

András W. Kovács
The History
of the Wass de Czege Family

This work was carried out in the
Research Institute of the
Transylvanian Museum Society
www.eme.ro



The translation of this work was partially financed
by the Pro Renovanda Cultura Hungariae Foundation, Budapest
(In memoriam Kuno Klebelsberg programme)

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The History of the Wass de Czege Family

Translated by Ágnes Baricz
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EDMUND SIEMERS-STIFTUNG

Hamburg 2005

Maps and digital processing of pictures by István Karácsony

On the cover:

The extended coat of arms of the family on the letter patent of title donaton from 1744 (National Archives Cluj County Branch, Transilvanian National Museum Archives, Wass Ottília Collection).

Responsible publisher: Dr. Andreas Graf Wass von Czege

ISBN 3-00-016411-1



Printed by the Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós Printing-house

Director: István Tonk

Technical editor: Lajos Bálint

Page-setting: Éva Kőváry

*Gens Vasiana suos antiquos ducit ab aevo
natales, longo veteranas ordine ceras
ostentat, patrios inter radiatque quirites,
ut socias inter palmas micat ardua palma
utque pares inter stellas fulgurat astrum*

(An eighteenth-century poem praising the Wass.
*Carmen Sapphicum ... in honorem Samuelis
Vas de Tzege ... decantatum.* Claudiopoli, 1769)

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Acknowledgements



The present volume has at its base the following four studies published recently in Hungarian: 1. “A cegei Wass család a középkorban” [The Wass family of Cege in the Middle Ages], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 66, no. 1–2 (2004): 1–40. 2. “A cegei gr. Wass család a 16–20. században” [History of the comital family of Wass of Cege from the sixteenth to the twentieth century], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 66, no. 3–4 (2004): 1–56. 3. “A levéltárrendező és családtörténész Huszti András” [The family historian András Huszti], in *Emlékkönyv Kiss András születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [András Kiss memorial volume in honor of his 80th birthday], ed. Sándor Pál-Antal, Gábor Sipos, András W. Kovács and Rudolf Wolf (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2004), 261–274. 4. “A cegei Wass család grófi diplomája 1744-ből” [The letter patent of countship from 1744 of the Wass family of Cege], *Református Szemle. Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület, a Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület és az Evangélikus–Lutheránus Egyház hivatalos lapja* 96, no. 6 (In memoriam Tonk Sándor) (2003): 790–806.

The aim of this book is to contribute further information to the studies on the development throughout the centuries of the Transylvanian political élite, that is, the Transylvanian nobility, by tracing and presenting the history of one family, the Wass. This would also mean a contribution to Transylvanian social history writing, as modern social historiography tends to form general conclusions based on the cluster of individual cases; thus individual examples and case studies serve not as mere illustrations but as the starting point, and at the same time the data base of the analysis. The archive of the Wass family, which has been continually developing throughout eight centuries, offers a great opportunity for the writing of a historical case study. According to the evidence of historical demography, it is rather infrequent for a family not to die out in the male line after this many centuries, and what occurs even more rarely is that its archival documents survive as well, in spite of a certain amount of damage on several occasions. In consequence, these documents deserve our attention, as they span such an extended period of time; furthermore, the archive stands out from among all the other Transylvanian family archives by having preserved a considerable amount of medieval (pre-1542) charters. It is mainly from this latter feature that the specific character of the Wass family archive results.

My work could not have been accomplished without the possibility of consulting the material of the following archives and libraries: in Cluj/Kolozsvár: the National Archives Cluj County Branch, the University Library, the Library of the Protestant Theological Institute, the Library of the Romanian Academy and the Historical Museum of Transylvania; in Vienna: the Archival Collection of the Wass-Tarjányi Family; in Budapest: the Hungarian National Archives, the Széchényi National Library, the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the National Museum of Hungary. Hereby I thank the directorate of the Transylvanian Museum Society for making this research possible, Edmund Siemers-Stiftung and Dr. Andreas Graf Wass von Cege (Hamburg), without whom this volume could never have appeared, as well as all those colleagues and professors who contributed with their help to my work. I launch this book with ardent hopes that it will serve for the benefit of Romanian, Hungarian and German historiography, all engaged in the exploration of Transylvania's history.

Cluj-Kolozsvár, Christmas, 2004

András W. Kovács

Symbols and Abbreviations

- * Born
- † Died
- = Married

Áldásy and Czobor, *Címereslevelek*

A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Könyvtárának címjegyzéke [Repertory of the Library of the Hungarian National Museum], II, *Címereslevelek* [Letter patent of nobilities], vol. 5, ed. Antal Áldásy and Alfréd Czobor (Budapest: privately printed by József Áldásy, 1939).

AOkm

Imre Nagy and Gyula Nagy Tasnádi, eds., *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis. Anjou-kori okmánytár*, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomataria (Budapest: MTA Történelmi Bizottsága, 1878–1920), 7 vols.

Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*

Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, ed. László Kócziány and Réka Lőrinczi (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1978).

- a. after
- b. before

Barîț

Ioan Chindriș and Ferenc Kovács, eds., *George Barîț magyar nyelvű levelezése* [The Hungarian correspondence of George Barîț] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1974).

Berger

Albert Berger, Ernst Wagner, Ioan Dordea, Ioan Drăgan and Konrad G. Gündisch eds., *Urkunden-Regesten aus dem Archiv der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens, vol. XI/1–3 (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1986–1995).

Balogh

Jolán Balogh, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* [Stone-dresser manufactories in Kolozsvár in the sixteenth century] (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti kutató csoport, 1985).

Bethlen, *Historia*

Wolfgangus Bethlen, *Historia de rebus Transylvanicis*, ed. Josephus Benkő (Cibinium: Martin Hochmeister, 1782–1789), 6 vols.

- B. Nagy, *Reneszánsz és barokk*
Reneszánsz és barokk Erdélyben. Művészettörténeti tanulmányok
 [Renaissance and Baroque in Transylvania: Studies in art history]
 (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1970).
- Calendarium*
Calendarium novum et vetus in usum m. principatus Transylvaniae
pro a. 1821–1847 (Claudiopolis: Martin Hochmeister, 1821–1847)
 [Registers of the government personal].
- Calv. Calvinist
- Cath. Catholic
- CD Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (Buda: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1829–1844), tom. I–XI, 40 vols.
- CDTrans
 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*, vol. 1 (1023–1300), vol. 2 (1301–1339), A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai, II, Forráskiadványok, vols. 26, 40 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1997–2004).
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 Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [Historical geography of Hungary in the Hunyadi age] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890–1913; repr. 1985), 4 vols.
- Cserei, *Erdély*
 Mihály Cserei, *Erdély históriája* [History of Transylvania], ed. Imre Bánkúti (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1983).
- DF Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [HungNatArch, Collection of pre-1526 charters, Photocopies].
- DIR C, veacul XIV
Documente privind istoria României, C, Transilvania, Veacul XIV [Charters referring to the history of Romania: Transylvania: fourteenth century] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1953–1955), 4 vols.
- DL Diplomatikai Levéltár [HungNatArch, Collection of pre-1526 charters].

DL-DF CD-ROM

György Rácz, ed., *A középkori Magyarország levéltári forrásainak adatbázisa (DL-DF 4.2). Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary* [CD-ROM] (Budapest: Arcanum and Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2003).

DocRomHist C

Sabin Belu, Ioan Dani, Aurel Răduțiu, Viorica Pervain, Konrad G. Gündisch, Adrian Rusu, Susana Andea and Lidia Gross, eds., *Documenta Romaniae Historica, C, Transilvania*, vol. 10–14 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Românie; Cluj: Editura Academiei Române, 1977–2002), 5 vols.

DRMH

János M. Bak, György Bónis, James Ross Sweeney, Andor Csizmdia, Pál Engel, Paul B. Harvey junior and Leslie S. Domonkos, eds., *Decreta Regni Medievalis Hungariae*, vol. 1. (1000–1301, Charles Schlacks junior Publisher: Bakersfield, California, 1989), vol. 2. (1301–1457, Charles Schlacks junior Publisher: Salt Lake City, 1992), vol. 3 (1458–1490, Charles Schlacks junior Publisher: Los Angeles, 1996).

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Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* [The secular archontology of Hungary], *História Könyvtár, Kronológiák, adattárak*, vol. 5 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996), 2 vols.

Engel, *Genealógia*

Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia* [Medieval Hungarian reference book: The secular archontology of Hungary; Medieval Hungarian genealogy] [CD-ROM] (Budapest: Arcanum and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001).

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Pál Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén* [The Hungarian Kingdom at the end of the Middle Ages] [CD-ROM] (Budapest: Térinfo Bt. and MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2001).

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Géza Entz, “*Wass-Tarjányi Ákos családi levéltára Cegén*” [The family archive in Cege of Ákos Wass-Tarjányi], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 48 (1943): 109–110.
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Széchenyi National Library, Hungary (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár), Budapest.

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Husztii, *Registrum*

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János Illéssy and Béla Pettkó, *A Királyi Könyvek. Jegyzéke a bennük foglalt nemesség, cím, czímer, előnév és honosság-adományozásoknak 1527–1867* [Libri Regi: Repertory of the nobility-, title-, blazon-, property name- and national status donations] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1895).

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Zsigmond Jakó, “Belső-Szolnok és Doboka magyarsága az újkorban” [The Hungarian population of Inner Szolnok and Doboka Counties in the modern age] in *Szolnok-Doboka magyarsága*, 71–130.

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Lajos Kelemen, *Újabb adattár a vargyasi Daniel család történetéhez* [New repertory to the history of the Dániel family of Vargyas], ed. Gábor Daniel (Kolozsvár: Ajtai K. Albert Könyvnyomdája, 1913).

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Km]kv

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Gyula Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* [Wars of the Angevin age] (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 1988).

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- LibrHungAcadBp
Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára).
- LibrRomAcad
Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj/Kolozsvár (Biblioteca Academiei Române, Filiala Cluj-Napoca).
- Lukács, *Wass Miklós*
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András Mező, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [Patron saints in medieval Hungary], METEM Könyvek no. 40 (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2003).
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László Fejérpataki, ed., *Magyar Nemzetségi Zsebkönyv. Első rész. Főrangú családok (főrendiházi örökös tagsági joggal bíró főrangú családok)* [Hungarian genealogical handbook, Part 1: Aristocratic families] (Budapest: Magyar Heraldikai és Genealogiai Társaság, 1888).
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National Archives Cluj County Branch (Arhivele Naționale, Direcția Județeană Cluj, Cluj-Napoca).

Napló

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Nyulászi–Straub, *Öt évszázad címerei*

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Part I

The Family Archive



The Wass family of Cege¹ is considered one of the oldest noble families in Transylvania; its lineage can be traced without interruption from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Their family archive, which has been expanded throughout eight centuries, contains about 660 medieval (pre-1542) documents and another almost 8,000 from the further centuries (up to the beginning of the twentieth). As for the medieval ones, 660 may be considered quite a huge number, considering the rather unfavorable conditions of preservation of documentary sources from medieval Transylvania. At some point after 1909, but certainly before 1920, Count Béla Wass (1853–1936) settled the administration of the family archive on the Transylvanian Museum Society (*Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület*), Transylvania's earliest scientific society (founded in 1859), which established a rich archival collection and library at Kolozsvár.² The adopted branch of the family, more precisely Ákos Wass-Tarjányi (1900–1983),

¹ The family now style themselves as the Wass de Czege. In accordance with their wishes, this spelling – Czege – has been employed in the title of this work. However, in accordance with the consensus in current scholarship, the alternative spelling – Cege – has been employed throughout the text. All dates figuring on the family trees annexed to the book – if not followed by other source-references – refer to medieval documents belonging to the Wass family archive, and the Roman numerals are notations of other documents from the Modern Age of the same archive. The documents to be referred to enable us to settle the order of the descent and establish the relationships inside the kinship. Place-names will be used – unless they have well-known English equivalents – in their (medieval and modern) Hungarian variants, even though most of the story of the Wass is played out in an area that is now part of Romania. The usage of the Hungarian variants can be justified by the fact that the majority of the place-names occurring in the present study function as “property names” adopted by Hungarian noble families (the so-called *praedictatum* or *előnév*). Thus the Hungarian variant is the one that has become widely known and used by historical scholarship. Medieval and modern variants in other languages (including the present-day official names), can be found in the gazetteer on p. 193–199.

² “Count Béla Wass of Czege deposited four medieval charters (from the period between 1330 and 1399) in our collection as an advance on the whole Wass family archive.” Pál Erdélyi, “A gyűjtemények állapota és gyarapodása 1908-ban” [Conditions and increase of collections in the year 1908], in *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Évkönyve az 1909. évről* [Annals of the Transylvanian Museum Society for the year 1909], ed. Lajos Schilling (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1910), 24. The year of deposition itself cannot be established because access to the files of the Transylvanian Museum

kept a small part of the archive in his possession,³ and thus the art historian Géza Entz (1913–1993) had the opportunity to examine it during his visit to Cege in 1942. However, its later fate is still unknown.

The Transylvanian Museum Society considered it one of its most urgent duties to assemble a collection of medieval Transylvanian charters, and in order to achieve this purpose it joined forces in the 1940s with the Transylvanian Institute of Sciences (*Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet*) also working at Kolozsvár. The work strategy was elaborated, and then directed, by Professor Zsigmond Jakó (*1916).⁴ In accordance with the plans – as part of the organizing work – medieval charters were removed from the family archive as well as from institutional archives (both types being incorporated in the Museum Archives), and then, as individual series, organized in chronological order and provided with special markings on each one of them.⁵ Such a collection and organization of written medieval sources involved processing and publishing as well. No edition of a complete collection of Transylvanian records was possible at that stage of the work; therefore the most adequate solution seemed to be the publishing of the material by individual (family) archives. In accordance with this resolution the publishing of materials belonging to the definitively organized collections was planned. Not only was this project destined for advancing the scientific research based on archival material, but it was also wished by it that the appreciation of the scientific world might be expressed towards those families who deposited their documents in the collection of the Museum Society. The planned volumes would have contained the history of the relevant archives, and, in order to facilitate the

Society is denied at present, these being preserved in the National Archives Cluj County Branch (Kolozsvár).

³ A review of it, one and a half pages in length, was published at that time: Entz, *Wass-Tarjányi*, passim. It was also published in Jakó, *Jelentés 1942*, 23–24. See also Entz, *Wass*. It was planned that this part of the archive be transferred to Kolozsvár, but – probably because of the war – the plan was not accomplished. “The landowner of Cege, Ákos Wass-Tarjányi, offered to deposit his precious family archive – a review of which had been published on the pages of the *Erdélyi Múzeum* 1943: 109–110. It has not been dispatched yet, but we will surely be able to keep in our safe custody these documents, which represent a very important addition to the already deposited Wass family archive.” Jakó, *Jelentés 1943*, 20–21.

⁴ Zsigmond Jakó, “A középkori okleveles források kutatása Erdélyben” [The research of medieval documentary sources in Transylvania], introduction to CDTrans, vol. 1, 28–29.

⁵ “Not considering the archives already arranged in chronological order, we have selected so far the medieval material from the archive of the baronial family of Jósika, from that of the Bánffy family, from the archive in Kendilóna of the comital family of Teleki, from that owned by the comital family of Wass, and from those belonging to the Macskási and Thorotzkay families.” Jakó, *Jelentés 1942*, 10.

readers' orientation in the material, they would have been supplied with a detailed family tree presenting the lineage of the owner family, and the relationships and property conditions inside the kinship – all these in a historical treatment. There would also have been compiled a repertory of the material, including correspondence; most importantly from our point of view, it would have contained the Hungarian abstract of each and every medieval charter. Each archive would have been presented in a separate volume, but according to the same principles. Right after the very first issue the whole series came to a halt because of an altered political situation, starting at the end of World War II. This first volume treats the archive of the Thorotzkay family of Torockószentgyörgy;⁶ the second issue intended to process the Wass archive but remained incomplete and in manuscript – only the pre-1542 part was finished. The abstracts of the above-mentioned medieval material of the Wass archive were made – in accordance with a methodological practice somewhat different from the one adopted nowadays – by the retired classical scholar, and former head of the University Library of Kolozsvár, Antal Valentiny (1883–1954), in the 1940s.⁷ His work has never been published,⁸ although the Museum Society Archives were nationalized in 1949⁹ and transferred to the Library of the Romanian Academy, Department of Kolozsvár (to

⁶ Zsigmond Jakó and Antal Valentiny, eds., *A torockószentgyörgyi Thorotzkay család levéltára* [The archive of the Thorotzkay family of Torockószentgyörgy], Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltára, vol. 1 (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1944).

⁷ “[...] In parallel with these works, abstracts are being made of our pre-1541 charters. Dr Antal Valentiny, retired Director of the University Library, carries out with enthusiasm and devotion this very tiring task, which needs considerable practice in diplomatics as well. His precise abstracts will be indispensable for the researchers of our archives, just as the abstracts of the basic collection made by our first librarian, Károly Szabó, are in the present day. So far we have abstracts of the Jósika and Thorotzkay archives' medieval material and of almost half of the vast archive of the comital family of Wass.” Jakó, *Jelentés 1943*, 13–14. “Dr Antal Valentiny, who had been making abstracts on the medieval material of the Wass family archive, has already got to the documents from the year 1425.” Zsigmond Jakó, “Jelentés az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltárának 1944. évi működéséről” [Report on the activity of the Transylvanian National Museum Archives concerning the year 1944], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 56 (1994): 94.

⁸ This manuscript does not contain the abstracts of those charters that have not been preserved in their original form, although they have survived in shorter or longer extracts in the register (*elenchus*) of the archive assembled by András Huszti in 1754 (Huszti, *Registrum*). It seems that Valentiny did not intend at all to collect and process these lost charters (*“deperditae”*); his manuscript also left out the abstracts of those original charters which have survived only in later copies, and had not been found on the occasion of previous systematizations.

⁹ “Jegyzőkönyv az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület önkényes megszüntetéséről (1950)” [Record of the arbitrary liquidation of the Transylvanian Museum Society (1950)], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 53 (1991): 183.

the archival section),¹⁰ and then to the National Archives Cluj County Branch (Kolozsvár) in 1974 – in accordance with a brand-new law concerning the archives. The Museum Society – which had been liquidated by communist authorities after World War II, but reconstituted itself in 1990 – decided to finish the long-planned work and publish the results. The processing of the Wass family archive resulted in a huge amount of data concerning the history of the family. The Wass archive is actually one of the richest and most coherent of all the surviving archives of Transylvanian noble families, and thus offers a great opportunity for family history writing.

The history of medieval Transylvanian society should be founded on family histories;¹¹ nevertheless, the subject is very little dealt with. The number of publications on this topic has been very low ever since the studies of Bálint Kiss (*1848) on the Transylvanian “lesser” nobility published in the genealogical journal *Turul* almost a century ago, and similar is the number of subsequent works that could become a precedent for further product.¹² As for tables of descent – involving the Transylvanians as well – the research has been at a far more advanced stage since Pál

¹⁰ Maria Ursuțiu, “Din istoria Bibliotecii Filialei Cluj-Napoca a Academiei Române. Arhiva istorică” [From the history of the Romanian Academy, Department of Kolozsvár: Historical archives], *Biblioteca și cercetarea* 22 (2000): 22–32. A booklet appeared in Romanian on the Wass family archive, but it does not contain medieval charters. See Liviu Ursuțiu and Maria Ursuțiu, *Repertorii. Arhive familiale* [Family archives], no. 3–7 (Cluj-Napoca: Academia R. S. R., Filiala Cluj-Napoca, Biblioteca, 1974), 127–158.

¹¹ On the duties of family history writing, see András Kubinyi, “A magyar genealógiai kutatás” [Hungarian genealogical research], *Levéltári Közlemények* 41 (1970): 213–221; Imre Szentpétery, “Történelmi segédtudományok” [Auxiliary sciences to history], in *A magyar történetírás új útjai* [New paths of Hungarian historiography], ed. Bálint Hóman (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1932), 348, 351 and András W. Kovács, “Studies of Hungarian Genealogical Research,” *Colloquia. Journal of Central European History*. Babeș-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca and Institute of Central European Studies, vol. 10–11/1–2 (2003–2004): 240–249.

¹² There are very few exceptions, such as Zsigmond Jakó, “A farnasi Veres család” [The Veres family of Farnas], in *Emlékkönyv Imreh István születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [István Imreh memorial volume in honor of his 80th birthday], ed. András Kiss, Gyöngy Kovács Kiss and Ferenc Pozsony (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1999), 211–231. The following work may be considered a classic in Hungarian family history writing: Erik Fügedi, *The Elefánthy: The Hungarian Nobleman and his Kindred*, ed. Damir Karbić (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998). Besides these, Iván Petrik’s excellent case study is notable for its systematic analysis of a middling landowner county noble family’s life and possibilities: “A Pelejteiek. Egy középkori Zemplén megyei köznemesi család vizsgálata” [The Pelejte: In-depth study of a medieval noble family from Zemplén County], *Fons* 7 (2002): 199–247.

Engel's (1938–2001) vast reference book (2001);¹³ however, he accumulated data first of all on families of great political influence, thus following the descent of the Wass family only until the end of the fourteenth century, as after that they lapsed back into the limited possibilities of county life.

It has to be mentioned that a number of charters of the Wass archive have been used by scientific research since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although in order to protect property rights it was expected that these be kept out of publicity.¹⁴ In the eighteenth century András Huszti (1700?–1755), the archivist of the Wass family, systematized the archive and wrote the history of the family, entitled *Genealogia heroica* (fig. no. 1). In his work he copied in full the text of 27 medieval charters and that of 18 from the modern age. Several copies were made of the manuscript, and thus the charters became accessible to other contemporary researchers too. On the other hand, it is not at all unlikely that direct access to the documents of the family archive was possible as well. Although establishing the filiation of copies is not possible without systematic research work, several copy collections that contain handwritten copies of medieval charters belonging to the Wass archive must be mentioned. Such are, for example, the Jesuit historian István Kaprinay's (1714–1785) handwritten collection of copies, which came to him through Sámuel Dobai Székely (1704–1779),¹⁵ and the collections of Károly Fejérvári (1743–1794)¹⁶ and Gheorghe Şincai (1754–1816).¹⁷ This latter made use of the copies in his book entitled *The Chronicle of Romanians (Hronica românilor)*, the first work presenting the history of the Romanian people. Şincai included the text of 24 medieval documents

¹³ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia* [Medieval Hungarian reference book: The secular archontology of Hungary; Medieval Hungarian genealogy] (Budapest: Arcanum and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001) [CD-ROM].

¹⁴ In Transylvania this situation altered only in the second part of the nineteenth century, when, as a consequence of a change concerning property rights, documents ensuring those retained only historical value (that was the so-called “manumission compensation,” in accordance with which serfs became owners of the lands on which they had worked previously but which were possessed by great landowners, while the state, in turn, gave monetary compensation to the landowners for the ceasing services of serfs).

¹⁵ University Library of Budapest, *Collectio Kaprinayana, tomi in quarto*, Tomus XVIII, 32–35, 37–39.

¹⁶ Carolus Fejérváry de Keresztes, *Analecta monumentorum omnis aevi Hungarica*, HungNatLibr, Department of Manuscripts, Fol. Lat. 2211/I–III. For example, in vol. 1, no. CCCLIX–CCCLXV.

¹⁷ At the turn of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, Count Dániel Wass (†1811) employed him as private tutor to his sons and as administrator of his estates.

– in several cases only in abstracts.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the monumental work of the historian Count József Kemény (1795–1855), the *Diplomatarium Transylvanicum* and its supplements (*Appendix* and *Supplementum*),¹⁹ also contains texts from the Wass archive.

Some medieval documents of the archive appeared in print, edited by György Pray (1723–1801), István Katona (1732–1811), György Fejér (1766–1851) and Gusztáv Wenzel (1812–1891),²⁰ but the main part of the medieval material was presented to the professionals by the jurist and historian Farkas Deák (1832–1888). Being in charge of representing Count Ádám Wass's (1822–1893) suits concerning the manumission compensation in court,²¹ and at the same time being a friend, he could have easily had access to the family archive, from which he did borrow documents several times.²² Due to this, some of those documents are now lost,²³ although, at the same time, Deák himself was the one who transmitted the charters regarding the Árpád period to the *Codex diplomaticus patrius* (*Hazai okmánytár*),²⁴ and published almost sixty documents in

¹⁸ Gheorghe Şincai, *Hronica românilor* [Chronicle of the Romanian people], *Opere*, vol. 1–3, ed. and introductory study by Florea Fugariu and Manole Neagoe (Bucharest: Editura Pentru Literatură, 1967–1969), 3 vols., passim.

¹⁹ All three were consigned to the Transylvanian National Museum Archives; today they can be found in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Kolozsvár. The *Diplomatarium Transsilvanicum* (vol. 2, 398), for example, contains a text dated to April 25, 1411 (*Sab. p. Georgii mart.*), which was supposed to have its original in the Wass archive; however, the *Registrum* made by Huszti does not contain it, and therefore it should be handled with suspicion. Aurel Răduţiu drew my attention to this charter; hereby I thank him for that.

²⁰ The above-mentioned works: Georgius Pray, ed., *Annales regum Hungariae ab anno Christi CMXCVII ad annum MDLXIV deducti ac maximam partem ex scriptoribus coaevivis, diplomatibus, tabulis publicis et id genus litterariis instrumentis congesti* (Vienna: Typis Georgii Lvd. Schvlzii, Typ. Joann. Thomae de Trattner, Svmptibvs Avgvstini Bernardi, 1764–1770), 5 vols; Stephanus Katona, ed., *Historia critica regum Hungariae* (Pest–Buda–Pozonium and Cassovia–Colotza, 1779–1817), 42 vols; *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, ed. Georgius Fejér (Buda: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829–1844), tom. I–XI, 40 vols; Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus. Árpádkori új okmánytár* (Budapest: MTA Történelmi bizottmánya, 1860–1874), 12 vols.

²¹ This constituted the main part of their correspondence. See WassArch, no. 7257–7284.

²² WassArch, 1874: no. 7257; 1877: no. 7275; 1877: no. 7276.

²³ WassArch, 1877: no. 8319–8320. After Farkas Deák's unexpected death, his brother Lajos Deák returned the charters that he had found in the legacy of the deceased to the Wass family (WassArch, 1888: no. 7286). It is most probable that several diplomas got lost because of the lendings (for example, HOkl 270; Ub, vol. 3, 298, 517, etc.).

²⁴ Imre Nagy, Iván Páur, Károly Ráth, Arnold Stummer/Ipolyi and Dezső Véghely, eds., *Codex diplomaticus patrius [Hungaricus]. Hazai okmánytár* (Győr–Budapest: MTA Történelmi Bizottsága, 1876–1891), 8 vols.

his *Hazai oklevéltár* (“Charters of the Homeland”).²⁵ He was the one who wrote the first scientific review on the archive,²⁶ and he planned to compile the Wass cartulary as well.²⁷ Besides those mentioned above, several other historians, such as Károly Torma (1829–1897),²⁸ the medievalist László Fejérpataky (1857–1923)²⁹ or Franz Zimmermann (1850–1935) – the one who started the cartulary of the Transylvanian Saxons³⁰ – used the medieval material of the Wass archive as well. Cartularies of national or regional extension that appeared after the *Hazai oklevéltár* contain a larger amount of texts from this archive.

First of all, its relatively rich medieval (pre-1542) material makes the Wass family archive really outstanding; furthermore, the rest, concerning the modern era – in spite of the serious losses (unequally shared as concerns the material of the individual branches) that it had to bear at different times – still can provide enough data for tracing the history of the kindred. Obviously, the main source of family history after 1541 remains the Wass family archive, although completed with documents preserved in several other collections, such as that of Ottília Wass (1829–1917), and the *fidei-commissary* archive of the Jósika family. In turn, these

²⁵ Imre Nagy, Farkas Deák and Gyula Nagy, eds., *Hazai oklevéltár 1234–1536* [Charters of the homeland 1234–1536] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1879).

²⁶ Farkas Deák, “A gróf Wass-család czegei levéltáráról és a gyekői Wesselényi-síremlékről” [On the archive of the comital family of Wass of Cege and on the Wesselényi gravestone in Gyeke], *Századok* 8 (1874): 301–311.

²⁷ Farkas Deák’s letters to Ádám Wass: “the reason for not returning the charters is not youthful thoughtlessness: I’ve always had the great plan to compile a *Wass Codex*; I myself will personally take the diplomas back home” (WassArch, 1888: no. 7284). “We copied the three charters from the Árpád period; those have already appeared in the *Codex Patrius*, vol. 6.” “Your Worship should preserve safely the three charters from the Árpád period enclosed here, because they constitute the greatest treasure of your archive” (WassArch, 1877: no. 7275). “The charters are remarkably beautiful, the Society [= Hungarian Historical Society, Magyar Történelmi Társulat] greeted with cheers my report made on them [on the charters of the Wass archive] last Thursday evening. I have already sent a few intact seals to be drawn and the diplomas to be copied” (WassArch, 1877: no. 7276). See also WassArch, 1874: no. 7257.

²⁸ The letter of Ádám Wass to Franz Zimmermann: see WassArch, nr. 8437 (26 Apr. 1890). “[...] Unser Familienarchiv wurde noch vor sehr vielen Jahren von dem seiner Zeit berühmten alten ungarischen Historiker Andreas Huszti sehr correct registriert. Aber vor etlichen Jahren haben die Herren Torma Károly, Szabó Károly und Deák Farkas eine ziemliche Unordnung gemacht. Trotzdem werden euer Wohlgeboren doch im Stande sein, ihre historiken Studien erledige zu können. Wir haben im Archiv auch glaube ich 3 ungarische Arpadiana.”

²⁹ WassArch, 1891: no. 8467.

³⁰ Franz Zimmermann wrote several letters to Ádám Wass between 1890 and 1891 about his intention of publishing the medieval charters regarding the Saxons (WassArch, no. 8436–8440).

collections also pertain to the Transylvanian National Museum Archives, at present all three being incorporated by the National Archives Cluj County Branch (Kolozsvár). Documentary sources regarding the post-1541 period offered by the Wass archive have not been thoroughly exploited, although the most important data concerning landed property and its possessors were contained in a monumental work, the monography of Szolnok-Doboka County (*Szolnok-Doboka vármegye monographiája*) by the numismatist and historian László Réthy (1851–1914).³¹

Unfortunately, the Wass archive preserved neither the obituary notifications that appeared (figs. no. 2–4) nor the texts of the funeral sermons delivered on the occasion of the death of family members (fig. no. 5); now these constitute an important source regarding the data of birth and death, starting with the eighteenth century. Thus, all these had to be gathered from other archives and libraries;³² then the material obtained was completed with the collection of Count Andreas (Endre) Wass (*1950), in Hamburg, and with that of Olivier Tondolo (*1973), the great-grandson of Countess Irma Wass (1865–1947), living in Vienna.

A small fraction (documents mainly from the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth century: birth certificates, obituary notifications, correspondence, etc.) constituting the remainders of the archive of the

³¹ WassArch 1891: no. 8467; József Kádár, Károly Tagányi, László Réthy and József Pokoly, *Szolnok-Doboka vármegye monographiája* [Monography of Szolnok-Doboka County] (Deés: Demeter és Kiss könyvnyomdája, 1900–1905), 7 vols. A few missives from the Wass family archive were published in the periodical *Történeti Lapok*, appearing in Kolozsvár, but nobody undertook the systematic publishing of the archival material regarding the modern age. See *Történeti Lapok* 1 (1875): 254–255, 285–286, 299, 313–314, 332–333, 345–346, 384, 412, 446–447, 462–463, 493–494, 557–558.

³² TransNatArch (Collection of obituary notifications); Department of Manuscripts of the nationalized library of the Transylvanian Museum Society (now part of the UnivLibr); HungNatLibr, Department of Manuscripts and Department of Small Prints; Central Archives of the Transylvanian Calvinist District (Kolozsvár); UnivLibr, Department of Manuscripts; Library of the Protestant Theological Institute (Kolozsvár); the confiscated library of the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár (which is today part of the LibrRomAcad). A register of funeral sermons preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Transylvanian Museum Society Library and in the Library of the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár was compiled by Zoltán Köblös; it appeared in print as well. The Wass family is concerned in the following part: Zoltán Köblös, “Halotti beszédek az Erdélyi Országos Múzeum és a kolozsvári ref. kollégium könyvtárában” [Funeral sermons in the Transylvanian National Museum and in the Library of the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár], *Genealógiai Füzetek. Családtörténeti folyóirat címerekkel és leszármazási táblákkal* 2 (1904): 144; 3 (1905): 9; 22–23. The whole work appeared independently as well (Kolozsvár: Gámán János örökösének könyvnyomdája, 1905). The funeral sermons listed by Köblös can be found today in the LibrRomAcad; those quoted and referred to in the present study – when no other source is specified – belong to the collection of this latter library.

Calvinist branch of the Wass of Cege has been preserved in Count Olivér Wass's (1855–1932) house in Vienna, although the private correspondence was filtered by Oliver's second wife, who destroyed a part of it in order to wipe away every single trace of the “dishonorable” marriage of Hortenzia Wass (1856–1939) – the sister of Olivér – to a certain János Bogya.³³

At the beginning of the 1990s the handwritten memoirs in German of Ilona Wass (1884–1950), the wife of Johann Siemers (1872–1955), turned up in Hamburg and were published both in German and in Hungarian in 1999. Ilona belonged to the branch of Szentgothárd of the Wass; as for the family history, her memoir is the most important source regarding the turn of the century and the first decades of the 1900s.³⁴ On the other hand, the documents of the couple in Hamburg, which were handed down to their son, Hans-Edmund (*1920), do not contain any information highly relevant to the family history.³⁵ Neither do the documents in Florida left by Albert Wass (1908–1998), who fled from Europe to the United States in 1950, contain such information. His legacy is being administered by one of his sons, Géza (*1943).

Apart from the above-mentioned archival material, the diaries of György Wass (1657 or 1658–1705) and his son László Wass (1696–1738) are likewise important sources of the family history. At the end of the nineteenth century the manuscripts of these diaries had been assigned by the family to the Transylvanian Museum Society, which deposited them in its Archives; later, together with other documents, they were transmitted to the University Library of Cluj.³⁶ The diaries were published –

³³ A part of these were made available to me in photocopies in 2004 by Olivier Tondolo, who gave me valuable advice regarding the chapters dealing with the modern age. Hereby I thank him for his help.

³⁴ In Hungarian: Ilona Siemers, *Wass-kor* [The age of the Wass] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 1999). In German: Ilona Siemers, *Erinnerungen* (Neumarkt am Mieresch: Mentor, 1999).

³⁵ Andreas Graf Wass von Czege's account.

³⁶ György Wass, *Diarium avagy mindennapi lét dolgokról való írás* [Diary, that is, record of day-by-day happenings], 4 vols., notation: Ms. no. 1586, vol. 1–3 (original), vol. 4 (eighteenth-century copy of the manuscript) in the UnivLibr, Department of Manuscripts. Further copies and their deposits are listed in I[oachim] Crăciun and A[urora] Ilieș, *Repertoriul manuscriselor de cronici interne privind istoria României. Sec. XVI–XVIII* [Repertory of internal chronicles in manuscript concerning the history of Romania: from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei R. P. R., 1963), 343–344. Besides the ones in this register, there is another copy of a part – referring to the years 1704 and 1705 – of György Wass's *Diary*; it survived in a transcription by István Koszta of Belényes, councilor of the *Gubernium Transylvanicum* from 1817 (LibrHungAcad, Department of Manuscripts, K. 705). The diary of László Wass: *Diarium az az mindennapon lett dolgairól írott könyve* [Diary, that is, record of his days], 4

somewhat abridged – in 1896 by the historian Gyula Nagy (1849–1824),³⁷ although at that time the last volume out of the four of György’s diaries had not yet been discovered in its original form; Nagy published that part using an eighteenth-century copy. The volume, previously considered as lost, eventually turned up among the manuscripts of the Archiepiscopal Library of Balázsfalva (Fehér County) and is now preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Kolozsvár.³⁸ Of outstanding importance are the autograph notes by János Vass (1636?–1680) and his son Dániel Vass (1674–1741), found in one of the copies of the Calvinist preacher Albert Szenczi Molnár’s (1574–1639) collection of sermons, *Postilla Scultetica*, printed in Oppenheim in 1617. This special copy was to be found at the end of the nineteenth century in the library of the Calvinist college in Nagykőrös, but has disappeared by now, or – at best – it is hidden somewhere.³⁹ Excerpts from the notes were published (with certain mistakes) by Károly Torma in the volume of 1888 of the historical review *Századok*;⁴⁰ nevertheless, it is no substitute for the original. Fortunately, in 1895, the then rector of the college, Kálmán H. Kiss (1843–1913), made a full copy of the inscriptions, which is today kept in the Hungarian National Library.⁴¹

vols. (autograph), UnivLibr, Department of Manuscripts, Ms. no. 1586. See Crăciun and Iliş, *Repertoriul manuscriselor*, 377.

³⁷ Gyula Nagy, ed., *Czegei Vass György és Vass László Naplói 1659–1739* [Diaries of György and László Vass of Cege], *Monumenta Hungariae Historica Scriptorum*, vol. 35, *Magyar történelmi évkönyvek és naplók*, vol. 3 (Budapest: MTA Könyvkiadó-hivatala, 1896). Data regarding the family history included in the volume appeared individually as well: Zoltán Köblös, “Czegei Vass György és Vass László Naplójának családtörténeti adatai (1659–1738)” [Data regarding the family history in the diaries of György and László Vass of Cege: 1659–1738], *Genealógiai Füzetek* 6 (1908): 155–157, 177–186.

³⁸ LibrRomAcad, Department of Manuscripts, Mss. C. no. 772 (a former notation: Mss. ung. no. 14). I am grateful to Zsigmond Jakó for indicating the deposit of this manuscript.

³⁹ According to Tibor Rostás’s (Budapest) account of the matter in 2002.

⁴⁰ “Czegei Vass János feljegyzései” [The notes of János Vass], ed. Károly Torma, *Századok* 22 (1888): 349–354.

⁴¹ Title given by the copyist: *Genealógiai bejegyzések a Barcsay-, Bogáthy-, Ébeni és czegei Vass családokra vonatkozólag a “Postilla Scultetica” 1617-ki kiadása czimlapját előző és végső levelein a nagy-kőrösi ev. ref. főgymnasiumi könyvtárban* [Genealogical inscriptions regarding the families of Barcsay, Bogáthy, Ébeni and Vass of Czege on the first and last pages of the 1617 edition of the *Postilla Scultetica* preserved in the library of the Calvinist college in Nagykőrös] (HungNatLibr, Department of Manuscripts, Fol. Hung. no. 1465. I thank the librarian Béla György for placing a xerox copy of this inscription at my disposal.)

The present work is trying to avoid institutional handbooks of Hungarian genealogical literature (first of all the so-called “Nagyiván” and the works of Kempelen and Gudenus respectively), because in many cases these are interwoven with legends, or if not, the sources of biographical data and of descent presented are missing. This makes them unverifiable, and, as it turns out, in most cases they simply reiterate previously published (sometimes mistaken) data. Compared to the present study, the above-mentioned handbooks may contain more detailed information (data of birth, death and marriage) regarding family members living in the last two centuries; nevertheless, they should be treated with great caution.⁴² A good example of errors of current use is the connection made between the Wass and László Drakulya, who acquired an estate in Mezőbánd (Maros Seat) in the sixteenth century and who was the grandson of Vlad Țepeș, the voivode of Wallachia (1448, 1456, 1476). This mistaken idea has been able to retain currency due to the historian Pál Binder’s (1935–1995) assumption that the wife of László Drakulya, a certain Anna, would have been a Wass daughter.⁴³ Binder took as a basis for his assumption the fact that both László Drakulya and the Wass of Cege possessed lands in Mezőbánd; nevertheless, archival documents prove that this Anna was a member of the Gyulay family and not of the Wass.⁴⁴ Binder’s supposition was taken over without any checking by Romanian genealogical literature, which has noted it ever since as a fact. Thus, the

⁴² The history of the family is dealt with in the hereunder genealogical works (with page numbers of the relevant parts): László Kővári, *Erdély nevezetesebb családai* [Distinguished families of Transylvania] (Kolozsvár: Barráné és Stein bizománya, 1854), 251–252; Nagy Iván, vol. 12, 79–85; Constantin Reichenauer v. Reichenau, Géza v. Csergheő und Oskar v. Bárczay, eds., *J. Siebmacher’s grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*, vol. IV/13, *Der Adel von Siebenbürgen* (Nürnberg: Verlag von Bauer und Raspe, 1898), 99–100, t. 43; Géza v. Csergheő, Iván v. Nagy und Josef v. Csoma, eds., *J. Siebmacher’s grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*, vol. IV/12, *Der Adel von Ungarn*, vol. 4 (Nürnberg: Verlag von Bauer und Raspe, 1893), 703, t. 482; Kempelen, vol. 11, 39; *MNZsebk Főrangú családok*, 264–266; Szabolcs Vajay, *A Johannita rend lovagjai 1854–1987* [The knights of the Order of St. John] (Budapest: privately printed, 1987), 342–344; Gudenus, vol. 4, 229–23, vol. 5, 205; *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels: Genealogisches Handbuch der Gräflichen Häuser*, Teil B, *Deutscher Briefadel und nichtdeutscher Adel*, Glücksburg–Limburg, 2 (1960): 489–494, 4 (1973): 391–394, 13 (1991): 425–428; Daniel Ihonor, *Hamburgisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 16, *Deutsches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 210 (Limburg an der Lahn: C. A. Starke Verlag, 2000), 326–331.

