

# The Elite Supporters of the Hungarian Rule in 13th-Century Halych

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*The Hungarian kings of the late 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> centuries made several efforts to extend their rule over the Principality of Halych. The Halych-Volhynian Chronicle contains numerous descriptions on the Hungarian campaigns, including the names of the participants. Concurrently, the number of diplomas of the Hungarian king which mentions persons who participated in the campaigns against Halych increased significantly. The collection of the individuals from both sources has been listed. The rapid development of recent genealogical studies in Hungarian historiography provide an opportunity to review and revise the highest echelon of Hungarian and Halychian personnel supporting the Hungarian rule in 13th-century Halych.*

The Hungarian Kingdom established dynastic relations with its eastern neighbour, the Kievan Rus', as early as the 11th century.<sup>1</sup> The Hungarian king Ladislaus I (r. 1077–1095) was the first to lead a campaign beyond the Carpathians and only the Hungarian chronicles recorded it.<sup>2</sup> This was instigated by the

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<sup>1</sup> *Régmúlt idők elbeszélése. A Kijevi Rusz első krónikája* [The Tale of Past Years. The Primary Chronicle of the Kievan Rus] ed. L. Balogh–Sz. Kovács transl. I. Ferincz. Budapest, 2015, 34–35, 49–50, 100, 103. For a study on the events preceeding the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian basin, see L. Balogh, "A magyarság a kelet-európai nomád népek sorában," [The Hungarians among the Nomadic Peoples of Eastern Europe] In: Balogh–Kovács, *Régmúlt Idők elbeszélése*, 279–302.; for the period 1000–1200, see: M. Font, "A Kijevi Rusz és a Magyar Királyság a 11. században és a 12. század elején (Szent Istvántól Kálmánig)," [Kievan Rus and the Hungarian Kingdom in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (from Saint Stephen to Coloman, In: Balogh–Kovács, *Régmúlt Idők elbeszélése*, 303–315.; concerning the dynastic marriages in the Hungarian chronicle, see *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*. Vol. I–II. Edendo opera praefuit Emericus Szentpétery. Budapest 1937–1938, 344–345.; M. Font, "I. András és Bölcs Jaroszlav," [Andrew I and Yaroslav the Wise] *Világtörténet* 5 (37) (2015:4), 607–624.

<sup>2</sup> *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* I. 41–415.; M. Font, *Árpád-házi királyok és Rurikida fejedelmek*. [The Kings of the Árpád Dynasty and Rurikid Princes] Szeged 2005, 135–136.

fact that the centres situated to the south-west of Kiev were insignificant compared to Kiev. The Principality of Halych was formed from them in the 12th century. Those Rurikids who were forced into the periphery used the military strength of the Steppe (namely the Cumans) to consolidate their position.<sup>3</sup> The Hungarian king Coloman the Learned (r. 1095–1116) intervened in the rivalry between the Rus' principalities. In 1099, he suffered a serious defeat from the allies of his enemies, the Cumans, at Peremyshl (today's Przemyśl).<sup>4</sup> The Hungarian campaigns bringing succour the south-western Rus' principalities, the later Halych-Volhynia: in 1123, Stephen II (r. 1116–1131), in 1138 Béla II (r. 1131–1141) sent an army.<sup>5</sup> Géza II (r. 1141–1162) continued this policy in some respects; nonetheless, he supported his brother-in-law, the Grand Prince of Kiev, in sometimes confronting his previous allies.<sup>6</sup> In the aforementioned cases, the Hungarian kings did not strive to extend their rule over any part of the Rus territories. However, under the rule of Béla III (r. 1172–1196), the role of Prince Andrew in Halych and the Hungarian royal army prepared Hungarian domination (see the imprisonment of the Prince of Halych in Hungary). This trend prevailed in the policy of the Hungarian kings until the mid-13th century.

### *Members of the Elite in Hungary*

The narrative of the Halych-Volhynian Chronicle (*HVC* hereafter), which contains references to the events of the 13th century, essentially concentrates on the south-western territories of the Rus and gives detailed information about the Hungarian campaigns; moreover, it provides several of the participants' names.<sup>7</sup> From the time of Andrew II (r. 1205–1235), the number of diplomas issued in Hungary significantly rose which recorded donations made by the king. All of the merits that deserved the king's largesse were listed in these diplomas. These were often derived from military service on Halychian soil. These data have been collected in our earlier work.<sup>8</sup> In recent years, however,

<sup>3</sup> M. Font, "Magyar kalandozások és a kelet-európai viking terjeszkedés," [Magyar Raids and Viking Expansion in Eastern Europe] In: *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás*. [Nomadic Migrations, Hungarian Conquest] ed. Sz. Felföldi-B. Sinkovics, Budapest, 2001 97–105.; M. Font, "Old-Russian Principalities and their Nomadic Neighbours: Stereotypes of Chronicles and Diplomatic Practice of the Princes." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 48/3 (2005) 267–276.; Sz. Kovács, "A kunok a *Poveszty vremennih let-ben*." [Cumans in the *Poveszty vremennih let*] In: Balogh-Kovács, *Régmúlt idők elbeszélése*, 317–331.

<sup>4</sup> Balogh-Kovács, *Régmúlt idők elbeszélése*, 202–203.; *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* I. 424.

<sup>5</sup> M. Font, *Magyarok a Kijevi Évkönyvben*. [Hungarians in the Kievan Chronicle] Szeged 1996, 59.

<sup>6</sup> Font, *Magyarok*, 69–279.; *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* I. 460.; Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 160–178.

<sup>7</sup> Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 53–62.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 109–110.

genealogical research has entailed new results regarding the composition of the warring elite.<sup>9</sup> Thus, it is worth the effort to re-examine the highest echelon of personnel, both Hungarian and Halychian, which supported the Hungarian rule in 13th-century Halych.

