

LESSER NOBILITY

Parallels of Medieval Autonomous Communities in Slovakia and in Croatia

Paralely autonómnych stredovekých komunití na Slovensku a v Chorvátsku /
Paralele autonomnih srednjovekovnih zajednica u Slovačkej i Hrvatskoj

The paper deals with autonomous communities from the period of Arpadian and Angevin Hungary. Due to the scarcity of preserved sources, stress is placed on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This period also allows for a comparison between Slovakia and Croatia. As basic material for the comparison, special autonomous communities in Central and Eastern Slovakia and in Croatia are researched – Slovakian lower nobility from Turiec and Liptov, lancers from Spiš and the Croatian principality of Poljica and municipalities of Vinodol. Attention is paid to the way these communities evolved and to the role they played. It is possible that these communities had similar functions in both regions, which led to preservation of their special autonomous status and autonomous regulation throughout the following centuries.

Keywords: Spiš lancers, Poljica, Vinodol, autonomous communities, legal status

Introduction

The main aim of this article is to examine the character of communities in medieval Hungary (particularly in nowadays' Slovakia and Croatia) in the context of changes taking place in the thirteenth century. During this century a revolutionary change of the character of medieval state occurred together with a change of the character of communities, whereby a new type of community was created. In this context, our research question is whether it is possible that some of the original communities were able to survive under the new social conditions. Specifically, we focus on the community of *ten-lancers* in Spiš (Scepusium/*Scepusia*), on the social class of *populos* in the territory of Liptov and Turiec, and on the Croatian communities of Poljica and Vinodol. The article is divided into four chapters. The first one defines the concept of community in the modern historiography and places it into the context of changes occurring in Central Europe in the thirteenth century. Subsequently, after formulating the hypothesis on continuity of traditional communities under new social conditions, in the following chapters we discuss the problem of medieval social classes that formed these communities. Finally we focus

on particular communities in Slovakia and in Croatia in order to verify our hypothesis.

1. The Concept of Community and Changes of the Thirteenth Century

The concept of community in the modern scholarship was newly coined by Susan Reynolds at the end of the twentieth century.¹ She built on the basic nineteenth-century works on the types of communities – for instance, the division into *Herrschaft* and *Genossenschaft* as it is presented in the work of Otto von Gierke and division into *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* in the work of F. Tönnies. Similar ideas about the descending and ascending societies are to be found in the works of W. Ullmann from the mid-twentieth century.

Already in the late nineteenth century Otto von Gierke, in his treatise on the types of communities, distinguished the community type of *Herrschaft* and the opposite type of communities – *Genossenschaft*.² The first type is characterized by governance “from above,” by the authority which is not a part of the community, and is a rather foreign element within the community. On the other hand, *Genossenschaft* is an autonomous

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¹ REYNOLDS, Susan: *Kingdoms and Communities 900–1300*. Oxford: Oxford University, 1997.

² *Ibidem*, p. xxviii. GIERKE, Friedrich Otto von: *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht: bd. Rechtsgeschichte der deutschen Genossenschaft*. Berlin: Weidmann Buchhandlung, 1868.

community which handles its affairs on its own. Similarly, Walter Ullmann in the twentieth century wrote about descending societies controlled from above, and ascending ones which established their own rules of behaviour.³

The German scholar, Ferdinand Tönnies, distinguished between *Gemeinschaft* as the traditional tribal and family system of the governance of community, and *Gesellschaft*, where the relations between the community members as well as the administration of community are more professional.⁴

In recent years it was especially the already mentioned historian Susan Reynolds who dealt with the issue of communities from a historical perspective, particularly in the Middle Ages. In her book *Kingdoms and Communities 900–1300*, she discusses a period when a new – feudal – type of community and state already existed in Western Europe, while the Central European “ministerial” type of state still partly persisted in our region. Reynolds thus focuses on the feudal type of communities only, while she discerns several levels of these – kingdoms, counties, cities, guilds, parishes, etc.⁵

In this paper we will examine the possibility of continuity of communities existing in two different historical and social eras – in the so-called Central European type of state and subsequently in the feudal state. Our focus will be on specific Hungarian conditions in the thirteenth century, which is characterized by a change of the type of state (from the Central European ministerial type of state to a feudal state) as well as change of the type of communities. Namely, new privileged feudal communities emerged at this time.

We may raise the assumption that the idea of a community which is not controlled by any foreign element (ruler, count) but rather governed by traditional authority originating from the society itself (as it may have existed in the proto-state period of our history) was again re-established in the form of an officially confirmed “autonomy” (by a royal privilege) in the thirteenth century. This “autonomy” was a kind of counterpart to the ministerial way of governing the state and society. The community thus gains the formal right

to administer itself without any major intervention from outside. This was the essential feature of all the privileges dating from the thirteenth century – an exemption from the power of the local count (*comes*). The period of emergence (or possibly “restoration”) of autonomous communities in medieval Hungary from the thirteenth century onwards thereby coincides with the colossal transformation of the state and of the mode of operation of the medieval Hungarian society in the context of transition from the Central European ministerial state to the feudal type of state.

According to prevailing contemporary views, the Central European type of state (existing from the tenth to twelfth century) was a special type of state different from the feudal one, and was represented mainly by medieval Poland, the Bohemian Crown lands and medieval Kingdom of Hungary. The basic feature of this kind of state is a bureaucratic operation based on the ministerial apparatus, without existence of nobility and without the class of bondsmen.⁶

The Central European type of state is also characterized by an idea that all the population is in a servile relationship to the ruler. This is reflected also in the name – “ministerial” type of state. Moreover, the “ministerial” state is also connected with existence of a specific servile organization in the form of so-called “servile villages”. These villages, consisting of direct royal servants, were usually named according to the dominant economic activity of royal servants residing in these (Sokolovce, Dechtáre, Mlyňany, etc.). Their main task was to economically provide for the maintenance of the royal household and the state apparatus.

Another specific feature of this kind of state is a castle-based administration, i.e. the division of the country into castle-counties, which were governed by the ruler’s representatives (*comites*).⁷ This is closely connected with the existence of other communities besides the servile villages – especially communities of castle-inhabitants (*castrenses*) and castle warriors (*jobagiones castri*) with specific economic and military functions.⁸ In terms of medieval Hungary, it is considered

³ ULLMANN, Walter: *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages*. London: Methuen and Co Ltd, 1974.

⁴ REYNOLDS, Susan: *Kingdoms and Communities 900–1300*, p. XLIII. TÖNNIES, Ferdinand: *Community and Society: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Ed. et trans.: Charles P. LOOMIS. Michigan: Michigan State University, 1957.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ TRĚŠTÍK, Dušan: *Mysliťi dějiny*. Praha: Paseka, 1999, p. 168.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

⁸ The proof of this is a legal dispute over the duties of *castrenses* and castle warriors mentioned in the *Oradea Register*, case nr. 223/1219: “Peter, jobagio of Borsod Castle, brought *castrenses* of the same castle, living in the villages of Beleta, Lanczii, Mulchun, Zudesthan, and Shazka to the court claiming that their duty was to guard a prison. However, they claimed that they were castle warriors and should fight and not guard a prison. Their comes, Theodor, dealing with their case, sent them with pristaldus

possible that some of these communities had even Great Moravian origin, especially if they were connected to castles which had originated in the Great Moravian settlements.⁹

The ministerial type of state, with a strong position of the ruler, with apparatus and dependent servile population, is not an invention of our countries, though. It is rather the model that was already used in the Carolingian Empire in the eighth century. When examining the pathways by which the Carolingian type of state could function as a model for the organization of the Bohemian countries, Poland and Kingdom of Hungary two centuries later (in the tenth century), some scholars maintain that it was due to the impact of the Great Moravian state traditions in Central Europe. Similarly, one might assume that some communities which were created already in the Great Moravia could have survived (albeit in a changed form) from the Great Moravian period until the end of the twelfth century.

The ministerial type of state lasted until the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,¹⁰ when it was replaced by a new type of state – the so-called feudal state – state of estates. Contrary to the ministerial state, where there were no strictly defined social classes in the form of special estates and virtually all the population was subordinated to the ruler and administered by his apparatus (royal retinue), the basic features of the feudal state were different:

- existence of privileged and underprivileged social classes
- existence of estates – i.e. personal particularism of governance
- territorial particularism of governance
- formation of noble communities – noble counties
- formation of a new type of urban communities – the privileged free royal towns
- formation, re-formation or continuity of rural communities which mostly provided for military functions in exchange for privileges as a guarantee of their autonomy

Focusing on the communities, the change in the

character of state and its administration necessarily brought about certain consequences, such as already mentioned:

- 1) establishment of new communities (new free royal towns, new autonomous noble counties),
- 2) change in the nature of the already existing communities (e.g. transformation of “old” type of towns into a new type).

In this light one can also submit the idea of preservation of traditional rural communities such as the population of castle warriors, undergoing a change in this period (based on a royal privilege) in the form of exemption from the competences of a *comes*. In this paper we are going to examine exactly these communities which represent a nascent feudal type, in connection with the above-mentioned overall change of understanding of the state and of the communities.

A new element emerges in this context – the royal privilege, which in exchange for services expended for the sovereign guarantees the community a certain degree of autonomy. The traditional communities which did not gain such privilege soon perished or got subjected to emerging local landlords. On the other hand, those communities which received a royal privilege, changed into new, privileged communities recognized by the ruler by a grant of autonomy. The privileged administration and its authority is thus derived from and supported by the king's *Herrschaft*. Therefore, this is a dialectic synthesis of advantages of autonomy and of the formal superiority of royal administration.

The reason for this is the already mentioned transformation of the state's character which is a consequence of change in the organization of state power, change in the king's position, change in the ownership of land, and in the military organization. The ruler is losing direct control of the country in the context of the growing power of oligarchs who gained control over most of the kingdom. The ruler is not able anymore to secure the necessary military force by calling to arms all free population (headed by *decuriones* and *centuriones*¹¹), as it might have been the case in the period

Stephen from the village Nemeth to Oradea for the ordeal of hot iron. Peter refused the test, claiming that he accused castrenses from mentioned villages of duty to guard a prison unjustly. Regestrum Varadinense examinum ferri candentis ordine chronologico digestum descripta effigie editionis A. 1550 illustratum sumptibusque capituli Varadinensis Lat. Rit.. Ed.: Joannis KARÁCSONYI – Samuelis BOROVSKY. Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1903.

⁹ HOMZA, Martin: Administratívno-politický vývoj včasnostredovekého Spiša. In: *Historia Scepusii*, vol. 1. Ed.: Martin HOMZA and Stanisław A. SROKA. Bratislava: Katedra Slovenských Dejín UK FiF – Kraków: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2009, p. 187.

¹⁰ See also TŘEŠTÍK, Dušan: *Češi a dějiny v postmoderním očistci*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2005, p. 229.

¹¹ For the evidence, see for instance: BEŇKO, Ján: *Starý Turiec*. Martin : Osveta, 1996, p. 95; KUČERA, Matúš: Desatinná a stotinná organizácia. In: *Historické štúdie*, a. 11, 1966, pp. 57–77.

of the Central European ministerial type of state. Instead, he needs that either money or soldiers are provided to him by the communities which are under the ruler's control. After the Mongol invasion in the mid-thirteenth century, this was the reason why the king granted privileges to various communities, but also to individuals, by which he granted them autonomy in the form of independence from the local *comes*. This can be considered as a formation of a legislative framework for development of the self-governing autonomy. At the same time, the autonomous authorities were vested with a part of the previously royal power. Thus, this is not only a process of delegation of state power but rather of conscious and controlled de-etatization. On the one hand, the ruler gives up his *Herrschaft* in the form of control by *comes*, but on the other hand, he confirms his *Herrschaft* in the form of a granted privilege. At the same time, the community loses its traditional form of *Genossenschaft* but gains a new character of *Genossenschaft*, or potentially becomes a *Gemeinschaft* on its way to *Gesellschaft*,¹² characterized by a new Royal source of authority. The newly established authorities must respect the rules set by the ruler, but at the same time they must do their best to meet the community's own ideas of administration of common affairs.

The transition from *Genossenschaft* to *Gesellschaft* is also closely associated with professionalization and bureaucratization. This is a progressive element of the new public administration, also visible in some municipal law regulations (for instance in Bratislava), according to which inhabitants who are murderers, widows that do not want to marry again, adulterers, perjurers, and those who reveal to their wives what was discussed at the council cannot be elected into the town council. Also the behaviour during the meeting of the municipal council was under certain restrictions – members were required to wear decent clothes and during the meeting they were not allowed to eat and drink.¹³

Moreover, towns emphasized the rules of conduct of the mayor and assessors – they were to be religious, moderate in eating and drinking, they were to love justice and ethics, keep

confidentiality, be strong in words and deeds, helpful to rich as well as to poor, not closefisted, neither perjurers nor adulterers. On the contrary, they were to be far-sighted, eloquent and thrifty people. To avoid nepotism, neither two men from one household nor two who did business together were to hold a municipal office (the term *gesellschaft* indicates the business partnership here).¹⁴

There were also some regulations concerning the professional training and guidance of new municipal officials – such as the regulation of the municipal law of Trenčín where older officials were to share their experience with the younger ones on the day following their election.¹⁵

To sum up, the emerging “public administration” had four basic features:

- 1) right to free election of local authorities
- 2) right to pass own regulations – statutes or customs
- 3) right to freely dispose of the property of the community
- 4) right of control over local authorities¹⁶

Formation of public administration as well as principles of its functioning, including the principle of election and of control of public power, undoubtedly represents an innovation and a dynamic element in the development of feudal Hungarian communities. Our article is, however, aimed only at the very moment of a break between the traditional community of the *Genossenschaft* type, and the new, partly professionalized feudal community.

2. Hypothesis, Research Question and Methodology

In this article we propose a hypothesis that twelfth – and thirteenth-century communities were transformed from traditional communities, which performed specific tasks being subordinated to the ruler and his apparatus, into feudal privileged communities exempted from the direct control of the sovereign and his apparatus. While the traditional community was united by its tasks, the feudal communities were united through privileges they obtained from the ruler, and their original tasks could be modified or abandoned. An

¹² According to formulation of Bratislava Municipal Law, it was a community of “reichen und armen der statt”. *Monumenta Hungariae Juridico-Historica: Corpus Statutorum*, vol. 4, pars 2.: Statuta et articuli municipiorum Hungariae cis Danubianorum. Ed.: Sándor KOLOSVÁRI and Kelemen ÓVÁRI. Budapest: Editio Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 1897, p. 13.

¹³ *Monumenta Hungariae Juridico-Historica*, 4/2., p. 16.

¹⁴ Regulations of Bratislava Municipal Law. *Ibidem*, pp. 27–29. See also the statute of Trenčín from the year 1476. *Ibidem*, p. 34.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

¹⁶ LEHOTSKÁ, Darina: Vývoj mestského práva na Slovensku. In: *Historica*, a. 10, 1959, p. 104.

example is the transformation of the previously royal counties into noble counties. The same is the case of towns and their transformation from the “old” into the “new” towns (free royal towns). At the same time, it is true that not all the communities had to go through this kind of transformation because some of them (the new ones) could emerge from scratch without any need for modifications of previous shape – as is the case of some noble counties and royal towns.

Therefore, one may expect that also the rural autonomous communities, which gained privileges or at least the confirmation of their privileged status in the thirteenth century, represented either the newly established communities or a continuation of traditional communities. In the case of continuous communities, these could be identical or similar to the traditional ones that existed in the castle-based system of the Central European ministerial type of state. Therefore, our research question is: Is there a possibility of continuity between traditional and new communities? Under what conditions is the continuity preserved?

We assume there were two stages in the process of transformation of original communities:

In the first stage, the ruler granted individual privileges by which he created various groups of *jobagiones*, who had military duties but did not belong to any specific community. These *jobagiones* were either subordinate to the sovereign (*jobagiones regii*) or to the local *comes* (*jobagiones castri*). By this process a disruption of possible traditional communities, from which the *jobagiones* were exempted, arose. This is documented in privileges which mention that *jobagiones* received land allocated to them from the lands of the *populos*, to whom they originally belonged.

The main reason for granting these individual privileges lies in the military reform of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the context of Mongol invasion.

The second stage, taking place at the same time or subsequently, represents grants of collective privileges to the communities (whether traditional or newly created) by which they were changed into privileged territorial communities, such as:

- towns (e.g. Trnava in 1238)
- autonomous (noble) counties (for the first time in the county of Zala in 1232)
- rural communities (being either ethnic – for instance, the community of *Saxons*, or territorial – e.g. *lancers* in Spiš).

In this paper, we concentrate only on rural communities and specifically analyse the following ones:

- outside of Spiš territory:
 - in the regions of Turiec and Liptov, where:
 - in the privilege from 1255, *fili jobagionum* had the duty to provide armed warriors,
 - the charter from 1257 imposed on the *populos* a duty to provide one warrior *per* every six households,
 - the charter from 1316 informs that in the locality of Istebné, fifteen nobles-*lancers* were residing,
 - the territory of Spiš
 - Saxons – according to the privilege from 1271, they had to provide 50 lancers,
 - *lancers* – according to the privilege from 1243, they had to provide lancers in undetermined number,
 - Croatia
 - Vinodol and Poljica, where we lack the original privilege as well as the mention of their military duty (unlike in *Campus Zagradiensis*, which is, however, not in the centre of our analysis here, as it is the subject of another paper in this volume).

We try to answer the research questions through an analysis of the above-mentioned territorial rural communities, although we mostly possess information on their form and functioning only from the mid-thirteenth century onwards.

In this context, the key question is whether it was a collective privilege which helped to preserve the community, or whether these communities had different reasons of survival. Here it is necessary to point out that the Spiš *lancers'* privilege, as a collective one, is only a declaratory privilege, which means that it is not granting any new rights but only confirming the already existing noble status, rights and duties of the population. The cases of Vinodol and Poljica, however, could show that a community might have persisted even without any need for privileges. On the other hand, both Vinodol and Poljica, contrary to lancers, underwent a period of infeudalization by a noble magnate family, which might have been the consequence of lacking privilege. Moreover, Vinodol as a community of peasants disintegrated in the infeudalization period. Only Poljica was able to overcome the situation and to preserve its noble autonomy for the following centuries.

3. Social Stratification in the Thirteenth Century

Concerning the nature and status of populations forming the researched communities, the prevailing view is that:

- (1) the lancers in Spiš, just like in Croatian Poljica, represented the community of nobles together with their bondsmen,
- (2) the territory of Turiec and Liptov was inhabited by the communities of *populos* which were never transformed into a community of nobles because they either vanished (possibly were reduced to the position of bondsmen) or were individually elevated into the ranks of free *jobagiones* who never created a stable community supported by a collective privilege,
- (3) Vinodol in the thirteenth century seems to have been a community of *jobagiones castri* which later vanished due to their infeudalization.

In connection with the above-mentioned various social classes, which represented the analyzed communities of the thirteenth century, it is necessary to pay a closer attention to these groups of population. This issue was already elaborated by numerous scholars.¹⁷ For the purpose of this paper, we will mainly use the studies of Hungarian and Slovak historians.

According to current Hungarian research results,¹⁸ in the period from the eleventh to thirteenth century one can distinguish the following social classes.

During the lifetime of Saint Stephen, the main social classes were *comes*, *maior*, *miles*, *liber*, and servile population.¹⁹ From among the servile population, *cives*, as a first group, represented the population under direct control of *comes*, but their exact function has been the subject of dispute between K. Tagányi and L. Erdélyi.²⁰ It is possible that they performed military function.

Some other scholars maintain that one can differentiate between *cives* and *civiles*. While the *cives* performed various services, the *civiles* were

mostly in charge of agricultural activity, similarly as *dvorníci* (*udvarnok*)²¹ – direct royal servants living in royal servile villages.

Another group, of semi-independent population, were *populos*, divided into *populos provinciae* and *populos castri*,²² the latter being also denoted as *castrenses*, who were subordinated to the *comes*.

According to G. Györffy, during the early Árpadian period the free population represented a fifth of the whole population.²³ This group comprised among others the castle warriors – *jobagiones castri*, who emerged in the eleventh and twelfth century.²⁴

Štefan Luby was of opinion that another type of *jobagiones*, *fili jobagionum*, originally lived side-by-side with *populos* and only step by step, partially, plots of land were allocated to them as donation. The size of the donated land was usually three *aratra* (*jobagiones castri* usually received two *aratra*, and in Turiec four *aratra*).²⁵ They could also receive land *sub libertate* and in this case they were almost equal to nobility. To prove this, Luby points to a charter from 1248 in which *fili jobagionum*, instead of performing their duty for the castle, were required to participate in military campaigns of the royal army.²⁶ Rapant demonstrates the same situation.²⁷ In order to raise somebody from lower class into the rank of *fili jobagionum* it was necessary to obtain the king's or the count's privilege (usually at the behest of the king or with his consent).²⁸

The term *jobagio* itself means in general a person who is bound by *feudal service* to a higher-standing, more powerful and socially superior person.²⁹ Around the twelfth century the term *jobagiones* (instead of some older terms such as *principes*, *primates*, *optimates*, etc.) was used to denote the highest royal officials, though.³⁰

¹⁷ For instance, see MARSINA, Richard: Štruktúra šľachty na Slovensku v 9. až 13. storočí. In: *Najstaršie rody na Slovensku*. Ed.: Katarína ŠTULRAJTEROVÁ. Martin: Slovenská genealogicko-heraldická spoločnosť, 1999, pp. 35–43. JAVOŠOVÁ, Erika: Spoločenské postavenie šľachty na Slovensku v prvej polovici 13. storočia. In: *Slovenská archivistika*, a. 38, 2003, nr. 2, pp. 40–77.

¹⁸ Concisely summarized e.g. in *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary 1000–1301: Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae* (deinde DRMH 1), vol. 1. Ed.: János BAK – György BONIS – Janes ROSS SWEENEY. Idyllwild: Charles Schlacks, Jr., 1999.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 80.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 79.

²¹ Ibidem, p. 45.

²² LUBY, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*. Bratislava: Rudolf Rauscher, 1932, p. 79.

²³ DRMH 1, p. 121.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 140.

²⁵ LUBY, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, p. 58.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 55.

²⁷ "The undeveloped castle system and the process of decline of stratum of *jobagiones* is most probably connected with the fact that *fili jobagionum* in these territories performed the military duty, albeit only during the time of war and in a royal army. From this point of view they were similar to Spiš lancers and also to free (later noble) owners of donations." RAPANT, Daniel: *Drobné študie k slovenskému stredoveku*. In: *Slovenská archivistika*, a. 9, nr. 1, 1974, pp. 70–71.

²⁸ RAPANT, Daniel: *Drobné študie k slovenskému stredoveku*, pp. 64–65.

²⁹ LUBY, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, p. 65.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 65.

From the upper layers of castle warriors and other free *jobagiones* (such as *jobagiones regis*, or *filii jobagionum*) a class of *servientes* was formed in the twelfth/thirteenth century.³¹ In a confirmation of the Golden Bull from 1267, *servientes* were considered as *nobiles*.³² This all demonstrates the fact that the ministerial type of state was changing into a feudal state.

Still, in the thirteenth century there existed a difference between *nobiles* and *jobagiones*, which is visible also in the preserved charters.³³ According to Luby, *nobiles* were the nobility who received land for their merits. The grants of land multiplied in number especially after the year 1250 in connection with the military reform of Bela IV. In contrast, *jobagiones regales* (and originally also *servientes*) were *sub conditione servitii* and thus were not equal to noblemen. They were mostly the soldiers to whom the land was granted as a dependant estate and therefore they belonged only to the lower military nobility. However, with regard to grants of land for this group of people since the late thirteenth century, the differences between the classes of nobility, *servientes*, and *jobagiones* were blurring. This happened also due to frequent ennoblement of *jobagiones*.³⁴ Subsequently, the social status expressed by the term *jobagio* slowly decreased until it stopped at the lowest level – that of bondsmen.

Yet, the *jobagiones* in the period under review in this paper were in general still free (or semi-dependent) people of middle and lower rank who performed various military, administrative, and economic functions in state administration, in church, and in local apparatus. The general degradation of this term started only in the last third of the thirteenth century and in the mid-fourteenth century in connection with the rise of the original *jobagiones* into higher positions – those of royal *servientes* and noblemen of the realm.³⁵

Nevertheless, already Luby noted the terminological inconsistency in the naming of the same

persons in the sources. That is to say, the same persons were once termed as *nobiles*, then as *comites liptoviensi*, and, finally, as *jobagiones* who held *possessio conditionalis*.³⁶ Thus, one cannot draw final conclusions solely based on the terminology used in sources.

4. Analysis of the Examined Communities

4.1 Spiš Lancers

Spiš lancers represent only one from many privileged communities that existed in Spiš. Concerning their origin, according to the privilege from 1243, it seems that Spiš lancers were a privileged community already before the year 1243. However, we do not dispose of any more information on their original status.

Regarding their origin and nationality, several theories were proposed.³⁷ The first theory suggested the Hungarian origin of Spiš lancers who, supposedly, came to Spiš from Gemer region as guards of borders.³⁸ This theory was presented by the author of the first monograph on Spiš lancers, József Hradzsky³⁹ and was accepted by several scholars. The origin of lancers in Gemer was recognized also by Ivan Chalupecký, but, to the contrary, he considered them to be Slovaks.⁴⁰ More recently, he admitted also the possibility that they had been the remnants of original Slavic nobility which had later offered their services to Hungarian king. This view is close to the opinion of František Javorský, who also suggested the Slavic origin of lancers. He believed that they had been “*special military units*” existing already in the Great Moravian period. According to him, their duty was to protect two biggest settlements in Spiš territory – Čingov and Dreveník.⁴¹ Other historians also tried to find lancers’ origin in the “*castle warriors*” – *jobagiones*

³¹ DRMH 1, p. 147.

³² Ibidem, p. 105.

³³ *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus et Civilis* (deinde CDH), tom. 6, vol. 2. Ed.: György FEJÉR. Budae: Typis Regiae Scient. Universitatis Ungaricae, 1838, pp. 245–246.

³⁴ LUBY, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, p. 4.

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 66.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 54.

³⁷ For a short overview see ŽIFČÁK, František: K identifikácii najstarších kopijnických rodín. In: *K stredovekým dejinám Spiša*. Ed.: Miroslav ŠTEVÍK. Stará Lubovňa: Lubovnianske múzeum, 2003, pp. 42–43.

³⁸ FEKETE NAGY, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*. Budapest: Akadémia : Orsz. Levéltár, 1934, 253 pp.

³⁹ HRADZSKY, József: *A szepesi “Tíz-landsások széke” vagy a “Kisvármegye” története*. Lőcse: Nyomatott Reiss J.T. Könyvnyomdájában, 1895.

⁴⁰ CHALUPECKÝ, Ivan: Prehľad vývoja verejnej správy na Spiši. In: *Sborník archívnych prací*, a. 13, 1963, p. 128.

⁴¹ ŠTEVÍK, Miroslav: Sídlná štruktúra kopijnických osád, cestná sieť, strážne a zásekové miesta na Spiši v stredoveku.

In: *Z minulosti Spiša*, a. 9–10, 2001–2002, pp. 42–43. According to Marián Soják already at the time of Grand Moravia there were created special military units – Spiš lancers. SOJÁK, Marián: Kopijnické osady z pohľadu archeológie. In: *Z minulosti Spiša*, a. 11, 2003, p. 6.

castris, milites castris, or in *filiis jobagionum*. Radziszewska saw the analogy to them in the population of “frontier areas” (*comitatus confiniorum*) which existed already at the time of Charlemagne and whose task was to stop the first enemies’ attacks on the borders.⁴² Contemporary Slovak scholar M. Števík is of similar opinion.⁴³

However, the theory that the primary duty of the lancers was guarding the borders is no longer valid because the settlement structure of lancers’ villages is located mainly in the central part of Spiš and not at its borders.