⁴³ Paul Binder, “Une famille noble roumaine de Transylvanie: Les Drakula de Sintești,” *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire* 27, no. 4 (1988): 301–314, especially 308 and 314.

⁴⁴ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 5203 (18 May 1553).

never-existent Anna Wass appears in the family tree displaying the descent of the Wallachian dynasty of Basaraba, and this origination can be encountered even on the pages of the most recent work treating the history of Romania.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Camil Mureșanu and Tudor Teoteoi, *Istoria Românilor* [History of the Romanian people], vol. 4 (Bucharest: Ed. Enciclopedică, 2001) (displaying the descent of the Basaraba in its appendix).

Part II

The Family Historian

András Huszti



András Huszti is a well-known character of the Protestant ecclesiastical history writing; the main stages of his life have been defined by earlier research.⁴⁶ According to his biographers, he was born in Huszt (Máramaros County) at the end of the seventeenth century or at the very beginning of the eighteenth. He continued his theological studies; however, his attention turned very early towards law and politics. Huszti was elected professor of law of the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár in 1733. Because of attacking several Calvinist dogmas in one of his writings in 1742, he was deprived of this job in that same year (after a period of persecution) and somewhat later even expelled from the Church. Losing his office compelled him to take up some other work. This is how he became an archivist, employed by Transylvanian noble families (for whom, as a matter of fact, he systematized their family archives). His previous studies in law and knowledge of Latin made him suitable for such a task; nevertheless, the stages of his way there are not known. He started drinking at the time of the persecutions in 1742, and had become completely ruined by 1755, when he died in undeserved circumstances.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The major biographical works on András Huszti, in chronological order, are as follows: István Török, “Huszti András, a protestánsok első jogtanára (1733–1742)” [András Huszti, the first professor of law of the Calvinists (1733–1755)], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 3 (1886): 265–293; Károly Szabó, “Adalékok az erdélyi ref. egyház történelméhez. Huszti András elítélése 1742-ben” [Contributions to the history of the Transylvanian Calvinist Church: The sentencing of András Huszti in 1742], *Erdélyi Protestáns Közlöny* 8 (1878): 2–5, 13–17, 26–29, 38–40; Szinnyei, vol. 4, 1464–1466; Samu Barabás, “Erdélyi káptalani tizedlajstromok. Huszti András levele” [Registers of tithe of Transylvanian chapters. A letter by András Huszti], *Történelmi Tár* 1911: 401–442; Bálint Kolosváry, “Huszti András erdélyi jogtanár és munkássága 1734–1742” [András Huszti, Transylvanian professor of law, and his works 1734–1742], in *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Jog- és Társadalomtudományi Szakosztályának Kiadványai. 1910–1912. évi előadások* [Periodicals of the Department of Law and Natural Sciences of the Transylvanian Museum Society. Exposés of the years 1910–1912] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1912), 135–178; Vencel Bíró, “Huszti András diákévei Frankfurtban” [András Huszti’s school-time in Frankfurt], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 23–24 (1916–1917): 159–172.

⁴⁷ Péter Bod, *Magyar Athenas* [Hungarian Athenas], ed. István Torda (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1982), 330–331. See also *Hermányi Dienes József szépprózai munkái*

Of Huszti's work as an archivist not much is known: he wrote the history of the Wass, the *Genealogia heroica* in 1743, during his employment at the family in Császári (Doboka County); in 1747 he organized the archive of the Vitéz family of Bikal and one year later, in Szeben, he wrote the history of the Haller of Hallerkő.⁴⁸ In 1749, and very probably in 1750 as well, he was employed as archivist by the chapter of Gyulafehérvár;⁴⁹ in 1751 he organized the archive of the comital family of Kornis of Göncruszka,⁵⁰ and in 1754 he finished the *elenchus* (register) of the Wass family archive.⁵¹ This part of the Wass archive arranged by Huszti still keeps the order that he set.

The material of these family archives consists mainly of documents referring to properties (documents of law suits etc.), but they also contain different types of records, private correspondence, accounts, bills and documents regarding the positions of office-bearing family members. Certainly, these papers have never been viewed as historical sources by their contemporaries, as all had a well-known practical role: charters and acts ensured the property rights of the possessor; they were means

[Literary works of József Hermányi Dienes], Régi Magyar Próza Emlékek, vol. 9, ed. Margit S. Sárdi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, Balassi Kiadó, 1992), 412–413.

⁴⁸ *Stemma illustris antiquae, heroicaeque comitum et baronum in inchoato Transilvaniae principatu et amplissimo Hungariae regno, dei optimi maximi gratia florentium familiae Haller ab Hallerstein ab anno Domini 1198 quo Henricus sextus Romanorum imperator semper augustus in territorio Franconiae Norimbergensi ad Pegnitzium vicum Hastiludium duodecimum magnifica principum, ducum, comitum, baronum et equitum Imperialium exterorumque heroum ibidem praesentium cum pompa et sollemnitate instituerat, secundum gradus descendentes rectos et lineas collaterales historico-genealogica methodo electum atque adornatum per Andream Huszti. Cibinii, anno Domini MDCCXLVIII* (4^o; the manuscript of the Transylvanian National Museum Archives can be found today in the Library of the Romanian Academy, Department of Cluj, marking: Mss. A 3).

⁴⁹ The chapter of Gyulafehérvár (also called the chapter of Transylvania) and the convent of Kolozsmonostor were the so-called places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) in Transylvania. In Hungary in the medieval and early modern period they replaced the notaries public of medieval Europe. They issued under their authentic seal documents about private legal transactions and witnessed actions of the royal and voivodal commissioner, and of the Judge Royal's commissioner (*homo regis, vaivodae, iudicis curie*). Foreign readers might be unfamiliar with certain historical notions, and so these will be explained in the notes. When explaining medieval terms the Glossary of the DRMH vol. 3 is taken as a basis.

⁵⁰ *Registrum litterarum et litteralium instrumentorum factum bonorum et iurium totalium et integrarum possessionum, praediorum et portionum possessionariarum tam in inchoato Hungariae regno, quam etiam Transilvaniae principatu existentium habitatum ac titulo quolibet legitimo, illustrem comitum familiam Kornis de Göntz-Ruszka concernentium secundum diversas locorum classes, ordine chronologico collectum per Andream Huszti, anno Domini MDCCCLI* (48 pages, 4^o; TransNatArch, Archive of the Kornis family, no. 6).

⁵¹ Huszti, *Registrum* (WassArch).

of keeping intact the borderlines fixed at earlier times. These documents were of the greatest help when it came to the recovery of alienated estates, while on the occasion of the dying out of a branch they ensured that the rest of the family had the right to the properties of the extinct one. The importance of a particular act was determined by its efficiency in suits, that is, its conclusive strength in ensuring property rights. Family archives were actually the safeguarders of the rights of a family, and it was no wonder that the succeeding generations handled them with the greatest care and attention. Due to this, a good number of family archives survived; however, at the same time, due to the above-mentioned facts, in most cases only those documents that ensured rights over some kind of property were selected to be kept. New acquisitions and proper administration of the already existing possessions increased the archival material; furthermore, the documents of law suits (summons, decisions etc.) were kept as well, in order to have further proof. During suits it was often necessary to procure certain documents, a task that grew ever harder with the growing material of these archives, in spite of the fact that noting the contents in a few lines on the back of every single document was common practice. Very probably in most cases there existed a certain grouping of the documents based on their contents. From the eighteenth century onwards, registers (*elenchi*) of the archival material were made for the sake of greater manageability.⁵² That means that the documents were grouped on the basis of their contents (and topic) into bundles (*fasciculi*); such a bundle usually contained all documents referring to one estate, put into chronological order and individually marked (in most cases with numbers). An abstract of the contents of each document was put down on the back of the respective act, right beside the marking, and then both were entered in the register (*elenchus*). This procedure helped not only in finding (more easily and quickly) a document but also in their preservation, as every single item figured on the list. Generally not the whole archival material was entered into these registers, but only those documents which had some role in ensuring property rights. These reorganizations proved long-lasting in most cases, many of them being in force even in the present day.⁵³

András Huszti made the first registration of the documents in the Wass archive, having been commissioned by Count Ádám Wass (1720–

⁵² Antal Fekete Nagy, “A báró Rudnyánszky-család levéltára” [Archive of the baronial family of Rudnyánszky], *Levéltári Közlemények* 11 (1933): 22.

⁵³ On all these matters, see Győző Ember, “A családi levéltárak tagolódása” [Divisions inside the family archives], *Levéltári Közlemények* 34 (1963): 149–161.

1776), the *comes*⁵⁴ of Kraszna and Inner Szolnok Counties. The count was probably induced by the experiences of his career to have the family archive reorganized. Ádám Wass was a cultivated man, had a good command of Latin and was interested in history, as his autograph additions made to the *Genealogica heroica* prove. However, he was not motivated exclusively by scientific reasons. Most probably they had to have the history of the Wass written, as the acquisition of the title of count (1744)⁵⁵ raised the necessity of a work that would plausibly prove the refinement and ancientness of the family. Huszti's manuscript – or a copy or abstract of it – got to Vienna: the diploma issued on November 13, 1744, abundantly quotes the newly compiled family history (certainly without any mention of Huszti's name).⁵⁶ This latter considered his main objective to establish the line of descent, but also listed the most important offices that the family members ever held. As for his sources, he used almost exclusively the documents of the Wass archive.

The narration starts with a commentary on the origins of Hungarian nobility (with allusions to the biblical story of Nimrod, Gog and Magog, the legendary ancestors of the Hungarian people), which is followed by an overview of the rights of the nobility, the possible types of estates and the medieval Hungarian dignitary positions (voivode of Transylvania, ban of Croatia, judge of the royal court and other royal offices) – all these with frequent allusions to the *Tripartitum* (the compendium of medieval Hungarian law) by István Werbőczy (1458–1541). Family history proper begins with the second part of the work, treating at first the origin of the name Wass. Huszti established correctly that the name must have referred to the build of the person ('tough, strong') and that noblemen did not use family names at the beginning but were named after their residence or estates. The Wass, for example, called themselves *of Cege, of Szentgothárd, of Szentiván*, but – as he puts it – in the absence of early documentary sources it is very difficult, as a matter of fact impossible, to decide who the first possessor of the nickname 'Wass' was.⁵⁷ In the third

⁵⁴ The *comes*, or *ispán*, often translated as 'lord lieutenant', was the royal officer in charge of a county (*comitatus* or *vármegye*, a unit of the medium-level lay administration in Hungary and the main seat of local administration and of justice).

⁵⁵ The richly decorated diploma granting the title of count and expansion of the coat of arms has been preserved in the legacy of Ottília Wass (1829–1917) under the serial no. 234, in the Archives of the Transylvanian National Museum.

⁵⁶ This is not anything out of the ordinary: the diplomas donating titles often enumerate data regarding the origin and descent of the granted family as well as the offices held by its members. See Áldásy and Czobor, *Címereslevelek*, ix.

⁵⁷ This gives a proper explanation of the nicknames of several fourteenth-century family members. For example, János Acél – "ob specialem forsam corporis sui supra reliquos fratres robur, aut animi potius duritatem ita nuncupatus." – "Petrus Wass agno-

chapter Huszti describes the family coat of arms, and even attaches a drawing on which it appears on a Baroque shield (fig. no. 6). The following chapters present the detailed history of the family. The earliest times cannot be accounted for, because – as Huszti writes – pre-Christian people (except for the Greeks and the Romans) were not interested in their past; at the same time the loss or corruption of documents is also a great impediment in the way of research. The earliest known ancestors of the family are *Lób* and *Tamás*, who lived under King Béla III (1172–1196), and were donated an estate in Doboka County, Transylvania. Huszti derives the whole *Wass* family from them. For fear that he might mistake the number of generations, Huszti puts down the canon law referring to the degree of relation, and then enumerates the segments of the branch carrying on the family, and finally states that the eldest family member from among his contemporaries, Miklós *Wass* (1701–1769), is a thirteenth-degree relative to *Lób*. In many cases a mere name was all that he could find out about a family member, and thus in other cases he includes, quite comprehensively, all the abundant data available: names of the kings under whom they lived, the time when they reached majority, etc. Naturally, he could not write veritable biographies for the early times, but had to make do with generalities, like those that he noted about Miklós, the castellan of Csicsó, who lived in the first part of the fourteenth century: according to Huszti, this latter was *strong, wise, valiant and strenuous*.⁵⁸ The main part of Huszti's work consists of the copies of those documents that helped him in drawing up the family tree or enumerating the offices held by the *Wass* over the centuries. Then he analyzed each one of these copied documents selecting all data that seemed important for preparing the family tree. The enumeration of offices held by the *Wass* seems to have been considered necessary by Huszti not only because those illustrated the importance of the family, but also because they constituted the only data regarding early periods. The same holds true in the case of those near to his time or his contemporaries: Huszti seems quite reticent about putting down anything more than the offices that they held (in spite of having the opportunity to find out more); furthermore, it was *Ádám Wass* who completed the manuscript with various personal data (data of death, names of wife or wives). In these latter cases Huszti rarely refers to archival material;⁵⁹ thus, most of the informa-

mine dictus Rufus ob crines barbaramque rubram ita nuncupatus" (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 28^v, 29^v).

⁵⁸ "Nicolaus itaque dictus Wass professione fuit miles fortis, prudens, audax ac strenuus" (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 17^o).

⁵⁹ Such an exception is, for example, the appointment of Dániel *Wass* (1674–1741), assessor of the *Tabula Regia*; see Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 73^v.

tion that he put down must have had oral sources. Supposedly he had to be cautious not to outrage the sensibilities of the three living brothers: Miklós, György and Ádám Wass. He is as brief as possible when speaking of these “for fear that envy might arise between them.”⁶⁰

A great achievement of Huszti’s compilation is that the history of the family is based upon the archival material; as he says in the concluding part of the work (*Conclusio operis*): he did not take anything “from tales or truthless Scythian tradition,”⁶¹ and thus properly accomplished his task. Although the medieval part of the descent is mistaken here and there and not complete by far, he enumerated almost all the offices that the Wass ever held. This is what any scholar of that time could expect from his work. In-depth analysis and tracing of relations important from a socio-historical point of view can be expected from family history writing today, but Huszti’s work, in the eighteenth century, was primarily meant to flatter the vanity of an aristocratic family.

Fictitious pen-sketched portraits of ancestors also made by Huszti decorate the manuscript. This range of portraits starts with those of *Lóáb* and Tamás, but also includes the portrait made in tempera of two family members contemporaneous with Huszti – Ádám and his brother Miklós Wass; thus the two paintings of these latter can be considered authentic. The richly decorated manuscript was very possibly regarded as a representative work not only at the time of its accomplishment but later on as well. Proof enough of that is the fact that two other members of the family, representatives of a younger generation still found it necessary to have their portraits in this gallery. Thus the unfilled pages of the volume became bearers of the portraits of Miklós (1744–1829) and Sámuel Wass (1754–1812).⁶² Most of the pen-sketches are portraits (figs. no. 7 and 8),

⁶⁰ Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 74^v.

⁶¹ Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 77^r. Following the widespread theory of the medieval chronicler Simon Kézai, historians mistakenly believed for a rather long time that Hungarians were descendants of the Scythians.

⁶² Miklós Wass (1701–1769): 75^r; Ádám (1720–1776): 80^r; Miklós (1744–1829): 87^r; Sámuel (1754–1812): 89^r (WassArch, no. 5313). Portraits similar to those painted on the pages of the *Genealogia heroica* were common all over Europe from the turn of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. Exterior ornaments of the past of certain families fulfilled important functions in the family members’ self-identification and self-consciousness, as they offered a chance for the family to take pride in them in public. See Áron Petneki, “Az ősgaléria” [The gallery of ancestors], *História* 5, nr. 2 (1983): 20–21, Katalin Péter, “A főúri nagy portrék és az ősgalériák kezdetei” [The beginnings of aristocratic portraits and galleries of ancestors], in *Főúri ősgalériák*, 14–21, and Géza Galavics, “Barokk családfák és genealógiák” [Baroque family trees and genealogies], in *Főúri ősgalériák*, 22–25.

but there are full-sized pictures as well (fig. no. 9).⁶³ Some drawings are made by Huszti only partially, for example those of which he drew only the frame and signed them, but the portrait itself was left to somebody else either because Huszti was being pressed for time or because it was impossible for him to produce a huge number of pictures in a very short time, and at the same time make them look different as well (fig. no. 10). The *Genealogia heroica* had its impact on the Wass family's historical consciousness too: several funeral sermons resumed the history of the family proceeding from this manuscript.⁶⁴ The date, March 31, 1743, figuring on the title-page of Huszti's work most probably shows the date when the fair copy was completed. The reorganization of the archive must also have been finished by that time, although the *Registrum* was made much later, only in 1754.

In the course of his organizing work, Huszti formed 71 *fasciculi* – usually corresponding to the estates – and marked them with numbers or letters from the Latin or Hebrew alphabet. Inside the *fasciculi* the individual documents were put in chronological order and marked with numbers. He wrote on the back of each document its abstract, that consisting of the name of the issuer, the year of issue and of a short description of contents of the document in its original language. These abstracts, marked with numbers recommencing with every new *fasciculus*, were then entered into the *Registrum*. The first *fasciculus* contained the boundary letters; then followed, in order of importance, the material referring to individual estates. The villages in Doboka County (Szentegyed, Mohaly, Szentgothárd, Pulyon, Cege, Szentiván and Szilvás) come first: these constitute the ancient estate from the Árpád period. In connection with boundary suits – as a next step – comes the material of settlements neighboring these mentioned. Then the documents of the sixteenth-century acquisitions (Méhes, Sályi, Záh, Velkér, Cikud, Balázsháza, Felsőgyékényes and Mezőbánd). Four *fasciculi* are made up by the material of lawsuits against female-line relatives and documents referring to property divisions with them. Next come the papers of the Western Hungarian estates (in Győr and Veszprém Counties) which had been lost by the end of the Middle Ages. Huszti formed five miscellaneous *fasciculi* (*Miscellanea*) as well, one for each century from the beginning of the fourteenth century. The medieval ones refer to property rights that had long since become stale, and to Miklós Wass, the castellan of Csicsó,

⁶³ According to Margit B. Nagy's estimation, as stated in B. Nagy, *Reneszánsz és barokk*, 251, "on the basis of the illustrated repertory of the Wass Archive and the likewise illustrated genealogy of the Haller, Professor András Huszti was a skilful amateur, who was nevertheless at home in paysage and portraiture."

⁶⁴ Szathmári, *Wass Miklós*; Szabó, *Wass György*.

a *familiaris* (retainer)⁶⁵ of the insurgent Transylvanian voivode László Kán (both living in the first part of the fourteenth century). Here can be found the letters of privilege that donate the *ius gladii* to the Wass, and the right to hold fairs, as well as all those documents that are related to the life and activity of the family in the fourteenth century (several of them holding important offices in Transylvania at that time). These latter documents – letters of advocacy, quittances, testimonies on violent trespass and letters of protest, of prorogation and of summons – are less notable from the point of view of property rights, but exceptionally valuable memories of medieval Transylvanian jurisdiction. *Miscellanea* of later periods also contain documents of suits over estates or of other types of litigations, quittances, missives important for cultural or political history, letters referring to the Wass or to other families. At the end come, in a new *fasciculus*, the documents of landed properties acquired through marriage or female line inheritance: some estates of the Bogáti, of the Kún of Osdola, the Ébeni, the Erdélyi of Somkerék, of the Vay of Vaja and other smaller estates. The individual *fasciculi* are organized in such a way that they start with documents of property rights (diplomas, documents of donation) and of lawsuits, mortgage letters, documents of property division and contract. Letters of appointment in different offices of the family members constitute another distinct *fasciculus*.

It seems that Huszti made the abstract of each and every medieval charter (many of them already being unsuitable for ensuring rights over any property) and entered them in the *Registrum*. He must have taken great care over those earliest documents of the archive as were found worthy of keeping, the utterly illegible and decayed ones as well.⁶⁶ Documents from the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century were no longer considered to be of such importance: before any of them were entered in the *elenchus*, they first underwent a severe selection.⁶⁷ In these cases the contents were decisive, the ones unimportant in his opin-

⁶⁵ The noble retainer (*familiaris, famulus*) was a lesser nobleman who chose to accept military or administrative positions in the service of a dignitary. He retained his noble privilege and was subject to his superior or overlord (*dominus*) only for service, for which he received monetary compensation (occasionally land). He was obliged to escort his lord, to supervise his affairs, to govern his domain, and to perform military service under his banner (cf. DRMH, vol. 3, 130).

⁶⁶ Huszti, *Registrum* 108 (Miscellanea. Num. 111: “*Instrumentum truncatum et penitus oblitteratum*”); Huszti, *Registrum* 111 (Miscellanea. Num. 155: “*Penitus oblitterata*”).

⁶⁷ Fragments were included in the register when he considered it necessary, for example “*Egy csonka Contractus, 100 Flor. vinculum alatt kötötve. Nem tetszik ki a sensusa miről szól*” [A truncated contract, concluded under the penalty of 100 Florins. Not possible to make sense of it]. Huszti, *Registrum*, 124^r.

ion got the marking “fit for nothing!” or “nothing of any value!”;⁶⁸ nevertheless, he did not eliminate them. From that time onwards the family kept the order introduced by Huszti in the archival material and all further reviews (in 1811, then in 1896) took that as a basis.⁶⁹ By means of this register they kept a record of the documents borrowed by the separate branches of the family for their suits: a great number of quittances prove that it really had an important practical role in guarding the archival material.

It should be mentioned at this point that the provenience of two charters from the Wass archive that got into the collection of Jenő Nagy of Csíkszentmárton, through other collectors and antiquarian booksellers, were identified thanks to the *Registrum*.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the contents of more than fifty (!) charters – lost by today – have been preserved thanks to the abstracts made by Huszti.⁷¹ There can be found in the archive original charters, which, although preserved, are almost completely illegible because of an earlier treatment with tannic acid, but their contents can still be reconstructed on the basis of the *Registrum*.⁷²

Due to Huszti’s interest in history, several charters and modern documents, which in the view of his contemporaries were not necessarily worth keeping, escaped elimination. In spite of all this, the Wass archive did not survive intact: the fifteenth-century material, in comparison with the abundance of that from the fourteenth century, is quite modest and ill-proportioned. It is very likely that it was not Huszti who discarded the documents in question; that had been effected before his appearance.

All in all, it can be stated that András Huszti accomplished a task of great importance organizing the family archive of the Wass, and his work on their history widely surpasses – in abundance of material, systematization and use of historical sources – the *Transylvanian Genealogy*⁷³ by László Mikola (1665–1742), which was the first synthetic genealogical

⁶⁸ WassArch, no. 7168 and 5414.

⁶⁹ WassArch, 1896: no. 8500.

⁷⁰ Géza Entz and Zsigmond Jakó, “Jelentés Sütő-Nagy Jenő csíkszentmártoni közjegyző levéltáráról” [Report on the archive of Jenő Sütő-Nagy, notary public of Csíkszentmárton], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 49 (1944): 277–278.

⁷¹ Examples: CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 919, no. 1016–1017.

⁷² WassArch, 13 Mar. 1401 (DF 252726). See also Huszti, *Registrum*, 99.

⁷³ Ladislaus Mikola Liber-Baro de Szamosfalva, *Historia Genealogico-Transilvanica* (no publishing place, 1731). See also Farkas Deák: “Mikola genealógiája az erdélyi családokról” [The genealogy by Mikola on the Transylvanian families], *Turul* 5 (1887): 68–70.

work to appear in print on the Transylvanian noble families, but also the next one, the *Erdély nevezetesebb családai*⁷⁴ by László Kővári (1819–1907). As a matter of fact, keeping in view the above-mentioned criteria, it exceeds even the so-called “*Nagyiván,*”⁷⁵ which is still in use in the present day.

⁷⁴ László Kővári, *Erdély nevezetesebb családai* [Distinguished families of Transylvania] (Kolozsvár: Barráné és Stein bizománya, 1854).

⁷⁵ Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal* [Families of Hungary with coats of arms and genealogical tables] (Pest: Beimel J. és Kozma Vazul and Ráth Mór, 1865; suppl. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1868; repr. 1988), 12 vols.

Part III

The Wass Family of Cege in the Middle Ages

The beginnings



he earliest text of the family archive is a deed of gift – mentioned in another document – from the time of Béla III, the King of Hungary (1172–1196), saying that the sovereign donated nine villages to *Lób* and his brother Tamás in Doboka County as a reward for their exploits in the campaign against Byzantium (figs. no. 11 and 12). The two brothers must have belonged to the circle of those very few distinguished ones who were living in the surroundings of the king: they wore – after Western fashion – armor and knightly armament, in sharp contrast with the rest of the fighting nobility, who were still lightly armed (using bows and arrows), and wearing no armor yet.⁷⁶ Most of the received estates lie north-east of Kolozsvár, near Szék: Vászol (later called Szentegyed), the neighboring Omboztelke, Füzestelke, Paptelke, Kondormárk (the latter three losing their population in the Middle Ages), Mohaly, Alsó- and Felsődevecser (that is, Lower and Upper Devecser, their present-day name being Kis- and Nagydevecser, meaning Little and Great Devecser). The last one of these estates, Igalja (later named Szentandrás), is situated somewhat further away, near Beszterce.⁷⁷ A possible interpolation cannot be excluded in the case of this charter, for mentioning the two Deveczers (Lower and Upper), and the existence of place-names ending in *-telek*, or rather its possessive form *-telke* (Omboztelke, Füzestelke, Paptelke), are

⁷⁶ On the development of Transylvanian nobility, see Mályusz, *Az erdélyi társadalom*, 18–63.

⁷⁷ The most important bibliography on the settlements mentioned is as follows: *Szentegyed*: Györffy, vol. 2, 88–89; Kádár-Tagányi, vol. 6, 326–342. *Omboz*: Györffy, vol. 2, 83. *Füzestelke*: Györffy, vol. 2, 69; Kádár-Tagányi, vol. 3, 499. As a dependency of Szentegyed it is mentioned in 1354 just as a *locus*: “*in loco Fizeez*” (DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 269–270; 31 May 1354). *Paptelke*: Györffy, vol. 2, 84; Kádár-Tagányi, vol. 5, 404–405. *Kondormárk*: Györffy, vol. 2, 76; Kádár-Tagányi, vol. 4, 287–288 (Kendermart). *Mohaly*: Györffy, vol. 2, 81; Kádár-Tagányi, vol. 5, 183. *Devecser*: Györffy, vol. 2, 66; Kádár-Tagányi, vol. 3, 290, 299. *Igalja (Szentandrás)*: Györffy, vol. 2, 31; Kádár-Tagányi, vol. 6, 31.

characteristic of a later period.⁷⁸ The original document of this donation did not survive, but, fortunately, it was mentioned in a confirming charter issued by Prince Béla (ascending the throne as King Béla IV) in 1230.⁷⁹ On the other hand, this confirming document has remained for posterity only in a transcript from 1349, when the chapter of Transylvania transcribed it⁸⁰ at the request of Miklós Wass, the *comes* of Kolozs County⁸¹ at that time. According to the confirmation of 1230, the original charter had become lost at some point earlier, but Prince Béla renewed the act of donation at the request of a certain *Chama* (= Csoma), the son of *Lób*. However, if the Csoma mentioned in the confirmation is truly identical with the *Chama* mentioned by an undoubtedly authentic charter from 1315⁸² as the father of Jakab, one of the family, then the confirming document from 1230 actually contains the name of someone who lived much later. This makes the transmission of this earliest source of the family history even more obscure. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, it can be taken as certain that in the thirteenth century at least a part of the properties listed by the deed of gift already belonged to the family.

It is very likely that the Wass tried to make that land more valuable through populating it (since in Hungary, up to 1848, serfs living on the domains of nobles were compelled to pay different taxes and perform different services for the landowner in question, and thus the serfs' presence meant a considerable income for the latter, in contrast with the situation of the owners of depopulated domains).⁸³ Some of the villages are supposed to be their settlements, as they appear in authentic documents for the first time only at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and lie in the area defined by the charter of Béla III. Such settlements are Szentgothárd (1320),⁸⁴ Szentiván (1315),⁸⁵ where guests called '*hospes*' (a

⁷⁸ This explanation was provided by Zsigmond Jakó. See CDTrans, vol. 1, no. 12 (1176–1196). As the above-mentioned charters can be found sometimes in more than one publication, for the sake of an easier identification after the source I give (in brackets) the exact date of the charter as well.

⁷⁹ CDTrans, vol. 1, no. 157 (1230).

⁸⁰ DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 4, 696 (15 Dec. 1349).

⁸¹ HOKl, 256 (before 4 Nov. 1349).

⁸² CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 256 (13 Nov. 1315).

⁸³ The nobility itself was usually exempted from taxes, although some of the rulers made certain attempts at their taxation.

⁸⁴ First mentioned: CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 353 (3 Mar. 1320). In documents of doubtful authenticity or in false ones Szentgothárd appears even earlier: CDTrans, vol. 1, no. 2 (1060–1063), no. 200 (1245).

⁸⁵ The earliest undoubtedly authentic mention: CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 257 (13 Nov. 1315). In documents of doubtful authenticity or false ones: CDTrans, vol. 1, no. 2 (1060–1063), no. 200 (1245).

term used to name foreign settlers who came to Hungary) were living as well,⁸⁶ and Szászszilvás (1321)⁸⁷ – where the first component of the word, *szász* (meaning ‘Saxon’), indicates the presence of Saxon settlers. Cege is not mentioned in Béla III’s diploma, although it appears in a charter of doubtful authenticity as early as 1291⁸⁸ and in an authentic charter in 1315.⁸⁹ As this place-name was derived from a personal name, we can presume that it came into being in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁹⁰ An early possession might have been Csomafája, too, lying west of Bonchida, near the Doboka castle, named probably after the Wass ancestor, *Choma*. It must have appeared before the fourteenth century,⁹¹ although it can be documented only since 1307.⁹² In both Csomafája⁹³ and its dependency, Biszótelke,⁹⁴ the Wass had a perpetual share at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Several estates specified in the diploma of Béla III were no longer in the Wass family’s possession in the first part of the fourteenth century. King Charles (1310–1342) confiscated – on the grounds of the disloyalty of Miklós Wass – Kondormárk and Omboz in 1317 and 1320 respectively.⁹⁵ According to an authentic charter from 1288, preserved in the Wass archive, the grandson of *Wyżlo/Wzlo* (= Viszló) and son of Lőrinc, a certain Péter, sold Szentandrás (Igalja) to the *comes Vilkinus*,⁹⁶ an ancestor of the Kajlai family, and the Wass could get a share in it again only through marriage (by inheritance on the distaff side) around the end of the fourteenth century.⁹⁷ This Péter must have been of full age at the time that he

⁸⁶ DocRomHist C, vol. 14, 140–141 (6 Apr. 1372).

⁸⁷ “*Zaaszyluas*”: CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 409 (1 Nov. 1321). “*Zaasziluas*”: CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 413 (28 Nov. 1321). See Györffy, vol. 2, 54. In documents of doubtful authenticity or false ones Szilvás appears earlier: CDTrans, vol. 1, no. 2 (1060–1063), no. 200 (1245). The present-day name of the medieval Szászszilvás is Vízszilvás; it lies near Cege.

⁸⁸ CDTrans, vol. 1, no. 498 (1291).

⁸⁹ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 257 (13 Nov. 1315).

⁹⁰ FNEsz, vol. 1, 280–281 (Cege, Cegőtelke); Kniezsa, 20, 156.

⁹¹ Kniezsa, 15.

⁹² CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 68 (7 Oct. 1307).

⁹³ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 984 (11 Feb. 1338).

⁹⁴ In 1304 (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 43; 28 Sept. 1304), in 1321 (CDTrans, vol. 2, 409; 1 Nov. 1321) as well as in 1335 Miklós Wass junior had the document of 1304 about receiving back the estate of Biszó transcribed (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 858; 16 Sept. 1335). Biszó must have lost its population, as nothing further is known of it (Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 2, 199).

⁹⁵ Kondomárk was received by the royal scrivener Gál Omori and his family in 1317 (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 268), while Omboz was given to the Zsuki in 1320 (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 348, 353, 360, 658).

⁹⁶ CDTrans, vol. 1, no. 441 (1288).

⁹⁷ WassArch, 23 Jan. 1399 (DF 252898).

alienated the estate, and it has to be specified that his grandfather, Viszló, who lived in the second half of the twelfth century, was the one who actually owned Igalja at the time of King Béla III, and not the above-mentioned brothers *Lób* and *Tamás*. Péter Viszló must have belonged to the Wass family, because *Viszlótelek*,⁹⁸ a settlement near Cege (thus still on the territory defined by the royal grant), seems to bear his name. A copy of the document on the alienation of Igalja has been preserved (in the form of a summary from the year 1390) in the Wass archive among the material of the lawsuit pursued against the heirs of the *comes Vilkyus*.⁹⁹ It is beyond any doubt that the Wass family possessed Igalja at the time of the Árpáds and at the beginning of the fourteenth century, as at that time there were several people who still remembered it. This is why the very influential *comes* of Kolozs County, Miklós Wass, could manage to have the name of Igalja inserted, by the Transylvanian chapter, into the transcription of King Béla III's charter in 1349. (*Viszlótelek* – depopulated – as a dependency of Cege remained in the possession of the Wass throughout the Middle Ages.)¹⁰⁰ The place-name *Devecser* mentioned in the diploma also brings up certain problems. It appears until 1301 only in a charter of doubtful authenticity and in a false one,¹⁰¹ and it is for the first time in 1334 that *Devecser* is mentioned in an authentic document, but at that time it was certainly not part of the Wass estates.¹⁰² In 1347 the Wass were protesting against the alienation of “their” estate¹⁰³ – apparently unsuccessfully, as later on other families possessed it.¹⁰⁴ According to a record from 1444, a member of the Wass family, *Tamás Lökös*, wintered his sheep in *Kisdevecser*,¹⁰⁵ but the estate was not said to

⁹⁸ Györffy, vol. 2, 93–94; Tagányi–Kádár, vol. 7, 61–62.

⁹⁹ The other copy has been preserved in the family archive of the other litigant party, the Erdélyi of Somkerék, which was later inherited by the Teleki family of Szék. See Teleki, vol. 1, 245 = Ub, vol. 3, 100 (7 Mar. 1390).

¹⁰⁰ DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 4, 641–643 (Oct. 10 1345); DL 27521 (8 May 1473); source: DL-DF CD-ROM (the abstract was made by György Rác); KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3398 = WassArch, 10 Mar. 1507 (DF 252998).

¹⁰¹ CDTrans, vol. 1 (1023–1038), no. 2 (1060–1063) and 200 (1245).

¹⁰² CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 800 (18 Mar. 1334).

¹⁰³ DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 4, 661–662 (21 May 1347). A party suffering legal wrong (e.g. in connection with the establishment of boundaries at introductions into possessions) could protest and contradict either on the spot, in the presence of his opponent or at a chapter of authentication, a protest about which a charter would be issued. This record would prohibit any person from granting, selling, mortgaging or damaging a property in any way (cf. DRMH, vol. 3, 129).

¹⁰⁴ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 3, 290; HOkl, 323–324 (30 Oct. 1394). Contrary to László Makkai's opinion (Makkai, *Doboka*, 56), the owners of *Devecser* cannot be connected with the Wass family.

¹⁰⁵ WassArch, 15 Dec. 1444 (DF 252955).

be his property, and neither was it so in 1460, when László Wass objected to the usage of his woods and ploughland in Mohaly by the people of Devceser.¹⁰⁶ However, the rest of the estates mentioned in the diploma of Béla III belonged to the Wass family throughout the medieval period.

The Transylvanian estates of the Wass lay in the region known as the Mezőség, which, considering its natural endowments – as a vast plain suitable for grazing and agriculture – was extremely useful, and thus a densely populated area. Up to the eighteenth century it was inhabited mainly by Hungarians,¹⁰⁷ although the presence of Romanian serfs on the Wass estates can be detected from the fourteenth century onwards.¹⁰⁸ Hills called crags divided the landscape; they were all covered with woods called brushwood, bosket or holt, and were sometimes differentiated from one another by their characteristic flora.¹⁰⁹ Such were the Kőrisedő (*kőrís* = ‘ash-tree’) and the Gyepeserdő (*gyep* = ‘grass’) between Szentgothárd and Gyeke,¹¹⁰ the Hássas¹¹¹ (*bás, hárs* = ‘linden’) near Szentiván, the Tarliget (= ‘bald bosket’), Tyukszóberke (*berék* = ‘grove’) and the Muharerdő (*muhar* = ‘setaria’) belonging to Szentiván,¹¹² the Vágottcserje (*cserje* = ‘shrub’) and Bonciberek in Pulyon,¹¹³ the Láposerdő (or Láposcserje = ‘marshy bushes’) between Szentgothárd and Gyeke,¹¹⁴ and the Kisvincoló in Cege.¹¹⁵ Woods were mentioned in Szilvás,¹¹⁶ near Légen¹¹⁷ (neighboring Szentiván) and in Mohaly. These latter burned

¹⁰⁶ WassArch, 30 Sept. 1460 (DF 252969).

¹⁰⁷ Sándor Tonk, “Táj és ember az erdélyi Mezőségen a középkorban” [Land and people of the Transylvanian Mezőség in the Middle Ages], *Korunk*, 3rd ser., 5, no. 9 (1994): 24.

¹⁰⁸ Their first appearance in that area: DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 269–270 (31 May 1354). On the Romanians of Mezőség in the medieval period, see László Makkai, “Az erdélyi románok a középkori magyar oklevelekben” [Romanians of Transylvania in the medieval Hungarian charters], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 48 (1943): 37–39.

¹⁰⁹ Tonk, “Táj és ember,” 26; Györffy, vol. 2, 44.

¹¹⁰ The earliest record of Kőrisedő and Gyepeserdő: CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 556 (25 Apr. 1326).

¹¹¹ “Hássas”: WassArch, 13 Aug. 1448 (DF 252957).

¹¹² CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 556 (25 Apr. 1326).

¹¹³ “Wagothchere” and “Bonczyberék”: WassArch, 29 Nov. 1511 (DF 255371).

¹¹⁴ It is very likely that “Laposyerdew” lay near Szentgothárd, because the Wass were prohibited from using it by the Jankafi family, the rightful owners of Pete, Légen and Palatka (WassArch, 4 May 1430; DF 253077); somewhat later László Gesztrágyi of Szentkirály, a landowner in Gyeke, sued Balázs Wass for a forest called “Laapws chereye” (WassArch, 15 Jan. 1516; DF 255359. WassArch, 11 Oct. 1516; DF 255387), and in 1513 an area of ploughland called “Laposyerdewfew” is mentioned as belonging to the territory of Szentgothárd (WassArch, 29 July 1513, DF 253033).

¹¹⁵ “Kyswynczolo”: KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3398 = WassArch, 10 Mar. 1507 (DF 255391).

¹¹⁶ WassArch, 2 Dec. 1449 (DF 252966); WassArch, 16 Oct. 1509 (DF 255345).

¹¹⁷ WassArch, 30 Dec. 1427 (DF 252934).

down to ashes – according to the investigations made by the Doboka County authorities in 1448 – after some drunken Romanian serfs of György Lack of Szántó from Mikola, Moró and Szombattelek had set the woods on fire.¹¹⁸

Several brooks split the territory: the Omboz, the Bogács¹¹⁹ and the Sugó.¹²⁰ Besides these, Vízzsilvás had its own river, the Kis-Szamos (called Vízzszamos at that time) with a water-mill on it, which existed even in modern times.¹²¹ Mills were also set up in Szentiván,¹²² in Boncnyíres¹²³ and in Cege (on the bank of the Szarvastó stream),¹²⁴ as was one in the neighboring village, Göc.¹²⁵ Specific to this area are the still existent fishponds, the most important of which is the lake called Szarvastó (the name coming from the composition of the words *szarv*, meaning ‘ramification’, and *tó*, meaning ‘lake, pond’), which is the earlier name of Hódostó (*bód* = ‘beaver’).¹²⁶ Originally it consisted of three lakes, three branches actually: Szarvastó, Búdöstó (*büüdös* = ‘stinking’) and Tisztató (*tiszta* = ‘clean’),¹²⁷ and there was a fourth branch extending towards Szentgothárd – according to a sixteenth-century record, it was called Molnostó (the anterior constituent of the compound coming from *molnus-*, *molna-*, meaning a place ‘with a mill’).¹²⁸ We have little information about the forms of cultivation of this land: generally areas of ploughlands and hayfields are

¹¹⁸ The serfs were supposedly acting “repleti vino et crapulati, ex preconcepta rancoris malitia” [“filled with wine and drunken, out of preconceived rotten malignancy”] (WassArch, 30 Apr. 1448, DF 252959).

¹¹⁹ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 890 (7 Apr. 1336); Györffy, vol. 2, 44.

¹²⁰ “*Swgopathak*”: WassArch, 26 Jun. 1504 (DF 253021).

¹²¹ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 340 (20 July 1441); KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1367 (11 July 1459); WassArch, 14 Oct. 1494 (DF 255337); WassArch, 30 Mar. 1497 (DF 255389); KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3068 (16 Sept. 1498); WassArch, 16 Oct. 1509 (DF 255345). On the mill in Vízzsilvás, see also WassArch, Fasc. LXXXII (no. 2529–2646).