**Table 1.** Individuals who received the king's donation and appeared in royal diplomas for their services in Halych (Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 109-110, the years in italics refer to forged diplomas)

<i>Diploma</i>				<i>Diploma</i>			
No.	date	issuer	beneficiary		date	issuer	beneficiary
1	?	Béla III	Ceka	14	1248	Béla IV	count Benedek
2	1211	Andrew II	Fábián and Vince	15	1249		castellan Pál, count of Zala
3	1212		Farkas and Péter (their brother, the late János)	16	1250		The sons of ban Füle (File)
4	1224		Lőrinc of Frankavilla	17	1250		Geche's son Ivachin, count of Szeben
5	1229		Mihály son of Ábrahám				
6	1230		Buhtka and Natk	18	1253		Witk
7	1230		count Tamás	19	1256		Jakab son of Jakab
8	1231		count Tamás	20	1256		Jordan, son

<sup>9</sup> A. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000-1301*. [The Secular Archontology of Hungary, 1000-1301] Budapest 2011.; D. Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów książąt halicko-wołyńskich*. Toruń-Wrocław 2002.; D. Dąbrowski, *Daniel Romanowicz Król Rusi*. (ok. 1201-1264). Biografia polityczna. Kraków, 2012.; D. Dąbrowski, *Daniel Romanowicz Król Rusi. O ruskiej rodzinie książęcej, społeczeństwie i kulturze w XIII w.* Kraków, 2016.; A. Jusupović, "Wpływ Halickiego otoczenia książęcego na 'władzę' w pierwszej połowie XIII wieku, na przykładzie Sudysława". *Княжа доба V* (2011) 145-162. ; A. Jusupović, *Elity ziemi Halickiej i Wołyńskiej w czasach Romanowiczów (ok. 1205-1269)* Kraków 2013.; Л. Войтович, *Княжа доба на Русі: портрети еліти* [The Period of the Princes in the Rus': Portraits of Elite]. Біла Церква, 2006.; М. Волощук, «Русь» в Угорському Королівстві (XI-друга половина XIV ст.): суспільно-політична роль, майнові стосунки, міграції. [„Rus” in the Hungarian Kingdom (XI - second half of the XIV c.): its Social-Political Role, the most important Conflicts, Migration]. Івано-Франківськ 2014.

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						of Arnold, count of Szepes
9	1233		Nána, eq- uerry	21	1259	German
10	1234		Demeter, master carver to the prince	22	1261	German
11	1235	Béla IV	Dénes son of Dénes, eq- uerry	23	1261	Simon son of Tamás
12	1244		Miklós son of Obichk	24	1264	Lőrinc, count of Moson
13	1248		Herbort, son of Osl	25	1267	Bogomer, son of Lőrinc

Of those people who are listed in *Table 1*, ten belonged to the elite.<sup>10</sup> These were the count Tamás (No. 7 and 8), the equerry Nána (9), Demeter, master carver to the prince (10), the equerry Dénes son of Dénes (11), count Benedek (14), Pál, castellan and count of Zala (15), Füle (File) ban (16), Geche's son Ivachin, count of Szeben (17), Jordan the son of Arnold, count of Szeben (20) and Lőrinc the count of Moson (24). Some of them are known for their activities in the Rus' solely from Hungarian diplomas (see *Table 2*), whilst others are mentioned both in Hungarian diplomas and in the *HVC* (see *Table 3*). There was a group of noblemen whose activities in Halych were attested only in the *HVC* (*Table 4*).

<sup>10</sup> For the lower social strata, see M. Font, "Felvidéki kismemesek királyi szolgálatban. (Adalékok 13-14. századi társadalomtörténetünkhöz.)" [Lesser Nobles from Upper Hungary in Royal Service. Contributions on Thirteenth and Fourteenth-century Social History of Hungary] In: *Kelet és Nyugat között. Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére*. [Between East and West. Historical Studies in the Honour of Gyula Kristó] ed. L. Koszta, Szeged 1995. 169-185.; The diploma written for Demeter of the house of Aba, master carver to Prince Coloman, provides further details on individuals partaking in the Halychian wars. The diploma mentions that Demeter was accompanied by eight kinsmen. These fell into captivity along with Coloman: Demeter's two brothers Mikola and László were wounded; his half-brother Aba was present, as were his kinsmen on his mother's side, namely János' sons Tamás and János, Ottó's son Juda, Vid's son Mátya and Pexa's son Mojs, see *Árpád-kori új okmánytár*. I-XII. [Novel Repertory of Documents from the Time of the Árpáds] publ. G. Wenzel, Pest-Budapest, 1860-1874 VI. 545. No. 345).

**Table 2.** Hungarian elite participating in Halychian campaigns attested only in Hungarian diplomas (years in italics refer to forged diplomas).

<i>date of the diploma</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>Office</i>	<i>service in Halych</i>
1230 1231	Tamás son of Makarias of the house of Monoszló	count of Valkó 1221	wounded in one of the campaigns (possibly the 1230 one)
1233	Nána son of Nána of the house of Nánabeszter	keeper of the royal horses 1233	participated in the successful 1231-siege of Yaroslav
1249	Pál son of Pál of the house of Geregye	count of Fejér, 1238-1241; judge royal 1241, 1248-1252; count of Szolnok 1245-1247; count of Zala 1248-1252	participated in the siege of Halych Castle (1230)
1264	Lőrinc (son of Kemény?)	count of Moson 1263-1264, palatine 1267-1269, 1272 and a plethora of other offices	participated in the unsuccessful siege of Yaroslav (defeat: 17 Aug. 1245)
1250	Ivachin (son of Gecse) – his sons refer to him	count of Szeben 1210	participation in the campaign: <i>contra Romanum ducem Ruthenorum</i> (1211)
1256	Jordan (son of Arnold, count of Szepes)	?	member of a diplomatic mission (undatable)

**Table 3.** Office-holders whose presence in Halych was attested in Hungarian diplomas and in the HVC.

<i>date of the diploma</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>Office</i>	<i>service in Halych</i>
1234	Demeter, son of Sükösd from the house of Aba	master carver to the prince 1216-1234; count of Bodrog 1235-1240 [1247]	present in the Halychian court of Prince Coloman
1235	Dénes son of Dénes of the house of Túrje	voivod 1233-1234; equerry 1235-1241; palatine 1245-1246,	participated in the 1230 campaign of Prince Béla ( <i>de</i>

