

The Affiliation of Medieval Sălaj (Szilágy) Region in the Mirror of Social Relations*

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MEDIEVAL TRANSYLVANIA is usually defined as the eastern province of the Kingdom of Hungary, comprising the Transylvanian basin, meaning the overall 15th century territories of the seven counties of central Transylvania (Hunedoara [Hunyad], Alba [Fehér], Târnava [Küküllő], Turda [Torda], Cluj [Kolozs], Dăbâca [Doboka], and Inner Szolnok [Belső-Szolnok]), as well as the Szekler and Saxon seats and districts.¹

Zsigmond Jakó (1916–2008) has recently proposed a somewhat distinct approach in his Introduction to volume I of *Erdélyi Okmánytár* (Transylvanian Document Collection): “by historic Transylvania we mean the one-time formation which belonged under the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian voivode within the Hungarian Kingdom. That is, the seven counties of central Transylvania, and the Saxonland (Szászföld) and Szeklerland (Székelyföld). We include Middle Szolnok (Közép-Szolnok) and Crasna (Kraszna) counties from the Partium, but not Zărând (Zaránd). The first two counties belonged under still unexplained common jurisdiction of the palatine and the voivode before the 15th century but formed an integral whole with Central Transylvania later on. At the same time, Zărând had a fate that connected it to the Hungarian Great Plain all along.”² Jakó’s view on the matter was later taken over by Gyula Kristó (1939–2004) as well in his book on the history of Transylvania in the 10th–13th century, who applied it to support his particular theory of Transylvania “in movement”.³

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The additional element of the new concept of Transylvania in contrast to the traditional one is therefore the inclusion of Middle Szolnok and Crasna counties. Jakó however failed to bring evidence for his approach (as also the representatives of the traditional perspective), neither did he formulate precisely what he meant by the “common jurisdiction” of the two additional counties. Indeed, the introduction of a document collection offers no sufficient space for such clarifications; moreover, in case of source publication it is merely a technical matter to establish the limits of the territory included into the source collection.⁴ However, once we take this new concept of Transylvania as a matter of fact – as did Kristó –, making it one of the milestones of the speculations on the distant past of this region, it becomes unavoidable to investigate how real this image is.

The problem is primarily of an administrative nature, while it evidently cannot be restricted to this aspect only. The main reason for this is that the concept of “medieval Transylvania” is manifold: as we have seen, Jakó defined it as the totality of counties and seats under voivodal jurisdiction,⁵ others as a geographic region or a local society living by its particular identity and customary law, while most researchers used these meanings alternately, not being aware that the territories covered by these definitions were not identical, while still, of course, greatly overlapping (e.g., the territories of the seven central Transylvanian counties were included by every researcher). This differentiated image of Transylvania makes it necessary to approach the question of the affiliation of Sălaj region with greater complexity. Provided our results justify that the society of Sălaj region had stronger informal relations with the province than with Hungary, and completing it with the facts of common knowledge that the Transylvanian voivodes held the function of *comes* of Szolnok, or being aware of the range of the Transylvanian diocese, then this territory – from a certain point of view, e.g. that of a comprehensive document collection – can be considered Transylvania, even if the secular jurisdiction or the conception of the age do not justify it.

In what follows I wish to examine these informal aspects of the subject, in order to decide, from a geographical, social historical, and institutional perspective, whether these two counties can be considered parts of Transylvania or of the inner territory of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁶

My research comprises the period between 1200 and 1424. The setting of the time limits was decisively determined by the available sources: prior to the early – or rather mid – 13th century, literacy in Hungary was insignificant enough not to yield data for the history of minor regions;⁷ on the other hand, the charter material of our concern for the period preceding 1424 is almost completely published,⁸ while for the subsequent period it is hardly known, therefore one may only draw pertinent conclusions and make statistical comparisons up to the above date.⁹ However, the time limit set up because of practical reasons is historically

also relevant: both Jakó and Kristó refer to the fact – albeit in different approaches – that the affiliation of the two counties is only problematic prior to the 14th century, and the most difficult problems (the inner differentiation of Szolnok county, the *comes* of Szolnok office held by the voivodes) are only relevant for the period preceding the 1410s/1420s.

After putting forth the subject of this paper, some words must be said about the use of certain concepts. 1) Just like in the beginning of the paper, I shall continue to refer to *Middle Szolnok county*, although an administrative territory by this name only appears towards the very end of the investigated period – before that the area belonged to Outer Szolnok (Külső-Szolnok) county as its eastern block. However, in order to differentiate it from the regions around the Tisza, it seemed more appropriate to use this denomination for sake of clarity, despite its being anachronistic. 2) So as not to write out each time the names of Middle Szolnok and Crasna counties, when speaking about both at once, I shall use the collective name *Sălaj region*. Although this name is currently only used to denote a more restricted ethnographic area or a present-day shire (*judet*), this procedure is not quite inaccurate or arbitrary, since there is evidence that the name was used for commonly terming both regions as early as the Middle Ages,¹⁰ and during the 18th–19th century the name seems to have been generalized.¹¹ 3) Also for the sake of brevity, in the followings the name *Hungary* will be used for the central territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, excepting Transylvania and Slavonia (and for our purposes also Crasna and Middle Szolnok counties.) It is important to note, however, that this terminology is merely of a technical nature, and cannot be regarded as a stance in the debate concerning Transylvania's distinct status.¹² 4) The denomination *Transylvania* will be used in the traditional sense (seven counties + Szeklers + Saxons).

The protagonists of the analysis will be therefore the three separate entities defined above: the Sălaj region, Hungary, and Transylvania, where the two latter ones – along certain characteristics – will serve as reference points for the former.

Geographical position

BEFORE PROCEEDING with the investigation and comparison of the social and institutional relations connecting the Sălaj area to its neighbouring regions, a short outline of its geographic position would be in order. Firstly, so that the reader would be able to locate the region in question even in the lack of previous knowledge; secondly, because from the point of view of the subject matter, it is important to decide whether geographically speaking this region belongs to the Hungarian Great Plain or the Transylvanian Basin.

Undoubtedly, the geographical position has always significantly influenced – even if not always determined – people’s settling, the movement of merchandise and information, as well as the division of administrative borders.

The core of Sălaj region is formed by a 200 to 400 meters high hilly area, delimited on the south-west by Plopiș (Réz) mountain (918 m), on the south-east by Meseș (Meszes) mountain (996 m), on the east by Someș (Szamos) river, and on the north by Codru (Bükk) mountain (580 m). The hills slowly turn into a plain towards the west, therefore the Tășnad (Tasnád) area of Middle Szolnok county, the so-called Valea Ierii (Érmellék), is an organic part of the Great Plain.¹³ The eastern part of the county is the Țara Chioarului (Kővárvidék) region, with mountainous area to the south (400 to 795 m), while the northern part forms a common basin with the surroundings of Baia Mare (Nagybánya), which belonged to Sătmar (Szatmár) county.¹⁴

The hilly area of Sălaj region is divided by rivers flowing towards north and west, partly affluents of the Someș river, like the rivers Sălaj (Szilágy) and Crasna (Kraszna) with the Zalău (Zilah) stream flowing into the latter, and partly affluents of the Criș (Körös) rivers, like the rivers Ier (Ér) and Barcău (Berettyó).¹⁵ The two important regions determined by these rivers are Tövishát, delimited by the Zalău stream and the Someș, and Crasna area in the valley of the Barcău and Crasna. The fertile hills covered with oak forests yielded favourable living conditions ever since ancient times for the farming settlers, while the mountains covered with thick beech forests remained uninhabited for a long time.¹⁶

It can be concluded therefore that the Sălaj region slopes towards the Hungarian Great Plain, is opened in the direction of the Satu Mare (Szatmár) plains and the Baia Mare basin, but it is separated from the Transylvanian basin by mountains covered with woods, divided only by two larger passages: the Meseș gate and the flow of the Someș at Var (Szamosörmező).¹⁷ True, both were routes of decisive importance determined by the transportation of salt, partly by land, partly by water, from Dej (Dés) and Ocna Dejului (Désakna) to Hungary, more precisely Sălacea (Szalacs) and Satu Mare.¹⁸

The boundaries of the two counties covering this region mirror the area’s geographical characteristics, and also point to the fact that their administrative effect cannot be considered absolute. The Plopiș mountain has always been a boundary towards Bihor (Bihar) county, as well as the lower flow of the Lăpuș (Lápos) and Crasna rivers and the Ier river towards Sătmar county. However, the boundary between Crasna and Middle Szolnok county was obviously not following any geographical reasoning; and at first Middle Szolnok county was not closed down by Codru and Meseș mountains, but in the 14th century it probably only extended to Sălaj river on the north (Țara Codrului [Bükkalja], as part of the domain of Ardud [Erdőd] might have still belonged to Sătmar county¹⁹), while

to the south-east it comprised the valley of Agrij (Egregy) stream, and extended as far as the valley of Almaş (Almás) stream, to the territory of Sânmihaiu Almaşului (Almásszentmihály) and Sânta Măria (Almásszentmăria).²⁰ On these two lines the natural boundary was eventually followed, but on the north-east after the division of Szolnok county around 1320, the source region of Lăpuş river fell to Inner Szolnok²¹ and remained there despite the fact that the Breaza (Ilosvai) mountain clearly delimited it from the central area of this Transylvanian county.

Social relations

THE METHODS of sociology offer several possibilities for displaying the social relations of a region – however, the range of methods applicable for the mostly property right-oriented source types of the Middle Ages is much more restricted.²² Accordingly, in what follows I shall try to present one single connected problem, with a fair documentary background: the origin of landowner families of Sălaj region.

At this point, the question rises: to what extent does the origin of landowner families represents the social relations in the region? Does this generalized image not mirror simply that it was mere incidence where a family tried to gain more property, and was it not then merely a matter of size, that is to say, the territory of Hungary was much bigger than that of Transylvania, and accordingly, the proportion of the nobility in direct connection with the king was also bigger, and thus the mathematical chance that the new landowner in Sălaj region would come from the territory of Hungary and not Transylvania was also much higher?

Although there are arguments to confront these doubts (e.g., that the nobility mainly tried to get new land next to their existent estate), first of all it was not the reason, but the result of the new landlord's settling down what mattered: even if he did settle down in this new place, he could maintain his relationships with his distant kins for a long time, or if he did not live there, the inhabitants of his estate had to be in constant contact with his residence. One way or another, by his person new connections were created between the various regions.

Although the investigation of the local nobility would evidently be worth an entire monograph, this paper will only yield a restricted vertical analysis and a horizontal section of the subject.

1) In a first approach I shall enlist the landlords of the most important estates, that is, castles (with their domains), and examine whether, by their origin, they can be considered Hungarian or Transylvanian families.