¹²² KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1367 (11 July 1459).

¹²³ DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 3, 574–575 (17 Jan. 1334).

¹²⁴ WassArch, 17 Nov. 1495 (DF 252983); WassArch, 30 Mar. 1497 (DF 255389); WassArch, 1525 (DF 255351).

¹²⁵ WassArch, 26 Apr. 1530.

¹²⁶ The name of Szarvastó appears in the boundary description of Cege and Szentiván (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 556, 25 Apr. 1326), of Gyeke (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 644, 10 Apr. 1329) and in that of Szentgothárd (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 889, after 5 Apr. 1336). In 1390 it belonged to Cege and was possessed by the Wass (WassArch, 8 Nov. 1390, DF 252806). A fishpond is mentioned on the boundary of Szentiván and Szék – belonging to Szentiván (KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 2968, 11 July 1495) – and another one on the boundary of Cege and Göc; both were used for fishing purposes (WassArch, 14 Dec. 1392; DF 252721). This latter was considered a good fishing-place in later times as well (WassArch, 26 Jun. 1504, DF 253021).

¹²⁷ Györffy, vol. 2, 44, footnote no. 7.

¹²⁸ “*Molmostho*”: WassArch, 16 Mar. 1528.

mentioned, but pomiculture, corn-growing¹²⁹ and wine-growing¹³⁰ can be documented as well. The land was also highly suitable for stock-farming: records speak about stud-farms and ox-breeding, pig-breeding and sheep-breeding from throughout the medieval period.¹³¹

There are no documentary sources regarding the origins of the Wass family. Károly Tagányi (1858–1924) suspected a Transdanubian origin,¹³² and Lajos Kelemen (1877–1963) thought a connection with the Buzát-Hahót noble kindred (*genus*) possible.¹³³ As for this latter opinion, none of the documents that we have examined regarding the family seems to support it.¹³⁴ Considering the names of two villages – Szentgothárd and Szentegyed – on the ancestral estate, Géza Entz supposed a western Hungarian provenance, more precisely Vas County.¹³⁵ These two villages in Doboka County got their names after the patron saints of their churches; however, the place-name Szentegyed is secondary, as it replaces the original Vászol(telke). There is no other church in Transylvania named after Saint Egyed (*Giles*).¹³⁶ A further Saint Gotthárd (Bavarian: *Godehard*) church is mentioned in Bács in Kolozs County, although much later, in the middle of the fifteenth century.¹³⁷ On the other hand, both churches-names appear in Vas County,¹³⁸ and also in other parts of the country,

¹²⁹ WassArch, 13 Dec. 1429 (DF 252938); WassArch, 4 Aug. 1444 (DF 252956); WassArch, 5 Oct. 1451 (DF 252960).

¹³⁰ WassArch, 1505 (DF 255349); WassArch, 16 Nov. 1509 (DF 255347).

¹³¹ DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 2, 398 (17 Jan. 1329); DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 269–270 (31 May 1354); DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 145–146 (9 Apr. 1363); DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 204–205 (11 July 1366); DocRomHist C, vol. 14, 550–551 (8 May 1375); WassArch, 27 Sept. 1379 (DF 252840); the charter was published by Ioan Aurel Pop, “Realități feudale în Transilvania în veacul XIV” [Realities in fourteenth-century feudal Transylvania], *Acta Musei Napocensis* 17 (1981): 160–161; WassArch, 18 Dec. 1398 (DF 252820); WassArch, 17 Mar. 1429 (DF 252935); WassArch, 15 Nov. 1429 (DF 252936); WassArch, 15 Dec. 1444 (DF 252955); WassArch, 4 Jun. 1506 (DF 255350); WassArch, 11 Aug. 1510 (DF 253094); WassArch, around 1510 (DF 255397); WassArch, 1 Jun. 1535.

¹³² Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 1, 246.

¹³³ His opinion is quoted by Géza Entz (Entz, *Wass*).

¹³⁴ Neither did János Karácsonyi mention the kinship of the Wass with the Hahót *genus*. See Karácsonyi, 566–588.

¹³⁵ Entz also referred to the relationship between the Wass and the Kálty families, but these two were connected only with ties of matrimony (Entz, *Wass*).

¹³⁶ Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 90–91.

¹³⁷ Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 70; KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 522 (20 Aug. 1444).

¹³⁸ A church built in honor of St. Egyed is mentioned in Kápolna, a village between Vát and Bögöt: see Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 70, and Csánki, vol. 2, 761 (Kápolna); HOKm, vol. 4, 130. This church is also mentioned in the boundary descriptions of the neighboring Porpác: Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 71; Csánki, vol. 2, 787.

from the early fourteenth century onwards.¹³⁹ Transdanubian origins are indicated by the fact that the locality of Kált (near Pannonhalma) – on the boundary of Győr and Veszprém Counties – had already belonged to the family in 1339,¹⁴⁰ and even later they acquired estates mainly on the territory of Győr, Veszprém and Vas Counties. The ambition to extend their holdings on this territory suggests early ties. A charter from 1263¹⁴¹ – preserved in the Wass archive – regarding Tóthréde, a neighboring settlement to Káltháza, also indicates an early holding and Transdanubian origins. Another argument for this theory rests on the relationship of the family with members of the Pok *genus*;¹⁴² however, those might have been only of a matrimonial nature and as such, irrelevant to the establishment of the origins. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the Transdanubian estates had slipped out of the family's hands, and from that time onwards these latter continued their lives in Transylvania. As there is no hope of discovering any other documentary source referring to the early history of the Wass family, the research can only approve of László Makkai's (1914–1989) earlier theory, in accordance with which the Wass came to Transylvania from outside, that is, from some part of Hungary.¹⁴³ On the other hand, Makkai's belief that the Wass ancestors who were donated the first estates might have been at the same time the ancestors of certain Aczél and Veres families¹⁴⁴ should be rejected, because although these names were widely circulating as nicknames (and the name Veres even came down to the descendants), their bearers never started a family using the name thus borne. The Wass family cannot be related to any of the high-born noble kindreds (*genus*) from the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century;¹⁴⁵ the expression “*de genere Voos*”¹⁴⁶ occurred only once in the documents known so far, in 1390,

¹³⁹ Churches under the patronage of St. Eged: Mező, *Patrocíniumok*, 69–71; Szentgothárd: *ibid.*, 90–91.

¹⁴⁰ HOKl, 225–226 (21 Dec. 1339). Csánki, vol. 3, 236.

¹⁴¹ HOKm, vol. 6, 113–114 (1263). Transcription by the chapter of Székesfehérvár in a charter issued on 6 Mar. 1348, WassArch (DF 252691). Tótréde, also known as Kistréde (Veszprém County), is a depopulated settlement bordering Nagyréde, in the vicinity of Bankháza (Csánki, vol. 3, 248–249).

¹⁴² HOKl, 320–321 (19 Nov. 1388).

¹⁴³ Makkai, *Doboka*, 56.

¹⁴⁴ Makkai, *Doboka*, 56; László Makkai, “Erdély a középkori magyar királyságban” [Transylvania in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom], in *Erdély története három kötetben* [History of Transylvania in three volumes], ed.-in-chief Béla Köpeczi, vol. 1, *A kezdetektől 1606-ig* [From the beginnings to 1600], ed. László Makkai and András Mócsy (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), 288.

¹⁴⁵ Karácsonyi, *passim*.

¹⁴⁶ WassArch, 30 May 1390 (DF 252793).

beside István Wass's name, and even then it did not mean anything more than his belonging to this kindred, to this particular group of the noble class.¹⁴⁷

The fourteenth century

As no charters have been preserved (except for the few suspicious diplomas and their confirmations) regarding the early period of the Wass family, their history can be accurately traced only from the fourteenth century. By that time the Wass were divided into at least three branches, for which process they needed several generations' time, if we consider that their common ancestors, *Lób* and *Tamás*, had indeed been living in the last part of the twelfth century. The branches existing at the beginning of the fourteenth century were tied together only by common property and the certainty of kinship. The names of some family members are known from this period. One of them, *Csoma* (*Chama*), who is supposed to have been the son of *Lób*, appears in 1230 in a charter of doubtful authenticity; however, he must have been a real person, as a settlement belonging to the ancient Wass estate, *Csomafája*, retained his name. The other one, *Emech*, is supposed to have lived in the last third of the thirteenth century, because his son, *Miklós Wass* (fig. no. 13), appears for the first time in documents in 1304 – as the castellan of *Csicsó* (Inner Szolnok County)¹⁴⁸ under the insurgent Transylvanian voivode, *László de genere Kán* (1297–1315). *Miklós* was certainly the “strong man” of the family, and the political anarchy at the beginning of the fourteenth century favored exactly this kind of person. His voivode, *László*, was one of the oligarchs in the country, and managed to get hold of the Holy Crown. In this way he impeded the coronation of *Charles* (the subsequent King of Hungary), seized the Transylvanian revenues of the king, occupied his castles and appointed his own men as castellans.

Miklós Wass was one of these castellans; he kept his position for a long time even after the death of *László* – which occurred around 1315¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ On the problems of the *genera*, see *András Kubinyi*, “Gondolatok »A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig« új kiadása alkalmából” [Reflections on the new edition of “The Hungarian kindreds up to the middle of the fourteenth century”], in *Karácsonyi*, 1405–1420.

¹⁴⁸ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 43 (28 Nov. 1304). The ruins of the castle of *Csicsó* can be found on the territory of *Csicsóújfalú*, north-east of *Dés*. See *Engel*, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 294.

¹⁴⁹ *Gyula Kristó*, “Erdély 1315-ben” [Transylvania in 1315], in *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik születésnapjára* [Zsigmond Jakó memorial vol-

– and joined the rebellion started by the late voivode’s sons.¹⁵⁰ As their *familiaris* he could hold the castle, in spite of having his landed estates, or at least a part of them, confiscated by the king. It was on November 1, 1321 (or somewhat earlier), that he handed the castle of Csicsó over to Voivode Tamás Szécsényi (1321–1342), newly appointed by the king. The surrender must have taken place after regular negotiations; the agreement was fixed in the form of a charter issued by the voivode in Csicsó on November 1, 1321.¹⁵¹ The voivode promised in the name of the king that the estates of Szentgothárd, Cege and Szilvás would be returned to Miklós Wass, and in the event that the king would not consent to that, he bound himself to compensate Miklós from his own estates. He also made a promise to recuperate for the family the alienated parts of Szentegyed, and to return other inherited (Szentiván, Biszó, Kondormárk) and acquired (Boncnyíres) estates, and even to concede to Miklós the village of Bonchida for the period of one year. Miklós Wass was also promised the privilege of having jurisdiction over his serfs, and of being subject only to the king and the voivode. Last but not least, the most important article: neither he nor his offspring must be held accountable for his past actions.

That very month King Charles consented to the agreement, pardoned Miklós Wass’s violence and had the decision regarding the return of Szentgothárd, Cege, Szilvás and other acquired or inherited estates put down in writing. This charter names Miklós Wass as the former castellan of Csicsó, and this must have reflected the then-actual situation.¹⁵² King Charles provided for Miklós Wass in the forthcoming years as well. He privileged him again in 1338: one more time he pardoned Miklós’s sins committed as castellan of Csicsó, and instructed the Transylvanian voivode and other high dignitaries of the realm not to judge over him;¹⁵³ furthermore, he put him under the jurisdiction of the voivode personally, especially in matters concerning landed property.¹⁵⁴ In 1340, he donated Miklós Wass senior the estates of Szentgothárd, Cege, Szilvás and Szentiván, excluding all brothers and relatives, and ordered the judges of

ume in honor of his 80th birthday], ed. András Kovács, Gábor Sipos and Sándor Tonk (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1997), 338. Miklós Wass was still the castellan of Csicsó in 1318 (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 294; 12 May 1318).

¹⁵⁰ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 409 (1 Nov. 1321).

¹⁵¹ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 409 (1 Nov. 1321).

¹⁵² CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 413 (28 Nov. 1321). Miklós Wass had the charter bearing so much importance for him transcribed twice (on January 1, 1322, and on March 31, 1324); see CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 417 and no. 481.

¹⁵³ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 972 (5 Jan. 1338).

¹⁵⁴ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 983 (10 Feb. 1338).

the realm not to divide them.¹⁵⁵ In consequence, Tamás Szécsényi and his vice-voivode, Pető Derencsényi (1337–1342), never effected the division of estates requested by the relatives.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, not much later Miklós Wass senior decided to divide the estates of Szentegyed, Pulyon and Nyíres with them,¹⁵⁷ probably because these landed properties were not mentioned in the document from 1340.

King Charles's instructions regarding Miklós Wass were repeated by his son, King Louis (1342–1382), who on November 12, 1342, ordered his freshly appointed voivode, Miklós Sirokai (1342–1344), to wait with any kind of judgement concerning the estates of Miklós Wass until he himself had personally gone to Transylvania.¹⁵⁸ By April 1343, Miklós Wass had already consented to the division of his acquired estates as well.¹⁵⁹ According to the accusations brought by the other party, he prepared this by having his serfs resettled from the estates of Szentgothárd, Cege, Szentiván and Szilvás.¹⁶⁰ Miklós managed his landed possessions with great care: in 1326 he had the boundary inspection accomplished of the above-mentioned four estates,¹⁶¹ and also extended his properties through new acquisitions. He bought a share in Boncnyíres in 1318,¹⁶² and in 1322, together with a relative of his, Jakab, the son of Csoma, he bought Pulyon and Ivánkatelke (also called Jankatelke), both neighboring villages to Szentegyed.¹⁶³ He made an unsuccessful attempt to get hold

¹⁵⁵ HOKl, 221–222 (9 Jan. 1340).

¹⁵⁶ HOKl, 223 (11 Jan. 1340); HOKl, 223–225 (1 May 1340).

¹⁵⁷ DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 3, 606–608 (20 July 1340).

¹⁵⁸ HOKl, 240 (12 Nov. 1342).

¹⁵⁹ HOKl, 241 (24 Apr. 1343).

¹⁶⁰ HOKl, 241–242 (24 Apr. 1343). At the division of Szentiván, Szentgothárd, Cege and Szilvás in 1343, the sons of Jakab, the son of Csoma, were excluded. Consequently they started a lawsuit (HOKl, 247 = Ub, vol. 2, 38–39; 1343 [after 19 May]); however, later on they sold their share to the defendants (HOKl, 254; 13 Jan. 1349).

¹⁶¹ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 556 (25 Apr. 1326), had the charter transcribed somewhat later (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 702; around 3 May 1331). A landowner was entitled to request the inspection of the boundaries of his estate in company with a *homo regis* and in the presence of neighbors. The chapter of authentication, whose witness was also present, described in writing the landmarks and boundaries in a letter of inspection (cf. DRMH, vol. 3, 124).

¹⁶² CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 294 (21 May 1318). Referring to this, in 1465 Domokos Wass returned his share of Boncnyíres to the descendant of the alienators, Mihály Nyíresi, for ten gold florins (WassArch, 26 Jun. 1465; DF 252970).

¹⁶³ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 435 (4 Jun. 1322). Ivánkatelke is a depopulated settlement bordering Szentegyed (Györffy, vol. 2, 73; Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 4, 139–140); it remained a Wass property in later times as well (WassArch, 8 July 1410; DF 252723).

of Kide¹⁶⁴ – neighboring Csomafája – and of Pálostelke,¹⁶⁵ a village that had been donated a few years earlier to the Zsuki family. Nevertheless, his new acquisitions around the ancestral estate suggest that he was trying to build up a continuous body of landed estates. In 1324, together with György Cseh of Rőd, he represented the Transylvanian nobility before the king, who settled their rights at their request.¹⁶⁶ As this commissioning illustrates, his prestige must have been great among his contemporaries. Miklós Wass lived to a very old age; documents keep mentioning him even at the end of the 1340s.¹⁶⁷ In order to distinguish him from his nephew, also called Miklós, he was referred to as Miklós Nagy¹⁶⁸ or Miklós senior.¹⁶⁹ According to the hardly authentic document from 1338 (of which only an eighteenth-century abstract has been preserved), Miklós Wass senior cut off the hand (or had it cut off) of a certain Lőrinc, the son of *Wda*, and got away with it owing to his immunity from judgement, as the estates (“*status regni*”) had no courage to sentence him.¹⁷⁰ Considering all the privileges that he enjoyed, the conclusion is that he must have had very influential connections in the royal court, someone – maybe one of his relatives – being very close to King Charles. At present, one can only presume a relationship between the Wass and the son of *Chama*, Tamás, who was counselor of the king, canon of Óbuda, Várad, Pécs, Győr, Esztergom and Veszprém, and from 1321 canon of the Transylvanian chapter as well.¹⁷¹ Supposing that this relationship was a really existent one, it could explain all privileges granted by King Charles to Miklós Wass. This latter had two sons (János and László) of whom very little is known.¹⁷² As for his possessions, he owned a country seat in Szentgyed,¹⁷³ where – in all likelihood – he had the

¹⁶⁴ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 743 (31 Mar. 1332).

¹⁶⁵ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 479 (19 Mar. 1324). Pálostelke is a depopulated settlement bordering Omboz (Györffy, vol. 2, 83–84).

¹⁶⁶ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 510 (21 Dec. 1324).

¹⁶⁷ DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 4, 656–658 (24 Mar. 1347).

¹⁶⁸ HOKl, 244 (8 Mar. 1344): “*dictus Og*,” obviously an erratum instead of *Nog* (= *nagy*, meaning ‘big’).

¹⁶⁹ In tracing his life the charter of 1321, attributed to King Charles (in which the latter orders his voivode, Dózsa Debreceni, to confiscate Szentgothárd, Cege and Szilvás from the disloyal castellan, Miklós Wass), will be omitted, because that is a forgery made by Count József Kemény. See CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 408 (before 1 Nov. 1321), and Tagányi Károly, “Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen, vol. I” (review), *Századok* 27 (1893): 53–54.

¹⁷⁰ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 1016 (1338).

¹⁷¹ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 414 (8 Dec. 1321); CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 487 (7 July 1324).

¹⁷² CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 869 (28 Dec. 1335), no. 890 (7 Apr. 1336).

¹⁷³ DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 3, 606–608 (20 July 1340).

parish church built. This latter building disappeared at the end of the nineteenth century, when it was pulled down; only its entrance-door has been preserved – with its iron mounting, which is the earliest of its kind in Transylvania (figs. no. 14 and 15).¹⁷⁴ The village was named in 1318 after the patron saint of its church;¹⁷⁵ consequently, that must have been standing by then, although in documents it appears for the first time in 1331.¹⁷⁶ Thus, we have certain knowledge of the existence of a church in Szentegyed, and also of churches on other estates of the family. As founders, the Wass became the advowees of these churches.¹⁷⁷ A charter of Béla III mentions a church in Szentandrás, and according to the tithe records both Szentgothárd and Cege¹⁷⁸ had one as well. The patron saint of the church at Cege was the Archangel Michael.¹⁷⁹ The name of the village, Szentiván, suggests that the settlement also had a church dedicated to St. John, as the day of St. John (Iván) (midsummer day) is also the day of St. John the Baptist.¹⁸⁰ A parsonage at Szentiván appears in the records at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁸¹

Very few documents speak about Miklós Wass senior's brother, János, and none of his functions is known.¹⁸² He also appears for the first time in records at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and charters from somewhat later several times call him János of Kált, after his Transdanubian estate. This latter had eight sons: Miklós Wass junior, László, János Acél, Lőrinc, Péter Veres, Tamás Veres, Dezső and Mihály, all of whom are mentioned in documents for the first time in 1335.¹⁸³ As *familiars* of the Lackfi, all of them held important positions during the fourteenth century. Like their direct descendants, the eight brothers suc-

¹⁷⁴ Géza Entz, “Három régi ajtószárny az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Történeti Tárában” [Three old door-wings in the Historical Repository of the Transylvanian National Museum], *Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Történeti-, Művészeti- és Néprajzi Tárából*, vol. 4, no. 1–2 (Kolozsvár: Az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Történeti-, Művészeti- és Néprajzi Tára, 1944), 111–119. The picture was also published in Géza Entz, “Szolnok-Doboka vármegye műemlékei” [Historical monuments of Szolnok-Doboka County], in *Szolnok-Doboka magyarsága*, table 13, figure no. 42.

¹⁷⁵ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 294 (21 May 1318); its earlier name was Vászoltelke.

¹⁷⁶ “in villa seu possessione Wazunteluk nominata, in qua ecclesia ad honorem beati Egidii est fundata in comitatu de Doboka”: HOKl, 202 = CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 704 (17 May 1331) – according to a document from 1505 the patron saint of the church was St. Egyed (WassArch, 1505, s. d., DF 255349).

¹⁷⁷ DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 102–103 (22 Sept. 1362).

¹⁷⁸ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 1066–1068 (data from the years 1332–1334).

¹⁷⁹ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3286 (9 Jun. 1503).

¹⁸⁰ FNESz, vol. 2, 740.

¹⁸¹ WassArch, 5 Jan. 1502 (DF 253087).

¹⁸² First mentioned: CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 43 (28 Sept. 1304).

¹⁸³ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 869 (28 Dec. 1335).

cessfully managed their social emergence and increased their property; decidedly, they were the most active generation up to the mid-sixteenth century.

An easily distinguishable line of the kindred was the branch of Csomafája; its first known representatives are László and János, sons of *Tormach* (i.e. Tormás) appearing for the first time in documents in 1307.¹⁸⁴ Their central estate was Csomafája (Doboka County), after which they named themselves.¹⁸⁵ The share of the Wass in Biszótelke¹⁸⁶ and Csomafája¹⁸⁷ and the share of the Csomafáji in Szentegyed¹⁸⁸ indicate that the two families were both descendants of a common acquirer, from whom both inherited through the male line.¹⁸⁹ To this branch belonged *Lood* and his two sons, András and Péter, mention of whom was made only once, in a document on the division of Szentegyed in 1315. Nothing else is known of them; thus it is impossible to find their place on the family tree.¹⁹⁰ In 1331 the grandsons of Tormás, János,¹⁹¹ the only son of László Csomafáji, and the four sons of János senior (László, *Bench*, János and Pál),¹⁹² sold their shares in Szentegyed to their relatives – to the branch that named itself Wass (the nearest relatives of Miklós Wass, one-time castellan of Csicsó) – who, in turn, gave up their share in Csomafája.¹⁹³ With this the community of property ended, and the two lines definitively separated. Their last appearance together was made in

¹⁸⁴ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 68 (6 Oct. 1307). In Pál Engel's *Genealógia* on the lineage table of the Wass family, besides the above-mentioned sons of Tormás, there figure one more József and one more Pál. As for József, from the latest publication of the charter regarding his person (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 68; 6 Oct. 1307) it turns out that he was in fact the son of István Macskási. Pál appears only in one charter issued by King Charles in 1314, which is actually a forgery from the second half of the fourteenth century; see CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 219 (24 Apr. 1314), and Zsigmond Jakó, "A kolozsmonostori apát-ság hamis oklevelei" [Forged charters from the convent of Kolozsmonostor], *Levéltári Közlemények* 55 (1984): 130–131.

¹⁸⁵ The village seems to have got its name after Csoma, the son of *Lób*, an ancestor of the Wass appearing in 1230 (Györffy, vol. 2, 65).

¹⁸⁶ Biszó, otherwise Biszótelke, was a dependency of Csomafája (Györffy, vol. 2, 60–61), Miklós Wass, the castellan of Csicsó, possessed it by inheritance in 1304 (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 43; 28 Sept. 1304) and in 1321 (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 409; 1 Nov. 1321). See also CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 858 (16 Sept. 1335).

¹⁸⁷ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 984 (11 Feb. 1338).

¹⁸⁸ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 256 (13 Nov. 1315); CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 704 (17 May 1331).

¹⁸⁹ Their kinship is mentioned also in the charter by Vice-Voivode Péter, on 11 Feb. 1338 (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 984).

¹⁹⁰ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 257 (13 Nov. 1315).

¹⁹¹ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 719 (10 Sept. 1331).

¹⁹² CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 704 (17 May 1331).

¹⁹³ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 984 (11 Feb. 1338).

a lawsuit in 1366, when Dezső Wass – after 22 years – filed a suit against János Csomafáji (the son of Pál, the grandson of Tormás), accusing him of taking a horse away from János Acél (the brother of the plaintiff) during the campaign against Zadar (Croatia).¹⁹⁴

Another separate line was started by Jakab, the son of Csoma, who appeared on the occasion of a property division in 1315 as one of the proprietors of Szentegyed,¹⁹⁵ and had a share in Csomafája too.¹⁹⁶ In 1318 he represented the castellan of Csicsó, Miklós Wass,¹⁹⁷ and together they bought two villages – Pulyon and Ivánkatelke – in the neighborhood of Szentegyed from the Toldalagi, in 1322.¹⁹⁸ With the rest of the kindred, he purchased the share of the Csomafáji in Szentegyed.¹⁹⁹ Later on, he is still mentioned together with the other members of the kindred;²⁰⁰ in 1340 he acquired a further share in the estates of Szentegyed, Pulyon and Nyíres,²⁰¹ which he probably kept later on.²⁰² Nevertheless, in 1349, the four sons of Jakab – Mihály, Miklós, Tamás and Jakab – sold their shares in Szentgothárd, Cege, Szentiván and Szilvás to seven of the sons of János Wass (as one out of the eight had died in the meantime).²⁰³ They might have kept their shares in Szentegyed, Nyíres and Pulyon, but nothing further is mentioned about them in the documents of the family archive, as joint ownership was mostly ended. One of the four brothers, Mihály, seems to be identical with that Mihály, the son of Jakab of Szentegyed, who was said to be a noble magistrate of Doboka County between 1367 and 1372.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁴ DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 228–230 (8 Aug. 1366).

¹⁹⁵ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 256 (13 Nov. 1315).

¹⁹⁶ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 719 (10 Sept. 1331), no. 984 (11 Feb. 1338).

¹⁹⁷ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 294 (21 May 1318).

¹⁹⁸ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 435 (4 Jun. 1322). See also Györffy, vol. 2, 73, 85.

¹⁹⁹ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 704 (17 May 1331); CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 719 (10 Sept. 1331).

²⁰⁰ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 743 (31 Mar. 1332); CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 869 (28 Dec. 1335).

Jakab is in the service of the voivode: CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 753 (8 July 1332), no. 904 (1 Sept. 1336), no. 908/1 (28 Sept. 1336), no. 966 (10 Dec. 1337), no. 984 (11 Feb. 1338), no. 1051 (23 Sept. 1339).

²⁰¹ DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 3, 606–608 (20 July 1340).

²⁰² In 1372 the descendants of János Keszüi could have divided only a third of this estate, presumably because apart from them the sons of Jakab, the son of Csoma, and the sons of Miklós Wass senior took part in it as well (DocRomHist C, vol. 14, 213–215; 24 May 1372).

²⁰³ HOKl, 254 (13 Jan. 1349).

²⁰⁴ DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 401–402 (29 Jun. 1367); DocRomHist C, vol. 14, 140–141 (6 Apr. 1372); Mór Wertner, “Adalékok a XIV. századbéli magyar világi archontológiához” [Contributions to the Hungarian secular archontology of the fourteenth century], *Történelmi Tár*, n. s., 8 (1907): 4. Probably the son of this Mihály Szentegyedi is that András who was a noble magistrate of Doboka County in 1398 and 1419 and whom

While Miklós Wass senior as rebel was in charge of a castle, the eldest sons of his brother János, Miklós Wass junior and László, chose another way. For a short time they were in the service of Voivode Dózsa Debreceni (1318–1321), and thus loyal to the king. The memory of this loyalty is remembered in a charter from 1329;²⁰⁵ however, the document must reflect an earlier situation, as the last mention of Dózsa's activity in Transylvania dates back to July 5, 1321.²⁰⁶ According to this charter, Dezső Elefánti, who was in charge of the castle of Sebesvár (Kolozs County),²⁰⁷ destroyed Szentegyed, a possession of the Wass. The injured party accused him in front of the noble assembly, called together at Torda by the voivode for January 1329, of having their village – worth 3,000 marks – razed to the ground, of having their stud of forty mares and young horses stolen and of having murdered five of their servants. These accusations were confirmed by both the chapter of Transylvania and the attendant nobility, although the estimated value of the destroyed Szentegyed seems to have been somewhat exaggerated: just a few months later the Wass estimated the damage at 1,000,²⁰⁸ and then, in 1337, at 300 (!) marks.²⁰⁹ The chaotic circumstances made such violent trespasses possible, even frequent. The above-mentioned suit was still proceeding in 1358, when the plaintiff, Miklós Wass, sued Mihály Elefánti, the son of the meanwhile deceased Dezső Elefánti.²¹⁰ Miklós, who was still at home in 1331 (he is mentioned in a document²¹¹ regarding the murder of a fellow-countyman, István Bongárdi), started somewhat later an impressive career far from his home county. For a longer period – between 1335 and

Engel links with the Wass family (Engel, *Genealógia*, s. v. Vas). See WassArch, 22 Oct. 1398 (DF 252815); ZsOkl, vol. 7, no. 12, no. 743, no. 1855. The Wass and this branch (according to all indications the descendants of Jakab, the son of Csoma) seem to have a common ancestor, although it is more appropriate to call these latter Szentegyedí, because they appear in documents as such, and also because after 1349 they can be considered as separate families. Probably Gergely, the son of Péter Szentegyedí, who showed up in 1420, can be connected as well with this Szentegyedí kindred (ZsOkl, vol. 7, no. 1975; 16 July 1420), and Engel mistakenly places him among the Wass. The noble magistrate (*iudex nobilium, szolgabíró*) was one of the two elected judges and administrative officers of a noble county with responsibilities in a defined quarter of the county (cf. DRMH, vol. 3, 130).

²⁰⁵ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 633 (17 Jan. 1329), no. 661 (27 Aug. 1329). See also DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 239–241 (26 Feb. 1358).

²⁰⁶ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 402 (5 July 1321).

²⁰⁷ Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 408.

²⁰⁸ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 661 (27 Aug. 1329).

²⁰⁹ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 929 (1 May 1337).

²¹⁰ DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 239–241 (26 Feb. 1358).

²¹¹ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 707 (around 15 Jun. 1331).

1344 – he served in the castle of Hőltövény,²¹² near Brassó (in the land of the Saxons), possibly as castellan. From the beginning of the fourteenth century the castle belonged to the *honor* (a term used in medieval Hungary for a high office and the attached estates) of the *comes* of the Székely, a position that was filled by *Lack* (or László) de genere Hermán between 1328 and 1343. Thus, Miklós Wass became the *familiaris* of the ancestor of the Lackfi, and of his son, András Lackfi (1343–1350). In 1336 Miklós can be found in the king’s army resting between the rivers Rába and Rábca (in Transdanubia), led by the above-mentioned *comes* of the Székely, László.²¹³ In 1340 Miklós Wass junior and his brother László identified themselves with a letter of advocacy issued by the chapter of Nyitra as representatives of their brothers in their lawsuit against Miklós Wass senior.²¹⁴ As there is no sign of the Wass family’s holding estates in the north of Hungary, it may be presumed that the two brothers stayed in that county as *familiares* of István Lackfi, the *comes* of Nyitra (1336–1340),²¹⁵ and had the nearest chapter draw the document up for them. In 1349 Miklós Wass junior (fig. no. 16) became the *comes* of Kolozs County under the Transylvanian Voivode István Lackfi (1344–1350);²¹⁶ then, as the *familiaris* of Voivode András Lackfi (1356–1359), he was appointed for one year (1357–1358) as the castellan of Kőhalom, in the land of the Saxons.²¹⁷ He must have been a very influential man, as in 1355 he successfully represented the Transylvanian nobility before King Louis in the matter of voivodal assemblies.²¹⁸ Under Voivode Dénes Lackfi (1359–1367) he was the *comes* of Doboka County in 1361.²¹⁹ Supposedly he was the eldest of the brothers; it was he who represented the others in their suits on many occasions. He married the sister of János Csente (*Cente*) de genere Aba.²²⁰ Their sons (László, István, Pál and János Wass) were gifted by János Csente with the mountain of Borzova in Inner Szolnok

²¹² HOkI, 207–208 (28 Dec. 1335); HOkI, 244 (8 Mar. 1344). Hőltövény – today a ruin on the territory of Krizba (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 329; Györffy, vol. 1, 830).

²¹³ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 902 (22 July 1336). This is most probably about Miklós junior; however, the charter does not confirm it.

²¹⁴ HOkI, 223–225 (1 May 1340).

²¹⁵ Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 159.

²¹⁶ HOkI, 256 (before 4 Nov. 1349).

²¹⁷ DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 119–120 (4 May 1357); vice-castellan: DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 239–241 (26 Feb. 1358); DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 247–248 (6 Mar. 1358); DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 307–308 (3 Aug. 1358). See also Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 348.

²¹⁸ DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 380–382 (30 Nov. 1355).

²¹⁹ DL 73688 (14 Dec. 1361). The information about the data comes from Zsigmond Jakó; hereby I thank him.

²²⁰ HOkI, 261–262 = DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 40–41 (4 Nov. 1356).

County (besides which a settlement with an identical name was formed somewhat later) and a land called Hosszúmező.²²¹ However, these two did not rest for long in the hands of the family.

The positions occupied by the rest of the brothers are also well documented. In 1329 László Wass (fig. no. 17) became the *serviens* (retainer) of Tamás Szécsényi, Transylvanian voivode;²²² in 1344 he was in the castle of Hóltövény²²³ as the *familiaris* of András Lackfi, the *comes* of the Székely. Dezső Wass (fig. no. 18) joined the campaign against Zadar started in 1344,²²⁴ and returning home became the *vicecomes* (deputy of the *comes*) and vice-castellan of Szepes (1346–1348)²²⁵ in the service of Kónya Szécsényi. The relationship of the two probably began in the time when Kónya's father, Tamás Szécsényi, held the voivodal function in Transylvania.²²⁶ It could well have been the case that Kónya "inherited" some of his father's Transylvanian retainers. Later on, László Wass was a retainer of the Lackfi and took part in many of the king's expeditions: in the campaign against Bosnia in 1363 (at that time he was mentioned as a *miles*, meaning a knight of the royal court),²²⁷ in the conquest of Bulgaria in 1365, or in the battles following,²²⁸ then again in the campaign against Wallachia. He died in this latter in 1368.²²⁹ Tamás Wass,

²²¹ HOkl, 261–262 (4 Nov. 1356). Borzova, later on a settlement in Doboka County.

²²² CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 658 (1 Aug. 1329). He is mentioned as one of the retainers participating in the revenge party set up by the voivode against his former vice-voivode, Mihály Zsuki.

²²³ HOkl, 244 (8 Mar. 1344).

²²⁴ According to the charter from 1366, the campaign in which the kinsman of Dezső, János (the son of Pál), a nobleman of Csomafája, was also a participant took place about 22 years earlier. See DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 228–230 (8 Aug. 1366). The campaign against Zadar began in 1344, indeed, but military actions were continued until the end of 1346. See Kristó, *Háborúk*, 98–109. It may be related to this the fact that on March 29, 1346, Vice-Voivode Péter Váradjai adjourned a trial because of the king's campaign (once in the Wass family archive, now in the collection in Csíkszentmárton of Jenő Nagy, deposited in the Romanian National Archives, Department of Kovászna County, Sepsiszentgyörgy, DF 278737).

²²⁵ Between 18 Dec. 1346 and 17 Mar. 1348 (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 196, 429); WassArch, 13 Apr. 1347 and 11 May 1347 (DF 252756).

²²⁶ On the Szécsényi, see Engel, *Genealógia* (s. v. Kacsics, table no. 4, Szécsényi family).

²²⁷ DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 158–159 (8 July 1363). See Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 483.

²²⁸ DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 477–478 (27 Apr. 1368). On the Bulgarian campaign, see Kristó, *Háborúk*, 152–154.

²²⁹ "... Nicolaus wayuoda ... victoriam obtinuit ... sed postmodum ... per multitudinem Olachorum de silvis et de montibus invasus ibidem cum strenuo viro Petro suo vicevayuoda necnon Deseu dicto Was et Petro Ruffo castellano de Kykyllewar ... et aliis militibus qumpluribus et nobilibus potioribus extitit interfectus." Elisabeth

called Veres,²³⁰ was the *vicecomes* of County Ugocsa between 1349 and 1351²³¹ as retainer of András Lackfi, the *comes* of Ugocsa (1346–1353), and then in 1354 became the castellan of Cserög²³² in Szerém County, still as the *familiaris* of the same András Lackfi, who at that time was the ban of Macsó (Mačva) and, as such, in possession of the castle.²³³ In the service of the same András Lackfi, at that time voivode of Transylvania, he was appointed as the castellan of Csicsó in 1357.²³⁴ Péter “Veres”²³⁵ (fig. no. 19) was the deputy master of horse of Dénes Lackfi between 1344 and 1348,²³⁶ and then became the *comes* of Kolozs County for the year 1359.²³⁷ He fought in Bosnia (as a *miles*, just like his brother) in 1363,²³⁸ and then was appointed as the castellan of Küküllővár (Küküllő County) while in the service of Miklós Lackfi junior, the voivode of Transylvania (1367–1368). Like his brother, he took part in the campaign against Wallachia, and died there.²³⁹ Their brother, János, called Acél,²⁴⁰ participated in the campaign of Zadar led by King Louis,²⁴¹ and then for four years was

Galántai and Julius Kristó, eds., *Johannes de Thurocz: Chronica Hungarorum, vol. 1, Textus* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 181. On the year of the Wallachian campaign, see Elemér Mályusz and Julius Kristó, eds., *Johannes de Thurocz: Chronica Hungarorum, vol. 2, Commentarii, 2, Ab anno 1301 usque ad annum 1487* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 171.

²³⁰ “*Rupbus*”: DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 145 (2 Jun. 1357).

²³¹ Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 217.

²³² DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 272–273 (10 Aug. 1354). Cserög: near Beočin (Serbia), west of the Danube, built on the territory of Čerević (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 294; Csánki, vol. 2, 232).

²³³ Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 28. András Lackfi was ban of Mačva between 1353 and 1354. This also proves the presupposition that Cserög came under the administration of the ban of Mačva (the late Pál Engel having imparted this idea to me). A certain region adjoining the southern border of Hungary was called Mačva; today it is part of Serbia.

²³⁴ DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 145 (2 Jun. 1357).

²³⁵ “*Petrus dictus Verres*”: HOKl, 259–260 (25 Jan. 1354); “*Petrus dictus Weres*”: DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 399–400 (4 July 1359).

²³⁶ HOKl, 244 (8 Mar. 1344); DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 4, 679 (6 Mar. 1348).

²³⁷ HOKl, 262–263 = DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 431–432 ([8 Dec.] 1359). Péter Veres, the *comes* of Kolozs County, is called *vicecomes* by the charter; as for the titles of office-bearers, the wording of documentary sources is indecisive in other cases as well. For example, Miklós Wass, the castellan of Kóhalom, is sometimes called vice-castellan.

²³⁸ DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 158–159 (8 July 1363). Cf. Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 483. The charter by Louis was dated thus: “*in Plyna, in obsiditione castris Zakol [= Szokol], terre Boznyensis.*”

²³⁹ Galántai and Kristó, eds., *Johannes de Thurocz: Chronica Hungarorum, vol. 1, Textus*, 181.

²⁴⁰ “*Iohannes dictus Acyl*”: HOKl, 259–260 (25 Jan. 1354); “*Iohannes dictus Ochel*”: AOKm, vol. 5, 137 (5 Aug. 1347).

²⁴¹ DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 228–230 (8 Aug. 1366).

present in the Italian theater of war. Returning home, in 1353, he was gifted with Keresztes²⁴² (a village no longer existent today, at that time neighboring Iklódszentivány), half of which, however, he and his brother Miklós had already taken into mortgage in 1351.²⁴³ There were only two brothers – Lőrinc and the early deceased Mihály²⁴⁴ – who held no (military or administrative) positions.

As the data presented above show, the brothers exhaustively utilized all the possibilities offered by retainership (*familiaritas*). In the first place, they got hold of higher positions all over the country – from Ugocsa to Szerém County – through the Lackfi, who held many important offices. Serving the interests of their superiors did not require any particular local knowledge.²⁴⁵ In their shadow, the Wass found favorable conditions for advancing. The offices must have provided the Wass with money; unfortunately no documents confirming this have been left. As *miles*, some of them belonged to the court of Louis the Great, and very probably were entrusted with different jobs on many occasions. As retainers of the Lackfi – a family from which emerged many of the voivodes of Transylvania at that time – or knights in the service of the king,²⁴⁶ they participated in a number of campaigns outside the country, and made their talent for using weapons fairly obvious. It is important to mention the fact that after the fall of the Lackfi the Wass did not choose to be retainers of any other potentates. This is why in the fifteenth century they were no longer able to transcend the county boundaries, or to get in touch with the political center of the country, the royal court.

The service of the king or voivode seemed to be very significant, as it helped them to acquire money, further offices, estates and privileges; furthermore, it was sometimes crucial regarding the positive outcome of suits and trials. While in the service of Dénes Lackfi, the voivode of Transylvania, Péter Veres was donated – together with his brothers – by

²⁴² DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 201–203 (3 Apr. 1353); King Louis I led two campaigns to obtain the Kingdom of Naples. The first took place between 1347 and 1348, the second in 1350 (Kristó, *Háborúk*, 103–125).

