

# HIGH NOBILITY

## The Estates of Hont-Poznan Kindred South of the Drava River\*\*

Majetky šľachtického rodu Hont-Poznanovcov ležiace južne od rieky Drávy /  
Posjedi plemićkog roda Hont-Poznan južno od rijeke Drave

*The author discusses the beginnings of the property holdings of the members of the aristocratic family of Hont-Poznan at Croatian territory, on the right bank of the Drava river. They gained them already in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries from the first Hungarian king, Stephen I, for their help in suppression of Koppány's rebellion. The author follows further extension of these estates thanks to the donations of the Arpadian kings. He presents the most important noble families of Nitrianska Blatnica (Pok, Meggyes), Motičinskí (Matucsinaí), the descendants of Ambrose (Marcel), who later used the name Pekri from Tetény kindred, and the Vojna from Vojka above Žitava. He analyzes the contacts between the particular branches of these lineages (family solidarity) and the engagement of the descendants of Hont-Poznan in the administrative functions of Croatian and Slavonian bans.*

Keywords: high nobility from western Slovakia, eleventh–fourteenth century, Hont-Poznan House, offices and properties

In our earlier monograph concerning the nobility shaping in the area of the present-day western Slovakia, we have already presented a hypothesis that members of the great noble House of Hont-Poznan received their first estates in the south of the newly born Kingdom of Hungary after the defeat of Koppány's revolt in 997. In our opinion, these represented a part of their booty, including the border area of Somogy county located south of the river Drava.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, the majority of this territory had been kept by the future Stephen I who transferred it into a royal county (*comitatus*). That created an interesting pattern of land tenure which became characteristic for Hont-Poznan descendants and their other branches. Except for their hereditary familial lands, they obtained also estates in Bihar and beyond the river Drava which they had received for repressing the revolt of Koppány. Naturally, they extended their domain by donations obtained due to their service at the court. The core of these noble estates had already been formed in the times of the Principality of Nitra.

We have selected the noble families of Nitrianska Blatnica (which was using other predicates too, such as *de Pok*, or *de Meggyes*); descendants of Kemen who were later known as Motičinskí (Hun. *Matucsinaí*); descendants of Marcel (or Ambrose) who were called Pekri of Tetén family in the Hungarian milieu, as well as Vojna family of Vajka nad

Žitavou (Hun. *Vajk*) as illustrative samples for the aims of this paper. Ancestors of the family of Ilok (Újlaki) may be assigned to this group as well. They have been discussed in the separate contribution of my colleague Mária Grófová.

Čanád/Csanád as well as his son Stojslav, owners of Blatnica domain, were undoubtedly descendants of Moses/Mojžiš, or Forgách-Blatnica-Novosad branch of the noble Hont-Poznan family too. After Stojslav's death in 1185, most of his properties including the mentioned estate of Blatnica (originally consisting of the villages Blatnica, Krtovice and Lužany, and Radošina) passed to the so-called Maurice/Móric branch of the lineage. They received these possessions most probably due to the king's favour, though their close relation to the late Stojslav was of some importance as well. In addition, they were no insignificant nobles at all, as they possessed extensive estates throughout the whole Kingdom of Hungary. All the known members of this Poznan family branch held high offices at the royal court. In the mid-thirteenth century they resided in Győr county in Transdanubia (present-day Hungary), more specifically in Pok (Puk) – the location they derived their first known predicate (*de genere Pok, Puk*) from. They also owned extensive estates in Bihar (Mórichida) as well as in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary in the counties of Somogy

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<sup>1</sup> LUKAČKA, Ján: *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku*. Bratislava: Minor, 2002, p. 29.

and Virovitica. Maurice I who was the first noble of the family known by his name is mentioned as a vice-palatine in 1221 and also as a *magister dapiferorum* and *comes* of several counties (among them also the county of Nitra) twelve years later.<sup>2</sup>

His son, Maurice II, acted also as a *magister dapiferorum* in years 1246–1247 and as a young man already he continued in the family tradition of associating with the royal court. It is also known that he had some estates beyond the river Drava; since he donated two of them to his blood relative Mark, son of Aba. One property was located in Gemer; the second one (Oumbul), which he himself had bought, can be found south of the river Drava near the village Nováky (Novaki).<sup>3</sup> Maurice started his career at the court as *magister dapiferorum*, then he served as *iudex curiae* of Queen Mary and later on became *magister tavarnicorum* too. This was a particularly significant office which was in charge of the administration of royal incomes. Since 1256 he held the office of the *comes* of Nitra.<sup>4</sup> Maurice II died at the beginning of the 1270s. In addition, it was his contribution that a parish church had been built directly in the village Nitrianska Blatnica. It is quite natural that his namesake St. Mauricius/Maurice (Móric), who had lived in the times of the Roman Empire, became a patron of this new sacral edifice.

The interregnum period at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century was misused by the most important noble families (as Čák/Csák, Omodej/Amadé, Kiseckí/Kőszegi) that managed to establish extensive domains in the area surrounding their original familial estates. The king wielded no power there but they only did. *Magister* Nicholas, son of Maurice II, may be listed within this group. He managed to control almost the whole area of Bihar (present-day Romania) where he owned large estates. He often dwelled in a place where his father had ordered to build a stone bridge. This was reflected in a new name of this locality which was Moriczhyda (“the bridge of Maurice”).

While expanding his land tenure, Nicholas was significantly aided by his three sons: Maurice III, Stephen and Nicholas. The family

members established a castle in Zdenc (present-day Veliki Zdenci) where they administered their surrounding estates from at the beginning of the fourteenth century (before 1306). They also own the locality of Sziliget in Zala county until 1289 when it was sold to Peter, Bishop of Transylvania. They also had a fortlet in Brezovica in Virovitica county in their possession; it is mentioned in the fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The eldest son Maurice III was particularly ambitious and became the ban already during the reign of Andrew III. His innate ambitiousness was inherited by his eldest son Michael, who most probably resided in Nitrianska Blatnica, where he soon encountered Matthias Chaak/Csák of Trenčín/Matúš Čák Trenčiansky. This man often rewarded his faithful by giving them castellan offices which were connected with considerable incomes. Servants (*servientes*) of Matthias were known for the frequent plundering of ecclesiastical estates despite the threat of tough penalties. Maurice’s son Michael was also repeatedly anathematised out of this reason, but it was in vain because Matthias never allowed to proclaim the anathema within his domain.<sup>6</sup>

A paradoxical situation occurred in the family of Nitrianska Blatnica owners at the end of Matthias Čáki’s era. Grandfather Nicholas, being at the beginning of the fourteenth century already of advanced years, joined the side of King Charles Robert and became the duke of Transylvania in 1315–1316.<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, his grandson Michael remained a faithful ally of the oligarch from Trenčín until the very end – which is in Michael’s case actually uncertain. However, it is known for sure that he died leaving no issues. On the other hand, Michael’s younger brother Šimon/Simon followed his grandfather and entered the service of King Charles Robert and so he avoided a confiscation of his extensive estates. In the 1320s and 1330s he was the *comes* of Győr and Bakony, at the beginning of the 1350s he was appointed the *comes* of Šariš and Spiš and subsequently also the *comes* of Bratislava for ten years. He was one of the most prominent court knights and his career reached its peak when he was appointed the ban of Croatia (in years 1369–1371).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Magyarországi világi archontológiája 1000–1301*. Budapest: MTA TI, 2011, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* (deinde CDAC), vol. 7. Ed.: Gusztáv WENZEL. Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd Akadémiai, 1869, nr. 174, p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde CDSI), vol. 2. Ed.: Richard MARSINA. Bratislavae: Obzor, 1987, p. 545.

<sup>5</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 1. Budapest: História MTA TI, p. 332, p. 431 (Szigliget) and p. 279 (Brezovica).

<sup>6</sup> *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* (deinde RDSI), vol. 2. Ed.: Vincent SEDLÁK. Bratislavae: Veda, 1987, nr. 313, p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 1, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 2. Budapest: História MTA TI, 1996, p. 159.

Nitrianska Blatnica served in the fourteenth century as a market town where a regular market took place weekly every Wednesday,<sup>9</sup> which was the reason why this relatively populous settlement acquired a townish character. Either Ban Simon or his ancestors already established their residence in Blatnica during the fourteenth century – a stone fortified fortlet, *castellum*.<sup>10</sup> Ban Simon, the owner of Blatnica, died in 1375, leaving three sons: Stephen, John and Maurice. However, Stephen died shortly after 1379. The middle son John is mentioned in 1397–1417 as a court knight and court assessor. The youngest Maurice did not hold any specific offices but in years 1424–1441 he was being mentioned as a magnate of the kingdom<sup>11</sup>. We suppose that Blatnica was owned by the middle son John and this small estate passed to the king after John's death.

Another important lineage owning estates in the regions beyond the river Drava were the descendants of Kemen. Later on, they were using also the predicate Motičinský, derived from Motičina in Croatia. It should be also stated that this noble family owned as their hereditary possession an important site called Chtelnica located on the border of counties of Nitra and Bratislava. Kemen's descendants Dionysius/Dionýz and his nephew Kemen, son of Lawrence/Vavríneč, agreed upon the division of the properties they had previously controlled together. For example, Dechtice came into an exclusive possession of Dionysius, but the village Torda at Drava (Tárda) in Baranya county came to Kemen.<sup>12</sup>

Later on, constant attempts of the family representatives to expand their land tenure within the area of the present-day south-western Slovakia may be detected. Even the first known member of the family Kemen (son of Tvrda) had belonged to the close circle of Andrew II's courtiers. His loyal services were rewarded by a donation of a frontier county of Holíč (Wywar) in Záhorie. However, *comes* Kemen lost this property at an unknown time and Holíč was added to Bratislava county. On the other hand, King Ladislav IV the Cuman decided in 1273 to rectify the wrong which had been done and returned this purloined

estate to Lawrence, son of Kemen, the palatine of kings Bela IV and Stephen V. In addition, the same privilege charter issued on 30 March secured Lawrence's hereditary possession of this property.<sup>13</sup>

We do not doubt that Palatine Lawrence was of a Slovak origin, which is attested by various facts. The most crucial one among them is that Lawrence accompanied the king to negotiations with neighbouring Slavic rulers. For example, he attended the peace negotiations with the Bohemian King Přemysl Otakar II in 1260. Ten years later, King Stephen V deposed him from the palatine office but Lawrence still accompanied him on his visit to Cracow (to Boleslaus V the Chaste) at the request of the king himself.

Lawrence was named the ban of Severin and *comes* of Dubica for his proven services. In March 1271, Lawrence was rewarded by donation of Nové Mesto nad Váhom and surrounding villages of Horná Streda, Potvorice, \*Dobreta, and \*Lubova. However, the donation omits the fact that these properties had already been given to the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma by Bela IV in 1263. On the contrary, Ladislav IV as a new king, controlled by several noble cliques, returned Nové Mesto nad Váhom to the above-mentioned monastery in 1273 to give it once again back to Lawrence.<sup>14</sup>

During the following turbulent period, the issues of Lawrence did not manage to keep these valuable properties. On the contrary, they strengthened their position in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary. Their old hereditary estate was located south of the river Drava and was called Motičina (nowadays Donja and Gornja Motičina) and adjoined with estates of related family of Tetín (Tetun, Tetény), Osmiad (Ozyag) and the nobles from Našice (Nekcha, Nekche).<sup>15</sup>

Lawrence's son Kemen continued his father's activities. For instance, in 1278–1280 he captured his own relative Jakub/Jacob/James, son of Conrad/Konrád of Óvár at the command of Matthias Čák of Trenčín, plundered his lands and took several valuables and riding horses. However, he might have felt guilty and he swore at the presence of Queen Elizabeth as the Duchess of

<sup>9</sup> Magyar Országos Levéltár. Diplomatikai fenykeptar 273550 (deinde MOL DF).

<sup>10</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*, vol. 7. Ed.: Emericus NAGY. Budapest: A.M. Tud. Akadémia Könyvkiadóhivatala, 1920, nr. 220, p. 396.

<sup>11</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája* 2, p. 159.

<sup>12</sup> MOL DL 1072.

<sup>13</sup> MOL DL 827.

<sup>14</sup> MOL DL 854.

<sup>15</sup> MOL DL 100094.

Slavonia that he would compensate James as well as his father Conrad by donating them three villages and one half of the village Tárda. Lawrence also emphasized that this activity had been determined by his close consanguinity with the aggrieved.<sup>16</sup> At the end of Ladislas IV the Cuman's reign, Kemen became a custodian of royal cellars (*pincerna*) as well as the *comes* of Baranya – the offices he held also during the first year of Andrew III's reign. Then he became the *comes* of Baranya once again in 1296–1299.<sup>17</sup> He managed to significantly unify the scattered land tenures in 1289 when Michael, the only son of Nicholas/Mikuláš Sinister from the house of Balog, died. He owned the castle of Sársomló (*Saarsumlu*) together with several neighbouring villages. The castle domain should have come to the Crown in the accordance with established legal customs. However, Knight Kemen who was Nicholas' son-in-law asked King Ladislas IV whether he together with his wife could inherit this estate, which was later indeed approved by the king.

In 1289, Kemen also acquired the castle of Sársomló with eleven villages as well as Saint Michael's monastery in the village of Pél (nowadays Pélmonostor) together with a patronage right. The royal donation was subsequently confirmed by King Andrew III in 1291 in return for Kemen's support in the times of his accession to the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>18</sup> Kemen and his brother Nicholas went through hard times at the beginning of the fourteenth century when the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary was under the control of oligarchs. Kiseckí family, particularly John, son of Henrik/Henry, took over Sársomló castle domain. However, the castle was later on seized by King Charles Robert in 1316 and remained a part of the royal property until the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Kemen's and Nicholas's issues must have accommodated themselves with remnants of their hereditary estates and until the Modern period they used only the predicate of Motičinski (Matucsinaí).

The Pekri family of the House of Tetín (*nobiles de Pukur de genere Tetyn, Thetun*) were as well as previously mentioned noble families also tied up to the magnate House of Hont-Poznan. Similarly to them, they also belonged to the very elite of the Hungarian nobility at the beginning of the thirteenth century. János Karácsonyi presented the basic data concerning this family, but some of his conclusions cannot be completely accepted.<sup>20</sup> However, they surely also owned lands beyond the river Drava. Their hereditary estate in this area was a locality of \*Puker (*Pukur*) together with a church of Saint Michael Archangel, present-day Bijela in Križevac county and village \*Gajul (*Gayul*) nearby. They also possessed the Osmiad (*Ozyagh*) estate on the south bank of the river Drava. Neighbouring nobles stopped respecting its borders and took over a part of a demarcated land pertaining to the property in 1217–1218. Ten years later, King Andrew II ordered borders' reambulation in terms of their original extent.<sup>21</sup> Ambrose's (Marcel's) sons, Peter, Marcel, Fabian, Demeter and Abraham, were spreading their land tenure within this area quickly thanks to their significant positions held at the royal court. Especially Peter, Marcel and Demeter belonged to the closest councillors of King Andrew II<sup>22</sup>. When the king died in 1235, the circumstances worsened. New King Bela IV together with his younger brother Coloman, Duke of Slavonia, removed Marcel and his brothers out of the royal court and even reduced their acquired possessions. For example, while Duke Coloman was auditing purloined royal estates, he confiscated all the tenures obtained by Abraham beyond the river Drava. Coloman left him only the hereditary estate of Puker.<sup>23</sup> As their public activities were stopped, family members disappeared from sources for almost fifty years. They may be encountered again only during the reign of King Ladislas IV the Cuman when Peter, son of Benedict, became the ban of Slavonia and held this office in years 1279–1280 and also in 1283.<sup>24</sup> At this time, feudal anarchy had already

<sup>16</sup> MOL DL 38667: "propter proximitatem cognacionis inter eos existentis".

<sup>17</sup> ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 61 and 133.

<sup>18</sup> MOL DL 1244.

<sup>19</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* 2, p. 325.

<sup>20</sup> KARÁCSONYI, János: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig*. Budapest: MTA, 1900, p. 1003–1007. Especially his determination of the personage of the first known ancestor is unclear. Karácsonyi states it was Marcel, but some sources speak about Ambrose.

<sup>21</sup> MOL DL 145.

<sup>22</sup> LUKAČKA, Ján: *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku*, p. 56.

<sup>23</sup> CDAC 7, nr. 24, p. 38.

<sup>24</sup> ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Magyarországi archontológiája*, p. 47. Due to the lack of relevant information it is impossible to determine whose son the father of Ban Peter, Benedict, was.

fully taken over the country and inhabitants of the region beyond the river Drava, and the Croats ceased to respect the king's authority too. However, Ban Peter forced them to be obedient again by applying resolute measures. Therefore, in respect to these merits, Peter and his brother Kemen asked Ladislav IV to return the estate of their ancestors called Osmiad which had been unjustly taken from them. They also did not forget to mention that their brother Paul perished while fighting for Szombathely. Naturally, the king approved their request.<sup>25</sup>

There is much better information concerning the descendants of Peter, Marcel and Demeter. The major part of their estates can be found in the present-day south-western Slovakia, namely in the former counties of Nitra, Bratislava, and Tekov. Peter had three sons: Hypolit, Dionysius and \*Edovč (*Edeuch*). Hypolit is mentioned for the first time in 1257 when he sold his hereditary estate Svodov by Želiezovce, where also other members of Hont-Poznan family owned their properties, to the archbishopric of Esztergom. His middle brother Dionysius received the estate of Červeník (Bíň) by Hlohovec from King Bela IV. When he entered the Franciscan Order later, his properties passed into the possession of his youngest brother. Since \*Edovč was a royal varlet, Bela IV agreed that Červeník would pass over to him. *Magister* \*Edovč is mentioned for the last time in 1272; he probably died leaving no issues. Among the children of Marcel, only *comes* Alexander is known. His residential estate was in the mid-thirteenth century Pata, near Sereď. Also the locality "Mortun" in Záhorie, near Stupava belonged into his hereditary property. Alexander had three sons, Bukven, Bodov and Čolk, with his first wife; his second wife bore him two more sons, Dominic and Charles. Their estates were to be found in the western part of Žitný ostrov (Rye Island) as well as in the neighbourhood of the counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok, in the southern part of Nitra county and in the south of Tekov county too. Čolk's sons committed some acts of violence in the properties of the Esztergom archbishopric which were they compelled to the royal court for. However, they settled up with the archbishop after an intercession of their relative, *magister* Opor from the

House of Péč, *comes* of Bratislava and later palatine. Another brother, Demeter, made the most significant court career among his kinship. Except for being *comes* of a few counties, he held the office of *magister dapiferorum* and is mentioned as a *comes curialis* in 1234. He had two sons, John and Seraphin/Serafín; the latter chose a clerical career; he is mentioned as a provost of Bratislava at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. All his properties passed to the daughters of his nephew Roland after his death. It is interesting that the estates beyond the river Drava (*possessiones ultra Drauam*) are mentioned in the first place, but are not further specified.<sup>26</sup>

The House of Vojna from Vojka nad Žitavou (nowadays Lúčna nad Žitavou) is almost unknown in the secondary literature. However, it was an ancient line of the magnate House of Hont-Poznan which was also close to much more important family Forgáč/Forgách of Gýmeš/Ghymes. They also undoubtedly belonged to the upper nobility. Family members served Andrew, younger brother of King Emeric, already at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Martin, son of Vojna (*Woyn, Woyna*), is mentioned as the ban of Slavonia under Duke Andrew in 1202; he held this office again in years 1212–1213.<sup>27</sup> Almost all the members of this line of Hont-Poznan lineage are mentioned in the judgement charter of Palatine Dionysius from 1228. At this time, a long-lasting conflict concerning a property between the descendants of *comes* Jób/Hiob of Vojka nad Žitavou and *comes* Peter, son of Marcel, of the House of Tetén, escalated. The disputable tenure was located between the brooks \*Puker and Toplica (*Thapolcha*). The whole controversy was also accompanied by acts of violence. At that time, Rubín, son of *comes* Jób, represented the whole House of Vojna (*generacio Woyna*) as its head. He presented to the palatine credible charters of the most saintly King Stephen and King *Belin* (Bela I?) and their successors which should have confirmed his claim for the mentioned area<sup>28</sup>. Subsequently, the palatine approved the claim of Rubín and his relatives, while the family of *comes* Peter of Tetén had to be satisfied with the neighbouring estate of Svätý Križ (*Keresthr*). Later on, the track of family representatives disappeared. János Karácsonyi states

<sup>25</sup> MOL DL 100094.

<sup>26</sup> RDSI 2, n. 43, p. 39.

<sup>27</sup> Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 42–43.

<sup>28</sup> CDAC 6, nr. 291, p. 457: "*instrumentis autenticis inclite memorie beatissimi Stephani et Bela Belin condam regum illustrium regni Hungarie*". It is questioned whether it was an original charter of Stephen I. It is more probable that the donation by these kings is mentioned in a later charter from the second half of the twelfth century.

that their successors were the families of Vojkfy and Vojk-Keresztúri. According to their names, it can be assumed that they were nobles of a South Slavic origin<sup>29</sup>.

Local name of Vojka (Hungarian Vajka) is to be found in Tekov by the river Žitava and a hamlet is mentioned already in 1113. Properties of Zobor monastery, of subjects of *Szolgagyőr* castle (Hlohovec) as well as Nitra lineage of Poznan family were to be found there. They (the Poznans of Nitra) had allegedly received this property from Ladislav I. Gradually, the whole estate passed into the possession of Hont-Poznan family. Before 1185, Vojka property share belonged to Čanád's son Stojslav.<sup>30</sup>

List of further owners has included also descendants of Hiob who used also *de Woyk* predicate. A nobleman called Und (Jund) being closely related with Andrew, son of Ivánka who was a founder of Forgáč family, also appears in respect to this property in the mid-thirteenth century. A conflict triggered between Andrew and Und concerning the ownership of Vojka. King Bela IV solved the conflict as follows; *comes* Und kept Vojka and Andrew was donated another property called Ďorok.<sup>31</sup> However, Und was not an exclusive owner as members of Poznan line from Nové Sady (*de Kúrth*) possessed parts of Vojka estate as well.<sup>32</sup>

We suppose that descendants of one of the lines of the spreading Hont-Poznan House who owned lands between the brooks Toplica and Puker at the beginning of the thirteenth century, lived in the village Trávnica (*Fys*) in Tekov at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Representatives of this line were *comes* Sanček (*Zonchuk*) and his sons Rubin/Rubín, Nicholas, Dezider and John, which we assume on the basis of significant family name Rubin (*Rubinus*) which had appeared within the lineage at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Except for the residential estate of Trávnica, the above-mentioned nobles possessed also the villages of Telince, Vlkaš, and Obice.<sup>33</sup> However, they had been extinct at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Their estates as well as relevant donation charters passed to the House of Forgáč.

The important position of the above-mentioned noble families within the area of the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary (particularly in Slavonia between the rivers Drava and Sava) brings us to a conclusion that after the defeat of the Arpadian duke Koppány new land owners infiltration occurred in this region. These nobles were coming from the Principality of Nitra and even more specifically from the wider Hont-Poznan kinship. It is generally known that Stephen I turned the former duchy of Koppány into a royal county (*comitatus*). He also divided the peripheral zone (the interfluvium of the rivers Drava and Sava) as booty among the members of this familial fellowship which had previously supported him. Subsequently, other representatives of this noble house expanded their land tenure to the neighbouring counties – especially thanks to their loyal service to the Arpadians. They lived their “Golden Age” in the first half of the thirteenth century, during the reign of Andrew II. He rewarded them for supporting him while he had been fighting his older brother Emeric by appointing them dignitaries at the royal court as well as donating them new properties. The mentioned lineages represent only a part of a real number of noble families in this area being of a similar status as well as (probably) origin. Same criteria can be detected also in the case of noble families of Ráb (Hungarian Győr), Péč (Hun. *Péčh*, *Péc*), Beč (Hun. *Becsei*) and Geča line of the Hont-Poznan House from Špačince near Trnava.

<sup>29</sup> KARÁCSONYI, János: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig*, p. 1051–1052.

<sup>30</sup> CDSI 1, nr. 69, p. 67 (Wochoi) and nr. 97, p. 92 (Voyku).

<sup>31</sup> CDSI 2, nr. 259, p. 176.

<sup>32</sup> They are also mentioned at the occasion of property division in 1264. MOL DL 68085.

<sup>33</sup> RDSI 2, nr. 843, p. 368.

# The first Possessions of the Aba Kindred beyond the Drava River\*\*

Prvé majetky šľachtického rodu Aba za riekou Drava /  
Prvi posjedi plemićkog rodu Aba s onu stranu Drave

*In this paper the author explains the origins of the magnate family of Aba on the territory of Croatia, in particular its branch of Lipovec, located on the right bank of the river Dráva, where they gained estates in the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Thanks to the donations of the Arpadian kings, they gradually enlarged their properties on this territory. The author deals with the development of these estates, their inheritance and division among the members of the kindred, and individual personalities of the most important branches of the Aba family.*

Keywords: Aba kindred, Keczer family, Lipovec-Našice family, Našice, medieval Hungarian nobility.

This paper contributes to the discussion of the issue of the nobility of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and administration of their possessions, which often included geographically very distant locations within the Carpathian basin. We will be concentrating in particular on the territories of present-day Slovakia and Croatia, which in the Middle Ages were important border regions, not only in terms of defense, but also in terms of policy making in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Nobility played important role in the politics of the Hungarian monarchs, who bestowed special privileges and donations upon them in return for their support, and at the same time the nobles benefited from the cultivation of these areas.

In this discourse we will pay special attention to the nobility from Lipovec (*de Lipolch*, Šariš county, today Kecerovský Lipovec in Slovakia),<sup>1</sup> which was one of many branches of the Aba<sup>2</sup> kindred. Particularly we want to investigate the property donations awarded by Arpadian kings *ultra Drava existentes*, in what is part of the present-day territory of Croatia. Since its origins the Aba kindred had been close to the Arpadian dynasty,<sup>3</sup> and after the formation of the Kingdom of Hungary they soon established themselves among the aristocracy. A strong position of the Aba house in the royal court and its extensive property base resulted in the early fourteenth century in its dominance in the northeastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See history of this house: SALANCI, Michal: *Keczerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu*. In: *Genealogicko-heraldický hlas*, a. 18, 2008, nr. 2, pp. 3–18; IDEM: *Pôvod a počiatky šľachtického rodu Kecer* : Master thesis. Humenné – Prešov, KATEDRA, 2007; IDEM: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*. In: *5. študentská vedecká konferencia : zborník príspevkov*. Ed.: Marek CHOVANEC – Jozef ŠIPKO – Gabriela HARČARIKOVÁ. Prešov: Prešovská univerzita v Prešove, 2010, pp. 520–535; PÓR, Antal: *A lipóczi Keczerék*. In: *Történelmi Tár*, a. 14, 1891, nr. 3, pp. 313–366.

<sup>2</sup> The house of Aba was one of the oldest and most significant Hungarian noble houses, as proved also by Anonymous notary P. in his work dated to the end of the twelfth century. The oldest possessions of the Abas were concentrated in the area under the Matra mountains in the county of Heves, from where they started to penetrate other counties in later periods, probably from the beginning of the thirteenth century, notably the northeastern counties Abov, Šariš, Zemplín, where they grew into almost 20 separate branches till the beginning of the fourteenth century. SALANCI, Michal: *Keczerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu*, pp. 3–5; ULIČNÝ, Ferdinand: *Najstaršia šarišská a užská šľachta*. In: *Najstaršie rody na Slovensku*, Ed.: Katarína ŠTULAJTEROVÁ. Martin : Slovenská genealogicko-heraldická spoločnosť pri Matici slovenskej, 1994, p. 66. Thanks to the royal donations their properties spread also to other regions of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> The first and most important ancestor of the Abas – King Samuel Aba (1041–1044) was both palatine at first and also the brother-in-law of King Stephen I. SIMONIS DE KÉZA: *Gesta Hungarorum*. Ed. et trans.: László VESPRÉMY – Frank SCHAEER. In: *Central European medieval texts*. Ed.: János, M. BAK – Urszula BORKOWSKA – Giles CONSTABLE – Gábor KLANICZAY. Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999, pp. 110 n. In like manner he was palatine of King Peter Orseolo (1038–1041). ZSOLDOS, Atilla: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*. Budapest: MTA, Történettudományi intézete, 2011, pp. 15, 281.

<sup>4</sup> Domination of the Abas in this region peaked especially at the turn of thirteenth century under the reign of Palatine Omodeus Aba and ceased after the defeat of his sons in the Battle of Rozhanovce in 1312 by King Charles Robert. See also: BLANÁR, Dominik: *Oligarchia Omodejovcov v období feudálnej anarchie v Uhorsku*. Master thesis. Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 2010, 92 pp. Further literature also there.