Moreover, in the recent years, scholars are more inclined to the hypothesis that the lancers were of no particular nationality, but rather they consisted of peoples of Slavic/Slovak, Hungarian, Latin, and German origin.⁴⁴ We also believe that Spiš lancers were a multiethnic group of population, just as the whole Spiš county was multiethnic.

The lancers were namely not the only community in Spiš. There was yet another community in Spiš besides lancers which was represented by *filiis jobagionum*. Kostelník points out in this respect that some charter references indicate the existence of a collective privilege for the *filiis jobagionum* in Spiš.⁴⁵ This privilege is directly mentioned in the charter from 1255 where Bela IV confirms the property of four *aratra* to Myčelet (*Mytscheleth*) and to the widow of Ďurko (*Gyurkonis*). According to the charter, with regard to this possession, Myčelet’s and Ďurko’s sons had the duty of such military service as was the custom of other *filiis jobagionum* in Spiš and as it was specifically defined in their common privilege.⁴⁶

Another type of community in Spiš is reported in a charter from 1264 which states that Bela IV granted the forest Chetene to Batyz under condition that people who settle there should enjoy the same status as other free people of Spiš. They were to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the *comes* and to have a right to choose their priest and mayor.⁴⁷

Still, there were other communities in Spiš – since 1241 the community of Saxons – *Provincia Saxonum de Zips*, from the year 1278 the Province of *Sclavorum* governed by a *comes Sclavorum*, since 1280 the Organization of Latins, and, finally, the Spiš noble county itself.

It might also be possible that it was this very unique fragmentation of Spiš county that allowed Spiš lancers to retain their special status and unified them by defining their noble status against other communities in Spiš. (Most likely, the situation in Poljica was similar, representing an autonomous noble community at the periphery of medieval Hungarian Croatia.)

Regarding the territorial and personal specification of lancers in Spiš, it is necessary to point out that the privilege from 1243 is neither addressed to any particular person, nor is the territory specified. It is addressed to the “nobility” of Spiš.

However, in general the term *nobiles de Scopus* did not necessarily indicate lancers. It should be understood in a broader meaning. It most probably involved anyone who served to the ruler in the territory of Spiš. Among them there were also the most important families of Spiš, who were otherwise in the charters called as the nobles of the Kingdom – *nobiles regni*.⁴⁸ Still, it was only the relatively narrow group of lancers who made use of this privilege and were for centuries able to defend their independent organization against the general noble county of Spiš.

In order to explain this feature, M. Homza supposes that the creation of specific groups of nobles such as the lancers is connected with the fact that this community was established on both a territorial and relational principle.⁴⁹ Still, he admits, numerous ennoblements into the rank of *jobagiones* from a later period demonstrate that the lancers were connected neither ethnically nor by blood relationship (even though M. Homza claims their core was of Slovak/Slavic origin). That is to say, one could become a lancer either by birth into

⁴² ŽIFČÁK, František: *K identifikácii najstarších kopijnických rodín*, pp. 42–43.

⁴³ ŠTEVÍK, Miroslav: *Sídlená štruktúra kopijnických osád, cestná sieť, strážne a zásekové miesta na Spiši v stredoveku*, p. 52.

⁴⁴ IDEM: *Z dejín osídlenia a verejnej správy stredovekého Spiša*. Stará Lubovňa: Lubovnianske múzeum, 2005, p. 20. See also SOJÁK, Marián: *Kopijnické osady z pohľadu archeológie*, p. 6. Kostelník tries to prove also Szeklers ethnicity. KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*. MA thesis. Trnava: Filozofická Fakulta Trnavskej Univerzity, 2008, p. 14.

⁴⁵ Unfortunately, this privilege was not preserved, but its existence is more than probable. Numerous scholars are of this opinion, see HOMZA, Martin: *Ku genéze spišských kopijníkov*. In: *Historický zborník*, a. 16, 2006, pp. 24–25; some admit its possible existence, see ŽIFČÁK, František: *K identifikácii najstarších kopijnických rodín*, pp. 49–50.

⁴⁶ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde CDSI), vol. 2. Ed.: Richard MARSINA. Bratislava: Obzor, 1987, nr. 492, p. 342.

⁴⁷ BEŇKO, Ján: *Osídlenie severného Slovenska*. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1985, p. 150.

⁴⁸ HOMZA, Martin: *Administratívno-politický vývoj včasnostredovekého Spiša*, p. 188.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 188.

a family that belonged to the lancers community, or by being raised into the rank of *jobagiones* by a royal privilege.⁵⁰ Therefore, he summarizes, the lancers were not a closed community.⁵¹

M. Homza summarizes his notion of lancers' origin as follows:

*"the original population of Spiš – the castrenses of Spiš, performing their duty in a form of military service for the castle and organized as elsewhere in medieval Hungary into tens and hundreds (or at least this was the case in Turiec and in Liptov), was due to the necessity of military services collectively exempted from the jurisdiction of the original official of the royal castle – the comes of Spiš and was transformed into a nobility of Spiš, in principle analogous to royal jobagiones (with the right and duty to provide ten fully armed soldiers for the royal army)... Therefore, the 'Small Scepusian county' was the original Spiš autonomous organization and was mostly represented by the oldest inhabitants of Spiš. These oldest inhabitants were from the thirteenth century ennobled on the basis of a collective privilege. The following scheme corresponds to this idea: the original settlements – castrenses – castle jobagiones – royal servientes – royal jobagiones – nobiles de Scepus."*⁵² According to Homza, the elevation of the local population into a privileged community took place at the time when Spiš was under the control of the future Hungarian King Andrew II (i.e. before the year 1205). This elevation happened in connection with the creation of his *dominium* in this area. Miroslav Števík also came to the conclusion that the beginnings of lancers in Spiš can be traced back to the twelfth century (i.e. to the time when the territory of Spiš was attached to the Hungarian state).⁵³ We agree with Homza that the lancers community *de facto* existed already in the times when Coloman was the lord of Spiš. It is confirmed by the content of a charter from

1229. This charter was issued by Coloman of Galicia in favour of his familiars Don and Matthew. The charter stated that they had been raised to the rank of *jobagiones* with the approval of all royal *jobagiones* in this area.⁵⁴ Homza considers the royal *jobagiones* of the area (*jobagiones regis*) to be identical with the lancers.

Concerning their designation as "lancers", Kostelník points out (in his thesis dealing with Spiš lancers⁵⁵) that this community was called by multiple names. For the first time, in the privilege from 1243, they are mentioned as *universitas nobilium de Scepus* – "the community of nobles from Spiš".⁵⁶ In the following period we can find references to this community under several names, e.g. *communitas nobilium de Scepus* – "the community of nobles from Spiš" (1301),⁵⁷ *communitas nobilium de Scepus* – "the community of nobles from Spiš" (1312),⁵⁸ *Nobiles sub Decem lanceis seroientes* – "the nobles serving under ten lances (1339)",⁵⁹ *consortio Nobiles sub Decem lanceis militantes* – "the community of nobles fighting under ten lances" (1343),⁶⁰ *nobiles exercitantes Decem lanceatorum* – "the nobles of ten lancers" (1388),⁶¹ *nobiles decem Lanceatorum Comitatus Scepes* – "the nobles of ten lancers of Spiš county" (1391),⁶² or *iuxta libertatem nobilium decem lanceatorum* – "according to the law of the nobles of ten lancers" (1395).⁶³ Moreover, Chalupický quotes some additional names – "Small county" (*Parvus comitatus*) and "Upper County" (*Sedes superior*).⁶⁴

Providing lancers as soldiers was a relatively common duty in the period. For example Saxons were also obliged to provide as many as fifty lancers in case of war and that from a territory not much larger than the lancers had.⁶⁵

To sum up, one can work with two hypotheses on the origin and the formation of the Spiš lancers community. The first one defends the

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 189.

⁵¹ It is also demonstrated by the famous case of Pyrin who became a lancer. *CDSI* 2, nr. 289, p. 202.

⁵² HOMZA, Martin: Administratívno-politický vývoj včasnostredovekého Spiša, p. 193.

⁵³ See ŠTEVÍK, Miroslav: *Sídlená štruktúra kopijníckych osád, cestná sieť, strážne a zásekové miesta na Spiši v stredoveku*, p. 51.

⁵⁴ HOMZA, Martin: Administratívno-politický vývoj včasnostredovekého Spiša, p. 188. *CDSI* 1. Ed.: Richard MARSINA, Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1971, nr. 359, p. 256.

⁵⁵ KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*.

⁵⁶ *CDSI* 2, nr. 131, p. 89. Cited in KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.

⁵⁷ *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* (deinde *RDSI*), vol. 1 and 2. Ed.: Vincent SEDLÁK, Bratislava: VEDA, 1980 and 1987, nr. 58, p. 51. Cited in KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.

⁵⁸ *RDSI* 1, nr. 980, p. 421. *CDH* 8/5, nr. 42, p. 82. Cited in KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.

⁵⁹ *CDH* 8/5, nr. 153, p. 274. Cited in KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.

⁶⁰ *CDH* 9/1, nr. 56, p. 141. Cited in KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.

⁶¹ *Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár (1387–1420)* (deinde *ZsO*), vol. 1–7. Ed.: Elemér MALYUSZ and Iván BORSA. Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis, 1951–2001, vol. 1, nr. 471. Cited in KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.

⁶² *CDH* 10/1, nr. 393, pp. 708–710. Cited in KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.

⁶³ *ZsO* 1, nr. 3916. Cited in KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.

⁶⁴ CHALUPECKÝ, Ivan: *Prehľad vývoja verejnej správy na Spiši*, p. 126.

idea of continuity of a castle community from the earlier period, perhaps even from the times of Great Moravia. The second hypothesis supposes the formation of this community around the year 1200, which means still at the time of ministerial type of state.

One can also try to link together the two above-mentioned hypotheses concerning the formation of lancers' community in the following way: the community smoothly developed from the original settlements of *castrenses* to the privileged noble community in the early thirteenth century. This does not diminish the possibility of a continuous lancers' community starting from the original settlements and finishing with the *jobagiones*, as Chalupecký suggested.

Neither Števík rejects this explanation of the development of lancers' community. Instead, he confirms that the lancers' settlement structure overlaps with the settlement structure of the older privileged population. He considers the lancers to have been the representatives of the original military element, while only a small part of these *jobagiones* gained the status of lower nobility by the privilege from 1243.⁶⁵ He points out that in the lancers' villages not only lancers, but also *jobagiones castri* lived. By claiming so, however, it seems he denies the fact that the privilege from 1243 only confirmed the already existing status of lancers. He seems to claim that this privilege had constitutive effects of ennoblement of a certain group of the original population, while the rest remained at the level of *jobagiones castri*, whom he apparently considers to be the original population of the community before the year 1243. Nevertheless, this small variation reflects only the problem of dating of the status of *jobagiones regis* but not the very existence of the community.

In order to answer our research question it is not even important whether the community was founded in the times of Great Moravia or only around the year 1200, though. In both cases, the lancers may have represented a traditional community from the period of ministerial type of state, preserved due to the early granted privilege and due to their very early ennoblement – in the first stage of nobility establishment in the Hungarian Kingdom.

4.2 Turiec and Liptov

At the same period as in Spiš, similar rural communities of *populos* as well as privileged individuals may be identified in the territories of Liptov and Turiec. Both categories of local population (individuals and communities) exerted military functions. However, while in the case of the *nobiles* the military duty automatically arose from their status, the rest of population provided the military duty in exchange for equivalent value from the king, specifically, for certain liberties the ruler attributed to the population.

In this way, the ruler created two groups of population with military duties – *jobagiones* (eventually lower nobility), and the community of *populos*. The individual military duty is connected with the process taking place between the years 1250–1270, when in Turiec and Liptov the phase of so-called conditional colonization peaked, actually imposing military duty by way of twenty-four donations of land to the *jobagiones regis*.⁶⁷ One can thereby discern three different forms of individual donations:

- 1) without any duty imposed – this was connected with the process of ennoblement,
- 2) donation in exchange for military duty – associated with *jobagiones regis*,
- 3) the lowest level of donation – addressed to *jobagiones castri*, who also had some other duties imposed on them. Quite often it was a tax duty, from which some of them were later exempted by an exemption privilege.⁶⁸ This exemption could actually mean ennoblement into an upper class of *jobagiones*.⁶⁹

The various layers of nobles and *jobagiones* are mentioned in the sources as follows:

Nobility, even titled as lancers, lived in Istebné – a charter refers to fifteen lancers-noblemen that lived here.⁷⁰ Moreover, in 1316 the *comes* of Zvolen, Magister Donč, exchanged a piece of land called Belezk (placed between White and Black Váh and Belá) which belonged to Mikuláš, Bod, Denk, and their sons as lancers (*nobilibus unius lancee*). These lancers derived their right of possession from a donation by Bela IV. The existence of lancers-noblemen is evident also in the year 1341 (from Liptov register).⁷¹ Concerning the origins of

⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 128.

⁶⁶ ŠTEVÍK, Miroslav: *Z dejín osídlenia a verejnej správy stredovekého Spiša*, p. 19.

⁶⁷ LUBY, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, p. 22.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, p. 50.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 73.

⁷⁰ MOL DL 40 361. See BEŇKO, Ján: *Osídlenie severného Slovenska*, p. 52.

⁷¹ Ibidem, pp. 97–98.

these lancers, similarly as in case of Spiš lancers, we do not know much on their pre-history.

Other types of nobles in Turiec and Liptov emerged from royal servants. For instance, in 1263 Bela IV liberated his dog-carers from tax and census, which means that he *de facto* raised them into the rank of lower nobility and at the same time he allocated them a piece of land near Okoličné from the royal estate.⁷²

According to Luby, the king recognized only *jobagiones castri* in Liptov and Turiec originally, but after the Mongol invasion the royal property in the area was divided between the nobility and various layers of *jobagiones*.⁷³

The military duty of *jobagiones regis* is specified, for example, in the Liptov register (under paragraph 26) as the duty of a donee and his heirs to send one fully armoured man to the royal army. On the other hand, in 1388 they had to send one cavalryman. In this way the *jobagiones* lagged behind the nobility, which did not have their military duty specified in such a detail. However, *jobagiones regis* were still considered to be prior in rank in comparison with the *jobagiones castri*, who only formed garrison of the castles and waged war in the local troops of the *comes*.⁷⁴

A special group of *jobagiones* in Turiec and Liptov were so-called *filiu jobagionum*. References to them can be found in the charter of Bela IV from 1255 – “since the number of *filiu jobagionum* in Turiec raised and somehow it went beyond the required number, we consider as a good thing to retribute some of them back among our conditional *populos*, and others should keep their status of *filiu jobagionum*, especially Obusko, Obuda, Preslav, Stojslav, Vylegane, Nahcko, and Jakub, on condition that always six of them provide one cavalryman for the royal army.”⁷⁵ The lowering of the number of *filiu jobagionum* was connected with the fact that some claimed being *filiu* without any actual proof of such a status. This might indicate that in order to gain the status of *jobagiones*, there was no requirement of any special privilege. However, in contrast, there are also examples of privileges by which a person was elevated to the status of *filiu jobagionum*. For instance, Ladislav IV in 1286 and *comes* Demeter of Zvolen

(based on the mandate of Andrew III from 1296) extracted Benedict and Stephen, sons of Kevel from Sielnica, from among the *populos*, and promoted them to *filiu jobagionum* with the rights and liberties of other *filiu jobagionum* in Liptov. At the same time they received a right of possession of the land Sielnica. They received this property in exchange for the land which they cultivated together with other *populos* before their elevation to the rank of *filiu*. In a similar way, the property of Behar’s sons (who owned this property since the times of Bela IV) was separated from the land of *populos* from Podhradie in Liptov in 1295.⁷⁶

The last group of population in Liptov and Turiec was that of already mentioned personally free royal *populos*.⁷⁷ Their denotations were also *populi castri* or *castrenses*.⁷⁸ *Populos* were also addressees of royal charters with rights and duties. The collective charters issued for the *populos* in Turiec and Liptov thereby only confirmed the “liberties exerted already for a long time,”⁷⁹ similarly as we know it from noble Spiš lancers’ privilege from 1243.

The first written references dealing with the duties of *populos* in Turiec are connected with donation of Sokolec to Premonstratensians in Zniev in 1251 and 1252. “Their duty was to keep hunting falcons for the king, to participate in royal hunting, to protect animals in royal forests and fish in royal waters, and we assume that certainly they had to annually provide the required number of wild animals, especially leather and possibly also fish. Among their privileges counted the exemption from taxation and other services, and their exclusive subjection to the ruler or to his representative in this region – the *comes* of Zvolen.”⁸⁰ Subjection to the king and to his *comes* thereby shows a lack of autonomy in comparison with noble communities of the period. Those had their own authorities, instead of falling under the competence of *comes*.

The possibly traditional community of *populos* received specific liberties from Bela IV on fact only in order to prevent his dependent population from running away. Bela IV by his charter from 12 June, 1257 brought back the escaped *populos*, exempted them for the period of three harvests (3 years) from all tributes, and gave them

⁷² Ibidem, p. 106.

⁷³ LUBY, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, p. 49.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 53.

⁷⁵ BEŇKO, Ján: *Starý Turiec*, p. 64.

⁷⁶ BEŇKO, Ján: *Osídlenie severného Slovenska*, pp. 110–111.

⁷⁷ BEŇKO, Ján: *Starý Turiec*, p. 72.

⁷⁸ LUBY, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, pp. 58–59.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 74.

⁸⁰ BEŇKO, Ján: *Starý Turiec*, p. 94.

the right of free migration within Turiec, Liptov, and the whole Zvolen county. After those three years they had to pay the tribute again – in the form of cash as well as *in natura*, and in case of military campaign they had to provide one cavalryman for the needs of the royal army. Before moving to another place, they had to pay twelve coins to the mayor of the village from which they were moving out.

They also had the right to elect their own mayor, who had the competence to judge them in legal disputes when the amount of fine did not exceed two or three *pondera* (1 *pondera* = 1/24 marks = 10,23 grams of silver). In case of the most important disputes, jurisdiction of *comes* was applicable, and in that case two thirds of the fine were to be paid to *comes* and one third to the mayor.⁸¹

Populos thus represented a certain community which had only minor local authorities, responsible directly to *comes*. For example, the *villicus praeconus* (*villicus qui bachem dicitur*) was in charge of transfer of collected tributes to *comes*. According to the charter from 1265, *populi provinciales* (not *populi castris*) were also represented by their own elected deputy (*homo*) before *comes* of Zvolen.⁸²

However, this community was not stable enough. As *populos* were not ennobled during the following decennium, their property rights to the land ceased and the whole community disintegrated.

To conclude, lower nobility (*nobiles*), *jobagiones regis*, or *jobagiones castris* in Turiec and Liptov did not gain any collective privileges. *Filii jobagionum*, after their reorganization and reduction in number, received only the duty of providing soldiers, similarly as the *populos*. Nevertheless, neither *filii* nor *populos* created any permanent community and in the following decades they either merged with bondsmen, or they moved to another community through ennoblement – they acquired a noble county identity. The differences in comparison with the Spiš lancers can thus be summarized as follows:

- 1) the lancers in Liptov and Turiec did not receive any collective privileges,
- 2) the *jobagiones* in Liptov and Turiec became nobles on the basis of individual privileges and they only participated in the community of county nobility,
- 3) the collective regulations in Liptov and Turiec focused only on the lower social strata – *populos* or *filii jobagionum*, who never created any privileged community and they either merged with bondsmen or with nobility.

4.3 Comparison with Croatian Communities

Martin Homza supposes that Croatian and Slovak communities are somehow similar concerning their origins as peasant communities which firstly changed into paramilitary communities (*gradokmeti*⁸³ – *jobagiones castris*) due to the expansionist policy of the Hungarian rulers (from the time of Bela III) and later they changed their status into royal *jobagiones*.⁸⁴

In Vinodol, transformation of population into royal *jobagiones* did not take place, nor did all the population have a status of *jobagiones castris*. Most probably the majority of the population was represented by *populos*, *cives*, *populares*, possibly *castrenses*, or any other subordinated population (*pučani*).

At the same time Vinodol represents a community that lacked any common privilege just like the Turiec and Liptov populations in Slovakia. Consequently, as Vinodol community did not receive any privilege in exchange for the military service, the military duties began to be performed by aristocracy – the Frankopans as the dukes of Krk, who later dominated the entire community of Vinodol. In the year 1193 a royal donation charter was issued based on which the Frankopans acquired this territory (actually only the territory of Modruša, but it seems that on this basis the Frankopans laid their claims for Vinodol as well) in exchange for providing ten soldiers.⁸⁵ This is confirmed also in the subsequent confirmations of the donation of this

⁸¹ Ibidem, p. 94.

⁸² BEŇKO, Ján: *Osídlenie severného Slovenska*, p. 131.

⁸³ LEVAK, Maurizio: Podrijetlo i uloga kmetâ u vinodolskom društvu XIII. Stoljeća. In: *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, a. 19, 2002, pp. 35–81. Accessible also on the internet: <http://hrcak.srce.hr/11180?lang=hr>. See also SZEBERÉNYI, Gábor: A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. In: *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok. A IV. Medieviztikai PhD-konferencia*. Szeged: Előadásai, 2005, pp. 143–167. See also: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/32566385/Szeberenyi-Gabor-A-13-szazadi-horvat-tarsadalom-szerkezetenek-nehany-aspektusa-a-Vinodolski-zakon-tukreben>.

⁸⁴ HOMZA, Martin: *Administratívno-politický vývoj včasnostredovekého Spiša*, p. 192.

⁸⁵ This refers to a charter of Bela III from 1193 dealing with the donation of Modruša – in exchange for providing 10 soldiers and, in case of a battle outside of country, 4 soldiers. KLAČIĆ, Nada: *Vinodol*. Rijeka: Historijski arhiv, 1988, pp. 75–76.

territory, issued in the years 1209,⁸⁶ 1223⁸⁷/1225,⁸⁸ 1241,⁸⁹ 1251,⁹⁰ 1270, 1279, and 1322/1323.⁹¹

An attempt to fight the dominance of the Frankopans was the process of writing down the law of Vinodol – *Vinodolski zakon* (1288), which has been preserved until present time.⁹² It was issued during the time when the landlord acquired possession of this community. However, despite the existence of the written law, the community ceased to exist and during the fifteenth century it definitely came to an end.

To conclude, evidently, Vinodol represents a traditional community of *jobagiones castri* and *castrenses*, which upon the donation to landlord disintegrated and the population got under the *Herrschaft* of the landlord. This way the community and its autonomy came to an end.

On the other hand, Poljica represents a territory and a community that was preserved until the early nineteenth century, likewise the community of ten-lancers in Spiš. Similarly to the lancers, Poljica did not represent a purely noble community – nobility lived here together with free population and bondsmen, originally representing *jobagiones castri* most probably. Concerning the various social classes, some scholars maintain that this territory was originally a *territorium regale*. The references speak here only about the villagers, *villains*. Thus, the nobility most probably emerged only in the mid-fourteenth century.⁹³

Most of the Poljica population were free peasants – *pučani*. It is said that around the year 1500

this community had 40 houses of noblemen (80 families, i.e. 400–500 members), 120 families of *kmeti* (500–600 members), and 500 houses with 800 families (4000–5000 members) of free peasants – *pučani*.⁹⁴ Allegedly, in 1781 Poljica had 6813 inhabitants, of which only 52 were nobles.

The free population could freely dispose of their property.⁹⁵ Moreover, *kmeti* as bondsmen were not *glebae adscripti*, they only did not take part in the administration of the Poljica community. Nevertheless, they administered their own villages as part of Poljica community.⁹⁶

An interesting feature is that the nobility nurtured a legend according to which they had common origin in three tribes – three sons (Krešimir, Tješimir, and Elem) of Bosnian King Miroslav who was killed by *banus* Pribina in 949. Supposedly, they left Bosnia and settled in this territory.⁹⁷ However, according to Pivčević, the nobles of Poljica are not descendants of the Bosnian prince, but rather of the local Croats.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, it is questionable whether it was this myth of their common origin from Bosnia that was able to hold this community together, or rather this was due to the geographical and other favourable conditions so as to preserve its identity and autonomy.⁹⁹

Another factor could be the codification of the law of Poljica, similarly as in Vinodol. The law was written down shortly before Poljica concluded an agreement with Venice in 1444, based on which Poljica would function as a defensive shield against the Turks. The written law could

⁸⁶ In 1209 Andrew II confirmed the donation of Bela, plus he confirmed the heir of Bartolomew – Guido de Wegla – in possession of Modruša. Ibidem, p. 76.

⁸⁷ It refers to the text of the donation charter for Vinodol and Modruša issued by Andrew II from 1223 for Guido de Wegla. However, it does not refer to the status of Vinodol inhabitants, which makes Nada Klaić think that it might be forgery. Ibidem, pp. 76–80.

⁸⁸ In 1225 Andrew II gave Vinodol and Modruša to the Frankopans as a *feudum*. MARGEČIĆ, Lujo: *Srednjovjekovni zakoni i opći akti na kvarneru*, vol. 3. Rijeka: Adamić, 2007, p. 279.

⁸⁹ In 1241 Bela IV confirmed the privilege from the year 1193 and 1223 under condition that they provided only three soldiers, and outside the country only two. This charter, however, is wrongly dated, which leads Klaić to question its authenticity. KLAJĆ, Nada: *Vinodol*, pp. 89–90.

⁹⁰ This confirmation requires providing one boat and 20 or 10 cavalymen. Ibidem, p. 92.

⁹¹ Klaić considers only the last privilege to be authentic. Supposedly, during its confirmation, all the previous forgeries were created. Ibidem, p. 94.

⁹² The Vinodol Law was composed by 9 villages – Grobnik, Trsat, Bakar, Hreljin, Drivenik, Grižane, Bribir, Novi, and Ledenice, when all of them got subjected to the Frankopans, the dukes of Krk. MARGEČIĆ, Lujo: *Srednjovjekovni zakoni i opći akti na kvarneru*, p. 266.

⁹³ LAUŠIĆ, Ante: *Postanak i razvitak poljičke kneževine (do kraja XV. Stoljeća)*. Split: Književni krug, 1991, p. 143.

⁹⁴ Ibidem, pp. 144, 156.

⁹⁵ MARUŠIĆ, Juraj: O agrarno-pravnim pitanjima i društvenom uredjenju poljica. In: *Poljički zbornik*, a. 1, 1968, pp. 187–190.

⁹⁶ LAUŠIĆ, Ante: *Postanak i razvitak poljičke kneževine*, p. 150.

⁹⁷ Ibidem, p. 27.

⁹⁸ Ibidem, p. 29. Other opinions are also mentioned there. Kaštelan also points out that Archdeacon Thomas from Split does not refer to this legend.

⁹⁹ This idea is advocated by Pivčević. PIVČEVIĆ, Edo: The Autonomous Principality of Poljica. In: *British-Croatian Review*, a. 11/12, vol. IV, 1977, p. 6. See also PIVČEVIĆ, Edo: The Principality of Poljica. In: *Journal of Croatian Studies*, a. 28/29, 1987–1988. Accessible on internet: <http://www.almissa.com/theprincipalityofpoljica.htm>.

potentially serve as an identification symbol of the Poljica community, just like the privilege from 1243 united the lancers in Spiš.