²⁴³ DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 60–62 (29 Sept. 1351). Keresztes (Doboka County) is a depopulated settlement neighboring Iklódszentivány and near Vasasszentiván (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 948).

²⁴⁴ On May 1, 1340, Mihály was already deceased (HOkI, 223–225).

²⁴⁵ Fügedi, *The Elefántby*, 118.

²⁴⁶ Pál Engel, “Adatok az Anjou-kori magyar hadseregről” [Data on Hungarian military force in the time of the Angevin kings], in *Analecta Mediaevalia*, vol. 1, *Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Studies on Hungarian Middle Ages], ed. Tibor Neumann (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó; Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2001), 73–82.

King Louis in 1360 the estate of Borbatelke (Győr County),²⁴⁷ and it can be taken as certain that the voivode was the one who obtained it for them. On July 8, 1363, in the campaign led by King Louis against Bosnia, during the siege of the castle of Sokol,²⁴⁸ at the request of the present members of the family, for some outstanding act the Wass were accorded the *ius gladii*. According to that, the family was entitled to judge their serfs on all their properties in Doboka, Kolozs and Torda Counties, in criminal trials as well (fig. no. 20). In Hungary, up to 1848, a nobleman (or his deputy) was usually entitled to judge over his serfs only in minor matters. As a symbol of this *ius gladii*, a gallows could be set up at Cege.²⁴⁹ (This privilege was accorded also to families that did not belong to great land-owning dynasties²⁵⁰ – as in this case.) On the same day the king granted them in another diploma the right to hold weekly fairs at Cege.²⁵¹ On his Transylvanian journey in 1366, the king granted Dezső Wass – for his active participation in several campaigns – the tallage, called *quinquegesima ovium*²⁵² (meaning ‘one sheep after every fiftieth’), paid by the Romanian serfs from Mohaly; this was normally given to the king during the Middle Ages. In 1368, on another Transylvanian visit by the king, Dezső Wass, Péter Veres and the sons of Miklós Wass were granted once again, this time with the estate of Mohaly.²⁵³ It is neither surprising nor a sheer coincidence that in both cases the Lackfi – at the first donation Miklós Lackfi, the *comes* of the Székely (1363–1367), at the second, István Lackfi, also *comes* of the Székely (1367–1371) – were acting as mediators.²⁵⁴ In comparison with the abundance of the offices that the Wass held, these donations might seem rather scanty; on the other hand, it can be presumed that the reward for their services might have been completed with the Transdanubian properties presented hereafter, as in many of

²⁴⁷ DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 531–532 (20 Aug. 1360). On the estate, see Györffy, vol. 2, 583, and Csánki, vol. 3, 546.

²⁴⁸ Sokol is today a ruin in Bosnia, near Jajce, on the territory of Sokolac (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 412).

²⁴⁹ DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 158–159 (8 July 1363). About Tamás Veres it is known that he owned Mikes in Torda County – probably as a mortgage (DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 145; 2 Jun. 1357) – and it is well possible that he also had some landed property in the same county from his wife, Ilona Indali (DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 145–146; 9 Apr. 1363).

²⁵⁰ Elemér Mályusz, “A magyar társadalom a Hunyadiak korában” [Hungarian society in the Hunyadi age], in *Mátyás király-émlékkönyv* [King Matthias memorial volume], ed. Imre Lukinich, vol. 1 (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1940), 338. On the right of jurisdiction of Transylvanian nobility, see Mályusz, *Az erdélyi társadalom*, 25–27.

²⁵¹ DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 157–158 (8 July 1363).

²⁵² DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 204–205 (11 July 1366).

²⁵³ DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 477–478 (27 Apr. 1368).

²⁵⁴ Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 192.

the cases their acquisition is untraceable. On a number of occasions the Wass – being reputable landowners in Doboka County – besides their other offices, acted as *homines regis* and *homines vaivodae* (a certain kind of bailiff) in their county throughout the fourteenth century.²⁵⁵

The sons of the above-mentioned brothers, being at the same time the grandsons of János of Kált, the one who started the branch, all tried to get into voivodal service. It is known that László (the son of Dezső Wass) was an official of Miklós Losonci, the *comes* of the Székely (1382–1385) in Radna (Beszterce region).²⁵⁶ If needed, they joined campaigns: in 1366 the charters issued under Szokol according a weekly fair at Cege and the *ius gladii* to the Wass include them too in the privileges (although it is not quite clear how many of them were actually present at the siege). János (the son of Tamás Veres) was in the Bulgarian Vidin – already occupied by Hungarians²⁵⁷ – where he most probably got as *familiaris* of the Lackfi.²⁵⁸ As for László Wass, he was in the king's service on the “coast-line” (i.e. in Dalmatia) in 1372.²⁵⁹ Neither did the brothers retire from warfare afterwards: László Wass was ready to defend his rights in a duel in the course of his suit against Mihály, a nobleman of Göc;²⁶⁰ in 1408

²⁵⁵ Fourteenth-century examples: Miklós Wass senior: CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 766 (21 Dec. 1332); CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 842 (25 May 1335). János Wass of Szentegyed: DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 202 (3 Apr. 1353). László Wass of Szentegyed: DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 35 (8 July 1361); DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 635–636 (16 Sept. 1369); DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 645–646 (26 Sept. 1369); Teleki, vol. 1, 163 (1 May 1370). István Wass: Teleki, vol. 1, 199 (6 May 1380). Miklós Wass: Elemér Varjú and Béla Iványi, eds., *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli losonci Bánffy család történetéhez* [Cartulary on the history of the Bánffy family of Losoncz de genere Tomaj], vol. 1 (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1908), 370–371 (9 Sept. 1382); DL 28508 (between 2 and 18 Nov. 1388); for this latter date I thank Zsigmond Jakó; CD, vol. X/2, 395 (28 May 1396); ZsOkI, vol. 4, no. 894 (21 July 1413).

²⁵⁶ WassArch, 25 Jan. [between 1382 and 1385], DF 252854. As for the dating of this mandate, only the day is known (*in Conversio Pauli*); earlier works put its dating between 1377 and 1391 (SzOkI, vol. 1, 92–93; ZsOkI, vol. 1, no. 367). Based on the concurrent office-bearing of the brothers who issued the charter, László Losonci, the voivode of Transylvania (1376–1385), and Miklós, the *comes* of the Székely (1382–1385) (Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, p. 13, 193 and note no. 260), the exact dating can be put without any doubt somewhere between 1382 and 1385.

²⁵⁷ DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 278–280 (25 Nov. 1366).

²⁵⁸ From among the Lackfi, Imre (1365–1366) and Dénes (1365–1366) became bans of Bulgaria. See Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 34.

²⁵⁹ DocRomHist C, vol. 14, 148–150 (12 Apr. 1372). Lökös Wass was away from home in 1383 performing an unspecified service of the king (WassArch, 23 Jun. 1383; CD, vol. X/1, 129).

²⁶⁰ According to a charter issued after April 2, 1391, by László, the vice-voivode of Transylvania – only the abstract of this was preserved in the charter of Palatine István Lackfi on December 2, 1391: see WassArch (DF 252894).

László, the son of Lökös, in exchange for several weapons belonging to the armament of the royal army, mortgaged an estate with the promise of redeeming it in the event of his safe return.²⁶¹ He probably joined King Sigismund (1387–1437) in one of his “Turkish” – meaning Bosnian – campaigns, as at that time the sovereign led several invasions (once in the spring and once in the fall of 1408, then four times in 1410) against Hervoja, the insurgent voivode of Bosnia.²⁶² Of course, these expeditions had Transylvanian participants as well, such as the vice-voivode, János Dobokai (1406–1409).²⁶³

The Transdanubian branch

Besides the Transylvanian estates, the family had landed properties at the other end of the country, in Transdanubia (map no. 1). The earliest document proving this dates from 1339. At that moment the eight sons of János were in all certainty in possession of Kált (or Kát, also called Bankfölda or Bankháza, on the boundary of Veszprém and Győr Counties),²⁶⁴ which incorporated a dependency called Bodontelke.²⁶⁵ Regarding this latter, in 1368 Péter Veres claimed that he held it by right as a donation from the king.²⁶⁶ His father János had already been named *of Kált* in 1360: consequently it may well be the case that this estate, or parts of it, had been possessed by this branch even before 1339, as an inherited property.²⁶⁷ Nevertheless, several parts of Kált were donated by Queen Elizabeth (†1388) to Márk of Kált (Kálti), provost of Kő (the supposed writer of the famous *Illuminated Chronicle* [*Képes Krónika*]),²⁶⁸

²⁶¹ “pro quibusdam armis ad regalem exercitum pertinentibus, puta in estimatione condigna XII florenis, per centum denaros nove monete regalis valentibus”: WassArch, 27 July 1408 (DF 252858).

²⁶² Pál Engel, “Az utazó király: Zsigmond itineráriuma” [The traveling king: Itinerary of Sigismund], in *Művészet Zsigmond király korában (1387–1437)* [Art in King Sigismund’s time], vol. 1, *Tanulmányok* [Studies], eds. László Beke, Ernő Marosi and Tünde Wehli (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1987), 89.

²⁶³ ZsOkI, vol. II/2, no. 8059 (25 Nov. 1410).

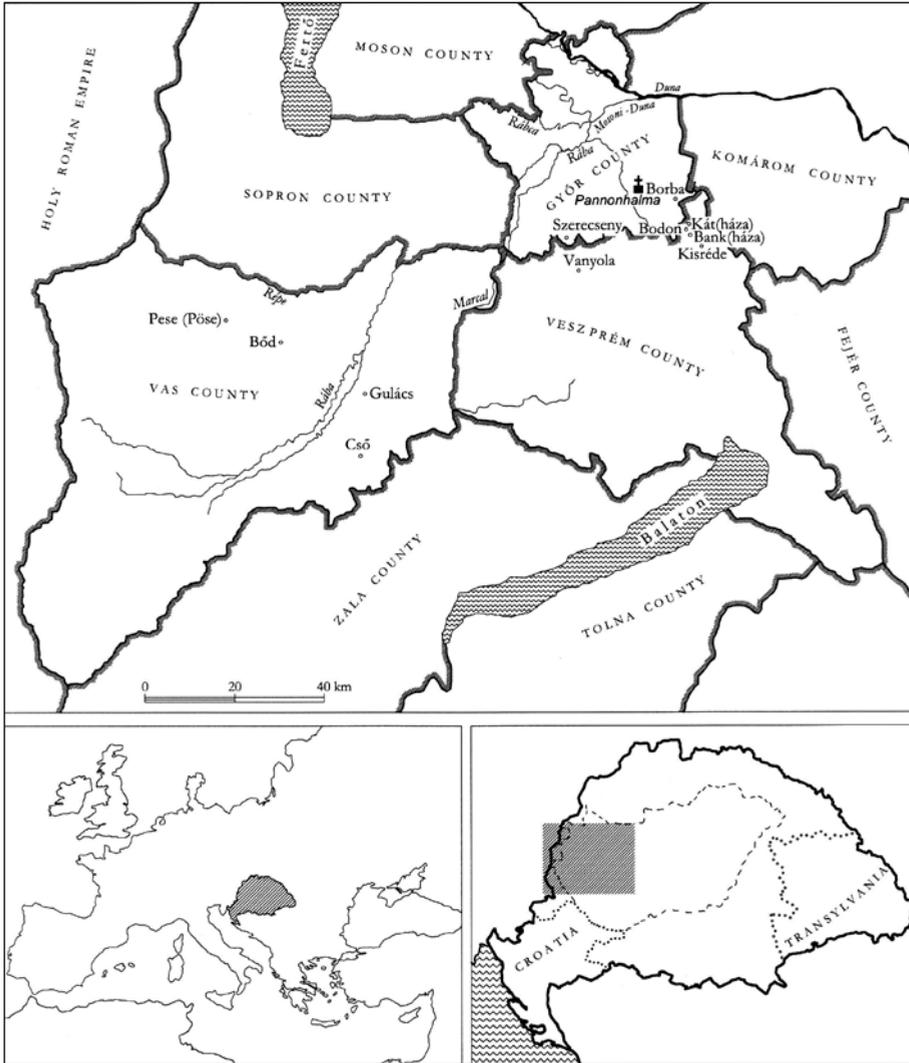
²⁶⁴ HOkI, 225–226 (21 Dec. 1339). Péter Veres had the charter transcribed on June 4, 1340 (WassArch, DF 252750), and again on August 29, 1352 (WassArch, DF 252891).

²⁶⁵ Csánki, vol. 3, 236–237.

²⁶⁶ HOkI, 284 (between 15 and 17 May 1368).

²⁶⁷ DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 531–532 (20 Aug. 1360).

²⁶⁸ On the lawsuit of his family, as continued against the Wass, see also Emil Jakubovich, “Adalékok okleveleink és krónikáink íróihoz” [Contributions to the writers of our charters and chronicles], *Magyar Nyelv* 21 (1925): 34.



Map no. 1. Transdanubian estates of the Wass (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries).

Made by István Karácsony.

and his brother Bereck, in 1337,²⁶⁹ an act that resulted in a long-lasting suit. An agreement put an end to it in 1357, due to such mediators from the court as Miklós Vásári, the archbishop of Esztergom (1350–1358), Miklós Keszei, the former bishop of Zágráb (1350–1356), the master of the treasury, Cikó of Pomáz (1353–1359), and Miklós Szécsi, the ban

²⁶⁹ WassArch, the year 1337, abstract found in the charter of the judge royal (*index curiae*, the king's deputy in matters of justice) Miklós Druget, issued on May 12, 1354 (DF 252901).

of Szörény (1350–1355). According to this agreement, László, the son of Péter Veres of the Wass kindred, should have married the daughter of Bereck, and thus the property would have fallen upon the children resulting from this marriage and upon all the sons of Péter born after László's marriage, and upon all their male descendants. All potential occasions for disappointment were regulated in detail: for example, resolutions were made in case one of the concerned parties should not conform to the agreement, as well as in case the bride or the groom, or both, should die before the marriage could take place.²⁷⁰ It is not known what came out of the intended union, as neither wife nor children are mentioned in the family documents concerning László. In 1360 King Louis donated Péter Veres and his brothers the estate of Borbatelke – belonging to the estates of the queen – in Győr County,²⁷¹ which lay in the neighborhood of Kált.²⁷² It is very probable that they asked for this special land, thereby to expand their estate. Péter Veres had the charter (issued by King Béla IV in 1263) referring to the possession of Tótréde (later called Kistréde)²⁷³ transcribed by the chapter of Székesfehérvár in 1349. Consequently, by that time the family must have owned this latter estate as well, although the actual year of its acquisition is not known. Tótréde was also in the neighborhood of Káltháza,²⁷⁴ but nothing further is known of this. János Acél had likewise a share in Kált, which he sold in 1344, together with the estates of Pese, Gulács and Bőd (Vas County), to his brother, Péter Veres²⁷⁵ – mentioned in documents also as Péter of Káltháza, after his residence.²⁷⁶ Péter's brothers forbade him to alienate their share in Káltháza,²⁷⁷ and a certain tension marked their further relationship as well. Although Péter Veres seemed to acquire estates all around Káltháza,

²⁷⁰ WassArch, 12 May 1354 (DF 252901).

²⁷¹ DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 531–532 (20 Aug. 1360). On Borbatelke, see Györffy, vol. 2, 583, and Csánki, vol. 3, 546. It should be remarked that the document mentions the beneficiaries as the sons of János Kálti [!]. Thus, it seems very possible that this János (who was the brother of Miklós, the castellan of Csicsó) already held some estate in Káltháza.

²⁷² Engel, *Térkép* (the settlements of Kát, Bánk and Borba).

²⁷³ DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 4, 679 (6 Mar. 1348).

²⁷⁴ Engel, *Térkép* (the settlement of Kistréde); Csánki, vol. 3, 248–249.

²⁷⁵ HOkl, 246 (13 Aug. 1344). János Acél got Transylvanian estates (Keszü, Szentegyed) from Péter Veres. See also Engel, *Térkép* (the settlements of Pöse and Gulács), and Csánki, vol. 2, 785, 751–752, 739 (Pese, Gulács, Bőd). János Acél and his brother Péter Veres gave Gulács to the Káldi in 1347, who in turn made a promise to support the Wass in their endeavor to obtain the estates of Jácint de genere Pese (“*Achynthus quondam de genere Pese*”: see AOkm, vol. 5, 95–97; 22 Jun. 1347).

²⁷⁶ HOkl, 284 (between 15 and 17 May 1368).

²⁷⁷ HOkl, 259–260 = DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 251–252 (25 Jan. 1354).

he held offices exclusively in Transylvania, very possibly because his overlords – the Lackfi – demanded so. His descendants (fig. no. 21) lived their lives in Transdanubia;²⁷⁸ as for his sons, only of one of them, András, is recorded for something more than his name. He tried another way of social advancement, namely that of entering the Church. Between 1383 and 1388 he was a canon, and then between 1390 and 1403 already the provost of the St. Adalbert church in Győr.²⁷⁹ At that time, the provost of St. Adalbert automatically occupied a place among the canons of the cathedral chapter of Győr: in the hierarchy of these he held the fifth rank²⁸⁰ – after the provost, the *lector*, the *cantor* and the *custos*. In an undated missive, probably from 1384, András and his brother Miklós Veres²⁸¹ are said to enjoy the protection of the queen – if the established date is correct, then of Queen Mary (1382–1395) – who prohibited the Transylvanian relatives from disturbing them in their possessions.²⁸² It was not András alone of the family who chose the Church: Miklós Wass, who had as archdeacon of Ózd transcribed the charter of January 13, 1349, issued by the Transylvanian chapter, was probably András's nephew.²⁸³ If so, then it can be taken almost as certain that Miklós became a dignitary of the Church through his uncle. However, there is no information about his helping any other member of his family in their ascent.

²⁷⁸ On their activity in Transdanubia, see WassArch, 13 Mar. 1401 (DF 252726), 28 May 1423 (DF 253049).

²⁷⁹ Canon of Szentadalbert: WassArch, 23 Nov. 1383 (DF 252897); WassArch, 19 Nov. 1388 (DF 252708). Provost in the same place: WassArch, 30 July 1390 (DF 252710); *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Vatikáni magyar okirattár*, vol. I/3, *Bullae Bonifacii IX. P. M. IX. Bonifác pápa bullái, 1389–1396* (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1888), 107 (16 Dec. 1390); WassArch, 1 Jun. 1391 (DF 252710); HOkI, 324–325 (2 July 1395); WassArch, 13 Mar. 1401 (DF 252726); Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 46^r (abstract of a missing charter issued on 2 May 1402, once belonging to the Wass archive). On 1403, see Vince Bedy, *A győri székesébkáptalan története* [History of the cathedral chapter of Győr], *Győregyházmegye múltjából*, vol. 3 (Győr: Győregyházmegyei alap nyomdája, 1938), 317.

²⁸⁰ Bedy, 3.

²⁸¹ “*Nicolaus dictus Rufus*”: WassArch, 28 May 1423 (DF 253049).

²⁸² WassArch, XXXVIII/62 [29? Mar. 1384] (“*in Sancto Georgio, f. III. p. dom. Iudici*,” DF 252837). On the back of the document there appears the date 1384 in András Huszti's handwriting, a date that is confirmed by the fact that the one who issued it, Miklós, the son of István, is very probably identical with that Miklós, the *comes* of Doboka, whose charter of August 16, 1384, has been preserved (WassArch, DF 252839).

²⁸³ WassArch, 6 July 1406 (DF 252732). From all childless family members called Miklós he is best identifiable with the identically named son of Miklós Veres Bankházai, who was mentioned in 1401 (WassArch, 23 Mar. 1401; DF 252726). Although this charter has been treated with tannic acid, and thus whole parts of it have become illegible, it is fully usable, thanks to the abstract on its back.

András, canon of Győr, together with his brother Miklós, took into mortgage from three members of the Pok kindred (who seem to have been related to them in some way) the settlement of Vanyola²⁸⁴ in Veszprém County, which they eventually bought in 1395.²⁸⁵ The line of Péter Veres can be called Transdanubian, because he himself and his grandson, Péter Veres²⁸⁶ (the son of Miklós Veres), were often mentioned in documents as *of Bankháza*.²⁸⁷ This branch of the family acquired the estates of Cső and Szerecseny (in Veszprém County), but the fact of their possession is mentioned only later, in the fifteenth century, right after the Transylvanian relatives had sold those.²⁸⁸ The Transdanubian line had already come to an end before 1429 with the death of Péter Veres, the grandson of Péter Veres, founder of the line.²⁸⁹ This is confirmed by the steps taken in January 1429 by the Transylvanian relatives, the sons of Lökös Wass, who forbade King Sigismund to grant the estates of Borba, Vanyola, Bank and Szerecseny for fear that with passing them to new holders it would become impossible for the rest of the family, to regain possession of them.²⁹⁰

The defense of property rights more and more became a pressing necessity; thus Tamás of Szentgyed (sometimes mentioned as Tamás Lökös, one of Lökös's sons) had the charter issued by King Louis on August 20, 1360, regarding the granting of Borbatelek²⁹¹ transcribed by the chapter of Győr. Nevertheless, the possessions (Borba, Bankháza [= Káltháza], Vanyola, Szerecseny and Bodontelke) still escheated to King Sigismund²⁹² and were seized²⁹³ – by right of the “dying out” of the owners – as early

²⁸⁴ HOkI, 320–321 (19. Nov. 1388). The mortgagers of Vanyola (Miklós, Jakab and Gyuke) are not mentioned among the members of the Pok kindred either by Karácsonyi or by Engel (Karácsonyi, 897–907; Engel, *Genealógia*); nevertheless, they seem to belong there. They sold the estate to the Wass as “*nepotibus suis*” (meaning ‘as to their nephews’). See also Csánki, vol. 3, 258–259, and Engel, *Térkép* (the settlement of Vanyola).

²⁸⁵ HOkI, 324–325 (5 Aug. 1395).

²⁸⁶ WassArch, 5 Feb. 1427 (DF 253048).

²⁸⁷ Bankháza is identical with Káltháza. On Péter Veres senior, see WassArch, 25 May 1390 (DF 252710), and WassArch, 13 Mar. 1401 (DF 252726): the charter has been damaged, but its text can be partially recovered, due to András Huszti's abstract written on the back of the document. On Péter Veres junior, see WassArch, 5 Feb. 1427 (DF 253048).

²⁸⁸ HOkm, vol. 4, 364–365 (5 Feb. 1451); Szerecseny was sometimes considered part of Győr County: Csánki, vol. 3, 289 (s. v. Vas), 560 and Györffy, vol. 2, 653. For the settlement of Cső, see Csánki, vol. 3, 225.

²⁸⁹ WassArch, 8 Apr. 1430 (DF 252976).

²⁹⁰ WassArch, 12 Jan. 1429 (DF 253052).

²⁹¹ WassArch, 13 Jan. 1429 (DF 252900).

²⁹² WassArch, 23 May 1429 (DF 253053).

²⁹³ WassArch, 8 Apr. 1430 (DF 252976).

as 1430 by István Rozgonyi senior, the *comes* of Temes (1427–1438) and Győr (1422–1439).²⁹⁴ The Transylvanian kinsmen (sons of Lökös) made several attempts to regain them, entrusting Imre Györgyfalvi, the son of their sister, with the task. In the event of success, he was promised, in 1429, the “filial quarter” due to his mother.²⁹⁵ One year later he and his brother, Péter, and their descendants were offered one third of the estates.²⁹⁶ Seemingly a part of the property got back to them, as in 1439 Tamás Lökös and Miklós Györgyfalvi (the son of the above-mentioned Péter Györgyfalvi) provisionally conveyed Borbatelke to Palatine Lőrinc Hédervári (1437–1447)²⁹⁷ – the land being too far (in Győr County) to be administered from Transylvania. Furthermore, in 1451, Tamás, the son of Lökös, ceded the possessions of Cső and Szerecseny²⁹⁸ (Veszprém County) to the Ispán family of Asszonyfalva and to the Felpéci, and likewise did so with the possessions in Győr County: Borba and Bodontelke (this latter actually lying on the borderline of Győr and Veszprém Counties).²⁹⁹ Thus, all Transdanubian bindings of the Wass family came definitively to an end. They had slight chances to do anything with their estates from that distance; obviously the difficulties occurring from this situation brought them to dispose of those possessions.

Development of landed property

On the development of the Transylvanian estates of the Wass, the records of property division are highly informative. In 1362 the seven surviving sons (and their heirs) of János Wass divided the common estate among themselves. On this occasion all landed properties – including those that had been granted to one or another particular member of the family – were divided into seven equal parts. The following estates were in the possession of the family: Szentegyed, Cege, Szentgothárd, Pulyon, Szentiván, Mohaly, Szilvás, Nyíres, Keresztes (Doboka County) and Keszü (Kolozs County).³⁰⁰ Keszü is the only acquisition about which there is no information; however, an ancestor of the family, *Emuch* –

²⁹⁴ Engel, *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 133, 204.

²⁹⁵ WassArch, 23 May 1429 (DF 253053). Noble daughters received as their inheritance the filial quarter (*quarta filialis*), usually in cash, amounting to the value of one quarter of the paternal estate (cf. DRMH, vol. 3, 127).

²⁹⁶ WassArch, 26 Aug. 1430 (DF 253083).

²⁹⁷ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 167 (28 Dec. 1439).

²⁹⁸ HOkm, vol. 4, 364–365 (5 Feb. 1451).

²⁹⁹ HOkm, vol. 5, 248–249 (5 Feb. 1451).

³⁰⁰ DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 10–103 (22 Nov. 1362).

living in the thirteenth century – is said to be *of Keszü*,³⁰¹ and the family still retained a share in that property even in the fifteenth century.³⁰² A later property division, in 1372, besides these above-mentioned estates, divided the villages of Diós (Kolozs County) and *Ryua*, this latter having lost its population by now.³⁰³ Miklós Wass junior took Diós, together with other small estates, in mortgage around the middle of the fourteenth century;³⁰⁴ as for *Ryua*, nothing can be known about its acquisition. It is important to mention the fact that at the time of this latter division only Mohaly, Keszü and *Ryua* were entirely in the hands of the brothers (as Mohaly had been donated by the king, while the latter two had probably been bought); of Szentegyed, Nyíres and Pulyon they only owned a third, as they were holding those properties together with the sons of Jakab and the sons of Miklós senior (the castellan of Csicsó, the brother of János). Furthermore, the sons of János could divide among themselves half of the estates of Cege, Szentiván, Szilvás and Szentgothárd; the other halves of these possibly belonged to the sons of Miklós – in no case to the sons of Jakab, because they had sold their share already in 1349 to the sons of János Wass.³⁰⁵ Temporarily some other estates fell into the possession of some members of the family. Miklós Wass (the husband of János Csente's sister) tried to introduce himself into the estate of Jácintos (Fehér County),³⁰⁶ which was possessed

³⁰¹ DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 251–252 = HOkl, 259–260 (25 Jan. 1354).

³⁰² In 1366 the son of János, László, is also said to be *of Keszü* (DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 260; 13 Oct. 1366), just like László's son, Lökös (ZsOkI, vol. 4, no. 894; 21 July 1413), and László's grandson, Antal (WassArch, 29 Dec. 1426; DF 253010). Also having a share in Keszü were the son of Dezső Wass, László (HOkl, 322–323; 22 Oct. 1392), and Veronika Lökös (Wass), who sold her part to the Györgyfalvi (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 2212; 13 Jun. 1476; Csánki, vol. 5, 591).

³⁰³ DocRomHist C, vol. 14, 168–170 (15 Apr. 1372). *Ryua* (Kolozs County) lay in the neighborhood of Berkenyes, Botháza and Magyarfráta (on its localization, see HOkl, 314–315; 7 Feb. 1386).

³⁰⁴ On Paptelek and Csernek, both in Inner Szolnok County, see Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 2, 371, and vol. 5, 405; on Balog–Jánostelke (a depopulated settlement in the neighborhood of Szentmihálytelke), Berend, Diós and Oláhbuda in Kolozs County, see Csánki, vol. 5, 331; see also DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 79–80 (18 Nov. 1351). Diós: DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 378–379 (29 Nov. 1355); DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 466–467 (3 Jan. 1360). Diós and Balog–Jánostelke: DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 312–314 (1 Aug. 1364).

³⁰⁵ HOkl, 254 (13 Jan. 1349).

³⁰⁶ DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 119–120 (4 May 1357); DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 132–133 (12 May 1357). The acquisition of any property was validated by a formality called 'introduction' (*introductio* and *statutio*), with the assistance of a *homo regis* witnessed by a commissioner of a place of authentication.

at that time by the Dobokai.³⁰⁷ János Csente was the husband of a certain Erzsébet of the Dobokai kindred;³⁰⁸ seemingly, this relation through his brother-in-law inspired Miklós to lay claim to Jácintos, which he eventually could not obtain. According to another document, Miklós Wass junior in 1362 declared that his father János had acquired two properties in Inner Szolnok County, namely Oszvaj and Csobánka.³⁰⁹ These two properties had in fact belonged to János Csente de genere Aba, whose son probably sold them to Dezső Elefánti.³¹⁰ The son of this latter, Mihály Elefánti, passed them, in turn, to the Bebek in 1362. Miklós Wass laid claim to those too, and objected to the selling,³¹¹ but with no effect, as he could not get hold of them either. For some time, in 1357, the estate of Mikes (Torda County) entered into Péter Veres's possession, probably as a mortgage,³¹² and it was in a similar way that László Wass (the son of Dezső) owned Gyéres (Kolozs County) in 1377,³¹³ and Mihály (the son of Miklós Wass senior) owned the settlement of Girolt (Inner Szolnok County).³¹⁴ It was also by taking property into mortgage that the Wass obtained a part of Császári, near Szentiván, in 1413,³¹⁵ but this was passed on to the Kendi by Balázs Wass senior in 1507.³¹⁶ The family did not acquire further properties. This fact is also confirmed by Péter Veres's (the son of Miklós Veres, the grandson of Péter Veres) protestations made in front of the convent of Pannonhalma (a place of authentication), where he forbade in 1423 his Transylvanian kinsmen, the four sons of Lökös, to sell or even to divide among themselves the properties already mentioned: Szentegyed, Cege, Szentgothárd, Pulyon, Szentiván, Mohaly, Szilvás, Nyíres (Doboka County), Keszü, Diós and *Ryua* (Kolozs County).³¹⁷ Consequently, these constituted the Transylvanian landed

³⁰⁷ Emma Iczkovits, *Az erdélyi Fehér megye a középkorban* [Fehér County in the Middle Ages], *Település- és népiségtörténeti értekezések*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Sylvester Irodalmi és Nyomdai Intézet, 1939), 50.

³⁰⁸ Karácsonyi, 796.

³⁰⁹ DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 63–64 (25 Jan. 1362).

³¹⁰ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 2, 56, 446. In 1358 Oszvaj was possessed by the Elefánti (DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 262–263; 27 Mar. 1358).

³¹¹ DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 63–64 (25 Jan. 1362).

³¹² DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 145 (2 May 1357). Mikes is a settlement lying near Torda (Csánki, vol. 5, 720–721).

³¹³ DL 26870 (20 Nov. 1377). I hereby thank Zsigmond Jakó for this information. The settlement mentioned above is today called Oláhgyéres; it is situated near Mócs (Csánki, vol. 5, 357).

³¹⁴ ZsOkl, vol. 1, no. 2966 (3 Jun. 1393).

³¹⁵ ZsOkl, vol. 4, no. 806 (1 July 1413).

³¹⁶ WassArch, 15 Apr. 1507 (DF 255339); WassArch, 18 Nov. 1508 (DF 253005).

³¹⁷ WassArch, 28 May 1423 (DF 253049).

property of the family at the relevant time, even though some of them did not rest in their hands for too much time. The process of disposal of these is not known in every case. Diós, for example, had passed to the Budai, Keresztúri and Gesztrágyi families by the middle of the fifteenth century;³¹⁸ only Domonkos Wass preserved a share in it for a short time through his wife, Margit Keresztúri.³¹⁹ Likewise, the estate of Keszü belonged mostly to the Györgyfalvi and to the Székely of Szentegyed at that time.³²⁰ Domokos Wass ceded his share in Boncnyíres in 1465 to Mihály Nyíresi, a descendant of the Nyíresi from whom the Wass had bought the same property in 1318.³²¹ In 1449 Tamás Lökös of Cege was assigned by the Bethlen for a period of 20 years the estate of Bozkút (Kolozs County), not far from Szentgothárd, in order to have it populated.³²² By the end of the Middle Ages the Wass had smaller or bigger shares in the properties of Szentegyed, Cege, Szentgothárd, Pulyon, Szentiván, Mohaly and Szilvás (Doboka County), which were divided in 1497 among Domokos Wass and his eight children.³²³

All sons of a medieval Hungarian nobleman had an equal share in the inherited estates (and this, consequently, excluded the practice prevailing in Western Europe, based on the right of primogeniture), while girls divided between themselves a quarter of the property (although in some cases this remained only in theory, as they were paid off with cash). Due to this system of inheritance, if there was more than one male heir in a branch the property was divided into several parts, and that branch of the family grew poorer and poorer. On the other hand, in the event that there were no male heirs left, the branch concerned died out and collateral inheritance came into force: that is, the property passed down to the closest kinsmen in the male line (i.e. to the other branches). If the possible heirs were distant kinsmen (and first cousins were usually considered to be close kinsmen) of the deceased, the property would devolve upon the king through escheat (and the king was usually eager to validate this right). The dying out of some branches and continual property divisions gave rise to a varying financial state on the part of the individ-

³¹⁸ Csánki, vol. 5, 346; KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 554 (24 Jan. 1446); KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1219 (29 Aug. 1455); KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1310 (before 29 Sept. 1458); KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 2948 (1 Apr. 1495).

³¹⁹ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1538 (13 Apr. 1461).

³²⁰ Csánki, vol. 5, 367–368; KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 2212, no. 2257.

³²¹ WassArch, 26 Jun. 1465 (DF 252970).

³²² WassArch, 9 Mar. 1449 (DF 253075). Bozkút is a depopulated settlement in the neighborhood of Palatka, Légen, Mócs and Keszü (Csánki, vol. 5, 338; KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 62).

³²³ WassArch, 30 Mar. 1497 (DF 255389).

ual family members, and unfortunately it is impossible to establish the extent of the property or the number of serfs that they had at their disposal. Throughout the fifteenth century and in the first part of the sixteenth the majority of transactions concerning the landed property of the family meant mortgaging or property division. Mortgaging the property indicates a deficit of money and gradual loss of wealth; on the other hand, it also shows the emotional attachment to the ancient allotment, as they very seldom mortgaged or sold any of it to strangers.³²⁴ In the event that they did mortgage or sell landed property to persons not belonging to the kindred, they always tried to obtain right of preemption over it, which was in several cases even included in the contract.³²⁵ The Wass seem to have sold parts of Szentgothárd, Pulyon and Keszü to the Györgyfalvi as early as 1417,³²⁶ although there is the possibility that the latter obtained those territories as filial quarters.

In turn, the Wass also acquired smaller estates through the girls marrying into their family. For example, they acquired a share in Szentandrás (Doboka County) – which was probably a possession of the Wass kindred in the Árpád period – through the mother of Lökös Wass, the wife of László Wass, a descendant of the *comes Vylkinus*.³²⁷ For the division of her inheritance a lawsuit was started at the end of the 1380s between the families entitled: the Kajlai, the Wass, the Erdélyi of Somkerék, the Mihálcfalvi and the Ördög of Esküllő.³²⁸ As a result of this suit Lökös

³²⁴ On property movements inside the family, see the following: WassArch, 8 Jun. 1405 (DF 252851); WassArch, 20 Mar. 1407 (DF 252878); WassArch, 17 Jan. 1410 (DF 252857); WassArch, 18 July 1430 (DF 252941); WassArch, 2 May 1434 (DF 253014); WassArch, 14 May 1505 (DF 253091); WassArch, 13 July 1510 (DF 253025); WassArch, 10 Nov. 1511 (DF 255355); WassArch, 21 Nov. 1512 (DF 253027); WassArch, 28 Apr. 1513 (DF 255381), and so on; KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 48, 263, 1367, 1666–1668, 1672; vol. 2, no. 3311, 3320, 3323, 3327, 3368–3369, 3398, 3426, 3560, 3651, 3949, 4235–4237. On alienation of the property (selling to strangers), see WassArch, 27 July 1408 (DF 252858); however, this is recovered later: ZsOkl, vol. 4, no. 724 (8 Jun. 1413); WassArch, 29 July 1500 (DF 253020); KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 340, 509; vol. 2, no. 3068.

³²⁵ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3323 (1 Jan. 1505); KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3327 (24 Jan. 1505).

³²⁶ At that time Antal, the son of Lökös, was objecting to alienation (ZsOkl, vol. 6, no. 66, 2 Feb. 1417); however, that seems to have taken place in any case, as in 1427 an *officialis* at Pulyon of Péter and Imre Györgyfalvi is mentioned (WassArch, 18 Jan. 1427; DF 235010); in 1428 the two of them held a share only in Szentgothárd (WassArch, 6 Nov. 1428, DF 253054), but later in all three properties (WassArch, 9 Mar. 1444, DF 252954; and 1447, DL-DF CD-ROM: DL 26886). The record from February 3, 1437, of the convent of Pannonhalma mistakenly mentions (probably after their mother) Péter and Imre Györgyfalvi as “*Wass dicti*” (DL 88113).

³²⁷ WassArch, 23 Jan. 1399 (DF 252898).

³²⁸ WassArch, 7 Mar. 1390 and 15 Sept. [1393?] (DF 252898) = Teleki, vol. 1, 245; WassArch, 23 Jan. 1399 (DF 252898).

Wass obtained shares in the properties of Kajla, Szentandrás and Csigér in Doboka County, while in Kolozs County he acquired a share in Ercse and part of a country seat in Beszterce.³²⁹ In 1444 all these properties must have been still in their possession, as it was in that year that Tamás Lökös, the son of Lökös Wass, objected to the using of his forests in Szentandrás and Kajla by the Erdélyi of Somkerék.³³⁰ After Tamás's death without an heir King Ladislas (1452–1457) granted both properties to the Toldalagi,³³¹ and could do that probably because neither of the two was a constituent of the ancient allotment of the Wass (map no. 2).³³²

In the fifteenth century the family could not acquire any further estates; furthermore, the existent ones were reduced by compulsory allotment of filial quarters. Theoretically that part of the estate could have been converted into ready cash, but the practice very often showed the contrary³³³ (and not necessarily because the family was short of money)³³⁴ and properties were thus inherited by the children born from those marriages. Thus, through marriage, other families obtained parts of the ancient property of the Wass; unfortunately, this process can very seldom be traced. Nevertheless, the outcome was always the same: that is, the decrease of landed property. As an illustration of this process: around the end of the fifteenth century the daughters of Domokos Iklódi, Márta and Margit, obtained a share in Szentegyed, Pulyon, Nyíres and Ivánkatelke³³⁵

³²⁹ Csigér is a depopulated settlement near Sófalva and Besenyő (Györffy, vol. 2, 65).

³³⁰ Teleki, vol. 1, 242–248 (12 July 1394); WassArch, 22 Oct. 1398 (DF 252815); WassArch, 23 Jan. 1399 (DF 252898).

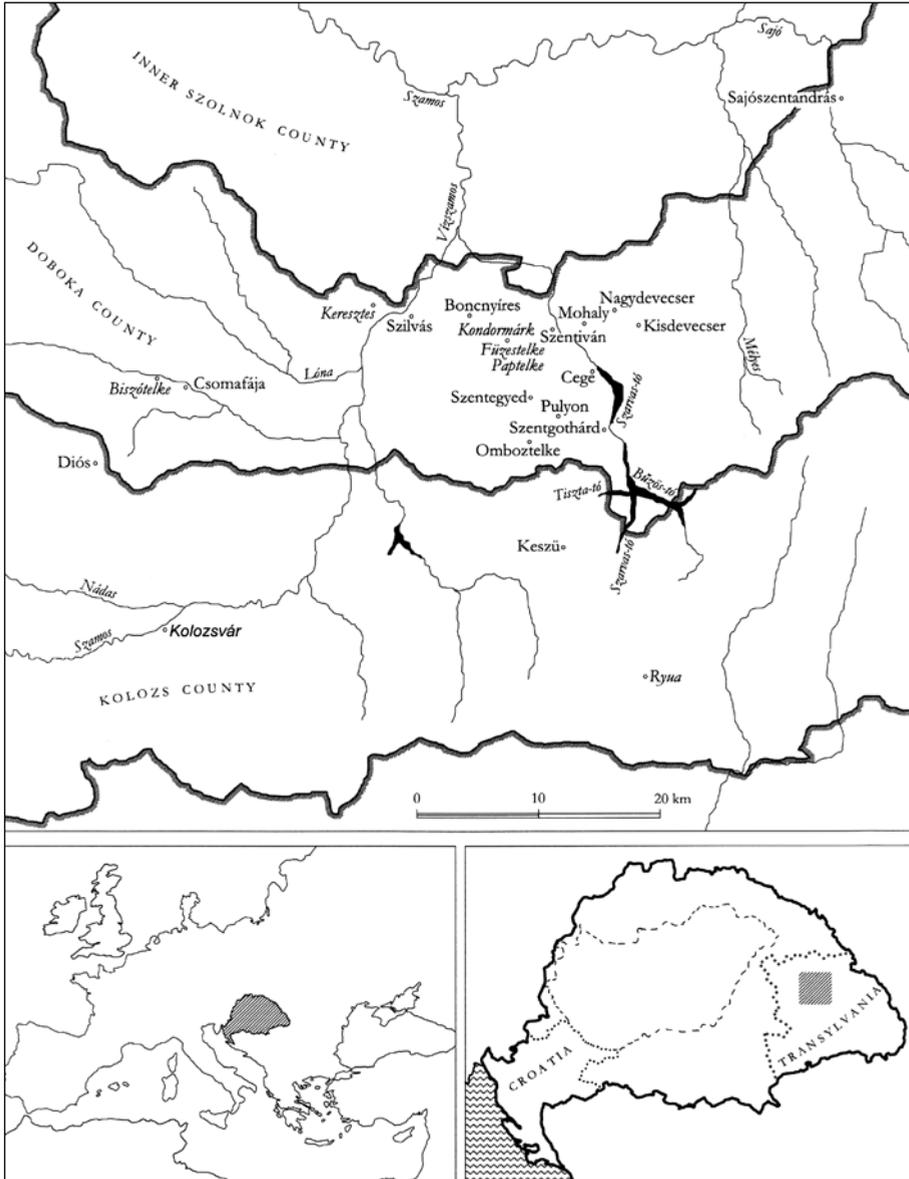
³³¹ WassArch, 28 Jan. 1444 (DF 252952). On the identification of the forbidden persons, see Engel, *Genealógia* (s. v. Becsegergely, Erdélyi family of Somkerék).