The oldest historical record associating the nobles of Lipovec with the county of Šariš derives from 1229. Then *magister* Demeter, son of Sixtus, from the Aba kindred, bought a large estate of Lipovec (*predium quoddam Lipoue nomine*) for 1000 marks from Duke Coloman, son of King Andrew II.<sup>5</sup> Even this property had some indirect connection with Slavonia, hence with present-day Croatia. As a matter of fact, its original owner was the same Lawrence (*Laurentius*), son of Opud (*Opud, Ompud*), who had his possessions confiscated for his violent crimes in Slavonia by King Andrew II who in turn donated them to his son Coloman. Lawrence had burned down and plundered 24 villages, including two churches, in Slavonia.<sup>6</sup>

This first account about the Abas of Lipovec and their first known property shows us some correlations. Firstly, it is a close relation of *magister* Demetrius to King Andrew II (1205–1235) and especially to his son, Duke Coloman (1208–1241). At the beginning of the thirteenth century Coloman, as the second-born king's son, was actively involved in the ruling of the north and the south areas of Hungary. At an early age (1219) he became the king of Galicia (*Galiciae Rex, Rex Rutenum*) and then (1226) Slavonian duke (*dux totius Sclauonie*). According to this, he decided to choose his seat – at Spiš castle. From there he ruled with the authority of the prince and administered the Spiš region (affecting also the counties of Abov/ Abaúj, Šariš, Turňa/Torna and Gemer).<sup>7</sup> After the year 1226 most of his activities are tied to Slavonia, including the order for construction of a major castle Medvedgrad<sup>8</sup> in that area. It was Duke Coloman who sold the estate of Lipovec in the vicinity of his Spiš seat to *magister* Demeter. The

property was not donated (interestingly), but sold, although Demeter had served at the court of King Andrew II for a long time. On the other hand, the value of the property indirectly speaks not only about its size and desirability but also about significant wealth and social status of *magister* Demeter.

Later documents, predominantly donation letters, testify that since his youth *magister* Demeter had been in the service to the king, and especially to the young Prince Coloman as his tutor and teacher (*didasculus et magister*)<sup>9</sup> and then, between the years 1216 to 1240, as his steward (*dapifer*).<sup>10</sup> He served to King Andrew II as a member of his escort guard and his troops at least at one of his numerous military expeditions to Halič (*Galicia*).<sup>11</sup> During one of these expeditions in Vladimírsko (*Lodomeria*) *magister* Demeter and his brothers, Nicholas and Ladislaus, were taken into captivity. Another brother, Aba, along with their other relatives, was even killed during this expedition.<sup>12</sup> As a reward for these merits Demeter acquired new properties in the counties of *Novum Castrum* (Abaújvár) and Bihar.<sup>13</sup>

Within the next seven years *magister* Demeter was promoted to the count of Bodrog county (*comes Budrugiensis*)<sup>14</sup> and subsequently received other properties. These were in particular the property of Našice (*terra Neccha*), which he received directly from Duke Coloman, with the consent of his brother, King Bela IV. The donation letter, written in February 1240 by the provost, *magister* Fylo, in Zagreb, again mentions the services which *magister* Demeter, his brothers and relatives provided to King Andrew and Duke Coloman.<sup>15</sup> The possession *Neccha* (in the county of

<sup>5</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde CDSI), vol. 1. Ed.: Richard MARSINA. Bratislavae: Obzor, 1971, nr. 352, pp. 251–252; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* (deinde CDAC), vol. 1. Ed.: Gusztáv WENZEL. Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd, 1860, nr. 151, pp. 256–257; *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde CDCr), vol. 3. Ed.: Tade SMIČKLAŠ. Zagreb: Officina societatis typographica, 1905, nr. 266, p. 299.

<sup>6</sup> CDCr, vol. 1, nr. 352, p. 252: “*Laurentius filius Opud (...) XXXIII villas (...) combussit, ac duas ecclesias (...) destruxit*”.

<sup>7</sup> PROCHÁZKOVÁ, Nataša: Koloman Haličský na Spiši pred rokom 1241. In: *Terra Scepusiensis: Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša*. Ed.: Martin HOMZA – Ryszard GŁADKIEWICZ. Levoča: Kláštorisko, 2003, pp. 243–247. About the person of the Duke Coloman see also: IDEM: Koloman Haličský (? – 1241). In: *Historia Scepusii*, vol. 1. Ed.: Martin HOMZA – Stanislaw SROKA. Bratislava – Kraków: Katedra slovenských dejín FF UK – Instytut Historii UJ, 2009, pp. 318–320.

<sup>8</sup> KLAČIĆ, Nada: *Povijest Hrvata u srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: Globus, 1990, pp. 358, 425.

<sup>9</sup> CDCr 4, nr. 95, p. 102: “... *qui a puericie sue temporibus in seruitiis fidelibus et arduis karissimo patri nostro et coronae exhibitis clarus enituit; ... ab in tenerrimis infantie nostre vagitibus propter laudabilem morum ipsius elegantiam in didasculum nobis prefecit et magistrum*”.

<sup>10</sup> CDC 4, nr. 95, p. 102; ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 142.

<sup>11</sup> CDSI 1, nr. 435, p. 317; CDAC 6, nr. 345, pp. 546–547; SALANCI, Michal: *Kecerovcí z Kecerovéského Lipovca: pôvod rodu*, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> CDAC 6, nr. 345, p. 547: “... *in quoniam conflictu a Ruthenis... quam fratres sui, Mykola videlicet, ... et Ladislaus, fratres eiusdem capriati... in Lodomeria... et atrociter cruciati... frater oterinus nomine Aba, cum alijs suis consaguineis... ibidem interit*”.

<sup>13</sup> CDAC 6, nr. 345, pp. 547; SALANCI, Michal: *Kecerovcí z Kecerovéského Lipovca: pôvod rodu*, p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 142.

<sup>15</sup> CDCr 4, nr. 95, pp. 102–104.

Baranja)<sup>16</sup> is the present-day Croatian town situated in the western part of Osijek-Baranja county, only about 30 kilometers south of the Drava river.

Našice, according to the document, originally belonged to Ban Julius (*Gula banus, Iula, Gyula*) from the Kán kindred, who is an interesting figure. From the beginning of the thirteenth century until 1235 he was a high dignitary of the kingdom – palatine (*palatinus*), royal judge (*iudex curie*), ban of Slavonia (*banus totius Sclauonie*), including the position of *comes* of several counties (Bodrog, Vas, Somogy, Sopron).<sup>17</sup> From the documents we learn that Ban Julius was captured, but we absolutely do not know the circumstances or the actors of the incident. Some authors explain his capture and subsequent transition of Našice property into the hands of Duke Coloman by the ban's alleged breach of loyalty to the royal majesty.<sup>18</sup> Contrary to this opinion, even in the later documents there is no mention of his disloyalty to the king. The transfer of this property into the hands of the king, respectively of Duke Coloman, might have been the reason in this case. This could well have been an attempt of the new king to restore the sovereign royal properties that were given away by King Andrew II.

The fate of the property of Našice is even more interesting when we add that before it got into the hands of *magister* Demeter (by the disposition of King Bela IV and his brother Duke Coloman), Ban Julius, along with his wife Helen, donated a part of the property to the Knights Templar sometime between 1221 and 1230. This was confirmed by Pope Gregory IX at the end of the year 1230.<sup>19</sup> Kukuljevič states also that Ban Julius promised to build a monastery and a church at the donated property, but he does not mention his sources for this information.<sup>20</sup> Našice along with other Templar property Lesnica (*Licenissa*) is mentioned in

the year 1239 in the dispute between Duke Coloman and the Knights Templar for other Templar possessions. As a result of reconciliation, mediated by Bishop Bartholomew of Pécs, Templars were confirmed the right to claim the tithes of these properties. The document also contains a clause under which the Templars had to pay a tenth of gold and silver to the bishop, should they uncover a field of precious metals on the site.<sup>21</sup> At the same time we observe that *magister* Demeter first replaced Ban Julius at the position of *comes* of Bodrog county (1235–1240)<sup>22</sup> and only later (1240) Duke Coloman donated him the property of Našice.

Našice is subsequently mentioned in 1251 in the hands of Demeter's son, *comes* Alexander, in the document by which King Bela IV confirmed to aforementioned Alexander the right on servants and maids after Ban Julius.<sup>23</sup> It was specifically the twelve people who originally belonged to Helen (*Iule*), ban's wife. The document mentions Alexander in relation to Ban Julius as his *cognatus*. This can be explained by the marriage of Alexander, son of *magister* Demeter, with the granddaughter of Ban Julius,<sup>24</sup> which means that around 1251 these two families were linked together.

Twelve years later (1263) Našice became the subject of a dispute among *magister* Demeter's three sons – Alexander, Demeter and Peter. The document issued by the chapter house of Bač does not state the cause of their dispute. We only know that Alexander and Demeter stood against Peter, who either by choice or under the pressure of the other two brothers pledged that neither he nor his descendants would encourage any dispute about the property right of Našice against his two brothers and their heirs. In case of failure to comply with this pledge he was obliged to pay a fine of 150 talents of silver.<sup>25</sup> This document,

<sup>16</sup> GYÖRFFY, György: *Az Árpád-kori magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. 1. Budapest: Akaémiai Kiadó, 1987, pp. 246–247.

<sup>17</sup> ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, pp. 305–306; From the offsprings of Ban Julius rose important historical figures of that time, among others the Transylvanian duke Ladislaus Kán (1280–1315).

<sup>18</sup> SALANCI, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 521.

<sup>19</sup> CDAC 1, nr. 165, p. 277; SALANCI, Michal: *Kecеровci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu*, p. 8; This gift of Ban Julius from the Kán kindred is once more mentioned in 1310 in connection to the dissolution of the Order of the Knights Templar. CDCr 8, nr. 221, pp. 264–265; SALANCI, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 527.

<sup>20</sup> Knights Templar probably built the church themselves, after they received this property. This might be reflected in the dedication of the church to St. Martin, a soldier saint, who was popular among military orders which the Knights Templar belonged to. That the church was certainly Templar was confirmed by the exposed Templar coat-of-arms on the façade of the church. DOBRONIĆ, Lelja: *Posjedi i sjedišta Templara Ivanovaca i sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1984, pp. 62–63.

<sup>21</sup> CDC, vol. 4, nr. 76, pp. 80–81; DOBRONIĆ, Lelja: *Posjedi i sjedišta Templara Ivanovaca i sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj*, p. 62.

<sup>22</sup> ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 142.

<sup>23</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus et civilis* (deinde CDH), tom. 4, vol. 2. Ed.: Georgius FEJÉR. Buda: Typis Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829, pp. 103–105; SALANCI, Michal: *Kecеровci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu*, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*. Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV. Budapest: Arcanum 2003 (Aba nem 8. Lipóci ág).

<sup>25</sup> CDH, 4/3, pp. 177–179; SALANCI, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 523.

however, does not inform us about the extent of Našice property, or about its possible division between the two brothers.

In 1281, Našice is again mentioned in connection with the marking of the boundaries of the adjacent property and Demeter, son of Demeter,<sup>26</sup> is stated as the owner. In the meantime Lipovec family was able to acquire other properties in Slavonia. We get to know this from the charter of Stephen V of 1271, by which the king acknowledges and confirms the possessions across the river Drava to Alexander and Demeter, mainly due to the loss of earlier donation letters.<sup>27</sup> The possessions are not mentioned by name, but we learn that these possessions were acquired by the Abas earlier, probably during the reign of Bela IV. The document also indicates that Našice was not the only village in question, although it was probably included in this redistribution. We learn more about these possessions namely almost 30 years later (28 July 1299), when they were the subject of a property division in the family. The document issued by the royal chancery of Andrew III confirms the division of all assets beyond the river Drava as well as the division of the Lipovec property itself (at that time with the church, mansion and castle already built) which happened 17 years before (1282).<sup>28</sup> We can see that the rightful owners of the properties in Slavonia were the sons of *magister* Demeter: Alexander and Demeter. It is likely that their brother Peter gave up his claims to Našice already back in 1263.<sup>29</sup> However, a huge turnover followed by the end of the thirteenth century when the sons of Peter, against the pledge of their father, began to make claims on these properties. As one of three brothers – Demeter – died even earlier (last mentioned in 1281) with no heir, the share of his property was either inherited by his brother Alexander and his descendants, or was divided between his both brothers, Alexander and Peter. In this case Peter's sons would have been rightfully entitled to their share of the property, but this is not mentioned at all.

It is important in this case that the initiators of the dispute were the sons of Peter – Ladislaus, Luke, Demeter, Stephen and Peter – who dragged before the king their cousins, sons of *comes* Alexander, namely, *magister* Ladislaus, the titular provost and vice-chancellor, *magister* Demeter, *magister* Nicholas and *magister* Alexander, and demanded a more rightful distribution of the family possessions. It was precisely redistribution of their Slavonian properties in Našice, Pagraach,<sup>30</sup> Radauan (*Rodoan*)<sup>31</sup> and Saint Michael (*Scentmyhal*).<sup>32</sup> Alexander's sons, however, stated before the king that they were the only legitimate heirs to those possessions, and sons of Peter were entitled to no claim, which they proved by some letters from Bela IV and Stephen V.

King Andrew III acknowledged these facts and even accepted the right of Alexander's sons, but finally decided that a share of those possessions would also be given to their opponents. According to this decision, the sons of Peter were given possession of Rodoan and Saint Michael and the sons of Alexander were given entire Našice and Pagraach properties. On the same occasion, their other possessions were divided again, including the Lipovec property.<sup>33</sup>

It is also worth mentioning that in 1290 the Abas from the Atyanayi branch acquired a new property from Queen Elizabeth – Abbey of St. Martin (*vyznicatum Sancti Martini*) in Virovitica county, with respective vineyards, forests and meadows.<sup>34</sup>

In the early fourteenth century, in a difficult political situation after the extinction of Arpad dynasty and the subsequent struggle for the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary, Aba kindred under the leadership of Omodeus (*Amadé*) Aba played an important role. Palatine Omodeus initially supported the candidacy of the Czech prince Wenceslas as the Hungarian King Ladislaus V (1301–1305). Very soon, however, he started to support his rival, Charles of Anjou, a strategic step that allowed him later not only to maintain

<sup>26</sup> *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, tom. 2, vol. 2–3. Ed.: Emericus SZENTPÉTERY – Iván BORSA. Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1961, nr. 3104, p. 275. VARSIK, Branislav: *Osídlenie Košickej kotliny*, vol. 3, Bratislava: Veda, 1977, s. 112;

<sup>27</sup> CDH 5/1, pp. 150–152; SALANCI, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 523.

<sup>28</sup> For division of Lipovec property, see: SALANCI, Michal: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu*, pp. 11–12; IDEM: SALANCI, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, pp. 523–524.

<sup>29</sup> See note 25.

<sup>30</sup> GYÖRFFY, György: *Az Árpád-kori magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. 1, p. 254.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, p. 372.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, p. 390.

<sup>33</sup> CDAC 10, nr. 213, pp. 229–232.

<sup>34</sup> CDCr 8, nr. 10, pp. 9–10. KARÁCSONYI, János: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig*, vol. 1. Budapest: A Magyar tudományos akadémia, 1900, p. 61.

his position and influence but also to continually increase it until his tragic death when he faced a revolt of Košice burghers against his abuse of power and status towards the town of Košice as well as the entire north-eastern Hungary region.

Similarly, *magister* Alexander, son of *comes* Alexander, became one of the staunchest supporters of King Charles Robert (1307–1342). This is best verified in the royal charter from 4 September 1310, in which King Charles says that since his first arrival in Hungary, *magister* Alexander loyally stood at his side and helped him in the fight against the Czech king (Wenceslas) and German Duke Otto (as Hungarian king in 1305–1307), and as a reward for this he will donate to *magister* Alexander the part of the property Našice that previously belonged to the Knights Templar.<sup>35</sup> We cannot determine the exact part of the property from this charter (this we learn from a later document issued in 1312 only, as described below). As it is well known the Templars were experiencing decline, dissolution and confiscation of property at this time. Subsequently in 1311 a definite redistribution of all the family possessions followed, as confirmed by the chapter house in Požega. The redistribution actually confirmed the existing condition (division) of 1299, but sons of Peter gained something in addition. Sons of Alexander recognized that they got the better part of the possessions, and they pledged to compensate their cousins with 1300 marks of pure silver, 10 pieces of yper cloth and 5 horses worth 60 marks.<sup>36</sup>

Despite this fact, Peter's sons Luke and Peter were probably not so satisfied with the division of property, since they violently took Alexander's Lipovec castle, causing him damage of 500 marks. The king, who at that time resided in Šaris, came to solve this dispute and condemned these sons of Peter to the loss of their properties.<sup>37</sup> They have

nevertheless kept their part of the Lipovec property throughout the whole fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup>

The king subsequently rewarded *magister* Alexander for his loyalty, especially during the Battle of Rozhanovce (15 June 1312), in which the king defeated the sons of Palatine Omodeus Aba along with their allies – *magister* Demeter, the son of Nicholas from Balassa kindred and the troops of infamous Matthias Chak (Čák/Csák) of Trenčín. The king again reaffirms his possession of the property that previously belonged to the Templars, and in this case the property is specified as St. Martin.<sup>39</sup> By another document the king reaffirms all Alexander's other possessions from the last division in 1311.<sup>40</sup>

This was the definite distribution of all possessions between the two lines of the family from Lipovec. After the division, both branches of the family lived on their own possessions, although they did not entirely avoid some disputes in the future. From Peter, the son of Demeter, the Šaris kindred of Kecser descended.<sup>41</sup> The descent line of his brother, *magister* Alexander, bore the name of the field of Našice property and property of Lipovec. In the older, predominantly Hungarian literature, they have been referred to as Lipovec-Našice or Našice<sup>42</sup> branch ever since they acquired the property of Našice, and the predicate of Našice (*de Nekche*) is rarely used starting from the fourteenth century.<sup>43</sup> Našice property and other mentioned possessions beyond Drava were being increased in the course of the following century until the extinction of this family in the early fifteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

The description of the acquisition and the disposition of the first properties of the Abas in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary, beyond the river Drava, provides a picture of enlargement of the property base of Lipovec families while they

<sup>35</sup> CDCr 8, nr. 221, pp. 263–265.

<sup>36</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis* (deinde CDHA), vol. 1. Ed.: Imre NAGY. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, vol. 1, nr. 226, 1878, pp. 241–245; SALANCI, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 527; IDEM: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu*, s. 17.

<sup>37</sup> *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* (deinde RDSI), vol. 1. Ed.: Vincent SEDLÁK. Bratislava: Academia scientiarum Slovaca, nr. 989, 1980, p. 424.

<sup>38</sup> SALANCI, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 528.

<sup>39</sup> CDCr 8, nr. 269, pp. 325–329; RDSI 1, nr. 1004, p. 430; SALANCI, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 528.

<sup>40</sup> CDHA 1, nr. 256, p. 280; SALANCI, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 528.

<sup>41</sup> Surname Kecser (*Keczer, Keccer, Kecher*) was first used by the offsprings of Peter, the son of Demeter. SALANCI, Michal: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu*, p. 6.

<sup>42</sup> SALANCI, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 521–522; IDEM: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu*, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, p. 9; Napr. *Demetrius de Nekche*, v dvoch listinách z roku 1327. CDH, 8/3, nr. 63, p. 202; nr. 75, p. 237, alebo *Demetrii filii Alexandri de Nekche*. CDCr 9, nr. 386, p. 474.

<sup>44</sup> For further history of these branches of the Aba kindred, see also literature cited in note 1.

served the ruling royal dynasty. *Magister* Demeter, who was in the service of Duke Coloman, tried to be even closer to the duke as we can notice from the location of his first properties, which corresponded with the areas under Coloman's active governance. In this respect we can say that Coloman helped Demeter to acquire the position of the count of Bodrog county, a direct neighbour of the county of Baranja, where Demeter later acquired Našice. The properties beyond Drava as well as other possessions were granted to Demeter and his son under the reign of King Bela IV and his brother Coloman, and this was the most successful time period of the Aba family from Lipovec. In the following period we observe a more or less multiple redistribution of these properties among numerous descendants of *magister* Demeter. In the early fourteenth century the personality of *magister* Alexander stands out, with his firm loyalty to the new ruler from the Anjou dynasty,

which brought him the benefit of reacquisition of the assets previously owned by the Knights Templar. Alexander's promotion in the nobility ranks was almost guaranteed especially after his support of the king during the rebellion organized by his own relatives – Palatine Omodeus and other branches of the Aba kindred (1312).

The purpose of this paper was also, to some extent, to demonstrate the gradual disintegration of a kindred into smaller units – branches (families) that settled quickly at the newly acquired properties and often took over the local names for their identification (for example *de Nechce*, *de Lipolch*) as a surname. On the contrary, their nickname – Kecer (*Keczer*, *Kecher*) – gave name to the area of present-day Kecerovský Lipovec. Last but not least, we need to keep in mind the attractiveness of this fertile locality for the nobles who originally settled in the harsher northern part of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

# The Counts Kurjaković of Krbava in the Medieval History of Modern-day Slovakia

Kniežatá z Krbavy na území dnešného Slovenska /  
Krbavski knezovi na teritoriju današnje Slovačke

*The Counts of Krbava (Corbavai), a family of Croatian magnates, have been documented in the sources from the thirteenth century up to 1531. They originated from the county of Krbava, today a rather undeveloped and poorly inhabited part of the Croatian region of Lika. In contrast to this, during the Middle Ages Krbava was one of the important Croatian political and ecclesiastical centres. We do not know much about the counts due to the fact that their family archive probably perished during the Ottoman invasions at the turn of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. However, analysis has shown that Krbavski had seven generations with three branches and altogether some 60 individuals. They mainly marked medieval Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Istria and Bosnia with their presence. Nevertheless, some of them temporarily or permanently resided in today's Hungary and Slovakia. Of all the Croatian magnates, they were the ones who were often most present in Slovakia. This was practically unknown in Croatia until the pioneering work of Pál Engel from 1998. The first among the Krbavski in Slovakia was the kindred's leading figure, Grgur (Gregory) I, in 1358. He came to Levoča? / Levice? (in castro Levía) as a prisoner of King Louis I. The counts ascended significantly on the social scale during the rule of King Sigismund (1387–1437), because they were the king's most consistent and loyal supporters in medieval Croatia. Therefore, they were rewarded with many high-ranking titles and offices, as well as with numerous landed estates. For example, Count Karlo II (Charles) of Krbava obtained from the king, in 1393, as a permanent donation the royal castle and town of Čeklís (Latin Cheklyz, Slovak Bernolákovo; Hungarian Cseklész). Čeklís or Bernolákovo remained Karlo's seat and residence right up to his death (after 1422). He was consequently even titled Duke of Čeklís. He spent his lifetime between his native region and his estates in Slovakia. He also possessed a big house in Bratislava. His direct descendents (three sons, three grandsons, and one great-grandson) remained permanently in Slovakia and with time extended their possessions even in the region of Nitra. This branch of the Krbavski kindred could be, therefore, called with full justification Slovak nobility of Croatian origin. This paper presents data about the Slovak branch of the Krbavski from the perspective of Croatian history.*

Keywords: high nobility, the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, Krbava, Čeklís, Slovak branch of Croatian nobility

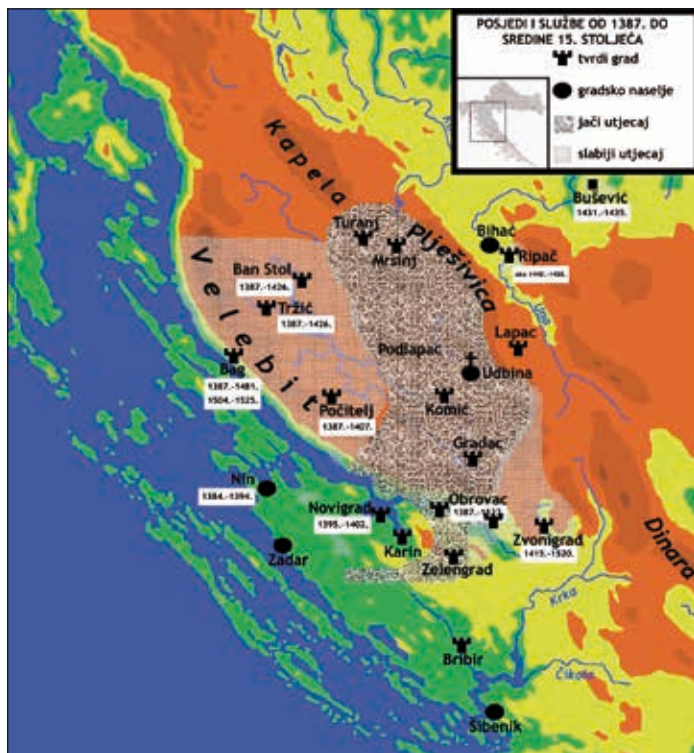
In this paper the authors will try to reconstruct the role of the Croatian counts Kurjaković of Krbava during the Late Middle Ages in today Slovakia. One has to emphasize that the Kurjakovići were not the only ones from medieval Croatia and Slavonia directly connected with the above-mentioned parts of the kingdom. However, their role was of utmost importance and they established the strongest links there. Namely, almost everybody among the

Kurjakovići, excepting the founder of the clan and a few other members over seven generations, lived temporarily or permanently in medieval Hungary. During the first decades of the fifteenth century the majority of counts were living in Slavonia, Hungary and today's Slovakia, and not in their native medieval Croatia. Suffice it to say that of some seventy clan members overall more than one third died in the north.<sup>1</sup> Who and what were the Kurjakovići?

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<sup>1</sup> The exact figure will probably never be precisely established. Therefore, here is the list of those whose death in the north is confirmed in the sources, or there is a high degree of probability that it occurred there. Their names were as follows: Grgur I (around 1360), Budislav II (1379), the unknown Butko's daughter – married Kokoš of Kaza (after 1394), Nikola/Nicholas II (before 1402), Grgur IV (after 1413), the unknown Butko's daughter – married Zrinski (after 1413), Ivan II Grof (1418), Karlo/Charles II (1422), Nikola/Nicholas III (after 1430), Ana/Anna – married Babonić (before 1434), Marija/Mary – married Zlatonosić (after 1434), Magdalena/Magdalen – married Kladuški (after 1434), Marija/Mary – married Kladuški (after 1434), Nikola/Nicholas Zakanjski (before 1436), Franko (around 1437), Franko's children (around 1437), Ivanka (1439), Juraj/George III (around 1440), Jelena/Helen – married Gorjanski (Garai, after 1449), Nikola/Nicholas V (1450), Ladislav/Ladislav Zakanjski (around 1458), Katarina/Catherine – married Szerdahelyi (after 1458), Grgur V (around 1460),



Map 1. Counts of Krbava, during the reign of King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437).

The counts Kurjaković of Krbava or Krbavski were among the most influential magnates in medieval Croatia. For more than two centuries they had a significant role in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. They were among the first ones in medieval Croatia to establish closer ties with medieval Hungary. Already during the reign of King Charles Robert I of Anjou (1301–1342) one of their members, Count Grgur I, had the title of *miles aule regie*.<sup>2</sup> During the reign of the Luxembourg, Habsburg and Jagiello kings, some of the Kurjaković held high offices in the realm. They held the titles of ban and viceban of Croatia, *magister curiae*, *magister daphiferorum*, *magister pincernarum*, and *curiae nostre magister officii palatini*.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were repeatedly royal castellans in Croatia (Unac, Klis, Novigrad, Ostrovica, Počitelj, and Ripač), Slavonia (Dobra Kuća, Greben, Kozara, Mrin, and Gračenica),

Hungary (Hasznos, Visegrád, and Solymár) and modern-day Slovakia (Dobrá Niva, Slovenská Lupča, and Brezno). The last member of the Kurjaković of Krbava, Ivan Karlović (died in 1531), for many years held offices of Croatian viceban, ban and royal captain. The counts raised horses of high quality on their estates, they traded wheat and they had business interests in Dalmatian fairs and Venetian banks. The most distinguished among them were the guardians of St. Stephen's crown, members of the narrow circle of the Order of the Dragon and of the Santo Spirito fraternity in Rome.

The sources mention some 68 members of the Kurjaković in the period between 1298 and 1531. They all originated from the Gusići kindred, one of the oldest in Croatia. The Kurjaković were from Krbava, once an important Croatian county and the centre of a bishopric. This is today one of the poorest and most scarcely populated areas of Croatia, in the Lika region. Krbava was an important political and ecclesiastical centre in medieval Croatia, and the neighboring

counties of Lapac, Hotuča, Odorje, Podgorje, Bužane, and Lika were in its sphere of influence.<sup>4</sup> The Kurjaković successfully entered the narrowest circle of the social elite in Croatia at the end of the thirteenth century, via marriage between Kurjak Gusić and Jelena/Helen Šubić, the sister of Croatian ban Pavao/Paul I Šubić.<sup>5</sup> With his brother-in-law's consent, Kurjak obtained Krbava as a hereditary estate. This estate extended well beyond the borders of Krbava county and encompassed huge parts of today's northern Dalmatia, Lika region and some border areas of present-day Bosnia. (Map 1). After Kurjak's death (around 1304), his sons Budislav I (died in 1346), Pavao/Paul I (died in 1342) and Grgur I (died around 1360) established the three branches of the Kurjaković. The most prominent among them were: Juraj/George I (died around 1393), Butko (died in 1401), Ivan II (died in 1418), Karlo/Charles II (died in 1422), Ivanka (died

Kristof/Christopher (after 1466), Jelena/Helen – married Zrinski (after 1508), Nikola/Nicholas VI (after 1504), Juraj/George V (after 1504), Ivan Torkvat Karlović (1531).

<sup>2</sup> ENGEL, Pál: Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj. In: *Povezivanje srednjoeuropskih zemalja s Jadranom (Mediterranom)*. Ed.: Josip Božičević. Zagreb: HAZU, 1998, pp. 73–81.

<sup>3</sup> BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*. PhD. Thesis. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2011, p. 301.

