

TÜNDE ÁRVAI

Birth of the palatine branch of the Garai family The early history of the Dorozsma genus (1269–1375)*

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The main objective of this paper is to present that period of the history of the Dorozsma genus which started with it being mentioned for the first time (1269) and finished with the appointment of Nicholas to the office of palatine (1375). In this early time the genus disintegrated to branches and families which shared their hereditary possessions, performed military and diplomatic missions. They could start a conscious lordship-construction out of the estates they got from the king for their loyal service. Prosperous kinship and lord-in-waiting (*familiaris*) relationships were formed. The presentation of all these factors can hopefully expose the premises that preceded the “success-story” of the palatine branch of the Garai family in the middle of the 14th century.

Key words: medieval aristocracy, baronial careers, genealogy, archontology, Garai family, thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.



The only summary about the history of the Garai family was published in 1897 by Mór Wertner.¹ The author utilized the source materials of his age and the chronicle of John Thuróczy to present the most significant moments of the life of members of the family. After more than hundred years it is relevant

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¹ MÓR WERTNER: A Garaiak [The Garais]. *Századok* 31. (1897:10) p. 902–938. (hereafter: WERTNER 1897).

to construct new biographies which integrate the accumulated data. The narrative parts of charters, annals, the achievements of auxiliary sciences, and discoveries of archeological excavations can also contribute to the drawing of a more colourful image about the Garais. In the early period of the Dorozsma genus it seemed the members of the *ban* branch would become permanent and determining attendants of the medieval Hungarian politics. Andrew, the founder of the palatine branch, was not an office-holder. He is only known from title deeds, but the next three generations rose to an illustrious rank in the history of the Hungarian Kingdom, because they were palatines for more than half a century; and before becoming palatine they led a number of royal campaigns as *bans* of Macso.

The origin of the Dorozsma genus

The designator settlement of the Dorozsma genus was alluded in a charter written in 1237.² The mentioning of its abbot was the evidence that the monastery of the genus existed. The name of the locality originates from a personal name. The Slavic word *družba* means friendship, best man, groomsmen.³ If we accept this theory of the origin of the name of the genus, then it is important to know that a person called Drusma was found in a diploma written in 1075.⁴ In this source and its transcription from 1124⁵ a person named Beche was found as brother of Drusma. They railed off their estates. This early source can perhaps explain why a crowned snake holding a golden apple in his mouth is found both on the genus coat of arms chest of Dorozsma and Beche. This snake could be an ancient symbol. The heraldic connection between the two clans was exhibited by Joseph Csoma, but he did not know the written evidence.⁶

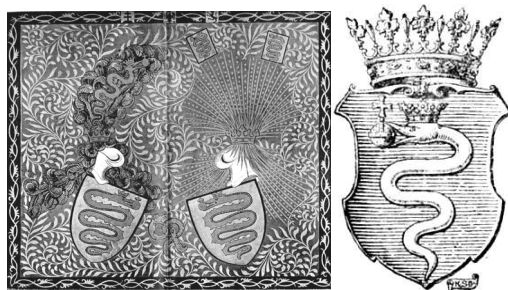
² István PETROVICS: A honfoglalástól Mohácsig [From the Hungarian conquest to Mohács]. In: *Kiskundorozsma. Tanulmányok.* [Kiskundorozsma. Essays.] Eds. Lajos Kövér – László Sándor Tóth. Szeged 1995. p. 75–104. here: p. 77.

³ Emőke Erzsébet VERES: *A Délvidék korai ómagyar kori helynevei* [The early Old Hungarian toponymy of the Délvidék]. Debrecen, 2007. (Thesis) p. 44; Zsófia KERTÉSZ: *Kolostorok, monostorok nevei Magyarországon a korai ómagyar korban* [The names of cloisters and monasteries in Hungary in the early Old Hungarian period]. Debrecen 2001. (Thesis) p. 48.

⁴ *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis.* I–XI. Ed. György FEJÉR. Budae 1829–1844. (hereafter: FEJÉR) I. p. 434.

