny the survival of the Romanized urban population, and consequently the continuity between the towns of Antiquity and those of the Middle Ages, Romanian scholars emphasize the survival of the Romanized Dacians. Thus they try to create a solid basis for the theory of Daco–Romanian continuity. In my opinion toponyms provide very simply but remarkably convincing evidence on this delicate question. With the exception of Savaria and Sirmium, the Latin names of the towns used in the Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, are not identical. This fact can be interpreted in only one way: the Romanized population either withdrew to Italy or perished during the Great Migrations. Consequently, topographic continuity can only be proved between the Roman towns and those of the Middle Ages in the Carpathian Basin. Cf.

away by the Great Migrations from the fifth to ninth centuries. The Hungarians who arrived in the Middle Danube Basin in the late ninth century and soon occupied the whole of this region, were semi-nomadic people.² Consequently, with the Hungarian Conquest (Hungarian: *Honfoglalás*, German: *Landnahme*) towns did not emerge automatically here.

Towns came into being as a result of a long social and economic development only after the establishment of the Hungarian state, which, in a symbolic sense, emerged with the coronation of the first Hungarian king, Saint Stephen on 1 January 1001. Medieval Hungarian towns, just like European towns, had two main characteristic features: first they combined the functions of a stronghold and that of an economic, mainly trading centre, and secondly, they enjoyed wide ranging autonomy. The latter meant that they had the right to elect their own magistrates, including the mayor and the aldermen – to use the English terms –, who were responsible for the management of the economic and administrative affairs of the town. Hungarian towns, however, had some very special features. In this respect it should be stressed that only a few dozens of them were fortified with stone walls in the later Middle Ages, and, some of them, enjoyed a wider range of self government than their western counterparts. This is proved by the fact that they had not only the right of electing the headman of the town who was named in Latin *iudex* (Hungarian: *bíró*, German: *Richter*), i.e. judge, and who was empowered by royal privilege with the right of administering justice, but they also had the right to elect their own parish priest.³ Moreover, *hospites*, i.e. foreign guests played a great role in the development of Hungarian towns.

In the history of Hungarian urban settlements two special stages can be distinguished: one period, that preceded, and the other, that followed the beginning of the thirteenth century. Urban-type settlements in Hungary functioned as important economic centres already before the beginning of the thirteenth century, but they did not enjoy real legal autonomy, and, from the topographic point of view, most of them were made up of two components the *castrum* and

István Petrovics, "Royal residences and urban development during the reign of the Anjou kings in Hungary," *Historia Urbana* V, nr. 1 (1997): 39–40.

² The Hungarian Conquest, i.e. the occupation of the Carpathian or Middle Danube Basin by the Hungarians, took place between 895 and 907 A. D. Gyula Kristó, *Hungarian history in the ninth century* (Szeged, 1996), 175–203.; Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 8–27.

³ András Kubinyi, "Városi szervezetek a középkori Magyarországon," [Urban organizations in medieval Hungary] *Honismeret* 21, no. 6 (1993): 16–17; András Kubinyi, "A középkori Magyarország városfejlődése," [The Urban development of Medieval Hungary] *Rubicon* 4, nos. 8–9 (1993): 17. See also István Petrovics, "Foreign Ethnic Groups and Urban Development in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: the Cases of Temesvár/Timișoara and Szeged," *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Șincai”* Tîrgu Mureș XII (2009): 199–200.

the *suburbium*, or had a spatially divided structure, where craftsmen, merchants and administration were not placed in a closed territorial unit, but in smaller separate settlements. This is why these localities are referred to in recent scholarly literature as *pre-urban* or *proto-urban towns*. Among them were royal seats: Esztergom, Fehérvár, Óbuda, sees of archbishoprics and bishoprics: Esztergom, Kalocsa, Pécs, Eger, Csanád (today Cenad, Romania), Várad (today Oradea, Romania) etc., and comital castles: Csongrád, Bács (today Bač, Serbia) Vasvár etc. where the royal officials of the counties (the *comites*) had their seats.⁴

The thirteenth century, primarily the years following the Mongol invasion of 1241/2, brought several serious changes in the socio-political and economic life of the kingdom. This is the time when the elements of money economy⁵ emerged in Hungary, and the realm, parallel with the decline of the trading contacts with Kiev and Constantinople, became an integral part of the western European economy. Links tying Hungary to Germany and Italy had become ever closer. These fundamental socio-economic changes, together with the royal grants of urban charters, brought about the emergence of “real towns” in great numbers in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.⁶

It is evident, that even pre-urban towns frequently had *hospes* communities, but the number of foreign guests only increased significantly after the Mongol Invasion. The *hospites* were partly Romance speaking people, to whom the Hungarian sources in the Latin language referred to as *Latini*, *Gallici* and *Italici*. They were followed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by Germans (*Teutonici* and *Saxones*). In contrast with the Latin guests, the immigration of the Germans, in the long run, turned out to be much more significant and from the second part of the thirteenth century German ascendancy became obvious in most of the towns of the Hungarian Kingdom.⁷

⁴ Erik Fügedi: “Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok,” [Medieval Hungarian urban privileges] and Erik Fügedi, “Városok kialakulása Magyarországon” [The making of towns in Hungary], in Erik Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek* [Mendicant friars, burghers, nobles] (Budapest, 1981), 238–335; László Gerevich, ed., *Towns in medieval Hungary* (Budapest, 1990); András Kubinyi, “A magyar várostörténet első fejezete,” [The first chapter of the history of towns in Hungary], in Csaba Fazekas, ed., *Társadalomtörténeti Tanulmányok: Studia Miskolcinsia*, vol. 2 (Miskolc, 1996), 36–46.

⁵ Money economy is a system or stage of economic life in which money replaces barter in the exchange of goods.

⁶ Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The last kings of the Árpád dynasty] (Budapest, 1993), 223–41; Katalin Szende, “Was there a bourgeoisie in medieval Hungary?,” 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, 1999), 446; Engel, *The realm of St Stephen*, 111–113.

⁷ For further details see Erik Fügedi: “A befogadó: a középkori magyar királyság,” [Medieval Hungary as a welcoming kingdom], in Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok*, 398–418; György Györffy, “A

From the thirteenth century onwards the term *hospes* primarily referred not to foreign immigrants, but to such persons who during the process of colonization had acquired a special legal status, but were not necessarily of foreign origin. This fundamental change meant that anybody enjoying that special legal status – regardless of ethnic origins – could be referred to as a *hospes*. Thus, in addition to the Latins and the Germans, Hungarians, Armenians and Slavic people were also among the *hospites*. The dominant impact of guests in the evolution of the burghesses is demonstrated, among others, by the fact that the most commonly used phrase of the charters referring to burghers was: *cives et hospites*.

It is also a sign of changes that conscious royal policy aiming at fostering urban development in Hungary dates from the 1230s. It was King Béla IV (1235–1270) who issued the first charters securing urban privileges to localities in Hungary: Fehérvár: 1237, Nagyszombat (today Trnava, Slovakia): 1238. The consequences of the Mongol invasion accelerated this royal policy, as a result of which the number of real towns, that is settlements which enjoyed wide-ranging legal autonomy, increased significantly. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some 50 settlements were granted royal charter in Hungary. This number refers, on the one hand, only to those localities which were situated in Hungary proper, that is north of the River Drava (in other words Dalmatian and Slavonian towns are not included in this number), and, on the other hand, which were not ecclesiastical centres (“archi/episcopal towns”).⁸

székesfehérvári latinok betelepülésének kérdése,” [The settling of Latin guests in Székesfehérvár], in *Székesfehérvár évszázadai* [Centuries of Székesfehérvár], vol. 2 (Székesfehérvár, 1972), 37–44; András Kubinyi, “Zur frage der deutschen Siedlungen im mittleren Teil des Königreichs Ungarn (1200–1541),” *Vorträge und Forschungen*, Bd. XVIII (1975): 527–66; György Székely, “A székesfehérvári latinok és vallonok a középkori Magyarországon,” [The Latins and Walloons of Székesfehérvár in medieval Hungary], in *Székesfehérvár évszázadai* [Centuries of Székesfehérvár], vol. 2, (Székesfehérvár, 1972), 45–72; István Petrovics, “A korai magyar városfejlődés és az idegen jog,” [Early Hungarian urban development and foreign law], in *Régi és új peregrináció, magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon* [Old and new peregrination, Hungarians abroad, foreigners in Hungary]. Papers of the Third International Congress on Hungarian Studies, (Szeged, 1993), 267–271; *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)* [Early Hungarian historical lexicon. Ninth to fourteenth centuries], ed. in chief Gyula Kristó, eds Ferenc Makk and Pál Engel (Budapest, 1994) (henceforth *KMTL*), entries: ‘vallonok’, ‘olaszok’, ‘németek’; István Petrovics, “The fading glory of a former royal seat: the case of medieval Temesvár,” in Nagy and Sebők, ... *The Man of Many Devices*, 527–528. Engel, *The realm of St Stephen*, 69; István Petrovics: “Foreign ethnic groups in the towns of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages,” in Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende, eds, *Segregation-Integration-Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, Historical Urban Studies Series (Ashgate, 2009), 67–88.

⁸ Fügedi, *Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok*, 238–310; Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 50–61,

of the above facts not surprising, that within this semicircle in the southern part of Transdanubia, on the Great Hungarian Plain, and in the Temes region, towns can hardly be found.⁹ There are only two localities in this area which were towns of outstanding importance: Szeged and Pécs, the latter being, in fact, an *episcopal* seat.

The urban network of fifteenth century Hungary was constituted, above all, by 30 localities which were regarded as royal free towns. Among them were the mining towns of Selmec-, Körmöc-, Besztercebánya, Új-, Baka-, Béla-, Libetbánya (present-day Banská Štiavnica, Kremnica, Banská Bystrica, Nová Baňa, Pukanec, Banská Belá, Ľubietová – all in Slovakia), and Nagybánya (present-day Baia Mare, Romania), and the towns of the Transylvanian Saxons: Nagyszében, Brassó, Beszterce, Medgyes, Szászsebes, Szászváros, Segesvár (present-day Sibiu, Braşov, Bistriţa, Mediaş, Oraştie, Sebeş, Sighişoara – all in Romania). However, the most illustrious group of the royal free towns was formed by the so called free royal or tavernical towns, represented by the 8 walled localities that came under the jurisdiction of the tavernical bench, headed by the *magister tavernicorum*: Buda, Sopron, Pozsony/Bratislava, Nagyszombat/Trnava, Kassa, Bártfa, Eperjes (present-day Košice, Bardejov, Prešov – all in Slovakia). Pest, the eighth town, due to its rapid development, joined this group, in all probability, in 1481, *i.e.* during King Matthias' reign. Another group was formed by those towns which could appeal to the court of the *personalis*, *i.e.* to the *sedes personalita*: Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Szeged and Lőcse, Szakolca, Kisszeben (present-day Levoča, Skalica, Sabinov – all in Slovakia). And last, but not least, the royal town of Zágráb/Zagreb on Mount Gradec or Grič (Latin: Mons Graecensis, Hungarian: Gréc) also belonged to the group of royal free towns.

Besides the ones mentioned above, there were many other towns in the realm, but these had already passed under private lordship, their inhabitants were not, therefore, considered free burghers. Some of these towns were fortified, as were Kőszeg, Kismarton, Szalónak (present-day Eisenstadt and Stadtschlaining, Austria), Trencsén, Beckó, Kézsmárk (present-day Trenčín, Beckov, Kežmarok – all in Slovakia), Siklós, or episcopal towns, therefore they were referred to as *civitates*, though, in fact, they were not free towns. However, the overwhelming majority of the towns belonged to the category of *oppida*, *i.e.* they were unwalled localities and were subject to seigneurial jurisdiction. Some of them were under the seigneurie of the king: Komárom (present-day Komárno, Slovakia), Tata, Nagymaros, or the queen: Óbuda, Ráckeve, Miskolc, Beregszász (present-day Berehove, Ukraine), and the 5 towns of the Máramaros/

⁹ Petrovics, *The fading glory*, 529; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 244–266.

Maramureş salt-region (divided today between Romania and Ukraine), others were subjected to secular or ecclesiastical lords.¹⁰

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from the facts presented above is that the town in the legal sense of the word should not be confused with the more general idea of the town as a commercial centre or as a central place. Until quite recently Hungarian historians worked under the influence of István (Stephen) Werbőczy who codified Hungarian customary law in the early sixteenth century.¹¹ Werbőczy put down in his famous work, *The Tripartitum*: “A city in fact is a great number of houses and streets, necessary walls and fortifications, privileged for a good and honest life”.¹² By stating this, Werbőczy became the ideological “father” of those scholars who later followed the legally defined concept of the medieval town.

Nevertheless, in the second half of the 20th century Hungarian historians have thrown off the last vestiges of legal and institutional definitions, so there is a general acceptance now that the town of the Middle Ages was a centre primarily of non-agricultural economic activities, characterized by a diversity of occupations, especially those involved in trade and industry, located in a permanent settlement of larger size and high density. Thus the social and economic life of the town has been recognized as its defining characteristic. In addition to the above mentioned features, English, German and French scholars, mostly historians, archaeologists and urban historical geographers, listed other very significant criteria as well: defences, a planned street-system, a role as a central place, a mint, plots and houses of urban types, complex religious organisation, a judicial centre etc.¹³

Unfortunately, in the case of medieval Hungarian towns many of these

¹⁰ Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 253–255, 262–264; András Kubinyi, “„Szabad királyi város” – „királyi szabad város”? [Free royal town – royal free town], *Urbs. Magyar Várostörténeti Évkönyv I* (2006): 51–61; István Petrovics, “Urban development during the reign of King Matthias: the cases of Szeged and Debrecen,” in Attila Bárány and Attila Györkös, eds, *Matthias and his legacy. Cultural and political encounters between East and West* (Debrecen, 2009), 215–216; László Szabolcs Gulyás, *Városfejlődés a középkori Máramarosban* [Urban development in medieval Maramureş], *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek* 280 (Kolozsvár, 2014).

¹¹ “Est autem civitas, domorum et vicorum pluralitas, moeniis, et praesidiis circumcincta necessariis, ad bene, honesteque vivendum privilegiata,” in *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts. Rendered by Stephen Werbőczy. (The Tripartitum)*. The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, vol. 5, Edited and translated by János M. Bak, Péter Banyó and Martyn Rady (Idyllwild CA: Charles Schlacks Jr. Publisher – Budapest: Central European University, 2005).

¹² *The Customary Law*, 388–389.

¹³ For a good summary of the question see: Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics. The origins of towns and trade AD 600–1000* (Duckworth, 1989²), 20–25.

criteria are missing. Consequently, a special method was required in Hungary, with the help of which urban type settlements could be defined and ranked. At first, following certain western European models¹⁴, scholars have focused only on one single criterion. Consequently, they have arrived at incorrect conclusions. Thus, it soon became evident, that a complex method is necessary when classifying urban and quasi-urban localities in Hungary, and when one seeks to determine how urbanised a certain settlement was. For this purpose the theory of central places seemed to be applicable. The theory of central places was developed by Walter Christaller in the 1930s in South Germany. It took, however, quite a long time before this aspect of urban functional relations and the inter-urban system were also investigated for different historic periods. Scholars, mostly historians, focussed initially on trade and marketing as major central functions, but later other aspects (social, political, judicial and cultural etc.) also became significant.

Despite many difficulties, András Kubinyi managed to make the concept of central places fit medieval Hungarian circumstances, and with the help of his research results it can easily be established how urbanised a certain settlement was. Kubinyi introduced certain 'bundles of criteria' into the discussion. Taking into consideration the special features of medieval Hungarian urbanisation, as well as, the peculiarities of the Hungarian written source material, he set up 10 categories for the investigation of major central functions. Within these categories Kubinyi scrutinized the following factors: local and central administrative functions, including both royal and noble residences; judicial functions, including the activity of places of authentications; monetary administration; ecclesiastical administration; church institutions, both monasteries of monastic orders (including chapterhouses) and convents of mendicant orders; number of students attending foreign universities, mostly those of Vienna and Cracow, between 1440 and 1514; number of craft and merchant guilds; the position of the locality as a traffic junction (staple right included); the number and frequency of weekly markets and annual fairs; the legal position of a certain locality, including terminology (*civitas*, *oppidum*, *civitas seu oppidum*) referring to the settlement. All these data can be quantified, therefore they give an objective picture about the different settlements. A certain locality could gain maximum 6 central place points in each category, and 10 times 6, *i.e.* altogether 60 points in Kubinyi's system.¹⁵

¹⁴ Erik Fügedi, for instance, adapted Le Goff's method to Hungarian circumstances. Let it suffice here to mention briefly that Le Goff assumed that the more mendicant convents a town had, the more developed it was.

¹⁵ András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* [Urban development and the network of markets on the Great Hungarian Plain and on its fringes in the

According to Kubinyi's estimation there were altogether 1200 central places in fifteenth century Hungary, of which only 180 to 200 can be regarded as urban type localities. However, the overwhelming majority of these places, approximately 150 settlements can be regarded as towns only in the economic sense of the world. To put it another way: medieval Hungarian central places can be ranked into eight categories¹⁶, of which only the localities belonging to the first four categories, and possessing minimum 16 central place points, can be regarded – functionally – as towns. In order to demonstrate Kubinyi's research results, we are going to mention a few examples for these categories. The numbers in brackets after the name of the individual towns are the numbers of the maximum 60 points that a locality could gain as a central place on Kubinyi's scale:

Category I: Towns of primary importance (41–60 central place points):

Buda (55); Pozsony/Bratislava (49); Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca (45); Kassa/Košice (43); Székesfehérvár (43); Szeged (42); Pest (41); Sopron (41); Várad/Oradea (41)

Category II: Towns of secondary importance (31–40 central palace points):

Pécs (39); Esztergom (38); Bártfa/Bardejov (33), Eperjes/Prešov (32), Temesvár/Timișoara (33)

Category III: Towns of minor importance and market towns (*oppida*) with major urban functions (21–30 central place points):

Nagybánya/Baia Mare (29); Lippa/Lipova (28); Debrecen (28); Csanád/Cenad (27), Kismarton/Eisenstadt (22)

Category IV: Market towns (*oppida*) with medium urban functions (16–20 central place points):

Kőszeg (19); Visegrád (17); Kisszeben/Sabinov (16)

Middle Ages] (Szeged, 2000) 7–94; András Kubinyi, "Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében," [The network of towns in the Carpathian Basin in the Late Middle Ages], in Enikő Csukovits and Tünde Lengyel, eds, *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13–17. században* [From Bártfa/Bardejov as far as Pozsony/Prešporok (Bratislava). Towns in the thirteenth–seventeenth centuries] (Budapest, 2005), 17–31. See also Szende, "Was there a bourgeoisie," 446–448.

¹⁶ Kubinyi determined these categories on the basis of a 16th-century Polish classification of towns. Category VIII in Kubinyi's system is reserved for those localities about which only incomplete data are known and therefore they cannot be associated with any of the seven categories set up by him. Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat*, 15–16, 95.

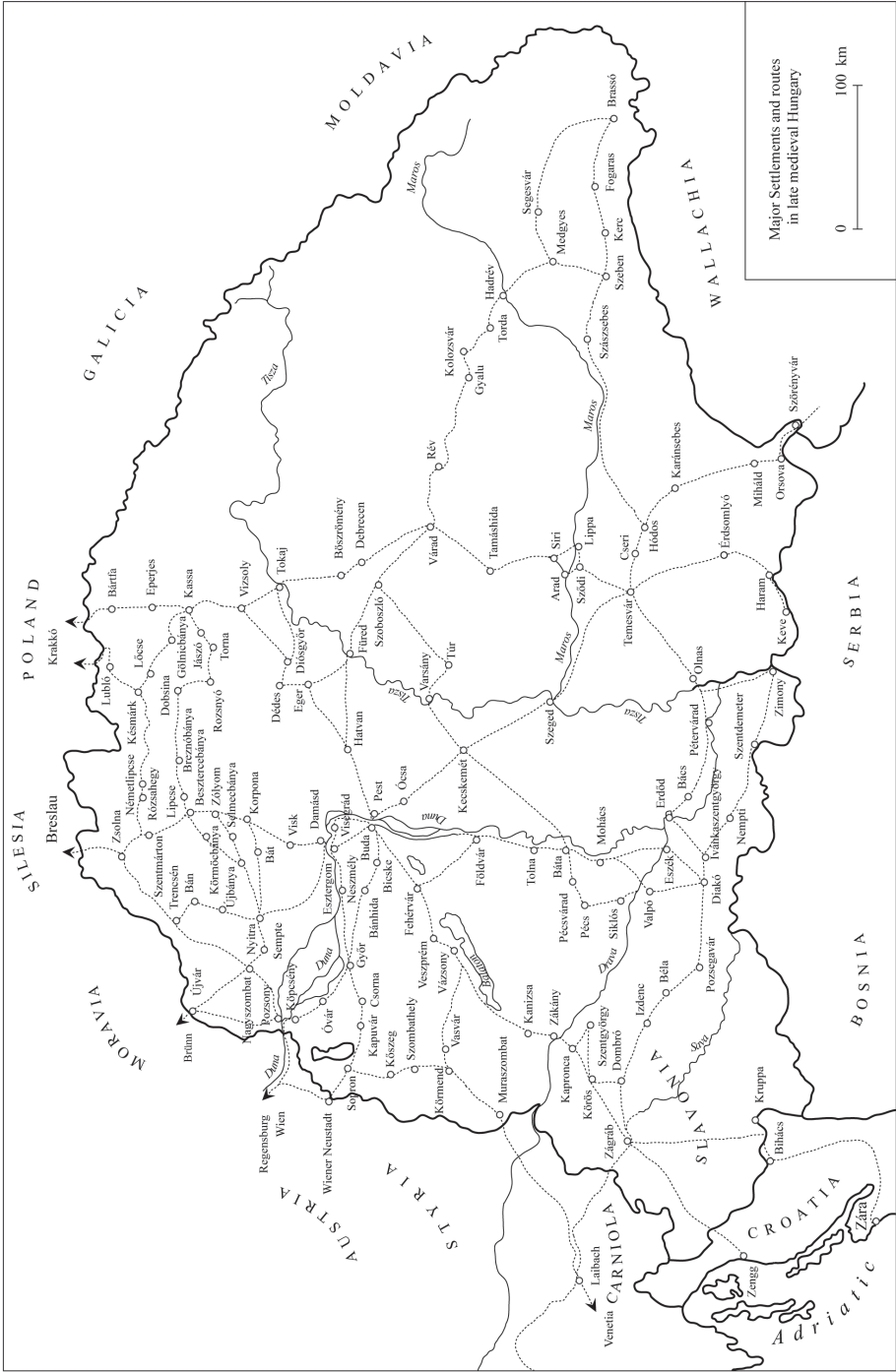


Figure 1. Major settlements and trade routes in late medieval Hungary

After KMTL p. 95. Early Hungarian Historical Lexicon, Bp. 1994.

Category V: Market towns (*oppida*) with partial urban functions (11–15 central place points):

Keve/Kovin (14), Lugos/Lugoj (12), Orsova/Orşova (11)

Category VI: Ordinary market towns (*oppida*) and villages with market town character (6–10 central place points):

Szódi/Frumușeni (10), Illyéd/Ilidia (9), Rékas/Recaș (7)

Category VII: Insignificant market towns (*oppida*) and villages with central functions (1–5 central place points)¹⁷:

Mácsalaka/Maşloc (4), Perjámos/Periam (3), Berekszó/Beregsău (4)

II. Urban Development in the Region between the the Rivers Danube, Tisa and Mureș (Hungarian: Duna–Tisza–Maros köz) in the Middle Ages

The Region

After this short survey of the history of towns and cities in medieval Hungary, it is possible now to proceed to the case of the towns and central places of the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureș Region.¹⁸ The area in question,

¹⁷ Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat*, 59–101; Kubinyi, “Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében,” 30. See also Petrovics: *Urban development during the reign of King Matthias*, 216–217.

¹⁸ After the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks between 1716 and 1718 the region bordered by the south-eastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain (Nagy Alföld), the rivers Maros/Mureș, Tisza/Tisa and Al-Duna (the Lower-Danube) and historic Transylvania was organised by the Viennese Court into a border/buffer zone with the name *banatus Temesiensis/Temesvariensis* (*Temescher/Temesvarer Banat*, i.e. *Temesi bánság* in Hungarian). From the early 18th century on, the region was frequently referred to as *Bánság* or *Bánát* in Hungarian, or *Banat* in German, Serbian and Romanian, clearly from the German word *Banat* (*banate* in English). However, it is important to stress that the terms *Bánság/Bánát* and *banatus Temesiensis* (*banate of Temes*) were not used in the Middle Ages, for the simple reason that this political and administrative formation was created only in the early 18th century. Consequently, it is much more correct to use another term when referring to this area. This could be the Region between the rivers Danube, Tisa and Mureș (Hungarian: *Duna–Tisza–Maros köz*). In contrast with the term *Bánság* (*Bánát*), the designation *Temesköz* is to be found in mediaeval documents. This name appears first in the papal tithe lists from the years 1332–1337. However, it should be borne in mind that the term *Temesköz* refers only to the smaller, flatland part of the region that was later called Banat. *Temesköz* is a compound Hungarian word: the first element is identical with the name of the River *Temes*, while the second element, i.e. *köz*, has a special meaning in Hungarian, referring to an area bordered by waters/rivers. Medieval documents demonstrate that the term *Temesköz*

in all probability, came under the rule of the first Hungarian king, Saint Stephen, in 1028, when the king's military leader, Csanád subdued Ajtony, then lord of this region.¹⁹ This change of rule allowed the spread of Latin Christianity in the region that had previously belonged to Ajtony and which, through his person, had had contacts with the Greek Orthodox Church. It also permitted the introduction of the county system here, which had a past of several decades in the western part of the Middle Danube-Basin. Around Marosvár (or Csanádvár, as it was named from this time on), a bishopric (*diocesis*) was organised, whose borders coincided with those of the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/ Mureş Region. Certain territories to the north of the River Maros/Mureş also belonged to the bishopric of Csanád (*diocesis Chanadiensis*) since the *archidiaconatus ultramorisensis* and a part of the *archidiaconatus Orodienensis* were also included in the bishopric of Csanád. Saint Gerard (Gellért), an Italian murdered by the mob during the pagan uprising in 1046, became the first bishop of Csanád in 1030. As concerns the secular administration, it seems very probable that originally one huge county, the county of Csanád, was organised on the former territory of Ajtony, and this coincided in size with the bishopric of Csanád. However, this immense county eventually broke up into several smaller counties, in all probability in the twelfth century. The county of Keve/ Kovin became independent first, followed (in parallel with the expansion of the state system

was used merely as a geographical designation. István Petrovics, "Urban development in the Danube-Tisa-Mureş Region in the Middle Ages," *Analele Banatului*, Serie Nouă, Arheologie–Istorie IX (2002): 390–394; István Petrovics, *A középkori Temesvár. Fejezetek a Bega-parti város 1552 előtti történetéből* [Medieval Temesvár. Chapters from the history of Temesvár prior to 1552], *Capitulum IV* (Szeged, 2008), 21–25. For the medieval history of the "Banat" from the Serbian perspective see Aleksandar Krstić, "Banat u srednjem veku," in Miodrag Matićki and Vidojko Jović, eds, *Banat kroz vekove. Slojevi kultura Banata* (Beograd, 2010), 65–90. For the mountainous part of the Danube-Tisa-Mureş Region see Dumitru Țicu, *Banatul montan în Evul Mediu*, (Timișoara: Editura Banatica, 1998).

¹⁹ Gyula Kristó, "Ajtony and Vidin," *Studia Turco-Hungarica V* (Budapest, 1981): 129–135; István Petrovics, "Szent István államszervezése," [The state organizing activity of Saint Stephen], in Gyula Kristó ed., *Az államalapító* [The Founder of the State] (Budapest, 1988), 78–83; László Szegfű, *Ajtony, Csanád*, in KMTL 32–33, 145. It should be noted here that Romanian and Hungarian historians disagree with each other about the descent of Ajtony/Ahtum and the nature of the rule he exercised in the Danube-Tisza/Tisa-Maros/Mureş Region. See. e.g. Alexandru Madgearu, "Salt Trade and Warfare: The Rise of Romanian-Slavic Military Organization in Early Medieval Transylvania," in Florin Curta, ed., *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages* (The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 103–120; Tudor Sălăgean, "Political entities in Banat and Transylvania Around the Year 1000. Ahtum (Ohtum) and Geula's Duchies," in Ion-Aurel Pop and Ioan Pop, eds, *History of Romania. Compendium*, (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute. Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2006), 148–151.; Kristó, "Ajtony and Vidin,"; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, 42.

towards the south and the east) by the counties of Arad, Temes/Timiş, Krassó/ Caraş and finally Torontál/Torontal. The last phase, i.e. the formation of the county of Torontál took place relatively late: the earliest surviving document mentioning its existence dates from 1326. Roughly between the mid-fourteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, therefore, the following counties existed in the Duna-Tisza-Maros köz: Keve, Krassó, Temes, Torontál, and the southern parts of the counties of Arad and Csanád which lay on the left bank of the



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River Maros. By the mid-sixteenth century, however, all these counties had ceased to function in consequence of the victorious advance of the Ottoman Turks, who occupied large parts of the medieval kingdom of Hungary.²⁰

²⁰ For the problematics of the Hungarian county system, see Gyula Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* [The making of the counties in Hungary] (Budapest, 1988). For the counties in question, see especially 459–470. For the individual counties, see: Elek Benkő, “Arad 2,” in KMTL, 53–54; György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [A Historical geography of Hungary in the age of Árpád] 4 vols (Budapest, 1963–1998), vol. 1, 163–188; Tibor Almási, “Csanád 3” in KMTL, 146; Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, vol. 1, 835–838; László Koszta, “Keve 2,” in KMTL, 348; Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, vol. 3, 305–321; Tibor Almási and Elek Benkő, “Krassó 3,” in KMTL, 380; Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, vol. 3, 467–498; Gyula Kristó, “Temes 2,” in KMTL, 669; Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [A Historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis], vols. 1–3, 5, (Budapest, 1890–1913), vol. 2, 1–92; Gyula Kristó, “Torontál,” in KMTL, 681; Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi*, vol. 2, 124–130.

Central places by counties in the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureş region:²¹

Arad county: 17 central places, 10 to the North of the River Maros/Mureş and 7 south of the River Maros/Mureş (indicated with bold letters)

Category III: **Lippa/Lipova** 28.

Category IV: Arad 20.

Category VI: Dombegyháza 6, **Fellak/Felnac** 6, Kalodva 7, Papi 9, **Szádia**/? 8, **Szécsény/Secani** 6, Szentpál 6, **Sződi/Frumuşeni** 10, Váradia 6, **Zádorlaka/Zădăreni** 7.

Category VII: Kapronca 4, Kovászi 4, **Mácsalaka/Maşloc** 4, Pálülése 5, Szombathely 4.

Csanád/Cenad county: 13 central places, 8 to the North of the River a Maros/Mureş and 5 south of the River Maros/Mureş (indicated in bold letters)

Category III: **Csanád/Cenad** 27.

Category V: Nagylak 13, Vásárhely 14.

Category VI: Donáttornya 8, **Kanizsa/Novi Knježevac** 10, Makófalva 7, Torony 6.

Category VII: **Besenyő/Dudeştii Vechi** 2, Csomorkány 3, Kaszaperek 4, Kovácsháza 4, **Nagyfalu/Satu Mare** 4, **Perjámos/Periam** 3.

Keve/Kovin: 3 central places

Category V: Keve/Kovin 14.

Category VI: Barlad/Orlovat 6, Pancsal (Pancsova, Pančevo) 8.

Krassó/Caraş county: 21 central places

Category V: Érdsonlyó/Vrsac 12, Harám/Banatska Palanka 13, Kövesd/Bocşa 11, Mezősonlyó/Şemlacul Mare 13.

Category VI: Denta/Denta 7, Gatály/Gătaia, Illyéd, Krassó/Nagykarassó/Krassóő 7, Pozsaszin 8.

Category VII: Agyagos/Agadici 4, Boldogasszonyfalva/Jidovin 5, Csiglóbánya/

²¹ Our investigation is based on Kubinyi's research results. See Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat*, 59–101. Some of these medieval central places cannot be identified with modern settlements since they perished – most probably – during the Ottoman rule. The Roman numerals refer to the categories of central places as identified by András Kubinyi, while Arabic numerals indicate the central points of a certain locality.

Ciclova Română 3, Hám 4, Péterfalva/Greoni 4, Remete/Remetea Pogănici 3, Szerdahely/Veliko Središte 5, Ternova/Moldova 4, Tövissed 4.

Category VIII: Central place points cannot be ascertained: Kőszeg, Milos, Szőnyes.

Szörényi bánság/Banate of Severin: 4 central places

Category III: Sebes/Caransebeș 24.

Category V: Orsova/Orșova 11.

Category VI: Karán/Kavarán/Constantin Daicoviciu 7.

Category VII Miháld/Mehadia 5.

Temes/Timiș county: 34 central places

Category II: Temesvár/Timișoara 33.

Category V: Lugos/Lugoj 12.

Category VI: Begenye 7, Berény/Berini 7, Borzlyuk 7, Bozsor 7, Cikóvásárhely/Tîrgoviște 9, Csák/Ciacova 7, Cseri/Sacoșu Turcesc 9, Hodos/Hodoș 6, Horogszeg 9, Maráz 8, (Vizes)Monostor/Mănăștiur 9, Morzsina/Margina 10, Ohát 5, Ötvény/Utvin 10, Rékas/Recaș 7, Sarád 10, Sásvár 6.

Category VII: Berekszó/Beregsău Mare 4, Bulvenc 3, Csama 3, Endrőd(Facset)/Făget 5, Gladna 3, Györöd (Giroda)/Ghiroda 3, Iktár/Ictar-Budinț 5, Jenő/Ianova 2, Kenézrekesze 3, Komjáti 4, Paznád 3, Rekettyés 2, Széphely/Jebel 3, Újbécs/Peciu Nou 5, Zsidóváralka 4.

Torontál/Torontal county: 4 central places

Category VI: Aracs/Vranjevo 9, Bazsalhida/Bašaid 8, Becse/Novi Bečej 10, Becskerek/Zrenjanin 7.

Central places by categories in the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureș region:

Category I: 0

Category II: 1 (Temesvár/Timișoara)

Category III: 3 (Lippa/Lipova, Csanád/Cenad, Sebes/Sebeș)

Category IV: 0

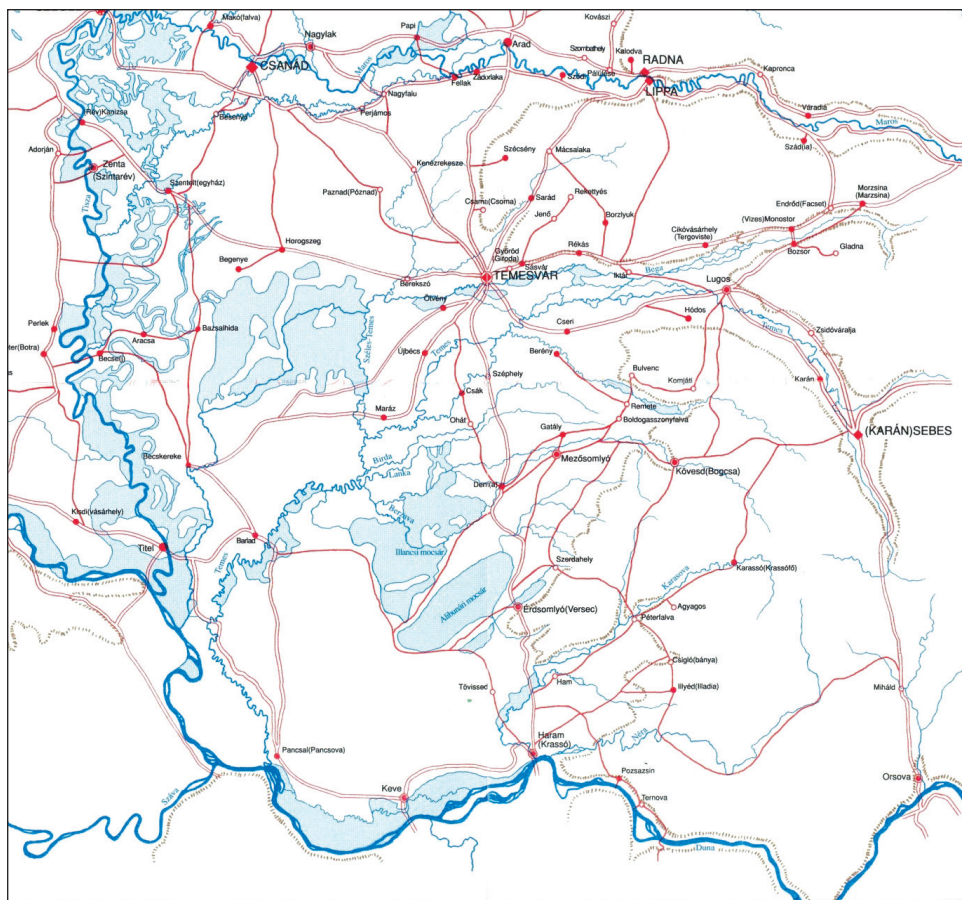
Category V: 7 (Keve/Kovin, Harám/Banatska Palanka, Lugos/Lugoj, Érdsonlyó/Vršac, Kövesd/Bocșa, Orsova/Orșova, Mezősonlyó/Șemlacu Mare)

Category VI: 35 (see above)

Category VII: 29 (see above)

Category VIII: 3 (see above)

Total: 78 central places



Central places in the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureș region in the Later Middle Ages (Designed by András Kubinyi, drawn by Mátyás Kratochwill, in Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat* [Town development and market network])

According to our present knowledge altogether 78 central places existed in the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureș region in the Later Middle Ages. The bulk of these localities (43%) were situated in the territory of Temes/Timiș county, which had the largest number of inhabitants and the highest population density in the region. It is very conspicuous that there is not a single settlement that is to be classified into Category I and IV. It is also surprising that only 1 locality is to be found in Category II. This is Temesvár/Timișoara, the most developed town of the region. Nevertheless, the central place points of this locality is so low (33) that Temesvár/Timișoara takes place not in the top, but in the lower section of its own category. In the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureș region only 4 localities (Temesvár/, Lipa/Lipova, Csanád/Cenad, Sebes/

Sebeş) can be regarded – functionally – as towns. The 7 localities, constituting Category V, are to be regarded only as market towns with partial urban functions. The overwhelming majority of the central places (64) of the region in question constitute Category VI (35) and VII (29). Although all of them fulfil certain central place functions, from the point of view of urban development their role is negligible.

The most significant towns of the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureş region:

Temesvár (today Timișoara, Romania):

Between the beginning of the fourteenth and the middle of the sixteenth centuries Temesvár was the most important town and stronghold of this region. After a heavy siege Temesvár, fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1552.²² Obviously, this marked the end of the mediaeval history of the town, which can be studied with the help of written sources from the mid-twelfth century. The first document in which Temesvár appears is the description by Al Idrisí (1100–1165), the famous Sicilian Arab geographer, who proclaims Temesvár (“T.n.y.s.b.r.”) to be a splendid town located south of the River Tisza, and abounding in great richness. According to our present knowledge the attention of the Hungarian kings first turned towards Temesvár in the early fourteenth century. The hostile

²² The most recent works dealing with the medieval history of Temesvár (with references to the primary sources) are: István Petrovics, “Was there an ethnic background to the veneration of St. Eligius in Hungary?,” in Ladislaus Löb, István Petrovics and György Endre Szőnyi, eds, *Forms of identity. Definitions and changes* (Szeged: Attila József University, 1994) 77–87; István Petrovics, “Foreign ethnic groups and urban development in mediaeval Hungary: the case of Temesvár,” *Analele Banatului*, Serie Nouă, Arheologie-Istorie V (1997): 235–245; István Petrovics, “Royal residences and urban development during the reign of the Anjou kings in Hungary,” *Historia Urbana* V, nr. 1 (1997): 39–66; Petrovics, “The fading glory,” 527–538; Petrovics, “Urban development,” 390–394; Petrovics, *A középkori Temesvár*; Petrovics, “Foreign Ethnic Groups,” 79–84; Petrovics, “Foreign ethnic groups and urban,” 202–209, 212–213; István Petrovics, “Two Letters of István Hercegh, Principal Judge of Temesvár from the Sixteenth Century” in Dumitru Țeicu and Rudolf Gräf, eds, *Itinerarii istoriografice. Studii în onoarea istoricului Costin Feneșan* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2011), 223–234; István Petrovics, “The Economic Activity of the Burghers of Medieval Temesvár/Timișoara,” in Andrei Stavilă–Dorel Micle–Adrian Cîntar–Cristian Floca–Sorin Forțiu, eds, *ArheoVest I – In Memoriam Liviu Măruia – Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie* (Szeged, 2013), 906–919; István Petrovics, “The Bishopric of Csanád/Cenad and the Ecclesiastical Institutions of Medieval Temesvár/Timișoara,” *Transylvanian Review* 22, Supplement No. 4 (2013): 244–249; Zsuzsanna Kopeczny, “Reședința regală medievală de la Timișoara [The Medieval Royal Residence from Timisoara],” *Analele Banatului*, Serie Nouă, Arheologie-Istorie XXI (2013): 211–231; Zsuzsanna Kopeczny, “The Medieval Castle and Town of Temeswar (Archaeological Research Versus Historical Testimonies),” *Castrum Bene* 12 (The Castle As Social Place), ed. Katarina Predovnik (Ljubljana, 2014), 277–288.

attitude of the citizenry of Buda and the fact that virtually the entire realm was controlled by the “little kings” (oligarchs) led Charles I to seek a temporary residence here. The monarch paid his first visit to Temesvár in 1315, and had his royal residence there until 1323. It is not widely known, but even an attempt was made on the king’s life in the royal palace at Temesvár. Since Temesvár did not have the advantage of a central geographical location, the royal court moved to Visegrád, in the middle of the realm, soon after the death of the most powerful oligarch, Máté Csák, in 1321. This move in fact took place in 1323, when the last of the “little kings”, János Babonić, was subdued by Charles I. The departure of the royal court evidently did not favour the further development of Temesvár.

A new situation emerged in the 1360s, when Louis I (or the Great) launched a very active Balkans policy. This clearly increased the role of the *comes Temesiensis* and the importance of Temesvár, which, following from its favourable geographical location, served as the “gateway” to the Balkans. Louis I occupied Vidin in Bulgaria in 1365 and appointed a *banus* (bán) there to administer the affairs of the newly created *Bulgarian banate of Vidin*. It is important to stress that the jurisdiction of the *ban of Vidin* extended not only to Vidin, but also to those Hungarian castles which were located next to the banate of Vidin. These castles, among which Temesvár was perhaps the most significant, provided military protection for the banate of Vidin. This political arrangement proved to be merely temporary since the *banate of Vidin* ceased to exist in 1369. After 1369, the king transferred the authority of the former *ban of Vidin* to the *comes Temesiensis*, who thereby became one of the most powerful dignitaries of the realm.

The greatest obstacle to the development of the town was the overwhelming Turkish victory at Nicopolis in 1396 which resulted in Temesvár and the region around it becoming a permanent target of Ottoman attacks. Consequently, by the early fifteenth century, Temesvár assumed the role of a *border castle*. This evidently hindered its urban development, despite the fact that Pipo Ozorai (Filippo Scolari, 1396–1426) and János Hunyadi (1407–1456) as counts of Temes initiated significant building operations here. Since these building operations primarily focused on fortifying the castle and the town, they did not essentially promote urban development. At the same time, the administrative functions of Temesvár were broadened, since the exploitation of the salt deposit at Keve (today Kovin in Serbia) was controlled by Pipo Ozorai in Temesvár. The change in the status of Temesvár had been made in order to make the southern defence system more effective, since Ozorai, for a while, simultaneously held the offices of *comes Temesiensis* and *comes camerarum salium regalium*.

Temesvár is referred to in mediaeval charters as *villa*, *oppidum* and *civitas*. According to our present knowledge documents that contain franchises of the

hospites/cives of Temesvár do not appear to have survived from the medieval period. However, indirect evidence clearly reveals that the town enjoyed the right to hold weekly fairs, and the daily life of Temesvár was directed by the town council, consisting of the judge (*iudex*) and the sworn burghers (*iurati cives*). The first *iudex* is mentioned in written documents in 1390, and is named *Mychael dictus Poztos*. His Hungarian name, Posztós, refers to a person who was engaged either in the production or the selling of cloth. At present, only two charters are known to have been issued by the town council, one in 1498, and the other in 1523. However, Temesvár cannot be regarded as a royal free town since its autonomy was seriously restricted by the *comes* and *vicecomes Temesiensis* who had their seats in the town. From the point of view of urban autonomy, the most disadvantageous features were that in 1369 the authority of the ban of Vidin was transferred to the *comes Temesiensis*, and that from the late fourteenth century on the Ottoman advance led to the authority of the *comes Temesiensis* being significantly strengthened. In the early fifteenth century, for instance, Pipo Ozorai as *comes Temesiensis* also exercised jurisdiction over the counties of Csanád/Cenad, Arad, Keve/Kovin, Krassó/Caraș, Zaránd/Zarand, Csongrád, and 15 to 20 royal castles were also under his control.

The citizens of Temesvár are referred to in medieval charters as *cives et hospites*. The guests of Temesvár (*hospites de Themeswar*) are mentioned first in written documents in 1341. Unfortunately, there are only sporadic data as to the names and professions of the citizens and the social structure and ethnic composition of the town. The scattered personal names preserved in documentary evidence, various data concerning urban administration, and the geographical location of the town convincingly suggest that the *hospites*, and indeed the inhabitants of Temesvár, were preponderantly Hungarians until the mid-sixteenth century. In contrast with most other towns in the Hungarian kingdom, therefore, Latin and German guests did not play an important role in the development of mediaeval Temesvár. This is supported by the fact that a similar situation can be observed in the case of the nearby town of Szeged. However, a major shift occurred in the ethnic composition of the population of the Temes region in consequence of the regular Ottoman onslaughts that began in the late fourteenth century, and the migration and settling of new inhabitants following the Ottoman devastation. The above changes that took place in the Temesköz in the Late Middle Ages also had an impact on the ethnic make-up of the town of Temesvár itself. Nevertheless, the first Turkish state-tax return (*defter*) produced in 1554 proves that the Hungarians still constituted the majority of the inhabitants of the town (numbering around 4000 at that time) even two years after its fall to the Turks.

The first citizens of Temesvár whose names have survived are mentioned

in a charter issued in 1361. These citizens, *Valentinus filius Michaelis et Vehul [Utul?] dictus de Sumplijo cives de Themeswar*, were probably merchants who fell victim to the violent confiscation of their goods in the village of Akasztó, lying south-west of Kecskemét, in the region between the Duna and the Tisza. Benedict Himfi, lord of the *tributarius* who committed the violence, later compensated them for this unlawfulness. The above-mentioned charter permits the assumption that Temesvár had trading contacts with the western part of the realm already in the 1360s, and early fifteenth century documents unambiguously demonstrate that the merchants of Temesvár travelled with their goods to both the western and eastern parts of the country. A number of fifteenth century charters reveal that the merchants of Temesvár frequently came into conflict in Transylvania with the citizens of Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt, today Sibiu in Romania), who regarded them as their rivals.

Although the written documents frequently refer to the merchants of Temesvár (*mercatores de civitate Themeswar*), very little mention is made of the artisans living and working there. A *corrigiator* shows up in 1411, and, on the basis of the accounts of the royal domain of Temesvár from the year 1372, it appears justifiable to assume that in the late fourteenth century the *carpenters* formed a guild in Temesvár. A *sellator* (saddler) and a *pellifex* (furrier) are mentioned in the fifteenth century miracle collections of Saint John of Capistrano. These random references should be analysed together with the data of the *defter* of the sanjak of Temesvár, produced in 1554, i.e. two years after the fall of the town to the Turks, in which the names of the heads of families were recorded.

Various other facts prove that, despite its restricted autonomy, Temesvár was a very significant town in the Middle Ages. It may be mentioned, for instance, that Temesvár was among the first Hungarian towns to which a coat-of-arms was awarded. This took place most probably in 1365, i.e. precisely four years before Kassa (today Košice in Slovakia) received its own coat-of-arms. (Until recently, it was assumed that it was Kassa to which this royal favour was granted first.) The coat-of-arms of mediaeval Temesvár represents the figure of a dragon, which may symbolise Bogomil heresy.

The church institutions of the town also prove that Temesvár was a significant settlement. First of all, Temesvár was the centre of the *archidiaconatus Temesiensis*, which was divided into several smaller districts. At least two parish churches stood in the town, one dedicated to Saint Eligius, and the other to Saint George. Unfortunately, the legal position of a third church, dedicated to Saint Martin, has not yet been clarified. The Dominicans also had a friary there. This friary is mentioned first in 1323. The church of this monastery was under the protection of Saint Ladislas, King of Hungary, who was canonised in 1192.

There is convincing evidence for the existence of another cloister from the year 1405. Although the charter does not name the order to which the monastery belonged, mention of the patron saint, the Virgin Mary, allows the assumption that it was a Franciscan friary. From a supplication submitted to Pope Eugene IV in 1433, we learn that there were two hospitals in Temesvár. One, *Sanctus Spiritus*, was within the town-walls and had been founded by the citizens of Temesvár, while the other, *Decem milium militum*, founded by the widow of Pipo Ozorai stood outside the walls. Francesco Grisellini states that Pál Kinizsi, as *comes Temesiensis* after his triumphant campaign in Serbia in 1481, brought some 50 000 Serbians to Hungary upon his return, whom he settled around Temesvár – perhaps in the suburbs of the town. However, no indisputable documentary evidence is known that prove the existence of Greek Orthodox churches in Temesvár prior to 1552.

Concerning the topography of Temesvár, it may be stated that the town consisted of several parts: the castle, the town itself and the two suburbs adjacent to the town, named Nagy Palánk and Kis Palánk. The Ottoman state-tax returns produced in 1554 and 1579 mention fifteen streets in the town, of which only the name of eight can be explained: Halász, Nagy, Piac, Zajti(?), Monostor, Szent Erzsébet, Kapu and Tessöd.²³ The castle and the town were situated in a marshy region, a condition which left its mark both on the appearance of the town and on the construction-techniques.

Csanád (today Cenad, Romania)

The other two major towns in the region were Csanád and Lippa (today Lipova in Romania).²⁴ Both towns came into being on the left bank of the River Maros/Mureş, and in both towns salt deposits were exploited. As the centre of a bishopric, Csanád, played a very important role already from the 1030s and preserved its position as the leading town in the region until the early fourteenth century. Csanád was not only an episcopal see, but also the centre of the county of Csanád. Two chapter houses stood in the town: one, dedicated to Saint George, was a cathedral chapter and functioned as an outstanding place of authentication, while the other, placed under the protection of the Holy Redeemer, was a collegiate chapter (*capitulum collegiatum Sancti Salvatoris*). The Benedictine

²³ Petrovics, *A középkori Temesvár*, 38. Some of the streets were situated in the town itself, while others in the suburbs (Nagy Palánk and Kis Palánk)

²⁴ For Csanád, see: Kristó, "Csanád 2"; Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, vol. 1, 850–853; Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi*, vol. 1, 691; Samu Borovszky, *Csanád vármegye története 1715-ig* [The history of the county of Csanád until 1715] 2 vols (Nagyvárad 1896–1897), vol. 2, 72–103. Petrovics, "Urban development," 394–395. See also Petrovics, "The Bishopric of Csanád/Cenad," 241–243.

monastery in Csanád originated in the age of the Árpád dynasty and was dedicated to the Holy Mary (*monasterium Beatae Virginis*). By a papal decree, the possessions of this monastery were donated to the bishopric in 1493, while the church of the abbey was awarded to the Franciscans. The hospital of the town is mentioned in the early sixteenth century. Two parish churches stood in Csanád: one was dedicated to the Holy Spirit and is mentioned by a charter from 1412, whereas the other was under the protection of Saint Elizabeth and is referred to in 1399. The weekly market in Csanád was held on Saturday, however, no mention is made in the medieval documents of an annual fair. Both charters and narrative sources refer to Csanád as *civitas*. This corresponds to the situation that Csanád was an episcopal see. The citizens of the town are named *cives*, and the chief citizen of Csanád is referred to as a judge (*iudex*). Three judges of the town are known by name: 1417, Stephanus; 1440, Andreas Parvus; and 1456, Gallus Kalmar. Documentary evidence clearly reveals that the cathedral chapter was the landlord of the town. In consequence of this circumstance, the citizens of the town could not acquire broad autonomy. The mediaeval town of Csanád was destroyed by the Mongols in 1241 and then in 1514 by the crusaders of György Dózsa. The final destruction of the town can be associated with the Ottoman Turks, who eventually occupied Csanád in 1551.

Lippa (today Lipova, Romania)

The other major town of the region, Lippa, is also situated on the left bank of the River Maros, where the river reaches the Great Plain.²⁵ In the Middle Ages Lippa belonged to the county of Arad, and it became a really important centre only in the early fourteenth century, when Charles I frequently stayed there between 1315 and 1317. According to one opinion, the castle in the town was erected prior to 1324, while others believe that it was built only in the first half

²⁵ For Lippa/Lipova see Györffy, Árpád-kori, vol. 1, 180–181; Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi*, vol. 1, 760, 764; Sándor Márki, “Aradvármegye és Arad szabad királyi város története,” [The history of the county of Arad and of the free royal town of Arad], in Benedek Jancsó, ed., *Aradvármegye és Arad szabad királyi város monográfiája* [Monograph of the county of Arad and of the free royal town of Arad], vol. 2, part 1, (Arad 1892), 180–183; Pál Fodor, “Lippa és Radna városok a 16. századi török adóösszeírásokban,” [The towns of Lippa and Radna in sixteenth-century Ottoman state-tax returns], *Történelmi Szemle* 39 (1997): 313–334; Petrovics, “Urban development,” 395–397; Petrovics, “Foreign Ethnic Groups,” 80; István Petrovics, “Lippa város igazgatásának és kézműiparának néhány kérdése a késő középkorban” [Some questions concerning the administration of the town of Lippa and its craft industry in the Later Middle Ages], in József Bessenyei and István Draskóczy eds, *Pénztörténet – gazdaságtörténet. Tanulmányok Buza János 70. születésnapjára* (Budapest – Miskolc, 2009), 292–299; Adrian Magina, “Lipova at the beginning of the 17th century. Documentary contribution,” in Țeicu and Gräf, *Itinerarii istoriografice*, 297–321.

of the fifteenth century, when János Hunyadi acquired the domain of Solymos (today Șoimoș in Romania). Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the castle of Lippa and even the town itself depended closely on the castle of Solymos, situated on the right bank of the River Maros. After 1315 Solymos, the most important stronghold in the county of Arad, became a royal castle and was the appurtenance of the office of the *comes Orodiensis*.²⁶ In addition to the salt deposit, the town boasted a minting house and a royal tax-collecting chamber (*lucrum camere*). Originally, the tolls collected on the River Maros were shared by the Franciscan monks in Lippa and the chapter house in Arad. The proper names mentioned in early fourteenth to sixteenth century charters certify that Lippa had a handicraft industry on a relatively high level. One example may suffice here: a charter issued in 1475 mentions people living in Lippa, whose names appear together with their professions. Thus, mention is made of a *selliparius*, a *mercator*, a *faber*, a *pellifex*, a *zabo* (Szabó), a *warga* (Varga), a *Zekeres* (Szekeres), a *Fazekos* (Fazekas), an *Aztalgyartho* (Asztalgyártó) and a *Kerekgyartho* (Kerékgyártó). The first reference to craft guilds in Lippa is from the mid-sixteenth century, but they can be assumed to have existed much earlier too. The annual fair of the town (held on around 20 August) is attested to by the same charter. Throughout the fourteenth century, Lippa belonged to the king. In later centuries, however, the monarchs frequently donated or pledged the town to different landlords. To mention just a few such names: Jan Jiskra of Brandys, the Czech mercenary leader, captain-general in north-eastern Hungary, the Bánfis of Alsólendva, John Pancrace of Dengeleg, voivode of Transylvania, and John Corvin, natural son of King Matthias. Consequently, Lippa appears in written documents as *civitas* or *oppidum*. The citizens of the town are referred to as *cives* and the chief citizen as judge (*iudex*). The judge was supported in his work by the 12 sworn burghers (*iurati cives*). Documentary evidence indicates that the following judges directed the daily life of Lippa: 1455, Simon furrier (*Simon pellifex*); 1516–20, Peter blacksmith (*Petrus faber*); and 1525, Mathias Lukácsy (*Mathias Lukachy*). The most significant among the church institutions in the town was the Franciscan friary. This was founded by King Charles I of Anjou in the late 1320s, and was under the protection of his uncle, Saint Louis, Bishop of Toulouse. Lippa also had a hospital and a nunnery. According to the papal tithe lists produced in the 1330s, the highest amount of tax in the county of Arad was paid by the priests in Lippa. This fact clearly points to the high level of development attained by Lippa by the mid-fourteenth century. After the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, which resulted in the fall of the Second Bulgarian Empire,

²⁶ For Solymos (Soimoș), see: Pál Engel and István Feld, “Solymos,” in KMTL 605; Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* [Secular archontology of Hungary, 1301–1457], 2 vols (Budapest 1996), vol. 1, 413–414.

a large number of Slavic fugitives escaped to Hungary and settled in Lippa and the region around it. They were followed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Serbian refugees, who further strengthened Greek Orthodoxy in the region. In 1529, John Szapolyai, King of Hungary, elevated Lippa to the rank of a royal free town, granting the law of Buda to Lippa.²⁷ This favourable change in the legal position of Lippa followed partly from the advantageous geographical location of the town, and partly from the fact, that by the early sixteenth century Lippa was indeed one of the most developed towns in the region. It should also be mentioned that John Szapolyai who controlled the eastern part of Hungary after the battle of Mohács, was now in the need of an appropriate royal seat, and thus upgraded the position of Lippa.

(Karán) Sebes (today Caransebeș, Romania)

Beside the towns discussed above, one more locality seems to have been of great importance prior to the mid-sixteenth century. This is (Karán)Sebes, the medieval precursor of modern Caransebeș in Romania. Sebes in the Later Middle Ages was the centre of one of the eight Romanian districts of the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureș region as well as the place where the Ban of Severin (Hungarian: szörényi bán) had his law-court. According to the 34th article of the *Decretum minus*, issued by King Wladislas II on 2 June 1498, Temesvár was the chief post where the tax “thirtieth” was collected and (Karán)Sebes acted as its branch.²⁸ There is also documentary evidence proving that a salt deposit was operated at Karánsebes in the Later Middle Ages, and that the town also functioned as the centre of a district from where the church tax, the tithe was collected. In addition to its administrative functions, Sebes was also a thriving commercial centre, located at the confluence of the Temes/Timiș and Sebes/Sebeș rivers and in the intersection of major trade routes leading to Temesvár (via Lugos/Lugoj), to the county of Hunyad (via the Erdélyi Vaskapu-hágó/Pasul Poarta de Fier a Transilvaniei) and to Orsova/Orșova.²⁹ It is highly probable that the burghers of Sebes enjoyed staple right in the Later Middle Ages, and that they had the privilege to organize their urban life along the principles of the

²⁷ The charter containing the privileges of the town of Lippa/Lipova is published in Gábor Fábíán, *Arad vármegye leírása historiográfiai, geográfiai és statisztikai tekintetben* [Historical, geographical and statistical description of the county of Arad] (Arad, 1835), 240–244.

²⁸ *Themeswar est capitalis tricesima, Karansebes est filialis ad eandem*. In *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. 4 (1490–1526), edited and translated by János M. Bak, Péter Banyó and Martyn Rady (Idyllwild CA: Charles Schlacks Jr. Publisher, Budapest: Central European University, 2012), 110–111.

²⁹ Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat*, 83; Bálint Lakatos, “Városi nemesek Karánsebesen a 15–16. század fordulóján,” *Urbs. Magyar Városhistória Évkönyv* 3 (2008): 71–72

Law of Buda (Das Ofner Stadtrecht).³⁰ Written documents after 1515 referred to Sebes as *civitas*, which is explained by the fact that its town wall was erected at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is evident that the building of the town wall was the consequence of the Ottoman advance in the Balkans.³¹ It is also a characteristic feature of urban life in Sebes that a significant part of the population was constituted by Romanians.³² From a social point of view the structure of the local urban community also deserves attention. Surprisingly enough, the number of nobles living in the town and their presence in the town council was relatively high.³³

Finally, I would like to refer briefly to two towns, Arad and Szeged, which are situated outside, but in the immediate vicinity of the Duna–Tisza–Maros köz. In fact, Arad (today Arad in Romania) is located on the right bank of the River Maros, while Szeged was built at the confluence of the Maros and Tisza rivers, just opposite the mouth of the Maros, on the west bank of the Tisza. In the Middle Ages, both Arad and Szeged played important roles in the selling and storing of salt, which was transported from Transylvania down the River Maros. The town of Arad, which in the Middle Ages was located 7 kilometres east of modern Arad, on the territory of the present-day Őthalom/Glogovac (today Tudor Vladimirescu in Romania), soon came under the jurisdiction of the famous chapterhouse that stood there.³⁴ This chapterhouse was dedicated to Saint Martin and functioned as one of the most significant places of authentication in the region. Although the town of Arad was referred to as *civitas* both in 1329 and 1332, in fact it can be considered to have been, throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, an *oppidum* under the jurisdiction of the chapterhouse and the provost (*prepositus*). In contrast with Arad, Szeged was only the see of an archdeaconry (*archidiaconatus Segediensis*), from where the archdeacon moved, probably in the thirteenth century, to Bács (today Bač in Serbia),

³⁰ For the staple right see Frigyes Pesty: *A szörényi bánság és Szörény megye története*, vol. 3 (Budapest, 1878); Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat*, 83; Boglárka Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok a középkori Magyar Királyságban*. Magyar Történelmi Emlékek. Értekezések (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont. Történettudományi Intézet, 2012), 73–74. For the use of the law of Buda see: Pesty, *A szörényi bánság*, 123–125, Lakatos, “Városi nemesek,” 81.

³¹ Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat*, 8, 83.

³² Ioan Drăgan, “Nobilimea românească și orașele în secolul al XV-lea,” in Ionuț Costea, Carmen Florea, Pál Judit and Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő, eds, *Városok és városlakók/ Orașe și orașeni* (Cluj: Argonaut, 2006), 243–244; Lakatos, “Városi nemesek,” 71–94.

³³ Lakatos, “Városi nemesek,” 71–94.

³⁴ For Arad, see: Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi*, vol. 1, 765; Márki, *Aradvármegye*, 59–60, 175–180; Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori*, vol. 1, 170–172; Elek Benkő, “Arad 1,” in KMTL, 53; *A Körös–Tisza–Maros-köz települései a középkorban* [The Settlements of the region between the Rivers Körös, Tisza and Maros], ed. László Blazovich (Szeged 1996), 41–42.

a centre of the archbishopric of Bács-Kalocsa.³⁵ Consequently, there were no church institutions in Szeged to restrict the autonomy of the town. A further circumstance was the very favourable geographical location of Szeged: while the River Maros connected Szeged with Transylvania, the River Tisza created a link with the southern and northern parts of the realm. Moreover, from Szeged, with its very busy port, important land routes led to the western and north-western parts of the kingdom. To crown it all, the legal position of the town was also promising: Szeged, created as a legally unified town from three localities (Upper- and Lower-Szeged, and the central settlement named simply Szeged) in 1469, pertained to the king throughout nearly the whole of the Middle Ages. These conditions led to King Wladislas II declaring Szeged to be a royal free town in 1498. It should be remembered, however, that the new legal status of Szeged was enacted only in 1514. Naturally, this legal status could not have been acquired without an adequate economic background, the bases of which were provided by the large-scale cattle- and horse-breeding, and the wine-producing region of Szerémség (today Srem, divided between Serbia and Croatia). Animal husbandry and viticulture yielded produce that could easily be exported and thereby resulted in considerable capital.

Conclusions

Urban growth in the southern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, including the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureş region, differed to a certain extent from the general pattern of Hungarian medieval town development. The most conspicuous phenomenon was that the number and impact of foreign settlers (especially Walloons and Germans) was not so significant here as in the other regions of the realm. To put it in a more precise way: Walloons appeared only in two localities, Pécs and Nagyolaszi (today Mandjelos, Serbia), while Germans lived only in Pécs. This means that east and northeast of the Danube, that is on the southern parts of the Great Hungarian Plain and in the Danube–Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureş region no “Latin” and German settlers played a role in the development of towns. There was, altogether, one town, Szeged where Jews could be found. Nevertheless, Jews appeared here not in the Early but in the Late Middle Ages, which, no doubt, paralleled the economic boom of Szeged.

From the point of view of economy the situation is characterised, on the one hand, by the lack of mining towns that mostly attracted Germans, while, on

³⁵ For Szeged, see: *Szeged története I. A kezdetektől 1686-ig* [The history of the town of Szeged, vol. 1, From the beginnings up to 1686,] (Szeged, 1983). The relevant parts were written by László Szegfű, István Petrovics, and Péter Kulcsár; Béla Kürti and István Petrovics, “Szeged,” in KMTL, 621–622.

the other, by the fact that only two merchant towns existed in this region. One was Pécs, which, in fact, was an ecclesiastical city, the see of the bishops of Pécs, but despite its restricted autonomy it proved to be a thriving commercial centre. The other was Szeged, the only locality of the region that could become a royal free town before the battle of Mohács (1526), which marks, in a sense, the end of the Middle Ages in Hungary. It is interesting, however, that in contrast with the typical merchant towns of the realm the burghers of Szeged traded basically with agrarian products: wine and cattle. The case of Szeged demonstrates in a crystal-clear form that it would be a mistake to underestimate this “agrarian character” since the burghers of Szeged could accumulate huge fortunes. Consequently, Szeged had become one of the most populous and richest towns of the realm by the early sixteenth century.

Szeged is also a good example of Hungarian autochthonous town development, demonstrating the fact that towns and urban institutions were not merely imported products of the foreign-speaking *hospites* who had settled in the Kingdom of Hungary. At the same time the medieval histories of Szeged, Temesvár/Timișoara, Lippa/Lipova and Sebes/Caransebeș show that the Hungarian burghers of these towns spread the urban way of life and urban institutions in general, among the non-Hungarian peoples (Serbs, Romanians) of the southern regions of the realm.

The fate of the towns discussed above also shows that the natural process of development in the southern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom including urban life, was interrupted by the regular Ottoman incursions that began in the late fourteenth century. Due to these destructive attacks, a major shift occurred in the ethnic composition of the population of this area. Many of the Hungarians who had survived the Ottoman attacks migrated to the central parts of the country, and their place was taken, from the fifteenth century onward, by Serbs and Romanians in large numbers. The immigrants continued to use the original Hungarian place-names, but obviously adapted them to their own language, as appears in the Turkish state-tax returns from the late sixteenth century.³⁶

The changes taking place along the southern borders of the realm had an impact on the ethnic make-up of the towns of the region as well. The only town in the Danube-Tisza/Tisa-Maros/Mureș region and its immediate vicinity that despite Ottoman rule could preserve its Hungarian character to a certain extent was Szeged.³⁷

All the facts above show that Ottoman rule in Hungary opened a new,

³⁶ Pál Engel, *A temesvári és moldovai szandzsák törökkori települései (1554–1579)* [The settlements of the sanjaks of Temesvár and Moldova under Ottoman rule, 1554–1579] (Szeged: Csongrád megyei Levéltár, 1996).

³⁷ István Petrovics, “A Witch-hunt in Szeged in the early eighteenth century,” in Blanka

not necessarily positive, chapter in the development of the southern regions of Hungary where the expulsion of the Turks in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and the subsequent Habsburg resettlement policy of the country induced further changes in the ethnic structure.

ORAȘE ȘI AȘEZĂRI CU CARACTER URBAN ÎN REGIUNEA DUNĂRE-TISA-MUREȘ ÎN EVUL MEDIU

Rezumat

După o scurtă introducere privind dezvoltarea urbană în Ungaria medievală, autorul elucidează în acest studiu corelația dintre așezările cu caracter urban și orașe. Oferă o imagine comprehensivă a amplasamentelor acestor așezări și discută istoria orașelor importante din regiunea Dunăre-Tisa-Mureș. Autorul subliniază, în final, trăsăturile specifice dezvoltării urbane în părțile sudice ale Regatului medieval al Ungariei.

Szeghyová, ed., *The role of magic in the past. Learned and popular magic, popular beliefs and diversity of attitudes* (Bratislava: Pro Historia, 2005), 108–116.

LIVING BY THE BORDER: SOUTH SLAVIC MARCHER LORDS IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL BALKANS (13TH–15TH CENTURIES)*

Neven Isailović**

Keywords: late middle ages, marches, frontier, nobility, the Balkans, the South Slavs, Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, Hungary, the Ottomans

Cuvinte cheie: Evul mediu târziu, hotare, frontieră, nobilime, Balcani, slavii de sud, Serbia, Bosnia, Croația, Ungaria, otomanii

South Slavic states in the Balkans were at all times surrounded by potent neighbouring countries (Byzantium, First Bulgarian Empire, Hungary, Ottoman Empire) and their mutual relations were often uneasy. Those neighbours were first to establish formal marches along the borderline, with the aim of protecting their frontiers and forming the basis for broadening their territories at the expense of Slavic states.¹ A similar practice was later adopted by the Slavs as well. Since the time of Roman and Frankish military frontiers (*limes* and *marca*), such a system was well-known in European warfare and politics and it was usually organised around natural barriers. Lords of the marches were bearers of one of the highest titles in medieval hierarchy, and were usually appointed by the central government and belonging to the most trusted and loyal nobles of the country. In time, their service was rendering them and their family influential, mighty and often very rich.² Which was at first an office, i.e. a

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¹ Andrew B. Urbansky, *Byzantium and the Danube Frontier. A Study of the Relations between Byzantium, Hungary, and the Balkans during the Period of the Comneni* (Twayne Publishers, 1968); Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni. Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989); Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004²); Alexandru Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10th–12th Centuries* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2013).

² *Encyclopædia Britannica* 17 (11th ed.), ed. Hugh Chisholm (Cambridge: Cambridge

temporary and conditional position, gradually became a hereditary title linked with the range of estates. It was not always the case, but there are examples of such practice, especially from the period when central power's strength was decreasing (due to weak or underage rulers, political or military crisis). The marcher lords were, therefore, not only living by the border territorially, but also politically and economically.

As in some other parts of late medieval Europe, crises of central government and frequent conflicts between the states in the South Eastern part of the Old Continent made marcher lords extremely important political players. As it was already noted, although there were differences in administrative and military organisation of specific states, it was often the case that the territories on the borders were not given to the temporarily appointed administrators in whom the rulers put their undivided trust, but became hereditary possessions of a family or kin. In less centralised states as Bosnia and Croatia (the latter as unit of the Realm of St. Stephen), but to some extent also in a more centralised Serbia, marcher lords either exploited the strength of central power to extend their wealth and possessions through war and plunder, or rulers' weaknesses to launch their own political enterprise.³ Being an important asset, they were prone to changing sides to their own benefit, especially in the times of greater conflicts like the one between neighbouring Hungarian Kingdom and Ottoman Empire in the late 14th and in 15th centuries.⁴ By establishing their own area of influence, marcher lords were often leaders of rebellions and pioneers of political fragmentation of the late medieval Balkans.⁵ Even after the final demise of South Slavic states, when the mutual border between Hungary and Turkey was established, the frontiersmen were essential, though not trustworthy factors of both offensive and defensive strategies of aforementioned monarchies, as well as their strategies of repopulation.⁶ Since the military frontier system from the early modern period, as a product of central administration of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empire, has been thoroughly researched, we should now shed some light on the late medieval period in the same area.

University Press, 1911), 688–689; Archibald Ross Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718–1050* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 69–90; Julia M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), *passim*.

³ *Лексикон српског средњег века*, ed. Сима Ђирковић – Раде Михаљчић (Београд: Knowledge, 1999), 319–321 (Милош Благојевић).

⁴ Nenad Lemajić, *Srpski narodni prvaci, glavari i starešine posle propasti srednjovekovnih država* (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu, 1999), 30–60.

⁵ Ferdo Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i njegovo doba 1350–1416* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1902), *passim*; Сима Ђирковић, “Русашка господа,” *Историјски часопис* 21 (1974): 5–17.

⁶ See footnotes 55 and 56.

It should first be noted that South Slavic states, faced by militarily superior Byzantine Empire and Turkic nations that formed and led early Bulgarian and Hungarian realm, avoided wide plains even if there were natural barriers in them, such as large rivers. Their marches were usually in mountainous regions with narrow gorges, overlooked by series of forts built on steep hills. Such configuration of land was, in fact, the main reason why these states preserved some independence in the earlier period of their existence, although they were often in some kind of alliance with a stronger neighbour. During their gradual rise to regional power in 13th and 14th centuries, respectively, both Serbia and Bosnia had variable relations with Byzantium and Hungary.⁷

In fact, the Hungarians gave impetus for the development of marcher lordships in the Balkans, along the border between the Realm of St. Stephen and South Slavic states. The Árpád monarchy was a composite state and some of its parts were given to the members of royal family as administrators (i.e. Croatia, Slavonia).⁸ Those parts were most commonly called banates, and were led by ban. After the renewal of the Bulgarian Empire, strengthening of Serbian state, Mongol invasion and influx of Eastern nations (Cumans and Pechenegs) by mid-13th century, Hungarian rulers gradually formed or reformed several banates along their southern border.⁹ Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia were already administered by ban, and they were followed by the banates of Usora (Ózora), Soli (Só), Mačva (Macsó), Kučevo (Kucsó), Braničevo (Barancs) and Severin (Szörény).¹⁰ Some of these units were sometimes merged under the same

⁷ Сима Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе* (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1964), 58–135; *Историја српског народа* I, ed. Сима Ђирковић (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1981), 263–272, 297–314, 341–356, 437–475, 496–556, 566–602; Георгије Острогорски, *Историја Византије* (Београд: Просвета, 1993), 422–503; Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary (895–1526)* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 88–111, 124–136, 151–153, 157–167, 195–206.

⁸ Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 33–37, 52, 89, 91–92, 94, 96.

⁹ *Лексикон српског средњег века*, 28–29 (Сима Ђирковић); Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 98–106, 108; István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 57–85.

¹⁰ Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 65–77; Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 106, 108; Frigyes Pesty, “A macsóí bánok,” *Századok* 9 (1875): 361–381, 450–467; Frigyes Pesty, *A Szörényi bánok és Szörény vármegye története I–III* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1877–1878); Михаило Динић, *Српске земље у средњем веку. Историјско-географске студије* (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1978), 84–11, 270–291; Александар Крстић, “Кучево и Железник у светлу османских дефтера,” *Историјски часопис* 49 (2002): 140–149; Ема Миљковић – Александар Крстић, *Браничево у XV веку. Историјско-географска студија* (Пожаревац: Народни музеј Пожаревац, 2007), 13–14, 29; Сима Ђирковић, “Земља Мацва и град Мацва,” *Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор* 1–4 (2008): 3–20.

authority, and sometimes separated. In certain periods during the 13th century, even banate of Bosnia, a more or less independent Slavic state, was formally included in this frontier project for Hungarian Southern Lands (*Délvidék*, *Alvidék* or *Végvidék*).¹¹ Although primarily administered by the members of royal family, the banates were mostly inhabited by the Slavs and many administrators were Slavic noblemen linked to Hungarian court by family ties or service (there were even some Eastern Slavs such as Rostislav Mikhailovich, a member of Kievan Rus' dynasty, in Mačva). In such a way, Bosnian ban Prijezda practically kept his state by accepting to be formally included in Hungarian system, although some Hungarian nobles occasionally bore the title of ban of Bosnia.¹² Moreover, Serbian king Dragutin, after he resigned from the throne in 1282 and divided lands with his brother Milutin, acquired banates of Usora, Soli and Mačva, as well as Belgrade (around 1284) as the brother-in-law of the Árpád king Ladislaus IV. In time he practically formed his own buffer state between Hungary and Serbia and was still styled as king.¹³ In early 1290's, aided by his brother Milutin, he was able to conquer regions of Kučevo and Braničevo from Cuman-Bulgarian noblemen Drman and Kudelin, allies of Tatar khan Nogai (1292).¹⁴

After Dragutin, also known as the king of Syrmia, died in 1316, his son Vladislav II tried to keep his "state" together, but was not able to do so. Some of his possessions became part of Serbia, while the others eventually reverted to Hungary.¹⁵ In next century and a half, Serbian-Hungarian border was on the rivers Sava and Danube or somewhat south of them, depending on the strength of both countries, but primarily the strength of Serbia. While Serbia was powerful (in the late 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries), it seems that central government had control over the borderline. In times of conflict

¹¹ Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 42–77.

¹² Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 72–77.

¹³ Динић, *Српске земље*, 123–147; Михаило Динић, "Област краља Драгутина после Дежева," *Глас Српске академије наука* 203 (1951): 61–82; Михаило Динић, "Однос између краља Милутина и Драгутина," *Зборник Радова Византолошког Института* 3 (1955): 51–61, 64–67, 72–75, 80; Сима Ђирковић, "Краљ Стефан Драгутин," *Рачански зборник* 3 (1998): 17, 20; Јованка Калић, "Краљ Драгутин између Ђурђевих Ступова, Београда и Ариља," *Рачански зборник* 3 (1998): 33–36; Тибор Живковић, Владета Петровић, Александар Узелац, *Анонимни Descriptio Europae Orientalis*. *Анонимов Опис источне Европе* (Београд: Историјски институт, 2013), 120–125.

¹⁴ Динић, *Српске земље*, 95–98; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 102–108; Александар Узелац, *Под сенком пса. Татари и јужнословенске земље у другој половини XIII века* (Београд: Утопија, 2015), 118–120, 204–210.

¹⁵ *Историја српског народа* I, 472–475, 496–498; Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 132, 134–135, 151–152.

with first Angevin kings of Hungary, Serbian king and emperor Dušan intervened, leading the army to the border himself. In his time, local administrators were appointed and controlled by the central government. However, Dušan's son and heir, emperor Uroš, was unable to maintain the same level of order in the country which more than doubled its size.¹⁶

In 1359 king Louis I of Hungary crossed the Danube and defeated Serbian forces in a two-month campaign that reached the mountain and town of Rudnik. Supposedly, before the Hungarian attack, emperor Uroš did not succeed to reconcile two of his noblemen. The weaker of them, a member of the Rastislalić family who had possessions in the border region of Braničevo along the banks of the Danube, secretly crossed the river and requested aid from the Hungarians. He defeated his opponent with the assistance of Hungarian troops and became vassal of king Louis I. Through the Rastislalićs Hungary acquired control over the right bank of the Danube once again.¹⁷ These marcher lords remained semi-independent until 1365, when Hungarian king conquered Vidin and fully included them in his Realm. However, in 1379 a Serbian magnate, prince Lazar, defeated Radič Branković of the Rastislalić family and reincorporated the regions of Kučevo and Braničevo in Serbia, maybe with consent of both his and Radič's suzerain – king Louis I.¹⁸ One charter from 1381 indicates that prince Lazar also acquired possessions in the region belonging to the banate of Mačva, which were taken from Hungarian hands.¹⁹ In mid-1380's an alliance was made between Lazar, Bosnian king Tvrtko I and Hungarian nobleman, former ban of Mačva, Ivaniš Horvat (János Horváti). Together they gained control over a large part of Southern Hungary, only to be pushed back in 1386 and 1387 by the royal forces of queen Mary and king Sigismund.²⁰

¹⁶ *Историја српског народа* I, 514–515.

¹⁷ Динић, *Српске земље*, 98; Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 164; Михаило Динић, “Растислалићи. Прилог историји распадања српског царства,” *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 2 (1953): 139–144.

¹⁸ Динић, “Растислалићи,” 139–142; Динић, *Српске земље*, 98–99; Милош Благојевић, “Господари Срба и Подунавља,” *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1983): 43–44; Андрија Веселиновић, “Североисточна Србија у средњем веку,” *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1987): 55–56.

¹⁹ Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 164–165; Александар Младеновић, *Повеље кнеза Лазара. Текст, коментар, снимци* (Београд: Чигоја штампа, 2003), 131, 148, 165, 172, 192; Милош Благојевић, “Јединство и подвојеност српских земаља пре Косовске битке,” *Немањини и Лазаревићи. Српска средњовековна државност* (Београд: Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства, 2004), 284–291.

²⁰ Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 195–202; Благојевић, “Јединство и подвојеност,” 298; Сима Ђирковић, “Косовска битка у међународном контексту,” *Глас Српске академије наука и уметности* 378 (1996): 53–54, 60–65.

It is important to mention some other marcher lords in 14th-century Serbia. One of them was a rather mysterious Detoš who controlled the mountainous area south of the banate of Mačva and whose possessions were taken by Hungarian palatine Nicholas Garai in 1392, only to be returned to Serbian despot Stephen in 1403.²¹ The whole area came to be known as *Detoševina* (the land of Detoš). In eastern Serbia, near the region formerly controlled by the Rastislalić family, in Braničevo, there are mentions of the Vukosalić and Desislalić family, also in late 14th century.²² Unlike these personalities, which are only scarcely mentioned in the sources, there is more data on Nikola Zojić, master of Rudnik. The mountain and town of Rudnik were often the point of border between Hungary and Serbia, belonging to the latter most of the time. Before 1373 Zojić may have been in the service of another Serbian territorial lord Nikola Altomanović. After Nikola's defeat, Zojić joined the supporters of prince Lazar. However, in 1398, along with his fellow-noble Novak Belocrkvić he rebelled against Lazar's son and successor Stephen, claiming that the young prince is in alliance with the Hungarians who attacked Rudnik and Zojić's possessions. Zojić was recommending himself to the Turks, formal suzerains of Serbia, but his rebellion ultimately failed.²³ In 15th century, Stephen Lazarević, trying to recentralise his state, introduced a system of military-administrative units (so-called *vlasti*), which were also formed along the border with the

²¹ Динић, *Српске земље*, 44–54; Сима Ђирковић, “Црна Гора и проблем српско-угарског граничног подручја,” *Ваљево постанак и успон градског средишта*, ed. Синиша Бранковић (Ваљево: Народни музеј, 1994), 63–69; Милош Благојевић, “Насеља у Мачви и питања српско-угарске границе,” *Ваљево постанак и успон градског средишта*, ed. Синиша Бранковић (Ваљево: Народни музеј, 1994), 78–92; Гордана Томовић, “Посед српског властелина Детоша у XIV веку,” *Историјски часопис* 58 (2009): 93–108; Милош Ивановић, “Структура властеоског слоја у држави кнеза Лазара,” *Власт и моћ – Властела Моравске Србије од 1365. до 1402. године*, ed. Синиша Мишић (Крушевац: Народна библиотека Крушевац – Центар за историју географију и историјску демографију ФФБГ, 2014), 85–87.

²² Благојевић, “Јединство и подвојеност,” 296; Милош Ивановић, “Структура властеоског слоја,” 82–84; Раде Михаљчић, “Прилог српског дипломатару. Даровнице властеоске породице Вукославић,” *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1976): 99–105; Марко Шуица, *Немирно доба српског средњег века. Властела српских обласних господара* (Београд: Службени лист, 2000), 116–119.

²³ Марко Шуица, *Немирно доба*, 103–110, 153, 160, 167–168; Милош Ивановић, “Структура властеоског слоја,” 77–79; Марко Шуица, “Завера властеле против кнеза Стефана Лазаревића 1398. године,” *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1997): 7–24; Марко Шуица, “Властела кнеза Стефана Лазаревића (1389–1402),” *Годишњак за друштвену историју* 11/1 (2004): 15, 21–27; Марко Шуица, “Писмо Дубровчана Николи Зојићу: 1397, октобар 1.,” *Стари српски архив* 10 (2011): 123–128; Марко Шуица, “Дубровачка писма: огледало друштвено-политичких промена у српским земљама (1389–1402),” *Годишњак за друштвену историју* 18/2 (2011): 37–39, 41–43, 45, 48.

Hungarians and the Turks. The system was temporarily functional, relying on the army and the series of major fortresses, as well as on the men power of population in *vlach* status, but it did not prevent Ottoman conquest, especially since many commanders of most important strongholds (such as Golubac) often chose to surrender to the Turks.²⁴

We already mentioned the case of Bosnian ban Prijezda in the second half of the 13th century.²⁵ Protected by a range of mountains, he retained a high level of independence, while formally and occasionally being included in Hungarian administrative system. His heirs were under pressure of Croatian and Slavonian marcher lords Babonići and Bribirski, also royal administrators who rose from local to regional power, the latter acquiring a great deal of autonomy from the central authorities.²⁶ In early 14th century the Bribirski seized control over most of Bosnia, only to be defeated in 1322 by a broad coalition gathered by the first Angevin king of Hungary Charles I Robert, who originally rose to power with the help of the Bribirski.²⁷ Bosnian banal family of the Kotromanići survived, first in alliance with the Bribirski and after that by helping king Charles I to

²⁴ *Лексикон српског средњег века*, 92–93 (Јелена МргѢ); Михаило Динић, “Власти за време Деспотовине,” *Зборник Филозофског факултета у Београду* 10/1 (1968): 237–244; Сима Ђирковић, *Голубац у средњем веку* (Браничево – Пожаревац, 1968), 11–26; Душанка Бојанић-Лукач, “Власи у северној Србији и њихови први кануни,” *Историјски часопис* 18 (1971): 255–268; Милош Благојевић, “Крајишта средњовековне Србије од 1371. до 1459. године,” *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1987): 29–42; Андрија Веселиновић, *Држава српских деспота* (Београд: Завод за уџбенике, 2006²), 101–113, 189–194, 254–257; Александар Крстић, “Град Некудим и Некудимска власт,” *Историјски часопис* 55 (2007): 99–113; Милош Ивановић, “Смедеревска и Голубачка власт у време владавине деспота Ђурђа Бранковића,” *Наш траг* 50 (2010): 437–449; Милош Ивановић, *Властела Државе српских деспота* (Београд: Филозофски факултет, 2013, unpublished doctoral dissertation), 46, 68, 173–175, 229–230, 234, 358, 416–417; Александар Крстић, “Подунавље и Посавина Србије у позном средњем веку. Историјско-географски аспекти истраживања,” *Историја и географија. Сусрети и прожимања*, ed. Софија Божић (Београд: Географски институт САНУ – Институт за новију историју Србије – Институт за славистику РАН, 2014), 23–27.

²⁵ Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 72–77.

²⁶ Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 74, 77–80; Nada Klaić, *Srednjovjekovna Bosna: politički položaj bosanskih vladara do Tvrtkove krunidbe (1377. g.)* (Zagreb: Eminex, 1994), 119–179.

²⁷ Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 77–80, 84–88; Klaić, *Srednjovjekovna Bosna*, 155–172; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347.* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1897), 76–78, 81–82, 99–101, 114–118; Damir Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred* (Budapest: Central European University, 2000, unpublished doctoral dissertation), 65–70, 84–85, 92; Јелена МргѢ-Радојчић, *Доњи Краји. Крајина средњовековне Босне* (Београд: Филозофски факултет у Београду, 2002), 40–46; Damir Karbić, “Šubići Bribirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322.),” *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 22 (2004): 16–17, 22.

defeat the afore-mentioned Croatian magnates.²⁸ Although the restoration of local dynasty marked the beginning of rise of medieval Bosnia, the country remained decentralised, with strong local factions of gentry and nobility. Its marcher lords were an important element of state building and its dissolving, depending on period and political circumstances.²⁹

The best known and documented example is that of the Hrvatinić family, *de facto* rulers of the Donji Kraji (Lower Parts, Alföld, Alsó Részek), a march between Croatia-Slavonia and Bosnia. Hailing from a *župa*³⁰ near the river Vrbas, this family gradually gained control over a number of *župas* forming the *land* (orig. *zemlja*) of Donji Kraji. They sometimes recognised the authority of the Slavonian Babonići or Croatian Bribirski, and sometimes the authority of Bosnian ban. Their suzerains confirmed their offices of local administrators (*župans* or *knezes*) which in fact become hereditary.³¹ In 1322, the Hrvatinić clan supported Stephen (Stjepan) II of Bosnia against Mladin II Bribirski and once again made their march the part of Bosnian state.³² In 1350's and 1360's, when Bosnia was frequently under the attack of king Louis I of Hungary, many members of the Hrvatinić family made a pact with the king and surrendered their forts, receiving rather large estates in Slavonia in exchange.³³ However, a few of them, like Vukac Hrvatinić, remained loyal to the ban of Bosnia.³⁴ Vukac's sons Hrvoje and Vuk Vukčić, although they also "flirted" with Louis I in 1370's, become principal generals in Bosnian newly-created king Tvrtko I's campaign to the west after Louis's death in 1382 and civil war in Hungary which began in 1386.³⁵ By Tvrtko's death in 1391 Hrvoje

²⁸ Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 84–88; Klaić, *Srednjovjekovna Bosna*, 155–185; Мргић-Радојчић, *Доњи Краји*, 40–45.

²⁹ Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 88–132; Klaić, *Srednjovjekovna Bosna*, 172–266.

³⁰ *Župa* was a smaller administrative unit in South-Slavic states. See: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, 195–197 (Гордана Томовић).

³¹ Мргић-Радојчић, *Доњи Краји*, 42–70; Jelena Mrgić-Radojčić, "Rethinking the Territorial Development of the Medieval Bosnian State," *Istorijski časopis* 51 (2004): 46, 51–52, 54–57.

³² Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 87–88, 94; Мргић-Радојчић, *Доњи Краји*, 43–54; Ludwig Thallóczy, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter* (München – Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1914), 7–8, 55–60.

³³ Thallóczy, *Studien*, 60–64, 332–333, 336–347; Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 121–125; Мргић-Радојчић, *Доњи Краји*, 60–68; Mladen Ančić, *Putanja klatna. Ugarsko-hrvatsko kraljevstvo i Bosna u XIV. stoljeću* (Zadar – Mostar: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru – Zajednica izdanja Ranjeni labud, 1997), 153–173.

³⁴ Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 128–129, 131; Мргић-Радојчић, *Доњи Краји*, 66–68; Јелена Мргић-Радојчић, "Повеља бана Твртка кнезу Вукцу Хрватинићу," *Стари српски архив* 2 (2003): 167–184.

³⁵ Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 37–75; Ančić, *Putanja klatna*, 174–233; Мргић-Радојчић, *Доњи Краји*, 71–80.

and Vuk regained control over the whole land of Donji Kraji and became governors of Croatia and Dalmatia in the name of Hungarian pretender Ladislaus of Naples. In this area they imposed their own taxes and named their *familiares* the holders of many local offices. Their previous coalition with Slavonian and Croatian nobility, namely Horváti and Paližna, and Serbian prince Lazar, almost completely breached the Hungarian borderline with the South Slavs.³⁶ However, by 1394 the coalition had already failed on many fronts and the counter-attack of king Sigismund of Hungary and his principal supporters – the Garai family made the Hrvatinićs change their side once again and recognise Hungarian ruler as their suzerain. While Vuk definitely switched allegiances, Hrvoje chose to accept dual allegiance (to both Sigismund of Hungary and Dabiša of Bosnia).³⁷

In 1398, Hrvoje Vukčić felt strong enough to depose Dabiša's widow and to put king Ostoja on the throne of Bosnia, leading the coalition of magnates against Sigismund's claims to the Bosnian crown. Once again, Hrvoje's march became the basis for the expansion to the west.³⁸ Re-establishing connections with Hungarian pretender Ladislaus of Naples and the rebels against Sigismund's rule, Hrvoje invaded Slavonia and conquered Southern Dalmatia and Croatia once again, being rewarded by the title of Duke of Split in 1403. His personal estates were now ranging from the river Sava to the Adriatic Sea.³⁹ In late 1408, another shift of power occurred. Hrvoje, being in collision with Bosnian

³⁶ Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 75–86; Ђирковић, “Косовска битка”, 53–54, 61–68; Franjo Rački, “Pokret na slavenskom jugu koncem XIV. i početkom XV. Stoljeća,” *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 2 (1868): 68–160; Franjo Rački, “Pokret na slavenskom jugu koncem XIV. i početkom XV. Stoljeća,” *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 3 (1868): 65–156; Mladen Ančić, *Bosanska vlast u Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji 1387–1394* (Beograd: Filozofski fakultet, 1985, unpublished master thesis), 15–67; Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti (sveta krana ugarska i sveta krana bosanska) 1387–1463* (Zagreb – Sarajevo: Synopsis, 2006), 25–67.

³⁷ Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 86–101; Ančić, *Bosanska vlast*, 68–73; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 67–81; Невен Исаиловић, *Политика босанских владара према Далмацији (1391–1409)* (Београд: Филозофски факултет, 2008, unpublished master thesis), 30–51; Невен Исаиловић, “Повеља војводе Хрвоја Вукчића Хрватинића угарском краљу Жигмунду и краљици Марији,” *Грађа о прошлости Босне* 1 (2008): 87–97; Emir O. Filipović, “Bosna i Turci za vrijeme kralja Stjepana Dabiše – neke nove spoznaje,” *Споменица др Тибора Живковића*, ed. Срђан Рудић (Београд: Историјски институт, 2016), 273–301.

³⁸ Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 127–139; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 87–94; Исаиловић, *Политика босанских владара*, 66–72.

³⁹ Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 139–167; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 95–107; Исаиловић, *Политика босанских владара*, 72–122; Dubravko Lovrenović, “Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i srednjojaldmatinske komune (1398–1413),” in *Jajce 1396–1996: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog simpozija u povodu 600. obljetnice spomena imena grada Jajca*, ed. Dubravko Lovrenović (Jajce: Općina Jajce, 2002), 31–51; Neven Isailović, “O familijarima Hrvoja Vukčića Hrvatinića u Splitu (1403–1413),” *Istorijski časopis* 58 (2009): 125–146.

barons and witnessing withdrawal of Ladislaus of Naples from the Balkans, once again reconciled with king Sigismund.⁴⁰ Their relationship was, however, very strenuous, especially since Hrvoje wanted to keep his full authority in what was becoming his “state”, while Sigismund wanted to be crowned king of Bosnia only to find that Hrvoje cannot fulfil him that wish anymore.⁴¹ In 1413, Sigismund and other Bosnian nobles plotted to terminate Hrvoje’s buffer state between Hungary and Bosnia. After initial success, their plans started to crumble when Hrvoje called the Turks to his aid, which ended in disastrous defeat of Hungarian army in the valley of the river Lašva in summer of 1415.⁴² Vukčić’s state did cease to exist, but only after he died in 1416, without direct male heirs. His nephews and successors continued to be Bosnian marcher lords, but failed to achieve the semi-independent position of their uncle.⁴³

The other example worth noting is that of the Zlatonosović family, marcher lords from Usora region, south of the Sava, east of the river Vrbas and west of the river Drina. Their history is less documented, but it is certain that they had control over some parts of no-man’s land between Bosnia and Hungary in late 14th and early 15th centuries. This region, partly in lowland, was frequent battle-field during Bosnian-Hungarian wars in the above-mentioned period.⁴⁴ That was probably the reason why Zlatonosovići also recognised dual allegiance, to the Bosnian state and Hungarian king. With their seat in Zvornik on the Drina, they were crucial for stability of both mining region near Srebrenica and strategic land of Belin, protecting Hungarian counties of Vukovo (Valkó) and Srem (Szerém) and the banate of Mačva. Sigismund gave them many possessions in

⁴⁰ Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 202–206; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 137–147; Исаиловић, *Политика босанских владара*, 158–170.

⁴¹ Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 210–226; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 143–171; Emir O. Filipović, “Viteške svečanosti u Budimu 1412. godine i učešće bosanskih predstavnika,” *Spomenica akademika Marka Šunjića (1927–1998)*, ed. Dubravko Lovrenović (Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet u Sarajevu, 2010), 285–306.

⁴² Сима Ђирковић, “Две године босанске историје (1414. и 1415.),” *Историјски гласник* 3–4 (1953): 29–42; Сима Ђирковић, “О једном посредовању деспота Стефана између Угарске и Турске,” *Истраживања* 16 (2005): 229–240; Невен Исаиловић – Александар Јаковљевић, “Шах Мелек (Прилог историји турских упада у Босну 1414. и 1415. године),” *Споменица академика Симе Ђирковића*, ed. Срђан Рудић (Београд: Историјски институт, 2011), 441–453.

⁴³ Šišić, *Vojvoda Hrvoje*, 226–237; Мргић-Радојчић, *Доњи Крају*, 93, 108–121; Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 171–216.

⁴⁴ Динић, *Српске земље*, 294–301; Pavo Živković, “Usorska vlasteoska porodica Zlatonosovići i bosanski kraljevi (posljednja decenija XIV i prve tri decenije XV stoljeća),” *Historijski zbornik* 39 (1986): 147–162; Срђан Рудић, “О жени војводе Вукмира Златоносовића,” *Историјски часопис* 55 (2007): 113–117; Јелена Мргић, *Северна Босна 13–16. век* (Београд: Историјски институт, 2008), 93–95, 110–114, 126.

Slavonia (such as the Đurđevac estate), and they were also members of Bosnian noble assembly.⁴⁵ In late 1430, however, it seems that they were eliminated by Bosnian king Tvrtko II who wanted their area for himself, but ultimately failed to incorporate Usora in his realm, since it went to Hungarian vassal despot George (serb. Đurađ) of Serbia.⁴⁶

The case of Croatia and Slavonia has already been indirectly discussed. But, it is very important to note the difference in the administrative organisation between these two units of the Realm of St. Stephen. While in late medieval Slavonia the position of count was mostly an office, in Croatia local landowners, usually well-rooted in the region, virtually made the same position hereditary, especially since the late 13th century. Despite royal attempts to curb the power of local magnates, through open war or expansion of rights of lesser nobility and gentry, it became clear that the entire structure of authority in Croatia depended on the alliance of the central government (especially ban as its representative) and local nobility, some of which was marcher (primarily towards Serbia and Bosnia).⁴⁷ Maybe not to full extent, but there is some correlation between a remark of some English historians that Northumberland (i.e. North Eastern march of England) “knew no king but a Percy” and the situation in the late medieval Balkans.⁴⁸ Marcher lords often rose to power serving the central authorities, but later it became quite difficult to control them. Such were the cases of the families Bribirski and Nelipčić, and much later Zrinski and Krčki-Frankapani.⁴⁹ For instance, Ivaniš Nelipčić, *knez* of Cetina, was at times a staunch supporter of his brother-in-law, already mentioned Bosnian magnate Hrvoje Vukčić, and at times “the shield” of king Sigismund’s cause in Croatia and Dalmatia.⁵⁰ After he died without male heirs, his possessions were ulti-

⁴⁵ Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 129, 131, 150, 167, 212, 229–231; Pál Engel, “Neki problemi bosansko-mađarskih odnosa,” *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 16 (1998): 60–61 (the same article was previously published in German: Pál Engel, “Zur Frage der bosnisch-ungarischen Beziehungen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert,” *Südost Forschungen* 56 (1997): 30–31).

⁴⁶ Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 244, 253, 259; Мргрић, *Северна Босна*, 119–122.

⁴⁷ Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1976), 253–661.

⁴⁸ Michael Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London – New York: Routledge, 2013), 38.

⁴⁹ Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi*, passim; Karbić, *The Šubići of Bribir*, passim; Karbić, “Šubići Bribirski do gubitka,” 1–26; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani I. Od najstarijih vremena do gubitka otoka Krka (od god 1118. do god 1480.)* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1901); Ivan Botica, *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu, 2011, unpublished doctoral dissertation).

⁵⁰ Дубравко Ловреновић, “Цетински kneз Иваниш Нелипчић у политичким превирањима у Далмацији крајем XIV и током првих деценија XV стољећа,” *Прилози Института за историју у Сарајеву* 22 (1986): 204–210; Pavo Živković, “Ivaniš Nelipić

mately transferred to the hands of king's minions – the Talovac family, whose heirs controlled the area for two generations.⁵¹ Such abrupt shift of power did not lead to the desired stabilisation of the southern borders, but rather to a series of larger or minor crises. Since the mid-15th century, the Turkish raids and clashes with Bosnian lords led to the weakening and gradual disintegration of Croatian defence.⁵² In Slavonia, only Babonić family had a similar experience, since their hereditary possessions were along the border with Bosnia, south of the river Sava. Therefore, they usually had overall control over the small Slavonian marcher counties of Vrbas, Sana and Dubica.⁵³

The Ottomans also established a military frontier system in conquered territories of the Balkans. It was partially based on the principles taken from the vanquished Christians. The Turks did not only have their own marches (*krajište*, uc) and magnate marcher families (such as the Ishakovići of Skoplje), but also employed lesser Christian nobility (as *sipahis*), vlach communities or additional troupes (*martoloses*, *voynuks*, *derbencis*) to defend the borderline, attack the enemy and guard the roads.⁵⁴ In such a way, large numbers of people were engaged in this offensive-defensive system, controlled by both local and central administration. A similar system was adopted by the Hungarians and many South Slavic marcher commanders changed sides over the years,

između Mletačke republike i bosanskog kralja Tvrtka II Tvrtkovića,” *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 27/14 (1987–1988): 151–170; Ante Birin, *Knez Nelipac i hrvatski velikaški rod Nelipčića* (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, 2006, unpublished doctoral dissertation), 91–156.

⁵¹ Elemér Mályusz, “A Négy Tallóci fivér,” *Történelmi szemle* 23/4 (1980): 531–587 (in German: “Die vier Gebrüder Talloci,” *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1982): 3–66).

⁵² Borislav Grgin, *Počeci rasapa. Kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska* (Zagreb: Ibis grafika, 2002), 81–186.

⁵³ Lajos Thallóczy, Samu Barabás, *A Blagay-család oklevéltára. Codex diplomaticus comitum de Blagay* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1897), passim; Lajos Thallóczy, Sándor Horváth, *Alsó-szlavóniai okmánytár (Dubicza, Orbász és Szana vármegyék) 1244–1710* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1912), 1–304; Hrvoje Kekez, “Između dva kralja: plemićki rod Babonića u vrijeme promjene na ugarsko-hrvatskom prijestolju, od 1290. do 1309. godine,” *Povijesni prilozi* 35 (2008): 61–89; Hrvoje Kekez, *Plemićki rod Babonića do kraja 14. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Univerzitet u Zagrebu. Hrvatski studiji, 2012, unpublished doctoral dissertation), 14–177.

⁵⁴ Глиша Елезовић, “Скопски Исаковићи и Паша-Јигит бег,” *Гласник Скопског научног друштва* 11 (1932): 159–168; Branislav Đurđev, Nedim Filipović, Hamid Hadžibegić, Muhamed Mujić and Hazim Šabanović, *Kanuni i kanun-name za Bosanski, Hercegovački, Zvornički, Kliški, Crnogorski i Skadarski sandžak* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1957), 11–14; Hazim Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića. Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1964); Dušanka Bojanić, *Turski zakoni i zakonski propisi iz XV i XVI veka za smederevsku, kruševačku i vidinsku oblast* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1974), 12–13, 15–16, 21–23, 27–34, 42–48, 93–96; Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk. Postanak i upravna podjela* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1982), 15–87.

sometimes leading the population from their region along.⁵⁵ After the fall of medieval Hungary, Habsburg and Ottoman authorities gradually organised a more centralised and centrally financed Military Frontier, diminishing the power of locally based marcher lords.⁵⁶

TRĂIND LA FRONTIERĂ: MARGRAFII SUD-SLAVI ÎN BALCANII EVULUI MEDIU TÂRZIU (SECOLELE XIII–XV)

Rezumat

Articolul oferă o prezentare generală a istoriei teritoriilor de frontieră din Evul mediu târziu și a stăpânilor în regiunea cuprinsă între statele sud-slave și țările vecine (Ungaria, în primul rând). Se remarcă faptul că atât statele sud-slave cât și vecinii lor apropiați au organizat teritoriile de frontieră ca mărci oficiale sau neoficiale. În vreme de război, o stare frecventă în epocă, aceste teritorii-tampon erau primele expuse atacurilor dușmanilor. Din acest motiv, nobilii puternici și de seamă, de încredere pentru suzeran, au ocupat pozițiile de margrafi, acumulând, ca urmare a serviciilor aduse, mai multă putere și avere care, ocazional, deveneau ereditare. Pe baza exemplelor oferite de nobilii sârbi, bosnieci și croați care controlau zonele de hotar, se subliniază că în ciuda încrederii ce le-a fost arătată, aceștia nu erau întotdeauna loiali suzeranului. Pentru a-și atinge propriile țeluri, aceștia declanșau uneori chiar și divizarea propriilor lor țări folosindu-se de substanțiala lor putere politică, economică și umană. În perioada ocupației otomane a Balcanilor, au fost dispuși să schimbe taberele, servind și pe unguri, și pe turci în același timp, conducând pe același drum și populația locală.

⁵⁵ Lemačić, *Srpski narodni prvaci*, 30–60; Ненад Лемајић, *Српска елита на прелому епоха* (Сремска Митровица – Нови Сад: Историјски архив Срем – Филозофски факултет у Новом Саду, 2006), *passim*; Adrian Magina, “Un nobil sârb în Banatul secolului al XV-lea: Miloš Belmužević,” *Analele Banatului* (Serie Nouă. Arheologie-Istorie) 18 (2010): 135–142; Александар Крстић, “Нови подаци о војводи Милошу Белмужевићу и његовој породици,” *Иницијал. Часопис за средњовековне студије* 1 (2013): 161–185.

⁵⁶ Олга Зиројевић, *Турско војно уређење у Србији 1459–1683* (Београд: Историјски институт, 1974), *passim*; *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, eds. Géza Dávid, Pál Fodor (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2000); Géza Pálffy, “The Habsburg Defense System in Hungary Against the Ottomans in Sixteenth Century: A Catalyst of Military Development in Central Europe,” *Warfare in Eastern Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Brian J. Davies (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), 35–61.

**IOBAGIO CASTRI – NOBILIS CASTRI – NOBILIS REGNI.
CASTLE WARRIORS – CASTLE NOBLES –
NOBLEMEN. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIAL
STRATUM IN COUNTY OF KRIŽEVCI**

*Éva B. Halász**

Keywords: castle warriors, castle nobles, Slavonia, Arpadian-period, Angevin-period

Cuvinte cheie: iobagi de cetate, nobili ai cetății, Slavonia, epoca Arpadiană, epoca Angevină

The county was the mid-level unit of the secular administration in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and it is written usually as *comitatus* in the Latin sources (Hung. *megye*).¹ In the territory of the county were ecclesiastical and private possessions besides the royal ones. In the Arpadian Era the royal possessions were under the royal castle system (Hung. *várszervezet*), the unit of it is called likewise *comitatus* usually in the documents (Eng. castle district; Hung. *várispánság*). The head of it was the comes, who was in the same time the head of the other type of *comitatus*, the unit of the administrative system. The royal possessions did not lay side by side, thus the territory of the castle district was non-contiguous. The *comitatus* was changed with time, from the royal one, which had existed in the Arpadian Era, the noble-county was formed, which further developed.² Different authors give different numbers of the Slavonian

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¹ Besides the word *comitatus* other terms were used, as the *provincia*, *parochia*, *territorium*, *districtus*, *diocesis* (frequently) and the *partes*, *pagus*, *conpages*, *terra*, *ambitus* and *dominium* (rarely). Gyula Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 139–144.

² István Tringli, “Megyék a középkori Magyarországon,” in Tibor Neumann, György Rácz eds, *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál tiszteletére, Társadalom és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok 40. Analecta Medievalia III.*, (Budapest-Piliscsaba, 2009), 518.

counties, between 14 and 17.³ There are some difference in the history of them, but all of the counties merged into the three noble counties (Zagreb, Križevci and Varaždin) for the 15th century. After the fusion some comitatus did not disappeared totally, but they formed an administrative unit within the county, which had a special position headed by the comes terrestris.⁴

In the Arpadian period several groups with different statuses belonged to the castle system, but all of them were proprii of the king. The castle warriors (Lat. *iobagiones castri*, later *nobiles iobagiones castri*; Hung. *várjobbágyok*) were the most prominent among them. They had wider liberty and lesser service than other groups. The castle warriors had to fulfill military service and pay tax for the castle (namely for the ruler). In the beginning the castle warriors were not the owners of their possessions, only the users of it. The king owned all of the land in the castle system. After the middle of the 13th century the rulers did not want to weaken the status of the castle warriors, who fulfilled military service. Therefore the kings protected the ownership of them.⁵ In Hungary north to the

³ The reasons of the difference are the question of the three counties in Lower-Slavonia (Orbas, Sana and Dubica) and the affiliation of county of Varaždin (Kristó, *A vármegyék*, 309–329; *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*, 9–14. század, ed., Gyula Kristó (Budapest, 1994), 650–652. (Rokay Péter-Takács Miklós); Gyula Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés a középkori Magyarországon*, Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 19 (Szeged, 2003), 78.

⁴ Turopolje was an exception, because in this territory the comes of Turopolje existed besides the comes terrestris. (e.g.: Tadija Smičiklas et al., *Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije. Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatie ac Slavonie*, 18 vols (Zagreb: CASA 1904–1990), vol. XVII, 291–292, nr. 205).

⁵ The rulers distinguished between the ownership of the castle warriors and the castrenses. In the second half the 1250's King Béla IV send Chak ensifer to county of Garešnica to separate the possessions of the castle warriors and the castrenses. (Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. V, 59–60, nr. 581; 61–62, nr. 582; 62–63, nr. 583; 71–73, nr. 591; 73–75, nr. 592; 75–76, nr. 593). Castrenses from Križevci (Demetrius, Marc, Pribk, Chornouch, Pribenuk and their relatives) cited Bartholomew comes and his sons to the royal court in 1268 about the third part of terra Guztowygh. They stated it their own possession, which was occupied unduly. King Béla IV had donated that land to Bartholomew comes earlier, as it is written in the document of Stephan, Ban of Slavonia, who had made the introduction. King Béla IV confirmed the ownership of Bartholomew comes and obliged the castrenses to move another royal possession. Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. V, 476–477, nr. 941 and 477–478, nr. 942. King Charles I donated the possessions of castrenses of Moravče with the inhabitants of it to Nicolas of Ludbreg. The castle warriors and the castrenses had possessed their land together (mixtim), which caused problems later. Finally they divided the whole territory and the possessions of the castle warriors in the part of Nicolas of Ludbreg became property of him. Thus the possessions of the castrenses in the part belonged to the castle warriors became the property of them (11 February 1326 National Archives of Hungary Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Diplomatic Collection of Photocopies] (hereafter: DF. 209163. *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia* (Budapest – Szeged, 1990), vol. X, 54).

river Drava the king did not donate lands owned by castle warriors.⁶ In Slavonia there are few examples, when the king donated the land of a castle warrior to ecclesiastical or private possessor, but the protection of the ownership of the *iobagiones castri* was general also in this territory.⁷ The castle warriors held the offices of the castle district.⁸ The *castrenses* (Hung. *várnépbeliek*) had lesser liberty and wider service than the *iobagiones castri*. Generally they provides the care of the castle. Some groups of them had special services, e.g. one group of *castrenses* guarded the prison of the castle and likely one other group fulfilled military service.⁹

The castle system was changed in the last part of the 13th century. In Hungary north to the river Drava the castle districts were disappeared and the castle warriors depending of their own fortune/ fate became serfs or nobles.¹⁰ In Slavonia the story went on other way: in the documents the castle warriors of the Slavonian *comitatus* and later the castle nobles appeared several times. The elected head of the castle district, the *comes terrestris* are mentioned in the documents equally in the 14th and 15th centuries. The question is: do the castle warriors and the castle nobles mean the same social stratum, which changed its name or they were two separated groups? And if they mean the same group, what did changed besides the name?

According to the literature the castle nobles were more or less the same with the *praediales*. Unlike other part of Hungary, in Slavonia the castle districts were not disappeared by the middle of the 14th century, but they were donated to ecclesiastical or private possessors by the rulers. The group of the castle warriors also existed, but they changed their name and became castle nobles or *praediales*.¹¹ Dezső Csánki distinguished three groups of *praediales* in county of Križevci: (1) the *praediales* of royal castles (Kalnik and Križevci); (2) *prae-*

⁶ Attila Zsoldos, *A szent király szabadjai* (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1999), 77–89.

⁷ King Andrew II donated county of Gora to the Cistercians in Topusko. See: Gábor Szeberényi, “A gorai *comitatus* a XIII. században. Megjegyzések a „hat gorai nemzetség” és a Babonic-ok korai történetéhez,” in Péter G. Tóth, Pál Szabó, eds, *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 6* (Szeged, 2010) 233–248. King Charles I donated the castle warriors of Zagreb de genere Laztech and Stankouch in 1308 to Agustin, bishop of Zagreb (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. VIII, 226, nr. 195; *Anjou-oklt.*, vol. II, 474). For Rovišće see below.

⁸ For Hungary north to the river Drava generally see: Zsoldos, *A szent király*, 57–71. For county of Križevci see: Éva B. Halász, “A körösi várjobbágyok a 13–15. században,” in Attila P. Kiss, Ferenc Piti, György Szabados eds, *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 7* (Szeged 2012), 315–316.

⁹ Zsoldos, *A szent király*, 72–75.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 158–185.

¹¹ Summary: *Korai Magyar Történeti 556* (by Pál Engel)

diales of the ecclesiastical possessions (e.g.: Gora); (3) praediales of the private possessions (e.g.: Rovišće).¹² For György Bónis the castle nobles meant higher status as the castle warriors and finally the whole group of the castle warriors became castle nobles.¹³

But in the charters castle warriors are mentioned in most of the Slavonian comitatus in the Arpadian period and in the first half of the 14th century, castle nobles existed only in those counties in the second half of the 14th and 15th centuries, which were permanently in royal treatment. Which means, castle nobles were only in county of Križevci, Kalnik, Rovišće (later parts of county of Križevci) and Turopolje (later part of county of Zagreb).¹⁴ Because the situation of the castle warriors of Turopolje was different from the other ones, I do not consider them in this paper.¹⁵ First take a look to the history of some families, which first time are mentioned as castle warriors!

The descendants of comes Pezk belonged to the Matthew kindred in the castle district of Križevci.¹⁶ Pezk himself appeared in the sources in 1269, when he is mentioned as iobagio castri in the document of the comes of county of Križevci. Very likely he was comes terrestris earlier, because before his name the word comes is written.¹⁷ His great-grandson, Nicolas, son of Mika, was also castle warrior and became noble in 1346. He was elevated in the military camp near Zadar by Nicolas Hahót, Ban of Slavonia-Croatia. Only he and his brothers were exempted, the wider family not.¹⁸ The descendants of them are mentioned as nobles in that charters. The other line of descendents Pezk still

¹² Dezső Csánki, *Körösmegye a XV-ik században* (Budapest, 1893), 120–122.

¹³ According to him the groups of the praediales, the castle warriors and the castle nobles were the same. György Bónis, *Hűbériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban* (Budapest, 2003), 247.

¹⁴ There are some sporadic data about castle nobles from other territories, such as from Zagorje (later part of county of Varaždin) (e.g.: Df. 219006) and from Oklič (in county of Zagreb) (Mályusz Elemér et al., *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, vol. I, Budapest 1951 vol. VI, 1003), but they are not enough to form an opinion about them. There are some other castle nobles, who belonged to a castle, which was never center of any comitatus. In 1411 castle nobles existed around castle Ozalj and Ribnik. (Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. III, 1035.) Likely they were not descendants of castle warriors, but they were ordered to serve the castles later or volunteered this servitium.

¹⁵ For them generally see: Emilij Laszowski, *Plemenita općina Turopolje. Zemljopis, Narodopis i povijesni prijelaz*. (Zagreb, 1910.) Comparison with Špiš see: Gábor Szeberényi, “Noble Communities in Spiš and Turopolje in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” in Martin Homza, Ján Lukačka, Neven Budak eds, *Slovakia and Croatia. Historical parallels and connections until 1780* (Bratislava-Zagreb, 2013), 222–226.

¹⁶ For the detailed history of the family see: Éva B. Halász, “From castle warrior to noblemen Case Study – The History of Descendants of Comes Pezk,” (under press)

¹⁷ DF. 218519. Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*. Supplementa vol. I, 298–300, nr. 237.

¹⁸ 6 July 1346 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XI, 309–310, nr. 231).

remained castle warriors, in 1380 grandsons and sons of John, son of Fabian, are mentioned in this way in the document of John, son of Benedict, comes terrestris.¹⁹ The member of this line, Valentine, son of George, was ennobled with his family in 1412 because of his military service.²⁰

Ivan, son of Ladina, and his descendants belonged also to the castle district of Križevci, to the Hegen kindred. They are mentioned as *nobiles iobagiones castri* in the charter of Andrew, son of Martin, comes terrestris of Križevci in 1377²¹, as in the document of Valentine, son of Blaise, comes terrestris in 7th May 1408.²² But a month earlier, in 10th Apr in the charter of chapter of Čazma the members of the family are written as *nobiles castri*.²³ After it the descendants of Ladina appeared in the charter as castle nobles in every case.²⁴ There isn't any charter about their ennoblement, likely they were elevated only in 1430, when King Sigismund gave the noble status of the castle nobles of Kalnik and Križevci generally.²⁵ The castle nobles of Križevci are written nobles in the charters after 1430.²⁶

Isan, who belonged to the castle district of Kalnik, appeared in the charters first time in 1339 as castle warrior (*iobagio castri*), when with others took an oath in the borders of a possession.²⁷ He was *pristaldus* in 1342 and 1343²⁸, and he had five sons, who are mentioned as *nobiles iobagiones castri* in 1368.²⁹ One of them is mentioned in 1383 as castle nobles in the document of Thomas, son of Nicolas, castellan and George, son of Malchech, comes terrestris of Kalnik.³⁰

¹⁹ *Diplomatarium comitum terrestrium Crisiensium (1274–1439)* Documents edited and introductory study written by Éva B. Halász and Suzana Miljan (hereafter *Diplomatarium*) (Budapest-Zagreb, 2014), 23.

²⁰ 8 or 15 December 1412 (DF. 230922). For the problem of dating, see: Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. III, 3051.

²¹ 1 March 1377, *Diplomatarium* 21.

²² *Diplomatarium* 28.

²³ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára Diplomatikai Levéltára [Hungarian National Archive, State Archive, Archive of Diplomas and Charters] (hereafter DL, 38715).

²⁴ e.g. 16 April 1418 (*Diplomatarium* 47.)

²⁵ DF. 231254.

²⁶ There are many details about the history of the families, who lived in Dijankovec. Before 1430 they are written castle nobles in every case. But during the 15th and 16th centuries they are mentioned as nobles. (for the details see: B. Halász Éva, "Nobiles de Diankoucz. Data about the history of the Slavonian castle warriors/nobles," (under press)

²⁷ 12 October 1339 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. X, 495–497, nr. 348; *Anjou-oklt.*, vol. XXIII, 627.

²⁸ 21 February 1342 (DF. 279533); 11 Marc 1342 (DF. 230382; Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XI, 46–47, nr. 34)

²⁹ 21 March 1368 (DF. 230523; Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XIV, 124–126, nr. 79).

³⁰ 11 August 1383 (DF. 230628; Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XVI, 384, nr. 304).

Later his brothers are written also as castle nobles in the charters.³¹ The family likely was ennobled only in 1430. There are castle nobles in Kalnik also after 1430, in some cases the continuity of the family is known.³²

The castle warriors and praediales belonged to comitatus Rovišće appeared in the charters from the first half of the 13th century.³³ In Slavonia praediales existed besides Rovišće in counties Čezmice, Garić, Garešnica and Zagreb. They belonged to the castle district as well as the castle warriors, but their status were not the same.³⁴ The castrenses of Rovišće also existed.³⁵ There are fewer charters and data about Rovišće, it is impossible to follow the history of one exact family. But it is generally known, that in the Arpadian and Angevin periods iobagiones castri and praediales are mentioned in the charters.³⁶ King Sigismund donated the land of Rovišće to the Ders family,³⁷ and with this donation the status of

³¹ e. g. 16 August 1384 (DF 230641. Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XVI, 482, nr. 362; 24 July 1385 (DF. 230650).

³² Emerik, son of Konthercz (dict.) Philip, is mentioned in 1414 (DF. 231014. Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. IV, 2489) and 1440 (DL. 35959) as castle noble.

³³ Coloman, dux of Slavonia donated land Konza belonged to the castle of Rovišće to Dragon, castle warrior of Rovišće and his son in 1232. (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. III, 369, nr. 323. King Béla IV sent Stephan, Ban of Slavonia to review the land of castle Rovišće in 1255. The ban put back some castrenses to their original status, who had stated themselves unduly to be castle warriors or praediales. (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. IV, 596–598, nr. 514).

³⁴ Likely the praediales were free, who entered the service of the castle, but kept some elements from their previous status. (Szeberényi, *A rojcsai*, 296.)

³⁵ Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. IV, 596–598, nr. 14.

³⁶ The document, in which King Ladislav IV exempted all of the castle warriors and praediales from the jurisdiction of the comes of Rovišće, and its pairs, which narrowed it to certain families, were issued in 1279. The authenticity of them is suspicious. In the Arpadian period the term *nobilis* was not used for the castle warriors and praediales. The only example (the charter of Stephan, Ban of Slavonia from 1255 is also suspicious. (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. IV, 613, nr. 30). In Slavonia the term *nobilis iobagio castri* appeared in the charters in the 14th century (see later.) There were castle warriors in Rovišće in the first half of the 14th century: for example Volkan, son of Volkoy cited Petronka, widow of Radozlaus in front of John, son of Paul, comes of Rovišće in 1329 (DF. 228441; *Anjou-oklt.*, vol. XVII, 157.) The charters mentioned *praediales et nobiles iobagiones castri* in the end of the 14th century. (e.g. 12. April 1391, Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori* vol. I, 1968; DL. 33282). But King Sigismund accepted the ennoblement of King Ladislav IV, when he donated possessions Konchnicha (alio nomine Sawfeld) and Bakpeturfuld to Dominic of Konszka and his sons (*iuxta exemptionem alias domini Ladislai regis nobilitantes, libertantes ac ab omni iugi iobagionatus catrensiu eximentes necnon in evum absolventes*), DL. 33682; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. I, 2257. Similar in the charter of county of Križevci: 18 October 1411, DL. 33512; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. III, 1083.) Very likely some families were ennobled by the rulers, because in the charters some people are written as nobles of Rovišće. (*nobilis/ nobiles* de Riuche/other forms of the name of the county.) This name type was typical among the families, which were ennobled from castle-warrior or castle noble status.

³⁷ DL. 33468 (Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. I, 2949).

the castle warriors (from the beginning of the 15th century they are mentioned as castle nobles³⁸) and praediales was at risk. For the noble family their special type of liberty was disturbing and pursued to make them serfs. The fight ended in a draw in the 1420's: the Ders family confirmed the special status of the castle nobles, but they had to accept the possessor family as their lords.³⁹ The castle warriors of Rovišće became praediales of the noble family.⁴⁰ During the 13th and 14th centuries there surely were some castle warriors, who were elevated by the rulers. For example Little (Parvus) Jacob, son of Michael, and his son, Dominic were nobles of Rovišće. Jacob appeared in the documents from 1332 and Dominic from 1340's. The Ders family attacked their status, but Dominic and his descendants could serve their nobility.⁴¹

As it is apparent from the above brief review the castle warriors are mentioned in the sources as *iobagiones castri*,⁴² and later, from the middle of the 14th century as *nobiles iobagiones castri*.⁴³ The term *nobiles castri* was used

³⁸ The comes terrestris of Rovišće held council unacum universitate nobilium castrensiu provincie predictae in 1409. (6 July 1409, DL. 9229; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. II, nr. 6870). The praediales and castle nobles of Rovišće complained to King Sigismund about Martin Ders in 1417 (Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. VI, nr. 775; DL. 33472, DL. 33464, DL. 37361, DL. 10513). Nicolas, son of Matthew introduced *unacum nobilibus castrensiibus* the pars, who was successful in the court, to the won possession. (1 October 1420, DL. 9229, Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. VII, 2230). *Praediales seu nobiles castrenses de districtu Rouyche*: 1421, DL. 11119; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. VIII, 870) *Praediales*: 10 May 1423 (DL. 33367, Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. X, 571). *Nobiles iobagiones*: 28 September 1423 (DL. 33784; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. X, 1166. *Iobagiones castrenses seu vasalli*: 3 November 1423 (DL. 11428, Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. X, 1292 and DL. 33347, Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. X, 1293).

³⁹ About the fight of the Ders family and the castle nobles see: Árpád Nógrády, "A Szerdahelyiek és a rojcsai prediálisok," *Történelmi Szemle* XLIII, 1–2 (2001):73–82.

⁴⁰ e.g. the charter of the ban about the donation of Ders, son of Martin Ban to his familiaris, Bereck issued in 1427: *praediales districtus eiusdem* [Roywche] (DL. 34858). The title of the comes terrestris in 1429: *comes terrestris predialium dominorum Ders et Petri filiorum condam Martini Bani de districtu Royche*. (Kálmán Géresi, *A nagy károlyi gróf Károlyi-család oklevéltára*, vol. II (Budapest, 1883), 122–123 (nr. 72).

⁴¹ Szeberényi, *A rojcsai*, 300–306.

⁴² Early examples: Kalnik: before 25 August 1264 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. V, 304–305, nr. 800). Križevci: after the suspicious data from 1225 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. III, 247–248, nr. 221). The critic: Imre Szentpétery, *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico diplomatica*, vol. I, part 2 (Budapest, 1927), 176–177, nr. 574). The first certain mention: 1238 – Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. IV, 71 (nr. 67). Moravče: castle warriors and castrenses are mentioned first time in 1242. (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. IV, 170–171, nr. 153; DL. 33702). Garešnica: King Béla IV made the revision of the possessions belonged to the castle warriors in 1257. (e.g. Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. V, 53–55, nr. 578. Rovišće: the first mention of the castle warriors was in 1232 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. III, 369, nr. 323).

⁴³ This was connected and simultaneous with the devaluation of the term nobilis. In Križevci

from the second half of the 14th century, for example it is already written in the document of the authorities of castle district of Kalnik in 1368.⁴⁴ In Križevci, Rovišće (and in Turopolje) the change of the terminology occurred later, in the beginning of the 15th century. During the transition the two terms were used parallel.

What is the reason of the changing of the nomination in the charters?

According to the history of the castle warriors of Križevci and Kalnik the people or families in the status of *nobilis iobagio castri* are written in the contemporary or later charters as castle nobles.⁴⁵ The identity of the two groups is certifiable. Maybe a kind of differentiation started among the castle warriors in this time in the basis of the property and authority of the people or the families. But not just the most wealthiest and the prestigious people and families are written in the charters as castle nobles. Some of them appeared only one or two times, that is, they could not be the honored members of their local society.⁴⁶

the *nobilis iobagiones castri* form appeared first in the 1340's. (23 September 1340 *Diplomatarium*, nr. 6). In Kalnik the *nobilis* attribute appeared in the charters associated with the castle warriors in the 1330's, when the comes terrestris led a perambulation around a land *unacum nobilibus, ydoneis et probis omnibus iobagionibus sepedicti castri*. (22 March 1334, DF. 252343; Smičklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. X, 155–157, nr. 102), but the exact term is written first time in the 1340's. (21 February 1342, DF. 279533). In Turopolje the appellation of the *nobilis iobagio castri* appeared in 1360. (19 November 1360 Emilius Laszowski, *Monumenta historica nob. communitatis Turopolje olim "Campus Zagrabienensis" dictae*, vol. I–IV, (Zagrabiae 1904–1908), vol. I, 75–76, nr. 75. In the 15th century the *nobilis iobagio castri* and the *nobilis castri* terms were used parallel.

⁴⁴ DF. 230523.

⁴⁵ The same phenomena was also in Turopolje. Chernk (Chernko) and Wlk, sons of John of Kurilovec, appeared in the charters in 1377 as castle warriors (*nobiles iobagiones castri de Korilouch*) [6 July 1377 (Laszowski, *Monumenta historica*, vol. I, 100–101, nr. 104). For the family tree see: Suzana Miljan, *Plemićko društvo Zagrebačke županije za vladavine Žigmundova Luksemburškog (1387.–1437.)* (Doktorski rad) (Zagreb, 2015), 245. The third brother (Martin) is mentioned in 1388 (26 April 1388, Laszowski, *Monumenta historica*, vol. I, 114–115, nr. 112). Chernk married with Elena, daughter of Iuren of Pleso, and they had two sons and four daughters [21 Marc 1427 (Laszowski, *Monumenta historica* vol. I, 205–206, nr. 209) Chernko (*nobilis iobagio castri*) with sons bought the sessio of sons Gerdalka and Lucas, son of Synrsa of Kurilovec in 1398 (Laszowski, *Monumenta historica*, vol. I, 155, nr. 147). Chernko died before 1427, when his relatives gave the *quarta puellaris* for his three daughters (Cynka, Elena et Margareta junior), who are written in the charter as *nobiles castrenses*. His fourth daughter, Margareta senior was married with Matthew of Kravarsko, and they had two sons: Bereck and Blaise (21 Marc 1427, Laszowski, *Monumenta historica* vol. I, 205–206, nr. 219), whose sessio is mentioned in 1439 (Laszowski, *Monumenta historica* vol. I, 255–256, nr. 242). Likely the descendants of Wlk are mentioned as castle warriors of Gorica in 1424. (Laszowski, *Monumenta historica* vol. I, 189–190, nr. 196).