<sup>4</sup> KOVAČIĆ, Slavko: Splitska metropolija u dvanaestom stoljeću. In: *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku*. Ed.: Mile Bogović. Rijeka – Zagreb: Visoka bogoslovska škola u Rijeci – Kršćanska sadašnjost Zagreb, 1988, pp. 28–30; PEJNOVIĆ, Dane: Geopolitički položaj Krbave u srednjovjekovnom, osmanlijskom i vojnokrajiskom razdoblju. In: *Krbavska bitka i njezine posljedice*. Ed.: Dragutin PAVLIČEVIĆ. Zagreb: Hrvatska matica iseljenika, 1997, pp. 52–54.

<sup>5</sup> KARBIĆ, Damir: *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*. PhD Thesis. Budapest: Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, 2000, p. 76.

in 1439), Juraj/George III (died after 1439), Toma/Thomas II (died after 1467), Grgur VI (died around 1458), Ivan III (died around 1483), Karlo/Charles IV (died in 1493), and Ivan IV Karlović (died in 1531).<sup>6</sup>

Each and every member of the clan inherited the title of *comes de Corbavia* by birth. This was particularly valuable during the reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437), when the Krbavski figured as the king's closest allies in Croatia.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that Ivan II, Nicholas's only son, who performed the high duty of *magister dapipherorum* at the royal court from 1397 till 1417, had the nickname Grof ("count").<sup>8</sup> The Krbavski were among those magnates in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom who had the right of possessing their own *banderium* of horsemen.<sup>9</sup> Under their own banners they defended their estates and the whole of Dalmatia and Croatia together with the Frankapani and Nelipčići counts, and with Croatian ban. Their marital alliances additionally testify to their high social rank. Although the Krbavski left their marks particularly in Croatia and Dalmatia, a certain number of them temporarily or permanently acted and lived in Slavonia, Hungary and Slovakia. This last fact was relatively unknown until the publishing of Pál Engel's work *The Counts of Krbava* in Hungary, in 1998.<sup>10</sup> Our colleague Damir Karbić brought to our attention all this information and we thank him for that. He also kindly provided us with additional sources and his own excerpts from the Hungarian State Archives in Budapest.

The first encounter of one of the Kurjakovići with modern-day Slovakia occurred in 1358, when Count Grgur I, the most important member of his clan during the first half of the fourteenth century, finished *in castro Levia* as a prisoner of King Louis of Anjou (1342–1382). The reason for Grgur's imprisonment was his reluctance to take Louis' side during the latter's campaign to conquer Dalmatia. This reluctance was, most probably, caused by Count Grgur's multiple business and family ties

and interests in Venice. Grgur was imprisoned *propter infidelitatis notam* and he spent the last years of his life there.<sup>11</sup> His letter to Venice at the end of the same year is therefore filled with frustration. He was disappointed with his family, sons and friends. He emphasized that all that was left to him was his faithful personal servant, his ring and his money deposited in Venice, because the king confiscated all his other property throughout the kingdom.<sup>12</sup> Count Grgur once again, at the beginning of 1360, wrote to the Venetian doge petitioning him to support his cause at the royal court, and to send him some of the count's savings via his son, Juraj/George Kurjaković. However, due to Grgur's close and sudden death, an answer never arrived. Count Grgur's sons, despite the fact that they retained their titles, were no longer closely linked to Krbava. They could therefore be considered, particularly from the beginning of the fifteenth century, as local nobility from Križevci and Somogy counties, with the surname Zakanjski.

Some twenty years after Count Grgur's death, his nephews Nikola/Nicholas I and Toma/Thomas I appeared as *comites de Corbavia* among the escorts of the highest state dignitaries, witnessing the premarital contract between the children of King Louis and the Austrian duke Leopold, in the Slovak town of Zvolen.<sup>13</sup> It is possible that the counts then established some social links there, because later they directed their children to the north – to Slavonia, Hungary and Slovakia.<sup>14</sup> This was particularly true in the case of Ivan II Grof, Nicholas's only son. The social ascent of the Kurjakovići gained momentum after King Louis' death, in 1382, because they firmly supported the queens Elizabeth and Mary and later King Sigismund. During that period they were among the rare opponents of the Neapolitan party in Croatia.

The leader of the clan at the end of the fourteenth century was Count Butko, son of Budislav, the royal knight and for many years the duke of the Dalmatian town of Nin (*Nona*).<sup>15</sup> He

<sup>6</sup> BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 302.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p. 178.

<sup>8</sup> In all the documents from Sigismund's period his signature had the nickname *Grof*. See – BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 170, n. 1123.

<sup>9</sup> *Decreta Regni mediaevalis Hungariae: 1301–1457* (deinde *DRMH*), vol. 2. Ed.: Franciscus DÖRY et al. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976, Propositiones (1432–1433), pp. 148–149.

<sup>10</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, pp. 73–81.

<sup>11</sup> BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 111–112.

<sup>12</sup> Listine o odnošajih između južnog Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike. 10 vol. Ed.: Simeon LJUBIĆ. In: *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* (deinde *MSM*), Zagreb: Fr. Župan (Albrecht et Fiedler), 1868–1891, hic vol. 3, nr. 551, p. 384.

<sup>13</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*). 11 vol. Ed.: Georgius FEJÉR. Buda: Regiae Universitatis Hungariae, 1829–1844, hic vol. 3, 9/5, p. 380.

<sup>14</sup> BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 144–145.

<sup>15</sup> Registar Artukucija iz Rivignana. Srednjovjekovni registri Zadarskoga i Splitskoga kaptola. Ed.: Mladen ANČIĆ. In: *Fontes: Izvori za hrvatsku povijest*, a. 11, 2005, nr. 36, p. 173: "Domini Budislai comitis Corbaue nati olim domini Budislai de genere Gussich comitis Corbaue."

participated actively, side by side with his brothers Nicholas I and Thomas II and his nephews Karlo/Charles II and Pavao/Paul II, in an action to liberate the queens from captivity (May-June 1387), in Novigrad near Zadar (Zara).<sup>16</sup> This action definitively strengthened the political ties between the Kurjakovići and King Sigismund, and most probably influenced their rapid social ascent in the kingdom. While residing for some time on their estates near Zadar, Queen Mary showered her liberators with possessions, privileges, offices, and honors. The Kurjakovići regained the town of Obrovac and practically turned it into their main seat. They also obtained vast areas around the Velebit Mountain. From that time onwards they were titled as lords and counts of Krbava, Lika, Bužane, and Bag.<sup>17</sup> On his behalf Count Butko became the queen's court *ispán*,<sup>18</sup> and his nephew Charles II her *magister pincernarum*.<sup>19</sup> However, this was just the beginning of Charles's splendid career at the royal court. In February 1393 King Sigismund granted him for life the royal fortress and town of Čeklis (lat. *Cheklyz*, slov. *Bernolákovo*; hung. *Cseklész*) with the adjacent manor, northeast of Bratislava.<sup>20</sup> Four months later the chapter of Bratislava invested Charles as the lord of Čeklis.<sup>21</sup> Count Charles started to often sign himself as Count of Čeklis, or Čekliški, due to the fact that he lived there from then onwards, until his death.<sup>22</sup> Count Charles II is particularly mentioned in the sources in relation to Čeklis and various affairs there from 1402 till 1412.<sup>23</sup>

Charles's cousin, Count Ivan II Grof, joined his relative at the royal court in the early spring of 1397. Impressively, over the following twenty

years (until 1417) he performed the duty of royal *magister dapipherorum*.<sup>24</sup> He probably came to the court among Sigismund's escorts after the king's return from the battlefield at Nikopol, in the winter of 1396–1397. We know that Sigismund on his travels shortly visited Komić in Krbava, one of the main seats of the counts.<sup>25</sup> In that context one could interpret the arrival of Count Ivan II at the court as a sort of royal reward to the Kurjakovići for their previous faithful services. While negotiating with the Habsburgs in order to strengthen his shaky rule, King Sigismund summoned his faithful magnates and nobles to Bratislava, in September 1402. Among the cosigners who approved the king's action were also counts of Krbava, Charles II and Ivan II Grof.<sup>26</sup>

As a reaction to Ladislav of Naples' crowning in Zadar, in summer of 1403, Sigismund from Bratislava started to regain the towns and counties throughout the kingdom, with the help of his supporters. Soon afterwards, Sigismund entered Visegrád. He immediately appointed Charles II Kurjaković of Krbava and Čeklis as a royal castellan there, and entrusted him with guarding the crown of St. Stephen.<sup>27</sup> Count Charles held that office until spring of 1409, when as a man in the king's confidence he was appointed ban of Croatia, because of Venetian territorial pretensions there.<sup>28</sup> In the meantime he also performed the duty of secular governor of the diocese of Vác, and after Sigismund's victory in Bosnia, in 1408, Charles also became a *summus thesaurarius regius*.<sup>29</sup> Charles and his relative Ivan II Grof became members of the innermost circle of the *Ordo Draconis*, together with the king, the queen, and 22 of the most

<sup>16</sup> BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbaški knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 149–150.

<sup>17</sup> *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae: Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije. Listine godina 1386–1394*, vol. 17 (1981). Ed.: Stjepan GUNJAČA et al. Zagreb: JAZU, nr. 72, pp. 99–100: "Nos Nicolaus, Thomas et Vucho (!), filii olim comitis Budislai et Paulus, filius olim comitis Caroli, et Carolus, filius olim comitis Georgii, Corbauie, Liche, Busaneç (!), Scrisse domini et comites naturales uniuersis et singulis (...)"

<sup>18</sup> BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbaški knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 151.

<sup>19</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbaški knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 78.

<sup>20</sup> *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár: (1387–1422)*, 9 vol. Ed.: Elemér MÁLYUSZ – Iván BORSÁ. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951. (deinde ZsO), hic vol. 1, nr. 2915; *A Pécz nemzetség Apponyi ágának az Apponyi grófok családi levéltárában őrizett oklevelei (1241–1526)*, vol. 1. Ed.: Ernő KAMMERER. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1906, nr. 107, pp. 235–236.

<sup>21</sup> MOL DF 225517.

<sup>22</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbaški knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 78; BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbaški knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 158.

<sup>23</sup> ZsO 2, nr. 1500, nr. 2102; nr. 6170; nr. 6600; ZsO 3, nr. 1744.

<sup>24</sup> BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbaški knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 169. It seems that his stay in office was interrupted, for no obvious reasons, between 1404 and 1406.

<sup>25</sup> Šišić, Ferdo: *Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića patricija zadarskoga*. In: *Vjestnik kraljevskog hrvatsko-dalmatinsko-slavonskog zemaljskog arkiva*, a. 6, 1904, p. 23.

<sup>26</sup> CDH 10/4, p. 47.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 299; KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Capiti nostro Bavie* [?]. In: *Vjestnik kraljevskog hrvatsko-dalmatinsko-slavonskog zemaljskog arkiva*, a. 1, 1899, p. 275; CDH 10/4, p. 104; KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Capiti nostro Bavie* [?], p. 206; ENGEL, Pál: *Krbaški knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 78; BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbaški knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 179.

<sup>28</sup> ZsO 2, nr. 5397, nr. 6363; nr. 6589.

<sup>29</sup> BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbaški knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 181.

distinguished men in Sigismund's kingdom.<sup>30</sup> It is indicative that they were the only Croat members of that elite order (Fig. 1).

As the Kurjakovići in general were siding with Sigismund, the counts of Krbava in Croatia felt ever more pressured from the Neapolitan party, contrary to their powerful relatives at the court. Among other reasons, it is highly probable that Charles accepted the duty of Croatian ban because the Venetian territorial expansion in the hinterland of Dalmatian towns, particularly Zadar, challenged the estates of his clan. He bore the title of ban of Dalmatia and Croatia for the first time in March 1409, in a document confirming the privileges of Bratislava.<sup>31</sup> However, after a period of heavy fighting with the Venetians in Dalmatia, in October 1411 Charles resigned as ban and permanently left his native Croatia. The last years of his life he spent on the territory of nowadays Slovakia, especially at his Čeklis estate. He possessed a house in Bratislava as well.<sup>32</sup> As *comes Karolus de Corbauia alias de Chekles, pridem regnorum nostrorum Dalmatie et Croatiae banus*, Charles participated, in 1412, at the tournament in Buda organized in honor of Sigismund's peace with the Polish-Lithuanian king Wladislaus II Jagiello (1386–1434).<sup>33</sup> The other Croatian magnates, engaged in defensive efforts against the Venetians, did not participate in that special occasion.

During King Sigismund's absence from the kingdom, between 1412 and 1418, the lord of Čeklis Charles II Krbavski and other dignitaries tried to resolve numerous disputes and conflicts about property issues, particularly throughout Slovakia.<sup>34</sup> For example, Charles was one of the jurors, in April 1413 in Bratislava, in a dispute between the citizens of Trnava and the nobleman Ulrich Wolffurt, regarding the rights of collecting grapes and the taxation of several vineyards.<sup>35</sup> This legal dispute was resolved only in July 1414, in Željezno (lat. *Kismartonium*, hung. *Kis-Marton*, ger. *Eisenstadt*) in Gradišće (ger. *Burgenland*).<sup>36</sup> In 1417



Fig. 1. The family coat-of-arms of Counts Karlo/Charles II and Ivan II Grof, as members of the Dragon Order.

the king appointed Count Charles as a permanent member of the royal supreme court.<sup>37</sup> Despite his old age, Count Charles remained rather active and engaged in public matters until his death. At the beginning of November 1418 he was regulating the agrarian relations at the estate of Čeklis,<sup>38</sup> while at the beginning of 1422 the *ispán* of Bratislava Stephen Rozgony petitioned him for clarifications regarding the borders of certain estates.<sup>39</sup> In September 1422 Charles was escorting King Sigismund who travelled to the Reichstag of the Holy Roman Empire in Nuremberg, as recorded in the *Memories of Eberhard Windecke*.<sup>40</sup> Count Charles II most probably died at the end of 1422, at his castle on the mount Várdomb in the town of Čeklis.

Count Charles married twice: firstly with Margaret, and after her death with Magdalena Rohonc (von Rechnitz).<sup>41</sup> His first wife was of unknown origin. However, she was most probably

<sup>30</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 75.

<sup>31</sup> CDH 10/4, p. 333.

<sup>32</sup> MOL DF 239443.

<sup>33</sup> MOL DL 10527; Šišić, Ferdo: *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i njegovo doba (1348–1416)*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1902, p. 224; FILIPOVIĆ, Emir: Viteške svečanosti u Budimu 1412. godine i učešće bosanskih predstavnika. In: *Spomenica Marka Šunjića (1927–1998)*. Ed.: Dubravko LOVRENOVIĆ. Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet u Sarajevu, 2010, pp. 296–301.

<sup>34</sup> MOL DL 10527; MOL DL 10005; MOL DL 10241.

<sup>35</sup> WENZEL, Gusztáv: *Stibor vajda. Életrajzi tanulmány*. Budapest: Eggenberger-Féle Akad. Könyvkereskedés, 1874, nr. 115, pp. 158–159.

<sup>36</sup> MOL DL 10005; MOL DL 10241.

<sup>37</sup> DRMH, p. 401; ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 78.

<sup>38</sup> MOL DL 43422.

<sup>39</sup> MOL DF 226223.

<sup>40</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 78.

<sup>41</sup> BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 193.

a relative of his, since Pope Innocent VII issued a special license for this marriage, in November 1404.<sup>42</sup> Charles had three sons with Margaret: Juraj/George III, Nikola/Nicholas III, and Ivanka. Margaret probably died before Charles's return from serving as ban in Croatia. Charles later married Magdalena, the daughter of Andreas Rohonc from Burgenland.<sup>43</sup> It is not known what happened to her after Charles's death. The year before Charles died, she and her brothers and sisters rented from the lords of Ludbreg some four possessions in Križevci, in medieval Slavonia.<sup>44</sup> In this document Charles is explicitly mentioned as the count of Čeklis. It is possible, although far from sure, that one distinguished Hungarian and Croatian magnate in the 1430s and 1440s named Ivanka was, in fact, their son. Even if it was not the case, Ivanka was almost surely born in today's Slovakia, because his name does not have a Croatian form. It is also interesting to notice that there is a town called Ivanka near Čeklis, which was perhaps under Count Charles's rule once.

One might conclude that Charles II Kurjaković, Count of Krbava and Lord of Čeklis, figured amongst the most prominent personalities of King Sigismund's era. Despite that, he was until now practically unknown in Slovakia's history.<sup>45</sup> Even less is known about his cousin Ivan II Grof, who was a high court dignitary. Examples of Ivan being a royal representative testify to his high status in court circles.<sup>46</sup> Ivan also participated in King Sigismund's imperial crowning in Aachen, together with his son George III.<sup>47</sup>

The death of Count Charles II had a strong impact on the whole Krbavski clan. Namely, Charles' sons did not return to Croatia but instead remained in Hungary. It seems that perhaps only Count Butko's son Franko, Charles' relative, constantly commuted between his native Krbava region and Hungary. Franko probably entered in Charles's service immediately upon his father's

death, in 1402. It seems that Count Charles treated Franko and his brother Petar/Peter well, probably because Butko, Charles's uncle and father of the two brothers, persuaded Count Charles earlier at the right moment to move northwards and join the king's entourage.<sup>48</sup> It is most probable that Franko lived for some time on the Čeklis estate. It would be almost impossible that without Count Charles's blessings Franko would appear among the 25 magnates and royal nobles in King Sigismund's closest entourage, while the latter was travelling to the Council of Constance, in February 1415.<sup>49</sup> Franko married late and had children. However, they were mentioned only as newborn babies and never again. Count Franko most probably returned to Croatia after Count Charles's death, at the end of 1422. Towards the end of his life he entered the service of the Cillei (Celjski) counts.<sup>50</sup> In doing that, he followed the policy of his clan formulated in Hungary by Charles's sons, George III and Ivanka.<sup>51</sup>

Counts George III and Ivanka on the other hand, together with their brother Nicholas III, left Čeklis at the end of 1422. According to the contract from 1393, the Čeklis estate was returned to the king.<sup>52</sup> However, the counts did not return to Croatia. It is unknown where they lived after that. The fate of Count Charles's second wife Magdalena also remains unknown. Perhaps she continued to live in Slovakia, due to the fact that Charles possessed a house in Bratislava.<sup>53</sup> However, Charles's sons did not have to worry, at least while Sigismund was still alive. Their descent provided them enough protection.

Count Charles's death coincided with the formation of strong territorial dukedoms of the Cillei (Celjski), Frankapani, Talovci, Hunyadi, etc.<sup>54</sup> The Kurjakovići remained on the side of blood relatives and political allies of the court. Therefore, Count George III and his brothers Nicholas III and Ivanka, Count Franko and all the relatives in Krbava

<sup>42</sup> ZsO 2, nr. 3497.

<sup>43</sup> MOL DL 43422.

<sup>44</sup> ZsO 8, nr. 1161.

<sup>45</sup> *Bernolákovo: História obce*, <http://www.bernelakovo.sk/infoobec/historia.htm>, 18. 04. 2011 – On the web-page of the town of Bernolákovo (Čeklis), in the overview of the town's history, one cannot find even a single note about Charles II, who governed it between 1393 and 1422 and eventually died there.

<sup>46</sup> ZsO 3, nr. 1006, nr. 1422; MOL DL 86788.

<sup>47</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 77.

<sup>49</sup> CDH 10/8, p. 269; KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1982, p. 95.

<sup>50</sup> BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 206.

<sup>51</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.

<sup>52</sup> ZsO 1, nr. 2915; *A Pécz nemzetség Apponyi*, nr. 107, pp. 235–236.

<sup>53</sup> MOL DF 239443.

<sup>54</sup> RAUKAR, Tomislav: *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje – prostor, ljudi, ideje*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997, p. 221.

supported Queen Barbara, and after Sigismund's death the policy of Barbara's daughter Elizabeth, her husband Albert of Habsburg and their son Ladislas V the Posthumous. Count Charles's oldest son George III was the first one who sided with the Cillei counts. He met Herman and Frederick of Cillei at the court, while his father Charles was still alive. As George was living in Central Europe almost from his birth, his interests lied primarily there. Therefore, the Cillei were much closer to him than the Croatian leaders of the time, the Frankapani counts, with which several George's relatives in Croatia had closer connections.

In July 1426, Count George III became the queen's special envoy in solving the territorial disputes on the Zechy estate.<sup>55</sup> In January 1430, Queen Barbara bestowed him with the title of *comes* of Zvolen county, in today's central Slovakia.<sup>56</sup> From that moment until his death in 1439, Count George III lived in Zvolen Castle.<sup>57</sup> He was married to Agata, possibly the daughter of Pavao/Paul Zrinski, who was mentioned in 1442 as a widow. George had two sons with her – Paul III and Nicholas V. It is interesting to mention that Paul later returned to Croatia, but his grandsons came back to Slovakia at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The arrival of Count George III in Zvolen coincided with the beginning of a dispute between Herman of Cillei and Nicholas Frankapan. It is quite possible that the Krbavski in Croatia sided with the Cillei thanks to the influence of Count George and his brothers. Namely, George's youngest brother Ivanka became the master of the queen's court (*magister curiae*).<sup>58</sup> It is, therefore, possible that even the noble alliance *Fraternitas Croatorum*, concluded in 1430 under the leadership of the count of Cetina, Ivaniš Nelipčić, and of the counts of Krbava, Charles III and Thomas II, in Knin,<sup>59</sup> perceived by

the Venetians as the most important city in Croatia (*caput et principalis locus Croatiae*),<sup>60</sup> had been organized with the support of Charles's powerful sons in Hungary, who were the queen's men. While enumerating the members of the above-mentioned alliance, the brothers from Krbava explicitly stated that they also represented their relatives Ivanka, George III, Nicholas III and Franko, who do not live in Croatia.<sup>61</sup> This noble alliance reflected the political dissatisfaction of the Croatian nobility with the oligarchic ascent of Count Nicholas Frankapan in Croatia.<sup>62</sup> Curbing the power of the Frankapani, the alliance was very useful for King Sigismund, and for the Cillei counts as well.

However, the sons and particularly grandsons of the lord of Čeklis, Charles II Krbavski, loosened with time their ties with Krbava. In the meantime, Count Nicholas III died. The youngest Ivanka, in February 1434, acted as the queen's prosecutor at the court in Buda against the county of Sopron, which did not send the queen's *tricesima* regularly.<sup>63</sup> A year later, in June 1435, Ivanka and his brother George III obtained from the king, for 2000 guldens, the castle of Tátika near Keszthely, on Lake Balaton.<sup>64</sup> Due to the fact that the castle was located in Zala county, where the Cillei had significant influence, it is highly probable that Charles's sons obtained it in pledge with the former's recommendation and blessing. In 1437, Count Franko was mentioned as castellan of the Cillei counts in Čakovec (today in Croatia), also in Zala county.<sup>65</sup> However, the unity between Count Charles's sons, George III and Ivanka, was shortly interrupted due to the chain of events caused by King Sigismund's death.

In the struggle for the throne between Barbara of Cillei and Elizabeth of Habsburg, after the death of King Sigismund in 1437,<sup>66</sup> the

<sup>55</sup> *Codex diplomaticus dominus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő. A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idős ág anak okmánytára* (deinde CD Zichy), vol. 8. Ed.: Iván NAGY – Ernő KAMMERER, – Pál LUKACSICS. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1895, nr. 189, pp. 296–302.

<sup>56</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.

<sup>57</sup> See <http://eng.zvolen.eu/history.phtml?id3=5227>, 01. 04. 2010 –The castle was later labeled as “deserted”, because the Hunyadi party warriors desolated it during the dynastic clashes.

<sup>58</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.

<sup>59</sup> KARBIĆ, Damir: *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*, pp. 110–111.

<sup>60</sup> KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, p. 324.

<sup>61</sup> MOL DL 38517: “(...) item domini Karulus et Thomas comites Corbaue in suis et aliorum fratrum suorum comitum Corbaue personis videlz et comitis Iwankonis, comitis Georgii, comitis Nicolai et comitis Frankonis necnon ceteri singuli et uniuersi nobiles.”

<sup>62</sup> KARBIĆ, Damir: *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*, pp. 110–111; BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 201–203.

<sup>63</sup> MOL DL 15681.

<sup>64</sup> MOL DF 200436.

<sup>65</sup> BIZJAK, Matjaž – PREINFALK, Miha: *Turjaška knjiga listin. Dokumenti 15. stoletja*, vol. 2. Ljubljana: Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa – ZRC SAZU, 2009, nr. 188, nr. 278, nr. 189, pp. 279–280.

<sup>66</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén. Digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről*. PC CD-ROM. Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis, 2001, , pp. 280–281; KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, pp. 177–178.

Kurjakovići split in two. The older son of Count Charles, George III, sided with Barbara, while younger Ivanka supported Elizabeth. Ivanka already from the summer of 1436 did not hold the office of the queen's *magister curiae*.<sup>67</sup> After Sigismund's death he immediately sided with Elizabeth, who returned to him his former status.<sup>68</sup> His influence at Elizabeth's court was significant, and he appeared repeatedly as *relator* in her autographs.<sup>69</sup> Queen Elizabeth also rewarded him with the castle of Solymár, in the Pilis county near Pest.<sup>70</sup> George was mentioned for the last time in March 1439.<sup>71</sup> With his unknown wife he had a son who was a minor, Grgur V. The latter kept his father's allegiances, siding with Elizabeth and her son Ladislav V the Posthumous.

On the other side, Ivanka's older brother and the *comes* of Zvolen, George III Krbavski, sided with Queen Barbara, becoming her *magister curiae* immediately after the queen's split with Elizabeth,



Fig. 2. The seal of the lords of Mrsinje, counts Petar/Peter II and George V of Krbava.

inheriting his brother's former status.<sup>72</sup> At the beginning of November 1439 he was a member of her narrowest entourage in Visegrád, when she made peace with her daughter and delivered her the crown of St. Stephen.<sup>73</sup> Soon afterwards Count George died.<sup>74</sup> His sons, counts Nicholas V and Paul III, followed the political path of the new queen and her successor, Ladislav V. In fact, all the Krbavski in Hungary sided from the 1440s onwards with Queen Elizabeth.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, during the civil war from 1440 till 1442 between the supporters of Elizabeth and of the newly crowned king, Wladislaus I Jagiello (1440–1444),<sup>76</sup> the Krbavski were the queen's soldiers in Zvolen county.<sup>77</sup> Count George's sons lived with their mother Agatha, probably in the vicinity of Zvolen, helping the troops of Jan Jiskra (Ivan Jiškra) who were defending the counties of Spiš and Zvolen.<sup>78</sup> One source mentions that Agatha and her sons held Dobrá Niva, in the vicinity of Zvolen.<sup>79</sup> This castle belonged to the queen, and Elizabeth later consigned it to Agatha and her sons. Its captain in September 1441 was Jakov Horvat, perhaps originating from the county of Krbava, who was probably Count George's servant even from before.<sup>80</sup> The above-mentioned castle remained in the hands of Nicholas V until 1447, when Jan Jiskra took it over.<sup>81</sup> Count Nicholas V was mentioned as a Hungarian landowner for the last time in 1450.<sup>82</sup>

After the loss of Dobrá Niva, it seems that Paul III went back to Croatia. From that time onwards he was living in the Krbava county, in Mrsinj, and died there before 1468.<sup>83</sup> He left for Croatia with his son, Count Grgur VII, who was already married by then. In later charters written in Croatian, in Glagolitic script, Paul's grandson Nicholas VI's name was repeatedly mentioned in its northern language form, as Miklavuš. At the beginning of March 1489, Nicholas VI and his

<sup>67</sup> CDH 10/7, p. 364.

<sup>68</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.

<sup>69</sup> MOL DL 15681; *Codex diplomaticus patrius* (deinde CDP), 8 vol. Ed.: Imre Nagy et al. Budapestini: Typis Alexsandri Kocsi, 1865–1891, hic vol. 8, nr. 180; MOL DL 13317; MOL DL 13301.

<sup>70</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.

<sup>71</sup> MOL DL 13301.

<sup>72</sup> CDH 11, p. 147; MOL DL 13457.

<sup>73</sup> MOL DL 13457.

<sup>74</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Korbáviai grófok, György (1414–1439)*.

<sup>75</sup> IDEM: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.

<sup>76</sup> KLAIĆ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, pp. 198–202; ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, pp. 280–281.

<sup>77</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.

<sup>78</sup> IDEM: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, p. 282.

<sup>79</sup> MOL DL 254187.

<sup>80</sup> MOL DL 249795.

<sup>81</sup> CD Zichy 9, p. 169.

<sup>82</sup> MOL DL 252476.

<sup>83</sup> MOL DL 33310.

sons Petar/Peter II and George V donated their watermill near Rog, on the river Krka, and adjacent peasant plots to Franjo Utišenić.<sup>84</sup> This charter is sealed with an impressive family seal, with the engraved inscription in Croatian Glagolitic PETR I JURI KNZI KRBAVSKI (Fig. 2 – see the previous page).<sup>85</sup> It is possible that this marked the beginning of the selling and donating of their lands in the old country, due to the overall insecurity in Croatia, Ottoman raids and King Matthias's negative attitude towards their clan. It seems that they have already then started to think about going back to Slovakia.<sup>86</sup> Namely, in July 1504 this whole branch of the clan was testified in Slovakia, in Slovenská Lupča and Brezno where George V was allegedly a local lord.<sup>87</sup> It is still not known whether Count George left any descendants in today's Slovakia. The same George soon afterwards, as a Croatian magnate, participated in the Hungarian Diet which decided that only a Hungarian born king could ascend to the throne.<sup>88</sup> George was also a royal ambassador on various occasions, for example in 1504 to the Ottomans,<sup>89</sup> or in 1507 to Venice.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, it is highly probable that he did not remain for long on his estate in Slovakia.