On the other hand, unlike Spiš lancers, Poljica was not an autonomous community continuously. Similarly as Vinodol, Poljica was infeudalized, in fact already in the twelfth century, by the Kačić dynasty.¹⁰⁰ This could have been again, just like in case of Vinodol, caused by the lack of collective

Conclusion

From the comparison of the communities it appears that all of them might have been traditional communities, however, only a few of them survived the transformation of the thirteenth century. Spiš lancers survived because they gained royal collective privilege, which helped them to preserve their autonomy in the process of formation of the Spiš county. Because of their noble status, they were also not subject to destructive infeudalization pressure from the local magnates.

The communities in Turiec and Liptov were in a completely different situation. The collective liberties were granted to the underprivileged class of *populos* (and to some extent also to *fili j obagionum*). These (collective) liberties and duties were not significant enough to secure an autonomous existence within the emerging noble county, in which *populos* were degraded to bondsmen.

On the other hand, the upper stratum of *jobagiones* in Liptov and Turiec received individual privileges due to which they were taken out from their indigenous communities and after their transformation to nobility they created a new community in the form of Liptov and Turiec noble counties.

In Croatia, it seems that Vinodol represents a traditional community which did not survive the process of infeudalization. Vinodol did not receive any privilege which could unite this community together and which could protect it against the domination of the Frankopans. It only had the *Vinodol Law* written down, which did not

privilege issued by the king for this community. Poljica gained its independence again only in the mid-fourteenth century, when Louis the Great sent two commissioners, Rajčić and Dražojević, to govern this territory on behalf of the king. The commissioners' descendants merged with the local nobility and after the end of Kačić domination Poljica had again the opportunity of an independent development.

actually help in preserving the community. During the process of infeudalization, which lasted over 200 years, the Vinodol community completely disintegrated.

In contrast, Poljica was also infeudalized, but it was able to (re-)create the autonomous community again (in the fourteenth century). The explanation could lie in the fact that Poljica created its own myth of common origin and perhaps also in the fact that the infeudalization process of Kačić dynasty was not intense enough. Moreover, the location of Poljica on the borders of the kingdom could have also played a role, just like the codification of the Poljica laws and the presence of a noble element in Poljica, unlike in Vinodol.

The comparison thus shows that Poljica and Spiš lancers share the most similar features. However, while the lancers had their own noble privilege and they were never infeudalized, Poljica never gained any privilege and survived as a partly noble community after the temporary infeudalization. In contrast, the communities in Turiec and Liptov share similar features with Vinodol. They were traditional communities which did not survive the changes of the thirteenth century, mainly due to the absence of their noble status. In Turiec and Liptov, only a few members of the original communities were ennobled and, consequently, they became part of a new community of county nobility. The population of Vinodol did not have a chance to survive the pressure of the Frankopans, which caused the loss of its autonomous identity.

¹⁰⁰ LAUŠIĆ, Ante: *Postanak i razvitak poljičke kneževine*, p. 248.

Noble Communities in Spiš and Turopolje in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

Šľachtické komunity na Spiši a v Turopolji v 13. a 14. storočí /
Plemićke zajednice u Spišu i Turopolju u 13. i 14. stoljeću

This paper briefly characterizes the most important structural similarities and local specialties between two of the most significant lower-rank noble communities who lived in the peripheries of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary: the so-called “ten-lancers of Spiš” in its northern parts, and the “noble community of Turopolje” in Slavonia. An extensive analysis of some medieval charters from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries points out that there were some important structural connections between the two distant regions situated within the general framework of the Hungarian Kingdom and we can trace similar social institutions and organizational forms in the historical sources. On the other hand, it seems that for a proper interpretation of our sources we should take into consideration the apparent local specialties as well, which leads us to the questions of the origin of these communities.

Keywords: thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Spiš, Turopolje, privileged communities, lesser nobility, critical analysis

“*Turmező [Turopolje] (...) and the once independent seat of the ten-lancers of Spiš are those relics which prodigiously survived the shipwreck of the old castle-system, and remind us of our former glory, strength, and the ancient type of our national defense*” – Tivadar Botka wrote in 1844.¹ If we set aside the apparent patriotic point of view that evidently characterized the Hungarian historiography at that time – they wanted to trace every institution rose in the Carpathian Basin back to Hungarian origin – Botka pointed out an important analogy in the history of the “*communitas* of the ten-lancers of Spiš” and of the “*universitas* of the nobles of the plains of Zagreb”. Both “noble communities” endured until the nineteenth century (the former one ceased to exist in 1804, while the latter – irrevocably – in 1874), and both of them originated in the thirteenth century or even an earlier time. This indisputable centuries-long historical continuity is definitely an important factor regarding the social history of Slovakia and Croatia. But it also makes it considerably more difficult to determine the origin, and – more importantly – the institutional and social (regional) characteristics of these communities in the early period, and to define the similarities and dissimilarities between

them. In this paper I try to point out – basically proceeding from the comparison of privileges of the “nobles of Spiš” from 1243 and of the “nobles of the plains of Zagreb” from 1278, and other charters related to them – that the history of these communities (especially in the case of Turopolje) were not only somehow discontinuous with respect to their later story, but structural dissimilarities between them were definitely more numerous than parallel aspects in the early period due to the institutional, social, and mainly the legal differences which can be traced back to the origins of these communities.

From a mere (Hungarian) historiographical point of view, we can say that in the last more than hundred years Hungarian research was apparently more prolific in the case of Spiš, while almost completely lacking in the case of Turopolje. Nevertheless, this situation allows me to summarize the history of Spiš nobles on the basis of relevant literature, while I can be more meticulous and detailed about the questions of presumed Slavonian parallels.

The history of the “ten-lancers of Spiš” was discussed by J. Hradzsky for the first time,² but the most elaborate work was written by A. Fekete

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¹ BOTKA, Tivadar: Turmező ismertetése. In: *Századunk*, a. 7, 1844: pp. 278–279, 318–322, 324–330, quotation: p. 322.

² HRADZSKY, József: *A szepesi „tíz-láncások széke” vagy a „Kisvármegye” története*. Lőcse: A Szepesmegyei Történelmi Társulat, 1895.

Nagy, published as a chapter of his large monograph on Spiš in 1934.³ Important remarks were made by P. Váczy⁴ and Gy. Bónis⁵ as well, while recently A. Zsoldos's essays shed new light upon the case.⁶ According to these works, some wardens lived in the territory of Spiš, at the confines of the former Gömör/Gemer county.⁷ These wardens – no matter whether they were originally *fili iobagionum* like their counterparts in Turóc/Turric (as Váczy thought), or came from a nomadic (*kabar*) population of Abaúj/Abov (as presumed by Fekete Nagy) – were not integrated without trace into the county (*megye*) of Spiš at the time of its establishment during the second half of the twelfth century. Instead, these wardens instituted – like the local German (Saxon)⁸ and Slavic⁹ populations – their own *comitatus* (*ispánság*), which finds its most important proof exactly in their old privileges, chartered by the king in 1243.¹⁰ Hence the *comitatus* (singular) of these former wardens became only one among the bunch of other *comitatus* (plural) which could be found all over the territory of Spiš county.¹¹ This is a very important aspect because it deserves attention that Spiš county possessed some definite organizational specialities in the general system of counties of

the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Namely, as the basis of its establishment it lacked both the separated *comitatus castris* (*várispánság*; the district and the domain belonged explicitly to the castle of Spiš¹²) and that kind of special organizational form which could only be found in the territory of royal forests (*erdőispánság*¹³) like in the territory of the neighbouring Zvolen county.

In this patchwork-like system of miscellaneous *comitatus* in Spiš, the wardens lived in defined autonomy, which contained (among others) rules of inheritance, the right to appoint their own judge, and a special corporate unit called “Szék” (i.e. ‘seat’, similar to the Székelys’ seats in Transylvania). Thus, they formed one of the numerous and heterogeneous groups of local nobles, which could be found all over the peripheries of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.¹⁴ The wardens’ characteristic name (“ten-lancers”, mentioned for the first time only in 1318¹⁵) was given after their special military duty, which they bore as a community since the Mongol invasion. Nevertheless, they were regularly called *nobiles de Scepus* (as in 1243) or *nobiles de Zeek* (“nobles of the Seat”) as well. However, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries their lands were gradually morseled. Therefore, they

- ³ FEKETE NAGY, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1934. pp. 253–301, and IDEM, Antal: *A szepesi lánidszás nemesség szabadságleveleinek sorsa*. In: *Emlékkönyv Károlyi Árpád születése nyolcvanadik fordulójának ünnepére 1933. október 7.* Budapest: Sárkány-Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1933, pp. 153–162.
- ⁴ VÁCZY, Péter: *A királyi serviensek és a patrimoniális királyság*. In: *Századok*, a. 62, 1928, pp. 69–76.
- ⁵ BÓNIS, György: *Hűbériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban*. Kolozsvár: Nagyenyedi Bethlen Nyomda, 1947, p. 359, pp. 369–373.
- ⁶ ZSOLDOS, Attila: *A nemesség határán*. In: *Turul*, a. 72, nr. 3–4, 1999, pp. 118–122; ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Szepes megye kialakulása*. In: *Történelmi Szemle*, a. 43, nr. 1–2, 2001, pp. 19–31; IDEM: *Nemes, szepesi nemes, aranyadó*. (Jogállás és birtokjog mint lehetőség és eszköz.) In: *Történelmi Szemle*, a. 51, nr. 3, 2009, pp. 419–429.
- ⁷ Their original name was “gömörör” (*Gumureur*), i.e. “wardens of Gömör” in Hungarian. See FEKETE NAGY, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*, p. 18; ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Szepes megye kialakulása*, p. 29. On the problems of *confinia* see ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Confinum és marchia*. In: *Századok*, a. 134, 2000, pp. 99–112.
- ⁸ The *comites Saxonum de Scepus* can be traced in 1254. See ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011, p. 240.
- ⁹ Goblinus, *comes Sclavorum*, was referred to as *quondam comes* in 1274. *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke, vol. 2/2–3. Ed.: Imre SZENTPÉTERY – Iván BORSA. Budapest: MTA, 1961, nr. 2518. See also ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 241.
- ¹⁰ *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde CDH), vol. 4/1. Ed.: György FEJÉR. Buda: Typis typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1834, pp. 279–280.
- ¹¹ We cannot overestimate the importance of those researches which proved that the term *comitatus* used in the historical sources could cover very different institutions of the Hungarian Kingdom. For the differences between the *comitatus* as a county (*megye*) and the *comitatus* as an “ispánate” (*ispánság*), see KRISTÓ, Gyula: *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*. Budapest: Magvető, 1988. pp. 100–207.
- ¹² ZSOLDOS, Attila: *Szepes megye kialakulása*, p. 29.
- ¹³ IDEM: *Nemes, szepesi nemes, aranyadó*, p. 420.
- ¹⁴ On the particular (local) nobility in the Hungarian Kingdom: FEKETE NAGY, Antal: *Az országos és particularis nemesség tagozódása a középkorban*. In: *Emlékkönyv Domanovszky Sándor születése hatvanadik fordulójának ünnepére, 1937. május 27.* Budapest: Királyi magyar egyetemi nyomda, 1937, pp. 159–184. With regard to the Slovakian highlands and Slavonia: BÓNIS, György: *Hűbériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban*, pp. 331–378 and RADY, Martin: *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*. Basingstoke – New York: Macmillan – St. Martin’s Press, 2000, pp. 79–89.
- ¹⁵ CDH, vol. 7/7. Buda: Typis typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1831, nr. 95: “*nobilibus sub decem lanceis constitutis*”. See also 1343: “*ad consorcium nobilium sub decem lanceis militantium*” Ibidem, vol. 9/1. Buda: Typis typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1833, nr. 61.

lacked the necessary resources to maintain a true noble status, so they gradually came closer to the status of serfs. Although by means of their privileges they were able to keep their particular and corporate organization (*universitas nobilium decem lanceatorum*) till the nineteenth century,¹⁶ they were unable to step up as a group to the rank of full-scale nobility (*nobiles regni*).¹⁷

In the case of the “nobles of Turopolje”, the story – as it was reconstructed by the most important author of the topic, Emilij Laszowski¹⁸ – started at the beginning of the thirteenth century as well.¹⁹ The first data that is usually connected to them emerged in 1225, when Duke Bela absolved Budune and his cognates of their obligations to the castle of Zagreb, and raised them to the rank of *servientes regis*.²⁰ It is generally conceived that this act laid the foundations of the later noble community of Turopolje. During the 1250s the castle-warriors (*iobagiones castris*) of Zagreb got additional privileges, which were finally chartered at the *sabor* (*generalis congregatio*) held in 1278. At this assembly the ban of Slavonia affirmed their ancient freedoms, including commutation of the obligation of *descensus*, and their right to elect their own judge.²¹ The end of the process came in the following year, when King Ladislas IV confirmed the ban’s charter.²² According to the commonly shared opinion, the *universitas nobilium campi Zagrabiensis* was created by this act, and its story in the next centuries was nothing else but the history of a basically intact and continuous local noble community, the privileges of which were confirmed periodically by the Hungarian-Croatian kings.

So, it seems that in the history of the “nobles of Spiš” and the “nobility of Turopolje” we can find more than one analogous aspect. However, the comparison of their important charters from 1243 and 1278, respectively, together with other historical data from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and mainly a closer inquiry into the history of these communities during the fourteenth century suggest a slightly different interpretation, especially concerning factors related to the origin and operation of these noble organizations.

First of all, we can lay it down as a principle that both communities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (and later) fell under the category of *conditional nobility*. Although in both cases our sources emphasize that the members of these communities were “nobles”, it is completely sure that this kind of “nobility” was not equivalent to *aurea libertas*, but represented only a restricted “freedom”, compared to the term of full-scale nobility.²³ Nevertheless, this conditional noble existence hid divergent contents in the case of the nobles of Spiš/*Scepus* and Turopolje. The former were wardens who were not subjugated to the *comitatus castris* of Spiš (simply because it did not exist) and they were able to obtain a *comitatus* of their own, while the latter, the “nobles of Turopolje”, originally were (but with no doubt at the time when their charter was issued in 1278) castle-warriors of Zagreb (*iobagiones castris Zagrabiensis*), i.e. they occupied – because of their military duties – the most honourable rank within the population of the castle, but they were definitely subjugated to the jurisdiction held by the *comes* of Zagreb. Moreover, this situation remained

¹⁶ FEKETE NAGY, Antal: *A Szepeesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*, p. 271, pp. 297–301.

¹⁷ Fekete conceived that the lancers had been full-scale nobles during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Ibidem, pp. 274–277), which was disputed by Zsoldos, who pointed out the legal differences between *nobiles regni* and the “nobles of Spiš”. See ZSOLDOS, Attila: *A nemesség határán*, pp. 120–121.

¹⁸ LASZOWSKI, Emilij: *Povijest plem. općine Turopolja*. vol. 1–3. Zagreb: Tiskom Antuna Scholza, 1910–1924.

¹⁹ On the nobles of Turopolje we have not had any detailed monograph in Hungarian. On their short history (based on the relevant Croatian literature): KATUS, László: *A délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok története*. I. rész. A kezdetektől 1849-ig. Pécs: Kódex Nyomda Kft., 1998, pp. 20–21. KATUS, László: *A túrmezei nemesi közösség*. In: *Rubicon*, a. 4–5, 1994, pp. 38–39. ROKAY, Péter: *A Túrmezei kerület*. In: *Vármegyék és szabad kerületek*, vol. 1–2. Ed.: Kalmán RADICS. Debrecen: Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár, 2001. pp. 303–308. On their history in the age of the Árpáds, see SZEBERÉNYI, Gábor: *A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében*. Gradokmetek és várjobbágyok a Drávántúlon. In: *Medieviztikai tanulmányok. A IV. Medieviztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2005. június 9–10.) előadásai*. Ed.: Szabolcs MARTON – Éva TEISZLER. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2005, pp. 143–167, mainly pp. 155–167.

²⁰ *Monumenta historica nobilis communitatis Turopolje olim “campus Zagrabiensis” dictae* (deinde MHNC), vol. 1. Ed.: Emilij LASZOWSKI. Zagreb: Tiskom Antuna Scholza, 1904, nr. 1 (1225).

²¹ Ibidem, nr. 28 (1278).

²² Ibidem, nr. 32 (1279).

²³ In the case of the lancers it was proved by the mere fact that their lands were debited by services (while possessions of full-scale nobles were free of any kind of *servitia*; see ZSOLDOS, Attila: *A nemesség határán*, p. 120, and IDEM: *Nemes, szepesi nemes, aranyadó*, p. 426). However, in the case of the Slavonian community (beyond the fact that they were denominated as castle-warriors), even the charter of 1278 emphasized that their freedoms had defined conditions. MHNC, nr. 28: “*condiciones libertatum ipsorum antiquas*”. See RADY, Martin: *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*, p. 81, p. 89.

untouched even by the charter (which referred to *all* of the castle-warriors²⁴) issued in 1278.²⁵

The differences between the two communities' territorial framework ensued from this situation as well. The "nobles of Spiš" obtained a "seat" of their own²⁶ and its territorial frames were defined by the location of villages held by lancer-families (west of Levoča). But the main factor was that the undertaking of the *servicium* belonged to the land itself. Consequently, only those were allowed to be lancers who took upon themselves the defined conditions connected to the land held by lancers.²⁷ This kind of logic was supported even by their special rights of inheritance,²⁸ which is unparalleled beyond the river Drava. On the contrary, in the case of Zagreb castle-warriors we can find that only those of them who owned their properties on the "plains of Zagreb" (*campus Zagrabiensis*, i.e. Turopolje or Mezeu, meaning 'plains' in Hungarian) were successfully transformed into the state of "nobles of Turopolje". However, on the one hand, in the thirteenth century Zagreb castle-warriors held parcels of lands which were situated *outside* the territory of later Turopolje, i.e. north of the river Sava.²⁹ On the other hand, the fate of the Zagreb castle-warriors who were members of the kindreds

Laztech and *Stankouch* in the early fourteenth century proves that the warriors of the castle of Zagreb could equally turn into the "nobles of Turopolje", just as into episcopal *praediales* of the bishop of Zagreb.³⁰ Therefore, in the case of the successors of Zagreb castle-warriors (unlike their Spiš counterparts), their "ancient" privileges collected in 1278 gave no guarantee for their commonly shared "noble" status (so, in this narrow sense, I should say, it was not a "freedom charter"). This state was only obtained by those of them (and this meant *only a part* of the group formerly known as Zagreb castle-warriors!) who possessed their lands side by side in a shared neighbourhood on "the plains of Zagreb", which situation gave them a chance, on one hand, to act like a community, and, on the other hand, to gradually transform the charter of 1278 (and its version confirmed by the king in 1279) into a valid "freedom charter of the nobility of the plains of Zagreb" till the middle of the fourteenth century. It is proved precisely by the fact that our sources started to emphasize that someone was "of Turopolje" only from the middle of the 1320s,³¹ while references solely to Zagreb castle, without the mentioning of being *de Campo*, gradually vanished from the charters at the same time.³²

²⁴ MHNC, nr. 28: "*universi iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis*".

²⁵ The conditions enumerated in the charter of 1278, related to the exceptions of various forms of feed and fodder (*descensus*), are the decisive proofs of that. The exemption or commutation was appertained to the *viceiudex* of the ban and his *curialis comes*, and to the *curialis comes* of Zagreb count, while the count himself was not referred to. Moreover, it was the count's duty to gather the sum (18 *pensa*) of the commutation (*ratione eiusdem descensus comiti nostro decem et octo pensas iidem iobagiones castri dare tenerentur*). MHNC, nr. 28.

²⁶ It is possible that they had two "seats" before 1242. See FEKETE NAGY, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*, p. 259.

²⁷ IDEM: *A nemesség határán*, p. 120.

²⁸ CDH 4/1. p. 280, 1243: "*si quis de ipsis sine herede decesserit; vniuersa bona tam mobilia, quam immobilia ipsius, cui filia, si habeat, vel relicta, si nupserint succedant; sed illa ad eadem seruitia teneatur, ad quae decedens, cui succedit, fuit obligatus*".

²⁹ For example, *Blagusa* and *Scepnic* domains: see *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde CDCr), vol. 1–18. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS et al. Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke Tiskare, 1904–1990, vol. 5, nr. 711 (1261), nr. 944 (1268), vol. 6, nr. 168 (1277), nr. 171 (1277), and Ibidem 4, nr. 451 (1252), Ibidem 5, nr. 44. (1271), Ibidem 6, nr. 488 (1287), nr. 584 (1290) On their localization: DOBRONIĆ, Lelja: Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkog kaptola prema izvorima 13. i 14. stoljeća. In: *Rad Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti*. Zagreb: JAZU, vol. 286, 1952, pp. 171–256, here: p. 237, p. 240. See also SZEBERÉNYI, GÁBOR: *A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. Gradokmetek és várjobbágyok a Drávántúlon*, p. 158.

³⁰ King Charles I gave the castle-warriors (*iobagiones castri nostri Zagrabiensis de genere Laztech et de genere Stankouch cum omnibus possessionibus ac rebus suis, exemptos ab omni seculari famulatu* – CDCr 8, nr. 191) as episcopal *praediales* to Augustin Kažotić, the bishop of Zagreb, in 1308. See also CDCr 8, nr. 195, nr. 211, nr. 297.

³¹ The term "(nobles of) the plains of Zagreb" occurred for the first time in an immaculately authentic charter only in 1326: MHNC, nr. 40. It supposedly appeared in two cases from an earlier period, but the authenticity of those charters is questionable. The first one from 1279 had been scraped exactly on the terminologically most important places (MHNC, nr. 30, see also nr. 31), while the other one, dated to 1300, was preserved only in a copy made in the eighteenth century and its interpretation is also problematic (Ibidem, nr. 35, see Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai Filmtár. *Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica. A középkori Magyarország levéltári forrásainak adatbázisa. Internetes kiadás* (deinde DLDF 5.1), 2009, nr. 230256). In every other case – before and after 1278, respectively – the denomination of the castle-warriors was *iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis*. SZEBERÉNYI, GÁBOR: *A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. Gradokmetek és várjobbágyok a Drávántúlon*, p. 157. The name *Turopolje* appeared for the first time in 1334, in the Statute of the Chapter of Zagreb. MHNC, nr. 51: "*ecclesie de Campo Turovo*".

³² The persons who wanted the charter of 1278 (or its royal confirmation of 1279) to be confirmed again in the first half of the fourteenth century were denominated consistently as *iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis* in MHNC, nr. 38 (1324), nr. 39 (1326), nr. 49 (1333). For the first time in 1347, a group of nobles from Turopolje who obtained the confirmation of their privileges by the ban again (in the form as it was previously affirmed by King Charles I in 1333) was called *nobiles iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis de Campo, suo et nomine vniuersorum iobagionum castri de eodem Campo*. Cfr. MHNC, nr. 61.

The above mentioned aspects also explain the differences we can find between the officials who were to represent their communities both socially and juridically. Both the *iudex/comes nobilium* of Spiš and the *comes terrestris* of Zagreb were elected annually,³³ but their jurisdiction differed fundamentally. The legal autonomy of “Spiš nobles” rose from their old organization – both the lancers and their serfs (with the exception of *causae maiores*) were absolved from the jurisdiction of the count of Spiš – and it seemed to be fully developed in the thirteenth century, and was confirmed by the Angevin kings many times in the first half of the fourteenth century.³⁴ On the contrary, the row of the *comites terrestres* of Zagreb in the thirteenth century³⁵ – in accordance with the mentioned factors – suggests that although they were definitely elected deputies, initially they were the officials of every castle-warrior, who were subjugated as a whole (according to the system of *comitatus castri*) to the (Zagreb) count’s jurisdiction.³⁶ The *comites terrestres*’ scope of activities firmly points to the fact – which is suggested even by the term’s literal meaning, i.e. “count of the land” – that their main function was to manage the tangled and frequently occurring legal actions related to the landholding of the castle-warriors,³⁷ which suggests that their official role was narrower than that of the *iudex* of Spiš. The *comes terrestris* of “Zagreb plains” rose only in 1326,³⁸ which proves again that the middle of the 1320s was a turning-point in the history of the noble community of Turopolje. But

we must emphasize again that the mere existence of Zagreb *comes terrestris* before that time cannot be considered as a proof of the special, exclusive autonomous organization of Turopolje, which existed in the following centuries. Especially so, as *comites terrestres* were also to be found in other *comitatus castri* all over medieval Slavonia – like in Križevci, Kalnik, Rovišće, or Moravče – in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.³⁹

Numerous other noticeable aspects could be alluded to: from the comparison of military services required from the communities (which are far better known in the case of the lancers than the nobles of Zagreb), through the differences of social connections based on privity and kindreds, to the meticulous collation of phenomena related to their landholding, etc. Nevertheless, this short survey, focused mainly on the differences in origin and jurisdiction, was hopefully able to prove that the old autonomy of “the nobles of Spiš” and of the former castle-warriors of Zagreb who successfully became “the nobles of Turopolje” by the middle of the fourteenth century differed in many ways during these communities’ early history. The two groups – in very different economical, legal, and, chiefly, regional circumstances⁴⁰ – seemed to be analogous only from the point of view of later centuries (regarding the later successors of both communities as well as the historiography of the numerous local nobilities in the Hungarian Kingdom alike), but the differences between them remained considerable.

³³ FEKETE NAGY, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*, pp. 273–274, LASZOWSKI, Emilij: *Povijest plem. općine Turopolja*, vol. 2, pp. 20–22.

³⁴ CDH 8/5. p. 93 (1314), p. 129 (1323); *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár*, Vol. XII. (1328). Ed.: Gyula KRISTÓ – Tibor ALMÁSI. Budapest – Szeged, *Szegedi Középkorász Műhely*, 2001. nr. 458; MOL DL nr. 38 884 (1346). See FEKETE NAGY, Antal: *A szepesi lánzdzás nemesek*, 1933. pp. 272–273.

³⁵ LASZOWSKI, Emilij: *Povijest plem. općine Turopolja*, vol. 2, p. 29.

³⁶ The charter of Tyburcius, count of Zagreb, mentioned Wolizlaus as “*terrestris comitis nostri*” in 1257. MHNC, nr. 10, see SZEBERÉNYI, GÁBOR: *A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. Gradokmetek és várjobbágyok a Drávántúlon*, pp. 164–165. Even the charter of 1278 suggests vaguely that the count of Zagreb was the superior of the *comes terrestris*. MHNC, nr. 28.

³⁷ KLAIĆ, Nada: *Doba i funkcioneri comitata u XII. i XIII. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Hrvatske, 1946, p. 15. SZEBERÉNYI, GÁBOR: *A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. Gradokmetek és várjobbágyok a Drávántúlon*, p. 165.

³⁸ The charter of Count Puneč mentions Jacob, son of Wilkota, as *comes terrestris “de Campo”*. MHNC, nr. 41.

³⁹ KLAIĆ, Nada: *Doba i funkcioneri comitata u XII. i XIII. stoljeću*, p. 14. On the case of Križevci, see HALÁSZ, ÉVA: *A kőrösi comes terrestrisek tevékenysége a XV. században*. In: *Fons, skepsis, lex. Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*. Ed.: Tibor ALMÁSI – Éva RÉVÉSZ – György SZABADOS. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010, pp. 13–20, and HALÁSZ, ÉVA: *Adalékok a kőrösi comes terrestrisek tevékenységéhez a XIV. században*. In: *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis, Acta Historica*, a. 132, 2011, pp. 37–50.

⁴⁰ Truly analogous phenomena should be sought – evidently – *within the respective regions*, whether in the case of “the nobles of Spiš” and the *fili iobagionum* of Turiec/Turóc, or of “the nobles of Turopolje” and the *praediales* of Rovišće. On the latter, see SZEBERÉNYI GÁBOR: *A rojcsai prediálisok a 13–14. században*. In: *Medievalistikai tanulmányok*, vol. 7. Ed.: Attila KISS – Beáta VIDA. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2012 (in print).