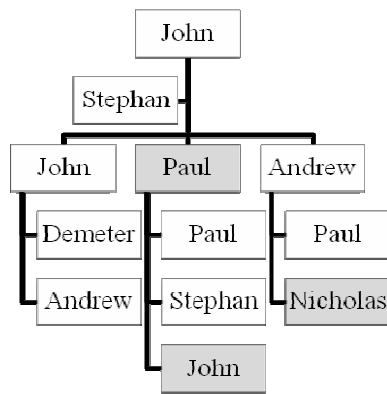
⁵ FEJÉR II. p. 74.

⁶ József CSOMA: A Dorozsma és Becse-Gergely nemzetség címere. [The coat of arms of the Dorozsma and Becse-Gergely genus] *Turul* 20 (1902:1) p. 7–10. here: p. 9.



The coat of arms of the Nicholas Garai palatine (1416) and the Bethlen family (17th century)⁷

The first mention of the members of the Dorozsma is found in a charter written in 1269 when John *de genere Drusma* and his son, Stephan, got their designatory settlement Gara (Gorjani, Croatia) in Valkó county from Béla, Duke of Slavonia. The source does not contain a detailed description of the deeds of these men. We can learn from it that John *comes* was a prominent soldier of the duke and together with the duke's *ensifer*, Stephan, they protected Béla in numerous doubtful situations.⁸



The male linear genealogy of the Garai family

One branch of the family was moved from Dorozsma to over the Drava river by this? donation. John, the first known forefather of the Garais, was mentioned as *comes* in the source, so either he must have been a bailiff in fact or he was in a knightly position. Magister Stephan was the sword-carrier (*ensifer*) of the duke in 1269, his name was mentioned until 1300 in publications of authentic places.⁹ He was reported to have been a *ban* after his death. In John Karácsony's opinion he was the *vicecomes* of Ugrin Csák

⁷ József KEÖPECZI: A Becse-Gergely nemzetség, az Apafi és a Bethlen gróf Bethlen család címere [The coat of arms of the Becse-Gergely genus, the Apafi, and the Bethlen family]. *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek* (1928:13) p. 18; Antal PÓR – Gyula SCHÖNHERR: Az Anjouk kora az Anjou ház és örökösei (1301–1439) [The Angevin, the Angevin family, and its heirs]. In: *A magyar nemzet története III.* [History of the Hungarian Nation III.] Ed. Sándor Szilágyi. Budapest 1895. (hereafter: PÓR – SCHÖNHERR) table after p. 522.

⁸ FEJÉR VII/3. p. 64.

⁹ 1296: *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*. I–XII. Ed. Gusztáv WENZEL. Budapest 1860–1874. X. p. 233; 1299: FEJÉR VII/3. p. 113.

ban of Macso.¹⁰ In Attila Zsoldos's view perhaps he was the *ban* of Slavonia in 1280.¹¹ Stephan's three sons became founders of illustrious families. In the Garai family of the Dorozsma genus the *báni* or *bánfi* branch was originated from Paul; the Harapkai Botos one from John; and at last the palatine branch from Andrew. Katherine, the only daughter of Stephan, married Demeter Nekcsei (*magister tavernicorum regalium*).¹²

Life in the service of the Angevin kings – Paul Garai

The relationship between the Garai family and Ugrin Csák survived the death of Stephan. Supposedly after the death of his father, Paul stayed in service of Ugrin Csák and perhaps as a castellan he was the head of castle Pozsega when Charles I (1308–1342) arrived in Hungary (1301). Paul gave the castle to the new king and in the following decades he became a successful soldier in the consolidating expeditions of Charles I.¹³ Paul fought against the rebels in county Pozsega and he followed his lord to Bohemia, too.¹⁴ Because of his unquestionable loyalty and prominent military talent Paul earned more functions which ensured the defence of the southern boundaries. When Charles I acquired the castle of Kőszeg, Paul became the castellan (1316–1328).¹⁵ At the same time he was the bailiff of Bodrog (1317–1327), Valkó (1320–1328), and Szerém (1323–1327) counties. These offices were connected with the dignity of the *ban* of Macso (1320–1328).¹⁶

When the king's Polish wife, Elizabeth appeared, a dynamic development began at the court and chancellery of the queen. The court of the queen left Temesvár in 1323 and moved to Visegrád just like the royal court. The most influential office-holders on the side of the queen were the *iudex curiae reginae* and the *magister tavernicorum reginalium*. During his career Paul got both offices. He was the judge of the court of the queen between 1331 and

¹⁰ János KARÁCSONYI: *A magyar nemzetségek a 14. század közepéig*. [The Hungarian genuses to the middle of the 14th century] Budapest, 1995². p. 438. (hereafter: KARÁCSONYI 1995)

¹¹ Attila ZSOLDOS: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* [The secular archontology of Hungary 1000–1301]. Budapest 2011. p. 311.