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		1248 and a plethora of other offices	<i>mandato et voluntate patris</i> ) and the successful 1231 siege of Yaroslav
1248	count Benedek (?)	Dux (?)	governed in Halych at end of 1210/beginning of 1211 accompanied King Coloman in 1214 (?)
1250	sons of Füle (File) [died 1245]	master carver 1231-1232; count of Sopron 1234; ban (?); vice palatine 1220 (?)	alongside Coloman King of Halych 1219-1221; fell at the unsuccessful siege of Yaroslav (17 Aug. 1245)

**Table 4.** Persons whose Halychian service was documented only in the HVC.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Office</i>
Pat (Poth) of the house of Győr	palatine 1209-1212
Péter son of Töre (Turoy)	count of Bács 1210-1212
Banko (Bánk - of the house of Borkalán?)	curial count to the queen 1210-1212; count of Bihar 1209-1212; palatine 1212-1213
Mika ( <i>barbatus</i> = <i>borodatyj</i> )	count of Bihar 1212-1216, 1219-1221, 1226; count of Nyitra 1223
Lotard (of the house of Gutkeled)	count of Szabolcs 1213
Marcell (son of Marcell of the house of Tétény)	curial count 1211-1212; head of several counties 1206-1214
Tiborc (of the house of Rosd?)	count of Nyitra 1211; various other offices 1198-1222
Makján (ancestor of the Debrő- branch of the house of Aba)	?

Andrew II led his first campaign to Halych in 1205. The local chronicler recorded a few individuals who remained in the fortress of Sanok to maintain the rule of the child Danyiil. Their leader may have been the one-eyed palatine Mog (Moch).<sup>11</sup> He had already twice bore the highest rank of the palatine (1192-1193, 1198-1199) in the court of Béla III. Mog also appeared in the sources as the head

<sup>11</sup> *Ипатьевская летопись*. ed. Б. М. Ключевский, Москва, 2001.<sup>2</sup> II. 717.

of a number of counties (Nyitra, Bács, Bodrog, Sopron, Bihar, Bars, Pozsony).<sup>12</sup> If we consider that he was additionally the curial count between 1185 and 1186, it is also possible that he participated in the Hungarian expansionist activities of 1188–1189. It can be supposed that it was not by chance that Andrew II yet again placed him in the rank of palatine and took him to Halych. The other people, who were presumably the leaders of the Hungarian army, cannot be identified. The name Blaginya may possibly be associated with Bagonya (Bagana) or Bágyon (Bagun, Bugen); however, the former only appears in the 1280s and the latter in 1213.<sup>13</sup> The situation is the same with the name Korocsun, which occasionally appears in the form of Karachinus or Carachinus, but only in the 1260s. We are not aware of any officeholder with a name similar to that of Volptor, or his son, Vitomir. It cannot be excluded that individuals with this name were present in the Hungarian army, but due to their absence in the contemporary Hungarian documentary material, they may have not been members of the military elite,<sup>14</sup> but originated from lower social groups.

The local chronicler recorded names of Hungarians in the highest number in the 1211 summer campaign of the Hungarian king.<sup>15</sup> On the one hand, this was possibly entailed by the fact that King Andrew II had led his army in person to install the child Daniil as ruler of Halych. On the other hand, Daniil and the events around him may have led the chronicler to focus on members of the Hungarian army. The ruler entrusted the palatine<sup>16</sup> Pat (Poth) of the house of Győr as commander-in-chief. The chronicler mentioned seven other individuals. Among them, Péter, the son of Töre (Turoy), who was count of Bács between 1210 and 1212, and was a member of the palatine's army, while the others are mentioned in order as leaders of the Hungarian military force. In several cases, the list refers to their particular office: Banko (Bánk), the queen's curial count between 1210 and 1212, was simultaneously (1209–1212) count of Bihar; Marcell was the curial count (1211–1212), while Tiborc was count of Nyitra (1211). In 1211, the bearded Mika (*Mica barbatus*, *Mika borodatyj*) held no office; it was afterwards that his career blossomed, for in 1212 he succeeded Bánk in the county of Bihar. Lotárd of the house of Gutkeled later became the count of Szabolcs (1213). The name of Makján, we know only from the end of the 13th century; perhaps here we have here one of his ancestors.<sup>17</sup> Of those listed, it is certain that several did not play any role later in the retinue of Coloman as crowned King of Halych. For instance, there is no further information given regarding the palatine Pat, who was count of Moson from 1214–1215: he had

<sup>12</sup> He may have belonged to the house of Hontpázmány or that of Csanád. See Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 338.

<sup>13</sup> Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 286.

<sup>14</sup> As it appears in the Russian edition of the HVC: Ключ, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. Index p. VII, IX, X, XX.

<sup>15</sup> Ключ, *Ипатьевская летопись*. II. 724.; Font, 2005a. 228–229.

<sup>16</sup> Bore this office from 1209 to 1212.

<sup>17</sup> Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 286–287 (Bánk), 323 (Lotárd), 326 (Makján, Marcell) 332 (Mika), 343 (Pat, Péter).

probably died. It could be the same with Marcell, who disappeared from the sources after 1214, and also with Makján and Lotard in the absence of any information. In 1213, Péter son of Töre was one of Queen Gertrude's assassins, for which the king had him impaled. In the years between 1213 and 1217, Bánk did not bear any office, which is strange as he had continually filled important positions since 1199. His part in the assassination of Queen Gertrude has been refuted by Tamás Körmendi, as from 1217 to 1222 he again held important offices: he was ban of Slavonia (1217), simultaneously curial count and count of Fejér (1221–1222), then count of Bodrog (1222) and Ujvár (1222).<sup>18</sup> The task of freeing Coloman from captivity probably fell to Bánk due to his earlier experience.