³³² DL 27481 (23 Mar. 1456). DL-DF CD-ROM, abstract made by György Rác = Károly Szabó, “Jelentés a nagy-ercsei gróf Toldalagi család radnótfáji levéltáráról” [Report on the archive in Radnótfája of the comital family of Toldalagi of Nagyercese], *Századok* 21, suppl. (1887): 80. The daughter of Lökös, Veronika (the wife of András Székely of Szentegyed), must have had properties in Szentandrás as late as 1485, because she sold them in that year to János Valkai and Lőrinc Székely (Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 6, 32).

³³³ On the other hand, the properties of Tamás Lökös inherited through the male line passed down within the Wass family, for example their share in Szilvás (DL 27691, 31 Jan. 1465, a note on the back of the record issued by the convent of Kolozsmonostor on October 15, 1464 (DL-DF CD-ROM, with abstract made by György Rác).

³³⁴ Péter Banyó, “Birtoköröklés és leányegyed. Kísérlet egy középkori jogintézmény értelmezéséhez” [Property inheritance and filial quarter: an attempt to interpret a medieval legal institute], *Aetas* (Szeged), 2000, no. 3: 76–91; Péter Banyó, “Válasz Homoki Nagy Mária bírálatára” [Response to Mária Nagy Homoki's criticism], *Aetas* (Szeged), 2001, no. 3–4: 308, 310.

³³⁵ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1775 (18 Dec. 1476).



Map. no. 2. Transylvanian estates of the Wass
 (from the twelfth to the fifteenth century). Made by István Karácsony.

after their mother, Magdolna Wass.³³⁶ At first, they exchanged these for half of Domokos Wass's property in Szilvás; then, somewhat later, Margit Iklódi alienated this latter estate to György Petki of Derzs.³³⁷ (This could be the model in accordance with which other families acquired further estates; in Szentegyed, for example, the Valkai,³³⁸ the Székely,³³⁹ the Botos³⁴⁰ and the Keresztes³⁴¹ families had a share as well.) And, in addition to all this, it often happened that other families – along with the entitled ones – set their eyes on the estates: in 1426 King Sigismund, in a mandate addressed to the chapter of Transylvania, ordered that László Thoroczky (the son of Miklós), the wife of Miklós Somkeréki, Zsófia, and the sons of László Gerendi, János and Péter (!), should be introduced into the properties of Cege, Szentegyed, Pulyon, Szentiván, Szentgothárd, Szilvás, Nyíres and Mohaly. Unfortunately the king's mandate does not reveal on what grounds the nobles specified above laid claim to these estates, but the installation probably never took place, because there is no further information on their possessing the properties concerned.³⁴² The whole case seems very obscure; neither is it of any help that László Thorotzkai is known to have declared in 1419 the property of Mohaly to be one belonging to him, at the same time raising an objection to the petition made by Mihály Wass of Szentiván (fig. no. 22), who, in turn, requested the estate in question for himself.³⁴³

³³⁶ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 2876 (4 July 1493).

³³⁷ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 2876 (4 Jun. 1493). The wife of György Petki, Erzsébet, did hold estates in Pulyon and in Szentegyed, and it is possible that she was a Wass by birth, as Bálint Kis Backamadarasi says. It is certain that she inherited the two properties from her mother, the wife of Gál Kendi. See Bálint Kis, "A Petki család" [The Petki family], *Turul* 13 (1895): 99, and KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3125, no. 4257.

³³⁸ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 2430 (26 Feb. 1438).

³³⁹ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 571 (1 May 1446).

³⁴⁰ WassArch, 13 Aug. 1448 (DF 252957). KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 536 (after 25 Nov. 1444).

³⁴¹ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 707 (9 Jun. 1449).

³⁴² In the archives of the chapter of Transylvania (today in the custody of the Batthyaneum in Gyulafehérvár), 5 Dec. 1426 (DF 277466); the incomplete abstract of the record: Antal Beke, "Az erdélyi káptalan levéltára Gyulafehérvárt" [The archives of the chapter of Transylvania in Gyulafehérvár], *Történelmi Tár* 37 (1890): 137 (no. 258).

³⁴³ WassArch, 12 May 1419 (DF 252916). There is no record about the family's possible holdings in Mohaly in the archive of the Thorotzkai family of Torockószentgyörgy (*ThorotzkayLt*, passim), and Kádár–Tagányi on the pages referring to Mohaly (vol. 5, 183–185) mentions only the record from the year 1426.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

In the fifteenth century, the Wass led a relatively uneventful life, with their activities limited to the area of the county. In most cases almost nothing is known of them but their names. In spite of their ever-decreasing properties, the Wass seem to have still belonged to the reputable families of the county, as a little before 1456 the Transylvanian nobility chose Tamás Lökös to represent them in front of the king. The only evidence of this is the fact that after the sudden death of Tamás, the Transylvanian nobility reclaimed their money – as they had given 32 gold florins to their deputy for horses and equipment – back from his widow, Ilona Dobokai, and from László Wass, one of the deceased's kinsmen.³⁴⁴ Apart from that and the delegations carried out as *homines regis* and *vaivodae* by family members, there is no further information on any important public duties of the Wass. They were busy managing their minor lawsuits concerning landed property, and sometimes engaging in intimidation of their neighbors over property. Owing to the one-sidedness of Hungarian documentary sources – usually only property suit procedures were put down in writing, and consequently the persons mentioned in these are overwhelmingly adult males concerned in the inheritance – it is not surprising that we have little information about their everyday life, about their other activities besides litigation. In the first third of the fifteenth century the Jankafi (another ancient noble family from Doboka County) sued them for the destruction of the settlements of Légen, Petelaka and Gyeke,³⁴⁵ and for the unlawful use of the territory between Szentgothárd and Légen.³⁴⁶ Almost at the same time the Mócsi were summoned to appear in court for violent trespasses and unlawful seizure of land.³⁴⁷ Some of the documents recording these two suits were originally to be found in the archive of the Jankafi family, from which they got into the Wass family archive, in all likelihood through the second wife of Balázs Wass, Katalin Hosszúaszói (the daughter of Apollónia Jankafi), at the begin-

³⁴⁴ “*pecunias udvarnicales*”: WassArch, 12 July 1456 (DF 253067).

³⁴⁵ ZsOkl, vol. 5, no. 2322 (24 Sept. 1416); ZsOkl, vol. 7, no. 455 (16 May 1419); WassArch, 2 Sept. 1428 (DF 252974); WassArch, 4 Sept. 1428 (DF 252975); WassArch, 13 Dec. 1429 (DF 253011); WassArch, 17 Apr. 1431 (DF 252977).

³⁴⁶ WassArch, 4 May 1430 (DF 253077); KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 55 (5 Apr. 1430); WassArch, 28 Apr. 1430 (DF 253057 and 253058); WassArch, 13 Nov. 1430 (DF 253059 and 253060); WassArch, 23 Nov. 1430 (DF 253062); WassArch, 30 Sept. 1431 (DF 253013 and 253012); WassArch, 21 Oct. 1431 (DF 253013 and 253012).

³⁴⁷ ZsOkl, vol. 6, no. 2367 (23 Sept. 1418); ZsOkl, vol. 7, no. 269 (5 Apr. 1419); ZsOkl, vol. 7, no. 1017 (13 Oct. 1419); WassArch, 23 Jan. 1423 (DF 253047); WassArch, 9 May 1430 (DF 253081).

ning of the sixteenth century. This descent of the documents is satisfactorily proved by the fact that the greater part of the documents concerning the suit against the Jankafi can be found today in two copies in the Wass archive: one written out for the defendant and another one for the plaintiff.

The silence of documentary sources suggests that the family lived its everyday life managing the estates and the livestock, a routine that was broken only by several little fights between the neighbors, or by assemblies called by the voivode or law courts of the county. The usually peaceful coexistence of the kinsmen was interrupted at times: in 1482, for example, István Wass – probably well backed by his *familiares* – assailed the country seat at Cege of his cousin, Domokos Wass, and dishonored and cruelly beat his wife, Borbála Gyerőfi. A possible reason for his act might have been the request of Domokos, who wanted a new division of the properties of Szentgothárd and Mohaly.³⁴⁸ The affair, certainly, ended up in another lawsuit, but in the end the injured party came to an agreement with István, who recompensed him with the half of his residence in Cege in exchange for dropping the charges.³⁴⁹ Such assaults happened outside the family as well: in 1510, or somewhat before then, Mihály Wass (the son of István) killed the *scolasticus* of Szentgothárd, a certain scribe called Imre.³⁵⁰

According to the genealogical table, several branches of the family died out in the fifteenth century. In one of the cases László Wass (the son of Mihály) intended to obtain for his daughter Erzsébet the grant of a son's right (promotion of a daughter to a son, "*in heredem masculinum praeficere*") from King Matthias (1458–1490),³⁵¹ to which grant István Wass and his brothers strongly objected before the chapter of Vác in 1468,³⁵² and then, in 1469, in the convent of Kolozsmonostor.³⁵³ It is peculiar that the brothers considered the chapter of Vác (Pest County)

³⁴⁸ WassArch, 21 May 1478 (DF 253015); WassArch, 15 July 1478 (DF 253016).

³⁴⁹ WassArch, 17 Feb. 1482 (DF 252980).

³⁵⁰ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3560 = WassArch, 22 Jun. 1510 (DF 255348); WassArch, 13 July 1510 (DF 253025).

³⁵¹ As a special grant the king could accord the "promotion of a daughter to a son" (or simply "prefection"), which meant that the daughter (or daughters) granted became the official heir(s) of a father dying without a male descendant, and inherited the paternal fortune just as if she (or they) were a son (or sons); thus this grant invalidated collateral inheritance. See József Holub, "A fiúsításról" [On prefection], in *Emlékkönyv Dr. Gróf Klebelsberg Kuno negyedszázados kulturpolitikai működésének emlékére születésének ötvenedik évfordulóján* [Klebelsberg Kuno memorial volume in honor of his 50th birthday] (Budapest: Rákosi Jenő Budapesti Hirlap Újságvállalata, 1925), 305–319.

³⁵² WassArch, 5 Aug. 1468 (DF 253071).

³⁵³ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1885 (after 12 May 1469).

a suitable place for them to make their objection, because as far as the documents let it be known, by the middle of the fifteenth century the Wass had disposed of all their Transdanubian estates. This may lead to the supposition that Erzsébet was married and her husband's estates lay near Vác. However, another equally possible explanation might be that István Wass was making a short stay near Vác in 1468, and thus presented his objection at the nearest place of authentication, and then, returning home, did the same in Kolozsmonostor.

In the documents regarding the turn of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, Balázs Wass senior (the son of Domokos) appears in most cases. Between 1499 and 1502 he was the administrator of the residence in Tasnád (Middle Szolnok County) of László Geréb, bishop of Transylvania (1475–1502).³⁵⁴ The background of his getting into this office is not known, and neither is his activity. The only information that has survived regarding him is that in 1499, together with eleven of his *familiars*, he assailed and plundered the country seat of Zsigmond Kőrösi in nearby Kőrös,³⁵⁵ while in 1502 he caused György Zólyomi – a nobleman (a retainer of the tithe, who leased the ecclesiastical tithe) – serious damage by abuse of authority.³⁵⁶ In a similar case of abuse he was sentenced to capital punishment (involving both loss of life and forfeiture of property) by the vice-voivode Lénárt Barlabássy (1501–1525) in 1505.³⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the voivode, Péter of Szentgyörgy, and Bazin (1498–1510) – who had not been present at the sentence – pardoned him soon afterwards, according to his record, at the request of numerous Transylvanian noblemen, and temporarily placed his confiscated properties in the hands of János Erdélyi of Somkerék.³⁵⁸ The abuse thus punished was actually a kind of revenge, as it had been preceded by a long conflict. Everything began in 1497, when János and Péter Márton of Szentbenedek (Maros Seat) ceded many of their estates to László Geréb of Vingárt, the bishop of Transylvania (1475–1501), because of their having murdered Lőrinc, the parson of Székelyvásárhely (today its Hungarian name is

³⁵⁴ “*provisor curie Thasnadiensis*”: WassArch, 28 Jun. 1499 (DF 255342); WassArch, 14 Aug. 1499 (DF 255342); by 1502 he became “*comes et provisor curie episcopalis Thasnadiensis*”: WassArch, 1 May 1503 (DF 252990).

³⁵⁵ WassArch, 28 Jun. 1499 and 28 Jun. 1499 (DF 255342). Balázs was not sentenced, because the offended party did not appear in court on the day of the trial. The settlement of Kőrös referred to in the suit is today called Érkőrös, near Tasnád in Middle Szolnok County (Csánki, vol. 1, 549).

³⁵⁶ WassArch, 1 May 1503 (DF 252990). The litigation was ended with an arrangement.

³⁵⁷ WassArch, 24 May 1503 (DF 255393); WassArch, 3 Jun. 1503 (DF 252991); KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3288 (after 25 Jun. 1503).

³⁵⁸ WassArch, 3 Jun. 1503 (DF 252991).

Marosvásárhely).³⁵⁹ Several of these estates (Uraj in County Torda, as well as Pete and Méhes in Kolozs County) were passed on to Balázs Wass,³⁶⁰ and not much later János Márton and his brother Antal started a long lawsuit with Balázs over the estates mentioned. This litigation was certainly not void of mutual abuses and attempts at acts of violence. During one of these events – as it turns out from the interrogation ordered by Voivode Péter of Szentgyörgy and Bazin in 1503 – the men of his adversary planned to decapitate Balázs Wass. Fortunately for this latter, he happened not to be in his residence at Cege, and thus he escaped; however, his personal assets were seized and divided between the offenders.³⁶¹

Balázs Wass started another suit, this time for the family's shares in Gyeke, which they acquired through Vid Wass's wife, Márta Fejes. István Fejes (a kinsman of Márta) alienated his own share in the estate concerned to Gáspár Horvát of Adámos from Küküllő County, in spite of the protests that Balázs and his brothers made in 1499.³⁶² Balázs Wass took in mortgage a part of the estate of Oláhpalatka (Kolozs County) in 1501,³⁶³ and later of Göc.³⁶⁴ For this latter estate he engaged in litigation with his neighbor, Gál Kendi (the son of Antal), in the course of which the armed *familiares* of his adversary attacked him in his residence at Cege.³⁶⁵ He was a highly respected personality; in 1524 he attended the assembly of the county nobility and the Székely, where they acted together against the insults that they had to experience.³⁶⁶ A number of documents have survived regarding his life, probably not only due to his very strenuous judicial activity but also because the family was carried on through his line (by his son János and his grandson György Wass, the *comes* of Kolozs County [†1594]).

The medieval history of the Wass family can be well documented, at least in comparison with that of the majority of county nobility. Even so, there are branches about which almost nothing is known. In 1422, the sons of Egyed Wass of Szentmárton (!), Mihály and János, appear;

³⁵⁹ The estates ceded to the bishop: Kisszőlős (Küküllő County), Uraj, Pete (Torda County), Méhes (Kolozs County), Szentbenedek, Vaja and Szentmiklós (Maros Seat). See KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3031 (13 Oct. 1497).

³⁶⁰ WassArch, 5 Apr. 1501 (DF 252986).

³⁶¹ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3288 (after 25 Jun. 1503).

³⁶² WassArch, 7 Mar. 1499 (DF 253086); WassArch, 1 Apr. 1499 (DF 253085).

³⁶³ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3182 (15 Apr. 1501).

³⁶⁴ WassArch, 26 Jun. 1504 (DF 253021); WassArch, 15 Mar. 1509 (DF 255340); WassArch, 30 Jan. 1515 (DF 253035).

³⁶⁵ WassArch, 31 Jan. 1521 (DF 255395).

³⁶⁶ SzOkI, vol. 3, 237–238 (15 Nov. 1524). The source of information: Mályusz, *Az erdélyi társadalom*, 51.

they had King Sigismund transcribe the charter of King Charles I issued on May 31, 1324. This document also contained the privilege from November 28, 1321, accorded by this latter king to Miklós, the castellan of Csicsó, regarding the estates of Szentgothárd, Cege and Szilvás, which were returned to him. The two brothers, Mihály and János, affirmed that Miklós was their ancestor (*avus*), and furthermore that they possessed undisturbed the aforementioned estates even in 1422.³⁶⁷ In spite of all this, the medieval history of the Wass family provides no information about possessions in Szentmárton, and no other record mentions either Egyed Wass of Szentmárton or his sons. The authenticity of the letter of privilege from 1422 is beyond doubt as far as external criteria are concerned, and the list of dignitaries of the kingdom (presented in the charter) corresponds to the actual situation of that time.³⁶⁸ This charter was part of the family archive in later times too; in 1569 the above-mentioned György Wass, the *comes* of Kolozs County, adverted to it in his suit against the female lines of the family, and then Dániel Wass, the assessor of the Royal Court of Law of Transylvania called *Tabula Regia* (1674–1741), had an attested copy of it made in 1729.³⁶⁹

It is interesting that the Christian names Gotthárd or Egyed were rather rarely used in the Middle Ages in Transylvania. In the Wass family, for example – as far as is known – only Egyed appears, and that only once, although, considering the patron saints of the two churches on their estates, a frequency of these names might have been expected. On the other hand, the Wass usually gave very popular surnames to their children: the family abounds – even when only considering the same generation – in boys and men called János, Miklós or László, who are hardly distinguishable when their fathers' name is not mentioned. The

³⁶⁷ ZsOkl, vol. 9, no. 571 (27 May 1422).

³⁶⁸ Engel, *Archontológia*, passim. In only one case is there a difference in comparison with Engel: according to the record of May 27, 1422 (*anno domini 1422, VI. Kal. Iunii*, the years of Sigismund's reign: *regnorum nostrorum anno Hungarie 36, Romanorum 12, Bohemie 2*), the episcopate of Trogir (Croatia) was not filled, while according to Engel a certain Simon held that position on May 10, 1423 (CD, vol. X/6, 537), and the vacancy can be dated only from May 21, 1423 (DL 43551); see *Archontológia*, vol. 1, 86. The most probable explanation for this might be that the royal chancellery mistook the list of the prelates in the charter of the Wass archive. It has to be remarked that Engel did not use the above-mentioned record issued on May 27, 1422, and preserved in the archive of the Wass (*Archontológia*, vol. 1, 561).

³⁶⁹ Mentioned in the record from May 5, 1569, by John Sigismund, the King of Hungary and Prince of Transylvania (*f. V. in Gothardi ep.*), WassArch, no. 5469; authenticated copy issued by the convent of Kolozsmonostor on October 3, 1729 (*f. III. p. dom. XVII. Trinit.*), according to which the original charter had been produced by Dániel Wass of Cege (WassArch, 27 May 1422, DF 255403).

problem of the above-mentioned record from 1422 raises two possible explanations: either it was issued by deceiving the chancellery (the case is mysterious enough), or written sources recording the existence of some branches did not survive. Due to a reorganization of the archive at a certain (unspecified) time, before the one made by András Huszti in 1754, some of the records were eliminated. This elimination was by no means made by András Huszti, because he kept and included even the unreadable records in his *elenchus*.³⁷⁰ Observably the elimination affected mainly the documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and although the descent of the line that carried on the family can be coherently tracked, it is impossible to place some sixteenth-century family members on the family tree. Such are, for example, Zsigmond Wass of Szentegyed (1544, 1554),³⁷¹ János Wass and his brother, the disloyal Máté Wass (1533),³⁷² Ferenc and Boldizsár Wass (1552),³⁷³ Simon Wass and his daughter, Márta (in 1555 the wife of Márton Komjátszegi),³⁷⁴ Demeter

³⁷⁰ Huszti, *Registrum*, 108 (Miscellanea. Num. 111: *Instrumentum truncatum et penitus obliteratum*); p. 111 (Miscellanea. Num. 155: *Penitus obliterata*).

³⁷¹ WassArch, 1544: XL/240. This Zsigmond Wass was still alive in 1554 (KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 5278, 16 Feb. 1554), and consequently cannot be identical with the Zsigmond, the son of Vid, records of whom exist from between June 12, 1461 (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1566), and January 9, 1495 (KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 2937); deceased: WassArch, 25 Apr. 1519 (DF 255362); in 1516 he was a noble vice-magistrate of Doboka County (HungNatArch, Archive of the Bethlen family of Bethlen, Related families: the Nagy family, P 1960, 4/66, 12^o). Rudolf Wolf drew my attention to this document of the Bethlen family archive and made its photocopy available to me; hereby I thank him for his help.

³⁷² The disloyal Máté is mentioned as deceased in 1533 (WassArch, 5 July 1533), and cannot be identified with that Máté who is also said to be deceased in 1555, but whose widow had a child – presumably by her late husband – who was only three years old (KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 5433). That Tamás Lökös who – according to a record made on August 4, 1440, by the convent of Kolozsmonostor – is supposed to be the son of Mihály (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 263) cannot be placed in the family tree either. The record seems to have been made very hastily, and is also very laconic, and so it is difficult to read and interpret (its original: DL 36390. p. 57, no. 1). Furthermore, very possibly, it was drawn up in haste together with the declaration; consequently, it might mistakenly date the origin of Tamás Lökös, who was actually the son of Lökös. Besides the information about his descent, a mandate from 1433 by Loránd Lépes Váraskeszi, the vice-voivode of Transylvania, attests the fact stated above, mentioning Tamás as the son of Lökös, and then in the answer of the convent to this mandate mentions him as Tamás Lökös (WassArch, 2 May 1434 and 7 May 1434; DF 253014). Tamás was called “Lökös/Lökösi” after his father, and so were his brothers. Records in the family archive from between November 19, 1404, and October 15, 1455, continuously mention him as such (DF 252852 – DF 252967. On the names of his brothers, see, for example, WassArch, 26 Aug. 1430; DF 253083; HOkm, vol. 5, 248–249; 5 Feb. 1451).

³⁷³ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 5152 (2 Jun. 1552).

³⁷⁴ 16 Jun. 1555 (KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 5380). Márta’s previous husband was Gergely Baranyai (KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 5387; 25 Jun. 1555). In the case of Simon, it is impossible

Wass of Szentegyed (1587)³⁷⁵ and his daughter, Márta Wass,³⁷⁶ Imre Vas (1598)³⁷⁷ and Zsófia,³⁷⁸ the widow of János Wass. Although the canon of Óbuda, Tamás Wass,³⁷⁹ turns up in 1502 in connection with some properties in Inner Szolnok and Doboka Counties, there is no document confirming that he would be identical with the son – named alike – of János Wass.³⁸⁰ The family archive might have undergone a loss even in the medieval period – there is at least one example of that. In accordance with the prevalent habit of the period, the eldest member of the family – at that time László Wass – guarded the muniments chest (containing the records of the family) closed with the seals of each one of the kinsmen. After the death of László, his wife passed over the chest – without the knowledge or consent of her husband’s relatives – to Antal Kendi, who selected and kept the most important documents and returned the remainder to the Wass.³⁸¹ Certainly, later on these records got back to the family, but this incident illustrates how easily the existence of these documents could be endangered. Similarly, in 1524, or a little before that, Tamás Wass broke open the muniments chest at his brother Pál’s house and stole the documents that he found in it. Naturally, the matter gave rise to further altercations in the family.³⁸²

The Wass made a donation to the Church only once in this period (or at least this is the only case that the documents mention). In 1477, in the hope of the salvation of his soul, János, the son of Vid, bequeathed his share in the fishpond of Szentgothárd to the Dominican friary in

to decide whether he belonged to the Wass of Cege or to one of the other Wass families from Kolozs County (Csánki, vol. 5, 626–627).

³⁷⁵ Tamás Fejér, Etelka Rác and Anikó Szász, eds., *Báthori Kristóf királyi könyve 1580–1581* [*Liber regius* of Kristóf Báthori], Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok, vol. 7/1 (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2003), no. 14 (16 Oct. 1578); WassArch, 1590: XVI/19.

³⁷⁶ WassArch, 1633: no. 2118. The noblewoman Márta Wass of Szentegyed, the widow of András Szabó (*egregius*), according to the inquest held in 1633, was 60 years old, and consequently must have been born in the last third of the sixteenth century. She was the daughter of Demeter, and the sister (?) of Balázs Wass (WassArch, 1628: XVI/25).

³⁷⁷ WassArch, no. 4869.

³⁷⁸ Perhaps the mother of György Wass, the *comes* of Kolozs County. Undated document among the medieval records of the Wass archive (in Huszti’s *Registrum* it is the document no. VII/15, in 2003 marked with the no. 475 in the NatArch), seemingly from the 1560s (see Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 7, 280).

³⁷⁹ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3262 (12 Dec. 1502).

³⁸⁰ WassArch, 11 Mar. 1522 (DF 253041).

³⁸¹ DL 27523 (31 Oct. 1474). Balázs Wass’s muniments chest is mentioned in 1507 (WassArch, 17 Mar. 1507; DF 255343 = KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3400).

³⁸² WassArch, 23 Jan. 1525 (DF 255400, abstract of the charter of the town of Dés presented in another charter, in the one issued by János Szapolyai, Prince of Transylvania, on 14 Feb. 1525).

Kolozsvár. Not only did no objection arise on the part of his brothers, but they themselves donated their shares to the Dominicans too.³⁸³ This act of the brothers confirms that none of the nine sons of Vid had male heirs (see the family tree), because at that time donations were usually made to the Church in cases when there were no heirs left to provide for the salvation of the deceased.

Material heritage

Regarding the material heritage of the family – tools and objects mentioned in connection with them – rather little information is left. The medieval country seats of the Wass have all perished by now, and together with them the household goods, furniture and all valuables kept inside have passed away. Our knowledge about these is confined to the scanty information conveyed by records.³⁸⁴ It has been recorded that the widow of Tamás Veres received as a dowry and marriage gift from the kinsmen of the deceased – in addition to a few mares and sheep – an ermine fur coat covered with good quality cloth and lavishly decorated with metal plates (*unam mastrucam ermellinam de bono panno contextam et cum multa lamina diligenter ornatam*), a gown in good condition (*unum bonum pepulum*) and a belt (*unum balteum*).³⁸⁵ In 1405 László, the son of Lökös, likewise as a dowry and marriage gift, left for the daughter of Dezső Wass with the *homo vicevoivodae* and with the delegate of the convent of Kolozsmonostor a certain sum of money – wrapping it, then sealing the bundle with his seal – and two pieces of cloth from Cologne and Leuven (*duas particulas pannorum Colonicalium et Levinensium*).³⁸⁶ The family also owned several arms (*arma*) of unspecified type and a muniments chest (*ladula*), this latter for the safe-keeping of documents; furthermore, there must have been valuables and jewelry in their possession. Factual information was left by Katalin Hosszúaszói, the wife of Balázs Wass, who in 1512 desired

³⁸³ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 2232 (14 Jun. 1477). The deed of gift is also mentioned by the inventory-record of the possessions of the Dominican friary in Kolozsvár: see János Esterházy, “A kolozsvári boldog-asszonyról címzett domonkosok, jelenleg ferencziek egyházának története és építészeti leírása” [Historical and architectural description of the Holy Virgin Dominican Friary in Cluj], *Magyar Sion* 4 (1866): 577; the eighteenth-century copy of the inventory-record can be found in the Wass family archive as well (DF 255404).

³⁸⁴ Géza Entz, “A hátszegi nemesi udvarházak kincsei” [Treasures of nobiliary country seats in Hátszeg], *Magyar Múzeum* 1 (1991): 81.

³⁸⁵ DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 145–146 (9 Apr. 1363).

³⁸⁶ WassArch, 11 Aug. 1405 (DF 252727).

to obtain a share from the estates, livestock, household goods [?] (*ex bonis hazezkez hoc est clenodiis et de mayorsaagh*) and other valuables possessed by her brother, Máté Jankafi. The valuables mentioned were kept in a chest: one thousand florins in cash, silverware worth five hundred florins (*argenteria videlicet cyfi, peccaria, coclearia necnon argentum fusum*) and gold and precious stones worth about three hundred florins (*magna quantitas auri et gemmarum*).³⁸⁷ In 1524 the previously mentioned Tamás Wass left a silvered chest (*peram seu caletam, ambabus finibus argento ornatam*) in the house of a burgher in Kolozsvár; the chest contained a ring and several buckles (*annulum unum ac fibulas argenteas*). At the same time he also handed over charters, which he carried in a small bag (*sacculum unum longitudine scilicet unius palme fili conlegatum*). These documents were usually kept in the muniments chest of the family (*ladula*) together with the silverware (*res argenteas*), and it can be considered an extreme case when after the death of a family member, János Wass, his brothers temporarily placed the documents from the muniments chest in the table-drawer (*in scrinio cuiusdam mense*), which they all sealed with their seals in order to avoid any possible abuse.³⁸⁸ As such possessions meant persistent value, they must have been found in every noble family of worth. Unfortunately no will of the family members that could inform us more fully about the material heritage of the family has survived in the Wass archive from the medieval period.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁷ WassArch, before 9 May 1512 (DF 255384) – undated draft containing the appeal of Katalin Hosszúaszói, the wife of Balázs Wass, against Máté Jankafi of Ós, made before Miklós Túroczi, the vice-voivode of Transylvania and *comes* of the Székely. The supposed date is confirmed by the fact that Miklós Túroczi held his office between 1512 and 1516, and the conflict between Katalin and Máté was attempted to be settled on April 25, 1512, by chosen judges, while on May 9, 1512, the lawsuit was already carried in front of János Szapolyai, the voivode of Transylvania (WassArch, DF 255372). The first document of the suit is perhaps the record of János Szapolyai issued on December 20, 1511 (DL 30993, source: DL-DF CD-ROM). An important addition might be the fact that the wife of Balázs Wass, Katalin, was the daughter of Bálint Hosszúaszói and Apollónia Jankafi of Ós (DL 30993); this Katalin is annexed sometimes to the Jankafi, at other times to the Hosszúaszói by the index of the KmJkv (vol. 2, 923, 930).

³⁸⁸ WassArch, 20 Jan. 1525 and 23 Jan. 1525 (DF 255400, abstracts of the charters of the town of Kolozsvár and of Doboka County included in the charter issued by János Szapolyai, Prince of Transylvania, on 14 Feb. 1525).

³⁸⁹ The family archives of the Bethlen of Bethlen preserved the will of Erzsébet Wass, the wife of Tamás Pogány of Torda, dated to December 12, 1542 (*in profesto Lucie virg.*), but unfortunately this mentions nothing but sums of money, shares in lands and a mill (HungNatArch, Archives of the Bethlen family of Bethlen, Related families: the Nagy family, P 1960. 4/66, 16^r). Rudolf Wolf made the photocopy of this document available to me; he also quoted this will in his study on the Pogány family (Wolf, *Bethlen* 605–609).

The coat of arms of the Wass in the Middle Ages

It is important to present the medieval coat of arms of the family, which pictures the head of a bison transfixed with an arrow. In the beginning – the exact date is unknown – it was perhaps taken up and used on “ancient right”: that is, without having it received as a grant from the king. In the fourteenth century the Wass already had their coat of arms, in spite of the fact that the use of blazons at that time was not at all a prevalent habit of Hungarian county nobility – most of them used only different symbols (star, cross, half-moon, flower, arm holding a sword etc.) on their seal-rings.³⁹⁰ In the beginning the wearer himself could choose his own coat of arms, which was consolidated in usage. At some point in the fourteenth century, however, the selection and usage of a blazon became more and more dependant on the king’s grace, as it turned into a recorded grant, while its granting also became the king’s exclusive right.³⁹¹ Bison-heads on seal rings were very popular in the Middle Ages,³⁹² however; even in modern times the legend according to which the bison in the Wass coat of arms represents the one killed by Miklós Wass, the castellan of Csicsó, still persisted. Most probably the Wass, who took part in numerous campaigns, inserted the sign applied on their helmets or shields in their coat of arms and seals as well. Unfortunately, tombstones with the blazon of the family have not survived from the medieval period, and thus only the two known seals can be considered as sources. One of them is actually the impress made of the seal-ring of Miklós Wass, the *comes* of Doboka, on a record issued in 1361 (fig. no. 23) by him and the two noble magistrates of the county;³⁹³ regrettably the picture on the blazon cannot be discerned, due to the deterioration of the wax. Nevertheless, the bison-head can be clearly recognized in the seal of a letter of sentence (fig. no. 24) issued by Miklós Wass of Szentegyed and two other chosen judges.³⁹⁴

³⁹⁰ József Csoma, *A magyar heraldika korszakai* [Epochs of Hungarian heraldry] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1913), 16.

³⁹¹ Csoma, 13; Nyulászi–Straub, *Öt évszázad címerei*, 10.

³⁹² Mária Hlatky, *A magyar gyűrű* [The Hungarian ring], A budapesti Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Művészettörténeti és Keresztényrégészeti Intézetének dolgozatai, vol. 55 (Budapest: Pallas nyomda, 1938), fig. 3, no. 33–39.

³⁹³ DL 73688 (14 Dec. 1361).

³⁹⁴ WassArch, 23 Nov. 1511 (DF 255370).

The Wass in Transylvanian society

To examine the social status of the Wass family, the usage of honorific titles can well serve as a starting point. Pál Engel followed the usage of titles by considering Ung County until the end of the age of Sigismund (1387–1437). On that territory the title of *comes* (= Hung. *ispán*) served, as early as the thirteenth century, to show the distinguished nature of a person; in the last third of the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century it was extensively used by and adapted to the heads of smallholder families as well. At about that time there appeared the title of *magister* (= ‘master’), but this did not stand for a higher status: some people were consistently addressed as *magistri*, others as *comites*.³⁹⁵ The usage of titles in the Wass family can be traced from the time of Miklós, the castellan of Csicsó. His contemporaries put the title of *magister* before his name on several occasions³⁹⁶ – but in most cases the title of *comes* was used (1304–1347).³⁹⁷ This title was not accorded to anybody else in the family: neither in Miklós’s lifetime, because – as can well be seen even now – he was the most prestigious of all, nor later, perhaps because in the meantime it had slipped out of usage. The sons of János of Kált were mentioned as *magistri* from the 1330s onwards; this might have happened also because they were all holding offices at that time,³⁹⁸ while a few of them were called *miles* (‘knight’).³⁹⁹ Later on, on several occasions the grandsons of János of Kált were also addressed as *magistri*.⁴⁰⁰ By the fifteenth century only one member of the family, Lökös, the

³⁹⁵ According to Pál Engel’s interpretation, “probably the appearance of people was different; those wearing the new, knightly attire were called *magistri* – obviously the younger generation, in contrast with the *comites*, wearing traditional robes.” See Engel, *Ung*, 96–97.

³⁹⁶ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 417 (1 Jan. 1322); CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 435 (4 Jun. 1322).

³⁹⁷ E.g. CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 43 (28 Sept. 1304); CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 256 (13 Nov. 1315); DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 4, 649 (13 Jan. 1346); HOKl, 246–248 = Ub, vol. 2, 38–39 (25 Mar. 1347); DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 4, 662–663 (1 July 1347).

³⁹⁸ *Magister* Miklós Wass senior (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 869, 28 Dec. 1335), *magister* László Wass (CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 1055; 8 Nov. 1339). Every one of them was called *magister*: DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 3, 606–608 (20 July 1340).

³⁹⁹ Péter and Dezső Veres: DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 158–159 (8 July 1363); Dezső Wass: DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 477–478 (27 Apr. 1368).

⁴⁰⁰ For example: DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 157–158 (8 July 1363); DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 178–179 (8 July 1366); DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 338 (24 Mar. 1367); DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 401–402 (29 Jun. 1367); DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 708–709 (22 Mar. 1370); HOKl, 311 (29 Jun. 1378); WassArch, 23 Nov. 1383 (DF 252897); HOKl, 320–321 (19 Nov. 1388); WassArch, 30 May 1390 (DF 252793).

son of László, held this title,⁴⁰¹ but at the same time the usage of the title lost ground more and more extensively, at least according to the Wass archival sources. A title preceding the name of a Wass appears again at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at that time the *egregius* (= 'eminent, egregious'); János Wass of Szentegyed,⁴⁰² his brother, Balázs Wass senior,⁴⁰³ and the sons of this latter were being honored with that⁴⁰⁴ – at that time only the most respectable men in the county were entitled to be called so.

People who were in the service of the Wass are worth examining, as they also reflect the changing possibilities and prestige of the family. Records use the terms *serviens*, *famulus*, *officialis* and *familiaris* in order to name the relationship of these to their superiors; unfortunately these documents do not in all cases disclose the social status of the persons concerned. Mostly serfs are implied, but all those persons who were not coming from the Wass estates most probably were noblemen, as otherwise their bonds (as serfs of other landowners) would not have let them enter into the service of the Wass. *Familiaries* appear throughout the medieval period, for the first time under Miklós senior, the former castellan of Csicsó⁴⁰⁵ in 1328, and then in higher numbers in the service of several sons of János of Kált. Documents also inform us about the *familiaries* – presumably serfs – of Miklós junior,⁴⁰⁶ of László⁴⁰⁷ and of Dezső Wass,⁴⁰⁸ and of those of noble birth in the service of Péter Veres, deputy master of horse,⁴⁰⁹ and Tamás Veres.⁴¹⁰ From among their descendants only László, the son of Dezső,⁴¹¹ is known to have had *familiaries*; from the fifteenth century two retainers of László Wass⁴¹² and two of Domokos

⁴⁰¹ HOkl, 323–324 (30 Oct. 1394); WassArch, 26 Aug. 1400 (DF 252847); WassArch, no. 5331, fol. 11^v (2 May 1402).

⁴⁰² WassArch, 15 Apr. 1507 (DF 2529999).

⁴⁰³ WassArch, 1 Oct. 1508 (DF 253022); WassArch, 16 Oct. 1509 (DF 255345); WassArch, 11 Oct. 1516 (DF 255387); WassArch, 23 Dec. 1518 (DF 253031).

⁴⁰⁴ WassArch, 23 Jun. 1532.

⁴⁰⁵ CDTrans, vol. 2, 627 (7 July 1328). András, *serviens*.

⁴⁰⁶ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 633 (17 Jan. 1329). *Famuli* recorded without mentioning their names – János Nagy (Magnus), *famulus* (DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 172–173; 30 Aug. 1357); János (the son of Balázs), *famulus* (DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 399–400; 4 July 1359).

⁴⁰⁷ CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 633 (17 Jan. 1329). *Famuli* mentioned without their names.

⁴⁰⁸ *famulus*: DocRomHist C, vol. 13, 90–92 (15 May 1366).

⁴⁰⁹ *Magister* János Debreceni, *officialis*: DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 4, 679 (6 Mar. 1348).

⁴¹⁰ Tamás Egresi, János Tancsházai and Pál Kis (Parvus), *familiaries* (DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 431–432; 8. Dec. 1359).

⁴¹¹ Gergely, *famulus* (HOkl, 323–324; 30 Oct. 1394); *familiaris* called Jakab in Szentgothárd (DocRomHist C, vol. 14, 550–551; 8 May 1375).

⁴¹² Benedek Ombozi and Imre Kis (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 510; 20 July 1444).

Wass, the son of Pál,⁴¹³ are recorded. These latter *familiars* were presumably all serfs, although this is mentioned in only one case. At the end of the fifteenth century Balázs Wass senior was the one, after quite a long time, who held an office as administrator of the bishop of Transylvania's properties in Tasnád (Middle Szolnok County). He was a constant participant in long and difficult lawsuits: together with his *familiars* he appears many times in documentary sources.⁴¹⁴ These mention names in surprisingly great numbers. In 1499 a certain Márk Horvát Patacszázi (*de Potthochaz*) turns up;⁴¹⁵ except for his name nothing is known of him. In the same year, in connection with the assault of the country seat at Érkőrös, János and Mihály of Szuna, together with other nine persons – whose origins are not mentioned in the record, although they seem to have been smallholders in Middle Szolnok County (since they are called *providi* by the document, a title that was accorded to the wealthy serfs as well)⁴¹⁶ – are enumerated as the *familiars* of Balázs. From about 1502 Balázs was to be found in Doboka County, his retainers at that time being Mátyás Csügedi (? *de Chwgod*),⁴¹⁷ István Devecseri of Kisdevecser⁴¹⁸ and serfs from Cege: Ambrus Császári,⁴¹⁹ István Fekete (*providus*)⁴²⁰ and Mihály, called scribe (*litteratus, circumspectus* and “*libertus famulus*”).⁴²¹ Presumably the certain scribe (*litteratus*) called Máté⁴²² was also a serf, although his origin is not known. From the data presented above it clearly transpires that the Wass kept *familiars* in greater numbers in their service in the fourteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth, presumably because their financial conditions were relatively sound in those periods – but limited at the same time, as is proved by the presence of serfs as *familiars*.