On the territory of Sălaj region there were five castles in the 13th-16th century: Valcău (Valkó) and Şimleul Silvaniei (Szilágysomlyó) in the southern and central

part of Crasna county, and Hodod (Hadad), Cheud (Aranyos), and Chioar (Kővár) in north-eastern Middle Szolnok county.²³

The first known landlord of the domain of Şimleu, probably settling at the time of the Hungarian conquest, was one branch of the kindred of Csolt.²⁴ The kindred, the ancestor of which was Vata, the leader of the pagan uprising from 1046, originated from the southern part of the Great Plain, county of Békés.²⁵ In 1258/59, his descendent by the same name sold Şimleu and its belongings to two of the potentates of the age, Palatine Roland (1248–1260) and the Queen's court judge, Maurice (1251–1259).²⁶ The former was a member of the Paks branch of the kindred of Rátót, holding estates all over the country (in Slavonia, the Transdanubian parts, and Upper Hungary),²⁷ but later he appeared no more as the landlord of Şimleu. Maybe because he handed over his estates in this region to his brother-in-law, the above mentioned Maurice *de genere* [henceforth: *d.g.*] Pok, originating probably from Mórchida, Győr county.²⁸ The castle of Şimleu was probably built by Nicholas, son of Maurice, twice voivode of Transylvania (1277, 1315–1316).²⁹ The estate belonged to his heirs, the Meggyesis³⁰, until 1351, when his grandson, Simon, *comes* of Bratislava (1351–1360) handed it over to his sister's, Anna's husband, Ladislaus Bátori *d.g.* Gútkeled, originating from Nyírbátor, Szabolcs county, as her filial quarter,³¹ whose descendants, the Báthoris de Şimleu, owned it until their 17th century extinction.³²

The Valcău domain was founded in 1249, when King Béla IV (1235–1270) donated the villages of Zăuan (Szilágyzovány), Nuşfalău (Szilágynagyfalu), and Valcău to the Judge Royal (*iudex curie regis*), Paul *d.g.* Geregye (1248–1254), landowner in Bihar county.³³ The construction of Valcău castle can perhaps be connected to his name, or to the name of Kopasz *d.g.* Borsa, also from Bihar county, as the latter gained the most important estates of the sons of Pál after their 1277–1278 uprising, among which also, by all indications, the estate of Valcău as well.³⁴ At any rate, the king's men conquered the castle from his son, Bekch, this time after the uprising of the Borsas.³⁵ The castle was royal property until 1341, when the king exchanged them with *magister* Donch, *comes* of Komárom (1332–1344), landowner in Zvolen (Zólyom) county, for his castles in Upper Hungary.³⁶ In 1372, after the extinction of the Zólyomi family, the domain was the property of John Gönyűi *d.g.* Csór, *magister ianitorum* (1361–1374), as royal donation.³⁷ His major estates lay in and around Nógrád, Győr, Fejér, and Vukovar (Valkó) counties, so he can also be regarded as coming from Hungary.³⁸ His descendants did not live for three more generations: the male branch of the family died out in 1402, thus Valcău and its belongings were inherited by the sons of his daughter “made son” [the institution of *prefectio*], Ladislaus and George Bánfi de Losonc *d.g.* Tomaj,³⁹ and rested in their possession until the 19th century.⁴⁰ The Bánfis are the only family of castle lords that can be connected to Transylvania in the medieval history of Sălaj region: although their roots are in Hungary

(Nógrád county), but their seat was located in the eastern province since as early as the 14th century.⁴¹

On the estate of Sălaj or by its other name Cheud, there was a castle already in 1246.⁴² At this time it was said to be the hereditary land of Paul son of Nicholas of the Sárvármonostor branch (Sătmar county) of Gútkeled kindred, and it remained indeed the property of his heirs until 1317, until they lost all their estates when they got involved into the uprising of Kopasz *d.g.* Borsa and Moys, son of Moys.⁴³ Afterwards, during most of the 14th century, it was royal domain, and it functioned as a separate territory in Middle Szolnok county, ruled by a *comes*, until 1344.⁴⁴ However, the large-scale castle-donations during the reign of King Sigismund I (1387–1437)⁴⁵ affected Cheud as well: it was granted already in 1387 by the king to the sons of Jakcs, originating from Coşeu (Kusaly) in Middle Szolnok, and extending in its area.⁴⁶ Their descendants, divided into several branches, remained in the possession of the domain until the family's extinction in 1582, only its seat was soon moved to Hodod.⁴⁷

The history of Hodod is rather simple: it was part of the royal domain of Ardu until 1383. At this time it was donated to the already mentioned family, Jakcs de Coşeu.⁴⁸ They had built the castle of the place before 1399, which became their main seat.⁴⁹ Its fate was later connected to the domain of Cheud.⁵⁰

The prehistory of Chioar is the most obscure of the five domains of Sălaj region. In the early 13th century its territory was covered by Fenteuş (Fentős) forest, belonging to Satu Mare castle, and mostly uninhabited at that time, donated between 1213 and 1216 by King Andrew II (1205–1235) to the Szentgyörgyi branch of Hontpázmány kindred, having estates around Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg).⁵¹ King Béla IV (1235–1270) probably took it back from them as an undue donation,⁵² at any rate there is no mention of it any longer as a Hontpázmány estate. Since in 1246 the Sălaj region estates of the previously mentioned Paul, son of Nicholas *d.g.* Gútkeled extended to the area around Lăpuş river, he could have been the next landlord of the domain, and the anonymous castle mentioned here could also refer to the castle of Chioar.⁵³ Following the restoration of Charles I's age (1301/1310–1342), it became again a royal castle (perhaps already as early as 1315, if – as we suppose – the fortification of *Chevar* can be identified with it⁵⁴). In 1378, King Louis I donated it to Balk and Drag, of Romanian origin from Maramureş (Máramaros) region⁵⁵: their descendants, the Balkfi and Drágfi de Beltiug (Béltek) families, were common owners of the castle and domain of Chioar until 1424, then they shared it, but after the disloyalty of the Balkfis in 1470 their estates were confiscated and given back to the Drágfis until the family's extinction in 1555.⁵⁶

To summarize, it can be said that the five castles of Sălaj region – in addition to the king – belonged to 13 families during the Middle Ages. Of them, only one family originated from Transylvania (Bánfi de Losonc), one was local (Jakcs de

Coșeiu), whilst the other 11 came partly from neighbouring (Csolt, Gútkeled, Geregye, Borsa kindreds, Bátori de Șimleu and Drágfi de Beltiug families), partly from distant Hungarian counties (Hontpázmány, Rátót, Pok kindreds, Zólyomi and Gönyűi families).

2) For the horizontal investigation, it will suffice to measure the proportion and internal distribution of the foreign nobility of Sălaj region at a given time section. The time period of our interest is the beginning of year 1341. Firstly, because for the previous periods the data available are not enough to compile the complete cadastre of the settlements and landowners of Crasna and Middle Szolnok counties. Secondly, 1341 was the year when the royal estates (and indirectly also the royal power) reached their highest extension,⁵⁷ that is, the presence of the foreign landowners was still at a minimum, since most of them came later, after the slow erosion, then (following 1387) redistribution of the royal domains.

In this year we find, besides the king, three ecclesiastical institutions and 83 noble families among the landowners of the two counties.⁵⁸ Most of them lived here ever since the first centuries of the Arpadian age, and they arose largely from royal servants (*servientes regis*) and castle warriors (*iobagiones castri*),⁵⁹ but the proportion of foreign landowners is also significant. There are three larger groups to be differentiated among them.

a) The least connections with their origins had the families who – although proved to have been coming from “outside” – by the mid-14th century had no other possessions in other counties. Of these, the followings can be regarded as being of Transylvanian origin: the Szentkirályi *d.g.* Farkasagmánd, owning lands in Eriu-Sâncrai (Érszentkirály),⁶⁰ and the Moni family, who exchanged their purchased land at Băgaciu (Kisbogács), Dăbâca county for Naimon (Nagymon) of the Gerendi family.⁶¹ The ancient seat of the Lelei *d.g.* Kaplony family was in Sătmar county, but everything indicates that by the 14th century they had sold all their estates there, since later they were only mentioned in connection with Lelei (Lele).⁶² The Borzási *d.g.* Napkormeszte family, who was donated Boziș (Szilágyborzás) in 1227, probably settled over to Crasna from Szabolcs county.⁶³ The Csányi *d.g.* Szentemágócs family from the Transdanubian parts got in the possession of three quarters of Cean (Tasnádcsány) in 1244.⁶⁴ The Dráhis previously having their seat in Nógrád county can also be included into the list, who had lost all their estates in the 1310s taking sides with those who revolted against the king, but eventually, in 1321, thanks to Voivode Thomas Szécsényi (1321–1342), they received back three of their estates in Sălaj region.⁶⁵ In the first half of the 14th century, the Meggyesis donated to their *familiaris*, Sutak, the settlement of Uileacu Șimleului (Somlyóújlak), previously belonging to Șimleu.⁶⁶

b) There were also families which resided on their estates in Sălaj region, but – regardless of their origin – had properties outside the two counties. One

branch of our old acquaintances, the Borsa kindred's, named themselves after Camăr (Kémer), but they owned the Transylvanian Cuzăplac (Középlak), Cluj county.⁶⁷ The Récseis also had interests in the Transylvanian county of Dăbâca.⁶⁸ One branch of the Pocsajis *d.g.* Ákos moved from Bihar to Supuru (Szopor) in Sălaj region in the 13th century, but they kept their part in their old estates, while their relatives who remained in Bihar owned Pir (Szilágypér) and Săuca (Szódemeter) in these areas.⁶⁹ The Szarvadi family, who owned Sărăuad (Tasnádszarvad), a quarter of Cig (Csög), and Szentmiklós, destroyed ever since, in Middle Szolnok, and gained significant influence as *familiars* of Kopasz *d.g.* Borsa around 1300, bought Balc (Bályok), Bihar county, in 1298.⁷⁰ For a while they also occupied some other estates around Biharea (Bihar) village, which were rightfully the properties of the Genyéteis, landowners of Ghenetea (Genyéte), Kispacal (now part of Vișoara [Érszöllős]) and Ghida (Berettyódeda) in Crasna county.⁷¹ The Petőfi de Szántó *d.g.* Zsidó family probably arrived to Santău (Tasnádszántó) and Silivaș (Tasnádszilvás) during the officeholding of their ancestors, Pető Zsidói *comes* of Sătmar (1317–1321, 1323–1330). It was during this time that they gained their donations in Sătmar county, while preserving their parts in their ancient estates in Pest county.⁷²

c) The third category are the landlords who did not set up their residence in Sălaj region because their estates here only made up a small part of their properties scattered over several counties. First of all, the bishopric of Transylvania must be mentioned with three estates (Tășnad, Zalău [Zilah], and Aghireș [Egrespatak]),⁷³ and the chapter of Oradea (Nagyvárad) with one estate in Sălaj region (Carastelec [Kárásztelek]).⁷⁴