We know of some of the characters comprising the Halych court of Prince Coloman, and also that they later remained with him in Slavonia. One of them was Demeter of the house of Aba, who held the office of master carver to the prince from 1216 to 1240, was count of Bodrog between 1235 and 1240, and was still alive in 1247, though it is not attested whether he filled further positions.<sup>19</sup> The *HVC* provides evidence that Demeter was indeed alongside Coloman in the fortress of Halych, prior to their imprisonment.<sup>20</sup> By the time the Hungarian army departed for Volhynia, Coloman could only have a tiny retinue including 'Ivan, Lekin and Dmitr'.<sup>21</sup> I agree that Hodinka has translated the name Dmitr to Demeter, but the other two names belong together: Ivan Lekin. According to Jusupović Ivan Lekin is a Hungarian commander.<sup>22</sup> I suggest identifying him with Ivachin (Iwachin), count of Szeben.<sup>23</sup> Uz – the bearer of an otherwise rare name and who was shot in the eye in battle – may be identical with the platter-bearing count mentioned in 1219, and his death may explain why he was only referenced once.<sup>24</sup>

Füle (Fila, in the *HVC* haughty Filja), another well-known member of Coloman's court, was attested in the positions of royal master carver (1231–1232) and count of Sopron (1237–1240). In the diploma prepared for his sons after his death (1250), Füle is referred to as a ban, but we do not know when he held this title. I disagree with Długosz' claim that Füle occupied the position of the pala-

<sup>18</sup> T. Körmendi, "A Gertrúd királyné elleni merénylet körülményei." [The Circumstances of Queen Gertrúd's Assassination]" In: *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára. Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete 1213–2013*. [Marginal Glosses to a Historical Murder: The Memory of Gertrud of Merania, 1213–2013]. ed. J. Majorossy, Szentendre 2014. 95–124; 107–108 (Töre fia Péter), 112–115 (Bánk); for Bánk, see Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 286–287.

<sup>19</sup> G. Wenzel, *Árpádkori új okmánytár*, VI. 545.; Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 71, 294.

<sup>20</sup> Ключ, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. 737.

<sup>21</sup> Ключ, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. 737.; A. Hodinka, *Az orosz évkönyvek magyar vonatkozásai*. [Hungary-related Material in the Russian Annals] Budapest 1916, 344–345.

<sup>22</sup> Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 250.; Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 110, 114.; Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 204, 312.

<sup>23</sup> Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 204.

<sup>24</sup> Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 356.

tine.<sup>25</sup> The *HVC* attests that Füle stood at the van of the Hungarian forces in Halych when Coloman and Salomea were captured and Mstyslav took Halych in 1221.<sup>26</sup> Füle's army did not defend the fortress, but had marched to Volynia with Leszek. After catching up with them, Mstyslav's army proved superior on the eve of the Feast of the Virgin Mary.<sup>27</sup> Füle most likely led the army that was sent to Halych in 1219, any information about the arrival of other forces were not documented between 1219 and 1221. Füle was among the last to return to Hungary from captivity. Following this, we do not know if he played any part during the rule of Prince Andrew in Halych. His interest in matters regarding Halych did not cease as he was killed in 1245 whilst fighting in the battle at Yaroslavl in Halych.<sup>28</sup>

The most puzzling Hungarian figure in the 1210s was Benedek. He appears in the *HVC* as 'the bald' (*lysi*) and he governed alongside the child Coloman for a while. Pashuto and Hrushevsky identified him as Benedek, son of Korlát. However, I agree with Włodarski who emphasised that there were several Benedeks at this time, and it was not possible to establish which of these was the person being discussed. In the *HVC*, Benedek is described hostilely as the Antichrist; other characteristics are not mentioned. In the Hungarian diplomas, a Benedek is described as *calvus*, pointing to baldness. It cannot be proved with full certainty, but I suggest that it is justified to differentiate between the two individuals.<sup>29</sup> There is an accepted view in Hungarian historiography regarding the year 1208, which is influenced by the opinion of Gyula Pauler. In Pauler's view, it was Benedek, the Transylvanian voivod (1205–1206, 1208–1209), the son of Korlát of the house of Bor, who took over the government of Halych prior to Coloman's kingship. Following Hrushevsky's opinion, the campaign of

<sup>25</sup> Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 302.; Ioannis Dlugossii *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. Libri XII. Cracoviae 1873. (reprint: Liber sextus (1174–1240) Varsaviae 1973.) VI. 206.; the misinterpretation occurs also later, f. i.: M. Bartnicki, *Polityka zagraniczna księcia Daniela Halickiego w latach 1217–1264*. [Foreign Policy of Prince Daniel of Halych in the years 1217–1264]. Lublin 2005. 47.

<sup>26</sup> Кюсс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. 737.

<sup>27</sup> Кюсс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. 737–738. ; most likely on the eve of the Virgin Mary's Feast 15 August, see Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 213.; for a critique on the dating of other celebrations of Mary, see M. Font–G. Barabás, *Kálmán (1208–1241). Halics királya, Szlavónia hercege*. [Coloman (1208–1241). The King of Halych, the Prince of Slavonia] Pécs 2017. 56.

<sup>28</sup> Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 212–213, 248.

<sup>29</sup> For Benedek 'the bald', see Кюсс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, II. 732.; about this: М. Грушевський, *Історія України – Русі*. [History of Ukraine-Rus']. I–III. У Львові, 1905 III. 31.; В. Т. Пашуто, *Очерки по истории Галицко-Волынской Руси*. Москва 1950. 200.; B. Włodarski, *Polskai Rus 1194–1340*. Warszawa 1966. 65. 25. Note A. Herucová, "Palatine Then Antichrist. Benedict in the Chronicle of Galicia-Volhynia." In: *Rus' and Central Europe from the 11th to the 14th Century. Publication from the 5th International Conference, Spišská kapitula, 16–18th October, 2014*. ed. V. Nagirnyy–A. Mesiarkin Kraków–Bratislava 2015. 117–127.; My porition is earlier as Herucová's interpretation, on Benedek, see Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 206.