⁴⁶ John, son of Marc, castle noble of Poljana is mentioned in 1421, when he sold part of his property to grandsons and sons of Stephan of Poljana. (*Diplomatarium*, nr. 49.)

The terms *iobagio castri* and *nobilis castri* were used equally in different charters issued by the comes terrestris of the castle districts, the ban or a chapter. Some people from castle district of Križevci are written as *nobiles castri* in the charter of chapter of Čazma and one month later they are called *nobiles iobagiones castri* in the document of the comes terrestris of Križevci.⁴⁷

In parallel about the general development of the society the term *iobagio* had lost its value in the second half of the 14th century and it expressed only the fact, that the *iobagio* was not the member of the nobility.⁴⁸ The castle warriors believed themselves rather the part of the nobility, than the serfdom.⁴⁹ Therefore the omission of the word *iobagio* from the term *nobilis iobagio castri* was a natural phenomena for them.

As I told it above, the castrensis term had meant in the Arpadian period the social group, which had had lower liberty et much service, than the castle warriors. In the 14th century the variety of the social groups disappeared and in Hungary north to the river Drava the term *iobagio castrensis* appeared in the charters, because the society was not sensitive any more the differences between the status' of the two groups (*iobagio castri* and *castrensis*) and merge them. This fact contributed to the disappearing of the castle warriors.⁵⁰ In Slavonia the situation was a little bit different. Although the word castrensis is written in the charters in connections with the castle warriors, but this did not evaluate the status of them. The castle warriors and castle nobles themselves and the other social groups were aware of the differences between the status' of the castle warriors and the castrenses. Salomon, son of Wlkowy, *nobilis iobagio castrensis* and his wife made last will about their land in front of Big (Magnus) Paul, comes and Nicolas, son of Demeter, *comes terrestris* of Križevci.⁵¹ Deseu, son of Ladislai of Blizna, sold his land in front of the chapter of Čazma in 1388, which was his inherited possession and laid in Rasina (Razyna) inter *nobiles castrenses castri Crisiensis*.⁵² Deseu was married with Chala, daughter of above-mentioned Demeter de genere of Matthew.⁵³

There were castrenses in Slavonia still in the 14th century, and their status was also more favorable in this period, than the status of the castle warriors. In 1360, a kindred of castle warriors from Turopolje was summoned before the *congregatio*

⁴⁷ *Diplomatarium*, 28 and DL. 38715.

⁴⁸ Bolla Ilona, *A jogilag egységes jobbágyságról Magyarországon* (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1998), 184.

⁴⁹ They could had serfes as the nobles. (e.g.: *Diplomatarium*, nr. 6.)

⁵⁰ Zsoldos, *A szent király*, 170–171.

⁵¹ 20 September 1356 (DF. 233160, *Diplomatarium*, nr. 9.)

⁵² 18 August 1388 (DL. 86212., Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. I, 706).

⁵³ 25 March 1385 (DL. 100206, *Diplomatarium*, nr. 24.)

generalis, because somebody stated they were not *iobagiones castri*, but *castrenses*, thus they would have owned service to the castle of Želín (Lat. Selyn, Hung. Zselin). The accused demonstrated the documents to prove their status.⁵⁴

Above the sameness of the two groups (the [*nobiles*] *iobagiones castri* and the castle nobles) is certified. Was there any other reason for the changing? Did anything changed in the status of the groups besides the name? The status of the castle warriors was similar to other special types of conditional liberty owned by others, but it had some specific elements. In the scholarship are distinguished four of them: (1) military service (2) office holding (3) tax-paying (4) ownership of properties.⁵⁵ Was there any difference in the status of the two groups based on this four points?

1. *Military service*. Well-known that the castle warriors made military service, they were professionals.⁵⁶ Nicolas, son of Mika, belonged to the castle district Křiževci was ennobled because of his military merit in fights around Zadar in 1346.⁵⁷ King Sigismund exempted Valentine of Poljana and his brothers from the status of castle warriors (a *nexu seu iugi iobagionatus castrensis*) in 1411⁵⁸, but George, son of Demeter, from the same kindred is written as castle nobles in 1413.⁵⁹ George, son of Benk of Bogačevo (castle district Kalnik) is written castle nobles in 1368. Thomas, his son left his army in his last will for his sons.⁶⁰ Summarizing the military service was the part of status of the castle warriors and also of the castle nobles.⁶¹

⁵⁴ 19 November 1360 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XIII, 64–65, nr. 51). The sons of Isan, castle warriors of Kalnik cited Tomas, son of Jacob, and his sons in front of the authority of Kalnik. The castellan and the comes terrestris of the castle district decided the parts had to take an oath with others. Son of Isan took it with *centum nobilibus castri et centrum quatráginta(!) ignobilibus signanter ad Minus Kemluk pertinentibus et quatuor viris discretis sacerdotibus*. The mentioned *ignobilibus* likely were the *castrenses*. (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XIV, 124–126, nr. 79).

⁵⁵ For the four characteristics of the castle warriors in Hungary (north to the river Drava) see: Zsoldos, *A szent király*, 46–89. The status of the castle warriors in castle district Křiževci see: B. Halász Éva, “A körösi várjobbágyok 13–15. században,” in Attila P. Kiss, Ferenc Piti, György Szabados, eds, *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 7* (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2012), 313–323.

⁵⁶ Zsoldos, *A szent király*, 46–57. For Křiževci: B. Halász, “A körösi várjobbágyok,” 314–315.

⁵⁷ 6 July 1346 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XI, 309–310, nr. 231).

⁵⁸ 8/15 December 1411, DF. 230922., notes: Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. III, 3051.

⁵⁹ *Diplomatarium*, nr. 38.

⁶⁰ For George: 17 Jun 1368 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XVII, 27–28, nr. 20). Last will of Thomas: 4 March 1420. DF. 252030 (Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. VII, 1444.: *Item loncam meam meliorem cum pectorali inferiore ac galea Gregorio, alia arma omnia Valentino lego filiis meis*).

⁶¹ The same situation was in Turopolje. Nicolas of Odra declared in front of the comes terrestris

2. *The office-holding.* The castle warriors held the offices of the castle district. In the beginning *iobagio castri* was that one, who held an office and later they could leave this name to their descendants, what is to say to the whole social group. In Hungary north to the river Drava were several offices in the castle districts, which were unknown in Slavonia. These are the maior exercitus, the maior castri, the maior preconum, the decurio and the maior speculatorum.⁶² In Slavonia the offices of comes terrestris and the centurio were known.⁶³ Before the 15. century the comites terrestres were surely *iobagiones castri*, some of them before or after the office-holding appeared in the charters. But in the 15th century in castle district of Križevci the comites terrestres were chosen from the members of the ennobled families.⁶⁴ There are three known comites terrestres in Kalnik between 1400 and 1430. It is impossible to identify two of them (Laurence, son of Jacob and Thomas, son of George), because only their and their father's names are known. The third one, Kerser Stephen, son of Egidius of Rusinbrod, was praedialis of Zagreb. In this time the possessor of Castle of Veliki Kalnik was queen Barbara. John of Alben, later bishop of Zagreb was close relationship with her. Likely Stephen could hold the office in this way.⁶⁵ After the general ennoblement of the castle nobles of Kalnik the comites terrestres were elected from the members of the elevated families.⁶⁶ The list of the comites terrestres of Rovišće is not complete, but the known office holders were *iobagiones castri* or *nobiles castri* in the 14th and 15th centuries.

There are just few data about the centurio, likely their work was not necessary in those actions, which are written. The centurio of Križevci is mentioned only one time, and George (Gyurak), son of George, appeared only in this charter.⁶⁷ Altogether five centuriones are known from Kalnik: one from the 13th century and 4 from the 14 century. All of the them were castle warriors and

of Turopolje, that he can not fulfill his military and other services any more, because he is old (21 November 1493, Laszowski, *Monumenta historica*, vol. I. dok 87, 120–121).

⁶² For Hungary north to the river Drava see: Zsoldos, *A szent király*, 57–72.

⁶³ For Hungary north to the river Drava see: Ibid. 57–72. For Križevci: B. Halász, "A körösi várjobbágyok," 315–316.

⁶⁴ For the life of the comites terrestres of castle district Križevci see: *Diplomatarium*, 120–127.

⁶⁵ For the praediales status of Stephen: 20 February 1421 and 4 May 1423 (DF. 252387; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. VIII, 177; Ibid., vol. X, 521). The comites terrestres usually were elected by the other castle warriors or castle nobles. In this case the election was very likely formal.

⁶⁶ see: Éva B. Halász, "Archontolija Velikog Kalnika u srednjem vijeku," *Zbornik Odsjeka povijesne znanosti. Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 32 (2014): 27–38.

⁶⁷ *Diplomatarium*, 60. Likely his son was that Lawrence, who appeared in the charter of Peter, son of John, of Poljana comes terrestris in 1423 as neighbor possessor. (*Diplomatarium*, nr. 52.)

mentioned in the charters before and after their office. For example John, son of Martin was centurio in 1336 and 1343, and he asked the authority of the castle district to perambulate his possession in 1342.⁶⁸

The castle warriors actively participated in the administration of a noble county and this fact increased the gravity of their status. The comes himself was the head of the county and also the head of the castle district. The castle warriors held the offices of the castle district and that is why the comes easily could avail their service in the administration of the county. The castle warriors are mentioned as emissary of the comes or sometimes of the ban. The aforementioned Demeter de genere of Matthew was the emissary of Nicolas Hahót, Ban of Slavonia-Croatia in 1343, in the case between the castle warriors of Moravče and Nicolas of Ludbreg.⁶⁹ The work in the administration in the county assisted the castle warriors to believe themselves to be the part of the nobility.

3. *Tax-paying*. In one hand the castle warriors had to fulfill military service and in other hand they had to pay tax.⁷⁰ There are only sporadic data for the tax-paying in the Arpadian and Angevin periods, but the terms *datium* and *servitium* noted it also in this time.⁷¹ Lepsech, son of Ivan, son of Lubizlaus, declared in front of the authority of castle district Kalnik, that he got his relative Blaise, son of Ozul, as his adopted brother and donated half of his possession to him. After the donation Lepsech paid the half of the tax and Blaise the other half.⁷² The castle nobles of Križevci paid the tax by kindreds.⁷³ The exact amount of the tax and differences between the castle districts and the method of the tax paying are unknown.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ DF. 279533; *Anjou-oklt.*, vol. XXVI, 66.

⁶⁹ DF. 230386; Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XI, 105–106, nr. 79). In 1366 a certain Stephen, son of Demetrius, is mentioned as *homo specialis* of the comes of Križevci (DL. 35867; Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XIII, 533–534, nr. 387). It is possible that he is identical to Stephen, son of Demetrius, who was comes terrestris of Križevci in 1361 (*Diplomatarium*, nr. 10).

⁷⁰ For Hungary north to the river Drava see: Zsoldos, *A szent király*, 77–89. For Križevci see: B. Halász, “A körösi várjobbágyok,” 316–318. The tax-paying existed also in Turopolje: Nicolas Myhalewchy *vocatus de Odrazenhgergh iam senio proventus ... de porcionibus suis possessionariis infrascriptis ballare et alia servitia consueta exercere non posset et nec valeret* (21 November 1493 Laszowski, *Monumenta historica*, vol. I, 120–121, nr. 87).

⁷¹ The same terms were used for the tax-paying of the praediales of Zagreb (Iván Borsa, “A zágrábi püspökség prediálisai a XV század elején,” *Levéltári Közlemények* 66, 1–2 (1995): 20).

⁷² 28 April 1355 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XII, 289–290, nr. 218).

⁷³ In 1421 the mardurina was collected by two castle nobles in Križevci (DL. 35935; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. VIII, 937).

⁷⁴ The castle nobles of Ozalj had to pay *decimae* (DF. 256300; Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. III, 1035).

4. *The ownership.* The status of the *iobagiones castri* qualified them to own lands. They could sell, pawn, leave with last will their properties. This fact was a big difference between the status of the castle warriors and the status of the castrenses, because the latter were only users of the land, not the owners.⁷⁵ The owner of a possession with “castle warrior”- status had to pay tax, which was independent from the status of the owner. Therefore noblemen could own land belonged to the castle. If the noble owner did not want to pay tax any more, he had to ask to king to elevate the possession from the castle.⁷⁶ There are some example, when the owner sold his land, but he paid the tax after it, not the new possessor.⁷⁷ The castle nobles were also owner of their possessions in the 15th century, they could also sell, pawn, leave with last will their properties.⁷⁸

The status of the castle warriors and the status castle nobles show bigger difference only in one point: in the question of the office-holding. The castle warriors could be office-holders, they held the office of the castle district. But in the case of the castle nobles, the office-holding is not evident. In castle district of Križevci the members of the earlier ennobled families were the *comites terrestres*, in Kalnik in the 15th century Stephan Kersser, a *praedialis* of Zagreb held the position for long time.

What did the nobility of Slavonia think about the status of the castle warriors and the status of the castle nobles?

Likely the nobility of Slavonia held the status of the castle warriors and castle nobles equal or almost equal with their position. When Matthew, Ban of Slavonia held *generalis congregatio* in 1273 the nobles and the castle warriors

⁷⁵ For Hungary north to the river Drava see: Zsoldos, *A szent király*, 90–101. The king sometimes donated the land of castle warrior, who died without any descendant. E.g.: King Ladislaw IV donated the property of Wlk, son of Donrolych castle warrior of Zagreb to Timot, bishop of Zagreb. (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. VI, 211–214, nr. 186; *Reg. Arp.*, 2769.) Béla, dux Sclavonie-Croatie confirmed the donation of the possessio of Bolesk, *iobagio castri* Kemluk, who died without any descendants, to Thomas, *specialis notarius* of King Béla IV. (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. V, 478–479, nr. 943). In 1326, after the donation of the possessions of the castrenses of Moravče, the new owner, Nicolas of Ludbreg and the castle warriors of Moravče divided the territory. In the part of Nicolas of Ludbreg all the possessions of the castrenses and castle warriors belonged to him, but in the part of the castle warriors all possessions of the castrenses belonged to them. The castrenses had no rights to their land. They were only users (see footnote 5).

⁷⁶ Michael of Raven noble had possessions belonged to the castle. He asked the king to ennoble them. (DF. 231098 and 231099). There are some examples from Szepes for the different status of the land and its owner. (Attila Zsoldos, “Nemes, szepesi nemes, aranyadó (Jogállás és birtokjog, mint lehetőség és eszköz),” *Történelmi Szemle* LI, 3 (2009): 419–429. 422.

⁷⁷ *Diplomatarium*, nr. 42.

⁷⁸ e.g.: *Ibid.*, 38, 42, 47, etc.

asked together the ban to confirm their rights and duties.⁷⁹ In 1352, again in the general meeting the castle warriors of Kalnik asked the ban to issue charters about their oak. They stated their oak equal with the oak of the nobles. After asking the gathered nobles the ban issued privilege to the castle warriors and confirmed their statement.⁸⁰ The castle warriors took part in estimation of possessions and were witness as the nobles.⁸¹

In the everyday life the wealth meant the bigger difference, not the status. The lifestyle of the lesser nobles and the castle warriors (and castle nobles) could be similar. That is why, the marriage between nobles and castle warriors were common phenomena. Demeter, member of Matthew kindred (castle district Križevci) married with the daughter of Budor of Budroc in the first part of the 14th century, likely in the 1310's.⁸² Stephan, son of Isan de Isanovc (castle district Kalnik), got married with daughter of Stephan of Jalsovec, who is written *nobilis domina* in 1396.⁸³ Their descendants were not nobles of the Kingdom automatically, but they were castle warriors/ nobles like their fathers.⁸⁴

Although the status of the castle warriors were not qualify them to hold lands in the second half of the 14th century in Hungary north to the river Drava⁸⁵, there was no any case about their status in Slavonia, in which the plaintiff wanted to get the possession of a castle warrior.

The term (*nobilis*) *iobagio castri* was changed by the term *nobilis castri* in the second half of the 14th century, but the two groups were the same. But it occurred, where the castle warriors existed, where the castle district also existed, in where the special rights and duties of the castle warriors could be interpreted. There was not any castle nobles for example in Moravče, while the

⁷⁹ *in congregatione regni totius Sclavonie generali nobiles et iobagiones castrorum hec iura regni et banatus infrascripta redacta in scriptis nobis exhibuerunt* (19 April 1273 Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. VI, 25–28, nr. 26).

⁸⁰ 18 November 1352 (DF. 268253; Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XII, 138, nr. 96).

⁸¹ In the beginning of the 15th century the nobles and the castle nobles were written together, without any differentiation in the list of the gathered people, who took an oath (Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori*, vol. III, 2796).

⁸² The wife likely was Dorothea. For the family tree see: Géza Pálffy, "Egy szlavóniai köznemesi família két ország szolgálatában: a budróci Budor család a XV–XVIII. században," *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 115, 4 (2002): 923–1007). The *quarta puellaris* of the wife of Demeter was paid for her sons and grandsons: 3 August 1378 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. X, 397, nr. 287) and 21 Jun 1380 (Ibid., vol. XVI, 106, nr. 97).

⁸³ 2 May 1396 (DF. 230742, Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XVIII, 116–117, nr. 80).

⁸⁴ When a *nobilis domina* married with an *ignobilis*, their descendants became nobles after thier mother's status. But in Hungary north to the river Drava the *ignobilis* husband is noted sometimes in the charters e.g. *post uxorem nobilis* or other forms. (Erik Fügedi, *The Elefánthy. The Hungarian Nobleman and his Kindred* (CEU Press: Budapest, 1998), 45–49.

⁸⁵ Bolla, *A jogilag egységes*, 182–186.

castle district of Moravče disappeared and the castle warriors of it became nobles or serfs.⁸⁶ Despite the change of the status' name, the castle nobles wanted to become noble of the country.⁸⁷ The constant royal tenure gave the chance to the castle warriors/nobles to deserve the grace of the king personally or in group and be nobles.⁸⁸ The castle warriors of Rovišče lost this chance in 1393, when King Sigismund donated the land to the Ders family. The fight between the castle warriors and the possessor family lasted at approximately 30 years. King Sigismund finished it and obliged the Ders family to avow the special status of the castle warriors, and the castle warriors to avow the Ders family as their dominus. But the castle warriors became praediales of the noble family, not castle nobles like the others in Križevci and Kalnik.

The castle nobles of Kalnik appeared in the charters after 1430. What was the reason of it, while the king ennobled all of the castle warriors of Kalnik (and Križevci) in 1430? The castle district could exist after the exemption, while the lands, which were owned by nobles, were not exempted automatically. The comes terrestris had jurisdiction over those possessions, till the king did not elevated it for the request of the owner.⁸⁹ The castle district of Kalnik existed much longer, as also castle warriors, who had to fulfill services to the castle. In some cases the family, whose members are written after 1430 as castle nobles, had be before 1430 also castle noble families. King Matthias I warned the nobles around Kalnik with only one sessio to fulfill their services to the castle.⁹⁰ Some

⁸⁶ King Louis I and prince Stephan ennobled castle warriors of Moravče in the 1350's (King: 1352 DL. 100415; prince: 22 Marc 1354 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XII, 238–240. (nr. 181.) The descendents of the ennobled castle warriors of Moravče appeared often in the charters. (e.g.: Jacob, son of Wechezlau and his sons: 17 August 1335 (*Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. X, 232, nr. 166); *Anjou-oklt.*, vol. XIX, 514); 11 March 1339 (DF. 218550; *Anjou-oklt.*, vol. XXIII, 124); 26 October 1343 (DF. 230385; *Anjou-oklt.*, vol. XXVII, 23), 27. October 1343 (DF. 230386; *Anjou-oklt.*, vol. XXVII, 24); 22 December 1352 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XII, 141–142, nr. 100); 20 June 1360 (Smičiklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. XIII, 33–34, nr. 24); DL. 33368).

⁸⁷ This endeavor was usual in the whole history of them. For example King Andrew III exempted sons of Chuetchk from the jurisdiction of castle of Podgorje (*Reg. Arp.*, nr. 4000).

⁸⁸ King Sigismund ennobled castle warriors of Kalnik and Križevci generally in 1430 (DF. 231254) For the earlier exemptions in castle district of Križevci see: Éva B. Halász, "A körösi várjobbágyok útja a nemességbe," in Tóber Márta and Maléth Ágnes eds, *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 8* (Szeged 2015), 61–67. In Turopolje the development went in other way, the castle warriors wanted to made community and held the charter of Nicolas, Ban of Slavonia issued in 1278 their privilege.

⁸⁹ The last charter of the comites terrestres of Križevci was issued in 1439, likely shortly after it the castle county eliminated. (*Diplomatarium*, nr. 65.) For the exemption of the possessions see the example of Michael of Raven. (DF. 231098 and 231099.)

⁹⁰ Bolla, *A jogilag egységes*, 185. *universi et singuli nobiles unius sessionis in pertinentiis castri*

elevated families grievanced about Andrew Both force them to fulfill services to the castle and litigated him.⁹¹ Probably besides the ennoblement the poorer nobles undertook the service of the castle and the castle offered them some protection. Their history after 1430 will be disclosed in an other paper.⁹²

IOBAGIO CASTRI – NOBILIS CASTRI – NOBILIS REGNI.
IOBAGI DE CETATE, NOBILI AI CETĂȚII, NOBILIME. EVOLUȚIA
UNEI PĂTURI SOCIALE IN COMITATUL KRIŽEVCI

Rezumat

În epoca Arpadiană, societatea din regatul Ungariei a fost divizată în mai multe grupuri. Fiecare grup avea propriul său statut, ceea ce înseamnă că fiecare grup deținea un sistem complex de obligații și drepturi, specifice exclusiv grupului respectiv. Unul dintre acestea a fost statutul iobagilor de cetate (*iobagiones castri*). Pe de o parte, aceștia aveau mai puțină libertate decât nobilii, dar, pe de altă parte, aveau mai puține obligații decât stările numite *castrenses*. Diversitatea socială dispare până în secolul al XIV-lea și diviziunea se reduce la două mari grupuri: nobili și iobagi. În Slavonia însă, iobagii de cetate sunt menționați în documente și în secolul al XIV-lea. În secolul următor apare un nou termen în documente – nobili ai cetății (*nobiles castri*) – și, în paralel, sintagma *iobagiones castri* dispare. Studiul de față analizează și compară caracteristicile celor două straturi sociale și ilustrează evoluția unui grup social distinct, prin similitudini și diferențieri.

nostri Kemlek constituti et commorantes (DF. 233345). For the lesser nobility (Hung. *egytelkes*) generally see: Tibor Neumann, "Egytelkes nemes". Egy középkori fogalom magyarázatához," *Történelmi Szemle* LIV, 2 (2012): 337–345.

⁹¹ DL. 3768.

⁹² After 1430 among the castle nobles of Kalnik started the formation of a noble community, but is never reached the level of the noble community of Turopolje. In the charters they named themselves in the 16th century as nobiles, who live around the castle of Kalnik (e.g. DL. 104225). The noble community of Turopolje could hold their liberty till 1874, Laszowski, *Plemenita općina*; Péter Rokay, "A Túrmezei kerület," in Radics Kálmán ed. *Vármegyék és szabad kerületek I–II. Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár közleményei*, (Debrecen, 2001) 307.

BEHIND THE ARCHONTOLOGY OF KRASSÓ COUNTY (REMARKS ON THE PERSONNEL AND THE OPERATION OF THE COUNTY AUTHORITIES IN KRASSÓ)*

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Keywords: Krassó County, comes, vicecomes, noble judge

Cuvinte cheie: comitatul Caraș, comite, vicecomite, jude nobiliar

As far as medieval institutions are concerned, the so-called noble counties are amongst the ones which have been investigated the most thoroughly. The history of noble counties and their operation have been in the focus of research since the late 19th century¹, but the revival of the interest in the subject matter can be dated around the second millennium.² Although several aspects of the topic have already been revealed, the completion of the systematic investigation

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¹ The earliest references can be found in county monographs of the late 19th century, while specific studies discussing the topic are from the first half of the 20th century. See the following works: Gyula Gábor, *A megyei intézmény alakulása és működése Nagy Lajos alatt* (Budapest, 1908); József Holub, *Zala megye története a középkorban. I. A megyei és egyházi közigazgatás története* (Pécs, 1929); Géza Istváni, “A generalis congregatio I–II,” *Levéltári Közlemények* 17 (1939): 50–83 and 18–19 (1940–1941): 179–207. Concerning the medieval Temesköz region see: *Temes vármegye. Magyarország vármegyéi és városai*, ed. Samu Borovszky, Budapest, (1896); Sándor Márki, *Aradvármegye és Arad szabad királyi város története*, vol. II/1. (Arad, 1892); Pesty Frigyes, *Krassó vármegye története*, vol. I–II/1–2. (Budapest, 1882–1884); Frigyes Pesty, *Oklevelek Temesmegye és Temesvárváros történetéhez*, ed. Tivadar Ortway, vol. IV/1. (1183–1430) (Pozsony, 1896).

² The contribution of Csukovits Enikő, Zsoldos Attila, Tringli István, C. Tóth Norbert, Horváth Richárd, Neumann Tibor and W. Kovács András is undisputable in this matter as their academic articles, studies and document publications revealed new aspects in the history of noble counties. Some of their main works will be cited throughout the paper.

of noble counties in medieval Hungary has not been finished yet.³ This paper intends to continue the academic discussion on the topic through the example of Krassó County. The scope of the present study, however, is restricted to the description of the direction and the work of the county authorities with reference to its personnel.

The medieval archontology of Krassó County was published in the work of Pál Engel.⁴ Although the list of the office holders (*ispáns*, *alispáns* and the captains of castles on the territory of the county) is fairly complete, some new facts could be added to the already existing records. Referring to the list of *ispáns* and *alispáns*, mainly corrections were made to the years of the functions of the office holders. Besides these clarifications, the noble judges missing from Engel's works were included and their number also became cleared in a recent study.⁵ The current paper intends to analyse the existing lists of archontology so as to investigate certain aspects of the history of the county, that of the operation of the county authorities through its personnel. Therefore, it firstly discusses the prestige of the ispanate of Krassó, then the regularity and the occasions when the *ispáns* were present in the county are to be examined. Secondly, the careers and the affiliation of some deputies will be discussed and finally, the third component of the county authorities, the noble judges are to be inspected. Besides focusing mostly on whether their list can be extended or not from the list of people who accompanied noble judges in conducting investigations, the paper will also attempt to reveal the findings about their landed possessions, and additionally, certain suggestions about the affiliation of the noble judges will be made as well.

Overview

What did a noble county look like? The transformation of royal counties into noble counties started in the last decades of the 13th century. As far as it

³ See these recent papers Richárd Horváth, Tibor Neumann, Norbert C. Tóth, "Pontot az „i-re". A Magyarország világi archontológiája című program múltja, jelene és jövője," *Turul* 86 (2013): 41–52.; Zoltán Iusztin, "The Noble Judges in Timiș County (14th–15th Centuries)," *Transylvanian Review* XXII, suppl. no. 4 (2013): 253–264; Zoltan Iusztin, "Comitele de Timiș. Un baron al regatului medieval Maghiar," *Analele Banatului*, Serie Nouă, Arheologie-Istorie XIX (2011): 258–265; István Kádas, "Megyei emberek az északkelet-magyarországi megyei oklevelekben," in Judit Gál, István Kádas, Márton Rózsa, Eszter Tarján, ed., *Micae Mediaevals. Fiatal történészek dolgozatai a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*, vol. IV. (Budapest, 2015), 107–123.

⁴ Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. I–II. (Historia Könyvtár. Kronológiák, adattárak 5.), (Budapest, 1996). (digital version: *Családtörténet, heraldika, honismeret*. DVD könyvtár IV. (Arcanum Digitéka), [Budapest, 2003], "Ispánok – Krassó".

⁵ Elek Szaszko, "Adalékok Krassó megye történetéhez. Krassó megye archontológiája (1319–1439)," *Turul* 86 (2013): 60–65.

can be told, the idea of the establishment of a new type of county institution emanated from the central power at the very end of the 1270s. Due to social and institutional changes accelerated by the donations of royal land, the system of royal counties was dissolved between 1270 and 1320, and they gradually shifted into their second age, that of noble counties. This process naturally took years or decades to be completed and its completion differed in each region within the Kingdom of Hungary.⁶ As far as the Temesköz region is concerned, the earliest data about the new institution are from the first half of the 14th century – Arad (1311), Csanád (1340), Keve (1342), Krassó (1319) and Temes (1321)⁷ – the time when noble counties had become institutionalised throughout the kingdom. This period is characterized by three major innovations: first, the noble judges (*szolgabírák*) joined the comital court, and thereby emerged the classical county tribunal, the *sedria*. Second, the *udvarispán*, who had hitherto acted as a deputy to the *ispán*, was replaced by the *alispán*, whose relation to the *ispán* is often described within the framework of *familiaritas*. Thirdly, the number of sources also increased compared to the former period since the judicial work of the county authorities is better documented from the early 14th century.⁸

The very first document related to the operation of Krassó County is from 1319, in which Simon – from the Kacsics kindred – the *ispán* of the county (1319–25) had a complaint recorded about an illegitimate transportation of the inhabitants of village Egres and ordered his men – one of them was most probably his deputy – to investigate the case who, then, reported the execution of the investigation and testified an interdiction.⁹ The case exemplifies well the usual legal matters which the county authorities often dealt with and the proceedings they were asked to do.

⁶ István Tringli, “Megyék a középkori Magyarországon,” in Tibor Neumann, György Rácz eds., *Honoris causa. Tanulmányok Engel Pál emlékére. Analecta Mediaevalia*, vol. III (Piliscsaba–Budapest, 2008), 496–497; Norbert C. Tóth, “A nemesi megye a középkori Magyarországon. Öt megye példája,” *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Szemle* 45 (2010/4): 405–413.

⁷ For the cited counties see the Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary of the Hungarian National Archives (*A középkori Magyarország levéltári forrásainak adatbázisa DL-DF 4.2. CD-ROM*, György Rácz ed., [Archanum Digitéka]. Budapest, 2003, and its digital version available on the website of the Hungarian National Archives: *Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica. A középkori Magyarország levéltári forrásainak adatbázisa. DL-DF 5.1.* 2009. <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a140506htm?v=pdf&a=start>). Arad: Diplomatikai Levéltár (further on: DL) 91166, Csanád: DL 76623, Keve: DL 40898, Krassó: see footnote nr. 9. For Temes see the study of István Petrovics, “A Temes megyei tisztikar legkorábbi kiadványai,” in *Acta Universitatis Scientiarum Szegediensis. Acta Historica CXVI* (Szeged, 2002): 21–29.

⁸ Tringli, “Megyék,” 497–501.

⁹ 1319: DL 50668., published in Frigyes Pesty, *Krassó vármegye története*, vol. III (Budapest, 1882), 7.

The “Ispáns”

Just like the royal county, the noble county was led by the *ispán* (*comes*) who represented the king, and as before, was appointed by the king generally from among the barons.¹⁰ It can be said that the list of the *ispáns* (and the *alispáns*) of Krassó is relatively complete.¹¹ But how prominent was to be the head of Krassó in the 14th–15th centuries? With reference to the administration of the south-eastern region, the office (*honor*)¹² of Krassó kept changing since its foundation. First it seems that the territory of Krassó County was divided into smaller *honors*¹³ which were gradually unified upon royal intention during the first ispanate of Szeri Pósa (1325–46). From the 1360s until the end of the Angevin period nine castles and their appurtenances¹⁴ belonged to the authority of the *ispáns* making the *honor* of Krassó a lucrative and a politically significant office. Later on, the ispanate of Krassó was united with the one of Keve for the first time under Szécsényi Tamás (1346–49) and from the second half of the 14th century the two counties were linked to the authority of the ban of Szörény, and then to the *ispán* of Temes which contributed to the concentration of administration in the “lower parts” making the office even more prestigious.¹⁵ Considering these facts, it is not surprising if members of the highest political elite were amongst the regular office holders of Krassó (e.g. palatines: Opuliai László [1367–71]

¹⁰ C. Tóth, “A nemesi megye,” 406–407.

¹¹ Engel, “Archontológia, Ispánok – Krassó,” and Szaszko, “Krassó megye,” 61–63.

¹² For the description of the *honor* system see Pál Engel, “A honor. A magyarországi feudális birtokformák kérdéséhez,” in Enikő Csukovits, ed., *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok* (Budapest, 2003), 73–100. and Pál Engel, “Honor, vár, ispánság. Tanulmányok az Anjou-királyság kormányzati rendszeréről,” in Enikő Csukovits, ed., *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok* (Budapest, 2003), 101–161.

¹³ It is suggested by the fact that in the 1310s and 1320s the royal castles on the territory of Krassó were not administered by a single person. The first *ispán*, Simon from the Kacsics kindred appears as the *comes* of Érsomlyó (1919) and (Mező)Somlyó from 1319 to 1322 besides being the *comes* of Krassó. A bit later Érsomlyó was in the hands of Jánki Miklós together with Krassófő (1323), then it was administered by the archbishop of Kalocsa (1335). Illyéd was also assigned to several office holders like Henc fia János (before 1319) and Kartali Tamás (1319) before Szeri Pósa received it while having the title of *comes* of Krassó (1325–26). See György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. III (Budapest, 1987), 474 and Engel, “Archontológia, Ispánok – Krassó, Várnagyok és várbirtokosok – Érsomlyó, Illyéd, Kissomlyó, Krassófő”.

¹⁴ Engel, „Archontológia, Várnagyok és várbirtokosok – Haram, Borzafő, Érsomlyó, Krassófő, Illyéd, Mezősomlyó, Sebes, Galambóc and Kövesd”.

¹⁵ Pál Engel, “Vár és hatalom. Az uralom területiális alapjai a középkori Magyarországon,” in Enikő Csukovits, ed., *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok* (Budapest, 2003): 182–183; Iusztin, “Comitele de Timiș,” 258–265.

and Garai Miklós [1375–86], *magister agazonum*: Lackfi Dénes [1355–60], bans of Szörény like Szécsi Miklós [1354–55], Lackfi Dénes, Losonci László and Losonci István [1386–88] or the ban of Bulgaria: Himfi Benedek [1365–67 and 1371–75]).¹⁶

The royal intention to unify the administration in the Temesköz continued and reached its peak during the Era of Sigismund, first, under Csáki Miklós and Marcali Miklós (1394–1402) and then under Ozorai Pipo (1404–27). The latter cumulated the titles of seven counties (Csanád, Arad, Krassó, Keve, Csongrád, Zaránd and Fejér) besides being the ban of Szörény and the ispán of Temes, which provided him the rank of baron.¹⁷ Following Pipo's death, two of the *homo novus* Tallóci brothers, Matkó and Frank were in charge of the administration of the ispanates in the southern region from 1429 to 1438 which made them quickly receive both social and political prestige in the 1430s and 1440s.¹⁸

All in all, examining the list of the *ispáns* of Krassó, it shows that it was an integral part of one of the most important and prestigious offices during the 14th and the 15th centuries, despite the fact that some of its royal castles and their appurtenancies were alienated to private owners following the donations in the Era of Sigismund.¹⁹ The office was often awarded to dignitaries or to beneficiaries, so the political significance of the *ispáns* of Krassó is unquestionable. It is also evident, therefore, that the head of the county was hardly ever chosen from the local landowners. The trust of the royal power was well shown if lords with local interests, like the Pósafigs in the first half of the 14th century²⁰, – amongst whom not only Pósa, and two of his sons, János and László were in charge of the administration of Krassó, but their brother István as well²¹ – or Himfi Benedek in the 1360s,²² were appointed to hold the *honor* of Krassó. As

¹⁶ Engel, "Archontológia, Bárók" and Szasztkó, "Krassó megye," 61–63.

¹⁷ Pál Engel, "Ozorai Pipo. Ozorai Pipo emlékezete," in Enikő Csukovits, ed., *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok* (Budapest, 2003), 258–261.

¹⁸ Pál Engel, *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban (1387–1437)* (Budapest, 1977), 78–81.

¹⁹ The castle of Kövesd went to the hands of the Csáki family after 1390 but it was later exchanged from them to the castle of Adorján. Kövesd, then, was in the possession of the Macedonai family (Engel, "Királyi hatalom," 127.). The castle of Érsomlyó also appears to be alienated, first to Perényi Miklós, then to Brankovics György (Engel, "Királyi hatalom," 109–110.).

²⁰ Elek Szasztkó, *A Szeri Pósafigak. Egy előkelő dél-alföldi család története a 14–15. században* (unpublished PhD dissertation Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2014), (22–30). Available at https://www.academia.edu/7209933/A_Szeri_P%C3%B3safig_csal%C3%A1d_PhD_disszert%C3%A1ci%C3%B3_The_Szeri_P%C3%B3safig_family_PhD_dissertation and Ligia Boldea "O carieră politică în epoca angevină: Posa de Szer, comite de Caraș," *Banatica* 24/II (2014): 233–261.

²¹ Szasztkó, "Krassó megye," 62.

²² Engel, "Honor, vár, ispánság," 115–117.

a consequence, the office holding contributed to the rising reputation of the person and his family.

The royal authority vested multiple tasks in the *ispáns* and from the point of view of the operation of the county authorities the most important one was jurisdiction.²³ It can be stated, however, that the *ispáns* seldom conducted their official judiciary duty in person. Their absence from the county is quite understandable knowing that most of the *ispáns* of Krassó were dignitaries. The county law courts (the *sedrias*), which discussed minor legal matters of the county's nobility, were handed over to the deputies, however, it was not exceptional either – but definitely not regular – if the *ispáns* were present at these courts during the first half of the 14th century.

Considering that the ispanate was entrusted to the Pósafigs in this period who were not dignitaries nor barons but members of a prestigious wealthy noble family with local interests, their appearance in the county is more understandable. The first known case is seen in a report of the chapter of Arad which informs us about three noblemen from Krassó County who had to pay off certain fines before Szeri Pósa in 1330.²⁴ Another example is from around November 1346, when Pósa and his company were attacked and robbed at village Petre in Temes County while they were heading home (not mentioned in the source but most probably to Sződi in Arad County where stood the family's mansion) from the office of Pósa (*de honore suo*).²⁵ Our last examples are from his second ispanate when the old-aged Pósa visited Krassó in person in 1350 and in 1352 and he issued two documents related to county affairs in a castle belonging to his office, called Illyéd.²⁶ The next *ispán*, Szeri János, the son of Pósa (1349–1350), for instance, brought his long-running dispute with Jánki Miklós over the borders of their neighbouring estates to the county's *sedria* in 1349.²⁷ In this

²³ It is a general phenomenon that it is difficult to learn about those functions of the noble counties which were not related to jurisdiction even in the well-documented counties. It is known that besides jurisdiction the counties completed military tasks with the county *banderia*, or that they were in charge of executive and administrative tasks as laws and decrees – either general or local ones – were officially announced here. The counties played an important role in tax collection as well. Moreover, from the 15th century the counties could send their representatives to the diets as well. However, because of the nature and the number of the sources, it is rather accidental to get detailed knowledge about the above mentioned functions (Tringli, “Megyék,” 504–505. and Norbert C. Tóth, *Szabolcs megye működése a Zsigmond-korban* (Nyíregyháza, 2008), 28, 135–139.).

²⁴ July 4, 1330: DL 91246.

²⁵ Nov. 25, 1346 > Dec. 7, 1346: DL 91375. and Nov. 25, 1346 > Dec. 12, 1346: DL 91376. These data also provide information about the end of the first ispanate of Szeri Pósa. See: Szasztkó, “Szeri Pósafigak,” (34–35) and Szasztkó, “Krassó megye,” 61.

²⁶ 1350: DL 91419. and 1352: DF 254974.

²⁷ 1349: DL 91401. and DL 91408.

case, of course, he did not act as the head of the county, and the documents were issued in the name of the four noble judges.²⁸ According to three other documents from 1351 and 1353, when László, the other son of Pósa held the title, he also handled certain issues personally. In the first case, László was the petitioner or the suitor at the *sedria* where he made a complaint about the murdering and sacking of two of his serfs.²⁹ The procedure is unique, because the *ispáns* hardly ever had to cope with a case like this personally. It was rather his procurators who were usually sent to the *sedria* to represent the interest of the lord. In the second and the third cases, it was certified by László himself together with the noble judges that *magister* Himfi János paid off certain amount of his liabilities to the widow of another local nobleman called Bede and to her son, István.³⁰ The last recorded case when the *ispán* acted in person at the *sedria* happened when Szécsi Miklós issued a testimony for Pósafi László about his protest in 1354.³¹ The difference between this case and the ones mentioned in connection with the Pósafig is that Szécsi was the ban of Szörény, who, as a high dignitary, was absolutely not supposed to carry out the proceedings personally.

Besides the county law courts, the *ispáns* regularly convoked – upon royal order – and presided personally over the so-called general assemblies of the county (*congregatio generalis*). Observing the list of the recorded occasions from Krassó County (see Table 1), the practice was the same countrywise, however, general assemblies not presided over by the *ispán* himself were not unprecedented, either. The first document from an assembly was issued by the four noble judges in 1340, however, it is mentioned in the text that having heard certain claims Szeri Pósa, the *ispán* of the county, rose from his seat (*de loco suo tribunalii magister Posa de Zer comes dicti comitatus de Karasu consurgendo*) and prohibited the claimer from abusing a land. Two years later, Szeri Pósa issued a surety as a judge, however, in 1343 it was his deputy who presided over the assembly. It is also interesting to see whether those *ispáns* who were dignitaries were present at or absent from the assemblies. During the ispanate of Szécsényi Tamás (1346–49), it was his deputy, Rimai Mihály, who was in charge of this duty, while Lackfi Dénes (1355–60) dealt with the matters appearing at the assemblies himself, even with the less significant ones as well. All in all, the absence of the *ispáns* did not necessarily follow from the fact that the county was headed by a high ranking baron with chief offices. As it could be seen, even

²⁸ For the phenomenon see: Tringli, “Megyék,” 511. and C. Tóth, “Szabolcs megye,” 55–56.

²⁹ 1351: DL 93922.

³⁰ MNL P 1732. Antal Fekete Nagy, *A Temesi bánság oklevéltára* (manuscript) box 1 fol. 289. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 127.) and MNL P 1732. Fekete Nagy Antal: *A Temesi bánság oklevéltára* (manuscript) box 1 fol. 292. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 132.)

³¹ December 18, 1354: DL 91469.

the dignitaries appeared as acting members of the county authorities until the 1360s, however, their presence was not regular, either.

Table 1 – The General County Assemblies in Krassó County

Date	Place	The Case	Source Reference
September 19, 1340	Haram	in the name of Szeri Pósa, the head of Krassó, the four noble judges of the county prohibited János (the son of Gene) from handing over <i>possessio Feyryghaz</i> (Fehéregyház) to the sons of <i>Kemen</i>	DL 91312.
July 4, 1342	Érdsomlyó	Szeri Pósa and the four noble judges of Krassó issued a surety for Pál (the son of Him) about the penalty of a murder committed by the bailiff of Jakab (the son of Mihály)	MNL P 1732. Fekete Nagy Antal: <i>A Temesi bánság oklevéltára</i> (manuscript) box 1 fol. 181. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 84.)
May 15, 1343	Haram	Péter (the son of Loránd), the deputy of Szeri Pósa, recorded the complaint of Himfi János and Benedek (the sons of Pál) against <i>Bratan</i> kenéz who had stolen some money from their <i>officialis</i>	MNL P 1732. Fekete Nagy Antal: <i>A Temesi bánság oklevéltára</i> (manuscript) box 1 fol. 191. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 87.)
before November 22, 1347		Rimai Mihály, the deputy of Szécsényi Tamás, referred to a previous assembly in one of his cases	DL 41063.
June 26, 1348	Haram	Rimai Mihály, the deputy of Szécsényi Tamás, recorded the complaint of Mezősomlyói Mihály against Himfi János	DL 41079.
November 18–21, 1355	Haram	Lackfi Dénes, <i>magister agazonum</i> and the head of Krassó, recorded the complaint of Pósafi Balázs against Jánki Miklós	DL 91483.
October 3–6, 1357	Érdsomlyó	1) Lackfi Dénes, <i>magister agazonum</i> and the head of Krassó, recorded the complaint of Pósafi László against the kenéz of Holmás 2) the county authorities (the <i>ispán</i> and the noble judges) testified together with the noble jurors that Kövespatak donated to Besenyő János has always been under royal possession	1) DL 91506. 2) MNL P 1732. Fekete Nagy Antal: <i>A Temesi bánság oklevéltára</i> (manuscript) box 1 fol. 315. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 16/c.)

Date	Place	The Case	Source Reference
July 22–30, 1405	nearby Mezősomlyó	1) Ozorai Pipo testified that the deputies of Becse robbed the serfs and six retainers of Berekszői Miklós and János 2) Ozorai Pipo postponed the case between his deputies and two former noble judges of Krassó to the next assembly held in Temesvár	1) DL 29220. 2) DL 57402. = ZsO II. 4069–4071.
August 19–23, 1409	nearby Mezősomlyó	Ozorai Pipo testified an agreement on a recompensation between his deputy, Gyertyánosi Jakab and Dobozi Dán Demeter	DL 53492. = ZsO II. 6996.

To continue with the period afterwards, it is seen how markedly different it was since there is not any written evidence left to the presence of the *ispáns* in Krassó after the 1360s. Analysing the counties in the North-Eastern region, C. Tóth Norbert assessed that by the middle of the Angevin period, (sooner or later depending on local circumstances), the *ispán* disappeared from the county administration, and left the direction of the county court and judicial work to the deputy or deputies.³² Consequently, the change in Krassó County can be explained by this general tendency. On the other hand, the phenomenon in Krassó can most probably be related to the process of the concentration of administration of the “lower parts” which contributed to the shift starting from the mid 1360s.³³ This period falls to the ispanate of Himfi Benedek (Ban of Bulgaria), Opuliai László and Garai Miklós (palatines), whose status explains well their absence from the county affairs. In the early 15th century, however, the practice returned for a while under the ispanate of Ozorai Pipo (1404–26). In 1405 and 1409 he held assemblies for Krassó County, but later he did not appear to deal with judicial issues personally in his counties³⁴, so most probably his presence in the above mentioned cases – especially in the first one – can be connected to the consolidation of the power of Sigismund following the coup against him in 1401–1403.

The Deputies (Alispáns)

In practice, the direction of the county was left to the deputies (*alispáns*), who were initially called *curialis comes* and then *vicecomes*. Their presence in the judicial

³² C. Tóth, “Szabolcs megye,” 141., and C. Tóth, “A nemesi megye,” 408–409.

³³ Engel, “Ozorai Pipo,” 258.

³⁴ Of course Pipo was often present in the „lower parts”, especially in Temesvár, but these visits can mostly be related to his military activities (Engel, “Ozorai Pipo,” 265–266 and Norbert C. Tóth, “Zsigmond király tisztviselőinek itineráriuma I. (Uralkodásának elejétől az 1420-as évekig),” *Századok* 138 (2004): 481–488.

and administrative work of the county reflects to their significant role in the life of the county community. Therefore, the analysis of the careers, the social background and the affiliation of the deputies unquestionably contribute to the better understanding of the personnel and the operation of the county authorities from several aspects. First, the example of two *alispáns* is chosen to show the results of the approach which combines social and family history with institutional history.

In general, the deputies were appointed from among the followers of the *ispán*, therefore, similarly to their lords, they were not always selected from among the local noblemen, either.³⁵ Around 10 of the 51 known deputies in Krassó can still be identified as local landowners or ones from the region of Arad or Temes Counties.³⁶ The number indicates the assumption that the Pósafigs as local *ispáns* appointed most of their deputies from local noblemen³⁷, however, it is difficult to identify precisely all of them. For example, the first three deputies of Szeri Pósa – Pósa (1325), László (1331) and Bekov (1342) – are mentioned only once without any reference to their estates or to their family ties. The same can be said about Péter, the son of Loránd (1340–44) and Fejes (*dictus*) Gergely (1345–46) despite the fact that they appear quite regularly in the documents. More can be told about Péter, the son of Him (1349–50) and Bereck, the son of Dénes (1352–53) whose genealogy and affiliation are highlighted by other sources as well.

As far as Péter is concerned, he was one of the chief retainers (*familiares*) of the Pósafig family. His service dates back to 1330 when he acted as a royal man in testifying the introduction of two estates (Küke and Vetelnek) in Krassó County to the Pósafigs. His career continued as procurator at both chief courts (1339, 1343 and 1344) and in local affairs (1344 and 1346). It is also known that he received one third of certain fines as salary and he was entitled *comes* – referring not to an office but to his social status – in 1344.³⁸ As far as his family

³⁵ C. Tóth, “A nemesi megye,” 408–409.

³⁶ For all the data referring to the deputies of Krassó see Engel, “Archontológia, Ispánok – Krassó,” (digital version) and Szaszko, “Krassó megye,” 61–63. The verification of the number will be done in another paper supported by the Bolyai-project.

³⁷ Although Himfi Benedek also had local interests, the list of his *alispáns* cannot be used as a reference in this case since, for instance, his chief retainer, Sárosdi János (the son of Péter), the *alispán* of Krassó (1366–67), of Vas (1370) and Temes (1372) originated from Zala County (Engel, “Honor, vár, ispánság,” 116–117.).

³⁸ 1330: DL 91549. – The date of the donation is ambiguous because the text of the transcription preserving the donation itself is fragmented exactly where the year of the donation is given. However, it is mentioned in the transcript that the original donation charter was sealed with the medium sized royal seal of Charles I lost in the campaign against Basarab in 1330 (*quasdam litteras ipsius domini Karoli regis patentes mediocri suo sigillo in partibus Transalpinis casualiter deperdito consignatas*). What is legible from the date is *m^o[...]sy^{mo}* and the deleted word *nono* written above. Considering all above, the donation, hence the act of Péter, can be dated to the

background is concerned, hardly anything is known about it. It is tempting to see Péter as one of the members of the Himfi family³⁹, however, it is highly unlikely that the deputy of Krassó was identical with the brother of Himfi Benedek.⁴⁰ Less is known about Bereck, but the fact that he appeared before the *sedria* at Mezősomlyó in 1340 proves that he resided in Krassó County⁴¹, while the second data about him from the turn of 1342 and 1343 may show his affiliation with the Pósa family as Bereck was one of the nominated royal men for Szeri Pósa to testify the borders of Küke and Vetelnek.⁴² All what we know about the affiliation of royal men⁴³, and the fact that Bereck later became the *alispán* of Krassó during Pósa László, suggest that he had certainly been well known and trusted by the Pósa family earlier, but it does not evidently prove that he also served them as a retainer in the 1340s.⁴⁴

year 1330, 1339: DL 91303, 1343: DL 91333, DL 91336, 1344: DL 100017, DL 91354 (with the title *comes*), 1346: DL 91374.

³⁹ Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu, "Despre familiars și familiaritas în cazul familiei Himfi," *Apulum* XLIV (2007): 368–369, and Ligia Boldea, "Structuri domeniiale în Banatul medieval de câmpie. Date asupra patrimoniului funciar al unui comite de Caraș din perioada angevină," *Analele Banatului*, Serie Nouă, Arheologie-Istorie XXI (2013): 244.

⁴⁰ For consideration see the following facts: 1) the beginning of Péter's service starts in 1330 and it is continuous in the 1340s while Himfi Benedek appears first in 1343 and Himfi Péter in 1347 (for the latter see: Pál Engel, *Középkori magyar genealógia – Him rokonsága Table 1 and 2* [digital version: *Családtörténet, heraldika, honismeret. DVD könyvtár IV.* (Arcanum Digitéka), [Budapest, 2003]), 2) the tasks that Péter was in charge of are not compatible with the social status of the Himfi family in the 1340s (Kornél Szovák, "Meritorum apud Dominum fructus cumulatorum. Megjegyzések a 14. század főúri vallásosságához", in Péter Tusor, ed., *R. Várkonyi Ágnes Emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója ünnepére* [Budapest, 1998], 80–83 and Richárd Horváth, "Bigámista volt-e Himfi Benedek bolgár bán? Adalékok a Döbrentei Himfi család történetéhez," *Turul* 83 [2010] 116), and last but not least 3) the way how Péter is referred to in the sources is always Péter, the son of Him (*Heym/Hem/Heem*), while Himfi Benedek and Péter almost always appear as the son of Pál, (who was) the son of Him often together with the phrase *de Remethe* (see the *Index* of the appropriate volumes of *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*, ed. I–VI. Gyula Kristó, VII. László Blazovich, Lajos Géczi, VIII–IX. László Blazovich, X. László Blazovich, Lajos Géczi, XI–XIII. Tibor Almási, XIV. Tibor Almási– Tamás Kőfalvi, XV. Ildikó Tóth, XVII. Gyula Kristó, XIX. Gyula Kristó, Ferenc Makk, XX. Ferenc Piti, XXIII–XXIV. Ferenc Piti, XXV. Ferenc Sebők, XXVI–XXVII. Ferenc Piti, XXVIII–XXX. Ferenc Piti, XXXIV. Éva Teiszler, XXXVIII. Éva B. Halász. Budapest–Szeged, 1990–2014).

⁴¹ MNL P 1732. Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 169. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 77.)

⁴² November 11, 1342 > January 15, 1343: DL 91330.

⁴³ Pál Engel, "Királyi emberek Valkó megyében", in Csukovits Enikő, ed., *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok*, (Budapest, 2003), 578–599 and Norbert C. Tóth, "Szabolcs megye ismeretlen ispánjai Mátyás király uralkodása idején," *Szabolcs-szatmár-beregi Szemle* 42 (2007/2): 160.

⁴⁴ Kasza-i Gergely, the subcaptain of Sebes (1350), however, had also been mentioned earlier

The significance of the question of affiliation has been highlighted by recent studies. Since it may reveal lord-retainer relationship, the collection of prosopographical data on the deputies may also contribute to the extension of the list of *ispáns* with those ones who – otherwise – were not mentioned in the sources. At least, the list of C. Tóth Norbert on Szabolcs County from 1461 to 1490 is worth consideration.⁴⁵ However, it has to be noted that – by examining Abaúj County in the second half of the 15th century – Horváth Richárd pointed out that contrary to the suggestions of the previous literature the relationship between the *ispáns* and *alispáns* should not be described automatically as a cross-compliant lord–retainer relationship.⁴⁶ Considering both remarks, the suggested method might be applied to Krassó County as well since two periods need clarification with regards to the identity of the *ispáns*.

The first period is the second half of the 1360s. Engel Pál suggested that the office of Krassó was held by palatine Opuliai László from 1367 to 1372 following Himfi Benedek. Although none of the medieval documents mention the palatine with this title, two arguments should be taken into consideration. Firstly, based on Engel's database of archontology, not only the rotation of certain offices between the same dignitaries/office holders can be captured, but its intended nature as well which indicates a higher probability of the appearance of a person in a given office. It is seen from *Table 2* that Himfi Benedek and Fedémesi Szobonya László exchanged the ispanates of Pozsony and Krassó with Keve one after another while Himfi and Opuliai László also appear to straight follow each other first in Krassó and Keve⁴⁷ and then in the offices of Temes and Vas with Sopron.⁴⁸

as a royal man proceeding in a legal case for Szeri Pósa in 1347 (December 12, 1347: DL 91386). For the Kaszai family see: Szaszko, "Szeri Pósa fiak," (49–50)

⁴⁵ C. Tóth, "Szabolcs megye," 39 and C. Tóth, "Ismeretlen ispánok," 154–163.

⁴⁶ While the Perényi family dominated the ispánate, the deputies were from amongst the retainers of the Szapolyai family (Richárd Horváth, "A Felső Részek kapitánysága a Mátyáskorban," *Századok* 137 (2003): 939).

⁴⁷ Although Himfi had to give up Krassó, he still remained the Ban of Bulgaria, which he held parallel with his brother Himfi Péter and Kórógyi László. However, soon after that, Himfi was compensated with the office of Temes on March 1, 1368 as King Louis the Great (1342–82) decided to depose Kórógyi and appoint Benedek the sole head of Bulgaria together with the castles of Temesvár, Zsidóvár, Sebes, Miháld and Orsova (DF 285837) – see also Engel, "Archontológia: Bárók – Bolgár bán and Várnagyok és várbirtokosok: Miháld, Orsova, Sebes, Temesvár, Zsidóvár." As far as the background of the decision is concerned, it can most probably be related to the concentration of resources and military power in the southern region since the intention to extend Hungarian authority over Bulgaria was on its last legs in these years due to the attacks of the *vajda* of Wallachia (Gyula Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, [Budapest, 1988], 159–160).

⁴⁸ Engel, "Archontológia: Ispánok – Keve, Krassó, Pozsony, Vas, Sopron".

Table 2 – Examples to the Rotation of Offices

The Ispanate of Pozsony	The Ispanates of Krassó and Keve	The Ispanate of Temes	The Ispanates of Vas and Sopron
Himfi Benedek (1362–65)	Fedémesi Szobonya László (1361–65)		
Fedémesi Szobonya László (1365–67)	Himfi Benedek (1365–67)	Himfi Benedek [1368–1369]	[Opuliai László] (1367–69)
Opuliai László (1367–72)	[Opuliai László] (1367–71)	Opuliai László (1369–71)	Himfi Benedek (1369–70)

Next to the intended rotation of dignitaries in offices, the appearance and the operation of the deputies also prove that Opuliai László did hold the office of Krassó. Himfi Benedek was last mentioned as *comes* of Krassó and Keve in May 8, 1367.⁴⁹ It is almost sure that he left the office either in May or in June since in July a new deputy, István (the son of István) presided over the *sedria* of Krassó⁵⁰ while formerly it had been Himfi's trusted man Sárosdi János (the son of Péter).⁵¹ It is suggested by Engel Pál that the next acting deputy in Krassó from June 15, 1368 is identical with a nobleman from Nyitra County called Onori János (the son of István), who was the man of Opuliai László.⁵² Relatively much is known about the cornerstones of his life to prove Engel's hypothesis. Before he became the deputy of Krassó, his daughters, Klára and Margit, were granted the son's rights (*prefectio*) due to the merits and services of János in the campaign in Bulgaria in 1365.⁵³ Following his office holding in Krassó, *magister* János was placed to be the captain of Gimes administered by Opuliai László and he appeared with this title when he satisfied his brother's (Miklós) daughter (*Sebe*) with her *quarta puellarum* in 1373.⁵⁴ Later, the unfortunate death of János was also recorded as he, in 1399, had been slaughtered and beheaded by *Tordamyz-i* László before his dead body was thrown into a well.⁵⁵

Onori János was last mentioned as deputy of Krassó in September 21, 1370, but he most probably left the office with his lord a year later when Opuliai László was removed from Temes upon royal order and was replaced by Himfi

⁴⁹ May 8, 1367: DL 41709. – see also Engel, "Archontológia: Ispánok – Krassó".

⁵⁰ July 29, 1367: DL 91729.

⁵¹ April 8, 1367: DL 41703. – Sárosdi followed his lord to his new offices (see note nr. 37).

⁵² Engel, "Archontológia: Ispánok – Krassó and Várnagyok és várbirtokosok – Gimes".

⁵³ June 22, 1365: DL 5399. – quoted by József Holub, "A középkori fiúsítások," *Turul* 44 (1927/2): 85.

⁵⁴ February 22, 1373: DL 6095 – quoted by Engel, "Archontológia, Várnagyok és várbirtokosok – Gimes".

⁵⁵ October 20, 1411: DL 58860.

Benedek for the second time in November 11, 1371.⁵⁶ Before, however, Onori had to leave, Gáji Csölnök Péter appears to be the deputy at a judicial assembly on 12 May, 1370.⁵⁷ This is the first time when the phenomenon described by Horváth Richárd can be captured in Krassó because *magister* Csölnök Péter⁵⁸ was the retainer of Himfi Benedek as he addressed Himfi as his lord in an undated letter.⁵⁹ What makes the content of this letter even more interesting is the fact that Csölnök Péter uses the title *comes de Crasso* while being the captain of Haram. These references, however, on the dual office holding of the deputies and the appearance of the deputies as *comes* will be discussed later in details.

Besides the second half of the 1360s, the first half of the 1390s also needs clarification with regards to the identity of the *ispáns* as these years mark the least documented period of the county. Since the number of sources is limited, the sole mention of *magister* Demeter (the son of Ernye) as deputy of Krassó in January 22, 1392 falls to an era when the *ispán* is unidentified.⁶⁰ What is known about Demeter is that he is either referred as Farchafalva-i or as Csatár-i – indicating that he resided in Krassó County – and he appears to be the trusted man of the Pósaft family in 1385.⁶¹ It might be tempting to conclude that a member of the Pósafts held the ispanate of Krassó, however, Demeter was only in charge of proceedings of legal cases taken before the palatine court and was never called *familiaris* or *officialis*, which might be a sign of a closer lord-retainer relationship hence an argument for identifying the *ispán* from the Pósafts. Even though Pósaft István (1374–91) was in charge of the ispanate of Csongrád in 1391, and his career could also explain the trust

⁵⁶ September 21, 1370: DL 52175 and November 11, 1371: DF 285841 – quoted by Engel, “Archontológia: Ispánok – Krassó and Temes”.

⁵⁷ May 12, 1370: DL 91759 – the document was issued on the seventh day of the assembly – for the use of terminology see: C. Tóth, “Szabolcs megye,” 117.

⁵⁸ His father, Gáji Csölnök (*Chulnuk/Cheulnuk*) most probably came to Krassó County with Szécsényi Tamás, at least he appears as the subcaptain of Galambóc in 1348 (November 6, 1348: DL 91393). He continued a long sue with the Pósafts over the borders of Csatár (Szasztkó, “Szeri Pósaftak,” 38–39). His son, Péter is first mentioned in 1363 (DL 51988). Despite being the man of Himfi Benedek, in 1375 his lord had a quarrel with him as the *officialis* of Péter from Ilonc robbed and heavily hit his man called Bercse-i Kenéz Miklós (DL 52234). In 1381, however, Péter was ordered by Queen Elizabeth to carry out the division of the estates amongst the Himfis to which he had been appointed most probably by the Himfi family members (DL 52359). His career, though, finished as a retainer of the rebellious Horváti János when his estates were confiscated in 1389 (November 9, 1389: DL 7533).

⁵⁹ DL 47886, *magnifico viro magistro Benedicto bano domino suo plurimum bono*.

⁶⁰ Szasztkó, “Krassó megye,” 62 and Engel, “Archontológia: Ispánok – Krassó”.

⁶¹ June 7, 1385: DL 91918, June 26, 1385: DL 91915–16. and DL 91894 – see: Szasztkó, “Szeri Pósaftak,” 54.

of King Sigismund⁶², it is rather unlikely that he should be added to the list of the possible office holders of Krassó.⁶³

With regard to the question of affiliation, it is interesting to see the case of the deputies from 1394. In the work of Pál Engel, Hídvégi László and István (the sons of János) are suggested to be in charge of the office on behalf of Szécsi Frank. However, it is only a hypothesis drawn from the fact that Szécsi was once mentioned in a chancellery note with the title of the Ban of Szörény in 1393 suggesting that he held the ispanate of Krassó and Temes as well.⁶⁴ Luckily, the Hídvégi brothers and other members of the family regularly appear in the sources from the late 13th century. As a consequence, it is possible to reconstruct their family tree and learn a few facts about their career, too, which may also contribute to the identification of their affiliation. What is known about the origin and the family background of the Hídvégis is that the family resided in Vas County and originated from the honourable Herman kindred.⁶⁵ Involvement in the county administration had a long tradition in the family history as both the grandfather (András) and the father (János) of László and István appear to be the deputies of Vas County.⁶⁶ What made the brothers leave their home county to Krassó for a short-term stay and the lord, whom they followed, however, is uncertain. As their father and their uncle called Péter were in the service of Szécsi Miklós in the 1380s⁶⁷, it indicates a close lord-retainer relationship between the Szécsi and the Hídvégi families. So, these facts are pointing towards to say that László and István were brought to the southern borders of Hungary in the retinue of Szécsi Frank. On the other hand, certain signs suggest that the Hídvégis were known by the Himfi family too, however, it has to be noted that this relation most probably developed during or following the service of László and István in Krassó.⁶⁸ To conclude, the evidence which

⁶² Szaszkó, "Szeri Pósaíak," 54–56.

⁶³ When Pósaí István was last mentioned in the sources he did not appear with any titles (May 27, 1391: DL 91975). Next time, in June 1392, it is only his widow who is mentioned so István must have died before that date (June 27, 1392: DL 91991), but we cannot make sure whether he was alive in January 1392 when Demeter appeared as the deputy of Krassó.

⁶⁴ Engel, "Archontológia: Bárók – Szörényi bán and Ispánok – Krassó, Temes," and Iusztin, "Comitele de Timiş," 261.

⁶⁵ Kálmán Baán, "A Hermán nembeli Hídvégiek és örököseik," *Magyar Családtörténeti Szemle* 9 (1943): 1–5 – However, both the family history and the genealogy of the family attached to the study seem to be outdated and need the consideration of revision.

⁶⁶ Engel, "Archontológia: Ispánok – Vas".

⁶⁷ Engel, "Archontológia: Ispánok – Pozsony and Vas".

⁶⁸ In 1411, the descendants of Döbrönteí Himfi Benedek intended to sell their estate called Torvajszentkirály in Vas County to the László and István, but both the Himfi relatives and the Gersei family members protested against this will. As the possession of the Hídvégi family,

would highlight unmistakably the lord-retainer relationship is not sufficient to identify the *ispán* of Krassó in 1394 yet, but the fact that members of the Hídvégi family were in charge of offices on behalf of the Szécsis adds another justification to the engagement of Szécsi Frank in the offices of the southern region.

Leaving the question of affiliation, another issue, the question of the involvement of the deputies in the county administration is to be concerned. Considering the responsibilities of the *alispáns*, they were assigned to do all kinds of tasks by the *ispáns*. Their mostly recorded duties, however, were related to jurisdiction since the county law courts were generally presided over by them, and, as it was highlighted, occasionally it happened that they replaced the *ispán* at the general assembly as well. To show their social reputation, the deputies were called *magisters*⁶⁹, and when the castle of Haram in the 2nd half of the Angevin Era, and later the castle of Érsmlyó in the early 15th century were linked to their office – most probably as remuneration for their service – they owned the titles: the captain of Haram and the captain of Érsmlyó. As far as the duration of their tenure is concerned, some of the deputies were in charge for approximately a year. Ozorai Pipo, for instance, changed his deputies yearly⁷⁰, amongst whom we can find three local noblemen as well⁷¹, while others were employed for a longer period of time, on average, around three years. The longest known tenure is the one of Majosfalvi Miklós' which lasted for five years (see Table 3).

Table 3 – The Longest Tenures of the Deputies of Krassó (selected)

The Name of the Deputy	Dates	The Deputy of ...
Péter (the son of Loránd)	1340. XII. 21. – 1344. III. 11.	Szeri Pósa
Rimai Mihály	1346. XII. 4. – 1349. VI. 25.	Szécsényi Tamás
István (the son of Kupsa Tamás)	1355. IX. 8. – 1358. VIII. 2.	Lackfi Dénes

called Andrásfa, lay next to Torvajszentkirály, their intention could have been to make their estate round (Balázs Zágorkhidly-Czigány, "Torvaj, a bakonybéli apátság birtoka," in Attila Bárány, Gábor Dreska, Kornél Szovák, ed., *Arcana tabularii. Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére*, vol. I. [Budapest-Debrecen, 2014], 467).

⁶⁹ For the connection between the titles and the social status see: P. Engel, "A nemesi társadalom a középkori Ung megyében," *Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* 25 (Budapest, 1998): 96–108., and P. Engel, "Nagy Lajos bárói," *Történelmi Szemle* 28 (1985): 401.

⁷⁰ The phenomenon is not a specific regional feature. The regular yearly change of the deputies was common, for instance, in Szabolcs County the 15th century (C. Tóth, "Szabolcs megye," 29 and his note nr. 126.).

⁷¹ Gyertyánosi Csép Jakab (1408–09), Benkefalvi Benke Péter (1409, 1416–18) and Szarvastelki Vaski László (1416–18) (Engel, "Ozorai Pipo," 272; Engel, "Archontológia: Ispánok – Krassó" and Szaszko, "Krassó megye," 63).

The Name of the Deputy	Dates	The Deputy of ...
Besenyői Lőrinc (the son of Domonkos)	1362. IV. 21. – 1364. VIII. 22.	Fedémesi Szobonya László
János (the son of István)	1368. VI. 15. – 1370. IX. 21.	Opuliai László
Csupor Tamás	1379. V. 4. – 1382. IX. 6.	Garai Miklós
Majosfalvi Miklós (the son of Beke)	1396. V. 2. – 1401. V. 5	Csáki and Marcali Miklós
Szerdahelyi Imre (the son of János)	1421. XI. 15. – 1425. VII. 14.	Ozorai Pipo

Concerning the phenomenon when more than one deputy was in charge of the office at the same time – described as dual office holding in the literature –, fewer problems occur if the deputies held the title for the same duration. According to both earlier and recent works, however, it is more difficult to explain why a deputy appears irregularly or only once while the operation of his fellow-deputy is consecutive.⁷² Krassó County is not exceptional from this aspect, either. Gáj-i Csölnök Péter has already appeared as an example, but the deputy whose case can be mentioned first is *Bekov* from 1342, who was the man of Szeri Pósa. While Péter (the son of Loránd) presided over seven *sedrias* in Mezősomlyó (next to the church dedicated to King Saint Stephen) and a general assembly in Haram during a three-and-a-half-year-long period from December 12, 1340 to March 11, 1344⁷³, the name of *Bekov* was only once reported in a prohibition carried out by himself on behalf of Szeri Pósa which was issued by the four noble judges at the *sedria* in Mezősomlyó.⁷⁴ Also, during the uninterrupted, almost three-year long deputy service of István (the son of Tamás) (September 8, 1355– August 2, 1358), another deputy of Lackfi Dénes in Krassó is mentioned judging at a regular county tribunal, namely Péter (the son of Iktári Betlen) (November 23, 1355).⁷⁵ The last known case is from year 1400, when Ivándi Gergely was listed next to Majosfalvi Miklós, whose tenure lasted for five years (see above), as a deputy in a response to King Sigismund in

⁷² With reference to the earlier literature, the question has been raised by C. Tóth Norbert in C. Tóth, “Szabolcs megye,” 31.

⁷³ December 21, 1340: MNL P 1732. Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 169. (Bath. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 77); November 29, 1341: MNL P 1732. Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 176. (Bath. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 79); August 1, 1342: MNL P 1732. Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 182. (Bath. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 83); August 8, 1342: DL 101899, May 15, 1343: MNL P 1732. Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 191. (Bath. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 87); November 27, 1343: DL 51261, December 18, 1343: DL 51265, March 11, 1344: DL 51280.

⁷⁴ November 28, 1342: MNL P 1732. Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 185. (Bath. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 81)

⁷⁵ Engel, “Archontológia: Ispánok – Krassó” and Szaszko, „Krassó megye,” 62.

which the county authorities reported an accomplished investigation required by the monarch.⁷⁶

What is evident from the four examples is that the dual office holding of the deputies should not be explained with the fact that there was a need for two deputies in counties with two *sedrias* as earlier literature suggested it.⁷⁷ The appearance of co-deputies seems to follow a pattern which is more explicable with the division of administrative duties related to tasks alternating from the regular judiciary duties of the deputies (and/or with some unknown reasons like the possible absence of the regular deputy). At least, the referenced examples from Krassó County seem to support an argument like that. There is a great deal of uncertainty about the case of *Bekov*, but since it is related to an affair in which the *ispán* was involved, his appointment to carry out the prohibition could have served the purpose to avoid the participation of the regular deputy. The case of Péter (the son of Iktár-i Betlen) from 1355, however, seems to exemplify the division of duties or the substitution of the regular deputy in a better way. Although the county authorities issued five documents in the name of István (the son of Tamás) from 1355 to 1358, – all but one related to typical legal matters appearing at county law courts⁷⁸ – once it was not him who was in charge of the duties. What is known for sure is that the *ispán* of the county held a four-day-long general assembly in Haram from Wednesday to Saturday (from 18 to 21 November) in 1355. As it regularly happened at these occasions the county authorities might have also been present, however, their names were not recorded and the document was authenticated by only one seal (now fragmented belonging to Lackfi Dénes).⁷⁹ Two days later, on Monday (23 November) a pledge of an oath followed by an agreement was testified by Péter (the son of Iktár-i Betlen).⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the place was not recorded in this document but some suggestions can be made. It is sure that the letter of Péter was not issued at the regular *sedria* of the county as these were held on Thursdays in this period in both Mezősomlyó and in Haram.⁸¹ With regards to the possible reconstruction of the events it could be said that the noblemen

⁷⁶ November 13, 1400: DL 53094 – The case would not require the assistance of any co-deputies.

⁷⁷ Holub, “Zala megye,” *passim*.

⁷⁸ November 8, 1355: DF 285825 – this case is the exceptional one as the county authorities were asked to clarify the status of one portion of a land and then install it to its new owners; July 14, 1356: DL 91487, August 10, 1357: DL 91504, August 2, 1358: DL 91522, 1358: DL 91530.

⁷⁹ November 21, 1355: DL 91483.

⁸⁰ November 23, 1355: DL 51690.

⁸¹ See Table 8 containing the locality and the days of *sedrias* in the Appendix, as the detailed analysis of the regularity and the operation of the county tribunals in Krassó will be discussed in another paper (compare the incorrect data of Tuesday given in the work of Enikő Csukovits, “Sedriahelyek – megyeszékhelyek a középkorban,” *Történelmi Szemle* 39 [1997]: 382.).

involved in the oath taking most probably visited the general assembly where they must have agreed on Monday to take the oath and finish their dispute, so the county authorities were ordered to stay in Haram to testify the decision of the litigants. The task was done by Péter, who appears as the deputy of Krassó and ‘the captain of Galambóc’, and two noble judges.⁸² Since Galambóc belonged to the authority of the *ispán*, there is nothing surprising in it if Lackfi Dénes ordered his man from this castle to finish the case. The reason why the task was not set for his regular deputy, István (the son of Tamás), who, incidentally, was the captain of Haram, will remain the secret of Lackfi Dénes forever.

The case of Gáji Csölnök Péter also shows similar patterns. While Onori János (the son of István) headed the county authorities at four *sedrias* during 1368, 1369 and 1370⁸³, Csölnök Péter is mentioned only once as a deputy attending the judicial assembly held by Palatine Opuliai László in May 1370.⁸⁴ It is seen that Csölnök Péter was appointed *ad hoc* to be co-deputy for this occasion, however, compared to the previously given case, this time the limited number of sources makes it unable to continue any further inquiry to answer questions like why Opuliai László, who was hitherto the *ispán* of Krassó, chose specifically him instead of his deputy-in-charge, Onori János, or to find the reason why the palatine chose a man from the retainers of Himfi Benedek to this position.⁸⁵

⁸² The document was authenticated with three seals (November 23, 1355: DL 51690). – One of the noblemen involved in the agreement (István, the son of Vörös Domonkos) was from village Gyülvész located in the south of Krassó County which may also indicate that István did visit the general assembly held in Haram (Györffy III, 484.).

⁸³ June 15, 1368: DL 91739, September 13, 1369: DL 52139, July 27, 1370: DL 52161, September 21, 1370: DL 52175.

⁸⁴ The assembly was convoked to eradicate the thieves and robbers of Krassó County hence it included the panel of judges by name: the deputy, the noble judges and the noble jurors present (May 12, 1370: DL 91759 = DL 5860). On the judicial assemblies in the Temesköz region, see Suzana Andea, “The Palatine Assemblies from Timiş and Caraş Counties and the Documents They Issued in the 14th–16th Centuries,” *Transylvanian Review*, XXII, suppl. no. 4 (2013): 265–273 (esp. 271). On the letters of proscription issued at the judicial assemblies in 1370, see Ferenc Piti, “Opuliai László proskribáló oklevele (1370),” in Mária Homoki-Nagy, ed., *Ünnepi kötet Dr. Blazovich László egyetemi tanár 70. születésnapjára*, *Acta Universitas Szegediensis. Acta Juridica et Politica* vol. LXXV (Szeged, 2013), 553–557 (esp. 556–557). On the names of the noble judges and the elected jurors, see Szasztkó, “Krassó megye,” 65.

⁸⁵ The fact that Péter was a local nobleman would not provide an answer to the question since by that time Onori János had been in service for three years in Krassó which surely made him able to get to know the local affairs. It is also have to be omitted from the reasons for Péter’s appointment that he might have represented the interest of his lord (Himfi Benedek) at the assembly as a judge so as to influence the process of the proscription. Having observed the list of the nominated offenders, four serfs of the Himfis can be found in the list (*Bratyzlou [et] Bucha iobagiones magistrorum Benedicti et Petri filiorum Pauli filii Heem in villa Radymly*

Finally, the so-called three-level administrative system has to be discussed related to the issue of the county administration. The structure of this system is described in the literature with the form of a *comes – comes/vicecomes – subvicecomes/officialis et familiaris* pattern appearing in counties headed by the highest dignitaries.⁸⁶ Indeed, a few deputies from the 14th century are called *comes* instead of *vicecomes* when high-rank barons headed Krassó County (Table 4), nevertheless, the fact that Kónyi Miklós and Geresgáli Jakab are mentioned as *familiares et vicecomites* of Szerdahelyi Imre (1421–25), the deputy of Ozorai Pipo in two documents from 1424 proves clearly that the authorities of Krassó also ran the county this way for a brief period of time.⁸⁷ However, at the present stage of the investigation there is no further sign of the appearance of this type of administration in any of the counties governed by Ozorai despite the fact that the “southern parts” were overseen by him for over two decades. Compared to the short duration of the tenures of Ozorai’s office holders in Krassó, the one of Szerdahelyi Imre was the longest amongst his deputies, so this fact might explain the need for the services of *subvicecomites*.

Table 4 – Deputies with the Title ‘Comes’

The Name of the Deputy	The Deputy of ...	Dates	Reference
István (the son of Tamás)	Lackfi Dénes (magister agazonum)	November 8, 1355	DF 285825.
		July 14, 1356	DL 91487.
Gaj-i Csölnök Péter	Himfi Benedek (Ban of Bulgaria)	August 2, [cca. 1370]	DL 47886.
László and István (the sons of Hidvég-i János)	[unknown – supposedly Szécsi Frank (Ban of Szörény)]	February 23, 1394	DL 52827.

The Noble Judges, the (Unum/Duos) Ex Nobis and the Men of the County

Naturally the *alispán* was not alone in sitting in judgment in the law-suits between the local noblemen at the sedria and in carrying out inquisitions and examinations ordered by the central courts. As a matter of fact, noble judges (*iudices nobilium*) were indispensable requisites of a noble county making the “classical” – count, deputy, noble judges – arrangement of the county authorities complete (notwithstanding, the county authorities from the late Angevin period meant the *alispán* and the noble judges). Sharp debates had been

residentes [...] Ratk iobagionem magistri Petri filii Heem in villa Egurzeg residentem and Blasium iobagionem magistri Petri filii Heem in Egurzegh commorantem [Piti, “Proskribáló,” 556–557]).

⁸⁶ Engel, “Archontológia, Ispánok – Bevezetés,” and C. Tóth, “Szabolcs megye,” 42–43.

⁸⁷ December 2, 1424: DL 54411 and 16 December, 1424: DL 54413 – The names of the *subvicecomites* are listed in the latest archontology of the county (Szaszko, “Krassó megye,” 63.).

pursued concerning the origins and functions of the office, but now it seems that the answer has been found: the name derived from the judge's function of helping the *alispán*, that is, according to the contemporary phrase: serving him (*szolgabíró* = servant judge). Until the middle of the 14th century, the office had been assumed by well-to-do local noblemen, and thereafter was increasingly monopolised by noblemen who had only a few serfs or none at all. However, the emergence of the lesser nobility among noble judges seemingly did not affect the respect they enjoyed by the county community.⁸⁸

Similarly to the majority of the Hungarian counties there were four acting noble judges in Krassó County. Compared to the counties in the Temesköz region, their activity and identity have been relatively well – though unevenly – recorded over the course of two centuries as almost 50 of them are known by name.⁸⁹ What is more, all together eleven documents contain the complete list of the noble judges of Krassó. Nine of them are from the first half of the 14th century (from the years of 1340, 1342, 1343, 1345, 1346 and 1349), while two remained from years 1357 and 1370. Complete lists were preserved basically on three occasions in Krassó County: 1) the noble judges were included in the superscription (*intitulatio*) in a regular law-suit⁹⁰, 2) when the *alispán* or the *ispán* of a county was involved in a legal case before the county tribunal, therefore, the name of the *alispán* was left out of the superscription indicating that the county authorities were represented by the noble judges⁹¹, 3) there are also accounts when the names of the noble judges were recorded at the assemblies as nominated members of the panel of judges.⁹²

Interestingly enough, from the 15th century there are no complete lists of noble judges at all. Only seven documents contain at least one or two names of

⁸⁸ Containing references to the earlier literature, especially to the works of Attila Zsoldos, see Tringli, "Megyék," 498–499, 509–510; C. Tóth, "Szabolcs megye," 60–63; and C. Tóth, "A nemesi megye," 408.

⁸⁹ For all references concerning the noble judges see: Szasztkó, "Krassó megye," 65 and the list in the Appendix of this paper. For the small number of the known noble judges from Temes County see Iusztin, "Noble Judges," 254.

⁹⁰ December 21, 1340: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 169. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 77); May 15, 1343: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 191. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 87); June 30, 1345: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 210. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 97).

⁹¹ September 19, 1340: DL 91312, November 28, 1342: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 185. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 81); March 30, 1346: DL 91368, September 17, 1349: DL 91401, October 1, 1349: DL 91404, October 22, 1349: DL 91408, December 17, 1349: DL 91409.

⁹² June 4, 1342: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 181. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 84); October 6, 1357: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 315. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 16/c/); May 12, 1370: DL 91759.

the noble judges. However, this fact does not mean that the number of noble judges was reduced to two in the Era of Sigismund at least until the summer of 1416. This is shown by the fact that some documents issued by the county start with the formula of *vicecomes et quatuor iudices nobilium* of Krassó without giving the exact names of each noble judges.⁹³ In addition to that, other documents preserved four or five traces of former seals belonging to the *alispán* and the four noble judges.⁹⁴ From 1416 onwards until 1439 a change in the number of the noble judges might be registered as the documents issued by the county authorities contain the traces or the fragments of only two or three seals (the *alispán*'s and one or two noble judges'). Nevertheless, it has to be noted that the practice of authentication by two or three seals had already existed before the mentioned period⁹⁵, but from the 1420s it can be counted as a sign of an alteration in the operation of the county authorities in Krassó. (Another phenomenon, the change in the use of the terminology referring to the men of the county from *homo noster* to *homo communis* and/or *virum nobilem* [see in details later] is also pointing towards the presumed modification of the system, which was most probably due to the desolation of the southern regions of the county).⁹⁶

Concerning the tasks, besides jurisdiction, the chief duty of the noble judges was to give testimony.⁹⁷ All the accessible documents issued by the county authorities of Krassó prove that they attended and participated in the inquests generating in the law-suits at the local *sedria* or they conducted on-site investigations upon royal command or upon the order by the highest courts of justice (for instance in prohibitions or in the cases of relocating serfs unlawfully by force). Next to that, they were the ones who were sent to summons the cited persons to appear in the court of law and pledges were also taken before them. It is also known that the noble judges took a significant role in tax-collection⁹⁸, but not any tax registers are available from Krassó County.

From the very beginning of the history of the noble counties, the authorities could always rely on the assistance of certain members of the local community

⁹³ For instance, October 17, 1405: DL 53260; March 20, 1406: DL 53283–84; August 7, 1406: DL 53341; January 7, 1407: DL 53368.

⁹⁴ March 20, 1406: DL 53283–84; February 15, 1416: DL 53879; March 19, 1435: DL 54916 (?); February 7, 1439: DL 55167 (?).

⁹⁵ Selected examples for two seals: September 1, 1387: DL 52558; June 21, 1404: DL 56518; August 29, 1411: DL 53597; December 16, 1424: DL 54413. Selected examples for three seals: September 1, 1387: DL 52559; January 22, 1392: DL 52751; November 13, 1400: DL 53094; October 4, 1438: DL 55146.

⁹⁶ This hypothesis will be discussed in details in a separate paper.

⁹⁷ C. Tóth, "Szabolcs megye," 68–69.

⁹⁸ C. Tóth, "A nemesi megye," 412–413.

to help their work. According to the study of István Kádas, these people can be grouped into three categories on the bases how they are called in the sources.⁹⁹ The largest group is made up of those who were entitled men of the county, which title clearly reflects to their authority and to the scope of their duties, namely, to provide *ad hoc* testimony on behalf of the county authorities or accompany the noble judges in conducting citations, inquisitions or imposing fines. While there were various expressions in use to refer to them (*homo vicecomitis*, *testimonium provinciae*, *homo provinciae*, *nobilis conprovincialis* etc.)¹⁰⁰, the most commonly used and the most widespread phrase for the men of the county in medieval Hungary, including Krassó County as well, was *homo noster*. Based on the comparative analysis of historian Kádas, the scope of operation of these “*homines*” differed in each medieval county, however, the proceedings can be categorised and certain methods of the authorities can be distinguished. Their number and function, for instance, depended on the counties and on the time period. In the north-eastern part of the Hungarian Kingdom these men were sent to do the less important tasks: they inquired in those proceedings which were under the authority of the county (e.g. Szabolcs, Abaúj, Sáros, Zemplén, Szatmár from the 15th century, and Bereg). In other counties, however, it could happen that the men of the county fulfilled their duties as a companion of one of the noble judges in lesser cases (e.g. Nyitra, Zala, Pozsony, Temes in the first half of the 14th century). This practice was more regularly applied in carrying out investigations ordered by either the king or by the chief courts of justice (e.g. Gömör, Tolna, Ugocsa), while in the counties of the Dunántúl the authorities were often complemented and accompanied by a clergyman sent from the *locus credibila* as a testimony.¹⁰¹ As far as Krassó County is concerned, it can be clear from the list provided in the Appendix (Table 9) – let alone a few exceptions from the 1340s – that the men of the county became active in accomplishing inquisitions and prohibitions from the 1360s. Later on, they took over further duties and replaced the noble judges in citations and imposing fines, what is more, they were involved in serf relocation issues as well. The authorities of Krassó also followed the general practice in investigations upon higher orders: in these cases either only the noble judges were in charge of the proceedings like in 1405 Bácsövös-i Borsi (*Borsy dictus*) László, in 1406 and 1407 Keresztes-i László and Szigeti János (once as *ex nobis*), or together with the men of the county, like in 1407 Szigeti János with Szigeti Kis (*Parvus*) Miklós or in 1415 Dávid with the same Miklós. In 1400 and in 1404, though, most probably the men of the county were executing the investigations, as there is no indication of

⁹⁹ Kádas, “Megyei emberek,” 108–113.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 109.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 116–119.

any titlature next to the names of Peszer-i *Chepan* Mihály, Gyalmár-i Miklós (the son of Simon) and Nendraz-i András.¹⁰²

Concerning the question of the men of the county, it has to be noted that all together there are 21 recorded cases when the men sent to the inquiries by the authorities of Krassó were called *homo communis* often with the expression *nobilis vir*. This practice became regular in the 1430s, following the sporadic appearance of this title from 1416, 1421 and 1427 (see the list in the Appendix [Table 9]). In 1416, the county authorities had a typical case to investigate: some wheat of the serfs of Gyürög-i Mihály was stolen and these serfs followed the traces of the thieves to Zalkafalva. It was less typical that the authorities sent the serf (!) of Lőrincfalva-i András called *Obrad* to the inquiry together with a man of the noble judges (*Obrad iobagio Andree filii Mathes de Lewrinchfalua tamquam communis homo unacum homine judicis nobilium .. fassum extitit*), who, then, reported that the serfs of Zalkafalva had not cooperated with them.¹⁰³ Sending a serf to an investigation, however, never happened again (and before) in the recorded cases.

Since the men of the county had the same scope of authority like the royal men or the men of the palatine/*országbíró/bán/vajda*, it is not surprising to identify them as the neighbours, the relatives or the retainers of either the litigants or of the members of the county authorities.¹⁰⁴ In 1348, for instance, the authorities sent the *famulus* of one of the noble judges for a prohibition.¹⁰⁵ The involvement of Gegusfalva-i Péter in a case on behalf of the Pósafts was also not accidental as he was one of the neighbours of them¹⁰⁶, while Helimba-i István (the son of Bodó) acting as man of the county for the Himfis in 1344 appears to be nominated as a royal man for them in 1357.¹⁰⁷ It is also apparent that we can identify trustworthy members of the community in Krassó as members of the same noble families were often entrusted with duties related to the work of

¹⁰² See all the references in the Appendix (Table 9).

¹⁰³ January 27, 1416: DL 92477.

¹⁰⁴ Norbert C. Tóth, "Hiteleshely és a királyi különös jelenlét," *Századok* 135 (2001): 411, and Norbert C. Tóth, "Adatok a megyék és a hiteleshelyek közötti viszonyra a 14. és 15. században," *Századok* 136 (2002): 358–359.

¹⁰⁵ November 6, 1348: DL 91393.

¹⁰⁶ October 22, 1349: DL 91408, the possession of Gegusfalva was adjacent to the village of the Pósafts called Fark (*Kozmafalva*) (Györffy III. 483). The same relation can be identified between the Himfis and Kilián (the son of *Poraz*) when the latter was ordered to install two third of the possession called Bodorfalva to Himfi László in 1321 (May 17, 1321: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 79. [Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 39.]). Kilián's possession called Kopajt was adjacent to Bodorfalva (Györffy III, 487, 492).

¹⁰⁷ March 11, 1344: DL 51280; February 11, 1357: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 310. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 139)

the county authorities (see *Table 5*).¹⁰⁸ There are examples where both the father and his son(s) were respected (e.g. the Kopajt-i and the Tejed-i), in other cases the siblings were in charge of these tasks (e.g. the Gegusfalva-i and the Bajla-i), and examples to the involvement of relatives can also be found with the notification that the same reference to the residence does not always indicate family relationship among the lesser nobility (e.g. the Tejed-i, Fehéregyház-i, Bajla-i, Helimba-i and Györög-i families).

Table 5 – The Trustworthy Members of the Noble Community in Krassó

Family	Noble judge	Unum ex nobis	Men of the county	Noble juror
Kopajt-i	Márk (the son of Kilián) (1342, 1343, 1345, 1346) Miklós (1347)		Kilián [1319–1325] Miklós (the son of Kilián) (1343)	
Gegusfalva-i	István (the son of Gegus) (1340, 1349, 1350)	Lukács (the son of Gegus) (1360)	Péter (the son of Gegus) (1349)	István (1357) Péter (1370)
Tejed-i	Vajda Imre (1342, 1343)	György (the son of Imre) (1357) Mihály (the son of Tejedi Dénes) (1358)		
Fehéregyház-i	Mihály (the son of Péter) (1370)	Mihály (the son of Kemen) (1355)		Mihály (the son of Kemen) (1357)
Bajla-i		László and János (the sons of Pető) (1355) Miklós (the son of Mihály) (1355)	László and János (the sons of Pető) (1362)	
Halimba-i	Imre (the son of János) (1370)	Mihály and László (the sons of Miklós) (1387)		István (the son of Bodó) (1357)
Györög-i	Miklós (1424)	László (the son of Him) (1360) Miklós (1422)	László (1360) Márk (1396, 1412)	

As far as the *homines communes* from the 1430s are concerned, many of

¹⁰⁸ A list similar to this one was made in Szabolcs County (see C. Tóth, “Szabolcs megye,” 65–66).

them appear as procurators for the Himfi family (see Table 6). Members of the Bilicei family were regularly in charge of investigations initiated by the Himfis, while it is known about Egresi Bodor Mihály, who actively participated in the administrative life of the county, that he was the *officialis* of Ankó, the widow of Himfi Imre.¹⁰⁹

Table 6 – Homo Communis and Procurators

Name	Man of the County or <i>Homo Communis</i>	<i>Procurator</i>
Toma István	1430	Oct. 28, 1430. (DL 54724.)
Bilicei Bertalan	1431	May 14, 1435. (DL 54928.)
Bilicei Bereck	1433, 1436, 1437	March 16, 1437. (DL 55073.) April 13, 1437. (DL 55121.) June 8, 1439. (DL 44253.)
Csákány Miklós	1433, 1437	Oct. 28, 1430. (DL 54724.), May 14, 1435. (DL 54928.) March 16, 1437. (DL 55073.)
Bodor Mihály (the son of Egresi Péter)	1433, April 27, 1437., July 20, 1437., Sept. 14, 1437. [without year: DL 47931.]	Oct. 28, 1430. (DL 54724.), Nov. 30, 1434. (DL 54902.) March 16, 1437. (DL 55073.) April 13, 1437. (DL 55121.)
Bilicei Miklós	1435, April 27, 1437., July 20, 1437., Sept. 14, 1437	March 16, 1437. (DL 55073.) April 13, 1437. (DL 55121.)
Jenői László (the son of Lukács)	1433	May 14, 1435. (DL 54928.) ? March 16, 1437. (DL 55073.) ¹
Nendraz-i László (the son of Lukács)	March 16, 1437.	Oct. 28, 1430. (DL 54724.), May 14, 1435. (DL 54928.) ? March 16, 1437. (DL 55073.) ¹
Torma János	March 5, 1435.	Oct. 28, 1430. (DL 54724.)
Craguli János (the son of János)	April 13, 1437.	May 14, 1435. (DL 54928.) April 13, 1437. (DL 55121.)

¹ It is not sure which László (Jenő-i or Nendraz-i) is meant by the notary as his landed possession is not indicated in the source.

With reference to the social background of these men, it can be said that similarly to other counties the noble judges and the men accompanying them were recruited from the lesser but not the poorest strata of the nobility.¹¹⁰ It did not mean, though, that sometimes the duties could not have been done by more prestigious noblemen, for instance in 1342, when Magyar István was

¹⁰⁹ July 20, 1437: DL 55097.

¹¹⁰ C. Tóth, "Szabolcs megye," 67.

in charge of a prohibition for Himfi Pál.¹¹¹ It is not known for sure, but the Himfis might have intended to put an emphasis on their claim with sending the relative of Magyar Pál (the captain of Gimes), who, otherwise, was their neighbours as well.¹¹² A century later, in 1433, Jobus László was listed amongst the investigators with the title: captain of Kövesd (hence he was the man of the Macedónia-i family).¹¹³ All in all, despite belonging to the lesser nobility the men of the county enjoyed local prestige and relations.

The second group includes those noblemen who conducted inquiries bearing the seal of the authorities, which indicated greater credibility for the mission. According to the studies on the topic, this practice was relatively common in certain periods of time in Abaúj, Gömör, Bereg, Ugocsa, Szatmár, Szabolcs, Tolna and Temes Counties.¹¹⁴ In Krassó, however, there is only one account from 1367 which mentions that the investigation was conducted by a nobleman submitting the seal of the county authorities. Pál, the *kenez* of Or, lodged a complaint against Balázs, the son of Pósa, in which he lamented that the men of Balázs had broken into his house and robbed it. The investigation – carried out by *Urusnuk-i Mihály* (*Michaelem nobilem de Urusnuk unum ex nobis cum nostro sigillo*) –, however, clarified that the men of Balázs had only retaken those sheep which had been taken earlier to Or by *Rad*, one of the serfs of Balázs from *possessio Zinis*, who had secretly and illegally left to Or but then returned to the possession of Balázs.¹¹⁵

The third group is made up of those people commissioned to carry out inquests whose name is followed by the syntagm (*unum/duos*) *ex nobis*. According to the studies of C. Tóth Norbert, Kádas István and Iusztin Zoltán, the use of these expressions obviously indicates a more formal relationship existing between the person and the county authorities than the men of the county had with the latter. However, the dangers of the automatic identification of the persons referred to as (*unum/duos*) *ex nobis* with noble judges have also

¹¹¹ August 1, 1342: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 182. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 83)

¹¹² István was most probably the son of Tamás, who was known to be the brother of Magyar Pál in 1331 (MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 118. [Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 58/b]. He and his descendants resided in Krassó County which is known from the fact that the family was named after the possession called Ermény donated to Magyar Pál in 1323 (DL 40432). Magyar István also held offices: he was the subcaptain of Gimes in 1339 and the captain of Tihany in 1346 (Engel, "Archontológia, Várnagyok és várbirtokosok – Gimes, Tihany").

¹¹³ August 1, 1433: DL 54819.

¹¹⁴ Kádas, "Megyei emberek," 109–110; C. Tóth, "Szabolcs megye," 68–69; Iusztin, "Noble Judges," 258, 261–262.

¹¹⁵ July 29, 1367: DL 91729.

been pointed out by them.¹¹⁶ All together there are sixteen documents which mention at least one person as (*unum/duos*) *ex nobis* in Krassó County. The first appearance of such men in 1355 (see below) highlights some of those factors which should be taken into consideration before the extension of the list of noble judges with those men who appear with these formulas.

April 30, 1355:	Bajlai László (the son of Pető) <i>unum ex nobis</i> (DL 91475.)
September 3, 1355:	Bak Péter and Jakab <i>iudices nobilium</i> (DL 51674.)
November 8, 1355:	Bak Péter, Fejéregyházi Mihály, Bajlai László, Bajlai János (the sons of Pető) and Bajlai Miklós (the son of Mihály) <i>ex nobis</i> (DF 285825.)
In 1362:	Bajlai László and Bajlai János <i>homo noster</i> (DL 51964–65.)

What can be deduced from these facts? From 1355 two of the noble judges are known by name: Bak Péter and Jakab who testified a pledge of an estate at the sedria of Haram. In November, to a certain extent related to the above mentioned pledge, the county authority sent five men from among themselves (*ex nobis*) to clarify the status, then install a portion of village Gyülvész as *quarta puellarum*. Can we identify any of the listed persons as noble judges? As far as Bak Péter is concerned, the answer is obvious since he was the noble judge two months earlier, but what about the rest of the participants? No matter how tempting it is to see that the county authorities sent all four noble judges together with a man of the county to do the task, the answer would be no to the question. First, unless the election of noble judges in Krassó happened in the autumn, it is very unlikely that the other noble judge, Jakab was replaced during September and October. Therefore, it is better not to consider the rest of the participants to be noble judges. The regular appearance of Bajlai László and János in matters related to the county authorities supports rather their trustworthy status in the local noble community than the fact that they were noble judges.¹¹⁷

Referring to the conclusions drawn from the examples of various counties, the (*unum* or *duos*) *ex nobis* formula did not always expose automatically the noblemen's status as judges. Examining the other cases when the notaries of Krassó County indicated (*unum* or *duos*) *ex nobis* next to the names of the empowered men, it can be concluded that very few of them can be added to the

¹¹⁶ Kádas, "Megyei emberek," 110–113; C. Tóth, "Szabolcs megye," 58; Iusztin, "Noble Judges," 256.

¹¹⁷ Iusztin Zoltán investigating the noble judges in Temes County, however, suggested that the regular participation of a person in the county affairs may indicate a noble judge status (Iusztin, "Noble Judges," 258).

list of noble judges. In 1360, both Györög-i László and (Gegusfalva-i) Lukács were mentioned as *unus ex nobis homo noster* indicating that they were not noble judges, which is proved by the fact that few months later the same László was simply called *homo noster*. Similarly to the latter we can read in a report of an investigation from 1407 that (Szigeti) János (the son of Miklós), a noble judge and Szigeti Kis Miklós *ex nobis* were in charge of the enquiry. In 1415, however, Dávid, the noble judge and *unum ex nobis* was accompanied by the same Miklós, whose title was omitted this time. Less can be said about Zerye (the son of Hazen *nobilis ex nobis* – 1357), Mihály (the son of Tejed-i Dénes *unum ex nobis* – 1358), Varány-i Farkas Péter (*unum ex nobis* – 1358), János (the son of Gergely) and László (the son of Csernőci Jakab *ex nobis* – 1364), Csákány Domonkos (*unum ex nobis* – 1375), Mihály and László (the sons of Miklós *unum ex nobis* – 1387) who were in charge of the proceedings only once and whose family ties or landed possessions give no further hints either about their status or their operation.¹¹⁸

Given that some of the noble judges appear with the *comes* appellation, which shows a somewhat more esteemed social status within the noble society, it may also indicate that the men *ex nobis* referenced with this title could be included among the members of the county law court.¹¹⁹ In Krassó County, the first known noble judges, János and Miklós were entitled *comes*, later judges Csire Péter (1350) and Bugrud-i Jakab (the son of Jakab) (1374) were mentioned with this title. In 1352 and in 1357, however, the county authorities empowered two men with the *comes* appellation, but not the noble judges. First, it was Tövissed-i Paznad, a man of the county (*comitem Paznad de Tyvissed hominem nostrum*), then it was Máté (*comitem Matheum filium Pauli de Mych*) together with Zerye (the son of Hazen) *bonos nobiles ex nobis* who were sent to investigate certain complaints.¹²⁰ As far as it is known, Tövissed was a significant village in the county with a market¹²¹, therefore, its possessor is thought to be a respected member of the noble community of Krassó, which may explain the use of the *comes* title in this context. As for Máté and Zerye, the phrase *bonos nobiles ex nobis* might emphasise their not well-known noble status suggesting that they were descendants of families with *kenezian* origin.¹²² To

¹¹⁸ See all the references in the Appendix (Table 9).

¹¹⁹ Iusztin, "Noble Judges," 257.

¹²⁰ See all the references in the Appendix (Table 9).

¹²¹ Györffy III, 497.

¹²² This hypothesis is based on the following facts: 1) *Mych* is probably identical with village Mikcs (*Mychk*) mentioned in law suit in 1436, as one of its possessors, *Mychk-i* János (the son of Lőrinc), occupied some parts of Sándorpataka and attached these parts to his possession called Uróc (*Wroc*). Three noblemen from Mikcs were also listed amongst the nominated royal

conclude, neither Tövissed-i Paznad, nor Mych-i Máté would be added to the list of the noble judges of Krassó despite the fact that the notary used the *comes* appellative.

From the set of data below, however, it is quite evident that the years of operation of Szigeti János as a noble judge can be extended. He was twice mentioned with this title, though, not consecutively. His third appearance as *nobilem ex nobis* between the two may imply that he held the office of *iudex nobilium* in 1406 as well. Another fact that supports the suggestion is the nature of the task he was asked to do. It was an order from the *országbíró* to inquire a complaint. As it was mentioned earlier, such cases were often investigated by the noble judges, though not exclusively, as other examples from Krassó show that.

May 5, 1401:	Szigeti János <i>iudex nobilium</i> (DL 53112.)
March 20, 1406:	Szigeti János <i>nobilem ex nobis</i> (DL 53284.)
August 20, 1407:	Szigeti János <i>iudex nobilium</i> (DL 53389.)
August 29, 1411:	Szigeti János (without titles, considered as <i>homo noster</i>) (DL 53597.)

Alongside the “classical” – count, deputy, noble judges – arrangement of the county authorities, other offices existed as well, for instance, the county notary, although, he was rarely mentioned in the sources, actually in Krassó not at all. As many of the charters issued by the county authorities refer to the role of the noble jurors (*iurati assessores*), more is known about these ad-hoc-elected nobles, who are proved to have participated in the work of the *sedrias* and the assemblies (known by name in Krassó County from 1357 and 1370).¹²³ It is important not to mix the noble jurors with the institution of elected jurors (*electi iurati assessores*) officially set up in 1486, although the latter took almost the same charges: they took part in the judicial work of the county courts and

men (Miklós, László and János) (November 25, 1436: DL 55050). Suggesting from the villages mentioned in the source, Mikcs can be located to the district of castle Illyéd, consequently to a region populated by lots of *kenezian* families, some of whom were ennobled (Pesty, Krassó, vol. II/2, 34–35, 156, 226–227). 2) The names of both Zerye and his father, Hazen suggest the non Hungarian origin of the family, which rather indicate a *kenezian* status. It is very likely that the person called *Hosyn* mentioned in a case in 1349, in which he and his officialis called *Rugas* were prohibited from the illegal use of the forests of the Pósafts in village *Warofolua* (February 19, 1349: DL 91399), is identical with the father of Zerye. Three decades later, another nobleman called Tejed-i Farkas is mentioned as the son of *Hazyn* (May 17, 1380: DL 91871; as deceased – June 7, 1385: DL 91915). Although the late appearance of Farkas makes it a bit uncertain whether his father was the same as Zerye’s, it can be considered that the family reached the noble status by possessing parts in Tejed in South-Krassó.

¹²³ Szasztkó, “Krassó megye,” 65.

carried out other occasional commissions (connected with tax collection and county affairs).¹²⁴

Having examined the groups of people involved in the work of the county authorities, the duration of the office of the noble judges is to be discussed to see whether it provided a career or not. Although the post of noble judge was less and less attractive (from the point of view that the judges were recruited from the lesser nobility), it can be observed all over the country that the persons who did assume the office functioned for several years and sometimes for more than a decade.¹²⁵ Taking the example of Péter (the son of Domonkos), who was in charge for 9 years almost consecutively, and other noble judges listed in *Table 7* it can be assumed that the regular practice followed by the noble community of Krassó was similar to the above mentioned pattern. It is also apparent, though the data are mostly available from the 1340s and 1350s in Krassó County, that in terms of its personnel, the office had become stable and changes were made only slowly and gradually.¹²⁶ Both the noble judges, the *ex nobis* and the men of the county enjoyed local prestige and relations, consequently, it can be observed that certain families became the trustworthy members of the local nobility (see *Table 5*). Due to the limited number of the sources, most of them seem to operate for a short period of time, but as the example of István (the son of Gegus) proves it, the community could return to its trustworthy members after several years, so it could have happened with others as well.

Table 7 – The Duration of the Office Holding of the Noble Judges in Krassó County

Name	Family/Locality	Years in the office	Duration (years)
Péter (the son of Domonkos)	Gyalmár	1341, 1342, 1343, 1345, 1346, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1353	9
Csire Péter (the son of Boksa)	Csatár	1342, 1343, 1349, 1350	4
Bak Péter		1345, 1348, 1355, 1357	4
Márk (the son of Kilián)	Perdej	1342, 1343, 1345, 1346	4
István (the son of Gegus)	Gegusfalva	1340, 1349, 1350	3
Vajda Imre	Tejed	1342, 1343	2
András (the son of Péter)		1345, 1346	2
János (the son of Miklós)	Sziget	1401, 1406, 1407	3

¹²⁴ C. Tóth, “Szabolcs megye,” 71–75 and C. Tóth, “A nemesi megye,” 410.

¹²⁵ C. Tóth, “Szabolcs megye,” 64–65; C. Tóth, “A nemesi megye,” 409.

¹²⁶ Szaszko, “Krassó megye,” 64–65, and see also the data in the Appendix (Table 9) of the present study. The phenomenon is described as a trend existing countrywise in the Era of Sigismund (C. Tóth, “Szabolcs megye,” 64–65).

Name	Family/Locality	Years in the office	Duration (years)
László (the son of Pető)	Keresztes	1406, 1407	2
Miklós	Györög	1422, 1424	2

Besides becoming the retainer of a lord in the framework of the *familiaritas*, serving the county authorities as a noble judge also afforded an equally respected and a relatively desired career for the members of the lesser nobility, not least because it provided a certain amount of income. The nature of their duties also makes it reasonable that their office required an unaffiliated status, however, this hypothesis can be challenged. Knowing that the social network of medieval noble society was strongly linked both horizontally (e.g. through possessions and family ties) and vertically (e.g. through *familiaritas* and other forms of services), it seems very unlikely for the noble judges to be unaffected by such arrangement. While the possible affiliation of the men of the county with the litigants is more evident (as it has been highlighted in several studies)¹²⁷, the same issue has not been investigated with regard to noble judges. It is difficult to distinguish why noble judges (or the relatives of them) occasionally appear as nominated royal men for specific lords. At least, it raises the question whether such noble judges acted as retainers of these lords, so their office holding was affiliated, or they happened to become royal men simply because they were the trustworthy and well-known members of the community, consequently, their activity was unaffiliated and it cannot be described within the framework of lord-retainer relationship.

The limited number of sources in Krassó will not make us able to answer directly these questions, but the analysis of the social network of better documented counties will hopefully contribute to it. The exact cases are from the most documented period of Krassó County (the first half of the 14th century) when the archives of both the Himfi and the Pósaft families are available providing satisfactory amount of data to examine the issue. With regard to the Himfi family, in 1331 the nominated royal men for them were Miklós (the son of Simon) – the one who carried out the investigation upon royal order with the men sent from the chapter of Csanád – and another Miklós (the son of *Mayos*)¹²⁸ of whom the first is most probably identical with the noble judge of Krassó from 1330. In 1333, he was listed again – together with Szakállas (*Zakalas dictus*) Pál – for Himfi Pál upon royal order to inquire about the abuse

¹²⁷ See note nr. 104 and Kádás, “Megyei emberek,” 119–121.

¹²⁸ August 15, 1331 > October 26, 1331: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 119 and 122. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 57)

of village Remete.¹²⁹ Ordas (*dictus*) Miklós – one of the noble judges in 1349 – also appeared twice as nominated royal man for the Himfis in 1334 and in 1345.¹³⁰ As for the Pósa family, at the end of 1342, Szeri Pósa claimed to separate his possessions called Küke and Vetelnek from the neighbouring lands with establishing new bounds around his estates. All together there were three nominated royal men for him to testify the borders: one of them was Bereck (the son of Dénes) (see earlier), the other one was one of the acting noble judges of Krassó, namely Vajda (*dictus*) Imre, and finally Miklós (the son of *Ivanka*) – who actually testified the borders with the man sent from the chapter of Arad in 1343¹³¹ –, whose brother Márk was also the member of the county authorities in 1340. In addition to that, the son of Imre, called Máté, acted as one of the *probi viri* in a border dispute between Pósa János and Jánki Miklós in 1349. A year later he installed the Pósa family to possession Fark (Kozmafalva) and in 1354 it was Máté again who carried out an inquiry to the protest of the Pósa family against Jánki Miklós.¹³² Knowing these facts, it is not surprising if we find the brother of Máté, called György being in charge of another inquisition as man of the county for the Pósa family in 1357, and what is more, he appears as royal man for Pósa László in 1358, too.¹³³ Interestingly enough, the aforementioned Ordas Miklós acted as a procurator for the Pósa family as well when he represented Balázs (the son of Pósa) at the court of the *országbíró* in 1360.¹³⁴

At this moment, these cases are the ones from Krassó County which may unfold specific interconnecting relations between the local lords from the noble elite¹³⁵ and the noble judges. Some facts are pointing towards a more direct affiliation (the cases of the Himfis), however, most of the given data rather prove that the noble judges (or their relatives) happened to be in charge of such duties because on the one hand, they knew well the legal cases between the litigants since they were neighbours, but on the other hand, their trustworthy status could also have been taken into consideration when they were chosen to act as royal men.

¹²⁹ August 20, 1333: DL 40649.

¹³⁰ March 23, 1334: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 132. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 66), February 23, 1345: MNL P 1732, Fekete, *Temesi bánság*, box 1 fol. 208. (Batth. Miscell. Heimiana Nr. 99)

¹³¹ November 11, 1342 > January 15, 1343: DL 91330.

¹³² October 22, 1349: DL 91408; November 30, 1350: DL 91421; February 28: 1354 > April 19, 1354: DL 91462.

¹³³ July 13, 1357: DL 91491; December 2, 1358: DL 91528.

¹³⁴ May 10, 1360: DL 91549.

¹³⁵ For the term 'noble elite' see Tamás Pálosfalvi, *The Noble Elite in the Country of Körös (Križevci) 1400–1526* [Magyar Történelmi Emlékek. Értekezések] (Budapest, 2014), 7–8, 401–414.

Summary

The main objectives of the paper were to get an insight into the operation of the county authorities of Krassó through its personnel and to compare it with the findings of the literature. For this, the participants of all levels of the county administration were included in the analysis: the already existing lists of the *ispáns*, the deputies and of the noble judges have now been extended by the men called *ex nobis* and the men of the county. First, the prestige of being the head of Krassó was examined to see whether it had any impact on the administration of the county. It can be stated that it was the first half of the 14th century when the *ispáns* were the most regularly present in person in their offices and their absence did not necessarily follow from the fact that they were often high ranking dignitaries. However, from the 1360s the *ispáns* disappeared from the county administration leaving the direction of the county court and judicial work to the deputy or deputies similarly to the general tendency prevailing in medieval Hungary. In the second part of the paper, the operation of the county was discussed from a socio-historical aspect focusing on the careers and the affiliation of some deputies. In this chapter, firstly, the method of revealing lord-retainer relationships was adopted in order to make attempts to clarify the identity of certain *ispáns* (more successfully in the case of palatine Opuliai László, less fruitfully in the case of the *ispáns* in the 1390s). In addition to that it was also intended to draw a more vivid and lively image about the office holders of Krassó through their careers. This aim was borne in mind during the discussion of the involvement of the deputies in the county administration while considering features like duties, titles, the length of the tenure, the dual office holding – the existence of co-deputies, and the three-level administrative system. Last but not least, the question of “the indispensable requisites” of the noble counties (the noble judges) was revised including those men – the men called *ex nobis* and the men of the county – who accompanied and/or replaced them in their duties. The classification of these people not only enabled us to make remarks on the changes that took place in the county administration or to see whether the list of the noble judges could be extended or not, but it also allowed us to make suggestions about the dynamics of the noble community, for instance by recognising the trustworthy members of the county and by identifying their social status as well. With reference to the latter, the analysis of these groups included a new aspect of investigation which was focusing on the affiliation of the noble judges. Although the issue has remained undecided – since the sources from Krassó County do not provide satisfactory number of evidence –, it may offer an additional facet of research in order that the operation of the county authorities can be understood in a better way.

APPENDIX

The Archontology of Krassó County (1319–1439)¹³⁶**Kacsics nb. Simon** (1319–1325)

Balázs [1319] IX 1. – 1325. IX. 15.

Szeri Pósa (1325–46)

1346. XI. 25. e.

Pósa 1325. IX. 15.

László 1331. VIII. 27.

Péter (the son of Loránd) 1340. XII. 21. – 1344. III. 11.

Beke (*Bekov*) 1342. XI. 28.

Fejes Gergely mg. 1345. VI. 30. – 1346. VII. 20.

Szécsényi Tamás (1346–49)

Rimai Mihály mg., captain of Haram 1346. XII. 4. – 1349. VI. 25. (Himfi 225/114.)

János (the son of Szeri Pósa) (1349–50)

Péter (the son of Him) mg. 1349. IX. 26. – 1350. I. 14.

Szeri Pósa (second time, 1350–52)

1352. XI. 8.

László (the son of Szeri Pósa) ([135]1–53)

Berek (the son of Dénes) 1352. X. 18. – 1353. IV. 25.

[István (the son of Szeri Pósa)] (1353)

1353. XI. 22.

Szécsi Miklós (1354–55)

Miklós mg. 1355. IV. 16. – 1355. IV. 30.

¹³⁶ This simplified archontology contains the list of *ispáns* (in bold) and the deputies of Krassó County without any references on *cursus honorum* and sources. For these references see the work of Pál Engel (Engel, “Archontológia, Ispánok – Krassó megye”) and the study of Elek Szaszκό (Szaszkó, “Krassó megye,” 61–63), however, two exceptions were made. Source references can be found for deputies Rimai Mihály and Gyertyánosi Csep Jakab as these data provide additional information compared to the previous publications. The purpose of the present list is to avoid disambiguation of *ispáns* and deputies caused by some unfortunate typographical mistakes in the study of Elek Szaszκό.

Lackfi Dénes (1355–60)

István (the son of Kupsa Tamás); mg., comes, captain of Haram 1355. IX. 8. – 1358. VIII. 2.

Péter (the son of Iktári Betlen) mg., captain of Galambóc 1355. XI. 23.

István (the son of Lőrinc) mg., captain of Haram, the *ispán* of Keve 1359. XII. 12. – 1360. VI. 11.

László (the son of János); mg., captain of Haram 1360. VIII. 27.

Fedémesi Szobonya László (1361–65)

(Besenyői) Lőrinc (the son of Domokos) mg., captain of Haram 1362. IV. 21. – 1364. VIII. 22.

Himfi Benedek (1365–67)

Sárosdi János (the son of Péter) mg., captain of Haram 1367. IV. 8.

Gáji Péter (the son of Csölnök) mg., captain of Haram [without year] VIII. 2. (as comes)

[Oppelni László nádor] (1367–71)

István (the son of István); mg., captain of Haram 1367. VII. 29.

(Onori) János (the son of István) mg., captain of Haram 1368. VI. 15. – 1370. IX. 21.

Gáji Péter (the son of Csölnök) mg., captain of Haram 1370. V. 12.

[Himfi Benedek (másodszor)] (1371–75)

Miklós (the son of Himfi Pál) mg., captain of Haram 1374. VIII. 17. – 1375. VII. 21.

[Garai Miklós] (1375–86)

Monchlow mg., captain of Haram 1376. III. 8.

Csupor (*dictus*) Tamás mg. 1379. V. 4. – 1382. IX. 6.

[Losonci László, ifj. and Losonci István] (1386–88)

(Majosfalvi) Miklós (the son of Majos) 1387. IX. 1. – 1387. IX. 30.

Kórógyi István (1389)

[unknown] (1389–1394)

Demeter (the son of Ernye/Irineus) mg. 1392. I. 22.

László és István (the sons of Hídvégi János) with the title comes 1394. II. 23.

Csáki Miklós and Marcali Miklós (1394–1402)

(Majosfalvi) Miklós (the son of Beke) 1396. V. 2. – 1401. V. 5.

Ivándi Gergely 1400. XI. 13.

[Kórógyi Fülöp and Alsáni János the *ispáns* of Temes] (1404)

(Dobszai) Benedek (the son of Egyed) mg., captain of Érsmlyó 1404. IV. 12. – 1404. VII. 19.

Bardus László mg., captain of Érsmlyó 1404. IV. 12.

(Bekefalvi) Jakab (the son of Beke) captain of Érsmlyó 1404. VII. 19. – 1404. X. 25.

Ozorai Pipo (1404–26)

Csapi Pál and Töli Bálint 1405.VII. 30. – 1406. III. 20.

(Derecskei) Pál (the son of Lőrinc) mg. 1406. X. 30. – 1407. VIII. 20.

Gyertyánosi Csép Jakab mg. 1408. XI. 24.¹³⁷ – 1409. VIII. 23.

(Benkefalvi) Benke Péter mg., captain of Haram 1409. XII. 21.

Szanai Jurga mg. 1411. VI. 6. – 1411. VIII. 29.

Kopácsi Fodor László mg. 1412. V. 21. – 1412. XI. 12.

Ábeli Jakab 1415. VI. 22.

Benkefalvi Benke Péter mg. (second time) and (Szarvastelki) Vaski László mg. 1416. I. 27. – 1418. X. 22.

Mecsei (*de Mixe*) Imre (the son of Péter) 1421. IV. 26.

Szerdahelyi Imre (the son of János) mg. 1421. XI. 15. – 1425. VII. 14.

his (sub)vicecomites: Kónyi Mikós és Geresgáli Jakab 1424. XII. 2 – 1424. XII. 16.

Harapki Botos András and Harapki Botos László (1427)

1427. XI. 8.

Tallóci Matkó (1429–35)

(benkefalvi) Benke Miklós 1430. IX. 16. – 1431. VIII. 18.

Tallóci Frank (1429–38)

Csamai Ördög Domokos 1433. VIII. 1.

Dóci Mihály 1435. III. 5. – 1435. V. 14.

¹³⁷ He has already been mentioned as captain of Érsmlyó in April 29, 1408 (DL 53415.)

(Szarvastelki) Vaski Tamás 1436. XII. 15. – 1437. VII. 20.
 Remetei Himfi Miklós and Frank 1437. IX. 14. – 1438. II. 22.
 Dobozi János 1438. X. 4.
 Szentlászlói Balázs 1438. X. 4. – 1439. II. 7.
 (Keresztesi) Sáfár Simon 1438. X. 4. – 1439. II. 7.
 Perdői István 1439. II. 7.

[Hunyadi János] (1441–56)

Pocsaji László (vice)comes, (vice)comes of Temes 1453. VII. 13.

Table 8 – The Locality of the Sedrias

The Angevin Era (1301–1387)	Mezősomlyó (nearby the church of King Saint Stephen) – Thursday (1331–1353) Szerdahely – Thursday (1354–1357) Mezősomlyó – Saturday (1364–1382; 1387)	Haram – Thursday (1343–1380)
The Era of Sigismund (1387–1437)	Mezősomlyó – Saturday (1392; 1400–1439)	Omor – Monday (1394) Gatály – Tuesday (1396) Hám – Monday (1416)

Table 9 – The Complete List of the Noble Judges, the Ex Nobis and the Men of the County

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
János (comes), Miklós (comes)		Kilián	1319. III. 9.		DL 50668.
			[1319–1325]		DL 60117. = Krassó III. 8/5–6.
Miklós (the son of Simon)			1325. IX. 15.		Himfi 48/99.
István (the son of Gegus), Márk (the son of Ivánka), Vajk (magister), Vörös (<i>Rufus</i>) Kozma			1330. VII. 4.		DL 91246.
			1340. IX. 19.	Haram – general assembly	DL 91312.
Péter (the son of Domonkos), Dénes (the son of Miklós)			1340. XII. 21.	Mezősomlyó	Himfi 77/169.
Péter (the son of Domonkos), Márk (the son of Kilián), Vajda Imre, Csire Péter		Miklós (the son of Márton)	1341. XI. 29.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	Himfi 79/176.
			1342. VI. 4.	Érsomlyó – general assembly	Himfi 84/181.
Péter (the son of Domonkos), Márk (the son of Kilián)		Magyar István	1342. VIII. 1.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	Himfi 83/182.
			1342. VIII. 8.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	DL 101899.
Péter (the son of Domonkos), Dénes (the son of Miklós), (volt) Vajda Imre, Péter (the son of Boksa)			1342. XI. 28.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	Himfi 81/185.

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
Péter (the son of Domonkos), Márk (the son of Kilián), Vajda Imre, Csire Péter			1343. V. 15.	Haram	Himfi 87/191.
		Miklós (the son of Kilián)	1343. XI.27.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	DL 51261.
		János (the son of Csépan)	1343. XII.18.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	DL 51265.
		István (the son of Bodó)	1344. III. 11.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	DL 51280.
András (the son of Péter), Péter (the son of Domonkos), Bak Péter, Márk (the son of Kilián)			1345. VI. 30.	Haram	Himfi 97/210.
András (the son of Péter), Péter (the son of Domonkos), Lukács (the son of Miklós), Márk (the son of Kilián)			1346. III. 30.	Haram	DL 91368.
Péter (the son of Domonkos), András (the son of Márk)			1346. VI. 29.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	DL 41015.
			1346. VII. 20.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	DL 41016.

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
Lukács (the son of Lőrinc), Miklós (the son of Kilián)			1347. VIII. 27.		DL 91381.
Lukács (the son of Miklós), Jakab (the son of András)			1347. XI. 22.	Haram	DL 41063.
Péter (the son of Domonkos)			1348. VI. 26.		Himfi 113/246., DL 41093.
		The <i>famulus</i> of one of the noble judges	1348. XI. 6.	Haram	DL 91393.
Bak Péter		Kisarsnoki István (the son of Tamás)	1348. XII. 11.	Haram	DL 91397.
		Péter (the son of Gegus)	1349. II. 19.	Haram	DL 91399.
Péter (the son of Domonkos), Ordas Miklós			[1349.] VII. 4.	Mezősomlyó	Himfi 257.
Csire Péter, István (the son of Gegus), Péter (the son of Domonkos), Ordas Miklós			1349. IX. 17.	Haram	DL 91401.
		András (the son of Benedek)	1349. X. 1.	Haram	DL 91404.
		Péter (the son of Gegus)	1349. X. 22.	Haram	DL 91408.
			1349. XII. 17.	Haram	DL 91409.
Csire Péter (comes), István (the son of Gegus)			1350. I. 14.	Haram	DL 91411.
		Tövissédi Paznand (comes)	1352. X. 18.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	Himfi 125/285.

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
Péter (the son of Domonkos)			1353. IV. 1.	Mezősomlyó	Himfi 132/292.
			1353. IV. 25.	nearby the church of King Saint Stephen (Mezősomlyó)	DL 41203.
			1354. XII. 18.	Szerdahely – general assembly	DL 91469.
Bak Péter, Jakab		Fekete (Niger) János	1355. IV. 16.	Haram	DL 91474.
	László (the son of Bajlai Pető) (<i>unum ex nobis</i>)		1355. IV. 30.	Haram	DL 91475.
			1355. IX. 3.	Haram	DL 51674. = Krassó III. 25/29.
	Bak Péter, Fejéregyházi Mihály (the son of Kemen), László és János (the sons of Bajlai Pető), Bajlai Miklós (the son of Mihály) (<i>ex nobis</i>)		1355. XI. 8.		DF 285825. = Krassó III. 26.
	Máté (comes) (the son of Micsi Pál), Zerye (the son of Hazen) (<i>nobiles ex nobis</i>)		1357. VII. 13.	Szerdahely	DL 91491.
	György (the son of Vajda Imre) (<i>unum ex nobis</i>)		1357. VIII. 10.	Haram	DL 91504.

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
Bak Péter, [...] choh Jakab, János (the son of Balázs), Miklós (the son of András)			[1357. X. 6.]	Érsomlyó – general assembly	Himfi 16c/315.
	<i>Mihály (the son of Tejedi Dénes) (unum [ex nobis])</i>		1358.		DL 91530.
	<i>Varányi Farkas Péter (unum ex nobis)</i>		1358. VIII. 2.		DL 91522.
	<i>László (the son of Gyűrögi Hem) (unus ex nobis homo noster)</i>		1360. VI. 11.	Haram	DL 91551.
	<i>Lukács (the son of Gegus) (unus ex nobis homo noster)</i>		1360. VI. 11.	Haram	DL 91552.
		(Gyűrögi) László (the son of Heem)	1360. VIII. 27.		DL 91561.
		Sági László	1362. V. 26.	Haram	DL 51963.
		Bajlai János (the son of Pető)	1362. V. 26.	Haram	DL 51964.
		Bajlai László (the son of Pető)	1362. VI. 09.	Haram	DL 51965.
		Mihály (the son of P[éter])	1362. XI. 17.	Haram	DL 51978.
		Farkasfalvi Miklós (the son of Bertalan)	1363. VI. 29.	Haram	DL 51988.

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
		Szakadági Benedek (the son of Péter)	1364. V.04.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52018.
	János (the son of Gergely), László (the son of Csernőci Jakab) (ex nobis)		1364. VI.29.	Mezősomlyó	Himfi 374. = Krassó III. 48/64.o.
		Tamás	1364. VII.30.	nearby Mezősomlyó	DL 41583.
	Arasnoki Mihály (Michaellem nob-ilem de Urusnuk unum ex nobis cum nostro sigillo)		1367. VII 29.	Haram	DL 91729.
Halimbai Imre (the son of János), Vörös György, Tejedi Simon (the son of Him), Fejéregyházi Mihály (the son of Péter)			1370. V. 12.	nearby Mezősomlyó – palatine assembly	(DL 91759., DL 5860. = Krassó III. 71/96–99.)
		Kisteleki Tamás (the son of Miklós)	1370. VII.27.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52161.
		Szakadági Benedek (the son of Péter)	1370. IX.21.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52175.
		Kis (Parvus) György (the son of Dubjai László)	1374. VIII.17.	Haram	DL 52227.
Bugrudi Jakab (comes) (the son of Jakab)			1374. VIII. 31.	Haram	(DL 52231. = Krassó III. 85/126–127.)

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
	Chakan (dictus) Domonkos (unum ex nobis)		1375.VIII.21.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52234.
		Mihály (the son of János)	1376.III.08.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52235.
		Mihály (the son of János)	1376.III.08.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52236.
		Hegyesi Mihály (the son of Miklós)	1381.III.16.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52358.
		Dobravicai Péter (the son of Farkas)	1382.V.10.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52421.
		(Dobravicai) Péter (the son of Farkas)	1382.V.10.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52420.
	Mihály (the son of Halimbai Miklós) (unum ex nobis)		1387.IX.01.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52559.
	László (the son of Halimbai Miklós) (unum ex nobis)		1387.IX.30.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52561.
		Gugteleki László (the son of János)	1392.I.22.	Mezősomlyó	DL 52751.
		Gyűrögi Márk	1394.II.23.	Omor	DL 52827.
		Jenői Jakab	1396.V.02.	Gátály	DL 52935.
		Chakan (dictus) Mihály	1396.VI.13.	Gátály	DL 52943.
		Peszteri László	1396.VI.27.	Gátály	DL 52944.

