HIGH NOBILITY
**JÁN LUKAČKA*  
The Estates of Hont-Poznan Kindred  
South of the Drava River**

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

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

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

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

We have selected the noble families of Nitrianska Blatnica (which was using other predicates too, such as de Pok, or de Meggyes); descendents of Kemen who were later known as Motičinski (Hun. Matuscinai); descendents of Marcel (or Ambrose) who were called Pekri of Tetén family in the Hungarian milieu, as well as Vojna family of Vajka nad Žitavou (Hun. Vajk) as illustrative samples for the aims of this paper. Ancestors of the family of Ilok (Újlaki) may be assigned to this group as well. They have been discussed in the separate contribution of my colleague Mária Grófová.

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

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

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

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

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

A paradoxical situation occurred in the family of Nitrianska Blatnica owners at the end of Matthias Čáki’s era. Grandfather Nicholas, being at the beginning of the fourteenth century already of advanced years, joined the side of King Charles Robert and became the duke of Transylvania in 1315–1316.7 On the contrary, his grandson Michael remained a faithful ally of the oligarch from Trenčín until the very end – which is in Michael’s case actually uncertain. However, it is known for sure that he died leaving no issues. On the other hand, Michael’s younger brother Šimon/Simon followed his grandfather and entered the service of King Charles Robert and so he avoided a confiscation of his extensive estates. In the 1320s and 1330s he was the comes of Győr and Bakony, at the beginning of the 1350s he was appointed the comes of Šariš and Spiš and subsequently also the comes of Bratislava for ten years. He was one of the most prominent court knights and his career reached its peak when he was appointed the ban of Croatia (in years 1369–1371).8

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7 Engel, Pál: Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457, vol. 1, p. 11.
Nitrianska Blatnica served in the fourteenth century as a market town where a regular market took place weekly every Wednesday, which was the reason why this relatively populous settlement acquired a townish character. Either Ban Simon or his ancestors already established their residence in Blatnica during the fourteenth century—a stone fortified fortlet, *castellum*. Ban Simon, the owner of Blatnica, died in 1375, leaving three sons: Stephen, John and Maurice. However, Stephen died shortly after 1379. The middle son John is mentioned in 1397–1417 as a court knight and court assessor. The youngest Maurice did not hold any specific offices but in years 1424–1441 he was being mentioned as a magnate of the kingdom. We suppose that Blatnica was owned by the middle son John and this small estate passed to the king after John’s death.

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

Later on, constant attempts of the family representatives to expand their land tenure within the area of the present-day south-western Slovakia may be detected. Even the first known member of the family Kemen (son of Tvrda) had belonged to the close circle of Andrew II’s courtiers. His loyal services were rewarded by a donation of a frontier county of Holíč (Wywar) in Záhořie. However, *comes* Kemen lost this property at an unknown time and Holíč was added to Bratislava county. On the other hand, King Ladislas IV the Cuman decided in 1273 to rectify the wrong which had been done and returned this purloined estate to Lawrence, son of Kemen, the palatine of kings Bela IV and Stephen V. In addition, the same privilege charter issued on 30 March secured Lawrence’s hereditary possession of this property.

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

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

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

Lawrence’s son Kemen continued his father’s activities. For instance, in 1278–1280 he captured his own relative Jakub/Jacob/James, son of Conrado/conrád of Óvár at the command of Matthias Čák of Trenčín, plundered his lands and took several valuables and riding horses. However, he might have felt guilty and he swore at the presence of Queen Elizabeth as the Duchess of...
Slavonia that he would compensate James as well as his father Conrad by donating them three villages and one half of the village Tárda. Lawrence also emphasized that this activity had been determined by his close consanguinity with the aggrieved. At the end of Ladislas IV the Cuman’s reign, Kemen became a custodian of royal cellars (pincerna) as well as the comes of Baranya – the offices he held also during the first year of Andrew III’s reign. Then he became the comes of Baranya once again in 1296–1299. He managed to significantly unify the scattered land tenures in 1289 when Michael, the only son of Nicholas/Mikuláš Sinister from the house of Balog, died. He owned the castle of Sársomló (Saarsumlu) together with several neighbouring villages. The castle domain should have come to the Crown in the accordance with established legal customs. However, Knight Kemen who was Nicholas’ son-in-law asked King Ladislas IV whether he together with his wife could inherit this estate, which was later indeed approved by the king.

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

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

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16 MOL DL 38667: “propter proximitatem cognacionis inter eos existentis”.
17 Zsoldos, Attila. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301, p. 61 and 133.
18 MOL DL 1244.
19 Engel, Pál: Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457 2, p. 325.
20 Karácsonyi, János: A magyar nemzetések a XIV. század közepéig. Budapest: MTA, 1900, p. 1003–1007. Especially his determination of the personage of the first known ancestor is unclear. Karácsonyi states it was Marcel, but some sources speak about Ambrose.
21 MOL DL 145.
22 Lukačka, Ján: Formovanie vyššej štáty na západnom Slovensku, p. 56.
23 CDAC 7, nr. 24, p. 38.
24 Zsoldos, Attila: Magyarországi archontológiája, p. 47. Due to the lack of relevant information it is impossible to determine whose son the father of Ban Peter, Benedict, was.
fully taken over the country and inhabitants of the region beyond the river Drava, and the Croats ceased to respect the king’s authority too. However, Ban Peter forced them to be obedient again by applying resolute measures. Therefore, in respect to these merits, Peter and his brother Kemen asked Ladislas IV to return the estate of their ancestors called Osmiag which had been unjustly taken from them. They also did not forget to mention that their brother Paul perished while fighting for Szombethely. Naturally, the king approved their request.25

There is much better information concerning the descendants of Peter, Marcel and Demeter. The major part of their estates can be found in the present-day south-western Slovakia, namely in the former counties of Nitra, Bratislava, and Tekov. Peter had three sons: Hypolit, Dionysius and *Edovč (Edueich). Hypolit is mentioned for the first time in 1257 when he sold his hereditary estate Svodov by Želiezovce, where also other members of Hont-Poznan family owned their properties, to the archbishopric of Esztergom. His middle brother Dionysius received the estate of červeník (Bíň) by Hlohovec from King Bela IV. When he entered the Franciscan Order later, his properties passed into the possession of his youngest brother. Since *Edovč was a royal varlet, Bela IV agreed that červeník would pass over to him. Magister *Edovč is mentioned for the last time in 1272; he probably died leaving no issues. Among the children of Marcel, only comes Alexander is known. His residential estate was in the mid-thirteenth century Pata, near Sered. Also the locality “Mortun” in Záhorie, near Stupava belonged into his hereditary property. Alexander had three sons, Bukven, Bodov and Čolk, with his first wife; his second wife bore him two more sons, Dominic and Charles. Their estates were to be found in the western part of Žitný ostrov (Rye Island) as well as in the neighbourhood of the counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok, in the southern part of Nitra county and in the south of Tekov county too. Čolk’s sons committed some acts of violence in the properties of the Esztergom archbishopric which were they compelled to the royal court for. However, they settled up with the archbishop after an intercession of their relative, magister Opor from the House of Péč, comes of Bratislava and later pallatine. Another brother, Demeter, made the most significant court career among his kinship. Except for being comes of a few counties, he held the office of magister dapiferorum and is mentioned as a comes curialis in 1234. He had two sons, John and Seraphin/Serain; the latter chose a clerical career; he is mentioned as a provost of Bratislava at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. All his properties passed to the daughters of his nephew Roland after his death. It is interesting that the estates beyond the river Drava (possessions ultra Drauam) are mentioned in the first place, but are not further specified.26

The House of Vojna from Vojka nad Žitavou (nowadays Lúčnica nad Žitavou) is almost unknown in the secondary literature. However, it was an ancient line of the magnate House of Hont-Poznan which was also close to much more important family Forgáč/Forgách of Gýmeš/Ghymes. They also undoubtedly belonged to the upper nobility. Family members served Andrew, younger brother of King Emeric, already at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Martin, son of Vojna (Woygn, Woyna), is mentioned as the ban of Slavonia under Duke Andrew in 1202; he held this office again in years 1212–1213.27 Almost all the members of this line of Hont-Poznan lineage are mentioned in the judgement charter of Palatine Dionysius from 1228. At this time, a long-lasting conflict concerning a property between the descendants of comes Jób/Hiob of Vojka nad Žitavou and comes Peter, son of Marcel, of the House of Tétén, escalated. The disputable tenure was located between the brooks *Puker and Toplica (Thapolcha). The whole controversy was also accompanied by acts of violence. At that time, Rubin, son of comes Jób, represented the whole House of Vojna (generacio Woyna) as its head. He presented to the palatine credible charters of the most saintly King Stephen and King Belin (Bela I?) and their successors which should have confirmed his claim for the mentioned area.28 Subsequently, the palatine approved the claim of Rubin and his relatives, while the family of comes Peter of Tétén had to be satisfied with the neighbouring estate of Svätý Kríž (Kereštúrov). Later on, the track of family representatives disappeared. János Karácsonyi states

25 MOL DL 100094.
26 RDSI 2, n. 43, p. 39.
28 CDAC 6, nr. 291, p. 457: “instrumentis autenticis incolae memorie beatissimi Stephani et Bela Belin condam regum illustrium regni Hungariae”. It is questioned whether it was an original charter of Stephen I. It is more probable that the donation by these kings is mentioned in a later charter from the second half of the twelfth century.
that their successors were the families of Vojkfy and Vojk-Keresztúri. According to their names, it can be assumed that they were nobles of a South Slavic origin.

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

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

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

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

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

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29 Karácsonyi, János: A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig, p. 1051–1052.
30 CDSI 1, nr. 69, p. 67 (Wochoi) and nr. 97, p. 92 (Voyku).
31 CDSI 2, nr. 259, p. 176.
32 They are also mentioned at the ocassion of property division in 1264. MOL DL 68085.
33 RDSI 2, nr. 843, p. 368.
The first Possessions of the Aba Kindred beyond the Drava River**

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

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

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

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

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


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


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5 Domination of the Abas in this region peaked especially at the turn of thirteenth century under the reign of Palatine Omodeus Aba and ceased after the defeat of his sons in the Battle of Rozhanovce in 1312 by King Charles Robert. See also: Blanár, Dominik: Oligarchia Omodejovcov v období feudalnej anarchie v Uhorsku. Master thesis. Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 2010, 92 pp. Further literature also there.
The oldest historical record associating the nobles of Lipovec with the county of Šariš derives from 1229. Then magister Demetrius, son of Sixtus, from the Aba kindred, bought a large estate of Lipovec (predium quoddam Lipoue nomine) for 1000 marks from Duke Coloman, son of King Andrew II. Even this property had some indirect connection with Slavonia, hence with present-day Croatia. As a matter of fact, its original owner was the same Lawrence (Laurentius) of Opud (Opud, Ompud), who had his possessions confiscated for his violent crimes in Slavonia by King Andrew II who in turn donated them to his son Coloman. Lawrence had burned down and plundered 24 villages, including two churches, in Slavonia.

This first account about the Abas of Lipovec and their first known property shows us some correlations. Firstly, it is a close relation of magister Demetrius to King Andrew II (1205–1235) and especially to his son, Duke Coloman (1208–1241). At the beginning of the thirteenth century Coloman, as the second-born king’s son, was actively involved in the ruling of the north and the south areas of Hungary. At an early age (1219) he became the king of Galicia (Galiciae Rex, Rex Rutenorum) and then (1226) Slavonian duke (dux totius Selavoniae). According to this, he decided to choose his seat – at Spiš castle. From there he ruled with the authority of the prince and administered the Spiš region (affecting also the counties of Abov/Abaúj, Šariš, Turňa/Torna and Gemer). After the year 1226 most of his activities are tied to Slavonia, including the order for construction of a major castle Medvedgrad in that area. It was Duke Coloman who sold the estate of Lipovec in the vicinity of his Spiš seat to magister Demetrius. The property was not donated (interestingly), but sold, although Demeter had served at the court of King Andrew II for a long time. On the other hand, the value of the property indirectly speaks not only about its size and desirability but also about significant wealth and social status of magister Demetrius.

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

Within the next seven years magister Demeter was promoted to the count of Bodrog county (comes Budrigiensis) and subsequently received other properties. These were in particular the property of Našice (terra Necca), which he received directly from Duke Coloman, with the consent of his brother, King Bela IV. The donation letter, written in February 1240 by the provost, magister Fylo, in Zagreb, again mentions the services which magister Demeter, his brothers and relatives provided to King Andrew and Duke Coloman. The possession Necca (in the county of...
Baranja\textsuperscript{16} is the present-day Croatian town situated in the western part of Osijek-Baranja county, only about 30 kilometers south of the Drava river. 

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

The fate of the property of Našice is even more interesting when we add that before it got into the hands of \textit{magister} Demeter (by the disposition of King Bela IV and his brother Duke Coloman), Ban Julius, along with his wife Helen, donated a part of the property to the Knights Templar sometime between 1221 and 1230. This was confirmed by Pope Gregory IX at the end of the year 1230.\textsuperscript{19} Kukuljević states also that Ban Julius promised to build a monastery and a church at the donated property, but he does not mention his sources for this information.\textsuperscript{20} Našice along with other Templar property Lesnica (\textit{Licensissa}) is mentioned in the year 1239 in the dispute between Duke Coloman and the Knights Templar for other Templar possessions. As a result of reconciliation, mediated by Bishop Bartholomew of Pécs, Templars were confirmed the right to claim the tithes of these properties. The document also contains a clause under which the Templars had to pay a tenth of gold and silver to the bishop, should they uncover a field of precious metals on the site.\textsuperscript{21} At the same time we observe that \textit{magister} Demeter first replaced Ban Julius at the position of \textit{comes} of Bodrog county (1235–1240)\textsuperscript{22} and only later (1240) Duke Coloman donated him the property of Našice.

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

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

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

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

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

It is also worth mentioning that in 1290 the Abas from the Atyanay branch acquired a new property from Queen Elizabeth – Abbey of St. Martin (vagymatium Sancti Martini) in Virovitica county, with respective vineyards, forests and meadows.