Benedek, son of Korlát, was dated to 1210 by Pashuto and Lammich. By contrast, Włodarski dated it to 1209.<sup>30</sup> It is certain that Benedek's rule was not popular. A papal letter dated to 1207 referenced plans concerning the religious union.<sup>31</sup> Thus, it is not accidental that the HVC denoted Benedek as 'the Anti-christ; he aroused such antipathy that in the first half of 1211 he was expelled. Presumably, this high position in Halych entailed that Benedek appeared as *dux* in a diploma dated to 1221.<sup>32</sup> Canvassing the career of Benedek, son of Korlát, is difficult, especially in relation to the contradiction between his expulsion in 1209 and his role in Halych, and the peculiar situation whereby he occupied the title of *dux* even though he was not a member of the ruling dynasty. A further question concerns what we may know about Benedek, 'the bald'.

Most recently, Senga Toru attempted to identify the two Benedeks.<sup>33</sup> It was particularly a desideratum because their cases were misinterpreted, especially in the scholarship written in the Slavic languages. Among other factors, the two Benedeks are mixed and lumped together, with some writers incorrectly referring to one "Benedikt Bor", an individual who did not exist in early 13th-century Hungary. Scholars are not aware of the house of Bárkalán, and the name *Bor* is explained by the Hungarian common noun *bor* (wine).<sup>34</sup> Others merge together Benedek with the palatine Pat (Poth), and they do not recognise the significant distinction between the Hungarian rank of *vajda* (voivod) and the Slavic *vojevoda*.<sup>35</sup> These views appear in the commentaries of text editions and almost without exception in the specialist literature.<sup>36</sup> In unpicking the historiographical thread, Senga Toru discovered the source of the error in the Slavic

<sup>30</sup> *Летопись по Воскресенскому списку*, ed. Кюсс, Б. М. Москва 2001.<sup>2</sup> 116.; Gy. Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpád-házi királyok alatt*. [The History of the Hungarian Nation under the Árpáds] I-II. Budapest 1899.<sup>2</sup> II. 50.; Gy. Kristó, *Az Árpád-kor háborúi*. [Wars under the Árpáds] Budapest 1986, 101.; М. Грушевський, "Хронологія подій Галицько-Волинської літописи." In: *Записки наукового Товариства ім Шевченка*. т. XII. (1901.) Львів, 1-72, 10-11.; В. Т. Пашуто, *Очерки*, 196.; Т. Пашуто, *Внешняя политика Древней Руси*. Москва 1968, 243.; М. Lammich, *Fürsten Biographien des 13. Jahrhunderts in den russischen Chroniken*. Köln 1973, 7-12.; Włodarski, *Polska i Rus*, 42.

<sup>31</sup> *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*. I. (1075-1700). Rom 1953, 12.; For the role of Gregorius de Crescentio in Hungary, see G. Barabás, *A pápaság és Magyarország a 13. század első felében. Pápai hatás – együttműködés – érdekellentét*. [The Papacy and Hungary in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century. Papal Influence-Cooperation-Conflicting Interests] Pécs 2015, 28.

<sup>32</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. I-XI. Buda 1829-1844, III/1. 316.

<sup>33</sup> T. Senga, "'Benedikt Bor', Benedek és Bankó Halicsban 1210 körül. ['Benedikt Bor', Benedek and Bankó in Halych] *Magyar Nyelv* 112 (2016), 1-2, 32-49, 183-206.

<sup>34</sup> Л. Войтович, *Галицько-Волинські етюди* [Galician-Volhynian Studies]. Біла Церква 2011, 236-237.

<sup>35</sup> О. Б. Головко, *Корона Данила Галицького. Волинь і Галичина в державно-політичному розвитку Центрально-Східної Європи та класичного середньовіччя*. Київ 2006, 266.

<sup>36</sup> Senga, *Benedikt Bor*, 32-36.

literature in Sergej M. Soloviev's (1820–1879) work on the history of Russia. Soloviev drew upon the German-language publication by Christian Engel (1770–1814). In other words, a long-outdated statement from a work published in 1813 still circulates and is accepted in the most recent Russian, Ukrainian, Serbian and Polish works.

Senga's analysis is based upon the biography of Benedek by Attila Zsoldos. Zsoldos claims that Benedek, the son of Korlát and the voivod of Transylvania (1202–1206, 1208–1209), disappeared from the sources in 1209 due to his role in the conspiracy against Andrew II in 1209. After the plot, Benedek was exiled by the king as a diploma of 1221 proves. According to the diploma, Benedek managed to retain the positions he obtained at the time of King Emeric during the reign of Andrew until he turned against his king. It is Zsoldos' opinion that the Benedek who was count of Sopron between 1206 and 1208 was another Benedek. Zsoldos presumes that Benedek, son of Korlát, was governing Halych at this time; this perspective was evidently based on Hodinka's research that did not make any comment concerning the erroneous chronology of the HVC.<sup>37</sup> The contradiction between Benedek's exile in 1209 and Benedek's role as governor can only be solved by following Klatý's opinion. He asserts that Benedek received a pardon; thereby, he came to the forefront of power in Halych at the end of 1210.<sup>38</sup> This suggestion cannot be supported by the sources, so Senga's interpretation is more likely; that is, the Benedek of Halych termed the 'Anti-christ' is not the same person as Korlát's son Benedek. In this case, it would be difficult to substantiate Benedek's title as *dux*.

I do not agree with Senga's assumption that Benedek gained the title of *dux* through his marriage with the noblewoman Lady Tota, the lady-in-waiting of Queen Constance. In other respects, I find Senga's analysis acceptable; that is, the Benedek appearing in the HVC without any additional denominations cannot be identified with Benedek, son of Korlát. As a consequence, Senga considers Benedek without any epithet and the 'bald' Benedek to be one and the same person whose career began with the accession to the throne of Andrew II in 1205. Benedek was the count of Bodrog (1205), then of Sopron (1206–1208) and Újvár (1209). Between 1209 and 1214, he did not bear any office in Hungary, the hiatus making it possible to envisage his stay in Halych between 1210 and 1211. Moreover, this could explain the fact that Benedek occupied the position of the count of Ung, nearby Halych, in 1214. Senga also deems it probable that Benedek strove to return to Halych in the years 1212–1214, and he became the member of Coloman's Halychian retinue after the Treaty of Szepes (*Scepus*) as a person with experience of the local conditions.<sup>39</sup>

Later, at the time of Prince Andrew's Halychian rule (1226–1234), Hungarian names hardly occurred. In relation to the events of 1231, the chronicler observed

<sup>37</sup> Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 288.; Hodinka, *Az orosz évkönyvek*, 312–313.