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
		Peszteri [Che]pan (dictus) Mihály Gyalmar-i Miklós (the son of Simon)	1400.XI.13.	Mezősomlyó	DL 53094.
Partasi Miklós (the son of Simon), Szigeti János (the son of Miklós)			1401. V. 5.	Visegrád	DL 53112. = Krassó III. 154/241–242.
Báctővisi Borsi (<i>Borsy dictus</i>) László		Nendrazi András	1404.X.25. 1405. X. 17.	Mezősomlyó Mezősomlyó	DL 53222. DL 53260. = Krassó III. 166/251–252.
Keresztési László (the son of Pető)			1406. III. 20.	Mezősomlyó	DL 53283. = Krassó III. 167/252–253.
	Szigeti János (<i>the son of Miklós</i>) (<i>nobilem ex nobis</i>)		1406. III. 20.	Mezősomlyó	DL 53284.
		Sama-i János (the son of László)	1406.VIII.07.	Mezősomlyó	DL 53341.
Keresztési László (the son of Pető)			1407. I. 8.	Mezősomlyó	(DL 53368. = Krassó III. 173/260–261.)
(Szigeti/Keresztési) János (the son of Miklós)		Szigeti Kis (Parvus) Miklós (<i>ex nobis</i>)	1407.VIII.20.	Mezősomlyó	DL 53389. = Krassó III. 175/261–262
		Badadi Mátyás és Szigeti János (the son of Miklós)	1411.VIII.29.	Mezősomlyó	DL 53597.

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
		Gyürögi Márk and László (the son of Pető)	1412.XI.12.	Mezősomlyó	DL 43184.
Dávid		Szigeti Kis (Parvus) Miklós	1415.VI.22.	Mezősomlyó	DL 53843. = Krassó III. 192/280–281.
		Obrad (homo communis) and the man of the noble judge	1416.I.27.	Hám	DL 92477.
		Jakab (the son of Beke) and Torma Egyed	1416.VII.11.	Mezősomlyó	DL 53903.
	Csépán Mihály (<i>unum ex nobis</i>)	Peszeri László	1416.VIII.01.	Mezősomlyó	DL 53904.
		András (the son of Majos)	1418.VI.04.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54017.
		Majosfalvi Majos	1418.VI.04.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54020.
		Terjéni Demeter (homo communis)	1421.IV.26.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54159.
Gyürögi Miklós (<i>iudicem nobilium unum ex nobis</i>)		Fodor János and Peszeri Domonkos	1422.XII.19.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54273.
Gyürögi Miklós, Szigeti Fekete István		András (the son of Majos)	1424. XII. 2.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54411. = Krassó III. 215/308.
		András (the son of Majos)	1424.XII.16.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54413. = Krassó III. 216/308–309.
		Chakan Balázs és Gyalmári Simon	1427.V.24	Mezősomlyó	DL 54566.

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
		Székási Lőrinc (nobilem virum)	1427.XI.08.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54581.
		Toma István (virum nobilem)	1430.IX.16.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54720.
		Bilicei Bertalan (homo communis) and Bilicei András (homo communis)	1431.IV.28.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54747.
		Kengyeltői Tamás, Jenői László (the son of Lukács), Chakan Miklós, Jenői János (the son of György), Bilicei Bereck, Egresi Bodor Mihály és Jobus László (the captain of Kövesd)	1433.VIII.01.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54819.
		Torma János (virum nobilem)	1435.III.05.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54913.
		Bilicei Miklós	1435.III.05.	Mezősomlyó	DL 54914.
		Bilicei Bereck (homo communis)	1436.XII.15.	Mezősomlyó	DL 55059.
		Chakan Miklós and Nendrazi László	1437.III.16.	Mezősomlyó	DL 55074.

Noble Judges	Ex Nobis	Men of the County	Date	Place	Trace of the record
		Craguli János (the son of János) (homo communis)	1437.IV.13.	Mezősomlyó	DL 55078.
		Egresi Bodor Mihály és Bilicei Miklós (viros nobiles)	1437.IV.27.	Mezősomlyó	DL 55084.
		Bilicei Miklós (homo communis)	1437.VII.20.	Mezősomlyó	DL 55097.
		Bilicei Miklós (homo communis) and Egresi Bodor Mihály (homo communis)	1437.VII.20.	Mezősomlyó	DL 55098.
		Omori Chelnek Miklós (virum nobilem)	1437.IX.14.	Mezősomlyó	DL 55100.
		Bilicei Miklós (homo communis), Bilicei Bereck (homo communis) and Egresi Bodor Mihály (homo communis)	1437.IX.14.	Mezősomlyó	DL 55101.
		Bilicei Miklós (homo communis)	1437.X.12.	Mezősomlyó	DL 55102.
		Tygván Péter (homo communis)	1437.X.26.	Mezősomlyó	DL 55104.
		Egresi Bodor Mihály	[without year]		DL 47931.

DINCOLO DE ARHONDOLOGIA COMITATULUI CARAȘ (REFLECȚII ASUPRA ACTIVITĂȚII OFICIALILOR ȘI A AUTORITĂȚILOR COMITATENSE ÎN CARAȘ)

Rezumat

Obiectivele principale ale prezentului studiu vizează realizarea unei introspecții privind activitatea autorităților comitatense în Caraș, prin prisma personalului, și compararea acesteia cu datele oferite de bibliografia subiectului. Au fost incluși în analiză, în acest scop, participanții de la toate nivelele administrației comitatului: lista deja existentă a comiților, a vicecomiților și a juzilor nobiliari a fost extinsă acum cu cea a celor numiți *ex nobis* și cu oamenii comitatului. În primul rând, a fost examinat prestigiul de a fi conducătorul comitatului Caraș, pentru a se vedea dacă acesta a avut vreun impact în administrarea comitatului. Se poate afirma că în prima jumătate a secolului al XIV-lea a fost consemnată prezența cea mai regulată a comiților, în persoană, la cancelariile lor, iar absența lor nu a rezultat, cu necesitate, din faptul că ar fi fost demnitari cu un rang mai înalt. Totuși, începând cu anii 1360, comiții dispar din administrația comitatului, lăsând conducerea curții comitatense și activitatea juridică vicecomitelui sau vicecomiților, asemenea tendinței generale de evoluție a lucrurilor în Ungaria medievală. În cea de a doua parte a studiului, activitatea comitatului este discutată din punct de vedere socio-istoric, analiza concentrându-se pe cariera și asocierea unora dintre oficiali. În primul rând, în acest capitol a fost adoptată metoda revelării relației stăpân – slujbaş pentru a încerca clarificarea identității unora dintre comiți (cu un succes evident în cazul palatinului Opuliai László, cu unul mai redus în cazul comiților din anii 1390). În completare, s-a intenționat și realizarea unei imagini cât mai vivace și vii privind funcționarii comitatului, prin prisma carierei lor. Acest scop ni s-a relevat în cursul analizei implicării vicecomiților în administrația comitatului, pe măsură ce am luat în calcul câteva elemente, precum datorie, titluri, durata exercitării funcției, deținerea funcțiilor în coparticipare, respectiv, sistemul administrativ tri-stratificat. Ultima, dar nu cea de pe urmă problemă, cea a „indispensabilelor cerințe” ale juzilor nobiliari a fost revizuită incluzând aici și acei oameni numiți *ex nobis*, precum și oamenii comitatului – cei care îi însoțeau sau îi înlocuiau pe aceștia în îndeplinirea sarcinilor lor. Clasificarea acestor oameni nu doar că ne-a permis să remarcăm schimbările care au avut loc în administrația comitatului sau să vedem în ce măsură lista juzilor nobiliari ar putea să fie, sau nu, extinsă, ci a contribuit și la a emite sugestii privind dinamica nobilimii, prin recunoașterea, de exemplu, a membrilor merituoși ai comitatului și, deopotrivă, prin identificarea statului lor social. Deși studiul rămâne indecis – atât timp cât sursele din comitatul Caraș nu oferă un număr satisfăcător de probe –, el poate oferi o fațetă adițională cercetării în scopul unei mai bune înțelegeri a activității autorităților comitatului.

CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES: THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE LUXEMBURG DYNASTY IN BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY¹

Balázs Nagy*

Keywords: Legitimation, Cult of saints, Luxemburg dynasty, Charles IV, king of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund, king of Hungary and Bohemia, Holy Roman Emperor

Cuvinte cheie: legitimare, Cultul Sfinților, dinastia de Luxemburg, Carol al IV-lea, rege al Boemiei și împărat al Sfântului Imperiu Roman, Sigismund, rege al Ungariei și Boemiei, împărat al Sfântului Imperiu Roman

The legitimacy of power has already been a focal point of medieval studies for a long time.² It is uncontested that medieval royal power was based on various legitimisation tools; among others royal descent played a crucial role. The change of a dynasty, the enthronement of a new ruling family, clearly raised the issue of legitimacy. If a new ruler could not demonstrate his descent from the previous dynasty, he might be confronted with a deficiency of legitimacy and thus be forced to reinforce his power through different methods. Sacral legitimization could have special significance in these cases. The emergence of a cult of new saints could strengthen the royal power efficiently and put it into a new context.

A good example of that process is the coming to the throne of the Luxemburg dynasty in Bohemia in the early 14th century and in Hungary in the late 14th century. Despite some distinctive features there are strong parallels in the process in the two countries. The extinction of the male lines of the Přemyslids in

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¹ An earlier Hungarian version of this essay has been published: Balázs Nagy, “Párhuzamok és eltérések. A Luxemburg-dinasztia csehországi és magyarországi uralkodásának kezdete,” in *Arcana Tabularii. Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére*, ed. Attila Bárány, Gábor Dreska and Kornél Szovák, vol. 2 (Budapest, Debrecen, 2014), 583–92.

² Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages: Studies* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

Bohemia and the Árpáds in Hungary opened the door for new dynasties to establish their power. The last ruler from the Přemysl family in Bohemia, Wenceslas III, was only seventeen years old when he died in 1306 without leaving an heir. Thus, the consorts of his sisters, Anne and Elisabeth Přemysl, had chances to rise to power. Anne was married to Henry of Carinthia and her sister, Elisabeth, was married to John of Luxemburg. The consorts of both sisters became pretenders to the throne and in the conflict John of Luxemburg finally countervailed over John. John's claim to the throne was supported by his influential relatives, e.g., his father, Emperor Henry VII, and his uncle Archbishop Balduin of Trier, who was a prince-elect of the Holy Roman Empire. Their backing helped the fourteen-year old John come to the throne of Bohemia in 1310.³

Sigismund of Luxemburg's accession to power in Hungary happened in a somewhat similar way. Louis I had no male heirs when he died in 1382, just two surviving daughters, Hedwig and Mary. A plan for a dynastic marriage between Mary and Sigismund had already come up in talks between Sigismund's father, Charles IV of Luxemburg, and Louis I of Hungary in 1372. The final decision on the marriage was only made in 1375 and the engagement was confirmed in 1379.⁴ In that year Sigismund was eleven and his bride only eight years old. Charles IV died in 1378 and thus the marriage was arranged by Wenceslas, Sigismund's elder brother. After that, Sigismund stayed in Hungary to become familiar with the country which he would rule.

In Bohemia the first member of the Luxemburg family to rule the country, John, reigned for 36 years, but he spend long periods of time abroad and was also occupied with non-Bohemian issues.⁵ Thus the integration of the Luxemburgs in Bohemia was not quick or flawless. The first-born son of John of Luxemburg was therefore a good figure to compensate for and counterbalance the deficiencies of integration.

³ Balázs Nagy, "Eltérő hagyományrendszerek együttélése. Luxemburgi IV. Károly és a dinasztikus uralom legitimációs lehetőségei," in *Hatalom, legitimáció, ideológia: történeti tanulmányok*, ed. Éva Gedő and Emőke Horváth, (Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2007), 111–19.

⁴ Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon, 1387–1437* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1984), 10.

⁵ On John of Luxemburg and his reign see the recent studies: Michel Pauly, *Johann der Blinde: Graf von Luxemburg, König von Böhmen, 1296–1346: Tagungsband der 9es Journées Lotharingiennes, 22–26 Oktober 1996, Centre Universitaire de Luxembourg* = [Jean l'aveugle, Comte de Luxembourg, roi de Bohême, 1296–1346 (Luxembourg: Section historique de l'institut grand-ducal, 1997)]; Klára Benešovská, *King John of Luxembourg (1296–1346) and the Art of His Era: Proceedings of the International Conference, Prague, September 16–20, 1996*, Vyd. 1. (Prague: KLP-Koniasch Latin Press; Ústav dějin umění AV ČR, 1998); Klára Benešovská, *A Royal Marriage: Elisabeth Premyslid and John of Luxembourg, 1310* (Praha: Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, 2011).

John, lacking the advantages of proper integration in Bohemia, wisely decided to baptise his first-born son Wenceslas.⁶ This name held a multi-layered reference to Bohemian traditions. It was a clear reference to the 10th century martyred saint of the Přemysl dynasty who had an exceptionally strong cult in Bohemia. Also, the grandfather and uncle of the new-born baby used this name and ruled Bohemia as Wenceslas II and III.⁷ Wenceslas did not use his baptismal name for a long time, since his uncle, Charles IV the Fair (le Bel) of France gave him the same name at his confirmation when he stayed for an extended time in France and from that time on he used his new name exclusively.⁸ That is how he became known and the name under which he later ruled Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire.⁹

Charles IV's veneration of St. Wenceslas and his association with his cult was not confined only to the fact that he used this name for some years in his childhood. There are several references to St. Wenceslas in Charles IV's autobiography. Numerous important events in Charles's life were connected to the feast of St. Wenceslas, e.g., when he describes the death of his mother on 28 September 1330 or his military victory at the siege of Mel castle in Northern Italy, close to Belluno. Besides all these facts the most expressive evidence of his veneration of St. Wenceslas is the hagiographical *vita* he wrote,¹⁰ the latest hagiographic text for St. Wenceslas in the Middle Ages.

Charles IV mentions St. Wenceslas' grandmother, Ludmila, with special veneration in his autobiography. This text also includes a long recollection of

⁶ On that and on the interactions of the cult of saints and the early period of Luxemburghs in Bohemia, see: Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 328–331.

⁷ John of Luxemburg baptised as Wenceslas not only his first-born son, but his other son (the later duke of Luxemburg) born in 1337 from his second marriage with Beatrix Bourbon.

⁸ *fecitque me dictus rex Francorum per pontificem confirmari et imposuit michi nomen suum equivocum videlicet Karolus*, Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer, *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita Ab Eo Ipso Conscripta; Et, Hystoria Nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre = Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV; And, His Legend of St. Wenceslas* (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2001), cap. 2. 22–23. *Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and his Legend of St. Wenceslas*, Ed. Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer with an introduction by Ferdinand Seibt, (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001) cap. 2. 22–23.

⁹ On the name selection see: Reinhard Schneider, “Karolus, Qui et Wenceslaus,” in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann Zum. 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke and Reinhard Wenskuđ, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1977), 365–87.

¹⁰ See the Latin-English bilingual edition: Nagy and Schaer, *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita Ab Eo Ipso Conscripta; Et, Hystoria Nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre = Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV ; And, His Legend of St. Wenceslas*, 184–209.

verses in the Gospel of Matthew to be read on the feast of St. Ludmila (*simile est regnum caelorum thesauro abscondito in agro*).¹¹

A distinct characteristic of the cult of the dynastic saints of the Přemysl family is that it generated a rich artistic influence. Its marks can be found on devotional objects, reliquaries, mural and panel paintings and, of course, also in the patrociny of churches.

The reliquary of St. Ludmila is kept in the St. George monastery in Prague castle.¹² The church was consecrated in 925 and, on the initiative of St. Wenceslas, the relics of St. Ludmila were transferred there from Tetín.¹³

After the martyrdom of St. Wenceslas the relics of these two early Přemysl saints were positioned close to each other in the sacral focus points of the Prague castle area, the St. George monastery and the St. Vitus cathedral. The re-invigorated cult of St. Ludmila in the mid-14th century is seen in the silver-gilt head reliquary kept in the St. Vitus cathedral¹⁴ and also in Magister Theodoric's panel painting of St. Ludmila, kept in the Holy Cross chapel of Karlštejn castle, which was a crucial site from the point of view of Charles IV's personal devotion.¹⁵

The cult of St. Wenceslas and the use of the name Wenceslas were indispensable elements throughout Charles IV's whole reign of and also in the names he selected for his sons. It was used at the baptism of his first-born son, called Wenceslas (1350–1351), and also for his other son, who was born in 1361 (the later Wenceslas IV).

The insistence on using Charles-Wenceslas' double name can be observed in the contemporary literature connected to the court of Charles IV. Nicolaus de Luna from the order of the Augustinian Hermits, who was teaching in the *studium generale* of Prague, authored a sermon (*Sermo ad Clerum*) on the occasion of the coronation of Charles as king of Bohemia, in which he listed the virtues in an acrostic.¹⁶

¹¹ Matt 13:44. Pierre Monnet, "La patria medievale vue d'Allemagne, entre construction imperiale et identites regionales," *Le Moyen Age: Revue D'histoire et de Philologie* 107, no. 1 (2001): 71–99; Nagy and Schaer, *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita Ab Eo Ipso Conscripta; Et, Hystoria Nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre = Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV; And, His Legend of St. Wenceslas*, Chapters 11–13.

¹² Gabriela Dubská and Lubomír Fuxa, *The Story of Prague Castle* (Prague: Prague Castle Administration, 2003), 132–135.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 60–61.

¹⁴ Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiří Fajt, *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia, 1347–1437* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2005), 137–138.

¹⁵ Jiří Fajt and Jan Royt, *Magister Theodoricus: Court Painter of Emperor Charles IV: Decorations of the Sacred Places at Castle Karlštejn* (Prague: Národní galerie v Praze, 1997), 358–359.

¹⁶ Václav Žurek, "Historical Motifs and Traditions in Dynasty Legitimization (France and Bohemia in the 14th Century). Charles IV of Luxembourg and the Last Capetians," n.d., <https://>

Clarissimus, Augustus, Rex Orbis, Legifer Verax, Saltiferus
Wltu Elegans, Natura Equanimis, Zelator Legis, Amator Virtutis,
Strenuissimus¹⁷

The initial letters of the verse give the double name of Charles IV: CAROLVS/
WENEZLAVS

Several pieces of the architectural enterprises connected to the cult of St. Wenceslas have survived from the reign of Charles IV, among others the St. Wenceslas chapel of the St. Vitus cathedral in Prague, which was intended not only to raise the artistic profile of the court, but also to strengthen the legitimacy of Charles IV as a descendant of the Přemyslid dynasty in the female line.¹⁸

The St. Wenceslas crown shows well Charles IV's special veneration of St. Wenceslas. On the occasion of his coronation as king of Bohemia on 2 September 1347, Charles gave several donations for the Prague cathedral. One of the most significant donations was the so-called St. Wenceslas crown. This royal insignia was apparently made to replace the earlier crown of the Přemyslid rulers and supposedly followed the same pattern. According to the instructions of Charles IV, who was a keen collector and fervent admirer of relics, the new crown was to be kept permanently (apart from coronation ceremonies) on the top of the head reliquary of St. Wenceslas, thus representing the close connection of the relics of the 10th-century holy prince and the crown.¹⁹

Charles took several steps to promote the cult of St. Wenceslas not only in Bohemia, but in other places which had special importance from the point of view of his imperial power, e.g., in St. Peter's in Rome, in Aachen, and in the Frauenkirche of Nuremberg.²⁰

[www.academia.edu/1422840/HISTORICAL_MOTIFS_AND_TRADITIONS_IN_DYNASTY-
LEGITIMIZATION_FRANCE_AND_BOHEMIA_IN_THE_14TH_CENTURY_CHARLES-
IV_OF_LUXEMBOURG_AND_THE_LAST_CAPETIANS](http://www.academia.edu/1422840/HISTORICAL_MOTIFS_AND_TRADITIONS_IN_DYNASTY_LEGITIMIZATION_FRANCE_AND_BOHEMIA_IN_THE_14TH_CENTURY_CHARLES_IV_OF_LUXEMBOURG_AND_THE_LAST_CAPETIANS).

¹⁷ Paul Crossley, "The Politics of Presentation: The Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia," in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks, and A. J. Minnis, Ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks and A.J. Minnis, (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 99–172. See esp. 121; Franz Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit," in *Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (München: Prestel, 1978), 87–94, 99–101, 441–443. See esp. 90.

¹⁸ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 329–331.

¹⁹ Dubská and Fuxa, *The Story of Prague Castle*, 173–179.; Marie Bláhová, "Der Kult des Heiligen Wenzel in der Ideologie Karls IV," in *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les societes de rite grec et latin au moyen age et a l'epoque moderne. approche comparative*, ed. Derwich, Marek and Michel Dmitrev, (Wrocław: Pracownia Badań nad Dziejami Zakónow i Kongregacji Kościelnych., 1999), 227–36. On the coronation rituals see: Jiří Kuthan and Miroslav Šmied, eds., *Koronovační řád českých králů = Ordo ad coronandum Regem Boemorum*, Vyd. 1 (Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2009).

²⁰ Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit," 90–91.

He endeavoured to represent his links to the Czech traditions with other methods as well, like the foundation of the *Na Slovanech* monastery in Prague for the Benedictines who used the Slavic liturgy. Charles invited monks from Dalmatia who followed the Slavic rite to live in that monastery.²¹ These facts demonstrate that Charles utilised the cult of national saints to prove his commitment to following the Czech traditions.

When Sigismund was born in 1368, Charles was relatively old, already fifty-two years of age. Sigismund was born from his fourth and last marriage, to Elisabeth of Pomerania.²² The name selection in this case was the result of a conscious and thought-out decision. Charles acquired the head-relic of St. Sigismund from Einsiedeln in 1354 and enclosed it in a gilded reliquary for the treasury of the St. Vitus cathedral.²³ St. Sigismund, the king of Burgundy, did not have a real cult in Bohemia and the situation remained the same after the acquisition of his head-relics.²⁴ Charles' special devotion to relics is well-known and on his extensive journeys he managed to collect the relics of a number of saints for churches he founded or enriched. A significant change happened with his coronation as king of Burgundy in Arles in 1365, when he formally became a successor of the sixth-century holy king of the Burgundy. After Frederick I Barbarossa, Charles IV was the first to use this title among the Holy Roman Emperors for two hundred years. After his coronation he visited the St. Maurice monastery of the Augustinian regular canons in Agaune (*Agaunum*), from where he took several pieces of the relic of the Burgundian saintly monarch.²⁵ As compensation, he gave the monks of Agaune a richly decorated reliquary that

²¹ A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 112; Klára Benešová and Kateřina Kubínová, eds., *Emauz: benediktinský klášter Na Slovanech v srdci Prahy: soubor statí věnovaných znovuotevření chrámu Panny Marie a sv. Jeronýma benediktinského kláštera Na Slovanech, Opatství Emauz 21.4.2003* (Praha: Academia, 2007); Julia Verkholtantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome: The History of the Legend and Its Legacy, Or, How the Translator of the Vulgate Became an Apostle of the Slavs*. (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014), 104 ff.

²² Iván Bertényi and László Szende, *Anjou-királyaink és Zsigmond kora* (Budapest: Officina, 2011), 140.

²³ Boehm and Fajt, *Prague*, 30–31.

²⁴ David C. Mengel, "Remembering Bohemia's Forgotten Patron Saint," in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice. Vol. 6: Papers from the Sixth International Symposium on The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice Sponsored by the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Held at Vila Lanna, Prague 23–25 June 2004*, ed. Zdeněk V. David and David Ralph Holton (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2007), 17–32. See esp. 21–22.

²⁵ Ibid., 21–22.; Robert Folz, "Zur Frage der Heiligen Könige: Heiligkeit und Nachleben in der Geschichte des burgundischen Königtums," *Deutsches Archiv Für Erforschung Des Mittelalters* 14 (1958): 317–44. See esp. 337–338.

is still kept today in the same monastic community.²⁶ In September 1365, when the newly acquired relics of St. Sigismund arrived in Prague, Charles ordered that they be placed in a freshly completed chapel of key importance. The St. Sigismund chapel is situated in the northern choir of the St. Vitus cathedral, opposite the St. Wenceslas chapel. A few days after the relics were deposited there the first miracle connected to the St. Sigismund occurred. On the feast of St. Wenceslas an unusually great thunderstorm hit Prague and witnesses understood that it was connected to the arrival of the new relics.²⁷ David Mengel mentions 33 miracles and miraculous phenomena which occurred in Bohemia between September 1365 and February 1366 that contemporaries connected to St. Sigismund.²⁸ Soon after the miracles connected to St. Sigismund were announced in the churches of Bohemia his feast was included among the feasts of the Prague archdiocese and he was venerated as a patron saint of Bohemia.

As a consequence of all these events, the son of Charles IV, born in February 1368, was baptised Sigismund. The young Sigismund following the intentions of his father and the conventions of the period meant that he did not spend much time with his parents.²⁹ We may assume that he did not learn the Luxemburg dynasty practices of rulership directly from his father, since his father died in 1378, when Sigismund was still just ten years old. His education and instruction was in the hands of Archbishop John of Prague (Jan Očko z Vlašim) and his elder half-brother, Wenceslas. His first public appearance is recorded in 1373, when he received the title of margrave of Brandenburg.³⁰

Sigismund, king of Hungary from 1387, used the very same methods to strengthen his power in Hungary as his father had used in Bohemia some decades earlier. Clearly, Sigismund had every intention of reinforcing the cult of his patron saint, St. Sigismund.³¹ According to some sources, King Sigismund saved the relics of St. Sigismund when he ordered them to be moved from Prague to Oradea (Várad) in Hungary in the Hussite period.³² He founded a chapel with double patrociny adjacent to his royal palace in Buda for the cult of

²⁶ Ferdinand Seibt, ed., *Kaiser Karl IV.: Staatsmann und Mäzen* (München: Prestel, 1978), 258. fig. XX.

²⁷ Mengel, "Remembering Bohemia's Forgotten Patron Saint," 26. n. 40.

²⁸ David C. Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague under Emperor Charles IV (1346–78)," (University of Notre Dame, Dissertation, 2003), 394–96.

²⁹ On the early years of Sigismund see: Bertényi and Szende, *Anjou-királyaink és Zsigmond kora*, 139–142; Jörg Konrad Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368–1437* (München: Beck, 1996), 32–47.

³⁰ Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368–1437*, 35.

³¹ Sándor Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium: A Mária-ünnepek és jelesebb napok hazai és közép-európai hagyományvilágából.*, vol. 1–2 (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1977), I. 334–337.

³² *Ibid.*, 1–2: I. 334–335; Bertényi and Szende, *Anjou-királyaink és Zsigmond kora*, 186; Ernő

St. Sigismund before 1410. The Holy Virgin and St. Sigismund were the patron saints of this church, which became a collegiate chapter from 1457.³³

Besides the Burgundian saint, King Sigismund also relied on the cult of St. Ladislaus, strengthened it and used it for his own purposes. The veneration of St. Ladislaus was not a novelty in the Sigismund period since the Anjou rulers of Hungary had also relied on the cult of the saintly rulers of the Árpád period.³⁴

Both Charles I and Louis I, who, like the Luxemburgs in Bohemia, were not descended from a national dynasty of Hungary, used the cult of the “national” saints of Hungary. The Anjou kings supported a strong cult of St. Ladislaus among the holy rulers of the Árpádians. Charles I ordered that his first wife, Beatrix, who died in 1319, be buried in Oradea close to the shrine of St. Ladislaus and he started building the cathedral there.³⁵

There are plenty of signs of the royal enhancement of the cult of St. Ladislaus during the reign of the Anjou rulers. On the golden forints of Louis I the image of St. Ladislaus replaced that of John the Baptist, numerous mural paintings depicting the life cycle of St. Ladislaus were completed in this period, and St. Ladislaus also became the patron saint of several churches.³⁶

Thus, King Sigismund used the earlier models in this field. He had patterns to follow about how to use the cult of earlier national saints. Both the practice of the Luxemburgs in Bohemia with the cult of St. Wenceslas and other Bohemian saints and the traditions of the Anjou rulers in Hungary with the special veneration of the saints of the Árpadian dynasty serve as good examples.

Sigismund expressed his personal veneration of St. Ladislaus through several donations to the Oradea cathedral, which happened in 1407 when Sigismund travelled to Oradea and gave several donations to the bishopric and promised to have his body buried as close to St. Ladislaus when he died.³⁷ The patronage and protection of St. Ladislaus had special importance for King

Marosi, ed., *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), I. 206.; Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon, 1387–1437*, 253.

³³ Bernát L. Kumorovitz, “A budai várkapolna és a Szent Zsigmond-prépostság történetéhez,” *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 15 (1963): 109–51; András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza* (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2006–2008), I 70.

³⁴ Gábor Klaniczay, “Az Anjouk és a szent királyok,” in *‘Mert ezt isten hagyta...’: Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből*, ed. Gábor Tüskés (Budapest: Magvető, 1986), 65–87. See esp. 67–68.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 68–69.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

³⁷ Zsuzsa Lukács, “A Szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben,” in *Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez*, ed. László Mezey (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980), 161–204. See esp. 178.; Zoltán Magyar, “*Keresztény lovagoknak oszlopa*”. *Szent László a magyar kultúrtörténetben* (Budapest: Helikon, 1996), 39.

Sigismund, since during the plot against him in 1403 his opponents in Oradea vowed in front of the head relics of St. Ladislaus to oust Sigismund from his throne and invite Ladislaus of Naples (of Durazzo) to the throne instead.³⁸

Thus, King Sigismund with his donations to the cathedral attempted to regain the support of St. Ladislaus from his opponents symbolically. Even before this event, however, one can see that Sigismund paid special attention to the burial place of St. Ladislaus. He ordered that his first wife, Mary of Anjou, who died in 1395, be buried there also.³⁹

The king's exceptional support for Oradea was followed by his close circle. Several members of his court (e.g., Stibor of Stiboricz, Ban John of Marót of Macsó, and Filippo Scolari) themselves made donations to the church where the relics of St. Ladislaus were buried.⁴⁰ Certainly the most important, however, were the royal donations to the bishopric of Oradea, founded by St. Ladislaus himself. Sigismund managed to negotiate permission for indulgence from Pope Boniface IX for pilgrims who paid a visit at the shrine of St. Ladislaus.⁴¹ In 1400 the head reliquary of St. Ladislaus had been destroyed in a fire in the cathedral.⁴² During his reign Sigismund had a new reliquary made, now kept in Győr.⁴³ On Easter in 1412 Sigismund himself visited the shrine of St. Ladislaus together with Wladislaw II Jagiello. On that visit the king of Poland got a small fragment of the head relic of the saintly king of Hungary for which he ordered a reliquary and deposited it in the treasury of the Cracow cathedral.⁴⁴

The equestrian statue erected in Oradea in 1390 by the sculptor brothers, George and Martin Kolozsvári, was the most monumental memorial of the cult of St. Ladislaus in the Sigismund period. This statue was commissioned by Bishop John Czudar and removed and remelted after 1660, when the Ottoman Turks conquered Oradea. The most reliable source on this statue is an engraving made at the end of the 16th century.⁴⁵

³⁸ Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon, 1387–1437*, 52.

³⁹ Ibid., 46.

⁴⁰ Magyar, „Keresztény lovagoknak oszlopa”. *Szent László a magyar kultúrtörténetben*, 39.

⁴¹ Terézia Kerny, “Szent László-kultusz a Zsigmond-korban,” in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387–1437. Tanulmányok*, ed. László Beke, Ernő Marosi, and Tünde Wehli (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1987), 353–63. See esp. 354.

⁴² Kerny, “Szent László-kultusz a Zsigmond-korban,” 355.

⁴³ Terézia Kerny, Evelin Wetter, “Szent László király ereklyetartó mellszobra,” in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában 1387–1437*, ed. Imre Takács, (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006) catalogue nr. 4.91, 378–382.

⁴⁴ Kerny, “Szent László-kultusz a Zsigmond-korban,” 355.

⁴⁵ Marosi, *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül*, 474–475; Terézia Kerny, “Szent László váradi lovasszobrát, valamint Szent István, Szent László és Szent Imre álló szobrai ábrázoló rajzok,” in *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában*:

The cult of St. Ladislaus in the Sigismund period had a long tradition, similar to the veneration of St. Wenceslas and other national saints that had been present in Bohemia even before the reign of Charles IV. It seems quite clear that in both kingdoms the rulers, who lacked strong dynastic affiliation to their own countries turned to the cult of saints with strong local connections.⁴⁶ One cannot present clear evidence that Sigismund, who spent his childhood years in Bohemia, learned this method there specifically, but there are certain parallels in the practice of rulership of the two rulers from the Luxemburg dynasty in Bohemia and Hungary. One can see that the veneration of national saints and through it a strengthening of the royal legitimation was a method used effectively by both father and son, and thus it became a practice applied successfully by various generations of Luxemburg rulers.

CONVERGENȚE ȘI DIVERGENȚE: PERIOADA TIMPURIE A DINASTIEI DE LUXEMBURG ÎN BOEMIA ȘI UNGARIA

Rezumat

Studiul discută procesul venirii la tron a dinastiei de Luxemburg în Boemia, la începuturile secolului al XIV-lea, și în Ungaria, spre sfârșitul acesteia, ajungând la concluzia că există un puternic paralelism între aceste procese în cele două țări. Primii conducători ai Boemiei, regele Ioan și fiul său Carol al IV-lea au luat câteva măsuri privind promovarea Cultului Sfinților locali în Boemia și în afara acesteia. Un fapt reflectat în numele de botez al lui Carol (Wenceslas) și în sprijinirea puternică a cultului acestuia în Boemia mijlocului secolului al XIV-lea. Sigismund, rege al Ungariei începând cu anul 1387, a folosit aceleași metode pentru a-și consolida puterea în Ungaria, pe care le-a folosit, cu câteva decenii mai înainte, tatăl său în Boemia. El și-a declarat venerația personală față de sfântul național al Ungariei secolului al XI-lea, Sfântul Ladislau, prin câteva donații la sanctuarul acestuia. Venerarea sfinților naționali și consolidarea legitimității regale prin aceasta a fost metoda folosită efectiv de regii de Luxemburg, atât în Boemia cât și în Ungaria.

1387–1437: *Kiállítási katalógus*, ed. Imre Takács (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2006), 494–495, 6.2.

⁴⁶ Mályusz, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon, 1387–1437*, 41.

THE PRICE OF ASCENDING TO THE THRONE. SIGISMUND OF LUXEMBURG'S FIGHT FOR THE THRONE OF HUNGARY AND NORTHWESTERN HUNGARY IN PLEDGE*

*János Incze***

Keywords: Sigismund of Luxemburg, Váh-Danube interfluve, ascension to the throne, pledging, financial transaction, Moravian margrave

Cuvinte cheie: Sigismund de Luxemburg, interfluviul Váh-Dunăre, ascensiunea la tron, zalogire, tranzacție financiară, margrafi din Moravia

One of the key moments of Sigismund of Luxemburg's ascension to the Hungarian throne was the Moravian margraves' military intervention in Hungary in 1385. Thanks to it, Sigismund became ruler of the country, but in return he had to cede the territory between the Váh and Danube rivers. This paper deals with this decisive event of Sigismund's rise to power, and more precisely, with the way the territory came under foreign rule, how it was administered by the margraves during this period, and how Sigismund recovered it.

Preceding events

Charles IV's son had to take a long and difficult journey until he managed to be crowned as Hungarian king, and until he could get rid of the obligations that he had taken upon himself meanwhile. According to his father's plan, he was not chosen for the Hungarian throne, but with the change of the political climate and due to an unexpected turn of events, in the end there was a real opportunity for Sigismund to become the Hungarian ruler.

According to the initial plans of the emperor, Sigismund would have married the daughter of Frederick V, Burgrave of Nuremberg, but establishing familial ties with the Angevin dynasty turned out to be more important because of the Polish-Hungarian personal union; with this marriage the Luxemburgs

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could gain not only the throne of Hungary but that of Poland as well. In 1372, King Louis I made a promise that he would give one of his daughters to Sigismund in marriage. Three years later a matrimonial contract was concluded for the marriage of Mary and Sigismund. At this time, the Polish inheritance was assigned to them, but because King Louis' older daughter, Katelin – who would have inherited the Hungarian throne through being the fiancée of the French prince Louis Valois – died, they would have ruled over Hungary, too. In addition, his father bought the margraviate of Brandenburg for him, which elevated its title holder to prince-elect of the Holy-Roman Empire. This bright future for the young Luxemburg seemed to be unreachable when King Louis died and Sigismund's ascension to the thrones became uncertain. Louis obliged the Polish magnates to take a solemn oath to support Sigismund's claim, but after his death they demanded that Sigismund set up his residence in Poland if he wanted to be crowned. Moreover, some of the nobility openly refused to recognize Sigismund as their ruler and wanted Prince Siemowit IV of Mazovia instead, despite Sigismund's military efforts to achieve his general acceptance. Furthermore, because his marriage to Mary was regularly postponed by Queen Elizabeth and the barons on her side, it seemed that his Hungarian coronation would never materialize either.¹

Under such circumstances, Sigismund decided to use force to rise into power in Hungary², but since he lacked substantial military power³, he had

¹ Elemér Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn, 1387–1437* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1990), 7–22. Julius Bartl, "Political and Social Situation in Slovakia at the Turning Point of the 14th and 15th Centuries and the Reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg," *Studia Historica Slovaca* 9 (1979): 41–44; Márta Kondor, "Fejdelmi frigyek, választási ígéretek: Luxemburgi Zsigmond első koronái" [Royal covenants and election promises: Sigismund of Luxembourg's first crowns] in "Köztes Európa" vonzásában. Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta tiszteletére [Under the influence of Zwischeneuropa. Studies in honor of Márta Font], ed. Dániel Bagi, Tamás Fedeles, Gergely Kiss (Pécs: Kronosz, 2012), 277–281; Szilárd Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya: Magyarország politikai története Nagy Lajostól Zsigmondig, az 1384–1387. évi belviszályok okmánytárával I–II* [The twilight of Anjou Hungary: The political history of Hungary from Louis the Great to Sigismund, with a chartulary about the kingdom's inner conflict, I–II] I, (Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale, 2003), 67–72; Hoensch Jörg K., *Kaiser Sigismund. Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit 1368–1437* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 48–57. Daniela Dvořáková, "Jošt a Uhorské kráľovstvo," [Jobst and the Kingdom of Hungary] in *Morava v časech markraběte Jošta* [Moravia at the time of Margrave Jobst], ed. Jan Libor (Brno: Matice moravská pro Výzkumné středisko pro dějiny střední Evropy, 2012), 44.

² Probably the siege of Žilina castle (Zsolna) was the first military act Sigismund took toward acquiring the Hungarian throne. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország* I, 65–66. Dvořáková, "Jošt a Uhorské kráľovstvo," 45.

³ At the beginning of May 1385 he had already started to recruit soldiers for the military campaign against Hungary. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország* I, 98.

to ask his cousins, the Moravian margraves' Jobst and Prokop, to intervene. On 9 July 1385, he promised in pledge parts of the margraviate of Brandenburg (Altmark and Priegnitz) for 50 000 Prague groschen for his cousins' military aid. In the same charter, he promised them the territories situated west of the Váh River with the condition that if they acquired these by arms or treaties they were entitled to hold these possessions under their authority until the costs of their military undertakings were paid off.⁴ At that time, Sigismund had not yet been crowned king of the kingdom; he was only Mary's spouse, but this did not stop him from making this promise as the future ruler of the country.⁵ This authorization was at the basis of bringing the lands between the Váh and Danube rivers under Moravian control.⁶

General mobilization had started before the charter was composed; the townsmen of Bratislava (Pozsony) expected the arrival of the main army on 3 June, but smaller numbers of Moravian troops might have arrived prior to this.⁷ The fighting lasted from the summer of 1385 until autumn, when most of the territory had been conquered. With Charles of Durazzo's arrival in the country, Sigismund left for the Czech Lands and returned to Hungary only after Charles' death, in the spring of the following year, in the company of his brother

⁴ ...hie disseit des Wages, es were mit macht, oder mit teidigen oder sust ...abtreten für alle scheden die sie genommen hetten und empfangen, das sullen sie ynnehaben geruesamlich und in gewere desselben von uns gesacht werden un darynne behalden als lang, uncz yn vor die egenanten scheden genug getan werde. Berthold Bretholz, Vincenz Brandl, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae. Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte Mährens 1375–1408*, vol. XI (Brünn: Mährischen Landes-Ausschusses, 1885) (hereafter CDM), 331; Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország* I, 94. Four days later, Sigismund's brother, Wenceslas, king of the Romans, gave his consent to the pledge. Dvoráková, "Jošt a Uhorské kráľovstvo," 46.

⁵ There are other examples of candidates for the throne donating domains away or promising estates situated in the country they wanted to rule. Ladislaus of Naples was crowned king of Hungary in Zadar in July 1403. Even before his coronation, when he was still in Naples, he donated away a castle in Slavonia. Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth, Elemér Mályusz, Tibor Neumann, *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 1387–1424, I–XI*. (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1951–2009) (hereafter ZsO) II, 2226. He made other deeds of donation and even granted privileges to several settlements, *Ibid.*, 2275, 2341, 2517, 2519.

⁶ During the negotiations held at Győr in the following year, Sigismund confirmed that the territory was subdued with his approval *super bonis, que sunt inter flumina Vag et Danubium sita, a nobis obtinere noscuntur*. CDM, XI, 355.

⁷ According to the same source of information, the castle of Ostrý Kameň (Éleskö) was already under the authority of a certain John Nyderspewger, thus the conquest of the territory could have started earlier, Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország*, II, 228; Magyar Országos Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives] – Diplomatikai Levéltár (Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica) [Archives of Diplomats] (hereafter DL) 42328. In spite of all this, the two margraves were at Brno at the beginning of July and they were present in Hungary only in August. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország* II, 228. DL 42328. Dvoráková, "Jošt a Uhorské kráľovstvo," 45–46.

Wenceslas, German and Czech ruler, and his cousins.⁸ In May, in Győr, negotiations were conducted among Queen Elizabeth, her daughter Mary, Sigismund, and the Moravian margraves and they agreed that King Wenceslas should be the arbitrator in the dispute.⁹ The final point of the resolution of Győr touched upon the issue of the territories west of the Váh River. According to this, although Sigismund was the one who gave the territories as collateral to the margraves, it was still not he but Queen Mary who had to clear the debt he had accumulated. She would have had to pay them 200 000 Hungarian golden florins from the royal revenues in Bratislava, Trnava (Nagyszombat) or Šintava (Sempte) before 11 November. However, if payment were made the occupied territories would have had to be ceded to Sigismund and not to Mary.¹⁰ Another interesting point of the treaty is that it names only Jodok as the conqueror of the lands between the Váh and Danube, and as a consequence the money had to be paid to him.¹¹ All this happened despite the fact that Prokop took part in subjugating the lands at his brother's side¹², although he was probably not present at the negotiations.¹³

⁸ For the events, see Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 18–22; Dvoráková, “Jošt a Uhorské kráľovstvo,” 46–48; Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország I*, 101–126.

⁹ CDM, XI, 351, 354.

¹⁰ *Et huiusmodi solucione facta plenarie dicte summe ducentorum millium florenorum auri legalis ponderis, extunc idem Jodocus marchio Moravie predictas terras et castra cum eorum pertinenciis dare et tradere debet ad manus dicti fratris nostri Sigismundi, de ipsis ulterius disponendum.* CDM, XI, 357. Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 21; Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország I*, 133–134.

¹¹ *Item de et super terris et earum pertinenciis, quas dictus patruus noster Jodocus marchio Moravie in regno Ungarie inter flumina Danubii et Wag acquisivit, dicimus pronunciamus et eiam diffinimus, quod dicta domina Maria de bonis regalibus regni Ungarie dicto Jodoco marchioni Moravie vel eius certis nunciis desuper mandatum suum habentibus dare assignare et persolvere debet...ducenta millia florenorum bonorum auri legalis ponderis de Ungaria...* CDM, XI, 357; Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország I*, 134. Dvoráková, *Jošt a Uhorske kralovstvo*, 50.

¹² Although the two brothers were fighting on the same side in their military expedition in Hungary, it remains a question whether they joined their forces in a single army. This is relevant because apparently they controlled the lands between the Váh and Danube rivers separately, divided between them. For instance, the town of Bratislava was under Margrave Jobst's command, while the Szentgyörgyi family regained the castle of Malinovo from Prokop, ZsO I. 860, 1334. Furthermore, on 1 January 1389 Jobst promised 20 000 shock Prague groschen for Procop's Hungarian castles, CDM, XI, 456. This sum was around 60 000 Hungarian golden florins (20 groschen to 1 golden florin), which was a bit more than one fourth of the 200 000-florin sum of redemption stipulated by the adjudication at Győr. This might have been the way the conquered territory was divided among the margraves. On the exchange rate see: Jiří Sejbál, *Dějiny peněz na Moravě* [The history of money in Moravia] (Brno: Blok, 1979), 173.

¹³ In the charter of 11 May 1386 Sigismund, Jobst, and Procop together acknowledged Wenceslas as arbitrator in the dispute, yet the document was only sealed by Sigismund and Jobst, “*Presencium sub nostrorum Sigismundi et Jodoci predictorum sigillis testimonio litterarum*,” CDM, XI, 355. Magyar Országos Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives] – Diplomatikai

Already at this time there was tension in the brothers' relationship; in 1381 they were fighting with each other over the Moravian estates of their brother John.¹⁴ Later, the northwestern Hungarian lands became the source of another dispute, which probably began with the negotiations at Győr.

The Váh-Danube interfluve under Moravian rule

Sigismund's self-proclaimed chronicler, Eberhard Windecke, provides information about exactly which lands were subdued by the margraves:

During that time, the Moravian Margraves Jobst and Procop marched against Hungary with a powerful army, and attacked and conquered many towns and castles of the Hungarian counties situated in the vicinity of Moravia; among these were: Dobrá Voda (Jókő), Korlátka (Korlátkő) Ostrý Kameň (Éleskő), Plavecký hrad (Detrekő), Červený Kameň (Vöröskő), Devín (Dévény), Branč (Berencs), Trnava, Skalica (Szakolca), Svätý Jur (Szentgyörgy), Pezinok (Bazin), Modra (Modor), Bernolákovo (Cseklész), Bratislava and other castles too.¹⁵

As this map illustrates, the Moravian conquest stretched to two counties to differing extents.¹⁶ In Nyitra only the northern and northwestern part of the county was conquered¹⁷, but in Pozsony they managed to subdue larger parts of

Fényképgyűjtemény (Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica) [Collection of Diplomatic Photographs] (hereafter DF) 287486.

¹⁴ Moravian Margrave John Henry had three natural and one illegitim son (*Johannes Bastardus*). Among his natural offsprings he divided his wealth, with Jobst receiving the largest share of it. However, first he fought with his brother John Sobieslaw for further domains, and when John died (around 1381), then with his other brother, Procop, for John's estates. In the end the conflict was solved only through external mediation, Jaroslav Mezník, "Die Finanzen des mährischen Markgrafen Jost," in *Acta Creationis, Unabhängige Geschichtsforschung in der Tschechoslowakei 1969–1980, vorgelegt dem 15. Internationalen Kongress für Geschichtswissenschaften, Bucharest 1980*, ed. Vilém Precan (Hannover: Selbstverlag, 1980), 74–77. Ondřej Schmidt, "Jan z Moravy, patriarcha aquilejský († 1394) a Jan Soběslav, markrabě moravský († cca. 1381) [John of Moravia, Patriarch of Aquileia († 1394) and John Sobieslaw, Margrave of Moravia († ca. 1381)," *Časopis Matice moravské* 132 (2013): 40–41.

¹⁵ Wilhelm Altmann, *Eberhard Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmunds* (Berlin: R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1893), (pars 13), 14. Unfortunately, Windecke does not specify his source of information.

¹⁶ According to Julius Bartl, apart from the counties of Nyitra and Pozsony, Trencsén also was affected by the Moravian conquest. Bartl, *Political and Social*, 50. Trencsén is situated on the eastern side of the River Váh, while Sigismund's authorization for the conquest referred only to the lands west of the river. On the top of that, there is no any data proving that the parts of Trencsén County were subdued.

¹⁷ Windecke does not mention it, but also the town and the castle of Nitra (Nyitra) was taken by the Moravians. Pál Engel, *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond korban (1387–1437)* [The relation between royal power and aristocracy in the Sigismund era (1387–1437)] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), 137–138. Dvoráková, "Jošt a Uhorské kráľovstvo," 46.

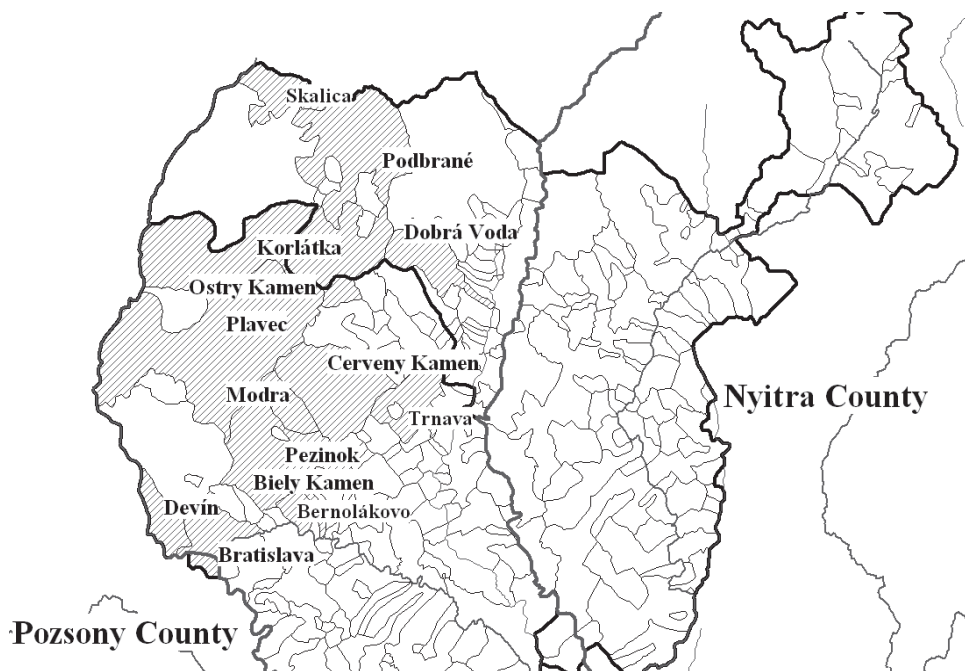


Fig. 1. The conquered territories (cross-hatched) according to Eberhard Windecke's information.¹⁸

the county under their command. Because the Váh-Danube interfluvium covered the entire Pozsony County, it is important to explore – beyond Windecke's information¹⁹ – how deep the Moravian troops penetrated into the county. A piece of data from the year 1388 claims that "certain Czechs" captured the castle of Drégely of Hont County.²⁰ It is questionable whether these "Czechs" were identical with the troops of the Moravian margraves because the castle lay far from the Váh and Danube rivers, and the available information states that they only had territories under their command in this area. Nevertheless, it is almost certain that their conquest extended further south than Windecke suggests, since they managed to capture the castle of Malinovo (Éberhárd),

¹⁸ The maps have been created with the help of the computer program: Pál Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén: digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről* [Hungary in the late middle ages: Digital map and database about the settlements of the Hungarian Kingdom] (Budapest: Térinfo Bt.- Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2001. CD ROM).

¹⁹ Windecke himself states that the list of the conquered settlements and fortifications is not complete, he ends his enumeration with *ander slos mere*. Altmann, *Eberhard Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten*, 14.

²⁰ ZsO, I, 646.

which is situated south of the castle of Bernolákovo.²¹ Regrettably, there is no further data about the extent of the Moravian conquest, but the available information demonstrates that the margraves conquered most of Bratislava County but not all of it. This is demonstrated by the fact that during the Moravian rule Sigismund had deeds of donation for the county's domains.²²

In this period, there were eleven castles in the county²³, eight of which were certainly under Moravian authority. The remaining two were located near the borders of the county, Šintava close to the eastern border and Bernstein (Borostyánkő) near the western border. The map shows that castles surrounding Bernstein (Pezinok, Svätý Jur, Devín, Plavecký hrad) were all conquered; for this reason it might have happened that Bernstein was likewise captured.²⁴ Šintava was chosen as one of the possible locations where the 200 000 florins had to be handed over by Queen Mary. The two other such settlements, Bratislava and Trnava, were under the margrave's command, thus it might be that they selected places for paying the money which were under their rule. After the summit at Győr, until an agreement was reached about the returning the conquered northwestern territories, Sigismund did not visit the area²⁵; Šintava was the only

²¹ Pál Engel claimed that Malinovo castle was built by Margrave Procop around 1386, Engel, *Királyi hatalom*, 108. A charter from 1409 contradicts this, since the Szentgyörgyies stated in it that: ...*praefatam ipse munitionem seu castrum Eberharth vocatam simul cum suis pertinenciis per praefatum Procopium marchionem temporibus dudum in pacatis ab ipsis violenter ablatum et receptum...* DL 9485. Fejér Georgius, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. vol. I–XI (Buda: Typis typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829–1844) (hereafter Fejér), X/4, 748. In his later work focusing on Hungary's medieval archontology, Engel remained silent about the castle's history prior to 1390, Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, I–II [The secular archontology of Hungary 1301–1457, I–II] (Budapest: MTA, Történettudományi Intézet, 1996), I, 307.

²² John and Desiderius Kaplai were granted Cifer village in January 1387, Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország*, II, 439. The Cseklészi family received the custom of Bernolákovo in December 1387 and the village of Zeleneč (Kisszelincs) in April 1388 from the king as a donation. ZsO, I, 329, 492. For more about the villages and the custom see: Jenő Házi, László Koncsol, *Pozsony vármegye középkori földrajza* [The historical topography of medieval Pozsony County] (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2000), 199–205, 219, 486–488.

²³ Ostrý Kameň, Plavecký hrad, Červený Kameň, Devín, Svätý Jur, Pezinok, Bernolákovo, Šintava, Bernstein, Malinovo, Bratislava.

²⁴ The castle of Bernstein was under the jurisdiction of the *ispán* of Pozsony, and because the margraves appointed the *ispán* of the county in the period, they should have been in charge of it. There is a charter from 1388 in which Leusták Ilosvai called himself *Lewstachius de Pernstain*. Engel, *Archontológia*, I, 285. Nevertheless, *Pernstain* might have referred to Pajštún Castle of Vas County, which in German was likewise called Bernstein in the period.

²⁵ Pál Engel, Norberth C. Tóth, *Királyok és királynék itineráriumi, 1382–1438* [Itineraries of kings and queens, 1382–1438] (Budapest: MTA, Történettudományi Intézet, 2005), 56–61. On 22 May 1388 there was an agreement about the redemption of the territory.

exception; he met his cousins there twice while conducting treaties about the status of the territory.²⁶ Even if this hypothesis is incorrect and the two castles were not captured, still the great majority of the county's castles, together with the private castles, were under their authority.

In July 1385, when Sigismund promised his cousins the lands west of the Váh River, he not only promised royal estates – which he as king-to-be could command – but essentially everything. Therefore, as expected, the Moravian margraves did not make any distinctions between royal, private²⁷ or church possessions when they entered the country. Regarding private domains, the Szentgyörgyi family (both branches) suffered the most as they lost not only Svätý Jur castle, from which they took their name, but also the castles of Pezinok and Malinovo together with their domains. The Cseklészi family's Bernolákovo castle was also captured by the Moravian troops.²⁸

Because most of the castles (if not all) in Pozsony County were under Moravian authority, it is not surprising that the whole county was under their administration. This is proven by the fact that during their rule over these lands they appointed the *ispán* (*comes*) of the county. The first surviving document that mentions a certain Smil *ispán* of Pozsony County is from 9 December 1385, however it is almost certain that there were earlier such documents which unfortunately have not been preserved.²⁹ *Ispán* Smil can be identified with Smil of Kunštát, who was probably the local representative of the interests of the margraves, as they seldom visited the subdued Hungarian lands.³⁰ The office of *ispán* was a baronial position in the Árpadian period, but during the 14th century

²⁶ First in May 1387, then two years later, again in May.

²⁷ Dvoráková, "Jošt a Uhorské kráľovstvo," 51.

²⁸ Engel, *Archontológia*, I, 292.

²⁹ DF 227039. Engel, *Archontológia*, I, 168. In this document Smil refers to an earlier charter issued by himself, which is why it is certain that he was the *ispán* of the county prior to 9 December 1385, Szilárd Süttő, "Adalékok a 14–15. századi magyar világi archontológiához, különösen az 1384–1387. évekhez," [Additional data for the 14–15th century Hungarian lay archontology, especially the years 1384–1387] *Levéltári Szemle* 52 (2002/4): 33.

³⁰ The two brothers might have come into the country in the second part of July 1385 and they probably left Hungary around the end of October. After this, they came in May only to discuss the situation of the occupied lands. First they met Sigismund in May 1386 in Győr (Prokop's presence here is questionable), then in May 1387 and 1388 in Šintava. Václav Štěpán, *Moravský markrabě Jošt (1354–1411)* [Moravian Margrave Jobst (1354–1411)] (Brünn: Matice moravská, 2002), 807–810, 822–23. Apart from seldom visiting the country, they were not troubled with the administration of the territory. Apparently, Prokop was not involved in the issues of the subdued lands, only Margrave Jobst dealt with some of them. He mainly focused on the affairs of Bratislava, even when he was not present in Hungary, ZsO, I, 464, 520, 634; Dvoráková, "Jošt a Uhorské kráľovstvo," 53–55. On March 1388 he addressed an order to the burghers of Bratislava from Brno, ZsO, I, 464.

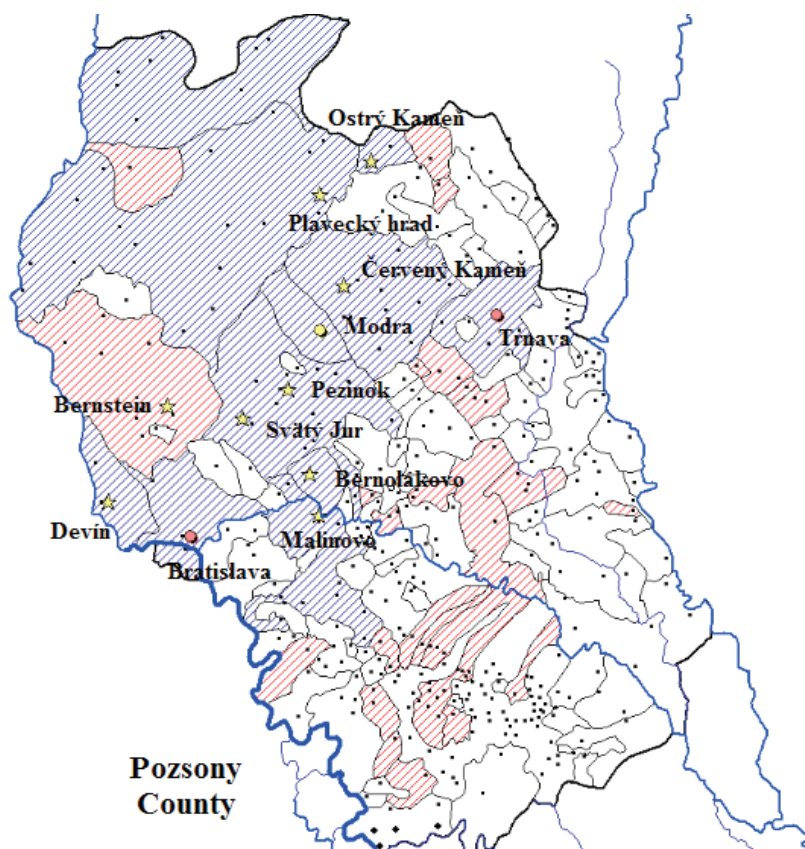


Fig. 2. The conquered territories in Pozsony County (blue cross-hatching) and the lands under the jurisdiction of the *ispán* (red cross-hatching). The overlaps are not indicated.

this honorary title was abolished. However, the *ispán* of Pozsony County was an exception³¹ and usually the list of dignitaries ended with the name of this office-holder.³² Thus, Smil of Kunštát could justly consider himself one of the barons, since he held one of the most prominent offices in the kingdom. For him, this was not a mere title, but he actively took part in the county's administration by making decisions in court cases together with the noble magistrates³³, by giving

³¹ István Tringli, "Megyék a középkori Magyarországon," [Counties in medieval Hungary], in *Honoris Causa: Tanulmányok Engel Pál Tiszteletére* [Honoris causa: Studies in Honor of Pál Engel], ed. Tibor Neumann, György Rácz (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2009), 508.

³² Norbert C. Tóth, "A főpapi székek betöltésének gyakorlata Zsigmond király uralkodása alatt," [The practice of filling vacant episcopal sees during the reign of King Sigismund] *Gazdaság és Társadalom* (2012/ special issue), 102–103.

³³ Imre Nagy, Farkas Deák and Gyula Nagy, eds, *Hazai oklevéltár 1234–1536* [Charters of the

orders instituting people into estates³⁴, and even by leasing domains pertaining to the castle of Bratislava.³⁵

Smil had another title besides the *ispán* of Pozsony County. From March 1386 he preferred to call himself *comes et capitaneus Posoniensi*. Indeed, there was already a captain of the town of Bratislava, a position that emerged after King Sigismund's death, so it is unlikely that the title was related to the town³⁶ but rather to the castle. Before Smil's arrival in Hungary, there is information about Nicolaus *capitaneus Posoniensis* from 1327³⁷, but because it is mentioned only once, probably this was only a title and not a real office. Smil is the second to have held this title, followed by Erik Silstrang in 1407³⁸ and Peter Kapler of Szullovic in 1413. There is no continuity regarding the office, the only common element that links the three of them is that they called themselves captains when the castle of Bratislava was under private authority. Erik Silstrang administered the castle and had held the title when the was under the authority of Princess Margaret of Bohemia, Sigismund's sister, and Peter Kapler had administered it when it was pledged to Burgrave Frederick VI of Nuremberg.³⁹ Pál Engel was the first to draw attention to the function of the captain by claiming that this

homeland 1234–1536] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1879), 315; Dvoráková, "Jošt a Uhorské kráľovstvo," 53–54.

³⁴ ZsO, I, 37, 676.

³⁵ ZsO, I, 445

³⁶ Judit Majorossy, "A pozsonyi városi elit és az udvar (az udvari nemesség) kapcsolatának megközelítési módjai a késő középkorban és a kora újkorban," [Ways of studying the relation of the urban elite of Bratislava and of the court (the court nobility) in the late middle ages and in the pre-modern era] *Urbs* 7 (2012): 175.

³⁷ DL 2452. *Pozsony város története III. Mellékletek Pozsony 1300–1526. évi történetéhez* [The history of the town of Bratislava III. Additions to the history of Bratislava between 1300–1526], ed. Tivadar Ortway (Pozsony: Stampfel Károly, 1894), 140.

³⁸ However, according to Tivadar Ortway's information a mysterious Nicolaus Flis is mentioned in 1400 as *Hauptmann zu Presburgk*, the title referring to the captain of the castle rather than the captain of the town (*stat hauptman*). Ortway's account is the only piece of evidence about his existence, far from being enough to find out whether he was a foreigner, if this was again only a title, or, if not, whether he held the office continuously. Ortway, *Pozsony város története* III, 187.

³⁹ Engel, *Archontológia*, I, 395. Sigismund pledged the town and castle of Bratislava, together with the castles of Gesztes and Komárno (Komárom) and other settlements and fortified places to Burgrave Frederick VI on 25 July 1410 until they yielded 20 000 florins revenue for him. Rudolf von Stillfried-Rattonitz, Traugott Maercker, *Monumenta Zollerana. Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Hauses Hohenzollern. vol. VI. Urkunden der fränkischen Linie: 1398 – 1411* (Berlin: Ernst & Korn, 1860), 618; János Károly, *Fejér vármegye története IV* [The history of Fejér County IV] (Székesfehérvár: Fejérvármegye Közönsége, 1901), 493. It is unknown exactly when these possessions were redeemed, but in 1414 Gesztes and Komárnó castles were still in pledge, therefore it is plausible to think that Bratislava Castle was in pledge during the captaincy of Kapler, Engel, *Archontológia*, I, 317, 344.

title became widely used due to fashion or because it may have been a new way of managing castles during Sigismund's reign. Furthermore, he also pointed out that foreigners were primarily the captains of castles in this period.⁴⁰ In the case of Bratislava Castle, it seems that the reason for the presence of captains of foreign origin was that at that time it was under foreign authority.⁴¹ The title of the *capitaneus* was probably an implementation of an already existing function in Hungary.

The contents of the treaty of May 1387 provide further information about how the margraves had extended jurisdiction in the seized lands (including Nyitra County). That section of King Wenceslas' arbitration which specified that Queen Mary had to pay 200 000 florins to recover the territories before 11 November was not met because Mary and her mother fell into captivity in the southern parts of the country. Therefore, Sigismund met his cousins at Šintava to conduct negotiations about the status of the territory between the Váh and Danube rivers after his coronation, when he was the legal and undisputed ruler of the kingdom. According to the agreement issued on 16 May 1387⁴², the margraves were authorized to appoint one of their own men to arbitrate at the *comital* court (*sedria*) together with the county's four noble magistrates, in accordance with the kingdom's customs. The only exceptions were cases falling under the jurisdiction of the royal court of justice.⁴³ Probably this point of the agreement referred to the appointment of the *ispán*, because it was his task to judge at the *sedria* along with the noble magistrates.⁴⁴ As noted above, Smil called himself *ispán* of Bratislava County as early as the end of 1385, thus this might have been only a formal recognition by Sigismund of an already existing status.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Pál Engel, "A honor," [The honor] in *Honor, vár, ispánság* [Honor, castle, domain (ispánság)], ed. Enikő Csukovics (Budapest: Osiris, 2003) 90.

⁴¹ After these early attempts, the office was established later once and for all, from 1423 onwards George Rozgonyi called himself captain of Bratislava, Engel, *Archontológia* I, 395.

⁴² Elemér Mályusz elaborated some of the main points of the treaty, Julius Bartl and Daniela Dvoráková presented them briefly, Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 345; Bartl, *Political and Social*, 50; Dvoráková, "Jošt a Uhorské kráľovstvo," 52–53.

⁴³ *Item, supradicti domini marchiones in comitatibus, quos apud manus eorum habent et tenent, possunt locare iudicem hominem ipsorum Hungarum, qui unacum quatuor iudicibus nobilium eiusdem comitatus secundum consuetudinem regni iudicabunt causas inibi emergentes, taliter tamen, quod ea que ad curiam nostram regiam iudicanda dinoscuntur pertinere, ad eandem curiam remittantur.* CDM, XI, 382.

⁴⁴ This task was often fulfilled by the *alispán* (*vicecomes*). Tringli, *Megyék*, 509–511. There are no data about the *alispánok* of Smil of Kunštát, but there is about Smil presiding at the *comital* court, ZsO I. 37, 634, 676.

⁴⁵ As stated by the agreement, the margraves would have to appoint one of their Hungarian

Another passage of the agreement dealt with possible conflicts between the inhabitants of the territory and the margraves. In such cases, Sigismund and his cousins had to delegate two people, each chosen by them, to settle the dispute.⁴⁶ Concerning the ecclesiastical revenues, they decided that Jobst and Procop would return all the ecclesiastical possessions and stop collecting any kind of church revenues. Furthermore, they would leave the granting of ecclesiastical benefices to the clergy, exactly as had been a common practice earlier. Here, again, the exceptions were the churches under royal authority, where the margraves could enjoy patronage right until the territory was returned.⁴⁷ Besides ecclesiastical issues, they dealt with the problem of private domains, too, regarding which the margraves promised that they would surrender all private properties to their just owners.⁴⁸ However, it was not stipulated in which form and under what terms. Lastly, Jobst and Procop had to assure their cousin, Sigismund, that they would not extend their authority further on either side of the Váh River and they would not introduce any kind of novelty.⁴⁹ The prohibition of novelties indicates that the Moravian margraves' rule in northwestern Hungary was considered only temporary. The authorization for seizing the territory from 1385 was valid only until their military expenditures were reimbursed. A long-term Moravian establishment was not among the options and the possibility of attaching these territories to Moravia did not even arise.

Sigismund, in return for all these obligations to his cousins, assured them that their rule in the conquered lands would be undisturbed and their rights would be respected until the redemption of the territory. The Hungarian king

men to arbitrate at the comital court with the noble magistrates. Smil was not Hungarian, but he was charged with this task even after the negotiations were over, ZsO, I, 634, 676.

⁴⁶ *Item si aliqua dampna et nocumenta inter regnicolas nostros parte ab una, et ipsorum dominorum marchionum in tenutis, que tenent in regno Hungarie parte ab altera evenirent seu fieri contingerent, ex tunc de parte nostri duo et ex parte dominorum marchionum similiter duo, quos duxerimus eligendos, hec eadem discuciant, cognoscant et faciant inter ipsos iusticiam expeditam.* CDM, XI, 382.

⁴⁷ *Item quod dicti domini marchiones omnes possessiones utilitates et decimas ecclesiarum dicaciones et exacciones earumdem ipsas concernentes reddere et dimittere debent, reddunt et dimittunt, sicut alias temporibus aliorum regum fuit observatum, ac eciam collaciones beneficiorum et ecclesiarum ad prelaturas et personas spirituales spectantes, exceptis collacionibus regalibus, que ad dominos marchiones spectare debent, quamdiu ipsa bona in Hungaria tenuerint, nec non citaciones, correcciones cleri, vocaciones ad synodos, visitaciones personarum ecclesiasticarum habeant processum pacificum, prout hactenus fuit observatum.* Ibid.

⁴⁸ *Eciam nobilium bona ac possessiones debent reddere et reddunt cum effectu...* Ibid.

⁴⁹ *...extra tenutas, quas nunc in Hungaria tenent, plura castra, civitates, terras, opida et villas regni eiusdem et regnicolarum tam ex ista quam alia parte fluvii Wag non debent per se aut per suos occupare aut aliquas novitates introducere...* Ibid.

was accompanied to the negotiations by some of his barons and prelates, who stood as guarantors for the contents of the document by sealing it.⁵⁰

Regaining the territory

The agreement concluded at Šintava in 1387 regulated the authority of the margraves in the region, but it did not touch upon the question of redemption. Sigismund guaranteed his cousins undisturbed rule over the territory until the time of retrieval, but the form this would take was not specified in the document. Since the 200 000 florins were not paid until the deadline, whether the sum of redemption remained unchanged remains a question. In the agreements concluded with the margraves, however, there is no mention of the possibility of redeeming the territory in instalments, but Sigismund began to collect money for it by putting royal possessions in pledge.⁵¹ First, on 31 January he pledged the village of Herenen, pertaining to the castle of Topolčany (Teplicany) of Nyitra County, to redeem the castles from the Czechs.⁵² Then, on 29 April, he pledged the castle of Pajštún (Borostyánkő) of Vas County to Archbishop John Kanizsai (and his brothers), who had taken part in the negotiations of the previous year. The king also needed money to retrieve a number of castles from the Czechs.⁵³ Later, on 9 July, he put Kamengrad (Kővár) castle of Pozsega County in pledge.⁵⁴ The original charter of the transaction did not survive, except for a later copy of its contents, therefore it remains unknown whether re-acquiring the captured castles was the reason for another pledge. The pledging was close in time to the two others, and the pledgee was the same Nicholas Treutel who was a participant of the negotiations at Šintava in 1387, therefore it is likely that the money was needed for the same expenditures as in the other cases. From these three pledges Sigismund gathered 8 600 florins, which was far from enough for redeeming the whole territory, but it might have been enough to regain one or two castles. In order to recover all the lands under Moravian rule, Sigismund met the margraves again at Šintava in May 1388.

Even though, Sigismund promised parts of Brandenburg, Altmark, and

⁵⁰ The following lords sealed the document: Bálint Alsáni, bishop of Pécs; John Kanizsai, bishop of Eger and court chancellor; Stephen Lackfi, palatine and voivode of Transylvania; George Bebek, the queen's master of the treasury; Emeric Bebek, *ispán* and judge royal; Frank Szécsényi, and Nicholas Treutel *ispán* of Pozsega. CDM, XI, 383.

⁵¹ Bartl, *Political and Social*, 50.

⁵² ...*pro... debitis quibus Bohemis pro liberatione et redemptione castrorum per ipsos occupatorum...*, DL 96613, ZsO, I, 417.

⁵³ ...*pro imminente nostra et totius regni nostri valida expeditione, presertim pretextu redemptionis nonnullorum castrorum nostrorum erga manus Bohemorum...*, ZsO, I, 521.

⁵⁴ DL 70822.

Priegnitz in pledge to his cousins, they could not take possession of them due to the resistance of the estates of Brandenburg.⁵⁵ Sigismund did not change his mind, but he strived to regain northwestern Hungary by pledging all of Brandenburg – with the sole exception of Neumark, the parts of Brandenburg situated east of the Oder River; for this he needed the approval of his brothers. Wenceslas gave his consent with the condition that the succession order laid out by their father should be changed. Furthermore, Sigismund also had to renounce his weekly revenue – provided by the chamber of Kutná Hora and bequeathed by Charles IV – in favor of Wenceslas.⁵⁶ The other brother, John, count of Görlitz, demanded Neumark. Apart from this, he wanted to change the succession order so that he could take over Sigismund's place. This would have provided him an excellent opportunity to inherit Bohemia in case of the demise of Wenceslas, who had no heirs.⁵⁷ It was not enough to have the consent of the brothers; the estates of Brandenburg had to be persuaded, too, which is why Sigismund invited their representative to hold negotiations at Trenčín on 16 March 1388.⁵⁸

During another summit at Šintava Sigismund finally managed to reach an agreement with his cousins. According to this, in order to restore Hungary to its old borders⁵⁹ Sigismund put the margraviate of Brandenburg in pledge for 565 253 florins, a sum double the 200 000 florins stipulated by the treaty of Győr. A time limit of five years was set for redeeming Brandenburg; if Sigismund failed to do so, then the margraviate would become Jobst and Procop's possession.⁶⁰ The reason behind this huge increase in the sum of redemption was that the 565 253 florins consisted of more items. Jaroslav Mezník proposed that it comprised the credits for the Czech nobles who served under Jobst in the military expedition of 1385, which Sigismund thus assumed.⁶¹ It is even more probable that the 25 000 gold florins that Sigismund promised to pay back to his cousins within five years during the meeting at Šintava of 1388 were part of this sum as well⁶², plus the 50 000 shock Prague groschen (around 150 000 florins)

⁵⁵ Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 57; Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország*, I, 134–135.

⁵⁶ After concluding the agreement, Wenceslas gave his consent to the pledging of Brandenburg on 28 June. Sigismund reached an agreement about it with the margraves on 22 May. Prior to this, Wenceslas authorized Jobst to conduct negotiations with Sigismund about the margraviate of Brandenburg, ZsO I. 500, 559, 622.

⁵⁷ Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 72.

⁵⁸ ZsO, I, 467.

⁵⁹ *Volentes tamen regnum nostrum prefatum in suis pertinenciis, metis et terminis ac graniciis antiquis integre et plene reducere et reformare...*, CDM, XI, 420.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 422.

⁶¹ Mezník, *Die Finanzen*, 79–80.

⁶² CDM, XI, 423. Bartl, *Political and Social*, 51.

for which Sigismund had promised parts of Brandenburg to the margraves back in 1385. In any case, the sum – already considered a fortune already by contemporaries – was so high that at the moment of signing the agreement it could be expected that Sigismund would not be able to repay it before the deadline.⁶³

Although an agreement was reached, it took some time until its contents were put in practice and finally brought changes for the subject territories. After the meeting in May nothing had happened; Smil of Kunštát still held the office of *ispán* of Pozsony.⁶⁴ At the beginning of the following year, in January 1389, Jobst could have given the Hungarian lands under his authority to Sigismund. On 1 January, Jobst absolved the burghers of Bratislava from their obligations towards him.⁶⁵ Smil ended his career of *ispán* of the county around the middle of the month, when Stibor of Stiboricz took over the office.⁶⁶ This meant that for the first time since the Moravian military expedition of autumn of 1385 – only from then onwards – the Hungarian king could control it. Margrave Jobst, the oldest male member of the Luxemburg dynasty, endeavored to obtain the leading role in the family, which for him meant the throne of the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁷ Therefore he tried to squeeze his brother out of the rule of Brandenburg. This was the pretext of the contract concluded on 10 January 1389 between the two brothers, according to which Procop would hand over the Hungarian castles under his authority to Jobst in exchange for 20 000 schock Prague groschen.⁶⁸ If the contents of the contract had been implemented, Jobst would have commanded all the possessions in Hungary under Moravian rule, he alone would have owned Brandenburg. However, Procop did not receive the promised sum⁶⁹, consequently he kept his domains in Hungary.⁷⁰

The last episode of regaining the land situated between the Váh and Danube was a military expedition against the castles commanded by Margrave Procop. Not much is known about the expedition itself. It probably occurred around the spring of 1390, when a law-suit was postponed because the respondent took

⁶³ Jobst permitted Sigismund to keep using the title of margrave of Brandenburg. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 72.

⁶⁴ ZsO, I, 634.

⁶⁵ ZsO, I, 860.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 883.

⁶⁷ Mezník, *Die Finanzen*, 76; Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 72.

⁶⁸ He would have paid the sum in installments of 2000 shock Prague groschen. CDM, XI, 456; Mezník, *Die Finanzen*, 79–80; Bartl, *Political and Social*, 52.

⁶⁹ Jobst paid money to his brother but not as much he promised, Mezník, *Die Finanzen*, 83.

⁷⁰ Daniela Dvořáková, *A lovag és királya: Stiborici Stibor és Luxemburgi Zsigmond: képek és történetek egy középkori magyar nemes életéből* [The knight and his king: Stibor of Stiborc and Sigismund of Luxemburg: Moments and stories from the life of a medieval Hungarian nobleman] (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2009), 48–49.

part in the siege of Dobrá Voda castle together with the royal army.⁷¹ Sigismund did not arrive on the spot until summer, but by then the fighting was over and he donated away the castle of Bernstein in a charter issued at Červený Kameň.⁷² Thus, both castles were in his possession at that time,⁷³ but it remains a question whether they were transferred by Jobst or had recently been re-conquered from Procop. The goal of the expedition was the re-capture of the royal castles; private fortifications had to be redeemed at the expense of their owners, despite the fact that they had come under foreign occupancy thanks to Sigismund. The Szentgyörgy family paid 4000 florins for the castle of Pezinok and 1900 for Malinovo⁷⁴, although, Sigismund tried to compensate for their losses, which is why he donated Bernstein castle to the family in the summer of 1390.⁷⁵ Besides the issue of the captured castles, a number of hostages had fallen into captivity during the Moravian conquest who were waiting for release. It was among the terms of Sigismund's coronation that any person taken into captivity by him or by any Czech would be released without making any payment. There is no information on whether this point of the terms was kept, but it is sure that for some reason it did not apply to Thomas (Temel) Szentgyörgyi.⁷⁶ He was only able to redeem himself from Margrave Jobst's detention in 1393 after selling one of his family's castles to raise the money for the ransom.⁷⁷

It took long time for Sigismund to rise to power in Hungary, which did not end with his coronation at Székesfehérvár on March 1387. Gaining the throne of the kingdom would have been impossible without his relatives' help, but it had a price: ceding the territory west of the Váh River. It took years and much effort to retrieve the lands even though the price he paid was not extremely

⁷¹ ...*Egidius filius Petri in obsessione castris regalis Jokv vocati existeret...*, DL 75579; ZsO I. 1414.

⁷² ZsO I. 1543.

⁷³ According to the secondary literature Sigismund managed to regain all the castles and settlements by 1390, Dvoráková, *A lovag és királya*, 49; Engel, *Archontologia*, I, 277, 299, 300, 308, 345. He donated away some of these castles in 1392 and 1394, which shows that they were certainly under his authority at that time.

⁷⁴ ZsO, I, 1334, ZsO, II, 5903. It is unknown when and for how much money the family bought back the castle of Szentgyörgy. Similarly, about the castle of Cseklész we all know that the king gave it in exchange for the castle of Appony. Engel, *Archontológia*, I, 292.

⁷⁵ Presumably for the same reason Nicholas Cseklézi received first the domain of Zeleneč (Kisszelincs) in April 1386 then the custom of Bernolákovo in December 1387. ZsO, I, 329, 492. Dvoráková, "Jošt a Uhorské královstvo," 51–52.

⁷⁶ ...*omnes captivos per ipsum dominum Marchionem, et alios quoscunque Boemos tempore sue pristinae guerre captivos, ... absque omni pactione et pecuniali solutione liberabit... dempto tamen et excepto signanter Thomlino de Sancto Georgio...*, Gusztáv Wenzel, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból*, III, [Hungarian diplomatic records from the Angevin era] (Budapest: MTA, 1876), 622; Dvoráková, "Jošt a Uhorské královstvo," 51.

⁷⁷ ZsO, I, 2773; Dvoráková, "Jošt a Uhorské královstvo," 51.

high. Although at the meeting at Šintava in 1388 it might have seemed that he had to sacrifice his family inheritance of Brandenburg for his rule in Hungary, the exchange of the two polities was still highly advantageous for him. However, after Margrave Jobst's death he even regained Brandenburg⁷⁸; thus, after the initial troubles, eventually he was in command of both of them.

Was it a pledging?

Although there seems to be a consensus that it was a pledging in the international and Hungarian literature regarding the legal status of the conquered territory⁷⁹, it is worthwhile discussing this question in detail because it is not so obvious. Approaching the question from the perspective of jurisdiction paints a more nuanced picture. In pledging, the right to the possession was not affected by the transaction; the pledgee held the pledge under his jurisdiction and only collected its revenues temporarily.⁸⁰ During the Moravian military occupation, the Hungarian king's authority was limited in the subject lands. Sigismund could not intervene too much in the affairs of the territory; he did not appoint the *ispán* of Pozsony and probably had no authority at all over Smil of Kunštát, who called himself captain or something similar. The situation is reflected well in the circumstance that after the arrival of the Moravian troops in Hungary, Sigismund visited the Váh-Danube interfluvium only once, after Charles the Short's death in April 1386, when he came back to Hungary in the company of his cousins. Then he issued two charters that were only related indirectly to the occupied territory; he simply borrowed money from Bratislava through them.⁸¹ After that, he never went beyond Šintava until the issue of the redemption of the territory was settled. Furthermore, during the Moravian occupancy Sigismund

⁷⁸ Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 95–96; Jan Winkelmann, *Die Mark Brandenburg des 14. Jahrhunderts: Markgräfliche Herrschaft zwischen räumlicher "Ferne und politischer Krise"* (Berlin: Lukas-Verl., 2011), 100.

⁷⁹ Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország* I, 134–135; Dvořáková, *A lovag és király*, 48–49; Norbert C. Tóth, *Magyarország története 6. Luxemburgi Zsigmond uralkodása (1387–1437)* [The history of Hungary 6. The reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437)] (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 2009), 23; Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund*, 55. Julius Bartl uses the word "collateral" when referring to the issue of the Váh-Danube interfluvium, by which he probably means pledging, since he uses the same term for the pledging of Altmark and Priegnitz in 1385. Bartl, *Political and Social*, 43–44.

⁸⁰ In one of his charters of pledge Sigismund stipulated that without his approval the pledged village could not be sold, alienated or given as security, DL 8993. For more see János Incze, "The Pledge Policy of King Sigismund of Luxembourg in Hungary (1387–1437)," in *Money and Finance in Central Europe during the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Roman Zaoral (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 92.

⁸¹ Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország* II, 361, 367.

had the donation of royal domains of Pozsony County, but these were among the few possessions not conquered by the margraves' troops. Beyond these, the Hungarian king did not have any measures pertaining to the issue of the seized lands, which was only discussed at the first summit at Šintava. However, precisely this meeting proves that the territory was not entirely taken out of the king's authority. Even if the *ispán* of Pozsony County was appointed without Sigismund's knowledge, his approval was still needed for legitimizing it. Additionally, in December 1387 he donated the custom of Bernolákovo, which pertained to the castle of Bratislava, to the Cseklészi family.⁸² The castle was under the margraves' jurisdiction, yet Sigismund could donate its custom away without any problem.

Examining the phrasing of the documents related to the case, we get a similar picture. In the charter of June 1385 – with which the whole story began – Sigismund authorized his cousins to bring the lands under their authority without calling it a pledging. This was contrary to Brandenburg, which was deliberately called as such.⁸³ Nonetheless, in the next month, when the conquering of the territory was going on, he issued a charter assuring the burghers of Bratislava that although he would pledge the town to his cousins, they should not worry because he would redeem it.⁸⁴ Wenceslas' adjudication of Győr claims that the land was acquired by Margrave Jobst, but it does not specify on what grounds.⁸⁵ The document of the first agreement of Šintava is similar; it simply states that various settlements, domains, and fortified places pertaining to the crown of Hungary are under the authority of the margraves.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, it also brings up the question of redemption or redeeming the territory back.⁸⁷ The

⁸² ...*quoddam tributum nostrum regale, in dicta possessione sua Cheklez vocata exigi consuetum, ad castrum nostrum Posoniense pertinens...*, Ernő Kammerer, *A Pécz nemzetség Apponyi ágának az Apponyi grófok családi levéltárában őrizett oklevelei. I. 1241–1526* [The charters of the Appony branch of the Pécz kindred and of the archives of the family of the counts of Appony I. 1241–1526] (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1906), 218; ZsO, I, 329.

⁸³ See footnote 4. *Und vor dasselb gelt czu einer grosser sicherheit vormachen, vorschreiben und in pfandes weis vorsezen wir yn das lant, die alde Mark genant...*, CDM, XI, 331.

⁸⁴ *Nos civitatem nostram Posoniensem illustribus Jodoco et Procopio marchionibus Moraviae patruis nostris dilectis pignoris titulo obligaverimus.* Fejér, X/8, 181. This is not a common pledging contract just as the transaction itself was not usual.

⁸⁵ *Item de et super terris et earum pertinenciis, quas dictus patruus noster Jodocus marchio Moraviae in regno Hungarie inter flumina Danubii et Wag acquisivit.* CDM, XI, 357.

⁸⁶ ... *domini marchiones predicti assumunt et promittunt omnio castra, civitates, terras, opida et villas ad coronam regni nostri Hungarie spectancia, que in manibus ipsorum existunt et pro nunc tenent...*, CDM. XI. 381–382.

⁸⁷ ...*dum et quando nos ab ipsis redimere voluerimus, eadem secundum continencias litterarum inter nos et ipsos dominos marchiones prius emanatarum libere et pacifice sine contradiccione et dilacione tenentur et debent dare ad redimendum...*, Ibid.

last charter concerning the problem is the clearest in its wording; it mentions Sigismund's earlier document in which he pledged a number of settlements and castles.⁸⁸ Thus, there should have been a charter that has not been survived in which Sigismund pledged the conquered lands to his cousins.⁸⁹

In conclusion, it can be stated that the case of the Váh-Danube interfluvium cannot be considered as an ordinary pledge transaction. As presented above, the territory was first conquered by Moravian troops – following Sigismund's authorization – and later at some point its legal status was changed by pledging it to its conquerors by the ruler.

PREȚUL ASCENSIUNII LA TRON. ZĂLOGIREA UNGARIEI DE NORD-VEST ÎN LUPTA LUI SIGISMUND DE LUXEMBURG PENTRU TRONUL UNGARIEI

Rezumat

Sigismund de Luxemburg ar fi reușit cu greu probabil să ajungă rege al Ungariei fără ajutorul militar al margrafilor din Moravia. Studiul de față prezintă evenimentele din preajma ascensiunii lui Sigismund la tronul Ungariei și se concentrează pe soarta interfluviumului Váh-Dunăre, care a fost ocupat de trupele din Moravia și ținut sub stăpânirea margrafilor până la când au fost răscumpărate cheltuielile lor militare. În plus, studiul investighează măsura în care aceștia au reușit să supună teritoriile din comitatele Nytria și Pozsony, care au fost limitele stăpânirii lor aici, cum a încercat și a reușit, în cele din urmă, Sigismund să recucerească zona și care ar fi putut fi statutul legal al interfluviumului Váh-Dunăre în perioada stăpânirii moraviene.

⁸⁸ ...in ingressu nostro ad regnum Hungarie cum armorum gentibus pro eorum gratis et acceptis serviciis culmini nostro fideliter exhibitis, ex causis rationabilibus et iustis nonnulla et nonnullas castra, opida, civitates et villas mediantibus aliis nostris litteris ipsis titulo pignoris obligavimus tamdiu habenda et tenendas, quousque de certa pecunie quantitate satisfaceremus eisdem iuxta modum in dictis litteris expressatum..., CDM, XI, 420. Also the previous charter makes an allusion to an earlier charter of pledge, when it says that the territory would be redeemed under the conditions agreed in another document.

⁸⁹ This earlier document could not be the charter of June 1385 because Sigismund only promised the lands to his cousins in it, and could not be the adjudication of Győr either since King Wenceslas issued it.

CONGREGAȚIA GENERALĂ A STĂRILOR DIN ANUL 1397 DE LA TIMIȘOARA

Zoltán Iusztin*

Cuvinte cheie: adunări generale, congregații, stări, nobilime, comunități entice și profesionale

Keywords: general meetings, congregations, statuses, ethic and professional communities

În loc de introducere

Începutul celui de-al doilea mileniu creștin aduce în prim plan un proces al cărui rezultat a fost, în occidentul Europei, cristalizarea instituțiilor medievale în forma lor clasică. Chiar dacă particularitățile locale au fost esențiale pentru debutul acestor transformări, amplificarea lor a fost determinată de factori comuni, precum crizele politice provocate de anarhiile nobiliare și apariția adunărilor provinciale, generale sau parlamentare.¹ În lipsa unor autorități centrale², aceste congregații îi reuneau pe cei mai puternici nobili laici și clericali, iar după consolidarea regalității, pe membrii recunoscuți ai societății, organizați într-o ierarhie bine definită. Inițial, rolul lor era acela de a asigura pacea și integritatea țărilor, a provinciilor sau a unor regiuni. Datorită contextului în care apar și care este răvășit de crize politice și tulburări sociale și religioase, adunările generale obțin rapid autoritatea unor foruri superioare. Însă, în ciuda acestui fapt, ele nu vor putea suplini pe termen lung autoritatea centrală, ci vor conviețui cu aceasta într-o relație de validare reciprocă. Ca urmare, majoritatea parlamentelor, adunărilor, congregațiilor sau stărilor generale vor fi prezidate

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¹ I. A. Pop, *Instituții medievale românești. Adunările cneziale și nobiliare (boierești) din Transilvania în secolele XIV–XVI* (Cluj-Napoca, 1991), 9–10; P. Engel, Gy. Kristó, A. Kubinyi, *Magyarország története 1301–1526* (Budapest, 200), 193–194. Despre principiile și ideile politice care au determinat apariția adunărilor generale vezi Ghe. Bichiceanu, „Privire comparativă asupra originii Adunărilor de stări în Europa medievală,” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, series Historica 9/I (2005): 9–18.

² Exemplul Franței la începutul mileniului al II-lea. G. Duby, *Cele trei ordine sau imaginarul feudalismului* (București, 1998), 48–61.

de regalitate, astfel că dacă legitimitatea guvernării era oferită de reprezentativitatea locuitorilor, carisma și aura coroanei era indispensabilă pentru păstrarea integrității teritoriale a regatelor.

Sociologul Max Weber evidențiasse, cu ceva timp în urmă, semnificația unor asemenea însușiri pentru sfera politică, considerând carisma drept criteriu esențial pentru tipologizarea formelor de guvernământ. Totuși, el nu a recunoscut acest atribut regalității europene³, în pofida numeroaselor exemple. Pentru studiul de față este elocvent cel al Ungariei medievale, care își încetează existența odată cu moartea regelui său pe câmpia de la Mohács, în ciuda faptului că, până la tragicul deznodământ, ierarhizarea societății și cristalizarea stărilor sociale atinsese deplina maturitate. Alături de baronii laici și clericali, nobilimea avusese posibilitatea de a accede și de a-și desfășura activitatea în cadrul instituțiilor politice și administrative ale țării. S-a susținut că preponderența sa a fost obținută prin îndepărtarea celorlalți locuitori din toate domeniile de activitate a comitatelor. Asemenea intenții ar fi sesizabile deja în prima parte a secolului al XIV-lea, chiar dacă decretele regale prevedeau dreptul de participare la congregațiile generale și a oamenilor de altă condiție. Totuși, pentru această perioadă, documentele mai adevăresc prezența celor cu un statut inferior însă, la începutul secolului al XV-lea, adunările devin nobiliare prin componență.⁴ Aceeași opinie admitea că, datorită neacceptării de către nobilime a unor foruri centrale, păstrate într-o formă arhaizată, care deliberau și asupra celorlalți locuitori, congregațiile provinciale dispar. S-a întărit în schimb autoritatea instituțiilor comitatense, adevărate de exemple precum sentințele promulgate de scaunele de judecată asupra tuturor locuitorilor unității administrative, cu excepția celor care beneficiau de privilegii.⁵ Noile schimbări sunt confirmate și de ordinele emise de curia centrală sau rege pentru organizarea adunărilor care, odată cu trecerea timpului, încep să omită chemarea locuitorilor de condiție inferioară.⁶

Spre deosebire de adunările comitatense sau provinciale, congregațiile generale constituiau o instituție cu atribuții largite la nivelul întregii țări, dar a căror competență primară era de natură legislativă. Caracterul lor a fost unul politic, dar au reprezentant, în același timp, instanțele supreme de judecată.⁷

³ M. Weber, "Die drei reinen Typen der legitimen Herrschaft," *Preußische Jahrbücher* 187 (1922): 474–487.

⁴ G. Istványi, "A generalis congregatio," *Levéltári Közlemények* 17 (1939): 72.

⁵ Ibid., *Levéltári Közlemények* 18–19 (1940–1941): 179.

⁶ Ibid., 184.

⁷ Gh. Bichicean, *Adunările de stări în Europa și în Țările Române în Evul Mediu* (București, 1996), 26; Susana Andea, *Congregații voievodale și palatinală (sec. XIII–XIV)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2013), 7–21; Á. Timon, *Magyar alkotmány és jogtörténet*, ed. a VI-a (Budapest, 1919), 625.

Apariția adunărilor generale a fost atribuită procesului de cristalizare a nobilimii ca stare socială distinctă, în special a antecesorilor săi. Sub înrăurirea prevederilor Bulei de Aur s-a considerat că privilegiile revendicate de servienții regali au determinat cooptarea lor în sistemul de guvernare și la constituirea instituțiilor administrative. Rezultatul firesc a fost întrunirea la Székesfehérvár, în secolul al XIII-lea, a congregațiilor generale. Obiceiul organizării unor asemenea adunări era semnalat la sfârșitul veacului anterior, atunci când servienții apelau la judecățile itinerante ale palatinului. De-a lungul peregrinării prin țară scaunul său de judecată reunea nobilimea și locuitorii din provincii⁸, ocazii cu care era posibilă și disputarea unor probleme de altă natură decât cele judiciare.

După alte opinii originea lor este mai veche⁹, iar indiciile în acest sens sunt păstrate în unele izvoare. Însușindu-și relatările lui Simon de Keza despre nemulțumirile provocate de domnia lui Petru Orseolo (1038–1041; 1044–1046), cronicarul Turóczi adăuga că adunarea nobilimii a ales solii pe care i-a trimis la descendenții direcți ai Sfântului Ștefan (997–1038). Evenimentul s-a desfășurat la Cenad, în timpul celei de-a doua domnii a nepopularului rege.¹⁰ Privind societatea acestor timpuri este de înțeles că nu nobilimea a organizat întrunirea. Scrisă la patru secole după desfășurarea adunării, cronica păstrează alte realități sociale decât cele din veacul al XI-lea. Astfel, dintre informațiile prezentate, doar cele care privesc Cenadul drept centru al opozanților „regelui italian”, recrutați probabil din rândul descendenților șefilor de triburi, pot fi considerate veridice. Considerentele sunt sugerate și de alte surse care vorbesc despre opțiunile politice ale episcopului Gerard de Sagredo.¹¹

Un alt episod interesant, preluat de Turóczi, de această dată din *Cronica Pictată* este cel legat de ultimele manifestări de apostazie ale maghiarilor. În intenția de a-și consolida domnia, regele Bela I (1060–1063) ar fi dispus ca fiecare sat să trimită câte doi bătrâni (*seniores*) la curtea de la Székesfehérvár. Odată reuniți, maghiarii au cerut reprobarea creștinismului, alegându-și reprezentanții care urmau să transmise doleanțele regelui. Aceștia au fost ridicați pe rampe pentru a fi văzuți și auziți de mulțime.¹² Spre deosebire, *Cronica Pictată* consemnează că regele chemase bătrânii pentru includerea lor în consiliul regal, însă alături de aceștia s-au prezentat și țărani, slugile

⁸ T. Szöcs, „A nádori generalis congregatio intézményének előképe és kialakulása,” *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 135 (2013): 45–49.

⁹ G. Istváni, „A generalis congregatio,” 50–52.

¹⁰ Thuróczy János, *A Magyarok Krónikája*, ed. Gy. Benda, I. Bertényi, J. Pótó, Millenniumi Magyar Történelem. Források (Budapest, 2001), 101.

¹¹ *Legenda Maior și Minor*, surse mult mai apropiate evenimentelor.

¹² Thuróczy, *A Magyarok Krónikája*, 101.

și o mare mulțime de oameni.¹³ În ce măsură relațiile despre ordinul de chemare a „bătrânilor” reconstituie o practică contemporană secolului al XIV-lea sau reminiscentele unui obicei primitiv, specific societății tribale este greu de dovedit. Cert este că adunările de la Székesfehérvár au fost oficializate pentru prima dată de Bula de Aur.¹⁴ Pe de-altă parte, este cunoscut faptul că decretalele regilor Ladislau cel Sfânt (1077–1095) și Coloman (1095–1116), care reglementau organizarea sinoadelor în fiecare episcopie au fost adoptate tot cu ocazia unor congregații.¹⁵ Una dintre dispozițiile privitoare la aceste sinoade prevedea că rolul lor era acela de a înlocui dreptatea împărțită de curtea regală, „pentru care locuitorii sunt nevoiți să străbată drum lung și să suporte cheltuieli mari”.¹⁶

Terminologie

Normele specifice literaturii de specialitate au încetățenit termenul *congregație generală* pentru deosebirea adunărilor stărilor din regatul medieval maghiar de instituțiile similare ale perioadelor mai recente. Uzanța sa nu este întâlnită doar în cadrul istoriografiei românești, ci și în lucrările autorilor străini¹⁷, însă există și unele deosebiri. Unii istorici maghiari au denumit congregații generale doar adunările comitatense sau provinciale din Transilvania, Croația, Slavonia, Macva și Severin.¹⁸

Rațiunile care au determinat utilizarea acestei denumiri sunt atât de ordin metodologic, cât și de natură terminologică. Astfel, izvoarele scrise desemnează prin expresiile *generalis congregatio regni*¹⁹, *regnicolarum congregatione*²⁰, *congregati universitatis regni*²¹ sau *consilio generali*²² întruniri ale stărilor țării pentru soluționarea problemelor de guvernare, dar și pentru deliberări judiciare. În lipsa adjectivului *regni*, *generalis congregatio* aveau un caracter provincial și reuneau doar locuitorii unui ținut sau a unui comitat, fiind prezidate de palatin²³ sau de un

¹³ L. Geréb, *Kepés Krónika. A magyarok régi és legújabb tetteiről, eredetükről és növekedésükről, diadalmaikról és bátorságukról* (Budapest, 1993), 35.

¹⁴ Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. I–XI (în continuare: CD) (Buda, 1829–1844), III/1, 374.

¹⁵ L. Závodszy, *De Fontibus Synodialumque tempore Sanctorum Stephani, Ladislai nec non Colomanni regum regni Hungaria conscriptorum* (Budapest, 1904), 58–59, 83–85.

¹⁶ Ibid., 85.

¹⁷ Istványi, „A generalis congregatio,” (1939); Szócs, „A nádori generalis congregatio,” 45–49.

¹⁸ Istványi, „A generalis congregatio,” (1939): 50–83; Ibid., (1940): 179–207.

¹⁹ Ibid., (1939): 50–52.

²⁰ N. Knauz, *Az Országos tanács és Országgyűlés története 1445–1452* (Pest, 1859), 45.

²¹ Ibid., 13

²² Knauz, „Az 1397. évi országgyűlés végzeménye,” *Magyar Történelmi Tár* III (1857): 214.

²³ Denumite *generali congregatio palatini*.

locuitor al regelui.²⁴ În ceea ce privește informațiile documentare, nu expresiile în sine atestă indubitabil existența unei adunări generale, ci mențiunile referitoare la componența lor. Drept urmare, prezența regelui alături de cea a baronilor este indiciul esențial pentru identificarea adunărilor generale. Mențiunea *consilio generali* folosit în legătură cu suveranul confirmă acest fapt, deoarece solemnitatea și importanța congregațiilor impuneau prezența regilor, lipsa lor fiind considerată excepție și era justificată de perioadele de vacanță ale coroanei.

Însă, se impune, după cum bine s-a observat²⁵, evitarea confuziei dintre consiliul general al țării și congregațiile generale. Cu toate că similitudinile sunt mari, ambele adunări fiind foruri supreme, avem de-a face cu două instituții diferite. Consiliul general a funcționat îndeosebi în perioadele de crize dinastice, reunindu-i pe marii demnitari ai țării și pe reprezentanții nobilimii. Actele emise de acest for păstrează o intitulăție specifică: *Prelati, Barones, Nobiles et Procere Regni Hungariae universis; Prelati et Barones* etc. Diferitele sale variații nu modifică uniformitatea sa reprezentată de componență. Discuții sunt în privința termenului *regnicolarum*, care este prezent în unele intitulății. Despre acest cuvânt s-a afirmat că nu apare în documentele emise de consiliul țării, ci doar unele dintre hotărârile sale sunt atribuite intenționat adunărilor generale.²⁶ Motivul ar fi unul evident și anume autoritatea sa superioară față de cea a consiliului țării, mai ales în ceea ce privește adoptarea taxelor sau a legilor.

Pe de-altă parte, substantivul *regnicolis* reprezintă esența identității congregațiilor generale. Înțelesul său de „locuitori ai țării” scoate în evidență distincția majoră dintre cele două instituții. Spre deosebire de consiliu, adunările generale reuniau alături de rege și demnitari, reprezentanți ai întregii nobilimi, ai orașelor libere și ai celorlaltor comunități privilegiate. Formulările înscrise în actele emise de adunările generale sunt evidente: *de vnanimi prelatorum, et Baronum procrumque et universitatem Nobilium atque Regnicolarum nostrorum* (1439)²⁷; *Prelati Barones Comites Milites, Procere et Nobiles Regni Hungarie Bude congregati totum corpus Regni Hungarie* (1441)²⁸; *Universi prelati, barones, milites, nobiles ac civitatenses regnicoleque regni Hungariae* (1445)²⁹; *congregati-onem nostram generalem cum omnibus regnicolis* (1446)³⁰ etc.

²⁴ Szöcs, „A nádori generalis congregatio,” 45–49.

²⁵ Knauz, *Az Országos tanács*, 45.

²⁶ Ibid., 45–48.

²⁷ J. Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon*, vol. X–XII (Pest, 1853–1857), vol. X, 45–46.

²⁸ Ibid., 107.

²⁹ *Decreta Regni Hungariae* (în continuare DRH), vol. II, ed. F. Dóry, G. Bónis, G. Érszegi, S. Teke (Budapest, 1989).339.

³⁰ E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, ed. N. Densușianu, vol. I/2 (București, 1887), 728.

În legătură directă cu adunările generale, consiliul sau locuitorii țării au fost promovate două concepte ce au cunoscut o răspândire diferită. „Societatea stărilor” sau „statul stărilor/ *a rendi állam*”, așa cum este cunoscută în literatura maghiară³¹, s-a impus sub influența modelului occidental și s-a bucurat de o mare popularitate în cadrul istoriografiei.³² În ciuda deosebirilor evidente, sistem congregational despre care vorbește Tudor Sălăgean vizează aceeași societate caracterizată de stări sociale, cu mecanisme proprii în rândul cărora sunt remarcate congregațiile generale. Deosebirile constă în faptul că istoricul ardelean utilizează acest concept pentru reprezentarea adunărilor stărilor din Transilvania. Totuși, el observă că atât congregațiile provinciale, cât și cele comitatense au fost impuse de regalitate și s-au suprapus peste vechile forme instituționale.³³

Stările și reprezentanții societății

Inegalitatea socială a reprezentat un element central, devenit stereotip, ce a determinat ca imaginea Evului Mediu să nu mai poată fi reconstituită fără preoții și călugării, țăranii aserviți și nobilii privilegiați. Totuși, întregul edificiu are temelii cât se poate de solide. Deja, în jurul anului 1000, documente din ținutul normand al Franței înfățișează societatea creștină după un tipar care s-a bucurat de o mare popularitate: cei ce se roagă (*oratores*), cei ce luptă (*bellatores*) și cei care muncesc (*laboratores*).³⁴ În ciuda subiectivității istoricilor de la *Annles* în intenția de a atribui consacrată descriere a societății episcopilor Adalbéron de Laon (947–1030) și Gerard de Cambrai (975–1051), imaginea este una mai timpurie.³⁵ Însuși savanții francezi confirmă că o traducere anglo-saxonă a operei *De consolatione philosophiae* a lui Boethius (480–524/526), atribuită regelui Angliei, Alfred cel Mare (893–901), conține un comentariu inserat care prevedea că, pentru popularea eficientă a țării, regele avea nevoie de oameni dedicați rugăciunii, de soldați și de lucrători ai pământului. Ulterior, călugărul Aelfric (955–1010) va conferi fiecărei categorii statutul de *ordo*³⁶, consfințind

³¹ E. Mályusz, „A magyar rendi állam Hunyadi korában,” *Századok* 91 (1957): 46; Engel, Kristó, Kubinyi, *Magyarország története*, 194.

³² Șt. Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. I (Cluj-Napoca, 1971), 280; Gh. Bichiceanu, *Adunările de stări*, 59; I. Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania între anii 1440–1514* (București, 2000), 95–99.

³³ T. Sălăgean, *Transilvania în adoua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea. Afirmarea regimului congregational* (Cluj-Napoca, 2003), 214–216.

³⁴ J. Le Goff, *Civilizația Occidentului Medieval* (București, 1970), 341; G. Duby, *Cele trei ordine*, 25; I. A. Pop, *Instituții medievale*, 9–25.

³⁵ Duby, *Cele trei ordine*, 34–82.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 147–158.

prin urmare identitatea clasică sub care au fost înfățișate stările sociale de către literatura de specialitate.

Odată consacrată teoria tripartiției s-a reflectat asupra întregii epoci, uneori fiind exportată și modernității.³⁷ Însă, substituirea celor trei ordine propriu-zise întregii lumi medievale nu corespunde realității. O asemenea compactare nu produce decât impresia unei sinteze, și aceasta incompletă, chiar dacă ideea, principiul abstract rezumat de această reprezentare, constituie un criteriu cu ajutorul căruia poate fi redată mai detaliat întreaga societate.

Într-adevăr, inegalitatea socială ilustrează o caracteristică a epocii, dar fără a fi uniformă. Mărturiile scrise confirmă că au existat mai multe ierarhii imaginate de cărturarii medievali după diverse criterii: politice, sociale, profesionale, morale etc. În general, predomină un punct de vedere religios în raport cu „casa lui Dumnezeu”, dar uneori opiniile devin laice, iar obiectivul urmărit privește o provincie sau o țară. Tipologizările sunt neuniforme, avansând de la bipartiție la un număr de stări ce pare mărit artificial.³⁸ Pentru structurarea lor cât mai clară Jacques Le Goff a propus o periodizare a reprezentărilor și a schemelor sociale. În prim plan este redată „societatea tripartită”, a celor trei ordine, consolidată în perioada carolingiană care, începând cu a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea, este înlocuită de o „societate a stărilor”. Cea din urmă este mai complexă și este descrisă ca o comunitate a condițiilor socio-profesionale. Istoricul francez remarcă însă că societatea ordinelor suprapuse va exista în continuare, fiind întâlnită și mai târziu, în timpul absolutismului monarhic, atât ca temă literară, cât și ideologică. După opiniile sale, schimbările care au determinat „desacralizarea societății” s-au datorat unor noi percepții mentale și ideologice.³⁹

Reflecția istoricului este validă în măsura în care recunoște deosebiriile „timpurilor medievale”, însă delimitarea strictă a societății celor trei ordine necesită un studiu mai detaliat, mai ales că imaginea lor sugerează o identitate abstractă și nu o structură socială propriu-zisă. Ca urmare, este esențială exemplificarea fiecărui caz în parte.

Prin prisma școlii de la *Annales*, și teritoriul Ungariei medievale a aparținut Occidentului catolic⁴⁰, dar realitățile istorice din zona Dunării Inferioare impun observații specifice, diferite de cele din vestul Europei. Situat la hotarul creștinismului oriental, teritoriul ocupat de triburile maghiare este marcat, la începutul secolului al XI-lea, de dezintegrarea „statului nomad” și de constituirea

³⁷ Exemplul broșurii *Traité des Ordres Simples Dignitez*, apărută în 1610 și reeditată mereu în secolul al XVII-lea, prezenta cele trei ordine sau stări generale ale Franței: cei ce se roagă, nobilii și starea a treia. Ibid., 9.

³⁸ Ibid., 112, 130–132, 212, 304, 346, 375, 395, 425–439.

³⁹ J. Le Goff, *Civilizația*, 347–348.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 116.

regatului catolic. Aflată în plină transformare, noua structură socială a tânărului regat apostolic este descrisă de legile sfinților regi care, datorită contextului în care au fost adoptate, păstrează un accentuat caracter creștin.

În prim planul acestei societăți se evidențiază acei *maiores*, care se bucurau de autoritate și prestigiu și care sunt identificați cu prelații și comiții aflați în slujba regelui. După unele opinii ei sunt cei care au pus bazele marilor domenii alodiale.⁴¹ De fapt, proprietatea privată va oferi principalul indiciu despre condiția socială, a cărei identitate nu este uniformă în această perioadă timpurie. Un astfel de exemplu este cel al iobagilor de cetate, numiți *milites* de către izvoare și trecuți în rândul bunurilor regale.⁴² Potrivit aliniatul XXV al decretului atribuit Sfântului Ștefan, condiția lor este foarte aproape de cea a robilor, în cazul în care își părăseau stăpânul de drept.⁴³

Anumite nelămuriri suscită și cei numiți oameni liberi (*liberam persona*). Despre condiția lor s-a afirmat că nu făcea obiectul unui privilegiu în sine, deoarece unii dintre ei erau legați de un stăpân, pe când alții beneficiau de domenii importante sau funcții într-o garnizoană de cetate.⁴⁴ Așa cum observăm, deosebirile sociale sunt datorate tocmai înțelesului pe care libertatea l-a avut în această vreme și care pare relativ față de perioadele ulterioare. Cert este că a exista o legătură strânsă între dreptul de proprietate și libertate. Cel mai concret exemplu este ilustrat de locuitorii noilor domenii private care, pentru a-și păstra libertatea, au ales cale pribegiei, situație ce a determinat apariția unui număr mare de peregrini și vagabonzi care îngroșau rândurile sărăcimii.⁴⁵

Categoria care amintește de societatea tribală sunt robii, a căror condiție se datora atât originii, cât și ca urmare a pierderii libertății pe cale judiciară.⁴⁶ Legile privitoare la aceștia au fost redactate prin copierea modelelor romane și salice⁴⁷, atestând pentru Bazinul Carpatic o anumită involuție față de societatea occidentală. Existau și servi care dețineau proprietăți sau care erau legați de un anumit serviciu.

O situație aparte este întâlnită la udvornici, despre care se afirmă că provin din rândurile prizonierilor de război, deveniți servitori domestici ai nobililor și ai curților (*udvar*). Sub influența creștinismului ei au fost scoși de sub autoritatea

⁴¹ P. Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan. Istoria Ungariei Medievale 895–1526* (Cluj-Napoca, 2006), 104

⁴² A. Zsoldos, *A szent király szabadjai. Fejezetek a várjobbágyság történetéből* (Budapest, 1999), 9–15.

⁴³ Závodszi, *De Fontibus*, 36. decret.XXV.

⁴⁴ P. Engel, *Regatul*, 104–105.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 104–105.

⁴⁶ Závodszi, *De Fontibus*, 15–44.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 34–35.

stăpânilor inițiali și încredințați marilor domenii eclesiastice și regale, constituind o categorie socială distinctă aflată sub autoritatea palatinului.⁴⁸ Avându-se în vedere etimologia cuvântului *udvornicis* se consideră că originea acestora este legată de populația slavă luată prizonieră sau obligată la servitute de către triburile descălecătoare.⁴⁹

Față de perioadele ulterioare, societatea maghiară din secolul al XI-lea este mai aproape de imaginea celor trei ordine în înțelesul lor propriu, în ciuda răspândirii neuniforme a creștinismului. Metamorfozarea sa, vizibilă mai ales în secolul al XIII-lea⁵⁰, se produce prin intermediul instituțiilor occidentale și are ca rezultat o stratificare mai concisă a societății, denumită după exemplul apusean „societatea stărilor”.

Apariția unor noi categorii sociale are un ecou în conștiința contemporanilor. În cronica sa, Simon de Keza consemna că deosebiri semnificative dintre nobili și cei de condiție inferioară izvorau tocmai din amintita nesupunerea față de comunitate și legile sale.⁵¹ Mai exact, nerespectarea vechiului obicei de chemare la oaste cu ajutorul sabiei însângerate era pedepsit cu moartea sau condamnarea la servitute.⁵² Distincția foarte clară dintre noile grupuri sociale este evidențiată în timp. Condiția socială este transmisă urmașilor așa cum ne este sugerat de exemplul clanului Tatun, a cărui nobilitate era dată de originea scitică. Rudenia și etnia sunt prezentate ca definitorii și în cazul nobililor străini⁵³, fiind motive mult mai perceptibile pentru gândirea epocii în comparație cu factorii sociali și politici. Chiar dacă întregul proces al transformărilor a lăsat puține mărturii, rezultatul său este observat, iar identitatea noilor grupuri este bine conturată.

Cu timpul, prăpastia socială se adâncește. Deja în vremea lui Turóczy se ajunge la forma sa paroxistă, iar atașamentul față de țărani și oamenii fără descendență nobilă merită cea mai riguroasă pedeapsă. De un asemenea păcat s-a făcut vinovat regele Aba Samuel (1041–1044), pe care nobilii s-au văzut nevoiți să-l înlăture de la conducerea țării.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Simonis de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*/ *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed. L. Veszprémy and F. Schaer (Budapest, 1999), 179.

⁴⁹ Engel, *Regatul*, 101–102.

⁵⁰ J. Laszlovszki, “Social Stratification and Material Culture in 10th–14th Century Hungary,” *Alltag und materielle Kultur in mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Krems, 1991), 36.

⁵¹ Simonis de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, 31; Obiceiul maghiar de condamnare la servitute a celor care refuzau să meragă la oaste este menționat și de cronicarii francezi, însă, autenticitatea informației este disputată, datorită faptului că aceeași tradiție era respectată și de francezi: *Ibid.*, nota 2.

⁵² Thuróczy, *A Magyarok Krónikája*, 32.

⁵³ Simonis de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, 125, 158–175.

⁵⁴ Thuróczy, *A Magyarok Krónikája*, 85.

Desigur, premisele pe care Turóczy le atribuie evenimentelor din secolul al XI-lea reflectă mai degrabă conștiințele societății din a doua jumătate a secolului al XV-lea. Doar în contextul unei ierarhizări evidente se putea ajunge ca nerespectarea relațiilor de subordonare dintre categoriile sociale să constituie o degradare morală și politică pentru rege, marii demnitari sau pentru nobili.

Însă, ce sunt aceste categorii sociale numite *stări* și cine sunt membrii lor? Revenind la înțelesul cuvântului *regnicolis*, trebuie să remarcăm că el nu era reprezentativ pentru întreaga populație a regatului. O situație similară este întâlnită la *populus*, căruia Ștefan Werbőczy îi recunoștea vechiul înțeles roman, dar în *Tripartitum*-ul său îi impunea o caracteristică juridică.⁵⁵

Ca și mai târziu, nu toți locuitorii teritoriilor Ungarie medievale erau identificați cu populația propriu-zisă a țării.⁵⁶ Doar cei care dețineau drepturi juridice era recunoscuți drept „cetățeni” ai regatului. Originea și apartenența lor era diversă, însă cu trecerea timpului are loc structurarea lor în pături sociale bine definite. Cel mai vizibil criteriu de diferențiere a fost dreptul de proprietate, care a împărțit populația în stăpânitori și oameni fără nicio proprietate, drepturi sau putere financiară. La rândul lor și aceste mari pături sociale s-au divizat, îndeosebi cea a posesorilor de proprietăți, din rândul cărora vor proveni în exclusivitate stările regatului.

Într-un cadru separat de cel al populației țării, cronicile îi amintesc pe episcopi și nobili ca factori importanți în luarea deciziilor politice.⁵⁷ Dacă, așa cum am văzut, prelații constituiau un ordin distinct încă din vremea Sfântului Ștefan, baronii au fost considerați descendenți ai nobililor.⁵⁸ Preeminența lor a fost dată de ocuparea celor mai mari demnități ale țării care le-au oferit, în același timp, un statut sau rang superior celorlalți nobili.

Identitatea aparte a celor trei stări este indubitabil confirmată de diplomele și documentele curiei regale, dar și de către cronici și opusculele de legi, care promovează concomitent un principiu ce afirma că în regatul maghiar exista teoretic o singură stare care-i reunea pe membrii sfintei coroane.⁵⁹ Practic, ipoteza este confirmată de faptul că, în secolul al XIV-lea, nobilimea deținea 60% din posesiunile regatului, aprox. 15% constituiau domenii eclesiastice, iar restul reprezenta proprietatea coroanei, pentru ca, înainte

⁵⁵ Stephano de Werbőcz, *Corpus Juris Hungarici, Tomus Primus Opus Tripartitum. Juris consuetudinarii ejusdem regni* (în continuare CJH *Opus Tripartitum*) (Tyrnaviae, MDCXCVI), 71.

⁵⁶ P. Engel, *Társadalom és politikai struktúra az Anjou-kori Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1988), 8.

⁵⁷ Simonis de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, cap. 54–55, 125.

⁵⁸ Thuróczy, *A Magyarok Krónikája*, 66.

⁵⁹ CJH, *Opus Tripartitum*, 11.

de Mohács, cuantumul proprietăților nobiliare să reprezinte 80% din totalul posesiunilor țării.⁶⁰

Totuși, acest principiu care mai prevedea că autoritatea Sfintei Coroane izvora din îngăduința locuitorilor țării nu era o idee nouă la începutul secolului al XVI-lea. Asemeni conștiințelor despre originea nobilimii și a dublului descălecat, Ștefan Werbőczy nu aducea inovații în opera sa, ci reactualiza obiceiuri și idei vechi, unele chiar din veacul al XIII-lea sau mai timpurii. Interesantă este explicația sa despre populația regatului și anume amintita mențiune despre referința juridică a cuvântului *populus*, care în înțelesul său de „totalitate a locuitorilor țării”, îi reunea doar pe prelații, baronii, magnații și pe ceilalți nobili, nu și pe cei de condiție umilă.⁶¹

Așa cum putem observa, în această descriere este menționată o a patra stare, amintită rar de către istoriografie, dar care este consemnată în textele documentelor.⁶² Cu o condiție socială superioară mării majorități a nobilimii, magnații numiți și *Proceres* sau *Potiores Nobiles*⁶³ au avut un rang apropiat baronilor și au fost părtași permanenți la luarea deciziilor importante pentru țară. În rândul lor s-au aflat foștii baroni, membri ai familiilor baroniale sau nobili cu o putere economică importantă. S-a menționat că printre ei se aflau și nobili care din varii motive au fost chemați să facă parte din consiliul regal.⁶⁴

Dintr-un alt punct de vedere „stările” au fost considerate acele grupuri de proprietari și stăpânitori de posesiuni care aveau un statut propriu. Rezultatul acestui deziderat l-a determinat pe Engel Pál să afirme că, la modul general, în Europa s-au deosebit trei mai grupuri și anume: ordinele preoțești, nobilimea și orașele libere, iar în unele zone comunități ale țărănimii (Pen. Scandinavă). Această imagine a fost atribuită și Ungariei, cu mențiunea că marea preoțime nu s-a organizat ca stare distinctă, astfel că prelații au alcătuit un grup comun împreună cu baronii.⁶⁵

Însă, una dintre prevederile înscrise în *Tripartitum* atestă faptul că prelații și cei cu demnități preoțești trebuiau să presteze jurământ regelui, obligație

⁶⁰ Engel, *Társadalom és politikai struktúra*, 8.

⁶¹ CJH, *Opus Tripartitum*, 71: *Titulus IV. Qui nomine populi et qui nomine plebis intelliguntur. Nomine autem et appellatione populi hoc in loco intellige solummodo Dominis Prelatos, Barones et alios Magnates atque quoslibet Nobiles sed non ignobiles: licet iste terminus populus includat omnes Nobiles et ignobiles pariter. De ignobilibus tamen (qui plebis nomine intelliguntur) in hac parte nihil est propositum. Populus enim eo differret a plebe quo species a genere: Nam appellatione populi universi Nobiles tam Magnates quam inferiores etiam ignobilibus computatis significantur Plebis autem nominatione soli ignobiles intelliguntur.*

⁶² Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora*, 120, 242, 259; Knauz, *Az Országos tanács*, 40–78.

⁶³ Timon, *Magyar alkotmány*, 652.

⁶⁴ Engel, *Regatul*, 358.

⁶⁵ Engel, Kristó, Kubinyi, *Magyarország története*, 193–197.

justificată de statutul lor distinct, caracterizat de o dublă suzeranitate, a regelui și a papei.⁶⁶ De asemenea, demnitățile clericale au fost cele mai importante dintre demnitățile țării, ele deschizând mereu în actele scrise lista dregătorilor.

În ceea ce privește orașele este bine cunoscut faptul că au constituit o parte importantă a lumii medievale. Centrele urbane au format comunități distincte datorită numeroaselor privilegii de care au beneficiat. Cetățenii orașelor libere plăteau dări egale cu cele ale nobililor. Pe de altă parte, autoritățile orășenești recrutate din rândul cetățenilor au avut posibilitatea de a trimite delegații la evenimentele unde s-au luat decizii importante. O asemenea delegație a luat parte și la adunarea generală de la Timișoara, din anul 1397.⁶⁷

Însă, în ciuda privilegiilor de care au beneficiat și a drepturilor pe care le-au deținut, cetățenii orașelor nu au constituit o stare socială. În regatul maghiar doar centrele urbane mai importante beneficiau de privilegii. Marea majoritate a târgurilor și comunităților urbane se aflau sub autoritatea baronilor sau a nobililor, iar ca urmare condiția socială a locuitorilor lor era foarte aproape de cea a iobagilor și a țăranilor. Cu toate că au trimis delegați la adunările generale, orășenimea a reprezentat o comunitate privilegiată ale cărei însușiri principale au fost date de profesie spre deosebire de cele a căror identitate a fost dată de etnie, precum în cazul sașilor și secuilor.

De aceea afirmăm că stările țării pot fi considerate doar acele categorii sociale bine structurate care au luat parte la procesul de guvernare și a căror reprezentativitate și autoritate a depășit nivelul unor comunități privilegiate. Identitatea lor este redată fără niciun echivoc de izvoarele documentare: prelații, baronii, magnații și nobilimea.⁶⁸ Prin urmare, majoritatea locuitorilor țării nu a fost reprezentată în sfera politică, chiar dacă cu ocazia răscoalelor s-a evidențiat solidaritatea de grup din rândul țăranilor și a iobagilor, în a căror conștiință era prezent un crez rezumat de aceeași idee: *regnicolis*.⁶⁹

Evenimente premergătoare și contextul politic

Unicitatea adunării generale a stărilor din anul 1397 este dată de faptul că, atâta timp cât a existat regatul medieval maghiar, la Timișoara nu a fost organizată nicio altă congregație de acest fel, în ciuda faptului că, la începutul secolului al XIV-lea, timp de opt ani, așezarea a fost reședința regelui Carol Robert (1301–1342). Totuși, sunt cunoscute câteva evenimente din această perioadă care s-au desfășurat în așezarea de pe malurile Begheiului.

⁶⁶ CJH, *Opus Tripartitum*, 15.

⁶⁷ CD, vol. X/2, 435–438.

⁶⁸ Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora*, 120, 242, 259; N. Knauz, *Az Országos tanács*, 40–78.

⁶⁹ Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora*, 3.

În anul 1315, atunci când reședința regală rămâne, pentru prima dată, mai mult timp la Timișoara, s-a organizat un consiliu regal, la care, alături de rege, au luat parte arhiepiscopul de Strigoniu și episcopii de Veszprém și Cenad.⁷⁰ La eveniment nu au participat toți reprezentanții stărilor, dar obiectivul său central a fost *melioratore status regnum*.⁷¹

Un alt document din timpul aceluiși suveran adeverește că la Timișoara a fost luată o decizie semnificativă pentru regularizarea cursului monetar din întregul regat. Este vorba de o scrisoare expediată în ianuarie 1323 capitlului din Alba Iulia, prin care regele îi înștiința pe clericii ardeleni că *prelati, barones et nobiles regni nostri* s-au înfățișat înaintea sa și i-au cerut să bată o monedă nouă.⁷² Însă reforma nu a fost adoptată cu ocazia unei adunări generale, ci după cum amintește însuși regele prelații, baroni și nobilii s-au sfătuit între ei și, după ce au ajuns la o hotărâre comună, s-au prezentat în fața sa și au cerut uniformizarea cursului monetar.⁷³ Potrivit acestor mărturii adunarea a reunit pe marii demnitari și pe reprezentanții nobilimii, componentă întâlnită în cazul consiliului regal.

După anul 1320 se va suspenda reunirea tuturor stărilor, deoarece Carol Robert a preferat să domnească după principiul *plenitudine potestatis*.⁷⁴ Congregații de acest fel nu sunt atestate nici în timpul fiului său, regele Ludovic I (1342–1382), care a inaugurat un alt mod de a judeca pricinile și nemulțumirile locuitorilor țării, reactualizând de fapt curtea itinerantă a palatinului. Acest for reunea autoritățile și nobilimea unuia sau mai multor comitate și se desfășura pe parcursul câtorva săptămâni. Adunările erau limitate de un interval scurt de timp, deoarece palatinul trebuia să străbată întreaga țară.⁷⁵

Schimbările se petrec odată cu încoronarea reginei Maria (1382–1385), când se apelează la congregațiile tuturor stărilor. Necesitatea întrunirii acestui for suprem a fost acceptată și de Sigismund de Luxemburg (1387–1437) însă, pe lângă aceste adunări generale, erau organizate și congregații ale comitatelor. Astfel, în anul 1394 regele Sigismund prezidează o adunare nobiliară la Timișoara unde, potrivit mărturiilor, au participat notabilitățile comitatelor Timiș și Cenad. Prezența regelui la o adunare lărgită, care să cuprindă nobilimea mai multor comitate, nu constituia o practică deosebită, cunoscându-se mai multe exemple, precum celebra congregație a districtelor din Munții Banatului din anul 1428, la care a fost prezent același suveran.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára Diplomatikai Levéltára (continuare DL) 61167.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² DRH, vol. I (Budapest, 1976), 76–77.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Engel, *Regatul*, 167.

⁷⁵ Szócs, "A nádori generalis congregatio," 45–49.

⁷⁶ F. Pesty, *A szőrény vármegyei hajdani oláh kerületek* (Budapest, 1876), 59.

În ciuda caracteristicilor distincte ale celor două congregații, cea din anul 1394, respectiv 1397, un element persistă în ambele cazuri. Este vorba de contextul și scopul pentru care au fost întrunite și anume, situația politică și militară de la granița sudică a regatului. La sfârșitul secolului al XIV-lea Imperiul Otoman își extinsese hotarele până la linia Dunării, astfel că binecunoscutele raiduri ale achingiilor au creat probleme majore locuitorilor din zona cuprinsă între râurile Tisa, Mureș și Culoarul Timiș-Cerna. Aceste probleme nu au fost ignorate de autorități și nici chiar de creștinii din Europa Centrală, motiv pentru care s-a întreprins campania antiotomană. Însă, dezastrul de la Nicopole a adus Ungaria într-o situație dificilă, vizibilă prin precipitarea cu care a fost organizată congregația de la Timișoara.