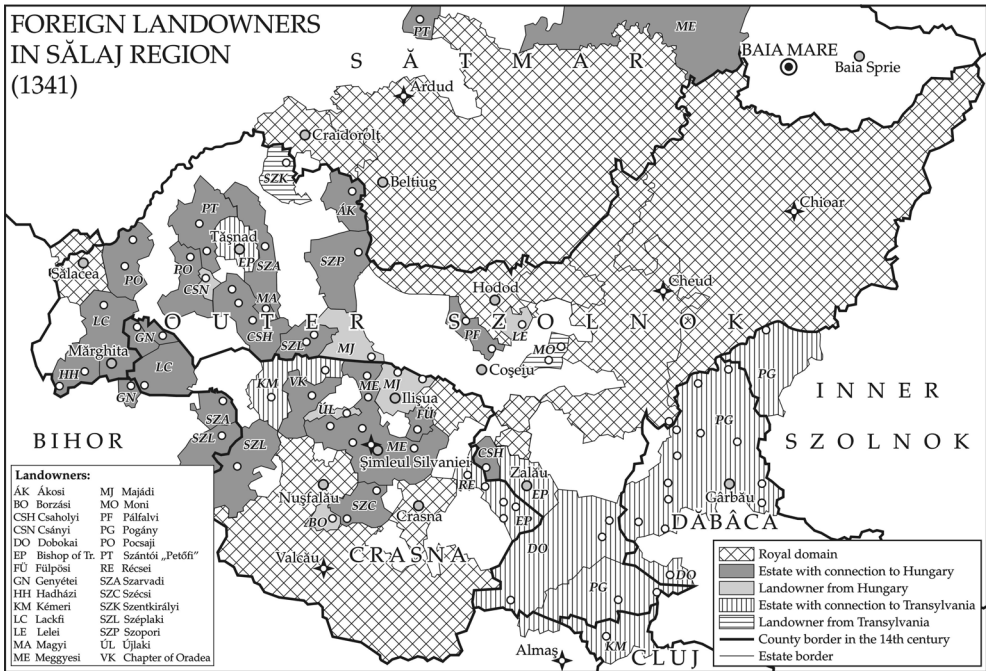
Of the secular owners, the first ones to appear were the Ákosi branch of the Ákos kindred: although their main seat had been and remained in Pest county, by the evidence of the kindred's Romanesque monastery of Acâș (Ákos) they had already had estates in this region in the 12th -13th centuries.⁷⁵ The Bihar county branch of the Pocsaji *d.g.* Ákos family has already been mentioned. The Széplaki *d.g.* Turul family also originated from this region, whose ancient estates along Barcău river extended to Crasna county: these were divided in 1327 among the three branches of the family.⁷⁶ The Egyedmonostor branch of the Gútkeled kindred had most of their estates also in Bihar and Szabolcs counties, but two villages of their estate of Diosig (Bihardiószeg), Apáti (today part of Crestur [Apátkeresztúr]) and Abrămuș (Vedresábrány) fell to Middle Szolnok, just like the estate of Petreu (Monospetri) of the monastery of their kindred. These estates became the property of the Hadházi family, one of their branches, after the 1338 division.⁷⁷

The monastery of the Csaolyis *d.g.* Káta was located at the seat of their estate, in Nyírcsaoly, but during the 13th century they also built up a smaller domain in Middle Szolnok county, with the estates of Cehăluș (Magyarcsaoly), founded

by them, the since deserted Kene, Orratlanhida, Rof, Szölce, and Ülmez, a quarter of Cean, and the more distant village of Panic (Szilágypanit).⁷⁸ Another gentry family owned – besides Păulești (Szatmárpálfalva), Sătmar county – the villages of Archid (Szilágyerked) and Ser (Szilágyszér) of Tövishát as well: in this case it is difficult to decide which was the family's residence, since they were alternately called Széri and Pálfalvi.⁷⁹ There has already been mention of the Meggyesi *d.g.* Pok family: their main property was that around Medieșul Aurit (Aranyosmeggyes) castle in Sătmar county, but they acquired the domain of Șimleu in 1258, too. The estate of Sici (Somlyószécs) was cut out from this block in 1319, as a donation to their faithful *familiaries*, sons of Lukas *d.g.* Becsegergely, originating from the Transdanubian parts and settled in Sătmar county, ancestors of the Fülöpösi and Szekeresi families.⁸⁰ The Magyi family from Szabolcs county might have possibly acquired the village of Orbău (Tasnádorbó) next to Cehăluț in the same way, perhaps as *familiaries* of the Csaholyis.⁸¹

Two families of the upper aristocracy of the Angevin period acquired estates in Sălaj region: the Szécsi *d.g.* Balog family got in the possession of Boghiș (Szilágybagos) and the adjacent lot of Monyoród, deserted by now, sometime between 1285 and 1341 (but most probably in 1322); however, these estates were but a small proportion of their extended properties lying mostly in the northern parts of Hungary.⁸² The star of the Lackfi *d.g.* Hermán family only started to rise at that time (it culminated in the time of King Louis I, between 1342 and 1375), but they had already acquired extensive estates along the low course of Maros river (in Arad, Timiș [Temes], Cenad [Csanád], and Hunedoara counties), while only had three villages in Sălaj region: Cheț (Magyarkéc), Marghita (Margitta), and Iteu (Lüki).⁸³

One can only find four Transylvanian landowners in this subcategory, and they appeared quite late in Middle Szolnok county. The village and surroundings of Românași (Alsóegregy) at the eastern feet of the Meseș were the estates of the Dobokais *d.g.* Kökényesradnót, probably since the 1260s or 1270s, when the members of this family from Nógrád county, Ban Mikud and *magister* Emeric, as faithful servants of the younger king Stephen (the later Stephen V, 1262/1270–1272) gained large estates and settled down in Transylvania.⁸⁴ Stephen Pogány *d.g.* Hontpázmány, relative and main *familiaris* of Transylvanian voivode Thomas Szécsényi (1321–1342), also came to Transylvania from the north-western corner of Upper Hungary in 1329, and here he acquired estates by the dozen, among which Sânmihaiu Almașului and Sânta Măria in 1332.⁸⁵ Also around the same time (1334, 1338) another *familiaris* of Szécsényi, Matthew Mátéházi, coming to Transylvania from Gemer (Gömör) county, and settling down in Iklódszentivány (now part of Iclod [Nagyiklód]), tried to acquire half of Lelei village in Sălaj region as well,⁸⁶ with much lesser success, because the estate never



appeared again as owned by his descendants. Similarly, the Sălaj region acquisitions of the Bánfi de Losonc family in the 1330s were also very short-term, except perhaps for the village of Ilye near Zalău, deserted by now.⁸⁷

TABLE 1: Foreign landowners in Sălaj region (1341).

Translating those said above into figures (see Table 1), one may find again that the proportion of families and estates with connections to Hungary exceed by far those of connections to Transylvania – even if in this case their proportion (2,5–3 to 1) is not that extreme than in the case of castle owners. It must be noted that in the largest c) subcategory the families registered as Transylvanian landowners were all, without exception, originating from Hungary, and it was merely incidental that they came first to Transylvania (in some cases very recently), and only then extended towards Sălaj region.

If representing the settlements with “foreign relations” on a map, it can be noticed that those connected to Transylvania were grouped around Zalău, while those connected to Hungary were located mostly in Crasna county and the Valea Ierii. It is not accidental therefore that by the end of the 14th century the territories east of the Meseş were adjoined to Dăbâca county, while the villages lying at the confluence of Ier and Barcău rivers to Bihor county (obviously, by the request of the owners).⁸⁸

Authorized places of authentication

AS COMMONLY known, places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) were particular institutions of medieval Hungary, ecclesiastical bodies (cathedral chapters and collegiate chapters, as well as monastic convents) which had authentic seals, accepted by everybody, and thus, beginning with the 13th century, could issue authentic documents: declarations, reports, and transcripts.⁸⁹

a) Declarations (*fassio*) were used to write down personal legal transactions (sale and purchase contracts, letters of hypothecation, division letters [*littere divisionales*], procuratory letters [*littere procuratorie*], protests, etc.), on the request of private persons who personally or through their trustees turned to the place of authentication. (Sometimes however, for instance in case of testaments, the deputy of the place of authentication was delegated to the client).

b) Reports (*relatio*) were drawn up on the basis of official orders – of the king, the voivode, the palatine, etc. – once the authority conducting the official transaction (property delimitation, property registration, interrogation, etc.) and the person entrusted as a witness by the place of authentication reported their common action. Although due to its character the action usually took place “in the field” (on or around the estate in question), if the parties were called in for making a pledge, it could have also taken place in front of the place of authentication.⁹⁰ It must be mentioned that it usually also comprised the text of the order (*mandatum*), or more rarely it only referred to it.

c) The transcription (*transumptum*) actually meant the official copy of an earlier document, by which the place of authentication included it into the charter it issued. For this operation, an oral request of the private person was enough if he possessed the charter to be transcribed, but if he hoped to find the document in the archive of the place of authentication, he had to obtain the written consent of the competent authorities.

As regards the territorial jurisdiction of the places of authentication, in case of declarations and transcriptions we know of no restrictions: the client was free to choose the chapter or convent to issue the charter.⁹¹ Obviously, this was

most often the institution closest to the person's residence, but in case of serving as a *familiaris* at the other end of the country or in the case of military service it were often quite distant places of authentication which happened to be at hand. However, it is still disputed whether the authority of places of authentication in case of reports had a central regulation or was simply formed by practice. At any rate, rulers always tried to make order: according to the laws issued in 1298 and 1351, it was the closest place of authentication, while according to King Sigismund's 1410 charter, the place of authentication of the same county which had to be delegated to the scene.⁹² Some researchers claim to see the results of these regulations,⁹³ others however think that these were not put into practice, and the field of operation of the institutions was only determined by "physical constraints (difficult transportation, bad roads), and the operation of neighbouring places of authentication".⁹⁴ One way or another, it is a fact that the areas were more restricted and better outlined than in the case of declarations, which however does not mean that they could not overlap: on the territory of a particular county several places of authentication could have operated simultaneously, perhaps with different frequency.⁹⁵

Accordingly, a new point of view in the elaboration of our subject is to find out whether the Sălaj region belonged under the authority of Hungarian or Transylvanian places of authentication. In case of declarations and transcripts, this would "only" represent the local society's stronger relations to certain institutions, but the *relationes* (could) also mirror a semi-official space-relation, since the interests of the party involved⁹⁶ were also doubled by that of the authorities when choosing the places of authentication for reports.⁹⁷

On the territories of Middle Szolnok and Crasna counties there was no viable place of authentication during the Middle Ages (the only local institution which could have functioned as such, the Benedictine convent of Meseş, disappeared before it could gain any significance⁹⁸), therefore we must take into consideration four Hungarian (chapters of Oradea and Eger, convents of Dealul Orăzii [Váradhegyfok], and Leles [Lelesz]), and two Transylvanian (chapter of Transylvania at Alba Iulia [Gyulafehérvár], and convent of Cluj-Mănăştur [Kolozsmonostor]) places of authentication.⁹⁹ Except for the chapter of Eger and the convent of Dealul Orăzii, the authenticating activity of the rest has already been thoroughly researched, with short references to their territorial authority¹⁰⁰ – without following up, however, their dynamics with the periodical statistics of the issued charters in a county-based distribution.¹⁰¹ Therefore I could not compare their results for the two counties, so I collected – aiming at completeness – all the charters related to Sălaj region issued by places of authentication prior to 1424. I managed to identify 454 charters – 23 transcriptions, 187 declarations, and 244 reports (including the texts of 42 trials by ordeal). I handled as individual

items not only the charters extant in the original or in full text transcription, but also those known from content transcription or mention, and instead of lost reports I used the extant *mandatum*, if there was any.