A comparison of the privileged communities *Campus Zagradiensis* and *Parvus comitatus*

Porovnanie privilegovaných komunit „Campus Zagradiensis“ a „Parvus comitatus“ /
Usporedba povlaštenih zajednica „Campus Zagradiensis“ i „Parvus comitatus“

The lancers (in Spiš) and the Turopolje community inhabited the territories which had very notable strategic positions within the realm of Saint Stephen. The lancers were situated on the north-eastern border territory of the realm, which nowadays lies within Slovakia whereas the Turopolje community was settled on the south-western border of the realm, in today's Croatia. Both communities belong to lesser nobility, both are questionably defined by historiography especially according to their origin and use. This study defines the origin and the development of this specific noble class on the basis of the comparison of their territories (Spiš, Turopolje), privileges, and the structure of their organization until the end of the fourteenth century.

Keywords: the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Spiš, Turopolje, privileged communities, lesser nobility

Communities which developed as specific forms of privileged servants and gradually became part of the lesser nobility always preserved features which differentiated them from other social categories. Such communities were, among others, the Turopolje community (*Campus Zagradiensis*), placed in Zagreb county, in the south-western part of the Hungarian Kingdom, and the *Parvus comitatus*, situated in Spiš county, near the north-eastern borders of the kingdom.

The research of both noble communities faces certain difficulties, due to the lack of written sources and archaeological research in general, and specifically of the archaeological criteria that could distinguish the lesser nobility from the rest of the population. Another problem is the absence of clear legal differentiations between various categories of nobility. Each nobleman could be promoted in his rank, but in practice it was usually those who had their possessions on strategically more important positions or in economically more active territories, thus being politically more significant, who achieved promotion. Some historians find it necessary to distinguish among different categories of lesser nobility, which in practice results in a situation when some scholars consider the privileged communities as noble, while others do not share such a view and determine their status as non-noble.¹ Such ignoble

status would correspond to what the sources recognize as *jobagiones* or *castrenses*. This is done without taking into account that the formation of nobility is a long lasting process, which starts in the thirteenth and ends in the fourteenth century. Because of all these reasons, scholars came to very different conclusions concerning the Turpolje community and the lancemen of Spiš.

One way which might improve our knowledge and bring us to more firm conclusions is comparative research of the earliest history of both communities in the period to the end of the fourteenth century. It would, of course, be worthwhile taking into account also the later development, when the noble communities were already formed, but this would be the task of some future research.

Territorial comparison

Both the Turopolje (*županija*) and the Spiš county of the lesser nobility had strategically important positions. The Turpolje nobility emerged and acted on the territory of Zagreb county, which was the south-western border zone of the kingdom. The Spiš nobility took a similar position on the north-eastern border of the lands of the Holy Crown, in Spiš county. Through both counties ran an important communication, called the *magna via*. The one going over Spiš territory led to Halič (Galicia) and

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¹ KARBIĆ, Damir: Plemstvo – definicija, vrste i uloga. In: *Povijesni prilozi*, a. 31, 2006, p. 18.

the Kievan Rus, while the other, running through Turopolje, called *via antiqua* or *via exercitualis*, connected Hungary and Slavonia with Croatia and the maritime regions. Both territories were interesting for military as for commercial reasons.

In both cases, in Turopolje as in Spiš, we can distinguish among two groups of settlements according to their geographical position. In Spiš one group was placed in the upper part of the Hornád basin and the other in the Podhradie basin. In Turopolje some settlements emerged in the Turopolje plain, while others were founded on the heights of Vukomeričke gorice, a vine-growing hillside. The Hornád basin, as well as the regions of the Turopolje plain, along the rivers Lomnica and Odra (the *Campus Zagrabienensis*), were very fertile and convenient for agriculture. The districts of the earlier founded settlements were bigger than those which appeared in the late Middle Ages. The oldest possessions were usually called *terra* and they were situated in the most fertile parts of the Hornád basin and the *Campus Zagrabienensis*. These territories belonged to the royal castles and were given to the *jobagiones castris*. The districts of the nobility settlements were gradually changing: either growing by purchasing land from the neighbours, or being reduced through selling or division between the members of a kindred.

Comparison of the collective privileges

The precondition for the granting of privileges which confirmed common freedoms and duties was the existence of a community as an organisational and judicial entity. It was Bela IV who in 1243 granted the Spiš lancemen the freedoms which they had enjoyed since old times (*quam ab antiquo habuerunt*).² The freedoms and duties of the Turopolje noblemen were first mentioned in 1273, on the diet of the Kingdom of Slavonia.³ It was then that Ban Matthew, being asked by the noblemen and *jobagiones* of the Zagreb and Križevci castles, listed their freedoms and duties. The Turopolje noblemen received in 1278 a separate confirmation of their old privileges by Ban Nicolas (*libertatum ipsorum antiquas*).⁴

In the cases of both Turpolje and Spiš lesser nobility, comparing their privileges, we can see that both communities were freed from paying the *collected*, with an addition mentioned in the Spiš privilege (1243). An exception was the order that royal *servienti* and other noblemen had to pay it. Both communities also did not have the obligation of *descensus* for the respective counts. The difference between them was that the Turpolje community had to give, instead of the *descensus*, once a year, on the feast of St. Martin, 18 *pensa* to the Zagreb count and 8 marks to the ban.

If one of either the Spiš or Turopolje noblemen had to prove his innocence, he could free himself from charges by pledging an oath in the presence of seven witnesses and by paying a fee not higher than 40 denars. If, on the other hand, his crime was proven, this nobleman had to pay his fine to the judges according to the customs of the noble district.

Both the Spiš and Turopolje noblemen had the right to bequeath lands. If the lancer's family died out in the male line, his possessions had to be given to the one who married his widow or his daughter. The one who inherited these lands had to take over the lancer's service in the king's army. If a Turpolje noble died without a male heir, his lands had to be left within his kindred. In addition, in Turopolje the *quarta puellaris* was also practiced, whereby a quarter of the nobleman's possessions had to be given to his female descendants.⁵

Military duties were regulated by privileges. Four Spiš lancers who owned 8 acres (*aratra*) of land had to equip one armed soldier to fight under the king's banner. The *iobagiones Campus Zagrabienensis* had the duty to defend the country in case of an enemy attack, but also if the king himself took part in the war. In the decisions made by the Slavonian diet in 1273 they were given the liberty to choose the baron they would follow into war, without necessarily having to serve directly under the king's command. It is important to notice that the Turpolje privileges were written down some thirty years after those of the lancers, so we must take into account that the differences between them might have been the reflection of

² The document was issued on 7 June 1243 with the double royal seal. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde CDSI), vol. 2. Ed.: Richard MARSINA. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1987, pp. 88–89. See also *Dokumenty slovenskej národnej identity a štátnosti*, vol. 1. Ed.: Ján BEŇKO. Bratislava: Slovenské literárne informačné centrum, 1998, p. 131.

³ *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde CDCr), vol. 6. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1908, pp. 25–28.

⁴ *Monumenta historica nobilitatis Turopolje olim "Campus Zagrabienensis" dictae* (deinde MHNC), vol. 1. Ed.: Emilij LASZOWSKI. Zagreb: Tiskom Antuna Scholza, 1904, pp. 30–31, also CDCr 6, pp. 242–243.

⁵ APOSTOLOVA-MARŠAVELSKI, Magdalena: *Iz pravne prošlosti Zagreba (13.–16. stoljeće)*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1998, p. 243.

changes in the relations between the king and nobility within the Hungarian Kingdom.⁶

Neither the Spiš, nor the Zagreb *župan* (*comes*, count) had the right to frequent them, and they were exempted from their respective judicial authority. Only if the law suits were about financial disputes, the tithe or a theft, could a *župan* administer justice upon them, but even then only in the presence of royal judges who had been elected from among the county nobility. Law suits of greater value had to be brought in front of the king.

We also know that both communities elected annually a representative from their own ranks who represented them before the king, the ban or the *župan*. In Turpolje he had the title *comes terrestris*, and in Spiš *iudex nobilium* or *comes nobilium*.

Comparison of the structures

Both the Turopolje and Spiš nobility existed as communities since the thirteenth century. Although the first mention of the Turopolje community (*communitas* or *universitas*) dates only from 1455, it is obvious that it had existed before. Already in 1249 the Turopolje forrest is mentioned as a common good of all Turopolje families and in 1257 there is the first mention of their *comes*.⁷ The latter charter mentions the Turopolje community as *iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis*, but the word *communitas* is not used. On the other hand, the Spiš nobility (*nobiles de Scepus*) appears as a community (*universitas*) already in 1243. Since then, this designation was regularly used in the title of the community.⁸

There is no data about the terms of elections within the Spiš community. We can presume from the later source material that these were annual elections. Since the Turopolje nobility elected its representative every year, that supports our presumption about the rhythm of elections in the Spiš case.

In the collective privileges there is no accurate description of the responsibilities of either of the principals of the two communities. From

the thirteenth century both communities evolved and therefore the competencies of their principals expanded. We know that they were present at hearings held by the Zagreb or Spiš *comes*, they could organize an assembly of their community and represent the community before the king or the *ban* of Slavonia.

In the late fourteenth century the assemblies of the Spiš lesser nobility were held in Spišský Štvrtok which belonged also to the Spiš Saxons, which means that the lancers held their congregations outside their own territory. The venue of the Turpolje assembly is not known. In 1333 Mykec, *comes terrestris*, issued a charter to a family of the Turopolje nobles in Chicha (today Čiče), but that in itself does not prove that that was the place of regular assemblies.⁹

The oldest preserved seal of the Spiš community is attached to a document issued in 1464 Spišský Štvrtok by *comes* Martin, while the charters of the Turopolje community were verified with seals of the communities principals. Turopolje was granted a seal only in the eighteenth century.

Comparison of their origin

The emergence of the lesser nobility, both in Spiš and Turopolje, as has already been said, remains unclear even after the most recent research. It seems that the problem lies in the fact that most of the researchers believe that the formation of lesser nobility was already concluded by 1222 and the granting of the *Golden Bull* by Andrew II.¹⁰ Therefore some believe that the Turopolje community did not have a noble status. They were just *iobagiones*. On the other hand, the Spiš lancers are considered to have been noble, but the origin of their nobility remains unclear. The issue is also connected with the naming of both communities. The Turopolje nobility used the word *iobagiones* to describe itself, while the Spiš lancers called themselves *nobiles*. Another problem in defining their status derives from the fact that members of neither community were elevated to the noble rank by royal privileges granted to

⁶ In the fourteenth century the military duty changed to military tax (*iudicio exercitus*). We see it in a common Turopolje nobility privilege; the ban could choose the tax only if it was required in the whole kingdom. *MHNC* 1, p. 31.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 10 and 12.

⁸ Cfr. KOSTELNÍK, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*. Master thesis. Trnava: Trnavská Univerzita, 2008, p. 15.

⁹ *MHNC* 1, p. 51.

¹⁰ We can consider the social formation of the nobility as finished around the second half of the fourteenth century, from the year 1352, when all privileges were united in the *Golden Bull* confirmed by Louis I. From that time on the position of the nobility is founded on the possession of land.

them personally, but their status was rather guaranteed by common privileges containing their liberties and duties.¹¹

In order to better understand the emergence of the lesser nobility in Turopolje, we should take a closer look at the development of the naming of the Turopolje community. Its members were called *iobagiones* or *nobiles iobagiones*. A very interesting example is contained in a charter dated to 1390, in which we can read: *iobagiones qui sunt nobiles de Campo Zagradiensis*.¹² This title clearly shows that the origin of the Turpolje lesser nobility has to be traced down to the oldest social strata of *iobagiones* of the royal castle. Following this conclusion, we might also suggest a solution of the issue of the origin of the Spiš nobility. From the development of the naming of the Spiš nobles itself, we can conclude nothing. The lancers were described as *nobiles de Scepus* already from 1249. The presumption that the Spiš lesser nobility can also be seen as deriving from the *iobagiones* of the royal castle is confirmed by two royal donations of 1229 and 1256. In the first one, *dux* Coloman donates to Don and Matthew, the sons of Rugas, four acres of land, pointing out, at the end of the document, that this was done with the consent of

Coloman's *iobagiones*.¹³ In 1280 the descendants of Matthew – Nicholas and Mark – were already titled *nobiles de Scepus*.¹⁴ In the document from 1256, Bela IV donates to File three acres of land in exchange for military service to the king, according to the kind of service usually provided by other *iobagiones* of Spiš, in the way it had been described in their common privileges.¹⁵

We might conclude, therefore, that both the Spiš and Turopolje lesser nobility originated from the *iobagiones* of royal castles who, in the time of the collapse of the system of royal *castra*, succeeded in preserving their liberties based on the possession of land.¹⁶ In the area which in the past had belonged to the royal castle, communities gradually developed, formed on territorial and family links. In Turopolje this community was known as *općina* and in Spiš as *stolica*. They both had their *župan* (*comes* or *iudex*) and privileges written down in the presence of the king or the ban. The difference between them is that the Turpolje community developed its noble status a little later and that its members had later on to struggle more to preserve their liberties. The reason for this might lie in the longer existence of the castle to which the Turpolje nobility pertained, contrary to the one in Spiš.

¹¹ Some of the Turopolje *iobagiones* were promoted *servientes* in 1225, but these families were not outside of Turopolje community. Conversely, the lancers of Spiš got a royal privilege which guaranteed their freedoms and provided responsibilities, but there is no formulation about the change of their social status.

¹² *MHNC* 1, p. 127.

¹³ *CDSI* 1. Ed.: Richard MARSINA. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1971, pp. 257: "...consensu et consilio omnium iobagionum nostrorum."

¹⁴ *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 1–9. Ed.: György FEJÉR. Budae: Regiae Universitatis Hungariae, 1829–1844, (CD version, Arcanum Adatabázis 2004), 5/3, p. 40.

¹⁵ *CDSI* 2, pp. 360–362: "...quod alij iobagiones de Scepus facere consueverunt, sicut in ipsorum communi priuilegio super libertate sua habita, plenius continetur..."

¹⁶ Martin Homza reached the same conclusion. See: Martin HOMZA – A. Stanisław SROKA. *Historia Scepusii : Dejiny Spiša*, vol. 1. Bratislava – Kraków : Etc., 2009, p. 190; HOMZA, Martin: Ku genéze spišských kopijníkov. In: *Historický zborník*, a. 16, 2006, p. 16–17.

The Čupor of Monoszló – an Example of Noble Kindreds in the Area between the Sava and Drava Rivers

Čupor z Moslaviny – príklad šľachtických príbuzenstiev v oblasti medzi riekami Sáva a Dráva / Čupori Moslavački – primjer plemićkog roda na području između rijeka Save i Drave

Taking the example of the medieval kindred of Čupor from the area between the Sava and Drava rivers, several issues such as family structure, property acquisitions, public functions, relations with the ruler, clientage, and relations with church institutions are addressed. The general idea is to consider the mobility – social and spatial – of a typical clan of middling nobility within the Kingdom of Hungary. Special attention is given to the connection of the Čupor with the territory of present Slovakia as well as to a notorious story concerning one of the family members which offers some information about the use of word “Tot” as a term for Slav in the area south of the Drava river.

Keywords: Čupor, Moslavački (Monoszló), noble kindred, Middle Ages, Moslavina

A noble kindred Čupor of Monoszló – in Croatian historiography known also as Moslavački or Moslavinski – could be considered as belonging to the middle strata of the nobility in the area between rivers Sava and Drava – which for the most part belonged to medieval Slavonia.¹ The Čupor are actually a surviving branch of the noble kindred Monoszló who appear in the sources in the second half of the twelfth century.² Čupor is a nickname of one of the members who lived at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, probably coming from a Hungarian word for mug or pot (*csupor*).

Although they could not compare with the magnates as the Babonići, the Gorjanski (Garai) or Iločki (Újlaki), the Čupor played significant part in the history of the area. On their example I will try to show several issues, discussed in more detail by Marija Karbić in this volume, and in addition also try to show the mobility – social and spatial – of a noble kindred within the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

Count (*comes*) Makarias who appears in the times of King Bela III (1172–1196) is usually considered as the founder of the family.³ However, already his father is mentioned as the one who first

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¹ The main literature about the kindred can be found in: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (deinde *HLB*), vol. 3. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod „Miroslav Krleža“, 1993, pp. 133–136, s.v. Čupor; Čupor, Demetrije; Čupor, Pavao; BEDIĆ, Marko: Čupori Moslavački. In: *Kaj*, a. 28, 1995, nr. 3, pp. 53–67. The genealogy is presented in: KARÁCSONY, János: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV század közepéig*, vol. 2. Budapest: Budapest Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1901, pp. 377–383, s.v. Monoszló; ENGEL, Pál: *Közepkori magyar genealógia/Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1301–1457*, PC CD-ROM. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001, s.v. Monoszló nem Csupor; MAČEK, Pavao: Rod biskupa Demetrija Čupora: Prilog rodoslovlju Čupora Moslavačkih. In: *Tkalčić*, a. 12, 2008, pp. 277–313. Karácsony’s genealogy only goes until the first half of the fourteenth century, and Engel’s starts from the end of the thirteenth century. Maček’s begins with the first family member who had a nickname Čupor. The most recent and complete genealogy starting from the first apparition of the members of the kindred in the sources until the extinction of the kindred (with some corrections of the opinions of the previous authors) is in: NIKOLIĆ JAKUS, Zrinka: Obitelj Čupor Moslavački. In: *Radovi Zavoda za znanstvenoistraživački i umjetnički rad u Bjelovaru*, a. 4, 2011, pp. 269–300.

² Ferdo Šišić was of opinion that the Čupor had descended from the Hungarian kindred of Csupor which had lived in the county of Csongrád near Szeged close to the kindred of Doroszma. According to him, some offspring of Csupor and Doroszma moved later to the area between the Sava and the Drava rivers and formed the noble kindreds of Čupor and Garai (Croat. *Gorjanski*): Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima. In: *Starine JAZU*, a. 37, 1934, doc. 4, 201, nr. 3. However, this opinion about the origin of Čupor has remained isolated.

³ *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 2. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1904, p. 172.

drew royal attention with his warrior skills. For his merits he got the noble estate of Moslavina, which was at that time exempted from the royal counties as a special area along with a privilege to collect from this area the royal tax typical for Slavonia.⁴ It might have happened already at the time of King Bela II the Blind (1131–1141). The name of the family and the estate Moslavina – Monoszló is considered to come from a Slavic name Mojslav or Manislav,⁵ which would imply that their origin was Slavic and not Hungarian.⁶ Still, this particular name is never mentioned in the preserved sources nor does it appear in the genealogy of the kindred. It is possible that the family got this name after the estate, since they started using it as a family name only at the end of the thirteenth century as it was usual among the noble kindreds. Monoszló or Moslavina was also the name of one of their castles which controlled the area of river Lonja, southern Moslavina. In Veszprém (Slovinian – *Belomost*, Ger. – *Weissbrunn*) county there is also a place Monoszló which gave the name to a noble family from which two Esztergom (Cro. – *Ostrogon*, Slov. – *Ostrihom*, Ger. – *Gran*) archbishops and the commander of the Hungarian army in the war in Italy in 1356 and 1357/58 derived in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries.⁷ However, neither the exact relation between two places with the same name in medieval Slavonia and Veszprém county nor the relation with the eponymous noble family have been established, although perhaps their connection cannot be excluded. The name Monoszló was very distinctive and sometimes spread with the expansion of the family.

Count Makarias was a representative of King Bela III in Dalmatia after it was recovered from the

Byzantine rule at the time of Manuel Komnenos, and appeared also later in the company of Bela's son, Prince Andrew. He served as a royal judge (1189), count of Szolnok in central Hungary, viceban (vicar of Croatian ban, the first known by name). One later charter even mentions him as the ban.⁸

The family of Count Makarias, besides Moslavina and nearby areas, also possessed the estates in the county of Bač (Slov. – *Báč*, Hun. – *Bács*, Ger. – *Batsch*), near Sonta, close to the mouth of the river Drava in the Danube. In some later divisions the estate of Makarias' cousin, Count Gregory, and his tower are mentioned. Beside some other estates in the county of Bač – *Hoyloc* (Újlak) and *Senpaul* south of the town of Bač, Makarias, and after him his sons, also possessed estates in Srijem (Serb. – *Srem*, Hun. – *Szerém*, Ger. – *Syrmien*, Lat. – *Syrmia*), in the county of Baranja (Hun. – *Baranya*, Ger. – *Branau*) – Szilvas, and several more estates in the county of Somogy. These estates were worked by free and unfree people (*serui et libertini*) and gave considerable income. The family also had income from the marketplace on their estate in Sonta as well as from the Danube port. They were the patrons, possibly even the founders, of the Benedictine monastery of Holy Cross (originally Premonstratensian). These patronage rights were preserved until the death of Makarias' great-grandson Giles (*Egidius*) II. It seems that the family also had some patronage rights over the Benedictine monastery of Holy Spirit in Nuštar.⁹ Judging by all these data, it is therefore possible that the family of Count Makarias was originally from the county of Bač.

Most of these estates as well as the ones in Moslavina came into the hands of the most

⁴ CDCr 3. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1905, nr. 349.

⁵ SKOK, Petar: *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, vol. 2. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1972, p. 459, s.v. moslavka; KISS, Lajos: *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980, p. 431; BEDIĆ, Marko: *Čupori Moslavački*, p. 54; ANDRIĆ, Stanko: Podgorje Papuka i Krndije u srednjem vijeku: prilozi za lokalnu povijest (prvi dio). In: *Scrinia Slavonica*, a. 8, 2008, pp. 60–61.

⁶ ANDRIĆ, Stanko: Samostan Svetog Križa u Frankavili (Mandelosu). In: *Istorijski časopis*, a. 52, 2005, p. 54. For this reason Andrić refers to them also as the Mojslav: Voćin u srednjem vijeku. In: *Povijesna i kulturna baština Voćina*. Ed.: Dragica ŠUVAK. Slatina: Matica hrvatska; Pučko otvoreno učilište; Zavičajni muzej Slatina, 2000, p. 97; *Samostan Svetog Križa u Frankavili (Mandelosu)*, p. 50; IDEM: *Podgorje Papuka i Krndije u srednjem vijeku: prilozi za lokalnu povijest (prvi dio)*, pp. 60, 65–66.

⁷ HBL, pp. 134–135; GRUBER, Dane: Borba Ludovika I. s Mlečanima za Dalmaciju (1348–1358). In: *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, a. 152, 1903, pp. 106, 109, 111, 129; THURÓCZY, János: *Chronica Hungarorum*. Ed.: Elisabetz GALÁNTAI – Julius KRISTÓ. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985, pp. 176–177.

⁸ CDCr 2, pp. 172, 234, 263, 294, 309; Ibidem 3, pp. 9–10, 159; Ibidem 5. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1907, p. 526; WERTNER, MAVTO: Prinosi k poznavanju hrvatskih banova od godine 1105. do godine 1225. In: *Vjesnik Kr. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva*, a. 3, 1901, pp. 22–23; WERTNER, MÓR: Az Árpádkori bánok. In: *Szazadok*, a. 13, 1909, p. 383; ANDRIĆ, Stanko: *Samostan Svetog Križa u Frankavili (Mandelosu)*, p. 54.

⁹ *Árpádkori új okmánytár/Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* (deinde CDAC), vol. 11. Ed.: Gusztáv WENZEL. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia, 1873, pp. 221–227; ANDRIĆ, Stanko: *Samostan Svetog Križa u Frankavili (Mandelosu)*, pp. 52–56; ANDRIĆ, Stanko: Benediktinski samostan Svetog Duha u Nuštru. In: *Godišnjak Ogranka Matice hrvatske Vinkovci*, a. 15, 1997, pp. 67–69.

distinguished of Makarias' sons, Ban Thomas, who was one of the favourites of King Andrew II since he supported Andrew against his brother, King Emeric, in their youth. For this loyalty to Prince Andrew, Thomas suffered imprisonment and wounds, but was later rewarded. For his merits Thomas, who was the first known count of Vukovo county and in 1229 mentioned as ban, got the confirmation of his old family estates as well as the ones he bought, along with the donation of new estates in the county of Bač near the Danube, and an estate near Nagylak in Csanád county, where he had a right to privileged transport of salt on the Maros (Croat. *Moriš*, Rum. *Mureș*, Lat. *Marisus*) river. After he was wounded in the campaign in Galicia, King Andrew gave him also the fish-ponds north of Borovo in the county of Vukovo and an estate in the county of Zagreb between the Odra and Sava rivers. Thomas separated his estates from those of his brothers, nephews and cousins, from whom he also bought some parts in Sonta and Somogy county. In addition, he also inherited or bought the estates of his mother's family in the area of Podravina near the Drava river. This last estate was also later called Moslavina (Monoszló) – nowadays Podravska Moslavina, even when it was no longer possessed by any members of the kindred. It is significant that in the second half of the thirteenth century Thomas' descendants were referred to as *de genere Thome Bani*, which was replaced with the placename Monoszló only at the end of the century.¹⁰

Thomas left two sons who divided between themselves his estates in Bačka (the county of Bač), Baranja and Srijem. One of his four daughters married a son of the founder of Heder clan. However, the western possessions, particularly Moslavina, became the subject of a dispute between the descendants of Ban Thomas and those

of his brothers, especially of Nicholas.¹¹ It is possible that the politics of Thomas, in which afterwards his sons continued, of systematic buying out the land of their cousins, upset the latter. The second half of the thirteenth century is marked by the severe struggle among the members of the clan with several unsuccessful attempts of reconciliation and peaceful settlement. The division of the inheritance in Moslavina after the death of Makarias II, the son of Stephen, caused another dispute between the descendants of Ban Thomas and Nicholas. The descendants of Nicholas complained that they did not get enough. Finally, the dispute was settled by King Bela IV although it had to be reaffirmed by threat of excommunication by the bishop of Zagreb. According to the settlement – Gregory, son of Ban Thomas, who was *iudex Cumanorum* at the time, left all the estates in medieval Slavonia to Nicholas' descendants. These estates were later regarded as Moslavina. Gregory kept the estates in Hungary (proper), and those at the river Drava.¹²

The descendants of Ban Thomas, especially of his son Gregory II, can be regarded as the mag-nate branch of the kindred: Gregory's sons Giles II, Gregory III, and Peter III all had successful careers but their interest lay north of the Drava – Giles was *magister dapiferorum* of young king Stephen, then his *magister tavernicorum*. When Stephen became king, Giles served as the count of Bratislava (Hun. – *Pozsony*), and afterwards in 1273 as ban of Machva/Mačva (Lat. – *Machua*, Hun. – *Macsó*) and Bosnia, and *magister tavernicorum*. His brother Gregory was the queen's *magister tavernicorum* and the count of Eisenstadt (Cro. – *Željezno*, Slov. – *Železno*, Hun. – *Kismarton*), while Peter was the bishop of Transylvania. However, the branch of the older son of Ban Thomas, Gregory II, died out. In an attempt to leave heirs, Giles II adopted two cousins from his

¹⁰ CDAC, pp. 219–230; CDCr 3, pp. 203–204, 347–351; *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius* (deinde CDP), vol. 7. Ed.: Arnold IPOLYI – Imre NAGY – Dezső VÉGHÉLY. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1880, pp. 2–4, 15; *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde CDH), vol. 4/2. Ed.: György FEJÉR, Budae: Typis typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1829; KARÁCSONY, Janos: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV század közepéig*, pp. 377, 383; ANDRIĆ, Stanko: *Samostan Svetog Križa u Frankavili (Mandelosu)*, p. 53; KLAJČ, Nada: *Povijest Zagreba. Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: SNL, 1982, p. 67; PAVIČIĆ, Stjepan: *Vukovska župa u razvoitku svoga naselja od XIII. do XVIII. stoljeća. I. dio*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1940, p. 80; ANDRIĆ, Stanko: *Podgorje Papuka i Krndije u srednjem vijeku: prilozi za lokalnu povijest (proi dio)*, pp. 60–61; IDEM: *Benediktinski samostan Svetog Duha u Nuštru*, pp. 67–69; WERTNER, Mór: *Az Árpadkori bánok*, p. 561; CDCr 7. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1909, pp. 192–194.