Count Ivanka's son, Grgur V, was also important for Slovak history. During the civil war, between 1440 and 1442, he moved from today's western Hungary to today's Slovakia. He was a firm supporter of Queen Elizabeth and Ladislav V during the war, which was particularly intense around Bratislava.<sup>91</sup> Some fifteen years after the war, King Ladislav once mentioned that Grgur V participated in his and his mother's liberation from captivity.<sup>92</sup> Therefore, the queen rewarded Grgur, at the end of 1441 he became captain of the town of Slovenská Lupča, on the Hron river, east of Banská Bystrica. Count Grgur received in mortgage, for 10 000 golden florins, all the possessions belonging to Lupča, including the villages of:



Fig. 3. The seal of Count Grgur V of Krbava, from the Hungarian Diet in 1447.

*Ponykowa, Tergorch, Molcze, Dubrawitz, Salkowawaz, Solcza, Podkoryncze, Luchetyn, Pryhod, Meybradye, Brusno, Villa S. Andree, Rastoka, Nymaska Wag, Sargronye, Dubrowa, Gesen, Prodayna, Lamastye, Lyhota regis, Lyhota Petri, Lopye, Sthawnicze, Hrwneecz, and Hedel.*<sup>93</sup> Four years later, in September 1445, Count Grgur gave to his faithful castellan George Hototin a possession called Dubravice.<sup>94</sup> George's second name Hototin might indicate his descent from the region of Hotuča, in Krbava county. Count Grgur confirmed the said donation with his seal, carrying the inscription S. GREGORII CO. CORBAV. on it.<sup>95</sup> The seal, among other elements, contained a figure of a goose, symbol of the Kurjakovići Krbavski.

Grgur V Krbavski has been married to Sofia Neczpály, a noble woman from Turiec county,

<sup>84</sup> *Hrvatski spomenici*, vol. 1 (od godine 1100-1499). Ed.: Đuro ŠURMIN. Zagreb: JAZU, 1898, nr. 226, pp. 337–338: "Mi knez Miklovuš i knez Petar i knez Juraj i knez Mikula, knezi krbavski i veće (...)"

<sup>85</sup> PANTELIĆ, Marija: Glagoljski kodeksi Bartola Krbavca. In: *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta*, a. 5, 1964, p. 11.

<sup>86</sup> GRGIN, Borislav: *Počeci rasapa. Kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska*. Zagreb: Ibis grafika, 2002, pp. 94–97, 123–125; JURKOVIĆ, Ivan: Turska opasnost i hrvatski velikaši: knez Bernardin Frankapan i njegovo doba. In: *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, a. 17, 2000, p. 72.

<sup>87</sup> MOL DL 30864.

<sup>88</sup> KLAJČIĆ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 4, p. 270.

<sup>89</sup> *I diari di Marino Sanuto*, vol. 5. Ed.: Rinaldo FULIN – Federico STEFANI – Niccolò BAROZZI – Guglielmo BERCHET – Marco ALLEGRI. Venezia: La R. deputazione veneta di storia patria, 1881, pp. 587, 602, 740–741.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 6, pp. 542, 545; vol. 10, p. 268.

<sup>91</sup> KLAJČIĆ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, p. 218.

<sup>92</sup> MOL DL 30859.

<sup>93</sup> MOL DL 30857.

<sup>94</sup> CDP 8, nr. 348.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem*: "Hártyán, hártyszalagon függő ép pecséttel, mely sárga viasz fészekben vörös viaszba van nyomva. Körirata: S. GREGORII CO. CORBAV. A pecséten jobbra dült paizs, alsó felében három csik, ezek tetején álló hattyú; a paizs felett csörsisak, a sisakdísz ismét hattyú."

whose grandfather George and father Ladislav fought against the Hussites in King Sigismund's army. She and Count Grgur had a son named Kristof/Christopher.<sup>96</sup> In summer of 1445, Grgur was one of the envoys who petitioned the duke of Austria and German king Frederick to let young Ladislav V return to the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom.<sup>97</sup> Being one of the most distinguished magnates, Grgur probably participated in all Hungarian diets of that period. For example, together with his father-in-law he participated in the diet of September 1447, during which Ladislav Garai (Gorjanski), Ban of Machva (Mačva), was elected count palatine.<sup>98</sup> On that occasion, Grgur and Ladislav sealed a charter through which John Hunyadi took over the command of Buda Castle (Fig. 3).<sup>99</sup> It is interesting to note that on that occasion Count Grgur, besides his fellow Croatian magnate Sigismund Frankapan, was listed as a deputy from Slavonia.<sup>100</sup>

According to extant sources, Count Grgur was living in Slovenská Ľupča until approximately 1460.<sup>101</sup> It is not known whether he stayed on the side of Jan Jiskra even after 1447, when the latter went on a collision course with John Hunyadi.<sup>102</sup> However, contrary to Jiskra, Grgur later sided with

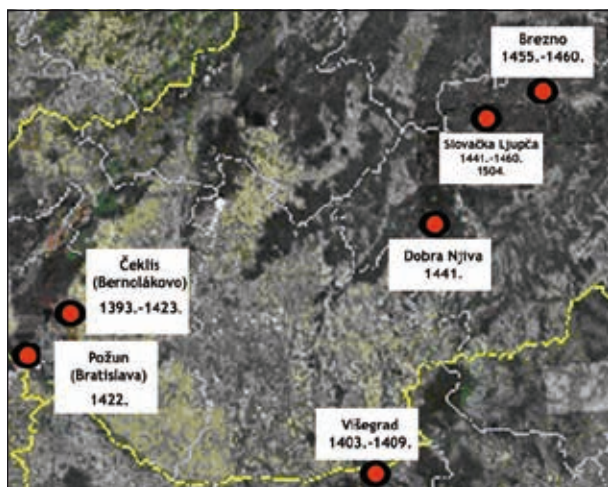


Fig. 4. The estates and offices of the Kurjakovići Krbavski counts in the present-day Slovakia and northern Hungary.

King Ladislav V.<sup>103</sup> Consequently, the young king rewarded Grgur, due to his former merits, at the beginning of 1455, with the lifelong possession of Slovenská Ľupča and Brezno, comprising 22 villages and customs rights on the borders of those towns and villages, in Zvolen county.<sup>104</sup> The overall value of Count Grgur's estates east of Banská Bystrica, around the Hron river, was estimated at 10000 golden florins, which was still pledged. On this occasion, the king emphasized that Count Grgur rebuilt and repaired at his own expenses the walls of Slovenská Ľupča and numerous buildings there that were almost completely desolated after the strong earthquake that struck the region. The king further announced that he would in due time, after Count Grgur's death, claim all those possessions for himself. However, Grgur's successors would have the right to be compensated for it, in the amount of the aforementioned 10 000 golden florins.

After Count Grgur's death, around 1460, King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) ordered that Slovenská Ľupča be returned to him. However, there was some resistance, because Grgur's widow Sofia and her minor son Christopher did not obtain guarantees for the above-mentioned sum of money. The indirect confirmation for that is a king's donation for Ladislav from Dolná Mičiná, near Banská Bystrica. King Matthias donated to him one half of the neighboring possession Mólča, because of his participation in capturing Slovenská Ľupča.<sup>105</sup> Count Grgur's son Christopher, as recorded in May 1461, was then still a boy.<sup>106</sup>

Count Christopher seemed to be still alive at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Perhaps during that period he recommended to his relatives from Krbava to buy his former estate in Slovakia. Namely, Nicholas VI and his son George V became, in July 1504, the owners of Slovenská Ľupča and Brezno with the adjacent villages, in Zvolen county.<sup>107</sup> In such a way the descendants of the once mighty Charles II returned to Slovakia. Their lives there and the life of Christopher cannot be reconstructed, for the time being. If

<sup>96</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Neczpály de Neczpál and Bethlen de Iktár families*, <http://genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/neczpaly.html>, 19. 11. 2010.

<sup>97</sup> KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, pp. 245–246.

<sup>98</sup> Ibidem, p. 261.

<sup>99</sup> RADVÁNSZKY, Bela – ZÁVODSZKY, Lajos: *A Héderváry-család oklevéltára*, vol. 1. Budapest: Kiada a Magyar tudományos academia, 1909, nr. 189, pp. 251–255.

<sup>100</sup> KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, p. 261.

<sup>101</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi arhontológiája*, p. 361.

<sup>102</sup> KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, pp. 278–281; ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, pp. 290–291.

<sup>103</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, pp. 288–295.

<sup>104</sup> MOL DL 30859.

<sup>105</sup> MOL DL 63963.

<sup>106</sup> MOL DL 63200.

<sup>107</sup> MOL DL 30864.

there were to appear any hint that any of them left male heirs behind, then Ivan IV Karlović could no longer be considered the last member of the Kurjakovići clan. For the time being, everything we know points to the fact that with Karlović's death, in 1531, the Kurjakovići Krbavski became extinct in the male line. In the end, one might

conclude that the counts of Krbava, among all the Croatian magnates, had the strongest impact on today's Slovakia and its history (Fig. 4 – see the previous page). Through their clan, the two countries and histories were connected for at least one century and a half.

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<sup>108</sup> MIRNIK, Ivan: Zmajski Red u Hrvatskoj i Ugarskoj Heraldici. In: *Grb i Zastava*, a. 3, 2009, nr. 5, p. 6.

<sup>109</sup> MOL DL 82044; According to mould done by B. Fučić.

<sup>110</sup> RADVÁNSZKY, Bela – ZÁVODSZKY, Lajos: *A Héderváry-család oklevéltára*, nr. 189, p. 255.

<sup>111</sup> We thank to our colleague Hrvoje Kekez for helping us to draw the maps. We used Google Maps as a basis for this particular map.

MÁRIA GRÓFOVÁ\*

## The Family of Ilok – a Croatian Noble House of Slovak Origin?

Rodina Ilockých - chorvátsky šľachtický rod slovenského pôvodu? /  
Iločki – hrvatska plemićka obitelj slovačkog podrijetla?

*In her contribution the author attempts to solve the question of the origin of the important aristocratic kindred of Ilok. Unlike Hungarian historians, she identifies its ancestors as one of the side branches of the Poznan lineage, who preserved their original identity still during the fourteenth century, because they used the additional name Sclavus, i.e. Slovak. The first to have used the abovementioned name was Lawrence/Vavrinec, son of John, and after him almost all descendants of Lawrence's brothers. The author further identifies the kindred's extensive estate holdings, which concentrated in the southern regions, in Slavonia, and in the territory of present-day south-western Slovakia. She also presents the most important members of the kindred who held significant positions at the royal court.*

Keywords: high nobility, fourteenth – fifteenth century, south-western Slovakia, Orahovica, Ilok

The family of Ilok (Ilocký/Iločki, Frištacký) undoubtedly belonged to the most prominent nobility in the fourteenth – and fifteenth-century Kingdom of Hungary. However, the origin and the beginnings of their activities have not been revealed yet. Late Hungarian historian Pál Engel dealt with this family within his genealogical work concerning the most significant Hungarian noble families.<sup>1</sup> However, he had not attempted to determine the very origins of their lineage. He only stated that the oldest known (though with no further details) ancestor of the family was certain Gug/Gúg or Gudä (*Gugye*) who had lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. Each of his three sons – John, Gregory and Stephen – died leaving heirs. Gug's resident estate is to be presumably looked for in the counties of Baranya or Virovitica, which is in the present-day Croatia. However, the fact that the ancestors of the family of Ilok owned two hereditary estates in the present-day south-western Slovakia has been overlooked so far. These were the town of Bojná (nowadays Topolčany district) and the village of Tekoldány (Hlohovec district).

The first better known ancestor of the Ilok family was John, son of Gug (*Johannes filius Gugye*), who actually appeared as *homo regius* in 1281,

when Ban Peter together with his brother, *comes* Kemen, from the family of Tetény/Tetěň obtained the possession of the village of Gajul (*Gayul*).<sup>2</sup> The family experienced tough times at the beginning of the fourteenth century due to the feudal anarchy, personified in the western Transdanubia by sons of ban Henry of Kőszeg (Kiseckí). John, son of Gudä, had also two older brothers – George and Stephen. The ancestors of the Ilok family – John's sons James, Egidius, John, Lawrence and Ugrin as well as their cousins Nicholas, son of George, and Beke together with Nicholas, son of Stephen had to face various acts of violence for supporting King Charles Robert I. They were being imprisoned or even tortured by their enemies, who also led them in chains through market towns in order to humiliate them. Some of them were also brutally slain with sword. On the other hand, King Charles Robert finally appreciated them in 1330. On February 18, 1330 he freed them from the jurisdiction of all courts and judges in the Kingdom of Hungary, so they were further on subordinated only to the authority of the royal court. After this privilege had been granted, they were to be subordinated neither to any judges nor county officers in the counties of Virovitica, Somogy, Tolna,

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<sup>1</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*. Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV. Budapest: Arcanum 2003. Tamás Fedeles has dealt with this family the most recently within the Hungarian historiography. In his studies, he discussed various aspects of the lineage's activities. However, he has not approached the topic of their origin. FEDELES, Tamás: Egy középkori főúri család vallásossága. In: *Századok*, a. 145, 2011, nr. 2, pp. 377–418. The references to the older literature can be found there as well.

<sup>2</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, vol. 9. Ed.: Gusztáv WENZEL. Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd 1871, nr. 210, p. 292.

and Vasvár, which means that these were the administrative units where both hereditary and obtained estates of the ancestors of the family of Ilok are to be found.<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting that this generation of the Ilok family ancestors already used ethnically motivated predicate *Sclavus* or *Tuoth*, respectively, which most probably signified their Slovak origin.<sup>4</sup> As far as the Ilok ancestry is concerned, it was Lawrence called "Slovak" (*Sclavus*), living in the first half of the fourteenth century, who contributed to the raising of the lineage in the most significant way. He is mentioned in the first half of the 1320s as a castellan of Tátika castle in the county of Zala.<sup>5</sup> At that time, he used the predicate *de Mortun*, which could have referred to the village of *Sanctus Martinus*? (Saint Martin) somewhere in the present-day south-western Hungary.<sup>6</sup> Lawrence also held the office of a royal standard-bearer in years 1328–1341 and served for twenty years (1328–1348) as a castellan of Šintava. In addition, it is highly probable that his oldest son Nicholas obtained the same office as well. Lawrence's career peaked in 1340s since he was appointed as a royal *magister tavarnicorum* as well as a *comes* of the counties of Nitra, Vásvár, Sopron, and Varaždin.<sup>7</sup> In 1328, King Charles Robert pledged him the Zrin castle, which later on became his hereditary possession. However, Lawrence together with his sons Levkuš "Slovak" and Ugrin gave the castle willingly back to King Louis I in 1347. On the other hand, they received castles of Ostrovica and Orahovica in return. The Orahovica estate included also the villages of Bukovica (Bakva), Viljevo, and Jošava.<sup>8</sup> The king's favour also spread on sons of Lawrence "Slovak", namely Nicholas Kont (later on the palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary), Levkuš (royal *magister dapiferorum*) and Bartholomew (*magister pincernarum*). The eldest Nicholas rendered valuable service to the king, while acting as his ambassador to the pope residing in Avignon. He obtained his predicate *Kont* there

and he used it further on up to his death. For the service rendered (particularly in respect to the war for the Neapolitan heritage), King Louis donated the castle dominion of Tematín to the family of Ilok in 1348. One year later, he gave them the Hlohovec estate as well.<sup>9</sup> The Hlohovec dominion was not an extensive one; however, its value was raised by the populous and important royal town of Hlohovec with a well-developed craft production and viniculture. Despite the fact that Nicholas Kont as an important dignitary was obliged to dwell constantly at the royal court or was travelling through the country, Hlohovec was very dear to him. He could have settled down in the solid and inaccessible Tematín, but he had rather chosen Hlohovec Castle as one of his residences. However, he did not have a place to dwell there at first as the old castle was nothing but a ruin of its old fortification. Nevertheless, Nicholas was endowed and had also sufficient human resources at his disposal. Therefore, he was able to build a new stone castle, which was supposed to serve as his private residence. However, Nicholas lingered there always only for a shorter period as his offices demanded his presence at King Louis'. Nevertheless, he was concerned about the prosperity of his new property of Hlohovec from the very beginning. If Hlohovec was to become the market centre for the wider surroundings, it had to be easily and safely accessible from every direction. Therefore, Duke Nicholas and his brother Levkuš decided to build a new bridge over the river Váh in 1353, where also the so-called wet toll was transferred, which Louis I approved as well.<sup>10</sup> In 1364, Nicholas Kont together with his relative Ladislav, son of Levkuš "Slovak", the castle of Ilok (Hun. *Újlak*) in exchange for Gornja Lindava. The name of the newly obtained castle subsequently became the predicate of the lineage.<sup>11</sup>

The question of the origin of the family of Ilok is still open though. The opinion concerning their origin from the lineages of Héder or Héderváry

<sup>3</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis* (deinde CDHA), vol. 2. Ed.: Imre NAGY. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1881, nr. 406, p. 464.

<sup>4</sup> The family of Hont-Poznan received their first estates in the county of Somogy, located especially ultra *Dravam* after the defeat of Duke Koppány (*Cupan*) in 997 as their part of the booty. See, for instance, LUKAČKA, Ján: *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku*. Bratislava: Minor, 2002, p. 25 and the following works.

<sup>5</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 1. Budapest: MTA TI, 1996, p. 441.

<sup>6</sup> Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár (deinde MOL DL), MOL DF 253100.

<sup>7</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 2. Budapest: MTA TI, 1996, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> MOL DL 33924. A transumptum of Nitra chapter from 1381.

<sup>9</sup> CDHA 5. Ed.: Imre Nagy – Guyla Tasnády Nagy. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1884, nr. 196, pp. 339–341 (hereafter CDA).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem* 6, nr. 87, pp. 133–136.

<sup>11</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, p. 451.

may be encountered in the older literature. Some authors have sought the possible affinity with the family of Fánecs (or Fánecsy) on the basis of coat-of-arms likeness.<sup>12</sup> In our opinion, all the previous researches have not taken into consideration some facts which could have been and still might be helpful when approaching this issue. Firstly, the self-identification of Ilok family referring to themselves as *Sclavus* or *Touth* shall be mentioned. If they were not Magyars, there are two possibilities to be considered: they could have been either Slovenians or Slovaks. From the territorial point of view, the Slovenian option seems to be a more obvious one. On the other hand, we are more inclined to accept the Slovak origin due to several reasons. Firstly and primarily, the properties held by the family show similar attributes as in case of other noble lineages within this area, originating from the wider Hont-Poznan kinship.<sup>13</sup> These include, for instance, families of Nitrianska Blatnica (Hungarian *de genere Pok, Poky*), Motičinský (Hun. *Matucsinaí*), Vojna (Hun. *Vajk*), descendants of Ambrose (Hun. *Pekri* of Tetény family), family of Geča (Hun. *Gecse*) and Bečej (Hun. *Töttös*). The distinctive attributes include, for example, scattered estates within the wide area of the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary, from Vásvár county in the west to the county of Sriein in the east. They possessed properties also in the area of present-day south-western Slovakia and in some cases in Bihar county as well. In addition, all the mentioned families held high administrative offices. The ancestors of Ilok family possessed these features as well. Except for estates in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary, we have found two hereditary estates in Ponitrie/Nitra region: town Bojná and village Tekoldány. It is also interesting that there are no charters for the family which would confirm donations, though their ownership rights have never been questioned.<sup>14</sup>

Taking into account the fact that Nicholas Kont owned extensive properties and held numerous offices, it is also obvious that he must have had a considerable number of *familiares* as well

as servants at his disposal. It is not surprising that they were of the same ethnical origin as he was. The account from 1353 concerning his servant Benedict "Slovak" (*Sclavus*), a burgher from Székesfehérvár, may serve as an example of the above-mentioned statement.<sup>15</sup>

When Palatine Nicholas Kont died, his widow Claire took over the administration of his extensive estates as their sons Bartolomew and Nicholas were still minors. Ten years later, older Bartholomew came of age, started a family and assumed the estates once belonging to his father. However, he died quite soon, at the beginning of the 1390s, leaving two sons: Ladislas and Emeric. As Claire did not remarry, she received the castle domain of Hlohovec as her lifelong possession. She was managing the estate with the assistance of her younger son Nicholas, which is attested, for example, by their common appearance in the conflict with nobleman Andrew, called Čapov, son of Peter, from Vašardice (nowadays Dolné Trhovište) in 1395. Andrew allegedly unintentionally killed their serf Anthony from Starý Hlohovec. They made him pay 10 talents of *denarii* as a compensation for Anthony's bereaved.<sup>16</sup>

Claire's younger son Nicholas is mentioned in sources for the last time in 1397. It is unknown whether he had left any descendants. Fortunately, older Bartholomew had two grandsons – Emeric and Ladislas – who might have been approximately eighteen or twenty years-old at the turn of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Both of them respected the possession rights of their grandmother, who usually resided at the castle of Hlohovec and, though being already of advanced years, she still interfered actively in the administration of her estates. This is testified, for instance, by an undated letter from the end of the fourteenth century, addressed to the *vogt*, councillors, and all the *hospites* living in Hlohovec, since at that time Claire left her residence for the castle of Bátorkő in Transdanubia. The news about certain scandals and accusations (*infames notas*) among the Hlohovec burghers reached her there. These conflicts

<sup>12</sup> *Korai magyar történelmi lexikon (9.–14. század)*. Ed.: Gyula KRISTÓ. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1994, p. 698. The author of this entry, Pál Engel, states that their origin is unknown.

<sup>13</sup> See the study of Ján LUKAČKA: "The Estates of Hont-Poznan Kinship South of the Drava River," published in this volume.

<sup>14</sup> It is surprising that Bojná is first mentioned in written sources only at the beginning of the fifteenth century, more specifically, in 1413. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár (deinde ZsO)*, vol. 4. Ed.: Elemér MÁLUYSZ – Iván BORSA. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994, nr. 360. The accounts given by Gy. Györffy, do not refer to Bojná. GYÖRFFY, György: *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történelmi földrajza IV*. Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1998, p. 349, they refer to Banka, near Piešťany.

<sup>15</sup> CDHA 6, nr. 69, p. 109: "*Nicolaus voivoda Transsilvanus filius condam magistri Laurencii dicti Tot pie recordacionis et Benedictus Sclavus, civis Albensis, famulus eiusdem magnifici viri.*"

<sup>16</sup> MOL DL 8070.

might have become even dangerous; therefore, her mandate instructed the city representatives to arrange an immediate rectification. To ensure the result, she had sent two of her *familiares*, who were supposed to be as respected as she would have been if she had come to Hlohovec in person.<sup>17</sup>

The size and importance of Hlohovec may be estimated also on the basis of the number of sacral buildings within the town. In 1401, churches dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary, St. Peter (by the river Váh), St. Nicholas (parish church) and to All Saints (in the suburbs) can be found in the town. Besides, there was a hospital church of the Holy Spirit, founded by Palatine Nicholas Kont and his wife Claire before 1367.<sup>18</sup> The undoubtedly municipal character of Hlohovec at the beginning of the fifteenth century can be attested also by the existence of a small Jewish community. Its members dealt with trade and were also involved in lending money at high interest rates (*usury*).<sup>19</sup>

Ladislav and Emeric, sons of Bartholomew, were at the beginning of the fifteenth century (when their grandmother Claire died) already of age; therefore, they could manage their family estates on their own. Following the tradition of their house, they had an ambition to hold distinctive offices. Older Ladislav became the ban of Machva (Mačva) in 1402.<sup>20</sup> However, their accession to the high politics was not a fortunate one. They got carried away by other Hungarian noblemen and joined the anti-royal revolt in 1403–1404. The insurgents aimed to dethrone King Sigismund and exchange him for the young Ladislav of Naples. However, the king, thanks to the unwavering loyalty of Ctibor of Ctiborice and Beckov, gradually broke the resistance. Anti-royal insurgents held strong positions especially in the area of the present-day south-western Slovakia, where they controlled several castles, fortified fortlets, and towns. Transylvanian duke Ctibor had

a strong army at his command which managed to conquer the enemy's strongpoints one after another. Ctibor seized Hlohovec (i.e., the castle, the town of Hlohovec – Freistadt, and the small town Starý Hlohovec) as well as the whole castle domain for some time.<sup>21</sup> Strangely enough, this way he captured the property of his own son-in-law, as Ladislav of Ilok married his daughter Jačna (Anna) shortly before the outbreak of the revolt. This union produced two sons, John and Stephen.<sup>22</sup> King Sigismund pardoned all the insurgents who were willing to surrender. Ladislav and Emeric used this opportunity and went over to the side of the king.<sup>23</sup> In the end, the king made them (surely on Ctibor's intercession) the bans of Mačva. They held this office for quite a long time up to 1418.<sup>24</sup> Ladislav and Emeric belonged to the wealthiest Hungarian feudals. Their duty was, for instance, to assemble their own troops, which they were to lead to the battle under their own flag (*banderium*). Besides, while administering their estates they were supported by a significant number of *familiares*, who usually came from the area of Nitra county. For example, certain John of Bučany is mentioned already in 1406 as being in the service of Ban Ladislav.<sup>25</sup>

We have already stated that Ladislav of Ilok married Jačna (called "Anna" in Hungarian sources) the daughter of Ctibor of Ctiborice (Stibor of Stiboritz) and Beckov at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Gradually, their children John, Stephen, Nicholas (around 1410), Peter, and Paul were born. However, his brother Emeric and his wife Catherine remained most probably childless since the widowed Catherine bequeathed her personal valuables to the monastery of the Holy Virgin Mary in Čatka (*Chatka*) to ensure the salvation of her and her husband's souls.<sup>26</sup>

Ban Ladislav died even earlier than Emeric (probably already in 1418); the causes of their

<sup>17</sup> MOL DL 48 748. However, we do not know what had exactly happened in Hlohovec as no other documents were preserved concerning this event.

<sup>18</sup> LUKAČKA, Ján: Hlohovec. In: *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Ed.: Martin ŠTEFÁNIK – Ján LUKAČKA. Bratislava: Prodama, 2010, p. 167.

<sup>19</sup> Certain Jew Abraham from Hlohovec (Abraham iudeus) is mentioned in the charter (from years 1419–1422) of Ladislav's widow Anna. *ZsO* 7., nr. 1216, p. 293.

<sup>20</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarországi világi archontológia 1301–1457*, vol. 1, p. 29.

<sup>21</sup> DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Daniela: *Rytier a jeho kráľ*. Budmerice: RAK, 2003, p. 85. However, we do not agree with the author's statement that he was the future son-in-law of Ctibor/Štibor as he had already had two sons with Jačna (Anna) in 1405. This argues for the earlier date of the wedding.

<sup>22</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori Magyar genealógia*. CD medium (Ujlaki family).

<sup>23</sup> However, the generosity indeed paid off to Sigismund. He forced the brothers to give him twelve thousands ducats. ENGEL, Pál: *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban (1387–1437)*. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977, p. 44.

<sup>24</sup> DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Daniela: *Rytier a jeho kráľ*, p. 524.

<sup>25</sup> *CDHA* 2, nr. 124, p. 174.

<sup>26</sup> *ZsO* 9. Ed.: Iván BORSÁ – Norbert TÓTH. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004, nr. 959, p. 306.

deaths cannot be determined. However, they died relatively young as their children were still only on the threshold of adulthood. The family estates were shortly governed by Ladislav's widow Anna as her oldest son John died prematurely. At this time, second-born Stephen was a youngster, and Nicholas as well as two other younger brothers were still just children.

Anna appointed one of her loyal *familiares*, Emeric of Šimovany, who had already proved himself in the service of her husband, to administer the castle estate of Hlohovec.<sup>27</sup> This estate consisted of the castle, town Hlohovec (Freistadt), the small town of Starý Hlohovec and a village St. Peter (Svätý Peter) together with a ford (bridge) and pertaining toll in 1420s. Within the wider surroundings of Hlohovec, also the villages Pastuchov, Dýč, Bojničky, Tekoldany, Kľačany, Zelenice (a part), and Trakovice, together with a toll, pertained to the castle.