Reprezentanții stărilor prezenți la Timișoara

Puținele relatări și cele câteva documente care s-au păstrat de la acest eveniment nu oferă detalii despre numărul participanților și durata ședințelor, însă este cert că adunarea a fost anunțată pentru data de 29 septembrie, iar după unele informații, în data de 26 octombrie erau cunoscute deja articolele decretului.⁷⁷

Regele a ajuns la Timișoara abia în ziua de 9 octombrie și a rămas până la 1 noiembrie.⁷⁸ Nici prezența baronilor nu este atestată de la începutul congregației. Dintre prelați, Ioan de Kanizsa, arhiepiscopul de Strigoni, și Maternus, episcopul Transilvaniei sunt amintiți spre sfârșitul lui octombrie. În cazul primatului Ungariei este posibil ca el să fi ajuns în oraș în aceeași zi cu Sigismund de Luxemburg, însă doar în ceea ce-l privește pe Ștefan Upori, prepozit de Titel și cancelar secret al dinastului, există mărturii sigure.⁷⁹

Prezența baronilor laici este mai bine atestată. Judele țării este menționat începând cu 10 octombrie, iar palatinul Bebek Detre șase zile mai târziu. Câteva documente emise în data de 13 octombrie sugerează că Nicolae de Gara, banul Slavoniei, Croației și Dalmației nu era prezent încă la Timișoara. Presupunem că el a ajuns într-un final în oraș (posibil la finalul lunii) așa cum atestă documentul emis la 2 noiembrie ce atestă o danie a regelui pentru frații de Gara.⁸⁰ Desigur, doleanțele lor nu au fost prezentate în aceeași zi, însă nu putem confirma dacă Nicolae și Ioan au luat parte și la întrunirile congregației.

Și alți baroni s-au bucurat de beneficii în această perioadă precum voievodul Transilvaniei și comitele secuilor. Un document îl amintetește pe marele tezaurar, dar s-a presupus că toți membri clanului Kanizsa au participat la

⁷⁷ DRH, vol. I, 157.

⁷⁸ P. Engel, N. C. Tóth, *Királyok és Királynék itineráriumai (1382–1438)* (Budapest, 2005), 74.

⁷⁹ E. Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (în continuare ZsO), vol. I (Budapest 1951), nr. 5010, 552.

⁸⁰ Ibid., nr. 5048, 558.

deliberările congregației. Ipoteza a fost avansată de Knauz Nandor, pe baza unui act de la sfârșitul anului 1397. Cert este că Ștefan, marele ușier, este menționat de un document emis la sfârșitul lui octombrie iar, așa cum am observat, prezența arhiepiscopului Ioan este adevărată tot pentru acest răstimp. De la acest eveniment nu puteau absenta gazdele și anume, cei doi Nicolae, comiții Timișului, menționați de două documente emise în aceeași zi, 23 octombrie.⁸¹

În rândul magnaților pot fi incluși nobilii de Rozgonyi, viitorii baroni ai regatului, dar și fostul demnitar Ioan Kaplai, care a fost depozdat de un târg.⁸² Curios este că același Kaplai beneficiase, câteva zile mai devreme, de o confirmare a privilegiilor sale.⁸³

Alături de aceste stări nu putea lipsi nobilimea. O serie de beneficii au fost împărțite la Timișoara nobililor de Chazlou, Baka, Mikcsfi sau Luca, fiul lui Mark, fost viceban de Severin. Rămâne nedeslușită întrebarea în ce măsură au participat ei la deliberările congregației. O situație similară este întâlnită și în cazul târgoveților și a negustorilor, care au fost prezenți în luna octombrie în orașul de pe malurile Begheiului⁸⁴, în ciuda faptului că ei n-au alcătuit o stare socială similară nobilimii.

Concluzii

Cu toate că unii istorici susțin că adunarea generală s-a desfășurat la Timișoara cu scopul de a pregăti o campanie antiotomană, nu există mărturii despre intenția regelui de a declanșa, din această zonă, un atac concentrat la sud de Dunăre. În schimb, într-un act emis la un an de la dezastrul de la Nicopole, Sigismund menționează prădăciunile și distrugerile pe care le-au suferit din partea otomanilor și a schismaticilor, oamenii de "orice sex și vârstă", motiv pentru care a hotărât împreună cu baronii, nobilii și ceilalți locuitori ai țării să adopte măsuri de apărare și întărire a regatului.⁸⁵ Un alt document menționează aceleași intenții⁸⁶ și însăși decretul de la Timișoara confirmă atacurile otomane asupra *confinijs regni nostrii*.⁸⁷ Probabil teritoriile care au fost afectate de atacurile de pradă ale otomanilor și ale „schismaticilor” au fost cele din Banat, astfel că regele s-a deplasat în zonă pentru a remedia situația. Această ipoteză este susținută și de faptul că scrisorile de înștiințare a orașelor au fost emise cu doar

⁸¹ Vezi Tabelul 2.

⁸² ZsO, vol. I, nr. 5010, 553.

⁸³ F. Pesty, *Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvár város történetéhez*, ed. Ortway Tivadar, vol. I (Pozsony, 1896), 277.

⁸⁴ Vezi Tabel 1.

⁸⁵ CD, vol. X/2, 439.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 435.

⁸⁷ Knauz, "Az 1397. évi országgyűlés," 213.

o lună înainte de începerea congregației, motiv pentru care delegația din orașul Trogir nu a ajuns la timp⁸⁸. Toate aceste mărturii dovedesc că adunarea generală de la Timișoara a fost organizată în grabă, pentru a repara daunele provocate de raidurile otomanilor și pentru a preîntâmpina o invazie, anunțată de incursiunile achingiilor.

Tabel 1. Documente care oferă informații despre evenimentele desfășurate la Timișoara cu ocazia întrunirii Congregației Generale a Țării.

Data	Ediții și referințe	Rezumat
IX – X 1397	Knausz, “Az 1397. évi országgyűlés,” 213–238. (Zs. I, doc. 4990, 550).	Decretul de legi cu cele 70 de articole.
22 IX	Fejér X/2, 435–438.	Orașul Trogir își trimite soli la adunarea congregațională.
9 X	Zs. I, doc. 5010, 552.	Regele dispune punerea în stăpânire a cancelarului Ștefan Upori și a rudelor sale.
10 X	Zs. I, doc. 5010, 553. (DL 7779)	Judele țării rescrie o danie a regelui.
13 X	Zs. I, doc. 5013, 553. (DL 33283)	Regele judecă petiția târgovețului Paul, fiul lui Andrei din Zagreb.
15 X	Fejér X/2, 476–477.	Regele trimite o dispoziție episcopului de Knin.
16 X	Zs. I, doc. 5016, 553. (DL 52970)	Palatinul Bebek Detre anulează sentința dată împotriva lui Petru, fiul lui Ladislau de Chazlouch.
18 X	Zs. I, doc. 5017, 553. (DL 54541)	Regele îi întărește pe nobilii de Chazlouch în stăpânirile lor.
18 X	Zs. I, doc. 5018, 553–554.	Regele îi absolvă de orice nedreptate pe nobilii de Baka.
18 X	Zs. I, doc. 5019, 554. (DL 8257)	Regele judecă apelul nobilului Ladislau Mikcsfy.
20 X	Zs. I, doc. 5022, 554.	Dispoziție a regelui către prepozitul de Leles.
22 X	Fejér X/2, 433–435.	Amânarea pricinii dintre negustorii sibieni și cei din Buda
22 X	Z.W. III, 185.	Regele îl numește pe Marele Tezaurar drept for de apel pentru măcelarul Andrei.
23 X	Csáki I, 199.	Regele dispune punerea în stăpânire a comitelui de Timiș, Nicolae Csaki și a condvizionarilor săi
23 X	Zs. I, doc. 5030, 556. (DL 8176)	Regele întărește comitelui de Timiș, Nicolae Marcali și condvizionarilor săi, două diplome de stăpânire.
26 X	Pesty, <i>Temes</i> I, 277.	Regele dispune, potrivit decretelor adoptate la Timișoara, confiscarea unui târg fostului voievod al Rusiei, Ioan Kaplai și fratelui său.

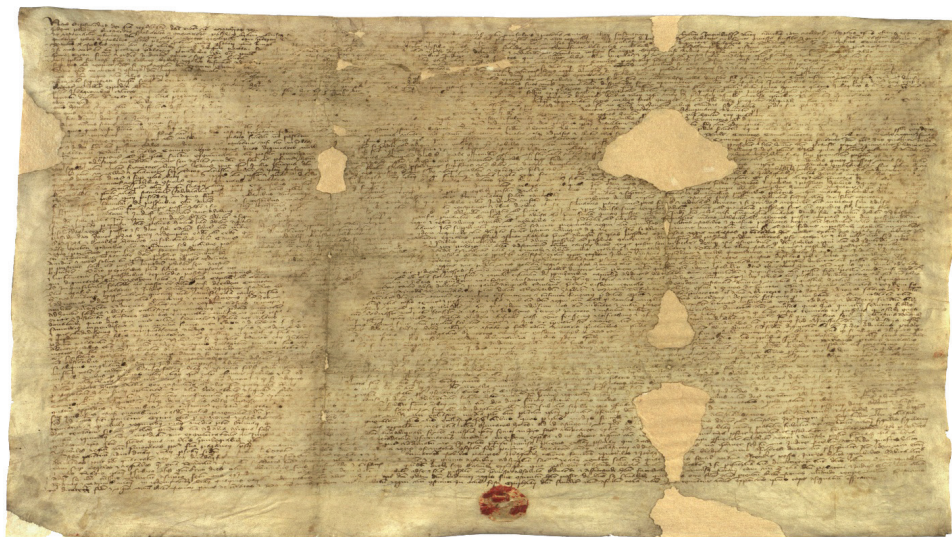
⁸⁸ Ibid., 200.

Data	Ediții și referințe	Rezumat
26 X	Fejér X/2, 453.	Regele cheamă solii orașului Trogir la o nouă congregație.
28 X	Zs. I, doc. 5040, 557–558. (DL 8264)	Regele dăruiește Comitelui secuilor, Petru de Pereny și condvizionarilor săi o posesiune în comitatul Zemplen.
28 X	Zs. I, doc. 5041, 558.	Regele dăruiește un privilegiu lui Nicolae Fedemes, <i>miles curie</i> .
28 X	Fejér X/8, 424.	Regele oferă un privilegiu episcopului Transilvaniei.
28 X	Zs. I, doc. 5043, 558.	Regele ordonă Capitlului Transilvaniei punerea în stăpânire a lui Luca, fiul lui Marc, fost ban al Severinului.
31 X	Zs. I, doc. 5044, 558.	Regele dispune ca arhiepiscopul de Strigoniū să întărească toate diplomele privilegiale ale lui Stibor de Stiborici.
8 XII	Fejér X/2, 438–453.	Regele întărește toate daniile celor din clanul Kanizsa, exceptându-i de prevederile decretelor de la Timișoara.
1398	Fejér X/2, 456–547.	Regele dăruiește cetatea Ozol, exceptând-o de sub prevederile decretelor adoptate la Timișoara.

Tabel 2. Demnitari prezenți la Timișoara în perioada desfășurării adunării generale.

Demnitari	Referințe	Data
Regele Sigismund de Luxemburg	Itineraria, 74.	9 X – 1 XI
Ioan de Kanizsa, arhiepiscopul de Strigoniū	Fejér X/2, 438–453.	31 X
Maternus, episcopul Transilvaniei	Fejér X/8, 424.	31 X
Palatinul Bebek Detre	Zs. I, doc. 5016, 553.	16 X
Judele țării, Ioan Pásztoi	Zs. I, doc. 5010, 553.	10 X
Voievodul Transilvaniei, Stibor de Stiborici	Zs. I. doc.5022, 554.	31 X
Banii Slavoniei, Dalmației și Croației, Nicolae și Ioan de Gara	Zs. I. doc.5048, 558.	2 XI
Marele tezaurar, Nicolae de Kanizsa	Fejér X/2, 438–453; Z.W. III, 185.	22 X
Marele ușier, Ștefan de Kanizsa	Fejér X/2, 438–453.	
Comitele secuilor, Petru de Peren	Zs. I. doc.5022, 554.	28 X
Comitele de Timiș, Nicolae Csaki	Csáki I, 199.	23 X
Comitele de Timiș, Nicolae Marcali	Zs. I, doc. 5030, 556. (DL.8.176)	23 X
Ștefan Upori, prepozit de Titel și cancelar secret al regelui	Zs. I. doc.5004, 552.	9 X
Dominic, prepozitul de Cenad și capelan special al regelui	Zs. I. doc.5024, 556.	

Anexa 1. Decretul de legi cu cele 70 de articole, adoptat
la Timișoara cu ocazia adunării generale din 1397⁸⁹.



⁸⁹ Documentul se păstrează la Arhivele de Stat Bratislava, fond Župa Bratislavská, subfond Snemové písomnosti. Aducem mulțumiri pe această cale arhivarului Štefan Hrivňák de la Arhivele de Stat Bratislava.

THE GENERAL CONGREGATION OF STATUSES, 1397, IN TIMIȘOARA

Abstract

The 13th century was a period of fully social and political changing in the Kingdom of Hungary. After the Tatars' invasion new institutions were made into relief through the reconstruction process, some of them being similar to the statuses meetings in Occidental Europe. Part of historiography asserted that the initiative of congregations and provincial meetings belonged to the time kings, but there are sources to attest that during the critical moments the authority of the Crown was practically inexistent, the Roman-Catholic Church, through the agency of the Magyar bishops made efforts to keep away the country unity. That mission did not end with Carol Robert's coronation, but went away the next century.

As for the social level, the same period was a decisive one for the nobility coming into being; having removing the other inhabitants from the political life, it became the main ally of the crown in the process of ruling the country. When setting as a homogeneous and representative body for the whole kingdom, nobility has its own hierarchy, with the barons at the top. Together with the great nobles they took permanently part in the country ruling whiles the rest of the nobles did it only in general meetings. Even if initially all the country inhabitants, no matter their social status, might take part in the congregations meetings, in the length of time that nobility obtained the exclusive right to organize those institutions. The same process was a decisive one in appearance of some social groups with their own interest and features, known as statutes. In spite of the well-known opinions concerning their diversity and composition, the historical sources grant the fact that the states' members were recruited from nobility. Given the lack of their representativity and their non uniform distribution along the Hungarian Kingdom, neither the ethnic nor the professional communities, as the towns and boroughs could be related to a certain status. Concomitantly with that, the largest majority of towns and boroughs were in fact set as parts of nobiliary estates and it means that their inhabitants were quite similar to the serfs' status.

NOTES ON THE CAMPAIGN OF VLADISLAV VARNENCHIK IN NORTHEASTERN BULGARIA IN THE AUTUMN OF 1444

*Nevyan Mitev**

Keywords: battle of Varna, Northeastern Bulgaria, Vladislav Varnenchik

Cuvinte cheie: bătălia de la Varna, Bulgaria nord-estică, Vladislav Varnenchik

The campaigns of Vladislav Varnenchik from 1443–1444 mark the last stage of the defense of united Christian Europe against the Ottomans. These events have been a subject of research by many scientists. The problem is widely dealt upon both in the Bulgarian and in foreign historiography. The aim of this article is to mark the most controversial moments of the last crusade in the autumn of 1444 in Northeast Bulgaria and to give the author the opportunity to provide his point of view on the base of the historical and archaeological material.

During the autumn of 1443 the long campaign of the Polish-Hungarian king Vladislav Varnenchik and Transylvanian ruler John Hunyadi was organized. On 2nd February 1444 the crusaders were welcomed victoriously in the Hungarian capital – Buda. Several months later the Peace of Hadrianopolis from 12 June of 1444 was concluded. The Serbian despot Georgi Brankovich benefited from the peace the most. The Ottomans promised to give him his lands and sons back, but he himself was forced to pay an annual tax to the Sultan. The Wallachian prince Vlad Dracul also became Murat's vassal, as he had to pay a tax as well. On the first of August the Peace of Hadrianopolis was ratified in Szeged. Just a few days after signing the Peace of Szeged King Vladislav advocated the organisation of a new crusade against the Turks. On 4 August under the pressure of the Pope and his legate Giuliano Cesarini, the Hungarian ruler rejected the concluded agreements with the Ottomans in Edirne and Szeged and marked the beginning of a new military campaign.

The organization of the second march was delayed again, but this time only for a few months. Less soldiers were involved in the new military initiative

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under the flags of the Hungarian king. A piece of information, given to us by Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, about the aid which would be provided by the local population, encouraged the new military campaign. He received assurances from the rulers and the people of Bulgaria, Albania and Byzantium, that they would support the Crusaders. Turotsi has written „And many Christian rulers promised to send to Bulgaria, Albania and Thrace, and to the glorious imperial city of Constantinople weapons and large military assistance. The same also promised the people and the leaders of those countries”.¹ At the same time the papal fleet headed towards the Straits aiming to establish itself in the Hellespont and thus obstructing the passage of the Ottoman army from Asia Minor to Europe. Bonfini provided us with interesting information about the organization of the fleet “With the onset of spring Vladislav and Corvin found it appropriate to remind with their legates all princes to assist the expedition with fleet and they promised help and money, so initially they distinguished themselves with their promises; at first they informed the Emperor of Constantinople, who was with his army in Thrace and Macedonia, to stand there with the auxiliary troops; they also informed the Pope Eugenius, the Venetians, Genoese and other allies to prepare the fleet and send it into the Hellespont; this was done by them”.² The time for the conduct of a new crusade was favorable, as military operations in Asia Minor were renewed and a large part of the Ottoman army was directed against the Beylik of Karaman. There are several opinions in the scientific literature about the numerical strength and ethnicity of the soldiers, who took part in the crusade of Varna. B. Tsvetkova has written “The Crusader army of about 16 000 soldiers and 2 000 wagons (Hungarians, Poles, Czechs and Transylvanians) should follow the earlier targeted mobility plan”.³ Oruch reported that the armies of Ungurus, Cech, Nemchu, Latin, Alamo, Leh, Sas, Bosnia and Evlyak got allied and attacked the Sultan. The army consisted of 16,000 men and 400 artillery cars, guns, zemberetsi.⁴ The unknown author has written “(This) time and his king, and the blighter Iancu attacked and with the army of Ungurus with Sass, Alma Chih, Latin, Bosnia and Eflak gathered seventy or eighty thousand troops and drove off with three – four hundred cannon cars”.⁵ You can find the number of 300 000 soldiers in the Holy Wars of Sultan

¹ Yoan de Turots, *Ungarska hronika*, Latinski izvori za balgarskata istoria V (Sofia, 2001), 116; Bistra Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka na narodite* (Varna, 1979), 297.

² Antonio de Bonfini, *Istoria na ungartsite*, Latinski izvori za balgarskata istoria V (Sofia, 2001), 151.

³ Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 299.

⁴ Oruch bin Adil, “Istoria na osmanskata dinastia,” in *Varna 1444. Sbornik ot izsledvania i dokumenti v chest na 525-ta godishnina ot bitkata kray Varna*, (Sofia, 1969), 391.

⁵ Neizvesten avtor, “Istoria,” in *Varna 1444. Sbornik ot izsledvania i dokumenti v chest na 525-ta godishnina ot bitkata kray Varna* (Sofia, 1969), 436.

Murad Son of Sultan Mehmed Khan.⁶ The above mentioned information from the last source is quite disputable. The number of Crusaders is not the exact one. In an effort to describe the huge number of the Christian army the Ottoman sources increase its number significantly. A decision was taken and the army of King Vladislav headed to a new direction. The aim was through Northern Bulgaria to arrive at Varna (Black Sea coast) and from there to Edirne. This decision was prompted mainly by the participation of Hussite battle wagons which would find it difficult to pass through the mountains. The proposed route facilitated their passage by avoiding the massive mountain ranges. One more reason played a crucial role for choosing this route. This time one of the main leaders of the “long campaign” – Serbian despot George Brankovic didn’t take part in the campaign. After signing the peace in Edirne and its subsequent ratification in Szeged he received what he wanted. Serbia acquired autonomy and his two sons were exempt from Ottoman captivity. These facts made the Serbian ruler renounce the participation in the new anti-Turkish campaign. Thus the passage of the crusader army through the Serbian territory appeared to be unachievable. In chapter XXIII of the “Notes of the Janissary” considerable attention is paid to the negotiations between King Vladislav and despot George Brankovic. They met and the despot implored the king not to take the new campaign. Konstantin Mikhailovich claims that Vladislav almost agreed but the influential John Hunyadi dissuaded him.⁷

The final stage of the war of the European countries with the Ottomans for the liberation of the Balkans started in the autumn of 1444. Around 20th September the crusader army crossed the Danube near the town of Orshova. After having conquered the fortress, it headed to the east. Kladovo and Florentin were conquered after that. After a few days the strong fortress of Vidin was besieged. Behaim states that the city was captured on the seventh day, and the Turkish leaders were killed. The author also states that the Crusaders were supported by the locals.⁸ Based on a number of registers from the XV century, according to which there was unrest in the villages Rupcha, Tsibra and Skomlya, B. Tsvetkova assumes that these movements were the result of the campaign of 1444 and the local residents also took part in the army of Vladislav and

⁶ Maria Kalitsin, *Pisanie za verskite bitki na sultan Murad, sin na Mehmed han* (Sofia, 1992), 82.

⁷ *Zapiski yanyichara*. Vvedenie, prevod i komentar na A. Rogova (Moskva, 1978). About why G. Brankovic does not take part in the second crusade look at: Gavrilko Shkrivanich, “Zashto despot Georgi Brankovich ne e uchastvuval v bitkata pri Varna (1444),” in *Varna, 1444. Sbornik ot izsledvania i dokumenti v chest na 525-ta godishnina ot bitkata kray Varna* (Sofia, 1969), 162–167.

⁸ Hristo Kolarov, “Dva malko izvestni izvora za bitkata na narodite na 10 noemvri 1444g. pri Varna,” *Izvestia na Narodnia muzey-Varna*, VI (XXI) (1970): 180.

Hunyadi.⁹ After the successes in Northwest Bulgaria the Crusaders advanced to the “main city” in Bulgaria-Nikopol. Along the way the fortress of Oryahovo was conquered. Nikopol was besieged for several days. Behaim has written about that:

*“Inside there were many Orthodox
and also a lot of Turks.
The Orthodox jumped out the walls
and went to the Hungarians.
Then on the fifth day the city
was captured and burned down immediately
and completely destroyed.”*¹⁰

There is no doubt that the Bulgarians from Nikopol joined the crusader army. Callimachus claims that the Crusaders started to loot all around.¹¹ Here another important event took place. The Wallachian leader Vlad Dracul arrived in the camp of the Polish-Hungarian king. He demonstrated his support by providing 4000 horsemen, led by his son, who joined the army. This ruler was famous for his great courage and wisdom. He advised the Crusaders to return to their lands and collect a larger army and then to attack the Sultan. Probably under the pressure of Cardinal Cesarini his words were not accepted willingly by the commanders of the march.¹²

The Ottoman sources give a slightly different information about the siege of Nikopol. Oruch has written “... and they came to Nikboli, which they attacked, but could not conquer. They passed it. As they moved on, the bey of the Sandzak Nikboli Firouz Oghlu Mehmed Bey with his army and with the available akincis came and attacked the rearguard of their troops, killed many of the infidels, captured a lot of equestrian infidels in armor (knights) and

⁹ Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 300–301.

¹⁰ Kolarov, “Dva malko izvestni izvora,” 181.

¹¹ Hristo Kolarov, “Hronikata na Kalimah – vazhen izvor za Varnenskata bitka ot 1444g.,” *Izvestia na Narodnia muzey – Varna*, IX (XXIV) (1973): 244.

¹² The description of the events surrounding the Nikopol and the meeting of Vlad Dracul with the crusader camp are transmitted detailed in Callimachus look at: Kolarov, “Hronikata na Kalimah,” 244–246. A. Palatsio wrote that the crusader army was not conquered the strongholds through which it passes – Orsova, Vidin and Nikopol. The author reports that the Crusaders plundered and burnt all the houses outside the cities look at: Milko Mirchev, “Andreas de Palatsio. Pismo za porazhenieto pri Varna, izprateno do kardinal Lyudovik,” *Izvestia na varnenskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo*, XV (1964): 88; Dlugosz also didn't wrote that the fortresses were conquered by the crusaders look at: *The Annals of Jan Dlugosz* (Chichester-West Sussex, 1997), 493–494.

sent them to Sultan Mehmed".¹³ Almost the same was written by the Unknown Author.¹⁴ These sources have tried to impute the victory to the Ottoman army not to the Crusaders, but these claims can not be found in the works of the western chronicists. On one hand that can not be taken as a guarantee for truthfulness, but on the other hand it can not reject these claims either.

The route of the crusader army in northeastern Bulgaria after Nikopol is one of the most controversial moments during the campaign. One more time the different opinions on the problem are due to the controversial and laconic data that sources can give us. The dispute is mainly over the identification of the fortress "Rachautsch", mentioned by Michael Behaim.¹⁵ Another controversial aspect is the location of the old Roman road lined with many Roman buildings, Greek and Latin inscriptions, arches and columns, cities and palaces, described in the letter of Andreas De Palatsio to Louis Cardinal in Rome and Gregory of Sanok.¹⁶ The first, who identified the fortress Rahauch mentioned by Behaim with Oryahovitsa (Gorna Oryahovitsa) is Konstantin Irechek.¹⁷ Karel and Herman Shkorpil claim that after Nikopol the Christian army headed to Nikyup (former ancient city of Nikopolis ad Istrum) and then through Popovo to Shumen and Novi Pazar.¹⁸ Such an opinion was shared by the Polish scientist Jan Dabrowski as well.¹⁹ George Balashev, citing a letter from Andreas De Palatsio, also supports the position of Shkorpil brothers.²⁰ Milko Mirchev claims that after Nikopol Vladislav's troops headed southeast, along the old Roman road passing through Oryahovitsa and Novi Pazar.²¹ Alexander Kuzev made a special research on the route of the Vladislav's army and convincingly defended the existing opinion that the crusader army after Nikopol passed through Oryahovitsa to Shumen.²² According to Kuzev "the name "Rahauch", found as Rahauvidze in Behaim's work is a Turkish form of

¹³ Oruch, "Istoria," 391.

¹⁴ Neizvesten avtor, 436. It is noteworthy that both Ottoman sources that transmit about the events around Nikopol, put the city after Shumen. This shows the inaccuracies in their geographical orientation.

¹⁵ Kolarov, "Dva malko izvestni izvora," 181.

¹⁶ Mirchev, "Andreas de Palatsio," 88–90.

¹⁷ Konstantin Irechek, *Patuvania po Bulgaria* (Plovdiv, 1899), 857.

¹⁸ Herman i Karel Shkorpil, "Pohodat na Vladislav prez Bulgaria v 1444g. i bitkata pri Varna," *Izvestia na Varnenskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo* (1908): 50.

¹⁹ Jan Dabrowski, *Wladislaw I Jaggielonszyk na Wegrech (1440–1444)* (Warszawa, 1922), 174–180.

²⁰ Georgi Balashev, *Pohodite na polsko-madzgarskia kral Vladislav III Yagelo prez 1443–1444 g. protiv turtsite i bitkata pri Varna* (Sofia, 1935), 15.

²¹ Milko Mirchev, *Vladislav Varnenchik* (Varna, 1955), 5.

²² Aleksandar Kuzev, "Marshrutat na Vladislav III Yagelo do Varna," *Izvestia na Narodnia muzey-Varna*, IX (XXIV) (1973): 139–152.

the Bulgarian name Rahovitsa or Rahovets, present-day Gorna Oryahovitsa”.²³ The author opposes the opinion of Atanas Ishirkov that the distance between Nikopol and Oryahovitsa is very long to be covered in one day, stating that the source of Behaim, Hans Mergest was 16 years in captivity, which undoubtedly led to some inaccuracies.²⁴ Based on the Holy Wars of Sultan Murad Son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, Tsveta Raichevski provides us with the following route: Nikopol Osam-Tarnovo, Shumen Kosovo. The author is convinced that after Nikopol the Crusaders headed southeast, they might have encamped near Gorna Oryahovitsa, from where they sent two detachments to attack Tarnovo.²⁵

Historiography shares yet another opinion. The German military historian D. Kohler suggests that after Nikopol the army of Vladislav continued its march along the river and then headed toward Novi Pazar along an old Roman road.²⁶ The Austrian military historian G. Kupelwieser identifies Rahauch with Razgrad and thinks that it was exactly the place where the crusader troops had passed by.²⁷ Atanas Ishirkov also supports this theory, but identifies Rahauch with Oryahovo on the Danube River because he shares the opinion that Oryahovitsa can not be reached for one day from Nikopol. According to the author, the fortress is not mentioned in the sources, but probably it was conquered by the Crusaders. Ishirkov claims that the army reached Novi Pazar from Nikopol for six days, going along the Roman road, separated from Danube before Ruse and then along the valley of the river Beli Lom to Razgrad, Pliska and Novi Pazar. The author identifies precisely with Pliska the mentioned ruins from Palazzio.²⁸ Stefan Nedev justifies the identification of the ruins with Pliska by Ishirkov with the fact that then the ancient Abritus was not discovered yet, but “Atanas Ishirkov was on the right track – he felt the rightness of his thesis, but he didn’t have a rigid support to lean on, and that is why he equated the ruins of Aboba with those mentioned from Palacio”.²⁹ Therefore Stefan Nedev agrees with the expressed opinion of Ishirkov, but according to him the ruins mentioned in the

²³ Ibid., 144.

²⁴ Ibid., 145.

²⁵ Tsveta Raychevska, “Krastonosniyat pohod ot 1444 godina spored osmanskata hronika “Pisanie za verskite bitki na sultan Murad han””, *Izvestia na Narodnia muzey-Varna*, XL (LV) (2004): 20–32.

²⁶ G. Kohler, *Die Schlachten von Nicopoli und Varna* (Breslau, 1882), 42–43.

²⁷ G. Kupelwieser, *Die Kämpfe Ungarns mit den Osmanen bis zur Schlacht bei Mohacs 1526, Zweite umg. Auflage* (Wien und Leipzig, 1899), 87–88.

²⁸ Atanas Ishirkov, *Pohodite na kral Vladislav III v Bulgaria v 1443 i 1444 g.* (Sofia, 1923), 25–51.

²⁹ Stefan Nedev, “Patishtata na Vladislav III i Murad II kam Varna prez 1444 godina,” in *Varna 1444. Sbornik ot izsledvania i dokumenti v chest na 525-ta godishnina ot bitkata kray Varna* (Sofia, 1969): 211.

letter of Palazzio were remnants of Abritus (present-day Razgrad). According to the author, “in an effort to reach the beach faster Vladislav and Hunyadi made a fundamental assessment of both routes and chose the left, i.e. north, as a shorter one (Nikopol-Razgrad-N. Pazar is about 250 km and Nikopol-Nikyup-peak Fiseka-N. Pazar is about 300 km) and also the safer one (lying farther from the Balkan passages and from their strongholds”.³⁰ Bistra Tsvetkova thinks that the crusader army passed through some of the ancient or medieval centers near Razgrad: Abritus or Cherven.³¹

The shared opinions are quite controversial. Different interpretations have been made based on various sources. The first route is also supported by the opinion of Ivan Bachvarov who combines the sources data with archaeological finds from the fortress and concludes that Rahauch in Behaim’s work is precisely Ryahovets.³²

Based on numismatic data the author of this study also supports the first thesis. The coins of Sigismund I Luxembourg and Vladislav Varnenchik (i.e. coins, which can be connected with the crusade) mark the march of Vladislavov’s army in northeast Bulgaria. In my opinion after Nikopol the crusaders passed through Gorna Oryahovitsa- Shumen-Provadia and arrived at Varna. Exactly this route should be equated with the old Roman road, mentioned in the letter of Palacio.³³

Another controversial moment from the march is the identification of the river, mentioned in the sources, where Turkish ships were hidden. Palazzio claims that after the departure of Nikopol and the moving on along the fertile Thracian land, filled with old buildings the crusaders came to a river. “...Crossing some unknown river we came across 28 new galeati, which the Turkish emperor had been hiding and which had to be promptly brought to the Danube, so that he could more easily destroy the Kingdom of Hungary and Slavonia under the guise of a peace treaty with the despot and the voyvoda Jan Hunyadi, the current Commander. Our lord gave an order these galeati to be destroyed and burned”.³⁴ Callimachus even provides us with the name of the river – Panisus.³⁵ According to the information given by Callimachus, it can be

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 302.

³² Ivan Bachvarov, *Moneti ot Ryahovets* (Veliko Tarnovo, 1994), 59.

³³ Nevyan Mitev, “Marshrutat na krastonosnata armia na Vladislav Varnenchik v Severoiztochna Bulgaria (po numizmatichni dannii)”, *Zhurnal za istoricheski i arheologicheski izsledvania*, (2013–2): 154–159; Nevyan Mitev, “Monetite na Vladislav Varnenchik (1434–1444) ot Severoiztochna Bulgaria”, *Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika* 10 (2014): 201–208.

³⁴ Mirchev, “Andreas de Palatsio,” 88.

³⁵ Kolarov, “Hronikata na Kalimah,” 246.

assumed that the name of the river is Kamchia, but the location given by the two sources, definitely associate it with the territory lying somewhere before reaching Shumen. Different opinions have been expressed based on these facts. M. Mirchev suggests that it is the river Yantra.³⁶ B. Tsvetkova also considers that the river is Yantra.³⁷ A. Kuzev believes that this is either the river Iskar, Vit or Osam.³⁸ Based on the Holy Wars of Sultan Murad Son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, Tsveta Raichevska considers that the river mentioned in the sources is Osam.³⁹

The crusader army camped around Shumen. Some of the scientists believe that the camp was located near Novi Pazar, after the army of Hunyadi and Vladislav had managed to defeat the Ottoman troops near the fortress of the village of Stan. Probably exactly from here King Vladislav sent a warning letter to the garrisons in several fortresses. The letter regarded Shumen, Madara, Petrich, Varna, Kavarna, Galata and several other fortresses which were called for the withdrawal of the Turkish garrisons to Anatolia. If this had not been done, the Crusaders would have killed them all.⁴⁰ After a three-day siege the crusader army managed to capture the Shumen Fortress. During the fight the knight Jan Tarnowski, who was wounded twice, became famous.⁴¹ The crusaders lost many of their soldiers. In the Holy Wars of Sultan Murad Son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, it is an exaggeration that the crusader army that besieged the fortress, numbered 30000 people, and after being captured, King Vladislav complained about the loss of many of his soldiers.⁴² Behaim reports that the Christians didn't have any mercy and killed everyone. The Turks began to jump from the tower of the castle.⁴³ Later the Crusaders continued their way to Varna. After that the strongholds Madara and Venchan were captured and the army reached Tashhisar – Ovech. Here again, many Turks were killed. It is interesting to be mentioned that the focus here was on the greed of the crusaders that plundered lots of clothes and treasures and the horses had problems with their movement. This was rebuked by King Vladislav, who ordered everything to be burned.⁴⁴ You can find a different version in the Holy Wars of Sultan Murad Son of Sultan Mehmed Khan. According to the author, the population of Madara ran away to Provadia and the crusader army failed to

³⁶ Mirchev, "Andreas de Palatsio," bel. 20.

³⁷ Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 302.

³⁸ Kuzev, "Marshrutat", 144.

³⁹ Raychevska, "Krastonosniyat", 25.

⁴⁰ Mirchev, "Andreas de Palatsio," 89.

⁴¹ Kolarov, "Hronikata na Kalimah," 247.

⁴² Kalitsin, *Pisanie*, 101.

⁴³ Kolarov, "Dva malko izvestni izvora," 182.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 184.

enter the fortress of Ovech. The Christians barely managed to survive in the battle around the castle.⁴⁵ The authenticity of this source for these events is quite debatable and differs from all other sources! The author talks about the capture of Shumen, and further Petrich, but he mentioned that the Christians were defeated near Provadia and passed by the fortress. The events regarding the fortress of Ovech are not reliable. The army continued its way to the east and on 7th November reached the fortress of Petrich. In the battle of Petrich another Polish knight – Leszek Bobzhitsk, who first climbed the walls of the fortress, stood out.⁴⁶ The capture of Petrich Kale was extremely difficult. The fortress was surrounded by a trench and its defense system was composed of three walls. Ultimately the fortress fell. Then the Crusaders continued, capturing the fortress of Mihalich. On 9th September the army established a camp near the city of Varna. Meanwhile, Cardinal Cesarini received a notice about the crossing of the Straits by the Ottoman army. Nowadays in the Bulgarian historiography dominates the view that the letter of Kondolmieri was received by the Christian army in the fortress of Ovech (present-day Provadia). Defenders of this statement are Georgi Dimitrov⁴⁷, Herman and Karel Shkorpil⁴⁸, Atanas Ishirkov⁴⁹, George Balashev⁵⁰, Bistra Tsvetkova⁵¹, Carol Oleynik⁵², Miechislav Bielski⁵³ and others. There is yet another opinion whose supporters are J. Zinkeisen⁵⁴ and St. Nedev.⁵⁵ They consider that the fortress, where the notice about the passage of the Ottoman troops from the Asian part of the Empire and the union with those of the European part was received is Petrich Kale (present-day the village of Razdelna).

In the end, what piece of information can sources give us? In his letter about the defeat at Varna, which Andreas De Palatsio sent to Cardinal Ludwig, the author mentioned that the crusader army captured with great difficulty the strongholds of Shumen and Petrich and meanwhile Cardinal Cesarini had

⁴⁵ Kalitsin, *Pisanie*, 102.

⁴⁶ Kolarov, "Dva malko izvestni izvora," 184.

⁴⁷ Georgi Dimitrov, "Srazhenieto pri Varna va 1444g.," *Izvestia na Varnenskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo* (1908): 11.

⁴⁸ Shkorpil, "Pohodat na Vladislava preza Bulgaria," 51.

⁴⁹ Atanas Ishirkov, *Pohodite na Vladislava* (Sofia, 1923), 47.

⁵⁰ Balashev, *Pohodite na polsko-madzgarskia kral Vladislav III Yagelo*, 16.

⁵¹ Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 304.

⁵² Karol Oleynik, "Bitkata pri Varna," in *Varna 1444. Deystvitelnost i traditsia* (Varna, 2005), 26.

⁵³ Miechislav Bielski, *Vladislav III Varnenchik na Balkanite (1443–1444)* (Veliko Tarnovo, 2006), 54.

⁵⁴ J. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanisch en Reiches in Europa*, (Gotha, 1840), 683.

⁵⁵ Nedev, "Patishtata na Vladislav III i Murad II kam Varna," 223.

received a letter, informing him that the Turks had already been transferred from Asia to Europe. It is interesting that Palazzio, immediately after mentioning it, added: "...and we left the burnt down fortress of Petrich ...".⁵⁶

In the chronicle of Philip Callimachus is described that during the attack against the strongholds of Petrich and Shumen many knights became famous, among which were Jan Tarnowski and Leszek Bobzhitski. Meanwhile, the king received a letter from Cardinal Francisk informing him that the army of Sultan Murad II had passed to the European coast.⁵⁷

Antonio de Bonfini claims that immediately after the victory at Petrich, the Crusaders received a letter in which was said that Murad had crossed the Straits and united his army with his European one.⁵⁸

The piece of information concerning the letter is even more interesting in the poem of Michael Behaim. According to Behaim after the Crusaders captured the fortress of Mihalich and headed towards Varna, the king received the news that the Sultan had gone against him, i.e. Vladislav became aware of the passage of the Ottoman troops almost having reached Varna.⁵⁹ This information does not coincide with the data from the other sources. This can be explained by the fact that the poem of Behaim relies on the narration of the participant at the battle of Varna – Hans Mogest. However, he was 16 years in Ottoman captivity and there is no doubt that some of his memories had faded.

Although there are few sources mentioning the arrival of the letter of Kondolmieri into the Christian camp, they are clear and unambiguous. Andreas De Palatsi⁶⁰ and Antonio de Bonfini mention that after they had taken the fortress of Petrich, the Crusaders received the letter. Callimachus mentions that it took place during the siege of Shumen and Petrich (does not specify where exactly). The statement of Behaim, as already mentioned, can not be considered credible. The interesting thing here is that Ovech (Provadia) is not mentioned at all, i.e the prevailing opinion is that the Vladislav's army received the notice about the passage of the Murad's troops through the Straits in Petrich Kale.

Another controversial moment in the route of the crusader army in northeastern Bulgaria is the capture of the strongholds Kavarna, Kaliakra and Makropolis (present-day Evksinograd). According to A. Kuzev these

⁵⁶ Mirchev, "Andreas de Palatsio," 89.

⁵⁷ Kolarov, "Hronikata na Kalimah," 247.

⁵⁸ Bonfini, *Istoria na ungartsite*, 155.

⁵⁹ Kolarov, "Dva malko izvestni izvora," 186.

⁶⁰ Most of the proponents of the theory that the letter was received in Ovech are based on the information of Palatsi, who, however, never actually connects the receipt of such letter with Ovech.

stronghold were given voluntarily by their inhabitants to the Crusaders.⁶¹ V. Gyuzelev believes that the Hungarians entered Kaliakra and destroyed its walls.⁶² B. Tsvetkova assumes that the strongholds Varna, Makropolis, Kaliakra, Galata, Kavarna and other surrendered voluntarily.⁶³ S. Nedev also claims that the Christian population in those fortresses voluntarily gave the keys of the gates to the Crusaders.⁶⁴ D. Angelov and B. Cholpanov share the same opinion.⁶⁵ Shanko Apostolov expresses a slightly different opinion. According to him, it is impossible for the crusader army after the capture of the fortress of Mikhalich on 8th November to conquer Kaliakra and Kavarna and then to move back to Varna in a day. Apostolov thinks that the voluntary surrender of the fortresses should also be put into doubt because they did not follow the route of the crusader army.⁶⁶ Thus he supports the view of the Polish scientists Jan Dabrowski and Wincenty Swoboda.⁶⁷ Until now the researchers have analyzed only the sources, which clearly need to be addressed here before any attempt to clarify the issue can be made. After the Battle of Petrich Kale Callimachus presents the events in the following way "After about ten-day march the crusade army came to Kavarna and then occupied it, because the Turkish garrison who were there, learning about recent accidents in Pezehirum had preferred not to wait the arrival of the King. In this way the Christians invaded and conquered with their army Makropolis, Kalakrium, Galata, Varna and many other sea towns abandoned by the enemy".⁶⁸ Laonikos Chalkokondyles claims that the crusader army headed towards the field of the Moesian (the Bulgarian) Dobrotitca and towards Kaliakra and Varna". After Varna voluntarily surrendered "Kaliakra the Paeonic (the Hungarians) stormed and destroyed the wall".⁶⁹ According to Andreas De Palatsi, on 9th November Varna and Galata opened their doors to the King, because the Turks had run away. The same was done by the inhabitants of Kavarna and several other fortresses on the same day.⁷⁰

⁶¹ Kuzev, "Marshrutat," 150.

⁶² Vasil Gyuzelev, "Srednovekovnata krepost Kaliakra prez XIII- srednata na XV vek," *Izvestia na Narodnia muzey-Varna*, IX (XIV, (1973): 130–132.

⁶³ Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 305.

⁶⁴ Nedev, "Marshrutat," 224.

⁶⁵ Dimitar Angelov, Boris Cholpanov. *Balgarska voenna istoria prez Srednovekovnieto (X–XV vek)* (Sofia, 1994), 276–277.

⁶⁶ Shanko Apostolov, "Prevzemani li sa Kavarna i Kaliakra prez 1444?," *Izvestia na Narodnia muzey-Varna*, XLII (LVII) (2006): 81–83.

⁶⁷ Dabrowski, *Wladislaw*, 178–180; Wincenty Swoboda, *Warna 1444*, (Krakow, 1994), 47.

⁶⁸ Kolarov, "Hronikata na Kalimah," 247.

⁶⁹ Laonici Chalcocandilae, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darco II, 1, (Budapestini, 1923), 98; Gyuzelev, "Srednovekovnata krepost Kaliakra," 131.

⁷⁰ Mirchev, "Andreas de Palatsio," 90.

Undoubtedly the sources speak of entry of the crusader forces in the above mentioned strongholds. However, the arguments given by Apostolov, are quite convincing. Considering the geographical uncertainty of the sources, his view seems more plausible. The archaeological data from the fortress of Makropolis (Kastritsi) is also in support of this opinion. The above mentioned data date it back to the very beginning of the XV century, the last coin emissions found here are from the time of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I and voyvoda Mircho I of Wallachia.⁷¹ The fortress Makropolis probably did not exist at the time of the second crusade against the Turks in the autumn of 1444. Based on these data we can conclude that the crusader army didn't succeed in capturing the fortresses Kavarna, Kaliakra, Makropolis and Galata. The same were left by the Turkish garrisons and expected the knights not having the slightest intention to resist. The ambush, organized by the Ottoman army to the Crusaders near Varna, interrupted these plans.

It is even more difficult to clarify the way in which the Ottomans crossed the Straits. In his letter to the Duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti from 13th December 1444 Piccolomini wrote about the bribes received by the commanders of the navy, but he personally did not believe in that.⁷² According to him, the fleet returned back due to lack of supplies. Of course, this statement of Piccolomini most likely does not correspond to the historical reality because, as we can see in most of the other historical sources, the events are presented otherwise. Only "dy venediger" (Venetians) are blamed in the poem of Michael Behaim.⁷³ They took a gold coin for each soldier to go through the Straits.⁷⁴ In his "Chronicle of Ragusa" the Senator from Dubrovnik Gvino Resti accuses the Genoese of committing treason, because for a gold coin for a man and two for a horse they were ready to help the enemy go through the Straits.⁷⁵ This statement coincides with the one of Behaim, who talks about the Venetians instead of the Genoese. In his "History of the Hungarians" Antonio Bonfini claims that in the spring of 1444 the fleet, which had to defend the Straits in the next campaign, was informed by Vladislav Varnenchik and Janos Hunyadi. Both received a promise from the Byzantine emperor John

⁷¹ Reportedly Dr. Igor Lazarenko, head of "Archaeology" at the Museum of Varna. Take advantage of this opportunity to thank him for the information!

⁷² Kolarov, "Dva malko izvestni izvora," 175; "Pismo na Eneas Silvius Pikolomini do hertsoga na Milano Filipo Maria Viskonti ot 13 dekemvri 1444g.," in *Izvori za srednovekovnata istoria na Bulgaria (VII-XV v.) v avstriyskite rakopisni sbirki i arhivi* (Sofia, 2000), 135–138.

⁷³ Kolarov, "Dva malko izvestni izvora," 192.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Sp. Nodilo, *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*, in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* vol. 25 (Zagrebiae, 1893), 291.

VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448), the Venetians, the Genoese, the papal fleet and other allies that would take part in the anti-Ottoman campaign.⁷⁶ Further Bonfini reports that in a letter of Cardinal Francis was mentioned that Murad succeeded in reaching the European coast by bribes.⁷⁷ In his letter addressed to the bishop of Passau Leonard Whiting from 28th October 1445, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini claims that there were rumours that Murad's troops went through the Bosphorus on Genoese ships. He himself did not believe in these rumours.⁷⁸ In a second letter the future Pope Pius II (1458–1464) expressed the same view that there were rumours about the betrayal of the Genoese, but he did not believe in them. According to Serban Kokostea the Genoese from Pera⁷⁹ transferred the Ottoman troops in Europe.⁸⁰ The author refers to the information of Valerian de Wavren.⁸¹ So far the reviewed sources unequivocally confirm that if there was any betrayal it was committed either by the Genoese or by the Venetians. There are other sources that give a somewhat different light on the matter. The monk Paraspondilos Zotikos who witnessed the battle of Varna, mentioned that the Turkish troops of Murad were transferred from Asia Minor to the Balkan Peninsula on vessels of the Byzantine emperor.⁸² Such an opinion is expressed in a Greek source where the Byzantine-Turkish and the Balkans relations from the late XIV and the beginning of the XV century are discussed. Here it is mentioned the Byzantine emperor did that due to his fear from the Sultan.⁸³ In his letter about the defeat at Varna sent to Cardinal Ludwig, Andreas De Palatsi, a participant in the memorable battle of the nations claims that Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini received a letter from Francesco Kondolmieri, Cardinal of the Venetians and papal legate of the fleet in which was mentioned that the Turks had gone through the Straits secretly at night on small boats nearby the Gallipoli lighthouse. The fleet could not stop

⁷⁶ Bonfini, *Istoria na ungartsite*, 151.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 155.

⁷⁸ “Iz pismo na Eney Silvij Pikolomini do episkopa na Pasau Leonard Layming ot 28 oktomvri 1445 g.,” in *Izvori za srednovekovnata istoria na Bulgaria (VII–XV v.) v avstriyskite rakopisni sbirki i arhivi* (Sofia, 2000), 150.

⁷⁹ Neighborhood of Constantinople.

⁸⁰ Shandor Papakostea, “Genua, Venetsia i krastonosniyat pohod pri Varna,” in *Varna 1444. Deystvitelnost i traditsia*, (Varna 2005), 45–54.

⁸¹ “Wavrin, de W.,” ed. N. Iorga, *Buletinul Comisiei istorice a Romaniei*, VI (1927): 85–90.

⁸² G. Moravcsik, “Ελληνικόν ποίημα περ τῆς μάχης τῆς Βάρνας,” in *Magyar Görög Tanulmányok I.* (Budapest, 1935); G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica I*, 356–366; Georgi Dimitrov, “Srazhenieto pri Varna va 1444g.,” *Izvestia na Varnenskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo* (1908): 8–46; Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 29.

⁸³ Β. Κοσμα, Ὁ ἀνέκδοτος κώδικας 161 τῆς Χίου γιὰ τὴ σύνοδο τῆς Φλορεντίας τὴν ἀλωση τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης τὸ 1430 καὶ τὴ μάχη τῆς Βάρνας (Αθήναι, 1975), 26; Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 29.

them.⁸⁴ In another letter from the Genoese patrician Batista Frankie to Ottavio Ubaldini, political adviser to the Duke of Urbino Federico di Montefeltro, the author defends the Genoese against the verbal attacks that it was their fault that the Ottoman troops managed to go to Europe and subsequently the Christians were defeated at Varna. Ubaldini points out the contribution of Genoa to the anti-Turkish actions of Europe.⁸⁵ In his chronicle Philip Callimachus reports that the Venetians, the Duke of Burgundy and the papal fleet were in charge of defending the Straits.⁸⁶ Later, when the letter of Cardinal Francis was received, the author reported that Murad either by fraud or by bribery managed to pass through the small gorge of the Hellespont to the south of Gallipoli.⁸⁷ Fulstin claims "The Turks passed on smaller ships, led by the Venetians and Genoese, who had been bribed."⁸⁸ According to Wavren, the commander of the Burgundian ships in the fleet, the main reason for the successful crossing of the Straits by the Ottomans was the inability of the Christian fleet to protect such a large perimeter – about 100 km. only with 19 galleys.⁸⁹ The Byzantine author from the XV century Duke gives the information that a Christian fleet of 25 triremes had been sent, which managed to established itself opposite Gallipoli and several more ships were sent to the Bosphorus. In this way the Crusaders tried to stop the crossing of the Straits by Murad and his Asian troops. Later the same author says that Murad found a place that was not guarded by triremes and crossed the Straits there.⁹⁰ Peter Ranzan in his "Summary of the Hungarian history" says that by order of Pope Eugene IV the Venetians had to prepare and equip a fleet of 24 triremes⁹¹ which had to be established in the Straits so that they could prevent the crossing of the Hellespont by the Ottomans. The author blames the fleet commander who was late to arrive at the Straits for the failure which followed.⁹² You can find a different opinion shared in this source

⁸⁴ Mirchev, "Andreas de Palatsio," 89.

⁸⁵ L. Tocci, "Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza sulla battaglia di Varna (1444)," in *Melanges E. Tisserant. VII. Studi e testi*, 237 (Vaticana, 1964), 97–130; Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 37–38.

⁸⁶ Kolarov, "Hronikata na Kalimah," 245.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁸⁸ Nikola Mirski, "Bitkata pri Varna va 1444g. (sporeda Fulstin)," *Izvestia na Varnenskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo* (1910): 86.

⁸⁹ N. Iorga, *La champagne des croises sur la Danube* (Paris, 1927), 43.

⁹⁰ Ducas, *Istoria turco-bizantina (1341–1462)*, ed. V. Grecu, (Bucuresti, 1958), 275–277; Vladimir Angelov, *Balgarite i tehните sasedi na Balkanite vav vizantiyskata istoriopsis ot XV v.*, (Sofia, 2007), 217.

⁹¹ Duke talks about triremes, while Peter Ranzan mentions triers. Probably it's the same vessels.

⁹² Petar Ranzan, *Kratko izlozhenie na Ungarskata istoria*, Latinski izvori za balgarskata istoria, V/1 (Sofia, 2001), 172.

compared to the above mentioned. According to him, the Venetians were not bribed, they were late and because of their sluggishness failed to prevent the unification of the Ottoman troops. How was the crossing of the Straits by Murad's troops described in the Ottoman sources? The Anonymous chronicles and Oruch say that the Straits were seething with French ships, but the Sultan and his army succeeded in reaching the European coast exactly on such French ships.⁹³ Ashakpashazade claims that the Ottomans saw the ships of the infidels and quite laconically reports that the Sultan crossed the ford.⁹⁴ As seen from the reviewed historical sources it can not be said for sure how the Ottoman forces crossed the Straits. The contradictory data given by the sources do not permit the categorical acceptance of one theory. However, two basic statements can be found in most narrative texts. The first one is that Murad's army managed to cross the Hellespont by bribes. It might be the case but then who exactly were the traitors? Venetians, Genoese, Byzantines? This is another question that is quite difficult to be answered. Perhaps the entire Christian fleet was involved? The second statement namely that the small Christian fleet could not cover such a wide area and consequently the Ottomans found a gap and managed to cross the Straits, should not be ignored as well because it seems logical. Collated, both theories can find equivalent pros and cons. Therefore, at least at this stage, the question how the Ottoman army managed to cross the Straits in the autumn of 1444, remains open!

After Murad had crossed the Straits he headed for Edirne where the two armies united. All sources are adamant that the Ottoman army numbered between 60 and 80 thousand soldiers. The Sultan led this huge army to the north. Oruch says „He left Edirne. (He) left Mehmed and Halil Pasha in Edirne. There were servants, the Janissary, the army of the Anadol, the army of Rumeli, ten thousand azebi and ten thousand Christians cherehori...“. Further he says that the army was impressive and numerous.⁹⁵ The Unknown author reports the following: “He left Edirne. He gathered many Janissaries, the army of Rumili, the army of Anatolia, azebi and serahori. Volunteers among Muslims and the communities of the regions (areas) were gathered”.⁹⁶ The Ottoman sources are adamant that a huge army was gathered, including all military structures of the country, as well as volunteers. There are disputes in the scientific literature as for

⁹³ J. v. Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, II, (Paris, 1835), 310; Bistra Tsvetkova, “Obzor na osnovnite osmanski iztochnitsi ot XV v. za pohodite na Vladislav Varnenchik i Yan Huniadi prez 1443–1444 g.,” in *Varna 1444. Sbornik ot izsledvania i dokumenti v chest na 525-ta godishnina ot bitkata kray Varna* (Sofia, 1969): 187.

⁹⁴ Tsvetkova, “Obzor na osnovnite,” 187.

⁹⁵ Oruch, 391–392.

⁹⁶ Neizvesten avtor, 423.

the route of the Ottoman army in southern Bulgaria and the way in which they crossed the Balkan Mountains. According to A. Ishirkov Murad headed for the besieged fortress of Nikopol so that he could help and probably went through the Shipka Pass. Then he followed the Christian army.⁹⁷ G. Balashev claims that Murad headed north to block the passes of the Balkan Mountains, and thus to prevent the Christian army from passing them.⁹⁸ G. Dimitrov believes that the Ottoman army headed for Turnovo and from there for Nikopol. Along the way it came across the Christian trails and started to follow them to Varna.⁹⁹ H. and K. Shkorpil consider that Murad's army crossed the Balkan Mountains through Ajtos-Provadia pass.¹⁰⁰ In his comprehensive study on the routes of the Christian and the Ottoman armies to Varna, S. Nedev has written about the army of Murad "The most likely route was Edirne – along the valley of the river Tundzha to Yambol – Karnobat – Aitos – Aitos pass – along the valley of river Kamchia to the fortress Petrich and then on the trail of the Christian army".¹⁰¹ According to B. Tsvetkova the route of the Ottoman army from Edirne to Varna was along the valley of Tundzha to Yambol, Karnobat, Aitos the village of Nader and then they crossed the Balkan Mountains. As for the crossing of East Balkan Mountains the author outlines the two possible routes: either along the medieval fortress of Ovchaga – village of Asparuhovo – Dylgopol, or the valley of the river Eleshnitsa, village of Grozdyovo. After that the army was out into the plain southeast of Provadia.¹⁰² During the whole Ottoman period the village of Grozdyovo existed and was known in the Ottoman documents as Kadıköy. From its land originates a wide numismatic material, on the basis of which, we can assume that precisely from here the Ottoman army crossed the East Balkan Mountains. In my opinion there is no way such an important strategic point in the eastern Balkan to be missed by Murad where the Christian army might pass heading for Edirne.¹⁰³ So on 9th November the Ottoman army arrived before the walls of the fortress Varna and found the Crusaders unprepared. Although they had been informed about the crossing of the Bosphorus by the Ottomans, the Christians did not expect that the Turks would find themselves behind them.

In an old Asian tradition the Ottomans lighted torches and began to sing,

⁹⁷ Ishirkov, *Pohodite*, 19.

⁹⁸ Balashev, *Pohodite na polsko-madzgarskia kral Vladislav III Yagelo*, 19.

⁹⁹ Dimitrov, "Srazhenieto," 12.

¹⁰⁰ Shkorpil, "Pohodat na Vladislava preza Bulgaria," 52.

¹⁰¹ Nedev, "Patishtata," 230.

¹⁰² Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 306.

¹⁰³ Nevyan Mitev, "Ranni osmanski moneti ot s. Grozdyovo, obshtina Dolen Chiflik," *Istoriikii* 7 (Shumen, 2014): 87–95.

which aimed to show their number and to inspire awe among the enemy. A council was immediately convened in the Christian camp. The location of the crusader army was unfavourable. To the east was the stronghold of Varna and the Black Sea, where the promised Christian fleet did not expect the Crusaders. To the south was the Beloslav Lake, to the west the Turks and to the north the Frangya Heights. The commanders took a unanimous decision to enter into battle. Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini offered the army to hide behind the Hussite vagenburg and lead the battle that way. The experienced commander Janos Hunyadi opposed, arguing that the best option is open assault against the enemy. In this way the enemy would be surprised and would not be able to respond appropriately. Hunyadi says "To avoid the battle – impossible, to surrender and be enslaved and thus be defeated without a fight and a battle – there is no way. It's better to die with honour and praise of our swords".¹⁰⁴ The young Polish-Hungarian King Vladislav III Jagiello listened to the words of the wise vojvoda and decided to act on his instructions. Hunyadi was appointed for army chief. As for the location of the two armies, and the center of the battlefield, different opinions have been expressed. Here I accept the critical analysis of B. Tsvetkova, which is made based on a number of sources and a thorough research. The crusader army was located in an arch-like line extending from the lake of Beloslav up to the heights of the Frangya plateau. It was composed of three main parts. The left wing was localized along the coast of the lake, somewhere in the Western Industrial Zone and present-day neighborhood "Troshevo" (author's note). It consisted of 5 banners (units), mostly Hungarian soldiers numbering 4000 people. The wing was commanded by Hunyadi's brother-in-law – Michael Szilagi. In the center of the army was the king himself with his personal guards. Behaim claims that the center was composed of two military units, each consisting of 2000 horsemen. According to B. Tsvetkova the number of soldiers in this perimeter was 3500. The commander of the first detachment was Vladislav and the second one was commanded by Stefan Batory. The right wing was deployed behind the center, at the foot of the Frangya hills – near present-day neighbourhood "Vazrazhdane" (author's note). It consisted of 5 banners. Four of the banners were Hungarian and were under the command of the Bosnian Bishop Raphael of Zegev, the Bishop of Eger Simon Rozgoni, the Croatian ban Franco Talotsi and the Bishop of Varadin Ian Dominic. The fifth one was composed of the papal crusaders led by Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini. The military unit of Jan Dominique was pulled slightly back to serve as a spare part. In the right wing there were Poles led by Leshko Bobzhitski. This wing had

¹⁰⁴ Georgi Dimitrov, "Srazhenieto pri Varna va 1444g. (spored ochevidetsa Paraspondilos Zotikos i spored Iereksa) sa priturka: Varnenskite cherkvi i grobat na Vladislav," *Izvestia na Varnenskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo* (1910), 49–85; Tsvetkova, *Pametna bitka*, 307.

no common command, which, as B. Tsvetkova claims, was the most vulnerable and therefore Hunyadi placed the vagenburg of the Czechs Hussite, led by Hetman Cheika behind it. Behind the main wings as reserve were left the Wallachian horsemen. It is not yet specified where exactly the Bulgarians who had joined the crusader army were located. Presented with the modern infrastructure of the city of Varna, the location of the crusader army is as follows: The left wing was situated in the region of West Industrial Zone and neighbourhood "Troshevo". The center – in the area of neighbourhood "Mladost" around Dom "Mladost" or slightly forward to the chapel on the "Republic" boulevard, the right wing was situated in the region of present-day neighbourhood "Vazrazhdane".

The Ottoman army was located in two lines. The first line was composed of 3 wings. The left wing was formed by the Anatolian sipahis led by Karadza Bay. They were located on the western slope of the Frangya hills. The total number of the left wing was approximately 30 000 people. 10–13 000 of them were hidden in a wooded area, where they hoped to surprise the enemy. The right wing consisted of Roumelian sipahis and was located east of the village of Kadikoy.¹⁰⁵ It consisted of 10 000 people and was under the command of Daud Pasha. In the center was sultan Murad with his personal guards of 10000 janissaries. It is assumed that the mound Murad Tepe, located on the territory of present-day "Park-Museum of Military Friendship – 1444" in the city of Varna was the command post of the Sultan. The Treaty of Szeged was impaled on a spear on the top of Murad Tepe or on the top of the opposite mound – Mesheli Tepe. This act symbolized the violation of the oath taken by King Vladislav.

Contrary to the popular opinion T. Trifonov expresses a slightly different opinion on the location of the armies. Based on the cartographic material he considers the boundaries of the Battle of Varna as follows: to the south – the lake; to the north – the Frangya hills; to the east the garage of "Public Transport", the prison, Dom "Mladost" street "Tihomir", to the west – "Janos Hunyadi" boulevard.¹⁰⁶ According to him, the place of the battle should be shifted to the east, and believes that the centre of the battlefield is not the territory of present-day "Park-Museum of Military Friendship" but northeast of it. The opinion of T.Trifonov can not yet be accepted categorically. Thorough archaeological research in the city of Varna is needed as a proof of this theory. Unfortunately, for the time being, such archaeological research is impossible to be done.

On the day of St. Martin – 10th November, the final battle for the liberation of the Balkans took place. Strong wind started to blow shortly before the

¹⁰⁵ Currently the village does not exist. It was localized in the area of "ELPROM" and "Praktiker".

¹⁰⁶ Trifon Trifonov, "Srazhenieto kray Varna ot 1444g. v svetlinata na topografiyata i toponimiyata na rayona," *10 knigi za Varna–2007* (Varna, 2008), 55–125.

battle. First the akincis attacked the right wing of the Crusaders. The Christians managed to repel them, but made a serious strategic mistake – they began to pursue them. Here the Christians fell in an ambush which forced them to run away. Some of them managed to hide behind the vagenburg, but others were killed. Cardinal Cesarini, Leshko Bobzhitski, the bishops of Eger and Varadin probably found their death here. Seeing that the right wing is almost broken, Hunyadi and the king with the two royal units and the Wallachian cavalry rushed to help it. As a result the Anatolian sipahis were broken and their leader Karadza Bey was killed. The Wallachians even entered the Turkish camp, as their aim was to plunder everything they get their hands on. What followed was a series of raids of the Roumelian sipahis against the left wing. Janos Hunyadi rushed to help it, giving a piece of advice to the king to wait for him so that they could together attack the centre of the Ottoman army.¹⁰⁷ The Transylvanian vojvoda managed to defeat the whole right wing of the Turks and many of the enemies ran away into Thrace. The victories of Hunyadi instilled a confusion in the ranks of the enemy, even Sultan Murad decided to run, but as the Ottoman sources report, his kinsman restrained him. At the same time the young king, advised by his cronies, attacked the square consisting of 10 000 janissaries with 500 horsemen. Although Vladislav managed to kill a lot of enemies, he was killed. The janissary Kodzha Hazar cut off his head and sent it to the Sultan. The news of the death of the King upset the ranks of the Crusaders. The experienced Hunyadi tried to return the order in the army, but without success. The Christians began their retreat. In the scientific literature is adopted the opinion of H. Shkorpil, who drew the following routes based on the found arms and armour. One part of the army retreated through the ridge of the Frangya hills to the valley of the river Batova through the village of Dolishte, the village of Debrene and to the Danube. Another part retreated westwards through Ignatievo, Devnya and so on. In my opinion, part of the Crusaders retreated northeast, to Kavarna, looking for a way to salvation. In this geographical area are found coins of Vladislav Varnenchik and weapons and armor that can be linked to the participants in the crusader army.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ K. Mihajlovic reports false that exactly Hunyadi prompted the king to attack. Look at: *Записки на енычаря* (Moskva, 1978); By the poem of Michael Behaim and the chronicle of Callimachus we learn that it Hunyadi advises Vladislav do not to take attack against the box of the Janissaries, until he returns and together to attack the center of the Ottoman look at: Kolarov, "Dva malko izvestni izvora," 189 and Kolarov, "Hronikata na Kalimah," 252. According to Paraspondilos Zotikos, a royal adviser convinced Vladislav that all the glory will drop over Hunyadi, that prompted the king to take the attack. Look at: Dimitrov, "Srazhenieto pri Varna va 1444g., varnenskite cherkvi i grobata na Vladislava", 67.

¹⁰⁸ Mitev, "Monetite na Vladislav Varnenchik," 201–208; Veselin Parushev, "Srednovekovni mechove ot Severoiztochna Bulgaria," *Voennioistoricheski sbornik* LXVIII, 2 (1999): 140–144;

Half of the Christian army, i.e. about 10 000 people were killed in the memorable battle of the nations. The Ottomans had many casualties too. The sources are not definite and give different information on the number of the Ottoman casualties, they range between 20 and 30 000. The severed Royal head was preserved in honey and sent to Bursa. It was a symbol of the victory of the Ottomans, which should strengthen the prestige of the Ottoman ruler in the troubled areas of Asia Minor. Many Christians were killed trying to escape, overtaken by Ottoman troops or drowned in the Danube. Some sources mention that during the withdrawal in Wallachia, Janos Hunyadi was held in captivity by Vlad Dracul. He was released shortly after and returned to Hungary, where he was appointed for regent of the minor King Vladislav Posthumous. The prominent commander would lead battles with the Ottomans for many years after the battle of Varna. Two memorable battles with the enemies were waiting for him. One of them he lost – the Battle of Kosovo in 1448. But the other one at Belgrade in 1456, earned him eternal glory. Janos Hunyadi is an epoch in the struggle of South East Europe against the Ottoman invaders. He's the only one who managed to cope with the well greased military machine of the Asians. His victories, his fearlessness and his heroism give rise to respect and awe not only among his people but also among the enemies. Two months after the memorable battle of Belgrade the voyvoda died of plague. Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror sent a letter to Hungary in which he expressed his mourning for such a brave warrior who found his death in this ridiculous way. The man who conquered the capital of the world Constantinople only three years earlier, had his respect for the immortal Hunyadi.

Most probably the last Bulgarian ruler, the son of tsar Ivan Shishman – Fruzhin took part in the crusade of Varna. A charter from 6th September 1444 says that Fruzhin sold his estate Fajdash in Zarand area to the ban of Machva called Vladislav Marotski. The same ban earlier gave him this estate as a present. Properly P. Petrov assumes that the sale of the property was connected with the march of Vladislav Varnenchik in the autumn of 1444 and concludes that the Bulgarian ruler participated in the military campaign.¹⁰⁹ Based on a letter from Janos Hunyadi to Pope Eugenius IV from 1445, in which the Transylvanian leader claimed as one of the reasons for the failure in Varna the unfulfilled promises of the Bulgarian princes and the rulers of Wallachia and Moldova, the Albanians and Byzantium. P. Pavlov and I. Tyutyundzhiev believe that this criti-

Veselin Parushev, "Novi nahodki na orazhie ot krastonosnia pohod prez 1444 g.," *Izvestia na Narodnia muzey – Varna*, XL (LV) (2004): 3.

¹⁰⁹ Petar Petrov, "Fruzhin i pohodat do Varna prez 1444g.," in *Varna 1444. Sbornik ot izsledvania i dokumenti v chest na 525-ta godishnina ot bitkata kray Varna* (Sofia, 1969), 272–283.

cism was directed addressed to Fruzhin.¹¹⁰ Although there are some documents available, the evidence that we have for the participation of Fruzhin and his successors in the march against the Turks in the autumn of 1444 are indirect.

The reasons for the failure of the battle of Varna have been thoroughly analyzed by B. Tsvetkova. The ratio of the strengths of the two armies is unequal. The Ottomans were three times as much as the Christians. The battle took place on a terrain that was well known by the Turks, but almost completely unknown to the Crusaders. The disintegration of the crusader army, the lack of internal oneness and centralization was one more reason for the defeat. Despite all these difficulties Hunyadi managed to break both flanks of the Ottomans and everything seemed predetermined, until the naive mistake of the young king. However, it is not plausible only to blame King Vladislav and his error. In my opinion there are two main reasons for the defeat of the Crusaders at Varna. In the first place one of them is the above mentioned fatal error of the King. However, the second reason is equally important – the crossing of the Straits by 2/3 of the Ottoman army. Until the crossing of the Straits the Ottomans had only about 20 000 army in the Balkans and there is no doubt that it would suffer a crushing defeat by the crusader army, led by the experienced military leader Janos Hunyadi. The betrayal, carried out by the crusader fleet to the Christian world inevitably led to the unification of the two parts of the Ottoman army. Thus it became three times as much as the Crusaders of king Vladislav. Facing this huge army, the military success of the Christians seemed minimal.¹¹¹

The victory of the Ottomans as B. Tsvetkova claims is a Pyrrhic victory. The foundations of the Ottoman authority in the Balkans are shaken, more than half of the Ottoman army was killed in the battle, delaying the attack on central Europe. Konstantin Mikhailovich from Ostrovitsa in his notes claims that the

¹¹⁰ Plamen Pavlov, Ivan Tyutyundzhiev, *Balgarite i osmanskoto zavoevanie (krayat na XIII-sredata na XV v.)* (Veliko Tarnovo, 1995), 128.

¹¹¹ To the battle of Varna and its consequences see also: Dimitrov, "Srazhenieto pri Varna," 7–47; Shkorpil, "Pohodata na Vladislava," 1908, 48–67; Dimitrov, "Srazhenieto pri Varna va 1444 god., varnenskite cherkvi," 49–84; Mirski, "Srazhenieto pri Varna va 1444g.," 85–88; Herman i Karel Shkorpil, *Vladislav Varnenchik 1444–1923* (Varna, 1923); Dabrowski, *Wladislaw*; Oskar Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna. A Discussion of Controversial Problems* (New York, 1943); Petar Hadzhiivanov "Srazhenieto pri Varna na 10 noemvri 1444 godina," in *Varna, 1444. Sbornik ot izsledvania i dokumenti v chest na 525-ta godishnina ot bitkata kray Varna* (Sofia, 1969), 234–263; Teke Zsuzsa, *Hunyadi János és kora* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1980); Swoboda, *Warna 1444*; Karol Oleynik, "Bitkata pri Varna," *Varna, 1444. Deystvitelnost i traditsia*, (Varna, 2005), 23–34; Sasho Popov, "Bitkata kray Varna prez 1444 g.," *Voennoistoricheski sbornik*, 6, (1995): 7–27; Colin Imber, *The Crusade of Varna, 1443–1445* (Manchester, 2006); John Jefferson, *The Holy wars of king Wladislas and sultan Murad. The Ottoman-Christian conflict from 1438–1444*, History of Warfare, vol. 76, (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012).

Sultan did not want any more such victories. Despite their losses, only a few years later the Ottomans managed to stabilize. They took advantage of the death of Hunyadi and managed to conquer the whole Balkan Peninsula.

As a consequence of the battle of Varna was the sea march of Valerian de Wavre in 1445. He sailed through the Black Sea and entered the Danube. Here he joined his forces with the Wallachians of Vlad Dracul. Hunyadi also sent his soldiers to join the military campaign. Their combined actions paid off. the fortresses Silistra, Tutrakan, Giurgiu and Ruse were gradually taken under their control. The united army besieged Nikopol, but having learnt about a huge Turkish army coming against them, they withdrew.¹¹² Thus the sea campaign ended, held as a consequence of the defeat at Varna in search of the Fallen King.

There are many controversial points about the campaigns of Vladislav Varnenchik from 1443–1444. This is due to the contradictory information given by the sources. Therefore, the careful reading of the sources and their combination with the archaeological data from Northeastern Bulgaria clarify the events from the autumn of 1444.

NOTE PRIVIND CAMPANIA LUI VLADISLAV VARNENCHIK ÎN BULGARIA NORD-ESTICĂ DIN TOAMNA ANULUI 1444

Rezumat

Campania lui Vladislav Varnenchik din 1443–1444 a făcut obiectul cercetării multor oameni de știință. Problematika acestora este larg răspândită în istoriografia europeană. În anii din urmă au fost puse în circuitul științific noi surse și noi cercetări și s-au realizat noi descoperiri de monumente arheologice, inclusiv descoperiri numismatice, în Bulgaria nord-estică. Apariția de noi surse și informații arheologice sugerează că e necesar să se realizeze o nouă perspectivă asupra evenimentelor din toamna anului 1444. Scopul acestui studiu este de a încerca să pună în lumină situațiile cele mai complicate legate de marșul lui Vladislav Varnenchik în Bulgaria nord-estică, în toamna lui 1444.

¹¹² Iorga, *La campagne*, 92; Bistra Tsvetkova, *Frenski patepisi za Balkanite (XV–XVIII v.)* (Sofia, 1975), 67–69.

FOREIGNERS IN THE SERVICE OF DESPOT ĐURAĐ BRANKOVIĆ ON SERBIAN TERRITORY*

Miloš Ivanović**

Keywords: Despot Đurađ, Byzantines, Ragusans, service, court

Cuvinte cheie: despotul Đurađ, bizantini, raguzani, slujbă, curte

During 13th and 14th century in the service of Serbian rulers were being a large number of foreign mercenaries. Some of them had an important role in the conquest of new territories and decisive battles.¹ However, they have usually lived temporarily in Serbia and didn't have possessions on its territory. The situation changed in the 15th century. In the first place that was due to the new political circumstances. Namely, Despot Stefan Lazarević (1389–1427) become in 1403 or 1404 vassal of Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437).² Also, he was member of The Order of Dragon which was founded in 1408 by same Hungarian ruler.³ Therefore it is no surprise that many Hungarians were in his service.⁴ However it is unknown that whether they had estates on Serbian territory. On the other hand during the Ottoman civil war from 1402 to 1413 some prominent Turkish

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¹ Андрија Веселиновић, *Држава српских деспота* (Београд: Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства, 2006²), 181–184; Aleksandar Uzelac, “Foreign Soldiers in the Nemanjić state – A Critical Overview,” *Belgrade Historical Review* VI (2015): 69–83.

² Михаило Динић, “Писмо угарског краља Жигмунда бургундском војводи Филипу,” *Зборник Матице српске за друштвене науке* 13–14 (1956): 93–98; *Историја српског народа* II (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1982), 70–74.

³ Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, t. X, vol. 4 (Budapest, 1841), 682–694; Милош Антоновић, “Деспот Стефан Лазаревић и Змајев ред,” *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1993): 15–24.

⁴ Ватрослав Јагић, “Константин Филозоф и његов живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српског,” *Гласник Српског ученог друштва* XLII (1875): 312, 319–320.

commanders moved to the side of Despot Stefan.⁵ Since 1413 he again became an Ottoman vassal.⁶

Despot Đurađ Branković (1427–1456) hired foreigners to an even greater extent than his predecessor and uncle Despot Stefan. This particularly applies to the Byzantines and Ragusans. The most influential among them were close associates of Despot Đurađ. The increasing power of foreigners is one of the characteristics of the reign of Despot Đurađ, especially after 1439. One of the objectives of this paper is to try to explain the causes of this phenomenon. It is necessary to stress that I will not analyze position and actions of Despot's officials on his estates in Hungarian Kingdom.

The appearance of the Byzantines in the service of Despot Đurađ was the result of few factors. The first of these is that Serbian ruler was married to Irine Kantakouzene who belonged to the Thessaloniki branch of famous family.⁷ Another reason was Ottoman conquest of Byzantine territories. Thomas Kantakouzenos, brother of Irene settled into Serbia probably after fall of Thessaloniki in 1430.⁸ He was mentioned first time in Serbia in 1433. Then, one document notes that Thomas seized houses of some Ragusans in mining town Srebrenica. The Ragusan's emissaries supposed to complain to the Despot because of this act.⁹ On the basis of this data cannot be concluded that Thomas lived in Srebrenica. It is more likely that he only did business in mentioned city. Two years later envoys of Ragusan Republic were received instructions by his government that to address to Irene and Thomas Kantakouzenos, on the occasion of new customs in Novo Brdo and Srebrenica. The emissaries could to express their willingness to do anything for him, with a request to influence his sister in their favor.¹⁰ They continued to refer to Irene and Thomas when Despot Đurađ returned from Hungary. According to the deputies, Thomas did not want to help them, because he did not receive a gift.¹¹ At the beginning

⁵ Ibid, 276, 301, 308.

⁶ *Историја српског народа* II, 90.

⁷ That marriage was concluded in 1414. See: Момчило Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић и његово доба* (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1994), 63–64; Божидар Ферјанчић, “Византинци у Србији прве половине XV века,” *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 26 (1987): 174–178.

⁸ Ферјанчић, “Византинци у Србији”, 193; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 142.

⁹ Nicolae Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir a l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle*, vol. II (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), 316; Михаило Динић, *За историју рударства у средњовековној Србији и Босни I* (Београд: Научна књига, 1955), 81; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 142, 182, 593.

¹⁰ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 325; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 181–182.

¹¹ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 329; Ферјанчић, “Византинци у Србији”, 194; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 613.

of 1436 Ragusans sent a new mission to the Serbian court and predicted up to 250 ducats for presents for family of Despot Đurađ. Thomas Kantakouzene was considered as a member of the family.¹² These data indicate that Thomas become one of the most important person on the Despot's court. At the same time its show that Thomas was ready to help them from personal interests. On one occasion, the Turks also stressed that he was corrupted.¹³

The growth of his impact reflects in the fact that he began to perform important military tasks. In 1439 together with Grgur, the oldest son of Despot Đurađ, he commanded the defense of the Serbian capital Smederevo. The relevant sources indicate that they handed over city to the Ottomans because lack of food supply.¹⁴ It is unclear where Thomas lived immediately after the fall of Smederevo. In an unknown way he arrived in Dubrovnik during 1441.¹⁵ He left there for safekeeping some silver treasure.¹⁶ With their arrival in Ragusa, he confirmed loyalty to his master. Certainly thanks to that Thomas kept important role on Despot's court after renewal of Serbian Despotate in 1444. The Serbian annals noted that in September 1448 he defeated army of Bosnian King Stefan Tomaš. The consequence of this victory was re-entry of Srebrenica and nearby region along the river Drina in the Serbian state.¹⁷ It is possible that Despot Đurađ entrusted command to Thomas because his business contact with Srebrenica. Indeed, in autumn 1448 the Ragusans sought for him old

¹² Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 657–658; Динић, *За историју рударства* I, 81–83.

¹³ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 182.

¹⁴ Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to The Ottoman Turks, An Annotated Translation of "Historia Turco-Byzantina"* by Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975), 177; Љубомир Стојановић, *Стари српски родослови и летописи* (Сремски карловци: Српска краљевска академија, 1927), 232; Мавро Орбин, *Краљевство Словена* (Београд: Sezam Book, 2006), 111; Laonic Chalcocondil, *Expuneri Istorice*, ed V. Grecu (Bucarest: Editura Academiei, 1958), 151–152; Глиша Елезовић, "Турски извори за историју Југословена. Два турска хроничара из 15 века," *Братство* 26 (1932): 68–69; Константин Михаиловић, *Јаничарева успомена или турска хроника*, ed. Ђорђе Живановић (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1986), 105; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 214–215; Маја Николић, *Византијски писци о Србији (1402–1439)* (Београд: Византолошки институт, 2010), 105–106, 110–112.

¹⁵ Љубомир Стојановић, *Старе српске повеље и писма* I–2 (Београд-Сремски Карловци: Српска краљевска академија, 1934), 24–29; Константин Јиречек, *Историја Срба* II, Културна историја (Београд: Научна књига, 1952), 371; Ферјанчић, *Византинци у Србији*, 195; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 257–258.

¹⁶ Стојановић, *Повеље и писма* I–2, 24–29; Јиречек, *Историја Срба* II, 371; Ферјанчић, "Византинци у Србији," 195; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 257–258.

¹⁷ Стојановић, *Родослови и летописи*, 235–236; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 334; Сима Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе* (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1964), 289–290; Динић, *За историју рударства* I, 78–79.

trading privileges.¹⁸ Despot's troops were led again by Thomas Kantakouzenos in September 1452. Then nobleman from Zeta (southern part of Serbian Despotate) Stefanica Crnojević defeated his army, while he barely avoided capture.¹⁹ There is an opinion that he managed to the successful defense of Smederevo in 1454 during campaign of Sultan Mehmed II (1451–1481) against Serbian Despotate.²⁰

The position of Thomas Kantakouzenos started to change when Despot Lazar took power at the end of 1456 after death of Despot Đurađ. New ruler was not good terms with his mother Irene. Under mysterious circumstances she died on the 3 May 1457 in the town of Rudnik. After that, together with Grgur and Mara Branković he left Serbia and went to Sultan Mehmed II.²¹ On that way Thomas Kantakouzenos ended his political career in the Serbian Despotate. The next few years until death in June 1463 he lived on Mara Branković's estates near town Serres on Ottoman territory.²²

Another brother of Irene, George Kantakouzenos has also lived in Serbia. Allegedly, he managed the construction of the Smederevo fortress.²³ This fact is unreliable, since it is known that George was in the service of Despot Constantine Palaiologos until 1437²⁴, while the main part of fortress was built from 1428 to 1430.²⁵ Whatever it is certain that he was in Smederevo in

¹⁸ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 430; Динић, *За историју рударства* I, 79; Јиречек, *Историја Срба* II, 371; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 348–349, 621.

¹⁹ Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, vol. IX (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1890), 450–451, Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, vol. X (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1891), 151; Nicolae Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle*, vol. III (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902), 273; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 381.

²⁰ Lajos Thallóczy, Antal Áldásy, *Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára*, vol. II. *A Magyarország és Szerbia közti összeköttetések oklevéltára 1198–1526*, (Budapest, 1907), 186–187; Franjo Rački, "Prilozi za sbirku srspskih i hrvatskih listina," *RAD Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 1 (1867): 152–155; Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium*, 243; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 420–423.

²¹ Стојановић, *Родослови и летописи*, 241; Орбин, *Краљевство Словена*, 128; Георгије Сфранцес, *Хроника. Пад Византијског царства*, ed. М. Станковић (Београд: Предањске студије, 2011), 168–169; Chalcocondil, *Exriperi Istorice*, 241; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 504–506; Ферјанчић, "Византинци у Србији," 188–192.

²² Стојановић, *Родослови и летописи*, 246; Ферјанчић, "Византинци у Србији," 197; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 547.

²³ Theodore Spandounes, *On the origin of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Donald Nicol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997), 35.

²⁴ Ферјанчић, "Византинци у Србији," 198, 200.

²⁵ Гордана Томовић, *Морфологија ћириличких натписа на Балкану* (Београд: Историјски институт, 1974), 110; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 124–130.

1453.²⁶ In the autumn of same year Despot Đurađ arranged marriage between George's daughter Ana and Vladislav, son of Duke (Herceg) Stefan Vukčić Kosača. However matrimony was officially concluded in September 1455.²⁷ Theodore Spandounes recorded that George Kantakouzenos commanded the defense of Smederevo at beginning of 1456 when forces of Michael Szilágyi and Janos Hunyadi besieged Serbian capital. In that time, Despot Đurađ was in captivity of Szilágyi together with George's son Theodore. According to same author Theodore unsuccessfully tried to collect money for the redemption. During the siege Hungarians threatened to kill Theodore, but his father refused to surrender the town.²⁸ These are the latest information about George and Theodore Kantakouzenos. It is probably that Theodore was released at the same time as Despot Đurađ. Serbian historian Božidar Ferjančić supposed that George died between 1456 and 1459.²⁹

It is likely that Manuel, who mentioned in 1441 as Chancellor (*logotet*) of Despot Đurađ, was also Byzantine.³⁰ Certain voivode Manuel stayed in Ragusa five years later as one of the wedding guests of Lazar Branković, son of Despot Đurađ. During that stay together with voivode Radič he took over deposit of Thomas Kantakouzenos and silverware dishes of Despot Đurađ Branković.³¹ The sameness of the names does not mean that he is identical with personality of Chancellor Manuel. Some historians thought that he was son of Thomas Kantakouzene³², while others considered that he was son of Byzantine merchant Calojan Rusota, who lived in Novo Brdo.³³ After 1446 there is no information about voivode Manuel.

Also, Some Ragusans had significant positions at the court of Despot Đurađ Branković. They are primarily performed diplomatic and financial jobs for him. First place among them belongs to Paskoje Sorkočević (Pasqualus de Sorgo). Since from 1419 he has operated in Serbia, first in Priština and then in

²⁶ Ферјанчић, "Византинци у Србији," 198–199; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 405.

²⁷ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 412, 461.

²⁸ Spandounes, *On the origin of the Ottoman Empire*, 35; Ферјанчић, "Византинци у Србији," 199; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 473–474.

²⁹ Ферјанчић, "Византинци у Србији," 200–201.

³⁰ Ljubić, *Listine IX*, 157; Андрија Веселиновић, *Држава српских деспота*, 245–246.

³¹ Iorga, *Notes et extraits II*, 415–416; Медо Пуцић, *Споменици српски II* (Београд: Друштво Србске Словесности, 1862), 101–102; Владимир Ђоровић, "Женидба деспота Лазара," *Глас Српске краљевске академије* 156 (1933): 151–153; Брана Недељковић, "Дубровник у сватима кнеза Лазара Ђурђевића," *Зборник Филозофског факултета у Београду VIII/2* (1964): 507, 518–519; Ферјанчић, "Византинци у Србији," 203; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 317–318.

³² Ђоровић, "Женидба деспота Лазара," 153; Јиречек, *Историја Срба II*, 372.

³³ Ферјанчић, "Византинци у Србији," 203–204; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 318, 662.

Novo Brdo. Paskoje entered in the service of Despot Đurađ in 1439 after fall of Smederevo, when Serbian ruler was in Hungary. At the same time another Ragusan, Damjan Đurđević became official of Serbian Despot.³⁴ It is logical to assume that Đurađ Branković hired them because of his specific political position. Namely, he lost the largest part of his country. Therefore he strived to strength his diplomatic contacts. Very soon, Paskoje has gained the trust of the Despot. In the summer of 1440 he was responsible for the security of Despot as captain of a ship which was supposed to rescue Despot and his family in emergency case.³⁵ In January 1441 together with metropolitan bishop Atanasije brought to Ragusa part of the deposit of Despot Đurađ.³⁶ Presumably, he was with Despot Đurađ during the famous "Long campaign" against Ottomans.³⁷ In this way he proved his loyalty to the Serbian ruler. The future events indicate that Despot knew how to appreciate his conduct.

When Serbian Despotate restored in August 1444 he settled in Smederevo. Next year Paskoje became steward of the ruler finance with title "čelnik riznički".³⁸ He was the only Ragusan in despot service who wore Serbian title. In addition to the activities related to finance he performed many other tasks for Despot Đurađ. Consequently it is not surprising that Ragusan chronicler Junii Restii designated him as "first minister of Despot".³⁹ Together with Damjan Đurđević he organized in Ragusa arrival, stay and departure of Helena Palaiologina, future wife of Despot Lazar Branković in the autumn of 1446.⁴⁰ Bosnian King Stefan Tomaš (1443–1461) has complained to the Ragusans in 1448 that Pascoe and Damjan prevented him to conclude peace with Đurađ Branković. Therefore the Ragusan Senate warned them to take care not to harm their city. They replied that as despot's *servants* they must obey his orders, but Senate wrote off that they must primarily serve to their town.⁴¹ In September 1448 he negotiated with Hungarian Governor Janos Hunyadi about participation of Despot Đurađ

³⁴ Јиречек, *Историја Срба* II, 366; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 219, 234.

³⁵ Андрија Веселиновић, *Дубровачко Мало веће о Србији: (1415–1460)* (Београд: Историјски институт САНУ, Историјски архив Краљево, Историјски архив Чачак, 1997), 453; Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 369–370; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 240–241; Јиречек, *Историја Срба* II, 366–367.

³⁶ Стојановић, *Повеље и писма* I–2, 21–23; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 248.

³⁷ Веселиновић, *Дубровачко Мало веће о Србији*, 482; Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 401; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 279; Јиречек, *Историја Срба* II, 367.

³⁸ Стојановић, *Старе српске повеље и писма* I–2, 21, 32.

³⁹ Joannis Gundulae, *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii (ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451)* (Zagrabiae: Ex Officina Societatis Typographicae, 1893), 304.

⁴⁰ Недељковић, "Дубровник у сватима кнеза Лазара," 482; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 315–316, 322.

⁴¹ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 427; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 327–328.

in campaign against Ottomans.⁴² After the battle of Kosovo in October 1448 Hunyadi was captured by Despot's men. Hunyadi wrote to the Ragusans, after liberation that he was captured at the instigation of Paskoje and Damjan. The Senate of Ragusa apologized to him, since their investigation revealed that they are guilty. That was reason why the Senate issued three-year ban their nobles to go abroad as emissaries of foreign rulers. Also, the same institutions forbade to his subjects in the Despot's service that together with his army get out from the Serbian state.⁴³ The specificity of their position once again showed. In summer of 1450 Paskoje and Damjan had to come to his hometown to justify their actions in connection with the abolition of trade privileges of Ragusan merchants in four Serbian towns.⁴⁴ The above prohibition did not strictly respect. Namely, Despot sent Paskoje to the new Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II in March 1451. However emissary did not find Sultan in Edirne and he returned to Serbia before 10 of May.⁴⁵ The next month Republic of Ragusa again allowed its citizens in Despot's service can go abroad as Serbian ambassadors. Such a decision was due to the fact that Ragusa was preparing for war with Bosnian Duke Stefan Vukčić Kosača in which expected the support of Serbian ruler.⁴⁶ It seems that he was member of the Despot's mission to the Sultan Mehmed II which has contributed to conclusion of the Turkish-Hungarian truce in November 1451.⁴⁷ In late summer 1452, Despot sent Paskoje to Mehmed II to work for the benefit of Vladislav, who was in conflict with his father Duke Stefan Vukčić. About results of his mediation he reported Serbian ruler in October 1452.⁴⁸

Shortly after the fall of Constantinople in summer 1453 Paskoje Sorkočević decided to withdraw from the Despot's service. Nevertheless, he stayed in Smederevo for a few months. His decision was a result of several factors. First of all, his brother Damjan, who led all his affairs in Ragusa, was died. Further he realized that the Ottomans will attack Serbia, after the conquest of Constantinople.⁴⁹ In the late September or early October of 1453 Sultan regained regions Toplica and Dubočica⁵⁰, where Pascoe Sorkočević had possessions.⁵¹

⁴² Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 337–339.

⁴³ Joannis Gundulae, *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*, 298, 304–305; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 345–346.

⁴⁴ Iorga, *Notes et extraits II*, 440; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 354.

⁴⁵ Iorga, *Notes et extraits II*, 445–446; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 361.

⁴⁶ Iorga, *Notes et extraits II*, 448–449; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 367–368.

⁴⁷ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 366–367.

⁴⁸ Iorga, *Notes et extraits II*, 472, 475; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 375–377.

⁴⁹ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 413.

⁵⁰ Олга Зиројевић, Исмаил Ерен, "Попис области Крушевца, Топлице и Дубочице у време прве владавине Мехмеда II (1444–1446)," *Врањски гласник* 4 (1968): 378.

⁵¹ Franjo Rački, "Iz dijela E. L. Crijevića, Dubrovčanina," *Starine Jugoslavenske akademije*

Taking into account that Despot Đurađ got mentioned areas from Sultan in May 1451, it can be concluded that Paskoje had estates on Serbian territory at the most little more than two years. After returning to Ragusa he has maintained connections with Despot Đurađ. He died on 4 August 1454.⁵² Paskoje Sorkočević was one of the closest associates of Despot Đurađ who had full confidence in him. According to Mavro Orbin Despot Đurađ put the coat of arms of Paskoje Sorkočević on the tower of Smederevo fortress.⁵³ Shortly after Pascoe death, his son Junije went to Smederevo, where he did business next three years. Unlike his father he was not in service of Serbian Despots.⁵⁴

The career of Damjan Đurđević (Damianus de Georgio) at the court of Despot Đurađ had a similar course to Paskoje Sorkočević. Like him he traded in Priština and Novo Brdo and became official of Serbian Despot in 1439.⁵⁵ Presumably, his first tasks were associated with Despot's desire to reach the Hungarian crown for himself or his son, after death of King Albert II in October 1439.⁵⁶ He followed the Despot during the whole "Long campaign" showing in this way devotion to the Serbian ruler. After Crusade during 1444 he also stayed in Buda when the Despot negotiated about the conclusion of peace with Ottomans.⁵⁷ In August 1444 he settled in Smederevo after restoration of Serbian state. Different from Sorkočević, he has never had any Serbian title. Regardless of this fact, Đurđević was influential person at the Despot's court. Ragusan chronicler Junii Restii marked him as "the chief adviser of the Despot".⁵⁸ In a certain sense he participated in the war that was waged in 1448 between Despot Đurađ and Bosnian King Stefan Tomaš (1443–1461). It is noted that he redeemed for 50 ducats Bosnian nobleman Radoje Bubanić, who was captured in mentioned war. Then, Damjan asked four times more money for the liberation of prisoner. Therefore, in May 1449 he was criticized by authorities of Ragusa, which demanded from him to seek only how much he gave and not to interfere in such affairs.⁵⁹ The last recommendation likely related to the prohibition of the Republic to its citizens that together with Despot army get out from the Serbia. In August 1451 Despot sent Damjan Đurđević to the Sultan Mehmed II to inform him of his own agreement with Janos Hunyadi. At the same time he was supposed to work against Duke Stefan Vukčić, who was

znaniosti i umjetnosti 4 (1872): 194; Орбин, *Краљевство Словена*, 115–116; Михаило Динић, "Дубровчани као феудалци у Србији и Босни," *Историјски часопис* IX–X (1959): 146–147.

⁵² Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 414.

⁵³ Орбин, *Краљевство Словена*, 115–116.

⁵⁴ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 415.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 234; Јиречек, *Историја Срба* II, 366–367.

⁵⁶ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 234–235.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 279, 288–289, 291.

⁵⁸ Joannis Gundulae, *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*, 304.

⁵⁹ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 431; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 334.

in war with Ragusa.⁶⁰ In connection with this conflict he was again in Edirne in autumn 1452 as emissary of Despot Đurađ.⁶¹ When Sorkočević left Despot's service Damjan Đurđević became the most important Ragusan at the Serbian court. The Despot Đurađ had confidence in him to the end of his life. During November 1455 he took over Despot's gold that was stored in Ragusa.⁶² The death of Despot Đurađ in December 1456 did not changed position of Damjan Đurđević. First, he was in service of Despot Lazar and then his brother Stefan and widow Jelena.⁶³ Damjan Đurđević died on 7 November of 1458 in Hungary, where he lived last few months. Afterward, four of his sons who lived with him in Smederevo, entered in the service of Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490).⁶⁴ It is interesting that Damjan Đurđević was mentioned in one epic poem as Voivode of Despot Đurađ under name Damjan Šainović. Also, one tower of the Smederevo fortress was called “Šain tower”.⁶⁵ His testament testifies that he had a house in Smederevo, which was bequeathed to Despot Lazar.⁶⁶ There are indications that Damjan had estates in western part of Serbian Despotate. On the mountain Cer he possessed certain number of mining shafts.⁶⁷ It is possible that Damjan sold his immovable property at the end of 1457 when he disbanded commercial company, which had with members of family Crijević.⁶⁸

Ragusan nobleman Alviz Rastć (Alovisius de Resti) was also in the service of Despot Đurađ. He belonged to the group of prominent merchants who operated in Novo Brdo.⁶⁹ In the autumn of 1446 he was commander of galleys which drove from Glarentza to Ragusa Helena Palaiologina, future wife of Despot Lazar Branković.⁷⁰ At the beginning of next year together with Marin Đurđević he was emissary of Ragusa on the occasion of wedding between Despot Lazar

⁶⁰ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 453–454; Gundulae, *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*, 307; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 366, 371.

⁶¹ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 378.

⁶² Медо Пуцић, *Споменици српски* II (Београд: Друштво Србске Словесности, 1862), 101.

⁶³ Стојановић, *Повеље и писма* I–2, 29, 156–161; Iván Nagy, Albert Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Matyás király korából (1458–1490)*, I (Budapest, 1875), 18; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 511, 520.

⁶⁴ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 528–529; Јиречек, *Историја Срба* II, 368.

⁶⁵ Стојан Новаковић, “Велики челник Радич или Облачић Раде (1413–1435),” in С. Новаковић, *Историја и традиција* (Београд, 1982), 107.

⁶⁶ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 528–529.

⁶⁷ Момчило Спремић, “Јадар у средњем веку,” in М. Спремић, *Прекинут успон. Српске земље у средњем веку* (Београд, 2005), 24–25; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 593–594.

⁶⁸ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 511, 529.

⁶⁹ Веселиновић, *Дубровачко Мало веће о Србији*, according to the index of book.

⁷⁰ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 417; Ђоровић, “Женидба деспота Лазара,” 149; Недељковић, “Дубровник у сватима кнеза Лазара,” 493–505, 509–510, 514–518; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 316.

and Helena Palaiologina. They had a duty to perform other tasks in favor of the Republic.⁷¹ Certainly no later than 1448 Alviz Rastć entered in Despot's service.⁷² Similar to Sorkočević and Đurđević, he also fulfilled diplomatic tasks for the Despot. During March 1450 he was in Ragusa, when took over a larger amount of Despot silver from deposit.⁷³ One Ragusan document from August 1451 designated him, Sorkočević and Đurđević as members of the Despot's secret council.⁷⁴ That fact indicates that he quickly gained trust of the Despot. Together with Serbian Voivode Jakša he took over in Ragusa trunk with documents of Despot Đurađ in summer of 1452.⁷⁵ The first months of 1453 Despot sent him to the Bosnian King Stefan Tomaš. His mission was probably related to the war between Ragusa and Duke Stefan Vukčić.⁷⁶ Alviz Rastć picked up treasure of Despot Đurađ from Ragusa on 2 October 1455.⁷⁷ It is unknown until when he was in the service of Serbian rulers. The last period of live he spent in Bosnia where composed his testament in September 1459.⁷⁸

Among Ragusans, who were in the service of Despot Đurađ Branković, Nikola Radulinović (Nicola de Radulinovich) left the slightest trace in the sources. As merchant he worked in Belgrade, Srebrenica, Novo Brdo, Priština and Smederevo.⁷⁹ Certainly since 1448 he was in Despot's service. Always he was mentioned together with other Ragusans who served Despot. It seems that Nikola was tied to Đurađ Branković until 1451.⁸⁰

From 1453 to 1456 Ragusan Junije Gradić (Junius de Gradi) went several times to the Italy as emissary of Despot Đurađ. He was hired by Despot, but practically did not reside at his court. After the fall of Constantinople 1453, Despot Đurađ sent the first time Junije to Italy. In October 1453 Junije visited the King of Naples Alfonso V Aragon (1442–1458) and Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455). However, his mission has not brought concrete result.⁸¹ At the end of 1454,

⁷¹ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 421; Недељковић, "Дубровник у сватима кнеза Лазара," 521–523; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 321–322.

⁷² Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 353.

⁷³ Ibid, 353.

⁷⁴ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 371; Веселиновић, *Држава српских деспота*, 243.

⁷⁵ Пуцић, *Споменици српски* II, 101; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 374–375.

⁷⁶ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 482–483; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 409.

⁷⁷ Пуцић, *Споменици српски* II, 101.

⁷⁸ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 542; Жиречек, *Историја Срба* II, 369.

⁷⁹ Iorga, *Notes et extraits* II, 440; Веселиновић, *Дубровачко Мало веће о Србији*, according to the index of book; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 353.

⁸⁰ Веселиновић, *Дубровачко Мало веће о Србији*, 557; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 353; Жиречек, *Историја Срба* II, 370.

⁸¹ Thallóczy, Áldásy, *Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára*, vol. II, 171–172; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 407–409.

after unsuccessful negotiations with Sultan Mehmed II, Despot Đurađ again engaged Gradić. From February to October 1455 he spoke with authorities of Venice, the Duke of Milan Francesco I Sforza (1450–1466), Pope Callixtus III (1455–1458) and Marquis of Mantua to find rulers, who are ready to organize campaign against Ottomans. This mission has remained without effect.⁸² The following year Junije Gradić unsuccessfully sought military assistance from the Pope and King Alfonso V for the Serbian Despot.⁸³ The end of his mission in Italy seems to have coincided with death of Despot Đurađ. The new Serbian ruler Despot Lazar Branković (1456–1458) made with Sultan Mehmed II in January 1457 and therefore he did not need to engage Junije Gradić.⁸⁴ Other Ragusans in the service of Despot Đurađ were not directly related to his court.

Foreigners in the service of Serbian despots also descended from other coastal towns on the Adriatic Sea. Latin chancellor of Despot Stefan Lazarević and Despot Đurađ Branković was Nikola Arhilupis (Nicolaus de Archilupis) from Kotor (Cattaro). As a public notary and clerk of Despot Stefan and Đurađ Branković, he was first mentioned in August 1423.⁸⁵ Together with Nikola Vitomirović and Voivode Altoman he was member of Despot delegation at the negotiations with Venice in November 1433.⁸⁶ Nikola Arhilupis and Venetian notary Johannes de Reguardatis composed a peace treaty between Despot Đurađ and Republic of Venice in August 1435.⁸⁷ After fall of Smederevo in 1439 he followed Despot who was over him maintained communication with Venice during May and June 1440.⁸⁸ A few months after restoration of Serbian Despotate, Nikola Arhilupis died in Smederevo. Among witnesses in his testament are listed Paskoje Sorkočević and Alviz Rastić. He left behind large amount of money, jewelry, expensive cloths and many valuable books.⁸⁹ The personality

⁸² Вићентије Макушев, *Историјски споменици Јужних Словена и околних народа из италијанских архива и библиотека*, књ. 2, Ђенова, Мантова, Милано, Палермо, Турин (Београд: Гласник Српског ученог друштва, 1882), 86–87; Thallóczy, Áldásy, *Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára*, vol. II, 191; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 427, 457–459.

⁸³ Макушев, *Историјски споменици*, 197; Thallóczy, Áldásy, *Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára*, vol. II, 217; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 475–476.

⁸⁴ Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 508.

⁸⁵ Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, vol. VIII (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1886), 253.

⁸⁶ Ljubić, *Listine* IX, 80; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 164.

⁸⁷ Ljubić, *Listine* IX, 84–85.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 119–120; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 239.

⁸⁹ Десанка Ковачевић-Којић, “О библиотеци Николе из Котора канцелара на двору српских деспота,” *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu* 7, *Spmenica S. Nazečića* (1972): 415–419; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 309–310, 353.

of Jovan, who was mentioned in 1452 as Latin notary of Despot Đurađ, it is not known closer.⁹⁰

Finally, it is necessary to mention Turks Ibrahim who was courtier of Despot Đurađ. In 1441 he was with Despot in Ragusa.⁹¹ It is interesting that Ottomans controlled large part of Serbian territory in this moment.

During the reign of Despot Đurađ Branković foreigners had a significant role at his court. The prominent Byzantines have gained power thanks to Irene Kantakouzene, Despot's wife. Her brothers Thomas and George proved to be capable military commanders. On the other hand Thomas was marked by Ragusans as a corrupt man. The Serbian folk traditions also had negative attitudes toward the Byzantines.⁹² Despot Đurađ hired Ragusans primarily because of their diplomatic skills. He chose merchants who have long did business in Serbian towns. The sources stressed that they had a great influence on the politics of Despot Đurađ. The actions of Ragusans in Despot's service were sometimes limited by the political interest of their hometown. Unlike the previous period, some foreigners had an estates on territory of Despotate and because that they were considered as Serbian noblemen.

STRĂINI ÎN SLUJBA DESPOTULUI ĐURAĐ BRANKOVIĆ PE TERITORIUL SERBIEI

Rezumat

În timpul domniei despotului Đurađ Branković (1427–1456), influența străinilor a crescut în Serbia. După căderea Tesalonicului în mâinile otomanilor, mulți bizantini de seamă au decis să vină în Serbia. Printre aceștia s-a aflat și Irene Kantakouzene, soția lui Despot Đurađ. Spre sfârșitul celui de-al patrulea deceniu al secolului al XV-lea, fratele său, Thomas Kantakouzenos, a devenit cel mai puternic om de la curtea despotului din Smederevo. Raguzanii aflați în serviciul despotului au îndeplinit mai ales sarcini diplomatice pentru acesta. Adesea, acțiunile lor erau limitate de hotărârile autorităților din Ragusa. Raguzanul Paskoje Sorkočević a fost singurul străin care a deținut un titlu sârbesc, în calitate sa de administrator al finanțelor domnitorului. Nicola Arhilupus din Cattaro a fost cancelarul latin al despotului. În sfârșit, turcul Ibrahim a fost curtean al lui Đurađ. Străinii au avut un rol important datorită poziției politice specifice a statului sârb pe durata existenței acestuia, în secolul al XV-lea. Unii dintre aceștia au deținut moșii pe teritoriul Serbiei și datorită acestui fapt aparțin clasei nobilimii sârbe.

⁹⁰ Thallóczy, Áldásy, *Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára*, vol. II, 165–166; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 498.

⁹¹ Јиречек, *Историја Срба II*, 379–380; Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 750.

⁹² Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић*, 662–663.

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT OF CARANSEBEȘ BY THE END OF THE 15TH CENTURY

Ligia Boldea*

Keywords: the banat of Severin, Caransebeș, Arad Chapter, custodian, lecturer, townspeople

Cuvinte cheie: banatul de Severin, Caransebeș, Capitulul din Arad, custode, lector, orășenime

Even not a spectacular presence within the Romanian elites in the Banat, the family Pâclișar of Caransebeș promoted an interesting and almost unknown aspect in outlining the spiritual and intellectual portrait of the social medium structures in the banat of Severin; that family gave one of the few effected examples of certain Romanian students who followed Krakow University during the last two decades of the 15th century.

References on the Pâclișars' dated from the end of the 15th century, 1492–1493, in the clear context of some problems concerning their propriety. Neither documentary antecedent nor their evolution in the next centuries could be settled. But we wish to mark their presence as any new piece of information, especially on the presence of its members in Krakow university environment, would bring new lights in the portrait of the Banat Romanian elites.

References make clear the family's place within the community of Caransebeș in the end of the 15th century, a prosperous and picked community in the region, on which Antonio Possevino would state, in the next century, that it was "a noblemen's residence"¹; that community received, since the second half of the 15th century, several privileges from the Magyar royalty², reconfirmed after by the Transylvanian princes.³ Giovanandrea Gromo said that Caransebeș was a

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¹ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. II (București, 1970), 557.

² So, in 1494 the city of Caransebeș obtained the exemption for taxation and tricesimae, reconfirmed in 1497; in 1498 the city obtained the same rights as Busa had See: Costin Feneșan, "Despre privilegiile Caransebeșului până la mijlocul secolului XVI," *Banatica* 2 (1973): 157–163.

³ In 1597 Sigismund Báthory reconfirmed all the privileges the city and the district of

very well fortified chief town, with large walls that general Castaldo consolidated in the middle of the 16th century, a city “with wooden houses but stately and well made”.⁴ From the economic point of view Caransebeș was privileged by its location for being a gateway from the Bulgarian and Serbian territories which fallen into the Ottomans’ occupancy. At a cross of two important commercial channels of communications that city became in the 16th century an important transit center for the Greek merchants in their way toward the Principality of Transylvania.⁵ That was the milieu to explain both the appetite and the educational needs of some of its inhabitants; the more so as the social environment had already become imbued with the effects of the European Renaissance even if we speak about a provincial area. As higher educational institutions lacked in the medieval Hungary, the central European and Italian universities were those ones which the students made their way towards. The most attended were the ones in Vienna, Prague, Bologna or Krakow. As for the students originated in the Banat, Vienna University (founded in 1365) was the most wanted location, followed by that one in Krakow (1364). 55 students attended the last one course up to 1522, according to Costin Feneșan’s investigations on the paid taxes there, all of those students taking the liberal arts classes.⁶ Recently, historian Dragoș Lucian Țigău has affirmed that before 1522 “the zenith of wave towards the European universities of the young people from the Banat was reached”, 113 of the 180 he identified attending Vienna University courses.⁷

For the family we are discussing about, documents from 1492⁸ and 1493⁹ show that descendants of George Păclișar of Caransebeș had proprieties in that

Caransebes had during the Magyar kingdom (C. Feneșan, “Despre privilegiile Caransebeșului și Căvăranului în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca* XX (1977): 307). In 1609 prince Gabriel Báthory resumed two extremely important diplomas: the privilege one from 1457 that Ladislau V had given to the eight privileged Romanian districts, and that of escoutcheon, 1551, given by queen Issabela Zápolya to the city of Lugoj. See: Andrei Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, vol. VIII (București, 1935), 59–65.

⁴ Veress, *Documente*, vol. I (București, 1929), 251; *Călători străini*, vol. II, 329.

⁵ Samuel Goldenberg, “Caransebeșul în comerțul sud-est european din secolul al XVI-lea,” *Banatica* 1 (1970): 167, 169; Lakatos Bálint, „Városi nemesek Karánsebesen a 15–16. század fordulóján,” in *URBS. Magyar várostörténeti évkönyv* III (Budapest, 2008), 56–57.

⁶ See the list of the students coming from the Banat, in: Costin Feneșan “Studenti din Banat la universitățile străine până la 1552,” *Revista de istorie* 29, no. 12 (1977): 1955–1956.

⁷ Dragoș Lucian Țigău, “Noi informații despre prezența bănaștenilor la universitatea din Viena (secolele XIV–XVI),” *Banatica* 20/II (2010): 50.

⁸ Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. II/2 (București, 1891), 330, no. 295.

⁹ Pesty Frigyes, *A Szörényi bánság és Szörény vármegye története*, vol. III (Budapest, 1878), 112, no. 108.

town. But we cannot declare a certain opinion on their native place; we may say at the most that the family's roots were in the banat of Severin, district of Caransebeș. Were they nobles or city dwellers? It is the question on their social status that continues its course. Not taking specially that family into consideration, Costin Feneșan said that "the largest part of the students coming from Timișoara, Cenad, Lipova, and Caransebeș – on whose status there were no notes in their class lists – belonged to the town dwellers' category"¹⁰; but he does not exclude the possibility that representatives of the local Romanian nobility to have been also students at those universities. Similarly, Dragoș Lucian Țigău believes that few of the students from the Banat came from the nobility, but if they came it was certainly a way to make themselves conspicuous.¹¹

On the other hand, in his work on the Romanian nobility in Transylvania, Ioan Drăgan placed Nicholas Pâclișar of Caransebeș among the "literates", a special category within the nobiliary society that promoted amanuenses, clerks, and messengers or priests, necessary professions in a world which was founded on the written law.¹² His opinion follows the one of Erik Fügedi who deems that any noble family of a certain dimension in the Magyar kingdom and according to the time canons, made a point of having a *literatus*, a fact that might be also valuable, in a certain degree, in the case of the Romanian elites belonging to the kingdom nobility.¹³ An interesting opinion which can puzzle us comes from Adrian Andrei Rusu who says that these university presences (referring to Hațeg area) "must be taken for a sign of a social not too great situation, but being obstinate in promoting its members by culture means".¹⁴

As for us, we do believe that some of the office formulas in the two documents of the end of the 15th century are enough eloquent due to the way the name of the family's members are noted: we find the appellatives *fideliū nostrū honorabilis Mathie* or *honorabilis et discretus vir Mathias* for Matthew Pâclișar in the two references; they denote a certain dignifying appearance within the town community, but not a noble rank. As for his mother, she is simply mentioned as *domina Agatha*. In turn, the other personages the family established relations with on the occasion of the deals are undoubtedly mentioned with their

¹⁰ Feneșan, "Studenți din Banat," 1951.

¹¹ Țigău, "Noi informații despre prezența bănățenilor," 50.

¹² Zsigmond Jakó, "Începuturile scrisului în păturile laice din Transilvania medievală," *Studii și cercetări de istorie, Cluj VII* (1956): 81–102; Ioan Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania (1440–1512)* (București: Ed. Enciclopedică, 2000), 319–320.

¹³ Erik Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról I* (Budapest: Magvető, 1981), 456.

¹⁴ Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ctitori și biserici din Țara Hațegului până la 1700* (Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, 1997), 181.

nobiliary appellative. So, the widow that pledged to that family a plot of land in 1492 was called *nobile domina Alba*, and Ladislau Fiat who bought the plot of yard and house in 1493 is presented as *egregius et nobilis vir*. In the context of the social milieu of the end of the 15th century, the time that that family lived, the above opinions make us believe that it belonged to the local townspeople, a well arranged family with proprieties in Caransebeș and countryside probably, but also being willing to learning, so the two sons of deceased George Pâclișar and of his wife Agatha, were directed to do it.

The data we have so far allow us only to outline a minimum of the genealogy of this family, a nucleus of parents and sons. George Pâclișar of Caransebeș forms the first generation, and in 1492 he is noted as a deceased person. He was married to Agatha and they had two sons, Matthew and Nicholas Pâclișar. The first one is mentioned in 1482 for the first time, as a student at Krakow University¹⁵, and in the documents of 1492 and 1493 after. Nicholas is mentioned in the two documents we have already spoken about, and in 1494 in the list of students who attended the Faculty of liberal arts in Krakow (*Nicolaus Georgij de Karamsebesz*).¹⁶ Having once graduated, it is known that Matthew entered the priests' order in Arad Chapter, but we have no data on Nicholas's career which might have been a laic or an ecclesiastic one. If it was an ecclesiastic career it might explain why the family had no descendants, given the rule of the Catholic Church, that didn't allow the marriage of his priests; the family was undoubtedly a Catholic one, as the studies of the two sons at one of the Catholic Occidental University, as well as the activity of canon Matthew in Arad proved.

If the problems the two documents of 1492 and 1493 are referring to are common questions of land dealing (pledging, selling/ buying), real rules of the "game" on land ownership, a defining one during the whole Middle Ages, the difference is made if taking into consideration this family's involving in the intellectual milieu of that time and within that area. A correct assertion on the 15th century in Transylvania and the Banat, according to which: "Hunedoara and the Banat are the nurseries with the most numerous Romanian elites... always in a <stimulative competition>" is to be taken into consideration.¹⁷ Even if literacy was not too largely spread within the laic nobility or the townsfolk

¹⁵ Costin Feneșan associates *Mathia Georgy de Karansebes* attested in 1482 and priest Matthew, the custodian of Arad Chapter, mentioned as like in 1493 (*honorabilis et discretu vir Mathias presbiter custos Ecclesie Orodiensis, natus condam Georgii Pwkljysar de Karansebes*); it is an association we subscribe to. Feneșan, "Studenti din Banat," 1952 și 1955.

¹⁶ Ibid., 1956.

¹⁷ Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara și românii din vremea lui* (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999), 170.

of the time (the Romanian elites implicitly), as a specific phenomenon of the medieval world in fact, pressed by practical needs and spiritual-cultural aspirations, those partly Catholic categories promoted an intellectual class which graduated Catholic and urban provincial schools; the most gifted young people became students at the Occidental universities and followed a laic career after (office clerks or amanuenses, including the royal office) or an ecclesiastic one (in the time chapters and convents).¹⁸

The present study focuses on the well-known Krakow University as two are the students we are interested in: *Mathia Georgy de Karansebes* (1482) and *Nicolaus Georgy de Karamsebesz* (1494); they are in the list of the students in Krakow identified by Costin Feneșan¹⁹ to have attended the university courses at the balance of the 15th–16th centuries. As for us, we identify the two ones as the two sons of George Pâclișar of Caransebeș, the references from 1492 and 1493 being our support. It seems that Krakow University began more attractive for the students coming from the Banat in the 15th century second half for its relative low taxes, for its professors' prestige (they had accommodated to the Occidental Humanism), or for that that the university rejoiced at the Polish royalty and didn't pass through internal or external convulsions.²⁰ Given the references on Romanian presences at the Occidental schools in the 15th century and the beginning of the next one, it is reported that a local tradition was set in the Banat and Hațeg area (where the Catholic religion was significantly adopted by the Romanian elites).²¹

As for Matthew and Nicholas Pâclișar of Caransebeș we know that they attended the faculty of liberal arts at Krakow University, with courses at lower costs than those ones at law, theology or medicine. Matthew Pâclișar is registered with 2 groschens in the list of 1482 during Mathia of Costen's rectorship; in his team of 67 students he is the alone coming from the Banat

¹⁸ Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească*, 318–324; Adrian Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare. Biserici tradiționale, Reformă și Islam în Banat (1500–1700)* (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2011), 51.

¹⁹ Feneșan, "Studenti din Banat," 1955–1965. It is to note that eight students were at Krakow University, and only two ones at Vienna University, from the 11 ones coming from Caransebeș in 1450–1527.

²⁰ Feneșan, "Studenti din Banat," 1946–1947.

²¹ We might note: John *Valahul* of Beiuș, student in Viena in 1424, Steven son of Thomas of Ciula, student in Krakow in 1445, Paul *Raducz* coming from Sighet in Viena in the same year, 1445 and especially diplomat and humanist Philip More of Ciula, with brilliant humanist studies in Bologna, and also in other Italian centers – Ferrara, Venice and Rome. See: Rusu, *Cititori și biserici*, 181; I. Drăgan, "Un model de ascensiune socială în Transilvania medievală: Ciulani," *Arhiva genealogică* I (VI), no. 1–2 (1994): 44; I. D. Suciu, *Monografia Mitropoliei Banatului* (Timișoara, 1977), 61.

whiles 7 students came from Transylvania, county of Bihor, Oradea praepositura.²² Relative to his brother Nicholas, we find him, 12 years after, in the lists of the same university, with 4 groschens paid, during magister Johann of Osswanczim's rectorship, together with other 148 candidates; among those ones we also find students coming from the Banat and Transylvania (Timișoara, Satu Mare, Oradea or Turda).²³ It seems that the new disciples had to swear an oath to the rector at the beginning of their courses: *Ego N. iuro vobis domino Rector et vestris successoribus canonice intransantibus obedienciam in omnibus licitis et honestis, et quod bonum Universitatis studi Cracoviensis pormovebo pro posse meo ad quemcunque statum devenero, et quod propriam iniuriam per me non vindicabo vindicta reali, utpote vulneracione, mutilacione au armorem strapitu, sed super hoc officium Rectoris implorabo. Item quod opinionem Hus heretici dampnati non servabo. Sic me deus adiuvet et hac sancta dei Ewangelia*²⁴; that one was straightened with a pray from Lucas's Gospel, Chapter XI, v. 27–28. We have no other details on their years or leaving examinations. We may suppose that Matthew Pâclișar at least succeeded in graduating the first session of the university curriculum, with school-leaving examination²⁵, as far back as in 1487 he was registered as a custodian in Arad Chapter.²⁶

It is almost sure in his case that he took up an ecclesiastic career within the Bishopric of Cenad (founded in the 11th century, in 1030)²⁷, as a member of the Chapter in Arad, dated in 1156.²⁸ In point of fact, within the Cenad and Arad chapters as places of authentication (*locis credibilis*), for the counties in the Banat, placed at the Magyar kingdom southern frontiers, we may find other Romanians who intersected with the Romanian counties and districts' communities whenever the patrimonial species had to be solved *in situ*, together with the king's men (*homini regi*). In the Middle Ages such institutions of authentication, under the Catholic Church patronage were ones of the oldest and also of the most prodigious places to emit written acts. Obviously, to conceive such

²² *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, I (ab Anno 1400 ad Annum 1489) (Cracoviae, 1887), 250–251, 131 candidates were recorded in Krakow in 1442.

²³ *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, II, fasc. I (ab Anno 1490 ad Annum 1515), ed. Adam Chmiel (Cracoviae, 1892), 28–32.

²⁴ *Album studiosorum* I, 11.

²⁵ Țigău, "Noi informații despre prezența bănațenilor," 52.

²⁶ Feneșan, *Documente medievale*, 48, no. 10.

²⁷ Up to the most of researchers' opinion. Dumitru Țicu, *Geografia ecleziastică a Banatului medieval* (Timișoara, 2007), 9; István Petrovics, "The Bishopric of Csanád/ Cenad and the Ecclesiastical Institutions of Medieval Temesvár/ Timișoara," *Transylvanian Review* XXII, suppl. 4 (2013): 241.

²⁸ Marki Sándor, *Aradvármegye és Arad szabad király város története*, vol. I (Arad, 1892), 370.

documents according to juridical rules was an activity that claimed qualified people both for writing and for juridical competence.²⁹

For being a member of the college the canons had to pass certain ecclesiastic levels³⁰, and Matthew Pâclișar had done it through being for several years a custodian³¹, up to the beginning of the 16th century (the 29th of June 1500–15th of October 1501) when he was mentioned as a lecturer; this is a prove of his serious involvement and devotedness in his ecclesiastic career. Unfortunately, there are few sources to note his activity; a single one mentioned him on the 12th of October 1487, the moment he assisted as a custodian to the settlement of an agreement between noble Paul Topșa, called *Thopsafalva*, on the one hand, and Valentin and Nicholas Sarga, on the other hand, concerning the estate of *Thopsafalva*, Lugoj district; the last two men gave back integrally to Topșa the amount of money they owed for the first one's charges in defending and keeping the respective estate.³²

For his brother Nicholas, as we have already seen, a single piece of information relates his career, namely his matriculation at the same university in Krakow, in 1494; it is but normal to wonder how his elder brother influenced his decision and how he supported him. No other document speaks about him. But we take for remarkable the fact that a family in a provincial environment, in a medieval social and intellectual milieu as that one in Caransebeș sent the two sons to university; and rather the way the certain Occidental educational patterns entered the Romanian milieu impresses us, considering the time of the Renaissance spreading from western to eastern Europe.

The few data on this family's estate don't allow us to give a significant reconstitution. Only how Matthew Pâclișar, member of Arad Chapter at that time, involved in managing the family's goods, as a proof on how he considered protecting his mother, widow Agatha, and his younger brother. It seems that he arrived in front of the royal court in Budapest to plead his family's cause; so,

²⁹ *Scris și societate în Transilvania secolelor XIII–XVII/ Writing and Society in Transylvania 13th–17th Centuries*, Susana Andea (coord.), Avram Andea, Adinel Dincă, Livia Magina (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut Publishing; Gatineau: Symphologic Publishing, 2015), 32.

³⁰ Lidia Gross, *Confreriile medievale în Transilvania (secolele XIV–XVI)*, ed. II (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2009), 111.

³¹ Marki Sándor, mentioned Matthew Pâclișar in the list of Arad Chapter, as a custodian between the 31st of August 1491 and 1496 (Marki, *Aradvármegye*, 374). As we have mentioned, we identified a document dated on the 12 of October 1487, custodian Matthew being noted there among other canons from Arad Chapter who were witnesses and sanctioned a land transaction (Feneșan, *Documente medievale*, 48, nr. 10). We do believe that we speak about the same person; he had begun his instruction time in Krakow in 1482 in fact and, after graduating the first stage he could have directed himself to ecclesiastic structures in Arad.

³² Feneșan, *Documente medievale*, 48, nr. 10.

on the 20th of January 1492, Vladislav II ordered the Chapter in Arad to introduce honorable Matthew, a custodian of that church, lady Agatha, widow of George Pâclișar of Caransebeș, and Nicholas, son of the same George Pâclișar in possession of a certain part of Măcicaș (*Machkas*) plot of land in the district of Caransebeș; that plot had been pledged to them by noble lady Alba, widow of George Semen (*Zemen*) of Caransebeș.³³ It is a document regarding a pledged land taking over, a frequent procedure in the 15th–16th centuries in the feudal Banat (and in other territories too), through which that real guarantee was given to the creditor to warrant a debt; all the procedure respected the preemption right or the neighbors and the freeholders' agreement.³⁴ Obviously, there is no reference on the proper debt the widow Alba or her husband had to the family of Pâclișar. What is important in that case is how such a pledge was directly pointed to the king in Budapest, by Matthew, the custodian, and was assumed by the whole family, not individually by one of its members. Usually, the pledges had not only financial effects but also patrimonial effects as a way to obtain some money without giving the good for ever to the creditor, or to round the owned lands (by the one who took something for pledge) if the pledged good was a possession or part of a possession. In Pâclișars' case the pledge wasn't a spectacular one³⁵; it was a small possession, part of a plot of land that couldn't have been too expensive. It is to note in change the family's interest in acquiring lands besides the mutual assistance we believe that the family had offered to the respective widow. We know that through the agency of Ladislau Racoviță of Caransebeș (as the king's man) and John of *Kysward* (as the representative of the chapter) they initiated the taking in possession by calling down to the ground more neighboring noblemen and *comitanei* from the noble families of Mâtnic, Floca, Buceșnița, and Orszag; but there were some incidents there

³³ Ibid., 50, no. 11.

³⁴ Gheorghe Ciulei, Gheorghe G. Ciulei, *Dreptul românesc în Banatul medieval* (Reșița: Ed. Banatica, 1997), 93; Ligia Boldea, *Nobilimea românească din Banat în secolele XIV–XVI (originea, statut, studiu genealogic)* (Reșița: Ed. Banatica, 2002), 81.

³⁵ The most eloquent example of a great pledging is given by the two Corvin brothers, Iancu and John; they consolidated their ownership in the Banat, in the 40s–50s of the 15th century, through documents emitted by the royalty; they pledged one of the privileged district in the Mountainous Banat, Comiat, between 1435 and 1437, and districts from the Low Banat, Icuș and the borough of Margina in 1430, Bujor in 1440, and Sudea, Jupan, Fârdea or Mănăștur, in 1453–1454, for impressing amounts: 2,750 forints for Comiat, 4,000 forints for Icuș, for their involving in the defense system of the Banat, initially as bans of Severin; the ever higher positions of Iancu after (count of Timiș, voievode of Transylvania, governor of Hungary) were sufficient reasons to have so possessions. See: Viorel Achim, "Districtul Comiat. Contribuții la geografia istorică a Banatului în evul mediu," *Analele Banatului*, Serie Nouă, Arheologie-Istorie II (1993): 250.

as Nicholas Ciorciuc (*Charchak*) together with his wife Katherine and Fabian Mercze put themselves on the drag. We suppose that the parts met in front of the seat (probably, the royal seat) within 15 days, according to the law, but we do not know the final sentence.

We find in a document dated on the 24th of October 1493³⁶ that the same Matthew Pâclișar, a custodian of the church of Arad Chapter, together with his mother Agatha and his brother Nicholas sold a yard with a house and certain outbuildings to noble Ladislau Fiat and his wife Helen, for 200 forints. The family's certain needs led to such an action, as the document points out, but without any detail. We might put forward the hypothesis that those needs were connected with Nicholas Pâclișar's period of instruction at the Faculty of liberal arts on Krakow. It seems to be a good enough reason to be taken into consideration, as more as his brother Matthew had followed the same school some years before. We also might presume either that the propriety the family sold in 1493 wasn't the only one the family had in Caransebeș (a less probable case that would have left them without their dwelling place), or that the family moved from that location (a possible reason for the fact that it would be never mentioned or referred to in other ulterior documents).