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

21 CDH 5/1, pp. 150–152; Salanci, Michal: Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia, p. 523. For division of Lipovec property, see: Salanci, Michal: Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodru, pp. 11–12; IDEM: Salanci, Michal: Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipoveca a Našic a jeho potomkovia, pp. 523–524.
22 See note 25.
26 CDAC 10, nr. 213, pp. 229–232.

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

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

Despite this fact, Peter’s sons Luke and Peter were probably not so satisfied with the division of property, since they violently took Alexander’s Lipovec castle, causing him damage of 500 marks. The king, who at that time resided in Šaris, came to this dispute and condemned these sons of Peter to the loss of their properties.37 They have nevertheless kept their part of the Lipovec property throughout the whole fourteenth century.38

The king subsequently rewarded *magister* Alexander for his loyalty, especially during the Battle of Rozhanovce (15 June 1312), in which the king defeated the sons of Palatine Omodeus Aba along with their allies — *magister* Demeter, the son of Nicholas from Balassa kindred and the troops of infamous Matthias Chak (Čák/Csák) of Trenčín. The king again reaffirms his possession of the property that previously belonged to the Templars, and in this case the property is specified as St. Martin.39 By another document the king reaffirms all Alexander’s other possessions from the last division in 1311.40

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

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

35 CDCr 8, nr. 221, pp. 263–265.
38 Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 528.
39 CDHA 1, nr. 256, p. 280; Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 528.
40 Surname Kecer (Kecser, Keker, Kecher) was first used by the offsprings of Peter, the son of Demeter. Salanci, Michal: *Kekerovi z Kecerovského Lipovca : původ rodů, p. 6.*
41 Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našic a jeho potomkovia*, p. 521–522; *Idem*: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : původ rodů, p. 9.*
44 For further history of these branches of the Aba kindred, see also literature cited in note 1.
served the ruling royal dynasty. *Magister* Demeter, who was in the service of Duke Coloman, tried to be even closer to the duke as we can notice from the location of his first properties, which corresponded with the areas under Coloman’s active governance. In this respect we can say that Coloman helped Demeter to acquire the position of the count of Bodrog county, a direct neighbour of the county of Baranja, where Demeter later acquired Našice. The properties beyond Drava as well as other possessions were granted to Demeter and his son under the reign of King Bela IV and his brother Coloman, and this was the most successful time period of the Aba family from Lipovec. In the following period we observe a more or less multiple redistribution of these properties among numerous descendants of *magister* Demeter. In the early fourteenth century the personality of *magister* Alexander stands out, with his firm loyalty to the new ruler from the Anjou dynasty, which brought him the benefit of reacquisition of the assets previously owned by the Knights Templar. Alexander’s promotion in the nobility ranks was almost guaranteed especially after his support of the king during the rebellion organized by his own relatives – Palatine Omodeus and other branches of the Aba kindred (1312).

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

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

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

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

In this paper the authors will try to reconstruct the role of the Croatian counts Kurjaković of Krbava during the Late Middle Ages in today Slovakia. One has to emphasize that the Kurjaković were not the only ones from medieval Croatia and Slavonia directly connected with the above-mentioned parts of the kingdom. However, their role was of utmost importance and they established the strongest links there. Namely, almost everybody among the Kurjaković, excepting the founder of the clan and a few other members over seven generations, lived temporarily or permanently in medieval Hungary. During the first decades of the fifteenth century the majority of counts were living in Slavonia, Hungary and today’s Slovakia, and not in their native medieval Croatia. Suffice it to say that of some seventy clan members overall more than one third died in the north.¹ Who and what were the Kurjaković?

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

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The counts Kurjaković of Krbava or Krbavski were among the most influential magnates in medieval Croatia. For more than two centuries they had a significant role in the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom. They were among the first ones in medieval Croatia to establish closer ties with medieval Hungary. Already during the reign of King Charles Robert I of Anjou (1301–1342) one of their members, Count Grgur I, had the title of miles aule regie. During the reign of the Luxembourg, Habsburg and Jagiello kings, some of the Kurjakovići held high offices in the realm. They held the titles of ban and viceban of Croatia, magister curiae, magister daphferorum, magister pincernarum, and curiae nostrae magister officii palatini. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were repeatedly royal castellans in Croatia (Unac, Klis, Novigrad, Ostrovica, Počitelj, and Rupač), Slavonia (Dobra Kuća, Greben, Kozara, Mrin, and Gračenica), Hungary (Hasznos, Visegrád, and Solymár) and modern-day Slovakia (Dobrá Niva, Slovenská Lupča, and Brezno). The last member of the Kurjakovići of Krbava, Ivan Karlović (died in 1531), for many years held offices of Croatian viceban, ban and royal captain. The counts raised horses of high quality on their estates, they traded wheat and they had business interests in Dalmatian fairs and Venetian banks. The most distinguished among them were the guardians of St. Stephen’s crown, members of the narrow circle of the Order of the Dragon and of the Santo Spirito fraternity in Rome.

The sources mention some 68 members of the Kurjakovići in the period between 1298 and 1531. They all originated from the Gusići kindred, one of the oldest in Croatia. The Kurjakovići were from Krbava, once an important Croatian county and the centre of a bishopric. This is today one of the poorest and most scarcely populated areas of Croatia, in the Lika region. Krbava was an important political and ecclesiastical centre in medieval Croatia, and the neighboring counties of Lapac, Hotuća, Odorje, Podgorje, Bužane, and Lika were in its sphere of influence. The Kurjakovići successfully entered the narrowest circle of the social elite in Croatia at the end of the thirteenth century, via marriage between Kurjak Gusić and Jelena/Helen Šubić, the sister of Croatian ban Pavao/Paul I Šubić. With his brother-in-law’s consent, Kurjak obtained Krbava as a hereditary estate. This estate extended well beyond the borders of Krbava county and encompassed huge parts of today’s northern Dalmatia, Lika region and some border areas of present-day Bosnia. (Map 1). After Kurjak’s death (around 1304), his sons Budislav I (died in 1346), Pavao/Paul I (died in 1342) and Grigor I (died around 1360) established the three branches of the Kurjakovići. The most prominent among them were: Juraj/George I (died around 1393), Buško (died in 1401), Ivan II (died in 1418), Karlo/Charles II (died in 1422), Ivanka (died

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Map 1. Counts of Krbava, during the reign of King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437).
in 1439), Juraj/George III (died after 1439), Toma/Thomas II (died after 1467), Grгор VI (died around 1458), Ivan III (died around 1483), Karlo/Charles IV (died in 1493), and Ivan IV Karlović (died in 1531).6

Each and every member of the clan inherited the title of conves de Corbavia by birth. This was particularly valuable during the reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437), when the Krbarvski figured as the king’s closest allies in Croatia.7 Therefore, it is not surprising that Ivan II, Nicholas’s only son, who performed the high duty of magister digherorum at the royal court from 1397 till 1417, had the nickname Grof (“count”).8 The Krbarvski were among those magnates in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom who had the right of possessing their own banderium of horsemen.9 Under their own banners they defended their estates and the whole of Dalmatia and Croatia together with the Frankapani and Nelipčići counts, and with Croatian ban. Their marital alliances additionally testify to their high social rank. Although the Krbarvski left their marks particularly in Croatia and Dalmatia, a certain number of them temporarily or permanently acted and lived in Slavonia, Hungary and Slovakia. This last fact was relatively unknown until the publishing of Pál Engel’s work The Counts of Krba in Hungary, in 1998.10 Our colleague Damir Karić brought to our attention all this information and we thank him for that. He also kindly provided us with additional sources and his own excerpts from the Hungarian State Archives in Budapest.

The first encounter of one of the Kurjaković with modern-day Slovakia occurred in 1358, when Count Grгор I, the most important member of his clan during the first half of the fourteenth century, finished in castro Levia as a prisoner of King Louis of Anjou (1342–1382). The reason for Grгор’s imprisonment was his reluctance to take Louis’ side during the latter’s campaign to conquer Dalmatia. This reluctance was, most probably, caused by Count Grгор’s multiple business and family ties and interests in Venice. Grгор was imprisoned propter infidelitatis notam and he spent the last years of his life there.11 His letter to Venice at the end of the same year is therefore filled with frustration. He was disappointed with his family, sons and friends. He emphasized that all that was left to him was his faithful personal servant, his ring and his money deposited in Venice, because the king confiscated all his other property throughout the kingdom.12 Count Grгор once again, at the beginning of 1360, wrote to the Venetian doge petitioning him to support his cause at the royal court, and to send him some of the count’s savings via his son, Juraj/George Kurjaković. However, due to Grгор’s close and sudden death, an answer never arrived. Count Grгор’s sons, despite the fact that they retained their titles, were no longer closely linked to Krbarva. They could therefore be considered, particularly from the beginning of the fifteenth century, as local nobility from Križevci and Somogy counties, with the surname Zakanjski.

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

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

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6 Botica, Ivan: Krbarvski knezovi u srednjem vijeku, p. 302.
7 Ibidem, p. 178.
8 In all the documents from Sigismund’s period his signature had the nickname Grof. See – Botica, Ivan: Krbarvski knezovi u srednjem vijeku, p. 170, n. 1123.
10 Engel, Pál: Krbarvski knezovi u Ugarskoj, pp. 73–81.
11 Botica, Ivan: Krbarvski knezovi u srednjem vijeku, pp. 111–112.
14 Botica, Ivan: Krbarvski knezovi u srednjem vijeku, pp. 144–145.
participated actively, side by side with his brothers Nicholas I and Thomas II and his nephews Karlo/Charles II and Pavao/Paul II, in an action to liberate the queens from captivity (May-June 1387), in Novigrad near Zadar (Zara). This action definitively strengthened the political ties between the Kurjaković and King Sigismund, and most probably influenced their rapid social ascent in the kingdom. While residing for some time on their estates near Zadar, Queen Mary showered her liberators with possessions, privileges, offices, and honors. The Kurjaković regained the town of Obrovac and practically turned it into their main seat. They also obtained vast areas around the Velebit Mountain. From that time onwards they were titled as lords and counts of Krbava, Lika, Bužane, and Bag. On his behalf Count Butko became the queen’s court ispán, and his nephew Charles II her magister pinctorum. However, this was just the beginning of Charles’s splendid career at the royal court. In February 1393 King Sigismund granted him for life the royal fortress of Bratislava invested Charles as the lord of čeklis. Four months later the chapter of Bratislava hung. Count Charles started to often sign himself as Count of čeklis, or čekliški, due to the fact that he lived there from then onwards, until his death. Count Charles II is particularly mentioned in the sources in relation to čeklis and various affairs there from 1402 till 1412.

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

As a reaction to Ladislas of Naples’ crowning in Zadar, in summer of 1403, Sigismund from Bratislava started to regain the towns and counties throughout the kingdom, with the help of his supporters. Soon afterwards, Sigismund entered Visegrád. He immediately appointed Charles II Kurjaković of Krbava and Čeklis as a royal castellan there, and entrusted him with guarding the crown of St. Stephen. Count Charles held that office until spring of 1409, when as a man in the king’s confidence he was appointed ban of Croatia, because of Venetian territorial pretensions there.

In the meantime he also performed the duty of secular governor of the diocese of Vác, and after Sigismund’s victory in Bosnia, in 1408, Charles also became a summus thesaurarius regius. Charles and his relative Ivan II Grof became members of the innermost circle of the Ordo Draconis, together with the king, the queen, and 22 of the most notable

16 Botica, Ivan: Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku, pp. 149–150.
18 Botica, Ivan: Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku, p. 151.
19 Engel, Pál: Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj, p. 78.
20 ZsO 2, nr. 1500, nr. 2102; ZsO 3, nr. 6600; ZsO 3, nr. 1744.
21 Botica, Ivan: Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku, p. 169. It seems that his stay in office was interrupted, for no obvious reasons, between 1404 and 1406.
23 CDH 10/4, p. 47.
25 ZsO 2, nr. 5397, nr. 6363; nr. 6589.
26 Botica, Ivan: Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku, p. 181.
distinguished men in Sigismund’s kingdom.\textsuperscript{30} It is indicative that they were the only Croat members of that elite order (Fig. 1).

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

During King Sigismund’s absence from the kingdom, between 1412 and 1418, the lord of Čeklis Charles II Kravski and other dignitaries tried to resolve numerous disputes and conflicts about property issues, particularly throughout Slovakia.\textsuperscript{34} For example, Charles was one of the jurors, in April 1413 in Bratislava, in a dispute between the citizens of Trnava and the nobleman Ulrich Wolfurt, regarding the rights of collecting grapes and the taxation of several vineyards.\textsuperscript{35} This legal dispute was resolved only in July 1414, in Željezno (lat. Kismartonium, hung. Kis-Marton, ger. Eisenstadt) in Gradišće (ger. Burgenland).\textsuperscript{36} In 1417 the king appointed Count Charles as a permanent member of the royal supreme court.\textsuperscript{37} Despite his old age, Count Charles remained rather active and engaged in public matters until his death. At the beginning of November 1418 he was regulating the agrarian relations at the estate of Čeklis,\textsuperscript{38} while at the beginning of 1422 the ispán of Bratislava Stephen Rozgony petitioned him for clarifications regarding the borders of certain estates.\textsuperscript{39} In September 1422 Charles was escorting King Sigismund who travelled to the Reichstag of the Holy Roman Empire in Nuremberg, as recorded in the Memories of Eberhard Windecke.\textsuperscript{40} Count Charles II most probably died at the end of 1422, at his castle on the mount Várdomb in the town of Čeklis.

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

\textsuperscript{30} Engel, Pál: Kravski knezovi u Ugarskoj, p. 75.
\textsuperscript{31} CDH 10/4, p. 333.
\textsuperscript{32} MOL DF 239443.
\textsuperscript{34} MOL DL 10527; MOL DL 10005; MOL DL 10241.
\textsuperscript{36} MOL DL 10005; MOL DL 10241.
\textsuperscript{37} DRMH, p. 401; Engel, Pál: Kravski knezovi u Ugarskoj, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{38} MOL DL 43422.
\textsuperscript{39} MOL DF 226223.
\textsuperscript{40} Engel, Pál: Kravski knezovi u Ugarskoj, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{41} Botica, Ivan: Kravski knezovi u srednjem vijeku, p. 193.
a relative of his, since Pope Innocent VII issued a special license for this marriage, in November 1404.42 Charles had three sons with Margaret: Juraj/George III, Nikola/Nicholas III, and Ivanka. Margaret probably died before Charles’s return from serving as ban in Croatia. Charles later married Magdalena, the daughter of Andreas Rohonc from Burgenland.43 It is not known what happened to her after Charles’s death. The year before Charles died, she and her brothers and sisters rented from the lords of Ludbreg some four possessions in Križevci, in medieval Slavonia.44 In this document Charles is explicitly mentioned as the count of Čeklis. It is possible, although far from sure, that one distinguished Hungarian and Croatian magnate in the 1430s and 1440s named Ivanka was, in fact, their son. Even if it was not the case, Ivanka was almost surely born in today’s Slovakia, because his name does not have a Croatian form. It is also interesting to notice that there is a town called Ivanka near Čeklis, which was perhaps under Count Charles’s rule once.