¹² WERTNER 1897. p. 904.

¹³ His elder brother, John Botos also fought in the royal expeditions. *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis* I–VII. Eds. Imre Nagy – Gyula Tasnádi Nagy. Budapest 1878–1920. (hereafter: ANJOU) I. p. 334. We have not data about the youngest brother, Andrew. Perhaps he also became soldier of Charles I.

¹⁴ ANJOU I. p. 196–197.

¹⁵ KARÁCSONYI 1995. p. 438

¹⁶ Pál ENGEL: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*. [The secular archontology of Hungary 1301–1457] Budapest, 1996. (hereafter: ENGEL 1996) II. p. 27.

1336. At the same time he was working as the bailiff of Szatmár county. From 1334 to 1353 he was the head of jurisdiction and finances at the court of the queen.¹⁷ Being at the most honourable of courts he could build his kinship and prepare the promotional possibilities of his acquaintances.

The career of Paul Garai exemplifies how a lay aristocrat could get on in the politics of the middle of the 14th century. His residence at the royal court was not hereditary because joining the new king was his own decision. The old ally Ugrin Csák was most probably advising him. For Paul and his brother, John Botos, the first two decades of the rule of Charles I were a permanent military challenge which they complied successfully. After the verification of his talents Paul could become office-holder in the county administration and later on office-holder at the court of the queen.

A clerical career in the service of Louis I – John Garai¹⁸

Three boys (Stephan, John, Paul) and two girls (Ilona, unknown) were born from the marriage of Paul Garai and Kós Nekksei. Stephan and Paul were both bailiffs of Zala county in the middle of the 1340s,¹⁹ nevertheless, the power of the family was increased mainly by John. He chose ecclesiastical career and became doctor of canon law (*licentiatus in iure canonico*) supposedly in Bologna, just like his cousin, Bálint Alsáni. The first data about the prebend of John Garai dates back to 1344 when a confessional clemency was asked for John by his most specific friend (*specialissimus amicus*) Nicholas Vásári (provost in the capitulum Esztergom).²⁰ At that time period John Garai was the prebendary of the Pécs cathedral chapter and the prior of the chapter (*ecclesia collegialis*) of St. John the Baptist (*minor prior*).²¹ The 10–12

¹⁷ ENGEL 1996. I. p. 54–56.

¹⁸ Particular description of his career see: Tünde ÁRVAI: A „sohasem volt” szepesi prépost. Garai János veszprémi püspök pályafutása [John Garai's Biography, the wrong-called Provost of Szepes]. In: „Köztes Európa” vonzásában. Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta tiszteletére. Eds. Dániel Bagi – Tamás Fedeles – Gergely Kiss. Pécs 2012. (hereafter: ÁRVAI 2012.) p. 33–44.

¹⁹ István 1343–1346, Pál 1345–1377. Pál ENGEL: *Magyar középkori adattár*. [Hungarian medieval database] CD–ROM. 2001. (hereafter: ENGEL 2001a) here: Archontológia: IV. Ispánok Zala.