<sup>38</sup> M. Klatý, "Vojvoda Benedikt v kontexte uhorsko-haličských vzťahov prvej tretiny XIII. storočia." *Medea* II. (1998) 76–90, 82–86.

<sup>39</sup> Senga, *Benedikt Bor*, 47–49.

that Martinis, the commander of the Hungarian army supporting the prince, had lost his life in the clashes.<sup>40</sup> Martinis is a variant of Martonos or Márton. The form Martonos is indicated only once, in the case of a certain Márton, who was the count of Körös during the years 1268–1269 and 1274–1275. Thus, we have no evidence regarding the Martinis who fell as Andrew's commander. In the description of the unsuccessful battle fought by Rostislav, the son-in-law of Béla IV, near Yaroslavl, the prince himself is the central figure; the chronicler did not leave record of Hungarian persons.<sup>41</sup>

### *Members of the Elite in Halych*

The HVC indicates several representatives from among the local boyars, but it is difficult to provide an overview of their careers only on the basis of narrative sources. Thirty boyars, whose names also occur, appear only once in the HVC, and another fourteen of them appear twice. In twenty-one cases, the chronicler gives the father's name (*patronymic*) which offers some hope in identifying family ties. Three boyar families (houses, clans) played a leading role: the Arbuzoviches, Molibogoviches and the Kormilichiches. These are mentioned often, though without personal names: We know the given names of some boyars, and sometimes they acted together which presumably documents kinship.<sup>42</sup>

Some noblemen were in indirect contact with the Hungarians. They were members of the entourage of the fleeing child princes Daniil and Vasilko, namely Demian, Mirosлав and Viacheslav Tolstoy. They served Daniil in particular, and originally his mother. They participated in the 1211 negotiations between Andrew II and Roman's widow, and fled together with the princess and her young children to Hungary and to Poland. At the time that Coloman was at Halych, two of them, Vladislav Vitovich and Lazar Domazhirevich, participated in the fights on one occasion (1219). Their association with the Hungarian ruler was only indirect: members of Danyil's retinue ousted the former – even his horse was taken from him. The latter was captured by Mstislav Mstislavich.<sup>43</sup>

Other members of the Halychian elite were also supporting the Hungarian rule. They participated in a number of events and turned up in Hungary: Filip, Sudislav and Vladislav Kormilichich. Filip and Sudislav regularly feature together with members of the house of Kormilichich, and can thus be listed among their followers. Vladislav was the head of the house of Kormilichich, but we are also acquainted with his brothers Yavolod and Yaropolk. In regard to their networks, they took a stance against the Romanovich children (Daniil and

<sup>40</sup> Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 749.

<sup>41</sup> Font-Barabás, *Kálmán* 55–60.

<sup>42</sup> The most up-to-date views regarding the boyars are those of Adrian Jusupović, Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, here: 60–79.

<sup>43</sup> Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 725, 727–728, 734, 736.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 118–119, 198–199, 211, 268–269, 288.

Vasilko) at the beginning, and they did not always support the Hungarian rule. For instance, they supported the claims for power of the children of Igor of Chernigov (Roman, Sviatoslav, Rostislav and Vladimir Igorevich), who turned up in Halych in 1208. Vladislav, the head of the house and his supporters (Sudislav, Filip) turned against the Igorevich rule, most likely affected by the large number of executions undertaken against the enemies of the Igoreviches. Vladislav and his companions themselves fled from the execution to Hungary. Following his successful 1211 campaign, Andrew II brought the influential Vladislav to Hungary and imprisoned him in order to quell the boyar opposition. Sudislav, who was another boyar aspiring to power, paid his way out; while we have no evidence relating to their third ally Filip, it is likely that he became the subject of torture.<sup>44</sup>

For decades Sudislav and Vladislav played a part in Halychian events; for the former, this was from the turn of 1211/1212 until his demise in around 1234, and for the latter it was from 1206 until his death. Sudislav partook in the campaigns at the time of Coloman, later representing the interests of Prince Andrew. The *HVC* refers to Sudislav as Bernatovich who led Leszek's forces in 1211–1212; for this reason, his Polish origins seemed unequivocal. Coming from the eastern borderlands, he could have belonged to the group with an interest in the eastward expansion of the Piasts. Jusupović has identified Sudislav as Sulisław, *castellanus* of Sandomierz, and argued that what we have here are two different people with similar names (Sudislav/Sulisław).<sup>45</sup> One may suspect marriage to be behind Sudislav of Halych's commitment to the Hungarian cause: his daughter may have been the wife of the Hungarian nobleman Füle, given that in a passage of the *HVC* Füle addresses Sudislav as his father-in-law: 'Then Filja retreated with his great host of Hungarians and Poles, taking with him the Galician boyars, his father-in-law, Sudislav, and many others.'<sup>46</sup> The word *цѣть*>*тесть* means father-in-law, the wife's father.<sup>47</sup> Hodinka missed this expression in his translation of the text.<sup>48</sup> Sudislav is undoubtedly one of the most frequently mentioned figures among the Halychian boyars. He had an influence

<sup>44</sup> Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 723–724, 727–728.; Грушевський, *Хронологія*, 11–12.; Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 199–201.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 139–141, 243–262.

<sup>45</sup> Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 725.; А. В. Майоров, *Галицко-Волинская Русь. Очерки социально-политических отношений в домонгольский период. Князь, бояре и городская община*. Санкт-Петербург 2001, 362–366.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 243–262, 276–287.; Jusupović, *Wpływ Halickiego otoczenia*, 147.

<sup>46</sup> «изыиде же Филя со многими Оугры и Ляхы из Галича пойма бояре Галичкыя и Судислава цѣтяи Лозоря и инны» In: Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 736.; English translation: *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. ed., transl., comm., G. Perfecky, München 1973. 26. Regarding the latter, see Пашуто, *Очерки*, 143.; Ё. Харди, *Наследники Киева. Између краљевске круне и татарског јарма*. Нови Сад 2002, 143.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 245–246.