In the mid-1420s, the older son of Ban Ladislav, Stephen, took charge of family estates and got involved in a conflict with his influential and powerful neighbour and maternal relative Ctibor the Younger of Beckov. Such arguments were often reflected also in the relationships between their subjects. Therefore, when Valentine, the *vogt* of Veľké Kostoľany, together with his companions went to the fair to Hlohovec on Sunday after the feast of Michael Archangel (October, 1), 1424; they were assaulted on the bridge over the river Váh. They were beaten and dragged to Hlohovec prison at the command of castellan Fekeč, one of *familiares* of Stephen of Ilok.<sup>28</sup>

Ladislav's second-born son died relatively young around 1430, leaving no issues. The phenomenon of a high and relatively early mortality among male members of the lineage was repeating almost for the whole century. Stephen's death made the way for his younger brother Nicholas, who inherited extensive family estates as well as an unwritten claim for distinctive court offices. This highly able young man (using, apart from Hungarian predicate *Újlaki*, also the Slovak one – *Frištacký*), bearing the name of his famous great-grandfather Nicholas Kont, took advantage of

the situation very well. In the 1430s already, he took part in the edging of the Hussite garrisons off the area of the present – day Slovakia because the Hussites caused him considerable damages in autumn 1431. At that time, three Hussite armies, commanded by Procop Holý/the Shaven/*Rasus*, camped near Hlohovec. It is unclear how much the town itself had been plundered, but the Hussites fought their way back across the river Váh to Bohemia carrying a significant booty. Aiming to ensure that the Hungarian army would not be able to follow them, they had burnt down the bridge over the river. At the beginning of November 1431, the army of so-called "Orphans"/*sirotkové* attempted to leave the area of the present-day south-western Slovakia through Hlohovec as well. Since the bridge had been destroyed, they had to take the way along the left bank of the river Váh via Piešťany, Beckov, and Trenčín.<sup>29</sup> It is not clear whether the town of Hlohovec was fortified at that time. However, at least one town gate is attested by the existence of a suburban area referred to in the sixteenth-century sources as *Zábranie* ("Behind the Gates"). This evokes the existence of a town fortification of palisade type.<sup>30</sup>

In 1434, Nicholas of Ilok (Frištacký) appeared together with Peter Čech (*Czech*) of Levice and George/Juraj Rozgoň/Rozgony as a witness and guarantee of King Sigismund of Luxembourg who signed an agreement with John/Jan Šmikovský of Žďár, the commander of the Hussite garrison in Topoľčany, concerning their departure from the mentioned town. Nicholas's concern to get a rid of the Hussites was understandable because their presence caused a lot of problems to his subjects in the domains of Hlohovec and Tematín.<sup>31</sup>

Nicholas of Ilok signified the fame as well as the power of the old noble lineage. Since all the other male family representatives died during the 1420s (the descendants of James and John), Nicholas became the sole heir and gathered all the family estates under his control. Naturally, his influence was rising, which was reflected in a quick accumulation of important administrative positions. In 1435–1458, he was appointed as the ban of Machva as well as to govern the counties

<sup>27</sup> MOL DL 72 606.

<sup>28</sup> WENZEL, Gusztáv: *Stibor vajda: Életrajzi tanulmány*. Budapest: Eggenberger-Féle Akad. Könyvkereskedés, 1874, p. 180.

<sup>29</sup> VARSÍK, Branislav: *Husitské revolučné hnutie a Slovensko*. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1965, pp. 81–82.

<sup>30</sup> A similar fortification has also been detected by archeological research in Topoľčany.

<sup>31</sup> Nicholas must have been at the head of a county at this time or must have held a court office as he is referred to as *magnificus*, which means magnificent, which used to be a common title for magnates. He did not use the predicate *de Wylak* in the mentioned document, but that of *de Freystat et de Palaty*, which means from Hlohovec and Palata (a castle in Veszprém county). MOL DL 12630.

of Tolna, Baranya, Vukovar, Bodrog, and Bács. At the beginning of 1440s, he became the duke of Transylvania (together with John Hunyadi), as well as the *comes* of Csanád, Csongrád, Marmaros, Arad, Zaránd, Temes, Esztergom, Kev, and Somogy. Shortly, he acted as the *comes* of Nitra, Virovitica, Győr, Torontál, as well as of Székelys. He was appointed *iudex Cumanorum* as well. In addition, it must be stated that in 1457–1458 he was the ban of Slavonia.<sup>32</sup>

The important position of Nicholas of Ilok as well as his influence on the events going on in the kingdom is reflected also in contemporary narrative sources. In the memoirs of Helen Kottaner written around 1450, it is stated that Nicholas of Hlohovec had an important role at the occasion when he knighted the three-month-old Ladislas V the Posthumous and subsequently knighted also several young noblemen in the name of the king.<sup>33</sup> Nicholas of Ilok is also mentioned in the *Annals* of the most famous Polish medieval chronicler, Jan Długosz. He states that Queen Widow Elizabeth had lingered at Nicholas Frištacky of Ilok's before her son's coronation and with his support she was able to organize the coronation ceremony in Székesfehérvár. However, due to tactical reasons, Nicholas changed sides shortly after the coronation and joined the Polish King Wladislaus Jagiello, which significantly weakened the position of Queen Elisabeth.<sup>34</sup>

The important posture within the political life of the Kingdom of Hungary enabled Nicholas to develop his extensive estates. At the beginning of Matthias Corvinus' reign, he owned altogether sixteen castles, nine castlets (*castellum*), twenty towns and small towns, as well as around four hundred villages, which made him one of the wealthiest noblemen in the whole land. His properties were to be found in four individual units. First one was located in the south-western Slovakia, in the county of Nitra, consisting of the castle domains of Hlohovec, Tematín, and Korlátka (though he gave this one to his *familiaris* Osvalf of Bučany). The second unit was in the central part of Transdanubia, with its centre on Palota

Castle. The third part of his estates was located in the eastern Slavonia, centred at Orahovica Castle. The fourth unit was situated in the county of Srem with its centre in Ilok, which became the major residence of the last family representatives.<sup>35</sup>

Nicholas of Ilok joined the anti-royal revolt during summer 1459, one year after Matthias Corvinus' accession to the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary. He even contributed by offering a cavalry consisting of three thousand men. However, the insurgents were defeated by King Matthias. Nicholas of Ilok was, however, pardoned and the major part of his offices was also returned to him. Subsequently, he remained loyal to the king until his death. Matthias even had him crowned the king of Bosnia in 1471, which signified the peak of his worldly successes. Nicholas, as well as his ancestors, was not lucky to have male issues. Although he himself had two sons, Nicholas and Stephen, together with his first wife Margaret from the Gorjan family, both of them died prematurely. His four daughters married distinctive Hungarian noblemen. Nicholas of Ilok married Dorothy Szécsi after the death of his first wife. The couple had two sons: Lawrence and Bernard, who died at an early age. Therefore, Lawrence became the sole and only male descendant of the Ilok lineage.

The story of the family of Ilok gives an example of an almost dreamy rise of a noble family, whose members managed to oppose the oligarchs and stubbornly supported the crowned King Charles Robert. Thanks to their loyal service and the king's generosity, they gradually established an extensive domain which commanded respect. The members of the family were typical representatives of the Hungarian aristocracy. As they were often to be found in the presence of the king, they were probably able to speak Hungarian. On the other hand, the majority of their estates were located in a Slavic language area (Croatian and Slovak), therefore, they spoke also these languages beyond any doubt. To sum up, they were full-blooded representatives of *natio Hungarica* – a multinational noble community of the Kingdom of Hungary.

<sup>32</sup> For individual offices, see ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, passim.

<sup>33</sup> *Spomienky Heleny Kottanerovej*. Ed.: Daniela DVOŘÁKOVÁ – Mária PAPSONOVÁ. Budmerice: Rak 2008, pp. 46–47.

<sup>34</sup> *Anály alebo kroniky slávneho Poľského kráľovstva* spísané Jánom Dlugoszom. Roky 1439–1444. Ed. et trans.: Daniela HRNČIAROVÁ. In: *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov*, vol. 6. Ed.: Ján LUKAČKA. Bratislava: LIC, 2004, p. 188–189.

<sup>35</sup> FELEDES, Tamás: Egy középkori főúri család vallásszága. Az Újlakiak példája. In: *Századok*, a. 145, 2011, pp. 377–418.

# A Magnate from Slovakia and Ban of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia: Count Thomas of Svätý Jur, His Life and Activities (\* ca. 1345–1405)

Gróf Tomáš zo Sv. Jura, veľmož zo Slovenska a bán Chorvátsko-dalmátskeho kráľovstva: Jeho život a činnosť / Knez Toma od Sv. Jurja, velikaš iz Slovačke i ban Kraljevine Hrvatske i Dalmacije. Život i djelovanje

*The article deals with the biography of Count Thomas of Svätý Jur, focusing on the moments when he was politically active either in Slovakia or in Croatia. Count Thomas held a number of important political positions from that of the castellan of the castle of Holíč to those of Ban of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia and the Chief Justice of the Kingdom of Hungary. Particular emphasis will be placed on his role in the turbulent period of the succession crisis after the death of King Louis the Great, during which he was one of the most important supporters of the Queens Mary and Elisabeth. The paper discusses the composition of his clientele, his economic background (including ownership of castles), and his family ties.*

Keywords: the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, aristocracy, Croatian-Dalmatian ban, Hospitallers

This article deals with the biography of Count Thomas of Svätý Jur, focusing on the moments when he was politically active either in Slovakia or Croatia, as an example of historical parallels and connections between those two areas. This article will try to point out that the activity of Count Thomas of Svätý Jur can be taken as a useful paradigm in two respects – for the functioning of noble kindreds in the peripheral parts of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and for the functioning of the institution of royal officials (known as the bans) in the Croatian historical area.

Count Thomas belonged to the magnate family that emerged as a separate branch of the Hunt-Poznans at the beginning of the thirteenth century and gradually assumed the title of the counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok. They had a large number of estates and castles in the area of present-day western Slovakia. The core of their estate entailed the castle-lordships of Svätý Jur (Hun. *Szentgyörgy*), Pezinok (Hun. *Bazin*, Germ. *Bösing*) and Malinovo (Germ. *Eberhard*) with their

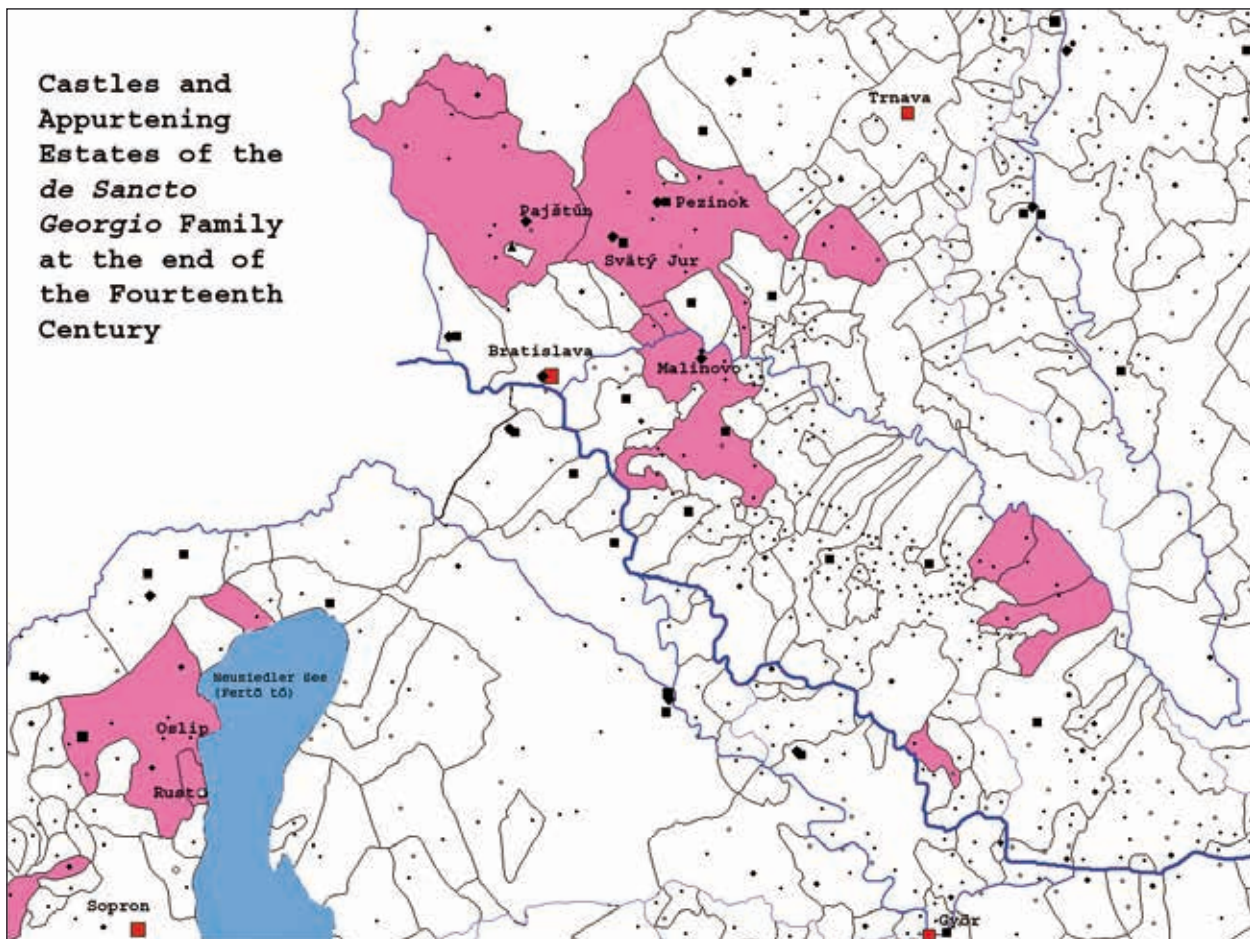
appertaining market-towns and villages. Thus, the lordship of Svätý Jur consisted of the castle of Svätý Jur (Bratislava county), the market-town of Svätý Jur, villages of Šenkvice, Jarná, Blatné, Čataj, \**Kwze* (today not existing, situated 3 km north-west of Nový Život), Topolníky, Topolnica, Horný Štál, Dolný Štál, Ohrady (*Nogkyrth*), Horné Mýto, and halves of villages of Štvrtek na Ostrove, Hviezdoslavov, and Veľká Paka.<sup>1</sup> The lordship of Pezinok consisted of the castle and market-town of Pezinok (Bratislava county), villages of Cajla (nowadays part of Pezinok), \**Sumberk* (today not existing, situated 2 km north-east from Pezinok), Limbach, Viničné, Vajnory, Chorvátsky Grob, Veľký Grob, Slovenská Nová Ves, Nová Dedinka (Nová Ves pri Dunaji), Ohrady (*Bekenkyrth*), Kalinkovo, Veľký Biel, Vinosady, \**Tykod* (today not existing, situated near Jelka), and halves of the villages of Štvrtek na Ostrove, Hviezdoslavov, and Veľká Paka.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the lordship of the castle of Eberhard consisted of the village Eberhard (nowadays Malinovo), Most

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<sup>1</sup> Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár (deinde MOL DL) 11105; 11120.

<sup>2</sup> MOL DL 11686; 11718.



Map 1. The castle and appertaining estates of the family of Svätý Jur in the course of the fourteenth century.

pri Bratislave, Ivanka pri Dunaji, Grinava, Zeke (\*Ceki, \*Ziky – today not existing, near Svätý Jur).<sup>3</sup> The following text will demonstrate that during Count Thomas's lifetime the family also obtained and occasionally lost some other estates, e.g. the castles and lordship of castles Pajštún and Oslip, as well as some smaller properties. The castle of Pajštún held appertaining villages of Záhorská Bystrica, Borinka, Mást (part of Stupava), Stupava, Zohor, Vysoká pri Morave, Láb, Lozorno Gajary, and Malé Leváre. The villages of Oslip, Breitenbrunn, Wulkaprodersdorf, Baumgarten, Rohrbach bei Mattersburg, Sopronkovesd and market-town Rust were appertaining villages of the castle of Oslip. If we look at the distribution, we can see that the core of the economic basis of the family of Svätý Jur was in Bratislava county,

with some other castles and appertaining estates in Sopron county (see Map 1).

The counts of Svätý Jur did not hold any high office during the reign of King Charles Robert of Anjou as the result of their neutral stance during his struggle against Matthew Čák (*de genere Chak*).<sup>4</sup> In that period, they formed two branches of the family: one of them originating from the line of Svätý Jur, founded by Peter, Count Thomas's father, and the line of Pezinok, founded by Sebeš, Thomas's uncle. We can trace the line of the division of brotherly estates with the help of the halves of the estates appertaining to both castles (of Svätý Jur and of Pezinok), already mentioned above. Both brothers focused mainly on the managing of the economy of their properties and its most essential part – viticulture. Wine-growing was tightly

<sup>3</sup> MOL DL 11105; 11120. For more on this, see: WERTNER, Moriz: *Die Grafen von St. Georgen und Bösing*. Wien: Selbsverlag-Druck von Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1891, p. 94; ILA, Bálint: A szentgyörgyi és bazini grófok birtokainak kialakulása. In: *Turul*, a. 41, 1927, pp. 37–71; LUKAČKA, Ján: Pezinok a jeho majitelia v 13. a 14. storočí. In: *Bozen ... Pezinok 1208–2008*. Pezinok: Mesto Pezinok, 2008, pp. 67–70; GAHÉR, Daniel: Pezinok v 15. storočí. In: *Bozen ... Pezinok 1208–2008*, pp. 71–82; GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–†1405). In: *Historia nova*, a. 1, 2010, pp. 9–21; ŠMILAUER, Vladimír: *Vodopis starého Slovenska*. Praha – Bratislava: Státní tiskárna v Praze, 1932.

<sup>4</sup> GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 9.

bound to the German colonists who came to the Little Carpathian area from Bavaria and Tyrol.<sup>5</sup>

In the fourteenth century their political activity begins with Peter, the father of Count Thomas. Count Peter became the *comes* (Hun. *ispán*, Slov./Cro. *župan*) of Bereg County in 1360, almost at the end of his life.<sup>6</sup> In addition, he managed to have his sons Thomas and Peter the Younger (II) raised at the royal court.<sup>7</sup> They were both mentioned as the *familiares* of King Louis the Great in 1363, but in 1364 came back to their family properties for a while.<sup>8</sup> After their father's death, three sons divided family estates. The castle of Svätý Jur was the residence of two brothers, the oldest one, John, and the younger one, Peter. Thomas was given Eberhard castle.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to his brother, he carried on serving the king. As his diplomat, he arranged that the Austrian duke paid their debts back to the king.<sup>10</sup> Later, he is again mentioned as the owner of Eberhard castle, administrating one of two toll stations controlling the passing through the Little Danube (Malý Dunaj) from Žitný ostrov (Rye Island) to Bratislava. The second station, the one at Vrakuňa, belonged to the town of Bratislava. The port is mentioned at Eberhard (nowadays village Malinovo) in the second half of the fourteenth century as

well. The aforementioned toll station of Vrakuňa triggered the conflict between Count Thomas and James, the mayor of Bratislava. Though Count Thomas did not succeed in gaining control over it, he increased his properties at the expense of the possessions of the mayor of Bratislava.<sup>11</sup>

Thomas started his political career in 1375 as the castellan of the castle of Holíč on the Hungarian-Moravian border, where he could fully utilize his previous experience gained while administering Eberhard. The castle of Holíč stood at the entrance to the Kingdom of Hungary from the old Bohemian trade route, leading from Prague through Brno. He held that position until 1378.<sup>12</sup> His first wife Ursula, the daughter of Otto of Maissau and Elizabeth of Puchheim, is mentioned in 1376. The counts of Maissau were an Austrian noble family, having estates in the North of Lower Austria, near Moravian Znojmo.<sup>13</sup> Thomas with Ursula had one daughter, Sibilla, born some time in the 1380s.<sup>14</sup> His career progressed in the period of 1378–1382, when he held the office of the master of the treasury (*magister tavernicorum*).<sup>15</sup> In 1382 he was also mentioned as the *comes* of Nitra county.<sup>16</sup>

After the death of King Louis the Great, in the subsequent political struggles that followed the



Fig. 5. Coat-of-arms of the family of Svätý Jur.

<sup>5</sup> PAPONOVÁ, Mária: Nápoje v právnych pamiatkach neskorého stredoveku. In: *Nápoje v minulosti a prítomnosti človeka*. Prešov: Filozofická fakulta PU, 2001, p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> According to our estimations, Count Peter must have been around sixty years old in 1360, since the first mention of him was in 1308– cfr. GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 10 and references mentioned there.

<sup>8</sup> MOL DL 5236; FEJÉR, Georgius: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde CDH), vol 9. Budae: Typis Regiae Universitatis, 1834, nr. 177, pp. 345–346. More on the context, see in: GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> The oldest brother was probably John, who stayed on the estate of Svätý Jur (cfr. GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 10 and genealogy in Appendix 1.

<sup>10</sup> CDH 9/3, nr. 347, pp. 640–641. Also, see: GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–†1405), pp. 10–11.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, pp. 11–12; ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* (deinde *Archontológiája*), vol. 1. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996, pp. 327–328.

<sup>13</sup> Wertner noted an interesting fact: there existed double marital connections between the counts of Maissau and the counts of Svätý Jur, since besides the marriage of Thomas and Ursula, another unnamed noblewoman belonging to the family of the counts of Svätý Jur was the second wife of *obrister marschalich in Oesterreich*, Stephen II of Maissau – Otto's brother and Ursula's uncle (cfr. WERTNER, Moriz: *Die Grafen von St. Georgen und Bösing*, p. 25).

<sup>14</sup> Our estimation is that she was born around the 1380s, since her mother is first mentioned in 1376, and she married in 1397, thus, at the time she could not have been younger than the age of 15.

<sup>15</sup> *Archontológiája*, p. 38.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, p. 160. It is not known for how long he held that position, but it must have been between February 1380, when the *comes* of Nitra was Ladislas Bubek, and April 1384, when Thomas was appointed as the ban of Croatia-Dalmatia.

succession of Queen Mary. Thomas of Svätý Jur was a part of the ruling structure that supported Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara. Count Palatine's party in the court supported Mary as the lawful queen of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and the regency of the Dowager-Queen mother, Elizabeth (née Kotromanić). He played an important role within this stream in the court, next to the bans of Slavonia, Stephan and John Banfi of Donja Lendava, and the voivode of Transylvania, Ladislav of Lučenec the Elder, and so on (see *Appendix 2*). Thus, Thomas of Svätý Jur was appointed to the office of the ban of Croatia-Dalmatia during very turbulent period of history for that part of the Kingdom. At the same time he became the count of Zadar. He was appointed to those positions in late April 1384<sup>17</sup> and arrived in Zadar on 15 May,<sup>18</sup> when he immediately started to perform his duties. He was installed there in order to neutralize the situation stirred up because of the general anti-reginal attitude. This was connected with the claim for the succession of the male line of the Angevins, to be precise, with the possibility of the election to the throne of Hungary of Charles of Durazzo (Drač), at that time already the King of Naples. Zadar and the whole of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia were considered to be one of the main areas of support for the Neapolitan party.<sup>19</sup>

This support can be discerned from the rebellion of the Priory of Vrana which happened in the autumn of the previous year,<sup>20</sup> but even more

from the anti-royal conspiracy which occurred in Zadar soon after Ban Thomas of Svätý Jur arrived there.<sup>21</sup> The story is well known in Croatian historiography, but had different interpretations. Some authors attributed the event to the policy of Venice,<sup>22</sup> others to that of King Stephen Tvrtko of Bosnia,<sup>23</sup> or to the stream which wanted to see Charles of Durazzo not only as the ruler of the *Regnum*, but also crowned with the Holy Crown of Hungary.<sup>24</sup> The latter interpretation is the most probable one.

A contemporary of Ban Thomas, Paul de Paulo, one of the Zaratian patricians, briefly described the conspiracy against the queens. He did not state why it occurred, but gave the details of what had happened to the insurgents. It was in the middle of July 1384, when Zanin, his cousin Giancarlo, Peter Franchalanca, and Michael Milešić organized the rebellion. Three days later, the first three conspirators were brutally executed – they were dragged all over the town, they were decapitated, and their bodies were left on public display until the evening. Paul also noted that three judges had been appointed in charge of selling the confiscated property of the traitors. On the same day, the supporters of the three queens, Elizabeth, Mary and Hedwig, in Zadar decided to form an alliance with Ban Thomas and took an oath on the relics of Saint Chrysogonus, the patron saint of the city.<sup>25</sup> Notarial sources shed some light on the auction which took place after the events.<sup>26</sup> The first auction sold

<sup>17</sup> He is mentioned for the first time as ban and the count-elect of Zadar on 27 April 1384. cfr.: *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde CDCr), vol. 16. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS et al. Zagreb: JAZU, 1976, p. 462.

<sup>18</sup> Šišić, Ferdo: *Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića patricija zadarskoga*. In: *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva*, a. 6, 1904, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> See, for instance, KLAJČ, Nada – PETRICIOLI, IVO: *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*. Zadar: Filozofski fakultet u Zadru, 1976, pp. 352–353.

<sup>20</sup> More on the rebellion in Vrana cfr. RAČKI, Franjo: *Pokret na slavenskom jugu*. In: *Rad JAZU*, a. 2, 1868, pp. 107–108; KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Povjest Hrvata*. Zagreb: Knjižara Lav. Hartmana, 1900, vol. 2/1, p. 209; BUDAČ, Neven: *John of Paližna, the Hospitaller Prior of Vrana*. In: *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. Ed.: Zsolt HUNYADI - József LASZLOVSKY. Budapest: CEU, 2001, p. 286; DOBRONIĆ, Lelja: *Templari i ivanovci u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2002, pp. 171–180. Concerning recent Hungarian scholarship, Engel maintains that John of Paližna was the only open supporter of Charles of Durazzo at that moment (ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. Trans.: Tamás PALOSFALVI. London: I. B. Tauris, 2001, p. 196), but, on the other hand, Hunyadi thinks that the reasons for the rebellion are still not known, but that John of Paližna did not have any political deal with Charles of Durazzo, but he sought recognition from the Avignon Master of the order (HUNYADI, Zsolt: *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150–1387*. Budapest: METEM – CEU, 2010, pp. 62–63; 88–89). It is important to note that the headquarters of the Hospitallers in Vrana was important since it had a strong strategic position on the Dalmatian Coast (HUNYADI, Zsolt: *The Hospitallers in the Medieval*, p. 65).

<sup>21</sup> Šišić, Ferdo: *Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>22</sup> RAČKI, Franjo: *Pokret slavenskom jugu*, p. 111.

<sup>23</sup> Šišić, Ferdo: *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i njegovo doba*. Zagreb: MH, 1902, p. 31; KLAJČ, Nada – PETRICIOLI, IVO: *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*, Zadar: Sveučilište u Splitu, Filozofski fakultet Zadar, 1976, p. 352.

<sup>24</sup> For instance, cfr. *Ibidem*, pp. 350–355. This was deduced from the story presented by LUČIĆ, Ivan: *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru*, vol. 2. Trans.: Jakov STIPIŠIĆ. Split: Čakavski sabor, 1979, pp. 728–729, which stated that the rebellion should be regarded as a reflection of the earlier uprising in Vrana.

<sup>25</sup> Šišić, Ferdo: *Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>26</sup> Cfr. Državni arhiv u Zadru, Spisi zadarskih bilježnika, Articutus de Riniguanu, b. 1, fasc. 1, folia 96'–98' and transcriptions brought in *Appendix 3* (deinde DAZd, S2B, AR).

the property of Peter Opatičić or Franchalanca, the son of late John of Zadar. He is defined as *infidelis regie maiestatis Vngarie et comunis Iadre ac proditor patrie* in the document. Further on, it is specified that the conspirator owned two houses, of which the second one included two shops in the town centre. The social layer and wealth of the second conspirator is similar to the first one since Zanin was a *draperius*. His house was sold for the price of 800 florins. On the contrary, his cousin Giancarlo, the third recorded conspirator, did not own a house in Zadar, but he had a land which was sixty *gognai* large (approximately an estate providing the living for two peasant households). It is possible that he resided in his cousin's home. The fourth and the last conspirator, Michael Milešić, avoided the death penalty. It is generally held that the event was neither an isolated case nor the result of individual discontent, and that more than a half of the members of the city council supported the rebellion.<sup>27</sup> We can only speculate about the reason why it happened since Paul de Paulo did not record the reasons of their action. In that situation, Ban Thomas acted as a firm extended hand of the queens, and by doing so he managed to consolidate the situation in Croatia-Dalmatia. Shortly after, in the middle of July 1384, the Dowager-Queen Elizabeth sent her instructions that he should punish the Vlachs of the hinterland, who were responsible for several robberies and damages in the district of Šibenik. These robberies happened when Emeric Bubek was the ban (prior to June 1383); he was ordered to punish them, but failed to do so. As a punishment, the Vlachs were supposed to pay a fine of 200 golden florins, which, according to the queen's decision, should be divided in two halves between Ban Thomas and the commune of Šibenik.<sup>28</sup>

On the field, Thomas of Svätý Jur was supported not only by a network of his lower officers, but also by some other allies. The most important of them was the newly appointed prior of Vrana,

Raymond Bellamonte, who assisted Ban Thomas in governing the area.<sup>29</sup> Reciprocally, Ban Thomas helped Bellamonte after he was appointed to the seat of the prior. Their cooperation should be seen in the context of the general history of the order. The end of the fourteenth century was a very disturbed period in its history since the order was torn in the internal fight between the Provençal and Italian streams for the control of the Priory of Hungary-Slavonia (the Priory of Vrana). Moreover, the papal schism was reflected in the double election of the priors. Hungarian rulers also interfered in the appointment of the priors (the right given to them as the successors of St. Stephen).<sup>30</sup> The help of Ban Thomas to the prior may be discerned from the fact that Bellamonte gave him two villages in Sopron county, stating that it was because "of the benefices he did for us, the Knights of St. John and the Priory of Vrana." The villages in question were Bó and Egyházásfalú in Sopron county ("*duas nostras et dicti nostri prioratus villas positas in comitatu Suspironii, uocatas vnam Beu et alteram Cristianam alias dictam Templum*"). The document on the donation was issued in the Hospitallers' headquarters in Zadar ("*Datum Iadre in hospitio nostro die sextodecimo mensis Nouembris, indictione septima, anno a Natiuitate dominica millesimo trecentesimo octuagesimo quarto*").<sup>31</sup> The villages, situated in the southern part of Sopron county,<sup>32</sup> belonged to the former Templar preceptory and got to the hands of the Hospitallers in the period after the Templar Order was abolished in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia.<sup>33</sup> The donation of those particular villages was important: the village of Bó was one of the places of authentication of the Hospitallers in the fourteenth century, although the charters produced by that house are not extant, except two of them.<sup>34</sup> It should be also noted that the act of donation may be interpreted as an attempt of Raymond de Beaumont to emphasize that he was still the legitimate prior at that time, because he attached both his personal

<sup>27</sup> KLAIĆ, Nada – PETRIOCIOLI, IVO: *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*, pp. 353–355.