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

The death of Count Charles II had a strong impact on the whole Krbavski clan. Namely, Charles’ sons did not return to Croatia but instead remained in Hungary. It seems that perhaps only Count Butko’s son Franko, Charles’ relative, constantly commuted between his native Krbava region and Hungary. Franko probably entered in Charles’s service immediately upon his father’s death, in 1402. It seems that Count Charles treated Franko and his brother Petar/Peter well, probably because Butko, Charles’s uncle and father of the two brothers, persuaded Count Charles earlier at the right moment to move northwards and join the king’s entourage.48 It is most probable that Franko lived for some time on the Čeklis estate. It would be almost impossible that without Count Charles’s blessings Franko would appear among the 25 magnates and royal nobles in King Sigismund’s closest entourage, while the latter was travelling to the Council of Constance, in February 1415.49 Franko married late and had children. However, they were mentioned only as newborn babies and never again. Count Franko most probably returned to Croatia after Count Charles’s death, at the end of 1422. Towards the end of his life he entered the service of the Cillei (Celjski) counts.50 In doing that, he followed the policy of his clan formulated in Hungary by Charles’s sons, George III and Ivanka.51

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

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

42 ZSO 2, nr. 3497.
43 MOL DL 43422.
44 ZSO 8, nr. 1161.
46 ZSO 3, nr. 1006, nr. 1422; MOL DL 86788.
47 ENGEL, Pál: Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj, p. 79.
48 Ibidem, p. 77.
50 Botica, Ivan: Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku, p. 206.
51 ENGAZ, Pál: Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj, p. 79.
52 ZSO 1, nr. 2915; A Pécz nemzetség Apponyi, nr. 107, pp. 235–236.
53 MOL DF 239443.
supported Queen Barbara, and after Sigismund’s death the policy of Barbara’s daughter Elizabeth, her husband Albert of Habsburg and their son Ladislas V the Posthumous. Count Charles’s oldest son George III was the first one who sided with the Cillei counts. He met Herman and Frederick of Cillei at the court, while his father Charles was still alive. As George was living in Central Europe almost from his birth, his interests lied primarily there. Therefore, the Cillei were much closer to him then the Croatian leaders of the time, the Frankpanani counts, with which several George’s relatives in Croatia had closer connections.

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

The arrival of Count George III in Zvolen coincided with the beginning of a dispute between Herman of Cillei and Nicholas Frankapan. It is quite possible that the Krbavski in Croatia sided with the Cillei thanks to the influence of Count George and his brothers. Namely, George’s youngest brother Ivanka became the master of the queen’s court (magister curiae).58 It is, therefore, possible that even the noble alliance Fraternitas Croatorum, concluded in 1430 under the leadership of the count of Četina, Ivanši Nelićić, and of the counts of Krbava, Charles III and Thomas II, in Knin,59 perceived by the Venetians as the most important city in Croatia (caput et principalis locus Croatiae),60 had been organized with the support of Charles’s powerful sons in Hungary, who were the queen’s men. While enumerating the members of the above-mentioned alliance, the brothers from Krbava explicitly stated that they also represented their relatives Ivanka, George III, Nicholas III and Franko, who do not live in Croatia.61 This noble alliance reflected the political dissatisfaction of the Croatian nobility with the oligarchic ascent of Count Nicholas Frankapan in Croatia.62 Curbing the power of the Frankpanani, the alliance was very useful for King Sigismund, and for the Cillei counts as well.

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

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

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56 ENGEL, Pál: Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj, p. 79.
57 See http://eng.zvolen.eu/history.phtml?id3=5227, 01. 04. 2010 – The castle was later labeled as “deserted”, because the Hunyadi party warriors desolated it during the dynastic clashes.
58 ENGEL, Pál: Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj, p. 79.
59 KARBIĆ, Damir: The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred personis videlizet comitis Iuvancis, comitis Georgii, comitis Nicolai et comitis Frankonis neeun ceteri singuli et uniueris nobiles.”
61 MOL DL 38517: “(...) item domini Karulcs et Thomas comites Corbauie in suis et aliquam fratrnum suorum comitiun Corbauie

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

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

After the loss of Dobrá Niva, it seems that Paul III went back to Croatia. From that time onwards he was living in the Krbava county, in Mrsinj, and died there before 1468. He left for Croatia with his son, Count Grgur VII, who was already married by then. In later charters written in Croatian, in Glagolitic script, Paul’s grandson Nicholas VI’s name was repeatedly mentioned in its northern language form, as Miklavuš. At the beginning of March 1489, Nicholas VI and his
sons Petar/Peter II and George V donated their watermill near Rog, on the river Krka, and adjacent peasant plots to Franjo Utišenić. This charter is sealed with an impressive family seal, with the engraved inscription in Croatian Glagolitic PETR I JURI KNZI KRBAVSKI (Fig. 2 – see the previous page). It is possible that this marked the beginning of the selling and donating of their lands in the old country, due to the overall insecurity in Croatia, Ottoman raids and King Matthias’s negative attitude towards their clan. It seems that they have already then started to think about going back to Slovakia. Namely, in July 1504 this whole branch of the clan was testified in Slovakia, in Slovenská Ľupča and Brezno where George V was allegedly a local lord. It is still not known whether Count George left any descendants in today’s Slovakia. The same George soon afterwards, as a Croatian magnate, participated in the Hungarian Diet which decided that only a Hungarian born king could ascend to the throne. George was also a royal ambassador on various occasions, for example in 1504 to the Ottomans, or in 1507 to Venice. Therefore, it is highly probable that he did not remain for long on his estate in Slovakia.

Count Ivanka’s son, Grgur V, was also important for Slovak history. During the civil war, between 1440 and 1442, he moved from today’s western Hungary to today’s Slovakia. He was a firm supporter of Queen Elizabeth and Ladislas V during the war, which was particularly intense around Bratislava. Some fifteen years after the war, King Ladislas once mentioned that Grgur V participated in his and his mother’s liberation from captivity. Therefore, the queen rewarded Grgur, at the end of 1441 he became captain of the town of Slovenská Ľupča, on the Hron river, east of Banská Bystrica. Count Grgur received in mortgage, for 10,000 golden florins, all the possessions belonging to Ľupča, including the villages of: Ponyková, Tergorch, Malčice, Dubravica, Salkowa, Solča, Podkonicze, Luchetyn, Pryhod, Meybradje, Brusno, Villa S. Andree, Rastoka, Nynmská Vág, Sa-gromye, Dubrová, Gesen, Prodanyca, Lamastye, Ly-hota regis, Lyhota Petri, Lopye, Sthawnicze, Hrwnecz, and Hedel. Four years later, in September 1445, Count Grgur gave to his faithful castellan George Hototin a possession called Dubravice. George’s second name Hototin might indicate his descent from the region of Hotuča, in Krkav county. Count Grgur confirmed the said donation with his seal, carrying the inscription S. GREGORII CO. CORBAV. on it. The seal, among other elements, contained a figure of a goose, symbol of the Kurjakovići Krkavski.

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

According to extant sources, Count Grigor was living in Slovenská Ľupča until approximately 1460. It is not known whether he stayed on the side of Jan Jiskra even after 1447, when the latter went on a collision course with John Hunyadi. However, contrary to Jiskra, Grigor later sided with King Ladislas V. Consequently, the young king rewarded Grigor, due to his former merits, at the beginning of 1455, with the lifelong possession of Slovenská Ľupča and Brezno, comprising 22 villages and customs rights on the borders of those towns and villages, in Zvolen county. The overall value of Count Grigor’s estates east of Banská Bystrica, around the Hron river, was estimated at 10000 golden florins, which was still pledged. On this occasion, the king emphasized that Count Grigor rebuilt and repaired at his own expenses the walls of Slovenská Ľupča and numerous buildings there that were almost completely desolated after the strong earthquake that struck the region. The king further announced that he would in due time, after Count Grigor’s death, claim all those possessions for himself. However, Grigor’s successors would have the right to be compensated for it, in the amount of the aforementioned 10000 golden florins.

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

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

Fig. 4. The estates and offices of the Kurjakovići Krbavski counts in the present-day Slovakia and northern Hungary.
there were to appear any hint that any of them left male heirs behind, then Ivan IV Karlović could no longer be considered the last member of the Kurjakovići clan. For the time being, everything we know points to the fact that with Karlović’s death, in 1531, the Kurjakovići Krbavski became extinct in the male line. In the end, one might conclude that the counts of Krbava, among all the Croatian magnates, had the strongest impact on today’s Slovakia and its history (Fig. 4 – see the previous page). Through their clan, the two countries and histories were connected for at least one century and a half.

109 MOL DL 82044; According to mould done by B. Fučić.
111 We thank to our colleague Hrvoje Kekez for helping us to draw the maps. We used Google Maps as a basis for this particular map.
The Family of Ilok – a Croatian Noble House of Slovak Origin?

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

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

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

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

The first better known ancestor of the Ilok family was John, son of Gug (Johannes filius Gugye), who actually appeared as homo regius in 1281, when Ban Peter together with his brother, comes Kemen, from the family of Tetény/Tetéň obtained the possession of the village of Gajul (Gayul). The family experienced tough times at the beginning of the fourteenth century due to the feudal anarchy, personified in the western Transdanubia by sons of ban Henry of Kőszeg (Kisecki). John, son of Guďă, had also two older brothers – George and Stephen. The ancestors of the Ilok family – John’s sons James, Egidius, John, Lawrence and Ugrin as well as their cousins Nicholas, son of George, and Beke together with Nicholas, son of Stephen had to face various acts of violence for supporting King Charles Robert I. They were being imprisoned or even tortured by their enemies, who also led them in chains through market towns in order to humiliate them. Some of them were also brutally slain with sword. On the other hand, King Charles Robert finally appreciated them in 1330. On February 18, 1330 he freed them from the jurisdiction of all courts and judges in the Kingdom of Hungary, so they were further on subordinated only to the authority of the royal court. After this privilege had been granted, they were to be subordinated neither to any judges nor county officers in the counties of Virovitica, Somogy, Tolna,
and Vasvár, which means that these were the administrative units where both hereditary and obtained estates of the ancestors of the family of Ilok are to be found.  

It is interesting that this generation of the Ilok family ancestors already used ethnically motivated predicate Sclavus or Tuoth, respectively, which most probably signified their Slovak origin. As far as the Ilok ancestry is concerned, it was Lawrence called “Slovak” (Sclavus), living in the first half of the fourteenth century, who contributed to the raising of the lineage in the most significant way. He is mentioned in the first half of the 1320s as a castellan of Tátika castle in the county of Zala. At that time, he used the predicate de Mortun, which could have referred to the village of Sanctus Martinus? (Saint Martin) somewhere in the present-day south-western Hungary. Lawrence also held the office of a royal standard-bearer in years 1328–1341 and served for twenty years (1328–1348) as a castellan of Šintava. In addition, it is highly probable that his oldest son Nicholas obtained the same office as well. Lawrence’s career peaked in 1340s since he was appointed as a royal magister tavarnicorum as well as a comes of the counties of Nitra, Vásár, Sopron, and Varaždin. In 1328, King Charles Robert pledged him the žrin castle, which later on became his hereditary possession. However, Lawrence together with his sons Levkuš “Slovak” and Ugrin gave the castle willingly back to King Louis I in 1347. On the other hand, they received castles of Ostrovica and Orahovica in return. The Orahovica estate included also the villages of Bukovica (Bakva), Viljevo, and Jošava. The king’s favour also spread on sons of Lawrence “Slovak”, namely Nicholas kont (later on the palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary), Levkuš (royal magister dapiferorum) and Bartholomew (magister pincernarum). The eldest Nicholas rendered valuable service to the king, while acting as his ambassador to the pope residing in Avignon. He obtained his predicate Kont there and he used it further on up to his death. For the service rendered (particularly in respect to the war for the Neapolitan heritage), King Louis donated the castle dominion of Tematin to the family of Ilok in 1348. One year later, he gave them the Hlohovec estate as well. The Hlohovec dominion was not an extensive one; however, its value was raised by the populous and important royal town of Hlohovec with a well-developed craft production and viniculture. Despite the fact that Nicholas Kont as an important dignitary was obliged to dwell constantly at the royal court or was travelling through the country, Hlohovec was very dear to him. He could have settled down in the solid and inaccessible Tematin, but he had rather chosen Hlohovec Castle as one of his residences. However, he did not have a place to dwell there at first as the old castle was nothing but a ruin of its old fortification. Nevertheless, Nicholas was endowed and had also sufficient human resources at his disposal. Therefore, he was able to build a new stone castle, which was supposed to serve as his private residence. However, Nicholas lingered there always only for a shorter period as his offices demanded his presence at King Louis’. Nevertheless, he was concerned about the prosperity of his new property of Hlohovec from the very beginning. If Hlohovec was to become the market centre for the wider surroundings, it had to be easily and safely accessible from every direction. Therefore, Duke Nicholas and his brother Levkuš decided to build a new bridge over the river Váh in 1353, where also the so-called wet toll was transferred, which Louis I approved as well. In 1364, Nicholas Kont together with his relative Ladislas, son of Levkuš “Slovak”, the castle of Ilok (Hun. Újlak) in exchange for Gornja Lindava. The name of the newly obtained castle subsequently became the predicate of the lineage. The question of the origin of the family of Ilok is still open though. The opinion concerning their origin from the lineages of Héder or Héderváry
may be encountered in the older literature. Some authors have sought the possible affinity with the family of Fáncs (or Fáncsy) on the basis of coat-of-arms alikeness. In our opinion, all the previous researches have not taken into consideration some facts which could have been and still might be helpful when approaching this issue. Firstly, the self-identification of Ilok family referring to themselves as Sclavus or Youth shall be mentioned. If they were not Magyars, there are two possibilities to be considered: they could have been either Slovenians or Slovaks. From the territorial point of view, the Slovenian option seems to be a more obvious one. On the other hand, we are more inclined to accept the Slovak origin due to several reasons. Firstly and primarily, the properties held by the family show similar attributes as in case of other noble lineages within this area, originating from the wider Hont-Poznan kinship. These include, for instance, families of Nitrianska Blatnica (Hungarian de genere Pok, Poky), Motičinský (Hun. Matuscinai), Vojna (Hun. Vajk), descendants of Ambrose (Hun. Pokri of Tetény family), family of Geča (Hun. Gecse) and Bečej (Hun. Tittös). The distinctive attributes include, for example, scattered estates within the wide area of the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary, from Vásár county in the west to the county of Sřém in the east. They possessed properties also in the area of present-day south-western Slovakia and in some cases in Bihor county as well. In addition, all the mentioned families held high administrative offices. The ancestors of Ilok family possessed these features as well. Except for estates in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary, we have found two hereditary estates in Ponitrie/Nitra region: town Bojná and village Tekolďany. It is also interesting that there are no charters for the family which would confirm donations, though their ownership rights have never been questioned.