¹¹ CDP 6. Ed.: Arnold IPOLYI – Imre NAGY – Dezső VÉGHÉLY. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1876, pp. 233–234; CDP 7, pp. 23–25.

¹² Ibidem, pp. 36–37; CDCr 4. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1906, pp. 311–312; *Alsó-Szlavóniai okmánytár (Dubicza, Orbász és Szana vármegyék) 1244–1710, Codex diplomaticus partium regno Hungariae adnexarum (comitatum: Dubicza, Orbász et Szana)*. Ed.: Lajos THALLÓCZY – Sándor HORVÁTH. Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar tud. Akadémia, 1912, pp. 3–4; CDCr 5. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1907, pp. 78, 324, 495–496, 526–527; CDCr 6. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1908, pp. 440–442; KLAJČ, Nada: *Povijest Zagreba*, p. 68.

mother's side but they died before him. According to his will, written in Trnava (Hun. – *Nagyszombat*) in 1313, he left his estates to his daughters who were married into Kórógy (Cro. – *Korođ*), Aba (Nyéky) and Barsa clans. He left the inheritance in Csanád county to the Church of Esztergom.¹³ As a consequence Moslavina, which was in the previous division assigned to the lesser branch of the kindred, became the core land of the kindred. Finally, it came back to the descendants of Ban Thomas – one of his grandsons, son of Thomas, got the nickname of Čupor. It is interesting that this Stephen (II) is only referred to as Čupor after his death, and the nickname is mentioned also along his namesake son – Stephen III. It seems that the descendants of Stephen II Čupor got Moslavina after their cousin Peter II, who held it according to the agreement of 1269, took the wrong side in war for the crown at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Moslavina was then taken by King Charles Robert and given to Count Babonić who had the descendants of Stephen II (Čupor) in his service. Never again did they choose the wrong side in fights over the throne.¹⁴

The Čupor of the fourteenth century were certainly not that grand as the Monoszló of the thirteenth century had been. In the first half of the fourteenth century, they did not hold high titles, and their estates, although not small, could not compare with the estates of their ancestors Markarias, Ban Thomas, and Giles. However, they became concentrated in one place, contrary to the previous centuries, and this was felt in their

social connections as well: as far as it could be concluded, they mostly intermarried with their neighbours. Still, they seem to have prospered economically – for example, they owned a mill in Zagreb, the only one that was private, that is, did not belong to a church institution or the town community. They acquired more lands by lending money on mortgage to their neighbours and also took advantage of the fact that some of their neighbours were proclaimed rebels by the crown. The most successful was John who was one of two representatives of Slavonian nobility when King Sigismund confirmed the special judicial status of Slavonian and Croatian nobility. The Čupor have chosen the winning side in the struggles between the court (Queens Elisabeth and Mary, and later King Sigismund) and the rebellious Slavonian nobles. However, John's illegal actions regarding the estates of his neighbours finally led to the confiscation of his estates.¹⁵

The most famous member of the following generation was Paul, who succeeded in recovering the estates which were confiscated from his uncle John. The culmination of his career was his appointment as the ban of Slavonia in 1412, in which status he led the army against the Venetians in Friuli. Since he was the ban, he is the member of the Čupor kindred who issued the biggest number of documents and was most frequently mentioned in these.¹⁶ However, today he is mostly remembered and mentioned because of circumstances and stories regarding his death. In the summer of

¹³ CDH 4/3. Ed.: György FEJÉR. Buda: typis typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1829, pp. 294, 525; CDAC 4. Ed.: Gusztáv WENZEL. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia, 1862, pp. 38, 41, 52; Ibidem 9. Ed.: Gusztáv WENZEL. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia, 1871, pp. 75, 77; Ibidem 12. Ed.: Gusztáv WENZEL. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia, 1874, pp. 50, 53, 76, 116; CDP 2. Ed.: Imre NAGY – Iván PÁUR – Károly RÁTH – Dezső VÉGHÉLY. Győr: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1865, pp. 11–12, 14; WERTNER, Mór: *Az Árpádkori bánok*, p. 473; ANDRIĆ, Stanko: *Podgorje Papuka i Krndije u srednjem vijeku: prilozi za lokalnu povijest (provi dio)*, pp. 61–62, 65–66, 75–76; Diós, István: *Magyar katolikus lexikon*. Budapest: Szent István Kiadó, 2005, pp. 894–895; CDCr 7. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1909, pp. 192–194; ČUK, Juraj: *Podravina od Bednje do Voćinke i susjedna područja do polovice četrnaestoga vijeka (Plemstvo – posjedi – uprava)*. In: *Vjesnik Kraljevskog hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog arkiva*, a. 18, 1916, pp. 221–222; CDH 8/1. Ed.: György FEJÉR. Buda: Typis typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1832, pp. 524–525; ANDRIĆ, Stanko: *Voćin u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 97–99.

¹⁴ KARÁCSONY, Janos: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV század közepéig*, p. 378; ENGEL, Pál: *Közepkori magyar genealógia*, p. 2001; MAČEK, Pavao: *Rod biskupa Demetrija Čupora: Prilog rodoslovlju Čupora Moslavačkih*, pp. 277, 285; CDCr 8. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1910, pp. 439–442.

¹⁵ *Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba prijestolnice Kraljevine dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonske/Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 11. Ed.: Ivan Krstitelj TKALČIĆ. Zagreb: s. l., 1905, p. 247; CDCr 17. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS – Stjepan GUNJAČA – Jakov STIPIŠIĆ. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1981, p. 347; Ibidem 18. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS – Duje RENDIĆ-MIČEVIĆ et al., Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1990, pp. 37, 510; *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabienensis/Povijesni spomenici zagrebačke biskupije (deinde MHEZ)*, vol. 6. Ed.: Andrija LUKINOVIĆ. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1994, pp. 39–40; *Kaptolski arhiv u Zagrebu, Acta capitula antiqua*, 125/1.

¹⁶ Paul appears in numerous documents which are listed in: *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, vols. 2/1, 2/2. Ed.: Elemér MÁLYUSZ. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956, 1958, vols. 3, 4, 5. Ed.: Elemér MÁLYUSZ – Ivan BORSA. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993, 1994, 1997. For his career and career of his brothers, see also ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*. Budapest: MTA történet tudományi intézete, 1996, p. 179.

1415 he was killed in or after the so-called Battle of Lašva or Doboj in northern Bosnia against the army of Bosnian duke Hrvoje, who was backed by the Ottoman forces. The chronicler John Thuróczy, writing around 60 years after these events, mentions that Duke Hrvoje bore a grudge against Ban Paul, caused by Paul's public mocking of Hrvoje's deep voice in court. Namely, whenever he saw Hrvoje in court, he laughed at him and imitated ox-mooing. Other details of this story are given in the sixteenth-century history of Observant Franciscans in Bosnia and Hungary (*Cronica seu origo fratrum minorum de Observantia in provinciis Bozne et Hungarie Christo Iesu militantium*). According to the anonymous author of this chronicle, his sources were the now lost writing of Bosnian vicar *Blaise de Zalko* (1420–1425) as well as the narration of some Friar Gregory of Ilok who lived in the middle and second half of the fifteenth century, closer to the events of the Battle of Lašva. According to the chronicle, Ban Paul was mocking Hrvoje with the saying—*Tot nem ember, pogácsa nem kenyér* (“*Slav is not a man, pagáč is not bread*”). This story is used as a proof that at this time the mocking name *Tot* was used for Slavs in Slavonia, south of the river Drava, although it could actually indicate the use for Bosnian Slavs as well. Since Paul Čupor was actually Slavonian himself, the saying was probably a later addition. However, personal hostility between Bosnian duke and Paul Čupor cannot be rejected with certainty as later invention. Hrvoje's letter to Queen Barbara is preserved in which he complains about Paul's treatment towards him after Hrvoje was proclaimed a rebel. The Battle of Lašva was a tragedy for many Slavonian and Hungarian noblemen who were either killed or captured and ransomed. Paul certainly did not survive it but whether, as Thuróczy and Humanist historian Bonfini narrate, Hrvoje ordered him to be sewn into an ox-skin and thrown into the river with the words “*You who in the human form used a voice of an ox, take now with the voice*

also a shape of an ox,” cannot be confirmed by contemporary sources. Still, it is certain that he did not return after the battle and King Sigismund took under his protection his three underage sons – Akoš (Hun. – *Akos*, Lat. – *Acacius*), Demetrius and George.¹⁷

Paul's sons along with their uncles, Stephen V and George II, maintained very good relations with the Hunyadi family – George II spent his life fighting the Ottomans along with John Hunyadi and is referred to in the sources as George the knight (*miles*). Demetrius, son of Ban Paul, was a cleric patronized by John Vitez, later archbishop of Esztergom, who was also by origin from Moslavina. King Matthias and John Vitez supported Demetrius' desire to become the bishop of Zagreb, but he was heavily rejected by the local chapter. The struggle for the see of Zagreb lasted for almost 25 years, but at the end King Matthias himself grew tired of “old” Demetrius and called him incompetent, insisting that the pope transfer him to a less demanding post at Győr, much to Demetrius' dissatisfaction. The roots of the conflict between Demetrius and the chapter of Zagreb were probably in the long dispute that the family had with the chapter over the estates that they recovered from the property confiscated from their great-uncle John, and of which a part was claimed by the chapter as John's previous donation. In any case, the sons of Ban Paul and their cousins were a much more violent generation than the previous ones, and entered many conflicts against their neighbours, against the chapter of Zagreb and the Pauline monastery of Garić Mountain, whose records vividly describe many of their crimes. It can be concluded that they managed to escape some prosecutions thanks to their connections with the Hunyadi. Still, they appeared as the donors of the Paulines of Garić Mountain, although they patronized also the Franciscan monastery at Varalja, founded by George the knight as his attempt to redeem himself from the war-crimes.¹⁸

¹⁷ THURÓCZY, János: *Chronica Hungarorum*, p. 224; Franciscan chronicle cited according to ANDRIĆ, Stanko: *Potonuli svijet: Rasprave o slavonskom i srijemskom srednjovjekovlju*. Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2001, pp. 196, 202, 205–206; MHEZ 5. Ed.: Andrija LUKINović. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1992, p. 590. About the Battle of Lašva, see among most recent works: LOVRENOVIĆ, Dubravko: *Bitka u Lašvi 1415. godine*. In: *Raukarov zbornik*. Ed.: Neven BUDAČ. Zagreb: FF press, 2005, pp. 275–296.

¹⁸ ŠIŠIĆ, Ferdo: *Nekoliko isprava iz početka XV. stoljeća*. In: *Starine*, a. 39, 1938, pp. 237–238; BUTURAC, Josip: *Inventar i registri za starije dokumente zagrebačkog kaptolskog arhiva g. 1401–1700*. In: *Arhivski vjesnik*, a. 11–12, 1968–69, pp. 278, 281, 284, 288; MHEZ 6, pp. 38–40, 211–214, 220–221, 306, 331–332; *Ibidem* 7. Ed.: Andrija LUKINović. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2004, pp. 109–110, 147–148, 399–400, 478–479; STIPIŠIĆ, Jakov – ŠAMŠALović Miljen: *Isprave u Arhivu Jugoslavenske akademije*. In: *Zbornik Historijskog instituta JAZU*, a. 3, 1960, pp. 575–576. About Demetrius' career: LUKINović, Andrija: *Demetrije Čupor*. In: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*. Ed.: Franko MIROŠEVIĆ. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995, pp. 204–205, 208–209; MHEZ 7, pp. 10–18. For the monastery on Garić, see: PIŠK, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije na Gariću (Moslavačka gora) i njegova uloga u regionalnoj povijesti*, Ph.D. Dissertation. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 2011.

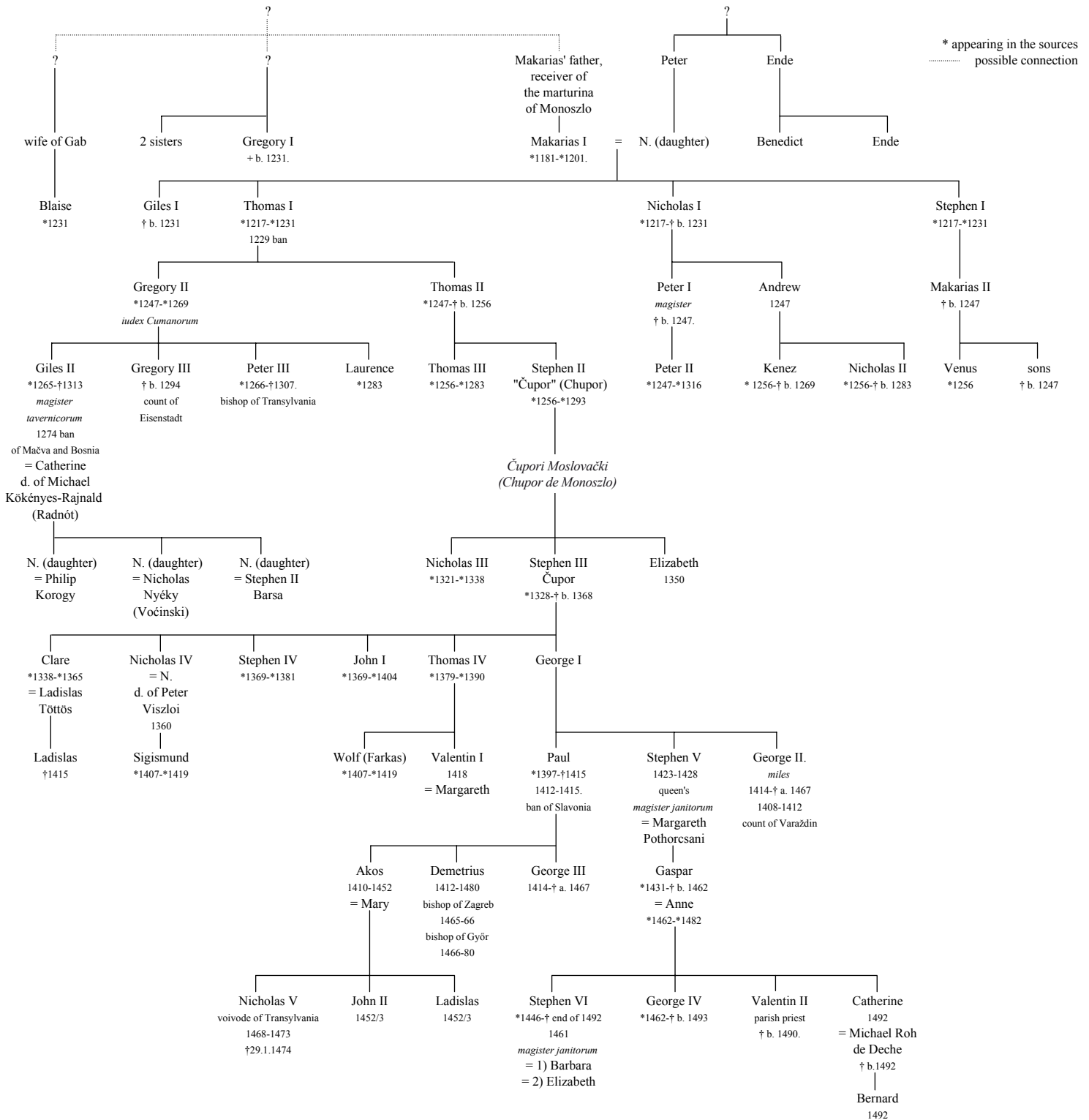
The last generation could be considered as the magnate one again. Nicholas V, the only son of Akoš who reached adulthood, was among the young favourites of young King Matthias, who made him in 1469 the duke of Transylvania and hereditary count of Virovitica (Hun. – *Verőce*) county. The king also gave him the great estates of Korogy family in Vukovo and Požega (Hun. – *Pozsega*) county as well as north of the Drava after their extinction. It comprised castles, market-places, and others, among them Osijek, nowadays the greatest city of Slavonia. The inheritance of Korogy was the reward for Nicholas' being one of Matthias' main army leaders in his struggle against George of Poděbrady (1468–1471). He did not enjoy his estates for long for he was killed in the Battle of Michalovce on 29 January 1474 against the Polish forces, leaving no descendants. His cousin Stephen, *magister ianitorum*, died

at the end of 1492, also without descendants. Their estates got by royal decision into the possession of the noble family of Erdődy.¹⁹

On the eve of the Ottoman conquests, this was the end of the history of this noble kindred that ruled Moslavina and influenced the history in the broader area of medieval and present-day Slavonia, sometimes also in other areas of medieval Kingdom of Hungary, for more than three centuries. Perhaps the archaeological excavations of the Pauline monastery on the Garić Mountain, which have already started, as well as the ones of the Franciscan monastery in Varalja, still intact, would bring more data on the activity of the Čupor as patrons of these monasteries, perhaps even their graves. It would also be interesting to investigate their possible connections with the namesake family in the Veszprém county.

¹⁹ CSÁNKI, Dezső: *Magyarország történelmi földrajza. A Hunyadiak korában*, vol. 2. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1894, pp. 270–271, 285–286, 287, 369, 378, 397–398, 454, 458, 460–461; ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. London – New York: Tauris, 2001, pp. 312, 314 STIPIŠIĆ, Jakov – ŠAMŠALOVIĆ Miljen: *Isprave u Arhivu Jugoslavenske akademije*, p. 594; MÁLYUSZ, Elemér: A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban. In: *Levéltári közlemények*, a. 13, 1935, pp. 253–257.

The Genealogy of the Čupor of Monoszló



MARIJA KARBIĆ*

Property Relations and Family Structure of the Nobility in the Sava and Drava *interamnium* in the Middle Ages

Majetkové vzťahy a štruktúra šľachty v oblasti medzi riekami Sáva a Dráva
v stredoveku / Imovinski odnosi i struktura plemićkih obitelji na području između
rijeka Save i Drave u srednjem vijeku

The study of questions connected with property and family structure and their mutual relationship has great importance for a better understanding of the general problem of the economic, social and cultural position of the nobility in medieval society. In the paper this issue will be discussed taking the examples of the noble kindreds (generationes or genera) living in the area between the Sava and Drava rivers, that is, the area comprising medieval Slavonia and the counties of Požega, Vukovo and Srijem. In social respect, some of these kindreds belong to the lesser nobility (such were the members of the nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabienensis), and others to the middling nobility and aristocracy (such as the members of the generatio Borich bani of the Požega county). The paper analyses different forms of property holding concerning the owner and the way of acquisition, the issues of how the property relations influenced inheritance patterns, marriage strategies and the kindred's cohesion. These issues are analysed over time in order to determine in which way the changes of property relations influenced changes of kinship structure and vice versa.

Keywords: Middle Ages, nobility, family structure, property relations, Slavonia

The nobility was the leading social group in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. Its members held important administrative offices (both on national and on local level), as well as the highest positions within the Church. The nobility was the backbone of the military strength of the realm, and played an important role also in the cultural life of the country. In all that, the great role was played also by the landed estates, which were at its disposal and which represented material base of its power and agency, as well as family ties existing among its members. In this study, I shall try to demonstrate how the study of issues connected with property and family structure and their mutual intertwining may forward better understanding of the position and functioning of the nobility in medieval society.

This issue will be discussed on the examples of the noble kindreds living in the area between the

Sava and Drava rivers, that is, in the area comprising medieval Slavonia and the counties of Požega, Vukovo and Srijem. Under the term “noble kindreds” I understand the kind of family structure which is in Latin sources called *generationes* or *genera* and in which different families were connected by their common descent from a real or supposed ancestor on the agnatic patrilineal basis. An essential characteristic of these noble kindreds is the fact that their members had common property or at least common rights in property. In social respect, these kindreds belonged to all strata of the nobility (from the lesser nobility to the middling nobility and aristocracy).¹ The nobility in the region under study was mainly organised on this principle, on which was, after all, organised the nobility in the wider area stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea, the western border of which represented the border of the Holy Roman Empire, and

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¹ For more details, see: HEERS, Jacques: *Family Clans in the Middle Ages*. Amsterdam-New York: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1977, pp. 22–31; FÜGEDI, Erik: *The Elefánthy. The Hungarian Nobleman and His Kindred*. Budapest: CEU Press, 1998, pp. 4–6; KARBIĆ, Damir: *Hrvatski plemićki rod i običajno pravo. Pokušaj analize*. In: *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti*, a. 16, 1998, pp. 73–74; IDEM: *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*, unpublished PhD Thesis. Budapest: CEU, 2000, pp. 3–4; RADY, Martyn: *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*. London: Palgrave, 2000, pp. 28–30, and the literature listed there.

its eastern border was the dividing line between the Eastern and the Western Christianity.²

As the problematics connected with property and family structure and their mutual intertwining is very complex, and taking into account that my research is still going on, on this occasion I shall just touch on some questions and on two examples I shall present some reflections regarding the aforementioned topic.

The first example is the noble kindred of Ban Borić, on which I would like to demonstrate the way how the importance of the estates in defining particular kindreds, their branches and families originating from them changed over time.

My research of the history of the Ban Borić's kindred has confirmed that the basis for the mutual connections of the kin members at the moment when noble kindreds appeared in the sources, as was already demonstrated by the research of Erik Fügedi, was kinship by blood.³ It was also the case of the members of the Ban Borić's kindred at that time. They emphasised their mutual origin from Borić, the ban of Bosnia, who is mentioned in historical sources in the 1150s and 1160s,⁴ and because of that, they were listed as such and such *de genere Borich bani*.⁵ The same may be seen also from the fact that, as a collective, they were defined by the outsiders as *fratres generationis Borich bani* in 1244 in the document describing the borders of the estate of the bishopric of Bosnia in the counties of Vukovo and Požega.⁶

However, starting from the first half of the fourteenth century, changes occurred in the structure of Ban Borić's noble kindred, which were connected also to the division of the kindred's estates among its branches and to their increasingly independent activities. The foundation of the connection among the individuals then, instead of

kinship by blood, gradually became the common ownership of the estates, which corresponds with the development in the other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, as was demonstrated by the research of other historians, such as Erik Fügedi and Damir Karbić.⁷ The members of the kindred started to style themselves as *fratres conditionales* (insisting that they share common property) instead of *fratres generationales* (insisting on the common origin).⁸ Individuals were no longer defined with the expression *de genere Borich bani*, but with the expression consisting of the preposition *de* and the name of the main estate (seat) of the kindred's branch to which they belonged.⁹ Thus, for example, we can find in the sources that certain James was defined as *filius Desew filii Berizlai nobilis de Grabaria* (1326) and Kormus as *filius Egydii, nobilis de Chernuk* (1363).¹⁰ Abandoning the kindred's name and replacing it with the name of the branch or even the family testify that the dissolution of the noble kindred on particular families already started.

The phenomenon that a particular branch got its name from the estate it held, and not from the individual from whom it traced its origin, may be connected to the fact that from the second half of the thirteenth century the opinion that the ownership of land was closely connected also to the noble status of a family or an individual became increasingly predominant. Thus, King Ladislas IV stated in a charter, that *nobiles in Hungaria existentes tenere seu possedere possessiones suas proprias consueverunt*, and such an attitude received more and more weight in the period of the Angevin rule, and so the term *homo possessionatus* became a synonym for nobleman.¹¹

Still, it should be noted that even in the later period the individuals were from time to time

² Cfr. KARBIĆ, Damir: *Hrvatski plemićki*, pp. 73–74; IDEM: *The Šubići*, pp. 191–192. Differences within the noble kindreds in the area were small and conditioned by specific social development of particular areas and influences of different legal traditions existing there.

³ FÜGEDI, Erik: *The Elefánthy*, p. 5; KARBIĆ, Damir: *The Šubići*, p. 196.

⁴ For more details regarding Ban Borić, see: KARBIĆ, Marija: *Rod Borića bana. Primjer plemićkog roda u srednjovjekovnoj Požeškoj županiji*, unpublished PhD Thesis. Zagreb: University of Zagreb, 2005, pp. 36–46, and the literature listed there.

⁵ Such way of defining an individual in the sources appeared for the first time in 1248, when Odola, Čelk and Borić were mentioned as the *fili Borich de genere Borich bani*. Cfr. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije* (deinde CDCr), 18 vols. Ed.: Tadija SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb: JAZU, 1904–1990, hic vol. 4, nr. 328, pp. 369–370.

⁶ CDCr 4, nr. 208, pp. 236–240.

⁷ FÜGEDI, Erik: *The Elefánthy*, p. 5; KARBIĆ, Damir: *The Šubići*, pp. 195–196.

⁸ Cfr. KARBIĆ, Marija: *Rod Borića bana*, pp. 92–93.

⁹ The fact that the term *genus* went out of use as early as the first half of the fourteenth century has also been pointed out on the examples of other noble kindreds by Pál Engel. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: *Erbteilung und Familienbildung*. In: *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways (...) Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*. Ed.: Balázs NAGY – Marcell SEBŐK. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999, p. 419.

¹⁰ CDCr 9, nr. 252, pp. 306–307; CDCr 13, nr. 232, p. 310.

¹¹ Cfr. RADY, Martyn: *Nobility, Land*, pp. 58–59.

defined also by the kindred's name, which demonstrates that they also kept the consciousness of belonging to the kindred, even though it became less important than belonging to a particular branch. Thus, in 1422 certain Ladislav was styled as *unus ex dictis nepotibus dicti Borych bani*.¹²

However, it should be noted that there was also another change in the structure of the noble kindred of Ban Borić, which happened when its branches were divided into individual families at the end of the fifteenth and in the first half of the sixteenth century. At that time, there appeared several families named after their founders, either on the basis of their names or of the offices they held. Thus, there were the Berislavići named after Berislav, the Dessewffy after Dezső, the Lőkös after Leukus, son of Jules of Cernik, the Ispanffy after the office of the *vicecomes* of the Požega county held by their ancestor Andrew, son of Desislav of Cernik, in 1421.¹³ Thus, in these cases the emphasis was again placed on the kinship by blood. The reasons for such change may be various. It is possible that they were linked with the more and more increasing pressure of the Ottomans and the insecurity which evolved from it. The loss of estates became more and more predictable, and thus, it is possible that support and security started to be again primarily searched for within the kinship relations.

At any rate, everything mentioned above shows that the changes of property relations influenced also the family structure, which is particularly visible in the names which the kindred or its particular parts took.

The second example in this study comes from a socially different layer of nobility, the members of the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabienensis*.¹⁴ The

kindreds in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabienensis* were *iobagiones castri*, castle-warriors, by origin. *Iobagiones castri* were tax-exempted freemen and they were one of the groups from which the lesser nobility emerged.¹⁵ The members of the noble community of Turopolje based their rights on the privileges given by *rex iunior* (Bela IV) in 1225¹⁶ and confirmed several times by his successors.¹⁷

Here, I would like to draw your attention to the complexity of the proprietary relations and to stress mutual dependence of the marriage strategies, inheritance patterns and forms of property holding.

In the noble community of Turopolje there were different forms of property holding concerning owner: a) property belonging to the whole community; b) property belonging to one of the kindreds; c) property belonging to one family within a kindred; and d) individual property.