1) *Declarations and transcriptions*. From the period preceding the Mongol invasion, we only know three declarations (two from 1215, one from 1219), all three made in front of the Oradea chapter.¹⁰² These data must be handled very cautiously, of course: not only are they not suitable for generalizations due to their small number, but their preservation is lucky chance (all three come from the famous list of ordeal of fire of the Oradea chapter, while in case of the other chapters, although trials by ordeal were held there as well, there are no such registers extant). Nevertheless, if we take a look at the charters of the next 60 years, we are not wrong to conclude that during the 13th century the local people primarily went to the chapter of Oradea to have their legal affairs written down: although the documents issued there make up only half of the 12 cases (5 declarations and 1 transcript), the remaining six cases do not come from neighbouring places of authentication, but quite “exotic” ones. These were obviously not products of customary relations, but incidental ones: for instance, Stephen *d.g.* Gútkeled, *comes* of Nitra (Nyitra) (1245–1246), later Palatine in the royal court (1246–1247), who acquired Aluniş (Szamosszéplak) and bought half of the domain of Sălaj, had his legal affairs written down at the chapters of Nyitra and Székesfehérvár.¹⁰³ Similarly, Palatine Roland *d.g.* Rátót (1248–1260), and Maurice *d.g.* Pok, the queen’s court judge (1251–1259), on purchasing the domain of Şimleu, also chose this latter place of authentication.¹⁰⁴ The widow of *comes* Turul visiting the chapter of Óbuda in 1270 already lived at that time in the nunnery of Buda, while Panit *d.g.* Miskolc, as well as his *servientes*, the Parasznyais, to whom he granted the estate of Boghiş, turned to the chapter of Eger, although they were originally from Borsod.¹⁰⁵

TABLE 2: Declarations and transcripts concerning Sălaj region until 1424.

The situation changed around 1300: the Premonstratensian monastery of Dealul Orăzii, founded in the immediate proximity of Oradea, soon joined in the issuing of charters in Sălaj region, in addition to the chapter of Oradea. For the early 14th century, the proportion of charters issued by this body exceeded those issued by the Oradea chapter (11 vs. 9), although it dropped a bit somewhat later. For the period between 1300 and 1352, the two institutions were fairly equally present in the life of the region, producing together more than 72% of its private literacy. We could say that – although not consciously but under the pressure of the ever growing need for literacy – they divided the “market” between them.

In this period, although in a much lesser proportion, Transylvanian institutions also began to appear in the line of places of authentication. First, it was only the chapter of Transylvania (and not very rarely, too: in 25 % of the cases between 1300 and 1334), then after its rebirth in 1339¹⁰⁶ the monastery of Cluj-Mănăştur as well. However, even their common proportion decreased, which hints to the fact that the greater choice was not a result of increasing social need – the convent only started to take over the (restricting) place of the chapter in the region. The Transylvanian institutions were primarily needed when one of the parties originated from Transylvania, such as the Dobokais giving up their estates in Sălaj region (1300, 1310), Jacob Gerendi, buying and later selling the estate of Mon (1323, 1324), or Thomas Régeni (ancestor of the Bánffy family), taking in pledge, among others, some estates beyond the Meseş (1332).¹⁰⁷ The Derzsi family, owner of Sighetu Silvaniei (Szilágysziget), had connections with the chapter of Transylvania by one of their members, Nicholas, canon and archdeacon of Sătmar.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, it is also clear that the proximity of the monastery of Cluj-Mănăştur started to attract the lesser nobility of Zalău region (the Fürményesi or Keceli families) ever since 1341.¹⁰⁹

The role of the other places of authentication in this half a century was still tangential or incidental as well: the Dráhis renounced their Nógrád county estates in front of the chapter of Esztergom (1321); and only one estate of the Lackfis, who parted over dozens of their estates in front of the chapter of Arad, fell to this region (1342).¹¹⁰

In 1353, as it is commonly known, radical changes occurred about charter issuing institutions. At this time – as a result of the law of year 1351 ordering the closing of lesser, that is, easily influenced places of authentication – among others, the authentic seal of the convent of Dealul Orăzii was also redrawn, and thus its authenticating activity ceased.¹¹¹ Its clients were taken over by the chapter of Oradea, which issued 70% of the declarations and transactions in the 35–40 years left of the Angevin age (that is, proportionately the same amount as previously together with the convent of Dealul Orăzii). Its primacy in the region was

unquestionable even as late as the 1380s, to such an extent that it was visited even from the most distant corners of Middle Szolnok county, east of the Meseş.¹¹²

In the long run, however, it was the monastery of Cluj-Mănăştur which profited from the disappearance of the monastery of Dealul Orăzii. Taking into account the number of charters issued in the period between 1353 and 1389, it was on the second place after the chapter of Oradea, although far behind it (12 vs. 46). Its proportion was still due to the trust of the lesser nobility around Zalău (the Keceli, Horváti, Fürményesi, Moni, Csompaszi etc. families),¹¹³ and it was also natural for Transylvanian clients to seek its services (the Dobokai and Kidei families).¹¹⁴ In Sigismund's time it slowly reached behind its rival from Oradea, which around 1420 – instead of its earlier preponderance – had to do with a fragile relative majority. At this time the logic of distances was already valid, and Sălaj region practically fell to two sides: the landowners living around Tășnad and in the western parts of Crasna county went to Oradea, those from eastern Crasna to Cluj-Mănăştur, while the inhabitants of Tövishát went to both places to make their declaration.

However, we only meet the other Transylvanian place of authentication, the chapter, two or three times after 1353, mostly in connection with the local affairs of the bishop of Transylvania.¹¹⁵ In a word, he shared the fate of curiosities such as the cathedral chapters from Bač (Bács) and Esztergom, which had a temporary role due to Ladislaus Szakácsi, *familiaris* of the archbishop of Kalocsa, and John Petőfi de Szántó court knight.¹¹⁶ Our old acquaintance, the chapter of Eger also appears only once, in 1370, as the authenticator of the procuratory letter of the Magyis of Szabolcs county, suing for Orbäu.¹¹⁷ It never appeared again in this region – its place was taken over by the convent of Leles appearing in 1359, first by procuratory charters,¹¹⁸ later, after the end of the 1370s, by more serious declarations, but – in opposition with its great outburst in the matter of reports – it gained no more importance before 1424 (its proportion was below 10%). This probably had to do with its distant location.

2) *Reports*. In the literature it is said that the formation of the places of authentication was decisively influenced by their role in trials by ordeal.¹¹⁹ What is more, ordeals themselves can be regarded as archaic forms of one particular category of an authenticating procedure on the request of official organs, the swearing of an oath before the place of authentication.¹²⁰ Thanks to the Register (*registrum*) of Oradea, we know of 42 ordeals of fire in this region, made in front of the chapter of Oradea in the decades preceding the Mongol invasion (more precisely, in the years 1213–1221). Next to these, there is one more note which is not a trial by ordeal, but the formulation in writing of an estate registration, which means that it can rightly be regarded as an early form of *relatio*.¹²¹ Although it

may occur again to us that the role of this institution in Sălaj region could be increased merely because of the fortunate preservation of sources, the proportion of the cases listed above (as compared to the 389 notes of the register¹²²), just like the map drawn on the basis of the place names occurring in the register¹²³ is evidence enough that the Szolnok county part of Sălaj region and Crasna county (together with Bihor, Békés, and Sătmar counties) formed already at that time the central territory of the authority of the place of authentication of Oradea.¹²⁴

The image of the early 13th century dominance of the chapter of Oradea is enforced by the statistics of the following hundred years. By the end of the Arpadian age, of the seven known cases it was only once that not them, but the local St. Margaret convent of Meseş, was requested as a witness¹²⁵ – this is in fact the only report which was not issued by any one of the six places of authentication investigated here. (In case of the reports there are then no “exotic” institutions, which justifies the existence of legal regulations and our presuppositions regarding a restricted territory of authority). The situation was similar between 1300 and 1334: five of seven reports could be connected to the chapter of Oradea. The presence of the chapter of Transylvania which signed the other two was probably due to a mistake: King Charles I (1301/1310–1342) who issued the orders, or the privileged person, Stephen Pogány, *castellanus* of Cetatea de Baltă (Küküllővár), thought that the estates of Sânmihaiu Almaşului and Sânta Măria, registered in the first case (1332), and delimited in the second case (1334), were situated in Inner Szolnok county,¹²⁶ which at that time belonged to the territory of authority of the chapter of Transylvania.

An important change occurred around 1335: the convent of Dealul Orăzii, which had become the greatest competition for the chapter of Oradea in terms of declarations for the previous two or three decades, – probably due to the fast increase in the number of cases to handle – managed to gain the trust of the authorities, too. The need for this new actor in this region is very well exemplified by the fact that it had an equal proportion of cases with the Oradea chapter (12 vs. 13). The presence of the other two chapters (Transylvania and Eger) could be considered incidental (the Transylvanian one did not even occur later on), and was only explained by the person enjoying the privilege: in 1335 the above mentioned Thomas Régeni and his siblings living in Transylvania had to be registered into their estate in Ilye¹²⁷ of Crasna county, and in 1341 the rights of John Csaholyi of the Upper Tisza region to the estate of Cizer (Csizér) had to be attested.¹²⁸

The cessation of the authenticating activity of the convent of Dealul Orăzii in 1353 (see above) turned upside down the territories of authority also in report issues. Most of its activity, just like in the case of *fassios*, was taken over (or we should say: back) by the chapter of Oradea, which was thus responsible for issuing