In concordance with what we know so far, we might conclude that the family Pâclișar of Caransebeș offers one of the less concrete and documentary certified examples of the presence in the Occidental universities of the Romanians coming from the Banat. It is without fail that it wasn't a singular case, as there are references to speak about other representatives of the nobility and of the townspeople in the Banat, who worked in public or canonic offices; those positions supposed a certain instruction, including the university one. Given the new problems it offers, the "case" Pâclișar of Caransebeș might enter the gallery of the Romanian familial identities in the Banat. The two brothers' presence in the Occidental university ambiance, their intellectual experience by attending a university fully influenced by the Renaissance, as the university in Krakow was, certainly opened their mind over the inherent limits of a small borderland province. Their destiny is still quasi-unknown, but we may presume that they did not hesitate to turn to good account their university instruction: Matthew in the Chapter of Arad (in 1487–1501 at least, the time we know about), whiles Nicholas Pâclișar's private and professional way rests unknown.

³⁶ Pesty, *Szörényi bánág*, vol. III, 112; see also: Ioan Aurel Pop, *Instituții medievale românești. Adunările cneziale și nobiliare (boierești) în secolele XIV–XVI* (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Dacia, 1991), 139; D. L. Țigău, "Familia Fiat de Armeniș în secolele XV–XVII," *Banatica* 14 (1996): 30; Lakatos, *Városi nemesek karánsebesen*, 60–61.

ASPIRAȚII EDUCATIONALE ÎN MEDIUL URBAN AL CARANSEBEȘULUI LA SFÂRȘITUL SECOLULUI XV

Rezumat

În mediul urban al Caransebeșului de la sfârșitul veacului al XV-lea familia Pâclișar de Caransebeș (orășeni după cele mai întemeiate probabilități), înțelege să își consolideze statutul și să își depășească condiția provincială prin trimiterea celor doi fii la studii universitare. A fost aleasă prestigioasa Universitate din Cracovia care, alături de cea din Viena, au fost printre cele mai frecventate centre de studiu de către exponenții elitelor nobiliare și urbane bănățene. Scopul, după câte se pare, a fost acela de a accede în structurile ecleziastice ale zonei, fapt realizat de către Matei Pâclișar, cel care a fost timp de mai mulți ani (1487–1501) custode, apoi lector al Capitlului din Arad. Despre fratele său, Nicolae, nu deținem nicio informație asupra carierei sale ulterioare studiilor. Puținele documente care pomenesc această familie, legate de obișnuielnice tranzacții funciare, aruncă prea puțină lumină asupra existenței lor. Rămâne însă remarcabil faptul că o familie a unui mic centru urban de provincie a fost capabilă și interesată, în același timp, de a face efortul financiar necesar susținerii tinerilor familiei la una din cele mai prestigioase universități ale Europei centrale. Faptul în sine denotă atât ambițiile cât și dorința de a studia a unor exponenți ai orășenimii caransebeșene, de apreciat într-o vreme în care știința de carte nu s-a situat nici pe departe printre prioritățile sociale și intelectuale ale marii majorități a elitelor vremii.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE VOIVODE OF TRANSYLVANIA'S RIGHT OF DONATION*

Tibor Neumann**

Keywords: Transylvania, voivodes and voivodeship of Transylvania, Szapolyai (Zapolya) family, King John I of Hungary, right of donation.

Cuvinte cheie: Transilvania, voievozi și voievodatul Transilvaniei, familia Szapolyai (Zapolya), regele Ioan I al Ungariei, dreptul de donație

When King Ferdinand I laid down the rights and obligations of his newly-appointed Voivode of Transylvania, Andrew Bátori, in a charter issued on 1 April 1552, he stipulated in the second paragraph that “We have granted him – as we grant him hereby – the authority to donate to those of our followers who are deserving, and particularly those who have performed valiant service against the enemy, estates which in default of issue or on other grounds have devolved to the crown of Hungary and thus to our royal right of donation and do not exceed twenty tenant sessions. We wish to reserve for ourselves, however, the right of donation concerning properties that have more than twenty tenant sessions”.¹ Mentioning the instruction to Voivode Bátori in his paper on the appointments of the voivodes, Zsigmond Jakó gives an opinion on what seems to be an unorthodox right of donation: “In this case, however, Báthory received

* The Hungarian and shorter version of this study: Tibor Neumann, “A vajdai adományozás kezdetei,” *Történelmi Szemle* 55 (2013): 261–269.

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¹ *Concessimus etiam, prout concedimus, ei auctoritatem, ut bona titulo defectus seminis vel alio legitimo iure ad ius corone nostre Hungarie seu collationem nostram regiam devoluta, que ultra numerum viginti colonorum se non extendunt, fidelibus nostris bene meritis et presertim operam strenuam contra hostes navantibus conferre possit. Bona tamen, que plus quam viginti colonos habent, collationi nostre reservata esse volumus.* Zsigmond Jakó, “Az erdélyi vajdák kinevezéséről” [On the appointment of Transylvanian voivodes], in Jakó, *Társadalom, egyház, művelődés. Tanulmányok Erdély történelméhez* [Society, Church, Culture. Studies in the History of Transylvania] (Budapest: METEM, 1997) (METEM Könyvek), 86. The Romanian version of this study: Zsigmond Jakó, “Despre numirea voievozilor Transilvaniei,” *Acta Musei Napocensis* 26–30, II (Istorie) (1989–1993): 42–43.

authorization for limited donation of estates that had reverted to the king. Research is required to determine when this became customary. In addition to the pressing interests of defence against the Ottomans, the emergence of this practice could credibly be ascribed to the rising power of the voivodes who held office in the decades following the death of King Matthias – Stephen Bátori, Peter Szentgyörgyi and John Szapolyai”.² Jakó’s intuition has proved correct: here I attempt to show that one of the voivodes listed by Jakó – John Szapolyai (1510–1526), subsequently King John I of Hungary (1526–1540) – did indeed exercise the voivode’s right of donation. It is somewhat less certain that this pre-Mohács practice, however definite in itself, may be linked to the right of donation the voivode is known to have enjoyed after 1552.

* * *

Although there are records of Transylvanian voivodes granting estates which had come into their possession via judicial procedure³, the practice can in no way be regarded as the precursor for the voivode’s grant mentioned in 1552. The voivodes were acting under rights very similar to those of the judges of judicial assemblies held in Hungary “proper”. Like the voivodes, these judges seized for themselves the estates of proscribed wrongdoers and persons sentenced before them to loss of life and property. They retained possession of the estates until the king, exercising his right of escheat, granted them away or the relatives of the convict redeemed them.⁴ Looking at the earliest recorded cases of estates passing to the Voivode as judge following the proscription of their owners at three successive Transylvanian judicial assemblies in the 1340s, we are immediately struck by the importance the voivode or the beneficiary of his donation attached to seeking the king’s endorsement.⁵ Any apparent differ-

² Ibid., 82 (Hungarian), 39 (Romanian).

³ Iván Janits, *Az erdélyi vajdák igazságszolgáltató és oklevéladó működése 1526-ig* [Judicial Acts and Issuance of Charters by Transylvanian Voivodes up to 1526] (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1940), 18; Elemér Mályusz, *Az erdélyi magyar társadalom a középkorban* [Transylvanian Hungarian Society in the Middle Ages] (Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok 2) (Budapest: MTA TTI, 1988), 7; Jakó, “Az erdélyi vajdák,” 82; “Despre numirea voievozilor,” 39.

⁴ See e.g. Gyula Gábor, *A megyei intézmény alakulása és működése Nagy Lajos alatt (oklevelek alapján)* [The Formation and Operation of the County Institution under Louis the Great] (Budapest: Grill, 1908), particularly 176–177. On the voivode, see Mályusz, *Az erdélyi magyar társadalom*, 6 and 84, n. 8.

⁵ *Erdélyi Okmánytár. Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez* [Transylvanian Charters. Charters, correspondence and other written sources of Transylvanian history] III. 1340–1359, Annotated regests by Zsigmond Jakó with Géza Hegyi and András

ence thus derives from no more than divergent word use in the Transylvanian charters; the voivode, like the palatine, did not hold a full right of escheat in this area. The properties passing into the hands of the Transylvanian voivode in this way were thus additions – temporary or final – to the Transylvanian “honour” (the estates attaching to the office of voivode). Consequently, they were ultimately royal estates and the voivode could not alienate them without the consent of the king.

Donations by the voivode in his capacity as judge were not common even at the end of the medieval period⁶, and not all concerned the estates of proscribed persons. Only three of the charters surviving from John Szapolyai’s sixteen year tenure as voivode concern such donations. Two of them provide good examples of how misleading the wording of charters can be. In February 1521, Voivode John donated in perpetuity to Thomas Forró of Háperton and his sons the Transylvanian estates which one of their relatives had forfeited “into the hands of [the voivode] as judge” (*ad nostras iudicarias pervenissent manus*) after losing a duel over an attack on honour.⁷ In early 1525, he donated to his protonotary Paul Barcsai “full judicial rights” (*totum et omne ius nostrum iudicarium*) over a parcel of an estate in the Turda (Hung. Torda) County. This had formerly been the property of Nicholas Székely of Szentiván, who had been sentenced to loss of life and property several years previously for raiding the lands of Gregory Erdélyi of Somkerek.⁸ Both cases concerned no more than the transfer of the “judge’s parcel”, comprising two thirds of the estates, an accepted practice throughout the kingdom. The stipulation of the former charter that the voivode made the donation “in perpetuity” cannot be brought as counter-argument, because we know of royal charters from 1523 in which the king *expressis verbis* disposed of the judge’s two-thirds parcel with hereditary rights.⁹ In the case of Nicholas Székely, we know of a charter issued five years previously in an

W. Kovács (A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok 47) (Budapest: MOL, 2008), 389, 398, 409, 416, 420, 426, 437, 564–565, 708. I would like to thank Géza Hegyi for bringing this to my attention.

⁶ For example, I could find no trace of this in either the charters issued by Stephen Bátori 1490–1493, Bartholomew Drágfi 1493–1498 or Ladislas Losonci 1493–1494 or the documents issued by their vice voivodes.

⁷ *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára. I. Levelek és oklevelek/ Documenta Szapolyaiana I. Epistulae et litterae (1458–1526)*. Közreadja / Ad edendum praeparavit Neumann Tibor / Tiburtius Neumann (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek, Okmánytárak) (= *Szapolyai oklt. I.*) (Budapest: MTA BTK TTI, 2012), 445–446; Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [= MNL OL], Diplomatikai Levéltár [= DL] 36 532. Writ of institution, contested by the losing party: DL 26 546.

⁸ *Szapolyai oklt. I.* 495–496; MNL OL, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [= DF] 255 126.

⁹ DL 23 847.

attempt to seize two thirds of his property for the voivode and one third for the plaintiff, Gregory Erdélyi.¹⁰

The third example, from Székely Land, is more difficult to interpret. In February 1521, the Voivode proceeded from Cluj (Kolozsvár) to Târgu Mureş (Székelyvásárhely), where on the 20th, he granted to John Tót of Szentgyörgy certain estates – half of Kisfalud, a village in the direct neighbourhood, and its mill – which had passed into the hands of the judge (*ad nostras iudiciarias deveniunt manus*) together with the rights subsisting in them (*simul cum omni iure nostro*). These properties had belonged to the sons of the Voivode's former retainer, Andrew Lázár of Szárhegy.¹¹ The sons had been convicted of "perpetual infidelity", for burning down and evacuating Székely houses (*in nota perpetue infidelitatis coram nobis ordine iudiciario condemnati sunt*). Next day, a notary from the court sent to the scene by the Voivode instituted the donation of the Lázár properties to the grantee without challenge. When the notary returned, a voivode's (Székely ispán's) charter of donation and institution was issued, dated the same day.¹² The Voivode seems to have been applying a Transylvanian legal custom¹³ in Székely Land, where the law was different. The charter was set aside fourteen years later on a point of Székely common law which prevented the estates of a Székely guilty of infidelity from being seized; instead, they passed to his relatives.¹⁴ It remains uncertain as to whether such properties granted by the voivode could be redeemed from the grantee, i.e. whether only the mortgage had been transferred; in this case, the charter does not include the expression "in perpetuity".

Nonetheless, the judicial donation of estates forfeited by proscribed persons, despite the very small number of examples, was a living practice in Transylvania, as proved by an unusual case from the end of the medieval period. In a charter of 12 December 1507, Ladislás Schertinger, Castellan of Deva and vicevoivode under Voivode Peter Szentgyörgyi, granted in perpetuity the presumably modest estates of six nobles from the district of Haţeg (Hátszeg) to his own retainer, the future holder of high offices in the service

¹⁰ A Római Szent Birodalmi gróf széki Teleki család oklevéltára II [The Archive of the Teleki Family, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire], ed. Samu Barabás (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1895), 389–390.

¹¹ Szapolyai oklt. I, 354. (DF 246 707.)

¹² DF 253 811, 7.

¹³ Iván Janits (Borsa) mentions that the entire estate of persons whom the voivode convicted of infidelity remained in the voivode's hands. The examples given for this, however, do not apply here. Janits, *Az erdélyi vajdák*, 18.

¹⁴ DF 266 688. On this custom, see Imre Hajnik, *Bíróvási szervezet és perjog az Árpád- és a vegyes-házi királyok alatt* [Judicial Organization and Civil Law under the Árpád and Mixed-Dynasty Kings] (Budapest: MTA, 1899), 395.

of Voivode John Szapolyai, George Basi of Dobra (Jófő).¹⁵ The charter argues that the community of nobles (*universitas*) of Hunedoara (Hunyad) County had proscribed the listed landowners for robbery and theft in the preceding days. It states, with some apparent exaggeration, that “they have passed legally to us and are thus held in escheat with right of grant, because we currently hold the post of voivode on the Transylvanian lands”.¹⁶ In the following days, so many challenges were lodged at the institution of the estates that the vice voivode – no doubt at the request of his retainer – issued another charter of similar wording on 28 December, in which only two of the previously five nobles are named. The same locutions appear, but the scribe responsible for the wording – if only after writing the charter – has corrected “voivode” to “vice voivode”.¹⁷

* * *

When lodged in Târgu Mureş on 7 May 1519, Voivode John Szapolyai requested the Transylvanian chapter to effect and institution of an extremely unusual form. His letter states that he wishes to recompense the valuable services provided by the royal chief justice (*locumtenens personalis praesentiae*) Stephen Verbőci – previously the Voivode’s Transylvanian Protonotary – by granting him four full, and thirteen partial estates in Hunedoara (Hunyad) County, all of which had belonged to Ladislás, son of Peter Branyicskai, who had died without heir. The Voivode justified his unusual action by stating that these lands, “by reason of the death of the late Ladislás, have passed, in default of issue, to the holy crown of Hungary, and by means of the special royal licence and donation which [the King] has made for us in the matter of the possessions and titles of up to four hundred tenant sessions of nobles who have died without heirs in these Transylvanian lands, have legally passed to our right of grant as Voivode,” and so he indeed granted them, “with full royal right, and fully our own”. He requested the chapter to bear witness in the customary way as a place of authentication, beside the “voivode’s man” (*homo wayvodalis*), and to institute Master Verbőci’s title to the estates.¹⁸

¹⁵ E.g. servitor of Voivode Szapolyai in 1511, Provisor and Castellan of Solymos and Lippa in 1522–1523, see *Szapolyai oklt.* I, 327, 469, 486.

¹⁶ ...*ad nos consequenterque nostram collationem ex eo, quod ad presens wayvodatus nostri (!) in illis partibus Transsilvanis fungamur officio, rite et legitime devoluta esse perhibentur et reducta (!).* DL 30 973.

¹⁷ ...*ad nos consequenterque nostram collationem ex eo, quod ad presens vicewayvodatus nostri in illis partibus Transsilvanis fungamur officio, rite et legitime devoluta esse perhibentur et redacta...* DL 29 925.

¹⁸ ...*sed per mortem et defectum seminis eiusdem condam Ladislai ad sacram coronam regni Hungarie consequenterque ex speciali annuentia et collatione regia super bonis et iuribus*

The limit of four hundred tenant sessions mentioned in what is to my knowledge the earliest record of the voivode's grant of donation is certainly an astonishing figure, no less than twenty times the limit set for Andrew Bátori in 1552. If I interpret the charter correctly, it states that the royal authorization allowed the Voivode to grant to whoever he pleased an estate, acquired in default of issue, up to the size of a medium-sized castle domain. I have to point out, however, that we find no reference to the limit of four hundred tenant sessions in any other charters that involve the voivode's right of donation. The properties donated by other charters all seem to be within or around the maximum size of estate laid down in 1552. This implies that the higher limit – which represented a severe curtailment of royal power, furnishing the voivode with almost royal rights – was soon reduced by the royal authorities or – as seems more likely – had only been granted temporarily. Whichever is correct, the rapid change in the amount of property the voivode could donate signals some initial uncertainty surrounding a right that began in May 1519 and persisted for several decades. The mention of such an enormous limit also suggests that it was granted in response to some highly unusual political situation in the royal court related to John Szapolyai. I think we can find this in the events of early 1519.

A few days earlier, the Voivode had returned to Transylvania from Buda. He wrote charters from Gurghiu (Hung. Görgény) on 28 April, and progressed from there a few days later towards Târgu Mureş, where he arrived by 3 May at the latest.¹⁹ He had made his departure from the capital city shortly after the death, in February, of Palatine Emery Perényi and at a time when preparations were under way for the May Diet, where Perényi's successor was to be elected. The timing strongly suggests that the faction of prelates and barons adhered to by both Szapolyai and the eventual winner of the election, Stephen Bátori, ispán of Timiş (*Temes*), had already reached a consensus on the choice of palatine.²⁰ Voivode John, despite having good relations with Bátori, would certainly not easily have renounced a bid for the post. As the wealthiest lord in the country and the son and nephew of previous palatines, his claim must have seemed

possessionariis quorumcunque nobilium in hiis partibus Transsylvanis absque heredum solatio decedentium usque ad numerum quadringentorum iobagionum se extendentibus nobis gratiose facta ad collationem nostram wayvodalem rite et legitime devolute esse perhibentur et redacte, simul cum omni et totali iure regio et subsequenter nostro in eisdem possessionibus ac portionibus possessionariis etiam alias qualitercunque habito. The charter has broken in two and appears under two separate classification numbers: DL 29 656 and DL 29 974 (See Appendix 1).

¹⁹ Norbert C. Tóth, "Egy legenda nyomában. Szapolyai János és ecsedi Bátori István viszonya 1526 előtt," [On the Tracks of a Legend. Relations between John Szapolyai and Stephen Bátori of Ecsed before 1526], *Századok* 146 (2012): 458.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 456–458.

natural. We do not know the bargain that lay behind this, but a persuasive factor could have been a promise to increase his prestige and power base in the form of an extensive right of donation in Transylvania, where in any case he enjoyed greater military power than he would have had as palatine.

The cases challenged in the Branyicskai estates affair are well documented, and it is worth dwelling on what happened to the voivode's grant. In December 1518, the Steward of the Royal Household, Peter Korlátkövi, and the Dienessi family of Illye received a royal donation of the estates,²¹ but during the procedure of institution, Peter Branyicskai's daughter Lucia – widow of Master Verbőci's cousin John Verbőci and wife of Bartholomew Horvát, Vice Ban of Severin (Szörény) – and her daughter Barbara issued a challenge, and the action for the estate began. The latter party was entitled to the estates by a royally-endorsed mutual inheritance contract.²² Only a few months later, in May 1519, Stephen Verbőci joined the action with the voivode's donation discussed above. His relatives also lodged a contestation when he tried to secure possession.²³ Verbőci – who by his later account was acting in the interests of his cousin's widow and her daughter – soon came to an understanding with Korlátkövi and his associates, who transferred the rights they had acquired under royal donation to the chief justice. Eventually, in a statement made before the Palatine in Lipova (Lippa) in November 1520, Verbőci donated the estates – which were, as he stressed, due to him by both royal and voivode donation (*virtute premissarum regie et vayvodalis donationum*) – to his cousin's family, but stipulating that if his relatives died out, he and his heirs would inherit the estate of the size of a minor lordship in Hunedoara County. In the palatine's charter, Verbőci, well known for his competence in law, again found it important to protect his own rights by declaring that Voivode Szapolyai was in possession of a royal licence under which he could make donations of estates “extending up to four hundred tenant sessions”.²⁴ Although the legal action in the Branyicskai estates case closed by settlement, it is important to note that the king's and voivode's donations – even though the first preceded the second even in time – proved to be of equal value, a

²¹ DL 29 636. See Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [The Historical Geography of Hungary in the Age of the Hunyadis] V (Budapest, MTA, 1913), 154; Tibor Neumann, *A Korlátköviek. Egy előkelő család története és politikai szereplése a 15–16. században* [The Korlátkövis. The history and political affairs of a notable family], A Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár Kiadványai: Források, feldolgozások 5 [Győr Diocese Archive Publications: Sources and Monographies] (Győr: Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltár, 2007), 168.

²² DL 47 276. Summary of the action: DF 257 631.

²³ DL 29 656; DL 29 974.

²⁴ DF 257 631. Cf. also DL 31 034.

logical consequence of the voivode's need to possess royal authorization in order to exercise his right of donation.

* * *

In the seven years between 1519 and 1526, the Voivode referred to his right of donation in two further charters. In February 1521, he donated every estate of Ladislás Komjátszegi of Bénye, who had died without issue, to one of his retainers, Stephen Bátori of Somlyó, soon to be promoted as deputy voivode. The writ of institution addressed to the monastery of Cluj-Mănăştur (Hung. Kolozsmonostor) had similar wording to the equivalent document of 1519, but significantly omitting the four hundred tenant session limit. The Voivode also stated that the King had also donated to him the royal rights inhering in the properties being donated, so that the grace extended to his retainer included the royal right.²⁵ Two years later, however, we find a new wording and an extension of the voivode's rights. In February 1523, Szapolyai donated to the ispán of Cluj (*Kolozs*), Gregory Nagy of Sárd²⁶ and his own secretary, Master Nicholas two estates each in Cluj and Dăbâca (*Doboka*) counties, previously the property of George Somai of Szucság, a man convicted of murdering his wife. The substantiation in this case stated that the estates, "under the well-known law and custom of the land, having passed and reverted to His Majesty the King, our most gracious lord, and via the licence graciously given to our office of voivode, to us and our right of donation".²⁷ This means that the voivode's right of donation applied to properties reverting through cases of infidelity, and not only death in default of issue, as mentioned in 1519. This may have been true

²⁵ ...sed per mortem et defectum seminis eiusdem Ladislai ad sacram regni coronam atque maiestatem regiam consequenterque ex annuentia sue maiestatis super bonis et iuribus possessionariis quorumcunque nobilium hiis in partibus Transsilvanis sine heredibus deficientium nobis gratiose collata in nos condescenda atque devoluta esse perhibentur et redacta, simul cum omni et totali iure regio nobis modo premissa per ipsum dominum nostrum regem collato, si quod in pretactis iuribus possessionariis etiam alias qualitercumque haberemus. DL 28 696 (See Appendix 2).

²⁶ On this person, see András W. Kovács, *Az erdélyi vármegyék középkori archontológiája* [The Medieval Archontology of Transylvanian Counties] (Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek 263) (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2010), 98–99.

²⁷ ...que ex eo, quod nuper idem Georgius Somay ex instinctu malignorum spirituum manus suas morte miserabili et horrenda interemptione nobilis domine Margarethe, consortis sue legitime commaculasse ac in notam uxoricidii incurrisse minime formidasse fertur, iuxta huius regni approbatam legem et consuetudinem ad regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum gratiosissimum consequenterque ex annuentia sue maiestatis nobis penes istud officium nostrum wayvodatus gratiose facta ad nos nostramque collationem condescendere et devoluta esse perhibentur. DL 27 130–27 131 (See Appendix 3).

ever since 1519 but had not been previously considered worth mentioning as legal grounds. It is not clear, however, how we are to interpret the phrase that mentions a licence “given to our office of voivode” (*penes istud officium nostrum wayvodatus*). Since the king referred to as “His Majesty” was clearly Louis II, the passage could not be interpreted as meaning that Szapolyai received such a right when he was appointed by Wladislas II in 1510. Much more likely is that the King and royal council tailored the licence to John Szapolyai himself, so that it would be in effect originally and solely during his tenure as Voivode of Transylvania, and the King did not intend to create a permanent voivode’s right.

* * *

From the modest information I have presented, it seems that in spring 1519, the royal council which held power during the minority of the King granted John Szapolyai, Voivode of Transylvania, licence to donate to whom-ever he pleased Transylvanian estates which reverted to the crown by escheat and consisted of up to four hundred tenant sessions. Although both the sources and reasonable surmise suggest that the sovereign authority must have licensed the limit of four hundred tenant sessions for a specified and surely brief period, say a year, we find that it did not subsequently deprive the Voivode of the right of donation. This leaves open the question of why there are so few surviving records of Szapolyai’s right of donation.²⁸

The right inscribed in Andrew Bátori’s instruction of 1552 thus evolved in the 1520s. We find confirmation of this in the extension of the Voivode’s power of donation in 1523 to include – as the 1552 charter put it – “other legal grounds”, i.e. cases of infidelity as well as death in default of issue. John Szapolyai’s right of donation was not the result of judicial development in Transylvania, which has no point of connection with donations by voivodes in their capacity as judge. It seems to bear much more resemblance to rights of donation held by governors and captains-general, which were increasingly common at the time. The common factor was the exercise of the right in the absence of the king but with his authority.²⁹ As captain-general Stephen Szapolyai, John’s father, had

²⁸ It is possible that the voivode’s right of donation fell into oblivion after the formation of the Principality of Transylvania, so that people in later times regarded these charters as devoid of legal weight and thus disposable. Speaking against this apparently plausible proposition, however, is the fact that each of the examples presented here survived in relatively well preserved archives of Transylvanian places of authentication: each of the three cases was maintained by an writ of institution addressed to a different place of authentication. It is possible that not even Szapolyai himself had frequent recourse to this power.

²⁹ Tibor Neumann and Géza Pálffy, “Főkapitányi és főhadparancsnoki adományok a 15–16.

received a similar authorization from King Wladislas II during the struggles for the throne in 1491, which may have served as an example for his son.³⁰

Despite the similarity, the extent to which Szapolyai's authorization constituted a precedent for the licence given to Voivode Bátori in 1552 remains uncertain. We could only solve this problem in case we knew who among the voivodes made use of this authorization in the period between 1526 and 1552. From the reign of John I so far only two similar grants are known. In 1530 voivode Stephen Bátori of Somlyó, himself the beneficiary of a donation made by Szapolyai, as told above, granted away the lands of nobles who had deserted the royal campaign without permission. As he put it in the charter, their estates escheated to the king, and consequently to himself "as the person exerting his authority".³¹ It was with a mere reference to the King's authorization that voivode Stephen Majlát granted to his kinsman the lands of a nobleman accused of homicide in 1537.³² From these isolated cases it is impossible to decide whether Bátori's and Majlát's right of donation was limited in time (being restricted to the accomplishment of one particular task or mission), or valid for the whole duration of their voivodeship. We may conclude that Szapolyai's former right, as Ferdinand of Habsburg's ancient rival, was not mentioned at the negotiations between the King and Andrew Bátori, even though the newly-appointed voivode and the Hungarian political elite certainly remembered it. The relevant clause of the instruction was much more likely based on the right of donation – not restricted by number of tenant sessions – held by the royal commissioners which the King sent to Transylvania the previous year, the military commander Castaldo and the captains-general of the realm, Thomas Nádasdi and Andrew Bátori himself, and on the experience of that right in practice.³³ It is certain, however, that Bátori and his successors in office – Francis Kendi and Stephen Dobó – all exercised the right granted by Ferdinand.³⁴

századi Magyarországon," [Donations by captains general and military commanders in 15th–16th century Hungary], *Levéltári Közlemények* 80 (2009): 209–254.

³⁰ Ibid., 213–215.

³¹ *ad suam maiestatem consequenterque in persona et auctoritate sue maiestatis collationem nostram iuxta antiquam et approbatam huius regni legem atque consuetudinem legitime devoluta esse perhibentur et redacta*. MNL OL, R 298. (Vegyes erdélyi iratok) 9. d., II. 1. no. 4 (See Appendix 4. – I would like to thank András Péter Szabó and András W. Kovács for drawing my attention to this charter.)

³² Antal Lukács, "Documente inedite privind istoria familiei Mailat," [Unpublished documents concerning the history of the Mailat family] *Studii de istorie* 1 (2012): 6–7 (I would like to thank András W. Kovács for bringing this study to my attention).

³³ See Neumann and Pálffy, "Főkapitányi és főhadparancsnoki adományok," 223–224 (The section quoted is by Géza Pálffy).

³⁴ Clause 14 of the instruction to Dobó and Kendi, signed in Sopron on 18 May 1553, sets out the

Besides its importance in strengthening his position in Transylvania, enabling him to confer favours on his own retainers, the real value of the right of donation to John Szapolyai was the accompanying prestige. He was by far the most powerful landowner in the kingdom, and the title of Count of Spiš (Hung. Szepes) he had inherited from his father and the royal birth of his mother, Princess Hedwig of Teschen, and the prestige of being brother-in-law to the kings of Hungary and Poland added a special nimbus to his princely status.³⁵ There is a telling remark in one of his charters of 1516 that “it is the obligation of a good *prince* to provide fitting recompense for the services of his subjects”.³⁶ The Transylvanian right of donation, even it was no more than a consolation prize, must have promised the possibility of further manifesting princely prestige, raising him above the other aristocrats of the realm. The right was thus unique to John Szapolyai and only coincidentally connected to the office of voivode of Transylvania.

same twenty-session right of donation: *Idem etiam habeant simul ambo auctoritatem conferendi bona illa in Transsylvania vacantia, quae non excedunt numerum viginti colonorum*. See Teréz Oborni, *Erdély pénzügyei I. Ferdinánd uralma alatt 1552–1556* [The Finances of Transylvania under the Reign of Ferdinand I, 1552–1556] (Fons Könyvek 1) (Budapest: Szentpétery Imre Történettudományi Alapítvány, 2002), 170.; For example, in 1555, Stephen Dobó donated estates in Cluj and Turda Counties together with the royal right, with the following substantiation: *quae per mortem et defectum seminis eiusdem in nos consequenterque collationem nostram pro auctoritate officii huius wayvodatus nostri Transylvaniensis, quo ex benignitate prefate regiae maiestatis fungimur, nobis competentem devolutae esse perhibentur et redactae*. MNL OL, P 565 Radák család 1. csomó, Évrendezett iratok, 1555.

³⁵ On Szapolyai's princely status in details see Tibor Neumann, “Dózsa legyőzője. Szapolyai János erdélyi vajdasága (1510–1526),” [The suppressor of the Dózsa revolt. The voivodeship of John Szapolyai], *Székelyszó* 18 (2014/11): 93–107; Neumann, “Bulgária – Erdély – Temesvár. Szapolyai János és a parasztháború” [Bulgaria – Transylvania – Timișoara. John Szapolyai and the Peasants' War], in *Keresztesekből lázadók. Tanulmányok 1514 Magyarországról*, ed. Norbert C. Tóth Norbert and Tibor Neumann (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek, Értekezések) (Budapest: MTA BTK, 2015), 103–154.

³⁶ *...recensentes ad bonos pertinere principes suorum obsequiis subditorum dignis remunerationibus et recompensis providere seu occurrere*. Szapolyai oklt. I. 384–385 (DF 280 947).

APPENDIX

1

7 May 1519, Târgu Mureş (Székelyvásárhely)

John Szapolyai, Voivode of Transylvania, to the Transylvanian Chapter. Having donated, under royal authorization, the estates and parcels of the late Ladislas Branyicskai in Hunedoara (Hunyad) County to Stephen Verbőci, Chief Justice, for services rendered, he asks the chapter to send one of its men with the Voivode's man as witness for the institution.

Paper, torn in two pieces, with traces of red wax seal. Top part: MNL OL, DL 29656. (GYKOL, Cista comitatum, Hunyad 1–6–48.), bottom: MNL OL, DL 29974. (ibid., 2–3–6.). – On the back, entry by the chapter concerning the institution: Exequutio facta est in profesto Beati Sthanislai³⁷ in facie Branchka, loco scilicet principali, ubi Bartholomeus Horwath tum ibidem, tumque in faciebus Dwmesd et Pakwra in personis domine Lucie consortis sue et puelle Barbare filie quondam Iohannis Werbewczy contradixisset et sic evocatio facta est, commetanei et vicini Ladislaus Dobrony de ~~Essen~~ Lesnek, Blasius Soklyay de Branchka, Iohannes Monyorossy in Wechel, Nicolaus Kenderes in Ohoba, Iohannes Borothy in Wechel, homo wayvodalis Gregorius de Pesthes Nemethy, magister Iohannes rector capelle S(ancti) Nicolai etc. – Underneath, full text draft.

Amicis suis reverendis, capitulo ecclesie Albensis Transsilvane pro egregio magistro Stephano de Werbewcz, personalis presentie maiestatis regie locumtenente introductoria et statutoria.

Amicis suis reverendis, capitulo ecclesie Albensis Transsilvane Iohannes de Zapolya comes perpetuus terre Scepusiensis wayvodaque Transsilvanus et Sicularum comes etc. amicitiam paratam cum honore. Cum nos debitum habentes respectum ad preclara egregii magistri Stephani de Werbewcz personalis presentie maiestatis regie locumtenentis beneficiorum merita, quibus ipse in plerisque rebus nostris peragendis non modo adesse, verum etiam prodesse nobis curavisset, propterea nos volentes eidem aliquo munificentie nostre antidoto occurrere vicemque gratitudinis rependere, totales possessiones Dwmesd, Pakwra, Kysboz, Fwrsowara ac portiones possessionarias in possessionibus Branchka alio nomine Barynchka, Repas, Kys Besan, Fenes Thorok, Wladesd, Zerbfalwa, Thothboz, Baresd, Lwngsora, Dalmar, Rabesd, Gywlakwtha et Also Tharnocza nominatis omnino in comitatu Hwnyadiensi adiacentes existentibusque habitas, que alias nobilis condam Ladislai filii olim Petri de predicta Branchka prefuissent, sed per mortem et defectum seminis eiusdem condam Ladislai ad sacram coronam regni Hungarie consequenterque ex speciali annuentia et collatione regia super bonis et iuribus possessionariis quorumcunque nobilium in hiis partibus

³⁷ 6 May 1520.

Transsilvanis absque heredum solatio decedentium usque ad numerum quadringentorum iobagionum se extendentibus nobis gratiose facta ad collationem nostram wayvodalem rite et legitime devolute esse perhibentur et redacte, simul cum omni et totali iure regio et subsequenter nostro in eisdem possessionibus ac portionibus possessionariis etiam alias qualitercunque habito ac cum cunctis pariter suis utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibilibet, premissis sic, ut prefertur, stantibus et se habentibus memorato magistro Stephano de Werbewcz suisque heredibus et posteritatibus universis mediantibus aliis litteris nostris donationalibus exinde confectis in perpetuum contulerimus, velimusque eundem in dominium earundem per nostrum et vestrum homines legitime facere introduci. Super quo vestram amicitiam presentibus petimus diligenter, quatinus vestrum mittatis hominem pro testimonio fidedignum, quo presente Gregorius vel Petrus Zeheryas de Nemethy aut Iohannes Nemes de eadem [...] Benedictus Boythory de Alpesthes sew Gaspar de Kerezthwr sive Mathias de eadem aliis absentibus h[omo noster]³⁸ ad facies prescriptarum totalium possessionum Dwmesd, Pakwra, Kysboz, Fwrsowara³⁹ ac portionum possessionariarum prelibati condam Ladislai de Branchka in prenarratis possessionibus Branchka alio nomine Barynchka, Repas, Kysbesan, Fenes Thorok, Wladesd, Zerbfałwa, Thothboz, Baresd, Lwngsora, Dalmar, Rabesd, Gywlakwtha et Also Tharnocza nominatarum omnino in dicto comitatu Hwnyadiensium adiacentium existentibusque habitatum vicinis et commetaneis suis universis inibi legitime convocatis et presentibus accedendo introducat prefatum magistrum Stephanum de Werbewcz in dominium earundem statuaturque easdem eidem simul cum cunctis suis utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibilibet premisse donationis nostre et dicti iuris regii subsequenterque nostri titulo sibi incumbenti perpetuo possidendas, si non fuerit contradictum. Contradictores vero si qui fuerint, evocet eosdem contra annotatum magistrum Stephanum de Werbewcz ad terminum competentem nostram in presentiam rationem contradictionis eorundem reddituros, et post hec huiusmodi introductionis et stationis seriem cum contradictorum et evocatorum, si qui fuerint, vicinorumque et commetaneorum, qui premisse stationi intererunt, ac possessionum et portionum possessionariarum inibi statuendarum nominibus terminoque assignato, ut fuerit expediens, nobis suo modo rescribatis. Datum in opido Zekelwasarhel, in festo Beati Stanislai episcopi et martiris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo nono.

2

8 February 1521, Cluj (Kolozsvár)

John Szapolyai, Voivode of Transylvania, to the convent of Cluj-Mănăstur (Kolozsmonostor). Having donated, under royal authorization, all estates of the late Ladislai Komjátszegi of

³⁸ *aliis absentibus h[omo noster]*: DL 29974. (The remainder of the line is on the top part).

³⁹ From this word, DL 29974.

Bénye to Stephen Bátori of Somlyó, for services rendered, he asks the convent to send one of its men with the Voivode's man as witness for the institution.

Paper, with red wax seal with paper cover. MNL OL, DL 28696. (KKOL, Neoregestrata, Torda B-5.) – On the back, entry by the convent: *Introductio facta feria sexta ante Scolastice,*⁴⁰ *contradixit Stephanus de Komyathzeg in sua propria persona duntaxat portioni in eadem Komyathzeg, item Adam Themeswary de Bewnye in sua propria ac domine Ursule matris, necnon Andreas Porczy in domine Elyzabeth consortis sue ac Demetrius Baxa in domine Sara vocate similiter consortis sue, item iidem Adam Themeswary, Andreas Porczy et Demetrius Baxa in nobilis domine Ursule, consortis nobilis Christoferi de Hozzywazo nominibus et personis contradixerunt, evocaverunt e[osdem] ibidem, homo wayvodalis Franciscus Gyrewffy, noster frater Emericus, fassi sunt.*

Amicis suis reverendis, conventui ecclesie de Colosmonostra pro egregio Stephano Bathory de Somlyo introductoria et statutoria.

Amicis suis reverendis, conventui ecclesie de Colosmonostra Iohannes de Zapolya comes perpetuus terre Scepusiensis waywodaque Transsilvanus et Sicularum comes etc. amicitiam paratam cum honore. Cum nos attentis et consideratis fidelitate et servitiorum meritis egregii Stephani Bathory de Somlyo pro locorum et temporum varietate exhibitis et impensis universa bona et quelibet iura possessionaria, que alias condam nobilis Ladislai Komiathzegy de Bewnye ubilibet et in quibuscumque comitatibus existentia et habita prefuisse, sed per mortem et defectum seminis eiusdem Ladislai ad sacram regni coronam atque maiestatem regiam consequenterque ex annuentia sue maiestatis super bonis et iuribus possessionariis quorumcunque nobilium hiis in partibus Transsilvanis sine heredibus deficientium nobis gratiose collata in nos condescensa atque devoluta esse perhibentur et redacta, simul cum omni et totali iure regio nobis modo premissa per ipsum dominum nostrum regem collato, si quod in pretactis iuribus possessionariis etiam alias qualitercumque haberemus, pariter cum cunctis utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibuslibet vigore aliarum litterarumstrarum donationalium superinde confectarum eidem Stephano Bathory suisque heredibus et posteritatibus universis imperpetuum contulerimus, velimusque eundem in dominium eorundem per nostrum et vestrum homines legitime facere introduci. Ideo vestram amicitiam presentibus petimus diligenter, quatenus vestrum mittatis hominem pro testimonio fidedignum, quo presente Franciscus Gyrew de Inakthelke vel ~~Laurentius Chany de Boldocz~~ aut Michael Nagh de Thwrchan aliis absentibus homo noster de curia nostra wayvodali per nos ad id specialiter transmissus ad facies cunctorum bonorum et iurium possessionariorum dicti condam Ladislai Komiathzegy ubilibet hiis in partibus Transsilvanis habitatorum vicinis et commetaneis eorundem universis inibi legitime convocatis et presentibus accedendo, introducat prefatum Stephanum Bathory in dominium eorundem statuaturque eadem eidem simul cum cunctis suis utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibuslibet premissis nostre donationis et iuris regii titulis ipsis

⁴⁰ 8 February 1521.

incumbentibus perpetuo possidenda, si non fuerit contradictum. Contradictores vero si qui fuerint, evocet eosdem contra annotatum Stephanum Bathory ad quintumdecimum diem diei huiusmodi statutionis vestre exhinc fiende computandum nostram in presentiam rationem contradictionis eorundem reddituros, et post hec huiusmodi introductionis et statutionis vestre seriem cum contradictorum et evocatorum, si qui fuerint, vicinorumque et commetaneorum, qui premisse statutioni intererunt, nominibus terminoque asignato, ut fuerit expediens, nobis suo modo amicabiliter rescribatis. Datum in civitate Coloswariensi, feria sexta proxima post festum Beate Dorothee virginis et martiris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo primo.

3

19 February 1523, Cluj (Kolozsvár)

John Szapolyai, Voivode of Transylvania, to the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur (Kolozsmonostor). Having donated, under royal authorization, the estates of the uxoricide George Somai of Szucság in the counties of Cluj (Kolozs) and Dăbâca (Doboka) to Gregory Nagy of Sárd, ispán of Cluj and to Master Nicholas, Secretary to the Voivode, for services rendered, he asks the convent to send one of its men with the Voivode's man as witness for the institution.

Paper, with traces of red wax seal. MNL OL, DL 27130. (KKOL, Cista comitatum, Kolozs, N-33.) – Authenticated copy of 1655, and nineteenth century simple copy of the latter: MNL OL, DL 27131. (Ibid., Kolozs, N-31.) – On the back, entry by the convent: 1523 Executio facta est die dominica Reminiscere proxima post festum Beati Mathie apostoli⁴¹ per wayvodalem nobilem Franciscum Nadasy et conventualem homines fratrem Iohannem in possessionibus Zwchak et Soma vocatis, tribus diebus perseverando, nulla contradictio facta est, coram vicinis et commetaneis nobilibus Andrea et Iohanne Zenthpaly, Ambrosio Sandorhazy, Petro Zwchaky et Mattheo Sandor de eadem Zwchak ac⁴² Thoma et Francisco⁴³ Somay de eadem Soma. – On the back in a contemporary hand: Kolos. Doboka.

Amicis suis reverendis, conventui ecclesie de Colosmonosthra pro egregiis Gregorio Nagh de Sard, comite nostro comitatus de Colos ac magistro Nicolao secretario nostro introductoria et statutoria.

Amicis suis reverendis, conventui ecclesie de Colosmonosthra Iohannes de Zapolya comes perpetuus terre Scepusiensis waywodaque Transsilvanus et Siculorum comes ac capitaneus generalis regie maiestatis etc. amicitiam paratam cum honore. Cum nos attentis et consideratis fidelitatibus et fidelium servitiorum gratuitis meritis egregiorum

⁴¹ 1 March 1523.

⁴² Above the line.

⁴³ *et Francisco*: above the line.

Gregorii Nagh de Sard, comitis nostri comitatus de Colos ac magistri Nicolai secretarii nostri, quibus ipsi sese nobis sub locorum et temporum varietate rerum et personarum ipsorum discrimine oblitum a plerisque iam annis retroactis gratos exhibere et acceptos reddere studuerunt, et ut eo ferventius in futurum ad servitia nostra accendantur, volentes nos quoque eisdem in aliquam recompensam huiusmodi servitiorum ipsorum aliquo munificentie nostre antidoto occurrere et providere, totales portiones et quelibet iura possessionaria nobilis Georgii Somay filii olim Gregorii de Zwchak in possessionibus eadem Zwchak ac Soma in de Colos, necnon Zylwas et Nyres vocatis in de Doboka comitatibus, sed et alias ubivis locorum partibus in hiis Transsilvanis existentibus habitas et adiacentes, que ex eo, quod nuper idem Georgius Somay ex instinctu malignorum spirituum manus suas morte miserabili et horrenda interemptione nobilis domine Margarethe, consortis sue legitime commaculasse ac in notam uxoricidii incurrisse minime formidasse fertur, iuxta huius regni approbatam legem et consuetudinem ad regiam maiestatem, dominum nostrum gratiosissimum consequenterque ex annuentia sue maiestatis nobis penes istud officium nostrum wayvodatus gratiose facta ad nos nostramque collationem condescendere et devoluta esse perhibentur, simul cum cunctis earundem et eorundem utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibilibet, terris utputa arabilibus cultis et incultis, agris, pratis, pascuis, campis, fenetis, silvis, nemoribus, lucis, rubetis, virgultis, spinetis, arundinetis, montibus, vallibus, alpibus, aquis, fluviis aquarumque decursibus, vineis, vinearum promontoriis, piscinis, piscaturis, molendinis et eorundem locis ac generaliter quarumlibet utilitatum et pertinentiarum earundem et eorundem integritatibus quovis nominis vocabulo vocitatis ad easdem et eadem de iure et ab antiquo spectantibus pertinereque debentibus annotatis Gregorio Nagh et magistro Nicolao eorundemque heredibus et posteritatibus universis vigore aliarum litterarum nostrarum donationalium superinde confectarum et emannatarum dederimus et contulerimus, velimusque eosdem in dominium earundem et eorundem per nostrum et vestrum homines legitime facere introduci. Super quo amicitiam vestram presentibus requirimus diligenter, quatenus vestrum mittatis hominem pro testimonio fidedignum, quo presente Ladislaus Herczegh de Olnak aut Franciscus litteratus de Thothewr vel [Paulus de eadem]⁴⁴ seu Franciscus de Nadas sive Blasius Darabos de Buda sin Iohannes de Zenthpal aliis absentibus homo noster wayvodalis de curia nostra ad id unicus et specialiter transmissus ad facies prescriptarum portionum et iurium possessionariorum prelibati Georgii Somay in prenotatis possessionibus Zwchak ac Soma in de Colos, necnon Zylwas et Nyres vocatis in de Doboka comitatibus predictis, sed et aliorum ubivis locorum partibus in hiis Transsilvanis existentium, habitarum et adiacentium vicinis et commetaneis earundem et eorundem inibi legitime convocatis et presentibus accedendo introducat prefatos Gregorium Nagh et magistrum Nicolaum in dominium earundem et eorundem statu atque easdem et eadem eisdem suisque heredibus et posteritatibus universis titulo et iure ipsis ex premissis incumbenti perpetuo possidenda, si non fuerit contradictum. Contradictores vero si qui fuerint, evocet eosdem contra annotatos Gregorium Nagh

⁴⁴ Addition from the seventeenth-century copy.

et magistrum Nicolaum ad decimum quintum diem diei huiusmodi statutionis et exequutionis vestre superinde fiende computandum nostram in presentiam rationem superinde reddituros, et post hec huiusmodi introductionis, statutionis et evocationis vestre seriem cum contradictorum et evocatorum, si qui fuerint, vicinorumque et commetaneorum, qui premisse statutioni intererunt, nominibus terminum ad eundem nobis, ut fuerit expediens, suo modo et conscientiose rescribatis. Datum in civitate Coloswariensi, feria quinta proxima ante festum Kathedre Beati Petri apostoli, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo tertio.

4

12 September 1530, Turda (Torda)

Stephen Bátori of Somlyó, ispán of Szabolcs and voivode of Transylvania under royal authorization donated all the estates of Clement Egresi of Petlend and his son Thomas in Transylvania, who had deserted the royal campaign without permission, to ispán of Torda Blaise Kecseti and Ambrose Koppányi.

Paper, with traces of red wax signet. MNL OL, R 298. (Vegyés erdélyi iratok) 9. d., II. 1. no. 4.

Nos, Stephanus Bathori de Somlyo comes comitatus de Zabolch, wayvoda Transsilvanus et Siculorum comes memorie commendamus tenore presentium significantes, quibus expedit, universis, quod nos attentis et consideratis fidelitate et servitiis egregiorum Blasii Kechety de eadem, comitis comitatus de Thorda ac Ambrosii Koppány, que ipsi sacre primum huius regni Hungarie corone ac deinde maiestati regie partimque et nobis pro locorum et temporum varietate cum summa fidelitatis constantia exhibuerunt et impenderunt,⁴⁵ universa bona et quelibet iura portionesque possessionarias egregiorum Clementis Egressy ac filii ipsius Thome similiter Egressy de Pethlendh in quibuscunque comitatibus huius regni Transsilvanie existentia ex eo, quod iidem Clemens Egressy unacum filio suo, Thoma scilicet Egressy clam et furtim a proxime preterita expeditione maiestatis regie non curando edictum nostrum ac omnium regnicolarum statuta in domum ipsorum sese proripuissent, ad suam maiestatem consequenterque in persona et auctoritate sue maiestatis collationem nostram iuxta antiquam et approbatam huius regni legem atque consuetudinem legitime devoluta esse perhibentur et redacta, simul cum suis cunctis utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibuscunque, terris scilicet arabilibus cultis et incultis, agris, pratis, pascuis, campis, fenetis, silvis, nemoribus, montibus, vallibus, vineis vinearumque promontoriis, aquis, fluviis, piscinis, piscaturis aquarumque decursibus, molendinis eorundemque locis, generaliter vero quarumlibet utilitatum et pertinentiarum suarum integritatibus quovis vocabulo vocitatis sub suis veris metis et antiquis existentibus memoratis Blasio Kechety et Ambrosio Koppány

⁴⁵ In the original: *exhibita et impensa*.

ipsorumque heredibus et posteritatibus universis dedimus, donavimus et contulimus, immo damus, donamus et conferimus iure perpetuo tenenda, possidenda pariter et habenda salvo iure alieno, harum nostrarum vigore et testimonio litterarum mediante, quas maiestas regia in formam sui privilegii redigi faciet,⁴⁶ dum sue maiestati in specie fuerint reportate. Datum in oppido Thordensi, feria secunda post festum Nativitatis virginis gloriose, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo.

ÎNCEPUTURILE DREPTULUI DE DONAȚIE AL VOIEVODULUI TRANSILVANIEI

Rezumat

Instrucțiunea transmisă în 1552, de Ferdinand I (1526–1564) lui Andrei Bátori, voievod al Transilvaniei, prin care regele îl autoriza pe voievod să continue liber donarea de moșii mai mici, care în Transilvania sub coroana ungară a ajuns la un moment dat la limita a 20 de sesii țărănești, este de mult timp un subiect cunoscut și citat în istoriografie. Ceea ce nu se cunoaște este de când anume deține voievodul o astfel de putere. Conform autorului, primul voievod care a primit dreptul regal de a face donații de moșii a fost Ioan Szapolyai (1510–1526), devenit mai târziu rege al Ungariei, sub numele de Ioan I (1526–1540). Se pare că a primit acest drept ca o compensație, urmare a primăverii anului 1519 când, la moartea lui Emeric Perényi, Ștefan Bátori, administrator al Timișoarei, a fost ales palatin chiar în locul lui Ioan Szapolyai. Limita inițială a unor astfel de donații era de 400 sesii țărănești, dar se pare că ele au fost foarte curând reduse, pentru că, în chiar anii 1521 și 1523, voievodul a făcut donații care au ajuns la moșii mult mai mici (studiul oferă o analiză detaliată a surselor care au ajuns până la noi, deloc numeroase în acest sens). Se cere subliniat totuși faptul că dreptul de donație al voievodului nu rezulta dintr-o dezvoltare constituțională organică a Transilvaniei, ci a fost ajustat pe măsura celui mai bogat magnat al Ungariei, voievodul Ioan Szapolyai și acest fapt a contribuit apoi la apariția „aurei” princiare în jurul persoanei voievodului, pe lângă sângele regal pe linie maternă. Deoarece până la acest moment ne sunt cunoscute doar două donații ale voievozilor lui Ioan I, după 1526, se pune întrebarea dacă în perioada redactării instrucțiunii din 1552, acest drept, odată garantat lui Szapolyai, a fost utilizat ca un precedent. Este posibil, ca atare, ca dreptul de donație acordat comisarilor regali – între care îl regăsim pe căpitanul general Andrei Bátori – trimiși de regele Ferdinand I în Transilvania, în 1551, și experiența câștigată ca urmare a activității lor acolo să fi contat în acordarea acestei autorități chiar lui Bátori. Este cert că nu numai el, ci și succesorii săi, Francisc Kendi și Ștefan Dobó, și-au exercitat dreptul de donație.

⁴⁶ In the original: *redifaciat*.

EVERYDAY LAW IN THE MIDDLE AGES*

Martyn Rady**

Keywords: Medieval law, Customary law, *iura*, Hungary, Transylvania

Cuvinte cheie: drept medieval, drept cutumiar, *iura*, Ungaria, Transilvania

In the spring of 1827, the Hungarian diet debated whether some cities had the right, as they claimed, to tax noblemen. In his capacity as president of the Lower House, the personalis judge, György Mailáth (the younger), summarized the relevant legal arguments.¹ He explained that cities might indeed have royal privileges allowing them to tax nobles, but that these carried no legal weight insofar as they were prejudicial to previously established rights. This was a fair point and it comported with Werbőczy's discussion in the *Tripartitum* on the restrictions that applied more generally to privileges.² Mailáth went on—some cities claimed a right deriving from practice that permitted them to tax noblemen. In Mailáth's opinion, however, a practice could not prevail unless it was rooted in law and accorded with 'the positive laws of the country', by which he meant the kingdom's written statutes. In support of his contention he referred the Lower House to the laws of 1647, 1723 and 1741, as well as to Werbőczy's celebrated *primae nonus*, which had declared noblemen free from all imposts.

Mailáth was on less certain ground here, for Werbőczy had been emphatic that practice might indeed have a derogatory power, since, as Werbőczy explained, 'real and continuous use often invalidates a law.'³ Nevertheless,

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¹ *Diarium Comitiorum Regni Hungariae*, vol. V (Bratislava, 1825–1827), 447.

² *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii incltyi regni Hungariae per Stephanum de Werbewecz editum* (Vienna, 1517, hereafter, Trip.), II. 19–12; given with English translation in *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae—The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. János M. Bak et al., vols I–V (Budapest, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Idyllwild, CA, 1989–2012, hereafter DRMH), V, 236–243.

³ Trip., II. 2 [9] (DRMH, V, 228–9). See also Trip., II. 12. [9] (DRMH, V, 242–243).

Mailáth's observation was typical of a generation that considered the written law to consist of a series of commands that hemmed in and directed both society and the ruler. Throughout the course of the diet of 1825–27 a committee under the chairmanship of Anton Cziráky busied away with the work begun in the 1790s to review and unite all Hungarian law in a ten-part code which would then obtain the legislative sanction of the diet.⁴ The very reason, however, for the committee's labour shows the difficulty of Mailáth's contention that rights and practices needed to be grounded in statute, for it was the opaque shambles of the kingdom's written law that had brought the committee into being in the first place. The *Corpus Juris Hungarici*, which allegedly contained Hungary's statute law, was a mishmash of omissions, accretions and misprints. It was estimated at the time that it contained no less than 13 000 individual errors, including even the length of the bar which determined the kingdom's scheme of measurement, and much of its content was otherwise disputed or deemed no longer relevant.⁵ Until it was reformed, the kingdom's statute law was inadequate for unravelling the complexity of rival and interlocking rights that provided the grounds for most litigation.

The written law was even more uncertain and unstable in the Middle Ages. The kingdom's statutes or *decreta* constituted treaties between the king and his noble subjects, and much of their content was of only fleeting significance. The texts of the laws were often also garbled in their transmission. Some statutes were lost while others had been inadequately circulated on account of the cost of copying. The efficacy of the written law was, moreover, contested, for only those laws which had passed into customary use were considered to retain authority.⁶ For this reason, courts in passing judgment seldom referred back to statutory provision, but appealed instead to a more general customary law of the realm.

The customary law of the kingdom was, however, equally indeterminate. Customary law was what the courts said it to be and it was thus determined by the judges and assessors who sat together to make judgments. Even in the higher courts, most of these were illiterate and had to be guided by the case managers or protonotaries.⁷ The protonotaries could at least read and they knew from experience what the content of the law might be thought to be. We will therefore find appeals to customary law which fit in with the general pattern of judgments and

⁴ *Acta Comitiorum Regni Hungariae* (Bratislava, 1825–1828), 63–66.

⁵ Éva V. Windisch, *Kovachich Márton György, a forráskutató* (Budapest, 1998), 184.

⁶ György Bónis, "Einleitung," in *Decreta Regni Hungariae, Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns 1301–1457*, ed. Ferenc Döry, György Bónis and Vera Bácskai (Budapest, 1976), 9–37 (25).

⁷ 1500: 11 (DRMH, IV, 144–145).

with the way in which we know the courts conducted their business. We may consider these to be settled norms. Many of these touched upon procedure, such as the mode of summons, the performance of inquests and the manner of taking oaths, which being rooted in Romano-canonical practice and reiterated in the texts of formularies, remained consistent over time.⁸ Some elements of the substantive law can also be shown to have been fixed in common observance and to be regularly advertised by the courts as customary—thus, for instance, the period of limitation in respect of noble property, which was regularly put by the courts at about three decades—either thirty or thirty-two years (opinion differed on the precise number of years).⁹

In other matters, however, we will note slippage and far less certainty. The daughters' quarter, being the goods given to girls on the death of their father, was notoriously unstable. Some courts deemed it the rule that the goods be given in land; others that the daughters might only receive cash and movables. Even so, statements regarding the way the daughters were in individual instances to be paid off were invariably accompanied by reference to custom of the realm—possibly as a deliberate ploy intended to make up for the gap in the established law.¹⁰ In other areas there was also indeterminacy and flux. The right of pre-emption belonging to neighbours was regularly described in the Middle Ages as customary, but from the mid-fifteenth century it plainly fell into desuetude, seldom featuring in charters.¹¹ On one occasion, it was noted as uncertain whether a practice was custom of the realm or simply a local custom.¹² On others, a custom might be invoked that was not customary at all or a new practice justified as customary.¹³ Vice-versa, it might be that practices

⁸ *Anjou-kori oklevéltár*, ed. Gyula Kristó et al., in progress (Budapest and Szeged, 1990 etc., hereafter, A-k. Okl.). IV, no 658; A-k. Okl., IX, no 28; A-k. Okl., XX, no 69; A-k. Okl., XXVI, no 160; *Hazai okmánytár*, ed. Imre Nagy et al., vols I–VIII (Győr and Budapest, 1865–1891, hereafter, HO), VII, 457–8; *Árpádkori új okmánytár*, ed. Gusztáv Wenzel, vols I–XII (Pest, 1860–1874), V, 230.

⁹ *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus et civilis*, ed. Georgius Fejér, vols I–XI in 44 parts (Buda, 1829–1844, hereafter CD), IX/2, 94; CD, IX/3, 42.

¹⁰ A-k. Okl., VIII, no 48; A-k. Okl., IX, nos 62, 535; A-k. Okl. XXIII, nos 19, 120, 230, 388. The relevant literature is indicated in Martyn Rady, *Customary Law in Hungary: Courts, Texts and the Tripartitum* (Oxford, 2015), 91–93.

¹¹ Alajos Degré, "A szomszédok öröklése és a szomszédi elővásárlási jog kialakulása," in Degré, *Válogatott jogtörténeti tanulmányok* (Budapest, 2004), 299–311.

¹² A-k. Okl. XXIII, no 315.

¹³ *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, ed. Nándor Knauz and Lajos Dedek, vols I–III (Esztergom, 1874–1924), II, 624 (1310), in respect of conditions restricting the subsequent alienation of inherited movables (in this case, bonded servants). See also CD, X/6, 967 (1418) where, by buying up vineyards and houses in Bratislava, the local chapter was accused by Sigismund of *novam consuetudinem inducentes, quam pro vestra lege servare velletis*.

which were widely followed were never described as belonging to the kingdom's customary law.¹⁴

All of this is to be expected in customary regimes. When practices change, so will the understanding of what constitutes custom. By the same token, practices may become so routinized that describing them as customary seems otiose, or they may fall into disuse. The instability of the law was, however, compounded by the failure of the courts to adopt methods that lent consistency to judgments. Yearbooks and case reporting were unknown in Hungary, so the lawyerly conversion of the customary law into something approaching the English Common Law did not happen. Werbőczy might well write that Hungary's customary law partly had its origin in 'the verdicts of judges and in repeated letters of adjudication',¹⁵ but there was neither a tradition of reporting repetitive determinations nor a mechanism for disseminating judgments. Much depended on what those attending court chose to recall—so much so that Matthias Corvinus pressed for courts to meet frequently lest their accumulated knowledge be forgotten.¹⁶ Right through to the twentieth century, Hungarian lawyers would rue the failure of the judiciary to develop case law.¹⁷

For all its imprecision, customary law did have some benefits. The archaizing aspect of customary law, evident in its appeal to past conduct, permitted assemblies a *de facto* legislative capacity. By reference to customary practice, their spokesmen could claim that they were not making law at all but only putting forward ancient rights for confirmation.¹⁸ In 1451, for instance, an assembly of Székelys in Târgu Mureş recommended to the royal judges-delegate that the existing regulations on inheritance which applied to their community be brought into line with 'the praiseworthy law of all the Székelys and the custom as observed of old.'¹⁹ The rules relating to fines and penalties in force among the Romanian nobles of Făgăraş were in 1508 similarly determined by an assembly whose members impressed upon the local castellan that they originated in customary observance – *prius erat consuetudo, ante erat consuetum, consuetum erat prius*, and so on.²⁰

¹⁴ István Tringli, "A magyar szokásjog a malomépitésről," *Analecta Mediaevalia* 1, ed. Tibor Neumann (Budapest, 2001): 251–268 (259).

¹⁵ Trip., II. 6 [11] (DRMH, V, 234–5).

¹⁶ György Bónis, *Középkori jogunk elemei* (Budapest, 1972), 161, 225.

¹⁷ Gusztáv Schwarz, *Magánjogunk felépítése* (Budapest, 1893), 18–23; Bernát Besnyő, *Szász-Schwarz Gusztáv emlékezete* (Budapest, 1933), 31–2; Ernő Wittmann, *Tanulmányok az angol magánjog köréből*, (Budapest, 1907), 5–14, 44–45.

¹⁸ See here more generally, Simon Teuscher, *Lords' Rights and Peasant Stories: Writing and the Formation of Tradition in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2012), 151–64.

¹⁹ *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon*, ed. József Teleki, vol. X (Pest, 1853), 301–302.

²⁰ *Corpus Statutorum Hungariae Municipalium* (*A magyar törvényhatóságok jogszabályainak gyűjteménye*), ed. Sándor Kolosvári and Kelemen Óvári, vol. I (Budapest, 1885), 169.

By the same token, appeals to customary law were often made to lend legitimacy to judgments that were expedient or equitable but that otherwise had no legal justification. On occasions, we will find some very unusual decisions being described as being in accordance with the customary law—that in cases of violence where the litigants were not of the same sex, capital sentence was always commuted to a cash payment, or that a matter that had gone to arbitration could not be heard in the Curia courts.²¹ We might even aver that the more the court appealed to custom, the less likely it was that its judgment coincided with established norms of adjudication. A plainly political judgment from the 1360s, delivered by the ban of Croatia, was thus mischievously described as consonant with both ‘the custom of the kingdom of Hungary ... and the established law of the kingdom of Croatia as communicated by the judges and nobles of the realm of Croatia sitting with us.’²²

Examination of specific instances in which custom of the realm was invoked in the course of litigation suggests the extent to which reference to it was used for rhetorical effect. Appeal was made to custom of the realm on forty separate occasions in legal correspondence relating to Timiș County between 1400 and 1470. Eight of these occasions related to procedure (the manner of performing an inquest, instituting to property, estimating the value of an estate, making a will, and so on). Eleven concerned the rights belonging to widows, daughters and minors—in particular matters of dower and of the grant of the quarter to female successors. On no fewer than fifteen occasions, however, the term was used in connection with the royal sequestration of noble property on grounds of perfidy (*infidelitas*), of death without male heirs, or of the illegal conversion of royal land into private property.²³ Of course, this is a small sample. It is nevertheless suggestive of the way custom of the realm might be invoked in litigation to reinforce, on the one hand, the rights of the vulnerable and, on the other, to justify the crown’s seizure of private property. In this respect, appeals to custom of the realm constituted part of an officializing strategy, designed to

²¹ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár (hereafter MNL OL), DL 29920; MNL OL DL 30266. It would make sense that arbitration should conclude a suit, but plainly it might not. See Tibor Neumann, *Bereg megye hatóságának oklevelei (1299–1526)* (Nyiregyháza, 2006), nos 252, 259.

²² Lajos Thallóczy and Sándor Horváth, *Alsó-szlavóniai okmánytár* (Budapest, 1912), 69–75.

²³ Tivadar Ortvay and Frigyes Pesty, *Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvárváros történetéhez*, vol. I: 1183–1430 (Bratislava, 1896); Frigyes Pesty, Livia Magina and Adrian Magina, *Diplome privind istoria comitatului Timiș și a orașului Timișoara – Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvár város történetéhez*, vol. II: 1430–1470 (Cluj-Napoca, 2014). We omit from our count textual duplications relating to the same action. The remaining references deal with ecclesiastical exemptions, the right of peasants to move, grant of *ius sanguinis*, and so on.

lend legitimacy to a judgment in circumstances where the judgment might be either disregarded or politically contested.²⁴

Juristic opinion worked from the assumption that there was a customary law and that it was both consistent and discernible. On this account, jurists and others believed that the customary law was capable of being ordered and codified as the hitherto ‘unwritten’ book of the law—hence Wladislas II’s commission to Werbóczy to put into writing the kingdom’s customary law.²⁵ In Hungary, however, the customary law to which the jurists appealed did not comprise a coherent body of concrete propositions. It constituted some customary rules, many of which altered according to time, circumstance, and the mood of the courts. In this respect, there was not a customary law or *Gewohnheitsrecht* in Hungary, but separate, and often fleeting and dissonant, legal customs or *Rechtsgewohnheiten*.²⁶ Even after publication of the *Tripartitum* in 1517, this circumstance persisted. Werbóczy’s *Tripartitum* standardized only a part of what was now understood to be the customary law, while sections of its text were ignored by the courts in favour of competing practices. Moreover, since it was believed that Hungarian law rested on custom, legislative acts and court judgments that aimed to fill the gaps in legal provision depended for their efficacy on the degree to which they passed into actual practice.

Although courts might appeal to the customary law in support of their judgments, they mostly adjudicated by reference to a quite separate legal scheme, which had little to do with customary law or even legal customs. The predominant term used by the courts in determining suits was *ius*, meaning a right, and it was usually rendered in its concretized ablative form. Behind its use was the supposition that groups, communities and individuals were possessed of rights and that their deprivation without good cause was mostly unlawful. The idea of *ius* as the bedrock of the legal structure is amply demonstrated in the texts of (mostly royal) charters. In their arengas, these often repeated the Roman Law adage that justice was about giving everyone the right that was their due (*ius suum cuique tribuens*). In chancery practice, however, the notion of a general right was rendered less abstract and replaced by reference to the maintenance of rights already conferred—hence it was the obligation of royal majesty *cuique*

²⁴ On the hopelessness of trying to reconstruct the late medieval law from the pronouncements of courts, see more generally Karl Kroeschell, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte 2 (1250–1450)* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1973), 125. Repeated in 9th ed. (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2008), 129.

²⁵ Teuscher, *Lords’ Rights and Peasant Stories*, 57–58. The text of the royal commission to Werbóczy is given in DRMH, V, 5–11.

²⁶ This circumstance was hardly unique to Hungary. See Martin Pilch, “Rechtsgewohnheiten aus rechtshistorische und rechtstheoretischer Perspektive,” *Rechtsgeschichte* 17 (2010): 17–39.

iura integra conservare, or to ensure that *suum cuique ius salvum maneat*.²⁷ In an illuminating passage that was repeated on a number of occasions in the late thirteenth century, 'Equity exhorts and justice requires that whatever is given to anyone for just and lawful reasons should be maintained forever whole.'²⁸

Ius operated the other way round as well. Since rulers had no idea what lands they owned, they frequently allocated property that belonged to others, mistakenly believing it to pertain to the royal fisc. Kings were, nevertheless, aware that mishaps of this sort might occur. Royal charters of conveyance thus invariably had attached to the eschatocol, *salvo iure alieno*, 'saving the rights of others'. If it was shown that the royal award infringed another's right of possession, then it voided the king's gift. The anterior rights of the possessor thus trumped the rights of the latest beneficiary of the royal grace.²⁹ It was to this principle that György Mailáth appealed in 1827—cities might have royal charters that allowed them the right to tax noblemen, but since this right had been conveyed to the detriment of pre-existing right holders, it had no force.

If no one's rights could be shown to be at stake, then it was possible for courts and litigants to be inventive. In 1632 the widow Galia asked the court of the castle and district of Făgăraș to allow her to pass on her property to her two daughters. She appealed to the 'old practice and privilege of this country', which, as she explained, entitled her to leave her goods to her daughters. Galia's was another officializing discourse, which was intended to lend authority to a transaction that otherwise existed in a legal void. The court played along, approving her plea as being in accordance with the 'manner and custom of the land of Făgăraș'. More important from the court's point-of-view, however, was the fact that nobody's rights had been harmed and, as the court took pains to point out, that none had objected when its judgment had been publicly proclaimed at three of its sessions.³⁰

Ius, therefore, became the issue upon which the courts focused—whether by pursuing a certain course the rights of others were impaired and, in the event that they were, which rights were the more grounded and, therefore, the more

²⁷ CD, III/1, 400; Jenő Házsi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I, part 7 (Sopron, 1929), 162.

²⁸ *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli losonczy Bánffy család történetéhez*, ed. Elemér Varjú, vol. I (Budapest, 1908), 35. See also CD, VI/2, 58; HO, IV, 44; *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, ed. Imre Szentpétery and Iván Borsa, vols I–II (Budapest, 1923–87), II, no 4113.

²⁹ Discussed in Trip., II. 9 [2] (DRMH, V, 236–237). On the origin of this phrase, see Gerhard Baaken, "Salvo mandato et ordinatione nostra. Zur Rechtsgeschichte des Privilegs in spätstaufischen Zeit," *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 40 (1989): 11–33.

³⁰ Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Könyvtár, fond Veress Endre, MSS, 451, Boeri, fols 47–48 (original in Gyulafehérvári Káptalan Országos Levéltára, F 2 Protocolla, vol. XVII, fols 253–255). I am grateful to Livia Magina for sending me a transcription of this judgment.

efficacious. Some cases could be resolved straightforwardly—land had been illegally occupied to the detriment of the owner's rights and the nobleman in possession could not justify his presence, or a new mill had been built whose weir flooded farmland upstream. Other cases often, however, proved difficult to resolve. Contending rights were advanced; boundaries, leases and descents had all to be examined; much paperwork was produced, and the opportunistic claims raised by newcomers needed to be determined. The normal routine was for the courts to identify whose rights might be supported by relevant evidence and eliminate the parties whose claims could not be justified. At this point, with the case reduced to manageable proportions and the points of contention established, the parties would often go to arbitration. The arbitrators would usually render a judgment which was not legally principled but instead a midway position between the competing rights of the litigants. The arbitrators' decision was then communicated to the court. In this respect, litigation in court and arbitration were part of the same judicial process.

Contending rights might thus be reconciled in the interests of social cohesion. Likewise, noblemen might agree to adjust their rights to property in their own mutual interest. All the textbooks will tell us that property passed through the male line unless a royal charter affirming the right of females to inherit had been obtained. Noblemen from the same kindred might, nevertheless, agree among themselves to permit female inheritance. They thus established over time a practice, which acquired legal authority irrespective of whether it had received royal sanction. In the early 1520s, therefore, one branch of the Gyakfalvai family of Ugoča County expired without sons, and collateral heirs related through the maternal side laid claim to the estate. To test their rights, the palatine ordered an inquest to establish whether the estate might pass down through the female line. His interest was not whether the Gyakfalvai had a privilege permitting female descent but instead whether or not the neighbours would affirm that there was a tradition within the family of daughters' inheritance. Had there been such, it would have overturned the more general, customary right of male succession through collaterals.³¹

An analogous case occurred several centuries later in respect of the Haller family's estates in Transylvania. Barbara Haller contested her brother's right to inherit the family's estate, claiming that portions of it were assigned to the female line. The case, which lasted 25 years, revolved around the inspection of descents in regard to the individual parts of the estate to see whether female succession had been practised at any time over the previous 400 years and,

³¹ Norbert C. Tóth, *Ugoča megye hatóságának oklevelei (1290–1526)* (Budapest, 2006), nos 143, 145.

if so, in relation to which properties.³² In much the same fashion, the right belonging to the Tybold family to succession through the female line was considered, when it came to court, to depend not on a royal privilege but on the frequency with which daughters had previously inherited portions of the estate. Documents several centuries old were pored over in court for instances of female succession.³³

By at least the eighteenth century, an adage had passed into Hungarian legal parlance, which amply demonstrates the way that rights might be negotiated to construct a new legal norm between the parties. The tag—*Contractus contra-hentibus ponit legem*—looks Romanist but is almost certainly not.³⁴ We can interpret contract in a number of ways, but for our purposes there are two that are particularly relevant—first, as a *contractus* meaning a mutual inheritance pact, and, secondly, as a commercial exchange. *Contractus* was the term usually employed in late medieval Hungary for agreements whereby families adopted each other as heirs of last resort.³⁵ So, if one family expired through lack of male successors, the other inherited the estate. Since the royal fisc would otherwise obtain the land of an heirless man, it made sense to have the deal approved by the king. Much of the time, however, the parties did not bother to obtain this, reckoning instead their mutual agreement sufficient. They had coordinated their *iura* and that was enough to validate the *contractus* and, indeed, to permit *post-mortem* possession.³⁶

In respect of commercial transactions, similar considerations applied. According to what was always declared to be customary, the alienation of inherited estate required the consent of kinsmen since, as potential heirs, they were deemed to have an active and concurrent legal interest. If they objected, then the alienation was void. There were ways round this obstacle, but in the case of commercial contracts even these were thought to be unnecessary.³⁷ A nobleman might thus put up his property as security on a loan without

³² Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale, Sibiu, Colecția Brukenthal, Q1–4, no 209.

³³ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, E 14 *Acta Hungarica*, vol. 4, 365–406.

³⁴ The history of this adage would be worth investigating. It is sometimes erroneously ascribed to Papinian (Dig. 16. 3. 24). It is variously quoted only by Central European authors, mostly Hungarian, but also Serbian and Croatian, and it is always described as being of Romanist provenance. There may be some muddling with Dig. 16. 3. 1 (6): *Contractus legem ex conventionem accipiunt*.

³⁵ See thus Trip. I. 66 (DRMH, V, 142–143).

³⁶ See thus HO, III, 256–8. See further HO, IV, 245–6; HO, V, p. 286–268; *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, vol. X, ed. Norbert C. Tóth (Budapest, 2007), no 226.

³⁷ For the *assumptio* device and its use in accomplishing the alienation of inherited land, see Martyn Rady, “Warranty and Surety in Medieval Hungarian Land Law,” *Journal of Legal History* 23 (2002): 23–36 (31–32).

obtaining his relatives' agreement. If he defaulted on the repayments, then the lender took possession. So, in 1451, John Perényi pledged his palace in Buda to the Jew Farkas, for the trivial sum of thirty-two florins with accrued interest. Perényi had inherited the palace, but he did not obtain his relatives' consent to the contract. Indeed, his own kinsman, the Magister Tavernicorum, officially recorded the transaction, promising that he would instruct a bailiff to see to Farkas's institution to the property in the event that the loan was not discharged.³⁸

Ius and *iura* prevailed. By the negotiation of rights, parties could create their own separate legal spheres that were determined by agreed rules. These new rules might even set aside some of the customary laws of the kingdom, including ones that otherwise appear to be the bedrock of the legal order. All this seems shocking, but only because we have been educated to see the law in the same way as György Mailáth. The positivist, monistic concept of the law conceives of the law as an expression of state power, imposed from above, uniform in its application, and distinguished by its universal, written dissemination. In respect of the Middle Ages, we should probably think of the law in more plural terms—as norms proceeding out of agreements about rights, settled at various levels, but in the manner of 'a plethora of seemingly incompatible things that can count as law.'³⁹

DREPTUL COTIDIAN ÎN EVUL MEDIU

Rezumat

În Evul Mediu, instanțele au avut puține lucruri la dispoziție pentru a se ghida în luarea deciziilor. Legea scrisă a fost subțire, iar dreptul cutumiar instabil. Atunci când instanțele se refereau la dreptul cutumiar, de cele mai multe ori au făcut acest lucru pentru un efect retoric, emițând judecăți ce erau de folos ori echitabile dar considerate având rădăcini în dreptul cutumiar. Prin apel la legea cutumiară, adunările au putut acționa, de asemenea, într-o formulă legislativă, avansând propuneri de drept obișnuielnic ce urmau a fi confirmate. Pentru a emite decizii, curțile de judecată au apelat de multe ori fie la echilibrarea drepturilor sau *iura* ale părților, fie au luat o poziție de mijloc între revendicările respective și stabilirea vechimii unor drepturi care, în acest sens, ofereau prioritate. Dar, se putea, de

³⁸ *Magyar-Zsidó oklevéltár*, ed. Fülöp Grünvald and Sándor Scheiber, vol. V, part 1 (Budapest, 1959), 50–51; András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza*, vol. I (Budapest, 2006), 295. For a similar case, involving nobles, where the rights of kinsmen were set aside in favour of the dead man's creditors, see Imre Nagy, *A Pécz nemzetség örökösödési pere 1425–1433* (Budapest, 1892), 28–49.

³⁹ Emmanuel Melissaris, *Ubiquitous Law: Legal Theory and the Space for Legal Pluralism* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2009), 47.

asemenea, ca litiganții să ajungă la un acord între ei și să adapteze dreptul în interesul reciproc, creându-se astfel o sferă juridică separată, care funcționa în afara convențiilor cutumiare normale. Pentru a înțelege modul în care a funcționat dreptul medieval, istoricii ar trebui să renunțe la viziunea pozitivistă asupra dreptului, văzut ca ceva transmis de sus, iar în loc de asta să gândească asupra normelor ce decurg din înțelegerile cu privire la drepturi, stabilite la diferite niveluri, dar asta în maniera „unei serii de lucruri aparent incompatibile care pot conta ca lege”.

IOAN KENDEFI, IOAN GLESÁN ȘI NIKOLA CREPOVIĆ – *FIDELES* PRAGMATICI ÎN LUPTA PENTRU STĂPÂNIREA TRANSILVANIEI ȘI BANATULUI (MIJLOCUL SECOLULUI AL XVI-LEA)

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Cuvinte cheie: Ioan Kendefi, Ioan Glesán, Nikola Crepović, Ferdinand de Habsburg, regina Isabella

Keywords: Ioan Kendefi, Ioan Glesán, Nikola Crepović, Ferdinand of Habsburg, Queen Isabella

La o primă vedere, prea puține lucruri par să le fie comune lui Ioan Kendefi, Ioan Glesán și Nikola Crepović: cel dintâi, membru al unei familii nobiliare mijlocii de origine românească, având vechi rosturi în Țara Hațegului și în părțile Hunedoarei, al doilea, membru al unei familii nobiliare modeste din partea de nord-vest a voievodatului Transilvaniei, iar cel din urmă, un om al armelor, care își părăsise vatra părintească din Serbia stăpânită de otomani, pentru a-și croi calea într-o lume aflată vreme de două decenii într-un conflict cu schimbări pe cât de surprinzătoare, pe atât de drastice. Și, cu toate acestea, confruntarea, adeseori sfidând orice previziune, între partida lui Ferdinand de Habsburg și cea a reginei Isabella și a fiului ei Ioan Sigismund pentru stăpânirea Transilvaniei și Banatului, conflict în care se implicase cu un scop mai mult decât evident și Poarta, a fost scena pe care s-au întâlnit, independent unele de celelalte, destinele celor trei bărbați aflați când de o parte, când de cealaltă a taberelor combatante. Credincioși când uneia, când celeilalte, în funcție de modul în care percepeau evoluția evenimentelor, dar mai cu seamă dominați de pragmatismul supraviețuirii și deopotrivă al prosperării materiale în urma opțiunii lor politice, Kendefi, Glesán și Crepović sunt cazuri tipice, care ilustrează răsturnări de situație uneori spectaculoase și neașteptate, determinate de desfășurarea conflictului între competitorii principali ai stăpânirii asupra Transilvaniei și Banatului la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea. Cei trei bărbați mai au ceva în comun: modul în care, aflându-se fie într-o tabără, fie în cealaltă,

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s-au implicat în lupta de supraviețuire a banatului Caransebeșului și Lugojului în furtuna iscată de ciocnirea între partida ferdinandistă și cea zápolyană, cu implicarea interesată a Porții otomane. Nicolae Kendefi de Râu de Mori, părințele lui Ioan, s-a implicat încă de la începutul conflictului între Ferdinand și Ioan Zápolya de partea celui din urmă. Drept răsplată a primit din partea acestuia, în 1530, pentru sine și pentru soția sa Milița (*Milica*) născută Bradač, sârboaică de origine, mai multe părți de moșie aflate în comitatul Timiș, la Sasvár¹, Giarmata, Ianova și Orțișoara, care îi fuseseră confiscate lui Ioan Bradač, trecut în tabăra ferdinandistă.² În 1537, Marko Jakšić de Nădlac, unul dintre nobilii sârbi aflați în ascensiune în comitatele Cenad, Torontal și Timiș, a ocupat cu forța părțile de moșie de mai sus de la Milița, văduva lui Nicolae Kendefi. După câte se pare, familia Kendefi a reușit să reintre în stăpânirea părților de moșie din cele patru așezări timișene, deoarece, în 1545, Ioan Kendefi, fiul răposatului Nicolae, se opunea, în fața Capitlului din Alba Iulia, ca regina Isabella, Ioan Sigismund sau Gheorghe Martinuzzi să-i doneze aceste proprietăți lui Nikola Crepović.³ Se pare că, până la urmă, tentativa lui Ioan Kendefi a rămas fără efect⁴, ceea ce poate explica și apropierea sa de tabăra ferdinandistă. Drept urmare, în toamna anului 1550, oștenii conduși de Ioan Kendefi au respins la Turnu Roșu/ Poarta Roșie (*Porta Rubra*, *Veres Kapu vulgo*, potrivit cronicarului Francisc Forgách)⁵ trupele trimise de Mircea Ciobanul, domnul Țării Românești, în sprijinul contingentelor

¹ Potrivit lui Coriolan Suciu, *Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania*, vol. II (București, 1968), 399, *Sasvár/ Sasvar*, o așezare azi dispărută, amintită documentar în 1492 chiar ca târg (*oppidum*), s-ar fi aflat între Remetea Mare și Ianova, unde se mai văd ruine ale unei vechi fortificații. Milleker Bodog, *Délmagyarország középkori földrajza* (Timișoara, 1915), 236 crede că așezarea, azi dispărută, s-ar fi aflat la vest de Remetea Mare, unde un toponim din hotarul apusean, Șușoare, i-ar păstra amintirea.

² Lendvai Miklós, *Temes vármegye nemes családjai*, vol. I (Budapesta, 1896), 62.

³ Ibid., 62. Lendvai se numără printre foarte puținii istorici (cu excepția celor sârbi), care folosește numele corect de Crepović (la Lendvai *Czrepovics*), mai toți ceilalți recurgând la variante deduse eronat (*Cserepovics*, *Cherepovici*, *Cerepovici*) din forma curentă în documentele redactate în latină sau maghiară (*Cherepowyth*, *Cserepuit*). Așa cum se va vedea ceva mai încolo, forma corectă a numelui este *Nikola Crepović*. În acest fel figurează numele în inscripția slavonă de pe piatra de mormânt aflată în biserica din Bârsău (județul Hunedoara).

⁴ Supoziția, că Crepović ar fi ajuns să stăpânească până la urmă Sasvár, ne este confirmată și de inscripția în limba latină de pe piatra de mormânt din biserica de la Bârsău, unde este menționat cu predicatul nobiliar *Sasvariensis* (de Sasvar), vezi Ileana Burnichioiu, "Revenirea la un subiect fără surse: biserica din Bârsău în secolele XV–XVI," *Mediaevalia Transilvanica* V–VI, nr.1–2 (2001–2002): 105.

⁵ Ghymes Forgách Ferencz, *Magyar históriája 1540–1572*, Májer Fidél, ed. (Pesta, 1866) (*Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, Scriptores, vol. XVI), Liber I, 9. Vezi și Tinódi Sebestyén összes művei 1540–1555, ed. Szilády Áron, (Budapesta, 1881) (*Régi magyar költők tára*, vol. III): *Erdéli históriának másod része*, 25, versurile 583–584: "Az Vörös Kapunál Kendefi Jánosval/ Hagya [Martinuzzi – n.n.] seregöket ő jó szolgálival".

otomane destinate susținerii reginei Isabella și a lui Petru Petrovici, comite de Timiș și ban al Caransebeșului și Lugojului.⁶ Împreună cu Ioan Török, Benedict Vas și alți nobili hațegani, Ioan Kendefi i-a înfrânt lângă Hațeg, la 16 noiembrie 1550, pe cei 4500 de turci comandați de Kasım, pașa de Buda, și contingentele trimise de Mircea Ciobanul, care aveau intenția să facă joncțiunea cu moldovenii lui Iliăș Vodă.⁷ Tot pe atunci, Feru aga, unul dintre comandanții lui Kasım pașa, fusese înfrânt sub zidurile cetății Deva.⁸ După victoria de la Hațeg, Ioan Kendefi și oștenii săi au pătruns prin Poarta de Fier a Transilvaniei și pe valea Bistrei până la Caransebeș, iar mai apoi la Lugoj, readucând banatul de acolo sub ascultarea lui Ferdinand. După ce situația din Transilvania a evoluat decisiv în favoarea sa, Ferdinand nu a întârziat să răsplătească „credința și slujbele credincioase” pe care i le adusesese Ioan Kendefi, *fidelis noster*. La 10 august 1551, în diploma prin care îi acorda mai multe beneficii⁹, suveranul a ținut să expună pe larg meritele lui Ioan Kendefi: „Pe când în țara noastră a Transilvaniei a fost stărnită, pe de o parte, o răsccoală de către niște răzvrătiți împotriva noastră, iar, pe de altă parte, oastea voievodului Țării Românești (Mircea Ciobanul – n.n.), amestecată cu turci, a pătruns în aceeași țară a noastră a Transilvaniei cu forță dușmănoasă, dimpreună cu un mare număr de călăreți ai pașei de Buda (Kasım – n.n.), care a ieșit în întâmpinarea celor veniți din Țara Românească, și s-a dat o bătălie cu aceștia”, Ioan Kendefi „i-a răpus pe nu puțini dintre ei (după cum am aflat de treaba asta de la anumiți credincioși ai noștri), iar pe ceilalți i-a pus pe fugă și i-a silit să-și caute scăparea prin fugă”. Mai apoi, Kendefi „a adus la credința și la ascultarea față de noi orașele numite Lugoj și Caransebeș, așezate pe râul Timiș, care dăduseră mai înainte ascultare aceluiași răzvrătiți împotriva noastră”. Potrivit diplomei regale, în vreme ce Ioan Kendefi îi aducea aceste servicii lui Ferdinand, „un mare număr de călăreți și pedestrași trimiși la cetatea sa numită Cetatea de Colț¹⁰, au prădat, pe când el lipsea de acolo, toate lucrurile și bunurile sale aflate acolo, i-au luat în prinsoare pe mama și

⁶ Kropf Lajos, „Castaldo Erdélyben,” *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 9 (1896): 70–71.

⁷ Forgách, *Magyar históriája*, Liber I, 10.

⁸ Kropf Lajos, „A dévai török veszedelem 1550-ben,” *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve*, X (1899): 57–64.

⁹ Pesty Frigyes, *Krassó vármegye története*, vol.II/1 (Budapesta, 1884), 320 dă un scurt rezumat al documentului, fără a menționa cele peste 20 de moșii și părți de moșie aflate în cauză. Vezi și Pesty Frigyes, *A szőrényi bántás és Szőrény vármegye története*, vol. II (Budapesta, 1878), 132. Vezi doc.1, unde este publicat integral textul diplomei.

¹⁰ Cetatea de Colț, amintită mai întâi ca donjon (*turris*), iar din 1519 ca cetate, se afla în stăpânirea familiei Kendefi încă de la sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea, vezi Csánki Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*, vol. V (Budapesta, 1913), 51–52; vezi și Szinte Gábor, „Kolczvár,” *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve* VII (1893): 69–79.

pe soția sa împreună cu copiii săi și i-au dus în jalnică robie”. Paguba suferită de Ioan Kendefi cu acest prilej s-ar fi ridicat la suma considerabilă de circa 25 000 de florini. Pentru a o acoperi măcar în parte, Ferdinand i-a zălogit lui Ioan Kendefi, sub garanția a 15 000 de florini, târgul Geoagiu de Jos și curtea nobiliară de acolo, împreună cu nu mai puțin de 18 moșii întregi (Glod, Almașu, Nădăștia, Balșa, Ardeu, Băcăia, Homorod, Roșia, Cib, Bozeș, Renghet, Mada, Poiana Aiudului, Techereu, Almașul Mare, Voia, Poiana și Porcurea) și două părți de moșie (la Cigmău și Almașul Mic), toate aflate în comitatul Hunedoara. Acestea îi aparținuseră lui Lázár Kún¹¹, de la care fuseseră confiscate, deoarece „în timpul năvălirii moldovenilor în zisa noastră țară a Transilvaniei”, în toamna anului 1550, „le-a dat bucate, ... a întreținut relații cu ei și le-a fost de ajutor”, comițând astfel crima de necredință (*in notam infidelitatis incurrisse*). Toate aceste bunuri din comitatul Hunedoara i-au fost zălogite lui Ioan Kendefi fie până când suveranul i-ar fi plătit 15 000 de florini, fie i le-ar fi donat în stăpânire deplină. Pentru a mai compensa într-o anumită măsură pierderile suferite de Kendefi în toamna anului 1550, Ferdinand i-a donat în aceeași zi de 10 august 1551, cu titlul de nouă danie, alte proprietăți din comitatul Hunedoara: târgul Șoimuș, aflat la nord-vest de Deva, și încă nouă moșii: Bârsău, Săcărâmb, Certejul, Boholt, Fizești, Nevoeș, Chișcădaga și Buruiene din pertinențele cetății Deva și Toplița din pertinențele cetății Hunedoara.¹² Nu știm încă dacă Ioan Kendefi a reușit, anume când și în ce împrejurări, să-și elibereze familia luată în robie. Nu ne este cunoscut nici modul în care a trecut prin anii interregului din Transilvania (1551–1556) și cum se va fi integrat în regimul instaurat după revenirea din exil a reginei Isabella. Știm însă cu certitudine că, în 1581, târgul Șoimuș și cele nouă moșii din pertinențele Devei și ale Hunedorei nu îi mai aparțineau familiei Kendefi, ci se găseau, desigur de mai multă vreme, în stăpânirea familiei Crepović.¹³

Nikola Crepović, care fusese, la fel ca Ioan Kendefi, un *fidelis* al lui Ferdinand apucase să se orienteze la vreme spre partida câștigătoare – cea a reginei Isabella, primindu-și răsplata cuvenită. Este de presupus ca moșiile lui Ioan Kendefi să fi fost confiscate fie de Petru Petrovici, omul de încredere al reginei Isabella, fie chiar de aceasta, la fel cum se procedase pe atunci și în alte cazuri.¹⁴ În aceeași

¹¹ În 1548, Lázár Kún a făcut parte din consiliul locumtenențial al reginei Isabella, vezi Trócsányi Zsolt, *Erdélyi központi kormányzata 1540–1690* (Budapest, 1980), 31.

¹² Vezi doc. 2. Vezi și Veress Endre, “Hunyad vármegye János király és Isabella királyné korában,” *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve XIV* (1903–1904): 71.

¹³ Bogdándi Zsolt, Gálfi Emőke, *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei 1222–1599* (Cluj-Napoca, 2006), 111, nr. 269.

¹⁴ Cu titlu de exemplu cităm următoarele cazuri din zona care fusese câștigată tocmai de Ioan Kendefi pentru partida ferdinandistă. La 20 august 1555, Petru Petrovici i-a confiscat lui Mihai

măsură, regina Isabella și Petru Petrovici s-au îngrijit să-i răsplătească pe cei care le păstrasera credința în timpul interregnului¹⁵ sau trecuseră în tabăra lor la momentul oportun (cazul lui Nikola Crepović). Pe de altă parte, urmărirea aderenților lui Ioan Sigismund, în mod cu totul deosebit a celor din comitatul Severin, de către partida habsburgică interesată pe mai departe de stăpânirea asupra Transilvaniei avea să înceteze abia în 1571, în temeiul unui acord realizat doar cu câteva săptămâni înainte de moartea „regelui ales al Ungariei”.¹⁶ Despre Ioan Glesán, un alt *fidelis* al lui Ferdinand, ajuns pentru scurt timp ban al Caransebeșului și Lugojului în primăvara și vara anului 1552¹⁷, informațiile

Giurma casa cea mare din orașul Caransebeș, sub acuzația că, “uitând de credința lui, cu care le era dator Maiestăților Lor, domnilor noștri, și chiar nouă, a aderat la facțiunea lui Ferdinand și a fugit de aici în Transilvania, iar prin aceasta a comis crima de lezare a Maiestăților Lor, căzând sub semnul veșnicei necredințe”. Casa confiscată lui Giurma a fost dăruită nobililor Gașpar Békés (tatăl acestuia, Ladislau, a ajuns în 1558 chiar ban al Caransebeșului și Lugojului) și Francisc Kürtössi, cămărari (postelnici) regali, vezi Pesty, *Szörény*, vol. III, 275–276, doc. 207. La mijlocul lunii septembrie 1555, tot Petru Petrovici i-a confiscat lui Gheorghe Farkas (Lupu) de Măru părți de moșie aflate la Măru, Sacu, Mătnicu Mare, Chiernota și Morencz, precum și prediile Radulencz, Padurile, Ohabiczia și Magura, toate din districtul Caransebeș, deoarece proprietarul lor, “uitând de credința și de îndatoririle prin care era obligat față de Maiestățile Lor ca față de principii lui firești, a trecut la facțiunea ferdinandistă și i-a ținut partea cu toate puterile sale, iar prin aceasta a căzut sub semnul veșnicei necredințe”. Cel răsplătit cu bunurile confiscate a fost Cristofor Hagymási, vezi Pesty, *Krassó*, vol. IV, 68–69, doc. 418. De altfel, Hagymási avea să se bucure în timpul reginei Isabella și al lui Ioan Sigismund de înalte dregătorii: membru al Consiliului princiar (1556–1578), comite suprem al comitatului Solnocul de Mijloc, căpitan suprem al Transilvaniei (1566), căpitan suprem al cetății Oradea (din 1567), fiind unul dintre executorii testamentari ai lui Ioan Sigismund, vezi Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 27–28. La 7 iulie 1556, Petru Petrovici a confiscat casa din orașul Lugoj, precum și “oricari alte lucruri, atât din aur cât și din argint și toate bunurile mobile și imobile” aparținând răposatului Ilie *Olah* (Romănu), deoarece acesta “a părăsit pe ascuns tabăra și asediul cetății Hust și a îndemnat ostașii să plece de acolo”, ajungând astfel “sub semnul veșnicei necredințe”. Bunurile confiscate le-au fost dăruite amintitului cămărar Francisc Kürtössi și nobilului lugojan Francisc Mlado, vezi Pesty, *Krassó*, vol. IV, 69–70, doc. 419.

¹⁵ La 7 iulie 1556 Petru Petrovici i-a repus în stăpânirea unei jumătăți din moșia Dombowycza, aflată în districtul Caransebeș, pe Ladislau Békés și pe fiul acestuia Gașpar, proprietate deținută încă de strămoșii lor, dar care “în vremurile tulburi care au fost” ajunsese în stăpânirea târgului Lugoj, vezi Pesty, *Krassó*, vol. IV, 70–71, doc. 420.

¹⁶ Prin convenția încheiată la Praga, la 31 ianuarie 1571, Maximilian al II-lea îl asigura între altele pe Gașpar Békés, trimisul lui Ioan Sigismund, ca *omnes et singulos nobiles, status et ordines comitatus Szuryny ... non infestatuos, neque iniurias nobis aut nostris forte illatas ullo unquam tempore ultuos, neque in bonis iuribusque possessionariis aut in personis ob idipsum quoquomodo inturbatuos esse*, vezi Pesty, *Szörény*, vol. III, 391–392, doc. 259.

¹⁷ Dragoș Lucian Țigău, “Banii de Caransebeș și Lugoj. Considerații asupra atribuțiilor și competențelor acestora,” *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* XVI (1998): 239 îl atestă pe Glesán ca ban între 16 mai și 19 iulie 1552.

cunoscute până acum sunt destul de puține și disparate. Chiar și originea i-a rămas învăluită în supoziții și incertitudini.¹⁸ Un document dat la iveală destul de recent este însă pe deplin lămuritor. Într-un protest formulat în fața Capitlului din Cluj-Mănăstur în 1555 cu privire la înstrăinarea mai multor părți de moșie din comitatul Târnava, cel vizat era *Thothffalwi Glesán János*.¹⁹ Că, în acest caz, este vorba tocmai de fostul ban al Caransebeșului și Lugojului, vom demonstra ceva mai încolo. Revenind la predicatul nobiliar, *de Tótfalu*, acesta corespunde mai multor localități din nord-vestul Transilvaniei.²⁰ În momentul de față nu ne putem pronunța ferm în favoarea vreunei localizări certe, dar socotim că poate fi vorba cu destulă probabilitate de Vale din părțile Gherlei sau de Sârbi din părțile Șimleului. Un Ioan Glesán, pe care îl socotim identic cu persoana viitorului ban, apare într-un document din 23 noiembrie 1549 al Conventului din Cluj-Mănăstur.²¹ La acea dată, Ioan Glesán îi interzicea, în fața Conventului clujan, lui Farkas Barlabási să înstrăineze moșia Valea Izvoarelor (*Besenyew*) din comitatul Târnava lui Ioan Barlabási, episcop de Cenad. Faptul că același Ioan Glesán este amintit, în 1555, printre proprietarii altor părți de moșie din comitatul Târnava²² ne îndeamnă să-l socotim identic cu cel amintit în 1549. Modul în care a ajuns Glesán ban, prin nesocotirea documentului privilegiat din 29 august 1457, care rezerva funcția de ban al Severinului doar celor care dețineau proprietăți în acea regiune, poate fi explicat prin împrejurările în care a avut loc numirea. După ce, în toamna anului 1551, sub presiunea crescândă a trupelor otomane, generalul Castaldo, omul de încredere al lui Ferdinand, preluase controlul asupra centrelor principale din Banat (Timișoara, Lipova, Caransebeș, Lugoj, Becicherecul Mare), el a socotit necesară și ocuparea dregătoriei importante de ban al Caransebeșului și Lugojului, deținută până atunci de Petru Petrovici, inamicul de moarte al partidei ferdinandiste. De altfel, caransebeșenii înșiși îl rugaseră pe Castaldo la 5 martie 1552 să le numească drept ban „un om de vază” (*unam personam capitalem*). Drept candidați, ei îi propuseseră pe Ioan Török, Melchior Bethlen, Gabriel Bethlen sau Bartolomeu Horváth, insistând asupra dreptului lor de a-și desemna conducătorul.²³ Dar Castaldo

¹⁸ Pesty, *Szörény*, vol. I, 295 crede că Glesán ar fi fost de origine secuiască, având predicatul nobiliar *geyesi* (!). Tot Pesty afirmă că acest Glesán sau un alt Ioan Glesán a fost în 1553 comandant al Cetății de Baltă.

¹⁹ Jakó Zsigmond, *A Kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei (1289–1556)*, vol. II (Budapesta, 1990), 799, nr. 5347.

²⁰ Numele de Tótfalu l-au avut mai multe localități din nord-vestul Transilvaniei: Vale (Gherla), Sârbi (Șimleu), Stremț (Cehu Silvaniei), Tăuții de Jos și Tăuții de Sus (Șomcuta Mare).

²¹ Jakó, *A Kolozsmonostori konvent*, 692, nr. 4974.

²² Ibid., 799, nr. 5374.

²³ Costin Feneșan, “Banatul Caransebeșului și Lugojului între Habsburgi și Poartă în anul 1552,” *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* XII (1994): 181, doc. IV.

a ținut să-și impună propriul om, astfel că, la 7 martie 1552, i-a făcut cunoscută lui Ferdinand opțiunea sa în favoarea lui Ioan Glesán.²⁴ După unele ezitări, datorate desigur opoziției caransebeșenilor și lugojenilor față de un om cu totul necunoscut care, pe lângă asta, nu provenea din mijlocul lor, Castaldo, aflat sub presiunea acțiunilor militare ale Porții în zona Banatului, a reușit ca, probabil în aprilie 1552 sau cel mai târziu la începutul lunii următoare, să îl numească pe Glesán ca ban.²⁵ Se pare că nici Ștefan Losonczi, comitele de Timiș și comandantul cetății Timișoara, nu a agreat numirea lui Glesán ca ban, el rugându-l de altfel pe Ferdinand, la 2 iunie 1552, să numească un alt ban.²⁶ În mod cu totul paradoxal, Glesán s-a nimerit a fi pentru Caransebeș și Lugoj omul potrivit la locul potrivit. Ținut, fără îndoială, sub control și presiune de fruntașii caransebeșeni și lugojeni dar având o intuiție remarcabilă a situației în care se afla banatul său, Glesán a adoptat o politică de temporizare și de neangajare în vreo acțiune pripită, păstrându-și deschise toate opțiunile, fără a-și lua vreun angajament decisiv. Astfel, a luat la cunoștință dar nu a dat curs poruncii marelui vizir Ahmed pașa din 16 mai 1552, de a se implica în alungarea „nemților” (adică a ferdinandistilor) din țară, de a da ascultare reginei Isabella și lui Ioan Sigismund dacă ar fi revenit în Transilvania sau de a contribui, în caz contrar, la alegerea unui nou voievod și la plata haraciului anual al țării.²⁷ Pe de altă parte, la mijlocul lunii iulie 1552, când Timișoara fusese deja împresurată de trupele otomane, Glesán și Sfatul Caransebeșului, deși îl informaseră pe Castaldo de imposibilitatea de a detașa la Timișoara un singur oștean, au trimis totuși un detașament care, în frunte cu însăși banul, a atacat 2 000 de turci care însoțeau un convoi de artilerie.²⁸ După căderea Timișoarei (26 iulie 1552)²⁹, Glesán s-a implicat în tratativele care au asigurat până la urmă supraviețuirea banatului Caransebeșului și Lugojului în cadrul principatului ardelean în schimbul unui

²⁴ Ibid., 167, nota 32. Vezi și Pesty, Szörény, vol. II, 135–139.

²⁵ Feneșan, „Banatul Caransebeșului,” 170, nota 45. Socotim că numirea lui Glesán ca ban a avut loc cu cea mai mare probabilitate în aprilie 1552, chiar dacă emite un document ca *ban* abia la 15 iulie 1552 (vezi Feneșan, „Banatul Caransebeșului,” 192–193, doc. XVI). Faptul că, la jumătatea lunii mai 1552, Glesán se afla deja în funcție este demonstrat și de scrisoarea care i-a fost adresată de marele vizir Ahmed pașa, fără a-l intitula însă ban, vezi Costin Feneșan, Cristina Feneșan, *Transilvania între Habsburgi și Poarta otomană la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea (Documente din arhiva Cancelariei de Stat de la Viena)* (Timișoara, 2013), 178–179, doc. 38.

²⁶ Feneșan, „Banatul Caransebeșului,” 170, nota 47; vezi și Pesty, Szörény, vol. I, 295.

²⁷ C. Feneșan, Cr. Feneșan, *Transilvania*, 178–179, doc. 38.

²⁸ Feneșan, „Banatul Caransebeșului,” 174. În scrisoarea trimisă lui Castaldo la 15 iulie 1552, Glesán semnează *banus Sebesiensis*, vezi ibid., 192–193, doc. XVI.

²⁹ S. Tinódi, *Az vég Temesvárban Losonczi Istvánnak haláláról*, ed. Á. Szilády, 87, vers 485 afirmă cu totul eronat, că Glesán s-ar fi numărat între cei uciși de turci după capitularea Timișoarei: *Vesze Aprós Petör és az Glesán János*.

haraci anual plătit Porții, soluție care a fost până la urmă agreată de Castaldo și de Ferdinand. Nu ne sunt cunoscute cauzele și momentul în care Glesán s-a retras din dregătoria de ban, fie *proprio motu*, poate îndemnat de posibilele reproșuri din partea caransebeșenilor și lugojenilor, fie demis de Castaldo după ce scosese cu mâna sa din foc castanele fierbinți. Maurul își făcuse datoria. Știm însă cu siguranță că, la începutul anului 1553, Glesán se întorsese în Transilvania, primind comanda Cetății de Baltă. La 27 martie 1553, Ferdinand i se adresa comandantului său din Cetatea de Baltă rânduind acolo de Castaldo³⁰, dându-i asigurări că îl va îndestula atât pentru banii pe care îi cheltuisese pentru cetatea care îi fusese încredințată, cât și pentru cele două luni de salariu restant din vremea în care servise cu credință (*fideliter*) la Caransebeș. La ordinul suveranului, voievodul ardelean Andrei Báthory și tezaurarul Petru Haller au calculat mărimea sumei datorate lui Glesán, aceasta urmând să-i fie restituită fie în bani, fie în bunuri echivalente. Drept garanție, Ferdinand i-a făgăduit lui Glesán păstrarea în funcția de comandant al Cetății de Baltă. Se pare că suveranul nu și-a putut ține promisiunea de a-i plăti lui Glesán în bani datoria amintită. De aceea, la 20 noiembrie 1554, el i-a donat lui Ioan Glesán mai multe părți de moșie aflate la Sălcud și Cuștelnic, în comitatul Târnava, care îi reveniseră Fiscului regal în urma morții fără de urmași a lui Alexie de Hărănglab.³¹ Situația materială a lui Ioan Glesán pare să fi devenit destul de confortabilă, de vreme ce, în februarie 1555, el stăpânea mai multe părți de moșie în comitatele Târnava și Alba: Cuștelnic și Sălcud, dăruite de Ferdinand în 1554, Șomoștelnic, Kornetelke (așezare azi dispărută, care s-a aflat în apropiere de Dumbrăveni), Deaj, Gănești, Hărănglab, Subpădure și Blăjel, în comitatul Târnava, Motișul și Petrești, în comitatul Alb.³² Despre modul în care a reușit să se descurce Glesán după revenirea în Transilvania a reginei Isabella și a lui Ioan Sigismund nu știm deocamdată nimic, dar se pare că, și de această dată, versatilitatea dovedită în 1552 îi va fi fost de ajutor.

Nikola Crepović³³ este, fără îndoială, exemplul cel mai elocvent al unui *fidelis* pragmatic, care a știut să schimbe din timp și în propriul său folos tabelele în timpul celor aproape două decenii de lupte pentru stăpânirea Transilvaniei și Banatului. Originar din Serbia ocupată de otomani³⁴, Crepović a îmbrățișat,

³⁰ Vezi doc. 3.

³¹ Vezi doc. 6.

³² Jakó, *A Kolozsmonostori konvent*, 799, nr. 5347.

³³ În legătură cu numele său, vezi nota 3.

³⁴ O genealogie sumară a familiei Crepović la Aleksa Ivić, *Istorija Srba u Ugarskoj od pada Smedereva do seobe pod Čarnojevičem (1450–1690)* (Zagreb, 1914), 173; vezi și Aleksa Ivić, Dušan Mrđenović, Dušan Spasić, Aleksandar Palavestra, *Rodoslovne tablice i grbovi srpskih dinastija i vlastele* (Belgrad, 1987), 239.

aidoma atâtor conaționali ai săi, cariera armelor. După căderea Budei în mâna turcilor (1541) el s-a aflat, împreună cu alți delegați din partida zápolyană, la Horgos, pentru a-i prezenta lui Ferdinand de Habsburg cererile sărbilor din Ungaria.³⁵ Încrezător în promisiunile habsburgice, el a intrat în slujba lui Ferdinand în fruntea unei unități de haiduci.³⁶ Din motive care ne scapă, Crepović a trecut după puțină vreme în slujba reginei Isabella, de la care a obținut nobilitarea cu predicatul *de Sasvar*³⁷, după ce Ioan Kendefi se opusese zadarnic ca sărbului să-i fie dăruite părți de moșie la Sasvar, Giarmata, Ianova și Orțișoara.³⁸ În 1550, în calitate de căpitan al reginei Isabella, Crepović a fost trimis cu un detașament mai mare pentru a ocupa Cenadul ținut de trupele lui Martinuzzi. A reușit să ocupe cu ușurință fortificațiile mai mici din împrejurimi (Saravale, Beșenova Veche, Periam, Arandelovo/Oroszlámos, Makó și Tömpös)³⁹, apoi a început să asedieze Cenadul.⁴⁰ La 10 octombrie 1550, într-o ciocnire desfășurată în apropiere de Cenad, trupele lui Crepović au fost înfrânte grav de Toma Varkocs, un căpitan al lui Martinuzzi. Cenadul și Nădlacul erau pierdute pentru regina Isabella. În urma acordului încheiat la 3 februarie 1551 între Ferdinand și Martinuzzi, Nikola Crepović a trecut din nou în slujba Habsburgilor. A luat parte la apărarea cetății Timișoara în timpul primului asediu otoman din toamna anului 1551, când se pare că a fost luat prizonier, fiind apoi eliberat. În cursul anului decisiv 1552 a avut o atitudine șovăitoare, care i-a afectat destul de serios relațiile cu tabăra ferdinandistă. Se pare, bunăoară, că a dat ascultare mai mult decât s-ar fi convenit – lucru ajuns de altfel și la urechile lui Ferdinand – avertismentului trimis în a doua jumătate a lunii februarie 1552 de sultanul Süleyman Kanunî lui și celorlalți căpitani sârbi,

³⁵ Ivić et alii, *Rodoslovne tablice*, 239.

³⁶ Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 148.

³⁷ Ivić et alii, *Rodoslovne tablice*, 239.

³⁸ Vezi nota 2. Convingătoare pentru acordarea predicatului nobilar *de Sasvar* este inscripția în limba latină de pe piatra de mormânt a lui Nikola Crepović păstrată la biserica din Bârsău: HIC SEPULTUS JACET SASVAR[IENSIS] NICOLAUS C[HEREPOVIT] ... urmează un blazon. În partea superioară inscripția glăsuiește după cum urmează: MAGNIFI[CUS] [DOMINUS] [NI]/COLAUS .../ [CHEREPO]VIT * CAP[ITANEUS] ALFELDIEN[SIS] [SERENISSIMI] [IOA]/NNIS * ELEC[TI REGIS]/ CONSILI[ARIUS] [ANNO DOMINI]/ 156[2], vezi Burnichioiu, "Biserica din Bârsău," 105.

³⁹ Borovszky, *Csanád*, vol. I, 180.

⁴⁰ În legătură cu aceasta, cronica în versuri a lui Sebastian Tinódi relatează următoarele: *Szertelen az ráczok Csanád kerül dúlnak,/ Csakhogy nem égetnek, népet nem rabolnak,/ Ugyan terek módra, de mindent levágnak/ Cserepuit Miklóssal nyolcz ezeren vadnak*, vezi Tinódi, *Erdéli históriája másod része* 24, versurile 481–484. Vezi și relatarea lui Francisc Forgách, *Magyar históriája*, ed. Májer, Liber I, 7: *Hinc parte copiarum Chanadinum oppugnandum missa, duce Nicolao Cherepovith Rasciano ... Nicolaus Cherepovith cum octo millibus Rascianorum Chanadinum acriter oppugnabat et circum hostilia exercebat*.

Gheorghe Klinčić și Petar Božić, și deopotrivă locuitorilor din Caransebeș și Lugoj, de a-i păstra credința jurată odinioară reginei Isabella și lui Ioan Sigismund, renunțând să-l mai sprijine pe Ferdinand.⁴¹ Tot Crepović pare să nu fi respins cu destulă convingere reproșurile pe care i le adresase la începutul lunii mai 1552 marele vizir Ahmed pașa, anume de a-i fi trădat pe Ioan Sigismund și pe regina Isabella, trecând de partea lui Ferdinand, de a nu fi refuzat în mod răspicat îndemnul marelui demnitar otoman de a reveni alături de partida susținută de Poartă.⁴² Atitudinea lui Crepović în lunile care au urmat i-a adus însă din nou încrederea generalului Castaldo și aprecieri din partea lui Ferdinand în cursul anilor 1553–1554.⁴³ Iar recompensele nu s-au lăsat așteptate. La 27 iunie 1553 Ferdinand i-a zălogit lui Crepović, sub garanția sumei de 1 000 de florini ungurești, cetatea Brănișca împreună cu toate satele și moșiile care țineau de aceasta.⁴⁴ Suveranul i-a impus însă mai multe condiții: „să fie dator și obligat să o înzestreze pe cheltuială proprie cu pază îndestulătoare și necesară, să ne permită oricând nouă și alor noștri intrarea și ieșirea liberă din aceeași cetate ori de câte ori ne va fi pe voie, să ne îngăduie nouă și alor noștri ca, pe propria noastră cheltuială, să adăstăm în zisa cetate, iar el [Crepović – n.n.] să nu înceapă niciun război fără știrea noastră, nici să nu se înțeleagă din acea cetate cu dușmanii noștri ... și nici să nu încheie vreo învoială cu ei, să se îngrijească și să păstreze cu toată sârguința drepturile și pertinențele acelei <cetăți>, nici să nu înstrăineze ori să scoată în ascuns ceva de acolo și să nu aibă niciodată dreptul să-i împovăreze pe iobagi și pe supuși contrar cu dreptatea și dincolo de dările obișnuite și de serviciile datorate”. În schimb, dacă Ferdinand sau urmașii săi ar fi dorit să reia cetatea Brănișca, ei ar fi fost datori să-i plătească lui Crepović 1 000 de florini ungurești, precum și toate cheltuielile pe care le-ar fi făcut cu „ridicarea zidurilor și pentru alte lucrări necesare fortificării”. Această sumă din urmă trebuia să fie estimată de comisarii lui Ferdinand în mod corect după o inspecție efectuată la fața locului. Munificența lui Ferdinand nu s-a limitat doar la cetatea Brănișca și la pertinențele acesteia. La 18 aprilie 1554

⁴¹ C. Feneșan, Cr. Feneșan, *Transilvania*, 145–148, doc. 26.

⁴² Ibid., 157–158, doc. 29.

⁴³ Veress Endre, „Déva és környéke Castaldo idejében,” *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve IX* (1896–1898), 65.

⁴⁴ Vezi doc.4; vezi și Veress, *Déva és környéke*, 65. Este de remarcat faptul că, doar cu un an în urmă, Ferdinand se folosise tot de castelul Brănișca și de moșiile care țineau de acesta ca sursă de venit. La 22 martie 1552, el aproba zălogirea acestora de către generalul Castaldo, în schimbul a 4 000 de florini ungurești, pe seama lui Paul Csáki de Keresztur, castelan și a lui Ioan Dobay, provizor (administrator) al cetății Gherla, care păstrasera acea fortificație pentru ferdinandiști după moartea lui Martinuzzi (decembrie 1551), vezi Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, A. 57: Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, *Libri Regii*, vol. 3, 22 (nr. 24) și E. 227: Magyar Kamara Archivuma, *Libri donationum*, vol. 2, 16.

suveranul i-a zălogit lui Nikola Crepović pe termen de doi ani, cu o garanție de 4 000 de florini, moșiile Hoghilag, Șoroștin, Mănărade și Cenade din comitatul Alba.⁴⁵ Aceste moșii îi aparținuseră episcopiei Cenadului, căreia îi reveniseră de la abația Igriș, ajungând apoi în stăpânirea lui Ferdinand după evenimentele din vara anului 1552. La 27 martie 1553 Ferdinand a dăruit cele patru moșii orașului Sibiu, cu obligația de a le răscumpăra de la Francisc Medgyesi, locțiitorul episcopului romano-catolic al Transilvaniei sau de la episcopul titular care urma să fie numit în funcție.⁴⁶ Cum sibienii nu au reușit să răscumpere cele patru moșii, Ferdinand i le-a zălogit lui Nikola Crepović prin documentul amintit din 18 aprilie 1554.⁴⁷ În motivarea actului său, suveranul a menționat că *fidelis* Crepović care, „după ce Timișoara a fost cucerită, a fugit în Transilvania împreună cu soția și copiii săi”, i-a slujit în continuare „cu necurmată credință și stăruință, vărsându-și sângele și punându-și viața în mare primejdie în toate expedițiile militare și tulburările din ultimii ani”. Mai mult, moșiile Hoghilag, Șoroștin și Mănărade îi fuseseră zălogite lui Crepović de generalul Castaldo, comiții Toma Nádasdy și Andrei Báthory, voievozii Transilvaniei, în schimbul sumei de 1 000 de florini. Căpitanul sârb l-a rugat pe suveran să-l păstreze în beneficiul acestor proprietăți „până când îl vom putea înzestra cu bunuri mai sigure”, deoarece altfel ar fi fost nevoit „să rățăcească prin adăposturi străine, împreună cu soția, copiii și frații săi”. Crepović i-a mai cerut lui Ferdinand îngăduința să ridice pe una din acele moșii „o casă în care să poată locui mai lesnicios împreună cu amintita sa familie”. Pentru frații acestuia, „bărbați de arme care rățăcesc prin diferite locuri și care ne pot sluji la fel ca el [Crepović – n.n.]”, Ferdinand a decis să zălogească și moșia Cenade, care se aflase până atunci în folosința răposatului doctor în teologie Francisc Székely, abate la Cluj-Mănăstur. Până la urmă, suma totală de zălogire pentru cele patru moșii din comitatul Alba a fost stabilită la 4 000 de florini. Pe timpul celor doi ani ai zălogirii, Crepović avea îngăduința de a percepe „toate roadele și veniturile lor spre a se întreține pe sine și familia sa”, având în același timp dreptul de „a ridica și construi pe oricare dintre aceste moșii, din orice material, o casă cu o valoare de până la 200 de florini, spre a locui acolo el și familia sa”. După trecerea celor doi ani, Ferdinand se obliga fie să-i treacă definitiv în stăpânire cele patru moșii lui Crepović ori să-i dea alte proprietăți echivalente, fie să-i plătească zălogul de 4 000 de florini și cei 200 de florini cheltuiți pentru construirea casei. Cum Ferdinand fusese nevoit să se retragă din Transilvania în toamna anului 1556, se părea că al său *fidelis* Nikola Crepović avea să piardă tot ceea ce reușise să agonisească. Numai că, în împrejurări care ne rămân deocamdată necunoscute, acesta reușise cu uimi-

⁴⁵ Vezi doc. 5.

⁴⁶ Borovszky, *Csanád*, vol. I, 370.

⁴⁷ Ibid., I, 164 afirmă greșit că Ferdinand i-ar fi vândut lui Crepović cele patru moșii.

toare versatilitate să se afle din nou în tabăra învingătorilor – cea a reginei Isabella și a lui Ioan Sigismund. În acest fel, el și-a pus la adăpost nu numai averea⁴⁸, ci s-a putut bucura și de o fulminantă carieră politică. În vara anului 1558 Nikola Crepović devenise ban al Caransebeșului și Lugojului⁴⁹, aceasta după ce, încă din 1556, fusese numit chiar membru al Consiliului princiar (consilier princiar).⁵⁰ În dregătoria de ban, Crepović a rămas cel puțin până dincolo de jumătatea lunii noiembrie 1559.⁵¹ După aceea rosturile lui ne rămân, cel puțin deocamdată, neștiute.⁵² Știm doar că, în 1562 a trecut la cele veșnice, fiind înmormântat în biserica din Bârsău, ctitorită ceva mai târziu de soția și de una din ficele sale.⁵³

Nikola Crepović a fost căsătorit cu Mara Ovčarović (documentele în limba latină o amintesc ca Margareta), fiica lui Petar Dașer, din mariaj rezultând două fice. Cea mai mare, Caterina, ctitoră a bisericii din Bârsău alături de mama ei, a fost căsătorită cu Valentin Török (Turcu) de Enying, comite suprem al comitatului Hunedoara. Elena, mezina, a fost măritată pentru prima dată, pentru o scurtă perioadă de timp, cu Petru cel Tânăr, fiul lui Mircea Ciobanul,

⁴⁸ Astfel, în 1572, principele ardelean Ștefan Báthory le-a confirmat văduvei și ficelelor lui Nikola Crepović stăpânirea obținută de soțul și părintele lor asupra celor patru moșii din comitatul Alba, vezi Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 183.

⁴⁹ Fejér Tamás, Rácz Etelka, Szász Anikó, *Báthory Zsigmond királyi könyvei 1582–1682* (Cluj-Napoca, 2005) (Erdélyi történelmi adatok, VII/3), 42–43, nr. 50: ordin din 8 iulie 1558 a reginei Isabella către Nikola Crepović, *banul Caransebeșului și Lugojului*, cu privire la respectarea și aplicarea unor drepturi ale Lugojului. Până în prezent, prima mențiune a lui Crepović în funcția de ban era socotită cea din 17 aprilie 1559, vezi Țigău, “Banii de Caransebeș,” 240, preluând informațiile unui document publicat de Pesty, *Szörényi*, vol. III, 278–279, doc. 210.

⁵⁰ Veress Endre, *Izabella királyné 1519–1559* (Budapest, 1901), 423–424 și Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata*, 26.

⁵¹ La 11 noiembrie 1559 banul Crepović făcea încă parte dintr-o comisie de hotărnicire a moșiilor Apadia și Laczkan din districtul Caransebeș, fără a participa în persoană la acțiune, vezi Pesty, *Krassó*, vol. IV, 76–79, doc. 424.

⁵² O mențiune aflată în textul latin de pe piatra de mormânt a lui Crepović, anume *capitaneus Alföldiensis* (vezi Burnichioiu, “Biserica din Bârsău,” 106), cu înțelesul de *căpitan al Alföld-ului* (al părților de jos ale Transilvaniei – n.n.) ne sugerează funcția ocupată, poate, după dregătoria de ban al Caransebeșului și Lugojului. În orice caz, este cu totul surprinzător faptul că această dregătorie importantă a lui Crepović nu este amintită în textul de pe piatra sa de mormânt.

⁵³ Tabloul votiv pictat pe latura de sud a bisericii Sf. Nicolae înfățișează două figuri feminine, care închină macheta edificiului de cult sfântului de hram. Două inscripții slavone aflate deasupra capetelor celor două ctitoare ne dezvăluie fără orice dubiu identitatea lor: *Gospodja Katarina, dăšci/ pokoinoga gospodara Nikole/ Crepoviča/ bivša Tourkou Valintova gospodja*, adică “Doamna Caterina, fiica răposatului domn Nikola Crepović, fostă soție a lui Valentin Turcu [Török – n.n.]”, respectiv *Gospodja Mara Ovčarovica Petra/ Dașer/ bivša pokoinoga gospodara Nikole Crepoviča/ gospodja*, adică “Doamna Mara Ovčarović a lui Petar Dașer, soția răposatului domn Nikola Crepović”, vezi Burnichioiu, “Biserica din Bârsău,” 102.

domnul Țării Românești, revenind în Transilvania în 1566, împreună cu fiica ei Tudorița.⁵⁴ A doua oară, Elena s-a căsătorit, desigur după 1566, cu un anume Vladimir Moscovitul⁵⁵, care a murit în deceniul al optulea al secolului al XVI-lea, fiind îngropat în biserica de la Bârsău⁵⁶, lângă socrii săi. Mara (Margareta), soția fostului consilier princiar și ban al Caransebeșului și Lugojului, a trecut la cele veșnice în prima jumătate a anului 1581⁵⁷, fiind înmormântată, la rândul ei, în biserica ctitorită de ea – Sf.Nicolae din Bârsău.⁵⁸

Liniștea relativă care s-a instalat în Transilvania după revenirea reginei Isabella și a lui Ioan Sigismund nu avea să fie de prea mare durată. Chiar dacă, în timp, au mai existat defecțiuni individuale din tabăra puterii, războiul civil izbucnit în Transilvania după numirea lui Ștefan Báthory ca principe, conflict întreținut din nou de ambițiile Habsburgilor și ale Porții, avea să stârnească iarăși fenomenul curent al trecerii „fidelilor” dintr-o parte în cealaltă.

⁵⁴ Burnichioiu, “Biserica din Bârsău,” 108.

⁵⁵ Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 183.

⁵⁶ Legenda de pe piatra de mormânt a lui Vladimir Moscovitul din biserica de la Bârsău este următoarea: [M]AGNIFICI * D[OMINI] / VLADIMIR[I] ... MOSCOVITA[E] ... / ANN[O] D[OMINI] MD.LXX... / XVI ANNO AET[ATIS], vezi Burnichioiu, “Biserica din Bârsău,” 105.

⁵⁷ La 29 septembrie 1581, în fața Capitlului din Alba Iulia, era înregistrată înțelegerea referitoare la împărțirea bunurilor rămase după “răposata Margareta Ovčarović, soția răposatului Nikola Crepović, vezi Bogdándi, Gálfi, *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei*, 120, nr. 303.

⁵⁸ În a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea, în biserica din Bârsău se păstra un epitaf bilingv, slavon și latin, al Marei. Textul latin a fost transcris de Torma Károly, “A Beregszói régi templom Hunyadmegyében,” *Archaeológiai Értesítő* XIII (1879): 55–56: EPITAPHIUM / OLCZARAVIT MOERENS ... / MARGARETAE SEPULCHRUM ... / NATAE, NOMEN CUI C... / SUAE, ISTA VIRUM C... / AMORE DEUMQ[UE] ... / GENUS HAN[C] ... [NOBI]/LITATQUE. În urmă cu câțiva ani, la biserica din Bârsău a fost descoperită o piatră de mormânt, pe a cărei latură păstrată se mai poate citi: ...O FILIIS DULCISSIMIS. Din inscripția slavonă au rămas lizibile cuvintele *Gospodja Mara* (Doamna Mara) și o dată (4 ianuarie 1589), vezi Burnichioiu, “Biserica din Bârsău,” 106. Această dată poate fi socotită drept ziua în care a murit doamna Mara, deoarece, la 9 februarie 1581, “Margareta Olchyarawith, văduva lui Nicolae Cherepowyth de Saswar” mai încheia în fața Capitlului din Alba Iulia o înțelegere cu privire la stăpânirea asupra târgului Șoimuș și a părților de moșie aflate la Boholt, Toplița, Chișcădaga, Nevoeș, Săcărâmb, Buruiene, Fizești și Certejul, toate aflate în comitatul Hunedoara, vezi Bogdándi, Gálfi, *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei*, 111, nr. 269. Cu excepția moșiei Bârsău, sunt tocmai proprietățile pe care le primise Ioan Kendefi ca danie de la Ferdinand la 10 august 1551 (vezi nota 12). Credem că nobilul hațegan a pierdut aceste proprietăți imediat după revenirea Reginei Isabella în Transilvania (toamna 1556) în favoarea lui Nikola Crepović, “fidelul” care sesizase mult mai din timp direcția din care avea să bată vântul. Bârsăul, credem, a fost primul obiectiv vizat de Crepović. De altfel tocmai aici avea să își găsească odihna veșnică în lăcașul de cult ctitorit de soția și de una din fiicele sale.

DOCUMENTE

1 1551 august 10, Viena – Ferdinand I de Habsburg, regele Ungariei, îi zălogește cu o garanție de 15 000 de florini lui Ioan Kendefi de Râu de Mori târgul Geoagiu de Jos, și moșiile Glod, Almașu, Nădăștia, Balșa, Ardeu, Băcăia, Homorod, Roșia, Cib, Bozeș, Renghet, Mada, Poiana Aiudului, Techereu, Almașul Mare, Voia, Poiana și Porcurea, precum și părți de moșie la Cigmău și Almașul Mic, toate aflate în comitatul Hunedoara și confiscate sub acuzația de trădare de la Lázár Kún, pentru a-l despăgubi astfel pe Kendefi de pe urma pierderilor suferite în toamna anului 1550, când s-a opus cu armele trupelor pașei de Buda sprijinite de contingente din Țara Românească după pătrunderea acestora în Transilvania, după care a readus Caransebeșul și Lugojul de partea partidei ferdinandiste, timp în care Cetatea de Colț, care îi aparținea, a fost atacată de inamici și prădată, iar familia i-a fost dusă în robie.

Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, A. 57: Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, *Libri Regii*, vol. 2, p. 504–506 (nr. 638); vezi și Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, E. 227: Magyar Kamara Archivuma, *Libri donationum*, vol. 1, p. 585.