Taking into account the fact that Nicholas Kont owned extensive properties and held numerous offices, it is also obvious that he must have had a considerable number of familiares as well as servants at his disposal. It is not surprising that they were of the same ethnic origin as he was. The account from 1353 concerning his servant Benedict “Slovak” (Sclavus), a burgfer from Székesfehérvár, may serve as an example of the above-mentioned statement.

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

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

15 CDHA 6, nr. 69, p. 109: “Nicolaus voivodus Transsilvanus filius condam magistri Laurencii dicti Tot pie recordacionis et Benedictus Sclavus, civis Albensis, famulus eiusdem magnifici viri.”
16 MOL DL 8070.
might have become even dangerous; therefore, her mandate instructed the city representatives to arrange an immediate rectification. To ensure the result, she had sent two of her familiares, who were supposed to be as respected as she would have been if she had come to Hlohovec in person.\footnote{MOL DL 48748. However, we do not know what had exactly happened in Hlohovec as no other documents were preserved concerning this event.}

The size and importance of Hlohovec may be estimated also on the basis of the number of sacred buildings within the town. In 1401, churches dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary, St. Peter (by the river Váh), St. Nicholas (parish church) and to All Saints (in the suburbs) can be found in the town. Besides, there was a hospital church of the Holy Spirit, founded by Palatine Nicholas Kont and his wife Claire before 1367.\footnote{Lučačka, Ján: Hlohovec. In: Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku. Ed.: Martin Štefánik – Ján Lučačka. Bratislava: Prodama, 2010, p. 167.} The undoubtedly municipal character of Hlohovec at the beginning of the fifteenth century can be attested also by the existence of a small Jewish community. Its members dealt with trade and were also involved in lending money at high interest rates (usury).\footnote{Certain Jew Abraham from Hlohovec (Abraham iudeus) is mentioned in the charter (from years 1419–1422) of Ladislav’s widow Anna. ZsO 7., nr. 1216, p. 293.}

Ladislav and Emeric, sons of Bartholomew, were at the beginning of the fifteenth century (when their grandmother Claire died) already of age; therefore, they could manage their family estates on their own. Following the tradition of their house, they had an ambition to hold distinctive offices. Older Ladislav became the ban of Machva (Mačva) in 1402.\footnote{Engel, Pál: Magyarországi világi archontológiája 1301–1457, vol. 1, p. 29.} However, their accession to the high politics was not a fortunate one. They got carried away by other Hungarian noblemen and joined the anti-royal revolt in 1403–1404. The insurgents aimed to dethrone King Sigismund and exchange him for the young Ladislav of Naples. However, the king, thanks to the unwavering loyalty of Ctibor of Ctiborice and Beckov, gradually broke the resistance. Anti-royal insurgents held strong positions especially in the area of the present-day south-western Slovakia, where they controlled several castles, fortified fortlets, and towns. Transylvanian duke Ctibor had a strong army at his command which managed to conquer the enemy’s strongpoints one after another. Ctibor seized Hlohovec (i.e., the castle, the town of Hlohovec – Freistadt, and the small town Starý Hlohovec) as well as the whole castle domain for some time.\footnote{Engel, Pál: Kráľovské hatalom a aristokracia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban (1387–1437). Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977, p. 44.} Strangely enough, this way he captured the property of his own son-in-law, as Ladislav of Ilok married his daughter Jačna (Anna) shortly before the outbreak of the revolt. This union produced two sons, John and Stephen.\footnote{Dvořáková, Daniela: Rytier a jeho král. Budmerice: RAK, 2003, p. 85. However, we do not agree with the author’s statement that he was the future son-in-law of Ctibor/Stiboritz and Beckov at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Gradually, their children John, Stephen, Nicholas (around 1410), Peter, and Paul were born. However, his brother Emeric and his wife Catherine remained most probably childless since the widowed Catherine bequeathed her personal valuables to the monastery of the Holy Virgin Mary in Čatka (Chatka) to ensure the salvation of her and her husband’s souls.} In the end, the king made them (surely on Ctibor’s intercession) the bans of Mačva. They held this office for quite a long time up to 1418.\footnote{Dvořáková, Daniela: Rytier a jeho král, p. 524.} Ladislav and Emeric belonged to the wealthiest Hungarian feudals. Their duty was, for instance, to assemble their own troops, which they were to lead to the battle under their own flag (banderium). Besides, while administering their estates they were supported by a significant number of familiares, who usually came from the area of Nitra county. For example, certain John of Bučany is mentioned already in 1406 as being in the service of Ban Ladislav.\footnote{CDHA 2, nr. 124, p. 174.}

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

Ban Ladislav died even earlier than Emeric (probably already in 1418); the causes of their
surroundings of Hlohovec, also the villages Pas-
and pertaining toll in 1420s. Within the wider
Peter (Svätý Peter) together with a ford (bridge)
the small town of Starý Hlohovec and a village St.
Peter (Svätý Peter) together with a ford (bridge)
and pertaining toll in 1420s. Within the wider
surroundings of Hlohovec, also the villages Past-
tuchov, Dyč, Bojnicky, Tekoldany, Klačany, Zele-
nice (a part), and Trakovice, together with a toll,
pertained to the castle.

In the mid-1420s, the older son of Ban Ladislas,
Stephen, took charge of family estates and got in-
volved in a conflict with his influential and pow-
erful neighbour and maternal relative Ctibor the
Younger of Beckov. Such arguments were often
reflected also in the relationships between their
subjects. Therefore, when Valentine, the 
vojt of 
Vefté Kostofány, together with his companions
went to the fair to Hlohovec on Sunday after the
feast of Michael Archangel (October, 1), 1424;
they were assaulted on the bridge over the river
Váh. They were beaten and dragged to Hlohovec
prison at the command of castellan Fekeč, one of 
familiares of Stephen of Ilok. 27

Ladislas’s second-born son died relatively
young around 1430, leaving no issues. The phe-
nomenon of a high and relatively early mortality
among male members of the lineage was repea-
ting almost for the whole century. Stephen’s death
made the way for his younger brother Nicholas,
who inherited extensive family estates as well as
an unwritten claim for distinctive court offices.
This highly able young man (using, apart from
Hungarian predicate 
Úljaki, also the Slovak one
–  
Frištacký), bearing the name of his famous great-
grandfather Nicholas Kont, took advantage of
the situation very well. In the 1430s already, he
took part in the edging of the Hussite garrisons
off the area of the present – day Slovakia because
the Hussites caused him considerable damages in
autumn 1431. At that time, three Hussite armies,
commanded by Procop Holý/the Shaven/Rasus,
camped near Hlohovec. It is unclear how much
the town itself had been plundered, but the Hus-
sites fought their way back across the river Váh
to Bohemia carrying a significant booty. Aiming
to ensure that the Hungarian army would not
be able to follow them, they had burnt down the
bridge over the river. At the beginning of Novem-
ber 1431, the army of so-called “Orphans”/sirot-
kové attempted to leave the area of the present-
day south-western Slovakia through Hlohovec as
well. Since the bridge had been destroyed, they
had to take the way along the left bank of the river
Váh via Piešťany, Beckov, and Trenčín. 29 It is not
clear whether the town of Hlohovec was fortified
at that time. However, at least one town gate is
attested by the existence of a suburban area re-
f erred to in the sixteenth-century sources as Zá-
branie (“Behind the Gates”). This evokes the
existence of a town fortification of palisade type. 30

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

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

27 MOL DL 72 606.
30 A similar fortification has also been detected by archeological research in Topoľčany.
31 Nicholas must have been at the head of a county at this time or must have held a court office as he is referred to as 
magnificus, which means magnificent, which used to be a common title for magnates. He did not use the predicate de 
Wylak in the mentioned document, but that of de Freystat et de Palaty, which means from Hlohovec and Palata (a castle in 
Veszprém county). MOL DL 12630.
of Tolna, Baranya, Vukovar, Bodrog, and Bács. At the beginning of 1440s, he became the duke of Transylvania (together with John Hunyadi), as well as the *comes* of Csanád, Csongrád, Marmaros, Arad, Zaránd, Temes, Esztergom, Kev, and Somogy. Shortly, he acted as the *comes* of Nitra, Virovitica, Győr, Torontál, as well as of Székelys. He was appointed *iudex Cumanorum* as well. In addition, it must be stated that in 1457–1458 he was the ban of Slavonia.  

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

The important posture within the political life of the Kingdom of Hungary enabled Nicholas to develop his extensive estates. At the beginning of Matthias Corvinus’ reign, he owned altogether sixteen castles, nine castlets (*castellum*), twenty towns and small towns, as well as around four hundred villages, which made him one of the wealthiest noblemen in the whole land. His properties were to be found in four individual units. First one was located in the south-western Slovakia, in the county of Nitra, consisting of the castle domains of Hlohovec, Tematin, and Koral’ka (though he gave this one to his *familiaris* Osvalf of Bučany). The second unit was in the central part of Transdanubia, with its centre on Palota Castle. The third part of his estates was located in the eastern Slavonia, centred at Orahovica Castle. The fourth unit was situated in the county of Sreem with its centre in Ilok, which became the major residence of the last family representatives.

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

The story of the family of Ilok gives an example of an almost dreamy rise of a noble family, whose members managed to oppose the oligarchs and stubbornly supported the crowned King Charles Robert. Thanks to their loyal service and the king’s generosity, they gradually established an extensive domain which commanded respect. The members of the family were typical representatives of the Hungarian aristocracy. As they were often to be found in the presence of the king, they were probably able to speak Hungarian.

On the other hand, the majority of their estates were located in a Slavic language area (Croatian and Slovak), therefore, they spoke also these languages beyond any doubt. To sum up, they were full-blooded representatives of *natio Hungarica* – a multinational noble community of the Kingdom of Hungary.

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32 For individual offices, see Engel, Pál: Magyarország világi archontológiája, passim.
A Magnate from Slovakia and Ban of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia: Count Thomas of Svätý Jur, His Life and Activities (* ca. 1345–1405)

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

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

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

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

Count Thomas belonged to the magnate family that emerged as a separate branch of the Hunt-Poznans at the beginning of the thirteenth century and gradually assumed the title of the counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok. They had a large number of estates and castles in the area of present-day western Slovakia. The core of their estate entailed the castle-lordships of Svätý Jur (Hun. Szentgyörgy), Pezinok (Hun. Bazin, Germ. Böising) and Malinovo (Germ. Eberhard) with their appertaining market-towns and villages. Thus, the lordship of Svätý Jur consisted of the castle of Svätý Jur (Bratislava county), the market-town of Svätý Jur, villages of Šenkvice, Jarná, Blatné, Čataj, *Kvze (today not existing, situated 3 km north-west of Nový Život), Topoľníky, Topoľnica, Horný Štál, Dolný Štál, Ohrady (Nogkrth), Horné Mýto, and halves of villages of Štvrtok na Ostrove, Hviezdoslavov, and Veľká Paka.1 The lordship of Pezinok consisted of the castle and market-town of Pezinok (Bratislava county), villages of Čajla (nowadays part of Pezinok), *Sumberk (today not existing, situated 2 km north-east from Pezinok), Limbach, Viničné, Vajnory, Chorvátsky Grob, Veľký Grob, Slovenská Nová Ves, Nová Dedinka (Nová Ves pri Dunaji), Ohrady (Bekenkyrth), Kalinkovo, Veľký Biel, Vinosady, *Tykod (today not existing, situated near Jelka), and halves of the villages of Štvrtok na Ostrove, Hviezdoslavov, and Veľká Paka.2 Finally, the lordship of the castle of Eberhard consisted of the village Eberhard (nowadays Malinovo), Most

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1 Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár (deinde MOL DL) 11105; 11120.
2 MOL DL 11686; 11718.
3 The following text will demonstrate that during Count Thomas’s lifetime the family also obtained and occasionally lost some other estates, e.g. the castles and lordship of castles Pajštún and Oslip, as well as some smaller properties. The castle of Pajštún held appurtenant villages of Záhorská Bystrica, Borinka, Mášt (part of Stupava), Stupava, Zohor, Vysoká pri Morave, Láb, Lozorno Gajary, and Malé Leváre. The villages of Oslip, Breitenbrunn, Wulkaprodersdorf, Baumgarten, Rohrbach bei Mattersburg, Sopronkovesd and market-town Rust were appurtenant villages of the castle of Oslip. If we look at the distribution, we can see that the core of the economic basis of the family of Svätý Jur was in Bratislava county, with some other castles and appurtenant estates in Sopron county (see Map 1).

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


bound to the German colonists who came to the Little Carpathian area from Bavaria and Tyrol.