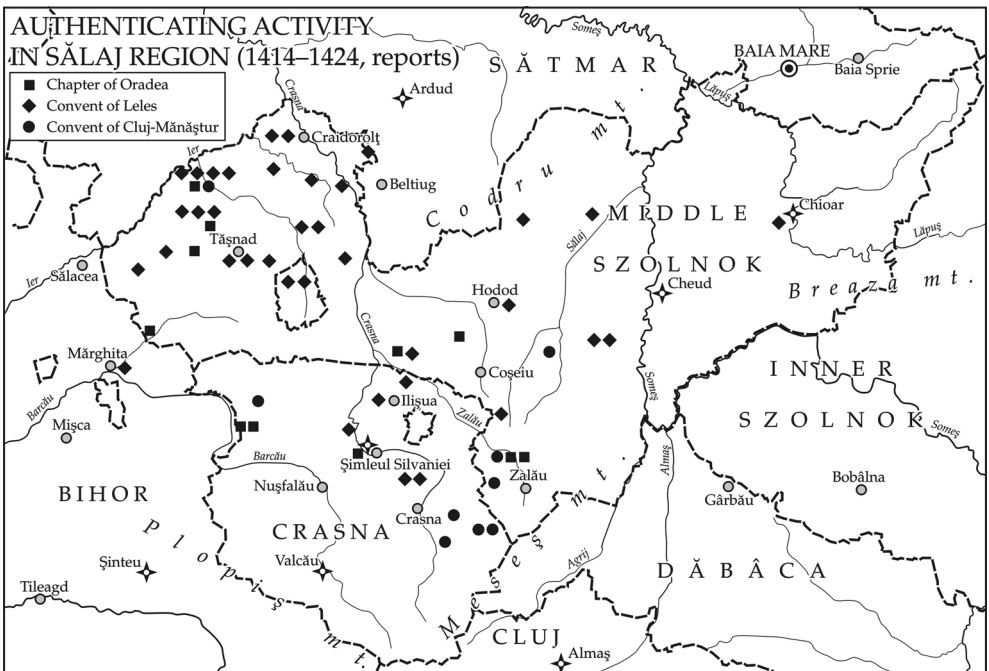
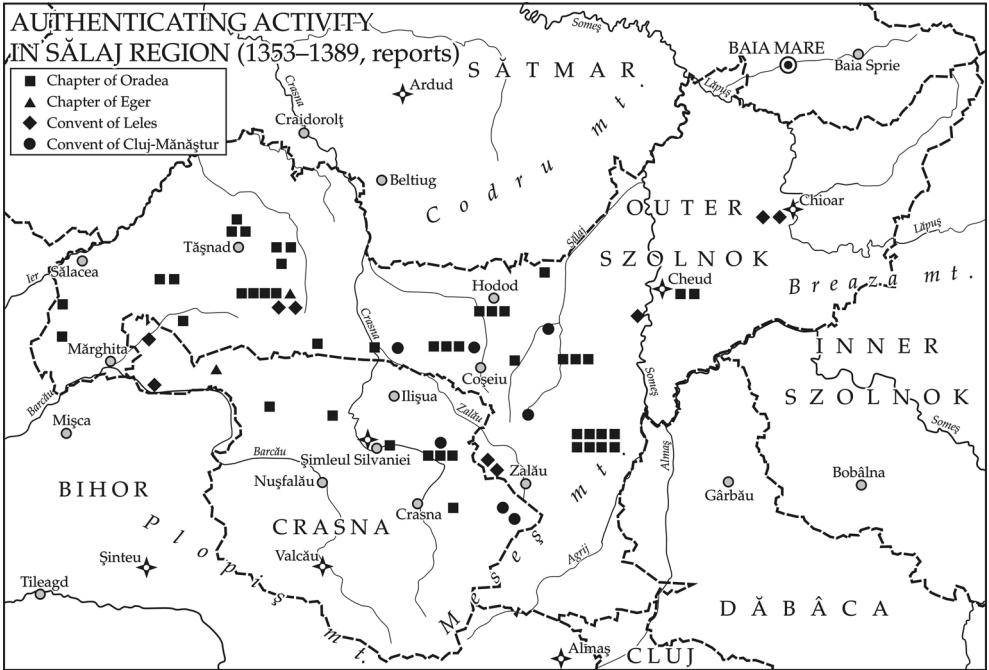
TABLE 3: Ordeals and reports concerning Sălaj region until 1424.

almost three quarters of the reports in the period preceding 1389, and more than half of them for the next 25 years as well. Taking oaths were exclusively directed to this body until the middle of the Sigismund-age.¹²⁹ Its field of activity up to this point covered the entire region except for the Țara Chioarului.

Although to a lesser extent, other bodies also profited from this reorganization. The monastery of Cluj-Mănăștur, which in the meantime forced back the chapter of Transylvania from northern Transylvania, gained ground in Sălaj region as an officially authorized place of authentication only after a few years of *fassionalis* activity.¹³⁰ It is also true, however, that in the case of *relatios* it could not attain such importance, and even later it could hardly manage to increase it;¹³¹ its influence did not cover entirely the two counties, only the valley of the Zalău stream and the estates of the lesser nobility and the bishopric of the Tövishát (from where came, also, most of the people who made declarations there).¹³²

From the north it was first the chapter of Eger which tried to take part in the fieldwork (1358, 1361, 1372) – typically in the cases of the Cudars from Borsod or the Magyis from Szabolcs¹³³ –, but in the 1370s its place was taken over by the convent of Leles, present in the region since 1363, and soon becoming popular. By the number of its reports, it caught up with the Cluj-Mănăștur convent already in the Angevin age, leaving it behind on a third place around 1390, then, breaking the long hegemony of the chapter of Oradea around 1410–1415, it undoubtedly became the number one place of authentication of the region (its proportion between 1414 and 1424 was already 64%, whereas in the first period of the Sigismund age it was only 31%, and before that even as low as low 10%!).

This is an astounding development taking into account that, compared to its rivals, the convent of Leles was farthest from the region: for the shortest of delegations, the target (Craidorolț [Királydaróc]) was at a 108 km distance in a straight line from it, while the most distant but frequently visited castle of Chioar



was 160 km away. (In comparison, those from Oradea had to count with distances of 45–110 km, while those from Cluj-Mănăştur of 55–120 km). Was its fast advancement due to the efficient working methodology used? Or was it some kind of central regulation – e.g., the previously mentioned order from 1410 – in the background? It will remain the task of future research to answer these questions...

It can be concluded therefore that the vast majority – two-thirds to three-quarters – of the declarations and reports connected to Sălaj region for a long 200 years (1208–1413) were written in the *scriptoria* of Oradea (or Dealul Orăzii).¹³⁴ Their influence only diminished in the first half of the 1410s: for *fassios* they were only forced to share the first place with the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur, but for *relatios* they had to hand this first place over to the Leles convent.¹³⁵ This is however no significant change from our point of view, since the results are the same: the decisive places of authentication in the region were throughout the whole period those from Hungary.

Completing this finding with the information that its geographical location connects the Sălaj region primarily to the Great Plain, and the landowners originating from other counties also arrived from the central areas of the Kingdom, it can be claimed that the network of informal relations connected Middle Szolnok and Crasna counties less to Transylvania, and much more to Hungary. As a direct result of the preponderance of Hungarian landowners and places of authentication, the sources referring to the history of the region are not found in typically Transylvanian archives, but in the family archives of local (Wesselényi, Becskey) or Szabolcs and Sătmar county noble families (Kállay, Vay, Zichy, Károlyi) as well as the archives of the convent of Leles. This way the two counties are separated from Transylvania also in what regards their sources.

This final conclusion must be somewhat nuanced by admitting that, compared to other Hungarian counties bordering on Transylvania (e.g. Arad, Zărand, Bihor), it was still Middle Szolnok and Crasna which had most connections with the province – and that is why the question of where they belonged could be asked at all for this (and not another) region.



Translated by EMESE CZINTOS

Notes

1. Cf. *Korai magyar történeti lexikon* (Encyclopaedia of early Hungarian history), eds. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), s.v. “Erdély”.

2. Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae. Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transylvanas illustrantia. Erdélyi okmánytár. Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez*. Publicationes Archivi Hungariae Nationales II, Series fontium 26., 40., and 47. (3 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1997–2008; henceforth *CDTrans*), vol. 1, 30.
3. Gyula Kristó, *Early Transylvania (895–1324)* (Budapest: Lucidus, 2003), 22. Cf. Idem, *A feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon* (Feudal fragmentation in Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 105–107, 109–110.
4. A good example for this is the Transylvanian sub-series of the collection of charters initiated by the Romanian Academy (Mihail Roller, ed., *Documente privind istoria României. Seria C. Transilvania*. [Documents relating to the history of Romania. Series C. Transylvania] [6 vols., Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1951–1955; henceforth: *DIR C*], continued by: Sabin Belu, Ioan Dani, Aurel Răduțiu, Viorica Pervain, Konrad G. Gündisch, Marionela Wolf, Adrian Rusu, Susana Andea, Lidia Gross, and Adinel Dință, eds., *Documenta Romaniae Historica. Seria C. Transilvania*. [6 vols., Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romîne; Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academiei Române, 1977–2006; henceforth: *DocRomHist C*]), publishing the sources of present-day Romania's territory within the Carpathian Basin, although this area was not an organic whole during the Middle Ages.
5. By this, Jakó also committed the mistake, frequent in Romanian and Hungarian literature alike, to regard the voivode as the ruler of the entire Transylvania. In reality, the voivode's jurisdiction only covered the seven counties, the Szekler *comitatus* was attached to this function only after 1461, while the Saxons were never subordinated to the voivode – see: Iván Janits, *Az erdélyi vajdák igazságszolgáltató és oklevéladó tevékenysége 1526-ig* (Jurisdictional and charter issuing activity of Transylvanian voivodes before 1526) (Budapest, 1940), 20–23. The three units at once were only usurped by voivode Ladislaus *d.g.* Kán (1294–1315) between 1301 and 1310, profiting of the times of anarchy. Cf. Tudor Sălăgean, *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislau Kán 1294–1315* (A voivode of Transylvania: Ladislaus Kán 1294–1315) (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2007), 74, 99–111.
6. A similar research has been conducted for the other province of the Kingdom of Hungary, Slavonia: Boglárka Weisz and Attila Zsoldos, “A báni joghatóság Szlavóniában és a Dráván túl” (Jurisdiction of Bans in Slavonia and across the Drava), in “*Fons, skepsis, lex*”. *Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* (“Fons, skepsis, lex”. Festschrift in honour of 70 years old Ferenc Makk), eds. Tibor Almási, Éva Révész and György Szabados (Szeged: SZTE Történeti Segédtudományok Tanszék and Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010), 469–482.
7. Cf. László Solymosi, “Schriftlichkeit und Gesellschaft in der Arpadenzeit. Diplomatistische und sphragistische Abhandlungen. (Zusammenfassung),” in idem, *Írásbeliség és társadalom az Árpád-korban* (Literacy and society in the Arpadian era) (Budapest: Argumentum, 2006), 255–270. There is evidence for 28 charters with reference to Transylvania and the Sălaj region prior to 1200, but four of these are forgeries, three others are interpolated, and another six of them are only known by mentions

- (cf. *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 1–28). One textually confusing, probably interpolated charter of the 28 is connected to the history of Crasna county, while three others (an original one and two mentioned ones) are connected to the later Middle Szolnok county (*CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 6, 10–11, 18).
8. The most important and comprehensive series of publication of charters: on Transylvania: *CDTrans*, vols. 1–3 (1023–1359) and *DocRomHist C*, vols. 10–15 (1351–1380); on Hungary: Imre Szentpétery and Iván Borsa, eds., *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* (tom. I–II/4, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1923–1987; henceforth *RegArp*) (1001–1301); Gyula Kristó, László Blazovich, Lajos Géczi, Tibor Almási, Tamás Kőfalvi, Ildikó Tóth, Ferenc Makk, Ferenc Piti, and Ferenc Sebők, eds., *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia* (26 vols., Budapest – Szeged, 1990–2011; henceforth *AOkl*) (1301–1331, 1333, 1335–1337, 1339–1344, 1347) and Elemér Mályusz, Iván Borsa, Norbert C. Tóth, and Tibor Neumann, eds., *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (Charters of the Sigismund era), *Publicationes Archivi Hungariae Nationalis II.: Series fontium* 1., 3–4., 22., 25., 27., 32., 37., 39., 41., 43. and 49. (tom. I–XI, 12 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1951–2010; henceforth *ZsOkl*) (1387–1424).
 9. The digitization of the charters initiated by the Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archive), and primarily by György Rácz chief department head was enormously helpful for my work. As a result of this process, as of 2010, the 108372 items of original medieval charters (Diplomatic Archive, henceforth DL), as well as the 93876 charter facsimiles (Diplomatic Photo Collection, henceforth DF) are now available on the internet in the form of digital images (<http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf>).
 10. When all the counties of the country were listed for the special tax payment for year 1416, Middle Szolnok and Crasna were missing from the list, but the name *Zilágh* – which was not really a county – substituted them: Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus regni Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (tom. I–XI., 40 vols., Buda, 1829–1844; henceforth *CDHung*) vol. X/8, 564–569 = *ZsOkl* vol. 5, no. 2255. Cf. Enikő Csukovits, “Ismerték-e a késő középkori magyar udvarban az összes megyét?” (Did they know all the counties in the late medieval Hungarian court?), in *Aktualitások a magyar középkorkutatásban. In memoriam Kristó Gyula (1939–2004)* (Actualities in Hungarian medievalistics. In memoriam Gyula Kristó), eds. Márta Font, Tamás Fedeles, and Gergely Kiss (Pécs: PTE TTK Középkori és Korajútkori Történeti Tanszék, 2010), 100–103, 109–110.
 11. Cf. Mór Petri, *Szilágy vármegye monographiája* (The monograph of Szilágy county) (6 vols., Zaláu: Szilágy vármegye közönsége, 1901–1904), vol. 1, 87–88.
 12. Romanian historiography generally considers Transylvania a different country (*regnum*), with roots going back to the 9th–11th century autochthonous state formations – see: Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* (The Voivodate of Transylvania) (4 vols., Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1971–1989), vol. 1, 19–22, 28–31, 66–81, 186–202; Ioan Aurel Pop et al., eds., *Istoria Transilvaniei* (History of Transylvania) (3 vols., Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2003–2009), vol. 1, 236, 256–266; Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului*