Inscriptio bonorum et iurium possessionariorum Lazari Kwn in comitatu Hwnyadiensis existentium, per notam infidelitatis eiusdem Lazari Kwn egregio Joanni Kendeffy facta. Nos, Ferdinandus etc., memorie commendamus tenore presentium significantes quibus expedit vniversis, quod nos, cum ad nonnullorum fidelium nostrorum humillimam supplicationem Maiestati Nostre pro parte fidelis nostri, egregii Joannis Kendeffy de Malomwysz factam, tum vero attentis et consideratis fidelitate et fidelibus serviciis eiusdem Joannis Kendeffy, que ipse Sacre primum regni nostri Hungarie Corone et deinde Maiestati Nostre pro locorum et temporum varietate, in diversis tum nostris *privatis*¹, tum etiam publicis regni nostri negociis fidei et diligentie sue commissis, summa fide et constancia exhibuit et impendit, idque cum alias tum vero autumnis proxime peracto penes fidelem nostrum reverendissimum in Christo patrem, fratrem Georgium, episcopum Waradiensem, thesaurarium et partium regni nostri Transsylvanarum locumtenentem, dum suscitata per quosdam rebelles nostros in regno nostro Transsylvanie seditione, ab vna, exercitus waywode Transalpinensis Turcis admixtus, ab alia vero partibus passa Budensis magno equitatu idem regnum nostrum Transsylvanensem infestis armis ingressi fuissent, Transalpinis ipsis occurrentibus, prelio cum ipsis inito, non paucos ex eis (vti de hac a certis fidelibus nostris edocti sumus) stravit, reliquos veros, fuge predio sibi ipsis salutem querere coegit, quo foeliciter confecto, civitates deinde nostras Lwgas et Karansebes vocatas, ad flumen Themes sitas, que antea rebellibus ipsis nostris parebant, in fidem et obedienciam nostram adduxit, considerantes etiam et compatientes vicem et erumnas prefati Joannis Kendeffy in quas idem per dictos adversarios et rebelles nostros sub id tempus, quo in predicis serviciis nostris occuparetur, inciderat, vt qui misso ad castrum suum Kocz² vocatum equitum et peditum magno numero, ipso absente, illud expugnassent omnesque res et bona ipsius in eo habita diripuissent, dominam deinde genitricem et vxorem cum liberis suis interceptissent et in miseram captivitatem induxissent, in

quibus plus minus vigintiquinque millia florenorum damni perpressus fuisset dicitur. His itaque causis et serviciis prefati Joannis Kendeffy atque etiam certorum fidelium nostrorum, vt premissum est, pro ipso Maiestati Nostre facta intercessione inducti, bona et iura possessionaria Lazari Kwn, oppidum videlicet Algyogh cum curia nobilitaria in eodem habita ac totales possessiones Glod, Nagh Almas, Nadasthya, Balsa, Erdewfalwa, Bakannya, Homorod, Rosan, Chyb, Bozos, Rengeth, Madai, Nyrmezew, Thekerew, Rethek Almas, Woye, Poyana et Porkwre vocatas, necnon portiones possessionarias in possessionibus Chykmo et Kys Almas dictis, in comitatu Hwnyadiensis existentes habitas, que ex eo quod idem Lazarus Kwn tempore irruptionis Moldavorum in dictum regnum nostrum Transsylvanie prescripto autumno facte ysdem² Moldavis et Walachis, contra iura et libertates dicti regni nostri Hungarie ac patrie sue tociusque prefati regni nostri Transsylvanie detrimentum, victualia administrasse et cum ipsis conversatus ac eis in perniciem patrie auxiliatus fuisse, per hocque secundum decreta eiusdem regni nostri Hungarie in notam infidelitatis incurrisse dicitur, ad Sacram ipsius regni nostri Hungarie Coronam consequenterque collationem nostram regiam, iuxta antiquam et approbatam eiusdem regni nostri Hungarie consuetudinem atque legem rite et legitime devoluta esse perhibentur, simulcum cunctis suis vtilitatibus et pertinentiis quiblibet, terris scilicet arabilibus cultis et incultis, agris, pratis, pascuis, campis, foenetis, sylvis, nemoribus, montibus, vallibus, vineis vinearumque promontoriis, aquis, fluviis, piscinis, piscaturis aquarumque decursibus, molendinis et eorundem locis, generaliter vero quarumlibet vtilitatum et pertinentiarum suarum integritatibus quovis nominis vocabulo vocitatis, sub suis veris metis et antiquis existentibus, premissis sic vt prefertur stantibus et se habentibus, memorato Joanni Kendeffy ipsiusque heredibus et posteritatibus vniversis pro summa quidecim (millium)³ florenorum duximus inscribenda, obliganda et oppignoranda, assecurantes eudem Joannem Kendeffy et eidem (heredes)³ in verbo nostro regio, promittentes, quod consecuto per eum de iure regni nostri Hungarie dominio et possessione prescripti oppidi et aliorum bonorum, eadem ipsa bona nec in toto, nec in parte ab eo aut heredibus suis auferemus aut auferri faciemus, donec eandem summam quindecim millium florenorum integre et sine defectu vel Nos ei persolvemus, vel per eum ad quem bona ipsa sive ex gracia sive ex donatione nostra perpetua aut aliter qualitercunque devolventur, persolvi faciemus, imo inscribimus, obligamus et oppignoramus harum nostrarum quibus secretum sigillum nostrum, quo vt rex Hungarie vtimur, est appensum, vigore et testimonio literarum. Datum in civitate nostra Vienna Austrie, decima mensis Augusti, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo, regnorum nostrorum Romani vigesimo primo, aliorum vero vigesimo quinto.

¹ Cuvânt repetat din greșeală.

² Astfel în text.

³ Întregire după sens, cuvântul fiind uitat de scrib.

Traducere

Înscrierea bunurilor și drepturilor de proprietate ale lui Lázár Kún, care se află în comitatul Hunedoarei, în urma pedepsei pentru necredință a aceluiași Lázár Kún,

făcută pe seama alesului Ioan Kendefi Noi, Ferdinand etc., prin cuprinsul scrisorii de față dăm de știre făcând cunoscut tuturor căroră li se cuvine, că noi, la preasmerita rugămintă făcută Maiestății Noastre de mai mulți credincioși ai noștri pe seama credinciosului nostru, a alesului Ioan Kendefi de Râu de Mori, precum și ținând seama și luând aminte la credința și la slujbele credincioase ale aceluiași Ioan Kendefi, pe care acesta le-a făcut și le-a adus cu toată credința și stăruința mai întâi sacrei coroane de tale acestui regat al nostru al Ungariei, iar mai apoi Maiestății Noastre la locuri și în vremuri diferite, în deosebite treburi ale noastre, atât private cât și publice, care au fost încredințate sârguinței și credinței sale, iar asta mai cu seamă în toamna care tocmai a trecut, când <ioan Kendefi> s-a aflat alături de credinciosul nostru, de preacucernicul întru Hristos părinte, fratele Gheorghe, episcopul de Oradea, tezaurar și locțiitor al părților transilvănene din regatul nostru¹, pe când în țara noastră a Transilvaniei a fost stârnită, pe de o parte, o răscoală de niște răzvrătiți împotriva noastră, iar pe de altă parte oastea voievodului Țării Românești², amestecată cu turci, a pătruns în aceeași țară a noastră a Transilvaniei cu forță dușmănoasă împreună cu un mare număr de călăreți ai pașei de Buda³, care a ieșit în întâmpinarea celor <veniți> din Țara Românească, și s-a dat o bătlie cu aceștia, <Ioan Kendefi> i-a răpus pe nu puțini dintre ei (după cum am aflat de treaba asta de la anumikți credincioși ai noștri), iar pe ceilalți i-a pus pe fugă și i-a silit să-și caute scăparea prin fugă, după care a adus la credința și la ascultarea față de noi orașele noastre numite Lugoj și Caransebeș, așezate pe râul Timiș, care dăduseră mai înainte ascultare acelorași răzvrătiți împotriva noastră, de asemenea, luând în seamă și împărțâșind greutățile și necazurile amintitului Ioan Kendefi, de care a dat din partea zișilor dușmani ai noștri și răzvrătiți în vremea în care ne aducea slujbele amintite mai sus, anume că un mare număr de călăreți și pedestrași trimiși la cetatea sa numită Cetatea de Colț⁴, atunci când el lipsea de acolo, au cucerit-o, au prădat toate lucrurile și bunurile sale aflate acolo, le-au prins pe mama și pe soția sa împreună cu copiii săi și i-au dus în jalnică robie, <împrejurare> în care, se spune, ar fi suferit o pagubă de mai mult sau mai puțin de douăzeci și cinci de mii de florini. Îndemnați din aceste motive și de slujbele amintitului Ioan Kendefi, precum și de rugămintea anumitor credincioși ai noștri – așa cum s-a spus mai înainte – am hotărât să-i înscriem, să-i legăm și să-i zălogim pentru suma de cincisprezece mii de florini amintitului Ioan Kendefi, tuturor moștenitorilor și coborâtorilor săi, bunurile și drepturile de proprietate ale lui Lázár Kún, anume târgul Geoagiul de Jos și curtea nobiliară aflată acolo, precum și întregile moșii numite Glod, Almaș, Nădăștia, Balșa, Ardeu, Băcăia, Homorod, Roșia, Cib, Bozeș, Renghet, Mada, Poiana Aiudului, Techereu, Almașul Mare, Voia, Poiana și Porcurea și părțile de moșie pe moșiile zise Cigmău și Almașul Mic, care se află în comitatul Hunedoara, aceasta deoarece același Lázár Kún în timpul năvălirii moldovenilor în zisa noastră țară a Transilvaniei, întreprinsă în toamna amintită mai sus, le-a dat bucate acelorași moldoveni și munteni – contrar cu drepturile și libertățile zisului nostru regat al Ungariei și spre paguba patriei sale și a întregii țări ale noastre amintite mai sus a Transilvaniei – a întreținut relații cu ei și le-a fost de ajutor spre dauna patriei, iar prin asta, potrivit cu hotărârile aceluiași regat al nostru al Ungariei, se spune că a comis crima de necredință, astfel că bunurile respective se știe că au trecut după rânduială

și în chip legiuit, potrivit cu vechiul și acceptatul obicei al aceluiași regat al nostru al Ungariei, la sacra coroană a aceluiași regat al Ungariei și apoi la dreptul nostru de danie, dimpreună cu toate folosințele și pertinențele lor de orice fel, anume pământuri de arătură lucrate și nelucrate, ogoare, lunci, pășuni, câmpuri, fânețe, păduri, dumbrăvi, munți, văi, vii și dealuri cu vii, ape, râuri, iazuri, heleștee, cursuri de apă, mori și locurile acestora, îndeobște însă întregimea oricăror folosințe și pertinențe ale acestora, oricum s-ar numi acestea, așa cum se află și se găsesc între adevăratele și vechile lor hotare, asigurându-l pe același Ioan Kendefi și pe moștenitorii săi prin cuvântul nostru regesc și făgăduindu-i că, după ce a dobândit conform cu dreptul regatului nostru al Ungariei stăpânirea și posesiunea asupra amintitului târg și al celorlalte bunuri, noi nu vom lua sau nu vom face să-i fie luate lui și moștenitorilor săi aceste bunuri – nici în întregime și nici în parte –, până când nu îi vom fi plătit în întregime și fără de lipsă și nu vom face să-i fie plătită acea sumă de cincisprezece mii de florini sau până când aceste bunuri vor ajunge la el fie din milostivirea și dania noastră veșnică, fie pe oricare altă cale, după cum îi înscrîm, îi legăm și îi zălogim <aceste bunuri> prin tăria și mărturia acestei scrisori ale noastre, de care este atârnat sigiliul nostru pe care îl folosim ca rege al Ungariei. Dată în orașul nostru Viena din Austria, în a zecea zi a lunii august, în anul Domnului o mie cinci sute cincizeci și unu, al douăzeci și unulea an al domniei noastre romane, iar al celorlalte domnii al douăzeci și cincilea.

¹ Gheorghe Martinuzzi, numit de Ferdinand tezaurar al Transilvaniei în 1543.

² Mircea Ciobanul, domn al Țării Românești (martie 1545–16 noiembrie 1552, mai 1553–28 februarie 1554, ianuarie 1558–21 septembrie 1559).

³ Kasım pașa.

⁴ Cetate azi în ruină, care se află pe lângă Râu de Mori și Suseni.

2 1551 august 10, Viena – Ferdinand de Habsburg, regele Ungariei îi dăruiește lui Ioan Kendefi de Râu de Mori cu titlu de nouă danie târgul Șoimuș și moșiile Bârsău, Săcărâmb, Certejul, Boholt, Toplița, Fizești, Nevoeș, Chișcădaga și Buruiene, toate în comitatul Hunedoara, ca răsplată a serviciilor pe care i le-a adus.

Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, A. 57: Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, *Libri Regii*, vol. 2, p. 491–492 (nr. 628); vezi și Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, E. 227: Magyar Kamara Archivuma, *Libri donationum*, vol. 1, p. 577.

Nova donatio super oppido Solmos et aliis infrascriptis bonis in comitatu Hwnyadiensis existentibus Joanni Kendeffy facta

1551 Anno quo supra, Vienne, decima die mensis Augusti, date sunt litere Maiestatis Regie, manu Sue Maiestatis subscripte sigilloque eiusdem impressive consignatas, quibus mediantibus Maiestas Regia, consideratis fidelitate et serviciorum meritis egregii Joannis Kendeffy de Malomwyz Sacre primum regni Hungarie Corone et deinde Maiestati Sue prestitis, oppidum Somos, necnon possessiones Berekzo, Naghagh, Chertes, Bofalwa, Thoplicza, Fyzech, Nyawalyasfalwa, Kechkedaga et Bwryanffalwa vocatas, in comitatu Hwnyadiensis existentes habitas, in quorum quieto et pacifico dominio idem Joannes Kendeffy, maiores et progenitores suos ab antiquo perstitisse

seque ipsum etiam modo persistere asserit, totum et omne ius regium, si quod Maiestas Sua in eisdem oppido Solmos ac possessionibus Berekzo, Naghagh, Chertes, Boffalwa, Thoplicza, Fyzech, Nyawalyasfalwa, Kechkedaga et Bwryanffalwa simulcum cunctis suis vtilitatibus et pertinenciis quibuslibet quovis nominis vocabulo vocitatis, memorato Joanni Kendeffy ipsiusque heredibus et posteritatibus vniversis nove donationis titulo dedit, donavit et contulit in perpetuum et irrevocabiliter tenendas, possidendas pariter et habendas, salvo iure alieno.

Traducere

Noua danie făcută lui Ioan Kendefi pentru târgul Șoimuș și alte bunuri scris mai jos, care se află în comitatul Hunedoarei

1551 În anul de mai sus, la Viena, în a zecea zi a lunii august, a fost întocmită scrisoarea Maiestății Regale, semnată de mâna Maiestății Sale și întărită prin punerea sigiliului aceleiași, prin care Maiestatea Regală, luând seama la credința și la meritele slujbelor alesului Ioan Kendefi de Râu de Mori aduse mai întâi sacrei coroane a regatului Ungariei și mai apoi Maiestății Sale, i-a dat, i-a dăruit și i-a hărăzit cu drept de veci și în chip de nestrămutat, spre a la stăpâni și deopotrivă avea sub titlul de nouă danie, fără a fi vătămat dreptul altcuiva, târgul Șoimuș, precum și moșiile numite Bârsău, Săcărâmb, Certejul, Boholt, Toplița, Fizești, Nevoeș¹, Chișcădaga și Buruieni², care se află și sunt în comitatul Hunedoarei, în a căror stăpânire netulburată și pașnică același Ioan Kendefi susține că s-ar fi aflat din vechime strămoșii și părinții săi și se află chiar și el în prezent, tot și întregul drept regal, dacă Maiestatea Sa <ar deține cumva vreunul> în același târg Șoimuș și în aceleași moșii Bârsău, Săcărâmb, Certejul, Boholt, Toplița, Fizești, Nevoeș, Chișcădaga și Buruiene, dimpreună cu toate folosințele și pertinențele lor, oricum s-ar numi acestea, amintitului Ioan Kendefi și tuturor moștenitorilor și urmașilor săi.

¹ În prezent *Lunca*.

² În prezent *Păulișul*.

3 1553 martie 27, Graz – Ferdinand de Habsburg, regele Ungariei îi dă garanții lui Ioan Glesán, comandantul (*praefectus*) Cetății de Baltă, că îl va păstra în acea funcție până când îi va putea restitui fie în bani, fie în bunuri echivalente suma de bani cu care îi era dator pentru serviciile prestate deja la Cetatea de Baltă și cele două luni de salariu restant pentru slujbele de la Caransebeș.

Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, A. 57: Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, *Libri Regii*, vol. 3, p. 126–127 (nr. 94); vezi și Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, E. 227: Magyar Kamara Archivuma, *Libri donationum*, vol. 2, p. 88.

Assecuratio regia pro egregio Joanne Glesan, quod Maiestas Regia castrum suum Kykellew de manibus ipsius tamdiu non auferet, donec ipsum de summa quam ad necessitates regias exposuit contentum reddet.

Nos, Ferdinandus, divina favente clementia Romanorum, Hungarie, Bohemie etc. rex semper augustus, infans Hispaniarum, archidux Austrie etc. recognoscimus per

presentes literas nostras, quod quum fidelis noster, egregius Joannes Glesan, arcis nostre Kykellew prefectus, ad vsus et conservationem eiusdem arcis nostre Kykellew, que per fidelem nostrum, spectabilem et magnificum Joannem Castaldum, serenissimi Maximiliani, regis Bohemie etc., filii nostri charissimi, bellicum locotenentem, custodie et conservationi ipsius commissa in hunc diem fuit, certam summam pecuniarum, ex quo eadem paucos habuerit proventus, de suo proprio exsolverit ac praeterea pro serviciis suis per eum nobis in civitate nostra Karansebes fideliter exhibitis duorum mensium solutio illi a Nobis debeatur, volentes, igitur, posita prius cum ipso iusta ac recta ratione, eundem de premissis debitis, vel pecunia, vel bonis equivalentibus contentum reddere, eundem Joannem Glesan presentibus nostris in verbo nostro regio equa fideles nostros, spectabilem et magnificum Andream de Bathor, waywodam nostrum Transylvanum et Siculorum nostrorum comitem etc., necnon egregium Petrum Haller, thesaurarium in Transylvania nostrum, cum eodem rationem ponere aliis literis nostris commisimus, per eosdem certiores facti fuerimus et vias ac modus vnde ipsi, vt premissum est, vel bonis equivalentibus vel pecunia satisfaccio impendi possit Nobis sese obtulerit, ipsum Joannem Glesan contentum reddi faciemus. Interim tamen, dum de satisfaccione per nos eidem provideri poterit, castellanatum sive prefecturam ipsius castris nostri Kykellew ab eo non auferemus, sed ipsum in eo tenebimus ac conservabimus, ita tamen, vt eandem arcem fideliter et constanter Nobis vel, quod absit, decedentibus Nobis, filiis et heredibus nostris, Hungarie regibus, vti bonum et fidelem nostrum decet, et in eius fidelitatem confidimus, constanter conservet ac de proventibus eiusdem et pertinenciarum suarum fidelem rationem et computum tenere et Nobis vel illi cui iusserimus suo postea tempore nomine nostro reddere teneatur, imo assecuramus et certificamus harum nostrarum vigore et testimonio literarum. Datum in civitate nostra Gracz, vigesima septima Marcii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio.

Traducere

Noi, Ferdinand, cu ajutorul dumnezeieştii îndurări rege pururea august al romanilor, al Ungariei, Boemiei etc., infante al Spaniei, arhiduce al Austriei etc., prin scrisoarea noastră de faţă recunoaştem că, deoarece credinciosul nostru, alesul Ioan Glesán, comandantul cetăţii noastre Cetatea de Baltă, a plătit din buzunarul său o anumită sumă de bani, deoarece <cetatea> aceea avea puţine venituri, spre folosul şi păstrarea aceleiaşi cetăţi ale noastre, Cetatea de Baltă, a cărei pază şi păstrare i-au fost încredinţate până în ziua de azi de credinciosul nostru, cinstitul şi măritul Giovanni Castaldo, loţiitor militar al preaiubitului nostru fiu, a prealuminatului Maximilian, regele Boemiei etc., şi, în afară de asta, deoarece îi suntem datori cu plata pe două luni pentru slujbele pe care ni le-a adus cu credinţă în oraşul nostru Caransebeş, voind aşadar, după ce am făcut mai înainte cu el o socoteală corectă şi dreaptă, să-l îndestulăm în legătură cu datoriile amintite mai sus, fie cu bani, fie cu bunuri echivalente, am hotărât ca, prin scrisoarea de faţă, să-i garantăm şi să-l asigurăm pe acelaşi Ioan Glesán prin cuvântul nostru regesc, că, după ce va fi înfăţişată mărimea sumei care îi este datorată, în legătură cu care le-am pus în vedere printr-o altă scrisoare a noastră să facă socoteala cu el pe

credincioșii noștri, pe cinstitul și măritul Andrei Báthory, voievodul nostru transilvănean și comitele secuilor noștri etc., și pe alesul Petru Haller, tezaurarul nostru din Transilvania, aceștia ne-au dat asigurări că sunt căi și feluri în care s-au oferit să-l îndeșteuleze fie cu bunuri echivalente, fie în bani, așa cum s-a amintit mai sus, pentru a-l putea îndeștula pe Ioan Glesán. Între timp însă, până când ne vom putea îngriji de îndeștularea sa, nu îi vom lua dregătoria de castelan sau prefect al aceleiași cetăți ale noastre, Cetatea de Baltă, ci îl vom ține și îl vom păstra în această dregătorie, anume în așa fel, încât să ne păstreze acea cetate cu credință și stăruință, iar dacă, Doamne ferește, s-ar întâmpla să murim, să o păstreze cu credință, așa cum i se cuvine unui om de bine și credincios al nostru, în a cărei fidelitate ne încredem, pe seama fiilor și moștenitorilor noștri regi ai Ungariei, să țină chibzuință și socoteală corectă a veniturilor acestei <cetăți> și a pertinențelor ei și să fie dator să ne dea seamă nouă sau aceleia căruia îi vom porunci la vremea sa să ne reprezinte, după cum îl asigurăm și îi garantăm prin tăria și mărturia acestei scrisori ale noastre. Dată în orașul nostru Graz, în a douăzeci și șaptea zi a lui martie, în anul Domnului o mie cinci sute cincizeci și trei.

4 1553 iunie 27, Viena – Ferdinand de Habsburg, regele Ungariei, îi zălogește lui Nikola Crepović cetatea Brănișca împreună cu satele și moșiile care țin de aceasta în schimbul a 1000 de florini ungurești.

Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, A. 57: Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, *Libri Regii*, vol. 3, p. 159–160 (nr. 124): vezi și Magyar Országos Levéltár, Magyar Kamara Archivuma, *Libri donationum*, vol. 2, p. 105.

Inscriptio castri Branichka pro mille florenis Vngaricalibus facta egregio Nicolao Cherepowyth

Nos, Ferdinandus, divina favente clementia Romanorum, Hungarie, Bohemie, Dalmacie, Croacie Slavonieque etc. rex semper augustus, infans Hispaniarum, archidux Austrie, dux Burgundie, marchio Moravie etc., recognoscimus et fatemur per presentes, Nos arc ehm nostram Branczika¹ vocatam simulcum omnibus et singulis villis, possessionibus, prediis portionibusque et quibusvis iuribus possessionariis ad eandem arcem pertinere debentibus egregio, fideli nobis dilecto Nicolao Cherepowyth, ad humilem eius instanciam pro summa mille florenorum Hungaricalium in moneta consueta pignoris titulo inscripsisse ad eiusque manus assignasse, conferimus inscripsimusque harum vigore literarum, hac tamen expressa condicione, quod dictam arcem interim, quamdiu in ipsiuspotestate erit, sufficienti et necessaria custodia propriisque suis sumptibus providere Nobisque et Nostris in eandem arcem et ex eadem arcem quandocunque liberit liberum aditum et regressum Nosque et Nostros in dicta arce, Nostris tamen expensis, morari permittere, absque scitu nostro nullum bellum inchoare, nec cum hostibus nostris, si quos habituri essemus, ex eadem arce pacisci induciasque aut vllam concordiam facere, iura et pertinenencias eiusdem sedulo manutenere et conservare, nec de ea quicquam alienare aut sum(m)inuere, colonos quoque et subditos contra equitatem et census consuetos ac servicia debita nequaquam aggravare possit, debeat et teneatur, prout hec omnia Nobis coram spocondit seque

et heredes suos per literas reversales obligavit. Vbi autem Nos vel filii heredesque et successores nostri reges Vngarie dictam arcem a nominato Nicolao Cherepowyth redimere voluerimus vel voluerint, simus astricti¹ illi Cherepowyth suisve heredibus dictam summam mille florenorum Hungaricalium in moneta consueta persolvere et restituere, eos insuper de expensis quas ad instauranda moenia aliaque ad necessariam municionem arcis Branchika¹ exsolverint, iuxta commissariorum nostrorum non suspectorum tum temporis ordinandorum fidelem inspeccionem equamque estimationem contentos reddere atque premissa et quevis premissorum singula firmiter et inviolabiliter observantes, Nos et filios heredesque Nostros obligamus et obligatos esse volumus harum nostrarum vigore et testimonio literarum mediante. Datum in civitate nostra Vienna, vigesima septima mensis Junii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio, regnorum nostrorum Romani XXIII-o, aliorum vero XXVII-o.

¹ Astfel în text.

Traducere

Înscrierea cetății Brănișca pentru o mie de florini ungurești făcută pe seama lui Nikola Crepović

Noi, Ferdinand, cu ajutorul dumnezeieștii îndurări rege pururea august al romanilor, al Ungariei, Boemiei, Dalmației, Croației și Slavonisi etc., infante al Spaniei, arhiduce al Austriei, duce al Burgundiei, markgraf al Moraviei etc., prin scrisoarea de față recunoaștem și mărturisim că, la smerita rugămintă a alesului, a credinciosului nouă iubit Nikola Crepović, i-am înscris acestuia sub chip de zălog și i-am încredințat pe mâini, i-am hărăzit și i-am înscris prin puterea scrisorii de față, pentru suma de o mie de florini ungurești în monedă obișnuită, cetatea noastră numită Brănișca împreună cu toate și cu fiecare dintre satele, moșiile, prediile și părțile <de moșie>, precum și cu oricari alte drepturi de proprietate care trebuie să țină de aceeași cetate, dar cu acea condiție lămurită, ca în răstimpul cât zisa cetate se va afla în puterea acestuia să fie dator și obligat să o înzestreze pe cheltuială proprie cu pază îndestulătoare și necesară, să ne permită oricând nouă și alor noștri intrarea și ieșirea liberă din aceeași cetate ori de câte ori ne va fi pe voie, să ne îngăduie nouă și alor noștri ca, pe propria noastră cheltuială să adăstăm în zisa cetate, iar el să nu înceapă niciun război fără știrea noastră, nici să nu se înțeleagă din aceeași cetate cu dușmanii noștri, dacă am avea cumva dintr-aceștia, și nici să nu încheie vreo învoială cu ei, să se îngrijească și să păstreze cu toată sânguința drepturile și pertinențele aceleiași <cetăți>, nici să nu înstrăineze ori să scoată în ascuns ceva din ea și să nu aibă niciodată dreptul să-i împovăreze pe iobagi și pe supuși contrar cu dreptatea și dincolo de dările obișnuite și de slujbele datorate, după cum s-a angajat solemn în fața noastră și s-a obligat pentru sine și pentru moștenitorii săi printr-o scrisoare de legământ. Dacă noi sau fiii și urmașii și succesorii noștri regi ai Ungariei am voi însă sau ar voi să reluăm zisa cetate de la numitul Nikola Crepović, atunci să fim obligați să-i plătim și să-i restituim aceluiași Crepović sau moștenitorilor săi zisa sumă de o mie de florini ungurești în monedă obișnuită, iar pe lângă asta ne mai obligăm și suntem obligați, noi și fiii și moștenitorii noștri, prin tăria și mărturia acestei scrisori, să-i îndestulăm cu toate cheltuielile pe care le-au făcut cu ridicarea zidurilor și pentru

alte lucrări necesare fortificării cetății Brănișca, <sumă de bani> care va fi estimată după o inspecție corectă a comisarilor noștri, dincolo de orice bănuială, pe care îi vom trimite acolo la vremea sa, urmând ca toate cele de mai sus și orice a fost amintit mai înainte să fie ținut cu tărie și în chip de neștirbit. Dată în orașul nostru Viena, în a douăzeci și șaptea zi a lunii iunie, în anul Domnului o mie cinci sute cincizeci și trei, al douăzeci și treilea al domniei noastre romane, iar al altora în al douăzeci și șaptelea.

5 1554 aprilie 18, Bratislava – Ferdinand de Habsburg, regele Ungariei, îi zălogește lui Nikola Crepović moșiile Hoghilag, Șoroștin, Mănărade și Cenade din comitatul Târnavă, care aparțin episcopului de Cenad, pentru 4000 de florini, pe timp de doi ani.

Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, A. 57: Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, *Libri Regii*, vol. 3, p. 197–199 (nr. 162); vezi și Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, E. 227: Magyar Kamara Archivuma, *Libri donationum*, vol. 2, p. 128

Inscriptio bonorum infrascriptorum facta Nicolao Chereppowyth pro summa quatuor millium florenorum ad duos annos

Nos, Ferdinandus, divina favente clementia Romanorum, Hungariae, Bohemiae rex semper augustus, infans Hispaniarum, archidux etc., memorie commendamus per praesentes, quod cum fidelis noster, egregius Nicolaus Cherep(o)wyth, qui capta Themeswar in Transsylvaniam cum vxore et liberis profugit ibique in omnibus expeditionibus proximorumque annorum disturbiis Nobis et regnis nostris Hungariae ac Transsylvaniae summa semper fidelitate et constantia, cum sanguinis sui effusione magnisque vitae suae periculis inservire et nunc quoque inservit, nobis humiliter in eo supplicaverit, vt possessiones tres Hodwylagh, Sorosthel et Monora, ad episcopatum Chanadiensem ab antiquo pertinentes et eidem per fideles nostros commissarios, spectabiles et magnificos Joannem Baptistam Castaldum, comitem Thomam de Nadasd et Andream Bathory, pro summa mille florenorum ad tempus inscriptas ac per Nos tandem generose confirmatas, apud eundem certo temporis spacio clementer relinquere tenendas et possidendas donec sibi de certioribus bonis providere possemus, ne huiusmodi possessionibus eiectus, cum uxore et liberis fratribusque suis sub alienis tectis oberrare cogeretur, utque domum aliquam ibidem edificari permittere, ubi commodius cum praefata familia sua inhabitare atque insuper pro aliis compluribus fratribus suis, viris militaribus, qui incertis sedibus divagantur, innandis, quo hipariter cum eo Nobis et regno ipsi nostro Transsylvaniae fideliter in omni rerum et fortune eventu possint inservire, quartam quoque possessionem, Chanad vocatam, ad praefatum episcopatum Chanadiensem similiter pertinentem, que hactenus in manibus venerabilis quondam Francisci doctoris, abbatis de Colosmonostra, fuit, durante similiter beneplacito nostro, sibi penes alias tres possessiones supradictas sub inscriptione trad duximus et assignari facere gracie dignaremur. Nos, habita huiusmodi supplicationis ipsius Nicolai Cherep(o)wyth, necnon servitiorum meritorumque ipsius clementi ratione, eidem ex gratia nostra speciali prenominate tres possessiones Hodwylagh, Sorozthel et Monora, necnon penes illas quartam quoque possessionem Chanad vocatam, cum omnibus earundem possessionum pertinentiis,

utilitatibus, fructibus et emolumentis quibuslibet, praeter dictos mille florenos, in tribus adhuc millibus florenis, infra spacium duorum integrorum annorum a datis praesentibus generose inscribendas duximus, annuentes et concedentes vt infra hoc tempus easdem tenere, habere et possidere ac fructus redditusque earum omnes percipere ad suam et familie sue sustentationem, domum etiam in quavis eorum possessionum usque ad summam ducentorum florenorum sibi ex quavis materia erigere et fabricare pro sua et familie sue residentia libere possit et valeat, neque sub hoc hiemii spacio per quempiam de bonis ipsis quovis nominis eyciatur¹, nisi forte interim de aliis bona praedicta quattuor¹ millia florenis valentibus eidem per Nos provideri posset, ac dummodo ipse Nicolaus Cherep(o)wyth in fide et constantia eadem qua hactenus erga Nos permaneat. Exacto autem duorum praemissorum annorum spacio, vel bona aliqua eidem praemisso modo assignari et tradi, vel summam praefatam quatuor millium florenorum, pro qua possessiones praedictas ei inscripsimus, eidem una cum ducentis florenis praefatis, qui per eum ad edificationem domusimpensi fuisse comperientur, numerare possessionesque ipsas ab ipso sive per Nos, sive per alios redimi et eliberare facere possumus, imo inscribimus, annuimus et concedimus praesentium per vigorem. Quocirca vobis, fidelibus nostris, magnificis Francisco Kendy de Zentywan ac Stephano Dobo de Rwkza, waywodis, ac Ladislao Was, administratori proventuum nostrorum Transsylvaniensium praesentibus et futuris, harum serie committimus et mandamus, ut praefatum Nicolaum Cherepowyth in pacifico et quieto dominio dictarum trium possessionum Hodwylag, Sorozthel et Monora, apud manus suas nunc existencium, conservare ac quartam quoque possessionem praenominatam, Chanad vocatam, que ut praemissum est apud manus praefati quondam Francisci Zekel fuisse et ad episcopatum Chanadiensem unacum tribus supra dictis pertinere perhibetur, absque mora assignare et infra praedictum biennii spacium de manibus suis nequaquam auferre aut auferri facere contra tenorem praemisse annuentie nostrae debeatis et teneamini. Secus nullo modo facere praesumatis¹. Prfaesentibus perlectis, exhibenti restitutis. Datum Posonii, die decimo octavo mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto.

¹ Astfel în text.

Traducere

Înscrierea pe timp de doi ani a bunurilor scrise mai jos, făcută pe seama lui Nikola Crepović pentru suma de patru mii de florini

Noi, Ferdinand, cu ajutorul dumnezeieștii îndurări rege pururea august al romanilor, al Ungarei, Boemiei, infante al Spaniei, arhiduce etc., prin cuprinsul scrisorii de față facem cunoscut cum că, deoarece credinciosul nostru, alesul Nikola Crepović care, după ce Timișoara a fost cucerită, a fugit în Transilvania împreună cu soția și cu copiii săi, iar acolo ne-a slujit și ne slujește încă și acum nouă și țărilor noastre Ungaria și Transilvania cu necurmată credință și stăruință, vărsându-și sângele și punându-și viața în mare primejdie în toate expedițiile militare și tulburările din ultimii ani, <deoarece acesta> ne-a rugat cu smerenie să binevoim a-l lăsa cu îndurare să țină și să stăpânească pe mai departe, pentru un anumit timp, anume până când îl vom putea

înzeștra cu bunuri mai sigure, trei moșii numite Hoghilag, Șoroștin și Mănărade, care țin din vechime de episcopia Cenadului și care i-au fost date lui ca zălog pentru suma de o mie de florini de către credincioșii noștri comisari, cinstiții și măriții Giovanni Battista Castaldo, comiții Toma Nádasdy și Andrei Báthory, <zălogire> confirmată de către noi, iar ca nu cumva, fiind scos din aceste moșii, să fie nevoit să rătăcească prin adăposturi străine împreună cu soția, copiii și frații săi, noi să-i îngăduim să ridice acolo o casă în care să poată locui mai lesnicios cu amintita sa familie, iar pe lângă asta să binevoim preamilostiv să-i acordăm și să-i trecem prin zălogire, anume tot pentru atâta timp cât ne va fi pe plac, pe lângă cele trei moșii amintite mai sus, anume pentru mai mulți frați ai săi, bărbați de arme care rătăcesc prin diferite locuri și care ne pot sluji la fel ca el, cu toată credința, în toate schimbările din rânduiala lucrurilor și a sorții, nouă și acestei țări ale noastre a Transilvaniei, o a patra moșie, Cenade cu numele, care ține de asemenea de amintita episcopie a Cenadului și care s-a aflat până acum în mâinile răposat cucernicului doctor <în teologie> Francisc, abate de Cluj-Mănăstur. După ce ne-a fost făcută asemenea rugămintea a acestui Nikola Crepović, precum și ținând seama cu îndurare de slujbele și de meritele acestuia, am hotărât din milostivirea noastră deosebită ca, începând cu data acestei scrisori, să înscriem cu milostivire pe timp de doi ani întregi, pentru încă trei mii de florini în afară de zisa mie de florini, amintitele moșii Hoghilag, Șoroștin și Mănărade și pe lângă acestea o a patra moșie, Cenade cu numele, dimpreună cu oricari pertinente, folosințe, roade și venituri ale acelorași moșii, încuviințând și hotărând ca în acest răstimp să le țină, să le aibă și să le stăpânească și să încaseze toate roadele și veniturile lor pentru a se întreține pe sine și familia sa, ba chiar să aibă îngăduința de a-și putea ridica și construi pe oricare dintre aceste moșii, din orice material, o casă cu o valoare de până la două sute de florini, spre a locui acolo el și familia sa, după cum în cursul acestei ierni să nu fie scos din acele bunuri, oricum s-ar numi acestea, dacă nu-l vom putea înzeștra între timp cu alte bunuri în valoare de patru mii de florini, atâta vreme cât același Nikola Crepović ne va rămâne cu aceeași credință și stăruință. După ce a trecut însă răstimpul amintit de doi ani, fie va trebui să-i trecem în stăpânire și să-i încredințăm alte bunuri în chipul amintit mai sus, fie va trebui să-i plătim suma amintită de patru mii de florini pentru care i-am zălogit moșiile amintite, împreună cu cei două sute de florini, sumă care se va constata că a fost cheltuită de el pentru construirea casei, iar în acest fel aceste moșii să poată fi reluate și eliberate fie de noi, fie de alții, după cum înscriem, încuviințăm și hărăzim totul prin puterea scrisorii de față. De aceea, prin cuprinsul scrisorii de față vă punem în vedere și vă poruncim vouă, credincioșilor noștri, măriților voievozi Francisc Kendi de Sântioana și Ștefan Dobo de Rusca, precum și lui Ladislau Wass, administratorul veniturilor noastre de acum și viitoare din Transilvania, să-l păstrați pe amintitul Nikola Crepović în stăpânirea pașnică și liniștită a ziselor trei moșii Hoghilag, Șoroștin și Mănărade, care se află în prezent în mâinile sale, precum și a celei de-a patra moșii amintite, Cenade cu numele, care, așa cum s-a spus mai înainte, s-a aflat în mâinile răposat amintitului Francisc Székely, despre care se știe că, împreună cu cele trei moșii pomenite mai înainte, ține de episcopia Cenadului, voi fiind datori și obligați să i-o treceți în stăpânire fără întârziere și, în răstimpul amintit

de doi ani, să nu i-o luați nicicând din mâini sau să puneți să-i fie luată. Altfel să nu îndrăzniți a face în niciun chip. După citirea scrisorii de față, să se restituie celui care a înfățișat-o. Dată la Bratislava, în a optsprezecea zi a lunii aprilie, în anul Domnului o mie cinci sute cincizeci și patru.

6 1554 noiembrie 20, Viena – Ferdinand de Habsburg, regele Ungariei, îi dăruiește lui Ioan Glesán în contul unei datorii față de acesta părți de moșie aflate la Sălcud și Cuștelnic, în comitatul Târnava, care îi aparținuseră lui Alexie de Hărănglab, mort fără de urmași.

Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, A. 57: Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, *Libri Regii*, vol. 3, p. 280 (nr. 246); vezi și Magyar Országos Levéltár, E. 227: Magyar Kamara Archivuma, *Libri donationum*, vol. 2, p. 175.

Donatio bonorum infrascriptorum nobilis quondam Alexii Haranglaby per mortem et defectum seminis eiusdem egregio Joanni Glesan facta

Anno Domini 1554, Viennae, 20. Die mensis Novembris, datae sunt literae Maiestatis Regiae, Suae Maiestatis sunscriptae sigilloque eiusdem secreto impressive communitae, quibus mediantibus Maiestas Sua totales porciones possessionarias in possessionibus Zylkwtth et Chewdewthelke vocatis in comitatu de Kykewlew existentes habitas, qua alias nobilis quondam Alexii Haranglaby prefuisse, sed per mortem et defectum seminis eiusdem ad Sacram regni sui Coronam consequenterque collationem Maiestatis Suae regiam, iuxta antiquam et approbatam eiusdem regni Hungariae consuetudinem atque legem rite et legitime devolute esse perhibentur et redactae, totum itemet omne ius suum regium, si quis in eisem portionibus possessionariis qualitercunque haberet etc., premissis sic vt prefertur stantibus et se habentibus, egregio Joanni Glesan ipsiusque heredibus et posteritatibus vniversis, in defalcationem debiti quod nos eidem Joanni Glesan obligamur, dedit, donavit et contulit, salvo iure alieno.¹

¹ Un document identic, cu excepția faptului că nu este menționată efectuarea daniei în contul stingerii unei datorii, la Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapesta, Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, *Libri Regii*, vol. 3, p. 208 (nr. 170); vezi și Magyar Országos Levéltár, Magyar Kamara Archivuma, *Libri donationum*, vol. 2, p. 133.

Traducere

Donația bunurilor scrise mai jos ale răposat nobilului Alexie de Hărănglab, în urma morții fără de urmași a acestuia, făcută pe seama alesului Ioan Glesán

În anul Domnului 1554, la Viena, în a 20-a zi a lunii noiembrie, a fost dată scrisoarea Maiestății Regale, semnată de Maiestatea Sa și întărită prin punerea sigiliului secret al acesteia, prin care Maiestatea Sa i-a dat, i-a dăruit și i-a conferit, fără vătămarea dreptului altcuiva, alesului Ioan Glesán, precum și tuturor moștenitorilor și urmașilor acestuia, întregile părți de moșie aflate și stăpânite pe moșiile numit Sălcud și Cuștelnic din comitatul Târnava, care i-au aparținut mai înainte răposatului Alexie de Hărănglab, dar care, prin moartea fără de urmași a acestuia, potrivit cu vechiul și încuviințatul obicei și lege al acestui regat al Ungariei, se știe că au ajuns și revenit după rânduială și

în chip legiuit la dreptul de danie al Maiestății Sale Regale, de asemenea tot și întregul drept regal, dacă ar avea cumva vreunul asupra acestor părți de moșie etc., așa cum s-a amintit mai sus că stau lucrurile, ca o compensare a datoriei cu care îi suntem obligați acestui Ioan Glesán.

**IOAN KENDEFI, IOAN GLESÁN, AND NIKOLA CREPOVIĆ –
PRAGMATIC „FIDELES” IN FIGHT FOR TRANSYLVANIA AND
THE BANAT DOMINATION (MIDDLE OF THE 16TH CENTURY)**

Abstract

During the fight between Ferdinand I of Habsburg and Queen Isabella's party to be the master of Transylvania and the Banat in the middle of the 16th century, the combatants' sudden passing from a part to the other became a common fact, no matter if they aimed to escape from certain imminent reprisals or to have a concrete benefit. Political or even moral grounds seem to have been totally ignored at that time. The destiny of some of those pragmatic *fideles* – related to both the involved parts – is analyzed on the basis of several documents in the Magyar National Archives (their text in annex); they are: Ioan Kendefi belonging to a family of the middle nobles class in Hațeg and Hunedoara areas; Ioan Glesán, member of a family of the small nobility in the north-west of Transylvania, and Nikola Crepović, a Serbian mercenary who tried his fortune in the fight among the three “grands” (Ferdinand I, Queen Isabella and the Sublime Porte).

Kendefi who was on the side of Queen Isabella up to 1545, changed the way on the side of Ferdinand I. He was rewarded as a *fidelis* of Ferdinand in 1551, with more estates in Hunedoara County, for his deserts both in the battle nearby Hațeg (16th of November 1550) and in winning Caransebeș and Lugoj over to Ferdinand's side. The estates had before belonged to a partisan of Queen Isabella, the former princely counselor Lázár Kún. It seems that after Isabella's return (the fall of 1556) Kendefi lost the estates he had been given in 1551.

Ioan Glesán who had been on Isabella's side at the beginning but without an important office, was winning over Ferdinand's side by General Castaldo, commander of troops in Transylvania, on the Habsburgs' service. Following Castaldo's insistence, Glesán was appointed as a ban of Caransebeș and Lugoj, since 1552, in spite of the local nobility's opposition. From that position Glesán skillfully run in the summer of 1552 between Ferdinand's party (namely, General Castaldo and count Stefan Losonczy who was in Timișoara under the Turks' siege) and the extreme Ottoman danger, so that none of those parts had to upbraid him with something; possibly, he run so under the local nobility's pressure. More than this, due to Glesán's endeavors the Ottomans didn't take hold of the banat of Caransebeș and Lugoj; it rested on Ferdinand's side and only paid tribute to the Porte. Ferdinand rewarded Glesán in 1553 by keeping him as the castellan of Cetatea de Baltă (*Küküllövár*) in Transylvania, and giving him more estate in the next year, in the counties of Târnava and Alba where Glesán had retired into in 1553. Glesán's destiny after Queen Isabella's return (1556) rests still unknown.

Undoubtedly, Nikola Crepović is the most striking example of a pragmatic *fidelis*

who feels no scruples in changing sides he serves for. He served Ferdinand of Habsburg up to 1544, as the Serbian haidouk's commander. Having entered Queen Isabella's service, he got the nobiliary appellation of *Sasvar*, in 1545. Crepović changed again sides in the spring of 1551, entering Ferdinand's service during the fights of 1551–1552 which ended with Timisoara and the Low Banat falling into the Ottomans' power. Finally, Ferdinand rewarded that "loyal" Crepović, on the 27th of June 1553, by pledging to him the castle of Brănișca and the appertained to villages, for 1,000 forints. The next year, Ferdinand pledged for two years long and in change of 4,000 forints, to the same Crepović four estates in the county of Târnava. But Crepović had seen how the wind blew in Transylvania and changed sides at the right time. That "loyal" man returning was soon rewarded. Shortly after her return in Transylvania (1556), Queen Isabella appointed Crepović a member of the Princely Council; in the summer of 1558 he got the office of a ban of the banat of Caransebeș and Lugoj and worked there up to the end of 1559. A real chameleon, that personage died in 1562, the time he was the captain of Alföld; he was buried in the church that his wife Mara (Margareta) and his daughter Ecaterina built later at Bârsău (Hunedoara comitat).

MILITARY LEADERSHIP IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCIPALITY. THE CAPTAIN GENERAL IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16TH CENTURY

Florin Nicolae Ardelean*

Keywords: hierarchy, captain general, military organization, military office, military campaign

Cuvinte cheie: ierarhie, căpitan general, organizare militară, funcție militară, campanie militară

The military leadership in early modern European armies seems to be a subject of secondary importance in the historiography of the last few decades.¹ Technological innovation, recruitment and motivation, the social impact of warfare, warfare and the development of modern states, have been some of the favorite topics of researchers interested in early modern military history. Military leadership remains however an essential aspect of military organization. Research into this specific subject can provide interesting insights into the evolution of warfare in the so called period of „military revolution”. It has been argued that the size of European armies increased significantly during the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. A direct consequence of this evolution was the numerical increase in the staff responsible for leading the armies. Thus the hierarchy in late medieval and early modern armies was more complex and diversified compared to the previous centuries. Most officers in European armies were nobles, especially those who occupied the upper positions in the military hierarchy. An officer career in the royal army was considered a great honor and a way to gain political influence at court.²

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¹ There are of course notable exception like the work of Stannley D. M. Carpenter, *Military Leadership in the British Civil Wars, 1642–1651* (London And New York, 2005).

² Christopher Storrs, Hamish M. Scott, “The Military Revolution and the European Nobility, c. 1600–1800,” in Jeremy Black ed., *Warfare in Europe 1650–1792* (Aldershot, 2005), 134; Zoltán Péter Bagi, “The Life of Soldiers during the Long Turkish War (1593–1606),” in *Hungarian Historical Review* 4/1 (2015): 388–389.

The title of captain general was given to military commanders in many European armies during the 15th and the 16th century. The captain general was the direct representative of the monarch during a military campaign and his authority in military matters was second to only the monarch himself. In most cases it was not a permanent title (office). A captain general was named on exceptional occasions, for a limited time. In England, for example, a captain general (*captain generall*) was entrusted with the command of the army during external campaigns. For example Henry VIII named Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, captain general in 1523 when the English army was on campaign in France.³ When a large military force was mobilized, the title of captain general was given to an important member of the royal court, although the king personally led the army. Such a situation occurred in 1513, during a campaign in France. The vanguard of the English army, consisting of 11,728 soldiers, was commanded by a captain general, although Henry VIII assumed supreme command of the whole army.⁴

A similar situation is encountered in the Spanish military organization during the sixteenth century. Military operations in the different territories under Spanish rule, in or outside Europe, were entrusted to leading members of the Spanish nobility bearing the title of captain general. The duke of Alba received the office of captain general in 1567, when he took charge of the Spanish forces fighting in the Low Countries. Others who held this office in the Low Countries were: Don Luis de Requeséns, Don Juan of Austria, and the sons of Emperor Maximilian II, Ernst and Albert of Austria.⁵ The viceroys of the Indies and New Spain were also captain generals, because they accumulated political, administrative and military royal prerogatives in the Spanish colonies.⁶

The armies of the Dutch republic during the Eighty Years war were also lead by a captain general, confirmed by the stadtholders of all the provinces of the Union. One of the most notable Dutch captain generals was Maurice of Nassau, the reputed military reformer, who was appointed captain general of the Union in 1590.⁷

³ James Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution* (London and New York, 2007), 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵ Jeremy Black, *European Warfare, 1494–1660* (London and New York, 2002), 8; Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567–1659* (Cambridge, 1972), 106–110; Fernando González de León, “Soldados, Platicos and Caballeros: The Social Dimension of Ethics in the Early Modern Spanish Army,” in D.J.B. Trim ed., *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism* (Leiden, Boston, 2003), 246–253.

⁶ Parker, *The Army of Flanders*, 114–117.

⁷ Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995),

The Venetian Senate elected a captain general whenever a considerable military force was assembled to protect the interests of the republic. Often this title was given to foreign military commanders (*condottieri*), but the Venetian authorities were always careful to limit their authority.⁸ The command of the captain general was extended over all land forces employed by the Venetian republic at a certain time. He was formally invited to councils responsible for the military policy of the republic and was informed about the foreign policy decisions taken in the Senate. The Venetian captain general took measures to ensure the maintenance of standards (regarding weapons, equipment and number of soldiers) in mercenary companies, although he shared authority in this matter with representatives of the Senate.⁹ In the Sixteenth century the captain general was in charge with infantry troops (which significantly outnumbered cavalry in Venetian armies) while the cavalry was placed under the leadership of a governor general. The captain general was superior to the governor in the military hierarchy.¹⁰ For his service to the republic the captain general received an annual salary that included the payment for his personal banner of soldiers. For example in 1510 Lucio Malvezzi was paid with 23.000 ducats, 6.000 of which for his personal income while the rest of the money was used to pay the wages for 150 lancers and 50 crossbowmen.¹¹

Captain generals were common in the military hierarchy of other Italian states as well. The popes appointed a captain general of the Church, who led the military forces of the Papal State. The office was usually conferred on Italian rulers with professional military reputation.¹²

Another important example, that requires a careful analysis, is the office of captain general/supreme captain in the kingdom of Hungary, before and after the fall of Buda in 1541. The Hungarian captain general was probably the origin, the model, for the captain general office in the Transylvanian principality.¹³ In the military hierarchy of the Hungarian kingdom the office of captain general was given to an important member of the court who at the same time held other important permanent offices. It was stated that this temporary military office

237, 304–305; Frank Tallett, *War and Society in Early Modern Europe 1495–1715* (London and New York, 1992), 24.

⁸ M.E Mallett, J.R Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State. Venice c. 1400 to 1617* (Cambridge, 1984), 20–22.

⁹ Ibid., 155–156.

¹⁰ Ibid., 284, 303.

¹¹ Ibid., 291.

¹² D. S. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals and War. The Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* (London, 2006), 28.

¹³ I am grateful to dr. János B. Szabo for pointing out this possible origin of the Transylvanian captain general.

was normally given to the palatine (*nádor*)¹⁴, but there are several cases when captain generals held other important offices such as: count of Timiș, supreme captain of the lower parts of Hungary, or Transylvanian *voievod*. After the fall of Buda the office of captain general/ supreme captain underwent an interesting evolution that led to the separation of this office. After 1547 the title of supreme captain was given to Hungarian commanders in charge with the defense of the frontier while the title of captain general was held by foreign commander, employed by the Habsburgs, who led foreign troops in Hungary.¹⁵

There were several supreme captains, appointed from the Hungarian nobility, who commanded specific sections of the frontier.¹⁶ In 1542 for example two nobles were appointed as captain generals during an Estate Assembly. After 1550 this office was held by Thomas Nádasdy (Transdanubian captain general) and Andrew Báthory (Cisdanubian captain general). In the following period efforts were made to reorganize a frontier section in Lower Hungary, led by a new supreme captain, following the model set by Mathias Corvinus in 1470. Until 1554 this office was held by the bishop of Oradea, and from 1557 to 1566 by the captain of Gyula fortress. Another important section of the frontier encompassed the region of the „mining towns”. This section was led by a so called supreme captain of the mountain towns (*supremus capitaneus civitatus montanarum*).¹⁷ An important role in the political and military relations with the Transylvanian principality was held by the supreme captain of Upper Hungary. He commanded the garrisons of the fortifications and the military contingents of the towns and the counties. Some of those appointed as captain generals of Upper Hungary were: Emeric Thelekessy (1559–1560), Francisc Zay

¹⁴ Norbert C. Tóth, “A nádori cikkek keletkezése,” in Tamás Dobszay et alii eds. *Rendiség és parlamentarizmus Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1918-ig* (Országgyűlés Hivatala, 2013–2014), 40; G. Bónis, Franciscus Döry, eds., *Decreta Regni Hungariae, 1458–1490*, vol. II (Budapest, 1989), 315.

¹⁵ Géza Pálffy, “A török elleni védelmi rendszer néhány alapkérdése a XVI. század első felében,” in Tivadar Petercsák, ed., *Hagyomány és korszerűség a XVI–XVII. században* (Eger, 1997), 64; Norbert C. Tóth, “A nádori,” 41.

¹⁶ There was a distinction between the captain generals of the borders (*supremus capitaneus confiniorum*) who controlled the main fortifications of a section of the frontier, and the district captain-generals (*supremus capitaneus partium regni Hungariae*) in charge of smaller fortresses and local military units like noble levy and town militias, see Gábor Agoston, “Habsburgs and Ottomans: Defense, Military Change and Shifts in Power,” in *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 22/1 (Spring, 1998): 134.

¹⁷ Géza Pálffy, “The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century),” in G. Dávid, P. Fodor, eds. *Ottomans, Hungarians and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest* (Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2000), 20–31.

(1560–1565) and Lazar Schwendi 1565–1568.¹⁸ Unlike the other cases analyzed earlier the supreme captains from Royal Hungary were permanent military positions strongly connected to the borders defense system and the realities of the near constant state of conflict in the frontier area. The Hungarian supreme captains enjoyed greater authority than captain generals in other European countries, including the Transylvanian principality. On certain occasions they were provided with an extended authority by the king, which included the right to donate land and to grant pardons for disloyalty.¹⁹

To a certain degree a similar evolution occurred in the Transylvanian principality, a young state that appeared on the political map of Europe in the middle of the Sixteenth century. The whole Transylvanian nobility had direct military obligations through the maintenance of traditional military structures, such as the noble insurrection (the obligation of all nobles to attend the royal/princely army when summoned by the ruler). Access to the leading positions in the Transylvanian army were not restricted to the higher nobility, as some nobles of lesser origin were able to gain important offices including the office of captain general.

Two types of military offices can be distinguished in the military organization of Transylvania: permanent military offices (held during war but also during peace periods) and temporary military offices (usually held during military campaigns). The most important permanent military positions were: fortress captain (*praefectus, capitaneus*), supreme captain of the court guard (*capitaneus aulae militiae, udvari főkapitány*), vice-captain of the court guard (*udvari alkapitány*), and captain of the court infantry (*udvari gyalogok kapitány*).²⁰ Other officials with permanent military duties were the lord-lieutenants of the counties (*comes, főispán*)²¹, the captains of the *Székely* seats and the judges of Saxon towns.²²

Temporary military positions were given to members of the political elite

¹⁸ Ibid., 47–48.

¹⁹ Tibor Neuman, Géza Pálffy, “Főkapitányi és főparancsnoki adományok a 15–16. századi Magyarországon,” *Levéltári közlemények* 80 (2009), passim.

²⁰ Zsolt Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata. 1540–1690* (Budapest, 1980), 337–341;

²¹ During campaigns and military inspections the nobles and other soldiers from the counties were under the authority of the lord-lieutenant (*comes, főispán*). In 1634, for example, the banner of Cluj county was led by the lord-lieutenant Michael Bánffy, see Miklós Lázár, “Kolos-vármegye 1634-iki lustrája,” *Történelmi tár* (1878): 198; Lázár, “Erdély főispánjai 1540–1711,” II, *Történelmi tár* (1887): 617–618.

²² The soldiers recruited from the Saxon seats, districts and towns were commanded by one of their judges. For example during the 1566 military campaign Saxon soldiers were commanded by Simon Goldschmit from Braşov, see *Quellen zur geschichte der stadt Kronstadt* (henceforth *Quellen*), vol. IV (Braşov, 1903), 140.

on the eve of a new military campaign. The most important of these positions was that of captain general (*capitaneus generalis*, *főkapitányi*), the direct representative of the prince as supreme commander of the army. Other temporary positions were: general of the counties, supreme captain of the Székely, supreme captain of infantry, captain of the watch, quartermaster (*tábornester*), and captain of the artillery (*ágyúmaster*).²³ All these military officials were named directly by the prince or, on some occasions, their election was discussed in the Diet or in the princely council. In time some of these military positions became permanent.

The title of captain general²⁴ was usually given to a single person who was second in command to the prince. During the second half of the sixteenth century there were some occasions when this position was held by two persons. In 1540–1541 Transylvania was ruled by two captain generals who exercised the same authority as the *voievode* and his deputy, the *vice-voievode*, in the previous years. Steven Mailat and Emeric Balassa presided over the Diet of Sighișoara (August 1540) as captains (*dominis capitaneos*).²⁵ It is worth noting that both of them previously held the offices of *voievod* and *vice-voievod*. Other documents dating from this period refer to Mailat and Balassa as: *Stephanus Maylad et Emericus Balassa Capitanei generales Regni Transsylvanensis* (27 sept. 1540)²⁶ or *Capitanei exercitiales Regni Transilvanensis*.²⁷ During the first months of 1541 Mailat was the only one who kept using this title (*Capitaneus Transylvanensis*²⁸, *Capitaneis Regni Transylvanie Generalis*)²⁹, but apparently he was sharing authority with Baltazar Bornemisza. In the Diet of Turda (12 February 1541) the two captains and a few other castellans divided the royal incomes from Transylvania. Mailat kept for himself the income generated by the salt mine of Turda while Bornemisza administered the income from Sic and Ocna Sibiului.³⁰ Steven Mailat was a member of the Romanian elite (boyar) of Făgăraș district.³¹

²³ János B. Szabó, Győző Somogyi, *Az Erdélyi fejedelemség hadserege* (Budapest, 1996), 76.

²⁴ The evolution of this office in princely Transylvania was previously analysed by Zsolt Trócsányi who made a list with the most important personalities who held this office, see Trócsányi, *Erdély*, 337–338.

²⁵ Sándor Szilágyi, ed., *Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transylvaniae*, (henceforth MCRT), vol. I (Budapest, 1876), 40–41.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

²⁷ Áron Szilády, Sándor Szilágyi, eds., *Török-Magyarkori történelmi emlékek*, vol. III (Pest, 1868–1870), 1.

²⁸ MCRT, vol. I, doc. XVI, 64.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, doc. XVII, 67.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, doc. XVI, 64–66.

³¹ On the origins of Steven Mailat see Ioan Cavalier de Pușcariu, *Fragmente istorice despre boierii din Țara Făgărașului* (Sibiu, 1907), 77–81.

During the first decades of the sixteenth century he expanded his wealth and political influence by getting involved in the internal strife that affected the Hungarian kingdom after the battle of Mohács. In 1528 he acquired Făgăraș fortress and the leadership of the district.³² His power and influence significantly increased because of his marriage to Anne Nádasdy, sister of Thomas Nádasdy.³³ In the following years Mailat proved himself as an able military leader and a shrewd politician, changing his allegiance from Ferdinand of Habsburg to John Szapolyái and vice-versa, as other Hungarian and Transylvanian lords did during this conflict. In 1534 Mailat was appointed *voievod* of Transylvania with Emeric Balassa as deputy. A few years later Mailat became the leader of a noble faction who desired the separation of Transylvania from the rest of the Hungarian kingdom.³⁴ For a short time he was also able to secure the support of the sultan, but in the end he was captured and imprisoned by the Turks, with the help of the Moldavian ruler Petru Rareș.³⁵

In January 1542, during the diet of Târgu Mureș, Martinuzzi was entrusted with the supreme command of the Transylvanian army as captain general.³⁶ Of Croatian origin, George Utiessenović Martinuzzi, began his career as a member of John Szapolyai's retinue.³⁷ During the events that followed the fall of Buda, Martinuzzi, bishop of Oradea, became one of the most influential political figures in Transylvania. Gaining the office of captain general was an important step in the consolidation of his authority over the Transylvania estates. In fact it was not unusual for a major bishop, such as the one from Oradea, to exercise real military power. According to a decree of king Vladislav II, from 1498, the bishops of Oradea were expected to muster from their domains a *banderia*, a military contingent, consisting of at least 400 heavy and light cavalry.³⁸ Martinuzzi was

³² Nicolae Iorga, *Histoire des roumains de Transylvanie et de Hongrie*, vol. I (Bucarest, 1915), 174.

³³ Béla Majláth, *Maylád István 1502–1550* (Budapest, 1889), 15–16; Rodica Ciocan, *Politica Habsburgilor față de Transilvania în timpul lui Carol Quintul* (București, 1945), 79.

³⁴ László Makkai, Zoltán Szász, eds., *History of Transylvania*, vol. I (New York, 2001), 609; Ileana Căzan, Eugen Denize, *Marile puteri și spațiul românesc în secolele XV–XVI* (București, 2001), 185.

³⁵ Makkai, Szász, *History of Transylvania*, 613; Căzan, Denize, *Marile puteri*, 197; Victor Motogna, *Relațiunile dintre Moldova și Ardeal în veacul al XVI-lea* (Dej, 1928), 51–52.

³⁶ MCRT, vol. I, 78; Teréz Oborni, "Tratatul de la Gilău," *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie XX* (2002): 193.

³⁷ On the early career of Martinuzzi see "Antonius Wrancius de Georgii Utissenii, Fratriss appellati, vita et rebus commentaries," in László Szalay, ed., *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. II (Pest, 1857), 16–34.

³⁸ *Corpus Juris Hungarici*, Tom I, (Budae, 1882), *Decretum Tertium (sive Minus Decretum)*, 1498, art. 20, 284.

no exception; in fact it is safe to assume that he had a larger military force under his direct control. A document from 1552 states that Martinuzzi had a personal guard consisting of 1.000 horsemen and 500 infantry.³⁹

Another important noble who exercised supreme military authority in Transylvania was Peter Petrović, although it is not clear if he actually assumed the official title of captain general. Petrović began his political career as a member of John Szapolyai's retinue (*familiaris*). He held important political and military positions such as: captain of Lipova (1531), count of Timiș (1534), ban of Lugoj and Caransebeș and captain of the lower parts of Hungary (*parci-umque Inferiorum Capitaneus generalis*).⁴⁰ In 1541 sultan Süleyman gave him a large territory in the Banat area, including the fortresses Timișoara, Lugoj and Caransebeș. At the same time he was entrusted with the protection of the son of King John (the baby John Sigismund) and with supreme military power over Transylvania.⁴¹ Due to the political context he was unable to exercise his military authority but he remained a loyal supporter of House Szapolyai. In 1556 when Isabella Szapolyai and her son returned as rulers of Transylvania Petrović led the offensive that defeated the Habsburg garrisons remaining in Transylvania, such as Gherla, Oradea, Huszt and Bistrița.⁴² In order to achieve his objectives Petrović organized a small permanent army, consisting of 6.000 soldiers provided by the estates.⁴³

After the failure of Castaldo's administration in Transylvania, the Habsburgs restored the traditional institutions of the province, including the office of captain general. In 1555–1556 the captain general of Transylvania, loyal to the Habsburgs,

³⁹ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Hungarica, Allgemeine Akten (henceforth ÖStA, HHStA, Hungarica AA), Fas. 61, Konv. A, f. 5; Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* (henceforth Hurmuzaki), ed. Nicolae Densușianu, vol. II/4 (București, 1894), doc. CCCCXVIII, 653; These numbers are confirmed by Ascanio Centorio who states that the personal guard of the bishop consisted of 800 cavalry and 500 foot soldiers. 200 horsemen were dispatched to the fortresses of Deva and Gurghiu which were under his authority. He afforded to pay for such a large military retinue because of his annual provision as treasurer (4.000 florins), see Ascanio Centorio degli Ortensi, *Commentarii della guerra di Transilvania dalla rotta del re Lodovico XII fino all'anno MDLIII* (1566), 101.

⁴⁰ Adrian Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare. Biserici tradiționale, Reformă și Islam în Banat (1500–1700)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2011), 66.

⁴¹ Octavian Tătar, "Anul 1541 în istoria Transilvaniei. Realități politico-diplomatice și militare," *Ziridava* XXIII (2002): 97.

⁴² Cristina Feneșan, *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei* (București, 1997), 158–160; Octavian Tătar, "Disputa transilvano-habsburgică pentru Partium (1556–1565)," *Ziridava* XXIII (2002): 117; Costin Feneșan, *Doi cronicari ardeleni din secolul al XVII-lea* (Timișoara, 2001), 34–43.

⁴³ MCRT, vol. I, 1876, doc. XXVIII, 575.

was Melchior Balassa de Gyarmath⁴⁴ (*capitaneus supremus*) who led a contingent of 3.000 soldiers with regular wages in the attempt to keep Transylvania under Habsburg control.⁴⁵ On 22 February 1556, Balassa (*Melchior Balassa de Gyarmath supremus Capitaneus regni Transsilvanie*) summoned Petrović to attend the diet in Turda, threatening that if he failed to do so he would be accused of treason (*nota perpetue infidelitatis*). Although it was a futile attempt to draw Petrović to the Habsburg camp, it is important to observe that the authority of the captain general, as representative of the ruler, extended beyond military matters. A few years later Balassa betrayed the Habsburg camp and became a loyal supporter of Queen Isabella. He played a major role in the defeat of a noble rebellion led by Francisc Bebek, Francisc Kendi and Anton Kendi and was rewarded in 1558 with the title of captain general. In the same year he led an offensive against the Habsburgs in Upper Hungary.⁴⁶ In the following year Balassa maintained his position of supreme commander of the Transylvanian army.⁴⁷ In 1561 John Sigismund called his faithful subjects to attend the diet (estates assembly) at Cluj. Nobles were expected to come prepared for war accompanied by armed peasants from their estates (1 soldier for each 16 serfs). The leader of this army, which was preparing for another confrontation with the Habsburgs, was the same Melchior Balassa (*...Melchiori Balassa supreme capitanei nostri...*).⁴⁸ In 1562 Balassa betrayed John Sigismund and sided again with the Habsburgs. His betrayal was considered a major event that eventually led to a shift in balance in the conflict.

During the so called „fortress war” against the Habsburgs, the Transylvanian army was led by several captain generals. From 1556 to 1570 when the treaty of Speyer was concluded, military campaigns were organized in *Partium* or in Upper Hungary. On each campaign one captain general, or sometimes two, were designated by the Transylvanian ruler. In 1557 Cristofor Hagymási and Baltazar Bornemisza led an offensive in Upper Hungary but were defeated by a Habsburg army led by the captain of Kassa.⁴⁹ Hagymási, who was also captain of Huszt fortress, rose to influence during the reign of John Sigismund. In 1566 he was appointed captain general (*generalis kapitány*) for the second time.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ The Balassa family was a rich and powerful noble family who maintained large possessions in royal Hungary after the battle of Mohács. Their estates contained 742 fiscal units (*porta*), see Ignácz Acsády, *A Magyar nemesség és birtokviszonyai a Mohács vész után* (Budapest, 1890), 81.

⁴⁵ MCRT, vol. I, 1876, doc. XXI, 551–553.

⁴⁶ Albert Lefavre, *Les Magyars pendant la domination ottomane en Hongrie (1526–1722)*, vol. I (Paris, 1902), 132–133; Imre Lukinich, *Erdély területi változásai a török hódítás korában 1541–1711* (Budapest, 1918), 85–88.

⁴⁷ MCRT, vol. II, doc. XI, 116.

⁴⁸ Ibid., vol. VIII, doc. I, 513; Lukinich, *Erdély területi*, 99–100.

⁴⁹ Lefavre, *Les Magyars*, 131; Lukinich, *Erdély területi*, 86.

⁵⁰ MCRT, vol. II doc. IX, 311; Giovan-Andrea Gromo in his description of Transylvania

One of the most famous persons in Transylvanian history to hold the title of captain general was Steven Báthory, the future king of Poland. He was the first elected prince of Transylvania who had previously held the title of captain general. Steven Báthory began his military career as captain of Satu-Mare fortress and later captain of Oradea fortress, in the first years of the conflicts between Transylvania and the House of Habsburg for the control of the *Partium* region.⁵¹ In 1562 the future Polish king, together with Francisc Németh captain of Tokaj fortress, led a Transylvanian army of 8.000 soldiers in the battle of Hodod.⁵² The Transylvanian army managed to occupy the fortress, but was defeated later (on the 4th of March) by an army from royal Hungary commanded by Melchior Balassa, the former Transylvanian captain general. Balssa obtained an important victory although he had inferior numbers and his adversaries held the higher ground.⁵³ Báthory was once again designated as captain general in 1564 at a time when he was also captain of Oradea fortress. On this occasion he was the only one holding the position of captain general.⁵⁴ Leading an army of 12.000 soldiers Báthory was able to conquer several important fortresses and towns such as: Satu Mare, Ardud and Baia Mare. Because the weather conditions were becoming unfavorable for a military campaign, the Transylvanian captain was forced to retreat without gaining other significant territories. Next year in spring a Habsburg army led by Lazarus Schwendi managed to regain all that was lost the previous year and occupied additional strongholds in Transylvania.⁵⁵

The last two examples analyzed show that the captain general was considered a temporary military office usually limited to the duration of a single campaign, although a single person might hold the position several times over the years. This practice became law in 1588 when the diet gathered at Mediaș decided that the authority of a captain general was limited to periods of war.

mentions Cristofor Hagymásy as supreme captain of the Transylvanian army, see Maria Holban, Maria Alexandrescu Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, eds., *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. II (București, 1973), 363–364.

⁵¹ Emeric Lukinich, “La jeunesse d’Etienne Báthory. Etienne Báthory, prince de Transylvanie,” in *Etienne Báthory roi de Pologne prince de Transylvanie* (Cracovie, 1935), 23–24.

⁵² Francisc Forgách de Ghymes, “Magyar Historiája 1540–1572,” in Ferencz Toldy, ed., *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. XVI, (Pest, 1866), 230–232.

⁵³ Lukinich, “La jeunesse d’Etienne Báthory,” 24–25.

⁵⁴ MCRT, vol. II, doc. XIV, p. 233; doc. XVII, 235–236.

⁵⁵ Adalbert Burai, “Despre cetatea de tip italian din Satu Mare”, *Studii și Comunicări. Satu Mare* (1969): 130; Feneșan, *Doi cronicari*, 35; Josephus Trausch, ed., *Chronicon Fuchsio-Lupino-Oltardinum*, (henceforth *CFLO*) editat de, vol. I, Brașov, 1847, 64–65; *Quellen*, 139–140; Lukinich, “La jeunesse d’Etienne Báthory,” 29–31.

It was also stated that the captain general (*generalis regni capitaneo*) had to be chosen from the members of the princely council.⁵⁶

Another captain general was designated in 1594 when Transylvania, ruled by Sigismund Báthory, joined the anti-ottoman alliance in the the Long Turkish war. For this position Sigismund elected one of his most trusted military advisors, Francisc Geszty. Geszty was an experienced military commander who had previously held other important military offices such as captain of Deva and captain of the court guard. In 1586 Geszty served at the princely court with 100 horsemen, who received payment from the princely treasury (300 florins per month).⁵⁷ In 1594 the prince entrusted him with a part of his army to lead an offensive against the Turks in the Timiș area. This campaign had a limited success and Geszty (*generalis regni capitaneus*) died a year later.⁵⁸ For a while prince Sigismund refused to name another captain general as he intended to command his military forces in person.⁵⁹

Indeed in 1595 prince Sigismund took command of an army headed for Wallachia, but his main military advisor was his uncle Steven Bocskay. Gaining the supreme command of the Transylvanian army was an important step in Bocskay's political career, a career that culminated with the princely throne. In 1592 he became supreme captain of Oradea, the most important fortress on the western border of Transylvania. In this quality he was the effective leader of a large military force, composed of experienced soldiers. In 1595 he joined the main camp of the Transylvanian army at Codlea with 800 horsemen and 1.200 infantry.⁶⁰ In 1596, while the prince was in Prague, Bocskay led a bloody retaliation campaign against the Szekely.⁶¹

In 1597 the Transylvanian prince attempted another siege of Timișoara. This time he avoided taking personal command and named his chancellor, Steven Jósika, as captain general.⁶² Jósika was a member of the lower nobility, or according to some historians of common origin, who had an impressive

⁵⁶ MCRT, vol. III, doc. XXXIX, 237.

⁵⁷ Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Budapest, Ms. 439/11, Veress Endre, *Erdély és magyarországi kisebb történeti művek, Geszthy Ferenc várkapitány c. értekezéshez kiegészítések*, f. 316.

⁵⁸ Sándor Szilágyi, "Gyulaffi Lestár történeti maradványai," *Történelmi tár* (1893): 130.

⁵⁹ Andrei Veress, ed., *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești, Acte și scrisori*, vol. IV (București, 1932), doc. 122, 228.

⁶⁰ Ioachim Crăciun, "Scrisoarea lui Petru Pellérdi privitoare la ajutorul dat de Sigismund Báthory lui Mihaiu Viteazul în campania din 1595," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională VI* (1935): 7.

⁶¹ Ștefania Gáll Mihăilescu, ed., *Memorialul lui Nagy Szabó Ferencz din Târgu Mureș (1580–1658)* (București, 1993), 80–81.

⁶² Feneșan, *Doi cronicari*, 40; Tiberiu Ciobanu, "Lupta bănătenilor împotriva dominației

political career at the court of Prince Sigismund Báthory.⁶³ The Transylvanian army suffered a bitter defeat and thus Jósika's downfall began. It has been argued that this military action lacked any real chance of success and at the time Jósika was already losing the favour of his prince. Nevertheless it is relevant to note that the position of captain general involved great responsibility and in this particular case was a cause (or a pretext) for the end of a political career.

In 1598 a new captain general was appointed, Gaspar Kornis.⁶⁴ Like some of his predecessors, Kornis was an accomplished military leader, loyal to Sigismund Báthory from the beginning of the Turkish war. In previous years he held several important military positions such as: captain of Huszt, lord-lieutenant (*comes*) of Maramureş⁶⁵ and captain of Oradea.⁶⁶ In 1594 the prince rewarded him with the fortress and domain of Dezna, for his loyal service.⁶⁷ A year later he was entrusted with an important military and political mission. He was sent to Moldavia to organize a military force and keep this country in the anti-ottoman alliance.⁶⁸ Kornis continued to serve as captain general of the Transylvanian army under Prince Andrew Báthory. He was the leader of the army that opposed the Wallachian ruler Michael the Brave in the battle of Şelimber (28 October 1599). Michael obtained a clear victory and Kornis was captured by his enemy, or according to other sources switched sides before the end of the battle.⁶⁹

For more than half a century the office of captain general went through an interesting process that reflects the consolidation of the Transylvanian state. The captain general in the Transylvanian principality seems to share more similarities with the ones in Western European states than with the frontier captaincies in royal Hungary. The origin of this office can be traced back to the military

otomane în vremea lui Mihai Viteazul", in *Vilaietul Timișoarei (450 de ani de la întemeierea pașalâcului) 1552–2002* (Timișoara, 2002), 122–123.

⁶³ On the origins and political career of Steven Jósika see Marius Diaconescu, "Gândirea politică a lui Ștefan Jósika cancelarul principelui Sigismund Báthory (Paternitatea unei idei politice: unirea Transilvaniei cu Moldova și Țara Românească)," *Acta Transylvanica* I (2004): 17–29.

⁶⁴ MCRT, vol. IV, doc. XXXII, 205.

⁶⁵ Veress, *Documente*, vol. IV, 1932, doc. 39, 71–72.

⁶⁶ Tudor Sălăgean, "Ascensiunea politică a lui Ștefan Bocskai. Relații familiale și intrigi politice în Transilvania unei epoci de criză," in Tudor Sălăgean, Melinda Mitu, eds., *Principele Ștefan Bocskai și epoca sa*, (Cluj- Napoca, 2006), 21–25.

⁶⁷ Gheorghe Lanevski, "Repertoriul cetăților medievale din județul Arad (I)," *Ziridava* VIII (1977): 559.

⁶⁸ Veress, *Documente*, vol. IV (1932), doc. 126, 236–237.

⁶⁹ Leonardus Basilius, "Naratio De Rebus Transylvanicis (1599–1604)," in Radu Constantinescu, ed., *Lupta pentru unitate națională a Țărilor Române 1590–1630. Documente externe* (București, 1981), 314.

prerogatives of the Transylvanian *voievod*.⁷⁰ It is not mere coincidence that the first captain generals (Steven Mailat and Emeric Balassa) previously held the office of *voievod* in Transylvania. At the same time there are obvious similarities with the Hungarian captain general/ supreme captain office before 1547.

We have little evidence about the way in which captain generals were rewarded for their service. We can assume that the most important gain for those who held this office was the chance for further rise in the political hierarchy of the principality. However immediate compensations were also involved. There are many examples of land donations for military service (for example the case of Gaspar Kornis as mentioned above) but they are not explicitly connected to the office of captain general. In 1594 the estates assembly established regular wages for captain generals. The supreme commanders of the Transylvanian army received 300 florins each month for the duration of the entire military campaign. This was a considerable wage if compared to the wages of other officers and officials in the army. The second largest wage was 40 florins received by the paymaster.⁷¹

It was a custom to elect the captain general from the loyal supporters of the ruler. At the same time the designated person was usually a noble with military experience who was accustomed to military leadership. Most captain generals previously held the captaincy of at least a major fortress or in some cases other permanent military offices at court. Not all Transylvanian captain generals were members of important and wealthy noble families. Some achieved this office through personal merit or strong relations to the ruling prince. For some it was the climax of their political career (e.g. Mailat, Bornemisza, Hagymási, Geszty, Kornis) for others it was just an important phase on their ascension to higher political offices (e.g. Báthory and Bocskay). Throughout the second half of the Sixteenth century the office of captain general was a temporary military office. It was possible for the same person to hold the offices more than once over the years. And there were times when the office was vacant several years in a row because Transylvania was not involved in a major conflict or because the prince led the army personally.

⁷⁰ On the military prerogatives of the Transylvanian voievods see Kovács András, *Voievozii Transilvaniei și evoluția instituției voievodale până la începutul secolului al XV-lea*, Phd. Thesis (București, 2005), 116–117.

⁷¹ MCRT, vol. III, doc. XXI, 440–442; Zsolt Bogdándi, “Gyerőfi János számadása az 1597–1598 évi Erdélyi Hadiadóról,” *Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve XXX* (2001): 27–28.

IERARHIA MILITARĂ ÎN PRINCIPATUL TRANSILVANIEI. CĂPITANUL GENERAL ÎN A DOUA JUMĂTATE A SECOLULUI AL XVI-LEA

Rezumat

Organizarea militară a Transilvaniei princiare a fost influențată atât de moștenirile medievale cât și de inovațiile epocii moderne timpurii. În a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea ierarhia militară a rămas în esență aceeași ca și cea din secolele precedente. Cea mai importantă poziție în această ierarhie era cea de căpitan general. Această funcție era de obicei dată unor reprezentanți importanți ai nobilimii, bogați, influenți și cu experiență militară. Căpitanul general era de fapt locțiitorul principelui în calitatea sa de comandant suprem al armatei, însă autoritatea sa era de obicei limitată la durata unei singure campanii militare. Evoluția acestei funcții militare, în a doua jumătate a secolului XVI, a fost influențată de necesitățile tânărului stat transilvănean. Printre cei mai importanți deținători ai funcției de căpitan general sau numărat: Ștefan Mailat, Emeric Balassa, Baltazar Bornemisza, Petru Petrovici, Melchior Balassa de Gyarmath, Cristofor Hagymásy, Ștefan Báthory și Francisc Geszthy.

BETWEEN EPHEMERALTY AND FICTION. ADDENDA TO THE HISTORY OF THE BANS OF CARANSEBES AND LUGOJ

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Keywords: ban, captain, historiography, princes of Báthori

Cuvinte cheie: ban, căpitan, istoriografie, principii Báthori

The Banat of Caransebes and Lugoj is an emblematic institution in the region placed among the Carpathians, the Danube, and the Mures and the Tisza rivers. Far for being a long lasting one, its existence might be situated at the medieval and modern ages crossing, as a time delimited and marked by important confessional, institutional, military, and political transformations.¹ The Banat of Caransebes and Lugoj was always inside of the area of Christian civilization and Islamic world contact, a region of more languages and religions interlacing, but also a permanently exposed to military insecurity and political instability border area. The interest in finding out the history of the banat(e) as the representative and supreme dignity was an early one², but it was Pesty Frigyes the only one to realize the most substantial investigations after 1875.³ The data that Pesty Frigyes published are still reference sources for the modern and contemporary historical writing.⁴ The Romanian historiography has later and only tangentially focused on the banat institution although it belongs to

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¹ The banate of Caransebes and Lugoj was certified between 1536, February and 1658, September, the date it was conquered by the Ottomans.

² Samuel Timon, *Imago Novae Hungariae*, vol. I (Cassovia/ Košice, 1734), 38–41 (Caput V. *De Banatu Severinensi*). István Iványi, “A lugosi és karánsebesi bánok,” *Történelmi és Régészeti Értesítő Temesvároott I* (Temesvár/ Timișoara, 1875), no. 2: 100–103.

³ Frigyes Pesty, *A Szörényi Bánság és Szörény vármegye története*, toms I–III (Budapest, 1877–1878) and *Krassó vármegye története*, toms I–IV (Budapest, 1882–1884).

⁴ Imre Lukinich, *Erdély területi változásai a török hódítás korában 1541–1711* (Budapest, 1918), 359–364; László Fenyes, “A temesközi-Szörénységi végvárvidék funkcióváltozásai (1365–1718),” *Studia Agriensia* (Annales Musei Agriensis) XIV (1993): 235–285.

the national space and history. The inquiries on the duties and competences of the bans of Caransebes and Lugoj I made almost two decades ago⁵ have had different responses within the world of historians: from a direct assumption of the ideas and sources I issued then⁶, to professional additions and nuances that have contributed to the investigation progressing.⁷

Enough errors and reference lacunae still last when speaking about the history of the banat holders. New names that have been for various reasons ignored or unknown so far might be added to the list of the 32 already known bans. The five personages I shall dwell on were on the climb during the Báthori's age (1571–1613). According to their deeds and influence, they were studied by certain historians, but their dignity of bans was less investigated. The first two men are registered as bans due to a historiographic confusion. On the following two ones older precise data certified their dignity, but those ones need some supplementary explanations. The last personage had been a ban only for a couple of weeks, an aspect that his posterity totally ignored.

1. Farkas Petky

Farkas/ Wolfgang Petky of Ders and Királyhalma (? – before 1608) is the first of the men I am analyzing here to have appointed for a ban. The early information on him is to be found in the first genealogy repertoire in Transylvania⁸ that opens the series of inedited works in the field, but summary and much more inexactly. The information there shows that he had been a ban of Caransebes and Lugoj (at an unspecified time) and after, he became prince Báthori Kristóf's chancellor, between 1576 and 1580. The data we have so far allow us to underline that Farkas Petky was twice taken for another: firstly, for another Farkas Kovacsóczy, the chancellor of Transylvania between 1578 and 1594; secondly, for his relative János Petky who also was a chancellor in 1607–1608.⁹ On the basis of these two errors and considering the biographic data of his ascendants

⁵ Dragoș Lucian Țigău, "Banii de Caransebeș și Lugoj. Considerații asupra atribuțiilor și competențelor acestora," *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* XVI (1998): 225–241; XVII (1999): 237–251.

⁶ Sorin Bulboacă, "Banii Lugoșului și Caransebeșului în secolele XVI–XVII," *Banatica*, 18 (2008): 297–320 and „Prerogativele militare ale banilor de Caransebeș–Lugoj în secolele XVI–XVII,” *Studii de știință și cultură* VI (2010), no. 2 (21): 82–89.

⁷ Costin Feneșan, "Întregiri și îndreptări la istoria banilor de Caransebeș și Lugoj (sec. XVI–XVII)," *Analele Banatului*, Serie Nouă, Arheologie-Istorie XVI (2008): 187–198; Adrian Magina, "At the Border of Transylvania: the County of Severin/ the District of Caransebeș in the 16th–17th Centuries," *Transylvanian Review* XXII, Suppl. no. 4 (2013): 295–306.

⁸ Ladislau Mikola, *Historia Genealogico-Transsylvanica* (Cluj?, 1731), 27–29 (Petky Family).

⁹ The list of chancellors in Transylvania, at Zsolt Trócsányi, *Erdély központi kormányzata 1540–1690* (Budapest, 1980), 181–182.

and descendants, it becomes hardly probable that Petky had an important function within princes István and Kristóf Báthori's decade (1571–1581). Much later he was promoted as a soldier and the genealogy repertoires mentioned a unique of his functions, namely that one as a captain of Fagaras fortress (before the 11th of July 1605), a function that is certified through references.¹⁰ The confusion that Ladislau Mikola had put in circulation lasted and was assumed also by other authors in the 18th–19th centuries.¹¹ The inadvertence was very late perceived and never completely eliminated. Significantly, Pesty Frigyes did not comprise the name of Farkas Petky in the list of bans of Caransebes. It was an omission that might be explained especially through his reticence in giving credit to the up named error and not through ignoring the previous works. That doubt on Petky's given functions was much later explained in a revue.¹² But what had been pointed out then came to naught and so the error issued in another genealogic repertoire and also it entered the virtual world a century later.¹³

2. István Bocskai

The correspondence and the personality of prince István/ Stephanus Bocskai of Kismarjai (1557–1606) both were the object of historians' considerations.¹⁴ Yet nor a recent work notes a word on the function of a ban that the famous Magyar diplomat and politician had got. But it is the remarkable result of eliminating an error of the older reference, belonging to Francesco Grisellini, the first to have written a monograph of the Banat (1780). Grisellini asserted that prince Sigismund Báthori had ascertained him the banate of Caransebes

¹⁰ Wolfgang Bethlen, *Historia de rebus Transsylvanicis*, vol. VI (Cibinii/ Sibiu, 1793), 290; Szamosközy (István) *történeti munkái* (IV), III. Pótfüzet, újabb pótlék, ed. Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest, 1892), 564.

¹¹ Andreas Lehotzky, *Stemmatographia nobilium familiarum regni Hungariae*, Part II (Posonii/ Bratislava, 1798), 301; Ferentz Kállay, *Historiai értekezés a nemes székely nemzet eredetéről, hadi és polgári intézeteiről a régi időkben* (Nagy Enyeden/ Aiud, 1829), 276; Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal*, vol. IX (Pest, 1862), 272; Balázs Orbán, *A Székelyföld leírása. Történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismeai szempontból*, vol. I (Pest, 1868), 179.

¹² Bálint Kis, "A Petki Család," *Turul. A Magyar heraldikai és genealogiai társaság közlönye* XIII (1895): 101, 106.

¹³ József Pálmay, *Udvarhely vármegye nemes családjai* (Székely-Udvarhely/ Odorheiu Secuiesc, 1900), 189–190. More recently: <http://genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/petky.html> (last addition on the 16th of March 2005).

¹⁴ Benda Kálmán, *Bocskai István 1557–1606* (Budapest, 1942) and *Bocskai István. Levelek* (Budapest-Bukarest, 1992); *Iratok Bocskai István és kora történetéhez*, coord. László Nagy (Debrecen, 2005); *Principe Ștefan Bocskai și epoca sa*, coord. Tudor Sălăgean and Melinda Mitu (Cluj-Napoca, 2006).

and Lugoj, and also the mission of defending the fortress of Oradea. The author re-took that fact along his narration by asserting that Gabriel Bethlen “went into the Timis areas and incited the more part of area of Caransebes and Lugoj were Bocksai had formerly been a ban”.¹⁵ Requiring other sources becomes necessary as Grisellini is not really rigorous if speaking about his dates. The appointment of Bocksai as a ban might be placed within 1592 and 1598, the time between his appointment as a commandant of Oradea fortress/ the county of Bihor leader, and the Ottomans’ attack upon that fortress. The up mentioned period might be reduced to 1594 through colligating many other historical sources, the year they planned Sigismund Báthori’s elimination. The prince’s policy concerning a rapprochement with the Hapsburgs and also the revolts against Ottomans he encouraged troubled part of the nobles in Transylvania about the Hapsburgs’ possible reentering the principality and also about a war against the Turks. Sigismund Báthori succeeded to defeat the nobiliary opposition and to eliminate the rebels’ leaders with the help of his partisans.¹⁶ István Bocksai was among the prince’s loyalists, the time he was in charge with Oradea fortress defense (... *Váradinum Stephano Bocskaiio avunculo suo, qui nuper ex suscepta contra Tartaros expeditione Váradinum regressus...*) and recruited troops from the principality western lands (*non contemnendis copiis, quas Stephanus Bocskaius ex partibus Hungariae Transsylvaniae annexis, nec non ex praesidio Váradiensi [et aliis] ipsi procuraverant*).¹⁷ This detail comes to prove the military effective authority Bocksai had, including over the districts of Caransebes and Lugoj as integrated parts of the Principality of Transylvania.¹⁸ Certainly, those were the real events Grisellini was referred to, but the assertion concerning Bocksai’s appointment as a ban rested unproved. A confusion might be there as in the case I have presented above. During Grisellini’s life several editions of *Imago novae Hungariae* were published with the following note: *In gestis praeterea Sigismundi Bathorii, principis Transsylvaniae anni MDXCV reperi praefectum hujus tractus fuisse Stephanum Bekeschium sub nomine Bani Lugoschiensis*.¹⁹ The similitude of the name of ban (a real but an obscure one)

¹⁵ Franz Grisellini, *Versuch einer politischen und natürlichen Geschichte des temeswarer Banats*, Erster Theil (Wien, 1780), 85–86, 88, 93; Francesco Grisellini, *Încercare de istorie politică și naturală a Banatului Timișoarei*, ed. Costin Feneșan (Timișoara, 1984), 82–83, 87.

¹⁶ Bethlen, *Historia*, vol. III (1783), 183, 227 (the prince’s anti-Ottoman policy), 379–473 (the nobles’ revolt mentioning).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 426, 437–438 (the two quotations).

¹⁸ The Diet articles expressed also the territorial affiliation: *partium Hungariae, comitatum scilicet Byhor ... ac districtus Karansebes et Lugos*, in *Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transsylvaniae* (hereinafter, MCRT), ed. Sándor Szilágyi, vol. II (Budapest, 1876), 544, no. XXIV.

¹⁹ Timon, *Imago* (Košice, 1734), 41; (Viena, 1754), 25; (Viena-Praga-Trieste, 1762), 27.

Stephanus Bekes²⁰ and of the famous captain Stephanus Bocksai facilitates such a confusion and might explain Grisellini's error.

That error lasted for a century at Romanian and German authors who used Grisellini's reference.²¹ Pesty Frigyes came to point it out in the monograph of Severin County (1877)²² without totally eliminating it. All along the 20th century, divergent opinions might be found both in syntheses²³ and in the classic authors' critical editions.²⁴

3. Lajos Rákóczi

Lajos/ Ludovic Rákóczi of Felsővadász's life (1572–1612) is well known in the Magyar historiography. The interest for that military commander comes from his actions and his affiliation to a famous family which gave three princes in Transylvania within the 17th century. Ludovic was a cousin-german of prince Sigismund Rákóczi (1607–1608) and the uncle of prince George Rákóczi I (1630–1648).²⁵ Essential details on captain Rákóczi's personality are to be found in his funeral praise, but also in recent biographic medallions.²⁶ The Romanian historiography has given not much prominence to that one even if he was one of Michael the Brave's co-workers.

A concise sign on Rákóczi's ephemeral presence as a leader in the Mountainous Banat was given by Pesty Frigyes. The historian mentioned a letter of the imperial commissary Imhoff to Rákóczi, dated on the 25 of February 1601, in Sibiu. The addressee was not only the captain of Lipova fortress but also *banus districtus Karansebesensis designatus*.²⁷ The letters hasn't been identified

²⁰ Ștefan Bekes is attested as a ban in Lugoj, in April 1595, Pesty, *Krassó*, vol. IV, 179, no. 481.

²¹ Nicolae Stoica de Hațeg, *Cronica Banatului*, ed. Damashin Mioc, 2nd issue (Timișoara, 1981), 141–142, 145; August Treboniu Laurian, *Temisiana sau scurtă istorie a Banatului temisian* (București, 1848), 114; Leonhard Böhm, *Geschichte des Temeser Banats*, Erster Theil (Leipzig, 1861), 129, 132, 140; Johann Heinrich Schwicker, *Geschichte des Temeser Banats. Historische Bilder und Skizzen* (Grosz-Becskerek/ Zrenjanin, 1861), 202.

²² Pesty, *A Szörényi Bánság*, vol. I, 304, 308.

²³ Pesty's opinion was noted by Patriciu Drăgălina, *Din istoria Banatului Severin*, Part II (Caransebeș, 1900), 108, foot-note 1. The former error in turn was taken again by George Popovici, *Istoria românilor bănățeni* (Lugoj, 1904), 241–242, 247.

²⁴ In Stoica de Hateg's Chronicle, edition of 1981, Stephen Bocskai is noted as a ban and Transylvanian prince, in the index of names (p. 335). Costin Feneșan, Grisellini's work publisher, denies with full arguments that Bocksai was appointed as a ban (p. 82, foot-note III).

²⁵ Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, vol. IX, 604.

²⁶ "Concio funeralis in sepultura magnifici domini, domini Ludovici Rakoczi, habita in templo Szerenciensi, anno 1612. 29. februarii, die mercurii," *Magyar protestáns egyháztörténeti adattár* XII (Budapest, 1928): 107–114; *Magyar életrajzi lexikon*, vol. II (L–Z) (Budapest, 1982), 476; Gyula Koroknay, *Kállói kapitányok* (Nyíregyháza, 2006), 30–35.

²⁷ Pesty, *A Szörényi Bánság*, vol. I, 305 (see also p. 89, foot-note 1).

so far but the short note may be checked up in other sources. Pesty's note on the date might be from the very beginning a doubtful one. A brief analyze of the two correspondents' careers should unravel the truth.

The emitter's name and function lead to Charles Imhoff of Malmsbach (Carolus/ Karl Im Hoff auf Malmspach). The nobiliary particle mends our way toward Nuremberg countryside where the village of Malmsbach is placed. We may find out that Charles belonged to a famous family in Franconia, which gave lots of artists and traders beginning with the 13th century.²⁸ On the 8th of January 1593, Carolus Imhoff of Malmspach is registered as a citizen in Nuremberg.²⁹ Ten years after he is registered as a Doctor of Canon and Civil Law (IVD – *iuris utriusque doctor*) and appointed as a councilor of the Upper Hungary Fiscal Chamber (*Camera Hungarica*), in Bratislava.³⁰ His last years, he worked as a councilor of the Royal Court of Appeal in Prague (1606–1610).³¹ His relations with Transylvania might be reduced to 1604–1605, the time he was one of the imperial councilors in the principality administration. *Carolus In Hoff camerae nostrae aulicae Hungaricae et Scepusiensis consiliarius* started his mission on the basis of two instructions of emperor Rudolph II (on the 12th and the 20th January 1604).³² The councilors' travel toward Transylvania was a very slow one, on a route that was related in that time letters: Košice – February, 28, Satu Mare – June, 17, Cluj – August, 2, Sibiu – November, 28, 1604.³³ By this token, the letter to captain Rákóczi might be dated for the time being, on the 25th of February 1605.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the addressee of that letter was very active and all the historic sources show him as a constant partisan of the House of Hapsburg. Ludovic Rákóczi was in 1601 one of Michael the Brave's co-workers. From his familial residence at Felső-Vadász (Upper Hungary), he posted, on the 1st of March 1601, a full of data letter to the Romanian voivode who was in exile that time.³⁴ Another confession, on the 28 of March, comes to

²⁸ Johann Wilhelm Franz von Krohne, *Allgemeines Teutsches Adels-Lexicon*, vol. I, Part II (G–M) (Hamburg, 1776), col. 157–158; *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. X (Berlin, 1974), 146–148.

²⁹ Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Collection *Reichsstadt Nürnberg*, documentary fund *Losungamt*, Reverse 113. As a digital document, it might be found on: <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/WD3RNGYFEMJKSTQ2TFEUI4BPH4M27AAA#>

³⁰ Matthias Bel, *Notitia Hungariae novae geographico historica*, vol. I (Viena, 1735), 456.

³¹ Jan Florian Hammerschmidt, *Prodromus Glorae Pragenae* (Praga, [1723]), 757.

³² Endre Veress, *Epistolae et acta Generalis Georgii Basta*, vol. II (Budapest, 1913), 359–367, no. 1480; MCRT, vol. V (1879), 244–260, no. LIII.

³³ MCRT, vol. V, 73, foot-note 2; Andrei Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești. Acte și scrisori*, vol. VII (București, 1934), 220–221, no. 194; *Iratok Bocskai István*, 133–134, no. 40.

³⁴ MCRT, vol. V, 84–86, no. II. Having received the letter, Michael the Brave wrote on it: *de*

confirm that “Mr. Rákóczi willingly remembers Your Highness (Michael the Brave – aut. n.) and says that he is ready to bring even free of charge 600–700 soldiers about, horsemen and pedestrians”.³⁵ A month latter (on the 23rd of April) the promise was renewed, at the time that Ludovic Rákóczi was in Košice.³⁶ The captain stood to his word and contributed to the victory of Michael and General Giorgio Basta’s allied forces upon Sigismund Báthori’s troops at Guraslau, in the well known battle (*Michael Transalpinus cum suis copiis, quas collegerat, extra numerum exercitus Bastae succedebat, quem Ludovicus Rákoczius cum peditatu Hungarico sequebatur*).³⁷ On the 19th of August 1601, Rákóczi was inside the tent of Michael the Brave, assisting to his murdering and being himself gravely wounded by the Walloons who General Basta had sent there (*Ludovicus Rakoczius peditum Hungarorum tribunus, tum forte Michaeli affidens (...) a nefariis illis quatuor vulnera accepit*).³⁸ The captain continued to speak in advocacy of the Hapsburgs’ politics in Transylvania, after that tragic development. On the 16th of October 1601 they let know that *Herr Ragoczy Loys* with the rest of Michael the Brave’s army entered the Székely Land to submit it to the Emperor; he would have intended to enter Walachia too for the same purpose. The captain’s élan was tempered a month later given the every changing odds of the battles with prince Báthori’s army and the Ottoman troops.³⁹

Ludovic Rákóczi showed off his military abilities also the times after. By the end of 1603 he was appointed for commanding the fortress of Lipova. ... *instructio ... domini comitis Georgii Basta comitis in Huszt etc. generoso domino Ludovico Rakoczy capitaneo Lippensi* on the 18th of December 1603, in Cluj, comes to confirm that moment.⁴⁰ Szamosközy, one of his contemporary chroniclers knew the fact too: *Henricus Dauallus* (Duval – aut. n.) *comes, qui resignata Lippensi praefectura Ludouicum Racocium hajdonum ductorum nobilem,*

la Racovți Laeș [from Louis Rákóczi], *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, ed. Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki – Nicolae Iorga, vol. XII (București, 1903), 1157, foot-note 1.

³⁵ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, vol. IV/1 (1882), 246–248, no. CCVI.

³⁶ Lajos Szádeczky, *Erdély és Mihály vajda története 1595–1601. Oklevéltárral* (Temesvár/Timișoara, 1893), 412–413, no. CLXXII.

³⁷ Bethlen, *Historia*, vol. V (1789), 22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 46; Francisc Kazy, *Historia Regni Hungariae ab anno seculi decimi septimi primo ad annum eiusdem seculi trigesimum septimum* (Tyrnaviae/Trnava, 1737), 33 (quotation).

³⁹ Veress, *Documente*, vol. VI (1933), 467, 474–475, nos. 441, 449–450; *Iratok Bocskai István*, 100–101, no. 16.

⁴⁰ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien/ Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv/ Alte Hofkammer/ Hoffinanz Ungarn, rote No. 94, november 1607 (hereinafter, ÖStA FHKA AHK HFU RN 94), f. 125–126. That instruction was preserved as copies only in a larger document of the 8th of November 1607. A. Veress didn’t know that act as it is not presented in *Epistolae et acta*. The document abstract may be read on hungaricana.hu.

successorem sortitus fuerat.⁴¹ Rákóczi kept the fortress command up to the end of June 1605.⁴² One of his actions within that time is to be noted, namely rejection of the troops of Bektes, the beylerbey of Timisoara, who intended together with Gabriel Bethlen to drive the Hapsburgs away from Transylvania. The counterattack was organized by Henri Duval Dampierre⁴³ and Ludovic Rákóczi; they rashly acted overnight, horrified and drove the Ottomans troops away (1604, September).⁴⁴ According to those above, the imperial commissary Imhoff set in Sibiu at the same time.

Thus, by the end of 1604, all what Pesty wrote had been beyond doubt. Rákóczi's appointment as a ban took place in the beginning of 1605 (in stead of 1601, the year that Pesty wrote about) and more references suggest it. The imperial commissaries in Sibiu sent a report, on the 18th of February 1605, to General Basta on the threats against the Hapsburg domination in Transylvania. The most serious was the anti-Hapsburgs rebellion under István Bocksaí leading, which had successfully unleashed in the Upper Hungary (1604, October) and was to cover also the Principality of Transylvania. To all those, they added the possibility that the voivode of Moldavia enter Transylvania at the Ottoman Porte order. Not better was the situation within the south-western lands of the principality: the mercenaries in Lipova claimed their rights while the fortresses of Caransebes and Lugoj had been given to Bocksaí, the rebel.⁴⁵ The imperials' precarious position in the Banat of Caransebes was a consequence of the extremely abusive attitude of the governor imposed there by General Basta. For a year long (1603, November–1604, October), ban Simon Lodi and his haiduks used to be more horrid to the inhabitants than the Turks or Tartars could have been (*non tam Turca hoc fecit et Tartarus, quam Rasciani et alia Christianae militiae agmina*). As long as the claims sent to the imperial commissaries in Cluj had no effect, the people in that banat drove the adventurous ban's soldiers away by their own forces.⁴⁶ The Ottomans exploited the event and promised to István

⁴¹ István Szamosközy, *Történeti maradványai 1566–1603*, ed. Sándor Szilágyi, vol. III (Budapest, 1877), 339 (Collection: Monumenta Hungariae Historica, *Scriptores*, vol. XXIX); Bethlen, *Historia*, vol. V, 525.

⁴² ÖStA FHKA AHK HFU RN 94, f. 127–128 (a brief list of captain Rákóczi's payments between the 18th of December 1603 and the 31st of August 1605).

⁴³ Henri Duval (du Val) Dampierre's personality (1580–1620) who became a general of cavalry is reported in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. IV (Leipzig, 1876), 719–720.

⁴⁴ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, vol. VIII (1894), 284, no. CCCCVIII (piece of news from the 4th of October 1604); a narration at: Nicolaus Istvánfius, *Historia regni Hungariae* (Viena, 1758), 496–497: *Bectes & Bethlenius seminudi & semisomnes transnato flumine Temeso, profugiunt*.

⁴⁵ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, vol. IV/1, 410, no. CCCLI. The report was signed also by „Carolus in Hoff”.

⁴⁶ Bethlen, *Historia*, vol. VI (1793), 45–50, 66–70 (quotation at p. 49); Szamosközy, *Történeti*

Bocksai the fortresses in that banat; that one appointed Paul Keresztési for their leading as a ban (*quibus arcibus Bocskaius obtentis, Banatum locorum eorundem Paulo Kerestesio contulit*).⁴⁷

The imperial commissaries and General Basta tried to impose there a new ban in order to keep the region under their authority, and the experienced captain Ludovic Rákóczi seemed to be the most adequate person. As on the 25th of February 1605 his appointment was but a recent one, we might have the explanation of what Pesty's expression signified: *banus districtus Karansebesiensis designatus*. So, there were two bans for a while, each one representing the interests of the two adversaries' adherents. But certainly Ludovic never arrived in the towns he had entrusted with. The imperial commissaries took him for more important missions according to their cause. One of them was to get the assistance of Radu Serban, voievode of Walachia to drive away Bocksai. The mentioned above report expressed that hope: *quid denique in domini Raduly Walacchiae Transalpinæ principis auxilio nobis spei reliquum sit, inde facile existimare licet*⁴⁸ Within a short time, a lapidary note in Brasov Counting Register showed that: *den 22 Februarii [1605], khombt Lugoschi Ban vom Radul Wayda wellichen Hern Comisari zum Radul geschikt hatten*.⁴⁹ Thus, we have the proof of the diplomatic concrete actions to get assistances. The unnamed ban is certainly Rákóczi, the Hapsburgs' loyal man, from whom he had got the function.

The political evolution after that moment followed the way they had stipulated since the beginning of 1605. Paul Keresztési became the ban of districts of Caransebes and Lugoj and Ludovic Rákóczi kept the fortress of Lipova up to the end of June when the Serbian haiduks delivered it to the Ottomans.⁵⁰ After the transfer of power Rákóczi left the Romanian territory, discharging the duties of a commandant of the fortress of Kálló (1606–1608)⁵¹ and captain of the haiduks in the Upper Hungary (1609–1611). For his faithful services he was given material and moral rewards consisting in estates and the title of a baron (on the 5th of November 1607).⁵² In the end of 1610, a new opportunity should have brought

maradványai 1542–1608, vol. IV (1880), 254–255 (Monumenta Hungariae Historica, *Scriptores*, vol. XXX).

⁴⁷ Bethlen, *Historia*, vol. VI, 227; Szamosközy, *Történeti*, vol. IV, 325 (1605, February).

⁴⁸ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, vol. IV/1, 410, no. CCCLI.

⁴⁹ Nicolae Iorga, "Socotelile Braşovului şi scrisori româneşti către Sfat în secolul al XVII-lea," *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secţiei istorice* (hereinafter, AARMSI), series II, tome XXI (Bucureşti, 1899): 120.

⁵⁰ Szamosközy, *Történeti*, vol. IV, 352–353; *Iratok Bocskai István*, 158–161, 178–179, nos. 56, 57, 67.

⁵¹ Nagykálló today, county of Szabolcs-Szathmár-Bereg. Koroknay, *Kállói kapitányok*, 32–34.

⁵² Magyar Országos Levéltár/ Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár (A 57)/ Libri regii, vol. V, 890–893, no. 327 (Diploma of a baron, with the list of his famous deeds).

Ludovic Rákóczi back to Transylvania. In the context of preparing the military campaign against Walachia, Gabriel Báthori asked, on the 1st of December, *spectabili ac magnifico domino Ludovico Rakozy de Felső Vadasz equiti aurato domino fratri nobis honorando* to supply his army with soldiers.⁵³ The prince's asking failed. On the contrary, Rákóczi is found among the partisans of king Mathias II, who fought against the venturesome prince all along the year of 1611.⁵⁴ His premature death (on the 3rd of January 1612) brought vacancy of an important military function for a long time. That one would be asked in February 1613, by voivode Marcu, son of voivode Petru Cercel, who was taken by Nicolae Iorga for "a terrible captain of haiduks, great in fight and spoils, with the fame of a new Michael the Brave".⁵⁵

4. Farkas Kamuthi

Farkas/ Wolfgang Kamuthi of Szent-László (? –1626) was a very influential nobleman during princes Gabriel Bathori and Gabriel Bethlen. His contemporaries' contrasting remarks as well as those of his posterity speak both about a complex personality. Szamosközy shows him as a refined man (*Wolfgangus Kamuthius vir e nobilitate Transylvana singulari ingenii dexteritate praeditus*)⁵⁶, but prince János Kemény's memories offer the picture of an immoral, conceited and abusive one. His career begins during prince Sigismund Báthori's reign to whom he offered various services by supplying horsemen for the Court (1595–1596), being the prince's messenger to emperor Rudolf II (1599), or spending 10,000 forints for various needs in the country.⁵⁷

In 1603, September, Kamuthi jointed the Transylvanian noblemen who asked the Ottomans' support to remove the Hapsburg reign in the principality.⁵⁸

⁵³ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien/ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv/ Staatenabteilungen/ Türkei I/ Karton 92 1609–1610 (hereinafter, ÖstA HHStA StAbt Türkei 92), 206–207. A copy at Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, București (hereinafter, ANIC), documentary fund *Microfilme Austria*, reel 426, frame 454. A Latin abstract of the Magyar original document, at: Nicolae Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, vol. IV (București, 1902), LXXXV, no. V.

⁵⁴ An Italian report from the 21st of November 1611, in Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, vol. IV/1, 447, no. CCCLXXXI.

⁵⁵ Iorga, *Studii*, VI, LXX; Veress, *Documente*, vol. VIII (1935), 300–301, no. 240.

⁵⁶ Szamosközy, *Történeti maradványai 1566–1603*, vol. II (1876), 198 (*Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. XXVIII).

⁵⁷ *Iratok Bocskai István*, 72, no. 7 (the horsemen at the Court); Szamosközy, *Történeti maradványai*, vol. II, 235; Bethlen, *Historia*, vol. IV (1785), 247 (Messenger to Rudolf); Haan Lajos, *Békés vármegye hajdana*, vol. II (Pest, 1870), 211–212 (he was given the fort of Eperjes as a pledge for his expense).

⁵⁸ Bethlen, *Historia*, vol. V, 464; Biró Vencel, *Erdély követei a Portán* (Cluj-Kolozsvár, 1921), 117.

It is the moment of starting his co-operation with Gabriel Bethlen with results that could be noted after 1613, the year that the last one comes to Transylvania leading. But Kamuthi had succeeded until then to win the young prince (1608–1613) Gabriel Bethlen's confidence and respect, and that one gave him forts, estates and functions. Not only through what he deserved, but by immoral means Kamuthi had got those advantages. János Kemény shows that "some ones fawned upon him [the prince] even offering him their wives; among them, Wolfgang Kamuthi was given the fortress of Gilau for such a thing"⁵⁹ Two centuries after, historian Kövari László retook that information and added an important details: the depraved noble was the ban of Lugoj (*ugyszintén a becsvágyó lugosi bán, Kamuthi Farkas, szemet hunytak nejeik Báthorivali csapodárkodására*).⁶⁰ The detail is found further in the first general repertoire of the counts in Transylvania, a Lázár Miklós' work. No reference is shown by the author, but he remembers a princely document of 1609 within which Kamuthi bears the title of a ban. As he knows Pesty's monograph where no ban was recorded for those years, Lázár lances the idea that Farkas Kamuthi was in charge between 1608 and 1610 (*alkalmasint 1608-tól fogva 1610-ig*).⁶¹ What Lázár had noted became a constant reference for all the subsequent studies and syntheses.⁶² Only in 1944 the documentary confirmation came, with the Gilau fortress urbarium publishing. The famous medievalist Jakó Zsigmond mentioned that ban Kamuthi was given the estate of Cluj-Manastur in 1609.⁶³ On Jakó's detail we could arrive to the document emitted on the 21st of March 1609 through which prince Gabriel Báthori gave ban Kamuthi and his wife Caterina Moise, the estate of Cluj-Manastur. The estate included the homonymous fort and the villages of Burjános Buda and Makó.⁶⁴ It wasn't a real donation but a temporary pledge in change of 12,000 forints the prince had been given by the beneficiaries. A dona-

⁵⁹ Ioan Kemény, *Memorii. Scrierea vieții sale*, edition Ștefan Fay (Cluj Napoca, 2002), 39.

⁶⁰ László Kövari, *Erdély történelme*, vol. IV: *A Báthoriak, Bocskai és Bethlenek kora* (Pest, 1863), 196.

⁶¹ Miklós Lázár, *Erdély főispánjai (1540–1711)* (Budapest, 1889), 117.

⁶² *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon*, vol. I (A–K) (Budapest, 1967), 848; Trócsányi, *Erdély*, 29; Báthory Gábor és kora, coord. Klára Papp, Annamária Jeney-Tóth, Attila Ulrich (Debrecen, 2009), 147, 191.

⁶³ Zsigmond Jakó, *A gyalui vártartomány urbáriumai* (Kolozsvár/ Cluj, 1944), XVIII, referring to the archival fund (fideicomisionar) of Jósika of Brănișca family, *Kamuti-levelek*, Fasc. VII, no. 2, Km. Comitatus Colos K. 78. That granting had been mentioned without explanatory notes, by Elek Jakab, "Erdély egyháztörténelméhez, I. A kolosmonostori apátság," *Magyar Történelmi Tár* XIII (1867): 7.

⁶⁴ Serviciul Județean Cluj al Arhivelor Naționale [Cluj Branch of the National Archives], *Fondul fideicomisionar Jósika* (no. 255) 753/ Fasc. 7, f. 5. Nowadays, the two villages are called Vechea and Macău, in the county of Cluj.

tion would have been more difficult as long as the estate of Cluj-Manastur was a public property of the Principality of Transylvania.

The princely letter from the 3rd of April 1609, that reconfirmed the old privileges of 1457 and 1551 in the Banat, is a supplementary sign for Kamuthi's function. On the back of the paper we may find the note on Ladislau Garlesteanu's presence there as he took the entitled ban's turn. The first publisher of the document, Pesty Frigyes transcribed: *presentatae coram me Ladislao Gerlistey substituto bano ac generoso domino Vulphango Kamuty*.⁶⁵ *Ac* as a conjunction shows two persons, so that *coram nobis* should have been more adequate. A couple of decades after, Andrei Veress republished the document with the variant *presentatae coram me Ladislao Gerljstej substituto bano a generoso domino Vulphango Kamuty m(anu) p(ropria)*.⁶⁶ The preposition *a* in ablative shows this time that Ladislau Garlisteanu was a deputy on the part of ban Kamuthi.

The so few notices on Kamuthi's function do not allow us to set its length. What Lázár Miklós proposed, from 1608 to 1610 might be plausible, but not documentary confirmed. The same difficulties work in his estate identification as well as in his effective presence in that banat. Partly, the condition of having got properties in the area so to gain the function was materialized. His ownership on Eperjes fortress with the distributed possessions in the county of Arad, and the ephemeral donation of two villages in Zarand are the only noticed ones.⁶⁷ Caterina Moise, Kamuthi's wife had a yard with a house in Caransebes, but her possession is referred to only in 1619.⁶⁸ So, the presence of Kamuthi in the Banat might be taken as a sporadic one. The nobleman was at the same time count of Turda and a princely councilor⁶⁹, two more advantageous functions then that of a ban. Kamuthi was convinced that his political influence would be efficient only through his constant presence near the prince. Thus, his function as a ban could have been but a sporadic one. The entitled one changing took place before the 6th of September 1610 when *Volfgangus Kamuti consiliarius et comes co(mi)t(a)tus Thorden(sis)* and *Paulus Keresztesi*

⁶⁵ Pesty, *Krassó*, vol. IV, 255, no. 520 (dated: *anno 1609. 1-a die Juny*).

⁶⁶ Veress, *Documente*, vol. VIII, 65, no. 60 (dated *anno 1609 19. die Iunii*).

⁶⁷ Prince Sigismund Rákóczi reconfirmed his ownership on Eperjes fortress on the 19th November 1607 (Magyar Országos Levéltár/ Erdélyi fejedelmi kancelláriai (F 1)/ Libri regii, vol. IV, f. 244r. A copy at ANIC, documentary fund *Microfilme Ungaria*, reel 872, frame 660). He was given the estates of Monostor and Rokzin in Zarand by Gabriel Báthori, on the 29th of October 1608, but the donation was taken back after (*Liber regius*, vol. V, f. 91v.–92r.; *Microfilme Ungaria*, reel 872, frame 774. On the register side (f. 91v.) it was noted *annihilata est hac donatio*).

⁶⁸ Antal Molnár, "Jezsuita misszió Karánsebesen (1625–1642)," *Történelmi Szemle* XLI (Budapest, 1999), nrs. 1–2: 140, foot-note 88.

⁶⁹ Lázár, *Erdély főispánjai*, 117–118 (count of Turda); Trócsányi, *Erdély*, 29; Báthory Gábor és kora, 145 (councilor).

*banus civitatis ac districtus Karansebesien(sis)*⁷⁰ put their signature and seal on the same document. Kamuthi stood his high political ground long time after, as long as Gabriel Bethlen confirmed his former functions and offered him other honorable dignities.

5. Gergely Némethi

Némethi Gergely/ Gregorius (? –1612) puts an end to the list of the person-ages in this issue. His origin and youth are still unknown. Only his final 12 years are registered by the historical sources. In the context of fights for supremacy in Transylvania, Némethi began to be noticed in 1601.⁷¹ His real notoriety came in 1604, October–1606, May, the time of anti-Hapsburgs rebellion under Bocksa István leading. Némethi Gergely became the commander of haiduks' troops with the help of whom he occupied the mid Danube valley, besieged the town of Sopron and invaded Styria. Remaining always an adversary of the Hapsburgs, he proved his power and boldness through his deeds (*Gregorium Némethium, hominem obscurum, sed manu promptum et ad audendum paratum*).⁷²

Némethi offered his services to claimant Gabriel Báthori in 1607–1608.⁷³ Their co-operation lasted for the next years with mutual advantages. The captain proved to be one of the most loyal of the prince's subjects and was rewarded with some of the most important functions and honors. First of all, Némethi married Cristina Kendy, chancellor Kendy István's sister. That matrimonial alliance helped his entering the Princely Council (1608–1612).⁷⁴ At the same time Gergely became the general captain of Odorhei Seat (1609–1612), and count of Inner Szolnok County (1610–1612).⁷⁵

Némethi Gergely's connections with the banat we are spoken about are noticed in a document emitted on the 8th of May 1609. The prince had donated him a short time before the borough and district of Lugoj to the great chagrin of the local inhabitants. Their letter of protest shows how generous the young prince was and that the donation was an unfair action.⁷⁶ One month before (on

⁷⁰ MCRT, vol. VI (1880), 186–187, no. XXIII.

⁷¹ "Maros-Vásárhelyi Nagy Szabó Ferencz memorialéja," in Mikó Imre, ed., *Erdélyi történelmi adatok*, vol. I (Kolozsvár, 1855), 69.

⁷² Description of the military acts, at: Kazy, *Historia*, 33–44, 47–51 (quotation at p. 48); Isthvanfius, *Historia*, 496, 499–515; Bethlen, *Historia*, vol. VI, 301–308.

⁷³ András Komáromy, "Levelek és akták az 1607/8-ki hajdúlázadás történetéhez," *A Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* VI (Budapest, 1893): 80, 85, 87, 88.

⁷⁴ Báthory Gábor és kora, 140 (marriage), 145 (counselor).

⁷⁵ Lázár, *Erdély főispánjai*, 162, 225 (count); Balogh Judit, *Székelyföldi karrierék. Az udvarhelyszéki nemesség hatalomszerzési lehetőségei a 16–17. században* (Budapest, 2011), 151, 161 (captain).

⁷⁶ Pesty, *Krassó*, vol. IV, 256–257, no. 522.

the 3rd of April), the same Gabriel Báthori had reconfirmed the local inhabitants' former liberties and privileges as they had lasted for centuries. The opposition of inhabitants in Lugoj was entirely justified and the donation was annulated.

Némethi's presence as a ban of Lugoj was similarly an ephemeral one by the end of 1610. But this hypostasis is deeply obscure as the historiography rarely noted it.⁷⁷ Némethy's function is obdured by that one of Paul Keresztesi he succeeded to interrupt or to redouble. Keresztesi is certified as *banus civitatis ac districtus Karansebesiensis* (on the 6th of September 1610), and as *arcium Lugasi et Karansebesi banum supremum* (7th of January 1611).⁷⁸ The two records are relative close in time and give the impression that the dignity was a continuous one. However, Gergely Némethi is referred to as a ban between the 3rd of November and the 7th of December 1610. Such a change might be set down to the prince impulsive and unpredictable behavior. But more illustrating explanations are given by the political juncture. Gabriel Báthori had tense relations with Walachia and Moldavia as he had manifested from the beginning of his rule the ambition of a political supremacy upon them. He always had in view to remove the Walachian voivode Radu Serban and claimed Moldavia to pay him a tribute.⁷⁹ Inside the country, the prince's behavior displeased part of the noble class led by chancellor Kendy István who planned the prince elimination. The nobiliary complot was disclosed but the conspirators succeeded to escape (1610, March).⁸⁰ From then "the mad prince" began to worry that the rebels who had run in the Upper Hungary had played booty with the Hapsburgs and negotiated with Radu Serban to attack him from two directions. A very duplicitary person, Báthori told the Ottomans the Hapsburgs' intentions to start a new war against them, suggesting that the Romanian voivodes elimination would thwart the Austrians' plans. On the other hand the prince told the Hapsburgs about an imminent coming in Transylvania of the former chancellor Kenedy István's troops with the Polish's help. The situation was eloquently related by Nicolae Iorga: "rather than waiting at home for his enemies, Gabriel prefers to leave for finding them. In that month of November [1610], he sent all the parts his couriers to ask for support. He appealed to Magyar magnates he knew as being powerful and friends of him, to the haiduks at the borders, to Pasha in Buda, and to other Turks".⁸¹

It is Némethi Gergely's moment to come in the stage as he didn't took part to the conspiracy and stood high in the prince's favor. Báthori informed, on the 3rd

⁷⁷ Orbán, *A Székelyföld leírása*, 50, foot-note 1. Even Fr. Pesty did not know that detail.

⁷⁸ MCRT, vol. VI, 187, no. XXIII; Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, vol. IV/2 (1884), 314, no. CCCXXI.

⁷⁹ Victor Motogna, "Războaiele lui Radu Șerban (1602–1611)," *AARMSI*, series III, tome VI (1927): 299–302.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 302–303.

⁸¹ Iorga, *Studii*, vol. IV, LXXXII.

of November, the “magnificent mister” Némethi, a princely counselor, general captain of the Seat of Odorhei, and ban of Lugoj (*necnon bano Lugasiensis*), on the imminent attack on Transylvania; he was asked to defend the frontier toward Moldavia. He had to provide his soldiers, riders or pedestrians, in order to act right away.⁸² Four days after, the prince remembered Némethi (*Magnifico Gregorio Nemethi de Csiabragh*⁸³ *consiliario nostro nec non sedis Siculicalis Udvarhely capitaneo comiti comitatus Szolnok Interioris ac bano Lugasiensis etc. affini nobis honorando*) the former asking to beylerbey of Buda to send him 800 horsemen for the ban to renew that asking.⁸⁴ There are data concerning the fact that the support had been asked for since the beginning of October, Némethi being the leader of the messengers. The mission was effectively done as long as beylerbey Hassan Pasha wrote a letter to the prince to let him know about Némethi’s courier receiving; the letter also informed the prince that Hassan ordered bey of Erlau and other pashas to send him soldiers.⁸⁵ The Ottoman dignity’s intervention was a prompt one as on the 28th of October Ibrahim Pasha of Erlau wrote Némethi on his decision to offer him his all support.⁸⁶ At the same time commander Némethi was authorized to inform palatine George Thurzó in Košice both on General Sigismund Kornis’ capture following the last spring conspiracy and on the former chancellor Kendy’s preparations to penetrate in Transylvania.⁸⁷

Báthori’s emergency might be found also in other letter to Némethi to order him to run “day and night” for recruiting as many as possible soldiers because he “was in the greatest need of” (8th of November).⁸⁸ All along the month of November Némethi worked for that mission. The prince rewrote him on the 29th of November, asking him to urgently come back, preferably with the promised Ottoman troops.⁸⁹ The last found out mention on ban Némethi Gergely

⁸² ÖstA HHStA StAbt Türkei 92, p. 172. A copy at ANIC, documentary fund *Microfilme Austria*, reel 426, frame 425. A German abstract of the Magyar genuine document, at: Iorga, *Studii*, vol. IV, LXXXV, no. VII.

⁸³ A locality in Slovakia, formerly named Csábrágvár; today: Čabravský Vrbovok.

⁸⁴ ÖstA HHStA StAbt Türkei 92, p. 175. A copy at ANIC, documentary fund *Microfilme Austria*, reel 426, frame 427.

⁸⁵ Iorga, *Studii*, vol. IV, LXXXII, foot-note 5; vol. XX (1911), 389–390, no. CCCXXXVIII b).

⁸⁶ Iorga, *Studii*, vol. XX, 390, no. CCCXXXVIII e).

⁸⁷ Iorga, *Studii*, vol. IV, LXXXII, foot-note 3; vol. XX, 390–391, no. CCCXXXVIII c) and i).

⁸⁸ Iorga, *Studii*, vol. IV, LXXXII, foot-note 4; vol. XX, 390–391, no. CCCXXXVIII h).

⁸⁹ ÖstA HHStA StAbt Türkei 92, p. 205. A copy at ANIC, documentary fund *Microfilme Austria*, reel 426, frame 452 (to *Magnifico domino Gregorio Nemethy comiti comitatus Szolnok Interioris districtus Caransebesiensis bano, sedis Siculicalis Udvarhely capitano et consiliario nostro etc. fideli nobis honorando*). A Latin abstract of the genuine Magyar document, at Iorga, *Studii*, vol. IV, LXXXV, no. IV.

belongs to a letter of one of his co-workers, posted on the 7th of December 1610.⁹⁰ The inconstant prince changed his mind after that date and reappointed Paul Keresztesi in that function. If Némethi proved military abilities, Keresztesi in turn was a good diplomat and stood well with the nobility in the Banat. It was but naturally then that ban Keresztesi should have been sent as the prince's messenger in Istanbul to let the Sultan know the reasons of Báthori's campaign southwards of the Carpathians and to ask for that one the confirmation of his appointment as a voivode of Walachia (7th of January 1611).

The captain's involving in the princely campaign in Walachia is not documentarily pointed out. But his loyalty to the prince at the moment of confrontation with Radu Serban who came in Transylvania to take his revenge upon the prince is a sure fact. Before Brasov battle, Némethi involved in agitating the masses and recruiting soldiers from the border with the Hapsburgs' possessions, a fact that irritated the last ones.⁹¹ Having lost the battle, Báthori took refugee in Sibiu with 1,000 soldiers and his faithful counselors Kamuthi Farkas and Némethi Gergely.⁹² The next year he proved his supreme devotion. Némethi took part in the siege of the fortified church at Bod where the prince's Saxon opponents had taken refugee. Fatally injured by a bull (the 23rd of August) Némethi died at Ders/ Dirjiu (the 4th of September) and was buried at Benedek/ Benic (12th of September 1612).⁹³

In the end of this short investigation we might observe that the men who really had been appointed for a ban had a nominal presence in the society of the districts of Caransebes and Lugoj. Their appointment was based exclusively on military and politically reasons. The ephemerality of their functions had also other important reasons: lack of relations with the local nobility and of proprieties in the Banat. But in spite of their fleeting or imaginary relations with the Banat, the five personages are still important through their own destiny. What is to be noticed is the ambition to climb the social ladder, through some high dignities up to that of a prince of Transylvania. The function of a ban was of a secondary importance for all of them. More relevant are those noblemen's relations with the great names of their time. Ludovic Rákóczi co-operation

⁹⁰ András Komáromy, "A szécsényi árulás," *A Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* IX (1896): (202-) 204: Az tekintetes és nagyságos Némethy Gergely uramnak ... lugasi bánnak.

⁹¹ Veress, *Documente*, vol. VIII, 188, no. 144 (letter of king Mathias II to palatine Thurzó, the 14th of July 1611).

⁹² Iorga, *Studii*, vol. XX, 402, no. CCCLV (a report from the 25th of July 1611). The two former bans met in Oradea (on the 21st of December 1611) as members of the prince's contingent to conclude peace with the Hapsburgs, *MCRT*, vol. VI, függelék, 553–554, no. II.