In the fourteenth century the Wass rarely linked themselves in marriages with families from outside the counties in which they possessed property. All spouses came from families who lived in relative-

⁴¹³ A serf from Szentegyed called Jakab Zekel, *familiaris* (WassArch, 2 Dec. 1449; DF 252966); Domokos Széki (*litteratus*), *familiaris* (WassArch, 1 Aug. 1468; DF 255335).

⁴¹⁴ Lénárt Barlabássy of Héderfája, the vice-voivode of Transylvania and *vicecomes* of the Székely, adjourned all lawsuits of Balázs Wass's serfs and *familiars*. See WassArch, 4 Aug. 1518 (DF 255361).

⁴¹⁵ WassArch, 7 Mar. 1499 (DF 253086).

⁴¹⁶ WassArch, 28 Jun. 1499 (DF 255342).

⁴¹⁷ WassArch, 5 Jan. 1502 (DF 253088). According to the record: *nobilis*.

⁴¹⁸ WassArch, 3 July 1503 (DF 253089).

⁴¹⁹ WassArch, 13 July, 1510 (DF 253025).

⁴²⁰ WassArch, 7 Jun. 1512 (DF 255373); WassArch, 29 July 1513 (DF 253033); WassArch, 12 Feb. 1516 (DF 255385).

⁴²¹ WassArch, 6 Dec. 1517 (DF 253038).

⁴²² WassArch, 1 Aug. 1513 (DF 255378).

ly restrained financial conditions, but were considered well off within the boundaries of the county concerned. The names of these wives are usually not known; however, the fact of the marriage is in most cases confirmed by the existence of children. From this century the wife of Tamás Veres, Ilona (the daughter of István Bogár of Indal, a smallholder in Torda County)⁴²³ is known by her name, and likewise is the wife of Tamás Wass, *Sebe* (the daughter of Péter Bogácsi from Doboka County).⁴²⁴ About Miklós Wass junior's wife it is recorded that she was the sister of János Csente de genere Aba, a landowner in Inner Szolnok County.⁴²⁵ Observably, in spite of their serving in the furthest corners of the country, when it came to marriage, the Wass chose from among the noble girls of their region.

Sources regarding the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are much more abundant. However, in the further presentation there will appear all fifteenth-century branches in which the spouses are known by name, as there is more information regarding this period than there is for the sixteenth century.

The husband of Zsófia Wass (the granddaughter of Dezső Wass) – in around 1405 – was Imre Járai⁴²⁶ (the son of László), who came from Jára, Torda County, but held properties in Kolozs County as well.⁴²⁷

Six sons of Lökös Wass – this latter appearing in records between 1363 and 1404 – are known so far (László, András Lökös, Antal Lökös, Tamás Lökös, Demeter and Zsigmond Lökös), but only the wife of Tamás Lökös can be identified, in the person of Ilona Dobokai (the daughter of Péter).⁴²⁸ At least two more of the brothers, László and Zsigmond Lökös, got married; sons were born only to László, but not grandsons as well (or at least there is no information about them): thus the branch of Lökös died out in the male line. In addition, Lökös had four daughters as well, all of whom were married. *Junith* was at first the wife of János Székely,⁴²⁹ a landowner in Mikeháza, Inner Szolnok County, and then got married

⁴²³ DocRomHist C, vol. 12, 145–146 (9 Apr. 1363). The Indali, as their name shows, had possessions in the settlement of Indal in Torda County (Csánki, vol. 5, 781).

⁴²⁴ WassArch, 10 Mar. 1376 (DF 252828). Bogács is a settlement in Doboka County near Szék (Györffy, vol. 2, 61).

⁴²⁵ DocRomHist C, vol. 11, 40–41 (4 Nov. 1356).

⁴²⁶ WassArch, 6 Aug. 1405 (DF 252727). According to a record from 1440, they died without having a son (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 219; 26 Mar. 1440), but left behind a daughter called Zsófia (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 564; 16 Mar. 1446).

⁴²⁷ They cannot be linked with the family of the vice-voivode Péter Váradjai (Járai). See Miklós Lázár, “Járai Péter alvajda és maradékai” [The vice-voivode Péter Járai and his descendants], *Turul* 2 (1884): 152–156, and Engel, *Genealógia*, s. v. Váradjai (Járai).

⁴²⁸ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1394 (7 Nov. 1459).

⁴²⁹ WassArch, 17 Jan. 1410 (DF 252857).

to Imre Györgyfalvi⁴³⁰ from Kolozs County. Potenciána married Péter Kabos of Gyerőmonostor⁴³¹ (also from Kolozs County), while Veronika became the wife of András Székely of Szentegyed⁴³² and Júlia the wife of Jakab Keresztes of Szentegyed (1449).⁴³³

Vid, who appeared in records between 1410 and 1454, married Márta Fejes of Gyeke (the daughter of István, 1459)⁴³⁴ and through her the Wass acquired a share in Gyeke,⁴³⁵ a settlement next to Szentgothárd. One of their daughters, Erzsébet, got married to István Gesztrágyi (the son of Albert),⁴³⁶ a possessor of property in Kolozs County, and the other, Margit, got married to Lőrinc Székely of Szentegyed (1495),⁴³⁷ who was the *vicecomes* of Doboka in 1479.⁴³⁸ Seven sons of Vid are known (László, Gergely, István, Pál, János, Tamás and Zsigmond), but only one of them can be supposed to have married. It seems – if the identification is not mistaken – that two sons named Mihály were born to István, who were mentioned in records in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. However, these latter had no descendants; thus the branch of Vid died out as well.

The sister of Vid Wass, Dorottya, was married first to Péter Szentiváni⁴³⁹ from Doboka County, and then became the wife of Gergely Récsei (the son of Mátyás)⁴⁴⁰ from Kraszna County, who, although he had been a nobleman, was called *pictor* on one occasion.⁴⁴¹ Probably that László whose wife is mentioned as a widow in a record from 1486 was also a brother of Vid. The widow's name was Potenciána; perhaps she was the daughter of a neighboring landowner.⁴⁴² The couple had three

⁴³⁰ WassArch, 23 May 1429 (DF 253053).

⁴³¹ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 706 (9 Jun. 1449). On the Kabos, see Csánki, vol. 5, 512–514.

⁴³² KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 706 (9 Jun. 1449).

⁴³³ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 706 (9 Jun. 1449). He held property also in Keresztes (Doboka County), near Iklódszentivány (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 374; 21 Nov. 1441).

⁴³⁴ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1348 (13 May 1459); no. 1577 (26 Jun. 1461); DL 26427 (23 Dec. 1477). On the Fejes family of Gyeke, see Csánki, vol. 5, 474; here it is also mentioned that Gáspár Horvát of Ádámos had bought Gyeke but Balázs Wass objected to the introduction into the estate in 1506 (DL 27399).

⁴³⁵ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1566 (12 Jun. 1461); KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3822 (16 Nov. 1521).

⁴³⁶ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1834 (15 Dec. 1468); KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 130 (1 Mar. 1439). On the Gesztrágyi, see Csánki, vol. 5, 479–480.

⁴³⁷ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 2937 (9 Jan. 1495).

⁴³⁸ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 2272 (after 18 Mar. 1479).

⁴³⁹ WassArch, 24 Jan. 1453 (DF 252963).

⁴⁴⁰ WassArch, 27 Jan. 1474 (DF 252979); KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1836 (15 Jan. 1469); KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 2036 (after 20 Sept. 1471).

⁴⁴¹ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 146 (26 Mar. 1439).

⁴⁴² WassArch, 19 Nov. 1486 (DF 253076).

children (two boys and a girl) but grandchildren are not mentioned in this case.

Another brother of Vid, Pál, married Anasztázia Iklódi (the daughter of Domokos),⁴⁴³ who held properties at that time (in 1452) in Szentegyed and Pulyon.⁴⁴⁴ Their son Domokos (1446–1496) had two wives: Margit Keresztúri of Récekeresztúr (the daughter of László, 1461),⁴⁴⁵ and then Borbála Gyerőfi of Szamosfalva (the daughter of Dávid, 1487).⁴⁴⁶ This Domokos (the father of Balázs) was the one who carried on the line; in the middle of the sixteenth century the litigating heirs traced their descent from him.

The examples presented so far make possible the drawing of several conclusions. First of all, the number of children in the fifteenth-century generations is remarkably large, although this may be explained with fortunate circumstances, namely that the deteriorated archival material in this special case can be well completed with the fifteenth-century convent records from Kolozsmonostor. The records contain a number of protestations, mortgage letters and quittances, which were put down not only in the name of the declarant but also in the name of the spouse and children of the person in question; thus rather a lot of names survived as being mentioned only in these documents. It should be remarked as well that in spite of the huge number of children many branches died out; the reason probably lay in the relatively small number of grandchildren, or, in the cases when not, then the high rate of mortality among children was responsible. Spouses came from the circle of middling landowners: such noble families as could not attain state offices but performed services inside their county as *comites* or *vicecomites* and noble magistrates,⁴⁴⁷ and in all likelihood they were the most influential persons in their narrow environment.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century remarkably fewer spouses are mentioned, and owing to different reorganizations of the respective family archives, which inevitably brought about the elimination of many records, there is less information regarding the Wass as well. At that time their number was continually decreasing, eventually to such an extent that the end of the century was seen apparently by only one adult

⁴⁴³ WassArch, 15 Jan. 1452 (DF 253092).

⁴⁴⁴ WassArch, 15 Jan. 1452 (DF 253092). After the death of her first husband, Anasztázia Iklódi married Pape [Manini] of Dés (WassArch, 13 Aug. 1448; DF 252957). On the Iklódi, see Csánki, vol. 5, 503–507.

⁴⁴⁵ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1538 (13 Apr. 1461). The present-day name of Keresztúr is Récekeresztúr, Doboka County (Csánki, vol. 5, 522–523).

⁴⁴⁶ KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 2633 (4 Mar. 1487). See also Csánki, vol. 5, 486–492.

⁴⁴⁷ See Kádár–Tagányi, Csánki, KmJkv and Engel, *Archontológia*.

male, György Wass. Spouses were still chosen from the neighboring noble families: from among the Fekecs of Cege, Valkai of Galac, Herceg of Ónok, Tőki, Keresztúri (of Sajókeresztúr), Nagy of Szilvás, Botos of Szentegyed, Teke of Köblös (all from Doboka County), Hosszúaszói (Küküllő County), Szucsáki and Komlódi (Kolozs County),⁴⁴⁸ while one industrious burgher family, too, represented itself in the person of Miklós Pogány from Torda.⁴⁴⁹

All the families mentioned above represent a uniform social layer, as regarding their possessions they can be enrolled in the same category. None of them held a significant fortune (which means first of all a large estate); furthermore, the holding of shares in different properties scattered around Doboka, Inner Szolnok and Kolozs Counties was typical.⁴⁵⁰ They also represent a fairly narrow circle: for example, the Hosszúaszói, the Iklódi and the Székely of Szentegyed appear even twice in the genealogical table presenting the descent of the Wass in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As for the social status of the Wass family, they can be ranged among the middling landowner county nobility. They never possessed an actual castle (which had been one of the most important measures of political power in Hungary ever since the end of the thirteenth century); however, in Transylvania – at least in comparison with the north-western part of Hungary – there were very few castles, and most of them constituted the *honor* of the voivode or of the *comes* of the Székely. Although the Wass never held any high offices in the royal court, several of them – as *familiares* of the Lackfi – became castellans and *comites*, while two members of the family had careers inside the Church. In the Angevin period, when differences in possessions were not yet as striking as in later periods and the distance between great landowners and middling landholders⁴⁵¹ was less expansive, the Wass belonged to the second layer of the leading forces in the country. It was in that period that the Wass succeeded in surpassing the boundaries of the county, and beyond doubt, regarding their careers and social behavior they belonged to the most distinguished noble families in Transylvania of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless,

⁴⁴⁸ See the family tree annexed to the study.

⁴⁴⁹ On the Pogány of Torda, see Wolf, *Bethlen*, 605–609, Csánki, vol. 5, 688, and Dezső Csánki, “Pogány Miklós czímerlevele 1447. évből” [Miklós Pogány’s letter patent of nobility from 1447], *Turul* 7 (1889): 78–84.

⁴⁵⁰ Regarding their properties, the records of the convent of Kolozsmonostor give detailed information (KmJkv, vol. 2, *passim*); even Csánki used them when presenting the landowners of these counties.

⁴⁵¹ Pál Engel, *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban (1387–1437)* [Relations between royal power and the aristocracy in the age of Sigismund (1387–1437)] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977), 33.

right before the end of that century their luck declined. The precise reason for that can only be guessed at, but it can be recorded as a fact that after the failure of the Lackfi they could not emerge as *familiares* of other state dignitaries. It seems that after the reign of King Louis I they did not acquire any further properties; furthermore, their Transdanubian estates perished definitively. The few estates in Doboka County were continually diminished due to the compulsory allotment of filial quarters, through which other families came into possession in the properties concerned. The only solution to extend their properties remained the marital strategy. They did not play any part in public life from the last years of the fourteenth century onwards, a routine that was not altered – except for the case of Balázs Wass senior – until the second half of the sixteenth century. In Doboka they seem to have been still counted among the ancient, “well-derived” noble families, as in 1507 the chosen judges of the county ordered Gál Kendi, the adversary of Balázs Wass in a lawsuit, to take an oath with such noblemen (that is, like the Wass) on his side,⁴⁵² obviously because Balázs Wass was recognized as being of distinguished social status. Although they held no offices in the fifteenth century, the Wass were often employed or delegated to be *homines regis* in lawsuits and installations into possessions. They were recorded as acting in Doboka and Kolozs Counties as *homines regis* and *vaivodae* and as chosen judges,⁴⁵³ sometimes in quite outstanding cases.⁴⁵⁴ According to the characterization of the Hungarian nobility made by the *nuntius* Antonio Burgio in 1525 – a record that has been used for a long time and is widely quoted by literature⁴⁵⁵ – there was a layer of nobility that lived its

⁴⁵² “qui ab antiquo digna nobilitate fungerentur et de bona prosapia atque progenie forent”: KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3400 = WassArch, 17 Mar. 1507 (DF 255343).

⁴⁵³ All data belonging to the DL are taken from the CD-ROM DL-DF (Source: György Rácz, Abstracts in the Szilágyi-legacy). Completeness was not intended in this enumeration. *Balázs* (1510: DL 30262), chosen judge acting at the property division of the Barlabássy (1526: Teleki, vol. 2, 399). *Domokos* 1469: Teleki, vol. 2, 105; 1472: DL 27516; 1473: DL 27346; 1479: DL 27365; 1483: Teleki, vol. 2, 159; 1483: KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 2430. *István* 1472: DL 27516; 1473: DL 27518; 1475: DL 27356; 1479: DL 27536; 1479: DL 27365; 1480: DL 27540; 1482: Teleki, vol. 2, 152. *János* 1467: DL 27045; 1472: DL 27516; 1473: DL 27050; 1504: DL 27397; 1505: Teleki, vol. 2, 427; 1509: DL 27403; 1520: DL 27263. *László* 1461: DL 27036; 1509: DL 27403. *Tamás Lökös* 1441: DL 27473; 1444: KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 536. *Mibály* 1520: DL 27263. *Pál* 1444: KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 536; 1466: DL 27326; 1469: Teleki, vol. 2, 105; 1472: DL 27516; 1473: DL 27518; 1479: DL 27538; DL 27365. *Péter* 1467: DL 27045. *Vid* 1441: DL 27473; 1444: DL 27504; 1447: DL 26886; 1452: DL 27480. *Zsigmond* 1479: DL 27365; 1496: Teleki, vol. 2, 424. etc.

⁴⁵⁴ As, for example, in 1458, when László and Domokos Wass were among those chosen *homines regis* who were appointed to introduce László Geréb of Vingárt into his office as castellan of Bálványos, Inner Szolnok County (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1301; 25 Jun. 1458).

⁴⁵⁵ Fügedi, *The Elefántbty*, 1.

life on its rural estates, never visiting the cities and keeping itself away from political life, managing the properties exclusively. The Wass best fit into this category. Their choice to keep themselves out – until the end of the sixteenth century – of political events in the forming Principality of Transylvania resulted in their being left out of the reprisals and sometimes massacres which became almost commonplace in that period of insurgencies, party warfare and fights for succession to the throne.⁴⁵⁶ After the fifteenth century a political role was assumed for the first time in the family by György Wass, the son of János Wass of Cege. Because of his joining Sándor Kendi's Turcophile party, Prince Sigismund Báthori had him imprisoned, and then sentenced to death. Although at the time of his death he was the only adult male member of the family, his sons (by his wife, Katalin Erdélyi of Somkerék), Ferenc († around 1608) and János Wass (1591?–1635) had already been born.

The evolution of the family name

Finally, it is important to examine the formation and usage of names. The first member of the family to use the distinguishing name *Wass* along with his forename was Miklós, the castellan of Csicsó (1315).⁴⁵⁷ He is not the first known member of the family, but the distinguishing names in Hungary occur more and more frequently from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and were the ones playing the most important role in the formation of family names (in such a way that they gradually became hereditary). Nevertheless, this process did not always take place. As is well known, in Hungarian documentary practice the distinguishing names appeared for first in word-groups formed with "*dictus*"; however, sometimes this latter could be omitted. The Hungarian nobleman would be named by his father's name and by the name of his property; in accordance with the *Ars notarialis* (a formulary used in drawing up charters), a letter of testimony devoid of these two data was taken to be invalid.⁴⁵⁸ In many cases, accordingly, to the forename it is not the family name that is connected, but the name of the property with the preposition "*de*." This property-name indicates the residence (settlement) of the nobleman con-

⁴⁵⁶ Jakó, *Belső-Szolnok és Doboka*, 76.

⁴⁵⁷ "*Nicolaus dictus Wos*": AOkm, vol. 1, 387 = CDTrans, vol. 2, no. 256 (13 Nov. 1315). The name Wass appears later with slight changes (*Vos*, *Woos*, *Was* etc.); in records, there is only one case, in 1353, when a quite different version occurs by the name of Miklós junior ("*Nicolaus dictus Fivooos*": DocRomHist C, vol. 10, 216–217; 30 May 1353).

⁴⁵⁸ Erik Fügedi, "Középkori rokonsági terminológiánk kérdéséhez" [The *avus* in the medieval conceptual framework of kinship in Hungary], *Etnographia* 91 (1980): 369.

cerned, of which there could easily have been more than one, and thus its designating function became occasional and relative. The Wass had several residencies and properties: there is information about country seats at Szilvás (1441),⁴⁵⁹ Szentgothárd (1451, 1507, 1513),⁴⁶⁰ Cege (recorded between 1394 and 1521),⁴⁶¹ Szentegyed (1340, 1496, 1505)⁴⁶² and Göc (1508).⁴⁶³ Therefore it often happened that one and the same person appeared with different names of property mentioned beside his forename. And to the greater confusion of researchers, in many cases more than one family possessed property in the same settlement, and thus families who were not related to one another in any way joined the same property-name to their forenames.⁴⁶⁴ Certainly, in very fortunate cases it may happen that both the family name and the name of the property appear beside the forename (for example, *Nicolaus dictus Vos de Sancto Egidio*). The property-name (*előnév*) used in subsequent periods, the so-called “*praedicatum*” (*cegei* Wass) developed from this name of the estate, which in the early periods indicated the place of abode of the family. The family name Wass appeared already in the medieval period as an anterior constituent in the place-names *Vasasszentiván* and *Vasasszilvás*,⁴⁶⁵ owing on the one hand to the family’s longstanding (several centuries long) possession, and on the other hand to the contemporaries’ need to distinguish these places from the other Transylvanian settlements called Szentiván and Szilvás.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁵⁹ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 319 (20 May 1441); KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 340 (20 July 1441). According to the estimations made by Géza Entz, at the turn of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century the Wass family possessed six country seats in five settlements; see Géza Entz, “Középkori udvarházak Erdélyben” [Medieval country seats in Transylvania], *Korunk*, 3rd ser., 3, no. 4 (1992): 110, and Géza Entz, *Erdély építészete a 14–16. században* [Transylvanian architecture from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996), 261 (Cege), 470 (Szentegyed, Szentgothárd).

⁴⁶⁰ KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 937 (28 Feb. 1451?); vol. 2, no. 3426 (26 July 1507); WassArch, 28 Apr. 1513 (DF 255381).

⁴⁶¹ HOKI, 323–324 (30 Oct. 1394); WassArch, 18 July 1430 (DF 252941); WassArch, 17 Feb. 1482 (DF 252980); WassArch, 29 Jan. 1496 (DF 252984); KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 2854 (1 Apr. 1493); vol. 2, no. 3244 (29 Apr. 1502); WassArch, 3 Jun. 1503 (DF 252991); no. 3328 (24 Jan. 1505), no. 3333 (after 28 Jan. 1505); WassArch, 7 Mar. 1516 (DF 255360); WassArch, 31 Jan. 1521 (DF 255395).

⁴⁶² DIR C, veacul XIV, vol. 3, 606–608 (20 July 1340); WassArch, 29 Jan. 1496 (DF 252984); KmJkv, vol. 2, no. 3334 (28 Jan. 1505).

⁴⁶³ WassArch, 29 Jan. 1508 (DF 255344).

⁴⁶⁴ Engel, *Ung*, 23–24.

⁴⁶⁵ “*Vasakzethyuana*” [!]: WassArch, 5 Oct. 1451 (DF 252960); “*WasagZenthlwan*” and “*WasagZylwas*”: WassArch, 29 Jan. 1496 (DF 252984); “*Wasakzylwas*”: KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 938 (12 Mar. 1451).

⁴⁶⁶ In the place-names Szentegyed and Szentgothárd the word ‘Vas’ does not appear as an anterior constituent, obviously because there were no identical place-names in Transylvania from which they should have been differentiated. See also Coriolan

Members of the family can be quite easily discerned in medieval archival material, because the usage of the name Wass became general inside the kindred from the very beginning of the fourteenth century; consequently, in their case the distinguishing name was passed on without interruption within the family. Neither the origin nor the reason for giving (or receiving) this name is known.⁴⁶⁷ Perhaps, in a figurative sense, it referred to bodily build (meaning ‘strong, powerful’), as the medieval nobleman – because of frequent wars – had to have a good physique,⁴⁶⁸ or it could also indicate a certain feature (in the sense of ‘faithful, stern, inflexible’) of the character. The supposition that the name Wass could be the shortening of one of the terms *vasáros* (‘tradesman who sells iron or things made of iron’), *vasfazakas* (‘a person who makes and mends iron vessels’), or *vasverő* (‘smith, i.e., a person who beats the iron’), all of which indicate crafts,⁴⁶⁹ can be completely rejected, because all members of the family – including the first users of this name – were landowners and noblemen doing military service; the social background thus answers the question. During the fourteenth century the names *Acél* (‘steel’)⁴⁷⁰ and *Veres* (‘red’)⁴⁷¹ appear in the family; both were widely used in the Middle Ages: the first came into being through abstraction from the meaning of the word “*vas*”, while the latter can be explained with the hair- or skin-color of its bearer. At the end of the century there lived that Lökös Wass whose children sometimes used – besides their Christian names – the name of their father, thus calling themselves Lökösi.⁴⁷²

Suciu, *Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania* [Gazetteer of Transylvania], vol. 2 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei R. S. R., 1967), 134, 150, and Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 6, 326, 342; FNESz, vol. 2, 740).

⁴⁶⁷ Katalin Fehértói, *A XIV. századi magyar megkülönböztető nevek* [Hungarian distinguishing names in the fourteenth century], *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések*, vol. 68 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969), 34.

⁴⁶⁸ Erik Fügedi, *Ispánok, bárók, kiskirályok. A középkori magyar arisztokrácia fejlődése* [Comites, barons, oligarchs: the development of the medieval Hungarian aristocracy], *Nemzet és emlékezet* (Budapest: Magvető, 1986), 6.

⁴⁶⁹ Miklós Kázmér, *Régi magyar családnevek szótára. XIV–XVII. sz.* [Dictionary of old Hungarian family names: from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century] (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1993), 1126.

⁴⁷⁰ “*Iobannes dictus Achyl*”: HOKl, 207–208 (28 Dec. 1335); “*Iobannes dictus Acheel*”: HOKl, 223–225 (1 May 1340); “*Iobannes dictus Ochel*”: AOKm, vol. 5, 137 (5 Aug. 1347); “*Iobannes dictus Acyl*”: HOKl, 259–260 (25 Jan. 1354).

⁴⁷¹ “*Verres*”: HOKl, 259–260 (25 Jan. 1354); “*Weres*”: DRH C., vol. 11, 399–400 (4 July 1359).

⁴⁷² WassArch, 26 Aug. 1430 (DF 253083).

Part IV

From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century

György Wass (†1594)



The fact that the Ottoman army conquered the Hungarian one in 1526, and then occupied Hungary's capital, Buda, in 1541, created an entirely new situation. The Turkish occupation of the southern part of Hungary and the capital lasted for about 150 years. In the meantime the western and northern parts were taken under Habsburg control. As for Transylvania, it became a principality not by any means independent of the Ottoman Empire, but one that had the opportunity to organize its home affairs more or less undisturbed. For a long time the competition of these two empires (Ottoman and Habsburg) determined the fate of the region. In Transylvania, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards the local nobility became increasingly interested and involved in politics, being given the chance to take on political roles, an opportunity that they usually did not fail to seize, and neither did the Wass. After quite a long time *György Wass* (the son of János Wass junior)⁴⁷³ was the first in the family to – surpassing the limits of county life – take on a political role. His career seems to have started in the 1560s: in 1569 he was said to be a *familiaris* of John Sigismund, the King of Hungary and Prince of Transylvania (1556–1571); György followed his lord to Hungary, and therefore his lawsuits were adjourned.⁴⁷⁴ Prince István Báthori (1571–1586) appointed him as the *comes* of Kolozs County in 1573:⁴⁷⁵ he was the one who conveyed the Transylvanian tribute to the Ottoman Porte.⁴⁷⁶ In 1590 he was placed, as Sigismund Báthori's (1588–1602) trusted man, in charge of Szamosújvár (Inner Szolnok County), a castle situated in a key

⁴⁷³ WassArch, 1587: X/28; Lázár, *Századok* 21 (1887): 520.

⁴⁷⁴ “*aule nostre familiaris*” (WassArch, 1569: XXXIII/18).

⁴⁷⁵ WassArch, 28 Feb. 1573: LXIX/1. He held this office until his death. See the following: Berger, vol. 3, no. 4207 (year 1576); WassArch, 1579: XXV/11; 1580: XXV/19; 1588: XL/253; 1593: XXV/41, etc.). Besides this position, he was accorded the title of the village of Beresztelke in Torda County (WassArch, 1585: XL/252).

⁴⁷⁶ WassArch, 1585: XL/253; Lázár, *Századok* 21 (1887): 520; Vencel Bíró, *Erdély követei a Portán* [Transylvanian deputies at the Porte] (Kolozsvár: Minerva, 1921), 115; Berger, vol. 3, no. 5430 (15 Sept. 1585).

position from the point of view of control over northern Transylvania. He held his office until 1594,⁴⁷⁷ while in 1593 he became a councilor of the prince⁴⁷⁸ and in 1594 a tithe collector on the estates pertaining to the city of Beszterce.⁴⁷⁹ As mentioned above, he joined Sándor Kendi's (†1594) Turcophile party, which was opposed to Sigismund Báthori's Habsburg-friendly politics, for they hoped for Transylvania's welfare and security by relying on the preservation of good relations with the Porte. The prince had the plotting noblemen arrested and most of them even executed in August the same year. However, according to the chronicler Farkas Bethlen (1639–1679), the also captured György Wass was soon released.⁴⁸⁰ According to other sources, he might have died at that time: the author of a sixteenth-century historical song gives an account of György Wass's short time of release, during which, seizing the opportunity, the former councilor committed suicide.⁴⁸¹ The Jesuit provincial Alfonso Carillo reported in Rome György Wass's death as having occurred on August 29,⁴⁸² while Lestár Gyulafi's (1557–around 1605) historical notes reveal that the same György Wass died on September 1 and was buried

⁴⁷⁷ WassArch, 1592: XL/257; 1594: XL/258; Balogh, 335.

⁴⁷⁸ Sándor Szilágyi, "Szamosközy István történeti maradványai. Pótlékkül az Akadémia által kiadott összes műveihez" [The remainders of István Szamosközy's historical works], *Történelmi Tár* 1889: 33.

⁴⁷⁹ "*decimator possessionum [...] Saxonicalium ad civitatem [...] Bistriciensem pertinentium*," Archives of the city of Szeben and of the Saxon Nation (Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt und der sächsischen Nation), Bischofsurkunden, no. 286 (6 Feb. 1594), now in the National Archives Sibiu County Branch (Szeben). A copy of it is in the Hungarian National Archives, Microfilm collection, coil no. 12893. Zsolt Trócsányi referred to this document: see Trócsányi, *Központi kormányzat*, 112, footnote no. 472.

⁴⁸⁰ Bethlen, *Historia*, vol. 3, 466. According to a belief that became very popular, György Wass committed suicide in captivity on August 28, 1594, in Kolozsvár, in order to avoid execution. See Lázár, *Századok* 21 (1887): 520, and László Szilas, *Alfonso Carillo jezsuita Erdélyben (1591–1599)* [The Jesuit Alfonso Carillo in Transylvania], *METEM* könyvek, vol. 40 (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2001), 65. On the life of György Wass, see also Trócsányi, *Központi kormányzat*, 36.

⁴⁸¹ "Igön szep historia mikeppen az arulo vrak el akartak az erdely voidat arulni es egez Erdeli orzagot pogan kezben kartak eyteni, azoknak az vraknak ueződelmekről" [Fair historical song on the ruin of the lords who wanted to betray the Transylvanian voivode and leave Transylvania in the hands of the pagans], in Gyula Bisztray, Tibor Klaniczay, Lajos Nagy and Béla Stoll, eds., *Régi Magyar Költők Tára. XVII. század* [Thesaurus of Old Hungarian poets], vol. 1, *A tizenöt éves háború, Bocskay és Báthori Gábor korának költészete* [The poetry of the Fifteen Years' War, of the age of Bocskay and Gábor Báthori] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959), 40–41 = Kálmán Thaly, "Ismeretlen historiás énekek a XVI- és XVII-ik századból" [Unknown historical songs from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries], *Századok* 5 (1871): 268.

⁴⁸² In the publication of the document, the name of Ferenc Wass appears by mistake; see Endre Veress, *Carillo Alfonz jezsuita atya levelezése és iratai* [The correspond-

on his estate at Cege.⁴⁸³ His tombstone is probably identical with the one dating from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, seen – in 1935 in the courtyard of the still existent so-called minor castle – and described by the art historian Jolán Balogh (1900–1988).⁴⁸⁴ At the time of his arrest György was in the middle of construction projects: he had stone-carvers invited from Kolozsvár to make the door- and window-frames of his castle at Cege,⁴⁸⁵ and at the same time he was probably in charge of the construction of the castle of Szamosújvár.⁴⁸⁶ He had done the most for the enlargement of the Wass estates since his ancestors from the time of Béla III. In 1568 John Sigismund confirmed his possession of the shares in the estates of Pulyon and Göc,⁴⁸⁷ in 1571 he was granted by István Báthori the right to hold fairs on his estates,⁴⁸⁸ and in 1575 the same prince gifted him with parts of Méhes (Kolozs County), Záh (Torda County) and Bongárd (Doboka County) on the grounds of the grantee's having helped him in the battle against Gáspár Bekes (1520–1579), who had been aiming at the throne.⁴⁸⁹ Kristóf Báthori (1576–1581) exempted him for a lifetime from the due that he should have paid after the tithe on his estates of Cege, Pulyon, Szentgothárd, Szilvás and Méhes.⁴⁹⁰ (The administration of the prince appropriated the tithe – a levy paid by serfs to the Church during the medieval period – and then in exchange for an annual lease (*arenda*) for the Treasury landowners were allowed to collect these

ence and other documents of the Jesuit Father Alfonzo Carillo], *Monumenta Hungariae Historica: Diplomataria*, vol. 41 (Budapest: MTA, 1943), vol. 2, 118–122 (21 Sept. 1594).

⁴⁸³ “[1594]. *1 die Septembris moritur Georgius Vass, capitaneus Ujvariensis humaturque in Czege*”; see Sándor Szilágyi, “Gyulaffi Lestár történeti maradványai” [Historical writings of Lestár Gyulaffi], *Történelmi Tár* 1893: 121.

⁴⁸⁴ Balogh, 240.

⁴⁸⁵ Balogh, 94, 240. Jolán Balogh was lucky enough to see the contract made in Hungarian between György Wass and the stone-dressers. It was still in the family archive then, although it can no longer be found. Its text appeared in print: Jolán Balogh, “Későrenaissance kőfaragó műhelyek (III)” [Late Renaissance stone-dresser manufacturing (part 3)], *Ars Hungarica* 1975, no. 1: 44, and Balogh, 94. The document had been mentioned also by Huszti in his *elenchus* of the family archive: Huszti, *Registrum*, XL/253. On the construction projects initiated by György Wass, see also Berger, vol. 3, no. 4006, 4233, 4670, 4954, 4962, 5056, 5364, 5396–5397, 5400, 5411, and especially no. 5288 (10 May 1584, when he turned to the city council of Beszterce asking for bricks for his construction projects in Cege and in Méhes) and no. 5307 (13 Jun. 1584, when he ordered bricks for the construction of the church in Méhes).

⁴⁸⁶ Balogh, 335.

⁴⁸⁷ WassArch, 1568: XV/8.

⁴⁸⁸ WassArch, 1571: XIX/42 (in the reinforcing charter issued by Prince Mihály Apafi in 1665).

⁴⁸⁹ WassArch, 25 Sept. 1575: XXV/4. The grants referring to Méhes and Záh were repeated by Kristóf Báthori in 1579 (WassArch, 30 Apr. 1579: XXV/14).

⁴⁹⁰ WassArch, 1578: XL/249.

tithes on their estates. The prince was empowered to exempt his subjects from this rent for a certain period or absolutely.)⁴⁹¹ The same prince, Kristóf Báthori, also gave him two peasant holdings in Velkér (Kolozs County).⁴⁹² Having been a favored man of Sigismund Báthori as well, György Wass became the beneficiary of many other grants. In 1587 he was donated a part of the settlement of Nagydevecser,⁴⁹³ in 1590 Felsőgyékényes⁴⁹⁴ (Doboka County), in 1592 the village of Bós⁴⁹⁵ (Kolozs County), and in 1593 the share in Záh⁴⁹⁶ (Torda County) of Pál Gyulai of Abafája – this latter having died without an heir somewhat earlier – and, probably as a reward for his services as an envoy to the Porte, he received Balázsháza⁴⁹⁷ (Doboka County) too.⁴⁹⁸ In 1594 György took in mortgage the estate of Kötke (Doboka County),⁴⁹⁹ an inalienable demesne of the Treasury. In that same year two other donations were made to his benefit: he received a house in Gyulafehérvár (the town where Transylvanian princes had their residence) in Klastrom Street,⁵⁰⁰ and another one in the village of Szentmárton,⁵⁰¹ near Cege. He also purchased estates: in 1579 he bought shares for 1,000 Hungarian florins in the estates of Méhes,

⁴⁹¹ Zsigmond Jakó, *Adatok a dézsma fejedelemségkori adminisztrációjához* [Data referring to the administration of the tithes during the time of the Principality], Erdélyi történelmi adatok V.2 (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1945), 4–5.

⁴⁹² WassArch, 1580: XXV/19.

⁴⁹³ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 3, 303. György Wass gave away this part of the estate in 1593.

⁴⁹⁴ Huszti, *Registrum*, 78r (WassArch, XXXI/1). In 1599 Voivode Mihai took it away from the Wass and passed over to Máté Perusith (Huszti, *Registrum*, 78; the original of the charter kept under the no. XXXI/2 is lost by now).

⁴⁹⁵ WassArch, 1592: XLVI/26.

⁴⁹⁶ WassArch, 1593: XXV/41.

⁴⁹⁷ WassArch, 1593: XXVII/1. Balázsháza (Doboka County) lay in the valley of the river Almás, near Kendermező. A water-mill was set up in that place as well (WassArch, XXVIII/48).

⁴⁹⁸ WassArch, 17 Mar. 1630: XXVII/10.

⁴⁹⁹ WassArch, 1594: LXVII/15 (in a transcription from 1646); Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 4, 501. On this practice of leasing estates of the Treasury in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Transylvania, see Zsigmond Jakó, ed., *A gyulai vártartomány urbáriumai* [Conscriptions of the castle-domain of Gyalu] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1944), xxix–xxxi.

⁵⁰⁰ HungNatArch, National Archives of the Chapter of Gyulafehérvár, Cista comitatum, Cista V, Fasc. 1, no. 32 (10 Feb. 1594)

⁵⁰¹ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 6, 427. In 1609 The widow of Ferenc Wass, Druzsianna Bogáti – represented by her son György – divided the estate of Szentmárton with her brother-in-law, János Wass (WassArch, 1609: XLIV/21), but as it was an estate of the Treasury it was probably recovered by the latter, as there is no more information on Wass possession over that property. Szentmárton is today called Szépkényerűszentmárton.

Velkér (Kolozs County), Sályi and Gerebenes (Torda County),⁵⁰² and then in 1587 in Bánd (Maros Seat)⁵⁰³ and four Hungarian acres of vineyard in Szentiván (Doboka County).⁵⁰⁴

Property division took place in 1572 between him, János “Nagywass” senior and János “Kiswass” junior;⁵⁰⁵ however, somewhat later both of the latter died without a male heir.⁵⁰⁶ György, being the only male member of the Wass, started suits against his kinswomen: against Anna Wass, the wife of János Torma of Girolt,⁵⁰⁷ against Ágnes Wass, the wife of György Márton of Küsmöd,⁵⁰⁸ against Orsolya Wass, the wife of Pál Héjjasfalvi,⁵⁰⁹ and against Ágnes Wass,⁵¹⁰ who was married to Gergely Szentegyedi of Somlyó. As a result, he regained possession of all the estates due to the male line, delivered over the filial quarters to kinswomen, and paid them the dowries to which they were entitled after their mothers. In his will, made in 1585 in Hungarian, his dispositions concerned the education of his two sons (*Ferenc* and *János*), the endowment of his two daughters (*Judit* and *Zsófia*) and the landed property of the family. The executors of the will were asked to provide for the two boys’ education both at home (i.e., in Transylvania) and in foreign countries: the main disciplines specified were Latin and “good morals.” According to their father’s wish, the boys were not allowed possession of their estates until the age of 24, in order that they might have got used to work by that time. The estates were to pass down through the male line – daughters could acquire them only after the heirless (= with no male heir) death of their brothers. This passage of the will was quoted very often later on, in the course of lawsuits. The will also states the marriage portion that the girls should get: Judit was to receive a washbasin, two silver belts and rings fitting those,

⁵⁰² WassArch, 1579: XXV/11. A lake too belonged to the property bought by György Wass in Méhes (WassArch, 1589: XXV/39).

⁵⁰³ WassArch, 1587: XXXII/61, p. 6; Huszti, *Registrum*, 80, XXXII/35.

⁵⁰⁴ WassArch, 1594: XXII/11.

⁵⁰⁵ WassArch, 1572: XIV/5.

⁵⁰⁶ The suit of János Kiswass (the son of Pál) against György: WassArch, 1568: XXXIII/16. The estates at stake: Cege, Szentgothárd, Szentegyed, Szilvás, Mohaly, Pulyon.

⁵⁰⁷ WassArch, 1587: X/28 (Szentgothárd); 1589: XIV/7 (Szentgothárd, Gyeke); 1587: XIV/8 (Gyeke); 1589: XIV/9 (Gyeke).

⁵⁰⁸ WassArch, 1590: X/30; 1590: XXXIV/29 (Szentgothárd, Pulyon).

⁵⁰⁹ WassArch, XXXIII/23, XXXIV/26 (Cege, Szentgothárd).

⁵¹⁰ WassArch, 1563: XXXIII/4; 1568: XXXIII/6; 1640: V/39. The lawsuit was started for the landed properties of Szentgothárd, Cege, Pulyon, Mohaly, Szilvás and Göc, and for other goods worth 500 florins, which Ágnes tried to retrieve from the son – György – of her tutor, János Wass (1568: XXXIII/11). The issue came to an end in 1577 with an agreement in accordance with which Ágnes got Szentegyed and Szind, this latter being in Torda County (WassArch, 1577: XXXIII/21).

silver cups and two gold necklaces, while Zsófia was to receive 20 units of silver, a sink and a washbasin, silver cups, a gold necklace and two silver belts.⁵¹¹ The funeral sermon on György Wass was accessible even in 1904;⁵¹² unfortunately it seems to have perished since then. The wife of György (since 1569),⁵¹³ Katalin Erdélyi of Somkerék, was a member of a distinguished family of Inner Szolnok County, who outlived her husband, dying only in 1601.⁵¹⁴

Descendants of György Wass until the end of the seventeenth century

The elder son⁵¹⁵ of György, *Ferenc* († around 1608) studied law in Padua, Italy, in 1593,⁵¹⁶ then philosophy in Rome (in the *Collegium Romanum*) at the expense of Prince Sigismund Báthori, and returned to Transylvania in 1595.⁵¹⁷ His father, already a Protestant, very probably baptized his sons Protestants; Ferenc's conversion might have been due to the catholicizing efforts of the Báthori.⁵¹⁸ In 1596 he was in the ser-

⁵¹¹ WassArch, 1585: XXXIV/27.

