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

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

ANDRÁS W. KOVÁCS

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

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

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

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

Solnoc County

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

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

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

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

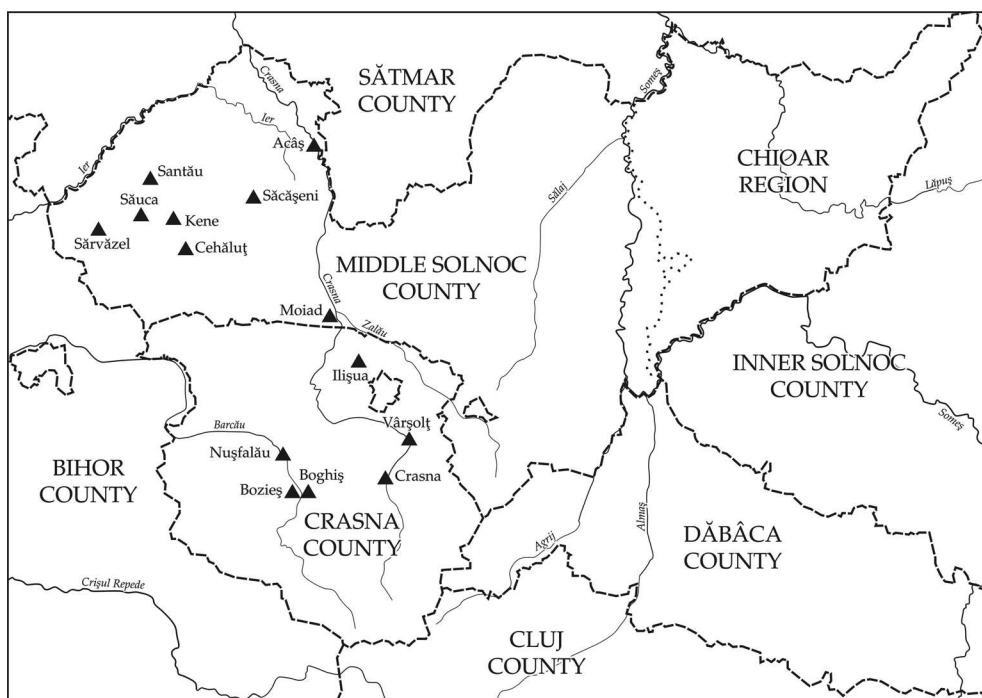
having as its most important settlement the market-town of Szolnok.⁴⁰ Several hundreds of kilometres away, north-east of the Meseş mountains, in the region of the Crasna and Someşul Mare rivers lay Middle Solnoc county (its more renowned settlements and castles were Tășnad [Tasnád], Hodod [Hadad], Coșeu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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Crasna County

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix

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

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

Crasna (Kraszna) county

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

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

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

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

Solnoc county

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Middle Solnoc county

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

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

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

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

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

17 Sept. 1458 (DL 39588 = *Levéltári Közlemények* 9 [1931]: 98).

Simultaneously Master of Stewards (*magister dapiferorum*) (1458) and *comes* of Sătmar county between 1457–1458 and 1469–1494 (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 25; *SzatmárOkl*, 33).¹⁸⁷

Middle Solnoc

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

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

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

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

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

Middle Solnoc

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

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

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

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

Middle Solnoc

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1507 (DL 46832).

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

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

Middle Solnoc

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

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

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

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

Vice-comites

Middle Solnoc county

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Crasna county

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

□

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

123. DL 36377 (11 Nov. 1524).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Abstract

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

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

Keywords

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