⁹³ "Segesvári Bálint Krónikája 1606–1654," in Károlyi Szabó, ed., *Erdélyi történelmi adatok*, vol. IV (1862), 180.

with Michael the Brave deserves a special investigation. How István Bocskai and Gabriel Báthori were given Kamuthi and Némethi's support is of the same importance. Ludovic Rákóczi and Gergely Némethi even in different alliances stood at the same table during the treating time in Košice (14th of June 1606), to conclude peace between Bocskai and the Hapsburgs.⁹⁴ By the same token, the testimonies attentive investigation and interpretation are paid in turn. An ampler and more accurate restitution of some of old people and institutions' destiny is the real profit.

ÎNTRE EFEMER ȘI FICTIV. COMPLETĂRI LA ISTORIA BANILOR DE CARANSEBEȘ ȘI LUGOJ

Rezumat

Acest studiu reia problematica titularilor funcției băniei de Caransebeș și Lugoj (atestată între anii 1536 și 1658). Șirul celor 32 de bani deja cunoscuți se poate completa cu nume noi care, din diverse motive, au fost ignorate sau necunoscute până acum. Cele cinci personaje prezentate aici s-au afirmat în epoca principilor Báthori (1571–1613). Acestea sunt: Farkas Petky, István Bocskai, Lajos Rákóczi, Farkas Kamuthi și Gergely Némethi. Istoricii le-au analizat existența, pe măsura faptelor și influenței lor, dar cercetarea s-a dovedit deficitară în evidențierea ipostazei de ban. Primii doi bărbați figurează cu funcția de ban doar printr-o confuzie istoriografică. Despre următorii doi demnitari, certitudinea dregătoriei de ban este susținută prin informații concise mai vechi, care necesită precizări suplimentare. Ultimul personaj a fost ban doar câteva săptămâni, aspect total ignorat de posteritate.

Ancheta întreprinsă a evidențiat faptul că personajele care au deținut cu adevărat funcția de ban, au avut o prezență nominală în societatea districtelor Caransebeș și Lugoj. Numirea lor s-a făcut exclusiv din rațiuni militare și politice. Efemeritatea funcției a avut și alte cauze importante: absența legăturilor cu nobilimea locală și lipsa proprietăților în Banat. Deși au avut legături fugitive sau imaginare cu Banatul, cele cinci personaje rămân importante prin destinul lor. Se remarcă ambiția de promovare socială, concretizată în ocuparea unor demnități înalte, mergând până la cea de principe al Transilvaniei. Pentru ei, funcția de ban a rămas de importanță secundară.

⁹⁴ Sándor Szilágyi, "Bocskay István és Illésházy István levelezése 1605 és 1606-ban," *Történelmi Tár* I (1878): 288, no. LXI (*Ludovicus Rakoczy capitaneus and Nemethi Gergely kapitány were among the signatories of the document*).

PRICE OF HUMAN RESOURCE IN TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE 16TH–17TH CENTURIES*

Livia Magina**

Keywords: estate, serfs/bonds, prices, Transylvania, 16th–17th centuries

Cuvinte cheie: domeniu, iobagi, prețuri, Transilvania, secolele XVI–XVII

A large palette of subjects that might belong to social or economic history or even to anthropology have begun for different reasons a kind of somehow solved problems and have remained by so untouched; transaction of goods on a nobiliary estate, surety, power relations or kinship are only a part of them. Focusing on the Principality of Transylvania, the present writing aims to point out just the question of transactions on nobiliary estates. Enough references on such transactions have been preserved and that's why I use at adventure (from territorial and chronological point of view) samples bellow, so that the phenomenon may be illustrated in its whole complexity.

Peasantry, a collective character in the social history analyses, is simultaneously a key stone in the economic history of the Principality, as being the human capital of every land estate. Peasant, as the human resource of a nobiliary or princely estate, is the main contributor to his lord's wealth and his estate improvement during the 16th–17th century in Transylvania. The social relations during these centuries belong to so-called "second serfdom"¹, set namely on the society vertical axis. Only a random joint is the term in Transylvania as the social relations redefining after 1514 was a prolonged and partly aggravated

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¹ *Second serfdom* or manorialism (feudalism) are the accepted terms to define this time from social and economic point of view in Central and Easter Europe; see: T. K. Dennison, Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Serfdom and social capital in Bohemia and Russia," *Economic History Review* 60, no. 3 (2007): 513–544; for the Hungarian area, see: Zimányi Vera, *Economy and Society in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Hungary (1526–1650)*, translated by Mátyás Esterházy (Budapest, 1987).

shape of the former situation. Given David Prodan's extremely influent opinion the fact was also emphasized in the Romanian historiography during the past century.²

If the goods value/ price seems easily enough to be set considering a series of elements supposed to belong to economy or juncture at that time, or also to a personal situation, namely the own estimation of prices, how easy is to set the price of a human being? How could a lord estimate his serf's life? It is the question on which we have few references yet. May we speak about a market settlement, where the bond's price depends on the buyer, or, simply, about totally autonomous transactions? Even if peasantry was the social capital of an estate and the key stone of its economic development, the documents of transaction seem to show through their large number that the landlords separated easily from their serfs. On the other hand, there is a question on the profit a landlord had after a servant selling. To what extend the labour selling might bring a financial profit or an advantage in selling/ pledging? Were those transactions only under the circumstances of certain pressing pecuniary needs? All the above questions are more or less related to the estate economy development, regularly under external elements and juncture influence, and might have an answer in so far as cases and samples from the whole Transylvania joint in outlining up a specific outlook regarding the human resource transaction on the nobiliary estates. The situation of peasantry in Transylvania is not very different in the main from that one of the serfs a century before. Even if we generally take into consideration the landlords and, more important, speak from their point of view, the serfs' number, respectively, the peasants' one was dominant. Beginning with the 16th century first decades, thousands of inhabitants there were frequently registered under the name of *jobbágiones/jobbágyok*, together with their families, goods and obligations to their masters. According to the *urbaria* of the time we may estimate that the demographic development in Transylvania was a positive one from the end of the 16th century up to the beginning of the 18th one, in spite of wars, famine, and epidemics or poor yields after natural calamities (floods, dryness, and locusts' invasions)³ that afflicted Transylvania similarly to whole Europe. Considering that the population main part lived in the rural settlements and worked there with cattle or manually, and had to pay rents, debts and other obligations according to the local custom, it seems that the serfs' transaction is a direct result of the lack of liquidities.

² David Prodan, *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVI-lea*, vol. I–II (București, 1967); Prodan *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVII-lea*, vol. I–II (București, 1986).

³ See a very specific synthesis for the 17th and 18th centuries at: Paul Cernovodeanu, Paul Binder, *Cavalerii Apocalipsului. Calamitățile naturale din trecutul României (până la 1800)* (București, 1993).

Given the economic and juridical specific treasures it refers to, the bond's definition as resulting from the law formula of Stephan Werbőczy's *Tripartitum*, after Gheorghe Doja's movement, might be taken for a meaningful one for that time outlook the definition in Part III, Chapter 25, *Station and laws of the peasant we call bond*, focused on three elements: ethnic, religious, and economic/ juridical stations. From the ethnic point of view villains may be Magyars, Saxons or Germans, Czech or Slavs of Christian confession. Others are Romanians and old Ukrainians, and some are Rascians or Serbians and Bulgarians who follow the Greek errors. There are also certain Cumans on the king's lands, who are Christians too.⁴ Juridically, according to Chapter 27, Art 1⁵, any serf or villain without a property can redeem through his oath only a forint and nothing more; he wouldn't absolve or convict anyone due to such an amount. So, the peasant who possessed a plot of land, no matter his confession or ethnic origin, is a serf as long as he is owed to his lord of manor and is bound to him. His juridical situation became manifest with his death as he could bequeath his goods to his sons and to his wife (a third part) if need be.

During the time we've taken into consideration, we might identify a series of factors that integrally influenced the economy of estates and the price of manpower inside an estate. The lands wasting in the second half of the 17th century that lead to the population decreasing, had a positive result in what concerned the bonds' appreciation and their price. Not all the serfs jointed such a social position due to their parents' juridical position. There were situations in the 17th century of peasants who preferred the bondage to an uncertain juridical liberty they had got. They seemed to have secured so their future life at least. Such situations of free men who jointed bondage of their own will might make us to reconsider the social relations in the autonomous Principality of Transylvania. *Providus* Ioan Nagy offers such a history as he *se se in jobbagionem obstringit* in 1622. George Horvátf of Szeplak was to become his master. Following their contract, Ioan Nagy had to give to his lord, for his plot of land, a certain amount of grains, eggs, cattle, and hay.⁶ *Jointing* the bondage was a usual practice all along the Transylvanian territory from various reasons, but the documents noted the villain's free will. Of his own free will, for instance, due to his hard life at Batanii Mici (seat of Odorhei), county of Covasna, a villain named Stefan

⁴ Stephen Werbőczy, *The Customary law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts (Tripartitum)*, eds & trans. by János M. Bak, Péter Banyó & Martyn Rady (Idyllwild, CA, & Budapest, 2005) (further DRMH 5), 405.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 413.

⁶ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára hereafter: MNL OL), F 2 Protocolla, vol. II, f. 380.

Olah, also known as Kerekcs, jointed the bondage at Mihai Daniel.⁷ In 1664, of his own accord, he gave his wife together with her son (13 years old) to the brickmaker in Fagaras and passed from prince Gabriel Bethlen's estate to that one of Francisc Daniel. Mihail Farkas together with his family became a bond of Francisc Gabor who had promised him a dwelling.⁸

Selling/ buying and pledging were the two well known ways to deal a serf. Obviously, we have in view the rural world that was owned by a prince, a nobleman or by an urban community. Only the free villages are out of that phenomenon, not the free men who could change their social position at any time, under unfavorable circumstances usually. Frequently but not necessarily, the references noted if the serf is sold/ pledged together or not with his plot of land, together or not with his children, or if the new social relation between this one and his lord is a hereditary one or the bondage lasts only up the bond's death. Redemption is another economic formula that refers to the human resource's value. This one might influence the estate economy, similarly to usual transactions, even if it is a specific one and hard to joint a phenomenon. Economically, a general observation is to be noted: for default of liquidities, any other of the owned goods could save the situation. A reason of that poorness of money might be, within the first half of the 17th century at least, the mints reduced activity.⁹ References to an unhappy moment in the life of the one who sells or pledges, namely the owner, were recorded in various suggestive formulas. Two of the frequent formulas are: given an emergency/ to avoid a problem. In 1510, for instance, Francisc from Haranglab (Haranglabi Francisc) pledged three of his bonds in Gaiesti (*Galfalva*), county of Mures, together with their descendants. The receiver was Grigore Apafi (and his descendants) in change of 45 forints he lent to him.¹⁰ So an average price of a serf's family, together with its successors, was of 15 forints. Four years after, a new case of pledging is registered without a specified reason. Another bond from Haranglab (county of Mures) is pledged in 1514 for 20 forints, but there is no data if he was pledged alone ore together with his family.¹¹ We might say that the price advanced with 5 forints within four years. Pledge descended frequently from father to sons. In 1560, Melchior Balogh prolonged a pledge for *unam quadam sessionem jobba-*

⁷ Prodan, *Iobăgia în XVII*, II, 470.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Florin Ciulavu, "Contribuții privind criza monetară din Transilvania în primele trei decenii ale secolului al XVII-lea și reforma monetară a lui Gabriel Bethlen," *Studii și comunicări de numismatică* XVI (2013): 127–143.

¹⁰ Biblioteca Academiei Române, filiala Cluj, fond Fototeca Documente, FT 175 (further: BAC, FT).

¹¹ BAC, FT 176.

gionalem populosam in the village of Hadreu, county of Turda. That plot of land had been pledged to the deceased Petru Gherendi and descended to George, Petru's son, in 1560.¹² By the end of the century, in 1599, May, Ioan Bekes increased with 6 forints the amount that his mother, widow of Ludovic Bekes, had borrowed through pledging two bonds to Nicolae Apafi's widow; after, he added 8 forints more.¹³ We do not have any information on the initial price of that pledge between the two widows, but the same ones signed in March 1599, for 60 forints, a document concerning the pledge of two serfs from Dej (Mures County).¹⁴ A substantial increasing might be noted, of 10 forints/ bond. Less than 10 years after, in 1608, we find a reference on a price of 50 forints for a pledge of 2 bonds, in Craiva (*Kiralyptataca*, county of Cluj), county of Alba¹⁵, and that means an average price of 25 forints/ a bond. Nicolae Gaman pledged, in 1608, to Ioan Lugassi, for 150 forints, some wastes at Bintint, with deteriorated houses that had belonged to eight bonds *valachici generis*.¹⁶ We might note that the price of a waste land is lower than that of an inhabited one. Eva Dósza (county of Alba), widow of the one called Mihalcz pledged in 1660 a bond to Mihai Mihalcz (a relative, probably) for 88 forints she had borrowed from that one.¹⁷ A new consistent increasing of the price is to be noted, of 10 forints/ serf at least, if we take into consideration the largest price, of 30 forints, at the end of the 16th century. In 1664, Matei Bálogh received from prince Mihail Apafi for his diplomatic services, 3 bonds and a bond's widow from Gligoresti and Casva (Mures County), all of them for 50 thalers. Two years later, the same Bálogh received for a pledge a named Laurentiu Dumbrava from Hodac (Mures County), for 40 forints, even if at the pledge time, that one had made his escape from the estate.¹⁸ A question rises from that case: would it have been Laurentiu Dumbrava's land of plot the pledge subject or they were sure on his bringing back? Prince Mihail Apafi pledged also, in 1669, to Ioan Dioszegi at Galfalva, two of his bonds (Ion and Oprea Stanciu) escaped from his estate at Porumbacu, for 60 forints¹⁹; two other escaped serfs and their families were pledged by the same prince to Petru Ciszar from Ulies (Cluj County), for 200 forints.²⁰ According to a contract signed in 1607, Margareta Machiasdi, wife of Ioan Nagy from Ilieni

¹² MNL OL, F 4 Cista comitatus, Thorda, fasc. I, no. 26.

¹³ BAC, FT 180.

¹⁴ BAC, FT 179.

¹⁵ BAC, FT 49.

¹⁶ MNL OL, F 2 Protocolla, vol. II, f. 191.

¹⁷ Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Kézirattár, A hilibi Gál család levéltára (The Transylvanian Museum Association, manuscripts, Gáls' Archive (further: EME, Hilibi cs.), fasc. VII, no. 4.

¹⁸ Prodan, *Iobăgia în XVII*, vol. II, 471.

¹⁹ Ibid., 474.

²⁰ Ibid.

(Mures County), pledged her bond Andrei Nagy from Ilieni together with his wife and cattle, for the tiny amount of 5 forints²¹, an exception related to the time prices, the average price being of 25 as we have already seen forints. Another credit, another pledge, another master. Matei Vicszey, a juryman of the city of Cluj in 1608, pledged to Sofia, *filia egregii quondam Vitalis Olchardy, seminis de Kovachy*, a bond called Mihai Herman, *providi valachi*, for 40 forints to pay a credit he had than.²²

Wills are specific documents to refer to pledges, to debts in fact. There were noted besides buildings and gold objects, pledges of bonds. From the many possible examples, the case of a named George Myske is to be put in light. Georghe Myske from Cisteiu de Mures (*Magyarchyzthwen*), on his deathbed, wrote in his will by the end of 1583 about his debts, one of them being of 50 forints he had borrowed from Kano Matei; in change, he had given to that one two of his bonds, Ioan Gewkeo and Ioan Geslia.²³ We might note that the pledged goods were always liable to be recuperated, so the prices of transactions were temporary estimations and by this they could reflect only a partial and momentary reality.

As for serfs selling or buying, it means, for the lord of manor, that by selling a possession or what he owns, he sells both the natural and the human resources. But there were not a few situations of selling only the land when people had left it either sent away by different conflicts or disappeared through disinheritance. But also it must have existed situations of selling only people to repopulate the wastes. Those wastes were the plots of land where no bond lived there to work them, while the populate ones had their human inventory. Obviously, the price differs between the two categories, as the populated plots had their own capacity to yield while the wastes need investments in bringing there the necessary workers. But the reasons of selling seem to be the same as those of pledging: lack of liquidities, an emergency, or covering of a loan. Gabriel Sombory of Sombor sold to Stefan Thurku alias Zekly, in 1609, Paul Orbán's plot, a bond who had lived there, at Luncani (*Felseogerend*, comitat of Turda), county of Cluj, for 18 forints.²⁴ Comparatively, a nobiliary waste plot of land from Cubulcut (*Keobeolkwth*, county of Cluj), Bihor County, was sold in the same year, with 114 *florenos hungaricales*.²⁵ At Sarateni (*Varaggia*, county

²¹ *Torda vármegye jegyzőkönyvei 1607–1658* (The Protocols of Turda County), vol. I, ed. Dáné Veronka, (Cluj-Napoca, 2009), 37.

²² MNL OL, F 15, vol. XIII, f. 102.

²³ *Az Erdélyi fejedelmek királyi könyvei* (Royal Books of the Transylvanian Princes, hereafter: *Az Erdélyi fejedelmek*), vol. II, 1569–1581, ed. Fejér Tamás, Rácz Etelka, Szász Anikó (Cluj, 2005), 142, doc. 412.

²⁴ MNL OL, F15, vol. XIII, f. 75.

²⁵ MNL OL, F 15, vol. XIII, f. 72.

of Alba), Mures County today, was sold with 50 forints in 1609²⁶, while Stefan Valko of Valcay bought in the same year, a populated plot of land in Săcuieu possession (*Zekelyo*, district of Călata), Cluj County, with 70 forints (*septuaginta hungaricis florenos*).²⁷ In 1585 Ambrus Feyervary from Simonesti declared he had got 20 forints from the juryman of Bistrita City, Gaspar Budaki, for two bonds: Valentin Tucz from Viisoara and Andrei Redler from Sigmir²⁸, namely 10 forints/ a bond. Eight years later, in 1593, Stefan Szentmiklosi sold Savu Lucaciu and his mother as bonds of the town of Dej for ever and it would have been of interest to compare the prices, but the last one wasn't noted, maybe for the clerk's negligence.²⁹ In 1599, Petru Supa sold his serf Opra Toplita from Izvoarele (*Lenczina*), county of Hunedoara, for 12 forints.³⁰ Stefan Kendi sold at his turn, in 1607, his bond Petru Budatan from Sangeorzul Roman (Bistrita) to the city of Bistrita, for 80 forints, in the year that a pledge was of 25 / a bond. A year later, Stefan Kendi played again for a seller. It was bond Simion Doine who was sold for a piece of fabric (named *carazie*)³¹, an enough expensive piece, undoubtedly, to justify such a deal. In 1608, Barbara Vezzeodi *jobbagionem unum vendit Martino Kapronczay* the last one being the manager of the princely court at that time. Bond Ioan Katona *volachum* from the possession of Coslariu (*Koslar*), county of Alba, *olim domum residentialem habente*, together with his present children and the future ones, with his mobile and immobile goods, was sold for 40 forints.³² A serious reduction comparatively to the amount of 80 forints that Stefan Kendi had received in noted in a document of 1611, when Andrei Dozsa bought from Paul Kereztesy, a serf called Albert Pál from Ghindari (*Makfalva*), together with his wife, children, and cattle at a price of only 10 forints.³³ In 1643 for plots belonging to some bonds were sold at Henig (*Henningfalva*, comitat of Alba), a village in the county of Alba, *simulcum uxoribus liberis bonisque suis mobilibus pariter et immobilibus*. Three of the four inhabitants (Stan Muntian, Dragumer Muntian, and Amberisia) "were delivered together" for 130 forints. The fourth plot of land where Sztan BIRTHA was living was bought with 40 forints *pridem jobbagionum in quadraginta florenis*.³⁴ That Sztan BIRTHA was the judge of the village of Henig, but his price was lower than that one of the other villains.

²⁶ MNL OL, F 2 Protocolla, vol. II, f. 223.

²⁷ MNL OL, F15, vol. XIII, f. 67.

²⁸ Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale Cluj, fond Primăria orașului Bistrița, no. 5345.

²⁹ Andrei Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, vol. IV, (București, 1932), 12.

³⁰ MNL OL, F 2 Protocolla, vol. II, f. 43.

³¹ Veress, *Documente*, VIII (București, 1935), 38–39.

³² MNL OL, F 2 Protocolla, vol. II, f. 152.

³³ EME, Hilibi cs, fasc. IV, no. 23.

³⁴ MNL OL, F2 Protocolla, vol. IX, f. 34 v.

Was it a question related to the plot size or to the number of family's members? Hard to say at this time of researching! By the end of the century, in 1690, in the same area of Mures seat, Stefan Donáth sold a bond named Emeric Benkő to Toma Dosa for 51 forints.³⁵ Within the same limit of 50 forints was a deal of 1699 when two noblemen, Petru and Stefan Lukács from Danesci (seat of Ciuc), county of Harghita, sold Balász Biró, an escaped serf, to Nicolae Mihalcz of Turla and his wife, Barbara Sándor, for 8 proved Kremnitz ducats which were equivalent to 40 forints (Hungarian florins) at that time.³⁶

Similar deals are attested also in Walachia with freeholders sold to bondage or with sale and purchase of serfs and slaves. Even if beginning with the 16th century we might find such samples, the price in the area is documented only beginning with 1540. Slaves at an apparently constant price (1,000 akçes about) and serfs were for sale, the last ones with an increasing price within half a century, from 450 akçes in the middle of the 16th century, to 2,400 akçes at the end of it.³⁷ We have not yet a similar global approaching on Transylvania to let us know the human resources' prices fluctuation. Given the currency devaluating and also the cost of living increasing certainly the serfs' price had an ascending line with certain variations to be found in private situations or the events of the time.

Related to political and husbandry circumstances, there was another way to valorize the human resource of an estate: bondage redemption. The main reason was probably the same as in the case of pledging, namely the lord's lack of liquidities. Not so numerous as the ones of pledging or selling, those cases may be self-explanatory. The amounts to pay back the bondage had to contain also the bonds' debts. In 1581 three serfs from Ticusu (*Tywkos*), Brasov County succeeded to be redeemed from Retheny Francisc for different amounts: Gál Adam paid back 60 forints, Herman Grigore, 56, and Hermany Adám, only 40 forints.³⁸ Ladislau Pap from Mociu paid back 200 forints in 1590, from which 150 for his debt as a serf and 50 for the house he had lived in. In fact, his master Ioan Kemény had to pay a credit to Ioan Hoszu, and it was the way to obtain the necessary money.³⁹ For 100 forints paid back, 50 for each one, brothers Nicolae and Petru Peica from Marga, Caras-Severin County, were redeemed in 1617 from their lord Iacob of Marga.⁴⁰ Their new situation was certified a

³⁵ EME, Hilibi cs., fasc. III, no. 47.

³⁶ *Székely Oklevéltár*, vol. VII, ed. Szádeczky Lajos (Kolozsvár, 1898), 39.

³⁷ Damaschin Mioc, "Prețurile din Țara Românească în secolele XV–XVI și dinamica lor," *Revista de Istorie* 33 (1980): 317–325.

³⁸ *Az Erdély fejedelmek*, 79, doc. 143.

³⁹ MNL OL, F15, vol. XI, f. 314v.–315r.

⁴⁰ MNL OL, F1, vol. XII, f. 65–66.

year later by prince Gabriel Bethlen, following Iacob of Marga's proposal. Toma Oprea from Rapa de Sus was also redeemed for 40 forints, a fact that is noted in Hunedoara urbarium on 1648.⁴¹ Even if their lord set them at liberty, he might require that such a release be made on some stipulations generally related to the bonds' handicraft. It is the case of Anton Kovács in Aiud, who paid back 100 forints (*szaz magyari forintert*), in 1653, to his former master, Petru Henter, but annually he had to give him 25 horseshoes.⁴² A similar situation was registered for Matei Varga from Rapolt (Hunedoara County), Varga Toma's son, paid back to his master George Macicas, 62 forints: 28 forints as the equivalent value of some dressed leathers, and 34 forints in ready-money. Prince Gabriel Bethlen certified his redemption in 1698, 9 years after that paying back!⁴³ Another case: Andrei Buda, a serf living at Manarau (Hunedoara) required Nicolae Solyomi to set him at liberty in 1662. For 40 forints he was redeemed, and was registered among the mounted freeholders.⁴⁴ Romanian priest represent a special category. According to the law they were free from certain taxes; having been redeemed, especially if living in areas with Reformed population, they got off paying the taxes to predicator, while the Reformed people did. Romanian priests were registered in urbaria either in the serfs' lists or in autonomous lists. But they originated in that mass of bondmen. As the Orthodox confession didn't belong to the recognized confessions, the Orthodox priests didn't receive privileges. A self-evident case is this of priest Stefan from Tilisca. In 1667 he was redeemed together with his three sons, paying back to Ioan Belpataki 115 forints⁴⁵, at an average price of 28 forints/ any member of the family.

In an economic context, represented through prices means in Transylvania of the 16th–17th centuries, the value of the human resources seems to follow an ascending line either in the temporary formula of pledging or in the definitive one, of bonds selling with their plots of land or *in persona*. The two dealing formulas show a real increasing, from 20 forints/ a serf at the beginning of the time we refer to, to over 80 forints/ a serf by the end of it, if we speak about pledges. It is also visible the selling price increasing during the 17th century, from 10 forints/ a serf to 80 forints. The recorded prices represent on the other hand a specific treasure related to the place and moment the deals were made. Probably, prices were influenced by political and economic factors, and not least, by natural calamities. Was a bond's sale profitable for his lord? It would be hard to say, as long as we do not know exactly the reason of such a deal and the

⁴¹ Prodan, *Iobăgia în XVII*, I, 486.

⁴² MNL OL, F2 Protocolla, XII/2, f. 88.

⁴³ MNL OL, F 1, vol. XVII, f. 64–65.

⁴⁴ Prodan, *Iobăgia în XVII*, I, 96.

⁴⁵ Veress, *Documente*, XI (București, 1939), 79–80.

accountancy of many Transylvanian estates. But it is a sure fact that, by pledging or selling his bonds, the lord succeeded to cover various debts in less favorable moments. He, the serf is an appreciated good within the limits of the time rules, but not so appreciated as a pearl necklace or a cloth of *carazie*!

ANNEXES

1

MNL OL, F 15 Protocolla, Librii regii et Styliionaria, vol. XI, f. 314v–315r.
the 28th of December 1590, Cluj-Mănăştur

Nos, requisitores literarum et literalium instrumentorum in sacristia sive conservatorio Conventus Monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis de Colosmonostra repositarum ac quarumlibet iudiciarum deliberationum legitimorumque mandatorum Illustrissimum Principis Transsylvaniae executores, memoriae commendamus tenore presentium significantes, quibus expedit universis, quod egregio Ioanne Kemeny, filio condam egregii Francisci Kemeny de Gyereomonostra ab una parte si quidem, ex altera circumspecto Ioanne Hozzw Colosvariensis coram nobis personaliter constitutis, idem Ioannes Kemeny oraculo vivae vocis spontaneaue sua voluntate fassus est et retulitque in hunc modum, quod annis superioribus vivente adhuc et inhumanis agente quondam generosa domina Elizabet Zentpaly, primum dicti Francisci Kemeny de inde vero Pauli Chyereny de Balasfalva postremo vero Georgi Ombozy de Zowat quondam egregiorum relictia videlicet genitricae eiusdem Ioannis Kemeny tam ipsam dominam Elizabeth maiore ex parte quam etiam idem Ioannes Kemeny in variis ipsorum necessitatibus a dicto Ioanne Hozzw certa pecuniae summam videlicet et ducentos florenos hungaricales monetae currentae aliquot (...) recepissent sub spe (...) restitutionis, quam quidem summam cum ipse Ioannes Kemeny post obitum dictae matris suae solvendo non esset, coactus fuisset ex bonis seu iuris suis possessionariis ipsum Ioannem Hozzw contentare. Itaque in primis pro centum et quinquaginta florenis quidam colonum suum providum scilicet Ladislaum Pap in portione sua possessionaria in possessione Mochy in comitatu Colosiensi existente commorantes, eidem Ioanne Hozzw ex iugo servitutis iobbagionalis coram nobis penitus exenit, perpetuaque libertate donavit et unacum uxore liberis fore in futurum nascitur manumissit numque deinceps ipsum Ladislaum Pap uxoremque eiusdem pro colonis suis reemendo, sed eisdem plenariam immunitatem ubivis locorum habitandi migrandeque potestatem concedendes, absque ulla reductionis et caprinationis formidine. Preterea pro se residua summa hoc est florenis quinquaginta domum eiusdem Ladislai Pap quam idem in eadem possessionem Mochy in pertinentiarum incoleret videlicet in vicinitate domus ab una providi Ladislai Marha, coloni eiusdem Ioannis Kemeny, ab altera vero partibus deserte, cuiusdam domus simulcum universis cuiusdam domus

utilitatibus iurisque et pertinentium quibuslibet, utpote terris arabilibus, cultis incultis, sortibus sylvis, foenetis, pratis, agris, hortis, vineis generaliter vero quarumlibet utilitatum et pertinentiarum suarum integritatibus quovis nominis vocabulo vocitatis ad eandem domum Ladislai Pap spectantes et pertinere debere sub suis veris metis et antiquis limitibus existentes annotato Ioanni Hozzu heredibusque et posteritatibus eiusdem universis dedisset, inscripssisset, perpetuavit et transtulisset, prout coram nobis idem Ioannes Kemeny dedit, inscripsit, perpetuavit ac transtulit pleno cum effectu assumentes nihilominus et obligantes idem Ioannes Kemeny memoratum Ioannes Hozzw, haeredesque et legitimos eiusdem successores in pacifico dominio antelatae domus et pertinentes eiusdem vita dumtaxat ipsius Ioannes Kemeny durante contra quoslibet legitimos impetitores, causidicos et actores propriis suis sumptibus et laboribus protegere, tueri et dispensare, ipso vero Ioanne Kemeny vita functo fratres generationales eiusdem, non prius dictum Ioannes Hozzw vel legitimos eiusdem successeurs ex dominio dictae domus cyte non possint, quam summam integram florenorum quinquaginta in paratis eidem vel eisdem reposuerint sicque domum eandem in potestatem suam recipere valeant. In cuius rei fidem et testimonium praesentes literas nostras sigillo huius conventus usitato obsegnatas duximus eidem Ioanni Hozzw concedendas. Datae feriae sexta proxima post festum Nativitatis nostri Iesu Christi iuxta stilum novum, anno eiusdem millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo.

2

MNL OL, F 2 Protocolla, vol. II, f. 43
the 14th of November 1606

Petrus Supa, jobbagionem unum suum vendit Stephano Zilwasy
Nos, requisitores etc., damus pro memoria per presentes, quod egregii Stephanus Zilwassi de Zilwas ab una ac Petrus Supa de Lenczina partibus ab altera coram nobis personaliter constituti, idem Petrus Supa assumptis in se oneribus et gravaminibus nobilium Michaeli Stephani et Nicolai scilicet Supa, fratrum scilicet suorum carnalium, aliorumque proximorum et consangvineorum suorum, quos videlicet infrascripti tangeret et concerneret, tangere et concernere posset negotium quomodolibet in futurum, matura prius iuxta se deliberatione prehabita sponte et libere oraculo vive vocis in hunc modum, quomodo ipse in anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo nono circa festis Nativitatis Beate Marie Virginis tunc preteritum, urgentibus eius certis et inevitabilibus necessitatibus, potissimum autem causa evitandae, favinis ad hoc inductes in qua ne ipsa familiaque sua tota periclitaretur, a prefato Stephano Zilwasy duodecim florenos hungaricales currentis et usualis monete levasset, quos quia persolvere illi non posset, pro eis unum jobbagionem suum Opra Toplicza vocatum in possessione Lenczina, comitatu Huniadiensi in districtu Haczakiensi personalem residentiam facientes, iure perpetuo et irrevocabiliter tenendas, possidendas pariter et habendas dedisset, vendidisset et abalienasset, nullus ius, nullamine

iuris et dominii proprietatem, si quod et quam idem Petrus Supa in antelato jobbagione Opra haberet vel haeredes suos quomodo libet in futurum habere posse speraret, sibi haeredibusque et posteritatibus suis utriusque sexus. Datum feria tertia proxima post festum Beati Martini Episcopi, anno Domini 1606.

VALOAREA RESURSEI UMANE ÎN TRANSILVANIA SECOLELOR XVI–XVII

Rezumat

În mod similar întregii Europe Centrale, și zona aferentă Principatului Transilvaniei a experimentat la nivel social fenomenul iobăgiei, chiar o perioadă mai lungă de timp. Una dintre caracteristicile legale ale proprietății a fost și aceea a posibilității de tranzacționare a domeniului de către stăpân. De regulă, contractele de vânzare-cumpărare nu specifică decât imobiliarele cu descriere și preț, însă se pot regăsi destule documente care precizează tranzacționarea resursei umane a domeniului împreună cu toate utilitățile acestuia. Prețul iobagilor, tranzacționați cu toate bunurile ce le aparțineau, reprezintă un aspect economic neexploatat la nivelul istoriografiei și poate oferi o serie de aspecte noi privitoare atât la lumea rurală în general precum și la relațiile sociale și evoluția economică a domeniului nobiliar ori princiar.

PLEDGES AND DEBTS. PRICES OF GOODS IN THE BANAT OF THE 16TH–17TH CENTURIES

Adrian Magina*

Keywords: the Banat, 16th–17th centuries, pledge, debts, prices

Cuvinte cheie: Banat, sec. XVI–XVII, zălog, datorii, prețuri

History of the Banat represents still a little known field of investigation in the Romanian historiography, especially for the 16th–17th centuries. The analyses that have been made so far take into consideration particularly the Romanian elites' situation (with genealogy reconstructions and disputes on owner-ships)¹ or certain aspects relating to institutional and administrative history.² The economical questions, irrespective of their nature, were only tangentially subjects of researching in correlation with the above mentioned ones. To reconstitute aspects concerning history of prices or value of goods is certainly a conditioned operation. For default of studies on the economical aspects in the

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¹ See more for the subject: Ligia Boldea, "O familie nobilă română a Banatului montan în epoca Principatului: Mătnicenii de Ohaba Mătnic," in Dumitru Țicu, Rudolf Graf, eds, *Itinerarii istoriografice. Studii în onoarea istoricului Costin Feneșan* (Cluj-Napoca, 2011), 235–269; Ibid., "Tradiție și continuitate în lumea demnitarilor români ai Banatului de Caransebeș și Lugoj: Gârleștenii de Rudăria," *Analele Banatului*, S.N., XXII (2014): 275–294; D. L. Țigău, "Familia Fiat de Armeniș în secolele XV–XVII," *Banatica* 14 (1996): 21–51; Ibid., "Familia Bizere-Găman în secolele XV–XVII," *Banatica* 15/II (2000): 31–68; Ibid., "Familia nobililor Peica de Caransebeș în secolele XVI–XVII," *Banatica* 17 (2005): 232–253; Ibid., "O familie de orașeni nobili: Ivul de Caransebeș (secolele XVI–XVII)," in *Studii și cercetări. Actele simpozionului „Banatul-trecut istoric și cultural* (Zrenjanin–Novi Sad, 2010), 1–16 etc; L. Magina, "Un destin feminin în Banatul sfârșitului de secol XVI: Barbara Moise," *Analele Banatului*, S.N., XIX (2011): 285–296.

² Costin Feneșan, "Întregiri și îndreptări la istoria banilor de Caransebeș și Lugoj (sec. XVI–XVII)," *Analele Banatului*, S.N., XVI (2008): 187–198; A. Magina, "At the border of Transylvania: the County of Severin/ district of Caransebeș in the 16th–17th centuries," *Transylvanian Review* XXII, suppl. no. 4 (2013): 295–306; D. L. Țigău, "Aspecte din activitatea prim juzilor orașului Caransebeș în secolele XV–XVII," in V. Leu, C. Albert, D. Țicu, eds, *Studii bănațene* (Timișoara, 2007), 87–136; Ibid., "Banii de Caransebeș și Lugoj. Considerații asupra atribuțiilor și competențelor acestora," *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, 16 (1998): 225–241; (1999): 237–251.

area my approach will rather aim to reconstitute through sources from archives, than to interpret the situation. However, I'll try not to limit myself to what the sources say, but if possible, to answer to certain questions on the money impact within the early modern Banat society.

1. I have started with the question: what is or, more exactly, what did the pledge and duties mean at that time, namely the 16th–17th centuries?

Considering the real terminology, debt and debtor were the same as today they are, so I won't insist on them. But, for the Romanian language, pledge and pledging are less used nowadays, and they mean guaranty, security or mortgage as referring to estate in the case of the last word. The two terms are interconnected as a credit/ doubt leads to a pledging and implicitly expresses the value of the pawned good equal to the borrowed amount. Both the pledge and the debts show in a great measure how the prices go, with an obvious margin for error. In the case of pledging, the offered amount should be a little bit less than the real value of the respective good in the case of free selling. I have said "should be" just because during the early modern era another element might interfere. I have noticed that a certain person if borrows money he almost always does it from one of his neighbors who is directly interested in getting estates nearby the ones he has got yet. It is the case of a possible outsized price as the two partners in transaction have a common interest in. According to the law in Hungary and Transylvania the relatives or the neighbors were the first who had the right to buy an estate ready for pledging or sale (right of preemption). It is why they were the first to be informed on and only if they refused, the estate might be got by other interested persons.³ In a standardized pledging contract the two who want to conclude the transaction are supposed to meet each other in front of the qualified authorities (the local ones more frequently), the partners are nominated (whom from and for whom the pledge is solicited), as well as the good in question and the proposed amount.⁴ Juridically, a pledge is taken for alienation (*alienasset atque impignorasset*)⁵ similar to a sale but with a certain difference: the one who alienated a good might further recuperate it. The docu-

³ In 1594, for instance, Anna Baronyai requests that the interested people, relatives, neighbours, and free holders be let know that she wants to pledge her shares in the area of Caransebeș (*consanguineos suos, vicinos item et commetaneos pretactas portiones possessionarias*). Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (hereafter: MNL OL), P 291 Gámán család levéltára, 1 tétel, f. 37. Annex 4.

⁴ Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale Cluj (hereafter: SJAN CJ), family of Matskasi de Tincova's fund, box 6, fasc. XIX, nr. 614. Annex 3.

⁵ A sentence in the reference regarding the pledge in 1590, between John Găman and Barbara Moise. Magina, "Barbara Moise," 292.

ments themselves specified clearly enough that the transaction is a temporary alienation up to a subsequent redemption (*usque tempus redemptionis*). Some of the documents note even the date the debts might be paid, one of the important holidays being selected for (St. George Day, in the Banat).⁶ If not given to the creditor within that time, the ransom might be given the next year or years according to the setting day. The financial need of the offeror is so satisfied on the one hand and, on the other hand, the goods were themselves protected. The receiver committed himself to protect them in the term of the contract (yet the medieval documents mentioned such a practice) up to redemption. And why shouldn't he have done it? Up to the ransom, the former owner's house, land and even people were in fact the creditor's property.

2. The Banat in the 16th–17th centuries

The social and political frame of the Banat might help us to better understand how the economic mechanism worked within the early modern era in the province. Only the eastern part of this territory is the subject of my approach now, a mountain area between Almăj Depression and the Timiș-Cerna Gap on the east-west axis, and Poarta de Fier a Transilvaniei Gap and the Danube on the north-south axis. Politically the area was part of the Hungarian Kingdom up to the middle of the 16th century. The military confrontations at the middle of the 16th century changed the political way of that territory. The biggest part of the Banat, namely the Low Banat with the towns of Timișoara and Lipova got under Ottomans' domination in 1552. The part that rested to Christians became a peripheral province of the Autonomous Principality of Transylvania; it coagulated around the towns of Caransebeș and Lugoj as a borderland to Ottomans. Administratively that territory was organized as the County of Severin that superposed the medieval district of Caransebeș, both the administrative units using the same corps of office workers. Against the Turkish threatening the county/district administration was superposed by the banat of Caransebeș-Lugoj, a military and administrative unit that went on with the banat of Severin tradition.⁷ The two urban centers Caransebeș and Lugoj concentrated the whole political, military, juridical and economic activity of the area; both the named centers were of a middle size and they seem to never surpass their zonal importance.⁸ From the social point of view that area was a nobiliary nursery, mainly

⁶ Similar samples: C. Feneșan, *Documente medievale bănățene (1440–1653)* (Timișoara: Facla, 1982), 63; MNL OL, P 1916 Sombory család levéltára, 2 csomó: Gámán család, f. 12. Annex 1. Magina, "At the border of Transylvania."

⁷ Magina, "At the border of Transylvania."

⁸ L. Magina, "The memory of writing in the banatian municipal institutions during the 15th–17th centuries," *Transylvanian Review* XXII, suppl. no. 4 (2013): 284–294.

of Romanian origin but of Hungarian expression (in written documents), who touched but rarely the nobiliary standard of the elite of Transylvania. The main part of the Banat nobles belongs to the small nobility comparatively to the nobles in Transylvania, with estates or part of estates in a mountainous area. The Transylvanian nobles were directly linked to the owned estates where they used to live too while the nobiliary elite in the Banat lived almost exclusively in Lugoj and Caransebeș that offered a relative protection in that borderland.⁹ Somehow, we may speak about an isolated world from the other parts of Transylvania, that preserved old medieval habits, but also proved to be open to the new ideas of the time (the religious reform, for instance).¹⁰ Prince Akos Barcsay yielded the banat of Caransebeș-Lugoj to the Sublime Porte in 1658 and so the whole Banat enter the territories of the Ottoman Empire. My research starts with the middle of the 16th century after the eastern Banat integration in the Autonomous Principality of Transylvania and stops at 1658, a reference point that marked the deep change of this area political, social and economic structure.

3. Sources

Which kind of documents refer to information I have speaking above? Firstly, we may speak about the contracts concerning those transactions: selling-buying or pledging, mainly concluded in front of the local authorities and rarely of the central ones. In the second place we find the summons before the judge, usually for the terms in contract non-observance. Wills belong to a special category but they are quite few in the pre-modern Banat. But the 10–12 existing wills bring into light ones of the most interesting situations. The ones who made their wills used to record not only the goods they left effectively but also what they had to receive back, debts or pledges. Those inherited claims had to be recuperated by their successors or paid by the successors of the one who had borrowed from others. The problems concerning the respective amounts recuperation usually brought to summons before the judges I have just speaking about as it was but difficult to recuperate debts that sometimes lasted for decades.

A quantitative evaluation of the sources relative to the early modern history of the Banat leads to 2,000 about references. Certainly what was preserved up to us is but a part of what was destroyed in time, especially during the Ottoman occupancy. The most of the preserved sources are to be find in some familial archives (Fiáth, Gámán, Matskási) or of institutions that usually certified and

⁹ See footnote 1 with the cited studies.

¹⁰ A. Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare. Biserici tradiționale, Reformă și Islam în Banat (1500–1700)* (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2011), 91–116.

preserved (the Chapter in Alba Iulia). The main part of these sources is preserved in archives or libraries in Hungary, excepting a notable fund (Matskási, in County of Cluj Service of the National Archives).¹¹ Due to the efforts of the Hungarian historian Pesty Frigyes within the second half of the 19th century, the references on the Banat begun to be published. The third tom of County of Severin monograph presents references for 1237 – 1578¹² and the fourth one of Caraș County monograph, for 1518–1853.¹³ The sources basis for the 16th–17th centuries enlarged due to Costin Feneșan's contributions, both through the volume he published in 1982¹⁴ and the annexes of various studies he published in specific revues.¹⁵

4. *Transactions and the value of goods*

What did they pledge in the Banat during those centuries? I do believe that there are no great differences in the matter relative to what they pledged in the Principality of Transylvania and most probably in the whole Romanian territory or the central European one. In the main estates or immobile housing assets were the transactions subjects as they were valuable undoubtedly. In the case of that province located in the south of the Mureș, very many proprieties were entered the transactions in the urban milieu of Caransebeș (houses, gardens, etc.) as the main part of the local elite lived in that town. 26 transactions are recorded for instance in 1578–1605, 12 of them (46%) being pledges. 10 of the last ones (83% about from the whole) consisted in lands, hay fields, places for mills building. According to what is pledged the correspondent amount is extremely variable. 6 forints made the amount of a land pledging at Sacu¹⁶, near Caransebeș, a quite similar value to the 10 forints for a forest¹⁷, or to the 11 forints for a land of 3 iugera.¹⁸ In contrast, there were great lands, parts of villages or even entire villages that came to important amounts of hundreds of forints. Not a few cases were registered as such. For instance Doroteea Bánfy borrowed 400 forints

¹¹ Ibid, 11–14, presenting sources especially from the ecclesiastic point of view.

¹² F. Pesty, *A Szörényi bánság és a Szörény vármegye története*, III Oklevéltár (Budapest, 1878).

¹³ Ibid., *Krassó vármegye története*, IV, Oklevéltár (Budapest, 1883).

¹⁴ Feneșan, *Documente*.

¹⁵ See: “Șase scrisori ale principelui Gabriel Bethlen către banul Lugoșului și Caransebeșului (1614–1615),” *Apulum* XIV (1976): 175–183; “Despre privilegiile Caransebeșului și Căvăranului in a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca* 20 (1977): 303–311; “Comitatul Severinului la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea,” *Tibiscum* 7 (1988): 189–226; “Banatul Caransebeșului și Lugoșului între Habsburgi și Poartă în anul 1552,” *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* XII (1994): 161–199.

¹⁶ Feneșan, *Documente*, 146–147.

¹⁷ Pesty, *Krassó*, IV, 97.

¹⁸ Feneșan, *Documente*, 62–63.

from Francisc Modlina in Lugoj, in 1582, and pledged for the taken money the village of Găvoșdia.¹⁹ In a pledge document from 1572, the nobles of Măciș estates, namely 5 villages and 4 grasslands were estimated at 600 forints.²⁰ The largest amount for a pledge seems to have been that of 1,500 forints noted for Anna Baronyai's estates. They consisted in parts of lands possessed at Maciova together with the nobiliary house and yard there, parts of villages of Pestere and Obreja, a house land and yard in the market of Caransebeș and half of a mill in Țermurani Street in the same city.²¹ A house *intra muros*, in the same city raised at a few more than 100 forints, the price being smaller on average.²² We do not know the reason of such largest amounts. As I have told yet, I do believe that a mutual interest is the explanation, as both the one who offers and the one who wants to purchase are interested in a price as large as possible. In our cases, the ones who offer money as pledges are the most potent nobiliary families in the Banat, ready to complete their landed properties in the respective localities. I think it to have been a usual practice in the Banat as recently we have noted in a study concerning the urban properties. The ones who got financial power were interested in merging their properties in as small as possible area, a fact that influenced the local supply and demand.²³

People, namely the villains (serfs) are less frequently subject of pledging, as they were usually sold together with the land they inhabited and where juridically they had no right to shift from. Within the time I have taken into consideration much less cases of humans' selling are to be noted comparatively to the landed properties. Villains with their plots of land were subject of pledging because they were valuable goods. What did the land mean no matter its size without the human resource? It is for instance the case of six villains from three villages near Caransebeș, who were given as a pledge together with what they owned for 131 forints²⁴, a few more than 20 forints/ individual. The noble lady Barbara Moise pledged not for once the villains she had inherited from her former husbands, with also 20 forints on average.²⁵ 17 forints about/ individual were noted on average in the case of 11 villains and their plots of land given as pledge, the total amount raising up to 190 forints.²⁶ In 1608 six plots

¹⁹ MNL OL, F 4 Cista comitatuum, Zarand, fasc. 2, no. 20.

²⁰ Pesty, *Krassó*, IV, 91. See footnote 41.

²¹ MNL OL, P 1916 Sombory család levéltára, 2 csomó: Gámán család, f. 25. Annex 5.

²² L. Magina, "Tranzacții imobiliare într-un oraș de frontieră. Caransebeșul în secolele XVI–XVII," *Historia Urbana XXIII* (2015): 184–185.

²³ *Ibid.*, 187.

²⁴ Pesty, *Krassó*, IV, 90.

²⁵ Magina, "Barbara Moise," 291–292, doc. III, V.

²⁶ MNL OL, P 1916 Sombory család levéltára, 2 csomó: Gámán család, f. 12. Annex 1.

of land and the ones who lived there were given as a pledge for 100 forints.²⁷ The so called servants (*házi jobábg yok*) were also estimated at about 20 forints/individual. Two servants and the plots they lived in were so given as a pledge, in 1599, for 40 forints.²⁸ The average amount was a constant one from the end of the 16th century up to the Banat falling into the Ottomans' power, no matter the conditions of transactions or the events that took place in that province.

Animals or precious objects are more rarely noted as subjects of pledging. Lady Margaret Gaman bequeathed her daughters a Turkish girdle too, but that one had been yet pledged for 20 forints, at the same value she had pledged her estates in three villages near Caransebeş or a similar one to a servant she had pledged a year before.²⁹ Obviously, her daughters would have got the precious object after redeeming it, but we don't know wheather they did or not such a thing. Another noble in the Banat bequeathed a girdle too, in the 15th century, to the one who had pledged it as he didn't need it anymore³⁰: a fact that we might understand also as a wish of not squandering such a precious liquidity. A ring pledged to George Dragna in 1585, was also estimated at 20 forints.³¹ As concerning animals I have met a single case at the beginning of the 17th century: half a house was pledged for the price of a good mare, at 16 forints namely, a quite large amount for an animal (equivalent approximately to a house plot or to a garden in Caransebeş)³², but clearly smaller than that of a piece of clothes as the respective girdle was.

As I have noted above there is a definite connection between debt/ loan and pledge, as the last one is the guarantee of the debt paying. In the case of the Banat I have met no contract concerning an amount of money crediting exclusively (or maybe no one was preserved). Such contracts should have contained the legal terms of the credit, the date of paying it back, the legal results, etc. We might suppose that such cases have been rather verbal agreement in the presence of certain witnesses. Even if so, those agreements had a whole juridical authority. Nicholas Stefaniga lost his house in Caransebeş as, even a nobleman, he hadn't succeeded to pay a debt of 19 forints and the local authorities sold his house by auction.³³ Another nobleman, George Eördögh lost his house also for an unpaid debt. He was obliged to give to lady Margaret Roşca his wife's

²⁷ Pesty, *Krassó*, IV, 249–250.

²⁸ Feneşan, *Documente*, 109–110.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 117–120.

³⁰ Pesty, *A Szörényi bánság*, III, 99–100.

³¹ MNL OL, P 291 Gámán család levéltára, 1 tétel, f. 28.

³² Feneşan, *Documente*, 133–134. For instance a house plot was sent in Caransebeş, in 1604 and 1616 for 15 forints. *Ibid.*, 130–131, 143–144.

³³ A. Ghidui, I. Bălan, *Monografia oraşului Caransebeş* (Caransebeş, 1909), 297.

house in Caransebeş because he had not paid the rent of 15 forints (for a year probably) for the house the named lady had let him.³⁴ It was a paying concern for Lady Margaret who gained a new house in Caransebeş for 15 forints only.

A pledge as well as a debt might be handed down to descendants, relatives or to some third persons. There are certain relevant examples. I have already mentioned the case of the 11 villains who were estimated at 190 forints in 1579. They had belonged to Baltazar Csulay who had pledged them to John Josika some years before the documentary notice. John Gaman as a relative of Csulay asked and took on him the pledge by paying the debt to Josika.³⁵ In that case nobleman Gaman used his right of preemption as a relative of Csulay, maybe in agreement with Josika who was interested in redeeming the lent money. Dorothea Lazar mentioned in 1591 that she had got from the same Josika a hay field as a pledge for 29 forints. Nothing uncommon so far, a trite case we might say. But the respective hay field didn't belong to Josika but it had been pledged to him by someone of Cicleans; so Josika recuperate the lent money by giving the respective pledge to Dorotea. John Ciclean, the right heir would get back that land from Dorothea by paying her the above mentioned amount.³⁶ In either case Josika's desire to get back through pledging the money he had lent shows a possible need of liquidities that undoubtedly had to be invested in new estate, as that was the usual circuit of money in the early modern Banat. Rarely did they save up money and frequently money was invested in landed proprieties.

A special case is this one of the family pledge, between a husband and his wife to be more exactly. Why did they come to such a subterfuge? For a very simple reason: the husband spent on his own account the estate his wife had entered the marriage. The husband used to pledge part of his own estate to his wife so that she could recuperate in turn part of her own dowry and no other relatives could interfere in his legacy. It was a necessary precaution just because more members of a family owned certain estates in common. On the other hand, even if those members were not parts of the joint propriety, the respective estates had to come back to the family of origin after a husband death, her wife being so excluded from legacy. Three at least were the cases I identified in the Banat. And any of them referred to large amounts, of hundreds or even thousands forints. John Gaman for instance pledged three times his estates to her wife, Barbara Moise, and he had reasons to do it: he had used 1,000 forints from her dowry to build a mill and to redeem his right of propriety at Biñinti

³⁴ Ibid., 298.

³⁵ See footnote 26.

³⁶ Feneşan, *Documente*, 86–87.

(county of Hunedoara).³⁷ Similar reasons made Michael Marin to let her wife Ecaterina Giurma two estates of an enormous value, of 1,300 forints, so that his relatives might not lay claim to receive them.³⁸ A year before the mountainous Banat falling into the Ottomans' power (1657), Jacob Fiat let to his wife Catherine Josika, through his will the estate of Vălișoara, estimated at 200 forints. It was there the same reason: he used in his own account the golden and silver objects her wife had inherited from her family.³⁹ The three cases I have discussed above speak about a phenomenon concerning the ownership transfer within a family and the money circuit/ spending, possibly. As there were familial relations we have now not a certitude on the real value of those goods. I think that such a contract only partly reflects the properties price, usually the amount the people agreed being larger than the real value. In other cases, out of a family pledge or selling, the respective amount should have been lower up to the market price.

There were few cases where the borrowed money was given back during the borrower life. So, usually his descendants took the debts over in the pre-modern Banat. If the one who had borrowed money by pledging one of his goods didn't succeed to pay it back, his children, grandchildren or other relatives took that responsibility. The relatives and descendants were allowed to increase the initial pledge by pledging new parts of the estate or by renewing the first contract. It was the case of Michael Zeyko who pledged to Stephen Kun, for 170 forints, the third part of his parts of Zadvay estate at Măru that he had inherited. After his death, his widow Anna Stephucze renewed the initial pledge and took other 30 forints on her own account.⁴⁰ Stephen Kun was undoubtedly more than delighted to accept as an increased amount meant that the recuperation of the pledged good became more difficult; practically he took possession of that estate for ever.

Extreme cases as those of the family of Măcicaș show that pledge and debt might be extended over a century sometimes. On the 13th of August 1642, Francisc Veres the Literate, the nobles' judge went to Nicholas and Peter Toth, Franciska Josika and Magdalene Toth, widow of Ladislaus Gârliște, to pay on the part of Nicholas Macicaș and at his request 600 forints on the account of a pledge of shares of the possessions at Tincova, Zagujeni, Măcicașul de Jos (disappeared), Ruginocs (disappeared), Dombrovicză (disappeared) and the

³⁷ Magina, "Barbara Moise," 289–290, doc. I–II.

³⁸ MNL OL, E 148 Neo Registrata Acta, fasc. 1821, nr. 38. Annex 6.

³⁹ A. Magina, "O sursă pentru istoria Banatului în secolul al XVII-lea: protocoalele Capitlului de la Alba Iulia," in I. M. Balog, I. Lumperdean, L. Mádly, D. Țeicu, coord., *Multiculturalism, Identitate și Diversitate. Perspective Istorice. In honorem prof. univ. dr. Rudolf Gräf la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2015), 179–181.

⁴⁰ SJAN CJ, Matskasi, box 7, nr. 738.

grasslands of Delar, Walye, Secaş, and Gradisca. Nicholas's forerunners Peter and Michael of Măcişaş had pledged their shares in 1572. As the new owners of those possessions took time to debate the question, the nobles' judge summoned them within 15 days before the county.⁴¹ The same Nicholas Măcişaş summoned before the county of Severin the representatives of the family of Simon to recuperate part of his inherited possession Topliţa near Măcişaş that had been pledged to Simons' antecessors in 1563 by his own forerunners, the joined brothers Gaspar, Ladislaus and Michael of Măcişaş.⁴² We do not know how the noble Măcişaş' approaches ended, but certainly he had a good success according to law to recuperate the pledged estates and round his family's patrimony.

We also can see how the mechanism of pledging and borrowing/ lending was working in the Banat if taking into account the nobles' wills. Both the goods they bequeathed to their relatives and debts to be collected or paid by heirs/ heiresses were registered in those wills. A sample on this point is the will of noble George Terbusula in Lugoj written at the beginning of the 17th century. He bequeathed his estate to his wife and to a relative of him, John Pribek in Lipova. To the last one he bequeathed with a pledge his shares of the 4 estates he had received as a princely donation in loan of 100 forints. Two of those estates would enter entirely Pribek's property after Terbusula's death on the account of that amount of money. The other two estates would enter his wife's property as he had spent money from her own estate for trials he had had with Michael Szilvasi. His wife would also collect money from the ones he had lent; no less than seven borrowers had to repay 80 forints about, part of them, after the initial borrowers' death being taken over their descendants.⁴³ Not anywhere does the mention on an interest appear in the documents that specify on the contrary the only the loan is to be repaid at any time it would happen.

I wondered why so frequent loans and sells by auction of more estates belonging to nobiliary families in the area. I believe that the first reason was the lack of direct liquidities and the ones who had no other financial resources had to pledge their landed proprieties or other goods. Which was the element to generate such a rush for money and on what was they spent effectively? The documents are not very explicit in the matter. The standard wordings: "being in a great need" or "for solving a stringent need" show only need of money not its destination. But analyzing the references we may find that a few nobles pledged their estates to face up to the cost of a lawsuit or a judiciary procedure. Anca Borcia for instance pledged her shares in 5 villages for 100 forints, to George

⁴¹ SJAN CJ, Matskasi, box 18, Huszti András' copies of documents (old pressmark no. 889)

⁴² SJAN CJ, Matskasi, box 7, nr. 730

⁴³ MNL OL, F 17 Cista comitatum, Tömös, no. 10.

Dragna as that one supported her in the lawsuits she had had.⁴⁴ Enough frequent are such cases even if the value of goods offered as rewards is not always noted in the documents concerning the different transactions.⁴⁵ Lawsuits with relatives or even with the authorities were expensive and long lasting and more than this a happy end wouldn't be ever a sure thing. No easier was an illness or an infirmity from the financial point of view. For instance, Nicholas Lada needed to borrow money in change of a plot of land pledging because God took the apple of his eye and his times were so expensive.⁴⁶ Noble Francisc Birta's situation, also named Maciova is a special one. He killed a young man named Stephen Ciorcioc in an ill started moment, so he had to leave his homeland and exiled himself. Given his great need (*extrema sua necessitate*) he had to pledge to his relative George Găman, his inherited shares of estates Maciova, Peștere, Brebu, Plugova, Putna, Mezfalva (disappeared), Czeklen (disappeared), Obreja, and Bradul (disappeared), and also his nobiliary house and yard in Caransebeș, for 500 forints in common coins (*usualis moneta*); he conditioned the loan by being allowed to redeem all at the same price the moment he would come back.⁴⁷ It was a large amount, but it was for a large nobiliary property. Given the circumstances of that transaction (his hurry to exile himself), the price could have been smaller than the real value of his estate. But also we might speak about a protective mechanism: once pledged, his goods were protected against the prince's possible intention to confiscate them.

Maybe love was to make Anna Baranyai to pledge what she possessed in the Banat, to cover the enormous prejudice her husband made the time he had been managing the office of salt chamber in Turda.⁴⁸ Need of money but also his desire to reward his benefactor made Francisc Groza to pledge his inherited estates. Having conferred his relatives, he pledged his shares at Sacu, Czelen (disappeared), Morencz (disappeared), Ohaba Mătnic, Czernota (disappeared), and Măru to Sigismund Fiat who had helped him to protect his estates and had also supported others of his benefits, studies and various services (*beneficia, studia, multifariasque officia*). For 1,000 forints noble Fiat was given the proprieties, to his and his descendants' use up to their redemption moment (*usque videlicet tempus redemptionis*).⁴⁹ Such a large amount was certainly not for everyone to invest at one dash. The samples above are specific to the "investment" policy of the higher nobles in the area. Almost always they preferred to

⁴⁴ Feneșan, *Documente*, 59–60.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 151–152.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 146–147.

⁴⁷ MNL OL, P 291 Gámán család levéltára, 1 tétel, f. 17. Annex 2.

⁴⁸ See footnote 21.

⁴⁹ MNL OL, P 990 Fiáth család levéltára, 1 csomó, f. 66.

invest their liquidities in immobile goods as a plot of land, a house or any other immobile good could be used and it provided money up to its redemption.

Pledges and debts were usual in the early pre-modern Banat, being part of the social and economic daily life. We might understand them as a phenomenon with major implications in the province life, which can illustrate more clearly how the nobiliary estates were lost or coagulated. Not a real economic activity is what they represent, but the circulation of money and of immobile capital within a geographically well delimited territory. In the last analysis I do believe that the prices in that area depended on the relation between those who offered the most of them in a financial deadlock and the ones who aspired to accumulate landed estates and, by that, a social capital. Further specific investigations in my opinion, as well as corroboration of such transactions with times of political and institutional lull, with calamities or wars, or with the situation in the whole Principality might offer a series of specific indicators on standard of living and prices in a borderland.

ANNEXES

1

1579, the 29th of April, Caransebeş

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, P 1916 Sombory család levéltára, 2 csomó Gámán család, f. 12, original, paper, three seals in green wax bellow the text, partly dropped.

Ludovic Fiat and Nicholas Toth, castellans in Caransebeş, and the nobles' judge Peter Moise confirm that John Găman as a neighbour and a relative, took from John Josika the pledge of 190 forints that that one had from noble Balthazar Csulay for some years past.

Nos, Ludovicus Fiat et Nicolaus Tot, castellani, necnon Petrus Moses, iudices nobilium districtus Caransebeş, memorie commendamus tenore presentium significantes, quibus expedit universis, quod superioribus annis nobilis Ioannes Josika pro florenis centum et nonaginta quedam bona portiones videlicet possessionarias in possessionibus Mal, Glomboka et Rawna in districtu Byzere existentem habitas a nobili Balthazaro Chywłai de eadem Chwla titulo pignoris infra tempus redemptionis comparuisset, hac conditione ut annuatim semper in festo Sancti Georgii hec ac redimendi potestatis facultatem. Sed quia egregius Georgius Gaman nunc sit vicinus iure vicinitatis tum vero iure consanguinitatis ipsum magis competere videatur iuxta legem regni iure coram nobis optinuisset. Ob id idem Georgius Gaman totam summam predictam nuncpe florenos centum et nonaginta eidem Ioanni Josika plene et integre persolvisset, portiones possessionarias prefatas nominatum vero Burul vocatum seniore et Petrum Burul unacum filio Michael similiter Burul, item Lazarem Burul, Radul et Ladislaum, filios providi condam Philippi in possessione Mal, item Martinum Marganul, Petrum et Michaelem Ztoykoni in possessione Glomboka, item duos Kratzun nominatos cognomine Ztoyka Kratzun et Petrum Kratzun in possessione Rawna, omnino in districtu Byzere existentem habitam, unacum pertinentium terris scilicet arabilibus, cultis et incultis, agris, pratis, campis, fenetis, sylvis, nemoribus, montibus, vallibus, vineis, vinearumque promonthoriis, aquis, fluviis, piscinis, piscaturis, aquarumque decursibus, molendinis et eorundem locis, generaliter vero quarumlibet utilitatum et pertinentium suarum integritatibus quocunque nominis vocabulo vocitatis, idem ipse Georgius Gaman sibi ipse accepisset. Scire coram nobis modo premissis, ut conditione eadem qua prefatus Joannes Josika tenuit, prememoratus Georgius Gaman ad se redenuit et in dominio earundem bonorum iuxta legem nostram intromisimus, harum nostrarum vigore et testimonio literarum medienate. Datum in civitate Caransebes die vigesimo nono Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo nono.

30th of November 1579, Alba Julia

MNL OL, P 291 Gáman család levéltára, 1 tétel, f. 17, original, paper, applied seal below the text, with protective paper.

The chapter house of Alba Julia confirms that Francisc Birta, also named Maciova, pledged to his relative George Gáman, for 500 forints in common coins, his estates in the district of Caransebeș.

Nos, requisitiore literarum atque literalium instrumentorum in sacristia sive conservatorio ecclesie Albensis Transilvanie repositarum ac aliarum quarumlibet iudiciarum deliberationum legitimorumque mandatorum executores, memorie commendamus, tenore presentium significantes quibus expedit universis, quod egregius Franciscus Birta, alio nomine Maczowa dictus, coram nobis personaliter constitutus, matura prius intra se deliberatione prehabita, sponte et libere est confessus, pariterque retulit eomodo, quomodo ipse quimadvertisset et in arcano mentis sue diligenter secum precogitasset, qualiter ipse ob interfectionem necem nobilis iuvenis Stephani Chorchok de Karansebes (quam ipse malo quodam zelo imitatus ac ira percitus quoquomodo inconsideranter patrasset) ex hoc regno Transsilvanie aliquandiu decedere et exulare cogeretur, ut itaque interim ipse ob huiusmodi facinus, ne aliquam iacturam bonorum, rerumque suorum mobilium pateretur, totales et integras portiones suas possessionarias aviticas, ipsum optimo iure concenentes in possessionibus videlicet Machowa, Pesthere, Brebwl, Plugowa, Pwthna, Mezfalwa, Czeklen, Obressia et Bradwul, omnino in districtu Karansebes existentes habitas, nec non totalem et integram domum curiamque nobilitarem suam in eodem oppido Karansebes existentem extructam, una cum universis haereditatibus eiusdem et emolumentis quibuslibet, ad eandem domum, curiamque nobilitarem de iure et ab antiquo spectantibus et pertinere debentis nobili Georgio Gaman de discta Karansebes, affini suo charissimo, cum ex eo quod ipse affinitate et fraternitate coniunctionem et et propinquiorem sibi ipso Georgio Gaman neminem haberet, tum vero quod idem Georgius Gaman, tam in presenti extrema sua necessitate, quam etiam alias quandocumque dum videlicet ipse, per ipsum Franciscum Birta in suis arduis necessitatibus requisitus fuisset, promptitudinem animi sui, item auxilium et liberalitatem suam nunquam detractasset, quin potius si quando ipsa necessitas postulasset, nunc paratis expensis, nunc vero equis generosis eidem presto subvenisset, ipsumque in omnibus egestatibus suis sublevasset, istis itaque inductis rationibus, praescriptas totales portiones suas possessionarias in dictis possessionibus et districtu Karansebes existentes habitas, necnon domum curiamque nobilitarem suam prescriptam, una cum annotatis hereditatibus et pertinentiis quibuslibet modo premissis, ad eandem domum curiamque de iure et ab antiquo spectantibus et pertinere debentis eidem Georgio Gaman, affini suo charissimo, in et pro summa quingentorum florenorum current[is et]¹ usualis moneta titulo pignoris dedisset, inscripsisset et obligasset, ea tamen conditione interiecta, ut si quando temporum in eventu idem

Franciscus BIRTHA, ex presenti sua calamitate et exilio eliberaretur, et eidem patrios lares vicissim ac libere repetere liceret, extunc idem Georgius Gaman eadem bona iuramque possessionarias avitica, nec non domum curiamque nobilitarem suam, eidem Francisco BYRTHA, suisque heredibus et posteritatibus universis, absque ullo iuris strepitu, statim et de facto, reddere, remittere manibusque suis assignare debeat et teneatur. Sin vero (divino fato sic perordinantes) ipsum Franciscum BIRTHA in ista presenti sua calamitate et exilio quoquomodo absque aliquo heredum suorum solatio ab hac luce decedere contingeret, extunc eadem universa bona iuraque possessionaria avitica, nec non domus curiamque nobilitarem prescriptam aput manus eiusdem Georgii Gaman, affinis sui charissimi, pro prescripta summa quingentorum florenorum eadem titulo pignoris maneant et habeantur, quod si vero aliquis fratrum proximorum vel consanguineorum suorum, annotata bona, portionesque possessionarias, nec non domum curiamque nobilitarem, per lineam successionis virilem sexus, pro se rehabere et vendicare satageret, extunc huiusmodi fratres propinqui vel consanguinei sui, eandem bona iuraque sua avitica ac domum prescriptam, de manibus eiusdem Georgii Gaman et nobilis domine Catharinae Maczowa, consortis suae eliberare, auferre et emancipare nequaquam possint nec valeant modo aliquali, donec prius eidem Georgio Gaman vel dominae Catherinae Maczowa, consortis suae, heredibusque et posteritatibus suis universis, de et super prescripta summa quingentorum florenorum plenarie et effective satisfactum fuerit, pro ut dedit, inscripsit et et obligavit coram nobis. In cuius rei memoriam firmitatemque perpetuam presentes literas nostras, presenti sigillo huius capituli ecclesie Albensis Transilvaniae obligatas pertibus perlectis pro futura cautela iurium eorundem dedimus et emanari fecimus. datum feria secunda proxima ante festum beati Nicolai episcopi, anno domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo nono.

1. Distorted part, completing according the sense.

3

1588, the 15th of November, Caransebeș

SJAN Cluj, Matskasi de Tincova's familial fund, box 6, fasc. XIX, nr. 614 (nowadays in medieval references collection), original, paper, three seals in green wax bellow the text.

John Simion and Nicholas Toth, castellans in Caransebeș, and the nobles' judge Ladislaus Lațug confirm that Nicholas Bucșnița's four sons came in front of them as, for their urgent need, they pledged to noble Wolfgang Măciș their shares at Tincova, for 32 forints.

Nos, Ioannes Simon et Nicolaus Tot castellani et Ladislaus Laczugh, iudex nobilium districtus Caransebes, memorie commendamus per presentes, quod nobilis Ioannes, Stephanus, Georgius et Nicolaus Bokosnicza, filii egregii condam Nicolai similiter

Bokosniczya de Caransebes, nostram personaliter veniendo in praesentiam coram nobis sponte et libere sunt confessi et retulerunt in hunc modum, qualiter ipsi pro quibusdam suis necessitatibus ad presens valde urgentibus evitandis a nobili Volphgango Mazkassy de Tinkowa florenos triginta et duo imparatis et numeratis pecuniis levare coacti fuissent, pro quibus totales et integras portiones possessionarias in possessione predicta Tinkowa in comitatu Zeoreniensi et districtu Caransebes existentes habitas, unacum pertinentiis quibuscumque terris scilicet arabilibus, cultis et incultis, agris, pratis, campis, foenetis, sylvis, nemoribus, montibus, vallibus, vineis, vinearumque promon-thoriis, aquis, fluviis, piscinis, piscaturis, aquarumque decursibus, molendinis et eorundem locis, generaliter vero quarumlibet utilitatum et pertinentiarum suarum integritatibus quocumque nominis vocabulo vocitatis ac ad easdem portiones possessionarias de iure et ab antiquo spectantibus et pertinere debentibus sub suis veris metis et antiquis limitibus existentibus, idem Wolphgango Maczkassy de Tinkowa, praefato titulo pignoris infra tempus redemptionis dedissent et impignorassent, sicut coram nobis modo praemisso dederunt et impignoraverunt, harum nostrarum vigore et testimonio literarum mediante. Datum in civitate Caransebes die decima quinta mensis Novembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo octavo.

4

1594, the 7th of April, Alba Julia

MNL OL, P 291 Gámán család levéltára, 1 tétel, f. 37, original, paper, seal in red wax below the text

Prince of Transylvania Sigismund Bathory let the interested ones know that Anna Baroniay wants to pledge her possessions in the district and the city of Caransebeş.

Sigismundus Bathory de Somlío, princeps Transylvaniae et Siculorum comes etc., egregiis nobilibus Michaeli Vayda et Nicolao Flore, castellanis et iudicis nobilium districtus Karansebes, item Ioanni Angyalos, altero Ioanni Radnothy, tertio Ioanni Kibedi, Michaeli Angyalos, Nicolao Thasnadi et Paulo Gyarmathy, notariis et scribis desis nostrae iudiciariae de curia missis, salutem et favorem. Exponitur nobis in persona generosae dominae Annae, filiae egregii quondam Nicolai Baranyay, consortis vero egregii Gasparis Barthakowytth de Adamos, qualiter eadem exponens totales et integras portiones suas possessionarias in civitate Karansebes ac possessionibus Machyowa, Pestere, Obresia in comitatu Zeoriniensi et districtu predicto karansebes existentibus habitas, simul cum cunctis suis utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibuscumque, quovis nominibus vocabulo vocitatis, certis et rationabilibus de causis iis quibus posset usque tempus redemptionis titulo pignoris possidendas a se abalienare vellet. Et ob hoc vellet eadem exponens nobiles Ladislaum Laczwgh de dicta Karansebes ac dominas Georgii Gaman de Kalowa, Francisci Lazar de prefata Karansebes, item Michaelis Macyowa et Ioannis Mykla de Lachyowa consortes, necnon relictam nobilis quondam

Nicolai Pobora de Zavoy, reliquosque fratres, sorores ac consanguineos suos, vicinos item et commetaneos praetactas portiones possessionarias premissis iure impignoratitio ad se se recipiendo, medio vestri legitime ammoneri facere, iure admittente. Proinde committimus vobis et mandamus harum serie firmiter, ut acceptis presentibus, statim simul vel duo vestrum, sub onere aliter in talibus observari solitis, erga annotatos Ladislaum Laczwgh, prefatasque dominas dominas, fratres item sorores et consanguineos ipsius exponentis, vicinosque et commetaneos pretactarum civitatis Karansebes ac possessionum Machyowa, Pestere et Obresia, in predicto comitatu Zeoreniensi et districtu Karansebes existentium habitarum, cum presentibus accedendo, qui si personaliter reperiri poterunt eosdem ibidem personaliter, alioqui de domibus habitationum sive solitis eorundem residentiis ammoneatis eosdem, dicatisque et committatis eisdem verbo nostro, ut ipsi pretactas portiones possessionarias annotatae exponentis civitate et possessionibus in prescriptis existentibus habitas, simulcum cunctis suis utilitatibus et pertinentiis quibilibet, titulo pignoris ad se se recipere usque tempus redemptionis debeant et teneantur, qui si fecerint benequidem, alioqui eadem exponens easdem iis, quibus poterit, titulo pignoris usque tempus redemptionis possidendas obligare et abalienare possit et valeat. Et post haec, vos quicquid iidem ad premissam ammonitionem vestram dixerint, fecerint vel responderint, nobis fide vestra mediante referre et rescribere modis omnibus debeatis et teneamini. Secus non facturi, presentibus perlecris exhibenti restitutis. Datum Albae Iuliae feria secunda proxima post festum beate Dorotheae virginis, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo quarto.

5

1594, the 11th of February, Alba Julia

MNL OL, P 1916 Sombory család levéltára, 2 csomó: Gámán család, f. 25, original, paper broken here and there, final seal on back.

The chapter house of Alba Julia confirms that Anna Baroniay pledged her estates in the district and city of Caransebeş for 1,500 forints, to cover the debts his husband made while he had been managing the Salt chamber in Turda.

Nos, requisitiore literarum et literalium instrumentorum in sacristia sive conservatorio capituli ecclesiae Albesnsis Transilvaniae repositarum ac aliarum quarumlibet iudiciarum deliberationum et legitimorum mandatores illustrissimi principis Transilvaniae executores, damus pro memoria per presentes, quod egregii Georgius Gaman de Kalowa pro se ac pro generosa domina Catherina Berta, consorte suae et Franciscus Lazar de Caransebes pro se et pro generosa domina Helena Pobora, consorte sua, ab una, parte vero ab altera generosa domina Anna Baronyay consors egregii Gasparis Bartakowit de Adamos pro se, coram nobis personaliter constituti, eadem Anna Baronyay, matura prius intra se deliberatione praehabita, sponte et libere oraculo vivae vocis suae, fassa est et retulit in hunc modum, quomodo ipsa cum

propterea, quod bona et iura sua possessionaria in districtu Karansebes habita, longe dissita forent, a reliqui iuribus suis possessionariis, tum vero propter debitum praefati Gasparis Bartakowit, mariti sui, qui in administratione officii salis camarae Tordensis, cui praefuerat, ratione supputata mille quingentis florenis illustrissimo domino, domino Sigismundo Bathory de Somlio, principi Transylvaniae et Siculorum comiti etc. domino nostro clementissimo, debitor mansisset, quam summam persolvere deberet, totales portiones suas possessionarias in possessionibus Machowa cum domo et curia nobilitari ibidem habita, Also et Felso Pestere et Also Obresia vocatis, necnon totalem et integrum fundum domus et curiae nobilitaris in theatro civitatis Karansebes, intra moenia et vicinitatibus domorum ab una alias nobilis dominae Dorothea Bolcz, nunc Petri Kriczoway, ab altera partibus nobilis dominae Veronice Machoway, [re] lictae¹ nobilis quondam Nicolai Pobora, item dimidiam partem molendini unius rotae subtus voluentis super fluvium Sebes in territorio seu fine plateae dictae civi[tatis]¹ Karan[sebes]¹ Chermuran decurentis inter molendinae a superiori parte relictae quondam Ioannis Pribek, ab inferiori parte Barbarae consortis egregii Ioannis Logoffet constructi, vulgo Machovai Molna dicti, omnino in districtu Karansebes et comitatu Zeoreniensi existentibus habitas, simul cum cunctis suis utilitatibus et pertinentiis quiblibet, terris scilicet arabilibus, cultis et incultis, agris, pratis, pascuis, campis, foenetis, silvis, nemoribus, montibus, vallibus, vineis, vinearumque promontoriis, aquis, fluviis, piscinis, piscaturis, aquarumque decursibus, molendinis et eorundem locis, generaliter vero quarumlibet utilitatum et pertinentiarum suarum integritatibus, quovis nominis vocabulo vocitatis, ad easdem portiones possessionarias, domum et curiam nobilitarem, fundum molendinumque praescriptum de iure et ab antiquo spectantibus et pertinere debentibus, sub suis veris metis et antiquis limitibus existentibus, praefatis Georgio Gaman, Francisco Lazar, dominabus Catherinae Bertha et Helenae Pobora, ipsorumque heredibus et posteritatibus utriusque sexus universis, in et pro summa mille quingentorum florenorum hungaricalium currentis et usualis monetae, per dictos Georgium Gamam et Franciscum Lazar, nominibus quorum supra, coram nobis depositorum, ac per annotatam dominam Annam Baroniay plene et integre ad se levatorum et perceptorum infra tempus redemptionis ea lege et conditione inscripsisset et impignorasset, pro ut inscripsit et impignoravit coram nobis, quod si quando annotata domina Anna Baroniay, vel ipsius haeredes et posteritates utriusque sexus universae ad se redimere voluerit, in solius suae rationem, possint redimere non autem in aliorum rationem, hoc tamen per expressum declarato, quod quando-cumque eadem domina Anna Baroniay, ipsiusque haeredes et posteritates utriusque sexus universae, ad redimere voluerint, teneantur eisdem annotati Georgius gaman, Franciscus Lazar, Catherina Berta et Helena Pobora, ipsorumque haeredes et posteritates utriusque sexus universi, mox et de facto, circa omnem iuris strepitum reddere, remittere et resignare sub amissione perpetua praefatae summae mille quingentorum florenorum et amissa quoque eandem summa praescripta, nichilominus etiam eadem iura possessionaria praedeclarata impignoraticia, eadem Anna Baroniay, vel ipsius haeredes et posteritates utriusque sexus universae, vigore saltem praesentium pro se se occupandi et perpetuo possidendi habeant potestatis facultatem, co[ntradiction]e¹,

inhibitione, repulsione et aliis iuridicis remediis observare non va[lentibus, ta]men¹ nichilominus dicta domina Anna Baroniay praefatos Georgium Gaman, Franciscum Lazar, dominas Catherinam Bertha et Helenam Pobora, ipsorumque haeredes et posteritates utriusque sexus universos, contra egregium Franciscum Fiat de Karansebes et nobilem dominam Barbaram Gyurma, primum relictam egregii Nicolai Mixa, nunc consortem Francisci Fiat praedicti, et liberos eiusdem Stephanum et Georgius Mixa, omnino de dicta Karansebes, tamquam legitimos impetitores, turbatores et actores in pacifico et quieto dominio praescriptarum portionum possessionariarum, domus et curiae nobilitaris, fundi molendinique ac cunctarum pertinentiarum praetactarum, propriis suis laboribus, cura fatigiis et expensis tuere, protegere ac defensando conservare, ea lege et conditione annexa, quod si contra eosdem impetitores et actores defendere nollet, non posset aut non curaret quovismodo, extunc dictam summam mille quingentorum florenorum paratis pecuniis, dictis Georgio Gaman, Francisco Lazar, Catherinae Berta et Helenae Pobora, ipsorumque haeredibus et posteritatibus utriusque sexus universis reddere et refundere, eadem domina Anna Baroniay debeat et teneatur ipso facto, harum nostrarum vigore et testimonio literarum mediante. Datum feria sexta proxima post festum beatae Dorotheae virginis, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo quarto.

Pe verso: Molaendinum. Bartakovit Gaspar felesege Barianiay Anna keotes levele Macziovarol, Also, Felso Pesteröl, az udvarhazröl es malomreol pro florenis ezer eot zaz.

1. Distorted part, completing according the sense.

6

1624, 4th of July

MNL OL, E 148 Neo Registrata Acta, fasc. 1821, nr. 38; abbreviated transumpt in one document of Alba Julia chapter house from 1757.

The chapter house of Alba Julia confirms that Michael Marin from Caransebeş let her wife Catherine Gyurma the estates of Slatina and Feneş, of 1,300 forints on the account of pledging for 175 forints her possession Borlova and her dowry.

Anno Domini 1624, die 4 Iulii egregius Michael Mari de Karansebes nostram personam liter veniens in praesentiam, oneribus, totales et integras portiones suas possessionarias in possessionibus Zlatina, Fenes in et pro mille trecentis florenis legavit uxori suae Catharinae Gyurma, propterea quod, idem dominus Michaelis Mari magnam pecuniae summam, quae uxori suae praeuisset, in res suas convertisset, portionemque Barlova impignorasset 100 et 75 florenis domino Georgio Gyurma, aliasque vestes et domus, clenodia abalienasset, nullum ius nullamque iuris et dominii proprietatem abalienavit,

ita ut non possint etiam fratres carnales bona illa praescripta pro se rehabere, nisi depositis mille illis trecentis florenis, qui legare possit, in ea summa, cuicunque voluerit.

ZĂLOGIRI ȘI DATORII. VALOAREA BUNURILOR ÎN BANATUL SECOLELOR XVI–XVII

Rezumat

Banatul epocii moderne timpurii rămâne în continuare un câmp de investigație interesant, destul puțin cunoscut în istoriografie. Zălogirile și datoriile reflectă istoria prețurilor și funcționarea pieței imobiliare în epoca secolelor XVI–XVII. În Banat, cei implicați în tranzacțiile respective au fost în mare măsură membrii elitei nobiliare, singurii care aveau suficienți bani pentru a fi investiți. Prețurile în epocă au fost dictate de condițiile particulare ale fiecărei tranzacții, nobilimea fiind interesată să investească în proprietăți aflate în vecinătatea celor deja deținute. În comparație cu proprietățile funciare, prețul componentei umane, al iobagilor spre exemplu, nu a cunoscut mari oscilații. Dincolo de importanța financiară și economică în general, zălogirile și datoriile oferă indicii în înțelegerea mentalității elitelor, a modului cum s-au coagulat ori destrămat proprietățile în epoca modernă timpurie.

THE CITY, THE PRINCE AND THE PORTE: ON THE FEASIBILITIES AND LIMITS OF THE URBAN PRIVILEGES AND PRINCELY POWER IN TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE 17TH CENTURY

*Edit Szegeđi**

Keywords: town, suburb, nobility, states, language, confession

Cuvinte cheie: oraş, suburbie, nobileme, stări, limbă, confesiune

George Michael Gottlieb von Herrmann, a former clerk in Braşov, who was deposed following the Josephinism, describes an episode in the 17th century, in his history of the old Braşov¹:

“It was on the 25th of June 1677 when the town council of Braşov rejected the demand of the Reformed minister who had come in Braşov, on prince Apafi’s command, to find out if the Magistrate might allow the Reformed to receive the Lord’s Supper in the town suburb. More than this, the members of the town council vehemently opposed in August 1680 to the princely desire and also to the Diet article from the 18th of May 1680 related to a Reformed church building there. They sent two delegations with supplications to the prince who was at Iernut at that time, so that they be able to reject those demands. On the 6th of May 1681, the prince tried with kind words to persuade the town council to order a place for that church. As the Magistrate had still suspicious about allowing it, the Reformed preacher wanted to know if he were allowed to preach in a private house at least? But the town council rejected that demand too. So, on the 3rd of July more Szeklers came with wattles to delimit of their own accord the plot for the church. No more than five wattles they had put there than the magistracy ordered to wrench the wattles away and throw them into the water. And so it rested. A short time after, Apafi went off the stage. In time of war, another

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¹ Georg Michael Gottlieb Herrmann, *Das alte Kronstadt: eine siebenbürgische Stadt-und Landesgeschichte bis 1800* (Böhlau, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2010).

prestige came over the country so that the prestige of the Reformed Church, which had dominated by then, started its decline”.²

This story that may be largely corroborated with the contemporary narrative sources³ (only an episode of the facts was omitted in) is a sample of the pre-Enlightenment intolerance and brains’ muddleness for the author who was educated under the Aufklärung rules:

“We might ascribe on the spirit of that time the fact that any different opinion, anyone that was not in all its parts and riders correspondent with the adopted dogma seemed to be repellent to all of them, and so they went off of the Christian Church tolerance”.⁴

Indeed, from a contemporary point of view the facts might be really taken for an illustration of religious intolerance and xenophobia in a Early Modern Transylvanian Saxon town or of the pre-modern town in general.

But Herrmann’s story has also some elements to vary the image, to tell us that the incident in 1680–1681 was not only an outburst of religious intolerance: the prince and the Diet’s involving, the dominant part of the Reformed Church that was already history in the memoir-writer’s time, and the obstinate refusal of Brasov magistracy to build a church out of the fortified area of the city, in one of the suburbs down there. All of them might speak on an ampler and deeper question to be understood only in a larger context, namely that one of the towns in the Principality of Transylvania, of their relations with the central authority, and of relations between Transylvania and the Porte; the last one is not a question of Herrmann’s story, but one that results from the diplomatic sources of that time.

1. The facts chronology on the basis of the contemporary sources

Although M. G. M. Herrmann offers quite an accurate reconstitution of the events, a reconstitution based on the contemporary references becomes useful in order to understand especially the contemporaries’ behavior and also the general evolution.

² Ibid., 366.

³ “Diarium des Paulus Benckner d.Ä. (1421–1693),” in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Brassó* (further: *Quellen*) IV (Brassó, 1903), 205–206; Martinus Ziegler, “Auszug aus *Virorum Coronae eximiorum ac illustrium vita, honores et mors*,” in *Quellen* V (Brassó, 1909), 115, 119–120; “Tagbuch des Johannes Stamm, Gemeinen Wortmanns wie auch Cronstädtischen Leinwebers (1658–1697),” in *Quellen* VI (Brassó, 1915), 204.

⁴ Herrmann, *Das alte Kronstadt*, 366.

1677:

– on the 28th of April, princely commissar János Nemes arrives to appoint a plot in the suburb of Blumana for a Reformed Church building; the council in Brasov rejects that demand⁵;

– on the 25th of June, sent by the prince the Reformed preacher arrives there to celebrate the Lord's Supper in Blumăna, inside a private house, but he is also refused to do it⁶;

1680:

– the Diet article on the 18th of May grants a plot for the Reformed who were also named Orthodox at that time:

“The Orthodox faithful are granted a plot for their church on the street Blumăna. We decided, gracious Lord also with Your Highness' agreement, as seeing that the service of the Orthodox had suffered lots of impediments in the town of Brasov and to put an end to those ones, that the inhabitants in Brasov should appoint and put a plot at the disposal of their Reformed brothers, in the presence of the noblemen Nemes Janos, Mikes Kelemen, Judex Regius of Sibiu and Miko Istvan ab exspiratione praesentis Diaetae ad bis quindenam, and their activity should be not hindered: the Orthodox Church members in that town should pay (152) their own minister and not the others' one”⁷.

– On the 28th of August, 4 delegates of Braşov: Valentinus Plecker and Georg Jeckel, senators, and Johannes Leiss and Georg Blasius, centumiviri, take part into the Diet hold in Iernut to stop the church building;

– As that delegation had no success, another one, with Valentinus Plecker, Georg Jeckel, Johannes Leiss, and Andreas Krauss, directs towards the Diet on the 15th of September, as the prince ordered the works there be quickened⁸;

– On the 18th of September Mikó István writes prince Apafi on the echo of the situation in Braşov at the Ottoman Porte:

“[...] I have heard here from two honest fellow countrymen, gracious Lord, news against your person and to our whole country prejudice: that our Saxon fellow

⁵ Ziegler, “Auszug aus *Virorum Coronae*,” 115.

⁶ Ibid., 115.

⁷ Sándor Szilágyi, ed., *Monumenta Comititalia Regnum Transilvaniae. Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek* (further: MCRT), vol. XVII (Budapest, 1894), 94–95; Georg Daniel Teutsch, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Evangelischen Landeskirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen*, vol. I (Hermannstadt, 1862), 151–152.

⁸ Ziegler, “Auszug aus *Virorum Coronae*,” 119; “Tagbuch des Johannes Stamm,” 204.

countrymen belonging mostly to the estate of the burghers in Braşov burst in saying that if the Hungarians would assume this work [of that church building] they'd rather break with them and give the country tribute to the Turkish nation, rather than to bear the Hungarian yoke henceforth [...]"⁹

– On the 30th of September prince Apafi briefs András Szekhalmi, the Principality delegate at the Porte, on what he has to interest in, a context that contains a post-script with the following brief and finding:

"P. S. In the case that Braşov inhabitants would send, as they have always informed, delegations with supplication or turned against us: we must find out rigorously who is this one? Who has sent him and agreed his way? [...] As regarding the church we may say that a Hungarian church existed from the very beginning and still it lays in the city, but to understand the situation [we have to say] that they are so disobedient on account of the place for the Hungarian Church the Diet ordered; and some of them rebelled but no one punished them, they rather enjoyed forgiveness not penalty for such a insubordination".¹⁰

– On the 12th–13th of December the Diet in Alba Julia is convoked and delegates of the Saxon nation are ordered through the letters to the Saxon cities and seats, identically in a great part, to impose the princely sentence through the Diet and the princely councilors' means in the question of appointing a plot for the Reformed Church in Blumăna, also reminding them which are the risks to insubordinate to the price's desire and the Diet decisions¹¹;

1681:

– On the 12th of March, the Chapter of Țara Bârsei writes to the Saxons' bailiff Georg Ambruster on the church point of view and the effects on Braşov and, generally, on the Fundus Regius:

"The Royal Re(s)public of Braşov on the question of a Hungarian church building within the Fundus Regius [...] not only our re(s)public, but all the Saxon nation together with their churches and schools should suffer irreparable losses [...] as our beloved re(s)public remain to its old privileges and religion".¹²

⁹ *Török-magyarkori állam-okmánytár* (further: *Török-magyarkori*) VI (*Török-magyarkori Emlékek. Első osztály: Okmánytár, VIII*) (Pest, 1871), doc. no. LXV, 98.

¹⁰ *Török-magyarkori*, doc. no. LXVII, 102.

¹¹ *MCRT*, vol. XVII, 140, 143, 146, 148, 151, 153–154.

¹² "Das Burzenländer Capitel wendet sich an Comes Georg Armbruster um Unterstützung gegen die Erbauung einer ungarischen (reformierten) Kirche." Friedrich Müller, "Materialien

– On the 21st of April prince Apafi orders the Saxons' bailiff to be present at the requiring of the verdict concerning the church plot appointing:

“As the Diet have even two articles on a church building in the city of Braşov for those of Orthodox religion it should that the inhabitants in Braşov appoint and put at their disposal an adequate plot for this church [...], but they have neglected both the Diet article and our notifying [...] as according to the [Diet] article, to put an adequate plot for building a church for the Orthodox [Reformed] faithful, in the presence of Your Highness [...]”¹³

– On the 6th of May, the princely commissars János Nemes, Kelemen Mikes and István Mikó arrive in Braşov but the senate rejected them on the reason that not the magistracy, but the whole (Saxon) University should decide on the question;

– Yet, on the 7th of May, the princely delegation measures the plot of the future church;

– On the 25th of May, the Reformed preacher arrives and asks in the name of the prince to be allowed to preach in a private location, but his demand is rejected¹⁴;

– On the 3rd of July, a group of Szeklers come to enclose the church plot with wattle, but the magistracy ordered the wattles wrenching and throwing into the water.¹⁵

There is a sequence in Paul Benckner' diary (*Diarium*) that explains on the one hand why the wattles were wrenched up and, on the other hand opens a new perspective on the events:

“When the common citizens heard about that, namely that the wattles had been thrust in ground there, lots enough of them came in the house of the Centumviri (*Hundertmannschaft*) spokesman¹⁶, and say: it seems that the magistrate have already succumbed to the Calvinists' demand for a church. Had it be true, they would put all their wealth and blood just because the municipality might not give (the Calvinists) even a bit of plot. The centumviri's spokesman quieted them

zur Kirchengeschichte Siebenbürgens und Ungarns im siebzehnten Jahrhundert,” *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge 19 (1884): doc. no. 18, 641.

¹³ “Der Fürst Mich. Apafi fordert den Sachsencomes Armbruster auf, der Execution des Gerichtsspruches hinsichtlich eines Platzes für eine reformirte Kirche beizuwohnen.” Müller, “Materialien,” 642–643.

¹⁴ Ziegler, “Auszug aus *Virorum Coronae*,” 120; “*Diarium*,” 205.

¹⁵ Ziegler, “Auszug aus *Virorum Coronae*,” 120; “*Diarium*,” 205.

¹⁶ *Orator*.

with kind words, and saw them to the Town Hall where they were told not to fear about [...]. So, following the hubbub, the wattles were wrenched up and thrown away in the river”.¹⁷

If so far the authority's point of view was illustrated, the sequence above – it is absent in Herrmann's story – presents the common people's point of view. Even if quite ironically represented, an attentive reading of the rebellion reasons shows a revolt both against the intention to build a church belonging to another confession than the official one in the town, and against the magistrate which seemed to have succumbed to the pressure of princely demands. It is less important, in the context, if the yielding was or not a real one. From the common people's point, the Magistrate did not perform its duty, so they, in the name of whom the town council should lead the city, take the place of the magistrate. But the revolt was soon stopped, the revolted citizens having been persuaded on how the town council did its duty. But in July 1681 a new precedent was created, so that the rebellion of 1688 may be taken for a sequel of the former protest: the citizens revolted against the magistrate that had yielded to the enemy – the Imperial army this time – and so took the place of a magistrate that had not fulfilled its duty to defend the city.¹⁸

2. The real dimension of the conflict: why building/ not building a church in the poorest suburb of a free royal city should not have remained only a local question

The protest of the citizens in Brasov resembles of that one of the dean of the Țara Bârsei: a Calvinist church building in the suburb Blumăna comes to sap the liberties of Brașov, of the Saxon nation, and of the Lutheran Church in Transylvania. The magistrate as maximum a piece of blackmail, menaces even to pass under the direct Ottoman domination and does it in order to stop the church building. What was the fact to disturb the inhabitants in Brașov?

As the prince's briefing shows a Hungarian church, by language of the creed and preach, had already existed in Brasov, within the City.¹⁹ Being a Lutheran one, that one was taken for a Saxon church from the point of view of the

¹⁷ “Diarium,” 206.

¹⁸ See the case of Stefan Stenner, one of the leaders in the revolt of 1681 and of the rising of 1688, Maja Philippi, “Der Bürgeraufstand von 1688. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts,” in Paul Philippi, ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen* [Siebenbürgisches Archiv 17] (Böhlau-Köln-Wien, 1984), 242.

¹⁹ On Str. Vămii (Mănăstirii, Mureșenilor today), in the former church of the Dominican Monastery Sts. Peter and Paul. Ziegler, “Auszug aus *Virorum Coronae*,” 99–100. Since 1716 there is the Roman-Catholic church.

society of estates. Even if the potential Reformed church was also known as the Hungarian's church²⁰, both the parts took it for the church of a confession, even if belonging to the major part of nobility and of the prince. So, the Calvinism has not an ethnic-linguistic valence, but a political and juridical one.

When the dean of the Țara Bârsei as well as the the burghers of Braşov protests in the name of the urban and estates' liberties and privileges – of the Saxon nation – their worry was not an exaggerated one. By disposing the building of a Calvinist church, the Diet and the prince violated a juridical basis of the Saxon nation as important as the Diploma Andreanum: Diploma of Stephan Báthory from the 4th of July 1572 that confirms the exclusivity of the Confessio Augustana within the Fundus Regius:

Ipsam veram et Sacrosanctam, atque cum puro verbo Dej consentientem Augustanam ut vocant confessionem profiterentur, cui quidem honestae et piae Institutioni et ordinationij ad eorum instantem Requisitionem consensimus Imo in praesenciarum quoque tenore presencium consentimus, eamque Approbamus et ratificamus Cum autem Saxonica gens ab initio in eadem perstissit fide, potestatemque habuisset, Schismata inter sese prohibere temerarios autem punire aut loco privare. Vos quoque per oratores vestros, una cum alijs oratoribus Nominibus et in personis universae gentis Saxonicae, in conventu publico Thordensi, proxime celebrato, magno omnium vestrum Assensu ac zelo, Eandem Religionem Approbaveritis et Supplicaveritis Nobis humiliter, ut tam conscientiarumstrarum, quam Reipublicae adeoque totius Regni tranquillitatj, cum inter tanta et tot interna Externaque incendia, tranquillus et firmus vestrae Reipublicae status, plurimum ad permansionem Regni pertinere dinoscerentur, clementer consulere dignaremur, et nunc Ecclesiarum Dej pastores, presentata Nobis Synodaliū decretorum formula, idem a nobis Suppliciter et per viscera Jesu Christi Salvatoris nostri precati essent. Idcirco vobis harum serie firmiter committimus, ut a modo in posterum praefatis pastoribus ubique in Jurisdictione vestra, praedictam puram et Synceram Augustanam confessionem, citra omnium impiorum Scandalum profiteri et Ceremonias ac ritus antiquitas ordinatos, quod tamen vos sponte et fecisse et facturos esse Intelligimus, observare permitti facere debeatis[...].²¹

The Diploma does not mention the version of the Augustana, namely the Invariata (1530), or the Variata (1540), a fact that increased the theological

²⁰ Ziegler, "Auszug aus Virorum Coronae," 115.

²¹ "Stefan Báthory bestätigt die ausschließliche Gültigkeit des Augburgischen Bekenntnisses auf dem Königsboden und befiehlt dem Kronstädter Rat, den Pfarrern in der Ausübung des Bekenntnisses und der Übung der alten Kirchenbräuche kein Hindernisse entgegenzusetzen." Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch*, vol. I, 207–208.

disputes between the adepts of the Philipp Melanchthon' theology (Variata), derogatory named Crypto-Calvinists, and the adepts of the Lutheran Orthodoxy. Even Báthory's Diploma refers to internal variances as it orders both the allegiance to Augsburg Confession and the free practice of the "old ceremonies and rites". Those problems took another dimension in 1680, but the exclusive viability of the Augustan Confession within the Fundus Regius remained unmingled. Nonetheless, during the 17th century, in two localities within the Fundus Regius, Calvinist communities²² came to life, namely at Ocna Sibiului and in Orăștie, the last one being nor less than a royal free city; except the two ones, other such communities couldn't be founded.

Having been disposed a Calvinist church building in the Țara Bârsei, in a suburb of the royal free city of Brașov, even if outside the City, so to say the fortified perimeter of the locality, prince Apafi had encroached upon a fundamental law of Transylvania. The second juridical reason of the conflict results from the question of the city and the suburbs; in the context, it reveals the real dimension of the conflict. A basic problem refers to the juridical dimensions of the town, namely if the urban laws cover exclusively the City perimeter or, on the contrary, they are extended over the suburbs too.²³ Speaking about the town of Brașov in 1680–1681, the questions is: whether a Calvinist church building in a suburb of Brașov is to encroach or not both the Diploma from 1572 on the Augsburg Confession exclusivity within the Fundus Regius, and the privileges of the town which extend beyond the City walls?

The sentence is an ambiguous one in the prince's letter from the 21st of April 1681²⁴: the church was to be built in "the town of Brașov", and the "inhabitants in Brașov" were to give the plot for that building. If the Diet article from the 18th of May 1681 refers to the impediments the Calvinists suffer "in the town of Brașov", but the church is to be risen in Blumăna²⁵, the princely letter ignores this distinction. Certainly, we might speculate on a deliberate position or on a "simple" negligent couching; any case, that coaching could have jeopardized not only the privileges of Brașov, but also of the royal free cities, which didn't mean only of the Saxon ones.

The relation between the prince and the cities was regulated in the 17th

²² "Simonius naplója [Diary of Simonius]," MCRT, vol. XIII (Budapest, 1888), 443; Petrus Bod, *Historia Hungarorum Ecclesiastica, unde ad exordio Novi Testamenti ad nostra usque tempora* I (Lugduni-Batavorum, 1888), 302–303.

²³ I wish I gave my thanks to Mr. Bernhard Heigl (Archives of the Black Church) to have turned my attention to this issue.

²⁴ Cf. footnote 13.

²⁵ Cf. footnote 7.

century through more articles of the Diet²⁶, and the article in the *Approbatae* (Pars III, Tit. LXXXI, Articulus I) is a synthesis of them, which stipulates:

“That the country’s legitimate princes might enter the fortified cities, with privileges and royal free ones, as well the fiscal towns, any moment they want to, both in times of peace and in times of war, together with their court, the diet, and the armies lieutenants or the dignitaries, according to the state and needs, and they have to guard, to carry and defend all together the gates, bulwarks, and the arsenals of the cities, for the good of country and of princes, but without encroaching their [of the cities] privileges and liberties”.²⁷

Even if the paragraph above leaves space for interpretations, it is clear that the prince might enter at any time any of the towns in the Principality and stay as long as he wants here, but he is not allowed, personally or through his representatives, to involve into the urban life. The prince’s presence wasn’t to substitute or overrule the magistrate’s power or the city regulations. Historian József Benkő notes that the articles in the *Approbatae*, regarding the cities, as the above cited one, were related to the town of Braşov.²⁸ The diet articles that founded the stipulations on the relation between the prince and the towns were put in the times the princes of Transylvania tried to modify a privilege of the Saxons cities that limited the visits of the central authorities and their length, in order to allow the prince to enter the city at any time and stay here as long as he likes.²⁹

But it rested a delicate question whether such an unconditional allegiance

²⁶ Diets from 1607, 1614, 1625. Cf. “*Approbatae Constitutiones Regni Transylvaniae & Partium Hungariae Eidem Annexarum. Ex Articulis ab Anno Millesimo Quingentissimo Quadragésimo, ad praesentem huncusque Millesimum Sexcentessimum Quinquagesimum tertium conclusis, compilatae. Ac primum quidem per Dominos Consiliarios revisae, tandemque in Generali Dominorum Regnicolarum, ex Edicto Celsissimi Principis, D.D. GEORGII RÁKOCZI II. Dei Gratia Principis Transylvaniae, Partium Regni Hungariae Domini, & Sicularum Comititis, & Domini eorum Clementissimi, in Civitatem Albam Juliam ad diem decimumquintum mensis Januarii Anni praesentis 1653,*” in *Erdély Országának Három Könyvekre osztatott Törvényes Könyve Melly Approbata, Compilata Constitutiokból és Novellaris Articulusokból áll* [Juridical Code of Transylvania in three parts: *Approbatae, Compilatae Constitutiones* and *Articuli Novellares*] (Kolozsvár, 1815), 182.

²⁷ “*Approbatae,*” 182

²⁸ József Benkő, *Transilvania specialis. Erdély földje és népe* [Transilvania specialis. The Land and the People of Transylvania] (Bukarest, Kolozsvár: Kriterion, 1999), 419.

²⁹ Zsuzsanna Cziráki, *Autonóm közösség és központi hatalom. Udvar, fejedelem és város viszonya a Bethlen-kori Brassóban* [The Autonomous Community and the Central Authority. Court, Prince and the City – their Relations in Braşov in Bethlen’s times] (Budapest: ELTE, 2011), 63–67.

of the urban liberties and privileges meant the fortified perimeter or did it extend also on the suburbs. We may better understand this administrative-juridical delimitation if using the example of a city outside the *Fundus Regius*, namely Târgu-Mureş that Gabriel Bethlen's Diploma from the 29 of April 1616 raised to the rank of a royal free city.³⁰ It stipulates that the noblemen might keep their personal titles (Art. V), but had no right to oppose to the urban privileges, their dwellings and lands are submitted to the city authorities and they must contribute to the city tasks:

*QUINTO [...] Ne aliquando Nobiles personae inter ipsos hactenus creati, et in posterum creandi prerogativa sua nobilitari praesumptione contra privilegia ipsius civitatis liberae MarusWasarhely haeredesque et posteritates eorum utriusque sexus universae, quovis quaesito sub colore, aliquam contentionis materiam acquirere, nedum excogitare possent, ob hoc ipsi nobiles et ipsorum posteri in privatis quidem ipsorum personis Nobiles maneant etiam deinceps; verum ratione domorum, ac aliarum haereditarum suarum in annotata civitate MarusWasarhely libere, et territorij eius existens, iurisdictioni eiusdem Reipublici, se se submittere omniaque et singula eiusdem civitatis onera civilia, tanquam quaelibet civitatensium persona privata, et optimus pariae civis, non obstante praerogativa sua nobilitari, suffere, et ad normam civitatis inter ipsos vivere debeant et sint adstrictj; alioqui contra contumaces et rebelles, ipsa civitas libera MarusWasarhely pro libero suo arbitrio, iure civitatis reservato, semper uti valeant atque possint.*³¹

Strictly read, the article shows that the noblemen loose *de facto* their titles of nobility within the fortified city, so they opposed and referred to the prince.³² Two were the reasons that judge János Angyalos and noble Mihály Köpeczi used in their supplication to prince Gabriel Bethlen, in 1616: the nobiliary privileges are older than the urban ones, and the new privileges refer only to the fortified precincts³³, not to „Hostát“, the suburb namely.³⁴ So, the strict delimitation of the juridical state within City will also involve a juridical strict difference

³⁰ Sándor Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története. I. A kezdetektől 1848-ig* [Târgu-Mureş History. I. From beginning to 1848] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 2009), 59.

³¹ *Marosvásárhely történetéből* [From the history of Târgu-Mureş] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 1999), 41.

³² Sándor Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely XVII–XVIII. századi jogszabályai és polgárnévsorai* [Rules and citizens' lists in Târgu-Mureş the 17th–18th centuries] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 2006), 15.

³³ It refers to “City” or rather “Citadel”, the fortress built in 1603, in Toma Borsos' times, around the Reformed Church, Sándor Pál-Antal, “Ki a polgár Marosvásárhelyen?” [Who is a citizen in Târgu-Mureş?] *A Székelyföld és városai: történelmi tanulmányok és közlemények* [The Szekler's Land and its towns], (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 2003), 66; Pál-Antal, *Marosvásárhely története*, 45.

³⁴ *Marosvásárhely XVII–XVIII*, 16.

between City and suburb: the nobiliary privileges were not valid within the City.³⁵ The rank of a royal free town juridically meant the noblemen's sending from the City to suburb, as the incompatibility between the nobles' privileges and the urban ones had been so decreed.

This is why the ambiguous couching of prince Apafi's letter on a Reformed church building in the town might have made the town vulnerable through repealing the juridical difference between City and suburb. But, in the same time in the case of Braşov, the City together with the suburbs formed the town; even if different entities, they were together submitted to the same administration.

3. The conflict in Braşov as a problem of Transylvania relation with the Porte

The dispute on building/unbuilding the Reformed church in the suburb of Blumăna takes other lines that a simple local quarrel in the princely correspondence on the conflict in Braşov. The High Porte is present as a factor of a menacing and blackmailing action in the letters I have spoken about within the 1st part of this issue, namely that one of István Mikó to prince Apafi, from the 18th September 1680, and that of the prince to András Szekhalmi, from the 30th of September 1680. The letter from the 30th of September presents the conflict in Braşov together with Sava Brancovici's turning out from the metropolitan seat of Alba Julia.³⁶ So that the conflict the magistrate in Braşov created by refusing the Reformed church raising in the suburb of Blumăna was part of a inner political crisis but which surpassed the principality borders.

To better understand why the inhabitants in Braşov threaten and even blackmail with the Porte and the central power seriously deals with such a menacing, we might refer to the relations between the Principality and the Porte beginning with 1660, the year Oradea was conquered by the Ottomans and the former county of Caransebeş became part of a sanjak, even if it was a part of the Principality until 1658.³⁷ The Conquest of Lugoj, Caransebeş and Oradea meant more than territorial lost for the Principality of Transylvania. According to Halil Inalcik's typology, the Ottoman suzerainty imposing – beginning with 1541 in

³⁵ *Marosvásárhely XVII–XVIII*, 60; Sándor Kolosvári, Kelemen Óvári, ed., *Monumenta Hungariae juridico-historica. Corpus Statutorum Hungariae Municipalium. Tomus I. Statuta et Constitutiones Municipiorum Transsylvaniae ab antiquissimis Temporibus usque ad finem seculi XVIII*. [Magyarországi Jogtörténeti Emlékek. A Magyar Törvényhatóságok Jogszabályainak Gyűjteménye. I. Kötet. Az Erdélyi Törvényhatóságok Jogszabályai] (Budapest, 1885), 83, 87–88.

³⁶ *Török-magyarkori*, doc. no. LXVII, 101.

³⁷ Călin Felezeu, *Principatul Transilvaniei în epoca suzeranităţii otomane 1541–1688* [The Principality of Transylvania in the Time of Ottoman Rule] (Cluj-Napoca: Bybliothek, 2013), 248, 260.

Transylvania – was seen as the first step of a proper conquest.³⁸ By conquering Lugoj and Caransebeș, Transylvania was punished and began to lose its military and political role of a buffer-state. A deeper intrusion of the Ottomans within the territory of the Principality came with Oradea conquering, as the hinterland to keep up the garrison of Oradea laid to the county of Satu Mare, and the Ottoman occupancy of Oradea aimed to the counties of Crasna, Solnocul de Mijloc, Solnocul Interior, Dabâca and Cluj, and that is the Ottomans troops' entering the center of Transylvania; it was the reason of the prince and population's protest.³⁹ Nevertheless, the Ottomans advanced between 1664 and 1670 up to Maramureș, respectively, to Hațeg in the south-western part of Transylvania.⁴⁰ Another sample to show the degradation of Transylvania statute at the Porte was how its messenger was took for a hostage there.⁴¹ The Porte tended to involve into the Principality inner affairs up to 1683.⁴²

Under such conditions the Principality became more vulnerable before the Porte than it already had been, and any domestic question could change in a reason for the Porte to intervene there. Two major questions were present in 1680: Sava Brancovici's turning out, a fact that awakened the reaction of the voievode of Walachia⁴³, and the conflict in Brașov. The prince and his representative at the Porte had to find justification for the central power behavior and this is the element to show how vulnerable the prince was in fact. Even he insistently reverted to his disposition concerning the Reformed church building at Blumăna, he simultaneously had not to exceed the limits of his own authority by encroaching those of a privileged nation. On the other hand, the inner question of a tolerate church (the Orthodox one), which was not connected to the faith fundaments, might become an ample political question.

4. A *confessional conflict or Sprachkampf avant la lettre?*

Another juridical basis of the conflict, regarding the confessional and political system in the Principality of Transylvania, results from a law dating from Stefan Báthori's times, the law of innovation and against the innovators:

“In what concerns the religion, the Diet decided that the article from our late Lord's times hold good, namely that no one have to suffer on account of his religion; if somebody should dear to introduce renovations (to innovate)

³⁸ Ibid., 250.

³⁹ Ibid., 260.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 262.

⁴¹ Ibid., 281.

⁴² Ibid., 201.

⁴³ *Török-magyarkori*, no. LXIV, 97.

encroaching the diet article by this, as his Highness told us that there are such innovators, his Highness should call Ferenc David and the superintendent and find from them whether there are some to be in other religion [i. e. the doctrine fundament] than the one they were in our dead Lord's times; whether they are in a different and innovating religion, his Highness should excommunicate them".⁴⁴

The law was initially, as the text shows, put against the Antitrinitarians, more exactly, against a specific feature of them, namely the theological pluralism and their open theology that accepted doctrinal innovations.⁴⁵ But as the *Approbatae* shows, all the official [received] religions are referred to in that law.⁴⁶ It is right that only the doctrine innovations were impeachable, not those concerning the ecclesiastic administration or ritual ones. Even with this precaution the law of innovations obliged to a strict obeying of the theological bases as they were put up to 1571/1572.

Under those circumstances, Calvinist church building at Blumăna or even serving in a private hose became an extended question out of Braşov or the Țara Bârsei. From the point of view of that Transylvanian town, two were the aspects to worsen the situation: the cult language and the confessional situation at Blumana and within the Burzenland. At the end of the 17th century, particularly Lutheran Hungarians and Szeklers lived at Blumăna. The Hungarian Lutherans came from the rural hinterland of Braşov, from Săcele or Șapte Sate (Baciu, Turches, Cernatu, Satulung, Tărlungeni, Purcăreni and Zizin), as well as from the villages of Crizba and Apața that passed in 1651 from the possession of Bran domain into that one of Braşov.⁴⁷ It is hard to assess what was the confessional status of those villages before 1651. Possibly, those ones were Crypto-Calvinist; Instead of referring to a well classified confessional delimitation, it would be more appropriate to assess that they had an open confessional situation, as the villages from the Church districts of Rupea and Sighișoara, i.e. they were only formally Lutheran villages until 1654. After 1651, the confessional ambivalence of the Hungarian villages which came into Braşov possession was substituted, theoretically at least, by a clear affiliation to the Orthodox Lutheranism of the Țara Bârsei and Transilvanian Lutheran Church.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Diet of Turda, the 25th –29th of May 1572, *MCRT*, vol. II (Budapest, 1876), 528.

⁴⁵ Mihály Balázs, *Az erdélyi antitrinitarizmus az 1560-as évek végén* [Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism by the end of years 1560] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 40, 86; M. Balázs, *Early Transylvanian Antitrinitarianism (1566–1571). From Servet to Palaeologus* [Bibliotheca Dissidentium 7] (Baden-Baden & Bouxwiller: Valentin Koerner, 1996), 6, 44.

⁴⁶ "Approbatae," Prima Pars. Titulus Primus. Articulus III, 1–2.

⁴⁷ "Approbatae," Titulus LXXXII. Törts-Váráról, és ahoz való jószágáról. Articulus I, 188–189.

⁴⁸ Edit Szegedi, "Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionalisierung im städtischen Kontext. Eine Fallstudie am Beispiel von Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen (cca. 1550–1680)," in *Berichte und*

If we can work with the assumption in the case of the Hungarians of Blumăna that they had been Lutherans before 1651 or had been following the theological direction of Braşov at least, things were completely different in the case of the pro-Hungarian hinterland. The Hungarian Lutheran preachers were suspected of Crypto-Calvinism⁴⁹, and that was not an uncommon situation if we take into account that the majority of the preachers followed Calvinist schools, although the Gymnasium in Braşov had developed since 1637 a Hungariann class for the Hungarian schoolmasters in the area; but it wasn't necessarily a sign of the confessional denomination as the Reformed colleges themselves had had also Saxons students.⁵⁰ On the other hand, that confessionally ambiguous hinterland was the reservoir of the Hungarian community in Braşov and therefore made it a very unstable from the confessional point of view. Building a Calvinist church there would have aggravated the situation from the Saxon ecclesiastic and politic perspective and it might have been used in order to accuse the city for religious innovation.

So, the Calvinist church building at Blumăna was a dogmatic and a political question, not a linguistic one. The political dimension of Calvinism might result from the Burzenland dean's protest and it is clearly put in Herrmann's account. Calvinism is the prince's religion, so to say, religion of the political power. The Hungarian language was in Braşov also the language of the Lutherans and was not associated exclusively with Calvinism. The problem was not the language of worship, but the theological content transmitted by means of the language. The inhabitants in Braşov did not protest against the estate system, the Prince or the Hungarian language as the official language in the Principality. It is not to undermine, that that protest of the magistrate and the inhabitants had in view but the defense of the existing political and religious status-quo.

5. *A hypothesis: the true reason of the protest*

The social composition of the potential Reformed congregation hasn't been yet discussed. Given the difficulty of re-constructing the social composition of the Reformed faith in Blumăna at the end of the 17th century⁵¹, we consider as being more that appropriate to introduce here the term "hypothesis". The contemporary sources display that the clerks of the Tricesima the hosted nobles

Beiträge des Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrums Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas an der Universität (Leipzig, 2006), 187–189.

⁴⁹ Josef Trausch, *Geschichte des Burzenländer Capituls* (Kronstadt, 1852), 54.

⁵⁰ Szegedi, "Konfessionsbildung," 188.

⁵¹ Data from Mr. Thomas Şindilariu, archivist at the Archive of the Black Church.

in the town were the pillars of the community.⁵² The situation described by József Benkő, namely that the Reformed believers mainly servants from Trei Scaune corresponds to the end of the 18th century, a period when the Reformed Church ceased to exist as the Church of central power.

If we start using the hypothesis that the Reformed in Braşov had also been especially common people at the end of the 17th century, as the Lutheran inhabitants of Blumăna had been, but backed by the nobles and clerks connected to the prince and not to the city⁵³, we might accept that the real reason for forbidding the construction of a Reformed church in Blumăna, was the fear for having a nobiliary community in the town, although it was outside the City's walls. May we consider this refuse as a conflict concerning the matter of concivility?⁵⁴ To what extend?

Relation between nobility and the town redirects us to the difference between City and suburb. This political-administrative difference calls in turn to leave the strict level of the Saxon towns and of the Fundus Regius, considering the situation of Târgu Mureş and Cluj; the last one abandoned in 1666 its rank of a royal free town to become, after Oradea falling, a border-city (*végőrség*).⁵⁵ The article of the Approbatae concerning the right of the privileged nations to buy houses in towns was one of the most disputed.⁵⁶ The article clearly stipulates that these who buy houses in a town have to comply with the liberties of this town; more than this, the next paragraph presents the people who have no right to buy.⁵⁷ It was a compromise that might be taken for the towns defeating in the end.

What could have happened if the noblemen were granted the right to settle down into the town? As the case of Târgu-Mureş reveals us, the nobles would live out of the fortified perimeter, rather than obey the responsibilities of the townsfolk, the inhabitants within the city. In the case of Cluj, the difference between nobles and townsfolk disappears in 1666 and the documents speak about nobles-townsfolk and nobles from the outside (*beszármazott*). But the relation between the two categories was a conflictual one, as those from outside

⁵² Molnár János, *A brassói magyarság és ev.ref. egyház története* [History of the Hungarians in Braşov and of their Reformed community] (Brassó, 1887), 68.

⁵³ Benkő, *Transsilvania specialis*, 443.

⁵⁴ Krista Zach, "Toleranță religioasă și construirea stereotipurilor într-o regiune multiculturală. "Biserici populare" în Transilvania," in *Transilvania și sașii ardeleni în istoriografie. Din publicațiile Asociației de Studii Transilvane Heidelberg* (Sibiu, Heidelberg: Hora: Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 2001), 91.

⁵⁵ Elek Jakab, *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története második és harmadik kötetéhez* (Budapest, 1888), nr. CLXXVIII (1666), 392–394.

⁵⁶ "Approbatae," 182; cf. "Simonius naplója," [Simonius' Diary], in *MCRT*, vol. XIII, 458.

⁵⁷ "Approbatae," 182.

used to refuse to take part into the common responsibilities of the urban life.⁵⁸ The situation in Cluj was known in Braşov as an example of low town from the political-juridical point of view: one of the 7 cities which lost such a rank from religious reasons (imposing of Antitrinitarianism/ Unitarianism as the dominant confession) that Orăştie⁵⁹ substituted, and as the town that lost its statute of a royal free town being obliged to let nobles settle in and become its citizens without contributing to the public obligations. It is less important in the context if the town of Cluj was or not a Saxon town from a juridical point of view, what is important is the reason belonging to the Saxon mentality. Martin Kelp is the one to sum up the close connection of confession, right and Saxon identity: Lutheranism and towns closed to nobles:

*Jamdudum omnes Saxones in Hungaricos mores, linguam, forsan & gentem, facile fuisse transmigraturos, nisi Urbes ipsorum hoc vallarentur privilegio: quod nulli etiam Potentissimo Nobili (quantominus ignobilibus) ex Hungarico genere concedatur in Saxonum Urbibus comparate domos; cum tamen Germanis omnibus, quicunque ex Germania vel Hungaria eo commigrant, aut casu feruntur, Civitatis jus inter ipsos pateat, Evangelicae modo Religioni sint addicti, aut ei se, illuc venientes, adjungant.*⁶⁰

Conclusions: For a new reading of sources

The conflict of the years 1680–1681 concerning a Reformed church building in Blumăna suburb of Braşov shows another side than a simple outburst of religious intolerance and xenophobia as, finally the church beneficiaries were but inhabitants of Transylvania with different levels of privileges. It was not a *Sprachkampf avant la lettre*, as even within the City of Braşov they served and preached in Hungarian. Neither the language of the local administration or of the state, nor the liturgical language was the reason. Nevertheless, the Hungarian language was a question, not for having been different from the language of the administration in Braşov, but for being identical with that one of the Hungarian Lutherans who attended the church of the former Dominican monastery. It was a similar situation with the one in Cluj in the first half of the 17th century, when the Unitarians and the Reformed used the same liturgical languages, Hungarian and German.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Jakab, *Oklevéltár*, no. CLXXXVI (1675), 414–416.

⁵⁹ Martin Kelp, *Natales Saxonum Transsylvaniae, Aposciasmate Historico Collustratos, Consensu & Autoritate Incluti Philosophorum Ordinis in Academia Lipsiensi, publicae Eruditorum disquisitioni submittent* (Lipsiae, MDCLXXXIV), 7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶¹ Edit Szegedi, “Practica bilingvismului în Clujul premodern (sec. XVI–XVII.), in Liviu Țirău,

The linguistic identity was an undesirable one because of a possible doctrinal contamination; in the case of Braşov, from Calvinists to Lutherans. But for this linguistic identity we might re-read the sources and reconsider the relation between nation and religion in early-modern Transylvania. If taking into consideration the classic scenario of Saxon nation and Lutheranism identification, while Calvinism is the religion of Hungarian nation (the nobiliary one) and of a part of the Szeklers it is hard to understand why the town council in Braşov insisted to hinder the building of a Reformed church in the Hungarian-speaking suburb of the town. Instead of delimiting themselves from the Hungarians through Lutheranism, the Saxon elite in Braşov tried to force people of a different nation to become Saxons from the confessional point of view. It is right that those Hungarians didn't belong to the Early Modern Hungarian nation, and those from from Şapte Sate were serves of Braşov. It is exactly this situation which might be difficult to understand due to the identity perspective induced by the 19th century historiography – and if possible, deepened with post-modernist literature –, but which was utterly logic for early modern thinking and practice. The confessionalization in Braşov integrated and delimited simultaneously, both the processes being fundamental. It integrated the Hungarian population of Blumăna and of the former domain of Bran and delimited itself from the Romanians in Şcheii Braşovului who remained Orthodox and, given the magistracy's support, freely practiced their faith. As belonging to a tolerate religion, the Orthodox were not a rivalry from the inside of the political-religious system.⁶² Nevertheless, the Lutheran Church in Transylvania remained open to individual conversion of Romanians to Lutheranism.⁶³

The conflict of 1680–1681 might be interpreted as the history of a success and of a failure: a success from the town point of view, a failure for the prince and nobility. The failure was an integral part in the system relying on estates, as the the prince's incapacity to impose his own will is a clear proof of the limits that any component of that system used to bear. The prince failed not because he had a weak authority or weaker than Gabriel Bethlen or Gheorghe Rákóczy I. He failed because his success would have signified the abolition of several principles that sustained the functionality of such a system. The menace of a probable Ottoman intervention was, in that context, less a desperate action of a town in danger, but a guarantee that the political system wouldn't be violated.

Ştefan Melancu, eds., *Interferenţe euro-atlantice. 20 de ani de studii europene la Universitatea "Babeş-Bolyai"*, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundaţiei pentru Studii Europene, 2013), 33–43.

⁶² Zach, "Toleranţă religioasă," 91.

⁶³ Serviciul Judeţean al Arhivelor Naţionale Sibiu, Colecţia Brukenthal, y1–5, no. 282, Michael Bertleff, *Urkundenbuch der evang. Landeskirche A.B. 1767* (subsequently added title), 278.

For this reason we need a new reading of sources, free of the 19th century obsessions or the desires of the 20th–21st centuries. It is time maybe to read and find out in the frequent martial language of sources rather the emitters' incapacity in front of the limits of their power than their (apparently) unlimited power.

**ORAȘUL, PRINCIPELE ȘI POARTA: DESPRE POSIBILITĂȚILE
ȘI LIMITELE PRIVILEGIILOR ORĂȘENEȘTI ȘI ALE PUTERII
PRINCIARE ÎN TRANSILVANIA SECOLULUI AL XVII-LEA**

Rezumat

Pornind de la un conflict iscat la Brașov în anii 1680–1681 legat de ridicarea unei biserici în suburbia brașoveană Blumăna și care a implicat nobilimea calvină, principele și Înalta Poartă, studiul de față încearcă să prezinte complexitatea relațiilor dintre oraș, stări, puterea centrală din cadrul Principatului Transilvaniei, precum și locul unui oraș ardelean în relațiile cu Poarta. Studiul se concentrează asupra limitelor privilegiilor stărilor dar și a puterii princiare în problemele legate de confesiune și politică. În același timp, problema orașului săsesc Brașov este discutată comparativ cu situația orașului liber regesc Târgu-Mureș și a fostului oraș liber regesc Cluj, arătându-se similitudinile problemelor orașelor premoderne dincolo de apartenența confesională și lingvistică.

Adela Bâltâc, Christina Știrbulescu, Andreea Ștefan, în colaborare cu V. Apostol, Muzeul Național de Istorie al României. Catalogul Colecției Lapidarium. I. Piese greco-romane, Ed. Conphis, București, 2015, 300 p., 4 anexe.

Lucrarea de față se înscrie în seria instrumentelor folosite de arheologia clasică, fiind în același timp o modalitate plăcută și ușoară de popularizare a colecțiilor muzeului național. Obiectul studiului de față îl reprezintă 304 piese, corespunzătoare la 301 numere de inventar, databile în perioada greco-romană, așa cum se menționează în cuvântul înainte al autorilor (p. 7), piese aflate în colecția Muzeului Național de Istorie al României. Pentru o mai ușoară parcurgere a lucrării, aceasta a fost împărțită după funcționalitate, tipul de monument și reprezentarea acestuia. Lucrarea beneficiază și de câteva precizări absolut necesare cu privire la formarea colecției MNIR și la aria de proveniență a pieselor (p. 9–13), alături de precizări care privesc modul de redactare al catalogului (p. 13–14).