²⁰ Árpád BOSSÁNYI: *Regesta supplicationum. A pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású okmányai* [The Hungarian-related records of the papal books of applications] I. Budapest 1916. p. 242. (hereafter: BOSSÁNYI 1916)

²¹ György TIMÁR: Pécs egyházi társadalma Károly Róbert korában. [The ecclesiastical society of Pécs in the age of Charles I.] In: *Baranyai Helytörténetírás* 1981. Pécs 1982. p. 13–56, here: p. 39; Tünde ÁRVAI: A pécsi várbéli Keresztelő Szent János társaskáptalan korai története. [History of the chapter of St. John the Baptist in Pécs] In: *Pécsi Szemle* 12 (2009: summer) p. 3–10; László KOSZTA – Tamás FEDELES: A pécsi kisprépostság. [The small provostry of Pécs] In: *A pécsi*

members of the chapter were supervised by John, while they were of assistance to the bishop of Pécs to carry out governmental and liturgical functions. In the same year (1346) John possessed prebend in the capitulum of Esztergom, he was *comes capelle regiae*²² and *secretus cancellarius*.²³ The royal chaplains were entrusted with diplomatic issues by Louis I. The political career of John was determined by the conflict between Naples and the Hungarian Kingdom. In the spring of 1346 John was negotiating at the court of pope Clement VI about the solution to clear up the disagreement between the states. On 19th July 1346 the pope appointed John the bishop of Veszprém. He was rewarded for his diplomatic service.²⁴ As bishop of Veszprém he kept his earlier offices and prebends and while he enjoyed their financial benefits.²⁵ Because of financial issues of the appointment (he could not pay the *servitium*) and his diplomatic engagements, John Garai postponed his consecration four years – hence the pope wanted to take away his office. Finally, his ordainment was realized between 1 August 1351 and 19 January 1352.²⁶

As it was mentioned previously, the diplomatic service of John Garai was defined by the question of Naples. At first he was a member of the legation which tried to solve the conflict by peaceful means in 1346. When Louis I decided for the campaign against Naples the expedition was prepared by John Garai and Nicholas Kont in the Italian peninsula.²⁷ As a result he participated in the campaign as a member of the attendance of the king.²⁸

egyházmegye története I. A középkor évszázadai. [History of the Diocese of Pécs I. Medieval Centuries 1009–1543] Eds. Tamás Fedeles – Gábor Sarbak – József Sümegei. Pécs 2009. p. 231–234, here: p. 232.

²² ANJOU IV. p. 359.

²³ Ferenc KOLLÁNYI: *Esztergomi kanonokok 1100–1900* [The prebendaries of Esztergom 1100–1900]. Esztergom 1900. p. 50

²⁴ *Monumenta Romana Episcopatus Vespremiensis – A veszprémi püspökség római oklevéltára.* I–IV. Budapest 1896–1907. (hereafter: MREV) II. p. 50.

²⁵ György BÓNIS: *A jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon.* [The legal trained intelligentsia in Hungary before the Defeat at Mohács] Budapest, 1971. p. 33; BOSSÁNYI 1916. p. 184.

²⁶ MREV II. Nr. 164, 166.

²⁷ Béla BELLÉR: *Magyarok Nápolyban* [Hungarians in Naples]. Budapest 1986. (hereafter: BELLÉR 1986) p. 63–64; Gyula KRISTÓ: *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* [The wars of the Angevin era]. Budapest 1988. (hereafter: KRISTÓ 1988) p. 109–110; László VESZPRÉMY: *Az Árpád- és Anjou-kor csatái, hadjáratai* [The battles and campaigns of the Arpadian and Angevin era]. Budapest 2008. p. 164.

²⁸ PÓR–SCHÖNHERR 1895. p. 192–193; A három Villani krónikája [The chronicle of the three Villanis]. Tr. Miklós Rácz. In: *Középkori krónikások 8–9.* [Medieval chroniclers 8-9.] Budapest 1909. p. 177; BELLÉR 1986. p. 89; KRISTÓ 1988. p. 116–119.

When Louis I realized he could not keep the acquired territories, John was sent to Avignon to take part in the peace talks.²⁹ In the end John Garai went back to Italy and gave effect to the points of the peace-treaty and eventually he absolved the participants of the expedition of their sins.³⁰

While John Garai was in Avignon, he applied for benefices for his relatives and *familiars*.³¹ John's cousin Nicholas did not choose the ecclesiastical career, so for him the service of the king was a great opportunity to establish his career.

A sedulous and circumspect warrior – Nicholas Garai

Nicholas was born before 1340 from the marriage of Andrew Garai and the daughter of Ladislao Nevnai. Nicholas's name can be found on the list of Ágnes Kurcz, but presumably he spent his youth in at illustrious court where he could acquire the basic techniques of handling of weapons. He could make good use of this knowledge as *ban* of Macso from 1359.