⁵¹² *Genealógiai Füzetek* 3 (1905): 23, no. 803. According to the study of Richárd Gyulai, the funeral sermon on György Wass of Cege was delivered on August 30, 1594, by István Ilyefalvi (4^o, 8 leaves); the manuscript was guarded in the library of the former Calvinist College of Kolozsvár; however, it can no longer be traced.

⁵¹³ Berger, vol. 2, no. 3362 (8 Feb. 1569), in which György Wass invites the council of Beszterce to attend his wedding.

⁵¹⁴ *Katalin Erdélyi*: †1601 (WassArch: n.d., no. 7058), the daughter of Miklós E. and Márta Gerendi (WassArch, n.d. [eighteenth century]: XLII/300, 1618: XXVI/2). The Wass acquired parts of the estates of Cikud and Egerbegy (Torda County) through this relation with the Gerendi (WassArch, fasc. XXVI).

⁵¹⁵ WassArch, 1624: XXXII/7.

⁵¹⁶ Endre Veress, ed., *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in Universitatibus Italiae studentium*, vol. 1, Padua 1264–1864. *A paduai egyetem magyarországi tanulóinak anyakönyve és iratai (1264–1864)*, Fontes Rerum Hungaricarum. Magyar Történelmi Források, vol. 1 (Kolozsvár–Budapest: Stephaneum, 1915), 102, 104, 255–256; Szabó and Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása*, 54, no. 530.

⁵¹⁷ Endre Veress, ed., *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in Universitatibus Italiae studentium. Olasz egyetemeken járt magyarországi tanulók anyakönyve és iratai 1221–1864*, Monumenta Hungariae Italica, Olaszországi magyar emlékek, vol. 3 (Budapest: MTA, 1941), 274 (9 Sept. 1594).

⁵¹⁸ Ildikó Horn, “Az erdélyi katolikus elit Pázmány Péter korában” [The Catholic élite of Transylvania in the age of Péter Pázmány] in *Pázmány Péter és kora* [Péter Pázmány and his age], ed. Emil Hargittay (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2001), 81; Ildikó Horn, *Le cercle de Farkas Kornis. Les stratégies des élites unitariennes (1575–1603)*, in *György Enyedi and the Central European Unitarianism in the 16–17th Centuries*, Studia

vice of the prince,⁵¹⁹ and became his Master of the Table (*magister dapi-ferorum*)⁵²⁰ in spite of the fact that Sigismund Báthori had prosecuted his father for treason. Ferenc was the *comes* of Doboka County between 1599 and 1600,⁵²¹ while in 1599 he was donated the share in Vízszilvás (Doboka County) of the disloyal György Palásti.⁵²² The noble estates of Transylvania secured him the settlement of Mikola⁵²³ (Doboka County), and then bestowed it upon him together with another village, Alsóköhér in Torda County.⁵²⁴ The reason for these favors was Ferenc's loyalty: he took the prince's side against Voivode Mihai (who was the Báthori family's rival for the throne of Transylvania). On the other hand these grants also went towards a compensation for Balázsháza,⁵²⁵ a settlement confiscated by the voivode from Ferenc and given to István Csáky (senior) of Körösszeg in that same year.⁵²⁶ In 1599, after the death of Sigismund Báthori, Voivode Mihai confiscated Felsőgyékényes and Kötke as well,⁵²⁷

Humanitatis, vol. 11, ed. Mihály Balázs and Gizella Keserű (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2000), 90–95.

⁵¹⁹ Lajos Szádeczky, "Báthori Zsigmond életéhez" [On the life of Sigismund Báthori], *Történelmi Társ* 1883: 334 (28 May 1596).

⁵²⁰ WassArch, 1599: XXIII/28; see also Lázár, *Századok* 22 (1888): 626.

⁵²¹ Veress, *Documente*, vol. 5, 319–320 (8 Dec. 1599); Károly Szathmáry P., "A gyerőmonostori b. Kemény család idősb. fejedelmi ágának okmánytára" [Cartulary of the princely branch of the baronial family of Kemény of Gyerőmonostor], *Magyar Történelmi Társ* 18 (1871): 33 (7 Sept. 1600).

⁵²² WassArch, 1599: XXIII/28; Lázár, *Századok* 22 (1888): 626; 1599: Huszti, *Genealogia beroica*, 63^v–65^r.

⁵²³ WassArch, 15 Sept. 1600: LII/1. Mikola was later occupied by István Kendi of Lóna (WassArch, 1618: LII/2), and Gábor Bethlen took it back from the Wass (WassArch, 1656: XLIV/31), and then, in 1615, gave it to Pál Káli (Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 5, 178).

⁵²⁴ WassArch, 22 Nov. 1600: XXVII/6. The document was published by Veress, *Documente*, vol. 6, 271, and Lajos Szádeczky, *Erdély és Mibály vajda története. 1595–1601* [History of Transylvania and of Voivode Mihai: 1595–1601], *Történeti, nép- és földrajzi könyvtár*, vol. 58 (Temesvár: Csanád-egyházmegyei könyvsajtó, 1893), 395. The donation regarding the settlement of Mikola was confirmed by Basta; see Veress, *Basta*, vol. 1, 740–741 (29 Jun. 1602).

⁵²⁵ WassArch, 1635: XXVII/17. In the course of the lawsuit for Balázsháza it was testified that in 1600, around the day of St. George (23 or 24 Apr.), Voivode Mihai dispossessed the widow of György Wass of her estate.

⁵²⁶ The deed of gift (referring to Balázsháza) was issued by Voivode Mihai on December 8, 1599, in favor of István Csáky (Veress, *Documente*, vol. 5, 319–320). István Csáky senior seized the settlement from Katalin Erdélyi, the widow of György Wass, the former *comes* of Kolozs County (WassArch, 1618: XXVII/7).

⁵²⁷ Huszti, *Registrum*, 78^r ("1599. Michaelis Walachiae Transalpiniae woyuodae donatio, qua portiones in Kötke et Gyékényes habitas /donatione Sigismundi Bathory Georgio Wass facta annullata/ Mattheo Perusith contulit"). The noble estates of Transylvania confirmed Máté Perusith in both estates in 1600. See Szathmáry P., "A

although both came back to Ferenc Wass in 1601.⁵²⁸ Gyékényes remained in the hands of the family,⁵²⁹ not like Kötke, which – being a possession of the Treasury – rested with the Wass only until the middle of the seventeenth century.⁵³⁰ As the envoy of Sigismund Báthori, Ferenc several times represented the prince before Basta (1550–1607), captain of the mercenary army, in charge of preparing the occupation of Transylvania for the Habsburgs; it seems that they even cooperated.⁵³¹ However, in 1605, Ferenc Wass joined the party of the newly elected prince, István Bocskay (1605–1606),⁵³² who broke with the pro-Habsburg policy. He died not much later – the latest possible date being 1608.⁵³³ Before that, however, he mortgaged two settlements, Gerebenes and Bánd,⁵³⁴ for his *familiaris*, István Géci (1605), an act that resulted in a long-lasting (until the nineteenth century) lawsuit initiated by the Wass in order to retrieve Bánd.⁵³⁵ Ferenc Wass proved very far-sighted when it came to marriage: he married the well-off Druzianna Bogáti⁵³⁶ (the widow of András Barcsai), the sister of that Miklós Bogáti who was a councilor of

gyerőmonostori b. Kemény család idősb. fejedelmi ágának okmánytára,” 30, 33, and Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 3, 567.

⁵²⁸ WassArch, no. 1601: 7087.

⁵²⁹ WassArch, 1609: XLIV/21; 1627: XIX/36. In 1769 the Treasury prosecuted the Wass family, but had to drop charges in 1828 because from 1650 Felsőgyékényes no longer pertained to the Treasury estates (Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 3, 568; 1750: Huszti, *Registrum*, 78^r). Eventually, in 1863, the state gave manumission compensation for it.

⁵³⁰ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 4, 501–502. In 1627 Gábor Bethlen confirmed the Wass in their possession (WassArch, 1627: XIX/36).

⁵³¹ Veress, *Basta*, vol. 1, 496–497 (The welcoming speech addressed to Basta in Italian was delivered by Ferenc Wass, acting as spokesman for the Transylvanian noble estates, 24 Jan. 1601); vol. 2, 38–39 (Basta recommends Ferenc Wass to the good graces of Emperor Rudolph); vol. 2, 796.

⁵³² Szamosközy, 141; Bethlen, *Historia*, vol. 6, 229, 278; *Századok* 22 (1888): 626.

⁵³³ His wife, Druzianna Bogáti, was already mentioned as a widow on September 23, 1608 (WassArch, 1608: XLI/261).

⁵³⁴ WassArch: 1605: XXXII/4 (Bánd); 1605: XXXII/61 (Gerebenes). In 1609 Ferenc Wass confessed both in his and in his brother János's name that the estate of Bánd belonged to István Géci (WassArch, 1609: XXXII/5).

⁵³⁵ Against Simon Pécsi of Szentertzébet, and then against the Lázár of Szárhegy and the Kálnoki of Kőrispatak (WassArch, fasc. XXXII).

⁵³⁶ *Wass János feljegyzései*, 350, footnote no. 2; Lázár, *Századok* 22 (1888), 626. Druzianna Bogáti was the daughter of Boldizsár, who was the *comes* of Fehér County and appointed judge of Maros Seat (that is, appointed princely official in charge of a Székely or Saxon district in Transylvania, the so-called “*királybíró*” or “*főkirálybíró*”) (WassArch, 1597: XLIV/7; 1608: XLIV/8).

Sigismund Báthori.⁵³⁷ Druzsianna died only in 1656;⁵³⁸ two further husbands of hers are known after Ferenc Wass.⁵³⁹ With Ferenc she had two children, *György* (†1638)⁵⁴⁰ and *Judit* (†1662),⁵⁴¹ this latter in turn married László Ébeni (†1661).⁵⁴² The orphaned György's uncle, that *János* mentioned below, became his guardian,⁵⁴³ who made his will – denying blood and kinship – in favor of the Jesuits.⁵⁴⁴

⁵³⁷ Bálint Kis, “A Bogáthi család” [The Bogáthi family], *Turul* 9 (1883): 178.

⁵³⁸ *Druzsianna Bogáthi*: †8 May 1656. She was buried in the chapel at Cege on May 28, 1656, by the side of her father-in-law, György Wass senior (of Cege) (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350; *Napló*, 3, footnotes no. 2). On May 18, 1656, it was mentioned about Druzsianna that she “passed away a few days ago” (WassArch, 1656: XLIV/31).

⁵³⁹ Her first husband: András Barcsai of Nagybarcsa, one of Voivode Mihai's captains. See Lázár, *Századok* 22 (1888): 626, and WassArch, 1608: XLIV/8; *Szamosközy* 40. Her second husband: Ferenc Wass of Cege (WassArch, 1608: XLIV/8). Her third husband: Zsigmond Bornemissza of Kápolna (WassArch, 1615: XXXII/4). Her fourth husband: Voivode Markó of Dézna, pretender to the Moldavian throne, the son of Petru Cercel, the voivode of Wallachia (1583–1586) (WassArch, 1619: XLIV/9: “*Marcus Czyczczell, vavoda Moldavie*”; WassArch, 1620: XLIV/10: “*Marcus Cziczczell vaivoda*”; WassArch, 1640: V/39). *Her children*: from her first husband: Zsigmond Barcsai (†Nagybarcsa, Hunyad County, 23 Feb. 1652; see HungNatLibr, Department of Manuscripts, Fol. Hung. no. 1465, 1^r), the *comes* of Middle Szolnok County (WassArch, 1635: XLIV/15; 1646: XLIV/39); from the second husband: György Wass (WassArch, 1635: XLIV/15).

⁵⁴⁰ *György*: in 1608 he was said to be a child (WassArch, 1608: XLI/261); †4 Feb. 1638 (in a missive dated to February 28, 1638, his wife invited the magistrate of the town of Beszterce to the funeral, which was to be performed on March 18 at Cege; see NatArch, Archives of Beszterce, I, no. 11771; Zsolt Kovács drew my attention to these documents). Mentioned as already deceased: WassArch, 29 May 1639: XLIV/18. Consequently, it is mistakenly stated that he was still alive in 1673 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350, footnote no. 3).

⁵⁴¹ *Judit*: †Moson (Maros Seat), 12 Jun. 1662, and buried in the church of that place (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 352). Moson was a property of Judit's husband, László Ébeni. She spent a long time in the court of Prince Gábor Bethlen (WassArch, 1656: XLIV/31), and then in 1631 became a lady-in-waiting of Katalin Brandenburi, the wife of Prince Bethlen. See Kelemen, *Daniel*, 26.

⁵⁴² *László Ébeni*: †Moson, 25 Feb. 1661, and buried in the church of Moson (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 352). See also WassArch, 1653: XLIV/26. The first wife of László Ébeni was Katalin Kun of Osdola; their children are Éva Ébeni – who became the wife of János Wass (†1680), assessor of the Court of the Prince (HungNatLibr, Fol. Hung. no. 1465, 1^r) – and Farkas Ébeni (WassArch, 1663: XLVI/9). The parents of Katalin Kun were Gothárd Kun and Anna Borbély.

⁵⁴³ WassArch, 1608: XLI/261 (at that time he was said to be a child); Huszti, *Genealogia beroica*, 120^r.

⁵⁴⁴ Mentioned in György Wass's will (WassArch, 1638: XIX/46).

György was the chamberlain (*cubicularius*) of Gábor Bethlen in 1627⁵⁴⁵ and – beyond doubt – a committed Calvinist.⁵⁴⁶ All the members of his family from that time onwards were Calvinists, up to the mid-nineteenth century, except for his uncle (and probably for his father, too), who was a committed Catholic. After György's death a list was compiled of his documents left behind; this constitutes the earliest catalogue of the Wass archive.⁵⁴⁷

János (†1635; fig. no. 25), the youngest son of György Wass, the *vicecomes* of Kolozs County, was born around 1591; he lost his mother at the age of ten, in 1601.⁵⁴⁸ His guardian was the above-mentioned Ferenc, his brother, who charged the Jesuits – through the mediation of Alfonso Carillo – with his upbringing. They sent him for studies abroad; thus János spent five years in Olmütz (today Olomouc in the Czech Republic) 1605, and then some time in Prague.⁵⁴⁹ In the meantime, he was helped neither by his brother nor by his brother's son György. His relationship with this latter turned tense very early; as he put it, György had never shown anything for him but “sourness and indisposition.”⁵⁵⁰ Having been a devoted Catholic, according to the splendidly designed charter issued by Muzio (*Mutius*) Vitelleschi, the superior of the Society of Jesus (1615–1645), János received the “spiritual goods” of the Society in 1624 (fig. no. 26)⁵⁵¹ and was granted the title of “benefactor of the Jesuits.”⁵⁵² He maintained a connection with important Jesuit personalities of his time, such

⁵⁴⁵ WassArch, XXXIX/36 = Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 69^v–70^v. György Wass had never been the *comes* of Kolozs County, although István Csáky's letter – mistakenly – addresses him as such (WassArch, 1634: XXVII/15).

⁵⁴⁶ János Wass, who became a Catholic himself, referred to György, his nephew and heir as “my successor being of adverse religion” (WassArch, 1624: XXXII/7).

⁵⁴⁷ WassArch, 24 Sept. 1638: no. 8456.

⁵⁴⁸ WassArch: [1606?]: no. 7058 (János Wass's note). His eighteenth-century (fictive) portrait can be seen today in the historical gallery of the Hungarian National Museum, no. 276. See Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, “A Widemann-metszetek után festett sorozatok” [The portrait series painted after the Widemann-etchings], in *Főúri ósgalériák*, 58, 71, and Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, “Widemann-metszetek után készült olajportrék” [Portraits in oil made after the Widemann etchings], *Folia Archaeologica* 8 (1956): 173, footnote no. 27.

⁵⁴⁹ Árpád Hellebrandt, “Az Olmüczben tanult magyarok 1590–1664” [Hungarians pursuing their studies in Olmütz between 1590 and 1664], *Történelmi Tár* 1888: 200; Szabó and Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása*, 109, no. 1139; WassArch, 1634: XXXII/7 (the will of János Wass); WassArch [after 1606]: no. 7058.

⁵⁵⁰ WassArch, 1634: XXXII/7.

⁵⁵¹ WassArch, 1624: XLI/263.

⁵⁵² *Jezsuita missziók*, vol. 2, 540.

as the Bible translator György Káldi (1573–1634),⁵⁵³ Dániel Vásárhelyi⁵⁵⁴ (1560–1623), rector of the college of Győr, and György Forró (who was of Transylvanian origin), rector of the college of Nagyszombat (Pozsony County).⁵⁵⁵ He urged the repeal of anti-Catholic laws (which were put in force in Transylvania at the beginning of the seventeenth century), as well as the Transylvanian expansion of the Jesuit Order, and supported their school in Kolozsmonostor.⁵⁵⁶ Between 1627 and 1635 he functioned as assessor of the Table of the Prince (Court of Appeal of the Prince).⁵⁵⁷ In 1630, Katalin Brandenburgi (1629–1630) exempted him from the payment of the lease for the tithes on all of his estates;⁵⁵⁸ then György Rákóczi I (1630–1648) released the levy of Cege, Pulyon and Szentgothárd.⁵⁵⁹ János started a suit for his maternal inheritance, the settlement of Egerbegy⁵⁶⁰ (Torda County), which he regained,⁵⁶¹ and later on successfully claimed the estate in Balázsháza from István Csáky (as mentioned above, this had been taken from the Wass and given to István Csáky senior by Voivode Mihai).⁵⁶² As already signaled, his relationship with his kinsmen was ex-

⁵⁵³ Vencel Bíró, *Erdélyre gyakorolt közművelődési hatások a XVII. század második felében az ingóságösszeírások tükrében* [The cultural influences having an effect on Transylvania in the second half of the seventeenth century, with regard to personality records] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1947), 12–13; WassArch, 1629: no. 7705–7706.

⁵⁵⁴ WassArch, 1628–1630: no. 8183–8189.

⁵⁵⁵ WassArch, 1629–1630: no. 7472–7473; Ladislaus Lukács, *Catalogi personarum et officiorum Provinciae Austriae Societatis Jesu*, vol. 1 (1551–1600), Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, vol. 117 (Rome: Inst. Historicum S.J., 1978), 668.

⁵⁵⁶ *Jezsuita missziók*, passim; Mihály Balázs, Tamás Kruppa, István Dávid Lázár and László Lukács, eds., *Jezsuita okmánytár. Erdélyt és Magyarországot érintő iratok 1601–1606* [Cartulary of the Society of Jesus: Documents concerning Transylvania and Hungary 1601–1606], vols. 1/1–2, Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez, vol. 34 (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1995), passim; Horn, “Az erdélyi katolikus elit Pázmány Péter korában,” 86, 89.

⁵⁵⁷ 1627: Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 69^v–70^v; WassArch, 1629: LXVIII/3, 1630: XLI/268, XXVII/12, LXVIII/4, 1631: XXVII/13, LXVIII/8, 1632: XI/32, XLI/269, 1633: XLI/270, 1635: *Történelmi Lapok* 1 (1875): 299.

⁵⁵⁸ WassArch, 1630: XLI/268.

⁵⁵⁹ Cege, Pulyon: WassArch, 1632: XLI/269; Szentgothárd: WassArch, 1633: XLI/270.

⁵⁶⁰ Egerbegy at that time was possessed by the Gerendi; János Wass’s mother – Katalin Erdélyi of Somkerék, the wife of György Wass – was the daughter of Márta Gerendi (WassArch, 1618: XXVI/1–2).

⁵⁶¹ WassArch, 1638: XXVI/5. In 1681 Egerbegy belonged to Éva Ébeni (Antal Beke, “A kolozsmonostori konvent levéltára” [The archives of the convent of Kolozsmonostor], *Történelmi Tár* 1898: 540, 18 Jan. 1681), who obviously inherited it from her husband, János Wass (the son of György Wass).

⁵⁶² WassArch, 1635: XXVII/17.

tremely tense: once he turned on his nephew, György Wass, threatening to hide the documents of the family archive from him.⁵⁶³ In 1627 Gábor Bethlen confirmed both of them in their estates.⁵⁶⁴ In order to compensate for the vast desolation that came about at the end of the sixteenth century (when mercenary troops of the Habsburg army tried – without success – to take Transylvania under their control), in 1632 János Wass initiated the populating of Szentgothárd with Romanian settlers; for this purpose he concluded a regular contract with one István Papp, a representative of the lesser nobility, presumably from around Kővár.⁵⁶⁵ He never married, and left behind no children. One year before his death, in 1634, he made his will, in accordance with which he bequeathed 400 talers to the seminaries of Olmütz and Prague, and beaten and crude gold and ready cash for the restoration of the ruined Jesuit church in Kolozsvár (the present Calvinist church on Farkas Street) or – in the event of any hindrance of the restoration – to the Catholic colleges of Pozsony, Nagyszombat and Győr. Gold was the legacy received by the Jesuits in Austria and in Hungary, and by the Franciscan convents of Pozsony, Győr and Bosnia. For the persons (members of his select company) mentioned by name he left several items, among which there were relics from Rome mounted in ebony, a chest made of ebony, his best pair of pistols together with a powder-horn, a slightly silvered black set of riding tackle, a pearl forehead-pendant, a silvered sword, a green short-cloak lined with fine scarlet cloth, a large gown lined with fox-skin, an emerald ring and livestock (horses, sheep, cows and calves, oxen and pigs). His valuable library was bequeathed to the Jesuits in Kolozsmonostor with the condition that it should not be torn apart, and so were the household goods, among which there were iron vessels, tools made of iron, tin-ware, tapestry, carpets, chairs and bedding (feather-beds, quilts and blankets); tablecloths and coverings were also listed. Items for liturgical purposes (vestments and chalices), chasubles, monstrances, cups, copper plates, ampullae, a pair of large candelabra, altars and altarpieces were all transmitted to the Jesuits of Kolozsmonostor. János owned a town-house, most prob-

⁵⁶³ WassArch, 1635: XIX/45.

⁵⁶⁴ WassArch, 1627: XIX/36 (Cege, Mohaly, Szentegyed, Szentgothárd, Felsőgyékényes, Méhes, Velkér, Sályi, Cikud, Záh, Egerbegy, Vízszilvás, Kötke, Ünőmező, Kupsfalva, Oláhdebrec [correctly Láposdebrec!], Ungurfalva).

⁵⁶⁵ Jakó, *Belső-Szolnok és Doboka*, 106 (quotes the wording of the contract after the original document, a copy of which survived in the WassArch as well: no. 2252). Registers of serfs, preserved in great number in the family archive, inform us about changes in the ethnic composition of the inhabitants of the Wass estates. On this, see also László Makkai, *Szolnok-Doboka magyarságának pusztulása a XVII. század elején* [Perdition of the Hungarians of Solnok-Doboka at the beginning of the seventeenth century] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1942), *passim*.

ably in Kolozsvár, which had windows made of glass, very expensive at that time.⁵⁶⁶ He died after frequent and serious illness in 1635,⁵⁶⁷ and was buried in accordance with his will in the church of Kolozsmonostor.⁵⁶⁸ Although the neglected kinsman, the Calvinist György Wass, respected the arrangements presented above, he disregarded the rest of the will and grabbed hold of the estate and all moveable goods of the deceased on the grounds that János Wass had not bought them for money, and thus those actually represented the income of the estates.⁵⁶⁹

György (the chamberlain of Prince Gabriel Bethlen) married Judit Kendeffy (†1661),⁵⁷⁰ who gave birth to two sons, *László* and *János*.⁵⁷¹ After their father died, the boys entered under the guardianship of Zsigmond Barcsai (who was György's stepbrother),⁵⁷² because – as the explanation goes – the children by themselves could not take care of the estates and carry on the suits, being busy with their studies.⁵⁷³ The widowed Judit Kendeffy later became the wife of Sigismund Bánffy.⁵⁷⁴

László (†1662; fig. no. 27)⁵⁷⁵ attended diets (general meetings, assemblies of the Transylvanian orders, convoked by the prince) on several occasions, but there is no sign of his holding any offices. In 1660 he car-

⁵⁶⁶ WassArch, 1634: XXXII/7; no. 1826; LXXIII/1.

⁵⁶⁷ *János*: †3 Aug. 1635 (NatArch, Archives of the town Beszterce, I. a., no. 11234, 7 Aug. 1635). On August 25, 1635, the town of Beszterce paid the expenses of the delegation attending János Wass's funeral (NatArch, Archives of the town Beszterce, IV. a., Accounts [Städtische Hauptrechnungsbuch], vol. 30 [1624–1653], 297). On his life, see also Vencel Bíró, *Wass János*, in *Erdélyi katolikus nagyok* [Great Catholics in Transylvania], ed. Vencel Bíró–Fortunát Boros (Kolozsvár: Szent Bonaventura könyvnyomda, 1941), 44–47.

⁵⁶⁸ The day of the funeral was fixed on August 14, 1635 (NatArch, Archives of the town of Beszterce, I. a., no. 11234, 7 Aug. 1635).

⁵⁶⁹ WassArch, 1638: XIX/46 (the will of György Wass).

⁵⁷⁰ *Judit Kendeffy*: †under Nyalábvár (Ugocea County, today a ruin in Ukraine, near Korolove/Királyháza); she was buried in the same place, in Nov. 1661 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350; WassArch, 1680: XLI/277). She was the daughter of Gáspár Kendeffy of Boldogfalva (WassArch, 1647: XXIII/30).

⁵⁷¹ WassArch, 1647: XI/34.

⁵⁷² The parents of Zsigmond Barcsai were András Barcsai and Druzianna Bogáti (WassArch, 1656: no. 4875, 1703: XLII/281). The will of Zsigmond Barcsai: WassArch, 1681: XLI/271.

⁵⁷³ WassArch, 1647: XXIII/30. Earlier their mother, Judit Kendeffy, had held the guardianship (WassArch, XXIII/30).

⁵⁷⁴ The engagement of Judit Kendeffy and Sigismund Bánffy was held on June 15, 1648 (József Koncz, “Bánffy Kristóf jegyzetei Heltai »Magyarok Krónikájában«” [The marginal notes made by Kristóf Bánffy in Heltai's 'Chronicle of Hungarians'], *Történelmi Tár* 1881: 396); WassArch, 1651: XLIV/24; 1681: XLI/272.

⁵⁷⁵ In 1646 he was said to be a child (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 71^{r-v}), and in 1647 he reached the legal age (*legitima aetas*), the age of 14 (WassArch, 1647: XXXIII/30).

ried out duties as the envoy of György Rákóczi II (1648–1660) to the guards of the castle of Déva, loyal to the pretender Ákos Barcsay.⁵⁷⁶ His wife was the sister of Transylvanian chancellor Michael Teleki of Szék (1634–1690), Anna Teleki (†1698),⁵⁷⁷ with whom he had two children, the diarist György and Zsuzsanna (†1693, the wife of János Szilvássy of Cseszelick).⁵⁷⁸ After the death of her first husband, Anna Teleki married János Keresztúri of Berekeresztúr.⁵⁷⁹

János Wass (around 1623–1680)⁵⁸⁰ became a member of the so-called “deputation” (*deputatio*)⁵⁸¹ in 1664, an organ of broader competence than the Council of the Prince, aimed at the resolution only of certain well-defined tasks; it was from that time onwards that he attended diets.⁵⁸² In 1670 György was appointed as judge (*főkirálybíró*) of Maros Seat,⁵⁸³ in 1678 he was the deputy to the Porte,⁵⁸⁴ in 1680 assessor of the Table of the Prince,⁵⁸⁵ and from January 15, 1680, the *comes* of Inner Szolnok County.⁵⁸⁶

†Medgyes, 21 Oct. 1662, during the octave court held by Prince Mihály Apafi; he was buried at Moson, on 1 Nov. 1662 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350; *Napló*, 471, footnote no. 2).

⁵⁷⁶ Georg Kraus, *Erdélyi krónika* [Transylvanian chronicle], ed. and transl. Sándor Vogel (Budapest: Ómagyar Kultúra Baráti Társaság, 1994), 375–376.

⁵⁷⁷ Anna Teleki: †Kolozsvár, 15 Aug. 1698. Buried at Cege, on 28 Aug. 1698. She lived for 57 years (*Napló*, 281, 471).

⁵⁷⁸ Zsuzsanna: †Berekeresztúr (Maros Seat), 22 Feb. 1693 (*Napló*, 163). She was engaged to János Szilvási of Cseszelick on 26 Jun. 1682; they held their wedding on 18 Feb. 1683 (*Napló*, 22, 30). *Their children*: Sára (†10 Feb. 1693, *Napló*, 162) and Boldizsár (WassArch, 1742: no. 5229, 16); this latter had possessions in Légén, a settlement next to Szentgothárd, in Kolozs County (*Napló*, 502).

⁵⁷⁹ WassArch, 1677: VI/54.

⁵⁸⁰ According to the document drafted by the archivists of Kolozsmonostor from May 23, 1656 (*f. III. p. Rogate*), at that time he already had turned 20 (WassArch, 1656: XLI/274): thus he must have been born before 23 May 1636. †Ajton (Kolozs County), 3 Sept. 1680. He lived for 45 years. See Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 85^v (annotation made by his grandson, Ádám Wass), and Lázár, *Századok* 22 (1888): 928. He was buried on 27 Oct. 1680 (*Napló*, 12–13). His supposed funeral sermon is impossible to find, although it is claimed that it was deposited in the manuscript collection of the Transylvanian Museum Society in 1907. See Lajos Schilling, ed., *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Évkönyve az 1907. évre* [The annals of the Transylvanian Museum Society for the year 1907] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1908), 18.

⁵⁸¹ Trócsányi, *Központi kormányzat*, 147.

⁵⁸² See Michael Apafi’s missives addressed to him (invitations to campaigns and diets) between 1664 and 1679 (WassArch, no. 7109–1679).

⁵⁸³ WassArch, 17 Dec. 1670: XXXII/38.

⁵⁸⁴ WassArch, 1678: no. 7117.

⁵⁸⁵ WassArch, 1680: no. 8503. No other data can be found on his assessorship, probably because he died in that very year.

⁵⁸⁶ His appointment: WassArch, 1680: LXIX/2.

(introduced on 18 July the same year),⁵⁸⁷ an office that he held for rather a short time, as he died that very year. As for his estates, he mortgaged his landed properties in Cikud to Anna Lónyai, the wife of János Kemény,⁵⁸⁸ but through his wife, Éva Ébeni of Magyargyerőmonostor (†1681),⁵⁸⁹ the Wass inherited several estates. The couple had ten children (*Judit*, *Katalin*, *Ferenc*, *János*, *László*,⁵⁹⁰ *György*,⁵⁹¹ *Ágnes*⁵⁹² – she became the wife of Mihály Bánffy of Losonc – *Miklós*,⁵⁹³ *Dániel* and *Erzsébet*)⁵⁹⁴ but many of them died at a young age. Only three lived to adulthood, and Dániel was the one who played a role in public life as well (see below). Of György the only thing known is that in 1690 he joined the uprising against the Habsburgs of Imre Thököly (1657–1705).

⁵⁸⁷ Lázár, *Századok* 22 (1888): 928; Károly Torma, “Adalékok gróf Lázár Miklós »Erdély főispánjai (1540–1711)« című közleményéhez” [Additions to Count Miklós Lázár’s publication “Erdély főispánjai (1540–1711)”, *Századok* 23 (1889): 322; Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 85v; WassArch, 1680: no. 8503.

⁵⁸⁸ WassArch, 1671: XXVI/5.

⁵⁸⁹ Daughter of László É. senior and Katalin Kun of Osdola (WassArch, n.d.: XLII/309; *Wass János feljegyzései*, 350, footnote no. 5, 352). Engagement: 8 Aug. 1656; wedding: Ajton, 19 Mar. 1658 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350). †3 Aug. 1681 (*Napló*, 14).

⁵⁹⁰ *Judit*: *10 Jun. 1659. †29 Jan. 1661. Buried at Cege, on 6 Feb. 1661 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350). *Katalin*: *10 Feb. 1660. †10 Feb. 1661 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350). *Ferenc*: *26 Jun. 1662. †31 Mar. 1667 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350). *János*: *6 Jan. 1664 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350), †7 Apr. 1684. Buried on 15 Oct. 1684 (*Napló*, 36, 43). He had continued his studies in Nagyenyed (Fehér County) (WassArch, 1680: no. 8335). On August 17, 1683, he got engaged to the daughter of István Sárpataki (*Napló*, 33; *Wass János feljegyzései*, 350, footnote no. 6), the wedding must have been cancelled, as he died on April 7, 1684 (*Napló*, 36). This daughter of the same István Sárpataki appears to have become the second wife of György Wass, the brother of János (*Napló*, 47 and 33, footnote no. 2). *László*: *12 May 1665. †26 Aug. 1665 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350).

⁵⁹¹ *György*: *14 Jun. 1668 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 350). In 1690 he joined the Thököly uprising (*Napló*, 103). †15 Dec. 1703, in the castle of Görgény: see *Napló*, 374, and Cserei, *Erdély*, 347. He was buried in the chapel of Császári (*Napló*, 513). In 1695 he had the Calvinist church of Császári rebuilt – this perished in the nineteenth century (Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 2, 362–363). He became a loyalist after the Habsburg take-over (*Napló*, 269). *His wife*: Erzsébet Sárpataki (WassArch, 1697: no. 4877; 1712: XLII/288/I; *Wass János feljegyzései*, 350, footnote no. 7), the daughter of István Sárpataki. Wedding: Sárpatak, 24 July 1685 (*Napló*, 47). *Sons*: János Wass, †Beszterce, 17 Nov. 1690 (*Napló*, 104). The second husband of Erzsébet Sárpataki: László Bánffy of Losonc (WassArch, 1721: XLII/288/I).

⁵⁹² *Ágnes*: *11 July 1670 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 351), †Idecs (Torda County), 14 Nov. 1703 (*Napló*, 370). Buried in the church of Császári (*Napló*, 513). *Mihály Bánffy*: *Wass János feljegyzései*, 350, footnote no. 1; *Napló*, 370; WassArch, 1696: LXVIII/54; 1704: XLII/284. Still alive in 1704 (WassArch, 1704: XLII/283).

⁵⁹³ *Miklós*: *9 Mar. 1672; baptized on 7 Jun. 1673. †Algyógy (Hunyad County), 29 Sept. 1678. Buried in the church of Algyógy (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 351).

⁵⁹⁴ *Erzsébet*: *22 Jun. 1675, †(of variola) 1 Dec. 1676 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 352).

Obviously enough, the Wass family won its way back into political life during the second half of the sixteenth century, holding several important administrative offices in the Principality. On the one hand, this was due to their social rank, on the other hand evidently to their being well learned. As is visible from the Wass family's example, at that time military efficiency was not the primary means of social or political emergence but higher studies were, which could be accomplished in colleges at home and at foreign universities. Nevertheless, the Wass, just like the rest of the Transylvanian nobility at that time, took part in battles personally (chiefly in those at the turn of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century). In obtaining important positions and offices personal achievements became more and more important, besides family background and fortune.

Generally, they belonged to the second layer of the political élite. In 1639 an anonymous person enlisted the deceased Hungarian and Transylvanian noblemen, classifying the names according to four categories, i.e., great dignitaries, "honorable" (1), dignitaries (2), minor dignitaries and other nobles (3), captains, lieutenants and military men (4). János Wass (†1635) and György Wass (†1638) appear in the second category of the register.⁵⁹⁵ That category might be suitable for the two of them, but György Wass, the one deceased in 1594, the castellan of Szamosújvár and chancellor of the prince, undoubtedly belonged to the highest political élite in Transylvania.

The diarists: György Wass and his son László

György Wass (the son of László W. and Anna Teleki) was born on November 11, 1658 or 1659. Orphaned at an early age, in 1662, he was taken care of by the Transylvanian chancellor Mihály Teleki, his uncle, who was at the time the most influential politician in Transylvania. He started his studies at Cege in 1664; then, a year later, he was sent to Kolozsvár and in 1670 to the Calvinist college of Enyed. In 1677 he was taken to the court of Prince Mihály Apafi (1661–1690) and became the page of the prince.⁵⁹⁶ That was the point when he came into close contact with politics for the first time. In 1681 he joined Apafi in his campaign against

⁵⁹⁵ "Memoriale egy ismeretlen följegyzőtől a Magyarországon és Erdélyben elhalt fő- és köznemesekről" [*Memoriale* of aristocrats and lesser nobles deceased in Hungary and in Transylvania, noted by an unknown author], Ádámos, 4 Jan. 1639, *Genealógiai Füzetek* 5 (1907): 68–69.

⁵⁹⁶ WassArch, 1678: LXVIII/39.

the Habsburgs. In 1684 he was an assessor in Doboka County, and between 1688 and 1691 a commissary appointed at the side of the Imperial troops (which were gradually taking over control of Transylvania from the Turks), and then in the spring of 1691 he was assigned by Governor György Bánffy as an auditor at the conscription of households in Szeben. He appears as an assessor at the assembly of Kolozs County in 1693, and then again, being a confidant of Bánffy, as commissary with General Veterani in the campaign of 1695. As an envoy of the noble estates of Transylvania to Vienna, György went on missions three times: first in 1691, about the *Diploma Leopoldinum* (this document regulated the legal status and internal order of Transylvania, being under Habsburg dominion); for the second time for one and a half years between 1698 and 1700 in defense of the Calvinists' rights, for the recuperation of the territory known as the *Partium*, and for a cut-back in the number of Imperial troops stationed in Transylvania; then for a third time in the fall of 1700 in order to reobtain the finances taken out of the hands of the Transylvanians, and in tax-reduction matters. In August 1703 the *Gubernium Transylvanicum* (the main government authority in Transylvania under Habsburg dominion) named him vice-captain of Kolozsvár – the town being occupied then by troops loyal to the Emperor – while the commandant of the Imperial troops made him *vicecomes* of Doboka and Kolozs Counties.⁵⁹⁷ He was in charge of Kolozsvár in 1704 as well, when the *kuruc* troops of Ferenc Rákóczi II (1704–1711) fighting against the Habsburgs blockaded it for more than half a year. Eventually, in October the same year, the town and he himself went over to Rákóczi's side. György participated several times at diets as a royalist (a person who attends the diet as an invitee of the prince, or later of the king). Having been a devout Calvinist, his diary is richly interwoven with long prayers and supplications. He had churches built on his estates of Cege and Méhes. In 1697 he was elected trustee of the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár. He also had a house built in Cege using the earliest sub-structures⁵⁹⁸ – this was the so-called major castle, which did not survive up to the present day – and had a little park formed by its side. Furthermore, he also had a vault built for the deceased members of the family. György died on November 11, 1705, at

⁵⁹⁷ *Napló*, 363, 371, 397. See also Lázár, *Századok* 21 (1887): 714–715.

⁵⁹⁸ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 2, 485. According to the description by Jolán Balogh of the major castle at Cege – which perished after World War II – there had been seventeenth-century stone carvings built in its walls (Balogh, 240). See also Gyula Forster, ed., *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments of Hungary], vol. 2, *A műemlékek helyrajzi jegyzéke és irodalma* [Topographical catalogue and bibliography of the monuments], comp. Péter Gerecse (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1906), 863.

Kolozsvár,⁵⁹⁹ where he owned a house on the Main Square⁶⁰⁰ and a vineyard outside the town. In spite of these properties in Kolozsvár, neither he nor the other members of the family who had houses there can be considered “burgher nobles” as they spent the bulk of their lives – even in the twentieth century – in the country. György himself lived mainly on his estates in Cege and Méhes (where he had his country seats) and sometimes turned up in Vízszilvás as well (where he owned a mill). In 1699 he obtained the privilege of holding fairs at Méhes, one of his estates.⁶⁰¹ The Calvinist preacher Gáspár Miskolci (†1696) dedicated one of his works, a bestiary (*Egy jeles vadkert, avagy az oktalan állatoknak ... tellyes Historiaja* [Lőcse, 1702]),⁶⁰² to György and his second wife, most probably because they had given him financial support.

György often appeared in Mihály Teleki and Prince Apafi’s entourage and regularly received invitations to diets. He was usually occupied with politics, but not to such an extent as to cause him to neglect his relatives. As he would visit his acquaintances and kinsmen rather frequently, he traveled a lot, and on these journeys he was often forced to spend the night outdoors. He had never been an enemy of good wine either, although he often felt sick after drinking: as he put it, he “had been cankered.” Arising from his position, he was invited to weddings as best man, and to christenings as godfather, but he often had to put in an appearance at funerals as well, these being ceremonies to be held in the presence of a good many people, from among whom dignitaries could not be wanting. As for his other pastimes, he often went hunting and played cards or backgammon. Apart from all this, he was a good master of his estates: in his diary he regularly mentions the works completed, which were usually performed under his direction, and recorded the changes in the weather as well. According to all indications, his estates were self-sufficient, producing not only the basic aliments that his large family and servants would need but honey, wine and fish as well. He even tried to trade in these latter, with the prospect of profit in mind. He enjoyed

⁵⁹⁹ On all these matters, see his diary (*Napló*, 3–468). The moment of his death is known from the diary kept by his son (*Napló*, 235).