- al XIII-lea. Afirmarea regimului congregațional* (Transylvania in the second half of the 13th century. The rise of the congregational regime) (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2003), 403–415. The most substantial representative of the Hungarian point of view: Kristó, *Feudális széttagolódás*, 94–138. Cf. Martyn Rady, “Voivode and ‘Regnum’: Transylvania’s Place in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary,” in *Historians and the History of Transylvania*, ed. László Péter (Boulder: East European Monographs; New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 87–101.
13. Cf. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 1, 111–120.
 14. Mária Szentgyörgyi, *Kővár vidékének társadalma* (The society of Chioar region), *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből*. Új sorozat no. 56 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), 11.
 15. Cf. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 1, 124–132.
 16. The delimitation of Fenteuș (Fentős) forest in 1231 proves that no human settlement really existed in Țara Chioarului region then: *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 391–394 = *RegArp* no. 471. Cf. Szentgyörgyi, *Kővár*, 11, 15.
 17. I must note that the Meseș gate was not the pass connecting Românași (Alsóegregy) and Zalău (Zilah) through the Meseș mountain, but the valley connecting Ortelec (Vártelek) and Creaca (Karika). See: Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 1, 223–226.
 18. Kristó, *Transylvania*, 172–176. Salt tax had been collected already in 1165 at Meseș gate (*DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 356–357 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 10). On the road-system see: György Györffy, *Geographia historica Hungariae tempore stirpis Arpadianae. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* (4 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963–1998), vol. 3, 508 + map of Crasna county; István Draskóczy, “Szempontok az erdélyi sóbányászat 15–16. századi történetéhez” (Perspectives on the history of salt mining in the 15th–16th century), in *Studia professoris–professor studiorum. Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára*. (Studies in honour of 60th birthday of Géza Érszegi), eds. Tibor Almási, István Draskóczy, and Éva Jancsó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005), 96–99.
 19. Cf. Antal Fekete Nagy and László Makkai, eds., *Documenta historiam Valachorum in Hungaria illustrantia, usque ad annum 1400 p. Christum*. Études sur l’Europe Centre-Orientale, no. 29. (Budapest: Universitas Scientiarum Budapestinensis, 1941), 426, 473–475.
 20. In 1332–1334 these were called Outer Szolnok county estate (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 759–760, 764, 768, 800, 806, 836), just like Românași in 1363 (DL 73695). The latter however already belonged to Dăbâca county in 1393 (DL 73802), therefore the county boundary was on the Meseș at that time. On the boundary of Bihor, Crasna and Dăbâca counties around 1300, see Györffy: *Geographia historica*, vol. 1–3, annex of maps.
 21. Cf. *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 368–369, 388 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 476, 503; *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 407, vol. 2, 155–156; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 235, 528.
 22. Prior to the mid-15th century, even the research of marital relationships of the nobility has to face serious difficulties, since the wives, as a result of their limited legal capacity, were rarely mentioned. The situation will predictably improve as genealogical research will have compiled the genealogies of landowner families in Sălaj region,

as a result of the processing of the complete source material. At present, we can only say that prior to the 1360s we only know the names of 14 married couples from Sălaj area, and in five of these cases one member of the couple did not come from Sălaj region – notably, they all came from Szabolcs or Sătmar counties, also from Hungary.

23. Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* (The secular archontology of Hungary 1301–1457), História Könyvtár. Kronológiák, adattárak, no. 5. (2 vols., Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996), vol. 1, 262. Engel included Cehu Silvaniei (Szilágycseh) into the list, too, but the only data on this: *Cheever* (ibid., vol. 1, 292, cf. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 318–320; *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 323) must be identified, in my opinion, with Chioar.
24. One member of the kindred, Gyula son of Vata, appeared as the lord of Kórógy village, then part of the estate, but deserted by now, as early as 1213: *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 45 (no. 17) = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 48.
25. János Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* (The Hungarian kindreds before the middle of the 14th century) (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 2004), 401–405.
26. *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 26–31 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 229–230. On identifying the customers and fixing the period while they were dignitaries, see: Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* (The secular archontology of Hungary 1000–1301), História Könyvtár. Kronológiák, adattárak, no. 11 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2011), 20, 66.
27. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 915–927.
28. Ibidem, 897–902. On his being Roland's brother-in law, see: ibid. 916.
29. Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 39; Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 11, 415; Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Castelarea carpatică* (The Carpathian castellation) (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2005), 535–536.
30. They got their family name after Medieșul Aurit (Aranyosmeggyes), gained by voivode Nicholas in 1280 as a dowry of his wife (*RegArp* vol. II/2–3, no. 3091).
31. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 84–88 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 629. Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 166.
32. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 2, 141–151, 327–360.
33. *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 427–428 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 209. For identifying Paul d.g. Geregye and his dignitaries, see: Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 31. On their early estates: Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 461.
34. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 224–231; Györffy, *Geographia historica*, vol. 3, 505–506, 521–522; Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* (The last Arpadians) (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 411–414; Sălăgean, *Transilvania*, 181–185; Rusu, *Castelarea*, 534.
35. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 318–320 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 323. Cf. ibid, no. 304. On dating the events see: Pál Engel, “Az ország újraegyesítése. I. Károly küzdelmei az oligarchák ellen” (Reunification of the Country. Fights of Charles I against the oligarchs [1310–1323]), in idem, *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok* (Honor, castle, comitatus. Selected studies), Milleniumi magyar Történelem, ed. Enikő Csukovits (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 344–345; Gyula Kristó, “I. Károly király harcai a tartományurak ellen (1310–1323)” (Fights of King Charles I against the oligarchs [1310–1323]), *Századok* 137 (2003): 331–332.

36. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 587–595 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 73–75. Cf. *AOkl* vol. 25, no. 567; Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 454.
37. DL 6073. Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 48, 454.
38. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 407–413.
39. Elemér Varjú and Béla Iványi, eds., *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli losonczi Bánffy család történetéhez* (Cartulary on the history of the Bánffy de Losonc d.g. Tomaj family) (2 vols., Budapest, 1908–1928; henceforth *BánfOkl*), vol. 1, 371–373, 504–507. Cf. *ibid.* 524–525; Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 454.
40. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 2, 245–253.
41. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 1014–1020.
42. Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár*, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, no. 6–13., 17–18., 20., 22. (12 vols., Pest – Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1860–1874; henceforth *ÁÚO*), vol. 7, 215; *CDTrans* vol. 1, no. 202. Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 268; Rusu, *Castelarea*, 510–511.
43. Sălaj as a property of Paul, his son Lothard and their descendants: *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 328–329 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 203; *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 390–391 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 299, 386, 507. On their uprising and defeat: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 318–320 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 323. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 336, 508, 561; Engel, “Az ország újraegyesítése,” 344–345.
44. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 268. Cf. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 469, 496, 706, 801; vol. 3, no. 66, 73, 166, 183–184.
45. Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (London–New York: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2001), 199–201.
46. *ZsOkl* vol. 1, no. 31, 399; vol. 2, no. 4370.
47. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 2, 16–28, 34–37, 403–428.
48. Cluj-Napoca, Biblioteca Centrală Universitară “Lucian Blaga”, Colecții speciale (Lucian Blaga Central University Library, Special Collections Departement; henceforth BCU Cluj, Col. spec.), Archive of the Wesselényi family of Jibou (Zsibó), no. 31–35 (1 Jan., 31 Jan., 20 Febr., 24 May 1383) = DF 254805–254808.
49. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 324.
50. See Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 2, 81–85.
51. DL 74 = *RegArp* no. 308; *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 391–394 = *RegArp* no. 471. Cf. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 665–672; Szentgyörgyi, *Kövár*, 16.
52. On conservative property policy of King Béla IV see: Engel, *Realm of St. Stephen*, 98.
53. *ÁÚO*, vol. 7, 215 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 202. Cf. Szentgyörgyi, *Kövár*, 16–18.
54. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 318–320 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 323. Cf. Rusu, *Castelarea*, 511, 547.
55. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 15, 468–469. Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 351–352.
56. Petri, *Szilágy*, vol. 2, 361–374; Szentgyörgyi, *Kövár*, 18–19.
57. Practically, it covered half of the territories of the two counties. Three of the four castles were owned by the king, one of which, the castle of Valcău, he exchanged exactly in the second half of this year – see above.
58. My data collection on this issue will hopefully be published in a future article on the 14th–16th century situation of estates in the county. It must be noted that in

- the case of extended kinships I regarded as one family only those branches which owned the land undivided; after the redistribution each branch is regarded as separate families. Cf. Pál Engel, “Erbteilung und Familienbildung,” in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... Festschrift in Honour of János M. Bak*, eds. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University, 1999), 411–421.
59. Especially the lesser nobles of the Tövishát owning one single village can be suspected to have originally been castle warriors – see: DL 105472 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 813, 856; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 87–89.
 60. Emil Jakubovich, “Az Agmánd nemzetség teljesebb neve és egy ismeretlen ága” (A more complete name and an unknown branch of the Agmánd kindred), *Turul* 32 (1914): 43–45 = *AOkl* vol. 28, no. 769. On that this kindred should be considered as a Transylvanian one, see: László Makkai, “Honfoglaló magyar nemzetségek Erdélyben” (Hungarian conqueror kindreds in Transylvania), *Századok* 78 (1944): 164–165, 168–172; Kristó, *Transylvania*, 213.
 61. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 303–304 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 311; DL 57146 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 506.
 62. DL 31082 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 961. Cf. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 752.
 63. *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 229–230 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 6, 147. Cf. Kristó, *Transylvania*, 111.
 64. DL 64014 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 197, 228, 615–616, 630, 632. Cf. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 971.
 65. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 416. The estates received back: Moiad (Majád), Lompirt (Szilágylompért) and Ilișua (Selymesilosva). Later the family changed its name to Majádi: *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 554.
 66. Cf. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 84–88 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 629. In 1338 Sutak and his brother, Nicholas, were mentioned as neighbours of Carastelec (Kárásztelek), so they had to own already Uileacu Șimleului (DF 260747 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 977.).
 67. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 387–388, 393–394, 871–873; vol. 3, no. 645, 692, 704, 712. Their second estate in Sălaj region, close to Camăr, was Doh: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 945, 974, 977; On Cuzăplac: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 293–295 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 1022.
 68. They owned in Crasna county – besides Recea (Krasznarécse) – Pálvára and Kisrécse, too, both deserted by now (DL 62703 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 642, 649); they bought Panticeu (Páncélcseh) in 1314, gained Recea-Cristur (Récsekeresztúr) in 1320 as royal donation (both in Dăbâca county), and got parts in Sânger (Mezőszengyel) and Băraii (Báré) by marriage (*DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 132; vol. 1, 355; vol. 2, 395–396 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 225, 369, 622; DL 29127 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 1044). Their expansion continued later, getting Șieu-Cristur (Bethlenkeresztúr) and Feleac (Fellak) in 1364: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 226–230, 237–241.
 69. They were called Szopori already in 1297 (*CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 563). On their kins in Bihor county, see: Imre Nagy and Gyula Tasnádi Nagy, eds., *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis. Anjou-kori okmánytár*. Monumenta Hungariae Historica