<sup>28</sup> CDCr 16, pp. 480–481.

<sup>29</sup> KLAIĆ, Vjekoslav: *Povjest Hrvata*, vol. 2/1, p. 210.

<sup>30</sup> For more, see: HUNYADI, Zsolt: *The Hospitallers in the Medieval...*, pp. 62–63, 88–89; HUNYADI, Zsolt: *The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary: Houses, Personnel, and a Particular Activity up to c. 1400*. In: *The Crusades*, pp. 262–263; Ed.: Zsolt HUNYADI – József LASZLOVSKY; LUTTRELL, Anthony: *The Hospitallers in Hungary before 1418: Problems and Sources*, In: *Ibidem*, pp. 275–276.

<sup>31</sup> The document was first published by György Fejér (*CDH* 10/1, pp. 179–181), but with few typos. Thus, the quotations above were checked against the original (MOL DL 7111). Cfr. KLAIĆ, Vjekoslav: *Povjest Hrvata*, p. 215; PERIČIĆ, Eduard: *Vranski prior Ivan od Paližne i Petar Berislavić*. In: *Radovi Istraživačkog centra JAZU u Zadru*, a. 18, 1971, nr. 106A, p. 263.

<sup>32</sup> For the exact position, see: ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub vocibus: Bó and Egyházásfalú.

<sup>33</sup> HUNYADI, Zsolt: *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150–1387*, pp. 51, 156–157, 256.

<sup>34</sup> For more details, see: *Ibidem*, p. 196, 264.

seal and the seal of the Priory to the charter.<sup>35</sup>

Concerning his lower officers (for geographical distribution of the ban's honours, see Map 2 below), we found only several of them mentioned by names in the sources, mainly the counts of Dalmatian cities of Nin, Šibenik, Trogir, Novigrad, and of the insular communes of Hvar, Brač, and Korčula. The count of Nin was Budislav, son of Budislav *de genere Gusich*, a member of the family of the counts of Krbava, who would prove to be the great supporters of Queen Mary in the upcoming events. It is also noted that Budislav was a royal knight.<sup>36</sup> In Šibenik, two counts are mentioned in succession, Rafael de Sorba<sup>37</sup> and Louis de Georgiis de Iadra,<sup>38</sup> both of them belonging to the rank of Zaratín nobles who were also royal knights. It is interesting to mention that Count Paul of Trogir also came from the aforementioned Zaratín family, *de Georgiis*, and that he was also a royal knight.<sup>39</sup> The situation on the islands was different since at that time there was one count for all three islands of Hvar, Brač, and Korčula; his name was Matthew, son of Nicholas *de Petrachis* of Split.<sup>40</sup> This case is interesting since the count came from Split and at that period there was no count in Split itself, but the city was governed by the local patricians styled as rectors.<sup>41</sup> It is indicative that the situation there was probably completely consolidated with no problems at all. If we apply the method of prosopography to Ban Thomas's officials in the cities, it is evident that they came from the local noble families, which, starting from the Counts of Krbava to the noble

families of Sorba or Jurjević, were later strong supporters of Queen Mary.

Regarding the officials in the extra-urban parts of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia, the situation was a little different. In order to emphasize more clearly the extent of Ban Thomas's authority, it should be stated that as the ban he had immediate control over 20 castles, all placed on the strategically important route connecting Slavonia and Hungary with the sea, usually manned by the members of his retinue (see Map 2). Unfortunately, the data on the most of them are rather scanty. For the castle of Novigrad, we found a mention of the first name of its governor only, Count Peter. For the time being, we cannot connect him with any of the local noble families.<sup>42</sup> Thus, it is more probable that he was a member of Ban Thomas's Slovak retinue, probably his own brother.<sup>43</sup> Besides him, only the castellans of Livno (as of 1384) – Ladislav, son of Martin, and John, son of Pop – are known by their names.<sup>44</sup> Still, the documents regarding the auction of the conspirators' property contain an important piece of information – a mention of the ban's scribe, probably a person educated in the legal affairs who accompanied him to Zadar.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, all we know about him is that his name was John and that at the time of the auction he was, like Ban Thomas himself, absent from Zadar.<sup>46</sup> At any rate, it seems that Ban Thomas emulated the system usual for the chancery of the bans of Slavonia, who were, as well as other high officers with judicial function, accompanied and assisted by a protonotary.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 207.

<sup>36</sup> CDCr 16, p. 496. For more on the family of the Counts of Krbava, see: BOTICA, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, unpublished PhD Thesis, 2011.

<sup>37</sup> LUCIUS, Iohannes (LUČIĆ, Ivan): Ostavština, Kaptolski arhiv u Split, fasc. 528, folia 58 / Arhiv HAZU, vol. 29, p. 5. For Raphael de Sorba, see also: GRBAVAC, Branka: Prilog proučavanju životopisa đenoveškog i zadarskog plemića Baltazara de Sorbe, kraljevskog admiral. In: *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u čast Franje Šanjeka*. Ed.: LOVORKA ČORALIĆ – SLAVKO SLIŠKOVIĆ. Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina – Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2009, pp. 231–232.

<sup>38</sup> LUCIUS, Iohannes: Ostavština, KASp, fasc. 528, folia 58/AHAZU, vol. 29, p. 5. For more information, see: GRBAVAC, Branka: Zadarski plemići kao kraljevski vitezovi u doba Ludovika I. Anžuvinca. In: *Acta Histriae*, a. 16, 2008, 1–2, pp. 95–96 and JURJEVIĆ, Franjo: Zadarska plemićka obitelj. In: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 6, pp. 634–637.

<sup>39</sup> RAČKI, Franjo: Notae Joannis Lucii. In: *Starine*, a. 13, 1881, p. 245. For more details on his career, see also: GRBAVAC, Branka: Prilog proučavanju životopisa zadarskog plemića Franje Jurjevića, kraljevskog viteza. In: *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU*, a. 22, 2004, pp. 35–54.

<sup>40</sup> CDCr 16, p. 484.

<sup>41</sup> Cfr. A.: Serie dei reggitori di Spaleto. In: *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, a. 11, 1888, p. 128.

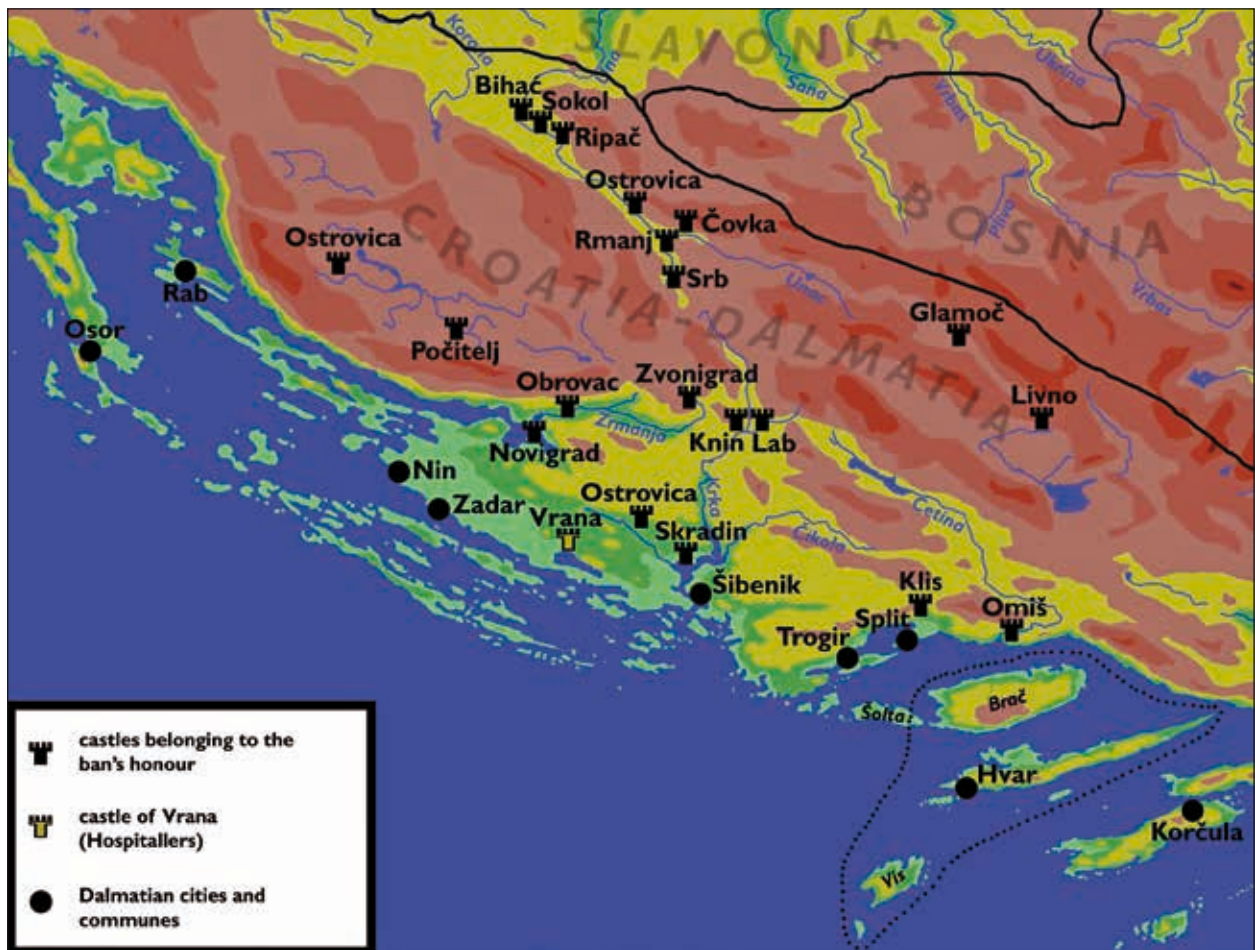
<sup>42</sup> KARBIĆ, Damir – KATUŠIĆ, Maja – PISAČIĆ, Ana: *Velika bilježnica Zadarskoga kaptola. Quaternus magnus Capituli Iadrensis. Srednjovjekovni registri Zadarskoga i Splitskog kaptola. Registra medievalia capitulorum Iadre et Spalati*, a. 2, *Fontes*, a. 13. Zagreb: HDA, 2007, p. 68.

<sup>43</sup> On Count Peter's activity in Slovakia, see: GAHER, Daniel: *Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–†1405)*, pp. 15–17.

<sup>44</sup> CDCr 16, pp. 491–492.

<sup>45</sup> Cfr. DAZd, SZB, AR, b. 1, fasc. 1, pp. 96'–98'.

<sup>46</sup> They might have been in Šibenik, engaged in the aforementioned actions against the Vlachs.



Map 2. Spatial distribution of the castles and communes in the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia at the end of the fourteenth century.

The last mention of Thomas as the Ban of Croatia-Dalmatia dates to March 1385, when he was transferred to the position of the judge royal. Thanks to this appointment he became one of the most powerful men in the whole kingdom. His rise was part of relocation within the faction of Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara, which is clearly visible if we look at the structure of the royal officers. Those in power were the supporters of the royal marriage with Duke Louis of Orleans.<sup>47</sup> Thomas of Svätý Jur remained in the position of one of the most powerful men in the kingdom until the fall of 1385, when he was succeeded by John of Kapla.<sup>48</sup> The change was influenced by two semi-independent events: the invasions of King Charles

and of the margrave of Brandenburg, Sigismund of Luxemburg. The latter was more directly connected to Count Thomas's fate. The exact sequence of events leading to the change seems to be as follows. In August 1385 Sigismund of Luxemburg militarily intervened; it is important to emphasize that his cousins, Moravian margraves Procop and Jodok, financed his campaign. According to their mutual contract, Sigismund promised to pledge several properties in Brandenburg in exchange for 50 thousand of Prague groschen.<sup>49</sup> The contract from the summer of 1385 is important also with regard to the fact that Moravian margraves held all the conquered lands between the river Morava and the river Váh in pledge. These were mostly

<sup>47</sup> See more in: *Archontológiája*, p. 196.

<sup>48</sup> Count Thomas is mentioned as judge royal for the last time in July 1385, while John of Kapla is mentioned for the first time only in October 1385. John of Kapla belonged to the party trying to find some mid-solution to the succession problem (there were, in fact, two parties taking more neutral stance in the events, the one around Emeric Bubek and the one consisting of "professionals," like Nicholas of Szécs, who managed to remain in their positions even during the changes caused by the coronation of Charles of Durazzo). See Table below. It is interesting to point out that John of Kapla also succeeded Thomas of Svätý Jur in the position of the ban of Dalmatia-Croatia, as well as in the position of judge royal.

<sup>49</sup> Šišić, Ferdo: *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i njegovo doba*, p. 42; ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, p. 197; ŠTĚPÁN, Václav: *Zápas moravského markraběte Prokopa o Liptov v rámci středoevropské politiky na sklonku 14. století* In: *Historický časopis*, a. 40, 1992, nr. 5, p. 542; *Archontológiája*, p. 15.

possessions in the county of Bratislava, where the domain of the counts of Svätý Jur was situated as well. Therefore they were formally under the custody of the margraves. Moreover, during the campaign, Jodok managed to capture Count Thomas and imprison him.<sup>50</sup> Even though Count Thomas fell into captivity, the fact that at the same time his faction temporarily lost its power by the coronation of Charles II, when they were all removed from their functions (see *Appendix 2*), was much more disastrous for his political career. Their return to power by the coup of January 1386 ended with the final defeat of Gorjani in the following July. Thus, although those turbulent events interrupted the career of Thomas of Svätý Jur, they also saved him from death, which would have most probably occurred either in these fights or in the ensuing civil war.

It is unclear for how long the count remained in prison, though he must have been set free before the coronation of Sigismund of Luxemburg (31 March 1387).<sup>51</sup> Particularly, his brother Peter helped him out of prison and negotiated peace between both sides. It is important to note that in 1390 Count Peter received Pajštún castle from King Sigismund for his mediation in this conflict.<sup>52</sup> In the charter issued on 29 June 1390, the counts from Svätý Jur and Pezinok confirmed that they would not try to revenge Count Thomas's imprisonment. The charter is also interesting because of Thomas's attached seal – the one that he used as the Ban of Croatia-Dalmatia.<sup>53</sup> It is interesting that he used that particular seal since he held higher office than that afterwards. He probably used it because he perceived that this office showed him in the best possible light.

Afterwards, Thomas was no longer active within the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Hungary and retired to his previous seat at Eberhard. In 1393, he had to sell his castle of Oslip (Sopron county) with appertaining possessions to John of Kaniža, Archbishop of Esztergom and the royal chancellor.<sup>54</sup> Oslip castle was valued at 6800 golden florins – which Thomas owed as a ransom for his release. He tried to consolidate



Fig. 6. Seal of Thomas of Svätý Jur as the Ban of Croatia-Dalmatia.



Fig. 7. Seal of Thomas of Svätý Jur as judge royal.

his status within the kingdom by connecting with Margrave Jodok. We found out that in 1399 Count Thomas received the town and the castle of Hodonín (present-day Czech Republic) as a reward

<sup>50</sup> GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 15 and the references mentioned there.

<sup>51</sup> NAGY, Imre: *Sopron vármegye története* (deinde SVT). Sopron: Litfass Károly, 1889, a. 1, pp. 512–514; GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 16. For Sigismund's coronation, see: ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, p. 199.

<sup>52</sup> MOL DL 7613.

<sup>53</sup> BRANDL, Vincenz: *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae. Urkunden-Sammlung zur Geschichte Mährens*. Brünn: Verlag des Mährischen Landes-Ausschusses, 1885, a. 11, nr. 603, pp. 525–526. The edition only states that there are five well-preserved seals attached to the charter. The original of the charter is kept in Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni, Historica Třeboň, nr. 50. There is also a photograph in: MOL DF 289201.

<sup>54</sup> SVT 1, nr. 358, pp. 512–514.

for his faithful service.<sup>55</sup> His second marriage with a woman from a family that was loyal to Margrave Jodok can be interpreted in the same manner. Margaret, daughter of Zdeněk and Kunigunda (Kunhuta), first mentioned in 1396, belonged to the noble Moravian family of Šternberk.<sup>56</sup> Count Thomas acted in a similar way when he looked for a husband for his only daughter Sibilla (from his first marriage with the aforementioned Ursula).

He once again chose from the family loyal to Margrave Jodok, and so, Sibilla married Peter of Kravař and Strážnica in 1397.<sup>57</sup> After securing her position, Count Thomas gave some of his properties to other members of the family,<sup>58</sup> and ordered that after his death his brother Peter should give 750 *sexaginas* of Prague groschen to his widow Margaret of Šternberk.<sup>59</sup> Count Thomas died in 1405, leaving no male heir.<sup>60</sup>

\* \* \*

To conclude, Count Thomas of Svätý Jur can be described as a loyal servant of the Anjou, thus representing a paradigm for social and professional mobility within the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. He started his career at the court of Louis the Great, alongside his brother, both of them being mentioned as royal *familiars*. Several years before the death of King Louis the Great he held the office of the master of treasury, which was one of the top ten positions at the royal court of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. At the same time, he was mentioned as the *comes* of Nitra county in the north-western part of the kingdom, in present-day Slovakia. In the turbulent period after the death of Louis the Great, he became the ban of Dalmatia-Croatia, thus entering the inner cycle surrounding Queen Mary, Dowager-Queen Elizabeth, and Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara. In his office he confirmed his loyalty when acting decisively in the events around the conspiracy in Zadar, consolidating that part of the kingdom at least for a while. As an important and consistent supporter of Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara and his policy, Count Thomas of Svätý Jur became

judge royal, and thus the second most important man in the royal court. Hence, he was inclined to support the marriage of Mary with Duke Louis, but his career was interrupted by the events following Sigismund's raid and his gaining of the crown of St. Stephen. Count Thomas of Svätý Jur, although imprisoned by Margrave Jodok during that turbulent political situation, suffered a stigma of an opponent of Sigismund of Luxemburg.

Count Thomas of Svätý Jur married twice, with only one surviving daughter, Sibilla, the fruit of his first marriage with Ursula of Maissau. Count Thomas tried to consolidate his position with his second marriage, choosing a wife coming from a family loyal to Margrave Jodok, and thus, consequently, to King Sigismund. His decision to marry his daughter off to a member of another family loyal to Jodok should be regarded in the same manner.

The history of Thomas of Svätý Jur represents a useful paradigm for the functioning of aristocracy in the political life on two levels – on the level of the whole kingdom and also on the local level of both Slovakian and Croatian history.

<sup>55</sup> Original of the charter: MOL DL 8454. See also: LUKAČKA, Ján: Moravský markgróf Jošt udeľuje grófovi Tomášovi staršiemu zo Svätého Jura za verné služby do doživotnej držby hrad a mesto Hodonín na Morave. In: *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov*, vol. 5. Ed.: Július BARTL et al. Bratislava: Literárne a informačné centrum, 2001, nr. 49, pp. 96–97.

<sup>56</sup> GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–1405), p. 18; ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia* – Arcanum CD disk. Budapest: MTA, 2001, sub voce Hontpázmány nem 9. Szentgyörgyi-ág, 2. tábla: Szentgyörgyi és Bazini.

<sup>57</sup> GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–1405), pp. 18–19; ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, ibid.

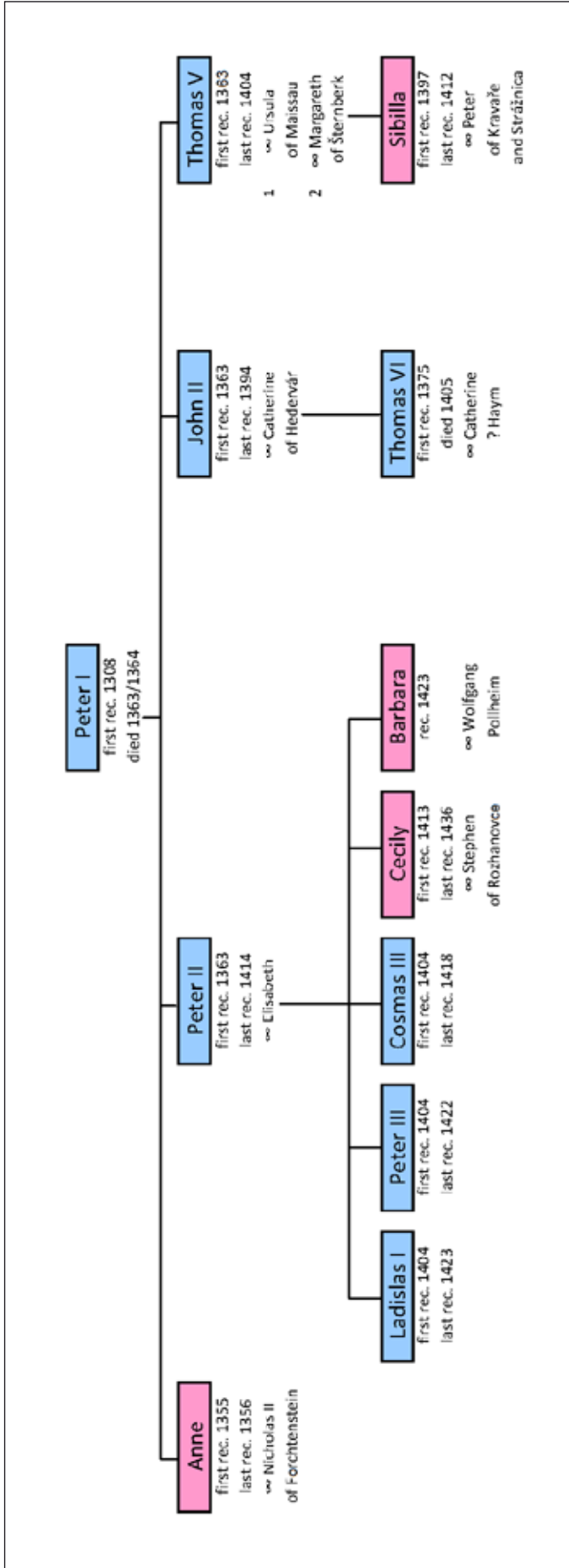
<sup>58</sup> MOL DL 8556. For more, see: GAHÉR, Daniel: *Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–1405)*, p. 18.

<sup>59</sup> MOL DL 10011.

<sup>60</sup> GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (\*okolo 1345–1405), p. 18; *Archontológiája*.

Appendix 1:

Extract from the genealogy of the Counts of Svätý Jur (the branch of Svätý Jur) in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century\*



\* Taken from the larger genealogical plate created by Daniel Gahér and published in his work on Count Thomas of Svätý Jur (cfr., p. 21).

## Appendix 2:

*Table of court factions in the period after the death of Louis the Great until the succession of Sigismund of Luxemburg\**

	Queen Mary and Dowager Queen Elizabeth (09/1382–09/1385)	Charles of Durazzo (09/1385–02/1386)	Queen Mary (03–07/1386) and the League and Sigismund of Luxemburg (from 08/1386)
Count Palatine	Nicholas of Gara the Elder (10/1375–07/1385)	Nicholas of Szécs (09/1385–10/1386)	Stephen Lackfi/Lacković (01/1387–11/1392)
Judge Royal	Nicholas of Szécs (01/1381–10/1384)	John of Kapla (10/1385–11/1385)	Emeric Bubek (01/1386) vacancy (03–04/1386) Emeric Bubek (04/1386–03/1392)
Ban of Slavonia	Stephen and John Bánfi of Donja Lendava (03/1381–08/1385)	vacancy (10/1385)	Emeric Bubek (03–04/1386) vacancy (06/1386) Ákos Mikcsfi (05–09/1387)
Ban of Dalmatia-Croatia	Emeric Bubek (10/1380–06/1383)	Thomas of Svätý Jur (03/1385–07/1385)	John of Paližna (01/1387–03/1391) [at the same time ban of Dalmatia-Croatia]
	Stephen Lackfi/Lacković (06/1383–03/1384)	John of Kapla (03–10/1385)	Peter Cudar (09/1386)
	Thomas of Svätý Jur (05/1384–01/1385)	Nicholas of Gara the Younger (10/1385–06/1386)	Stephen and Ladislav of Lučenec the Younger (08–10/1387)
Voivode of Transylvania	Ladislav of Lučenec the Elder (05/1376–08/1385)	Stephen Lackfi/Lacković (10/1385–01/1386)	Ladislav of Lučenec the Elder (03/1386–11/1391)
Ban of Mačva	Paul of Lieskova (01–08/1382)	John Horvat (05/1385–01/1386)	vacancy (03–06/1386) John Bánfi of Donja Lendava (?) Nicholas of Gara the Younger (08/1387–04/1390)
Master of the Treasury	Nicholas Zámbo (05/1382–06/1384)	John Treutel (01–05/1385)	Nicholas Zámbo (10/1385–04/1388)
Master of the Horse	Stephen Lackfi of Simontornya (10/1382–06/1387)		
Master of the Cup-bearers	Blaise Forgács (01/1383–01/1386)		Nicholas of Perin (08/1387–04/1390)
Master of the Table	Ladislav of Veszény (01/1383–06/1386)		George of Štítnik (07/1387–07/1396)
Master of the Doorkeepers	Nicholas of Tileagd (01/1383–06/1384)	Paul of Alsán (10/1385–06/1386)	Eustace of Jelšava (05/1387–11/1392)

Legend: ■ – court faction of the Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara; ■ – court faction positioned around the Queens, trying to find mid-way; ■ – court faction positioned neutrally; ■ – anti-reginal party; ■ – ruling structure of Sigismund of Luxemburg

\* The table was done according to the data from Pál Engel's *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, but also according to the data from the forthcoming publication of Damir Karbić dealing with various officials in the Kingdom of Dalmatia-Croatia, to whom we would like to thank for allowing us to use the information.

