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



Edited by
ANDRÁS W. KOVÁCS



ROMANIAN ACADEMY
Center for Transylvanian Studies

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

Maps by BÉLA NAGY

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

ANDRÁS W. KOVÁCS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Identification

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

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

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

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

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

***Familiaritas* and Career**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Social Status, Wealth and Honorific Titles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Marriage Ties

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

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

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



Translated by ÁGNES BARICZ

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Abstract

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

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

Keywords

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