- (7 vols., Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1878–1920; henceforth *AOkm*) vol. 4, 227–228; vol. 5, 502–503; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 284–285 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 770. On Săuca: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 161.
70. On their estates in Sălaj region and on the career of Ladislaus, son of Hegen: *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 199–200, 469–470 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 372–374, 585; *CDHung*, vol. VI/2, 274–275 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 563, 603; DL 86488, 97944 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 115, 440; *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 15–16 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 706; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 152–153, 155–156 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 668, 671. On buying Balc: *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 442–443.
71. On their estates: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 245 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 245; BCU Cluj, Col. spec., Archive of the Wesselényi family of Jibou, no. 38 (31 Jul. 1386), no. 40 (8 Jan. 1388) = DF 254811, 254813 = *ZsOkl*, vol. 1, no. 384. On their suit against the Szarvadis: 11 Nov. 1337, 3 Jan. 1338: BCU Cluj, Col. spec., Wesselényi family of Jibou, no. 10 (DF 254784) = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 959, 971. On localizing the occupied estates, deserted by now, see: Györffy, *Geographia historica*, vol. 1, 656–657.
72. They were called Szántói for the first time in 1358 (*DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 264 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 1006). On Pető as *comes* of Sătmar: Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 188; vol. 2, 194, 220. On their estates in Middle Szolnok and Sătmar counties: DL 6102. On their origins and estates in Pest county (Galgamácsa and Zsidó, that is present-day Vácegres) see: János Karácsonyi, “A gróf Csákyak és Becskyekek ősei” (The ancestors of Csáky and Becsky counts), *Turul* 11 (1893): 105–112. Later, they built up a large domain in Banat (Bánság) region, too – cf. Richárd Horváth, Tibor Neumann, and Norbert C. Tóth, eds., *Documenta ad historiam familiae Batori de Ecsed spectantia*, vol. 1, *Diplomata 1393–1540* (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat, 2011), 29–31.
73. *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 417 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 201; *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 234–235, 239–240 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 387, 391; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 449–452 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 1112. Cf. Zsigmond Jakó, “Az erdélyi püspökség középkori birtokairól” (The medieval estates of the Transylvanian bishopric), in Szabó István *emlékkönyv* (Festschrift in honour of István Szabó), ed. István Rácz (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 1998), 144–146.
74. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 945, 974, 977; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 14, 698.
75. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 79–81 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 87. Cf. Péter Levente Szőcs, “The Abbey Church of Ákos. The Architectural and Functional Analysis of a ‘Kindred Monastery’ Church,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 155–180; Kristó, *Transylvania*, 204–205.
76. In Crasna county, they divided village Ip (Ipp): DL 28896 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 601. Besides Ip, they owned Zalnóc (Zálnok) and the deserted Csalános, too, since cca 1270: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 328–330 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 300; vol. 3, no. 792, 1043.
77. *AOkl* vol. 3, no. 213; Imre Nagy et al., eds., *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et de Vásonkeő. A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára* (12 vols., Pest–Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1871–1931),

- vol. 1, 530–534. The family got Abrămuț in 1333/4 as dowry (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 769/2, 811). On Petreu: Imre Nagy et al., eds., *Codex diplomaticus patrius Hungaricus. Hazai okmánytár* (8 vols., Győr–Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1865–1891), vol. 7, 124. Cf. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 494–506.
78. They gained Rof in 1270/1277, Cean and Ülmez in 1275, the others must be earlier acquisitions, cf. *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 131, 176, 501–503 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 288, 335, 354; *ÁÚO*, vol. 9, 555 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 312, 369–370; DL 40567 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 668–669; DL 40650 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 784–785; DL 40672 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 809, 815. Although they claimed in 1341 village Cizer (Csizér), too, it wasn't their estate in deed either then or later (*DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 581–582, 587–591 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 56, 60, 63, 73). Cf. Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek*, 771–773.
79. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 15, 8–10. Cf. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 687–688 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 503; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 378–386 = *CDTrans* vol. 3, no. 1014.
80. About the donation: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 416 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 319; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 84–88 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 629. On the origin of the family: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 447–448 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 978; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 129–132 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 918. Cf. Péter Németh, “Két szatmári család eredetéről. A Becsegergely nemzetség szatmári ága” (The roots of two families from Sătmar: The Sătmar branch of the Becsegergely kindred), in *Studia professoris–professor studiorum. Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára* (Studies on the occasion of Géza Érszegi's 60th birthday), eds. Tibor Almási, István Draskóczy, and Éva Jancsó (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2005), 233–237.
81. Their local rights were mentioned for the first time in 1355 (DL 70653 and 41820).
82. Both villages were donated in 1285 by Panit *d.g.* Miskolc to Parasznyais (*DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 268–269 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 419). However, the Szécsis – being in the king's confidence because of their merits earned in the civil war (1315–1321) – gained all the estates of Ban Panit in 1322, and – as it seems – they validated retroactively this royal donation. (It could also happen that the Parasznyais had taken part in the fights on the wrong side, and that facilitated their unhousing.) Boghiș and Monyoród were mentioned by name as a property of Szécsis in 1341 for the first time (*DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 590–591, 592–595 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 73, 75; cf. DL 100025). On the merits and gained estates of the Szécsis: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 281, 639. Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 2, 222.
83. *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 2, 403–405 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 672; DL 87130 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 88; DL 41533. Castles Simontornya and Csáktornya in Transdanubian parts were gained by them later, in 1347, respectively in 1350 (*CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 400, 577). On their career: András W. Kovács, “Voievozii Transilvaniei în perioada 1344–1359” (Voivodes of Transylvania between 1344 and 1359), in *Itinerarii istoriografice. Studii în onoarea istoricului Costin Feneșan* (Historiographical itineraries: Festschrift in honour of historian Costin Feneșan), ed. Dumitru Țeicu, Rudolf Gräf, Adrian Magina (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română. Editura Centrului de Studii Transilvane, 2011), p. 37–65.
84. On Românași: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 1, 394–395 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 174; DL 73695. Its 14th century belongings, with the date of their first mention: 1335:

- Sângeorgiu de Meseş (Meszesszentgyörgy) (*CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 835), 1379: Bucium (Vármező) (*DocRomHist C*, vol. 15, 603–604), 1391: Chichişa (Kékesnyárló) and Romita (Romlott) (BCU Cluj, Col. spec., *Colecția de documente medievale* [Collection of medieval charters], no. 39 = DF 253668). On the origins and career of Mikud and Emeric, see: Karácsonyi, *Nemzetsegek*, 795–799; Kristó, *Transylvania*, 164–166, 202; Sălăgean, *Transylvania*, 121–130, 134–135, 147. Ban Mikud owned some villages north from Jibou, in the valley of Someş river, too (*CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 595), but these were given over by his heirs in 1300 to their brothers-in-law, members of the Monoszló kindred, who got rid of these estates, as it seems, in the early 14th century (cf. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 469). However, we find them later among the belongings of castle Cheud (*ZsOkl*, vol. 1, no. 599; vol. 2, no. 4370).
85. *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 759–760, 764, 768, 800, 806, 836–837. On István Pogány's career: Karácsonyi, *Nemzetsegek*, 663–665.
 86. *DIR C*, *veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 324–325 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 816; DL 31082 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 961.
 87. Cf. *DIR C*, *veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 275–276, 354–355, 361, 429–430 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 755, 851, 865, 967, 976.
 88. On “transfer” of the estates: Norbert C. Tóth, *Szabolcs megye működése a Zsigmond-korban* (The functioning of Szabolcs county in the Sigismund era) (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs Községért Kulturális Közhasznú Közalapítvány, 2008), 19–22.
 89. The most important works, written about the places of authentication: Ferenc Eckhardt, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungsband 9, no. 2 (1914): 395–558; L. Bernát Kumorovitz, “A leleszi konvent oklevéladó működése 1569-ig” (The charter issuing activity of the convent of Leles), *Turul* 42 (1928): 1–39; Imre Szentpétery, *Magyar oklevéltan* (Hungarian diplomatics) (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1930), 75–76, 121–138, 214–222; Francisc Pall, “Contribuții la problema locurilor de adeverire din Transilvania medievală (sec. XIII–XV)” (Contributions to the problem of places of authentication in medieval Transylvania [13th–14th century]), in idem, *Diplomatica latină din Transilvania medievală* (Latin diplomatics in medieval Transylvania), ed. Ionuț Costea, (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2005), 274–292; Iván Borsa, “A hiteleshelyekről” (About places of authentication), in “*Magyaroknak eleiről*”. *Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvan esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* (“On the ancestors of the Hungarians”: Festive studies in honour of 60 years old Ferenc Makk), ed. Ferenc Piti (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000), 99–106; László Solymosi, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte (*loca credibilia*) Ungarns im 14–15. Jahrhundert,” *Archiv für Diplomatik* 55 (2009): 175–190.
 90. The exceptions above show that the procedure of regarding all declarations as internal works and reports as external works of the place of authentication as usual in the literature is oversimplifying.
 91. Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan*, 217. However, it was an indirect restriction that the place of authentication had to be sure about the identity of the person who requested the action; see *ibid.*, 125–126.
 92. *Ibid.*, 216–217; Tamás Fedeles, “A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi vonzáskörzete (1354–1526)” (The territorial jurisdiction of the chapter of Pécs as a place of