Holding this office became traditional in the family. The aforesaid uncle of Nicolas was the *ban* of Macso from 1320 to 1328 and his other uncle, John Alsáni held the office between 1328 and 1354. In the 1350s the government of the Hungarian Kingdom was based on the so-called *honor system* but Louis the Great realized the advantages of the Garai family's estates' nearness to the borderline. Private talent and influential kinship made the family strong enough to control the defence of the southern border of Hungary.

As *ban* of Macso Nicholas entered the exclusive baron class. This office-holding involved several honor properties, including a few castles,³² therefore he grew into the office of bailiff of Bodrog, Valkó, Baranya, Szerém and Bács counties.³³ The Castle of Macso was destroyed in the early 14th century (before 1318), so Szávaszentdemeter could become the seat of the *ban*.³⁴ The

²⁹ MREV II. Nr. 164.

³⁰ MREV II. Nr. 172.

³¹ ÁRVAI 2012. p. 41–42.

³² The honors of the *ban* of Macso: Keresztes, Baranyavár, Harsány in Baranya county, Vicsadal, Ivánka, Illyési in Valkó county and Zimony, Kölpény in Szerém county. Pál ENGEL: *Magyarország a középkor végén*. Digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről [Hungary in the end of the Middle Ages. Digital map and database on the settlements of the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom] CD-ROM. Budapest 2001. (hereafter: ENGEL 2001b)

³³ He was here 31 January 1362. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény Diplomatikai Levéltár [Diplomatics Archives] (hereafter: DL) 91574–91575; 20 May 1366: DL 39 132, 1 May 1368: DL 86 177.

³⁴ Péter ROKAY – Miklós TAKÁCS: Macsó. In: *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*. Ed. Gyula KRISTÓ – Pál ENGEL – Ferenc MAKK. Budapest 1994. p. 421.

bailiff was the head of the county jurisdiction.³⁵ People could appeal to the court of the *ban* if not satisfied with the judgement of the county jurisdiction. He needed competent colleagues to fulfill governmental, jurisdictional and literacy functions. The *vicecomes*, the *castellanus*, the *protonotarius*, and the *notarius* were also the *familiars* of the *ban*.³⁶

The known colleagues of Nicholas Garai		
<i>protonotarius</i>	1369	Andrew ³⁷
	1369–1371	Thomas Szomajomi ³⁸
<i>vicecomes</i> of Valkó county	1361	Emericus Besenyő ³⁹
	1365–1367	John Bátyai ⁴⁰
	1367–1369	George ⁴¹
	1372	George Szászteleki ⁴²
<i>vicecomes</i> of Szerém county	1370	Emericus Bázaközi ⁴³
<i>castellan</i> of Harsány castle	1375	Demetrius ⁴⁴
<i>castellan</i> of Cserög castle	1377	Ladislaus ⁴⁵

³⁵ The residence of the court was in Nagyfalva for Baranya county (1360: *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo* III. Eds. Imre NAGY – Iván NAGY – Dezső VÉGHÉLY. Budapest 1874. p. 189, DL 87 432; 1374: Magyar Országos Levéltár, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Diplomatics Photocollection] (hereafter: DF) 230 570), in Dopsa for Szerém county (1361: *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli losonczi Bánffy család történetéhez* I. 1214–1457. Ed. Elemér VARJÚ. Budapest 1908. p. 239. Nr. 193; 1363: DF 265 663) and in Valkóvár for Valkó county (1360: DF 265 556; 1362: DL 41 509; 1367: DL 91 731; 1370: DL 91 767, DF 265567).

³⁶ Tamás FEDELES: A világi kormányzat működése a késő középkorban (1301–1526) [The function of the secular government in the late Middle Ages] In: Márta FONT – Tamás FEDELES – Gergely KISS – Kata KÁLSECSZ RAFFAYNÉ: *Magyarország kormányzati rendszere (1000–1526)*. Pécs 2007. p. 45–100. here: p. 90.

³⁷ DL 93410.

³⁸ *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae*. II–XVIII. Ed. Tadeusz SMIČIKLAS. Zagreb 1904–. (hereafter: SMIČIKLAS) here: XIV. p. 223, 374.