## Appendix 3:

Unpublished documents on the auction of the property confiscated from the conspirators in Zadar, after they had been discovered and executed by Ban Thomas of Svätý Jur

(Državni arhiv u Zadru, Spisi zadarskih bilježnika, Articutus de Riniguano, b. 1, fasc. 1, ff. 96'-98')\*

### Doc. 1.

(fol. 96')

In margine: Incantus domus minoris cum duabus stationibus condam Petri Opatichich uendite ser Andree de Cesamis ementi nomine Crisani draparii

Feci in autentico emptori

MCCCLXXXIII<sup>o</sup> indictione VII<sup>a</sup> ab incarnatione Die XXVIII<sup>o</sup> mensis Augusti

In Christi nomine. Amen. Anno ab incarnatione eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo octuagesimo quarto, indictione septima, die vigesimo octuauo mensis Augusti, regnante serenissima principe et domina nostra naturali, domina Maria, Dei gratia regina Vngarie, Dalmatie, Croatie et cetera, temporeque reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Petri de Matafaris, eadem Dei gratia Jadrensis archiepiscopi, necnon magnifici et potentis domini domini Thome de Sancto Georgio, regnorum Dalmatie et Croatie bani generalis ac comitis ciuitatis Iadre. Testificor ego Anthonius preco communis Iadre quod cum facta foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: "Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabitur vna domus minor cum duabus stationibus suis, que fuit condam Petri Opatichich, filii quondam Iohannis de Iadra. infidelis regie maiestatis Vngarie et communis Iadre ac proditoris patrie et nunc est communis Iadre et in ipsum commune per sententiam confiscata, posita in confinio ecclesie Sancti Laurentii iuxta platheam magnam Iadre, cui domus cum stationibus hii sunt confines: de austro heredes condam ser Dominici de Nassis mediante muro communi, de borea domus maior cum suo sportico que fuit dicti condam Petri, mediante pariete de lignamine, de traersa dicta domus maior mediante muro communi et de quirina uia publica, et hoc ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uirorum domini Ludouici de Georgiis, legum doctoris, ser Iohannis de Petriço et ser Cresii condam ser Raynerii de Varicassis, officialium communis Iadre vigore partis capte

in consilio secreto Iadre die quintodecimo Iulii instantis ad hec et alia specialiter deputatorum." Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre ac mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas seu debitas obseruari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini iudices et officiales ad uendendum bona dicti condam Petri infidelis et proditoris, ut premittitur, ad incantum et ad alia facienda habentes speciale mandata pro soluendo creditoribus habere debentibus ab ipso condam Petro et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premittitur, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo mensis Iulii proxime preteriti sub prescriptis anno domini et indictione, habito quod omnia obseruata fuerunt que in dicta cedula describuntur atque primo guarentatis debite confinibus suprascriptis, commiserunt mihi Anthonio preconi predicto ut dictam domum minorem cum duabus stationibus suis prout in dicta cedula enarratur secundum ordinamenta dicte ciuitatis Iadre ac secundum mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas obseruari incantare et deliberare deberem. Quorum mandata fideliter exequens predictam domum minorem cum dictis duabus stationibus suis prout in dicta cedula continetur diebus pluribus et pluribus per plateas et alia loca solita diebus festiuis et non festiuis, modo et horis debitis, publice incantaui, ubi moris est, preconia uoce denunciatis atque dicens quod dicta domus minor cum dictis stationibus suis secundum formam dicte cedule plus offerenti et danti daretur et deliberaretur, predictam cedulam incantus publice in manibus semper ferens. Cumque prenotato per me quod dicta domus minor cum dictis duabus stationibus suis cum earum iuribus et pertinenciis suprascripto die daretur et deliberaretur prout in dicta cedula continetur nemoque se opposuisse incantui neque deliberationi nullusque comparuisse qui se pro dicta domo et stationibus plus nec tantum daturum offeret quantum ser Andreas de Cesamis, nobilis cuius Iadre, qui se (fol. 97) uice et nomine Crisani

\* On this occasion we would like to thank Branka Grbavac for providing us with the photos of the documents from the Archive in Zadar, and also to Damir Karbić for the helpful and useful suggestions while transcribing, and any other friendly advice while writing this article.

drapararii condam Martini de dicta ciuitate Iadre daturum obtulit ducatos auri centum et octuaginta ad soldos octuaginta pro singulo ducato. Tandem de mandato supradictorum dominorum iudicum et officialium, videlicet Ludouici, Iohannis et Cressii, supradicto die uigesimo octuauo mensis Augusti dedi, uendidi et deliberaui sub logia magna communis dicto ser Andree de Cesamis ementi uice et nomine et pro parte dicti Crisani drapararii domum predictam cum dictis duabus stationibus et omnibus iuribus et pertinentiis eorundem prout in dicta cedula declaratur pro precio et nomine precii ducatorum auri centum et octuaginta, ut premititur, ad soldos octuaginta paruorum pro singulo ducato superius oblaturum, ad habendum, tenendum, gaudendum et possidendum et quicquid dicto Crisano draparario et eius heredibus et successoribus de inceptis placuerit perpetuo faciendum seu quicquid alicui rem aliquam ad incantum ementi ex forma statutorum et ordinamentorum Iadre ac consuetudinum fieri promittitur. Quemquidem ser Andream emptori quo supra nomine dictus dominus Ludouicus iudex ex sui officio et de commissione, uoluntate et mandato dicatorum aliorum duorum iudicum suorum colegarum sedentium cum eo ad bancum

sub logia magna, tunc absente a ciuitate Iadre domino Iohanne scriba supradicti domini bani et comitis ciuitatis Iadre qui ad hec et alia cum eis solitus erat sedere pro ipso domino bano, de possessione dicte domus et dictarum duarum stationum et earum iurium et pertinentiarum cum baculo quem sua tenebat in manu, ut est solitum in talibus, inuestiuit et dictam deliberationem totaliter confirmauit, qui quidem emptor nomine quo supra et de denariis propriis ipsius Crisani dedit, soluit et manualiter numerauit ipsis dominis iudicibus et officialibus dictam ducatorum quantitatem, videlicet ducatos auri centum et octuaginta ad rationem, prefatam, prout dicti domini iudices et officiales contenti et confessi fuerint se habuisse et recepisse a supradicto emptore nomine antedicto, predicti domini iudices et officiales mandauerunt mihi notario infrascripto ad cautelam fieri presens brauiarii incantus publicum instrumentum. Actum Iadre sub dicta logia magna communis, presentibus ad supradicta omnia ser Cressio condam ser Petri Zadulinis et ser Micha de Nassis, procuratoribus dicti communis Iadre, et ser Francisco de Zadulinis et ser Iohanne de Nassis, nobilibus ciuibus Iadre, testibus ad premissa uocatis et rogatis et cetera.

## Doc. 2.

In margine: Incantus domus maioris cum duabus stationibus sub ea positi condam Petri Opatichich uendite ser Andree de Cesamis ementi nomine Crisani drapararii

Feci in auctentico

Die XXVIII<sup>o</sup> mensis Augusti

Testificor ego Anthonius prece communis Iadre quod cum facta foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: "Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabitur domus maior cum duabus stationibus sub ipsa domo positis cum sportico, curia, orto, puteo, canipa, camera, coquina, balatoriis et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinentiis que fuit condam Petri Opatichich, filii condam Iohannis de Iadra, infidelis regie maiestatis Vngarie et communis Iadre ac proditoris patrie, et in qua ipse condam Petrus habitabat, que domus est posita Iadre in confinio ecclesie Sancti Laurentii iuxta platheam magnam Iadre, cui domus cum stationibus hii sunt confines: de traersa partim ser Petrus de Lubanaç mediante muro communi pro parte et partim Grescus butiguarius et partim Draga, uxor Pripici sartoris condam Perfci, mediante androna, de borea ser Marcus de Pomo (fol. 97') mediante muro

communis, de austro partim heredes condam ser Dominici de Nassis mediante muro communi et partim domus parua cum aliis duabus stationibus dicti condam Petri usque ad sporticum mediante pariete communi de lignamine et de quirina uia publica, que quidem domus cum suis iuribus et pertinentiis est nunc communis Iadre, in ipsum commune per sententiam confiscata et uenditur ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uirorum domini Ludouici de Georgiis, legum doctoris, ser Iohannis de Petriço et ser Cresii Raynerii de Varicassis, officialium communis Iadre ad hec et alia vigore partis capte in consilio secreto Iadre die quintodecimo Iulii instantis deputatorum." Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre ac mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas seu debitas obseruari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini iudices et officiales ad uendendum bona dicti condam Petri infidelis et proditoris, ut premititur, ad incantum et ad alia facienda habentes speciale mandata pro soluendo creditoribus habere debentibus ab ipso condam Petro et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premititur, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo

mensis Iulii proxime preteriti sub prescriptis anno domini et indictione, habito quod omnia obseruata fuerunt que in dicta cedula describuntur atque primo guarentatis debite confinibus suprascriptis, commiserunt mihi Anthonio preconi predicto ut dictam domum maiorem cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipso domo positis prout in dicta cedula enarratur secundum ordinamenta dicte ciuitatis Iadre ac secundum mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas obseruari incantare et deliberare deberem. Quorum mandata fideliter exequens, predictam domum maiorem cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipsa positis, prout in dicta cedula continetur, pluribus et pluribus diebus per plateas et alia loca solita diebus festiuis et non festiuis, modo et horis debitis publice incantauit, ubi moris est, preconia uoce denunciatis atque dicens quod dicta domus maior cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipsa positis secundum formam dicte cedule plus offerenti et danti daretur et deliberaretur, predictam incantus cedulam in manibus publice semper ferens. Cumque prenotato per me quod dicta domus maior cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipsa positis cum earum iuribus et pertinenciis supradicto die daretur et deliberaretur, prout in dicta cedula continetur, nemoque se opposuisse incantui neque deliberationi nullusque comparuisse qui se pro dicta domo et duabus stationibus sub ipsa plus nec tantum daturum offeret quantum ser Andreas de Cesamis, nobilis ciuis Iadre, qui se uice et nomine Crisani drapararii condam Martini de dicta ciuitate Iadre daturum obtulit ducatos quadringentos et septuaginta tres auri ad soldos octuaginta pro ducato singulo. Tandem de mandato supradictorum dominorum iudicum et officialium, uidelicet Ludouici, Iohannis et Cressii, supradicto die uigesimo octauo mensis Augusti dedi, uendidi et deliberaui sub logia magna communis dicto ser Andree de Cesamis ementi uice et nomine et pro parte dicti Crisani drapararii domum predictam cum dictis duabus stationibus et omnibus iuribus et pertinenciis earumdem,

prout in dicta cedula declaratur, pro precio et nomine precii ducatorum auri quadringentorum et septuaginta trium, ut premititur, ad soldos octuaginta paruorum pro singulo ducato superius oblato, ad habendum, tenendum, gaudendum et possidendum et quicquid dicto Crisano drapario et eius heredibus ac successoribus deinceps placuerit perpetuo faciendum seu quicquid alicui rem aliquam ad incantum ementi ex forma statutorum et ordinamentorum Iadre ac consuetudinum fieri promittitur. Quem quidem ser Andream emptorem quo supra nomine dictus dominus Ludouicus iudex et officialis ex sui officio et de commissione, uoluntate et mandato dictorum aliorum duorum iudicum et officialium suorum colegarum sedentium cum eo ad bancum sub dicta logia magna, tunc absente a ciuitate Iadre domino Iohanne scriba supradicti domini bani et comitis ciuitatis Iadre, qui ad hec et alia cum eis solitus erat sedere pro ipso domino bano, de possessione dicte domus et dictarum duarum stationum et earum iurium et pertinentiarum cum baculo quem sua tenebat in manu, ut est solitum in talibus, inuestiuit et dictam deliberationem totaliter confirmauit, qui quidem ser Andreas emptor quo supra nomine de denariis propriis ipius Crisani dedit, soluit et manualiter numerauit ipsis dominis iudicibus et officialibus dictam ducatorum quantitatem, uidelicet ducatos auri quadringentos et septuaginta tres ad rationem prefatam, prout dicti domini iudices et officiales contenti et confessi fuerint se habuisse et recepisse a supradicto emptore nomine antedicto, predicti domini iudices et officiales mandauerunt mihi notario infrascripto ad cautelam fieri presens brauiarii incantus publicum instrumentum. Actum Iadre sub dicta logia magna communis, presentibus ad supradicta omnia ser Bartolo de Cipriano et ser Micha de Nassis, procuratoribus communis Iadre predicti, et ser Damiano condam ser Grisogoni de Begna et ser Colano de Matafaris, nobilibus ciuibus Iadre, testibus ad premissa uocatis et rogatis et cetera.

### Doc. 3.

(fol. 98)

In margine: Incantus domus habitationis condam Zanini draperii condam Iacobi de Iadra empte per ser Cosam de Begna

Feci in auctentico ser Cose emptori

MCCCLXXXIII<sup>o</sup> indictione VII<sup>a</sup> ab incarnatione Die XXVIII<sup>o</sup> mensis Augusti

In Christi nomine. Amen. Anno ab incarnatione eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo octuagesimo quarto, indictione septima, die vigesimo nono

mensis Augusti, regnante serenissima principe et domina nostra naturali, domina Maria, Dei gratia regina Vngarie, Dalmatie, Croatie et cetera, temporeque reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Petri de Matafaris, eadem Dei gratia Jadrensis archiepiscopi, necnon magnifici et potentis domini domini Thome de Sancto Georgio, regnorum Dalmatie et Croatie bani generalis ac comitis ciuitatis Iadre. Testificor ego Anthonius preco communis Iadre quod cum facta

foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et officiales et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: "Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabitur vna domus cum suis cameris, magaçoeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, posita Iadre in contrata Porte ferree iuxta ecclesiam sancte Marie de Bongaudio, que fuit condam Zanini draperii de Iadra, infidelis sacre regie maiestatis Vngarie et communis Iadre ac proditoris patrie, et nunc est dicti communis Iadre et in ipsum commune confiscata, cui hii sunt confines: de trauersa domus que fuit condam illorum de Bogde mediante muro communi sicut fuit antiquitus, de quirina uia conuicinalis, de austro uia publica et de borea heredes condam ser Francisci de Saladinis partim mediante muro communi et partim non, et hoc ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uirorum domini Lodouici de Georgiis, ser Iohannis de Petriço et ser Cresii Raynerii de Varicassis, officialium communis Iadre ad hec et alia super bonis dicti infidelis et cetera specialiter vigore partis capte in consilio Iadre deputatorum." Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre et consuetudines in talibus debitas et solitas obseruari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel libre quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini iudices et officiales ad uendendum bona dicti condam Zanini infidelis et proditoris, ut premittitur, ad incantum et ad alia facienda habentes speciale mandato (!) pro soluendo creditoribus habere debentibus ab ipso condam Zanino et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premittitur, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo mensis Iulii proxime preteriti sub prescriptis anno domini et indictione, habito quod omnia obseruata fuerunt que in dicta cedula describuntur, commiserunt mihi Anthonio preconii predicto ut dictam domum cum suis cameris, magaçoeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, prout in dicta cedula declaratur, secundum ordinamenta dicte ciuitatis Iadre ac secundum mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas obseruari incantare et deliberare deberem. Quorum mandata fideliter exequens predictam domum cum suis cameris, magaçoeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, prout in dicta cedula continetur, pluribus et pluribus diebus per platheas et alia loca solita diebus festiuis et non festiuis, modo et horis debitis publice incantauit, ubi moris est, preconia uoce

denuncians atque dicens quod dicta domus cum suis cameris, magaçoeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis secundum formam dicte cedule plus offerenti et danti daretur et deliberaretur, predictam incantus cedulam in et (!) manibus publice semper ferens. Cumque prenotato per me quod dicta domus cum suis cameris, magaçoeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, supradicto die vigesimonono mensis Augusti daretur et deliberaretur, prout in dicta cedula continetur, nemoque se opposuisse incantui neque deliberationi nullusque comparuisse qui se pro dicta domo cum suis cameris, magaçoeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis plus nec tantum daturum offeret (fol. 98') quantum ser Cosa condam ser Mathei de Begna, nobilis ciuis Iadre, qui se daturum obtulit ducatos octingentos auri ad soldos octuaginta pro ducato singulo. Tandem de mandato supradictorum dominorum iudicum et officialium, videlicet Ludouici, Iohannis et Cresii, supradicto die uigesimo nono mensis Augusti dedi, uendidi et deliberaui sub logia magna communis Iadre dicto ser Cose de Begna dictam domum cum suis cameris, magaçoeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus suis iuribus et pertinenciis, prout in dicta cedula declaratur, pro precio et nomine precii ducatorum auri octingentorum, ut premittitur, ad soldos octuaginta paruorum pro singulo ducato superius oblatorum, ad habendum, tenendum, gaudendum et possidendum et quicquid ser Cose emptori et eius heredibus ac successoribus deinceps placuerit perpetuo faciendum seu quicquid alicui rem aliquam ad incantum ementi ex forma statutorum et ordinamentorum Iadre ac consuetudinum fieri promittitur. Quem quidem ser Cosam emptorem dictus dominus Ludouicus iudex et officialis ex sui officio et de commissione, uoluntate et mandato dictorum aliorum duorum iudicum et officialium, suorum colegarum, sedentium cum eo ad bancum sub dicta logia magna, tunc absente a ciuitate Iadre domino Iohanne scriba supradicti domini bani et comitis ciuitatis Iadre, qui ad hec et alia cum eis solitus erat sedere pro ipso domino bano, de possessione dicte domus cum suis cameris, magaçoeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus eius iurium et pertinenciarum cum baculo quem sua tenebat in manu, ut est solitum in talibus, inuestiuit et dictam deliberationem totaliter confirmauit, qui quidem ser Cosa emptor dedit, soluit et manualiter numerauit ipsis dominis

iudicibus et officialibus dictam ducatorum quantitatem, videlicet ducatos auri octingentos ad rationem prefatam, prout dicti domini iudices et officiales contenti et confessi fuerint se habuisse et recepisse a supradicto emptore, predicti domini iudices et officiales mandauerunt mihi notario infrascripto ad cautelam fieri presens brauiarii

incantus publicum instrumentum. Actum Iadre sub dicta logia magna communis, presentibus ad omnia supradicta ser Bartolo de Cipriano et ser Micha de Nassis, procuratoribus communis Iadre predicti, et ser Colano de Matafaris et ser Simone de Rosa, nobilibus ciuibus Iadre, testibus ad premissa uocatis et rogatis et cetera.

# Croatian-Slovak Connections through the Activities of Blaise Magyar. An Example of Political and Family Connections between Slovak and Croatian Nobility

Chorvátsko-slovenské kontakty prostredníctvom činnosti Blažeja Maďara. Príklad politických a rodinných vzťahov medzi slovenskou a chorvátskou šľachtou / Hrvatsko-slovačke veze kroz djelovanje Blaža Mađara. Primjer političkih i obiteljskih veza slovačkog i hrvatskog plemstva

*The paper deals with the political and administrative activities of Blaise Magyar, military commander of King Matthias Corvinus. His administrative functions are well-known, he was a member of the Black Army (legio nigra), captain of Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia) in 1462, captain of the newly-established Captaincy of Senj in the Kingdom of Croatia (1469–1471) and twice Ban of Croatia and Slavonia (1470–1471 and 1480–1483). Also, Blaise Magyar was an important member of the nobility of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia who had estates in different counties and formed political and family connections with local nobility there. The emphasis is placed on the reconstruction of political influence and established family connections of Blaise Magyar in the regions which he governed, and of which the most evident connection is the one with the Croatian noble family Horvat de Kamičac, whose member Mark Horvat married Benigna, daughter of Blaise Magyar.*

Keywords: Blaise Magyar, the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, nobility, the fifteenth century, Black Army

During the struggle for the power between the Hunyadi and their opponents (later it was also the case during the reign of Matthias Corvinus), many noble families which were earlier of little importance and had little power came on the political scene of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, thanks to their loyalty to the members of the Hunyadi family.<sup>1</sup> Blaise Magyar, a nobleman of unknown ancestry, was also one of them. In presenting his life and career, the emphasis will be placed on the reconstruction of political influence and established family connections of Blaise Magyar in the regions which he governed during his lifetime.

## Origin of Blaise Magyar

In presenting Blaise's life and career the first question which has to be raised is that of his origin. Modern scholarship has offered several interpretations regarding his origin but none of them has been accurate and convincing enough. In Croatian historiography, Blaise has often been identified and associated with Blaise Podmanický, a member of the noble family Podmanický of Podmanín who had their estates in the county of Trenčín near the hill Podmanín in the vicinity of Považská Bystrica, who was also active in this period.<sup>2</sup> This is based on the misinterpretation of Bonfini's statements about Blaise Magyar and Blaise Podmanický.<sup>3</sup> The argument against the

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<sup>1</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. Trans.: Tamás PALOSFALUI. London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> For example, such an equalization of Blaise Magyar with Blaise Podmanický can be seen in the works of Vjekoslav Klaić and Rudolf Horvat. Cfr. KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 4. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod MH, 1974, p. 104 and HORVAT, Rudolf: *Povijest Hrvatske, od najstarijeg doba do g. 1657*, vol. 1. Zagreb: Merkur, 1924, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> For example, see: HORVAT, Rudolf: *Povijest Hrvatske*, p. 174, nota 8.

identification of Blaise Magyar with Blaise Podmanický lays in their wives' names and lifetime span. First of all, Blaise Podmanický of Podmanín died around 1480 and his wife was Dorothea,<sup>4</sup> while Blaise Magyar died around 1492 and was married to Barbara. In addition, I have found one document which mentions both aforementioned persons together: Blaise Magyar as a nobleman introduced to certain estates and Blaise of Podmanín as a witness.<sup>5</sup> Hungarian historiography has distinguished between Blaise Magyar and Blaise Podmanický, as it can be seen in most of the scholarly works.<sup>6</sup> Slovak historiography, to my knowledge, in different stages of its development came to both conclusions.<sup>7</sup>

Considering the fact that there is no document in which Blaise is mentioned with the noble adjective denoting his main estate before he entered into the service of the Hunyadi, none of those interpretations has provided the exact place of Blaise's family origin and their estates. Regarding this lack of basic data required for the detection of Blaise's origin, further genealogical research is very difficult but not impossible. However, I will offer some observations on Blaise's origin. First of all, in concordance with the documents, only reliable information about Blaise's family before the 1450s is that Blaise had a brother Clement and a wife Barbara, a noblewoman of unknown origin.<sup>8</sup> In order to further research Blaise's origin, it is important to mention some other difficulties which occurred. No document mentions Blaise's parents, primarily the name and a surname of his father, which would provide us with data about the estates of Blaise's father and give us the possibility to detect those estates and hence further genealogical research concerning the place

of his origin. Further difficulty about detecting Blaise's origin lay in the interpretation of his surname Magyar. It was not uncommon in the Middle Ages to use such a surname for distinguishing one person as a member of certain ethnic group, especially when that person performed some duties in different areas of the kingdom. In Croatian part of the kingdom, according to Emilij Laszowski, it was not exceptional to use such a surname for bans and other officials of the kingdom from the fifteenth century onwards.<sup>9</sup> A good example of such practice is the case of Damian Horvat of Litva, a ban of Croatia who obtained the aforementioned post along with Blaise Magyar in 1471: in his surname, the part Horvat symbolized his belonging to an ethnic group, while the other part, Litva, marked his principal estate (*locus residentiae*), which was located in the county of Hont.<sup>10</sup> In this sense the surname Magyar, which is always connected with Blaise's name in the documents, cannot be useful in considering it as a full surname of noble family. Next difficulty arises from the fact that there are several more persons with a similar or the same name and surname, which could be associated with Blaise Magyar, but all of those interpretations lack arguments and further evidence in documents and sources. Analyzing their ancestry and estates I have come to conclusion that none of them could be associated with Blaise Magyar, either because their estates were in totally opposite parts of the kingdom, or because their respective genealogical data are incongruous. I will mention one such case here. One nobleman from the county of Heves appears in the documents under the name Blaise of Kenderes and sometimes as Blaise Magyar of Kenderes. In 1465 King Matthias gave to Blaise of Kenderes,

<sup>4</sup> Magyar Országos Levéltár (deinde: MOL), Diplomataikai Levéltár (deinde: DL) 88644.

<sup>5</sup> MOL DL 15773.

<sup>6</sup> Such as genealogies of noble families made by Iván Nagy and Pál Engel. Cfr. NAGY, Iván: *Magyarország családai címerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal*, vol. 6. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1860, p. 40. For the data on the genealogy of the Podmanický family, see: NAGY, Iván – FRIEBEISZ, István: *Magyarország családai címerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal*, vol. 9. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1862, pp. 333–342 and ENGEL, Pál: *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia* [CD-ROM]. Budapest: Arcanum and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001 (deinde: ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*), sub vocibus – Magyar and Podmanicki.

<sup>7</sup> While older historiography, such as František Vířazoslav Sasinek, associated Blaise Magyar with Blaise from Borotin (Slovak: Blaž z Borotina) and aforementioned Blaise Podmanický, thus making one person out of three, this mistake was later noticed and corrected by Vaclav Chaloupecký. Cfr. SASINEK, František Vířazoslav: *Slovanski válečníci v Uhorsku XV.–XVII. storočia*. In: *Letopis Matice Slovenskej*, a. 9, nr. 2, pp. 12–16 and *Středověké listy ze Slovenska. Sbíрка listů a listin, psaných jazykem národním*, vol. 1. Ed.: Václav CHALOUPECKÝ. Bratislava – Prague: Melantrich, 1937, p. 115.

<sup>8</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, sub voce Magyar.

<sup>9</sup> LASZOWSKI, Emilij: *Prilog historiji hrvatskih porodica Martinuševića, Utješenića, Mišljenovića i njihovih srodnika*. In: *Vjesnik kraljevskog državnog arhiva u Zagrebu*, a. 7, 1937, p. 156, nota 11.

<sup>10</sup> KARBIĆ, Marija: *Od hrvatskoga sitnog plemića do ugarskoga velikaša i hrvatskoga bana: Damjan Horvat od Litve i njegova*. In: *Croato-Hungarica. Uz 900 godina hrvatsko-mađarskih povijesnih veza*. Ed.: Milka JAUK-PINHAK – Csaba Gy. Kiss – István NYOMÁRKAY. Zagreb: Katedra za hungarologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2002, p. 120.

on the return from his campaign in Bosnia, the estates of rebelled noblemen Martin Bodó and Nicholas Poljak.<sup>11</sup> However, his equalization with Blaise Magyar must be eliminated because of several facts. First, in the genealogical reconstruction of Kenderes family, I have found out that Blaise had a wife Sofia,<sup>12</sup> while Blaise Magyar, as I have already mentioned, had a wife Barbara. Furthermore, the charters concerning the estates of Blaise of Kenderes mention only estates in the county of Heves and only the name of Blaise of Kenderes,<sup>13</sup> while many of the estates of Blaise Magyar were joint possessions with his brother Clement.

The closest clue to which I came through the research of documents also lacks decisive arguments, but it is worth mentioning it here. The first information about Blaise Magyar could be that in a document of 1449 describing and citing him along with his father-in-law (*socer*) Lucas, son of John, as a nobleman from Újfalu in the county of Doboka.<sup>14</sup> According to Pál Engel, the place Újfalu was also named Magyarújfalu,<sup>15</sup> which gives us space for some possible conclusions. If we consider Blaise's surname Magyar as a toponym, it is possible that the place Újfalu/Magyarújfalu was the first known residence of Blaise Magyar. The placing of Újfalu/Magyarújfalu in the county of Doboka is further confirmed with other data from the aforementioned document. Namely, the document describes how Blaise Magyar came along with his father-in-law to the diet in Ciumăfaia<sup>16</sup> (*congregatio generalis*) and complained against certain Clement of Chidea.<sup>17</sup> Topographic research has showed that three aforementioned places, Újfalu/Magyarújfalu, Ciumăfaia, and Chidea, are close to each other in the county of Doboka. It is possible that Emeric Bubek (Bebek) of Plešivec,

voivode of Transylvania in 1446, accepted Blaise in his service around that time. When he finished with the duty of voivode of Transylvania, Emeric shifted Blaise to various duties on his estates in the county of Gemer.<sup>18</sup> To conclude, in my opinion, according to the surviving sources, Blaise Magyar could not be a member of the Podmanický family, but rather a lesser nobleman, most probably from the eastern part of the kingdom, who had come to the territory of present-day Slovakia and started to rise upwards there. In that sense Blaise was a representative of the upward-moving new noble families that started their careers under the Hunyadi.

## Services

Opposite to the limited possibility of researching his family background, there are much more data about Blaise's services and estates which he obtained during his lifetime. At first, Blaise, as a lesser nobleman, entered the service of Emeric Bubek of Plešivec (lat. *Pelsewcz*),<sup>19</sup> voivode of Transylvania and a member of the Bubek branch of the magnate Ákos kindred,<sup>20</sup> before 1453 and was appointed to the duty of the castellan of the castle of Tokaj.<sup>21</sup> Later, after the death of Emeric Bubek, Blaise remained in the service of Emeric's wife Dorothea and was settled around 1455 in the *castellum* of Jelšava (lat. *Ilswa*)<sup>22</sup> in the county of Gemer as a *familiaris* together with some other lesser nobleman.<sup>23</sup> It is not known how exactly Blaise entered in the service of the Hunyadi family, but he started to serve them as a military commander during the lifetime of John Hunyadi, engaged against the Brethren (*bratřici*) and John Jiskra of Brandýs (Ján Jiskra z Brandýsa),<sup>24</sup> somewhere in the vicinity of Podolíneč, apparently before 1456.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cfr. KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata*, vol. 4, p. 81; MOL DL 99699.

<sup>12</sup> MOL DL 16159.

<sup>13</sup> MOL DL 99702, DL 15695. For more details about estates of Blaise of Kenderes, see also: *Adatok Szolnok megye történetéből*. Ed.: Tibor TÓTH. Szolnok: Szolnok Megyei Levéltár, 1980, p. 45 and pp. 427–429.

<sup>14</sup> MOL DL 36391.

<sup>15</sup> Today Vultureni in Romania. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén* [CD-ROM] (deinde: ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*). Budapest: Térinfo, 2001, sub voce Magyarújfalu.

<sup>16</sup> Csomafája in the county of Doboka, present-day Ciumăfaia in Romania. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Csomafája.

<sup>17</sup> Kide in the county of Doboka, present-day Chidea in Romania. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Kide.

<sup>18</sup> For the data about Blaise's duties for Emeric Bebek of Plešivec in the county of Gemer, see later in this article.

<sup>19</sup> Plešivec in the county of Gemer. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Pelsőc.

<sup>20</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, sub voce Ákos nem 1. Bebek-ág, 4. tábla: Bebek (vámosi ág).

<sup>21</sup> MOL DL 14668.

<sup>22</sup> Today Jelšava in the county of Gemer. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Jolšva.

<sup>23</sup> MOL DL 56982. Among other nobleman alongside Blaise a lesser nobleman Ladislav Zempche was also mentioned as a *familiaris*, who later became Blaise's viceban of Croatia and count of the Križevci county.

<sup>24</sup> On the activities of John Jiskra of Brandýs and the Brethren, see: OSLANSKÝ, František: The Role of John Jiskra in the history of Slovakia. <http://www.dejiny.sk/mikro/SLde/jiskra.htm>, 16 December, 2011; ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, p. 300.