The charters concerning property belonging to the whole community are very rare. This is understandable because this is the most stable form of property. The owner cannot die, there is no division among the heirs and the possibility of purchase is very small. Also, it is more difficult to alienate this property by force, although it has sometimes happened. The property belonging to the whole community were mainly forests. In a document from 1249 Ban Stephen of all Slavonia returns to the *iobagiones castri Zagrabienensis* a forest which was alienated by John, son of Jaroslav, and marks its borders.¹⁸ The right of the *iobagiones castri* to this forest was confirmed in 1255 (by above mentioned Ban Stephen and King Bela IV) and in 1436 (by King Sigismund).¹⁹ The forests in collective property were also mentioned in a document from 1403. In this document Peter, son of John of

¹² MEŠIĆ, Matija: Građa mojih razprava u Radu. In: *Starine*, a. 5, 1873, pp. 110–115.

¹³ Čfr. KARBIĆ, Marija: *Rod Borića bana*, Prilog 1. Rodoslovlje, p. 197. For Andrew, see: ÉBLE, Gábor: *A cserneki és tarkeői Dessewffy család genealogiai tanulmány*. Budapest: no pub., 1903, p. 12.

¹⁴ *Campus Zagrabienensis* is the medieval name for Turopolje, a region near Zagreb. During the medieval period Turopolje was part (special district) of the County of Zagreb in the Kingdom of Slavonia. The most important sources for the research of history of this noble community were published by Emilij Laszowski in the source collection *Monumenta historica nobilis communitatis Turopolje olim "Campus Zagrabienensis" dictae*, 4 vols. Zagreb: Plemenita općina Turopolje, 1904–1908 (deince MHNC). They are mostly private charters. Unfortunately, the customary law code of the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabienensis* was compiled only later (at the end of the sixteenth century) and because of that, I did not take it into account for the time being.

¹⁵ For *iobagiones castri* in general, see: FÜGEDI, Erik: *The Elefánthy*, pp. 37–38; ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526*. London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001, pp. 70–73, 104, 149.

¹⁶ MHNC 1, nr. 1, p. 1–3. The discussion regarding the authenticity of this charter, see in: LASZOWSKI, Emilij: *Povijest plem. općine Turopolja nekoč Zagrebačko polje zvane*, vol. 1. Zagreb: Plemenita općina Turopolje, 1910, pp. 237–239 and *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, vol. 1. Ed.: Imre SZENTPÉTERY. Budapest: MTA, 1927, nr. 577, pp. 177–178.

¹⁷ E. g. Ladislav IV in 1279 (MHNC 1, nr. 32, pp. 36–37), Charles I Robert in 1333 (MHNC 1, nr. 49, p. 50); Louis I in 1352 (MHNC 1, nr. 66, pp. 67–68), and so on.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, nr. 5, p. 8.

¹⁹ See: Stephen in 1255 (MHNC 1, nr. 7, p. 10); Bela IV in 1255 (MHNC 1, nr. 8, p. 11); Sigismund in 1436 (MHNC 1, nr. 234, pp. 242–245).

Mlaka, and Fabian of Lomnica, *comites terrestres Campi Zagradiensis*, and Michael of Lomnica in the name of the noble community protested in front of the chapter of Zagreb against King Ladislav's donation of some estates belonging to the whole community, in the first place of the forests of Rakitovec, Bok and Vratovo which were *intra metas veras et antiquas eorundem nobilium castrorum*.²⁰ They also prohibited Stephen, son of Farkas of Obrež, George, son of the aforementioned Stephen, and his relatives to accept this donation. Stephen and George were also members of the noble community but the community did not permit that they privatised these estates. It seems that *nobilis communitas Campi Zagradiensis* had besides forests some other estates in collective property too. The document mentions, besides the forests, some *possessiones et porciones possessionarie* belonging to the whole of the noble community. They are mentioned without any more precise distinction. Most probably they were pastures.

Other form of property holding which I have found in sources concerning the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagradiensis* is that in which property belonged to one of the kindreds. In a document from 1249 aforementioned *banus tocius Sclauonie* Stephen returned a land by the name of Odra to one of the kindreds of the noble community (the kindred of Kurilovec).²¹ Another document from 1242 also speaks about property belonging to one of the kindreds of the noble community. In this document the chapter of Zagreb testifies that Andrew and his kindred left a land called Mosoča to Junoša and his kindred.²² In a very similar case in 1377, the kindred of Kurilovec made the agreement about some lands with Martin and Peter, grandsons of Urban *de Vrbanich*, and their kindred.²³

Several documents speak about division of possessions and marking of the boundaries between the estates of different kindreds. In 1256, Ban Stephen made the division of some lands between Vukota and his *generatio* on one side and Miroslav and *generatio de Endre* on the other.²⁴ In 1373, the chapter of Zagreb determined the

borders between the estate of the kindred of Lomnica and that of the kindred of Vukota.²⁵ By these arrangements, land was not actually redistributed but rather its boundaries were more clearly distinguished.

The third type of property we can find in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagradiensis* is the property belonging to one of the families within kindred. As an example of the third type of property may be used the case of 1388, when Joan, widow of Ladislav, son of Thomas, sold in her and her son's name their common possession. Although her son was still a minor and she was also acting as his guardian, there is no doubt that the estate was also her property, since it is explicitly stated. The description of borders of this possession also mentions the estate of Domk, son of Junk, and his brothers. Joan and her son George held a possession in common, and that is also stated for the sons of Junk.²⁶ Another example is that of Elisabeth, widow of Mathew *de Werbanecz*, and her son Mathew called Hreba, who held also some lands together. They mortgaged their lands to George, son of Giles of Kurilovec, in 1439. In this case the property is also referred to as common and it does not seem that the son was still a minor.²⁷

The fourth type of property mentioned in a lot of documents is the individual property. Existence of the individual property is confirmed by cases in which deals were made within a single family. Although we can find cases, as we have seen before, in which brothers hold an estate together, we can also find cases in which brothers made business one with another. For example, Stephen, son of Nicholas called Lapas from Kurilovec, sold some land to his brothers Matthias and Giles in 1389.²⁸ In 1428 Ursula, daughter of Agnes, sold to her brother George Mikšić her *quarta puellaris*.²⁹ Existence of individual property within a family is also confirmed by the case of 1444 when Helen, daughter of Miren, son of Rodik of Rakitovec, and widow of Giles of Kurilovec, gave her filial quarter to her son George.³⁰ The fact that an individual had right to dispose of his/her

²⁰ MHNC 1, nr. 165, p. 155.

²¹ Ibidem, nr. 6, p. 9. This decision of Ban Stephen was confirmed by King Bela in 1264 (Ibidem, nr. 14, p. 17).

²² Ibidem, nr. 4, pp. 6–7.

²³ Ibidem, nr. 94, pp. 100–101.

²⁴ Ibidem, nr. 9, pp. 11–13.

²⁵ Ibidem, nr. 89, pp. 91–93.

²⁶ Ibidem, nr. 112, pp. 115–116.

²⁷ Ibidem, nr. 242, pp. 255–256.

²⁸ Ibidem, nr. 120, pp. 124–125.

²⁹ Ibidem, nr. 217, p. 219.

³⁰ Ibidem, nr. 248, pp. 262–263.

own property confirms the existence of individual property (disregarding at this point whether the right of disposition was limited or unlimited, about which I will speak a bit later).

It is important to say that we can find all four forms of property holding throughout the whole period which was taken into consideration and that there are no visible changes in the frequency in which each of these forms of property are mentioned in the sources over time. In contrast to the possessions about which the sources speak as belonging to the whole noble community or to a single family – which were undivided (the documents speak about forests which were in common use and there is no mention about any division of them, and it is possible to find many examples of common property of brothers or parents and children) – on the level of kindred's property I could not prove the existence of undivided property until now (although it is possible that it existed). In any case it seems that the largest part of kindred's property was divided between the members of kindred and that the kindred only controlled transactions concerning this land.

A particular piece of property had in fact more owners on different levels of property holding at the same time. In this way, individual rights did not weaken the rights of family, the rights of families did not weaken the rights of kindred, and the rights of kindreds did not reduce the rights of the noble community. In the cases when somebody intended to sell some land outside the community, he had to ask for the approval of his relatives and other members of the community. That this approval was not a formality may be seen on a case of 1363. In front of Gregory and Stephen, sons of Boromen, *comites Zagrabienenses*, and Peter, son of Stephen, *comes terrestris de Campo*, Stojko, son of Devan, and Mikec, son of Mikša, in the name of the kindred of Lukavec prohibited Peter, brother of Jakša, to sell some land in Lukavec on the basis of the rights they had as his relatives and neighbours.³¹

The acceptance of the limitation of individual rights and common rights in property becomes more understandable if we have in mind that the members of the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabienensis* belonged to the lesser nobility and as individuals never hold bigger estates. Because of

that, the members of the noble community of Turropolje were interested in support and protection the community provided for them and for their possessions. The support which the noble community gave to its members and which was connected to common rights in property is illustrated by the aforementioned case of 1249. In this case the demand for the restitution of some land by the name of Odra to the kindred of Kurilovec was supported by the noble community as a whole.³²

It is important to say that common property or at least common rights in property kept the noble community together. Landed property was an important element of cohesion of the lesser nobility of Turopolje and it has made the sentiment of belonging to the community stronger. Because of that, in the interest of the preservation of the estates in the hands of a kindred or the community, as well as for the maintenance of their cohesion, it was desirable that all transactions connected to the landed property occur within this circle. However, even though business affairs were very often made inside a single kindred (like, for example, in a case of 1387, when John, son of Stephen of Lomnica, sold some land to Nicholas, son of Novak, from the same kindred,³³ or in a case of 1447, when Helen, daughter of Matthew of Kurilovec, sold her filial quarter to George, son of Giles of Kurilovec),³⁴ there were some cases in which possessions were sold to somebody outside the kindred or even outside the noble community. For example, Margaret, daughter of Andrew Jelk of Rakarje, mortgaged one arable land to Blaise, son of Matthew of Mlaka in 1450.³⁵ In a case of 1278 members of the noble community, Andrew and John, sons of Zloyna, and John, son of Voyha, sold some lands to John, son of Minislav, who was not a member of the noble community.³⁶

In relation to the question of preservation of estates within the hands of the noble community, we may also discuss the question of marriage strategies. Here, it should be taken into consideration that in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabienensis* property was inherited both by male and female offsprings. Sons, or, if there were no sons, the closest male relative inherited three quarters of the whole property and daughters one.³⁷ The only recorded exception to this rule is the case of

³¹ *Ibidem*, nr. 76, pp. 76–77.

³² *Ibidem*, nr. 6, p. 9.

³³ *Ibidem*, nr. 102, p. 107.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, nr. 259, pp. 283–284.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, nr. 269, pp. 299–300.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, nr. 29, p. 32.

³⁷ Cfr. MARGEVIĆ, Lujo: *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko i nasljedno pravo*. Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1996, pp. 306.

Ursula, daughter of George, who, after her brothers were taken into captivity by the Ottomans, asked *causa feminitatis lineae* that all their estates (including hereditary lands) should be given to her, and it was granted.³⁸

Part of inheritance belonging to daughters called filial quarter (*quarta puellaris*) was a common legal institution in Hungary and Slavonia,³⁹ but customs connected with it in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabienensis* show some differences in regard to the features of the filial quarter according to the Hungarian customary law, as it was later codified in the *Tripartitum* (1514).⁴⁰ Thus, as it has already been mentioned, the quarter in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabienensis* was given from the entire father's property and not only from the hereditary lands.⁴¹ A good example for that is the case of 1435 when Agatha, daughter of Mark *de Mlaka*, received one quarter of hereditary and purchased lands (*tam nobilium seu hereditarium quam etiam empticiarum*) of her father.⁴² Also,

the filial quarter of the aforementioned Helen, daughter of Miren *de Rakitovec*, consisted of hereditary, purchased and mortgaged lands (*tam nobilium quam empticiarum, quam etiam inpignoraticiarum*).⁴³ In the case of the filial quarter of Agnes and Jelka Novković of 1441, it consisted of all estates of their father (*de universis possessionibus*).⁴⁴

At this occasion, it is important that the filial quarter in Turopolje, even though it was to be paid out in money according to the norms of the *Tripartitum*, was usually given in land.⁴⁵ It may be seen from the fact that there were a considerable number of documents concerning the seisin of filial quarter. At the seisin, the borders of the estates were marked. For example, in 1481 a seisin was done to Ursula, daughter of George of Kurilovec, for her filial quarter in Rakitovec.⁴⁶ A seisin was also done to Michael, grandson of Flora, and Andrew, son of Florisa, for the filial quarter of their grandmother and mother in 1455.⁴⁷ It seems that payment in money was highly unusual. The only

³⁸ MHNC 2, nr. 32, pp. 38–39. Historian Emilij Laszowski concluded on the basis of this document that in Turopolje daughters inherited all the estates of their fathers in the case that there was no brother, cfr. Laszowski, Emilij: *Povijest*, vol. 2, p. 87). On the other hand Magdalena Apostolova Maršavelski (*Quarta puellaris po običajnom pravu Turopolja*). In: *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu*, a. 42, 1992, nr. 2, pp. 142–144) and Lujo Margetić (*Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko*, pp. 310–316) state that this case cannot be understood in that way because the legal system of Turopolje accepted right of inheritance of the closest male relative in cases when an owner did not have sons, although he had daughters. In such cases, daughters were entitled only to their usual *quarta*. The authors give several possible explanations to Ursula's case: "moral" argument (her brothers disappeared during a campaign against the Ottomans); attempt of the community to overrun royal right of escheat; influence of legal norms from Zagreb; Ursula's social standing within the community (Ursula's father and grandfather were *comites terrestres*). Although all these factors played certain role, the authors overlooked an important fact. They did not know the document which explains Ursula's request and the decision of the community, since it contains legal ground for this act. This is a charter of 1412 by which King Sigismund confirmed to Ursula's ancestor George Mikšić and two other noblemen from Turopolje all their estates with a clause that they should be inherited by their descendants of both sexes (MHNC 1, nr. 176, pp. 166–168).

³⁹ For *quarta puellaris* in general, see also: FÜGEDI, Erik: *The Elephánthy*, pp. 28–29; BANYÓ, Péter: *The Filial Quarter: Inheritance of Noblewomen in Medieval Hungary*, unpublished MA thesis. Budapest: CEU, 1999, passim; RADY, Martyn: *The Filial Quarter and Female Inheritance in Medieval Hungarian Law*. In: *The Man of Many Devices*, pp. 422–431; IDEM: *Nobility, Land*, pp. 103–107; KARBIĆ, Marija: *Položaj plemkinja u Slavoniji tijekom srednjeg vijeka*. In: *Historijski zbornik*, a. 59, 2006, pp. 20–24.

⁴⁰ The *Tripartitum*, a collection of legal norms which was compiled by Stephen (István) Verbőczy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is the main source for Hungarian medieval law in general. It should be emphasised that the value of the *Tripartitum* for the research of Hungarian law lies also in the fact that it contains norms of Hungarian customary law, thus predating the period when it was compiled. However, some caution should be kept when used in research. It should be particularly taken into account that the *Tripartitum* is not only a reflection of existing customary law, but also of the ideas of its author/editor Stephen Verbőczy. For the newest critical edition of the *Tripartitum*, see: *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts Rendered by Stephen Werbőczy (The "Tripartitum")* (deinde *Tripartitum*). Ed.: János M. BAK – Péter BANYÓ – Martyn RADY. Idyllwild CA – Budapest: Charles Schlacks, Jr. – Central European University, 2005. It has been published as volume 5 of the series *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, and it contains, besides the Latin original, also an English translation. On the *Tripartitum*, see also: LANOVIĆ, Mihajlo: *Privatno pravo Tripartita*. Zagreb: no pub., 1929; BAK, Janos M.: *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14. –16. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973, pp. 74–79, 121–123; *Custom and Law in Central Europe*. Ed.: Martyn RADY. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2003.

⁴¹ According *Tripartitum* the bought estates were heritable by male and female offspring alike. Cfr. KARBIĆ, Marija: *Položaj plemkinja*, p.19.

⁴² MHNC 1, nr. 232, pp. 239–242.

⁴³ Ibidem, nr. 248, pp. 262–263.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, nr. 245, pp. 258–260.

⁴⁵ Declension of this rule may be found also elsewhere in the Hungarian kingdom. For more details, see: BANYÓ, Péter: *The Filial Quarter*, pp. 43–51. According to his results, in more than 50% of analysed cases, the quarter was given in land.

⁴⁶ MHNC 2, nr. 18, pp. 19–20.

⁴⁷ Ibidem 1, nr. 300, pp. 346–348.

case of payment in money which I know is connected with the filial quarter of Helen, daughter of Fabian *de Lomnica Inferiori*. In 1453 Helen's nephew Valentin, son of Stephen, paid out Helen's quarter to her daughter Ursula and Ursula's daughters.⁴⁸ It is interesting that there was no payment in money even in some cases when the female heirs wanted to convert the quarter into cash. In 1415 Peter and George, sons of Peter *de Lomnica Inferiori*, gave to their sisters Anna, Kate, Margaret and Helen the filial quarter in land and refused to pay it out in money.⁴⁹

The reasons for giving of the filial quarter in land and not in money are not clear, but it is possible that it was directed towards keeping contact between the woman and her descent and the kindred of her origin. Such sentiment of belonging to the kindred of origin really existed and did not disappear by the fact of marrying. In the case of the noble women, members of the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabienensis*, it may be seen from the fact that, even after the wedding, documents often mention them with the names of their father and the kindred of their origin, even in the cases when they did business affairs independently and when the estate in question was not connected with their family of origin. A good example is a case of 1422 when Helen, daughter of Paul called *Župan de Superiori Lomnica* and wife of Paul *Magnus*, the count of the noble community of Turopolje, took in mortgage some lands. Even though this transaction was completely her own business and not of her father, she identified herself in the first place as his daughter, and only in the second as the wife of Paul *Magnus*, the count of the community. It is noteworthy that even though her husband held higher position within the society than her father, the order of precedence was not disputed.⁵⁰ Since strong sense of community, in general, was founded on common property or rights to property, the giving of the *quarta* in land could at any rate contribute to preservation of such connections between a woman and her

descendants and her kindred of origin and the noble community as a whole.

On the other hand, the way in which the filial quarter in Turopolje has been given out might have influenced also the marriage strategies of the members of the noble community. In order to keep landed estates inside the *nobilis communitas*, they might have preferred contracting of the marriages inside the community.⁵¹ And, indeed, most of the marriages I examined (31 of 43) were concluded between the members of the *nobilis communitas* themselves. For example, Skolastika, daughter of George *de Mlaka*, was wife of Benedict *de Kurilovec* (1439).⁵² A document dated in 1444 mentions Helen, daughter of Miren *de Rakitovec* and widow of Giles of the Kurilovec kindred.⁵³ Kate, daughter of Peter *de Superiori Lomnica* was the wife of Mark, son of John *de Mlaka* (1417).⁵⁴ Moreover, it may be argued that the fact that members of the community chose marriage partners inside the community even encouraged giving of the filial quarter in land.

By contracting marriages inside the community, land given as *quarta puellaris* stayed also inside the community, and property of the noble community as a whole did not change at all. Although giving of the *quarta* in land diminished the estate of a particular family, it did not diminish the strength of the community. Sense of belonging to the community, influenced by a common ownership of land, facilitated the redistribution of land inside the community connected with giving of filial quarter in land.

It is noteworthy that there is a considerable number (10) of cases in which female members of the noble community concluded marriages with non-noble men.⁵⁵ In cases of such marriages, giving of the filial quarter in land had, besides the aforementioned role of keeping connection between a woman and the noble community and her kindred of origin, also the role of preserving the noble status of children born from such a marriage. Although, according to the customary law of the Kingdom of Hungary, the children born from

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, nr. 274, pp. 304–305.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, nr. 181, pp. 172–173.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, nr. 189, pp. 182–183.

⁵¹ Even though, of course, other reasons might have influenced the choice of marriage partners from within the community.

⁵² *MHNC* 1, nr. 240, pp. 252–254.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, nr. 248, pp. 262–263.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, nr. 181, pp. 172–173.

⁵⁵ A considerable number of marriages between noble women and commoners in our sources could be explained by the exceptional character of such a marriage and the need of official regulation of different questions concerning property and status. Therefore, the proportion of such marriages in the sources probably does not adequately reflect the real proportions. For more details on such marriages of female members of the noble community of Turopolje, see in: KARBIĆ, Marija: Heiratsstrategien des Kleinadels von Turopolje (Slawonien) im späten Mittelalter. In: *East Central Europe/L'Europe du Centre-Est: Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, a. 29, 2002, nr. 1–2, pp. 172–174.

a noble father and a non-noble mother were real nobles, it was not so in the opposite case, when the mother was noble and the father non-noble. However, the land which was given to their mothers as filial quarter allowed the children to be counted among nobles.⁵⁶ Since the estate, as has been demonstrated before, is not only the financial basis of the nobility but also an essential precondition for nobility, their children could acquire noble status in that way. Some documents from the *nobilis communitas* testify that it worked in practice. For this problem a document from 1417 is particularly important: the relatives of the noble women Jelka and Magda, daughters of Urban *de Mraclin*, who were married to commoners, gave to Križan, son of Magda and a non-noble man Ivčec, and Blaise, son of Jelka and a non-noble man Nicholas Musić, filial quarter of their mothers and accepted them as nobles and real members of the noble community.⁵⁷ As this case shows, the filial quarter given in land preserved the nobility of the descendants born in marriage of a noble girl and a commoner. That shows the importance of the fact that the filial quarter in the noble community of Turopolje was given in land. However, the charter of 1417 shows that the approval of the relatives and the nobility of the county was also essential.

Discussing the problematic connected with property and family structure and their mutual intertwining, it is important to take one more fact into account. Namely, there was no restriction on right of sons to marry in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabienensis*.⁵⁸ Such marriage practice made the extinction of family less possible. However, with practice that all sons inherit land and the daughters obtain their filial quarter in land (as we have seen earlier), this practice led to continuous division of possessions and pauperisation of the individual members of the noble community.

If we take a look at that practice within the context of proprietary relations existing in the noble community of Turopolje and the strong sense of belonging to the community, this marriage practice seems more understandable. To closely knitted community it was in the first place important to preserve its own strength (its members were, anyway, weak as individuals). Impoverishment of single members of the community by division of estates among inheritors, which was connected with marriage practice according to which all sons have the right to marry, did not influence extent of the property of the whole community – it stayed the same as before. Non-existence of restrictions of right to marriage in some way even strengthened the community as a whole through the increase of the number of its members. Strengthening of the community was useful, on the other hand, to individuals, since the stronger community could provide better protection.

To sum up, both aforementioned examples, the one of the Ban Borić's kindred and the one of the noble community of Turopolje, show that, regardless of the social layer to which the concerned noblemen belonged, the landed estate played an important role in shaping and changing family structure. The examples from the present-day Slovakia provided by the research of Erik Fügedi show that more or less similar patterns can be found there, too. This short essay naturally cannot explore the totality of interactions between various types of property holding and family structure. The questions discussed here are only few of the possible questions which should be explored to get more comprehensive picture. In that respect, it is particularly important to research these topics in comparative perspective by Slovak, Croatian, Hungarian and Romanian historians, contributing in that way to a better knowledge of our common past.

⁵⁶ Cfr. *Tripartitum*, tom. 7, pp. 54–55; tom. 22, pp. 78–81; FÜGEDI, Erik: *The Elephánthy*, pp. 45–46. For the status of the children coming from “mixed” marriages, as well as of the marital partners themselves, see also: KARBIĆ, Marija: *Položaj plemkinja*, pp. 16–17.

⁵⁷ *MHNC* 1, nr. 182, pp. 174–175.

⁵⁸ For more details, see: KARBIĆ, Marija: *Heiratsstrategien des Kleinadels*, pp. 169–171.

Die Ahnen und Verwandten des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes von der Zips (1394–1397)

Predkovia a príbuzní záhrebského biskupa Jána zo Spiša (1394–1397) /
Preci i rođaci zagrebačkog biskupa Ivana Šipuškog (1394–1397)

Bishop John was the son of Jacob, who was iudex curie of the Kingdom of Hungary. Jacob was born around the beginning of the fourteenth century in Spiš. His father Derek was nephew of Jacob, bishop of Spiš at the end of the thirteenth century. Jacob had two brothers (John, father of Derek, and Stanley) and two sisters (anonymous). One of the sisters was mother of Francis and Ladislav, the second was wife of Henry from Spišské Podhradie. Some descendants of John, great-grandfather of Bishop John, and his two anonymous sisters made a career in the Hungarian administrative and ecclesiastical structures (bishop of Vác, Oradea and Knin, abbot of Spišský Štiavnik, canon of Esztergom and Spiš, parish priest of Košice). We can see an example of advancement from the middle-nobility of Spiš to the circle of the high nobility of the Hungarian Kingdom in the case of this family.

Keywords: Middle Ages, the fourteenth century, high nobility and clergy, genealogy, Spiš, Zagreb

Im Jahre 1394 wurde Johannes von der Zips¹ zum Zagreber (dt. *Agram*) Bischof und in dieser Würde ist er bis zum Jahre 1397 verblieben. Sein Wirken während dieser Zeitspanne hat Andrija Lukinović zusammengefasst, der außerdem eine Forschungsübersicht über die Person des Bischofs geboten hat.² In diesem Beitrag wird unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Verwandten, Ahnen sowie Nebenlinien der Familie des Johannes von der Zips gerichtet sein, deren konkrete genealogische Zusammenhänge ab Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts verfolgt werden können. Insgesamt ist es gelungen, mehr als fünfzig seiner Verwandten, die besonders mit der Zips verbunden sind, zu identifizieren.

Der vorgelegte Text sollte vornehmlich als eine genealogische Studie begriffen werden. Durch die Beobachtung der Familienverhältnisse sind wir imstande, die interessanten, im Familienkreis ablaufenden Prozesse zu erkennen. Beachtenswert sind außerdem die Kontakte mit anderen

Familien. Sie können uns die Frage nach der gesellschaftlichen Stellung der Familie des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes beantworten.

* * *

Johannes, Proband dieser genealogischen Studie, ist in den Quellen erst nach dem Tode seines Vaters, Jakob von der Zips (†1380) aufgetaucht, der zu dieser Zeit königlicher Hofrichter (*iudex curie*)³ wurde. Jakob allein hatte zwei Kinder, neben dem späteren Bischof Johannes auch eine Tochter, Margarete, die zweimal heiratete. Zu ihrem ersten Ehemann wurde Ladislaus, der Sohn von *Isyp/Ysyp* aus Göncruszka (*de Ruska*) und diese Heirat fand noch vor dem Jahre 1393 statt. Margarete wurde jedoch Witwe und später heiratete sie Simon von Solivar (dt. *Salzburg*). Diese Begebenheiten (der Tod von Ladislaus und Margaretes zweite Heirat) haben sich zwischen den Jahren 1393–1398 abgespielt.⁴

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¹ Lat. *Iohannes de Scepus*, kroat. *Ivan Šipuški*, ung. *János Szepesi*, slow. *Ján zo Spiša*.

² LUKINOVIC, Andrija: Ivan Šipuški 1394–1397. In: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*. Ed.: Juraj BATELJA. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995, pp. 155–161.

³ BERTÉNYI, Iván: Krajinský sudca Jakub zo Spiša. In: *Slovenská archivistika*, a. 5, nr. 2, 1970, pp. 272–273. Jakob hat die Funktion des königlichen Hofrichters dreimal ausgeübt: 1373–1374, 1375–1378, 1379–1380.