³⁹ DL 9121.

⁴⁰ DF 265564, DL 41727.

⁴¹ SMIČIKLAS XIV. p. 93, DF 265676.

⁴² DL 91794.

⁴³ DF 265677.

⁴⁴ DL 6256.

⁴⁵ DF 265576.

At the end of the 1350s the northern part of Serbia was governed by Lázár. When he got into conflict with Stephan Uroš tsar, he leagued with the Brankovićes. Lázár asked Louis the Great for help in exchange for his feudal fidelity. The Hungarian king supported him and led an expedition against Uroš and Vukašin in 1359. Nicholas Garai took his share in the successful expedition. After that his son engaged the daughter of Lázár. According to the annals of John Küküllei Nicholas Garai, who became *ban* as a young man, was making all his efforts to keep the area. He was brisk and circumspect at war.⁴⁶

We have more information about the Wallachian expedition. The purpose of this campaign was to make Lajk voivode henchman of Louis the Great again and prevent the liquidation of Vidin.⁴⁷ In August 1369 the king encouraged Peter Himfi, *ban* of Bulgaria to persist by sending Benedek Himfi and Nicholas Garai to help him.⁴⁸ The first manoeuvre of the Transylvanian vaivode failed and Nicholas Laczkfi died. Though the beginning of the war was unlucky, Nicholas Garai led the royal army across the river Danube. The small boats were loaded with parapets and safety towers.⁴⁹

Furthermore, Nicholas Garai *ban* of Macso was the victorious general of that campaign which was launched against Radu vaivode of Wallachia and his allies Sisman tsar of Bulgaria and Murad Turkish sultan from May to September in 1375. The purpose of this expedition was to stop the northern invasion of the Turks and take away the office of the *ban* of Szörény and his Transylvanian estates from the unfaithful Radu vaivode.⁵⁰ As a reward Nicholas Garai received the office of palatine.⁵¹

⁴⁶ János KÜKÜLLEI: Nagy Lajos viselt dolgairól [The everyday life of Louis the Great]. Tr. Kálmán Dékány. In: *Középkori krónikások 5*. Ed. [Medieval chronichers 5.] Brassó 1906. (hereafter: KÜKÜLLEI 1906.) p. 146.

⁴⁷ The part which was closer to Hungary belonged to the Bulgarian tsar of Vidin (ВИДИН – BG). Louis the Great occupied this state in 1365, and it was led by a Hungarian governor under the title of *ban* of Bulgaria until 1369.

⁴⁸ 29 August 1369 DL 108 014, *A nagykálloi Kállay-család levéltára*. I-II. Ed. Budapest 1943. II. Nr. 1628.

⁴⁹ KÜKÜLLEI 1906. 145.

⁵⁰ Bernát L. KUMOROVITZ: I. Lajos királyunk 1375. évi havasalföldi hadjárata (és „török”) háborúja. [The Wallachian campaign (and „Turkish”) war of our king Louis I in 1375] *Századok* 117 (1982) p. 919–982, here: p. 942–968.

⁵¹ It was possible because after Imre Lackfi had resigned from the office, there was a vacancy in the service. The office of palatine was vacant between 8 May and 8 August 1375. DL 96 495, 75 545. Nicholas was the palatine before 13 October 1375, but he have not had yet a new sigil, so he used the old one. DL 41 987. Szilárd SÜTTŐ: Adalékok a 14–15. századi magyar világi archontológiához, különösen az 1384–1387. évekhez. [Additions to the Hungarian secular

The estates of the palatine branch of the Garai family

The act of dividing the patrimonial lands is a determining moment in the history of all genuses. The disintegration of the Dorozsma genus was made in the first half of the 14th century. The lands of Nicholas's grandfather were scattered in four counties. Akcsmagyari (Buzsák), Gyogy,⁵² Vétye were found near the southern shore of lake Balaton in Somogy county, Sarád, Csenej, Békatótfő and Bácsi in Temes county, Gara and Verbice in Valkó county, while Serfesz (Servusdei) and Fenlak (Fellak) were found in Arad county.⁵³