<sup>47</sup> И. И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка по письменным памятникам*. I–III. Санктпетербургъ 1893–1903, III. 1089–1090, 1445.

<sup>48</sup> Hodinka, *Az orosz évkönyvek*, 343.

over many Halychian centres and created contacts with some Hungarian nobles. Sudislav must have had a considerable wealth, for he escaped Hungarian captivity with a ransom.<sup>49</sup> He was instrumental, in creating the peace between Andrew II and Prince Mstislav Mstislavich who cooperated with the Cumans; he was also influential in the marriage between Prince Andrew and Mstislav's daughter. In 1234, after Prince Andrew's death, he left Halych and once again set out for Hungary.<sup>50</sup> There is no doubt that both Sudislav and his son-in-law Füle promoted the efforts of the Hungarian royal court, but they did not influence the Hungarian elite. The possibility that Füle was identical with the vice-palatine appearing in 1220 cannot be excluded, though his presence in Halych makes this somewhat uncertain.<sup>51</sup> Nonetheless, this does not provide sufficient grounds to list him among the Hungarian elite, far less so Sudislav. We consider untenable Voloshchuk's idea to connect the name Sudislav with the Hungarian name of Sebes (Sebeslav and Szoboszló), and with the house of Ludány. Voloshchuk did not examine the material on Hungarian personal names, and so did not take into consideration that the name Sebes (and its variants: Sebe, Sebökö) is the shortened Hungarian form of the name Sebestyén (Sebastian).<sup>52</sup> I consider the starting point to be misleading, and so his argumentation is untenable.

The house of Kormilichich deserves attention in itself, as the name derives not from a personal name but a dignity. The original meaning of the verb *kormiti* is 'to nourish', but by the 12th century we encounter the form *kormlenie* meaning 'nourishment'. The latter referred to the payment in kind to the reigning prince. In connection to this, the *kormilec* was an official organising provisions of the princely court and occasionally caring for the education of the children. In certain regions of the Rus, the role of the *kormilec* overlapped with the responsibilities of the *diad'ko* ('pedagogue'). In other parts of Europe, this would roughly be the equivalent of the Latin *tutor*, *nutritor*, *paedagogus*, possibly *magister dapiferorum*. Essentially, it was the most important personage in the ruler's court.<sup>53</sup> In this light, Vladislav and his brothers were the descendants of once

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<sup>49</sup> Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 728.

<sup>50</sup> Клосс, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 750, 771.

<sup>51</sup> Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 302.

<sup>52</sup> Волощук, «Русь», 284-301.; Волощук, "Iobagio Zubuslaus de villa Chercher castri de Ung, онуки боярина Судислава та проблема етнічно ідентифікації населення сіхдних комитатов Угорщини в XI-XIII століттях," *Княжа доба* (2013) 39-48.; K. Fehértói, *Árpád-kori személynévtár (1000-1301)*. [Inventory of Personal Names from the Árpadian Era (1000-1301)] Budapest 2004. 700-701.

<sup>53</sup> И. Я. Фроянов, *Киевская Русь. Очерки социально-экономической истории*. Ленинград 1974, 64-65.; U. Halbach, *Der russische Fürstenhof vor dem 16. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart 1985, 146-159., esp. 155, 159.; M. Font, *Oroszország, Ukrajna, Rusz*. [Russia, Ukraine, Rus] Budapest 1998, 74-75.; Майоров, *Галицко-Волынская Русь*, 419.; *Az orosz történelmi források terminológiája*. [Terminology of the Russian Historical Sources] ed. M. Ágoston, Szombathely 2004, 58, 87.

influential individuals in the royal court and hoped to secure positions that would reflect this.

Vladislav's role has been reassessed by Alexander Mayorov, who examined the fanciful ideas that have become prominent in Russian-Ukrainian historical scholarship.<sup>54</sup> Mayorov explained Vladislav's central role with his inherited office. He concludes that Vladislav was the spokesman of those Halychian boyars who opposed the Peremyshl faction. Mayorov further emphasises that Vladislav and the other Halychian-Volynian nobles did not strive to become princes; they instead committed themselves to one or another individual – in this case the Hungarian king – making a bid for the principality. Pashuto had already broached the idea that Vladislav had been the same person as the *Ladislaus Ruthenus* referred to in Hungarian documents whose vineyard had entered the possession of János, Archbishop of Esztergom sometime after 1218.<sup>55</sup> On the basis of the structure of the document, Szentpétery has established that the donation was only set down in writing between 1221 and 1225 as a result of Andrew II's journey to the Holy Land; this was some time later than the actual gifting occurred.<sup>56</sup> After *Ladislaus Ruthenus'* estate became the property of the Archbishop of Esztergom in around 1218, there is no further evidence about him until 1232, when he is said to be deceased. It is not tenable to date the time of Vladislav/*Ladislaus Ruthenus'* death to 1231/1232; this is merely *terminus ante quem*. I suggest that it had already occurred in the 1220s.<sup>57</sup>

Among the referred persons, Gleb Zeremeyich was also one of Prince Andrew's Halychian supporters. He also had a role in negotiating the marriage of the younger daughter of Mistislav to Andrew; Jusupović holds the view that Gleb belonged to Sudislav's circle.<sup>58</sup> The Polish writer claims the same for 'Red' (Chermnyj) Semiushko, at whose advice Prince Andrew returned home from Peremyshl in 1226 to request military aid for the acquisition of the entire Halychian territory together with the fortress of Halych.<sup>59</sup> We have no evidence concerning the activities of either Gleb Zeremeyich or Semiushko after 1234. It can equally be supposed that they lost their lives in fighting or that they entered the service of Daniil. Jusupović assumes the latter regarding Gleb, as we have some information about him before he entered the service of Prince Andrew. Semiushko's activities are attested after his appearance in the entourage of Prince Andrew and Sudislav. This is the basis for Jusupović's claim that

<sup>54</sup> Майоров, *Галицко-Волынская Русь*, 408–436.