Pentru început au fost tratate *Portretele* (p. 17–39), acestea fiind împărțite în funcție de persoana reprezentată, în portrete imperiale și portrete particulare. În prima categorie se regăsesc portrete, busturi, statuii onorifice și funerare, precum și fragmente care aparțin unor astfel de monumente, în număr de 25 de piese. Ele au fost descoperite fie pe teritoriul României sau, dimpotrivă, provin din afara țării și au ajuns în posesia muzeului prin intermediul achiziționării unor colecții private. A doua mare categorie *Acte, Decrete, Inscripții diverse* (p. 43–72), prezintă un număr de 25 de piese, provenite în principal de pe teritoriul Dobrogei, în această categorie fiind înscrise diverse monumente onorifice de mai multe tipuri sau chiar borne de hotar. Capitolul este deosebit de important, mai ales pentru cei care studiază istoria Dobrogei sau se ocupă de istoria politică și economică a cetăților grecești sau a Imperiului Roman. *Divinități ale panteonului greco-roman* (p. 73–142) aduce în discuție un număr de 92 de piese, fiind incluse aici statui sau fragmente de statui care reprezintă zeități cunoscute sau mai puțin cunoscute în lumea greco-romană. Printre aceste portrete avem o serie de divinități cum sunt Iupiter, Iunona, Neptun, Apollo, Diana, Venus, Dionysos, Silvanus, Nemesis, Aesculapius, Pan, Hercules,

Dioscurii, Hecate, genii și alte personificări abstracte, alături de care regăsim și divinități străine cum sunt Serapis, Isis, Osiris, Anubis, Cybele, Mithras, Sol Invictus, Dolichenus, Turmasgada, dar și unele divinități locale cum sunt Cavalerul Trac sau Cavalerii Danubieni. Alături de religia tradițională regăsim și *Religia Creștină* (p. 143–148), capitol care cuprinde un număr de 5 piese, între care avem un agheasmatar, câteva lespezi cu inscripție, fragment de mobilier liturgic, toate dateate în perioada secolelor IV–VI. Apariția și răspândirea religiei creștine este un capitol important al antichității, cele câteva piese ilustrează creștinismul în antichitate târzie pentru teritoriul României. *Universul funerar* (p. 149–214) cuprinde un număr de 78 de piese, între care sarcofage, altare funerare, statui funerare, construcții funerare, stele funerare, medalioane funerare, elemente constitutive pentru monumente funerare și monumente funerare (varia). *Piese de arhitectură* (p. 215–260) este un capitol redactat de către V. Apostol și cuprinde un număr 60 de piese între care regăsim blocuri de parament, fusuri de coloană, capiteluri, elemente de antablament, elemente de finisaj interior, frize decorate, sculptură arhitecturală, elemente de decor arhitectural. Toate aceste artefacte ne vorbesc despre cum arătau clădirile în antichitate, despre apariția și răspândirea creștinismului și, mai ales, despre dezvoltarea orașelor în Dobrogea antică. La secțiunea *Varia* (p. 261–272) au fost încadrate 13 piese, de la cadrane solare la elemente de mobilier, tipare sau vase. La *Incerta* (p. 273–278) au fost încadrate patru fragmente de statui, a căror datare este considerată incertă de către specialiștii recunoscuți, acestea fiind suspectate că ar fi copii de epocă modernă. Lucrarea este completată de un *Glosar* (p. 279–296) de termeni antici, de arhitectură, așezări antice și divinități, toate cu o bibliografie aferentă, alături de care se află și 4 anexe și o listă a abrevierilor (p. 14). Fiecare piesă are menționate informații cu privire la următoarele criterii: denumire, stare de conservare, număr de inventar actual în catalogul MNIR, loc de descoperire, condiții de descoperire, material, dimensiuni, descriere, datare și bibliografie.

Colecția prezentată este deosebit de valoroasă, o parte dintre artefacte provin din colecții particulare, fiind achiziționate din afara României, din Europa (Roma, Pireu) sau din afara acesteia (Egipt). Cea mai mare parte a colecției o formează piesele provenite din descoperiri de pe teritoriul României, cu precădere din Dobrogea (Moesia Inferior), dar și de pe tot teritoriul Daciei. Din acest motiv, repertoriul este binevenit pentru toți specialiștii interesați de istoria antică a României. La acest fapt contribuie și excelenta prezentare a cărții, pe hârtie de bună calitate și cu planșe foarte bune pentru fiecare piesă în parte. Din punctul de vedere al popularizării colecției muzeului, inițiativa de față ni se pare, de asemenea, una lăudabilă, cartea se adresează atât specialiștilor, cât și publicului larg.

Recomandăm cu căldură lucrarea *Muzeul Național de Istorie al României. Catalogul Colecției Lapidarium. I. Piese greco-romane*, aceasta fiind în opinia noastră, un instrument folositor pentru specialiști și o lectură plăcută pentru cei interesați.

Ana Cristina Hamat

C. Găzdac, M. Neagoe, Ágnes Alföldy-Găzdac, Oana Neagoe, Drobeta. Orașul nepărăsit al Daciei romane, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2015, 274 p., 17 planșe.

Din multe puncte de vedere, lucrarea de față este o îndreptare pentru semiumbra nemeritată în care a intrat arheologia romană de la Drobeta. De aceea, inițiativa autorilor este cu atât mai salutară, prin această lucrare ei reușind să restaureze locul important al Drobetei pe harta Daciei romane. Ne referim, în primul rând, la vizibilitatea pe care o are acest oraș printre specialiști, pentru că această lucrare se adresează în primul rând specialiștilor, având în vedere faptul că în ultima vreme Drobeta a intrat într-un con de umbră în privința publicării materialului, salvarea venind de la foarte puținii specialiști care de-a lungul timpului au reușit să mențină viu interesul pentru descoperirile de epocă romană ale orașului. Din acest punct de vedere, lucrarea este cu adevărat o bucurie, deoarece pe lângă doi specialiști recunoscuți, avem și participarea a doi oameni ai locului și, prin urmare, aceasta este și o carte de suflet, dar și un efort comun. Din punctul de vedere al materialului pus în discuție, considerăm că lucrarea este foarte importantă datorită materialul numismatic prezentat, o bună parte din el fiind chiar inedit.

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Recomandăm cu căldură lucrarea *Muzeul Național de Istorie al României. Catalogul Colecției Lapidarium. I. Piese greco-romane*, aceasta fiind în opinia noastră, un instrument folositor pentru specialiști și o lectură plăcută pentru cei interesați.

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și necropolele Drobetei (p. 21–22). Acest prim capitol este binevenit și necesar, pentru a aduce la zi descoperirile din această zonă, cel mai bun exemplu fiind amfiteatrul descoperit în 2010, cât și pentru lămurirea unor anumite aspecte privitoare la contextul de descoperire. De mare ajutor sunt și cele 15 hărți și 9 planuri, care ilustrează cel mai bine situațiile prezente în catalog prin desene la scară, preluate din bibliografie, începând cu localizarea Drobetei pe *Tabula Peutingeriana* (harta 3), cu desenele făcute de Marsigli, dar și cu referințe moderne.

Al doilea capitol, *Comentarii Numismatice* (p. 23–38), este comentariul asupra materialului prezent în catalog. Acesta inventariază 1886 de monede intrate în colecție începând cu 1928 și până în 2014, cu precizarea că unele pot proveni chiar din cercetări mai vechi, 1928 fiind anul primei încercări de organizare a colecției numismatice a muzeului (p. 23). De asemenea, autorii menționează că numărul total de monede datate în epocă romană și care provin de pe teritoriul acestui sit se află în colecția muzeului. Pentru 327 dintre ele nu s-a putut stabili locul de descoperire exact. Sunt discutate aici cele două depozite monetare, primul fiind descoperit în zona necropolei de est, iar la doilea în zona castrului – acesta din urmă fiind cel mai târziu depozit descoperit pe teritoriul fostei provincii Dacia, având în vedere faptul că cele 31 de monede au fost datate între 395–435. Este importantă de menționat și identificarea a încă două monede care fac parte din primul tezaur, intrate ulterior în colecția muzeului (p. 24). Monedele izolate au fost împărțite pe perioade, pentru studiul acestora folosindu-se informațiile generale referitoare la producția și circulația monedei în Dacia și în apropierea acesteia, precum și în restul Imperiului. Autorii consideră că monedele anterioare domniei lui Traian au putut ajunge aici numai după cucerire, fiind vorba inclusiv de monede emise în timpul flavienilor sau al dinastiei iulio-claudice, dar și de monede republicane mai vechi, această concluzie are la bază presupunerea autorilor că informațiile despre perioada pre-romană nu sunt concludente. De asemenea, este scos în evidență și faptul că circulația monetară la Drobeta nu încetează după părăsirea provinciei, acest aspect i-a făcut probabil pe autori să numească Drobeta drept orașul nepărăsit al Daciei romane (p. 25). Tot în acest capitol, autorii lămuresc câteva probleme pentru piesele aflate în discuție, cum ar fi spectrul monedei (p. 25–26), nominalul acesteia (p. 27–28) sau situația monedelor provinciale și aprovizionarea cu monedă a orașului (p. 28–30). Sunt încorporate în text explicații pentru toate aceste situații, spre exemplu, numărul mic de monede cu nominal prețios (p. 27), prezența monedelor provinciale provenite din centrele grecești în număr destul de mare, alături de prezența emisiunilor de Nikaea din timpul lui Severus Alexander (p. 29). Unele dintre aceste situații confirmă situația generală din celelalte centre ale Daciei, iar altele singularizează acest centru și îi confirmă

orașului statutul de adevărată *poartă* a provinciei. Este important de văzut și de corelat cu istoria politică a Imperiului situația aprovizionării cu monedă, un număr de 18 monetării fiind remarcate până acum datorită monedei descoperită aici (p. 29). Sunt analizate și două studii de caz, prezența monedei în comparația dintre castru și oraș, precum și în raportul dintre Drobeta și Dacia. Toate acestea arată importanța Drobetei în sistemul economic roman, cu o dezvoltare graduală care culminează cu obținerea titlului de colonia și cu dezvoltarea economică de până la jumătatea secolului al III-lea. Începând cu jumătatea secolului al III-lea indicele aprovizionării cu monedă a orașului rămâne mai mare decât al provinciei, pentru ca în perioada părăsirii provinciei, indicele să atingă valori considerabile (p. 31), situație care se menține și pentru perioada 306–337, ca urmare a recuceririi unei părți din fosta provincie de către Imperiu. Pentru determinarea monedelor s-au folosit diverse determinatoare, listate în bibliografie și din care nu lipsește RIC, alături de alte 16 referințe bibliografice (p. 33–34).

Cele 10 tabele reflectă în mare descoperirile pe zonele menționate la capitolul unu, pe perioade, dar și pe emitenți. De asemenea, cele 12 grafice ilustrează grafic concluziile. Catalogul este realizat în același mod, cu specificarea datării, a nominalului, monetăriei, identificării în RIC, a axei, diametrului, greutateii, numărului de inventar, context arheologic și a bibliografie în cazul monedelor deja publicate. Se cuvine să mai remarcăm calitatea grafică deosebită a cărții, cu planșe de bună calitate, grafice și tabele care o fac ușor de înțeles și de urmărit. Din punctul de vedere al materialului, lucrarea introduce în circuitul științific o mare parte din materialul inedit, dintre care trebuie să-l remarcăm pe cel care provine de la amfiteatru.

Prin urmare, recomandăm cu căldură această carte tuturor specialiștilor interesați de vestigiile antice ale Drobetei în particular, dar și ale Daciei în general.

Ștefan Viorel Georgescu

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Consecință a muncii unei echipe formate dintr-un arheolog, un istoric de artă și un istoric documentarist, volumul apărut în limba engleză în traducerea lui Charles Robertson, destinat așadar mai ales publicului din afara granițelor Serbiei, aduce în prim plan un subiect polivalent, îndelung cercetat în istoriografia europeană, viața cotidiană. Desigur, primul gând conduce la *Istoria*

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vieții private, la generația care a reușit să transforme cotidianul vest-european în istorie. În ciuda acestui fapt, în Serbia, ca de altfel în spațiul est-european, explorarea acestui domeniu a fost de mai slabă intensitate, vădindu-se așadar necesitatea acoperirii subiectului.

Volumul este structurat în trei părți distincte și totuși corelate între ele prin însăși natura subiectului. Construcția discursului intern al cărții este logică și duală concomitent. Pe de o parte, se observă ierarhizarea subiectelor de la vârful piramidei sociale spre baza ei, iar pe de alta, este organizată o incursiune, tot piramidală, pornind de la dimensiunea materială (habitatul) a vieții spre cea spirituală. Lectura conduce spre concluzia că unul dintre obiectivele autorilor a fost acela de a evidenția conexiunea organică între caracteristicile vieții publice a societății și cea privată, idee emisă, de altfel, și în cuvântul introductiv.

Prima parte, *Framing the Every day*, constituită din șase subcapitole, oferă imaginea unei lumi medievale ierarhizate, bine structurate. Locul, ca perezitate, subsumează viața, trecătoare, a membrilor comunității. Habitatul se constituie într-un prim obiectiv: palatele și curțile suveranilor și ale nobilimii sârbe, orașele și târgurile ca mediu de conviețuire, dar și locuința din mediul rural sunt expuse pe larg cu argumente arheologice dar și cu imagini și informații documentare. Capitolul despre viața de familie (p.75) explorează componența unei familii, statutul fiscal și juridic al acesteia. Pasaje generoase au fost dedicate căsătoriei, baza vieții de familie (p.78), nașterii și educației copiilor. „Familii” extinse, armata și mănăstirile, sunt subiecte tratate special. Viața de soldat (p.90), nobil ori țăran, a fost reglementată prin Codul lui Dusan. Unitățile de mercenari au reprezentat, de asemenea, o forță bine antrenată și foarte bine înarmată, numărul lor crescând pe parcursul Evului Mediu, până la 1459. Chestiuni interesante cu privire la armată sunt, de asemenea, construirea și apărarea fortărețelor, echipamentul necesar (scutul sârbesc) dar și componenta spirituală a războiului.

Un grup distinct este acela al călugărilor. Mănăstirile, alături de rolul lor spiritual, dețin și alte atribuții, fiind astfel puternice centre economice dar și culturale. Abordarea vieții monastice (p. 112) cuprinde analiza modului în care călugării au locuit, dieta lor, îmbrăcămintea, igiena, rutina zilnică, relația cu lumea exterioară zidurilor mănăstirii. Regula Sfântului Sava a reprezentat prototipul vieții monastice din Serbia, atât a celei în comun, cât și pentru eremiți. Aceștia din urmă, cu un regim de viață mult mai strict decât al călugărilor obișnuiți, au trăit în apropierea mănăstirilor și în strânsă legătură cu acestea, mai ales în zona Muntelui Kariša.

Cea de-a doua parte, *The body and society* (p. 134) cuprinde tot șase subcapitole: alimentația, îmbrăcămintea și bijuteriile, sărbătorile, relaxarea și, nu în ultimul rând, boala și tratarea ei dar și atitudinea față de moarte. Informațiile

cu privire la alimentație provin începând din secolul al XII-lea. Influențe mediteraneene și grecești, dar și din Europa de vest, jalonează dieta locuitorilor din Serbia medievală. Bineînțeles, momente cruciale în modul de alimentație au fost perioadele de foamete sau în timpul postului. Producția de vin, de cereale, de pomi fructiferi, creșterea animalelor și pescuitul în corelație cu comerțul oferă o imagine generoasă despre dietă. Informațiile provin atât din cercetarea arheologică (datorită numărului mare de oase de animale descoperite, în special oi și capre, dar și porci și păsări ori vânat) cât și din sursă documentară. Nu numai alimentele, ci și băuturile alcoolice au fost consumate, în special vinul (p. 145). Modul de preparare al alimentelor dar și condițiile de luat masa ori de păstrare a acestora sunt tot atâtea subiecte la fiecare nivel social: nobile, orașeni și țărani. Imaginile unor artefacte, obiecte folosite de omul medieval apropie cititorul de lumea palpabilă a acestuia: vesela din ceramică de Studenica din secolul al XIV-lea, dar și platourile din coral, cristal sau metale prețioase, cum este cel din argint care a fost folosit de regele Ștefan Dušan, aflate în patrimoniul Muzeului Național din Belgrad. Un clivaj major s-a produs în alimentația locuitorilor din Serbia după invaziile otomane din secolul al XV-lea: în timp ce ruralitatea a rămas prinsă în tradițional, orașenii au adoptat bucătăria orientală.

Cercetarea vestimentației (p. 153), mult mai expusă influențelor externe decât alimentația, s-a bazat atât pe informații de arhivă, cât și pe fresce și miniaturi. În schimb, în ceea ce privește bijuteriile, principalul furnizor de date a fost însă arheologul. Moda vremii a suferit schimbări sub influența stilului gotic (mijlocul secolului al XIV-lea) dar și italian în zonele de coastă. Din material textil (de in sau cânepă), din lână sau piele, îmbrăcămintea a fost produsă în general pe plan local, acasă. Piese de îmbrăcăminte mai scumpe au fost însă importate de către negustorii din Dubrovnic din Europa vestică. Comerțul cu material scumpe s-a realizat însă și cu Bizanțul, de unde a fost adus brocart, damask, catifea aurită, dar și cu Italia care a exportat mătase ori cu Veneția, exportator de scarlat. Îmbrăcămintea nobililor (masculină și feminină), a orașenilor, a păstorilor este descrisă în detaliu și argumentată cu imagini din fresce (cum este aceea a familiei fondatorilor de la Bela crkva, secolul al XIV-lea) și ale unor obiecte de podoabă deosebite, cum sunt cerceii de la Smederevo sau inelul regelui Ștefan (finalul secolului al XII-lea).

Zilele de sărbătoare, timp sacru, punct de întâlnire al publicului cu privatul (p. 164), au deținut o importanță covârșitoare în viața omului medieval. Sărbători care marchează viața personală (nașterea, botezul, logodna, nunta), sărbătorile creștine care marchează viața temporală a credinciosului, dar și sărbătorirea profană, târgurile, desfășurate pe străzile și în piețele urbane sau chiar în sate, se completează reciproc, fiind exemplificate în special cu informații ce provin

din interzicerile pe care biserica le-a inclus în legile sale. Un rol important în cadrul sărbătorii l-au deținut, alături de băutură și mâncare, muzica și dansul. Varietatea instrumentelor muzicale, unele dintre ele folosite și azi în Serbia, au acompaniat cântece cu caracter romantic, comic ori epic.

Relaxarea (p. 174) sau timpul liber sunt concepte care nu se potrivesc, la o primă privire, cu mentalitatea Evului Mediu, cel puțin nu așa cum o înțelegem noi, azi. S-ar părea că tot în zilele de sărbătoare, când munca nu a fost permisă de către biserică, au fost momentele identificate ca fiind de relaxare. Activitățile la care au putut participa locuitorii, printre altele, au fost: să urmărească “jocurile cavalești”, competițiile de tras cu arcul, de aruncat cu sulița, de călărie, sau chiar să participe la jocul de fotbal (p. 177). Nobilimea, care a dispus de mult mai mult timp liber decât țărănimea sau orășenimea, a putut să se delecteze la vânatoare de cerbi, bouri sau urși. O altă activitate specific elitară a fost dresajul de șoimi și câini ori participarea la turnir.

Însă locurile cu cel mai mare număr de vizitatori au fost cârciuma și bordelul și se pare că în Serbia primele mențiuni despre prostituție apar în documente provenind din Dubrovnik.

Alte două subcapitole, legate între ele, *Boala și tratamentul medical* (p. 181) și *Moartea* (p. 193) aduc în prim-plan ultimul eveniment din viața privată dar și atitudinea pe care omul medieval a avut-o față de corpul său, mentalitatea privind starea de boală dar și locul spitalelor în societatea sârbă medievală. Peste 80 de boli au sunt menționate în documentele care au stat la baza studiului prezent. Ciuma însă, care a decimat populația Europei, n-a lăsat “urme” informaționale în sursele sârbești. O presupusă motivație ar fi aceea a caracterului rural al teritoriului în zona Balcanilor de vest, populația locuind mai ales în sate destul de izolate, situația fiind diferită în aglomerările urbane de pe coastă. Medicamentele, doctorii și rețetele sau sfaturile curative sunt des întâlnite. Astfel, sunt menționați aproape 50 de doctori și farmaciști pe teritoriul Serbiei pe parcursul secolelor XIV–XVI, majoritatea italieni. Primele infirmerii/spitale s-au coagulat tot în jurul mănăstirilor datorită eforturilor Sf. Sava și Sf. Simeon Nemanja, așadar încă din secolul al XII-lea, la Hilandar și Studenica.

Moartea a fost văzută ca un nou început, și nu ca un final, datorită ideilor creștine. Ceremonialul înmormântării a fost reconstituit cu ajutorul informațiilor etnografice, pregătirea locului de înmormântare de regulă în apropierea unei biserici (sau chiar în biserică), obiceiurile de înmormântare, diferite de la o comunitate la alta, jelirea mortului, componentă emoțională a celor rămași. Modul de înmormântare este argumentat cu concluziile excavațiilor arheologice iar monumentele funerare au avut diferite forme, dintre care cea mai uzitată în secolele XIV–XV a fost tipul *stećci*.

Ultima parte a volumului, *Knowledge of the world* (p. 203), se dorește a

fi o privire asupra atitudinii omului medieval față de natura înconjurătoare (în primul subcapitol), față de cosmos, interpretarea fenomenelor unice (comete, calamități naturale) dar și percepția timpului, a trecerii și măsurării lui. Schimbările evidențiate vis-à-vis de timp se leagă, în special, de invențiile tehnologice dar și de noutățile aduse de creștinism spre finalul secolului IV, în teritoriile sârbești anul era calculat după obicei bizantin, de la facerea lumii, iar din secolul al XIV-lea, documentele apar date de la nașterea lui Hristos. Un loc important în economia acestei părți îl ocupă subcapitolul *Literacy and life. Cum libro* (p. 219). Cunoștințele de scris și citit în limba slavonă au fost introduse în secolul al IX-lea în centrele mănăstirești și, ocazional, unii membri ai nobilimii au reușit să aibă asemenea abilități. Se pare că sub dinastia Nemanjić s-au creat condițiile necesare pentru dezvoltarea culturală și alfabetizarea populației. Cea mai mare problemă întâmpinată în procesul de alfabetizare a fost relaționarea dintre limba rafinată a religiei și literaturii, slavona veche scrisă cu alfabet chirilic, cu vulgara. De la finalul secolului al XII-lea însă se poate vorbi despre slavona sârbească. Prin contrast, în arealul de coastă, cu populație romano-catolică, a fost folosită limba latină nu numai în cadrul serviciului divin, ci și în administrație, precum și limba italiană, scrisă cu caractere chirilice. Răspândirea scrisului, educația populației și numărul școlilor sunt doar câteva dintre segmentele importante ale unui astfel de subiect. Și instrumentele de scris și suportul material folosit în acest sens au fost parte a vieții materiale cotidiene a scribului.

Ultima temă abordată este aceea a călătoriilor, *Life in the move* (p. 231). În fapt, călătoria s-a constituit ca o breșă în cotidian, un lucru scos din comun. Motivele călătoriilor, în condiții de nesiguranță, cu numeroase pericole, au fost diverse: război (soldați sârbi capturați în bătălia din 1402 lângă Ankara erau duși în Samarkand), chestiuni diplomatice (în 1308 reprezentantul regelui Milutin mergea la Paris), comerț, pelerinaj (la Santiago de Compostela, în Țara Sfântă). De asemenea, experții în minerit, artiștii și meșteșugarii dar și cărăușii și păstorii au fost printre cei care au călătorit mai des dar cel mai interesant tip de călători par să fi fost curierii.

Apariții editoriale de acest gen, care aduc împreună informația documentară, artefactul arheologic și imaginea de epocă au un impact deosebit atât în cercurile de profesioniști cât și, în special, la publicul larg.

Livia Magina

Žene u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni. Zbornik radova, urednik Emir O. Filipović (*Femeile în Bosnia medievală. Culegere de studii*, editor Emir O. Filipović), Sarajevo, 2015, 255 p.

Femeile în Bosnia medievală este o culegere de 17 articole ce poate fi încadrată în categoria *gender studies*, segment istoriografic care în ultimul deceniu a cunoscut o dezvoltare apreciabilă în spațiul central și sud-est european. Cu câteva excepții notabile (Pejo Ćošković, Amer Sulejmanagić, Esad Kurtović, Dževad Drino), toți autorii fac parte din generația tânără a istoriografiei bosniace, generație ce s-a remarcat prin contribuțiile din ultimul deceniu.

Linia directoare a volumului este oferită de prezența femeilor în istoria Bosniei, dar subiectele abordate în cadrul temei generale și modurile de investigare sunt diferite, fiind încadrabile în două categorii. În prima dintre acestea pot fi incluse articolele care abordează problematicile feminine la modul general, cum ar fi: călugărițele din Bosnia (Pejo Ćošković); prezența femeilor din Bosnia pe piața de sclavi din Dubrovnik (Elmedina Duranović); frecvența numelor feminine în spațiul bosniac (Enes Dedić); reprezentările feminine pe pietrele funerare stecci (Narcisa Semić); bijuteriile și îmbrăcămintea feminină (Slaven Tadić); doamnele de curte și rolul lor în Bosnia medievală (Irfan Teskeredžić); nunțile și festivitățile nuptiale regale (Marjan Darmač); poziția legală a femeii, dreptul ei de moștenire și reprezentare juridică (Dževad Drino, Bejamina Londrc). La acestea poate fi adăugat și studiul lui Esad Kurtović cu privire la practica folosirii doicilor în arealul Dubrovnikului medieval care, deși nu e direct legat de istoria Bosniei, se află în relație directă cu tematica generală a volumului.

A doua categorie o reprezintă studiile care se concentrează asupra unor personaje feminine reprezentative: regine, prințese ori membre ale înaltei nobilimi, pentru care s-au păstrat suficiente surse documentare ce pot ajuta la reconstituirea biografiei fiecăreia în parte. Astfel, regăsim articole privitoare la ducesa Maria de Bosnia, ajunsă contesă în Germania prin căsătoria cu Ulrich von Helfenstein (Nedim Rabić); Ana de Bosnia (de Schweidnitz), doamnă dăruită cu acest titlu de către unchiul său, Ludovic de Anjou, regele Ungariei (Amer Sulejmanagić); Elisabeta, fiica regelui Stjepan II Kotromanić și soția aceluiași rege Ludovic de Anjou, precum și asupra relațiilor dintre cele două regate generate de această alianță matrimonială (Dženan Dautović); cele două prințese bulgare ajunse pe tronul Bosniei, dintre care doar Doroteea, soția regelui Tvrtko (a doua jumătate a secolului al XIV-lea) e cunoscută cu numele (Amer Dardagan); Elena, posibila fiică a unuia dintre moharhii bosniaci din secolul al XV-lea și soție a ducelui Přemek de Opavia (Emir O. Filipović);

Ecaterina Kotromanić, regină bosniacă al cărei portet s-a păstrat în galeria Capitolină din Roma (Husein Sejko Mekanović); Mara, ultima regină a Bosniei, care după ocuparea regatului de către otomani și-a găsit refugiul în Dubrovnik, Split și, paradoxal, pentru ultima parte a vieții chiar în imperiul Otoman (Senja Mahinić); Elena Hranić și Elena Nepličić, ambele membre ale înaltei nobilimi, foarte active în activitățile financiare de la finalul secolului al XIV-lea și începutul celui următor (Semir Hambo).

Trebuie remarcat că cele mai multe studii reprezintă contribuții noi asupra realităților sud-slave medievale, bazate în bună parte pe documentele inedite culese din arhivele din Dubrovnik, Ungaria ori Germania, dar și pe cele editate publicate în diverse colecții din spațiul central european și sud-slav. În final, merită apreciate condițiile editoriale bune în care volumul a apărut. Pentru accesibilitatea cercetătorilor din alte zone, mai puțin familiarizați cu limbile sud-slave, fiecare studiu este însoțit la început de un rezumat concis în limba engleză, la final fiind redat un rezumat cuprinzător în aceeași limbă. Volumul se încheie cu prezentarea fiecărui autor, a contribuțiilor sale și a direcțiilor de investigare pe care le are în vedere.

Culegerea de studii despre femeile din Bosnia medievală reprezintă un pas înainte pentru înțelegerea rolului jucat de femei în societatea medievală, o contribuție salutară asupra înțelegerii mecanismelor sociale ce au guvernat spațiul medieval balcanic și central european. Nu în ultimul rând, studiile istoricilor bosnieci pot constitui un model în abordarea unei astfel de tematici sociale privitoare la evul mediu românesc și nu numai.

Adrian Magina

Martyn Rady, *Customary law in Hungary. Courts, texts, and the Tripartitum*, Oxford University Press, 2015, 266 p.

Cartea profesorului Martyn Rady de la University College London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies aduce în prim plan problematica complexă a dreptului cutumiar în epoca medievală și modernă. Volumul de față este produsul unei activități de cercetare de peste un deceniu în care profesorul Rady a cercetat istoria juridică și instituțională a spațiului central european, cu precădere a teritoriilor componente ale coroanei Sfântului Ștefan. După ce în analizele anterioare a disecat opera lui Werboczi și a produs o ediție critică a Tripartitumului, profesorul Marty Rady și-a concentrat atenția asupra modului în care dreptul cutumiar a influențat scrierea juridică dar și societatea maghiară medievală și modernă. Evident, analiza pornește de la același punct de reper

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reprezentat de Tripartitumul lui Werboczi, fiind extinsă însă asupra organizării justiției și a modului de operare a curților de judecată din Ungaria medievală și modernă. Influența dreptului cutumiar în justiția medievală din regat a fost una covârșitoare, atingând toate categoriile sociale și instituțiile. Profesorul Rady explică în detaliu procedura, modul în care se luau deciziile și mecanismele de funcționare a justiției, toate influențate de dreptul cutumiar.

Dacă într-o primă parte cartea se concentrează asupra epocii medievale, a doua parte este dedicată epocii moderne și influenței pe care Tripartitumul a exercitat-o asupra perioadei respective. În ciuda modernizării aduse de secolulul luminilor, justiția ungară a rămas în continuare tributară practicilor cutumiare până târziu în secolul al XIX-lea. Pe de altă parte, autorul ia în considerare și circumstanța politică, atât a secolelor XV–XVI, pentru redactarea și gândirea Tripartitumului, cât și, de exemplu, a Codului Civil din perioada comunistă.

Istoria juridică nu reprezintă o nișă facil de cercetat, fapt datorat atât complexității cazuisticii, antecedentelor legale, numărului mare de curți de judecată cu o ierarhie bine stabilită cât și procedurii. Dacă pentru partea juridică ar fi de ajuns doar cunoașterea literei legii, pentru istoric sunt necesare mult mai multe informații pentru a avea tabloul final: identificarea exemplurilor, atât a excepțiilor, cât și a celor care se înscriu în tipic, cunoașterea temeinică a valorilor societății epocii și a circumstanțelor care au pregătit codificarea legii. Autorul volumului decantează toate acestea prin stilul propriu, detaliat și integrator, concomitent, răzbate experiența care dă posibilitatea emiterii unor opinii clare.

Cele 12 capitole și concluziile formează un tot unitar însă și fiecare poate fi de sine stătător. Primul capitol se dorește a fi o introducere în societatea și în mediul juridic al vremii. Într-o primă parte sunt explicați termeni uzuali – *megye, nador, ispan, udvar, billog* –, sunt trecute în revistă dinastiile Regatului Ungar medieval, iar în cea de-a doua natura legii consuetudinare care „a fost una dintre principalele modalități prin care legea a fost înțeleasă în Europa într-o mare parte a Evului Mediu” (p. 8). Sunt identificate în acest subcapitol condițiile premergătoare legislației scrise, modul în care a fost preluat dreptul cutumiar de către curțile de judecată începând din secolul al XIII-lea și până la codificarea din secolul al XVI-lea, cunoscută ca Tripartitum.

Capitolul 2 prezintă personajul principal al cărții: dualitatea dintre legea cutumiară și Tripartitum. Autorul opinează că statutele secolelor XIV–XV din Ungaria au impus mai degrabă obligații, proceduri și nu norme fundamentale și abia din a doua jumătate a secolului al XV-lea atenția s-a concentrat asupra aplicării legii (p. 15). Modul în care cutuma a influențat scrierea legii este un alt aspect luat în considerare de către autor, care opinează că legea cutumiară este formată din dintr-o combinație de acte scrise, acte legislative și decizii ale curților.

Capitolul al treilea investighează relația dintre cutumă, legislația codificată și cei care o pun în aplicare prin emiterea de documente (p. 27). Tradiția dreptului roman, dar și a celui canonic, a stat la baza codificării din secolul al XVI-lea, prin asimilarea vocabularului procedurii acestuia, proces care a coincis cu răspândirea literaturii juridice dar și a înscrierii proceselor judecate, exemplul cel mai cunoscut fiind Registrul de la Oradea. Formularistica documentelor, termenii folosiți provenind din dreptul roman, argumentează aserțiunea lui Werboczy conform căreia legea ungară a evoluat atât din legea canonică, cât și din cea romană (p. 36). În același context își găsește loc și prezentarea locurilor de adevărire, *loca credibilia*, și a modului în care au operat acestea ca principale emitente de documente autentice precum și în privința administrării judiciare.

Cel de-al patrulea capitol atinge primul termen din subtitlu: curțile de judecată. Deciziile judecătorilor sunt un alt element care a putut fi inclus ca sursă a legii cutumiare a regatului. Astfel, cea mai importantă curte de judecată a Regatului a fost, bineînțeles, aceea regală, a cărei activitate s-a desfășurat în prezența regelui dar și prin delegarea puterii (p. 52). A doua secțiune a acestui capitol desfășoară ierarhia curților de judecată. Protonotarul este personaj cheie în curtea de judecată începând cu secolul al XV-lea prin intermediul caracterului muncii sale, acela de a colecta toate documentele necesare diverselor cazuri. Alături de protonotar care a avut expertiză juridică, se regăsesc juzi, asesorii și alte persoane fără cunoștințe juridice. Acesta a fost „omul de legătură” între curtea regală și diversele scaune de judecată de pe întinsul regatului. În teritoriu, a administrat justiția curtea de judecată a comitatului-sedria (*sedes judiciaria*), aflată sub conducerea comitelui.

Capitolul 5, *King and nobility*, conturează tabloul principalilor actori din viața juridică a regatului. Originea nobilimii, modul de alegere și dreptul de succesiune, *ius resistendi*, ca motiv pentru diversele rebeliuni, sunt părți ale acestui capitol. În directă legătură cu capitolul cinci, cel de-al șaselea, *The nobleman and his land*, oferă posibilitatea vizualizării caracterului avitic al epocii: o întreagă societate este legată de posesiune, de moștenirea ei. Sunt explicați termenii ca *descensualis* ori *perfectio* precum și modul în care au evoluat aceste instituții de drept. Nu numai deținerea de posesiuni ci și înstrăinarea acestora a necesitat documente doveditoare. Astfel, vânzarea, zălogirea ori sfertul fiicelor. Autorul este pus astfel în poziția de a urmări o altă sintagmă, *assumptio oneris*, specifică mentalității epocii (p. 94). Un al treilea subpunct se referă la activitatea de tutorat și tutelă, pe care Werboczy le-a clasificat în trei părți distincte: testamentar, legitim și donativ.

Cealaltă parte a societății, țărănimea – *rusticitas*, a avut ghinionul ca

Tripartitul să fie prezentat Dietei în perioada imediat următoare mișcării sociale din 1514. Astfel că drepturile acestea au fost îngrădite și mai mult.

Prin intermediul capitolelor șapte și opt, *Crime and prosecution* respectiv *Medieval procedure and judicial decision making*, autorul evaluează o altă latură a administrării justiției: pedeapsa și procedura prin care a fost luată hotărârea de pedepsire. *Actus potentiae* a fost pedepsit în funcție de gravitatea sa, fiind de altfel evidențiate două tipuri: *minor* și *maior*, însă autorul argumentează că apelul la curtea de judecată pare să fi fost ultimul resort, cele mai multe cazuri fiind rezolvate prin arbitraj sau împăcare între părți. *Homagium*-ul, valoarea omului în funcție de statutul său este, în același timp, prețul vinovatului. *Nota infidelitatis*, urmărirea penală și vrăjitoria sunt trei cazuri de crime excepționale, care au fost tratate pe larg.

Instituțiile care au aplicat legislația, organizarea justiției dar și educația celor implicați se regăsesc în capitolul al nouălea al volumului, *Early Modern Legal Institutions*.

Capitolele 10 și 11 cuprind aspecte privitoare la legislația ce a survenit după Tripartitum, *Quadripartitum*, *Corpus Juris Hungarici* și *Einrichtungswerk*, precum și asupra curților de judecată și a ierarhiei lor în secolul al XVIII-lea. Ultimul capitol urmărește însă modul în care tradiția și-a făcut cale în perioada modernă, limitările reformelor epocii Luminilor dar și confuziile secolului al XIX-lea în privința căror legi ar trebui urmate.

Volumul se constituie, așadar, într-un adevărat manual de istorie a dreptului, a modului în care acesta a evoluat din Evul Mediu până în secolul al XIX-lea. Consider că, la fel ca și celelalte volume ale profesorului Martyn Rady, și acesta, valorizând documente din arhivele din România, concură la cunoașterea în detaliu a unui domeniu extrem de complex.

Livia Magina

Anna Ananieva (Hrsg.), *Zirkulation von Nachrichten und Waren. Stadtleben, Medien und Konsum im 19. Jahrhundert*, Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, 2016, 287 p.

Der Sammelband, herausgegeben von Anna Ananieva erschien anlässlich der Ausstellung „Zirkulation von Nachrichten und Waren. Stadtleben, Medien und Konsum im 19. Jahrhundert“, welche im Rahmen des Projekts „Zirkulation von Nachrichten und Waren. Zum Transfer moderner urbaner Lebensformen in der deutschsprachigen belletristischen Presse in Böhmen und Ungarn, 1815–1848“ des Instituts für Osteuropäische Geschichte und Landeskunde und des

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Der Sammelband, herausgegeben von Anna Ananieva erschien anlässlich der Ausstellung „Zirkulation von Nachrichten und Waren. Stadtleben, Medien und Konsum im 19. Jahrhundert“, welche im Rahmen des Projekts „Zirkulation von Nachrichten und Waren. Zum Transfer moderner urbaner Lebensformen in der deutschsprachigen belletristischen Presse in Böhmen und Ungarn, 1815–1848“ des Instituts für Osteuropäische Geschichte und Landeskunde und des

Ludwig-Uhland-Instituts für Empirische Kulturwissenschaft an der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen realisiert wurde. Der erste Teil beinhaltet 14 wissenschaftliche Studien, wobei der zweite sechs Ausstellungsabteilungen präsentiert, hat also ein theoretisches und ein praktisches Teil. Wie schon im *Vorwort* erwähnt, beschäftigten sich die Autoren des Bandes, mit der Frage, welche Wechselbeziehungen die Prozesse von Modernisierung und Urbanisierung mit den Medien und Praktiken der Unterhaltung im 19. Jahrhundert eingingen, aber auch mit urbane Lebenswelten und mit den Beziehungen zwischen Stadtleben, Medien und Konsum. Topographisch gesehen, handelt es sich um Gesellschaftspraktiken und Stadtleben in den Großstädten der ehemaligen Doppelmonarchie.

Im ersten Teil werden wissenschaftliche Studien über die „elegante Welt“ der ehemaligen Doppelmonarchie, deren Freizeit, Geselligkeitsorte – sowohl öffentliche als auch private Räume – Musikleben, Mode, Zirkulation von Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, anhand einiger Beispielen aus Budapest, Wien, Prag und Werschetz – alle vereint unter dem Titel „Medien und Praktiken“.

Anna Ananieva diskutiert im Artikel „Medien und Praktiken der eleganten Welt. Annäherungen an einen urbanen Lebensentwurf des 19. Jahrhunderts“ aus kulturgeschichtlicher Sicht über den Begriff *Eleganz*, welches als Ästhetisierung des Lebens, als ein Lebensstil des 19. Jahrhunderts geworden ist und durch Urbanität und Modernität charakterisiert wird. Die äußeren Merkmale einer eleganten Erscheinung sind, nach der Meinung der Autorin, sowohl die Präsentation einer Person (sei es durch Sprache, Kleidung und Habitus) als auch die privaten und öffentlichen Lebensräume (Architektur und Interieur). Kulturelle Praktiken, wie Freizeitverhalten, Geselligkeit und Unterhaltung dominieren das soziale Handeln und werden von der Schnellpresse und der Verbreitung des Vereinswesens der städtischen Bevölkerung bekannt gemacht.

Die zweite Studie, „Zur Topografie urbaner Geselligkeit. Badeorte, Salons, Zeitschriften“, geschrieben von Astrid Köhler ermittelt Informationen über die Rolle der öffentlichen Räume bei der Entwicklung eines sozialen Handeln und eines bürgerlichen Selbstbewusstseins. Kurbäder, Salons und Zeitschriften werden als gesellschaftliche Projektionsräume, welche einen Anteil an sozialen und kulturellen Ausdifferenzierungen im 19. Jahrhundert hatten, aber auch Katalysatoren des Modernisierungsprozesses (S. 29) waren.

Juliane Brandt schafft in der Studie „Die Reise des Grafen von H. Beobachtungen und Fragen angesichts einer Randfigur“ eine Analyse der Freizeitgestaltung im 19. Jahrhundert, basierend auf die Reiseberichte des Grafen von Hoffmannsegg (1766–1849). Beschrieben werden Aspekte der Bälle, Badeorte, aber auch Ess- und Trinkgewohnheiten der Eliten aus Ungarn

und Siebenbürgen. Er beobachtete das Nebeneinander verschiedener Gruppen, deren Vergnügungen nicht ganz separiert voneinander verliefen. (S. 46)

Die vierte Studie, „Zwischen Boudoir und Salon. Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner (1770–1847) und ihre „Briefe an Natalie über den Gesang“ (1803/1824)“ von Rolf Haaser, befasst sich mit dem Thema Salonmusik als kulturelle Praxis in den Salongesellschaften und, nach einer Analyse von Feuilletons, Briefe und Memoirs beschreibt die Freizeitgestaltung einer Dame aus dem 19. Jahrhundert und deren Konzertreisen durch Europa.

Der Begriff „Visual history“ wird von Maren Bagge und Clemens Kreutzfeldt, in der Studie „Musikkulturelle Salonpraktiken im Spiegelbild englischer Karikaturen“ erläutert, wobei die Karikaturen des Engländers James Gillray (1756–1815) interpretiert werden. Rolle der Karikaturen war es, den Betrachtenden Einblicke in das öffentliche Leben aus London zu geben, wobei alltagskulturelle Praktiken und häusliches Musizieren (S. 59) dargestellt waren.

Eine weitere Studie über „Musikalische Geselligkeit und Abendunterhaltung im Prager jüdischen Grossbürgertum nach 1850“ wurde von Martina Niedhammer geschrieben. Basierend auf Zeitungen aus Prag, die Autorin hat die Alltagspraktiken und Unterhaltungen des jüdischen Grossbürgertums geschildert, wobei diese beobachtet hat, dass es Unterschiede gibt zwischen den christlichen und den jüdischen Gemeinschaften gibt.

Die siebente Studie „Der Kopf ist klein und steht sehr tief nach unten. Nachrichten aus dem Bereich der Mode und des geselligen Lebens in der Zagreber Zeitungsbeilage Courier für Damen (Agram, 1840)“, geschrieben von Marina Čizmić Horvat ist der Mode und der Frauen aber auch dem Zeitungswesen aus Kroatien gewidmet. Am Beispiel einer Zeitung aus Zagreb, *Courier für Damen*, werden die Interessen und Beschäftigungen der Frauen im 19. Jahrhundert gezeigt.

Mate Eichenseher beginnt die wissenschaftliche Studie über „Was zeigen die Anzeigen? Ein kulturwissenschaftlicher Versuch über die Angebote der kommerziellen Anzeigen der Prager, Wiener und Ofen-Pesther Zeitung der 1830er Jahre“ mit den Ansatz, dass das Warenangebot der kommerziellen Anzeigen einen Bereich der Alltagskultur widerspiegelt. Auf Grund der Anzeigen, schafft der Autor eine Analyse und zeigt dass die Unterschiede eine Art Klassengeschmack unter den Konsumenten der drei Städte zeigt. Eine von den Schlussfolgerungen der Studie ist, dass die objektive Erfahrungen und die subjektive Interpretationen sowie die kollektive Bedeutungszuschreibungen schriftlich und mündlich weitergegeben werden und werden auch kulturell etabliert.

Maria Rósza schafft in der Studie „Die Presse als Vermittler von Waren. Anzeigen in der Pester Zeitung *Der Ungar* (1842–1848)“ eine Taxonomie der

Anzeigen und Artikeln aus dem Modeblatt. Diese werden in Dienstleistungen (Unterricht, Transport, medizinische Praxis, Wohltätigkeit und Lotterien), Unterhaltungskultur (Bücher, Zeitschriften, Grafiken, Musikalien, Theaterveranstaltungen, Zirkusaufführungen, Bälle und Spektakel) und Sachkultur (Haushaltsgegenstände, Modeartikel und Genussmittel) eingeteilt.

Eine weitere Studie geschrieben von Nina Reusch, „Kulturgeschichten des Wohnens. Alltagsgegenstände als Quellen der Populärgeschichte in Familienzeitschriften“, zeigt aufgrund von Familienzeitschriften wie Gegenstände des Alltagslebens als historisierte und als sinnlich erfahrbare Aufhänger für Geschichtsbetrachtungen nutzten.

Die Forscherin Olivia Spiridon schafft eine Radiographie eines Blattes aus Werschetz, in der Studie „Kleinstädtische Kalenderstoffe im Süden der Habsburgermonarchie Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Das Beispiel des Illustrierten Werschetzer Hauskalender 1880–1900“. Die Inhalte des Blattes werden auf einer Zeitspanne von zwanzig Jahren analysiert, und somit werden die Interessen der Leserschaft aus einer Kleinstadt aus dem Banat gezeigt.

Die Pressegeschichte wird fortgesetzt mit einer Studie, geschrieben von Hedvig Ujvári, „Mehr als ein Blatt: Der Pester Lloyd (1854–1945). Die Geschichte des Blattes im Überblick“, welche aufgrund eines deutschen Blattes, eine Radiographie der deutschen Gemeinschaft aus Budapest, aber auch die Geschichte des Blattes schafft.

Die letzten zwei Studien, „Bildung, Kunst und Unterhaltung, Jüdische Verleger und russische Kunstzeitschriften in Berlin als Kulturvermittler“, von Susanne Marten-Finns und „Zeitungen und Sprache(n) im östlichen Europa“, von Tina Theobald handeln über verschiedene Aspekte der Bildung, Kunst, Sprache in verschiedene Teile der Doppelmonarchie.

Weiterhin, der zweite Teil des Sammelbandes ist den Ausstellungsabteilungen gewidmet, wobei Gegenstände ausgestellt werden, welche eine Rolle für die Etablierung einer neuen Öffentlichkeit in den urbanen Zentren Ostmitteleuropas hatten. Die Bilder der Gegenstände, sei es Bücher, Trachten, Kaffeemühlen, Tabakpfeifen, usw. sind in einer guten Qualität publiziert worden und stellen ein wichtiges Einblick im Alltagsleben des 19. Jahrhunderts dar. Der Ausstellungsportal zum Thema „Zirkulation von Nachrichten und Waren“ zeigt die Vielfalt des städtischen Lebens, von Budapest, nach Prag, Wien, London, Werschetz bis St. Petersburg und konzentriert sich auf den folgenden sechs Schwerpunkte: *Eleganz und Elend*, *Frau und Mann*, *Glück und Unglück*, *Nähe und Ferne*, *Gestern und Morgen* und *Mensch und Tier*. Kuratoren und Kuratorinnen der Ausstellungen waren Doktoranden und Studierenden der Eberhard Karls Universität aus Tübingen. Die Ausstellung *Frau und Mann* hatte sich als Ziel gesetzt die Rolle der Geschlechter im öffentlichen und privaten Leben zu zeigen,

wobei in Eleganz und Elend, die Rede über dem Begriff Eleganz war, welches als ein fluides, relatives Konzept dargestellt wird. Glück- und Unglücksfälle des 19. Jahrhunderts (Donauschimpffahrt, Überschwemmungen, Stadtbrand) standen im Mittelpunkt der dritten Abteilung, Glück und Unglück, wobei die Beziehung der Menschen mit den Tieren im Fokus der vierten Abteilungen.

Die Publikation ist hilfreich nicht nur für Historiker der Doppelmonarchie, sondern auch für Kulturhistoriker, Antropologen und auch für das breite Publikum. Die Vielfalt der Themen, welche von den Autoren erforscht wurden, und die Ausstellung, die von Instituten der Eberhard Karls Universität organisiert war, bereichern die wissenschaftliche Welt und die Erkenntnisse über das Stadtleben, Presse und Zirkulation von Waren im 19. Jahrhundert

Maria-Daniela Stanciu

Elis Pleșa, *Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. Cultul personalității (1945–1965)*, Ed. Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2015, 345 p.

În forme, grade și modalități concrete de manifestare, *cultul personalității* liderului politic excepțional a constituit o trăsătură definitorie pentru ceea ce Martin Malia a definit drept „partocrațiile ideocratice” ale zbuciumatului secol al XX-lea – fie că vorbim despre Germania nazistă, despre Italia fascistă, despre prima țară din lume unde un partid al revoluționarilor de profesie a preluat puterea ori despre marionetele alese de Stalin după 1945 pentru a stăpâni cele șapte state din Europa Centrală și Răsăriteană care aveau să compună, după 1948–1949, așa-numitul „lagăr socialist”.

Concept profund anti-marxist, formal repudiat de către Nikita S. Hrușciiov în noaptea de 25–26 februarie 1956, dar simultan puternic manipulat și instrumentat ideologic de către elita post-stalinistă de la Moscova, *cultul personalității* s-a manifestat aproape neîntrerupt în cultura politică bolșevică, începând cu momentul morții lui Lenin, survenită în luna ianuarie a anului 1924, și sfârșind odată cu însuși regimul sovietic în 1991. Volumele și studiile datorate unor autori de primă mărime din sfera sovietologiei internaționale, precum Robert C. Tucker, Nina Tumarkin, Sarah Davies, James Harris, Erik van Ree, Graeme Gill, Mark Edele, Jan Plamper ori David Brandenberger, descriu, interpretează și demonstrează cu prisosință această durabilă dar schimbătoare, paradoxală, și – în fond – stranie realitate.

Cea mai recentă contribuție a cercetătoarei Elis Pleșa se înscrie în categoria acelor demersuri istoriografice demistificatoare, capabile să ofere informații și interpretări noi asupra nu doar a ceea *ce a fost* și *cum a fost* omul, cultul și

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personalitatea, cât mai ales *regimul* Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej – un regim politic împotriva căruia s-au scris, de pe pozițiile anti-comunismului civic post-decembrist, judicioase rechizitorii, dar care, ca temă de cercetare în sine, continuă încă să rămână un șantier deschis.

În aparență, cartea urmează coordonatele unei investigații tipice consacrate nu doar mecanismelor, ci și formelor de asamblare, manifestare și difuzare a cultului personalității conducătorului unui sistem politic monopartinic de tip comunist într-una dintre societățile est-europene postbelice aflate în sfera de dominație a URSS. În esență însă, Elis Pleșa reușește să realizeze o biografie politică exemplară a unui electrician român, muncitor feroviar, pușcăriaș politic vreme de 11 ani sub „regimul burghezo-moșieresc” care, după 1945 însă, numai și numai grație lui Stalin, a reușit să devină – fără a urma vreodată un stagiul cominternist de îndoctrinare politică – unul dintre dictatorii comuniști cei mai fideli liniei staliniste în cadrul sistemului socialist mondial. Inutil de menționat că a fost și unul dintre cei mai longevivi slujitori ai ideilor și practicilor politice ale celui căruia îi datora întreaga devenire.

Bolșevismul lui Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej a fost unul ideologic, dar și instinctual deopotrivă. În închisoare, „Problemele leninismului”, „Cursul scurt de istorie a Partidului Comunist (bolșevic) al Uniunii Sovietice”, respectiv „Scurta biografie” a tovarășului Stalin îi vor fi fost lecturile formative de căpătâi; în tot cazul, Gheorghiu-Dej a fost un *true believer*. Odată evadat din închisoare în vara anului 1944, până la eliminarea adversarilor imediați, Dej nu a ezitat să mimeze consensul cu ceilalți membri ai conducerii PCR pentru a-și atinge scopurile personale. A fost un politician și machiavelic și „bizantin”, un posedat ideologic și un *realpolitiker* în același timp, uneori forțat de împrejurări, alteori silit de ele. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej a fost artizanul bolșevizării integrale a Republicii Populare Române, pentru ca, după mai bine de un deceniu, același arhitect al utopiei să pozeze, opunându-se în fapt destalinizării în plan intern, într-un promotor al unei desovietizări înclinată către o presupusă „linie națională”.

Incursiunea pe care o propune Elis Pleșa în biografia politică a omului Gheorghiu-Dej este una fascinantă, în măsură să lumineze o serie de aspecte controversate și chiar tenebroase nu doar din trecutul său de ilegalist, ci și din lupta pentru putere care s-a desfășurat la vârful PMR pe parcursul anilor '50. Lucrarea urmează cu minuțiozitate punctele nodale ale vieții și activității lui Dej – greva muncitorilor ceferiști din 1933, actul de la 23 august 1944, lichidarea lui Ștefan Foriș, înlăturarea „grupului” Ana Pauker – Vasile Luca, pedepsirea contestatarilor Miron Constantinescu și Iosif Chișinevschi în 1957, îndepărtarea, în 1958, a grupului „fracționist” Constantin Doncea etc. – descriind nu doar episoadele în sine, ci și maniera în care ele au fost instrumentate ulterior de

propaganda politică în scopul preamăririi primului dictator comunist român. În egală măsură, cartea probează calitățile unui istoric competent, avizat să formuleze interpretări judicioase în raport cu o gamă variată de surse, între care se disting, alături de cea mai recentă literatură de specialitate, și o serie de fonduri arhivistice anterior insuficient explorate. În mod cert, contribuția pe care i-o datorăm lui Elis Pleșa va deveni un punct de reper de neocolit în ceea ce privește înțelegerea nu doar a cultului personalității, ci și a „vieții și timpurilor” lui Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

Felician Velimirovici

Mara Mărginean, *Ferestre spre furnalul roșu. Urbanism și cotidian în Hunedoara și Călan (1945–1968)*, Ed. Polirom, Iași, 2015, 342 p.

Implementarea stringentă a concepțiilor socialist-comuniste și integrarea societății românești într-un spațiu proletar impunea imperativ lansarea grabnică a unui plan de industrializare urbanistică a României. În volumul recenzat, Mara Mărginean expune analitic, chiar într-o manieră minuțioasă, geneza și dezvoltarea siderurgiei hunedorene, în speță orașele Hunedoara și Călan împreună cu localitățile aparținătoare, între 1945 și 1968, având ca rezultat urbanizarea habitatelor prin prisma socialismului sovietic. Necesitatea dezvoltării unor areale administrative coagulate în jurul unor coloși industriali a reprezentat pentru puterea politică nu doar o soluționare optimă a problemicii mediului locativ, aferent forței de muncă, ci și un real instrument de control social.

Cercetând un vast și diversificat fond bibliografic, compus din fondul arhivistic al diferitelor instituții implicate și beneficiind de sprijinul Institutului de Investigare a Crimelor Comunismului și Memoria Exilului Românesc, Mara Mărginean, cercetător postdoctoral al Academiei Române, dezvoltă scriptic un volum remarcabil, structurat în două părți, fiecare a câte patru capitole, ce creionează atât organizarea spațiului urban, cât și aspecte inedite din viața cotidiană în arealul siderurgic hunedorean.

Pornind de la premisa unei coincidențe dintre spațiul temporal studiat și perioada de progres economic-social al socialismului sovietic, cartea propune deconspirarea a trei afirmații retorice aferente urbanizării industriale a Hunedoarei. În primul rând, se verifică edificarea asupra relației dintre autoritățile centrale sau locale și reprezentanții profesiilor implicate în procesul de construcție urbană; în al doilea rând, se cercetează în ce măsură comunitățile urbane vor interveni în modificarea proiectului propus de stat; și, nu în

propaganda politică în scopul preamării primului dictator comunist român. În egală măsură, cartea probează calitățile unui istoric competent, avizat să formuleze interpretări judicioase în raport cu o gamă variată de surse, între care se disting, alături de cea mai recentă literatură de specialitate, și o serie de fonduri arhivistice anterior insuficient explorate. În mod cert, contribuția pe care i-o datorăm lui Elis Pleșa va deveni un punct de reper de neocolit în ceea ce privește înțelegerea nu doar a cultului personalității, ci și a „vieții și timpurilor” lui Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

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ultimul rând, se propune identificarea valorii profesionale a construcțiilor din Hunedoara postbelică.

În analiza modelelor de organizare a arealului hunedorean s-a trecut la identificarea etapelor succesive ale racordării noilor modele de arhitectură urbană de proveniență sovietică. Astfel, devine interesantă abordarea din perspectiva instituțională a relațiilor dintre politic și estetic, atât la nivel central, cât și la nivel local. Prin urmare, direcția procesului decizional în cadrul edificărilor urbane s-a situat pe axa București-Hunedoara, condiționată însă atât de realitatea locală, cât și de opțiunile profesionale ale inginerilor implicați. Datorită adoptării în întregime a modelului instituțional de tip sovietic, implementarea tuturor prerogativelor aferente realizării planului de urbanizare s-a realizat în termeni de rezistență sau sustragere asupra unui proiect fără context ideologic.

Materializarea proiectului de construcție al urbanizării industriale s-a produs ca urmare a declanșării conceptului bazat pe realismul socialist realizat expres pentru generarea unei culturi care să angreneze optimismul în rândul maselor muncitorești. Din punct de vedere arhitectural, influența sovietică se resimte prin abordarea diferită impusă inginerilor arhitecți al căror principal obiectiv era orientat spre proiectarea unor ansambluri arhitecturale bazate pe cvartale, în scopul optimizării habitatelor industrializate.

În reconfigurarea urbanistică a orașului Hunedoara dintre anii 1945–1955 sarcina esteticii a revenit proiectanților și arhitecților, însă planul, procesul și calendarul de construcție și-au regăsit consimțământul decizional în politica autorităților centrale de la București. Prin prisma cadrului organizațional, reușita acestui proiect a stat sub semnul articulării relațiilor de subordonare dintre factorii decizionali. Cu toate că persoanele desemnate în gestionarea proiectului se regăseau într-o apartenență monocromatică din punct de vedere politic, disensiunile și opiniile divergente au reușit să tergiverseze fluiditatea în fluxul proiectului. Totuși, dezvoltarea Hunedoarei a fost rodul unei strânse interdependențe dintre politicile organelor centrale de conducere și capacitatea de producție a combinatului siderurgic, ceea ce implica automat un necesar important de resurse umane.

Nucleul dur din prima parte a volumului îl constituie capitolul *Pragmatism și ideologie într-o etapă tranzitorie, 1955–1960*, în care se abordează analiza asupra filierelor de transmitere și înlăptuire a proiectului de dezvoltarea urbană în Hunedoara, ca urmare a discordanțelor generate de ambiguitatea deciziilor la nivel central și a divergențelor referitoare la aspectul estetic al urbei. Rezultatele acestor acțiuni indică, pe de o parte, abandonarea realismului socialist în detrimentul modernismului, modificând astfel și statutul profesional al arhitecților în raport cu politicul sau cu alte categorii socio-profesionale, iar pe de altă parte, evidențierea liantului dintre succesul dezvoltării urbanistice a Hunedoarei și

evoluția economică a României. În acest context se va aborda analitic impactul asupra structurii urbanistice prin prisma inconsistenței proiectelor economice, continuându-se cu o amplă incursiune în descrierea evoluției modelelor arhitecturale, raportate la influențele sovietice intercalate cu standardele de modernism occidental ale anilor 1950. Prin urmare, implicarea intensă a factorului decizional la nivel regional a determinat reevaluarea politicilor organizatorice urbane, deschizându-se noi orizonturi pentru dezvoltarea zonelor periferice ale orașului. Pornind de la premisa existenței unor asemănări între modelul arhitectural de sorginte est-europeană și cel implementat de Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, se creionează idee că spațiul construit a jucat rolul unei legături de comunicare dintre răsărit și apus, astfel orașele au fost construite pornind de la modelul sovietic, impregnându-se pe parcurs cu idei occidentale adaptate mediului local.

În concordanță cu standardele și cerințele economice ridicate, modelelor arhitecturale de după 1958 li se impunea modificări esențiale de sistematizare teritorială prin realizarea unor sisteme ingrate de dezvoltare regională. Urmare a diminuării costurilor aferente locuințelor și prin virtutea solicitărilor sociale ale comunității, proiectanții postbelici au implementat microraioul ca o nouă unitate spațială urbanistică. Proiectând aceste aspecte se conturează speța unor transformări sesizabile prin reamenajarea vechiului oraș și extinderea spațiilor locative în vechile habitate de tip baracamant. Ca soluții de urbanizare a Hunedoarei, regimul de la București a integrat acest areal într-un proiect național de transformare a conceptului industrial de factură sovietică într-unul de factură naționalistă și de modernizare internă. De asemenea, planul de sistematizare urbană a Hunedoarei trebuia să îndeplinească anumite cerințe cum ar fi identificarea și delimitarea raportului dintre perimetru urban și zona rurală limitrofă, precum și asigurarea controlului optim asupra forței de muncă și a mobilităților profesionale. Urgentarea imperativă a absorbției resurselor umane a determinat autoritățile centrale să demareze lucrările pentru ridicarea din temelii a unui nou spațiu urban în localitatea Călan, aflată în proximitatea Hunedoarei.

Păstrând linia tradiției siderurgice în zonă se întrezăresc germenii unui important proiect industrial, materializat prin Uzinele Victoria. Prin prisma realizărilor tehnologice se remarcă construcția primei instalații pentru producerea cocsului și semicocsului prin fluidizare sau folosirea primelor suflante pentru furnale. Cu toate că premisele indicau închegarea unui habitat de tip urban în imediata proximitate a Uzinelor Victoria, acest fapt a fost posibil doar odată cu trasarea primului plan de sistematizare din 1958 și confirmarea statutului de oraș în anul 1961.

Partea a doua a volumului cercetează sub aspect socio-profesional procesul de mobilitate a forței de muncă declanșat ca urmare a activității industriale și

siderurgice hunedorene. Conceperea planurilor de urbanizare prin crearea de noi locuințe în vecinătatea centrelor industriale a generat un exod muncitoresc convergent din punct de vedere profesional, însă divergent din punct de vedere socio-cultural. Acest fapt a condus la diferite stări conflictuale generate de expunerea propagandistică a oficialităților asupra mirajului conviețuirii civice. Prin urmare, s-a demarat procesul de evaluare analitică a comportamentului demografic prin verificarea rapoartelor aferente anumitor factori specifici cum ar fi: natalitatea, nupțialitatea și mortalitatea.

Odată cu tranziția către o urbanizare industrială, regimul de la București dorea în același timp și declanșarea procesului de modernizare în spațiul muncitoresc al orașelor. Ridicarea standardului de viață se afla într-o reală interdependență cu gradul de igienizare conferit de funcționalitatea spațiilor locative și de calitatea serviciilor edilitare. Deficiențele referitoare la sistemul de alimentare cu apă, condițiile insalubre în care forța de muncă era nevoită să coabiteze, au condus la reale nemulțumiri soldate cu petiții către autoritățile administrative. Astfel, valorile crescute ale mortalității au fost influențate atât de incidența crescută a bolilor profesionale ca urmare a poluării combinatelor siderurgice, cât și de existența bolilor datorate condițiilor precare de igiene în spațiile locative. Toate aceste aspecte au indus, indubitabil, către premisa în care populația participantă la exodul industrial nu a reușit integrarea în comunitatea existentă, însă din punct de vedere al muncitorului recent urbanizat, acest insucces nu constituie un impediment, ci mai de grabă un impuls de adaptabilitate la noua civilizație suburbană.

Succesul proiectului de industrializare siderurgică la Hunedoara, în ansamblul său, a convers inevitabil către nevoile, aspirațiile dar și obligațiile muncitorului de rând, exponent primordial al principiului de funcționare a sistemului. Comparând analitic relația dintre proiecțiile economice și productivitatea muncii, raportul dintre industrializarea și managementul proceselor de control, era necesară crearea unui peisaj în care muncitorul să fie privit atât ca și producător, dar mai ales ca și consumator al spațiului urban.

Având în vedere necesitatea studierii modului de absorbție imediate a forței de muncă, prin prisma plasării în centrul arealului urbanistic industrializat a muncitorului producător s-a analizat modalitatea de construcție a identității noilor veniți în raport cu propaganda oficialităților, stadiul integrării muncitorilor în noul habitat din punct de vedere al productivității muncii. Luând în considerare faptul că exodul spre aceste zone s-a realizat voluntar și independent de voința oficialităților, se extrage premisa că motivele deciziei de mobilitate a forțelor de muncă l-a reprezentat calitatea superioară a nivelului de trai, salarizarea superioară și locurile de muncă stabile. Prin urmare, nevoia păstrării unui contingent important de resurse umane, specializate în domeniul

siderurgiei, a determinat statul să ofere într-un final aceste avantaje, schimbând benefic structura veniturilor salariale ale familiei, fapt ce a generat un real impact asupra comportamentului și stilului de viață în interiorul comunității.

Cel mai elocvent indice în evaluarea gradului de civilizației și al nivelului de trai s-a dovedit a fi puterea de consum, caracterizată în societatea comunistă prin cumpărare și echilibru, în care fiecare va primi după nevoi și va oferi atât cât va putea, practică aflată în antiteza conceptelor occidentale, prin care se urmărea reaşezarea limitelor dintre public și privat. Principalul argument în motivarea procesului de colectivizare a agriculturii a fost soluționarea problemei aprovizionării cu alimente și bunuri de larg consum, transformând această componentă într-o unealtă de impunere voalată a ideologiei socialiste.

Concluzionând cele expuse anterior, conchidem că Mara Mărginean a creionat în volumul său profilul genezei proiectului de industrializare și urbanizare al arealului hunedorean, în primele decenii ale regimului comunist, bazat pe experiența siderurgică existentă. Comparând analitic proiectul și punerea în aplicare a acestuia, se extrage ipoteza plasării în centrul acțiunii a factorilor ce au favorizat articularea urbanizării din punct de vedere politic, economic, estetic și social. Cercetarea asupra acestui aspect s-a concretizat printr-o introspecție în profunzime a vieții muncitorului simplu, dezvăluindu-se informații mai puțin cunoscute despre condițiile de muncă, metodele de angajare, îndeplinirea normelor de producție, salarizarea sau puterea de cumpărare regăsite în Hunedoara urbanizată a anilor 1960. De asemenea, volumul de față oferă cititorului și o imagine caracterizată prin instantanee succesive ale civilizației impuse de regimul comunist în perioada postbelică, relevând ideea că acest demers se putea proiecta și către alte centre de emulație industrială.

Minodora Damian

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Georgescu 2007, 17, fig. 14.

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Țicu 1998,

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Achim, *Politica sud-estică*, 103.

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Dragoș Lucian Țigău, “Banii de Caransebeș și Lugoj. Considerații asupra atribuțiilor și competențelor acestora,” *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* XVI (1998): 225–241.

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Țigău, “Banii de Caransebeș,” 230.

3. *Volume colective:*

Victor Motogna, “Banatul românesc în cele dintâi veacuri al stăpânirii ungurești,” în C. Grofșorean, ed., *Banatul de altădată. Studii istorice*, vol. I (Timișoara, 1944), 275.

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Țigău, “Banii de Caransebeș,” 230
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2. *Articles and studies in periodical journals:*

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Țigău, "Banii de Caransebeș," 230.

3. *Chapter or other part in books:*

Victor Motogna, "Banatul românesc în cele dintâi veacuri al stăpânirii ungurești," in C. Grofșorean, ed., *Banatul de altădată. Studii istorice*, vol. I (Timișoara, 1944), 275.

Next citations will follow the articles and studies in periodical journals order:

Motogna, “Banatul românesc,” 276.

4. *Documenta* – the system for books should be used, as following:

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5. If a reference is cited in a footnote and the same reference will be present in the next footnote, citation would use *Ibidem* in short *Ibid.*, normal letters. Example:

Țigău, “Banii de Caransebeș”, 230
Ibid., 231.

Never use *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, or *Idem*

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PUTEREA PAPALĂ, COMUNITĂȚI LOCALE ȘI PRETENDENȚI: BISERICA DIN CROAȚIA, DALMAȚIA ȘI SLAVONIA ȘI LUPTA PENTRU TRONUL REGATULUI UNGARIEI-CROAȚIEI (1290-1301)

Mišo Petrović

Rezumat. Cercetările anterioare s-au concentrat mai ales asupra modului în care Sfântul Scaun a sprijinit sau nu, a obstrucționat sau a ignorat accesarea Angevinilor la tronul Ungariei între 1290 și 1301. Indiferent de opțiunea papală istoricii au argumentat cum anume se explică schimbările care au apărut în această perioadă în organizarea bisericii în Croația, Dalmatia și Slavonia și rolul pe care aceste schimbări l-au jucat în urcarea apoi a lui Carol Robert pe tronul Ungariei, în 1301. În schimb, eu am analizat evoluțiile locale și modul în care acestea s-au interconectat cu situația internațională și cum s-au influențat unele pe celelalte. Ceea ce include evaluarea motivelor din spatele acțiunilor a trei actori majori care l-au adus pe Carol Robert în Ungaria: Sfântul Scaun, curtea Angevină din Napoli și oligarhii locali, nobilii Šubići. Cu toate că se pot aduce și alte explicații privind cooperarea dintre acești trei factori, respectiv, cei de natură culturală, economică și politică, studiul de față se concentrează asupra schimbărilor din cadrul structurilor bisericii locale. Am urmărit modul în care fiecare dintre părțile implicate a contribuit la aceste evoluții și cum au utilizat spre propriul folos reformele bisericii locale. Studiul evaluează agendele inextricabil legate ale Sfântului Scaun, Angevinilor și nobililor Šubići la finele secolului al XIII-lea.

RIVALUL ȘI VASALUL LUI CAROL ROBERT DE ANJOU: REGELE VLADISLAV AL II-LEA NEMANJIĆ

Aleksandar Krstić

Rezumat. Vladislav al II-lea (cca. 1270–după 1326) a fost fiul regelui sârb Ștefan Dragutin (1276–1282, m. 1316) și al reginei Caterina Árpád. Obligat să cedeze tronul fratelui său mai tânăr, Ștefan Uroš al II-lea Milutin (1282–1321), Dragutin și-a păstrat titlul regal și părțile nordice ale statului sârb. În anul 1284 a primit, de la fratele său vitreg, regele ungar Ladislau al IV-lea, posesiunile ungare de la sud de Sava și Dunăre (Belgrad și Mačva). Ștefan Dragutin a susținut drepturile fiilor săi la tronul Serbiei, fapt pentru care s-a războit cu fratele său, Milutin, timp îndelungat (1301-1312). În același timp, l-a căsătorit pe fiul său Vladislau cu fiica voievodului Transilvaniei, Ladislau Kán, și și-a anunțat candidatura la tronul Ungariei. Deși acest fapt a determinat conflictul militar dintre Carol Robert și Ștefan Dragutin (1307-1313), pretențiile prințului sârb nu au pus serios în primejdie autoritatea tânărului rege Angevin. Vladislau al II-lea i-a succedat tatălui său la conducerea statului (1316), cel mai probabil ca vasal al regelui Carol Robert. Cu toate acestea, Vladislau a fost capturat în curând de unchiul său, Milutin, care a ocupat și teritoriile acestuia. Acest fapt a dus la conflictul dintre Milutin și Carol Robert și, după moartea regelui sârb, Vladislau al II-lea a refăcut, pentru un scurt timp, statul (1321-1326). Expulzat de fiul lui Milutin, regele Ștefan al III-lea Dečanski (1321–1331), Vladislau al II-lea a fugit în Ungaria, unde cel mai probabil a și murit.

CONTINUITATE ȘI SCHIMBARE ÎN REȚEAUA URBANĂ DIN UNGARIA ÎN PERIOADA ANGEVINĂ TIMPURIE

Katalin Szende

Rezumat. Studiul de față analizează noile caracteristici ale dezvoltării urbane în Ungaria perioadei angevine, mai cu seamă în timpul domniei lui Carol I (1301–1342). Studiul pune în discuție fondarea de noi orașe și reînnoirea sau schimbarea statutelor privilegiate ale celor vechi conform circumstanțelor politice și economice noi, precum și preferințele politicii urbane regale. În prima jumătate a secolului al XIV-lea, dezvoltarea urbană a beneficiat, în general și, totodată a contribuit la stabilizarea domniei Angevinilor, dar diferite elemente ale rețelei urbane din Ungaria au cunoscut traiectorii diferite. În această perioadă, regatul Ungariei nu a avut o singură „cetate-capitală”, iar Timișoara, Visegrád și Buda au servit ca reședințe regale în diferite momente, datorându-și importanța prezenței regelui și a curții regale și mai puțin unor privilegii formale. Corelarea reședinței regale cu cele episcopale s-a redus treptat, astfel că în prima perioadă a secolului al XV-lea, s-a restrâns la orașul Zagreb. Mineritul și comerțul au fost cele mai rațional dezvoltate aspecte ale vieții urbane, ele dovedindu-se profitabile pe termen lung și în cadrul cărora interesele regilor coincideau cu cele ale respectivelor orașe.

ORAȘE ȘI AȘEZĂRI CU CARACTER URBAN ÎN REGIUNEA DUNĂRE-TISA-MUREȘ, ÎN EVUL MEDIU

István Petrovics

Rezumat. După o scurtă introducere privind dezvoltarea urbană în Ungaria medievală, autorul elucidează în acest studiu corelația dintre așezările cu caracter urban și orașe. Oferă o imagine comprehensivă a amplasamentelor acestor așezări și discută istoria orașelor importante din regiunea Dunăre-Tisa-Mureș. Autorul subliniază, în final, trăsăturile specifice dezvoltării urbane în părțile sudice ale Regatului medieval al Ungariei.

TRĂIND LA FRONTIERĂ: MARGRAFII SUD-SLAVI ÎN BALCANII EVULUI MEDIU TÂRZIU (SECOLELE XIII-XV)

Neven Isailović

Rezumat. Articolul oferă o prezentare generală a istoriei teritoriilor de frontieră din Evul mediu târziu și a stăpânilor în regiunea cuprinsă între statele sud-slave și țările vecine (Ungaria, în primul rând). Se remarcă faptul că atât statele sud-slave cât și vecinii lor apropiați au organizat teritoriile de frontieră ca mărci oficiale sau neoficiale. În vreme de război, o stare frecventă în epocă, aceste teritorii-tampon erau primele expuse atacurilor dușmanilor. Din acest motiv, nobilii puternici și de seamă, de încredere pentru suzeran, au ocupat pozițiile de

margrafi, acumulând, ca urmare a serviciilor aduse, mai multă putere și avere care, ocazional, deveneau ereditare. Pe baza exemplelor oferite de nobilii sârbi, bosnieci și croați care controlau zonele de hotar, se subliniază că în ciuda încrederii ce le-a fost arătată, aceștia nu erau întotdeauna loiali suzeranului. Pentru a-și atinge propriile țeluri, aceștia declanșau uneori chiar și divizarea propriilor lor țări folosindu-se de substanțiala lor putere politică, economică și umană. În perioada ocupației otomane a Balcanilor, au fost dispuși să schimbe taberele, servind și pe unguri, și pe turci în același timp, conducând pe același drum și populația locală.

IOBAGIO CASTRI - NOBILIS CASTRI - NOBILIS REGNI. IOBAGI DE CETATE, NOBILI AI CETĂȚII, NOBILIME. EVOLUȚIA UNEI PĂTURI SOCIALE ÎN COMITATUL KRIŽEVCI

Éva B. Halász

Rezumat. În epoca Arpadiană, societatea din regatul Ungariei a fost divizată în mai multe grupuri. Fiecare grup avea propriul său statut, ceea ce înseamnă că fiecare grup deținea un sistem complex de obligații și drepturi, specifice exclusiv grupului respectiv. Unul dintre acestea a fost statutul iobagilor de cetate (*iobagiones castri*). Pe de o parte, aceștia aveau mai puțină libertate decât nobilii, dar, pe de altă parte, aveau mai puține obligații decât stările numite *castrenses*. Diversitatea socială dispare până în secolul al XIV-lea și diviziunea se reduce la două mari grupuri: nobili și iobagi. În Slavonia însă, iobagii de cetate sunt menționați în documente și în secolul al XIV-lea. În secolul următor apare un nou termen în documente – nobili ai cetății (*nobiles castri*) – și, în paralel, sintagma *iobagiones castri* dispare. Studiul de față analizează și compară caracteristicile celor două straturi sociale și ilustrează evoluția unui grup social distinct, prin similitudini și diferențieri.

DINCOLO DE ARHONDOLOGIA COMITATULUI CARAȘ (REFLECȚII ASUPRA ACTIVITĂȚII OFICIALILOR ȘI A AUTORITĂȚILOR COMITATENSE ÎN CARAȘ)

Elek Szaszko

Rezumat. Obiectivele principale ale prezentului studiu vizează realizarea unei introspecții privind activitatea autorităților comitatense în Caraș, prin prisma personalului, și compararea acesteia cu datele oferite de bibliografia subiectului. Au fost incluși în analiză, în acest scop, participanții de la toate nivelele administrației comitatului: lista deja existentă a comiților, a vicecomiților și a juzilor nobiliari a fost extinsă acum cu cea a celor numiți *ex nobis* și cu oamenii comitatului. În primul rând, a fost examinat prestigiul de a fi conducătorul comitatului Caraș, pentru a se vedea dacă acesta a avut vreun impact în administrarea comitatului. Se poate afirma că în prima jumătate a secolului al XIV-lea a fost consemnată prezența cea mai regulată a comiților, în persoană, la cancelariile lor, iar absența lor nu a rezultat, cu necesitate, din faptul că ar fi fost demnitari cu un rang mai înalt. Totuși, începând cu anii 1360, comiții dispar din administrația comitatului, lăsând conducerea curții

comitatense și activitatea juridică vicecomitelui sau vicecomiților, asemenea tendinței generale de evoluție a lucrurilor în Ungaria medievală. În cea de a doua parte a studiului, activitatea comitatului este discutată din punct de vedere socio-istoric, analiza concentrându-se pe cariera și asocierea unora dintre oficiali. În primul rând, în acest capitol a fost adoptată metoda revelării relației stăpân - slujbaş pentru a încerca clarificarea identității unora dintre comiți (cu un succes evident în cazul palatinului Opuliai László, cu unul mai redus în cazul comiților din anii 1390). În completare, s-a intenționat și realizarea unei imagini cât mai vivace și vii privind funcționarii comitatului, prin prisma carierei lor. Acest scop ni s-a relevat în cursul analizei implicării vicecomiților în administrația comitatului, pe măsură ce am luat în calcul câteva elemente, precum datorie, titluri, durata exercitării funcției, deținerea funcțiilor în coparticipare, respectiv, sistemul administrativ tri-stratificat. Ultima, dar nu cea de pe urmă problemă, cea a „indispensabilelor cerințe” ale juzilor nobiliari a fost revizuită incluzând aici și acei oameni numiți *ex nobis*, precum și oamenii comitatului – cei care îi însoțeau sau îi înlocuiau pe aceștia în îndeplinirea sarcinilor lor. Clasificarea acestor oameni nu doar că ne-a permis să remarcăm schimbările care au avut loc în administrația comitatului sau să vedem în ce măsură lista juzilor nobiliari ar putea să fie, sau nu, extinsă, ci a contribuit și la a emite sugestii privind dinamica nobilimii, prin recunoașterea, de exemplu, a membrilor merituosi ai comitatului și, deopotrivă, prin identificarea statului lor social. Deși studiul rămâne indecis – atât timp cât sursele din comitatul Caraș nu oferă un număr satisfăcător de probe –, el poate oferi o fațetă adițională cercetării în scopul unei mai bune înțelegeri a activității autorităților comitatului.

CONVERGENȚE ȘI DIVERGENȚE: PERIOADA TIMPURIE A DINASTIEI DE LUXEMBURG ÎN BOEMIA ȘI UNGARIA

Balázs Nagy

Rezumat. Studiul discută procesul venirii la tron a dinastiei de Luxemburg în Boemia, la începuturile secolului al XIV-lea, și în Ungaria, spre sfârșitul acesteia, ajungând la concluzia că există un puternic paralelism între aceste procese în cele două țări. Primii conducători ai Boemiei, regele Ioan și fiul său Carol al IV-lea au luat câteva măsuri privind promovarea Cultului Sfinților locali în Boemia și în afara acesteia. Un fapt reflectat în numele de botez al lui Carol (Wenceslas) și în sprijinirea puternică a cultului acestuia în Boemia mijlocului de secol al XIV-lea. Sigismund, rege al Ungariei începând cu anul 1387, a folosit aceleași metode pentru a-și consolida puterea în Ungaria, pe care le-a folosit, cu câteva decenii mai înainte, tatăl său în Boemia. El și-a declarat venerația personală față de sfântul național al Ungariei secolului al XI-lea, Sfântul Ladislau, prin câteva donații la sanctuarul acestuia. Venerarea sfinților naționali și consolidarea legitimării regale prin aceasta a fost metoda folosită efectiv de regii de Luxemburg, atât în Boemia cât și în Ungaria.

PREȚUL ASCENSIUNII LA TRON. ZĂLOGIREA UNGARIEI DE NORD-VEST ÎN LUPTA LUI SIGISMUND DE LUXEMBURG PENTRU TRONUL UNGARIEI

János Incze

Rezumat. Sigismund de Luxemburg ar fi reușit cu greu probabil să ajungă rege al Ungariei fără ajutorul militar al margrafilor din Moravia. Studiul de față prezintă evenimentele din preajma ascensiunii lui Sigismund la tronul Ungariei și se concentrează pe soarta interfluviului Váh-Dunăre, care a fost ocupat de trupele din Moravia și ținut sub stăpânirea margrafilor pînă la când au fost răscumpărate cheltuielile lor militare. În plus, studiul investighează măsura în care aceștia au reușit să supună teritoriile din comitatele Nytria și Pozsony, care au fost limitele stăpînirii lor aici, cum a încercat și a reușit, în cele din urmă, Sigismund să recucerească zona și care ar fi putut fi statutul legal al interfluviului Váh-Dunăre în perioada stăpînirii moraviene.

CONGREGAȚIA GENERALĂ A STĂRILOR DIN ANUL 1397, DE LA TIMIȘOARA

Zoltán Iusztin

Rezumat. Secolul al XIII-lea a reprezentat o perioadă plină de transformări sociale și politice pentru Regatul Ungariei. După invazia tătară, procesul de reconstrucție a țării a adus în prim plan noi instituții, unele dintre ele fiind similare adunărilor de stări din apusul Europei. O parte a istoriografiei a susținut că inițiativa constituirii congregațiilor generale și a adunărilor provinciale a aparținut regilor, însă izvoarele documentare atestă că, în momentele critice, atunci când autoritatea coroanei era practic inexistentă, Biserica Romano-Catolică, prin intermediul episcopilor maghiari, a depus eforturi pentru a menține unitatea țării. Misiunea sa nu s-a încheiat odată cu încoronarea lui Carol Robert, ci a continuat și în veacul următor.

În plan social, aceeași perioadă a fost determinantă pentru apariția nobilimii care, prin îndepărtarea celorlalți locuitori ai țării din viața politică, devine principalul aliat al coroanei în ce privește procesul de guvernare. Devenind un corp omogen și reprezentativ pentru întregul teritoriu al regatului, nobilimea cunoaște o proprie ierarhie în vârful căreia se aflau baronii. Alături de marea nobilime ei au participat permanent la guvernarea țării, în timp ce restul nobilimii lua parte doar cu ocazia adunărilor generale. Chiar dacă, inițial la întrunirea congregațiilor puteau participa toți locuitorii țării, indiferent de condiția lor socială, odată cu trecerea timpului nobilimea obține exclusivitatea asupra organizării acestor instituții. Același proces a determinat constituirea unor grupuri sociale cu interese și însușiri proprii, denumite stări. În ciuda opiniilor bine cunoscute despre diversitatea și componența lor, izvoarele istorice adeveresc faptul că membrii stărilor erau recrutați din rândul nobilimii. În ce privește Regatul Maghiar, nici comunitățile etnice și nici cele profesionale, precum orașele sau târgurile nu pot fi raportate la o anumită stare datorită lipsei reprezentativității și a răspândirii neuniforme pe suprafața țării. Concomitent marea majoritate a târgurilor și orașelor erau părți ale domeniilor nobiliare, astfel că locuitorii lor dețineau o condiție apropiată de cea a iobăgimii.

NOTE PRIVIND CAMPANIA LUI VLADISLAV VARNENCHIK ÎN BULGARIA NORD-ESTICĂ DIN TOAMNA ANULUI 1444

Nevyan Mitev

Rezumat. Campania lui Vladislav Varnenchik din 1443-1444 a făcut obiectul cercetării multor oameni de știință. Problematika acesteia este larg răspândită în istoriografia europeană. În anii din urmă au fost puse în circuitul științific noi surse și noi cercetări și s-au realizat noi descoperiri de monumente arheologice, inclusiv descoperiri numismatice, în Bulgaria nord-estică. Apariția de noi surse și informații arheologice sugerează că e necesar să se realizeze o nouă perspectivă asupra evenimentelor din toamna anului 1444. Scopul acestui studiu este de a încerca să pună în lumină situațiile cele mai complicate legate de marșul lui Vladislav Varnenchik în Bulgaria nord-estică, în toamna lui 1444.

STRĂINI ÎN SLUJBA DESPOTULUI ĐURAĐ BRANKOVIĆ PE TERITORIUL SERBIEI

Miloš Ivanović

Rezumat. În timpul domniei despotului Đurađ Branković (1427–1456), influența străinilor a crescut în Serbia. După căderea Tesalonicului în mâinile otomanilor, mulți bizantini de seamă au decis să vină în Serbia. Printre aceștia s-a aflat și Irene Kantakouzen, soția lui Despot Đurađ. Spre sfârșitul celui de-al patrulea deceniu al secolului al XV-lea, fratele său, Thomas Kantakouzenos, a devenit cel mai puternic om de la curtea despotului din Smederevo. Raguzanii aflați în serviciul despotului au îndeplinit mai ales sarcini diplomatice pentru acesta. Adesea, acțiunile lor erau limitate de hotărârile autorităților din Ragusa. Raguzanul Paskoje Sorkočević a fost singurul străin care a deținut un titlu sârbesc, în calitatea sa de administrator al finanțelor domnitorului. Nicola Arhilupus din Cattaro a fost cancelarul latin al despotului. În sfârșit, turcul Ibrahim a fost curtean al lui Đurađ. Străinii au avut un rol important datorită poziției politice specifice a statului sârb pe durata existenței acestuia, în secolul al XV-lea. Unii dintre aceștia au deținut moșii pe teritoriul Serbiei și datorită acestui fapt aparțin clasei nobilimii sârbe.

ASPIRAȚII EDUCAȚIONALE ÎN MEDIUL URBAN AL CARANSEBEȘULUI LA SFÂRȘITUL SECOLULUI XV

Ligia Boldea

Rezumat. În mediul urban al Caransebeșului de la sfârșitul veacului al XV-lea familia Pâclișar de Caransebeș (orașeni după cele mai întemeiate probabilități), înțelege să își consolideze statutul și să își depășească condiția provincială prin trimiterea celor doi fii la studii universitare. A fost aleasă prestigioasa Universitate din Cracovia care, alături de cea din Viena, au fost printre cele mai frecventate centre de studiu de către exponenții elitelor nobiliare și urbane bănățene. Scopul, după câte se pare, a fost acela de a accede în structurile

ecleziastice ale zonei, fapt realizat de către Matei Pâclișar, cel care a fost timp de mai mulți ani (1487-1501) custode, apoi lector al Capitlului din Arad. Despre fratele său, Nicolae, nu deținem nicio informație asupra carierei sale ulterioare studiilor. Puținele documente care pomenesc această familie, legate de obișnuielnice tranzacții funciare, aruncă prea puțină lumină asupra existenței lor. Rămâne însă remarcabil faptul că o familie a unui mic centru urban de provincie a fost capabilă și interesată, în același timp, de a face efortul financiar necesar susținerii tinerilor familiei la una din cele mai prestigioase universități ale Europei centrale. Faptul în sine denotă atât ambițiile cât și dorința de a studia a unor exponenți ai orășenimii caransebeșene, de apreciat într-o vreme în care știința de carte nu s-a situat nici pe departe printre prioritățile sociale și intelectuale ale marii majorități a elitelor vremii.

ÎNCEPUTURILE DREPTULUI DE DONAȚIE AL VOIEVODULUI TRANSILVANIEI

Tibor Neumann

Rezumat. Instrucțiunea transmisă în 1552, de Ferdinand I (1526–1564) lui Andrei Bátori, voievod al Transilvaniei, prin care regele îl autoriza pe voievod să continue liber donarea de moșii mai mici, care în Transilvania sub coroana ungară a ajuns la un moment dat la limita a 20 de sesii țărănești, este de mult timp un subiect cunoscut și citat în istoriografie. Ceea ce nu se cunoaște este de când anume deține voievodul o astfel de putere. Conform autorului, primul voievod care a primit dreptul regal de a face donații de moșii a fost Ioan Szapolyai (1510–1526), devenit mai târziu rege al Ungariei, sub numele de Ioan I (1526–1540). Se pare că a primit acest drept ca o compensație, urmare a primăverii anului 1519 când, la moartea lui Emeric Perényi, Ștefan Bátori, administrator al Timișoarei, a fost ales palatin chiar în locul lui Ioan Szapolyai. Limita inițială a unor astfel de donații era de 400 sesii țărănești, dar se pare că ele au fost foarte curând reduse, pentru că, în chiar anii 1521 și 1523, voievodul a făcut donații care au ajuns la moșii mult mai mici (studiul oferă o analiză detaliată a surselor care au ajuns până la noi, deloc numeroase în acest sens). Se cere subliniat totuși faptul că dreptul de donație al voievodului nu rezulta dintr-o dezvoltare constituțională organică a Transilvaniei, ci a fost ajustat pe măsura celui mai bogat magnat al Ungariei, voievodul Ioan Szapolyai și acest fapt a contribuit apoi la apariția „aurei” princiare în jurul persoanei voievodului, pe lângă sângele regal pe linie maternă. Deoarece până la acest moment ne sunt cunoscute doar două donații ale voievozilor lui Ioan I, după 1526, se pune întrebarea dacă în perioada redactării instrucțiunii din 1552, acest drept, odată garantat lui Szapolyai, a fost utilizat ca un precedent. Este posibil, ca atare, ca dreptul de donație acordat comisarilor regali – între care îl regăsim pe căpitanul general Andrei Bátori – trimiși de regele Ferdinand I în Transilvania, în 1551, și experiența câștigată ca urmare a activității lor acolo să fi contat în acordarea acestei autorități chiar lui Bátori. Este cert că nu numai el, ci și succesorii săi, Francisc Kendi și Ștefan Dobó, și-au exercitat dreptul de donație.

DREPTUL COTIDIAN ÎN EVUL MEDIU

Martyn Rady

Rezumat. În Evul Mediu, instanțele au avut puține lucruri la dispoziție pentru a se ghida în luarea deciziilor. Legea scrisă fost subțire, iar dreptul cutumiar instabil. Atunci când instanțele se refereau la dreptul cutumiar, de cele mai multe ori au făcut acest lucru pentru un efect retoric, emițând judecăți ce erau de folos ori echitabile dar considerate având rădăcini în dreptul cutumiar. Prin apel la legea cutumiară, adunările au putut acționa, de asemenea, într-o formulă legislativă, avansând propuneri de drept obișnuit ce urmau a fi confirmate. Pentru a emite decizii, curțile de judecată au apelat de multe ori fie la echilibrarea drepturilor sau *iura* ale părților, fie au luat o poziție de mijloc între revendicările respective și stabilirea vechimii unor drepturi care, în acest sens, ofereau prioritate. Dar, se putea, de asemenea, ca litiganții să ajungă la un acord între ei și să adapteze dreptul în interesul reciproc, creându-se astfel o sferă juridică separată, care funcționa în afara convențiilor cutumiare normale. Pentru a înțelege modul în care a funcționat dreptul medieval, istoricii ar trebui să renunțe la viziunea pozitivistă asupra dreptului, văzut ca ceva transmis de sus, iar în loc de asta să gândească asupra normelor ce decurg din înțelegerile cu privire la drepturi, stabilite la diferite niveluri, dar asta în maniera „unei serii de lucruri aparent incompatibile care pot conta ca lege”.

IOAN KENDEFI, IOAN GLESÁN ȘI NIKOLA CREPOVIĆ – *FIDELIS* PRAGMATICI ÎN LUPTA PENTRU STĂPÂNIREA TRANSILVANIEI ȘI BANATULUI (MIJLOCUL SECOLULUI AL XVI-LEA)

Costin Feneșan

Rezumat. În cursul luptei pentru stăpânirea asupra Transilvaniei și Banatului, care s-a dus la mijlocul secolului al XVI-lea între Ferdinand I de Habsburg și partida reginei Isabella, trecerea bruscă a combatanților dintr-o tabără în cealaltă a devenit ceva obișnuit, fie pentru a se sustrage unor represalii iminente, fie în speranța unui câștig material. Considerentele politice sau chiar morale par să fi fost cu totul nesocotite în acele împrejurări. Pe temeiul mai multor documente păstrate în Arhiva Națională Maghiară de la Budapesta (al căror text este publicat în anexă) este cercetat destinul unor astfel de *fideles* pragmatici – atât în favoarea uneia cât și al celeilalte tabere –, anume: Ioan Kendefi, originar dintr-o familie a nobilimii mijlocii din Țara Hațegului și părțile Hunedoarei, Ioan Glesán, membru al unei familii de mici nobili din nord-vestul Transilvaniei și Nikola Crepović, un mercenar sârb, care și-a căutat norocul în lupta între cei trei ”mari” (Ferdinand I, regina Isabella și Poarta).

Kendefi, care se aflase până în 1545 de partea reginei Isabella, a schimbat tabăra, trecând de partea lui Ferdinand I. Acesta l-a răsplătit, în 1551, pe al său *fidelis* Ioan Kendefi cu mai multe moșii din comitatul Hunedoara, având în vedere meritele acestuia atât în bătălia de lângă Hațeg (16 noiembrie 1550) cât și la atragerea Caransebeșului și Lugojului de partea lui Ferdinand. Moșiile în cauză aparținuseră până atunci unui aderent al reginei Isabella, fostul consilier princiar Lázár Kún. Se pare că, după revenirea Isabellei la putere (toamna 1556), Ioan Kendefi a pierdut moșiile primite în 1551.

Ioan Glesán, care fusese la început de partea reginei Isabella fără să fi deținut vreo dregătorie însemnată, a fost câștigat pentru cauza lui Ferdinand de către generalul Castaldo,

care comanda trupele din Transilvania aflate în slujba Habsburgilor. La presiunea lui Castaldo, Glesán a fost numit încă în aprilie 1552, în pofida opoziției nobilimii locale, în dregătoria de ban al Caransebeșului și Lugojului. În această funcție, Glesán a manevrat în vara anului 1552 cu multă iscusință – aflându-se poate și sub presiunea nobilimii locale – între partida lui Ferdinand (adică generalul Castaldo și comitele Ștefan Losonczy aflat în Timișoara asediată de turci) și primejdia otomană extremă, astfel ca niciuna dintre părți să nu-i poată reproșa ceva. Mai mult, strădaniilor lui Glesán i se datorește faptul, că banatul Caransebeșului și Lugojului n-a fost ocupat de otomani, doar plătindu-le haraci, dar rămânând de partea lui Ferdinand. Acesta l-a răsplătit în 1553 pe Glesán, păstrându-l în funcția de castelan al Cetății de Baltă (*Küküllövár*) din Transilvania, iar în anul următor i-a dăruit mai multe moșii din comitatele Târnava și Alba, la care acesta se retrăsese încă în 1553. Ne rămâne încă neștiut care a fost destinul lui Glesán după întoarcerea reginei Isabella (1556).

Nikola Crepović este, fără îndoială, exemplul cel mai frapant a unui *fidelis* pragmatic, care n-are niciun scrupul să schimbe taberele cărora le slujește. Până în 1544 l-a servit pe Ferdinand de Habsburg, în calitate de comandant al haiducilor sârbi. În 1545, pe când se afla deja în slujba reginei Isabella, a primit predicatul nobiliar *de Sasvar*. În primăvara anului 1551, Crepović a schimbat din nou tabăra, slujindu-i din nou lui Ferdinand în luptele din 1551-1552 care s-au încheiat cu cucerirea Timișoarei și a Banatului de câmpie de către otomani. Ferdinand I i-a răsplătit până la urmă serviciile aduse, zălogindu-i, la 27 iunie 1553, ”credinciosului” Crepović în schimbul a 1 000 florini ungurești castelul Brănișca împreună cu satele care țineau de acesta. În anul următor, Ferdinand i-a zălogit aceluiași Crepović pe timp de doi ani, în schimbul a 4 000 de florini ungurești, patru moșii din comitatul Târnava. Crepović adulmecase însă la timp schimbările pe cale să se producă în Transilvania, trecând la momentul oportun în tabăra reginei Isabella. Răsplătirea ”credinciosului” revenit a urmat cât de curând. La scurtă vreme după întoarcerea ei în Transilvania (1556), regina Isabella l-a numit pe Crepović membru în Consiliul princiar, iar în vara anului 1558 a primit dregătoria de ban al Caransebeșului și Lugojului, pe care a deținut-o până spre sfârșitul anului 1559. Această figură cu adevărat cameleonică a încetat din viață în 1562, pe când era căpitan al Alföldului, fiind înmormântat în biserica ridicată mai târziu la Bârsău (comitatul Hunedoara) de către soția sa Mara (Margareta) Ovčarović și fiica sa Ecaterina.

IERARHIA MILITARĂ ÎN PRINCIPATUL TRANSILVANIEI. CĂPITANUL GENERAL ÎN A DOUA JUMĂTATE A SECOLULUI AL XVI-LEA

Florin Nicolae Ardelean

Rezumat. Organizarea militară a Transilvaniei princiare a fost influențată atât de moștenirile medievale cât și de inovațiile epocii moderne timpurii. În a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea ierarhia militară a rămas în esență aceeași ca și cea din secolele precedente. Cea mai importantă poziție în această ierarhie era cea de căpitan general. Această funcție era de obicei dată unor reprezentanți importanți ai nobilimii, bogați, influenți și cu experiență militară. Căpitanul general era de fapt locțiitorul principelui în calitatea sa de comandant suprem al armatei, însă autoritatea sa era de obicei limitată la durata unei singure campanii militare. Evoluția acestei funcții militare, în a doua jumătate a secolului XVI, a fost influențată de necesitățile tânărului stat transilvănean. Printre cei mai importanți deținători ai funcției de căpitan general sau numărat: Ștefan Mailat, Emeric Balassa, Baltazar Bornemisza,

Petru Petrovici, Melchior Balassa de Gyarmath, Cristofor Hagymásy, Ștefan Báthory și Francisc Geszthy.

ÎNTRE EFEMER ȘI FICTIV. COMPLETĂRI LA ISTORIA BANILOR DE CARANSEBEȘ ȘI LUGOJ

Dragoș Lucian Țigău

Rezumat. Acest studiu reia problematica titularilor funcției băniei de Caransebeș și Lugoj (atestată între anii 1536 și 1658). Șirul celor 32 de bani deja cunoscuți se poate completa cu nume noi care, din diverse motive, au fost ignorate sau necunoscute până acum. Cele cinci personaje prezentate aici s-au afirmat în epoca principilor Báthori (1571–1613). Acestea sunt: Farkas Petky, István Bocskai, Lajos Rákóczi, Farkas Kamuthi și Gergely Némethi. Istoricii le-au analizat existența, pe măsura faptelor și influenței lor, dar cercetarea s-a dovedit deficitară în evidențierea ipostazei de ban. Primii doi bărbați figurează cu funcția de ban doar printr-o confuzie istoriografică. Despre următorii doi demnitari, certitudinea dregătoriei de ban este susținută prin informații concise mai vechi, care necesită precizări suplimentare. Ultimul personaj a fost ban doar câteva săptămâni, aspect total ignorat de posteritate.

Ancheta întreprinsă a evidențiat faptul că personajele care au deținut cu adevărat funcția de ban, au avut o prezență nominală în societatea districtelor Caransebeș și Lugoj. Numirea lor s-a făcut exclusiv din rațiuni militare și politice. Efemeritatea funcției a avut și alte cauze importante: absența legăturilor cu nobilimea locală și lipsa proprietăților în Banat. Deși au avut legături fugitive sau imaginare cu Banatul, cele cinci personaje rămân importante prin destinul lor. Se remarcă ambiția de promovare socială, concretizată în ocuparea unor demnități înalte, mergând până la cea de principe al Transilvaniei. Pentru ei, funcția de ban a rămas de importanță secundară.

VALOAREA RESURSEI UMANE ÎN TRANSILVANIA SECOLELOR XVI-XVII

Livia Magina

Rezumat. În mod similar întregii Europe Centrale, și zona aferentă Principatului Transilvaniei a experimentat la nivel social fenomenul iobăgiei, chiar o perioadă mai lungă de timp. Una dintre caracteristicile legale ale proprietății a fost și aceea a posibilității de tranzacționare a domeniului de către stăpân. De regulă, contractele de vânzare-cumpărare nu specifică decât imobiliarele cu descriere și preț, însă se pot regăsi destule documente care precizează tranzacționarea resursei umane a domeniului împreună cu toate utilitățile acestuia. Prețul iobagilor, tranzacționați cu toate bunurile ce le aparțineau, reprezintă un aspect economic neexploatat la nivelul istoriografiei și poate oferi o serie de aspecte noi privitoare atât la lumea rurală în general precum și la relațiile sociale și evoluția economică a domeniului nobiliar ori princiar.

ZĂLOGIRI ȘI DATORII. VALOAREA BUNURILOR ÎN BANATUL SECOLELOR XVI-XVII

Adrian Magina

Rezumat. Banatul epocii moderne timpurii rămâne în continuare un câmp de investigație interesant, destul puțin cunoscut în istoriografie. Zălogirile și datoriile reflectă istoria prețurilor și funcționarea pieței imobiliare în epoca secolelor XVI-XVII. În Banat, cei implicați în tranzacțiile respective au fost în mare măsură membrii elitei nobiliare, singurii care aveau suficienți bani pentru a fi investiți. Prețurile în epocă au fost dictate de condițiile particulare ale fiecărei tranzacții, nobilimea fiind interesată să investească în proprietăți aflate în vecinătatea celor deja deținute. În comparație cu proprietățile funciare, prețul componentei umane, al iobagilor spre exemplu, nu a cunoscut mari oscilații. Dincolo de importanța financiară și economică în general, zălogirile și datoriile oferă indicii în înțelegerea mentalității elitelor, a modului cum s-au coagulat ori destrămat proprietățile în epoca modernă timpurie.

ORAȘUL, PRINCIPELE ȘI ÎNALTA POARTĂ: DESPRE POSIBILITĂȚILE ȘI LIMITELE PRIVILEGIILOR ORĂȘENEȘTI ȘI ALE PUTERII PRINCIARE ÎN TRANSILVANIA SECOLULUI AL XVII-LEA

Edit Szegedi

Rezumat. Pornind de la un conflict iscat la Brașov în anii 1680-1681 legat de ridicarea unei biserici în suburbia brașoveană Blumăna și care a implicat nobilimea calvină, principele și Înalta Poartă, studiul de față încearcă să prezinte complexitatea relațiilor dintre oraș, stări, puterea centrală din cadrul Principatului Transilvaniei, precum și locul unui oraș ardelean în relațiile cu Poarta. Studiul se concentrează asupra limitelor privilegiilor stărilor dar și a puterii princiare în problemele legate de confesiune și politică. În același timp, problema orașului săsesc Brașov este discutată comparativ cu situația orașului liber regesc Târgu-Mureș și a fostului oraș liber regesc Cluj, arătându-se similitudinile problemelor orașelor premoderne dincolo de apartenența confesională și lingvistică.

PAPAL POWER, LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND PRETENDERS: THE CHURCH OF CROATIA, DALMATIA AND SLAVONIA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE THRONE OF THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY-CROATIA (1290-1301)

Mišo Petrović

Abstract. Previous research has mainly concentrated on whether or not the Apostolic See actively supported, obstructed or ignored the rise of the Angevins to the throne of Hungary between 1290 and 1301. Whatever papal stance historians supported coloured how they explained changes that occurred in this period in the Church organization of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, and what role these adjustments played in the subsequent arrival of Charles Robert to the throne of Hungary in 1301. Instead, I have analyzed local developments and how these were interconnected with the international situation and how each influenced one another. This included assessing the motivations behind the actions of three major players who brought Charles Robert to Hungary: the Apostolic See, the Angevin court in Naples and the local oligarchs, the Šubići. Although other explanations for the cooperation between these three parties can be supported, namely the cultural, economic and political factors, the focus of this paper is on changes in the local Church structures. I tracked how each of the involved parties contributed to these developments and used local Church reforms for their personal gain. This paper evaluates the inextricably related agendas of the Apostolic See, the Angevins and the Šubići at the close of the thirteenth century.

THE RIVAL AND THE VASSAL OF CHARLES ROBERT OF ANJOU: KING VLADISLAV II NEMANJIĆ

Aleksandar Krstić

Abstract. Vladislav II (c. 1270–after 1326) was the son of Serbian King Stefan Dragutin (1276–1282, d. 1316) and Queen Catherine Árpád. Forced to hand the Serbian throne over to his younger brother Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321), Dragutin retained the royal title and the northern parts of the Serbian state. In 1284 he received Hungarian possessions south of the Sava and the Danube (Belgrade and Mačva) from his brother-in-law, Hungarian King Ladislas IV. Stefan Dragutin asserted the rights of his sons to the Serbian throne, and because of that he waged the war with his brother Milutin for several years (1301–1312). At the same time, Dragutin married Vladislav to the daughter of the Transylvanian voivode Ladislas Kán and declared his candidacy to the Hungarian throne. Although it caused the military conflict between Charles Robert and Stefan Dragutin (1307–1313), pretensions of the Serbian prince did not seriously jeopardise the authority of the young Angevin king. Vladislav II succeeded his father as the ruler of his state (1316), most likely as the vassal of King Charles Robert. However, Vladislav was soon captured by his uncle Milutin, who occupied his territories. That led to the conflict between Milutin and Charles Robert, and after the death of the Serbian king, Vladislav II temporarily re-established his state (1321–1326). Expelled by Milutin's son King Stefan III Dečanski (1321–1331) in 1326, King Vladislav II escaped to Hungary, where he most likely died.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE URBAN NETWORK OF HUNGARY IN THE EARLY ANGEVIN PERIOD

Katalin Szende

Abstract. This paper examines the new traits of urban development in Hungary in the Angevin period, especially during the reign of Charles I (1301–1342). It discusses the foundation of new towns and renewing or changing the privilegial charters of old ones in the light of the new political and economic circumstances, and the changing preferences of royal urban policy. On the whole, urban development both benefited from and contributed to the stabilizing of the rule of the Angevins in the first half of the fourteenth century, but different elements of the urban network of Hungary experienced different trajectories. In this period the Kingdom of Hungary did not have a single ‘capital city’, but Timișoara, Visegrád and Buda served as royal seats at various points of time, owing their importance to the presence of the king and his court, and less to formal privileges. Royal involvement with episcopal seats was gradually reduced, and by the early fifteenth century it was restricted to the city of Gradec (Zagreb). The most consciously developed aspects of urban life were mining and trade, which proved to be the profitable in the long run and where the kings’ interests favourably coincided with those of the towns.

TOWNS AND CENTRAL PLACES IN THE DANUBE-TISZA/TISA-MAROS/ MUREȘ REGION IN THE MIDDLE AGES

István Petrovics

Abstract. In this paper, after a short introductory survey of urban development in medieval Hungary, the author elucidates the correlation between central places and towns. Then he gives a comprehensive picture about the central places and discusses the history of the major towns located in the Danube-Tisza/Tisa-Maros/Mureș region. Finally the author stresses the special characteristics of urban development in the southern parts of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

LIVING BY THE BORDER: SOUTH SLAVIC MARCHER LORDS IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL BALKANS (13TH–15TH CENTURIES)

Neven Isailović

Abstract. The article gives an overview of the history of late medieval marcher lordships and their lords in the region between South Slavic states and neighbouring countries (primarily Hungary). It is noted that both South Slavs and their immediate neighbours organised territories along the borders as official or unofficial marcher lordships. In wartime, which was quite frequent in this period, these buffer areas were first to be exposed to the enemy’s attacks. For this reason, usually the important and powerful noblemen, trusted by the ruler, occupied the position of marcher lords, acquiring more power and wealth through their office which occasionally became hereditary. Using the examples of Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian nobles who controlled the marcher regions, it is shown that, despite the confidence

which was given to them, they were not always loyal to their suzerains. Sometimes they even triggered political fragmentation of their own country, using their substantial political, economic and men power to achieve their own goals. In the period of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, they were prone to switch sides, serving either the Hungarians or the Turks at a time, and leading the local population along with them.

IOBAGIO CASTRI - NOBILIS CASTRI - NOBILIS REGNI
CASTLE WARRIORS - CASTLE NOBLES - NOBLEMEN. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A
SOCIAL STRATUM IN COUNTY OF KRIŽEVCI

Éva B. Halász

Abstract. The society of the Kingdom of Hungary was divided into several groups in the Arpadian period. Each group had its own status, which means each group owned a complex system of services and rights which were characteristic exclusively to a particular group. One of them was the status of the castle warriors (*iobagiones castri*). On one hand they had lesser liberty, then the nobles, but on the other hand they had lesser service, then the strata of *castrenses*. The diversity of the society disappeared till the fourteenth century, and the society was divided into two big groups: nobles and serfs. But in Slavonia the castle warriors still were mentioned in the sources in the fourteenth century. In the next century a new term - the castle nobles (*nobiles castri* - was written in the sources, and in parallel the term *iobagiones castri* disappeared. The paper analyzes and compares the characteristics of the two social strata and shows the development of a special social group through the similarities and differences.

BEHIND THE ARCHONTOLOGY OF KRASSÓ COUNTY
(REMARKS ON THE PERSONNEL AND THE OPERATION OF THE COUNTY
AUTHORITIES IN KRASSÓ)

Elek Szaszko

Abstract. The main objectives of the paper were to get an insight into the operation of the county authorities of Krassó through its personnel and to compare it with the findings of the literature. For this, the participants of all levels of the county administration were included in the analysis: the already existing lists of the *ispáns*, the deputies and of the noble judges have now been extended by the men called *ex nobis* and the men of the county. First, the prestige of being the head of Krassó was examined to see whether it had any impact on the administration of the county. It can be stated that it was the first half of the 14th century when the *ispáns* were the most regularly present in person in their offices and their absence did not necessarily follow from the fact that they were often high ranking dignitaries. However, from the 1360s the *ispáns* disappeared from the county administration leaving the direction of the county court and judicial work to the deputy or deputies similarly to the general tendency prevailing in medieval Hungary. In the second part of the paper, the operation of the county was discussed from a socio-historical aspect focusing on the careers and the affiliation of some deputies. In this chapter, firstly, the method of revealing lord-retainer relationships was adopted in order to make attempts to clarify the identity of certain *ispáns* (more successfully in the case of palatine Opuliai László, less fruitfully in the case of the *ispáns* in the 1390s). In

addition to that it was also intended to draw a more vivid and lively image about the office holders of Krassó through their careers. This aim was borne in mind during the discussion of the involvement of the deputies in the county administration while considering features like duties, titles, the length of the tenure, the dual office holding – the existence of co-deputies, and the three-level administrative system. Last but not least, the question of “the indispensable requisites” of the noble counties (the noble judges) was revised including those men – the men called *ex nobis* and the men of the county – who accompanied and/or replaced them in their duties. The classification of these people not only enabled us to make remarks on the changes that took place in the county administration or to see whether the list of the noble judges could be extended or not, but it also contributed to make suggestions about the dynamics of the noble community, for instance by recognising the trustworthy members of the county and by identifying their social status as well. With reference to the latter, the analysis of these groups included a new aspect of investigation which was focusing on the affiliation of the noble judges. Although the issue has remained undecided – since the sources from Krassó County do not provide satisfactory number of evidence –, it may offer an additional facet of research in order that the operation of the county authorities can be understood in a better way.

CONVERGENCES AND DIVERGENCES: THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE LUXEMBURG DYNASTY IN BOHEMIA AND HUNGARY

Balázs Nagy

Abstract. The paper discusses the process of coming to the throne of the Luxemburg dynasty in Bohemia in the early 14th century and in Hungary in the late 14th century and concludes that there are strong parallels in these process in the two countries. The early Luxemburg rulers of Bohemia, King John and his son, Charles IV took several steps to promote the cult of local saints of Bohemia and also abroad. It is well reflected by baptismal name of Charles (Wenceslas) and the strong support of his cult in mid-14th century Bohemia. Sigismund, king of Hungary from 1387, used the very same methods to strengthen his power in Hungary as his father had used in Bohemia some decades earlier. He expressed his personal veneration of the eleventh-century national saint of Hungary, St. Ladislaus through several donations to the shrine of the saint. The veneration of national saints and the strengthening of the royal legitimation by this, was a method used effectively by Luxemburg rulers both in Bohemia and Hungary.

THE PRICE OF ASCENDING TO THE THRONE SIGISMUND OF LUXEMBURG'S FIGHT FOR THE THRONE OF HUNGARY AND NORTHWESTERN HUNGARY IN PLEDGE

János Incze

Abstract. Sigismund of Luxemburg probably could hardly have managed to become king of Hungary without the Moravian margraves' military aid. The study discusses the events surrounding Sigismund's ascension to the throne of Hungary and focuses on the fate of the Váh-Danube interfluvium which was occupied by the Moravian troops and held under the

margraves' authority till their military expenses were met. Furthermore, the paper investigates to what extent they have managed to subdue the lands of Nyitra and Pozsony Counties, what the limits of their authority were in this region, how Sigismund tried and succeeded to recover the territory in the end, and what could have been the legal status of the Váh-Danube interfluvium during the Moravian rule.

THE GENERAL CONGREGATION OF STATUTES, 1397, IN TIMISOARA

Zoltán Iusztin

Abstract. The 13th century was a period of fully social and political changing in the Kingdom of Hungary. After the Tatars' invasion new institutions were made into relief through the reconstruction process, some of them being similar to the statutes meetings in Occidental Europe. Part of historiography asserted that the initiative of congregations and provincial meetings belonged to the time kings, but there are sources to attest that during the critical moments the authority of the Crown was practically inexistent, the Roman-Catholic Church, through the agency of the Magyar bishops made efforts to keep away the country unity. That mission did not end with Carol Robert's coronation, but went away the next century.

As for the social level, the same period was a decisive one for the nobility coming into being; having removing the other inhabitants from the political life, it became the main ally of the crown in the process of ruling the country. When setting as a homogeneous and representative body for the whole kingdom, nobility has its own hierarchy, with the barons at the top. Together with the great nobles they took permanently part in the country ruling while the rest of the nobles did it only in general meetings. Even if initially all the country inhabitants, no matter their social status, might take part in the congregations meetings, in the length of time that nobility obtained the exclusive right to organize those institutions. The same process was a decisive one in appearance of some social groups with their own interest and features, known as statutes. In spite of the well-known opinions concerning their diversity and composition, the historical sources grant the fact that the states' members were recruited from nobility. Given the lack of their representativity and their non uniform distribution along the Hungarian Kingdom, neither the ethnic nor the professional communities, as the towns and boroughs could be related to a certain status. Concomitantly with that, the largest majority of towns and boroughs were in fact set as parts of nobiliary estates and it means that their inhabitants were quite similar to the serfs' status.

NOTES ON THE CAMPAIGN OF VLADISLAV VARNENCHIK IN NORTHEASTERN BULGARIA IN THE AUTUMN OF 1444

Nevyan Mitev

Abstract. The Vladislav Varnenchik's campaigns of 1443-1444 have been subject of research by many scientists. The topic is widely spread in European historiography. In recent years new sources and research were introduced in scientific circulation, new archaeological monuments were discovered in Northeastern Bulgaria, including numismatics. The existence of new source and archaeological data suggests a new view on the events in the autumn of

1444 has to be created. The task in this study is to attempt to solve some of the most complicated cases about the march of Vladislav Varnenchik in Northeastern Bulgaria in the autumn of 1444.

FOREIGNERS IN THE SERVICE OF DESPOT ĐURAĐ BRANKOVIĆ ON SERBIAN TERRITORY

Miloš Ivanović

Abstract. During the reign of Despot Đurađ Branković (1427–1456) were increased influence of foreigners in Serbian state. After fall of Thessaloniki under Ottoman rule in 1430 many prominent Byzantines decided to come in Serbia. Among them were relatives of Irene Kantakouzen wife of Despot Đurađ. By the end of the fourth decade of 15th century her brother Thomas Kantakouzenos became the most powerful person on Despot's court in Smederevo. The Ragusans in the service of Despot Đurađ performed for him mainly diplomatic tasks. Their activities were sometimes limited by decisions of the authorities of Ragusa. The only foreigner who was heaving a Serbian title was Ragusan Paskoje Sorkočević as steward of ruler finance. Latin chancellor of Despot Đurađ was Nicola Arhilupis from Kotor (Cattaro). Finally, Ottoman Ibrahim was courtier of Despot Đurađ. The foreigners had important role because of specific political position of Serbian state during its existence in the 15th century. Some of them had estates on Serbian territory and because that they belong to the order of Serbian nobility.

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT OF CARANSEBEŞ BY THE END OF THE 15TH CENTURY

Ligia Boldea

Abstract. In the urban milieu of the city of Caransebeş at the end of the 15th century, the family of Pâclişar of Caransebeş (belonging to the townspeople in all well-founded probability) recognizes its duty in consolidating the social status and overstepping the bounds of a provincial life; so, the family sent its two sons to university. The University in Krakow was the family's choice, as that one and that in Vienna were among the most attended by the exponents of the nobiliary and urban elites in the Banat. It seems that the family aimed to enter the ecclesiastic positions in the area. Matei Pâclişar is the one who succeeded in doing it, as a custodian (1487–1501) and a lecturer after in the structures of Arad Chapter. There is no information on the career of his brother, Nicolae, once graduating. The few references on this family throw little light upon their life. But what is remarkable is just the fact that a family in a provincial small urban center was able and interested in trying hard to support its two sons in attending one of the most prestigious universities in Central Europe. Undoubtedly it is to note it as a proof of ambitions and wishing to get a high education in the days when literacy was far from the social and intellectual preoccupations of the majority of the time elites.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE VOIVODE OF TRANSYLVANIA'S RIGHT OF DONATION

Tibor Neumann

Abstract. The instruction given by Ferdinand I (1526–1564) to András Bátori, voivode of Transylvania, in 1552, by which the king authorised the voivode to grant away freely the smaller estates (that is, within 20 tenant sessions) which devolved upon the Hungarian Crown in Transylvania, has long been known and cited in the historiography. What is still unknown is since when the voivodes had enjoyed such an authority. According to the author, the first voivode to acquire the royal right to make landed donations was János Szapolyai (1510–1526), later king of Hungary as John I (1526–1540). He seems to have been given the right as a compensation after the spring of 1519, when, upon the death of Imre Perényi, István Bátori, ispán of Temes was elected as palatine instead of János Szapolyai himself. The limit of his donational authority was initially 400 tenant sessions, but it seems to have been curtailed shortly thereafter, for already in 1521 and 1523 the voivode only made donations which extended to much smaller estates (the study offers a detailed analysis of the not too many surviving sources). It has to be emphasised, however, that the donational authority of the voivode was not an organic outgrowth of Transylvanian constitutional development, but was tailored instead to the person of the richest Hungarian magnate, voivode János Szapolyai, and thus further contributed to the emerging princely „aura” which surrounded the voivode, anyway of royal blood on his mother's side. Since so far only two donations of land made by the voivodes of King John in the period after 1526 have come to light, it is open to doubt whether during the wording of the 1552 instruction the right once granted to Szapolyai was used as a precedent. It is thus possible that it is in fact the donational right enjoyed by the royal commissioners – among them the captain-general András Bátori – , who were sent by king Ferdinand to Transylvania in 1551, and the experience gained from their activity there, which should account for the subsequent authority granted to Bátori himself. It is certain that not only he but also his successors, Ferenc Kendi and István Dobó, exerted the right of donation.

EVERYDAY LAW IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Martyn Rady

Abstract. In the Middle Ages, courts had little to guide their judgments. Statute law was thin and the customary law was unstable. When courts referred to customary law they often did so for rhetorical effect, declaring judgments that were expedient or equitable as rooted in the customary law. By appealing to the customary law, assemblies might also act in a legislative capacity, advancing propositions as customary rights that needed confirmation. In reaching judgments, courts often arrived at decisions by balancing the rights or *iura* of the parties, either assuming a midway position between contending claims or establishing which rights were the older and thus had priority. But litigants might also agree among themselves to adjust their rights in their own mutual interest, thus creating a separate legal sphere that operated outside the normal customary conventions. In understanding the way medieval law worked, historians should set aside the positivist view of the law, which sees it as something handed down from the top, and think instead of norms proceeding out of agreements about rights, settled at various levels, but in the manner of ‘a plethora of seemingly incompatible things that can count as law.

IOAN KENDEFI, IOAN GLEŚÁN, AND NIKOLA CREPOVIĆ PRAGMATIC –
FIDELES IN FIGHT FOR TRANSYLVANIA AND THE BANAT DOMINATION
(MIDDLE OF THE 16th CENTURY)

Costin Feneşan

Abstract. During the fight between Ferdinand I of Habsburg and Queen Isabella's party to be the master of Transylvania and the Banat in the middle of the 16th century, the combatants' sudden passing from a part to the other became a common fact, no matter if they aimed to escape from certain imminent reprisals or to have a concrete benefit. Political or even moral grounds seem to have been totally ignored at that time. The destiny of some of those pragmatic *fideles* – related to both the involved parts – is analyzed on the basis of several documents in the Magyar National Archives (their text in annex); they are: Ioan Kendefi belonging to a family of the middle nobles class in Haţeg and Hunedoara areas; Ioan Glesán, member of a family of the small nobility in the north-west of Transylvania, and Nikola Crepović, a Serbian mercenary who tried his fortune in the fight among the three “grands” (Ferdinand I, Queen Isabella and the Sublime Porte).

Kendefi who was on the side of Queen Isabella up to 1545, changed the way on the side of Ferdinand I. He was rewarded as a *fidelis* of Ferdinand in 1551, with more estates in Hunedoara County, for his deserts both in the battle nearby Haţeg (16th of November 1550) and in winning Caransebeş and Lugoj over to Ferdinand's side. The estates had before belonged to a partisan of Queen Isabella, the former princely counselor Lázár Kún. It seems that after Isabella's return (the fall of 1556) Kendefi lost the estates he had been given in 1551.

Ioan Glesán who had been on Isabella's side at the beginning but without an important office, was winning over Ferdinand's side by General Castaldo, commander of troops in Transylvania, on the Habsburgs' service. Following Castaldo's insistence, Glesán was appointed as a ban of Caransebeş and Lugoj, since 1552, in spite of the local nobility's opposition. From that position Glesán skillfully run in the summer of 1552 between Ferdinand's party (namely, General Castaldo and count Stefan Losonczy who was in Timişoara under the Turks' siege) and the extreme Ottoman danger, so that none of those parts had to upbraid him with something; possibly, he run so under the local nobility's pressure. More than this, due to Glesán's endeavors the Ottomans didn't take hold of the banat of Caransebeş and Lugoj; it rested on Ferdinand's side and only paid tribute to the Porte. Ferdinand rewarded Glesán in 1553 by keeping him as the castellan of Cetatea de Baltă (*Küküllövár*) in Transylvania, and giving him more estate in the next year, in the counties of Târnava and Alba where Glesán had retired into in 1553. Glesán's destiny after Queen Isabella's return (1556) rests still unknown.

Undoubtedly, Nikola Crepović is the most striking example of a pragmatic *fidelis* who feels no scruples in changing sides he serves for. He served Ferdinand of Habsburg up to 1544, as the Serbian haidouk's commander. Having entered Queen Isabella's service, he got the nobiliary appellative of *Sasvar*, in 1545. Crepović changed again sides in the spring of 1551, entering Ferdinand's service during the fights of 1551–1552 which ended with Timişoara and the Low Banat falling into the Ottomans' power. Finally, Ferdinand rewarded that “loyal” Crepović, on the 27th of June 1553, by pledging to him the castle of Brănişca and the appertained to villages, for 1,000 forints. The next year, Ferdinand pledged for two years long and in change of 4,000 forints, to the same Crepović four estates in the county of Târnava. But Crepović had seen how the wind blew in Transylvania and changed sides at the right time. That “loyal” man returning was soon rewarded. Shortly after her return in

Transylvania (1556), Queen Isabella appointed Crepović a member of the Princely Council; in the summer of 1558 he got the office of a ban of the banat of Caransebeș and Lugoj and worked there up to the end of 1559. A real chameleon, that personage died in 1562, the time he was the captain of Alföld; he was buried in the church that his wife Mara (Margareta) and his daughter Ecaterina built later at Bârsău (Hunedoara comitat).

MILITARY LEADERSHIP IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCIPALITY. THE CAPTAIN GENERAL IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Florin Ardelean

Abstract. The military organization of the Transylvanian principality was influenced by its medieval inheritance and the innovations of the Early Modern Period. The structure of the military hierarchy in the second half of the Sixteenth century was in many aspects similar to that of the previous centuries. The highest position in the chain of military command was the captain general. This office was usually given to important representatives of the nobility. It required political influence, wealth and military experience. The captain general was the *locum tenens* of the prince as supreme military commander, but his prerogatives were usually limited to the duration of a single campaign. The evolution of this military office in the second half of the Sixteenth century was determined by the political and military necessities of the young Transylvanian state. Among the most important Transylvanian captain generals from this period were: Steven Mailat, Emeric Balassa, Baltazar Bornemisza, Peter Petrovici, Melchior Balassa de Gyarmath, Cristofor Hagymásy, Steven Báthory and Francisc Geszthy.

BETWEEN EPHEMERALTY AND FICTION. ADDENDA TO THE HISTORY OF THE BANS OF CARANSEBEȘ AND LUGOJ

Dragoș Lucian Țigău

Abstract. The present study resumes the theme of the appointed bans in Caransebeș and Lugoj (where the institution of banat was attested between 1536 and 1658). New names that have been for various reasons ignored or unknown so far might be added to the list of the 32 already known bans. The five personages I shall dwell on were on the climb during the Báthoris' age (1571–1613). They are Farkas Petky, István Bocskai, Lajos Rákóczi, Farkas Kamuthi, and Gergely Némethi. According to their deeds and influence, they were studied by certain historians, but their dignity of bans was less investigated. The first two men are registered as bans due to a historiographic confusion. On the following two ones older precise data certified their dignity, but those ones need some supplementary explanations. The last personage had been a ban only for a couple of weeks, an aspect that his posterity totally ignored.

The investigation puts in light that the men who really had been appointed for a ban had a nominal presence in the society of the districts of Caransebeș and Lugoj. Their appointment was based exclusively on military and politically reasons. The ephemerality of their functions had also other important reasons: lack of relations with the local nobility and of proprieties in the Banat. Although they had fleeting or imaginary relations with the Banat, given their own destiny the five personages remain important. What is to be noticed is the

ambition to climb the social ladder, through some high dignities up to that of a prince of Transylvania. The function of a ban was of a secondary importance for all of them.

PRICE OF HUMAN RESOURCE IN TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE 16TH–17TH CENTURIES

Livia Magina

Abstract. The Principality of Transylvania experienced the social phenomenon of serfdom, even a longer period of time than other territories of Europe. One of the features of the property was the possibility of trading the domain. Usually, contracts of sale specify the price of the estate, but can be find enough documents specifying the price of human resource. Serfs price, sold with all the assets that belong to them, was an unexploited economic aspect in Romanian historiography and can provide a number of new issues concerning both the rural world and the social relations and economic development of noble or princely estate.

PLEDGES AND DEBTS. PRICES OF GOODS IN THE BANAT OF THE 16TH-17TH CENTURIES

Adrian Magina

Abstract. The early modern Banat represents a field of investigation still little known in Romanian historiography. Pledge and debt reflect prices in the history and functioning mechanisms of early estate market. In Banat, those involved in the transactions are mostly members of the noble elite, the few who had enough money to be invested. Prices were dictated by the particular conditions of each transaction, nobles had always investing more cash in properties located in the vicinity of previously owned. In relation to estate, human component price, serfs for example, has not experienced major oscillations. Debt and pledge beyond financial and economic importance, offer clues for understanding the elite mentality and for coagulation and dismantling of early modern estates.

THE CITY, THE PRINCE AND THE PORTE: ON THE FEASIBILITIES AND LIMITS OF THE URBAN PRIVILEGES AND PRINCELY POWER IN TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE 17TH CENTURY

Edit Szegedi

Abstract. Starting from a conflict, in the years of 1680–1681, concerning a church building at the suburb of Blumăna in Braşov, where the Calvinist nobility, the prince and the High Porte were involved, the present study tries to show up the complexity of towns, states and the central authority relations within the Principality of Transylvania, as well as the place of a Transylvanian town in connection with the Porte. The study focuses on the limits of the

states' privileges, but also of the princely power in political and confessional questions. The case of the Saxon town of Braşov is comparatively discussed with the situation of the royal free city of Târgu-Mureş and of the former royal free city of Cluj, so to present the similitude of the early-modern towns problems beyond the confessional and linguistic affiliation.