- authentication, 1314–1526), in *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok. A III. Medieviztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2003. május 8–9.) előadásai* (Studies on medieval history: The lectures of the 3rd PhD conference on medieval studies, Szeged, 8–9 May 2003), ed. Boglárka Weisz (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2003), 9. On the other hand, the royal collegiate chapters of Székesfehérvár and Buda had had a nationwide authority already in the Arpadian age, a privilege got later by the convent of Székesfehérvár of St. John's knights, then, in 1498, by the chapter of Bosnia, too; see *ibid.*, 9–10; Ildikó Tóth, “Káptalan a déli határszélen (A boszniai székeskáptalan területi hatóköre a XIV. század közepéig)” (Chapter at the southern frontier. The territorial jurisdiction of Bosnian chapter before the mid-14th century), in “*Magyaroknak eleiről,*” ed. Ferenc Piti, 618; László Solymosi, “A székesfehérvári káptalan hiteleshelyi működésének sajátosságai” (The characteristics of the authenticating activity of the Székesfehérvár chapter), in *idem, Írásbeliség és társadalom,* 114–116; *idem,* “Die glaubwürdigen Orte,” 183.
93. Iván Borsa noticed that in the Kállay-archive mostly containing Szabolcs county material the place of the Eger chapter was taken over practically completely by the Leles (Lelesz) convent after 1351 (Borsa, “A hiteleshelyekről,” 101). Another example of central regulation is when King Matthias, donating a new seal to the convent of Hronský Beňadik (Garamszentbenedek) in 1462, clearly enlisted all the counties where the ecclesiastical body could send their people as witnesses – cf. Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan,* 217; Solymosi, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte,” 183–184.
94. Tóth, “Káptalan a déli határszélen,” 618; Fedeles, “A pécsi székeskáptalan vonzáskörzete,” 9; Gyula Kristó, *Tájszemlélet és térszervezés a középkori Magyarországon* (Approach to landscape and spatial organization in medieval Hungary), Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár no. 19 (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2003), 171–172.
95. Kumorovitz, “A leleszi konvent,” 4–5; Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan,* 136, 216–217; Pall, “Contribuții,” 283–284.
96. On the fact that the petitioner had a word to say in choosing the authorized persons and the place of authentication, see: Pál Engel, “Királyi emberek Valkó megyében” (Homines regii in Vukovar county), in *idem, Honor, vár, ispánság,* 592.
97. Iván Borsa exhorted the separate investigation of the two kinds of jurisdictions, too: Borsa, “A hiteleshelyekről,” 103.
98. We know only one report issued by them in 1270: *DIR C, veacul XIII,* vol. 2, 120–121 = *CDTrans,* vol. 1, no. 283.
99. Cf. Solymosi, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte,” 188–189.
100. Kumorovitz, “A leleszi konvent,” 4–5; Gábor Sipos, “A kolozsmonostori konvent hiteleshelyi működése” (The authenticating activity of the convent of Cluj-Mănăstur), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies of cultural history), eds. Elek Csetri, Zsigmond Jakó, and Sándor Tonk (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1979), 43; Árpád Varga, “A váradai káptalan hiteleshelyi működése” (The authenticating activity of the chapter of Oradea), in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies of cultural history), eds. Elek Csetri, Zsigmond Jakó, Gábor Sipos, and Sándor Tonk (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1980), 29.

101. More recently, there are examples of such researches, but only for the places of authentication of southern Hungary the archival material of which was decimated, and only for the period before 1353: László Koszta, “Püspöki székhely és városfejlődés. Pécs központi funkciói és vonzáskörzete a 14. század közepéig” (Episcopal seat and urban development: Central functions and jurisdiction of Pécs before the mid-14th century), in *Kelet és Nyugat között. Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére* (Between East and West: Historical studies in honour of Gyula Kristó), ed. László Koszta (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1995), 233–272; idem, “A pozsegei káptalan hiteleshelyi tevékenysége 1353-ig” (The authenticating activity of chapter of Požega prior to 1353), *Századok* 132 (1998): 3–46; Tóth, “Káptalan a déli határszéli”; Márton Parlagi, “A bácsi káptalan hiteleshelyi tevékenysége a 14. század első felében” (The authenticating activity of the chapter of Bač in the first half of the 14th century), in *Tanulmányok a középkorról. A II. Medievalisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2001. április 3.) előadásai* (Studies on medieval history: The lectures of the 2nd PhD conference of medieval studies, Szeged, 3 April 2001), eds. Boglárka Weisz, László Balogh, and József Szarka (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2001), 95–112; Fedeles, “A pécsi székeskáptalan vonzáskörzete”; Péter G. Tóth, “A csanádi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi vonzáskörzete (1239–1353)” (The jurisdiction of the chapter of Cenad as a place of authentication, 1239–1353), in *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 6. A VI. Medievalisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2009. június 4-5.) előadásai* (Studies on medieval history no. 6. The lectures of the 6th PhD conference of medieval studies, Szeged, 4–5 June 2009), eds. Péter G. Tóth and Pál Szabó (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010), 21–35. The temporal changes within the chosen period have only been researched so far by Koszta and Tóth.
102. *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 75 (no. 136), 76 (no. 140), 100 (no. 228) = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 76, 84, 92. In reference to the fact that, in time, besides trials by ordeals, *fassionalis* notes being only related to these in person, were becoming ever more frequent, see: János Karácsonyi and Samu Borovszky, *Regestrum Váradinense examinum ferri candentis ordine chronologico digestum, descripta effigie editionis a. 1550 illustratum. Az időrendbe szedett váradai tüzesvaspróba-lajstrom az 1550-iki kiadás hű másával együtt* (Budapest: Várad Káptalan, 1903), 135; Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan*, 121; Pall, “Contribuții,” 285.
103. 1246: *ÁÚO*, vol. 7, 215 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 202; 1246: *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 328–329 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 203. On dignitaries of Stephen *d.g.* Gútkeled: Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 19, 175, 310.
104. 10 Nov. 1258?: *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 26–27 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 229.
105. 20 Aug. 1270: *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 131 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 288; 1285: *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 268–269 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 419. Cf. Györffy, *Geographia historica*, vol. 1, 739, 745, 800.
106. See: Sipos, “A kolozsmonostori konvent,” 38.
107. 1 July 1300, 22 Oct. 1313, 1323, 9 Oct. 1324: *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 595; vol. 2, no. 214, 469, 506; 20 Aug. 1332: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 275–276 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 755.

108. 20 May 1303: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 27.
109. *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 50, 248.
110. 1321: *AOkm*, vol. 1, 640–642 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 416; 1 May 1342: *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 88.
111. Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan*, 137, 214–215; Pall, “Contribuții,” 288; Solymosi, “Die glaubwürdigen Orte,” 177, 187–188.
112. 4 July 1379: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 15, 603–605; 18 Mar. 1380: *ibid.*, 717–719.
113. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 10, 278–279; vol. 11, 272–273 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 764, 773, 1013; DL 96428; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 13, 460; vol. 15, 107–108; DL 105458.
114. DL 96428, 41434; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 44–45.
115. 4 Nov. 1360: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 570–571; 20 Aug. 1411: *ZsOkl*, vol. 3, no. 839.
116. 24 Apr. 1371: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 14, 27; 28 Jun. 1393: DL 7856 = *ZsOkl*, vol. 1, no. 2992.
117. 2 Jul. 1370: DL 41820.
118. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 424; vol. 14, 115.
119. Szentpétery, *Oklevéltan*, 121; László Solymosi, “A világi bírászkodás kezdetei és az oklevéladás” (The beginnings of the secular judgement and the issue of charters), in *idem, Írásbeliség és társadalom*, 166–167.
120. The only important difference is that the latter sends no written answer to the judge, who announces the final sentence on the basis of the oral report of the summoner (*pristaldus*).
121. *DIR C, veacul XI–XIII*, vol. 1, 42 (no. 1) = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 36. It differs from the later classical form inasmuch as in this case the deputy of the authorities proceeds on his own, since the place of authentication was only obliged to send a witness after 1231. The early character of reports is also strengthened by the fact that the chapter did not only make written notes of the case, but actually issued a charter “*ut executio huius cause sciatur a posteris*”.
122. And to top it all, many of these – as we could see – weren’t ordeals in deed, but declarations.
123. Ilona K. Fábrián, *A Váradí Regestrum helynevei. Adattár* (The toponyms of the Register of Oradea: Database), Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár no. 13 (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1997), 160/161.
124. This is enough in itself to refute the opinion (Kumorovitz, “A leleszi konvent,” 4) that the authority of the place of authentication was first following the territories of dioceses. There is no doubt that Sălaj region and Sătmar county had already belonged by that time to the diocese of Transylvania (cf. DL 90749) – yet, they fell under the authority of Oradea.
125. *DIR C, veacul XIII*, vol. 2, 120–121 = *CDTrans*, vol. 1, no. 283.
126. 6 Oct., 8. Dec. 1332: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 760, 764; 18 Mar., 25 May 1334: *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 800, 806.
127. A settlement deserted by now – cf. Györffy, *Geographia historica*, vol. 3, 513–514 + annex of Crasna counties map.

128. 11 July, 13 Oct. 1335: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 3, 354–355, 362 = *CDTrans*, vol. 2, no. 851, 862; 28 Apr., 18 May 1341: *DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 581, 581–582 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 56, 60.
129. *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 129–132 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 918; *DocRomHist C*, vol. 12, 198; *ZsOkl*, vol. 2/1, no. 111, 247, 1306.
130. It was issuing declarations in matters concerning Sălaj region since 1345 (*DIR C, veacul XIV*, vol. 4, 231–232 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 248), but it went out to this region together with an authorized person (*homo regius*) for the first time in 1359 (*DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 432–434 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 1097).
131. Its proportion was 18% of declarations issued between 1353 and 1389, whilst only 12% of reports of the same period (later 14%, then 17%).
132. It only went out twice to more distant places: Hotoan (Érhatvan) and Camăr (27 Nov. 1414: *ZsOkl*, vol. 4, no. 2749; 19 Apr. 1422: *ZsOkl*, vol. 9, no. 527). In the latter case it had to be present because one of the litigant parties was the chapter of Oradea, which then of course could not act because of its involvement.
133. 1 July 1358: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 11, 297–298 = *CDTrans*, vol. 3, no. 1024, 1026; 20 May, 16 Jun. 1361: DL 5024; 12 May, 7 Sept. 1372: *DocRomHist C*, vol. 14, 204–205, 269–271.
134. This general image is all the more trustworthy because – distinctly from the intact archives of the convent of Lelesz or the decimated, yet still rich archive of the place of authentication of the convent of Cluj-Mănăştur – the archive of the chapter of Oradea was completely destroyed during the Turkish siege of 1660 (cf. Varga, “A váradi káptalan,” 26), and I could only use the copies preserved in family archives to compile the list. Therefore, with regard to the number of charters issued, Oradea is in fact under-represented.
135. It must be noted that no significant difference is perceivable in the distribution of the two kinds of authenticating activities for most of the analyzed period. The “official point of view” presupposed for *relatios* was thus not really observed (not only the authorities in general, but the judges themselves had no “favourite” place of authentication), in both cases it was practically the initiating party who decided which place of authentication to choose. The active role of the authorities was limited to restricting the number of places of authentication available as witnesses to the closest ones (in our case to three after 1353).

Abstract

The Affiliation of Medieval Sălaj (Szilágy) Region in the Mirror of Social Relations

During the last two decades, some new views have emerged concerning the affiliation of medieval Middle Szolnok and Crasna counties (present-day Sălaj region). The study tries to decide whether these two counties can be considered parts of Transylvania or of the inner territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, examining the informal relations of the local society with the surrounding territories between 1200 and 1424. The aspects considered are geographical, social historical, and institutional. The author finds that the targeted counties were connected much more to Hungary from this point of view. Only one family of all the medieval owners of local castles (13 in number) had arrived from Transylvania. In 1341, 34 of 87 landowners (including the king as well) had external roots, but only 9 in the eastern province. For the authenticating activity, the Hungarian church institutions (especially, for this period, that of the chapter of Oradea) played an overwhelming role: they issued 75-85% of the local documents.

Keywords

Sălaj, Transylvania, Hungary, social relations, foreign landowners, places of authentication