⁴ Im Jahre 1393 tritt Margaretes erster Ehemann Ladislaus noch in den Quellen auf, Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatai Levéltár (deinde MOL DL) 83447. Im Jahre 1398 ist es zu einem Ausgleich bezüglich der Mitgift zwischen Margarete und ihrem Schwager Peter, dem Bruder des verstorbenen Ladislaus gekommen, cfr. MOL DL 50357. Es scheint wahrscheinlich, dass Ladislaus und Margarete keine Nachkommen hatten. Ladislaus, hinsichtlich des Stammbaums der Herren von Göncruszka unbekannt, so auch für ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*. Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis, 2001, (CD-ROM), Ruzskai (Abaúj m.). Zur Lokalisation von Göncruszka siehe GYÖRFFY, György: *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történelmi földrajza I*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963, pp. 136–138; VARSIK, Branislav: *Osídlenie Košickej kotliny*, vol. 1. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1964, pp. 425–430. Peter sollte Margarete einen ziemlich

Der Vater von Johannes und Margarete, der königliche Hofrichter Jakob, tritt seit dem Jahre 1346 in den Quellen auf,⁵ kurz vor dem Tode seines Vaters Detrik, der irgendwann im Jahre 1349 gestorben ist.⁶ Die erste Erwähnung des Großvaters von Johannes stammt aus dem Jahre 1301, als er zusammen mit anderen Brüdern das Zipser Kapitel gebeten hat, ihnen die Urkunde des Ladislaus IV. bezüglich des Verkaufs von Ordzovany (dt. *Radiolz*) abzuschreiben.⁷ Bei dieser Gelegenheit begegnen wir dem ältesten dem Namen nach bekannten Vorfahren des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes. Er hatte denselben Namen wie sein berühmter Enkel – Johannes, in manchen Quellen *Hannus*.⁸ Er gehört zur ersten Generation der Familie, die man über den Namen identifizieren kann (siehe TAB Nr. 1).

Erste Angaben über die älteste bekannte Generation dieser Familie sind in der erwähnten Urkunde des Ladislaus IV. aus dem Jahre 1278 erhalten geblieben. Damals kam es zu einem Geschäft zwischen Anton, dem Sohn von Ižip (*Ysyp*) und den Brüdern Jakob, Johannes und Stanislaus.⁹ Dieser Handel wurde den Brüdern seitens des Königs für ihre Verdienste beim Wiedererlangen der Zipser Burg unter die königliche Macht in der Zeit des Aufstands eines Gegenkönigs in der Zips im Jahre 1277 bestätigt.¹⁰ Jakob ist in Gefangenschaft geraten, aus der er erst entlassen wurde, nachdem die Brüder ein Lösegeld zahlten.¹¹ Im Jahre 1283 entlohnte Ladislaus IV. seine Anhänger wieder für ihre treuen Dienste und bestätigte den Brüdern die Nutzung der ungarischen Adelsprivilegien.¹²

Der bekannteste der Brüder, Jakob, hatte keine Nachkommen. Im Jahre 1284 erlangte er das Amt des Zipser Propstes, im Jahre 1293 wurde er zum Bischof *ad personam* geweiht und im Jahre 1301 ist er in diesem Amt auch gestorben.¹³ Berichte über den anderen Bruder, Stanislaus, aus den Jahren 1278 und 1283 sind die einzigen, die unmittelbar aus der Zeit seines Lebens erhalten geblieben sind. Angaben über seine Nachkommen erhalten wir erst mit gewissem zeitlichen Abstand aus einer vereinzelt Nachricht (siehe TAB Nr. 3). Auf Grund dieser kann man feststellen, dass Stanislaus nur eine Tochter, Margarete, hinterlassen hat, die selbst nur eine Tochter, Elisabeth, hatte.¹⁴ Wie schon früher erwähnt wurde, hatte Johannes, der Bruder von Jakob und Stanislaus, mehrere Erben hinterlassen und auch ihre zwei Schwestern, deren Namen wir aber nicht kennen, haben Nachkommen gehabt. Eine von ihnen hat Henrich von Spišské Podhradie (dt. *Kirchdrauf*), die zweite Jakob von Vlková (dt. *Farksdorf*) geheiratet.

* * *

In der Einleitung wurde kurz die direkte Abstammungslinie des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes bis zu seinem Urgroßvater Johannes vorgestellt. Dieser Verwandtschaftszweig der Familie war jedoch noch ausgeprägter und die Angaben, die schon Pál Engel angeboten hat, sind zu ergänzen und zu präzisieren (siehe TAB Nr. 2).¹⁵

Der wahrscheinlich älteste Sohn von Johannes hieß Jakob. Er hat, ähnlich wie sein älterer Verwandter, der Propst Jakob, die Kirchenlaufbahn gewählt. Dank seinem Onkel wurde er im Jahre

hohen Betrag für die Mitgift auszahlen – einhundert Florine, zwei Fässer Wein und zwanzig Pferde aus seiner Herde. Pál Engel datiert die Vermählung von Simon und Margarete in das Jahr 1400. ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Baksa rokonsága, 6. tábla: Sós (sóvári). Dort auch ihre weitere Nachkommenschaft.

⁵ Zum Datum der ersten Erwähnung cfr. BERTÉNYI, Iván: *Krajinský sudca Jakub zo Spiša*, pp. 262 et 272.

⁶ Die letzte Nachricht über ihn stammt vom Ende des Jahres 1348 (MOL DL 60255).

⁷ *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* (deinde RDSI), vol. 1–2. Ed.: Vincent SEDLÁK. Bratislavae: VEDA, 1980–1987, hier vol. 1, p. 55, nr. 66.

⁸ MOL DL 83623: „...Iohannis alio nomine Hannus...“

⁹ Die Urkunde von Ladislaus IV.: Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai (deinde MOL DF) 272353; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* (deinde CDAC), vol. 1–12. Ed.: Gusztáv WENZEL. Pest 1860–1874, hier vol. 9, pp. 367–368, nr. 269; *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, vol. 1–2. Ed.: Iván BORSA – Emericus SZENTPÉTERY. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1923–1987, hier vol. 2/2–3, p. 218, nr. 2897 (eine ungarische Regeste). Donation von Belo IV.: *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, vol. 2. Ed.: Richard MARSINA. Bratislavae: Obzor, 1987, pp. 462–463, nr. 664. Zur Lokalisation des Vermögens siehe ŠMILAUER, Vladimír: *Vodopis starého Slovenska*. Praha – Bratislava: Učená společnost Šafaříkova v Bratislavě, 1932, p. 203, nr. *725. Landkarte auf p. 197, fig. nr. 46.

¹⁰ Zum Aufstand siehe LABANC, Peter: Spoločenská situácia na Spiši za vlády posledných Arpádovcov. In: *Spiš v 12. a 13. storočí*. Ed.: Miroslav ŠTEVÍK. Stará Ľubovňa: Ľubovnianske múzeum 2011, pp. 163–167.

¹¹ CDAC 9, pp. 377–378, nr. 269: „...inhumaniter captus extiterit et miserabiliter cruciatus...“

¹² MOL DL 83140; *Codex diplomaticus patrius* (deinde CDP), vol. 1–8. Ed.: Emericus NAGY. Győr: Typis Victoris Sauerwein, 1865–1873, Budapest: Typis Alexandri Kocsi, 1876–1891, hier vol. 5, pp. 66–68, nr. 54.

¹³ Zu Jakob cfr. LABANC, Peter: *Spišské prepošti do roku 1405*. Trnava – Kraków: FF TU – Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, 2011, pp. 85–105.

¹⁴ MOL DL 83623.

¹⁵ für ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Szepesi (Stefkfalvi).

1285 zum Kanoniker des Zipser Kapitels, was den Unwillen der übrigen Mitglieder des Kapitels erregte.¹⁶ Zwei Jahrzehnte später übte Jakob zugleich das Amt des Pfarrers in Košice (dt. *Kaschau*) aus, wo er noch im Jahre 1339 wirkte und mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit war er zudem im Jahre 1345 Pfarrer in Kaschau.¹⁷ Unter den Söhnen von Johannes, die im Jahre 1301 angeführt wurden, findet sich auch Nikolaus.¹⁸ Er lebte mit Sicherheit noch am Ende des Jahres 1329¹⁹ und seitdem verlieren sich seine Spuren in den schriftlichen Quellen. Von seinen Nachkommen ist nur die Tochter Margarete (*Magyich*) bekannt, die mit Stephan, dem Sohn von *Bodow*, einem Mitglied der Familie der Herren von Liptovský Ján (dt. *Sankt Johann in der Liptau*), verheiratet war.²⁰ Im Jahre 1369 hat Margarete zusammen mit ihren Kindern Lambert und Anna ihre Anteile in den Dörfern Tomášovce (dt. *Tamsdorf*) und *Gahanovce (*Gahanfolua*) für 60 Florine verkauft.²¹

Der dritte Sohn von Johannes war Detrik, Vater des königlichen Hofrichters Jakob und von Ursula.²² Den Nachkommen von Detrik wurde oben bereits mehr Raum gewidmet. Ein weiterer Sohn von Johannes war Matthäus, der in den Quellen meistens unter dem Spitznamen Szörös (*Zeurusch*, *Sceurus*) auftritt.²³ Ähnlich wie sein Bruder Detrik ist er irgendwann im Jahre 1349 gestorben, da er zum letzten Mal im Dezember 1348 erwähnt wird. Im Juni 1350 tritt schon sein Sohn Matthäus in den Vermögensstreitigkeiten mit den Einwohnern von Bijacovce (dt. *Betendorf*) auf.²⁴ Insgesamt begegnen wir Matthäus in den Quellen in einem Zeitraum von ungefähr 50 Jahren, weshalb

anzunehmen ist, dass sie (Detrik und auch Matthäus) zur Zeit ihres Todes siebzig oder älter waren. Matthäus, der Sohn von Matthäus, taucht nur in wenigen Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1353 auf. Im späteren Zeitabschnitt gibt es keine Nachricht mehr – weder über ihn, noch über seine Nachkommen.²⁵ Er hatte einen Bruder, Martin, der in den Quellen beinahe zwanzig Jahre nach dem vermutlichen Tode seines Vaters, im Jahre 1369, bzw. 1370, auftaucht.²⁶ Das sind die einzigen unmittelbaren Nachrichten über ihn, in den späteren Urkunden treten nur seine zwei Töchter – Elisabeth und Gertrude (*Gerus*) – auf.²⁷ Es gibt nur eine einzige Nachricht über die Erstgenannte, aus dem Jahre 1384. Über Gertrude weißt man mehr. Die Namen ihres Ehemannes und ihrer zwei Söhne sind bekannt. Ihr Ehemann Stephan stammte aus dem Dorf Petrovce (dt. *Petersdorf*),²⁸ das sich unweit von der Zipser Burg befindet. Neben zwei Söhnen hatte Matthäus, genannt Szörös, noch eine Tochter, Margarete.²⁹

Es ist üblich, dass die Söhne ihre Spitznamen vom Vater erhalten, oder, falls der Name des Vater sehr spezifisch ist, dieser Name als Spitzname für den Sohn übernommen wird. Das ist auch der Fall bei Martin, dem Sohn von Matthäus, dem von seinem Umfeld der Spitzname des Vaters (*dictus Seres*) gegeben wurde.³⁰ Die Einzigartigkeit des Spitznamens von Matthäus im Zipser Umfeld allein unterstreicht die Tatsache, dass ihn als seinen Spitznamen ebenso Stephan, Martins Schwiegersohn und Ehemann von Gertruda (*Zeres*), der Enkelin von Matthäus, erbte.³¹

¹⁶ MOL DF 264579; HRADSKÝ, Josephus: *Initia progressus ac praesens status Capituli ad sanctum Martinum E.C. de Monte Scepusio*. Szepesváralja: Typis. Dionysii Buzás, 1901, pp. 310–318; *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1–4. Ed.: Ferdinandus KNAUZ et al. Strigonii – Budapestini, 1882–1999, hier vol. 2, pp. 208–213, nr. 188.

¹⁷ RDSI 2, pp. 193–194, nr. 404; ŠA Levoča, fond Spišské prepoštvstvo (Staatsarchiv Levoča, Fond „Zipser Probstei“, deinde SpP), nr. 59; MOL DL 85265.

¹⁸ RDSI 1, p. 55, nr. 66.

¹⁹ MOL DL 83202; für ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Szepesi (Stefkfalvi).

²⁰ *A Szent-Iványi család levéltára 1230–1525*. Ed.: Iván BORSA. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988, nr. 36–37, 39, 42–43, 45, 47, pp. 26–29. Stephans Gemahlin ist unbekannt für ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Bogomér rokonsága 1. tábla: Szentiványi, Szmrecsányi, Nádasdi.

²¹ MOL DL 83317. *Gahanovce wurden zwischen Studenec und Ordzovany lokalisiert von FEKETE-NAGY, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1934, p. 155. Wie er auch MAREK, Miloš: *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2006, p. 430.

²² MOL DL 60663.

²³ *Ibidem*. Zur Form des Spitznamens siehe KÁZMÉR, Miklós: *Régi magyar családnevek szótára*. Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1993, pp. 1027–1028.

²⁴ Die letzte Erwähnung aus dem Jahre 1348 MOL DL 60255; Die erste Nachricht über Matthäus MOL DL 60262.

²⁵ Die letzte Nachricht über Matthias stammt vom 8. Juli 1353. MOL DL 83270.

²⁶ ŠA Levoča, fond Súkromný archív Spišskej Kapituly (Staatsarchiv Levoča, Fond „Privatarchiv des Zipser Kapitels“, deinde SASK) 3/2/12.

²⁷ SASK 3/2/13.

²⁸ MOL DF 263730.

²⁹ MOL DL 83623.

³⁰ MOL DF 258916.

³¹ MOL DL 39699; MOL DF 263819.

Der letzte bekannte Sohn von Johannes war Zonk. Im Jahre 1301 war er noch nicht an der Seite seiner Brüder erschienen, das ist erst im Jahre 1305 geschehen.³² Man kann das so erklären, dass Zonk erst zu dieser Zeit die Volljährigkeit erreicht hatte. Ähnlich wie seine älteren Brüder (Detrik und Matthäus) verschwindet Zonk aus den Quellen irgendwann in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Noch am 15. August 1350 beantragte er beim Zipser Kapitel zusammen mit den Söhnen seiner wahrscheinlich unlängst gestorbenen Brüder eine Kopie der Urkunde des Bans Stephan.³³ Bereits zehn Monate später, im Juni 1351, verkaufte seine Tochter Anna (*Auchow*) ihre von ihm ererbten Vermögensanteile.³⁴ Das ist die einzige Nachricht über sie und erst mehr als zwanzig Jahre später tritt in den Urkunden auch sein Bruder Jordan auf.³⁵ Hinsichtlich dessen, dass dieser Jordan noch im Jahre 1404 lebte,³⁶ ist zu vermuten, dass er seinem Vater Zonk im höheren Lebensalter geboren wurde und dass Jordan am Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts mindestens sechzig Jahre alt war.

Bislang wurde die Aufmerksamkeit ausschließlich den männlichen Nachkommen von Johannes sowie deren Kindern gewidmet. Aus weiteren Quellen weiß man, dass Johannes außer fünf Söhnen auch vier Töchter hatte – Margarete, *Trewtel*, Elisabeth und Katharina.³⁷ Im Allgemeinen ist über sie nicht viel bekannt. Im Jahre 1348 bekam eine von ihnen das von ihrem Vater Johannes geerbte *quarta puellaris* von seinen Brüdern.³⁸ Bei dieser Gelegenheit erfährt man, dass ihr Ehemann Nikolaus Apród von Šarišské Sokolovce, Vater des Chronisten Johannes, geworden war. Die erste Gemahlin von Nikolaus Apród, die ihm den Sohn Johannes gebar, war die Tochter von Pankrätius und Schwester von Bartholomäus.³⁹ Anhand des Ausgleichs aus dem Jahre 1348 ist anzunehmen, dass sich Nikolaus nach dem Tode seiner ersten Ehefrau mit einer der Töchter von

Johannes aus *Štefkovce vermählte, die auf diese Weise zur Stiefmutter von Johannes von Šarišské Sokolovce wurde.

Es ist gelungen, bis zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts insgesamt sechszwanzig Nachkommen von besagtem Johannes zu identifizieren, darunter neun in der direkten männlichen Linie. In der dritten Generation blieb sein einziger direkter männlicher Nachkomme der Zagreber Bischof Johannes, der, vom Alter her nahe dem Jordans, Cousin seines Vaters Jakob gewesen zu sein scheint. Da weder Jordan noch Johannes männliche Erben hatten und ihr gemeinsamer Vorfahre der einzige unter den Brüdern war, der männliche Nachkommen hinterlassen hatte, kann man feststellen, dass diese Hauptlinie der Herren von *Štefkovce Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts ausgestorben ist.

* * *

Gemäß den Quellen von der Wende des 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert weiß man, dass die Brüder Jakob, Johannes und Stanislaus, aus der ersten uns bekannten Generation, mindestens zwei Schwestern hatten, deren Namen jedoch nicht bekannt sind. Schon vor dem Jahre 1286 hatte eine von ihnen einen erwachsenen Sohn, der einen der damals auf der Zipser Burg lagernden Neugern in Notwehr erschlug.⁴⁰ Sein Name ist leider auch nicht bekannt und man kann nur vermuten, welches der Mitglieder der Nebenlinie das eigentlich sein könnte. Am Ende der neunziger Jahre des 13. Jahrhunderts sind einige Mitglieder einer der Familiennebenlinien in den Quellen schon namentlich angeführt (siehe TAB Nr. 4). Laut einer Urkunde des Zipser Kapitels aus dem Jahre 1298 kaufte Henrich, Schwager des Bischofs Jakob, ein Grundstück in Tršťany (dt. *Röhrbach*).⁴¹ Ein Dorf, das sich auf diesem Besitz befand, wurde nach dem neuen Besitzer benannt – Hincovce

³² RDSI 1, p. 182, nr. 289*.

³³ MOL DL 60262.

³⁴ MOL DL 60266; MOL DL 83273.

³⁵ MOL DL 74834.

³⁶ SASK 3/1/17.

³⁷ MOL DL 60663; MOL DL 83623. ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Szepesi (Stefkfalvi).

³⁸ MOL DL 60255.

³⁹ MOL DL 64061; ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Tótselymesi (Apród, Tárcái).

⁴⁰ MOL DF 264579; HRADSKÝ, Josephus: *Initia progressus ac praesens status Capituli ad sanctum Martinum E.C. de Monte Scepusio*, pp. 310–318; MES 2, pp. 208–213, nr. 188. Darüber auch MAREK, Miloš: Neugeri na Spiši (Vyplienenie Spišskej kapituly Kumánmi kráľa Ladislava IV.). In: *Studia Archeologica Slovaca Mediaevalia*, a. 5, 2006, p. 62. Zur Bedeutung des Terminus *sororius* siehe KOCZERSKA, Maria: Uwagi o terminologii pokrewieństwa i powinowactwa w polskich źródłach średniowiecznych. In: *Genealogia – Problemy metodyczne w badaniach nad polskim społeczeństwem średniowiecznym na tle porównawczym*. Ed.: Jacek HERTEL. Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1982, p. 41.

⁴¹ MOL DL 1502; CDAC 10, pp. 320–321, nr. 206: „...gener venerabilis patris domini nostri I. miseratione divina episcopi Scepusiensis...“ Zur Bedeutung des Terminus *gener* in Bezug zur Familie siehe KOCZERSKA, Maria: *Uwagi o terminologii pokrewieństwa i powinowactwa w polskich źródłach średniowiecznych*, p. 35.

(dt. *Hinsdorf/Hinzdorf*). Aus den nur spärlich erhaltenen Quellen zu diesem Zweig der Familie ist zu erkennen, dass Henrich vier Söhne hatte – Goblin, Johannes, Jakob und Alexander. Zusammen mit diesen erwarb er im Jahre 1309 den Grundbesitz Poľanovce (*Babarethe*) von Stephan, dem Sohn von Polan.⁴² Neben den Besitztümern in Hincovce und Poľanovce verfügte die Familie Henrichs zudem über Anteile in Nemešany (dt. *Nemeschan*). Im Jahre 1312 wurden diese höchstwahrscheinlich vom ältesten Sohn Goblin und den Söhnen seines Schwagers, Goblin des Jungen, verkauft.⁴³ Aus dem schriftlichen Zeugnis zu dieser Transaktion erfährt man, dass Henrichs Sohn Goblin Einwohner von Spišské Podhradie war. Dies ist jedoch nicht der erste Beleg dafür, dass Goblin aus dieser sächsischen Gemeinde stammte. Anhand einer Urkunde der Abtei in Spišský Štiavnik (dt. *Schawnik*) aus dem Jahre 1283 bezüglich der Lösung eines Rechtsstreits um den Grundbesitz eines gewissen Demeter ist sogar bekannt, dass Goblin zum Schultheiß in Spišské Podhradie geworden war.⁴⁴ Zusammen mit ihm wurde auch sein Bruder Alexander (*Alarch*) erwähnt. Auch über einen nächsten Sohn Henrichs, Johannes, weiß man, dass er aus Spišské Podhradie stammte. Im Jahre 1317 kaufte er das Dorf Oľšavka (dt. *Olschanka/Olschawka*) von den Herren von Žehra (dt. *Schigra*).⁴⁵

Aufgrund dieser Tatsachen kann man sagen, dass Henrich, Schwager der Brüder Johannes, Stanislaus und des Bischofs Jakob, aus der Kommunität der Sachsen aus Spišské Podhradie stammte. Diese Behauptung unterstützt auch der Fakt, dass sich die Besitztümer, über die Henrich und seine Nachkommen verfügten oder die sie schrittweise erwarben, in der Nähe dieser Siedlung (Hincovce, Oľšavka, Poľanovce, Nemešany) befanden.

An dieser Stelle kann man zu dem Inzident des Jahres 1286 zurückkehren, als einer von Jakobs Nefen einen der Neuger tötete. Hinsichtlich der Struktur der Familienbeziehungen ist anzunehmen, dass eben dieser Mann einer der Söhne Henrichs gewesen sein könnte. Dies scheint umso wahrscheinlicher,

wenn man weiß, dass Henrichs Söhne zu den Einwohnern von Spišské Podhradie sowie zu den Vertretern der Gemeinde gehörten und als solche mit diesen häufig in gegenseitigen Kontakt kamen. In diesem Zusammenhang kommen vornehmlich Goblin oder Alexander in Betracht.

Bleiben wir jetzt kurz bei Goblins Gattin und ihrer Familie. Auf Basis der Genealogie ihres Bruders sind ihr Vater sowie weitere Verwandte identifizierbar. Der Vater von Goblins Ehefrau und zugleich Goblin dem Jungen war Goblin aus Levoča (dt. Leutschau), der als Händler (*mercator*) tätig war.⁴⁶ Angesichts des häufigen Vorkommens des Personennamens Goblin in dieser Familie, bzw. in der Umgebung von Spišské Podhradie, ist die genaue Identifikation einzelner Familienbeziehungen komplizierter. Die Situation kann durch die Begrenzung eines Grundbesitzes in Klčov (dt. Koltsch) aus dem Jahre 1284 veranschaulicht werden, in der drei Goblins (Goblin, der Sohn von Goblin; Goblin der Blonde und Goblin der Kleriker) angeführt werden.⁴⁷

Unter den Nachkommen der vier Söhne von Henrich und der Tochter von Goblin dem Händler, begegnet man zuerst den Nachkommen von Goblin. Am Ende der dreißiger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts ist es zu erneuten Vermögensstreitigkeiten zwischen den Einwohnern von Spišské Podhradie und dem Zipser Propst gekommen. Während der Verhandlung sind die Vorsteher der Stadtkommunität vor Wilhelm Druget getreten, die von dem Schultheiß Tylo angeführt wurden. Neben den anderen wurde er auch von seinen Brüdern Peter und Nikolaus begleitet.⁴⁸ Die mit diesem Streit verbundenen Nachrichten liefern zugleich die einzigen Erkenntnisse über Peter und Nikolaus. Im Jahre 1345 wird noch ihr Bruder Tylo als ein Pächter in **Zlatník* erwähnt. Im nachfolgenden Zeitabschnitt begegnet man ihnen schon nicht mehr und erst aus dem Jahre 1361 blieb uns die Nachricht über Tylos Schwiegersohn, Renerdus, erhalten.⁴⁹

Ein weiterer der Söhne Henrichs, dessen Nachkommen zu identifizieren sind, ist Alexander. In

⁴² RDSI 1, p. 276, nr. 617. Zur Lokalisation des Grundbesitzes *Babarethe* siehe FEKETE NAGY, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*, p. 149.

⁴³ RDSI 1, nr. 1056, pp. 450–451; Ibidem, nr. 1086, p. 463; Ibidem, nr. 1089, pp. 464–465. Den Terminus *sororius*, der die gegenseitige Verwandtschaft zwischen Goblin dem Jungen und Goblin, dem Sohn von Henrich, anzeigt, ist ausschließlich im Sinne der Schwägerschaft zu interpretieren. Das heißt, dass die Gemahlin von Henrichs Sohn die Schwester von Goblin dem Jungen geworden war.

⁴⁴ MOL DF 272434.

⁴⁵ RDSI 2, p. 112, nr. 220*.

⁴⁶ Ibidem 1, p. 193–194, nr. 417.

⁴⁷ CDP, nr. 97, pp. 101–103.

⁴⁸ SpP, nr. 53.

⁴⁹ SASK 9/1/20: „...Renerd, gener Petri, filii Goblini, civis de Suburbio....“

den Quellen tritt er seit dem Jahre 1283 auf und zum letzten Mal wird er im Jahre 1348 erwähnt.⁵⁰ Seine zwei Söhne, Konrad und Leonhard, sind in den achtziger Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts als Zeugen in den Streiten Johannes' von Šarišské Sokolovce um die in der Zips liegenden Besitztümer⁵¹ oder im Fall der Schenkung des Grundbesitzes an das Zipser Kapitel seitens seines Propstes⁵² aufgetreten. Die Söhne von Alexander erscheinen in den Quellen ziemlich spät – mehr als dreißig, bzw. vierzig Jahre nach der letzten Erwähnung ihres Vaters. Ihre Nachkommen kann man vorläufig nicht zuverlässig identifizieren.

Im Falle der Nachkommenschaft von Heinrich und seiner Ehefrau aus *Štefkovce ist es gelungen, zehn Personen, darunter eine Frau, zu identifizieren.

Die Größe und die Möglichkeit der Rekonstruktion der Genealogie dieser Familie sind durch Heinrichs Abstammung aus Spišské Podhradie determiniert. Sein Sohn sowie sein Enkel waren dort in einem gewissen Zeitabschnitt Schultheißen. Im Allgemeinen verhindert jedoch die Anzahl der erhaltenen Nachrichten über die Einwohner der Stadtgemeinschaften eine genauere Rekonstruktion dieser Familie. Die Berichte über ihre Mitglieder hängen ausschließlich mit den Besitztümern außerhalb der Stadtgrenzen, bzw. ausnahmsweise auch mit den Rechtsstreiten um einen Grundbesitz mit dem Zipser Propst zusammen.