<sup>55</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*. ed. R. Marsina, Bratislavae, 1971–1987, I. 180.; for the dating, see Szentpétery–Borsa, *Regesta*, I. 116. № 350.; *Codex diplomaticus* III/2. 310.; В. Т. Пашуто, *Внешняя политика Древней Руси*. Москва 1968, 244.; Font, *Árpád-házikirályok*, 104–105.

<sup>56</sup> *Codex diplomaticus* III/2. 310.; Marsina, *Codex diplomaticus* I. 180.; for the dating, see Szentpétery–Borsa, *Regesta*, I. 116. № 350; identification Пашуто, *Внешняя политика*, 244.; Font, *Árpád-házikirályok*, 104–105.

<sup>57</sup> Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 276–287.; Волощук, «Русь» 145–174.

<sup>58</sup> Ключ, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 750.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 151–157. here 152.

<sup>59</sup> Ключ, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 748.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 238–240.

Semiushko may even have departed with Sudislav to Hungary. The boyar Zhiroslav, who joined to Prince Andrew in 1226, promoted the cooperation between the princely commander Mstislav and the Hungarians. Zhiroslav was last mentioned in 1227.<sup>60</sup>

### Conclusions

The more intensive Hungarian presence and the increased amount of source material allow us to study the 13th-century elite in Halych in greater detail. In the first eight years of campaigns (1205–1213), Andrew II's Halychian retinue consisted of those who held major offices in the Hungarian Kingdom and court. A number of persons appeared in Halych who held the highest rank in Hungary, that of the palatine. The name of Mog – in 1206 palatine for the third time – occurred in the sources for the last time between 1208 and 1210 as count of Pozsony. Mog embarked upon his career in 1185, his name did not mention in charters after 1210, he probably died. The last known office of the palatine Pat (1209–1212) was the county of Moson from 1214 to 1215. Bánk, besides being the count a number of times, was twice ban, and in 1212–1213 palatine. His last offices were that of the curial count in 1221–1222 in addition to the count of the counties of Fejér, Újvár and Bodrog. Subsequently, the highest-ranking dignitaries ceased to participate in the military operations around Halych. Dénes, son of Dénes, of the house of Türje (palatine in 1245–1246 and 1248), as well as Lőrinc, son of Kemény, (palatine in 1267–1269 and in 1272) did participate in the Halychian clashes, but not when they held these offices. Dénes, son of Dénes, participated in the 1230 and 1231 campaigns as the courtier of Prince Béla when, obeying the command of Béla's father, he joined the army of the kingdom. Dénes held no office at this time; he was rewarded later by the king, Béla IV (r. 1235–1270), for his participation in the Halychian campaigns and for other services. When Lőrinc was a young man without office, he joined the army of Béla's son-in-law Rostislav in his bid to rule Halych. His merits were listed in a later diploma.<sup>61</sup> I do not accept the hypothesis that Füle (File) occupied the office of vice-palatine in 1220, since 1219 he was residing in Halych the court of Prince Coloman.<sup>62</sup>

From 1214, the men in the princely court came to the forefront. The best-known of these individuals, and the person whose service was the most enduring in both the Halychian and Slavonian courts of Coloman, was the master carver Demeter, son of Aba of the house of Sükösd (1216–1234). In Transylvania, the fate of Pál son of Écs of the house of Geregye was similar to that of Demeter in the court of Prince Béla. He participated in the 1230 unsuccessful siege

<sup>60</sup> Ключ, *Ипатьевская летопись*, 750.; Jusupović, *Elity ziemi*, 299–303.

<sup>61</sup> Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 296. (Dénes), 324. (Lőrinc)

<sup>62</sup> Font, *Felvidéki kisérmesek*; The only exception is Demeter, master carver to the prince.

of Halych, but his career only began to rise from 1238.<sup>63</sup> As far as we know, Füle was the only one to partake in the military manoeuvres during the kingship of Coloman and who also participated in the 1245 campaign supporting Béla IV's son-in-law. His motivations were doubtless familial and stemmed from the Halychian origins of his wife.

Based on the diplomas of Andrew II,<sup>64</sup> it is worth observing that among those fighting in Halych, the ones with more humble origin were rewarded. From the persons belonging to the royal court, only Nána of the house of Nána-beszter was donated as he functioned as the *procurator* and *provisor* of the king's horses. We are also only aware of a single title, that of the count from 1221, in the case of Tamás son of Makariás of the house of Monoszló. For the families of castle warriors (*iobagiones castri*), or for royal servants (*servientes regis*), a royal gift had greater weight and acquiring merits in Halych was more important. The original interest (1205–1211) shown by the elite of the royal court in the wake of the failures began to wane, and the task of exercising dynastic clout was devolved to the princely court(s). In deference to his father (*de mandato et voluntate patris*), Prince Béla partook in the campaigns of 1230–1231, only rewarding the men of his retinue at a later date, once crowned, and when the fighting in Halych was only an episode in their service.

The Hungarian royal authority's bid to spread over the territory of Halych in the form of a principality eventually ended in failure. Prince Coloman retained the title of King of Halych as governor of Slavonia, but took no further part in Halychian matters. There is no record of Hungarians participating in the Halychian rule of Prince Andrew, because his own death and that of his father occurred in quick succession (1234 and 1235), and Béla would not have found it important to reward the followers of his deceased brother.

I suggest that the Halychian nobles who supported Hungarian rule considered the Hungarian king's (and his sons') bid for territorial expansion an equal counterpart of any similar efforts made by Rus princelings. Insofar as it is possible to draw conclusions from the narrative evidence of the *HVC*, the Halychian nobles joined the Hungarian prince's court or that of a Rus prince to elevate their own prestige and to gain a degree of stability in their position. Exceptions were Vladislav, who acquired a small estate in Hungary, and Sudislav, who was connected with family ties to the Hungarian landowning stratum. However, they did not enter the Hungarian elite.

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<sup>63</sup> Zsoldos, *Magyarország...*, 341.

<sup>64</sup> See Table 1, No. 2–10.