Obviously, Blaise was a good military commander and a man of valour, so he remained in the service of Matthias, John Hunyadi's son and a future king. In the enforcing of Matthias's authority as king among reluctant noblemen and opponents, Blaise took part in a campaign against John Jiskra of Brandýs and his followers, the Brethren, in 1458. King Matthias sent him together with Bartholomew of Hartvikovice (Slovak: *Bartošek z Hartvikovic*),<sup>26</sup> a Slovak nobleman from northern Moravia, to assist the town of Bardejov against various attacks of villains.<sup>27</sup> Because of his excellent military skills, King Matthias appointed Blaise in 1459 to the duty of the captain of Upper Hungary nowadays East of Slovakia along with John of Čata,<sup>28</sup> a Slovak nobleman from the county of Tekov.<sup>29</sup> In the following years, Blaise defended the Upper Hungary from the king's enemies, along with other captains such as Stephen of Zápolya,<sup>30</sup> and ceded to perform this duty in 1463, when he was for the last time in the sources styled and signed as a captain of Upper Hungary *capitaneus partium superiorum*<sup>31</sup> in his letter to Peter, son of John Forgach of Jelenec.<sup>32</sup> In this phase of his upward movement on the political and office scale of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, Blaise's brother also gained success and offices. Clement was for the first time mentioned in 1451<sup>33</sup> and became the castellan of the castle of Sziget in

1455.<sup>34</sup> After 1463, there are no mentions of Blaise Magyar in the documents until 1469, when Blaise appears as a commander of the royal army in the county of Zala located along with his castellans in the castle of Kanizsa.<sup>35</sup> It seems that from 1463, according to Bonfini, Blaise remained on some sort of military duty in Upper Hungary and was engaged in King Matthias's campaign against the plundering mercenary bands and their commander Jan Švehla, which culminated with the annihilation of the latter in the Battle at Kostolany in 1467.<sup>36</sup> Next year, Blaise was engaged in the king's campaign against Victorin, son of George of Poděbrady, King of Bohemia, in 1468 and 1469.<sup>37</sup>

In the following years, Blaise as a loyal commander continued to perform services for King Matthias and the Hunyadi. Within the scope of Matthias's attempts to suppress powerful magnate families all around the kingdom, Blaise was appointed and ordered to move to the Kingdom of Croatia to suppress Frankapan family in the south of the Kingdom, where they had their most important estates, primarily the coastal city and the port of Senj and the island of Krk. Because of the Frankapans' defiance to the king, Blaise was sent with an army and captured the city of Senj in 1469.<sup>38</sup> Simultaneously, Blaise became the first captain of the newly-established Captaincy of Senj and the ban of Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia

<sup>25</sup> MOL Diplomatkai Fényképgyűjtemény (deinde: DF) DF 213267. The document is not dated, but John Hunyadi is titled as count of Bistrița, so the possible date must be between his achievement of this title, which was in 1452, and his death in 1456. See: ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, pp. 289, 296.

<sup>26</sup> According to Chaloupecký, Bartholomew of Hartvikovice (lat. *Barthos de Harthwykowycz*) was from northern Moravia and was first in the service of John Jiskra and later, at the end of the 1450s, in the service of King Matthias Corvinus. Cfr. *Středověké listy ze Slovenska*. p. 45. For data on Bartholomew of Hartvikovice, see also: BOVAN, Marián: *Bratrický veliteľ Bartoš z Hartvikovic v Tekovskej Breznici a nález mincí na tamojšom hrade*. Lučenec: Mestský úrad Lučenec – Novohradské múzeum Lučenec, 2001–2004. Unfortunately, until now, I did not yet have the opportunity to consult it personally.

<sup>27</sup> MOL DF 213699. On the events and actions of Blaise and Bartholomew concerning the town of Bardejov, see also: KUBINYI, András: *Városaink háborús terhei Mátyás*. In: *Házi Jenő emlékkönyv. Emlékkönyv Házi Jenő Sopron város fővelváltósa születésének 100. évfordulója tiszteletére*. Ed.: Péter DOMINKOVITS – Éva TURBULY. Sopron: Soproni levéltár, 1993, p. 161.

<sup>28</sup> To my knowledge, John of Čata was also a member of lesser nobility, which performed various duties for King Matthias, most probably because of his military abilities and engagement on the side of the Hunyadi. Further details about the origins of John are unknown, yet the topographic research concerning his surname gives us a possible location of his origin. Čata was a village in the county of Tekov in the vicinity of today's place Hronovce. Cfr: ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Csata.

<sup>29</sup> MOL DF 213767. Apparently, John of Čata remained in the duty of the captain of Upper Hungary along Blaise only in 1459.

<sup>30</sup> Stephen Zápolya was captain of Upper Hungary from 1460 until 1465. Cfr: MOL DL 21342, DL 214268.

<sup>31</sup> MOL DL 59499.

<sup>32</sup> Jelenec in the county of Nitra and in the vicinity of Lefantovce. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Gimes.

<sup>33</sup> MOL DF 234052.

<sup>34</sup> MOL DF 203027.

<sup>35</sup> MOL DL 16908. The document is published in: *Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár*, vol. 2. Ed.: Imre NAGY – Dezső VÉGHÉLY – Gyula NAGY. Budapest: Zala vármegye közönsége, 1890, nr. 307, p. 591.

<sup>36</sup> ANTONIUS DE BONFINIS: *Rerum Ungaricum decades*, vol. 4. In: *Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum. Saeculum XV*. Ed.: Jozsef FÓGEL – Béla IVÁNYI – László JUHÁSZ (deinde ANTONIUS DE BONFINIS: *Rerum Ungaricum decades*). Budapest: K. M. Egyetemi nyomda, 1941, p. 88.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 27.

<sup>38</sup> KLAJČ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata*, vol. 4, p. 104.

and Slavonia in 1470.<sup>39</sup> While Blaise performed the office of the captain of Senj with Ivan Both de Bayna, from October 1471 he performed the office of ban of Croatia together with Damian Horvat of Litva. As the ban of Croatia, Blaise issued various charters. As their main task was the defence of Kingdom of Slavonia against the Ottomans, Blaise and Damian summoned the Diet of Slavonia in Rakovac in July 1471. As the ban of Croatia, Blaise was supported by his fellow nobleman from previous services. The viceban of Croatia under Ban Blaise Magyar was Croatian nobleman Ladislav de Zempche, with whom Blaise started his career as a familiar of Emeric Bubek of Plešivec, appointed to the aforementioned service in the *castellum* of Jelšava.<sup>40</sup> Another viceban and count of Križevci county was Ladislav Weres of Zepes,<sup>41</sup> apparently identical to Ladislav Weres of Kysfalwa, a lesser nobleman from the county of Šariš and a *familiaris* of Blaise Magyar and Paul Kinizsi.<sup>42</sup> Blaise remained at the post of the captain of Senj and Croatian ban only for a year. In the following years, from December 1472,<sup>43</sup> he performed the duties of the voivode of Transylvania until June 1479.<sup>44</sup> There have been various scholarly interpretations concerning the reason causing this shift in his career. There was a hypothesis that Blaise lost his office of the ban of Croatia and of the captain of Senj because of his participation in 1471 in the conspiracy of certain magnates led by John Vitez of Sredna (Sl.: *Ján zo Sredny* or *Ján Vitez*), the archbishop of Esztergom, and John of Česmica (Sl.: *Ján z Čazmy*, Lat.: *Janus Pannonius*), the bishop of Pécs, which attempted to offer the Hungarian throne to a son of King Casimir IV of Poland. However, the evidence in favour of his participation is rather debatable.<sup>45</sup> It is more likely that Blaise was assigned

to the office of the voivode of Transylvania and the count of Székely because of his reliability and allegiance toward Hunyadi. Anyway, while he was the voivode of Transylvania, Blaise fought successfully against the Ottomans when he was sent by King Matthias Corvinus with auxiliary troops to the aid of Stephen, prince of Moldavia, and when their armies defeated the beylerbey of Rumelia at the Battle of Vaslui in Moldavia in 1475.<sup>46</sup>

After he held the office of the voivode of Transylvania, he was again an army commander of King Matthias and was sent to the Kingdom of Croatia to suppress the rise and revolt of Frankapan family in the 1480s. This time Blaise was sent as an army commander (*capitaneus generalis*) to the city of Senj, because of the violation of the peace agreement between the Frankapan and King Matthias and because of a potential retaking of city of Senj by the former.<sup>47</sup> In this campaign Blaise was supported by the captain of Senj, Maroje Žunjević, a Croatian nobleman originating from Dubrovnik, who provided Blaise's army with ships needed for their transportation to the isle of Krk, the core of the Frankapans' estate.<sup>48</sup> Although the invasion of the Frankapan towns on the isle of Krk, namely Omišalj and Krk, because of the Venice intervention in favour of and finally against the Frankapan ended with a withdrawal of Blaise's army, a great portion of the mainland estates of the Frankapan family were occupied and placed under the government of the Captaincy of Senj.<sup>49</sup> Soon after, probably because of his military skills, Blaise participated in the successful expulsion of the Ottomans from Otranto, in Apulia, Southern Italy, in 1481.<sup>50</sup>

As a reward for this partial success and achievement, Blaise was once again appointed to

<sup>39</sup> For the data about King Matthias's struggle with the magnate family of Frankapans, see KLAIĆ, Vjekoslav: *Krčki knezovi Frankapani. Od najstarijih vremena do gubitka otoka Krka. Knjiga prva (od god. 1118. do god. 1480)*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1901, pp. 259–263.

<sup>40</sup> MOL DL 56982.

<sup>41</sup> MOL DL 100795.

<sup>42</sup> Blaise and Paul Kinizsi donated in 1478 the estates Roškovany, Uzovský Šalgov and Hubošovce to their *familiaris* Ladislav Weres de Kysfalwa. Cfr: *Codex diplomaticus Patriae. Hazai oklevéltár 1234–1536*. Ed.: Imre NAGY – Farkas DEÁK – Gyula NAGY. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1879, nr. 366, pp. 435–436.

<sup>43</sup> MOL DL 28046.

<sup>44</sup> MOL DF 277587.

<sup>45</sup> For example, according to the opinion of Vjekoslav Klaić, Blaise Magyar was involved in the conspiracy according to the letter sent to the Venetian rectors in Zadar describing that Blaise rebelled against the king in the castle of Đurđevac with other noblemen. However, Klaić did not indicate the source for his statement. See: KLAIĆ, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata*, vol. 4, p. 109.

<sup>46</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, p. 308.

<sup>47</sup> KLAIĆ, Vjekoslav: *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, p. 273.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 276.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 282.

<sup>50</sup> THALLÓCZY, Lajos: *Povijest banovine, grada i varoši Jajca 1450–1527*. Trans. Milan ŠUFFLAY. Zagreb: Tisak kr. Zemaljske, 1916, reprint Zagreb: Dora Krupićeva, 1998, p. 118.

the duty of ban of Croatia in August 1482,<sup>51</sup> in which he remained until December of the same year.<sup>52</sup> After he finished the duty of ban of Croatia, Blaise returned to his castle of Ilava in the county of Trenčín, where he most probably mourned for his deceased wife Barbara, who died around 1485.<sup>53</sup> For the rest of the time spent in his castle of Ilava Blaise was occupied mainly with allocating and distributing the estates to his children and supporters.<sup>54</sup> In 1485 Blaise donated to Caspar of Medné,<sup>55</sup> castellan of his castle of Košeca, some estates in the vicinity of the castle of Ilava.<sup>56</sup>

Some form of decline in the career of Blaise Magyar started after the death of Matthias Corvinus. Strangely, Blaise did not support Matthias's illegitimate son John Corvinus but rather Polish prince John Albert, a younger brother of future King Wladislas I and one of the claimants for the Hungarian crown. In the service of John Albert in the struggle for the Hungarian throne, Blaise participated in the siege of the towns of Košice and Tokaj in 1490.<sup>57</sup> After Wladislas defeated John Albert, Blaise apparently withdrew from political and military activities. He returned to his castle of Ilava in the county of Trenčín, where he, signed as a former voivode of Transylvania, issued a private charter in 1492 donating some estates to his loyal servants.<sup>58</sup> Most probably soon afterwards he died.<sup>59</sup>

## Estates

Due to the aforementioned participation in various affairs on the side of the Hunyadi, Blaise and his brother Clement gained various estates. As the data about Blaise's estates actually come from King Matthias's confirmations of previous charters granted after his accession to the throne,



Map 3. Locations of the estates of blaise Magyar in the counties of the Kingdom of Hungary.

it seems that Blaise might have gained various estates through donations from Matthias's predecessor John Hunyadi. As soon as Matthias had consolidated his royal authority, he began to reward his loyal supporters, among whom there was definitely Blaise Magyar. In the course of rewarding his supporters, the king reached for the requisition and confiscation of estates from those noblemen who were not supporters but rather enemies of the Hunyadi. In this sense, Matthias confirmed to Blaise and his brother Clement many estates of noblemen accused for treason and disloyalty during the struggle for the throne. So, in 1459, King Matthias confirmed with a new charter two of his own previous donations, in which he gave to Blaise and his brother Clement parts of the estate of Buzica<sup>60</sup> along with its

<sup>51</sup> MOL DL 66604.

<sup>52</sup> MOL DL 103878.

<sup>53</sup> MOL DL 24853. Blaise's wife Barbara is mentioned in a document as deceased (*condam*).

<sup>54</sup> For the data on division of Blaise's estates among his children, see further in this article.

<sup>55</sup> Lednické Rovne-Medné in the county of Trenčín in the vicinity of Košeca. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Medne.

<sup>56</sup> MOL DL 24853.

<sup>57</sup> MOL DL 92901, DF 213036, DF 270697, DF 270698. On the events concerning John Albert's struggle for the Hungarian crown, see also: SZÉKELY, György: *Magyarok és lengyelek közös jagar allat (personál unió, közös királyválasztási ternek)*. In: *Sobieski emlékkönyv: Sobieski III. János lengyel király halálának 300. évfordulója alkalmából rendezett konferencia anyaga*. Ed.: Erzsebet CSOMBOR. Esztergom: Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Önkormányzat Levéltára, 1999, p. 16.

<sup>58</sup> MOL DL 33895.

<sup>59</sup> As soon as the beginning of September 1492, Benigna is mentioned as a daughter of deceased Blaise Magyar.

<sup>60</sup> Buzica in the county of Abov. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Buzita.



Map 4.

revenue, as well as many other estates in the county of Abov (Hun. *Abaúj*) which were confiscated from a disloyal nobleman Michael Kardos of Buzica (see Map 3).<sup>61</sup> Blaise, son of John of Puzstaradvány,<sup>62</sup> was another nobleman who lost his estates due to *nota infidelitatis*, and Blaise Magyar with his brother Clement again achieved in getting further estates, namely part of estates

Puzstaradvány and others, also in the county of Abov (see Map 3).<sup>63</sup> Another donation followed in 1460, donating to them estates Roškovany,<sup>64</sup> Hubošovce<sup>65</sup> and Uzovský Šalgov<sup>66</sup> in the county of Šariš which were taken from disloyal members of the noble family Czana of Roškovany<sup>67</sup> (see Map 4). Also in 1460, Blaise and Clement further enlarged their possession in the county of Abov with the estates of George of Peder.<sup>68</sup> It seems that Blaise and Clement also had some property in the city of Košice as early as in 1461, when they are mentioned as inhabitants (Lat.: *inhabitatores*) arranging some proprietary relationship with other co-owners of the aforementioned estates in the county of Abov in front of the prior of the Convent of Leles.<sup>69</sup> In 1462, Blaise and Clement gained the castle of Košeca<sup>70</sup> with the village of similar name in the vicinity of present-day Košecké Podhradie, *castellum* of Vilcnó<sup>71</sup> and also the villages of Kopec,<sup>72</sup> Zliechov-Košecké Rovné,<sup>73</sup> Zavrátie,<sup>74</sup> Omšenie,<sup>75</sup> Ladce-Tunešice,<sup>76</sup> Beluša-Podhorie,<sup>77</sup> Beluša-Hloša,<sup>78</sup> Kočkovce,<sup>79</sup> Prušina with revenue<sup>80</sup> and Sztredna<sup>81</sup> in the county of Trenčín, which were confiscated from various disloyal noblemen such as John and Stanislaus, sons of Stephen of Košeca, and Albert, son of Peter of Košeca<sup>82</sup> (see Map 5). In the following years and before 1472, Blaise enlarged his estates in

<sup>61</sup> MOL DL 15412.

<sup>62</sup> In the vicinity of today's place Puzstaradvány in the county of Abov/Abaúj, Hungary and in the vicinity of the aforementioned estates of Michael Kardos of Buzica. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Radvány.

<sup>63</sup> MOL DL 15412.

<sup>64</sup> Roškovany in the county of Šariš. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Roskovány.

<sup>65</sup> In the vicinity of today's place Hubošovce in the county of Šariš. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Szentgyörgy.

<sup>66</sup> Salgó in the county of Šariš. Today Uzovský Šalgov, Slovakia. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Salgó.

<sup>67</sup> MOL DL 15520. This donation was not implemented peacefully because noblemen of Roškovany opposed the introduction of Blaise and Clement Magyar as new owners. Yet, their complaint was not accepted at the trial in 1464 and thus King Matthias confirmed his previous decision.

<sup>68</sup> MOL DL 15516. Peder in the county of Abov. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Péder.

<sup>69</sup> MOL DL 15549.

<sup>70</sup> Košeca in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Kasza.

<sup>71</sup> Probably Vieszka in the county of Trenčín, in the vicinity of the castle of Ilava. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Vilcnó and Vieszka.

<sup>72</sup> Košecké Podhradie-Kopec, village in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Kopecz.

<sup>73</sup> Zliechov-Košecké Rovné in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Rovne.

<sup>74</sup> Zavrátie or Predvrata in the county of Trenčín in the vicinity of Košecké Rovné/Mojtín. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Predvrata.

<sup>75</sup> Omšenie in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Omsar/ Missén.

<sup>76</sup> Ladce-Tunešice, village in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Tunezsic.

<sup>77</sup> Beluša-Podhorie, village in the county of Trenčín. Today Beluša-Podhorie. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Podhor.

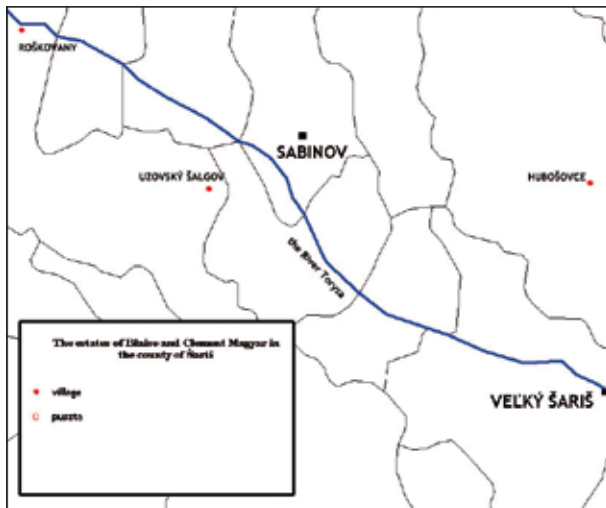
<sup>78</sup> Beluša-Hloša, village in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Hlozsa.

<sup>79</sup> Púchov-Dolné Kočkovce and Púchov-Horné Kočkovce in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Alsókokcskóc and Felsőkokcskóc.

<sup>80</sup> Prušina in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Pruszina.

<sup>81</sup> Sztredna in the county of Trenčín in the vicinity of Zliechov-Košecké Rovné. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Sztredna.

<sup>82</sup> MOL DL 15773.

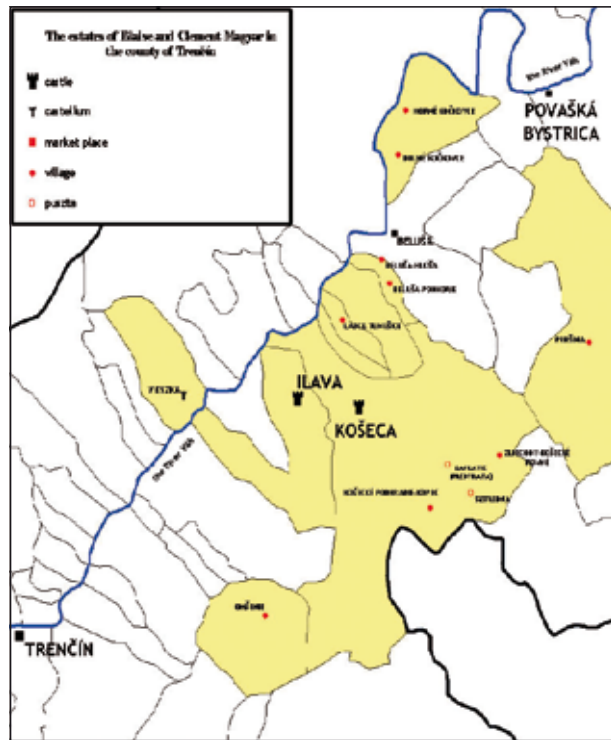


Map 5.

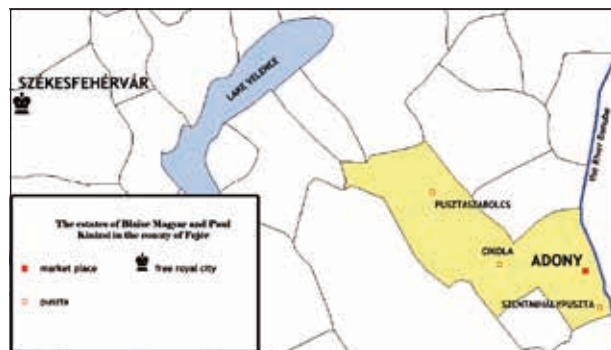
the county of Trenčín with many estates, among which the most important gain was the castle of Ilava<sup>83</sup> (see Map 5). However, when Blaise adopted Paul Kinizsi around 1472, most of these estates fell into joint possession of his and his adoptive son.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, Blaise gained proprietary right in some of Paul Kinizsi's estates in the county of Fejér, among which the most important were the market place (*opido*) Adony, Pusztaszabolcs,<sup>85</sup> Szentmihály<sup>86</sup> and Cikola<sup>87</sup> (see Map 6).<sup>88</sup>

## Family connections

At the same time, along with gaining the estates and thus strengthening political and financial importance of his family, Blaise created a network of allies through family connections with various noble families. Blaise's own advancement on the social scale of the nobility of the kingdom was most probably not enhanced with a marriage to a daughter of a wealthy magnate family, because Blaise's his wife Barbara was probably from a lesser noble family, like Blaise. However, it is evident that marriage strategy of younger members of Blaise's family was a way of creating family connections and alliances within the nobility of Hungary. Needless to say, many of those noblemen which



Map 6.



Map 7.

married Blaise's daughters also achieved many political and proprietary benefits through family connection with the Magyar family. Although it is not known whom Blaise's only son Ladislav married,<sup>89</sup> this strategy is evident in the marriages of Blaise's four daughters, Barbara, Benigna, Margaret and Martha, who were all married to various important noblemen. Thus, Barbara was married

<sup>83</sup> MOL DL 15773.

<sup>84</sup> MOL DL 15773.

<sup>85</sup> Szabolcs in the county of Fejér, present-day Pusztaszabolcs. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Szabolcs.

<sup>86</sup> Szentmihály in the county of Fejér, present-day Szentmihálypuszta. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Szentmihály.

<sup>87</sup> Cikola in the county of Fejér, present-day Cikola. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Cikola.

<sup>88</sup> *A Zichy és Vászonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vászonkeő* (deinde: *CD Zichy*), vol. 11. Ed.: Iván NAGY – Dezső VÉGHELY – Ernő KAMMERER – Pál LUKCSICS. Pest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1915, doc. 55, pp. 103–107.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*, doc. 55, pp. 103–107.



Map 8.

to Teophil, a son of George Turiec of Betlanovce.<sup>90</sup> Margaret was married to John Malovecký, a nobleman originating from the Bohuslavice family, which had their estates in Trenčianske Bohuslavice in the county of Trenčín,<sup>91</sup> and Martha was married to George, son of Peter Petó of Gerse,<sup>92</sup> who had their estates in the county of Vas.<sup>93</sup> The fourth daughter Benigna was married three times: first to Paul Kinizsi, King Matthias's military commander of unknown origin, second to Mark Horvat of Kamičac, a Croatian nobleman, and last time to George Kereki. Another form of family connection was also made when Blaise adopted Paul Kinizsi and accordingly accepted him as a member of his family around 1472.<sup>94</sup> To enforce and secure the wealth for his descendants, Blaise allocated and arranged some of the gained estates among his children. In 1472 Blaise, along with his brother Clement and adoptive son Paul Kinizsi, made an agreement about the division of the estates of Adony and others estates in the county of Fejér, which the three aforementioned noblemen possessed

jointly.<sup>95</sup> It seems that Blaise got married again around 1486 to a certain noblewoman by the name of Clara, and gave, together with Paul Kinizsi and with the consensus of his other daughters, to his daughter Barbara and son-in-law Teophil Turiec of Betlanovce the aforementioned parts of the estates in the county of Abov.<sup>96</sup> In the same year, Blaise sold to Teophil and Barbara, again with the consensus of the other daughters, a stone house in the city of Košice with a garden in the suburb along with a residence and a vineyard in the province for 2 000 florins.<sup>97</sup>

After the death of Blaise Magyar, his daughter Benigna continued to maintain family connections with various noblemen, in order to preserve the estates of the Magyar family, due to the fact that she did not have children from any of her three marriages. It seems that the dissipation of many estates, especially those in the county of Trenčín, began when Paul Kinizsi mortgaged the castles of Košeca and Ilava to Stephen Zápolya and his son John for 40 000 florins.<sup>98</sup> It is also possible that many other estates fell back into the royal hands by escheat and were given to other noble families. However, Benigna did not lose all of the estates which were acquired by her father and other family members. First in 1492, through the donation from her husband Paul Kinizsi she acquired the castle of Vazsonykő in the county of Veszprém<sup>99</sup> (see Map 7). After the death of Paul Kinizsi around 1494, a Croatian nobleman Mark Horvat of Kamičac married Benigna, and got the confirmation of the estates in the county of Fejér from King Wladislas I.<sup>100</sup> She remarried after his death and, as a widow, after the death of her third husband George Kereki, still held the castle of Vazsonykő and got a confirmation of this

<sup>90</sup> Betlanovce in the county of Spiš, in the vicinity of Hrabušice. Cf. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Betlenfalva and *Középkori magyar genealógia*, sub voce Thurzó (Betlenfalvi). George Turiec of Betlanovce was castellan of the castle of Spišský hrad in 1455. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 1. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996. I have used the digital edition: ENGEL, Pál: *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia* [CD-ROM] (Budapest: Arcanum and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001), sub voce Szepesvár and Spišský hrad.

<sup>91</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Bohuszlavic.

<sup>92</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, sub voce Nádasd nem: 3. tábla: Petó (gersei)

<sup>93</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Gerse.

<sup>94</sup> *CD Zichy*, vol. 11, doc. 55, pp. 103–107. Paul addressed Blaise as his father in 1486 (MOL DL 24769).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 103–107.

<sup>96</sup> MOL DL 19105. Among other reasons for this donation, it is interesting to mention that Teophil Turiec of Betlanovce was in the service of Paul Kinizsi in the 1470s as the castellan of Kinizsi's castle of Strečno in the county of Trenčín. Also, it is interesting that the castle of Strečno fell in 1498 into the possession of the noble family Horvat of Kamičac. See: ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Sztrecsényi.

<sup>97</sup> MOL DL 19104.

<sup>98</sup> MOL DL 50614.

<sup>99</sup> MOL DL 82047, DL 82050.

<sup>100</sup> KÁLLAY, István: Adony. In: *Fejér megyei történeti évkönyv*, a. 13, 1979, p. 43.

estate from the king.<sup>101</sup> Finally, in 1521, showing her allegiance and strong attachment to the family of Horvat of Kamičac, she donated the estate of Adony and other property in the county of Fejér to the brothers of her deceased second husband Mark Horvat, Matthias and Andrew.<sup>102</sup> It seems that she donated the castle of Vazsonykő also to the members of the Horvat of Kamičac family, who soon after that started to use the name of the aforementioned castle as their noble adjective.<sup>103</sup>

## Conclusion

To conclude, it should be noted that Blaise's political career and the family alliances which he made during his lifetime are an interesting example of the rise of a lesser nobleman to the ranks of the most important noblemen of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. Starting his career in service as a castellan and choosing to support and perform services under the Hunyadi, Blaise achieved the offices of the captain of Upper Hungary, ban of Croatia, captain of Senj and voivode of Transylvania, which he performed alongside various noblemen,

to whom he was thus politically connected and allied. Along with the services he gained the estates in present-day Slovakia (in the counties of Trenčín, Šariš and others) in which Blaise made family connections with local nobility through the marriages of his daughters. Blaise's career was strongly connected with the Hunyadi and particularly with Matthias; after the death of the latter, Blaise's career started to decline. After he had chosen to support the wrong pretender to the Hungarian throne, he retired to his estates in present-day Slovakia, where he, most probably, ended his life. In addition, his significance as once important official of the kingdom surely contributed to the career of every nobleman who was related to him. A good example of this is the case of Mark Horvat of Kamičac who later became a *cubicularius* of King Wladislas, ban of Croatia and the captain of Senj. Even after Blaise's death, his daughter Benigna was still connecting Croatian and Slovak history. A good example of this role of hers was the donation of her estates to Matthias and Andrew, brothers of Mark Horvat of Kamičac, to whom she was strongly attached.

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<sup>101</sup> According to Nagy, she was first accused of murdering her third husband and expelled from the kingdom, but then gained a royal pardon around 1520. See: NAGY, Ivan: *Magyarország családai*, vol. 6, p. 249.

<sup>102</sup> MOL DL 82570.

<sup>103</sup> ZSIRAY, Lajos: A vázsonykői végvár története. In: *Tanulmányok Veszprém megye múltjából*, a. 3, 1984, p. 296.