* * *

Der Name der zweiten Schwester der Brüder Johannes, Stanislaus und des Propstes Jakob ist ebenso nicht bekannt. Anhand der Quellen ist allerdings der Name ihres Gatten festzustellen, der bislang der Aufmerksamkeit der Wissenschaft entgangen ist (siehe TAB Nr. 5 und 6).⁵³ Sein Taufname war Jakob – der beliebte Name der Familie aus *Štefkovce.⁵⁴ Die zeitgemäßen Quellen künden,

dass dieser Jakob mit seiner Ehefrau zwei Söhne hatte – Ladislaus und Franz (*Franko*).⁵⁵ Der Erstgenannte ist wahrscheinlich irgendwann vor dem Jahre 1327 gestorben, da in den Vermögensangelegenheiten hinsichtlich ihres Dorfs Rakúsy (dt. *Roks*) damals nur seine Söhne Jakob, Paul, Nikolaus und Johannes auftraten.⁵⁶ Jakob, der den Namen seines Großvaters trug, ist im Jahre 1357 aus den Quellen verschwunden⁵⁷ und die nächsten Erwähnungen aus den Jahren 1394 und 1396 geben ihn schon als Verstorbenen an.⁵⁸ Angesichts seines wahrscheinlichen Geburtsdatums (spätestens in der ersten Dekade des 14. Jahrhunderts) war dies auch zu erwarten. Wie man jedoch aufgrund anderer Urkunden weiß, hatte Jakob zwei Ehefrauen. Seine erste Gemahlin war Katarina von Štítník (dt. *Schittnich*), die ihm den Sohn Nikolaus gebar. In den Jahren 1377–1378 hat dieser Anspruch auf die *quarta puellaris* seiner Mutter erhoben.⁵⁹

Jakobs zweite Ehefrau war offensichtlich jünger, da sie noch im Jahre 1394 (mindestens dreißig Jahre nach Jakobs Tode) als seine Witwe und zugleich Gattin von Johannes, Sohn des Thomas von Liptov (dt. *Liptau*), die Auszahlung aus dem Vermögensanteil ihres vormaligen Ehemannes Jakob beantragt hat. Ihre Ansprüche wurden von den Söhnen ihres Stiefsohns Nikolaus befriedigt.⁶⁰ Nikolaus scheint der einzige Sohn Jakobs zu sein und laut einer Urkunde des Zipser Kapitels aus dem Jahre 1384 hatte er vier Kinder – die Söhne Gregor und Egidius sowie die Töchter Dorothea und Klara.⁶¹ Nikolaus selbst ist wahrscheinlich kurz vor Herausgabe dieser Urkunde gestorben, da im Jahre 1387 Gregor sowie Egidius noch von zartem Alter waren.⁶² Der zitierte niedergeschriebene Erbausgleich aus dem Jahre 1384 erfolgte sicher kurz nach dem Tode von Nikolaus.

Paul, ein weiterer Sohn von Ladislaus, ist irgendwann nach dem Jahre 1347 gestorben.⁶³ Er hatte einen Sohn hinterlassen, der nach seinem

⁵⁰ MOL DL 83255.

⁵¹ Archív Spišského biskupstva, fond Hodnoverné miesto Spišská kapitula (Archiv des Zipser Bistums, Fond „Glaubwürdige Stelle“, deinde HMSK) 3/1/6.

⁵² MOL DF 264592.

⁵³ ENGEL, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Farkasfalvi (Szepes m.).

⁵⁴ MOL DL 63664.

⁵⁵ Für 1295: MOL DL 63620; MOL DF 281694; *CDP*, vol. 7, pp. 244–245, nr. 199; Für 1296: MOL DL 63622; *CDP*, vol. 7, pp. 251–252, nr. 206.

⁵⁶ MOL DL 10514; MOL DF 281474; MOL DF 281706; MOL DF 281712; MOL DF 281714.

⁵⁷ MOL DL 4679.

⁵⁸ 1394: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*), vol. 1–11. Ed.: Georgius FEJÉR. Budae: Typis typogr. regiae universitatis ungaricae, 1829–1844, hier vol. 10/2, 1835, pp. 244–245, nr. 133; Für 1396: MOL DL 281777.

⁵⁹ MOL DL 6499.

⁶⁰ *CDH*, vol. 10/2, pp. 244–245, nr. 133.

⁶¹ MOL DL 68940.

⁶² *CDH*, vol. 10/1, pp. 386–387, nr. 216.

⁶³ MOL DL 68868.

Großvater Ladislaus benannt wurde. Die letzte erhaltene Nachricht über ihn stammt aus dem Jahre 1396.⁶⁴ Mit seiner Ehefrau Fenena hatte er vier Kinder – die Töchter Dorothea und Goldus sowie die Söhne Albert und Gregor.⁶⁵ Die Älteste unter ihnen war wahrscheinlich Goldus, die im Jahre 1378 schon einen erwachsenen Sohn Georg hatte, dessen Vater Hank aus einem der Zweige der Familie Hrhovský (Görgey) stammte.⁶⁶

Der dritte Sohn von Ladislaus war Nikolaus, der in den Quellen während der Zeitspanne von 1327 bis 1340 auftritt.⁶⁷ Er ist nach dem Jahre 1340 gestorben, da seine Gemahlin Goldus 1347 mit ihren Schwägern Jakob und Paul, den Brüdern von Nikolaus, in einen Streit um ihre Mitgift geraten ist.⁶⁸ Nachkommen von Nikolaus werden gar nicht erwähnt und man kann vermuten, dass er auch keine hatte.

Johannes war der letzte Sohn von Ladislaus und er taucht nur in der Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1327 auf.⁶⁹ Um diesen mit einem gewissen Johannes, der im Jahre 1368 als Mann des Königs (*homo regius*) aufgetreten ist, identifizieren zu können, gibt es keine genügenden Beweise.⁷⁰

Es ist gelungen, bis zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts insgesamt fünfzehn unmittelbare Nachkommen des Ladislaus von Vlková zu entdecken, von denen zwei Drittel Männer waren. In der dritten Familiengeneration (die Zeitgenossen des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes) kann man vier direkte männliche Nachkommen identifizieren.

Dieselbe Anzahl an männlichen Nachkommen wie im Teil der Familie von Ladislaus gelang es auch im Familienzweig von seinem Bruder Franz zu bestimmen. Seine zwei Söhne – Michael und Jakob – tauchen in den Quellen in der gleichen Zeitspanne wie die Söhne von Ladislaus auf. Die beiden treten zusammen in mehreren Urkunden auf (im Jahre 1327, 1340, 1346 sowie 1356).⁷¹ Jakob muss irgendwann zwischen den Jahren 1356 und 1366 gestorben sein, da im Jahre 1366 sein Bruder Michael ein Grundstück in Arnutovce (dt. *Höfchen*) den Kartäusern vom Zufluchtsstein (*Lapis Refugii*) für die Erlösung seiner Seele schenkte.⁷² Kurz nach dieser frommen Foundation sollte auch Michael sterben. Das wissen wir, weil am Anfang des Jahres 1369 sein Sohn, Stephan der Literat, späterer Pfarrer in Turňa nad Bodvou (dt. *Tornau*)⁷³ und Lektor des Esztergomer (dt. *Gran*) Kapitels, um die Einführung in den Grundanteil in Arnutovce gebeten hatte.⁷⁴ Neben Stephan hatte Michael noch weitere sieben Söhne, unter denen zwei auch ein geweihtes Leben gewählt haben. Im Jahre 1387 wird zum ersten Mal Ladislaus als Abt des Zisterzienserklosters in Spišský Štiavnik erwähnt.⁷⁵ An der Spitze des Klosters ist er bis zum Jahre 1412 geblieben⁷⁶ und im Jahre 1396 wurde er zudem Titularbischof von Knin.⁷⁷ Sein Bruder Paul wurde im Jahre 1396 zum Bischof von Oradea (dt. *Großwardein*) gewählt,⁷⁸ aber noch vorher war er als Notar von Valentin, Bischof von Pécs (dt. *Fünfkirchen*) tätig.⁷⁹

⁶⁴ MOL DL 281777.

⁶⁵ CDH 9/5, nr. 153, pp. 298–299; MOL DF 243897; MOL DF 281777.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, nr. 153, pp. 298–299.

⁶⁷ MOL DL 10514; MOL DF 281474; MOL DF 281706; MOL DF 281712; MOL DF 281714; MOL DL 31090.

⁶⁸ MOL DL 60248. Goldus war die Tochter von Stephan von Markušovce.

⁶⁹ MOL DL 10514; MOL DF 281474; MOL DF 281706; MOL DF 281712; MOL DF 281714.

⁷⁰ MOL DL 5712.

⁷¹ 1327: MOL DL 10514; MOL DF 281474; MOL DF 281706; MOL DF 281712; MOL DF 281714; 1340: MOL DL 3319; MOL DL 31090; 1346: MOL DL 3875; 1356: MOL DL 64677.

⁷² MOL DF 272144.

⁷³ MOL DL 37268.

⁷⁴ Zum ersten Mal ist er in diesem Amt schon am 8. August 1382 und nicht erst im Jahre 1383 aufgetreten. Er ist im Jahre 1417 gestorben. MOL DF 244108; KOLLÁNYI, Ferencz: *Esztergomi kanonok 1100–1900*. Esztergom: Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Káptalan, 1900, p. 69.

⁷⁵ CDH 10/1, pp. 386–387, nr. 216.

⁷⁶ VIDA, Beáta: Zoznam opátov Kláštora Panny Márie v Spišskom Štiavniku. In: *Historia Scepusii. Dejiny Spiša po roku 1526*, vol. 1. Ed.: Martin HOMZA – Stanisław A. SROKA. Bratislava – Kraków: Etc., 2009, p. 566 führt in dem Zeitabschnitt der Jahre 1387–1412 zwei Personen mit dem Namen Ladislaus an, dabei erwähnt sie auch die These, die beiden seien ein und dieselbe Person, was sich bestätigte. Auf diese Weise sollte man das Wirken von Ladislaus, dem Sohn von Michael, als Abt, bzw. Gouverneur der Abtei in Spišský Štiavnik in die Jahre 1387–1412 datieren. Ein endgültiger Beweis der Identität beider Personen, bzw. ein Beweis für das Wirken von Ladislaus von Vlková in Spišský Štiavnik in den Jahren 1387–1412, findet sich in der Urkunde des Zipser Kapitels vom November 1387. MOL DF 263037.

⁷⁷ MOL DF 281777; ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*. Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis, 2001 (CD-ROM), Knini püspök setzt den Beginn seines Wirkens für das Jahr 1397 an.

⁷⁸ MOL DF 281777; ENGEL, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, Váradi püspök.

⁷⁹ MOL DF 263175.

Ein Weiterer der Brüder war Thomas, der in den Quellen lediglich in den Jahren 1385 und 1387 aufgetreten ist.⁸⁰ Aus derselben Periode sind auch vereinzelt Nachrichten über seine Geschwister Peter, Franz und Nikolaus erhalten geblieben.⁸¹ Keine genaueren Angaben sind vorhanden und es ist zu vermuten, dass keiner von ihnen irgendeinen männlichen Nachkommen hinterlassen hat. Im Jahre 1396 haben jedoch die Brüder gemeinsam das Kartäuserkloster auf dem Zufluchtsstein beschenkt und zu dieser Zeit waren schon drei von ihnen (Thomas, Franz, Nikolaus) nicht mehr am Leben. Zugleich ist es die letzte Auskunft über die weiteren drei Brüder (Paul, Peter und Johannes).

Angesichts des wahrscheinlichen Geburtsdatums ihres Vaters (Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts) ist es vorauszusetzen, dass die Quellen dessen zahlreiche Nachkommenschaft erst in einem höheren Alter Michaels erwähnen. Mehrere Argumente bieten sich zur Stützung dieser Hypothese an. Obwohl der erste von den Söhnen Michaels schon im Jahre 1369 als Verstorbener erwähnt wurde, geht es hier lediglich um eine vereinzelt Erwähnung, weil die anderen Brüder erst fünfzehn Jahre später in den Quellen auftauchen. Da Stephan im Jahre 1369 schon geschäftsfähig war und unter dem Zunamen *Literatus* aufgetreten ist sowie hinsichtlich seines Todesdatums (im Jahre 1417), kann man annehmen, dass er spätestens am Anfang der vierziger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts geboren wurde. Die übrigen Brüder sollten für jünger gehalten werden. Das ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, dass ihre wahrscheinliche Mutter Anna (es gibt keine Informationen über irgendeine andere Gemahlin von Michael) noch im Jahre 1383 am Leben war,⁸² das heißt mehr als fünfzehn Jahre nach dem Tode ihres Ehemannes. Alle diese Fakten zusammen mit dem Auftauchen der Brüder in den Quellen erlauben es, etliche Hypothesen auszusprechen. Als Geburtszeit der Söhne von Michael konnten die fünfziger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts ermittelt werden. Daraus geht auch ein bedeutender Altersunterschied zwischen Michael und seiner (zweiten?) Gattin Anna hervor.

Bei der Analyse des Ladislaus-Familienzweiges der Herren von Vlková wurde festgestellt, dass die fünfte Generation des Geschlechtes von acht Personen gebildet wurde – vier Männern sowie vier Frauen. Im Falle der Familienlinie von

Franz, hatte diese, trotz einer zahlreichen männlichen Nachkommenschaft Michaels, keine Fortsetzer und in der fünften Generation ist dieser Zweig ausgestorben.

* * *

Im vorangehenden Text wurde eine ausführliche Rekonstruktion der Nachkommenschaft der unbekannteren Eltern vorgelegt, unter deren Nachkommen auch der Zagreber Bischof Johannes (1394–1397) zu finden ist. Dabei ist es gelungen, insgesamt 69 unmittelbare Nachkommen zu entdecken, sowie einige Personen, die sich in die Familie mittels einer Vermählung eingegliedert haben, Mitglieder bedeutender Zipser, aber auch im gesamten Land anzutreffender Geschlechter – die Herren von Markušovce (Máriássy), Solivar (Sós, Sóvari), Liptovský Ján (Szentiványi), Hrhov (Görgey), Štítník (Csetneki) oder von Veľká Lomnica und Brezovica (Berzeviczy). In der Zeit als Johannes zum Zagreber Bischof wurde, waren nachweisbar mindestens fünfzehn seiner Verwandten am Leben (siehe TAB Nr. 7).

Anhand der fünf Generationen der Familie von **Štefkovce* kann man mehrere Entwicklungsmodelle der gesellschaftlichen Stellung einzelner Zweige dieser Familie veranschaulichen. Das größte Interesse wird hier der Hauptlinie gewidmet, es ist aber erforderlich, auch die Nebenlinien wahrzunehmen.

Eine knappe Charakteristik der Stellung der Hauptlinie der Familie (der Herren von **Štefkovce*) wurde schon von Ivan Bertényi angedeutet.⁸³ Vom Zipser Lokaladel haben sich die Mitglieder dieses Geschlechtes über ein paar Generationen bis zu hohen Landeswürdenträgern aufgeschwungen. Dieser gesellschaftliche Aufstieg war aber nicht geradlinig und schnell, er dauerte mehrere Jahrzehnte. Man sollte jedoch nicht nur die Vermögensbasis der Familie beachten. Ihrer Analyse sollte in der Zukunft angemessenen Raum gewidmet werden, da es der Umfang der vorgelegten Studie nicht gestattet, sie an dieser Stelle darzulegen.

Im Jahre 1284 wurde Jakob, der bis dahin die Würde des Kanonikers – des Lektors im Zipser Kapitel, bekleidete, zum Zipser Propst gewählt.⁸⁴ Inhalt seiner Dignität war die Leitung des *locus credibilis* und zudem die Leitung der

⁸⁰ MOL DL 45853; MOL DF 263037.

⁸¹ MOL DF 263037.

⁸² MOL DL 63700.

⁸³ BERTÉNYI, Iván: *Krajinský sudca Jakub zo Spiša*, pp. 272–273.

⁸⁴ LABANC, Peter: *Spišskí prepošti do roku 1405*, p. 85.

Kapitelschule.⁸⁵ Diese Fakten weisen zweifellos auf Jakobs Bildungsniveau hin. Ob Jakob an irgendeiner der damaligen Universitäten studiert hat, ist nicht eindeutig zu sagen. Trotz der Anziehungskraft dieser Hypothese ist eher vorzusetzen, dass er an einer *studia generalia* tatsächlich nicht graduiert wurde.

Wenn man darüber nachdenkt, dass die Bildung aus dem Umfeld der Kapitel über die Kanoniker in die bedeutenderen Kirchengemeinden gelangte,⁸⁶ geschah dies umso mehr im Falle des engen Familienkreises. Schon im Jahre 1286 wurde vom Zipser Propst Jakob sein Neffe Jakob zum Kanoniker ernannt. Dieser hatte das Zipser Benefizium bis in die vierziger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts inne und wurde dabei zudem zum Kaschauer Pfarrer ernannt. Er ist in der Zeit gestorben, als sein Neffe Jakob, der spätere königliche Hofrichter, in den Quellen aufzutauchen beginnt. Aus diesem Blickwinkel scheint die Annahme von Ivan Bertényi, dass Jakob die Kontakte seiner Familie ausgenutzt hat, um eine bessere Ausbildung zu erhalten, richtig zu sein. Mit einem gewissen Maß an Vorsicht ist anzunehmen, dass er diese eben in der Zipser Kapitelschule erhalten hat.⁸⁷ Die Hilfe seines Onkels ist in diesem Falle offensichtlich. Später hat Jakob als Zipser Kanoniker und Pfarrer in Košice die Position des höchstgebildeten Menschen in der Familie eingenommen. Ihm kann man die Verdienste um die Ausbildung seines gleichnamigen Neffen Jakob, des späteren königlichen Hofrichters, zuschreiben. Ähnlich kann auch der Fall eines weiteren Familienmitgliedes, Johannes von Šarišské Sokolovce, angesehen werden, obwohl auch er kein Blutsverwandter war.

Von der bestehenden Geschlechtsfolge haben nach unseren Erkenntnissen diejenigen Familienmitglieder eine umfassende Bildung bekommen, die zugleich Kleriker waren. Der königliche Hofrichter Jakob war eine Ausnahme. Sein Sohn Johannes hat jedoch nach Absolvierung der Universität in Italien wiederum hohe Funktionen in der Kirchenhierarchie ausgeübt.

Die Position einzelner Mitglieder von diesem Teil der Familie (der Nachkommen von Johannes von *Štefkovce) hat zudem ihre Verwandten, deren Stammeswohnsitz Vlková in der Zips war, unzweifelhaft beeinflusst. In ungefähr derselben Zeitspanne, als Johannes von *Štefkovce, später sogar Zagreber Bischof, in der Hierarchie emporgestiegen war, haben auch seine Verwandten mehrere bedeutende Würden in der Kirchenstruktur erworben (Lektor des Graner Kapitels, Bischof von Vác (dt. *Waitzen*), Abt von Spišský Štiavnik oder Titularbischof von Knin).

Die umrissene Situation kann man auf solche Weise auswerten, dass das Bildungs – und Gesellschaftsniveau jeder einzelner Generation von der älteren Generation beeinflusst wurde. Diese Erscheinung ist auch der heutigen Gesellschaft nicht unbekannt, anhand dieser genealogisch-prosopographischen Studie zur Familie von *Štefkovce und Vlková ist dieser Prozess jedoch im Laufe mehr als eines Jahrhunderts zu beobachten. Das Geschlecht, dessen Angehöriger im letzten Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts zum Dignitar des Zipser Kapitels wurde, ist einige Jahrzehnte später zu einem der bedeutendsten im ganzen Königreich Ungarn aufgestiegen.

⁸⁵ KÓFALVI, Tamás: Places of Authentication (loca credibilia). In: *Chronica*, a. 2, 2002, p. 36; GULIN, Ante: *Hrvatski srednjovekovni kaptoli : loca credibilia sjeverne i središnje Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2001, p. 156; HLAVAČKOVÁ, Miriam: *Kapitula pri Dóme sv. Martina – intelektuálne centrum Bratislavy v 15. storočí*. Bratislava: VEDA, 2008, pp. 27–28.

⁸⁶ ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Stredoveká písomná kultúra na Spiši*. In: *Historia Scepusii* 1, p. 487.

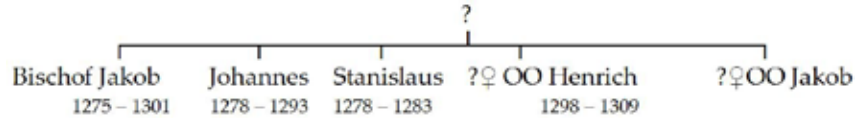
⁸⁷ BERTÉNYI, Iván: *Krajinský sudca Jakub zo Spiša*, p. 262.

Anlagen:

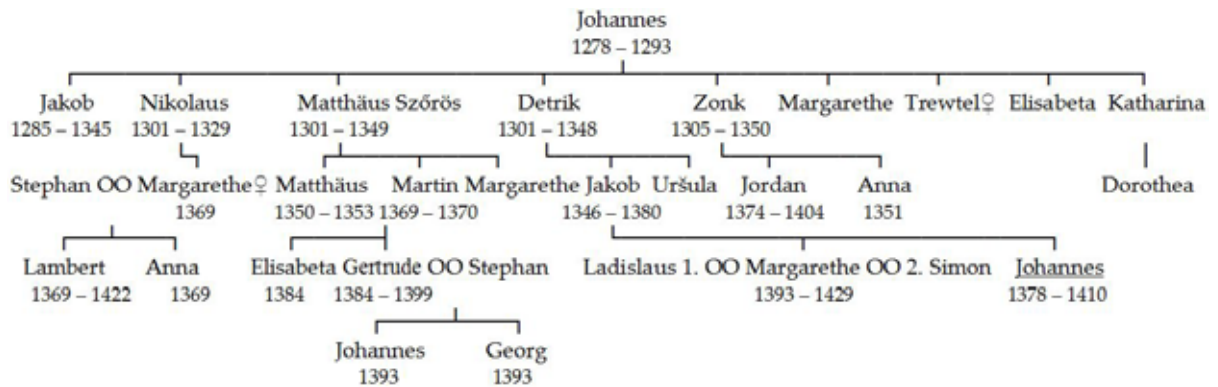
TAB Nr. 1–6: Genealogische Tabellen der Ahnen und Verwandten von Johannes aus der Zips, des Zagreber Bischofs (1394–1397).

TAB Nr. 7: Tabelle mit Lebensdaten der Verwandten von Johannes.

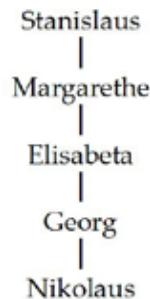
TAB Nr. 1: Die erste bekannte Generation der Ahnen des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes.



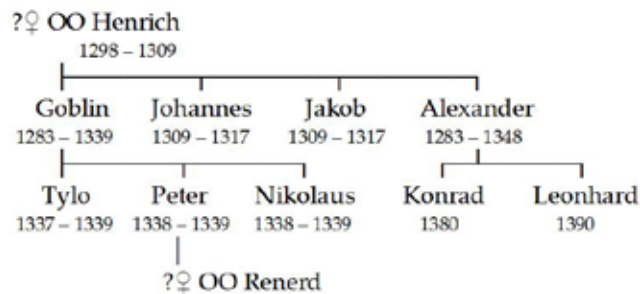
TAB Nr. 2: Die Nachkommen von Johannes mit Kennzeichnung des Probanden – des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes.



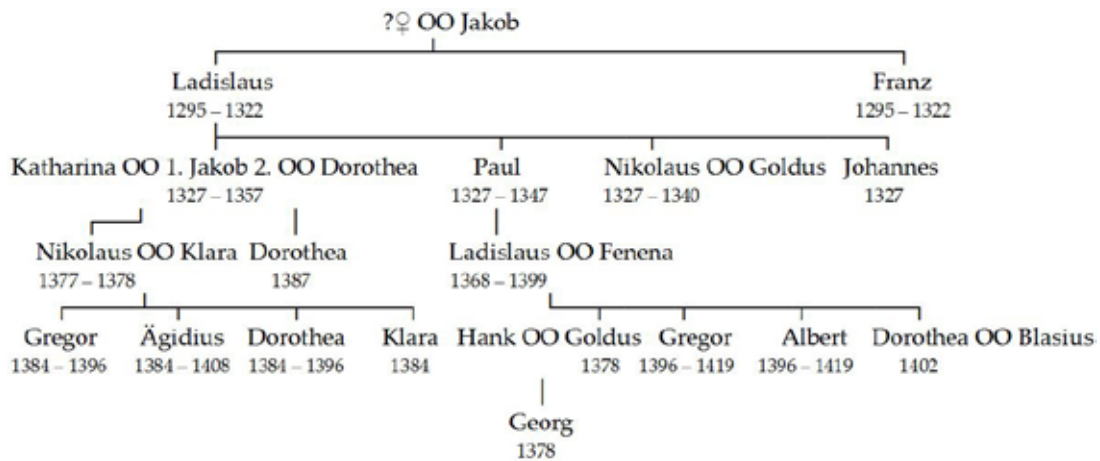
TAB Nr. 3: Die Nachkommenschaft von Stanislaus.



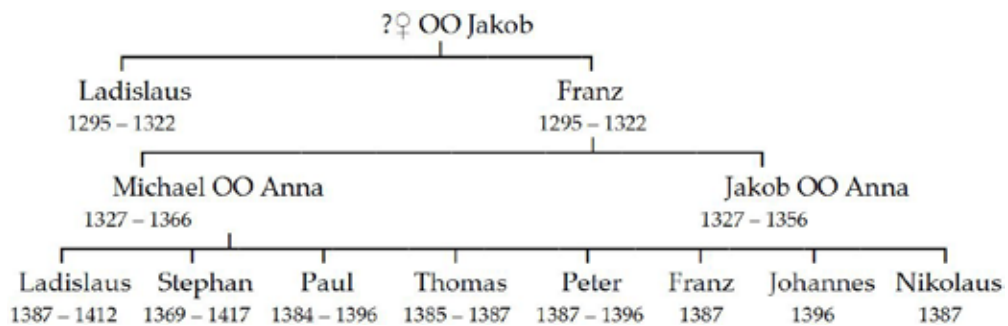
TAB Nr. 4: Die Nachkommen von Henrich und der namentlich unbekanntenen Schwester von Johannes, dem Urgroßvater von Johannes, dem Zagreber Bischof.



TAB Nr. 5: Die Nachkommen des Ladislaus-Familienzweiges der Herren von Vlková.



TAB Nr. 6: Die Nachkommen des Franz-Familienzweiges der Herren von Vlková.



TAB Nr. 7: Lebensdaten der Ahnen und Verwandten des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes.

	1260	1270	1280	1290	1300	1310	1320	1330	1340	1350	1360	1370	1380	1390	1400	1410	1420	1430	
I. Generation																			
Jakob, Zipser Probst																			
Johannes																			
Stanislaus																			
Henrich, Ehemann von ?♀																			
Jakob, Ehemann von ?♀																			
II. Generation																			
Jakob, Sohn von Johannes, Kanoniker																			
Nikolaus, Sohn von Johannes																			
Matthäus Szörös, Sohn von Johannes																			
Detrik, Sohn von Johannes																			
Zonk, Sohn von Johannes																			
?♀, Tochter von Johannes																			
Goblin, Sohn von Henrich und ?♀																			
Johannes, Sohn von Henrich und ?♀																			
Jakob, Sohn von Henrich und ?♀																			
Alexander, Sohn von Henrich und ?♀																			
Ladislaus, Sohn von Jakob und ?♀																			
Franz, Sohn von Jakob und ?♀																			
III. Generation																			
Margarethe, Tochter von Nikolaus, des Sohns von Johannes																			
Matthäus, Sohn von Matthäus Szörös, des Sohns von Johannes																			
Martin, Sohn von Matthäus Szörös, des Sohns von Johannes																			
Jakob, Sohn von Detrik, des Sohns von Johannes																			
Jordan, Sohn von Zonk, des Sohns von Johannes																			
Auchow, Tochter von Zonk, des Sohns von Johannes																			
Tylo, Sohn von Goblin, des Sohns von Henrich																			
Peter, Sohn von Goblin, des Sohns von Henrich																			
Nikolaus, Sohn von Goblin, des Sohns von Henrich																			
Konrad, Sohn von Alexander, des Sohns von Henrich																			
Leonhard, Sohn von Alexander, des Sohns von Henrich																			
Jakob, Sohn von Ladislaus, des Sohns von Jakob																			