There is little information about the history of Gara settlement. After the death of Stephan it presumably was the collective possession of his sons. At the end of the 14th century this was the centre of the palatine branch. Gara was one of the oldest settlements of Slavonia. The "new" Gara is near Diakóvár today. This well-defensible settlement was found in a bulge of a valley and it was surrounded by dry and water-furrows. Not only was the castle the residence of the family, but it was political and economic centre of the region and the symbol of the power of the family.⁵⁴ The native land of Nicholas Garai was described by Lorenzo de Monaci as a fertile area?ground where the sparkling river Drava flows through.⁵⁵ The settlement was usually named as *villa* or *possessio* in the sources.⁵⁶ The term *oppidum* was used from the 1380s.⁵⁷ The oldest part of the castle, made of wood, was a barbican (*donjon*) which was surrounded by walls and furrows.⁵⁸ The settlement was circa 140 meters long and 50 meters wide and it had a trapezoidal ground plan. In the eastern side of the town was found the circa 50 meters long and 35 meters wide castle.

archontology in the 14th–15th centuries, especially the years 1384–1387] *Levélári Szemle* 52 (2002:4) p. 28–39. here: p. 36.

⁵² Paul, Andrew and John had a southerly vineyard in the settlement in 1322.

⁵³ Fenlak and Serfesz were the possessions of the Szentmihályi family of the Dorozsma genus in the middle of the 14th century. After the Szentmihályi family had died out, the Botos family got the settlements. The division of the hereditary estates took long. ANJOU VI. p. 439–442.

⁵⁴ Andrew (*protonotarius* of Nicholas) dated a charter in Gara in 1369. DL 93 410.

⁵⁵ Lorenzo de MONACI: Carmen seu historia de Carolo II. cognomento parvo, rege Hungariae. Tr. Sándor Márki. In: *Középkori krónikások 10.* [Medieval chroniclers 10.] Budapest 1910. p. 129–153. here: p. 138.

⁵⁶ ANJOU III. p. 277; ZICHY III. p. 287–288, 293.

⁵⁷ FEJÉR IX/7. p. 475

⁵⁸ Krešimir REGAN: Srednjovjekovno sijelo plemićke obitelji Gorjanski. In: *Scrinia Slavonica* 6 (2006) p. 127–159.

Stephan Garai's sons tried to get estates mainly in Valkó, Pozsega and Baranya counties. According to the charters Nicholas' father, Andrew and his brother, Paul held their estates in communal tenure. This is proven by a document written in 1320. Before that members of the Szentemágocsi family wreaked havoc on the estates of the Garai family, for example they destroyed the church in Gara. The victims forgave them and asked Azorjás (in Baranya county) and Valkófő (in Valkó county) villages as a compensation.⁵⁹ Andrew got the parts of Panyit settlement north from Gara in 1332.⁶⁰ In 1340 the widow of Andrew gave Malomszeg and Korpona (Villámteleke) estates to her sons, Paul and Nicholas in Baranya county.⁶¹ The brothers' right to collect the ferriage at Ebres and Salamonsziget settlements on the Dráva river was verified in 1352.⁶² In 1356 they got Orbova⁶³ and Dobóc in Pozsega county and Kisújlak in Valkó, since Petó and Stephan Dobóc died without heirs. This donation for Nicholas was ratified two times by queen Mária in 1383. Vicsadal and Benczencz estates were also mentioned in these charters.⁶⁴ Parts of Kisújlak⁶⁵ were found near Gara lordship, therefore they were incorporated in the organisation. This was the first step of building a large lordship. Gara settlement transformed into the centre of a 455 km² territory by the end of the 15th century.⁶⁶

Nicholas Garai got Cserög in Szerém county from the king, presumably after the Wallachian campaign. This castle was governed by the king's castellans in the 1330s and 1340s, after which it became a part of the honor of the *ban* of Macso. A church in honour of Peter and Paul apostles was established by Nicholas in 1372.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ ANJOU I. p. 574–576.

⁶⁰ DL 33 579.

⁶¹ ANJOU IV. p. 21–22.