In the fourteenth century their political activity begins with Peter, the father of Count Thomas. Count Peter became the *comes* (Hun. *ispán*, Slov./Cro. *župan*) of Bereg County in 1360, almost at the end of his life. In addition, he managed to have his sons Thomas and Peter the Younger (II) raised at the royal court. They were both mentioned as the *familiares* of King Louis the Great in 1363, but in 1364 came back to their family properties for a while. After their father’s death, three sons divided family estates. The castle of Švätý Jur was the residence of two brothers, the oldest one, John, and the younger one, Peter. Thomas was given Eberhard castle. In contrast to his brother, he carried on serving the king. As his diplomat, he arranged that the Austrian duke paid their debts back to the king. Later, he is again mentioned as the owner of Eberhard castle, administrating one of two toll stations controlling the passing through the Little Danube (Malý Dunaj) from Žitný ostrov (Rye Island) to Bratislava. The second station, the one at Vrakuňa, belonged to the town of Bratislava. The port is mentioned at Eberhard (nowadays village Malinovo) in the second half of the fourteenth century as well. The aforementioned toll station of Vrakuňa triggered the conflict between Count Thomas and James, the mayor of Bratislava. Though Count Thomas did not succeed in gaining control over it, he increased his properties at the expense of the possessions of the mayor of Bratislava.

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

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

This support can be discerned from the rebellion of the Priory of Vrana which happened in the autumn of the previous year, but even more from the anti-royal conspiracy which occurred in Zadar soon after Ban Thomas of Svatý Jur arrived there. The story is well known in Croatian historiography, but had different interpretations. Some authors attributed the event to the policy of Venice, others to that of King Stephen Tvrtko of Bosnia, or to the stream which wanted to see Charles of Durazzo not only as the ruler of the Regnum, but also crowned with the Holy Crown of Hungary. The latter interpretation is the most probable one.

A contemporary of Ban Thomas, Paul de Paulo, one of the Zaratin patricians, briefly described the conspiracy against the queens. He did not state why it occurred, but gave the details of what had happened to the insurgents. It was in the middle of July 1384, when Zanin, his cousin Giancarlo, Peter Franchalanza, and Michael Milešić organized the rebellion. Three days later, the first three conspirators were brutally executed – they were dragged all over the town, they were decapitated, and their bodies were left on public display until the evening. Paul also noted that three judges had been appointed in charge of selling the confiscated property of the traitors. On the same day, the supporters of the three queens, Elizabeth, Mary and Hedwig, in Zadar decided to form an alliance with Ban Thomas and took an oath on the relics of Saint Chrysogonus, the patron saint of the city. Notarial sources shed some light on the auction which took place after the events. The first auction sold
the property of Peter Opatičić or Franchalanca, the son of late John of Zadar. He is defined as infidelis regie maiaestatis Ungarie et communis ladre ac proditor patriae in the document. Further on, it is specified that the conspirator owned two houses, of which the second one included two shops in the town centre. The social layer and wealth of the second conspirator is similar to the first one since Zanin was a draperius. His house was sold for the price of 800 florins. On the contrary, his cousin Giancarlo, the third recorded conspirator, did not own a house in Zadar, but he had a land which was sixty gogna large (approximately an estate providing the living for two peasant households). It is possible that he resided in his cousin’s home. The fourth and the last conspirator, Michael Milešić, avoided the death penalty. It is generally held that the event was neither an isolated case nor the result of individual discontent, and that more than a half of the members of the city council supported the rebellion.27 We can only speculate about the reason why it happened since Paul de Paulo did not record the reasons of their action. In that situation, Ban Thomas acted as a firm extended hand of the queens, and by doing so he managed to consolidate the situation in Croatia-Dalmatia. Shortly after, in the middle of July 1384, the Dowager-Queen Elizabeth sent her instructions that he should punish the Vlachs of the hinterland, who were responsible for several robberies and damages in the district of Šibenik. These robberies happened when Emeric Bubek was the ban (prior to June 1383); he was ordered to punish them, but failed to do so. As a punishment, the Vlachs were supposed to pay a fine of 200 golden florins, which, according to the queen’s decision, should be divided in two halves between Ban Thomas and the commune of Šibenik.28

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

28 CDCr 16, pp. 480–481.
31 The document was first published by György Fejér (CDH 10/1, pp. 179–181), but with few typos. Thus, the quotations above were checked against the original (MOL DL 7111). Cfr. Klačić, Vjekoslav: Povijest Hrvata, p. 215; Peričić, Eduard: Vranski prior Ivan od Paližne i Petar Berislavić. In: Radovi Istraživačkog centra JAZU u Zadru, a. 18, 1971, nr. 106A, p. 263.
32 For the exact position, see: Engel, Pál: Magyarország a középkor végén – a 15. század eleje, a. 18, 1971, nr. 106A, p. 263.
34 For more details, see: Ibidem, p. 196, 264.
Concerning his lower officers (for geographical distribution of the ban’s honours, see Map 2 below), we found only several of them mentioned by names in the sources, mainly the counts of Dalmatian cities of Nin, Šibenik, Trogir, Novigrad, and of the insular communes of Hvar, Brač, and Korčula. The count of Nin was Budislav, son of Budislav de genere Gusich, a member of the family of the counts of Krakow, who would prove to be the great supporters of Queen Mary in the upcoming events. It is also noted that Budislav was a royal knight. In Šibenik, two counts are mentioned in succession, Rafael de Sorba and Louis de Georgiis de Iadra, both of them belonging to the rank of Zaratin nobles who were also royal knights. It is interesting to mention that Count Paul of Trogir also came from the aforementioned Zaratin family, de Georgiis, and that he was also a royal knight. The situation on the islands was different since at that time there was one count for all three islands of Hvar, Brač, and Korčula; his name was Matthew, son of Nicholas de Petrachis of Split. This case is interesting since the count came from Split and at that period there was no count in Split itself, but the city was governed by the local patricians styled as rectors. It is indicative that the situation there was probably completely consolidated with no problems at all. If we apply the method of prosopography to Ban Thomas’s officials in the cities, it is evident that they came from the local noble families, which, starting from the Counts of Krka to the noble families of Sorba or Jurjević, were later strong supporters of Queen Mary.

Regarding the officials in the extra-urban parts of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia, the situation was a little different. In order to emphasize more clearly the extent of Ban Thomas’s authority, it should be stated that as the ban he had immediate control over 20 castles, all placed on the strategically important route connecting Slavonia and Hungary with the sea, usually manned by the members of his retinue (see Map 2). Unfortunately, the data on the most of them are rather scanty. For the castle of Novigrad, we found a mention of the first name of its governor only, Count Peter. For the time being, we cannot connect him with any of the local noble families. Thus, it is more probable that he was a member of Ban Thomas’s Slovak retinue, probably his own brother. Besides him, only the castellans of Livno (as of 1384) – Ladislas, son of Martin, and John, son of Pop – are known by their names. Still, the documents regarding the auction of the conspirators’ property contain an important piece of information – a mention of the ban’s scribe, probably a person educated in the legal affairs who accompanied him to Zadar. Unfortunately, all we know about him is that his name was John and that at the time of the auction he was, like Ban Thomas himself, absent from Zadar. At any rate, it seems that Ban Thomas emulated the system usual for the chancery of the bans of Slavonia, who were, as well as other high officers with judicial function, accompanied and assisted by a protonotary.
The last mention of Thomas as the Ban of Croatia-Dalmatia dates to March 1385, when he was transferred to the position of the judge royal. Thanks to this appointment he became one of the most powerful men in the whole kingdom. His rise was part of relocation within the faction of Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara, which is clearly visible if we look at the structure of the royal officers. Those in power were the supporters of the royal marriage with Duke Louis of Orleans. Thomas of Svätý Jur remained in the position of one of the most powerful men in the kingdom until the fall of 1385, when he was succeeded by John of Kapla. The change was influenced by two semi-independent events: the invasions of King Charles and of the margrave of Brandenburg, Sigismund of Luxemburg. The latter was more directly connected to Count Thomas’s fate. The exact sequence of events leading to the change seems to be as follows. In August 1385 Sigismund of Luxemburg militarily intervened; it is important to emphasize that his cousins, Moravian margraves Procop and Jodok, financed his campaign. According to their mutual contract, Sigismund promised to pledge several properties in Brandenburg in exchange for 50 thousand of Prague groschen. The contract from the summer of 1385 is important also with regard to the fact that Moravian margraves held all the conquered lands between the river Morava and the river Váh in pledge. These were mostly
possessions in the county of Bratislava, where the domain of the counts of Švätý Jur was situated as well. Therefore they were formally under the custody of the margraves. Moreover, during the campaign, Jodok managed to capture Count Thomas and imprison him.\textsuperscript{50} Even though Count Thomas fell into captivity, the fact that at the same time his faction temporarily lost its power by the coronation of Charles II, when they were all removed from their functions (see \textit{Appendix} 2), was much more disastrous for his political career. Their return to power by the coup of January 1386 ended with the final defeat of Gorjani in the following July. Thus, although those turbulent events interrupted the career of Thomas of Švätý Jur, they also saved him from death, which would have most probably occurred either in these fights or in the ensuing civil war.

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

Afterwards, Thomas was no longer active within the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Hungary and retired to his previous seat at Eberhard. In 1393, he had to sell his castle of Oslip (Sopron county) with appertaining possessions to John of Kaniža, Archbishop of Esztergom and the royal chancellor.\textsuperscript{54} Oslip castle was valued at 6800 golden florins – which Thomas owed as a ransom for his release. He tried to consolidate his status within the kingdom by connecting with Margrave Jodok. We found out that in 1399 Count Thomas received the town and the castle of Hodonín (present-day Czech Republic) as a reward.

\textsuperscript{50} Gahiér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Švätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 15 and the references mentioned there.
\textsuperscript{52} MOL DL 7613.
\textsuperscript{53} Brandl, Vincenz: Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae. Urkunden-Sammlung zur Geschichte Mährens. Brünn: Verlag des Mährischen Landes-Ausschusses, 1885, a. 11, nr. 603, pp. 525–526. The edition only states that there are five well-preserved seals attached to the charter. The original of the charter is kept in Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni, Historica Třeboň, nr. 50. There is also a photograph in: MOL DF 289201.
\textsuperscript{54} SVT 1, nr. 358, pp. 512–514.
for his faithful service. His second marriage with a woman from a family that was loyal to Margrave Jodok can be interpreted in the same manner. Margaret, daughter of Zdeněk and Kunigunda (Kunhuta), first mentioned in 1396, belonged to the noble Moravian family of Šternberk. Count Thomas acted in a similar way when he looked for a husband for his only daughter Sibilla (from his first marriage with the aforementioned Ursula). He once again chose from the family loyal to Margrave Jodok, and so, Sibilla married Peter of Kravař and Štrážnica in 1397. After securing her position, Count Thomas gave some of his properties to other members of the family, and ordered that after his death his brother Peter should give 750 sexaginas of Prague groschen to his widow Margaret of Šternberk. Count Thomas died in 1405, leaving no male heir.

To conclude, Count Thomas of Svätý Jur can be described as a loyal servant of the Anjou, thus representing a paradigm for social and professional mobility within the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. He started his career at the court of Louis the Great, alongside his brother, both of them being mentioned as royal familiari. Several years before the death of King Louis the Great he held the office of the master of treasury, which was one of the top ten positions at the royal court of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. At the same time, he was mentioned as the comes of Nitra county in the north-western part of the kingdom, in present-day Slovakia. In the turbulent period after the death of Louis the Great, he became the ban of Dalmatia-Croatia, thus entering the inner cycle surrounding Queen Mary, Dowager-Queen Elizabeth, and Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara. In his office he confirmed his loyalty when acting decisively in the events around the conspiracy in Zadar, consolidating that part of the kingdom at least for a while. As an important and consistent supporter of Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara and his policy, Count Thomas of Svätý Jur became judge royal, and thus the second most important man in the royal court. Hence, he was inclined to support the marriage of Mary with Duke Louis, but his career was interrupted by the events following Sigismund’s raid and his gaining of the crown of St. Stephen. Count Thomas of Svätý Jur, although imprisoned by Margrave Jodok during that turbulent political situation, suffered a stigma of an opponent of Sigismund of Luxemburg.

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

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

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57 GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), pp. 18–19; ENGEL, Pál: Középkori magyar genealógia, ibid.
58 GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 18.
59 MOL DL 10011.
60 GAHÉR, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 18; Archontológia.
Appendix 1:
Extract from the genealogy of the Counts of Svätý Jur (the branch of Svätý Jur) in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century*

* Taken from the larger genealogical plate created by Daniel Gahér and published in his work on Count Thomas of Svätý Jur (cfr., p. 21).
### Appendix 2:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Queen Mary and Dowager Queen Elizabeth (09/1382–09/1385)</th>
<th>Charles of Durazzo (09/1385–02/1386)</th>
<th>Queen Mary (03–07/1386) and the League of Sigismund of Luxemburg (from 08/1386)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Judge Royal</td>
<td>Nicholas of Szécs (01/1381–10/1384)</td>
<td>John of Kapla (10/1385–11/1385)</td>
<td>Emeric Bubek (01/1386) vacancy (03–04/1386)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban of Slavonia</td>
<td>Stephen and John Báthi of Donja Lendava (03/1381–08/1385)</td>
<td>vacancy (10/1385)</td>
<td>Emeric Bubek (04/1386–03/1392)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban of Dalmatia-Croatia</td>
<td>Emeric Bubek (10/1380–06/1383)</td>
<td>John of Kapla (03–10/1385)</td>
<td>Peter Cudar (09/1386)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voivode of Transylvania</td>
<td>Ladislas of Lučenec the Elder (05/1376–08/1385)</td>
<td>Nicholas of Gara the Younger (10/1385–06/1386)</td>
<td>Stephen and Ladislas of Lučenec the Younger (08–10/1387)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban of Mačva</td>
<td>Paul of Lieskova (01–08/1382)</td>
<td>John Horvat (05/1385–01/1386)</td>
<td>John Horvat (05/1385–01/1386)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master of the Treasury</td>
<td>Nicholas Zámbo (05/1382–06/1384)</td>
<td>John Treutel (01–05/1385)</td>
<td>Nicholas Zámbo (10/1385–04/1388)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master of the Horse</td>
<td>Stephen Lackfi of Simontomya (10/1382–06/1387)</td>
<td>Blaise Forgács (01/1383–01/1386)</td>
<td>Nicholas of Perin (08/1387–04/1390)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master of the Cup-bearers</td>
<td>Blaise Forgács (01/1383–01/1386)</td>
<td>Blaise Forgács (02–07/1386)</td>
<td>George of Štítnik (07/1387–07/1396)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master of the Table</td>
<td>Ladislas of Vezesny (01/1383–06/1386)</td>
<td>Nicholas of Tileagd (01/1383–06/1384)</td>
<td>Eustace of Jelšava (05/1387–11/1392)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master of the Doorkeepers</td>
<td>Nicholas of Tileagd (01/1383–06/1384)</td>
<td>Paul of Alsán (10/1385–06/1386)</td>
<td>Nicholas of Tileagd (01/1383–06/1384)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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*The table was done according to the data from Pál Engel’s *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, but also according to the data from the forthcoming publication of Damir Karbić dealing with various officials in the Kingdom of Dalmatia-Croatia, to whom we would like to thank for allowing us to use the information.*
Appendix 3:

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

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

Doc. 1.
(fol. 96’)

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

Feci in auctentico emptori

MCCLXXXII to indictione VII ab incarnatione

Die XXVIII mens Augusti

In Christi nomine. Amen. Anno ab incarnatione eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo octagesimo quarto, indictione septima, die vigesimo quinto mensis Augusti regnante serenissima principessa regina Maria, Dei gratia regina Ungarie et cetera, temporeque seuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Petri de Matafaris, eadem Dei gratia Jadrensis archiepiscopi, necon non magnifici et potentis domini domini Thome de Sancto Georgio, regnorum Dalmatie et Croatie bani generalis ac comitis intuitive Iadre. Testificor ego Anthonius proco communis Iadre quod cum facta foret per infrascriptos dominus judices et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: “Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabit vna domus minor cum duabus stationibus suis, que fuit condam Petri Opatichich, filii quondam Iohannis de Iadra. infidelis regie maiestatis Vngarie et communis Iadre ac proditoris patrie et nunc est communis Iadre et in ipsum commune per sententiam confis cata, posita in confinio ecclesie Sancti Laurentii iuxta platem magnam Iadre, cui domus cum stationibus hii sunt confines: de austro heredes condam ser Dominici de Nassis mediante muro communii, de borea domus maior cum suo sportico que fuit dicti condam Petri, mediante pariete de lignamine, de trauersa dicta domus maior mediante muro communii et de quirina uia publica, et hoc ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uirorum domini Ludouici de Georgis, legum doctoris, ser Iohannis de Petriço et ser Cresii condam ser Raynerii de Varicassis, officium communis Iadre vigore partis capte in consilio secreto Iadre die quintodecimo Iulii instantis ad hec et alia specialiter deputatorum.” Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre ac mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas seu debitas observari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini judices et officiales ad uendendum bona dicti condam Petri infidelis et proditoris, ut premittitur, ad incantum et ad alia facienda et deliberanda habentes speciale mandata pro soluendo creditoribus habere debeatibus ab ipso condam Petro et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premittitur, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo mensis Iulii proxime preteriti sub prescriptis anno domini et indictione, habito quod omnia observata fuerunt que in dicta cedula describuntur atque primo guarentatis debite confinibus supranscriptis, commiserunt mihi Anthonio preconi predicto ut dictam domum minorem cum duabus stationibus suis prout in dicta cedula enarratur secundum ordinamenta dicte ciuitatis Iadre ac secundum mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas seu debitas observari incantare et deliberare deberem. Quorum mandata fideliter exequens predictam domum minorem cum dictis duabus stationibus suis prout in dicta cedula continetur diebus pluribus et pluribus per plates et alia loca solita diebus festiu sus et non festiu sus, modo et horis debitis, publice incantau, ubi moris est, preconia uoce denuncians atque dicens quod dicta domus minor cum dictis stationibus suis secundum formam dicte cedule plus offerenti et danti daretur et deliberaretur, predictam cedulam incantans publice in manibus semper ferens. Cumque prenotificato per me quod dicta domus minor cum dictis duabus stationibus suis cum earum iuribus et pertinencis supradicto die daretur et deliberaretur prout in dicta cedula continetur nemoque se opposuisse incantui neque deliberationi nullusque comparuisse qui se pro dicta domo et stationibus plus nec tantum daturum offeret quantum ser Andreas de Cesamis, nobilis ciuis Iadre, qui se (fol. 97) uice et nomine Crisani

* On this occasion we would like to thank Branka Grbavac for providing us with the photos of the documents from the Archive in Zadar, and also to Damir Karbić for the helpful and useful suggestions while transcribing, and any other friendly advice while writing this article.
draparii condam Martini de dicta ciuitate Iadre daturum obtulit ducatos auri centum et octuaginta ad soldos octuaginta pro singulo ducato. Tandem de mandato supraddictorum dominorum iudicum et officialium, videlicet Ludouici, Iohannis et Cressii, supraddicto die uigesimo octauo mensis Augusti dedi, uendidi et deliberaui sub logia magna communis dicto Ser Andree de Cesamis ementi uice et nomine et pro parte dicti Crisani draparii domum predictam cum dictis duabus stationibus et omnibus iuribus et pertinenciis eorumdem prout in dicta cedula declaratur pro precio et nomine precii ducatorum auri centum et octuaginta, ut premittitur, ad soldos octuaginta paruorum pro singulo ducato superius oblatory, ad habendum, tenendum, gaudendum et possidendum et quiuquid dicto Crisano drapario et eius heredibus et successoribus de inceps placuerit perpetuo faciendo seu aliqui rem aliquam ad incantum ementi ex forma statutorum et ordinamentorum Iadre ac consuetudinem fieri promittit. Quemquidem ser Andream emptori quo supra nomine dictus dominus Ludouicus iudex ex sui officio et de commissione, voluitate et mandato dictionum aliorum duorum iuridicum suorum colegarum sedentium cum eo ad bancum sub logia magna, tunc absente a ciuitate Iadre domino Iohanne scriba supradicti domini bani et comiti ciuitatis Iadre qui ad hec et alia cum eis solitus erat sedere pro ipso domino bano, de possessione dicte domus et dictarum duarum stationum et earum iurium et pertinenticarum cum baculo quem sua tenebat in manu, ut est solitum in talibus, inuestitiuit et dictam deliberationem totaliter confirmavit, qui quidem emptor nomine quo supra et de denariis propriis iipsius Crisani dedit, soluit et manualiter numeravit iipsis dominis iudicibus et officiibus dictam ducatorum quantitatem, videlicet ducatos auri centum et octuaginta ad rationem ad rationem, prefatam, prout dicti domini iudices et officiales contenti et confessi fuerint se habuisse et recepisse a supraddicto empore nomine antedicto, predicti domini iudices et officiales mandauerunt mihi notario infrascripto ad cautelam fieri incantum publicum instrumentum. Actum Iadre sub dicta logia magna communis, presentibus ad supradicta omnia ser Cressio condam ser Petri Zadulinis et ser Micha de Nassisi, procuratoribus dicti communis Iadre, et ser Francisco de Zadulinis et ser Iohanne de Nassisi, nobilibus ciuibus Iadre, testibus ad premissa ouacatis et rogatis et cetera.

Doc. 2.

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

Feci in auctentico

Die XXVIII° mensis Augusti

Testificor ego Anthonius preco communis Iadre quod cum facta foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: “Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabitur domus maior cum duabus stationibus sub ipsa domo positum cum sportico, curia, orto, puteo, canipa, camera, coquina, balatorii et omnibus alius suis iuribus et pertinenciis que fuit condam Petri Opatichich, filii condam Iohannis de Iadra, infidelis regni et communis Iadre ac proctoris patrie, et in qua ipse condam Petrus habitabat, que domus est posita Iadre in confronia ecclesie Sancti Laurentii iuxta platheam magnam Iadre, cui domus cum stationibus hii sunt confines; de trauersa partim ser Petrus de Lubanaç mediante muro communi pro parte et partim Grescus butiguarus et partim Draga, uxor Pripci sartoris condam Perfici, mediante androna, de borea ser Marcus de Pomo (fol. 97°) mediante muro communi, de austro partim heredes condam ser Dominici de Nassisi mediante muro communi et partim domus parua cum alius duabus stationibus dictam condam Petri usque ad sporticum mediante pariete communis de lignamine et de quirina uia publica, que quidem domus cum suis iuribus et pertinenciis est nunc communis Iadre, in ipsum commune per sententiam confiscata et uenditur ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uirorum domini Ludouici de Georgiis, legum doctoris, ser Iohanni de Petriço et ser Cresii Raynerii de Varicassis, officiialium communis Iadre ad hec et alia vigore partis capte in consilio secreto Iadre die quintodecimo Iulii instantis deputatorum.” Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre ac mores et consuetudines in talibus solatas seu debitibus obseruari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini iudices et officiales ad uendendum bona dictam Petri infidelis et proctoris, ut premittitur, ad incantum et ad alia facienda habentes speciale mandata pro soluendo creditoribus habere debentibus ab ipso condam Petro et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premittitur, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo
mensis Iulii proxime preteriti sub prescriptis anno domini et indictione, habito quod omnia obseruata fuerunt que in dicta cedula describuntur atque primo guarentatis debite confinibus suprascriptis, commiserunt mihi Anthonio preconi predicto ut dictam domum maiorem cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipso domo positis prout in dicta cedula enarratur secundum ordinamenta dicte ciuitatis Iadre ac secundum mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas obseruari incantare et deliberare deberem. Quorum mandata fideliter exequens, predictam domum maiorem cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipsa positis, prout in dicta cedula continetur, pluribus et pluribus diebus per plateas et alia loca solita diebus festiuis et non festiuis, modo et horis debitis publice incantauti, ubi moris est, preconia uoce denuncians atque dicens quod dicta domus maior cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipsa positis secundum formam dicte cedule plus offerenti et danti dare et deliberaretur, predictam incantus cedulam in manibus publice semper ferens. Cumque prenotificato per me quod dicta domus maior cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipsa positis cum earum iuribus et pertinenciis supradicto die dare et deliberaretur, prout in dicta cedula continetur, nemoque se opposuisse incantui neque deliberationi nullusque qui se pro dicta domo et duabus stationibus sub ipsa positis tenebat et pertinenciis dictis mandatis fideliter exequens, predictam domum maiorem cum dictis duabus stationibus et omnibus iuribus et pertinenciis earumdem, prout in dicta cedula declaratur, pro precio et nomine precii ducatorum auri quadringentorum et septuaginta trium, ut premittitur, ad soldos octuaginta paruorum pro singulo ducato superius oblatorum, ad habendum, tenendum, gaudendum et possidendum et quicquid dicto Crisano drapario et eius hereditibus ac successoribus deinceps placuerit perpetuo faciendum seu quicquid aliiuis rem alicuiam ad incantum ementi ex forma statutorum et ordinamentorum Iadre ac consuetudinum fieri promittitur. Quem quidem ser Andream emptorem quo supra nomine dictus dominus Ludouicus iudex et officialis ex sui officio et de commissione, volunte et mandato dictorum aliorum duorum iudicum et officialium suorum colegerum sedentium cum eo ad bancum sub dicta logia magna, tunc absente a ciuitate Iadre domino lohanne scriba supradicti domini bani et comitis ciuitatis Iadre, qui ad hec et alia cum eis solitus erat sedere pro ipso domino bano, de possessione dictae domus et dictarum duarum stationum et earum iurium et pertinentiarum cum baculo quem sua tenebat in manu, ut est solitum in talibus, inuestitiuit et dictam deliberationem totaliter confirmavuit, qui quidem ser Andream emptorem quo supra nomine de denariis propriis ipius Crisani dedit, soluit et manualiter numeravit ipsis dominis iudicibus et officialibus dictum ducatorum quantitatem, videlicet ducatos auri quadrantarios et septuaginta tres ad rationem prefatam, prout dicti domini iudices et officiales contenti et confessi fuerint se habuisse et recepisse a supradicto emptore nomine antedicto, predicti domini iudices et officiales mandauerunt mihi notario infrascripto ad cautelam fieri notario infrascripto ad cautelam fieri presens braviarius incantus publicum instrumentum. Actum Iadre sub dicta logia magna communis, presentibus ad supradicta omnia ser Bartolo de Cipriano et ser Micha de Nassis, procuratoribus communis Iadre predicti, et ser Damiano condam ser Grisogoni de Begna et ser Colano de Matafaris, nobilibus ciuibus Iadre, testibus ad premissa vocatis et rogatis et cetera.
foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et officiales et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: “Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabitur vna domus cum suis cameriis, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriius, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, posita Iadre in contrata Porte ferree iuxta ecclesiam sancte Marie de Bongaudo, quae fuit condam Zanini draperii de Iadra, infidelis sacre regiae maiestatis Vngarie et communis Iadre ac proctoris patrie, et nunc est dicti communis Iadre et in ipsum commune confiscata, cui hi sunt confines: de trauersa domus que fuit condam illorum de Bogde mediante muro communi sicut fuit antiquitus, de quirina uia conuicinalis, de austro uia publica et de borea heredes condam ser Francesco de Saladinis partim mediante muro communi et partim non, et hoc ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uiorum domini Lobouci de Georgis, ser Iohannis de Petriço et ser Cressi Raynerii de Varicasis, officialium communis Iadre ad hec et alia super bonis dicti infidelis et cetera specialiter vigore partis capte in consilio Iadre deputatorum.” Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre et consuetudines in talibus debitas et solitas observari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel libre quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini iudices et officiales ad uendendum bona dicti condam Zanini infidelis et proctoris, ut premissit, ad incantum et ad alia facienda habentes speciale mandato (!) pro soluendo creditoribus habere debentibus ab ipso condam Zanino et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premissit, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo mensis Iulii proxime preteriti pro precio et nomine precii omnibus suis iuribus et pertinenciis, prout in dicta cedula declaratur, pro precio et nomine precii omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis plus nec tantum daturum offert (fol. 98’) quantum ser Cose condam ser Mathei de Begna, nobilis cuius Iadre, qui se daturum obtulit ducatos octingentos auri ad soldos octauaginta pro ducato singulo. Tandem de mandato supradictorum dominorum iudicum et officialium, videlicet Ludouici, Iohannis et Cressii, supradicto die uigesimo nono mensis Augusti dedi, uendidi et deliberaui sub logia magna communis Iadre dicto ser Cose de Begna, nobilis cuius Iadre, dictam domum cum suis cameriis, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriius, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, pro quicquid ser Cose emptori et eius heredibus ac successoribus dictum, quicquid deinceps placeuerit perpetuo faciendum seu ementi foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et officiales et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: “Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabitur vna domus cum suis cameriis, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriius, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, posita Iadre in contrata Porte ferree iuxta ecclesiam sancte Marie de Bongaudo, quae fuit condam Zanini draperii de Iadra, infidelis sacre regiae maiestatis Vngarie et communis Iadre ac proctoris patrie, et nunc est dicti communis Iadre et in ipsum commune confiscata, cui hi sunt confines: de trauersa domus que fuit condam illorum de Bogde mediante muro communi sicut fuit antiquitus, de quirina uia conuicinalis, de austro uia publica et de borea heredes condam ser Francesco de Saladinis partim mediante muro communi et partim non, et hoc ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uiorum domini Lobouci de Georgis, ser Iohannis de Petriço et ser Cressi Raynerii de Varicasis, officialium communis Iadre ad hec et alia super bonis dicti infidelis et cetera specialiter vigore partis capte in consilio Iadre deputatorum.” Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre et consuetudines in talibus debitas et solitas observari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel libre quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini iudices et officiales ad uendendum bona dicti condam Zanini infidelis et proctoris, ut premissit, ad incantum et ad alia facienda habentes speciale mandato (!) pro soluendo creditoribus habere debentibus ab ipso condam Zanino et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premissit, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo mensis Iulii proxime preteriti pro precio et nomine precii omnibus suis iuribus et pertinenciis, prout in dicta cedula declaratur, pro precio et nomine precii omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis plus nec tantum daturum offert (fol. 98’) quantum ser Cose condam ser Mathei de Begna, nobilis cuius Iadre, qui se daturum obtulit ducatos octingentos auri ad soldos octauaginta pro ducato singulo. Tandem de mandato supradictorum dominorum iudicum et officialium, videlicet Ludouici, Iohannis et Cressii, supradicto die uigesimo nono mensis Augusti dedi, uendidi et deliberaui sub logia magna communis Iadre dicto ser Cose de Begna, nobilis cuius Iadre, dictam domum cum suis cameriis, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriius, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, pro quicquid ser Cose emptori et eius heredibus ac successoribus dictum, quicquid deinceps placeuerit perpetuo faciendum seu ementi foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et officiales et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: “Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabitur vna domus cum suis cameriis, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriius, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, posita Iadre in contrata Porte ferree iuxta ecclesiam sancte Marie de Bongaudo, quae fuit condam Zanini draperii de Iadra, infidelis sacre regiae maiestatis Vngarie et communis Iadre ac proctoris patrie, et nunc est dicti communis Iadre et in ipsum commune confiscata, cui hi sunt confines: de trauersa domus que fuit condam illorum de Bogde mediante muro communi sicut fuit antiquitus, de quirina uia conuicinalis, de austro uia publica et de borea heredes condam ser Francesco de Saladinis partim mediante muro communi et partim non, et hoc ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uiorum domini Lobouci de Georgis, ser Iohannis de Petriço et ser Cressi Raynerii de Varicasis, officialium communis Iadre ad hec et alia super bonis dicti infidelis et cetera specialiter vigore partis capte in consilio Iadre deputatorum.” Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre et consuetudines in talibus debitas et solitas observari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel libre quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini iudices et officiales ad uendendum bona dicti condam Zanini infidelis et proctoris, ut premissit, ad incantum et ad alia facienda habentes speciale mandato (!) pro soluendo creditoribus habere debentibus ab ipso condam Zanino et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premissit, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo mensis Iulii proxime preteriti sub prescriptis anno domini et indictione, quicquid alicui rem aliquam ad incantum ementi foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et officiales et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et officiales et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti

Daniel Gahér – Suzana Miljan: A Magnate from Slovakia and Ban of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia
iudicibus et officialibus dictam ducatorum quantitatem, videlicet ducatos auri octingentos ad rationem prefatam, prout dicti domini iudices et officiales contenti et confessi fuerint se habuisse et recepisse a supradicto emptore, predicti domini iudices et officiales mandauerunt mihi notario infrascripto ad cautelam fieri presens brauiarii incantus publicum instrumentum. Actum Iadre sub dicta logia magna communis, presentibus ad omnia supradicta ser Bartolo de Cipriano et ser Micha de Nassis, procuratoribus communis Iadre predicti, et ser Colano de Matafaris et ser Simone de Rosa, nobilibus ciuibus Iadre, testibus ad premissa uocatis et rogatis et cetera.
Croatian-Slovak Connections through the Activities of Blaise Magyar. An Example of Political and Family Connections between Slovak and Croatian Nobility

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

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

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

Origin of Blaise Magyar

In presenting Blaise’s life and career the first question which has to be raised is that of his origin. Modern scholarship has offered several interpretations regarding his origin but none of them has been accurate and convincing enough. In Croatian historiography, Blaise has often been identified and associated with Blaise Podmanický, a member of the noble family Podmanický of Podmanín who had their estates in the county of Trenčín near the hill Podmanín in the vicinity of Považská Bystrica, who was also active in this period. This is based on the misinterpretation of Bonfini’s statements about Blaise Magyar and Blaise Podmanický. The argument against the
identification of Blaise Magyar with Blaise Podmanický lays in their wives’ names and lifetime span. First of all, Blaise Podmanický of Podmanin died around 1480 and his wife was Dorothea, while Blaise Magyar died around 1492 and was married to Barbara. In addition, I have found one document which mentions both aforementioned persons together: Blaise Magyar as a nobleman introduced to certain estates and Blaise of Podmanický, as it can be seen in most of the scholarly works. Slovak historiography, to my knowledge, in different stages of its development came to both conclusions.

Considering the fact that there is no document in which Blaise is mentioned with the noble adjective denoting his main estate before he entered into the service of the Hunyadi, none of those interpretations has provided the exact place of Blaise’s family origin and their estates. Regarding this lack of basic data required for the detection of Blaise’s origin, further genealogical research is very difficult but not impossible. However, I will offer some observations on Blaise’s origin. First of all, in concordance with the documents, only reliable information about Blaise’s family before the 1450s is that Blaise had a brother Clement and a wife Barbara, a noblewoman of unknown origin. In order to further research Blaise’s origin, it is important to mention some other difficulties which occurred. No document mentions Blaise’s parents, primarily the name and a surname of his father, which would provide us with data about the estates of Blaise’s father and give us the possibility to detect those estates and hence further genealogical research concerning the place of his origin. Further difficulty about detecting Blaise’s origin lay in the interpretation of his surname Magyar. It was not uncommon in the Middle Ages to use such a surname for distinguishing one person as a member of a certain ethnic group, especially when that person performed some duties in different areas of the kingdom. In Croatian part of the kingdom, according to Emilij Laszowski, it was not exceptional to use such a surname for bans and other officials of the kingdom from the fifteenth century onwards. A good example of such practice is the case of Damian Horvat of Litva, a ban of Croatia who obtained the aforementioned post along with Blaise Magyar in 1471: in his surname, the part Horvat symbolized his belonging to an ethnic group, while the other part, Litva, marked his principal estate (locus residendi), which was located in the county of Hont. In this sense the surname Magyar, which is always connected with Blaise’s name in the documents, cannot be useful in considering it as a full surname of noble family. Next difficulty arises from the fact that there are several more persons with a similar or the same name and surname, which could be associated with Blaise Magyar, but all of those interpretations lack arguments and further evidence in documents and sources. Analyzing their ancestry and estates I have come to conclusion that none of them could be associated with Blaise Magyar, either because their estates were in totally opposite parts of the kingdom, or because their respective genealogical data are incongruous. I will mention one such case here. One nobleman from the county of Heves appears in the documents under the name Blaise of Kenderes and sometimes as Blaise Magyar of Kenderes. In 1465 King Matthias gave to Blaise of Kenderes,

4 Magyar Országos Levéltár (deinde: MOL), Diplomatai Levéltár (deinde: DL) 88644.
5 MOL DL 15773.
8 Engel, Pál: Középkori magyar genealógia, sub voce Magyar.
on the return from his campaign in Bosnia, the estates of rebelled noblemen Martin Bodó and Nicholas Poljak. However, his equalization with Blaise Magyar must be eliminated because of several facts. First, in the genealogical reconstruction of Kenderes family, I have found out that Blaise had a wife Sofia, while Blaise Magyar, as I have already mentioned, had a wife Barbara. Furthermore, the charters concerning the estates of Blaise of Kenderes mention only estates in the county of Heves and only the name of Blaise of Kenderes, while many of the estates of Blaise Magyar were joint possessions with his brother Clement.

The closest clue to which I came through the research of documents also lacks decisive arguments, but it is worth mentioning it here. The first information about Blaise Magyar could be that in a document of 1449 describing and citing him along with his father-in-law (socer) Lucas, son of John, as a nobleman from Újfalu in the county of Doboka. According to Pál Engel, the place Újfalu was also named Magyarújfalu, which gives us space for some possible conclusions. If we consider Blaise’s surname Magyar as a toponym, it is possible that the place Újfalu/Magyarújfalu was the first known residence of Blaise Magyar. The placing of Újfalu/Magyarújfalu in the county of Doboka is further confirmed with other data from the aforementioned document. Namely, the document describes how Blaise Magyar came along with his father-in-law to the diet in Ciumăfaia (congregatio generalis) and complained against certain Clement of Chidea. Topographic research has showed that three aforementioned places, Újfalu/Magyarújfalu, Ciumăfaia, and Chidea, are close to each other in the county of Doboka. It is possible that Emeric Bubek (Bebek) of Pléšivec, voivode of Transylvania in 1446, accepted Blaise in his service around that time. When he finished with the duty of voivode of Transylvania, Emeric shifted Blaise to various duties on his estates in the county of Gémer. To conclude, in my opinion, according to the surviving sources, Blaise Magyar could not be a member of the Podmanický family, but rather a lesser nobleman, most probably from the eastern part of the kingdom, who had come to the territory of present-day Slovakia and started to rise upwards there. In that sense Blaise was a representative of the upward-moving new noble families that started their careers under the Hunyadi.

Services

Opposite to the limited possibility of researching his family background, there are much more data about Blaise’s services and estates which he obtained during his lifetime. At first, Blaise, as a lesser nobleman, entered the service of Emeric Bubek of Pléšivec (lat. Pelsőc), voivode of Transylvania and a member of the Bubek branch of the magnate Ákos kindred, before 1453 and was appointed to the duty of the castellan of the castle of Tokaj. Later, after the death of Emeric Bubek, Blaise remained in the service of Emeric’s wife Dorothea and was settled around 1455 in the castellum of Jelšava (lat. Ilsva) in the county of Gémer as a familiaris together with some other lesser noblemen. It is not known how exactly Blaise entered in the service of the Hunyadi family, but he started to serve them as a military commander during the lifetime of John Hunyadi, engaged against the Brethren (bratrici) and John Jiskra of Brandýs (Ján Jiskra z Brandýsa), somewhere in the vicinity of Podolinec, apparently before 1456.
Obviously, Blaise was a good military commander and a man of valour, so he remained in the service of Matthias, John Hunyadi’s son and a future king. In the enforcing of Matthias’s authority as king among reluctant noblemen and opponents, Blaise took part in a campaign against John Jiskra of Brandyš and his followers, the Brethren, in 1458. King Matthias sent him together with Bartholomew of Hartvikovice (Slovak: Bartošek z Hartvíkovíca), a Slovak nobleman from northern Moravia, to assist the town of Bardejov against various attacks of villains. Because of his excellent military skills, King Matthias appointed Blaise in 1459 to the duty of the captain of Upper Hungary nowadays East of Slovakia along with John of Čata, a Slovak nobleman from the county of Tekov. In the following years, Blaise defended the Upper Hungary from the king’s enemies, along with other captains such as Stephen of Zápolya and ceded to perform this duty in 1463, when he was for the last time in the sources styled and signed as a captain of Upper Hungary capitaneus partium superiorum in his letter to Peter, son of John Forgach of Jelenec. In this phase of his upward movement on the political and office scale of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, Blaise’s brother also gained success and offices. Clement was for the first time mentioned in 1451 and became the castellan of the castle of Sziget in 1455. After 1463, there are no mentions of Blaise Magyar in the documents until 1469, when Blaise appears as a commander of the royal army in the county of Zala located along with his castellans in the castle of Kanizsa. It seems that from 1463, according to Bonfini, Blaise remained on some sort of military duty in Upper Hungary and was engaged in King Matthias’s campaign against the plundering mercenary bands and their commander Jan Švehla, which culminated with the annihilation of the latter in the Battle at Kostofány in 1467. Next year, Blaise was engaged in the king’s campaign against Victorin, son of George of Poděbrady, King of Bohemia, in 1468 and 1469.