⁶² ANJOU V. p. 599. Ebres villa and Boya oppidum were mentioned as possessions of Nicholas Garai the late by Ladislai Naples in 1392. *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból III.* [Hungarian diplomatic records from the Angevin era] Ed. Gusztáv WENZEL. Budapest, 1876. p. 714–716.

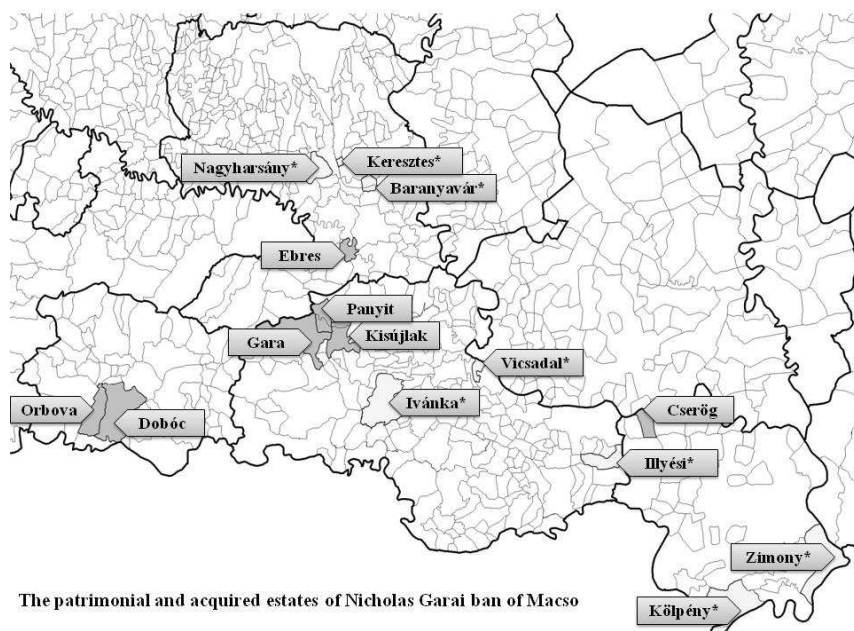
⁶³ The castle was mentioned in the sources from 1339. (SMIČIKLAS X. 453) It was the fort of the heirs of Domonkos Csák palatine (1262–1300). After the Orbovai family died out (Dobóci Czimba), the king gave it to Paul and Nicholas Garai in 1356.

⁶⁴ DL 33740.

⁶⁵ The parts of Kisújlak were Radefalva, Jakabfalva, Burcsinfalva és Masztafalva. Dezső CSÁNKI: *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [The historical geography of Hungary in the Hunyadi era]. Budapest 1890–1913.

⁶⁶ ENGEL 2001b.

⁶⁷ FEJÉR IX/4. p. 431–432.



The patrimonial and acquired estates of Nicholas Garai ban of Macso

Means of expression of baronial identity

The Dorozsma genus was disintegrated in the middle of the 14th century. After dividing Stephan's land, his sons did not share their new royal donations with their brothers. The younger and more talented palatine branch collected more estates than the *ban* branch within a short time. The described members of the family did not use *de genere Dorozsma* as their identifier, but the *de Gara* expression was used as surname after the ancient settlement. Probably the contact was not broken between the families and with the clanmonastery, but the members of the families tried to represent their devoutness in alternative ways (for example establishing churches). Certain names (Paul, Nicholas, Stephan, John) were preferred in their naming practice. The motive of the ancient armour of the genus (the crowned snake with apple in his mouth) was often visualized on the magisterial sigil of the Garais. This tradition was not only part of the knightly culture and means to express solidarity to the genus but also the manifestation of genus-identity which, since the rule of Béla IV, had transmitted the political practice, wanting to demonstrate power for newly rising families.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Erik FÜGEDI: *Ispánok, bárók, kiskirályok. A középkori magyar arisztokrácia fejlődése.* [Bailiffs, barons, petty monarchs. The development of the medieval Hungarian aristocracy.] Budapest 1986. p. 222-231.

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Nicholas Garai's career basically influenced the later history of the family. He set up their political prestige, lordship property, and the territorial power attached; furthermore, it introduced a network of relations which ensured a lot of possibilities for his sons for a bright career. The real turn in the fortune of the family was the appointment of Nicholas to the palatine office in 1375.