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

25 MOL Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (deinde: DF) DF 213267. The document is not dated, but John Hunyadi is titled as count of Bistrița, so the possible date must be between his achievement of this title, which was in 1452, and his death in 1456. See: ENGEL, Pál: The Realm of St. Stephen, pp. 289, 296.
26 According to Chaloupecký, Bartholomew of Hartvikovice (lat. Barthos de Hartwykokowcz) was from northern Moravia and was first in the service of John Jiskra and later, at the end of the 1450s, in the service of King Matthias Corvinus. Cfr. Státedečeké listy ze Slovenska. p. 45. For data on Bartholomew of Hartvikovice, see also: BOVAN, Marián: Bratrícky velitel Bartol z Hartvíkovíca v Tekovské Brezúci a náleží miestci na tamošom hradie. Lučenec: Mestský úrad Lučenec – Novohradská múzeum Lučenec. 2001–2004. Unfortunately, until now, I did not yet have the opportunity to consult it personally.
28 To my knowledge, John of Čata was also a member of lesser nobility, which performed various duties for King Matthias, most probably because of his military abilities and engagement on the side of the Hunyadi. Further details about the origins of John are unknown, yet the topographic research concerning his surname gives us a possible location of his origin. Čata was a village in the county of Tekov in the vicinity of today’s place Hronovce. Cfr. ENGEL, Pál: Magyarország a középkor végén, sub voce Csata.
29 MOL DF 213767. Apparently, John of Čata remained in the duty of the captain of Upper Hungary along Blaise only in 1459.
30 Stephen Zápolya was captain of Upper Hungary from 1460 until 1465. Cfr: MOL DL 21342, DL 214268.
31 MOL DL 59499.
32 Jelenec in the county of Nitra and in the vicinity of Lefantovce. Cfr: Engel, Pál: Magyarország a középkor végén, sub voce Gimes.
33 MOL DF 234052.
34 MOL DF 203027.
37 Ibidem, p. 27.
and Slavonia in 1470. While Blaise performed the office of the captain of Senj with Ivan Both de Bayna, from October 1471 he performed the office of ban of Croatia together with Damian Horvat of Litva. As the ban of Croatia, Blaise issued various charters. As their main task was the defence of Kingdom of Slavonia against the Ottomans, Blaise and Damian summoned the Diet of Slavonia in Rakovac in July 1471. As the ban of Croatia, Blaise was supported by his fellow nobleman from Prešerov, Blaise Magyar was Croatian nobleman Ladislas de Zempec, with whom Blaise started his career as a familiar of Emeric Bubek of Plešivec, appointed to the aforementioned service in the castellum of Jelšava. Another viceban and count of Križevci county was Ladislas Weres of Zepes, apparently identical to Ladislas Weres of Kysfalwa, a lesser nobleman from the county of Sariš and a familiaris of Blaise Magyar and Paul Kinizsi. Blaise remained at the post of the captain of Senj and Croatian ban only for a year. In the following years, from December 1472, he performed the duties of the voivode of Transylvania until June 1479. There have been various scholarly interpretations concerning the reason causing this shift in his career. There was a hypothesis that Blaise was assigned to the office of the voivode of Transylvania by the order of King Matthias Corvinus with auxiliary troops to the aid of Stephen, prince of Moldavia, and when their armies defeated the beylerbey of Rumelia at the Battle of Vaslui in Moldavia in 1475.

After he held the office of the voivode of Transylvania, he was again an army commander of King Matthias and was sent to the Kingdom of Croatia to suppress the rise and revolt of Frankapans in the 1480s. This time Blaise was sent as an army commander (capitaneus generalis) to the city of Senj, because of the violation of the peace agreement between the Frankapan and King Matthias and because of a potential retaking of city of Senj by the former. In this campaign Blaise was supported by the captain of Senj, Marože Žunjević, a Croatian nobleman originating from Dubrovnik, who provided Blaise’s army with ships needed for their transportation to the isle of Krk, the core of the Frankapans’ estate.

Although the invasion of the Frankapan towns on the isle of Krk, namely Omišalj and Krk, because of the Venice intervention in favour of and finally against the Frankapan ended with a withdrawal of Blaise’s army, a great portion of the mainland estates of the Frankapan family were occupied and placed under the government of the Captaincy of Senj. Soon after, probably because of his military skills, Blaise participated in the successful expulsion of the Ottomans from Otranto, in Apulia, Southern Italy, in 1481.

As a reward for this partial success and achievement, Blaise was once again appointed to the office of the voivode of Transylvania and the count of Székely because of his reliability and allegiance toward Hunyadi. Anyway, while he was the voivode of Transylvania, Blaise fought successfully against the Ottomans when he was sent by King Matthias Corvinus with auxiliary troops to

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39 For the data about King Matthias’s struggle with the magnate family of Frankapans, see KLAĆ, Vjekoslav: Krčki knezovi Frankapans. Od najstarijih vremena do gubitka otoka Krka. Knjiga prva (od god. 1118. do god. 1480). Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1901, pp. 259–263.
40 MOL DL 56982.
41 MOL DL 100795.
42 Blaise and Paul Kinizsi donated in 1478 the estates Roškovany to their familiaris Hubošovce, and Ladislas Uzovský Šalgov, 41 apparently identical to Ladislas Weres of Kysfalwa, a lesser nobleman from the county of Sariš and a familiaris of Blaise Magyar and Paul Kinizsi. Blaise remained at the post of the captain of Senj and Croatian ban only for a year. In the following years, from December 1472, he performed the duties of the voivode of Transylvania until June 1479. There have been various scholarly interpretations concerning the reason causing this shift in his career. There was a hypothesis that Blaise was assigned to the office of the voivode of Transylvania by the order of King Matthias Corvinus with auxiliary troops to the aid of Stephen, prince of Moldavia, and when their armies defeated the beylerbey of Rumelia at the Battle of Vaslui in Moldavia in 1475.
43 MOL DL 28046.
44 MOL DF 277587.
45 For example, according to the opinion of Vjekoslav Klač, Blaise Magyar was involved in the conspiracy according to the letter sent to the Venetian rectors in Zadar describing that Blaise rebelled against the king in the castle of Đurđevac with other noblemen. However, Klač did not indicate the source for his statement. See: KLAĆ, Vjekoslav: Povijest Hrvata, vol. 4, p. 109.
46 ENGEL, Fál: The Realm of St. Stephen, p. 308.
48 Ibidem, p. 276.
the duty of ban of Croatia in August 1482,\textsuperscript{51} in which he remained until December of the same year.\textsuperscript{52} After he finished the duty of ban of Croatia, Blaise returned to his castle of Ilava in the county of Trenčín, where he most probably mourned for his deceased wife Barbara, who died around 1485.\textsuperscript{53} For the rest of the time spent in his castle of Ilava Blaise was occupied mainly with allocating and distributing the estates to his children and supporters.\textsuperscript{54} In 1485 Blaise donated to Caspar of Medné,\textsuperscript{55} castellan of his castle of Košeca, some estates in the vicinity of the castle of Ilava.\textsuperscript{56}

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

**Estates**

Due to the aforementioned participation in various affairs on the side of the Hunyadi, Blaise and his brother Clement gained various estates. As the data about Blaise’s estates actually come from King Matthias’s confirmations of previous charters granted after his accession to the throne, it seems that Blaise might have gained various estates through donations from Matthias’s predecessor John Hunyadi. As soon as Matthias had consolidated his royal authority, he began to reward his loyal supporters, among whom there was definitely Blaise Magyar. In the course of rewarding his supporters, the king reached for the requisition and confiscation of estates from those noblemen who were not supporters but rather enemies of the Hunyadi. In this sense, Matthias confirmed to Blaise and his brother Clement many estates of noblemen accused for treason and disloyalty during the struggle for the throne. So, in 1459, King Matthias confirmed with a new charter two of his own previous donations, in which he gave to Blaise and his brother Clement parts of the estate of Buzica\textsuperscript{60} along with its

\textsuperscript{51} MOL DL 66604.
\textsuperscript{52} MOL DL 103878.
\textsuperscript{53} MOL DL 24853. Blaise’s wife Barbara is mentioned in a document as deceased (condam).
\textsuperscript{54} For the data on division of Blaise’s estates among his children, see further in this article.
\textsuperscript{55} Ledníccke Rovne-Medné in the county of Trenčín in the vicinity of Košeca. Cfr. Engel, Pál: Magyarország a középkor végén, sub voce Medne.
\textsuperscript{56} MOL DL 24853.
\textsuperscript{58} MOL DL 33895.
\textsuperscript{59} As soon as the beginning of September 1492, Benigna is mentioned as a daughter of deceased Blaise Magyar.
\textsuperscript{60} Buzica in the county of Abov. Cfr. Engel, Pál: Magyarország a középkor végén, sub voce Buzita.
revenue, as well as many other estates in the county of Abov (Hun. Abaúj) which were confiscated from a disloyal nobleman Michael Kardos of Buzica (see Map 3). Another donation followed in 1460, donating to them estates Roškovany, Hubošovce and Uzovský Šalgov in the county of Šariš which were taken from disloyal members of the noble family Czana of Roškovany (see Map 4). Also in 1460, Blaise and Clement further enlarged their possession in the county of Abov with the estates of George of Peder. It seems that Blaise and Clement also had some property in the city of Košice as early as in 1461, when they are mentioned as inhabitants (Lat.: inhabitatores) arranging some proprietary relationship with other co-owners of the aforementioned estates in the county of Abov in front of the Prior of the Convent of Leles. In 1462, Blaise and Clement gained the castle of Košecza with the village of similar name in the vicinity of present-day Košice Podhradie, castellum of Vilcnó and also the villages of Kopec, Zliechov-Košecze Rovné, Za- vatricz, Osminia, Ladce-Tunešice, Beluša-Podhorie, Beluša-Hlosa, Kočkovce with revenue and Sztredna in the county of Trenčín, which were confiscated from various disloyal noblemen such as John and Stanislaus, sons of Stephen of Košica, and Albert, son of Peter of Košecza (see Map 5). In the following years and before 1472, Blaise enlarged his estates in
the county of Trenčín with many estates, among which the most important gain was the castle of Ilava \(^{83}\) (see Map 5). However, when Blaise adopted Paul Kinizsi around 1472, most of these estates fell into joint possession of his and his adoptive son.\(^{84}\) On the other hand, Blaise gained proprietary right in some of Paul Kinizsi’s estates in the county of Fejér, among which the most important were the market place (opido) Adony, Pusztaszabolcs,\(^{85}\) Szentmihály\(^{86}\) and Cikola\(^{87}\) (see Map 6).\(^{88}\)

**Family connections**

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

\[^{83}\text{MOL DL 15773.}\]
\[^{84}\text{MOL DL 15773.}\]
\[^{85}\text{Szabolcs in the county of Fejér, present-day Pusztaszabolcs. Cfr. Engel, Pál: Magyarország a középkor végén, sub voce Szabolcs.}\]
\[^{86}\text{Szentmihály in the county of Fejér, present-day Szentmihálypuszta. Cfr. Engel, Pál: Magyarország a középkor végén, sub voce Szentmihály.}\]
\[^{87}\text{Cikola in the county of Fejér, present-day Cikola. Cfr. Engel, Pál: Magyarország a középkor végén, sub voce Cikola.}\]
\[^{89}\text{Ibidem, doc. 55, pp. 103–107.}\]
to Teophil, a son of George Turiec of Betlanovce.\textsuperscript{90} Margaret was married to John Malovecký, a nobleman originating from the Bohuslavice family, which had their estates in Trenčianske Bohuslavice in the county of Trenčín,\textsuperscript{91} and Martha was married to George, son of Peter Pető of Gerse,\textsuperscript{92} who had their estates in the county of Vas.\textsuperscript{93} The fourth daughter Benigna was married three times: first to Paul Kinizsi, King Matthias’s military commander of unknown origin, second to Mark Horvat of Kamičac, a Croatian nobleman, and last time to George Kereki. Another form of family connection was also made when Blaise adopted Paul Kinizsi and accordingly accepted him as a member of his family around 1472.\textsuperscript{94} To enforce and secure the wealth for his descendants, Blaise allocated and arranged some of the gained estates among his children. In 1472 Blaise, along with his brother Clement and adoptive son Paul Kinizsi, made an agreement about the division of the estates of Adony and others estates in the county of Fejér, which the three aforementioned noblemen possessed jointly.\textsuperscript{95} It seems that Blaise got married again around 1486 to a certain noblewoman by the name of Clara, and gave, together with Paul Kinizsi and with the consensus of his other daughters, to his daughter Barbara and son-in-law Teophil Turiec of Betlanovce the aforementioned parts of the estates in the county of Abov.\textsuperscript{96} In the same year, Blaise sold to Teophil and Barbara, again with the consensus of the other daughters, a stone house in the city of Košice with a garden in the suburb along with a residence and a vineyard in the province for 2,000 florins.\textsuperscript{97}

After the death of Blaise Magyar, his daughter Benigna continued to maintain family connections with various noblemen, in order to preserve the estates of the Magyar family, due to the fact that she did not have children from any of her three marriages. It seems that the dissipation of many estates, especially those in the county of Trenčín, began when Paul Kinizsi mortgaged the castles of Košeca and Ilava to Stephen Zápolya and his son John for 40,000 florins.\textsuperscript{98} It is also possible that many other estates fell back into the royal hands by escheat and were given to other noble families. However, Benigna did not lose all of the estates which were acquired by her father and other family members. First in 1492, through the donation from her husband Paul Kinizsi she acquired the castle of Vazsonykő in the county of Veszprém\textsuperscript{99} (see Map 7). After the death of Paul Kinizsi around 1494, a Croatian nobleman Mark Horvat of Kamičac married Benigna, and got the confirmation of the estates in the county of Fejér from King Wladislas I.\textsuperscript{100} She remarried after his death and, as a widow, after the death of her third husband George Kereki, still held the castle of Vazsonykő and got a confirmation of this
estate from the king. Finally, in 1521, showing her allegiance and strong attachment to the family of Horvat of Kamičac, she donated the estate of Adony and other property in the county of Fejér to the brothers of her deceased second husband Mark Horvat, Matthias and Andrew. It seems that she donated the castle of Vazsonykő also to the members of the Horvat of Kamičac family, who soon after that started to use the name of the aforementioned castle as their noble adjective.

Conclusion

To conclude, it should be noted that Blaise’s political career and the family alliances which he made during his lifetime are an interesting example of the rise of a lesser nobleman to the ranks of the most important noblemen of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. Starting his career in service as a castellan and choosing to support and perform services under the Hunyadi, Blaise achieved the offices of the captain of Upper Hungary, ban of Croatia, captain of Senj and voivode of Transylvania, which he performed alongside various noblemen, to whom he was thus politically connected and allied. Along with the services he gained the estates in present-day Slovakia (in the counties of Trenčín, Šariš and others) in which Blaise made family connections with local nobility through the marriages of his daughters. Blaise’s career was strongly connected with the Hunyadi and particularly with Matthias; after the death of the latter, Blaise’s career started to decline. After he had chosen to support the wrong pretender to the Hungarian throne, he retired to his estates in present-day Slovakia, where he, most probably, ended his life. In addition, his significance as once important official of the kingdom surely contributed to the career of every nobleman who was related to him. A good example of this is the case of Mark Horvat of Kamičac who later became a cubicularius of King Wladislas, ban of Croatia and the captain of Senj. Even after Blaise’s death, his daughter Benigna was still connecting Croatian and Slovak history. A good example of this role of hers was the donation of her estates to Matthias and Andrew, brothers of Mark Horvat of Kamičac, to whom she was strongly attached.