⁶⁰⁰ At the town-house in Kolozsvár of György Wass senior of Cege, this György and his nephews, György junior and Dániel (sons of János Wass) agreed on acting jointly against the Bethlen in the suit started by this latter for the heritage of Erzsébet Wass, the late wife of Tamás Pogány of Torda (WassArch, 1695: XXXIV/44). See also Wolf, *Bethlen*, 607–608.

⁶⁰¹ Huszti, *Registrum*, 71^r (1699).

⁶⁰² Károly Szabó, *Régi Magyar Könyvtár. Az 1531–1711. megjelent magyar nyomtatványok könyvészeti kézikönyve* [Old Hungarian Library: Bibliography of Hungarian prints appearing between 1531 and 1711] (Budapest: A M. Tud. Akadémia könyvkiadó hivatala, 1879), no. 1658.

reading, and bought several books in the fairs at Kolozsvár, and writing was, evidently, an everyday practice in his life; he was good at Latin and German, and even acquired the Romanian language in his childhood.⁶⁰³ He also enjoyed jokes, especially those made at somebody else's expense: he promised, for example, a short-cloak lined with fur of red fox to one acquaintance of his, Gyurka Apáczai, on condition that the latter should enter stark naked a room full of his guests, and then walk along Nyárádtő (Maros Seat) – similarly “dressed” – and ask a woman for water. Although his ancestors had usually lived strongly bound to the countryside (certainly, apart from those who went on peregrinations), György managed to get to Vienna, where he met a world quite different from the one to which he had been accustomed at home. He minutiously described in his diary all the ceremonies that he had seen at the Viennese court, the processions, balls and everything that he found worth mentioning. For example, in the company of László Teleki he went to see Schönbrunn (“after lunch we visited the king's houses in Seinburch”), then the zoo (“we went to ... Seinbrum, to the king's houses, where we saw ... chamois from Tyrol, ostrich, Indian and Egyptian hens ... lions and other kinds of beasts”) and relates the Emperor's shooting-party in the Prater. He was fond of nature: during his stay in Vienna he often took walks outside the town (“I went to the fields to air myself”). He was not a superstitious person: in September 1699 he saw the solar eclipse through, a phenomenon that frightened most of his contemporaries (“together with the prince, with Imre Csáky and László Teleki we went to the waterside to watch the eclipse of the sun when most of the Viennese dreaded leaving their houses, not to mention walking in the streets; it seemed as if no human being were in Vienna”). His diary makes it possible for us to have some ideas about his personal belongings and clothing as well: in 1678 Mihály Teleki gifted him with a gilded sword together with a *sabretache*; in 1686 he bought a shotgun, and later had a short-cloak lined with marten in Kolozsvár. On the occasion of his first visit to Vienna, Leopold I (1657–1705), the King of Hungary, presented him with a “golden royal necklace,” while on his second visit he received “a smart little English watch” from the wife of Ferdinand Harrach, master of the court.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰³ In Hungary in earlier centuries – up to the end of the Middle Ages – not even the highest layer of the nobility could necessarily read and write: this was a skill characteristic of clerics. In 1525, for example, Tamás Wass asked a stone-dresser (*sculptor*) from Kolozsvár, Ferenc by name, to read him out a document, as he himself was not adept at doing so. WassArch, 20 Jan. 1525 (the charter issued by the town of Kolozsvár survived in the charter by János Szapolyai, Prince of Transylvania, on 14 Feb. 1525, DF 255400).

⁶⁰⁴ *Napló*, passim.

His first wife was the Catholic Zsuzsanna Bodoni (†1682),⁶⁰⁵ whom he married in spite of all the opposition of Mihály Teleki's wife, he himself thinking it more advisable for a man to live in peace with someone of a different religion than in constant moaning and grumbling with a co-religionist.⁶⁰⁶ His choice shows that for him his family's expectations and interests were less important than personal decisions. In most cases, however, the process of finding a suitable spouse was governed by political and social interests: social status, good connections and wealth being the major factors. Their daughter was born dead,⁶⁰⁷ and his wife passed away in childbirth after 25 weeks' suffering, at the age of 18. György's second wife, Mária Nemes of Hídvég (†1713),⁶⁰⁸ gave birth to eleven children: *Judit*,⁶⁰⁹ *Anna*⁶¹⁰ (who became the wife of András Pongrác of Liptószentmiklós and Óvár), *Katalin*,⁶¹¹ *Erzsébet*,⁶¹² *Druzianna*,⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁵ Engagement of *Zsuzsanna Bodoni*: Vajdaszentivány (Torda County), 6 Aug. 1679 (*Napló*, 11), wedding: the same place, 17 Sept. 1680 (*Napló*, 12). †10 July 1682. Buried at Vajdaszentivány, on 21 July 1682 (*Napló*, 23–24).

⁶⁰⁶ *Napló*, 11.

⁶⁰⁷ *Girl*: *22 Oct. 1681. Buried on 23 Oct. 1681 (*Napló*, 19).

⁶⁰⁸ *Mária Nemes of Hídvég*: †1 Dec. 1713. She lived for 45 years (*Napló*, 472). According to her father's memories, she had been wooed by Sámuel Kálnoki on behalf of György Wass on May 3, 1683. See Ernő Tóth, "Hídvégi id. Nemes János naplója az 1651–1686. évekről" [The diary of János Nemes senior of Hídvég from 1651 to 1686], *Történelmi Társ* 1903: 84, and *Napló*, 31. The wedding took place at Hídvég (Fehér County), on November 9, 1683 (*Napló*, 34; Ernő Tóth, *op. cit.*, 87).

⁶⁰⁹ *Judit*: *4 Mar. 1686. †Szamosújvár, 11 July, 1686. Buried on 13 July 1686 (*Napló*, 54, 57).

⁶¹⁰ *Anna*: *4 Aug. 1687. †Kudu (Inner Szolnok County), 26 Feb. 1738 (*Napló*, 64, 603). She lived on her husband's estate, Kudu (*Napló*, 547). *András Pongrác of Liptószentmiklós and Óvár*: †Kudu, 5 Oct. 1720 (*Napló*, 507; WassArch, 1741: XXXVI/6). *Their children*: Pál P., Katalin, who married József Szentpáli of Homoródszentpál, and Judit, who became the wife of Mihály Weér of Köröstarcsa and Murony (WassArch, 1741: XXXVI/6). On the Pongrácz family, see Béla Majláth, "A szentmiklósi és óvári Pongrácz-család" [The Pongrácz of Szentmiklós and Óvár], *Turul* 8 (1890): 100–112. The Weér were originally settled in Békés County, Hungary (both property names in their name indicating settlements that can be found on that territory); they came to Transylvania in the sixteenth century.

⁶¹¹ *Katalin*: *7 Oct. 1688. †Cege, 2 July 1702. Buried on 12 Nov. 1702 (!), in the crypt that his father had built in that very year (*Napló*, 74, 354, 356).

⁶¹² *Erzsébet*: *22 Dec. 1689. †Kolozsvár, 18 May 1691. Buried in the same place, on 20 May; re-buried in Cege, on 29 Feb. 1692 (*Napló*, 83, 127, 143).

⁶¹³ *Druzianna*: *Kolozsvár, 21 Jun. 1691. †27 Feb. 1692. Buried at Kolozsvár, on 1 Mar. 1692 (*Napló*, 127, 143).

*Mária*⁶¹⁴ (the future wife of Mihály Pécsi of Érsemjén), *Judit*⁶¹⁵ (the future wife of Mihály Katona), *László*,⁶¹⁶ *Ferenc*,⁶¹⁷ *József*⁶¹⁸ and *Zsuzsanna*⁶¹⁹ – she married the physician András Ajtai of Középjajta (†1733). Only a few of them lived to adulthood, and only one of the boys, László (1696–1738),⁶²⁰ had children.

László, like his father, kept a diary, and thus we are familiar with his life. He started his studies at Cege in 1702 but in 1706 he was taken – presumably by his mother – to Hungary, whence he returned only in 1710; from 1711 he continued his studies in Kolozsvár. He led a rather uneventful life: he managed his estates, and took part in the *Gubernium*, in assemblies of the court (Szeben, Kolozsvár) and in the county assemblies of Doboka. Riding on horseback or in carriage, he frequented the homes of his relatives and acquaintances, and at the side of his wife put in appearances at the homes of neighboring noble families on varied occasions such as baptisms, weddings,⁶²¹ name-days and funerals. He smoked,

⁶¹⁴ *Mária*: *Kolozsvár, 21 Nov. 1692 (*Napló*, 158). Her marriage to Mihály Pécsi: 2 Apr. 1716 (*Napló*, 484). She was still alive in 1723 (WassArch, 1723: no. 1839), but the exact day of her death cannot be established.

⁶¹⁵ *Judit*: *Cege, 1 Jan. 1695. †(in childbirth), 18 Jan. 1716. Buried at Berkesz (= Sárosberkesz, Kővár region), on 16 Feb. 1716 (*Napló*, 191, 481–483). *Her husband*: Mihály Katona (WassArch, 1723: no. 1839).

⁶¹⁶ *Ferenc*: *8 Mar. 1698. †Kolozsvár, 17 Dec. 1698 (*Napló*, 264, 286).

⁶¹⁷ *József*: *17 Apr. 1701. †Szentmargita (Middle Szolnok County), of shivers (= ague?), 11 Oct. 1723. Buried at Cege, on 21 May 1724 (*Napló*, 337, 522, 525). He had pursued his studies in the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár, and then lived on his estate in Szentgothárd (*Napló*, 486, 520).

⁶¹⁸ *Zsuzsanna*: *28 July, 1702 (*Napló*, 355). She was still alive in 1742 (WassArch, no. 5207). She lived on the estate inherited from her father in Szásznádas, Küküllő County (WassArch, 1742: LXX/12).

⁶¹⁹ WassArch, 1723: no. 1839. *András Ajtai*, the son of András Szabó, was born in Középjajta (Háromszék) in 1672. He pursued his studies in the grammar school of Székelyudvarhely (Udvarhely Seat), then in the college of Nagyenyed, and finally studied medicine in Halle and Berlin (Germany). †1733. He lived for 62 years. Published: *Dissertatio medica theoretica de medicinae et doctrinae moralis nexu quam praeside Michaele Alberti publica disquisitione proponit* (Halaë Magdeburg, 1714). See István Weszprémi, *Magyarország és Erdély orvosainak rövid életrajza* [Short biographies of Hungarian and Transylvanian physicians], trans. by Aladár Kővári, vol. II/1 (Budapest: Medicina, 1962), 25–29. On January 16, 1742, he is mentioned as deceased (WassArch, 1742: no. 5207). *Their child*: Zsuzsanna A., the wife of Péter Domokos of Alsócernáton, appointed deputy judge of Maros Seat (WassArch 1741: XXXVI/6; István Weszprémi, *op. cit.*, 29).

⁶²⁰ *László*: *12 Nov. 1696. †Kolozsvár, of plague, on 1 Oct. 1738, and buried there, on 3 Oct. 1703 (*Napló*, 235, 471 and 605–606, records made by László and also by his widow in his diary; WassArch, 1742: XXXVI/7; WassArch, no. 5330).

⁶²¹ In 1726, on the wedding of Zsigmond Csáky's administrator, held on the estate of Búza in Doboka County, "the wine made me sick, so I could eat nothing until night, and even then just a very little, and did not drink anything but coffee and herb-tea,

and consumed coffee and tea. Joining the neighboring landowners, he often went out hunting (having his own gunners and hounds): hare, lynx, deer and wild goose were their usual quarry, along with quail, if caught by his trained sparrowhawk. Just like his father, László lived his Calvinist religion intensely and read the Bible every day, and his diary is likewise rich in prayers and devotional thoughts. At the end of each year he evaluates the period that had passed in his diary, just as his father used to. The weather and its influence on that year's crop constitutes the main theme of these short remembrances (of only a few lines) but there can also be found a concise review of the political events that got through to him, and a rather detailed description of the diseases ravaging the country in the year in question. For example, in December 1734 he put down – *inter alia* – the following: “the year elapsed, 1734, can be rightly called a fat year, as all kinds of cereals, hay and fruits have been produced in abundance, generating ... cheapness throughout the country. ... Its having been peaceful, I dare not say, as, although there were no enemies in the country, we were often scared because of the [Ottoman] troops gathered at Hutin [= Hotin] in Moldavia. ... It has been a very unhealthy and sickish year; dysentery and shivers have raved ever since the beginning of the summer, then the fall brought such a pleurisy that no house could have been found either in the town or in the countryside without a diseased person in it.” He was not fond of the new customs of “the changing world,” as he put it; when István Bethlen eloped with his fiancée, Krisztina Macskási, in 1723, he put down the following in his diary: “new manners, truly, it did not happen many a time in the country, to be sure it's not fit for a count” He was a very accurate man as well; when in November 1734 he received late the invitation to the general assembly at Szeben taking place only two weeks later, he made the following observation: “Oh, Lord, what a great irregularity! According to the laws of our country, the invitations [*regalis*] should arrive a month before the assembly; now we hardly receive it two weeks earlier.” In 1715 and in 1729 he carried out duties as an assessor in Doboka and Kolozs Counties.⁶²² He owned country seats at Cege and Méhes,⁶²³ staying mostly on his es-

and could not dance either” (*Napló*, 534). “My young fellow Pál Pongrácz visited me [at Cege], we had a good time during supper, and after supper whoever wanted to dance did so.” (*Napló*, 549). Regarding the way of life of Hungarian and Transylvanian nobility from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the following works are the most important: Béla Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* [Hungarian family life and household in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] (Budapest: Helikon, 1984, 2nd ed.), and Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*.

⁶²² *Napló*, 480, 548–549.

⁶²³ WassArch, 1739: XXXVI/2.

tate in Cege. His wives, Countess Júlia Bethlen of Bethlen (†1731)⁶²⁴ then Baroness Katalin Kemény of Magyargyerőmonostor (†1738),⁶²⁵ gave birth to twelve children (*Erzsébet, Zsuzsanna, Mária, János, Julianna, Ágnes, László, György, Pál, Erzsébet, Zsuzsanna* and *József*)⁶²⁶ but all of them died very early, the last one in 1741,⁶²⁷ and with that death the branch died out. László himself was carried off by plague in 1738 in Kolozsvár; according to the memories of his wife, he passed away very sorrowfully, as on the very last day of his life he had to witness his little boy catching the fatal disease. Not much later his sisters, in collaboration with their husbands, opened his muniments chest (guarded in the “vaulted room” of the house at Cege) and distributed among themselves the documents found.⁶²⁸ This affair brought about great scandal for the representatives of the other branch – the sons of that Dániel Wass who is mentioned below: Miklós, György and Ádám started a suit against László’s sisters on the grounds of scattering the archive, and also entered into litigation for the herit-

⁶²⁴ *Júlia Bethlen*: the daughter of János B. and Erzsébet Alvinczy of Borberek (Lukinich, *Bethlen*, 492–493). Engagement, marriage: Kisbún (Küküllő County), 14 Dec. 1721 (*Napló*, 513); wedding: the same place, 2 Feb. 1723 (*Napló*, 519). The physician István Enyedi’s missive to Count Pál Teleki on January 25, 1723, in NatArch, Genealogical Collection of Lajos Kelemen, s. v. Wass, read as follows: “I can notify you of the wedding of László Wass being fixed on 2 February [1723]”. †Cege, 3 May 1731. Buried on 1 July 1731 (*Napló*, 555–556). She lived for 24 years and 2 months. See János Köpeczi’s funeral sermon on Countess Júlia Bethlen of Bethlen, the wife of László Wass of Cege, 1 July 1731 (Kolozsvár, n.d.), 4^o, 12 p. At the funeral sermons were delivered by Sámuel Makkai (Kolozsvár n.d., 4^o, 6 p.) and Mihály Szathmári (Kolozsvár, n.d., 4^o, 6 p.) as well.

⁶²⁵ *Katalin Kemény*: the daughter of László K., councilor of the *Gubernium Transylvanicum* and treasurer (*Napló*, 560). Engagement and marriage: Magyarbükös (Fehér County), 22 Jan. 1732 (Kelemen, *Daniel*, 125–126). Wedding: Magyarbükös, 31 Jan. 1732 (*Napló*, 560). †1 Oct. 1738 (*Napló*, 604). Buried at Cege, on 10 Dec. 1741 (WassArch, 1741: XXXVI/4; 1766: no. 1866).

⁶²⁶ *Erzsébet*: *22 Dec. 1723; †11 Jan. 1725. Buried on 14 Jan. 1725 (*Napló*, 523, 529). *Premature baby boy*: *18 Jun. 1724 (*Napló*, 525). *Zsuzsanna*: *27 Jun. 1725; †12 Apr. 1728. Buried on 15 Apr. 1728 (*Napló*, 529, 542). *Mária*: *22 July, 1726; †25 Mar. 1727. Buried on 28 Mar. 1727 (*Napló*, 532, 536). *János*: *31 Mar. 1728; †7 Aug. 1730. Buried on 13 Aug. 1730 (*Napló*, 541, 553). *Julianna*: *6 Apr. 1731 (*Napló*, 554–555); †1732 (*Napló*, 564, footnote no. 2). *Ágnes*: *27 Dec. 1732; †Császári, 24 July, 1733. Buried on 2 Aug. (*Napló*, 564, 572–573). *László*: *2 Dec. 1733; †3 Oct. 1738. Buried on 4 Oct. 1738 (*Napló*, 573, 605). *György*: *10 Mar. 1735; †25 May 1736. Buried at Cege, on 15 July 1736 (*Napló*, 583, 590, 596). *Pál*: *13 Nov. 1736; †23 Jan. 1738. Buried on 26 Jan. 1738 (*Napló*, 596, 602). *Erzsébet*: *Kolozsvár, 18 Nov. 1737; †29 Jan. 1738. Buried on 2 Feb. 1738 (*Napló*, 601, 603). *Zsuzsanna*: *17 Jan. 1739; posthumous (*Napló*, 608). *József*: *17 Jan. 1739; posthumous (*Napló*, 608), twin sister of Zsuzsanna. She died a few days before her mother’s death, which occurred on October 1, 1741 (WassArch, 1741: XXXVI/4).

⁶²⁷ WassArch, 1742: XXXVI/7.

⁶²⁸ WassArch, 1741: XXXVI/6.

age (László possessed property in Cege, Göc, Mohaly, Szentgothárd, Pulyon, Szentegyed, Vízszilvás, Balázsháza, Felsőgyékényes, Sályi, Cikud and Záh).⁶²⁹ According to a memorial tablet still extant in the nineteenth century, his house, the major castle at Cege, was inherited by the other branch, namely by Miklós Wass (the son of Dániel).⁶³⁰

The acquisition of countship (1744)

The lives and careers of direct ascendants of the Wass who obtained this aristocratic title were shaped by the period of Habsburg domination and Ferenc Rákóczi II's War of Independence.

Dániel Wass (fig. no. 28), the son of János and Éva Ébeni, was born on March 6, 1674,⁶³¹ and died at the age of 67, on January 18, 1741,⁶³² then being buried on July 2 in the chapel at Cege.⁶³³ In 1690, like many of his contemporaries, he joined Imre Thököly's movement;⁶³⁴ however, one year later we find him transporting wheat for the other party, for the Imperial troops.⁶³⁵ In 1698 he attended the diet as a royalist⁶³⁶ (as stated earlier, all those participants of a diet who were invited by the king or the prince are called royalists), and then in 1699 acted as a member of the Imperial committee set up in order to investigate the situation of Romanian clerics.⁶³⁷ In 1704, after the beginning of the *kuruc* War of Independence, he was retained in Szeben (which was under Habsburg occupation) with several other noblemen. The diary of István Wesselényi (1674–1734) reveals that these noblemen often passed their boundless free time playing cards or bowling. In August 1704 Dániel managed to escape from there: he pinned a note on his door saying that he would go bathing, and then

⁶²⁹ WassArch, 1742: XXXVI/7.

⁶³⁰ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 2, 483–484.

⁶³¹ *Wass János feljegyzései*, 352.

⁶³² Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 73^r, inscription made by Ádám, the son of Dániel Wass; Central Archives of Slovakia (Bratislava), Archive of the Bárczay family, title no. 7, fasc. no. 3, 124–127 (Judít Vay's missive from 31 May 1741 to Krisztina Bossányi, the widow of György Szemere. Microfilm copy: HungNatArch, Department of Microfilms, reel no. 12694); György Aranka's funeral sermon on Dániel Wass, 25 Jan. 1741 (Kolozsvár, n.d.), 4^o, 6 leaves. Consequently the year of his death was mistakenly put at 1735, for example, by Lázár, *Századok* 22 (1888): 739.

⁶³³ Köpeczi, *Wass Dániel*.

⁶³⁴ *Napló*, 103.

⁶³⁵ WassArch, 1691: LXII/9.

⁶³⁶ Lázár, *Századok* 22 (1888): 739.

⁶³⁷ WassArch, 7 Oct. 1699: no. 8507.

somehow evaded the guardians' vigilance and left the town.⁶³⁸ After his escape he joined Rákóczi's army, where he reached the rank of captain,⁶³⁹ and with his troops went up several times to Máramaros County.⁶⁴⁰ From 1707 to 1711 he was the *comes* of Doboka,⁶⁴¹ and then in 1708 the *comes* of Inner Szolnok County.⁶⁴² In 1711 Dániel was one of those noblemen who put their signature on the Treaty of Szatmár⁶⁴³ (which put an end to the War of Independence and at the same time meant the definitive Habsburg dominion over Transylvania). In the same year, all his confiscated estates were returned by the Imperials,⁶⁴⁴ and he himself was restored to his earlier status. From 1721 we can find him as assessor of the *Tabula Regia* (the so-called "Royal Table," the Court of Appeal in Transylvania)⁶⁴⁵ and attending diets as a royalist.⁶⁴⁶ From 1728 he was a member of the committee formed to work out the plans for reform in Transylvanian jurisdiction.⁶⁴⁷ At the diet of 1734 he was elected councilor of the *Gubernium* from among the Calvinists, although eventually he was not the one appointed.⁶⁴⁸ In any case, he became a *curator* (trustee general) of the Calvinist diocese of Szék,⁶⁴⁹ and was appointed to membership in the General Consistory of the Transylvanian Calvinist Church ("*Főkonzisztórium*" – the lay administrative department of that Church)

⁶³⁸ István Wesselényi, *Sanyarú világ. Napló, 1703–1708* [The bitterness of the world: Diary 1703–1708], vol. 1, ed. András Magyari (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1983), 82–83, 85, 187.

⁶³⁹ His appointment: WassArch, 1706: no. 5375.

⁶⁴⁰ WassArch, 1706: no. 5374; *Történelmi Lapok* 1 (1874–1875): 412; WassArch, 12 May 1710: LXII/11/b.

⁶⁴¹ His appointment: WassArch, 28 July, 1707: no. 1757.

⁶⁴² *Történelmi Lapok* 1 (1874–1875): 255. Period of office-bearing: unknown.

⁶⁴³ Imre Lukinich, ed., *A szatmári béke története és okirattára* [The Treaty of Szatmár and its documentation], *Fontes Historiae Hungariae Aevi Recentioris* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1925), 343.

⁶⁴⁴ WassArch, 1711: LXIX/6 (no. 1759).

⁶⁴⁵ His appointment: WassArch, 23 Mar. 1721: no. 1758. See also WassArch, 1721: XLII/292. He received payment for his office: WassArch, 1725: XLII/298.

⁶⁴⁶ 1713, Szeben (WassArch, 1713: no. 7760), 1718, Kolozsvár (WassArch, 1718: no. 7761), 1722, Szeben (WassArch, 1722: no. 7762). In 1723 as assessor he was invited to participate at the octave court (WassArch, 1723: no. 7763), and was present at the diet of 1737 (WassArch, 1737: no. 7621), etc.

⁶⁴⁷ Zsolt Trócsányi, *Habsburg-politika és Habsburg-kormányzat Erdélyben 1690–1740* [Habsburg politics and government in Transylvania], *A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai* III, *Hatóság- és hivataltörténet*, vol. 8 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 356.

⁶⁴⁸ Trócsányi, *Habsburg-politika és Habsburg-kormányzat Erdélyben 1690–1740*, 400; Lázár, *Századok* 22 (1888): 739.

⁶⁴⁹ See György Aranka's funeral sermon on Dániel Wass, 25 Jan. 1741, and Köpeczi, *Wass Dániel*.

reorganized in 1709.⁶⁵⁰ In 1731 Dániel started a lawsuit for the estates in Inner Szolnok, Kolozs and Torda Counties of Katalin Erdélyi, the wife of the late György Wass, which in the end turned out unsuccessfully.⁶⁵¹ He held his residence at Császári in Doboka County.⁶⁵² Two wives gave him children,⁶⁵³ with the first, Ilona Mikó of Bodok (Hídvég) (†around 1690),⁶⁵⁴ he begot *Miklós, János,*⁶⁵⁵ *György, Ágnes,*⁶⁵⁶ *Ferenc,*⁶⁵⁷ and *Dániel,*⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁰ Gábor Sipos, *Az erdélyi református főkonzisztórium kialakulása 1667–1713–(1736)* [The formation of the Transylvanian Calvinist General Consistory], Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek, vol. 230 (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület, 2000), 58, 60.

⁶⁵¹ Somkerék, Magasmart, Virágosberek, Sajóudvarhely, Felsőbréte, Szekérbréte, Tóhát (Inner Szolnok County), Alsózsuk, Kályán, Sármás, Asszonyfalva [= unidentifiable deserted settlement, on which see Csánki, vol. 5, 329] (Kolozs County), Gernyeszeg (Torda County). See Huszti, *Registrum*, 141^r.

⁶⁵² WassArch, 1737: XLVII/23.

⁶⁵³ *Wass János feljegyzései*, 354; *Napló*, passim.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ilona Mikó*: WassArch, 1720: LXVIII/67; 1722: no. 4884. She was the daughter of István Mikó of Bodok (†1690?, WassArch, 1690: no. 1801), who was appointed judge (*főkirálybíró*) of Háromszék, and Éva Bálpataki of Borberek (WassArch, 1720: LXVIII/67). Sometimes her mother's name appears mistakenly as Katalin Bálpataki: see, for example, *Wass János feljegyzései*, 354, and *Genealógiai Füzetek* 3 (1905): 93. Marriage: 10 July 1697 (*Napló*, 253). Wedding: Torda, 10 Oct. 1697 (Zoltán Ferenczi, "Cserei Mihály följegyzései" [The notes of Mihály Cserei], *Történelmi Tár* 1893: 246). During the Rákóczi War she was in the castle of Görgény. See Cserei, *Erdély*, 347, and Lázár, *Századok* 22 (1888): 739. She gave birth there to one of her sons: György (WassArch, no. 5329). †Kolozsvár, 1 Feb. 1716 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 354; *Napló*, 483).

⁶⁵⁵ *János*: *19 Apr. 1702 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 354). †As a child, probably before 1744, because the deed of title donation does not mention his name (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 73^r; *Wass János feljegyzései*, 354, footnote no. 6).

⁶⁵⁶ *Ágnes*: *Cege, 19 Mar. 1706: she must have died very early, while her father, Dániel Wass, was in Máramaros County (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 354, footnote no. 8).

⁶⁵⁷ *Ferenc*: * Barcánfalva (Máramaros County), 16 Oct. 1708 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 354). †Before 14 Sept. 1721. Buried in the church of Császári (*Napló*, 513).

⁶⁵⁸ *Dániel*: *Császári, 17 Jan. 1713 (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 354); †before 23 Nov. 1739 (*Napló*, 601). Buried at Császári, on 24 Nov. 1739 (*Napló*, 601). He went to Italy in January 1734, where he served in the Imperial army in the regiment of István Gyulai (*Napló*, 574). From 1734 there dates a letter from Mantua, Italy (WassArch, 1734: no. 8324–8325). In 1736 he was already in Wallachia serving as a color-bearer; his father sent him money (WassArch, 1736: LXII/17).

and with the second one, Judit Vay of Vaja (†1770),⁶⁵⁹ *Ádám, Katalin*⁶⁶⁰ (the future wife of Count László Tholdalagi of Nagyercese), *Judit*,⁶⁶¹ *Klára*⁶⁶² (the future wife of Baron Ferenc Bánffy of Losonc), *Julianna*⁶⁶³ (the future wife of Count Elek Bethlen of Bethlen), *Krisztina*⁶⁶⁴ (the future wife

⁶⁵⁹ *Judit Vay*: *1687. †Serke (Gömör County), 22 Feb. 1770 (WassArch, no. 5330). The daughter of Ádám Vay senior and Erzsébet Fekete of Nagyiván (WassArch, 1713: no. 8458). She first married Mihály Rhédey (*Napló*, 495). From April 7, 1718, onwards she appears as the wife of Dániel Wass: see the funeral sermon on Judit Vay of Vaja, 8 July 1770 (Kolozsvár 1770), 4^o, 12 leaves. The Fekete of Nagyiván originally had their estates mainly in Baranya County, where the settlement of Nagyiván is (Csánki, vol. 2, 492, and Györffy, vol. 1, 319), but in the sixteenth century they moved to the northern parts of Hungary; László Fekete of Nagyiván, the father of Erzsébet Fekete, possessed the estate of Ajnácskő (Gömör County). See István Mocsáry, “A nagyiváni Fekete család” [The Fekete of Nagyiván], *Turul* 19 (1901): 122–134.

⁶⁶⁰ *Katalin*: *before 1 May 1722; baptized on that day at Császári (*Napló*, 516). She was still alive in 1778: see István Basa’s funeral sermon on Baron Miklós Kemény of Magyargyerőmonostor, 23 July 1775 (Szeben, 1778), 4^o, 21 leaves (ProTheolLibr). Buried in the family crypt of her husband at Koronka (Maros seat): see *Népújság* (Marosvásárhely), vol. 43, no. 64 (= no. 12068), 2 Apr. 1991 (Ervin Szucher). *László Tholdalagi*: assessor of the *Tabula Regia* (István Basa’s funeral sermon), †1779 (Rettegi, 397). He lived for 51 years (according to the inscription on his tombstone at Koronka). He had a castle built on the Main Square of Marosvásárhely, right beside the Franciscan church; on the frontispiece of the building the coat of arms of the couple can still be seen (figs. no. 29 and 30). See also Kelemen, *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok*, vol. 2, 84).

⁶⁶¹ *Judit*: †as a child; see Sámuel Miklós’s funeral sermon on Judit Vay of Vaja, the wife of Dániel Wass, 8 July 1770 (Kolozsvár, 1772), 4^o, 19 leaves. Buried at Császári, on 16 July 1724 (*Napló*, 526).

⁶⁶² *Klára*: *Császári, 26 Dec. 1727 (*Napló*, 539–540). Mentioned as a maiden in 1743 (Huszi, *Genealogia heroica*, 73^r). †1762 (Rettegi, 132). *Ferenc Bánffy*: the son of Ferenc B. senior, judge of the *Tabula Regia*, the *comes* of Kraszna County (Lukács, *Wass Miklós*), and Zsuzsanna Kemény (Rettegi, 221, 310). His second wife was Baroness Ágnes Inczédi (Rettegi, 310, 493).

⁶⁶³ *Julianna*: *Császári, 27 Mar. 1730 (*Napló*, 551). *Elek Bethlen*: royal councillor, †1779 (Sajónagyfalu, Inner Szolnok County (Rettegi, 398), the son of József B. and Baroness Krisztina Kemény (Lukinich, *Bethlen*, 468). Printed wedding poem of the couple: *Festum conjugale, in quo sacra connubii jura concedunt: comes Alexius de Bethlen, neosponsus, ... itemque comitissa Juliana Vas de Tzege, neo-sponsa ... adplaudente tantis neogamis, laetumque epithalamium accinente, illustri collegio reformato Claudiopolitano, die XII. ante Kalendas Apriles, anno qui labitur, qVVM VenVs e Paphlls Venlens IVCVnDa rosetIs, Inter oVat sponsos Igne prae Cante noVos* (Claudiopoli: Jos. S. Pataki, 1752).

⁶⁶⁴ *Krisztina*: “hardly can one see a woman more pure-minded, who would reject the worldly futilities and new fashions as she does; she is nice and soft-mannered, a woman of virtues” (Rettegi, 350, 400). *13 Jun. 1726; †13 Jun. 1802. She lived for 76 years. She was buried at Nagysajó (Doboka County), by the side of her husband, on 15 June. Calv. See the funeral sermon of Elek Dezső of Krizba on Countess Krisztina Wass of Cege, the wife of Baron Miklós Kemény of Magyargyerőmonostor, 12 Sept. 1802 (Kolozsvár, 1805), 8^o, 55 p.; JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 103; Ferenc Szilágyi’s funeral sermon on Countess Krisztina Wass of Cege, 12 Sept. 1802 (Kolozsvár, 1805), 8^o, 52 p.) Her fu-

of Count László Bethlen junior of Bethlen then of Baron Miklós Kemény of Magyargyerőmonostor) and *Anna*⁶⁶⁵ (the future wife of Count Ferenc Rhédey of Kisréde,⁶⁶⁶ then of Ábrahám Vay of Vaja⁶⁶⁷). Dániel Wass also owned a town-house on the Main Square (*Főtér*) of Kolozsvár, which was bequeathed to him by his mother, Éva Ébeni;⁶⁶⁸ a door-frame in Renaissance style with his and his second wife's blazon on it still can be found on the ground floor (figs. no. 31 and 32).⁶⁶⁹ In the first place, it was Dániel's loyalty to the Emperor that obtained the countship for his three sons; as for their financial situation, the boys inherited, besides the estates of their line, also those of the diarist György's branch after it died out in 1741.

neral blazon can be seen in the Calvinist church of Ajton. *László Bethlen*: †1750 (the funeral sermon of Elek Dezső of Krizba). The son of László B. senior and Mária Folti. He served in Farkas Bethlen's regiment (Rettegi, 349–350, 400). *Miklós Kemény*: *4 Sept. 1723; †19 Apr. 1775. Buried at Nagysajó, on 16 July. The son of Zsigmond K., assessor of the *Tabula Regia* of Transylvania, and Countess Ágnes Bethlen of Bethlen. He pursued his studies in the Calvinist colleges of Marosvásárhely and Kolozsvár, but had to interrupt them because of the plague. After losing his parents, Sámuel Kemény took him into his care: see the funeral sermon of Elek Dezső of Krizba, and the funeral sermon of Simon Lukács on Baron Miklós Kemény of Magyargyerőmonostor, Nagysajó, 16 July 1725 (Szeben, 1778), 4^o, 26 leaves (ProtTheolLibr).

⁶⁶⁵ *Anna*: In 1751 she was already the wife of her second husband, Ádám Vay (WassArch, 1751: no. 4885)

⁶⁶⁶ *Ferenc Rhédey* (WassArch, 1742: no. 1841), whose son, from a first marriage, was Zsigmond Rhédey (LibrHungAcad, Department of Manuscripts, Tört. Gen. 4^o, 1/76, Wass).

⁶⁶⁷ *Ábrahám Vay*, royal councilor (Lukács, *Wass Miklós*), lay curator of the Cistibiscan Reformed Church District (*Tiszánimemi ref. egyházkerület*). *1697 or 1702, †1762. His marriage to Anna Wass: on 21 Jun. 1746. *Their children*: Dániel V., József and Miklós. See Orsolya Szakály, "A vajai Vay család a 18. században" [The Vay of Vaja in the eighteenth century], in *Tanulmányok Szakály Ferenc emlékére* [Studies in memoriam Ferenc Szakály], Gazdaság- és társadalomtörténeti kötetek, vol. 2, ed., Pál Fodor, Géza Pálffy and István György Tóth (Budapest: MTA TKI Gazdaság- és Társadalomtörténeti Kutatócsoportja, 2002), 355–358.

⁶⁶⁸ "In the town of Kolosvár at the house of the honorable nobleman Dániel Vas of Czege, on Belső-Monostor Street" (WassArch, 1704: XLII/285). "To the house of the nobleman Dániel Wass in Kolozsvár on the Market Square" (WassArch, 1722: XLVI/13). See Melinda Mihály, "A kolozsvári Filstich-Kemény-ház" [The Filstich-Kemény house in Kolozsvár], in *Emlékkönyv Kiss András születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [András Kiss memorial volume in honor of his 80th birthday], ed. Sándor Pál-Antal, Gábor Sipos, András W. Kovács and Rudolf Wolf (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2004), 362–365.

⁶⁶⁹ Dániel Lőwy, János Demeter V. and Lajos Asztalos, *Kőbe írt Kolozsvár. Emléktáblák, feliratok, címerek* [Stones of Kolozsvár: Memorial tablets, inscriptions, coats of arms] (Kolozsvár: Nis kiadó, 1996), 62, picture no. 21/b.

The title that they were granted raised the family into the Transylvanian aristocracy (which was forming at that time) but did not confer any betterment in wealth, as it was not accompanied by any grant of estate. Neither was there any significant change regarding their way of life: the Wass went on living their lives mainly within the boundaries of the same county in the same residences, and still could not compete with the most distinguished Transylvanian noble families (Bethlen, Teleki, Haller, Kornis) in wealth and prestige. However, according to public feeling, they had always belonged to the exclusive circle of the highly distinguished families, probably because the Wass were one of the oldest noble families in Transylvania, and their marriages linked them with the highest social layer, as represented by the Teleki of Szék, the Tholdalagi, the Bethlen of Bethlen etc. This is why László Mikola (1665–1742), author of the first Transylvanian genealogical work issued in print, included the Wass in his *Erdélyi genealógia*,⁶⁷⁰ considered to be the definitive assemblage of distinguished families. Several Transylvanian families were donated aristocratic (baronial or comital) titles immediately after the Habsburg instauration, that is, at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century (for example the Apor of Altorja, the Bánffy of Losonc, the Bethlen of Bethlen, the Gyulay of Marosnémeti, the Haller of Hallerkő, the Jósika of Branyicska, the Kálnoki of Kőrispatak, the Kornis of Göncruszka, the Lázár of Szárhegy, the Mikes of Zabola, the Pekri of Pekrovina, the Székely of Borosjenő and the Teleki of Szék), while many others received it somewhat later, during the eighteenth century, after the *kuruc* War of Independence. The title in these latter cases served as a means to attach these families even more closely to the Viennese court. Considering Transylvanian noble families, the majority of title donations during the eighteenth century were effected under the long reign of Maria Theresa (1740–1780): no fewer than eleven of them received the title of count (the Bethlen of Iktár, the Béli of Uzon, the Kemény of Magyargyerőmonostor, the Kendeffy of Malomviz, the Korda of Borosjenő, the Lázár of Gyalakuta, the Mikó of Hídvég, the Nemes of Hídvég, the Tholdalagi of Nagyercese, the Tholdi of Nagyszalonta and the Thorotzkai of Torockószentgyörgy).⁶⁷¹

⁶⁷⁰ Ladislaus Mikola, *Historia Genealogico Transilvanica* (no publishing place, 1731). See also Farkas Deák, “Mikola genealógiája az erdélyi családokról” [The genealogy of Transylvanian families by Mikola], *Turul* 5 (1887): 68–70.

⁶⁷¹ On these, see Illéssy and Pettkó, *Királyi Könyvek*, passim, and Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, 26–27. For an incomplete repertory of the families that acquired comital or baronial titles between 1686 and 1815, see Béla Pálmány, *A magyarországi nemesség társadalmi tagolódása* [Social stratification of Hungarian nobility], in *Mágnások, birtokosok, címerlevelesek* [Magnates, landowners, letters patent of nobility], Rendi társadalom

The baronial title was acquired by somewhat more families; nevertheless, the circle of aristocrats still remained narrow, and it is hard to agree with the always dissatisfied memoirist, Péter Apor (1676–1752), who did not even take on the task of enumerating the title donations after the Rákóczi War, as “it would be too long to enlist those many barons and counts who came into being after that movement, as the whole country is astir with them.”⁶⁷² Although title donations were not accompanied by property donations (and these granted families, in any case, usually already had properties), the title extended their social prestige, and in the modern age it assured them of membership in the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament.⁶⁷³ The Transylvanian aristocracy, however – in contrast with that of Hungary – did not separate itself sharply from the rest of the nobility, since they were related to the well-off layers of the lesser nobility as well. On the other hand, except for the most distinguished ones, the majority of these “new” aristocratic families were similar, regarding their wealth, to the modest layers of county nobility.⁶⁷⁴ Those acquiring aristocratic titles had usually achieved high ranks first as the result of successful administrative or military careers, or other important tasks accomplished in the service of their sovereign – as the case of the Wass illustrates. The diploma took into account the deeds of early ancestors as well, but the court was interested mainly in the acts of the family members alive in 1744 and the generation immediately preceding them. Among these latter, the diarist György and his cousin Dániel (neither of them living to 1744) were pointed out in the diploma as exemplarily loyal to the court. Countship and expansion of the coat of arms were granted to the sons and grandchildren of Dániel Wass, that is, to all living members of the kinship, although those could be carried on only by male heirs. The careers of Dániel’s sons illustrate the fact that although the Habsburgs promoted only Catholic noblemen in major offices, positions of somewhat lesser importance were accessible without any difficulties for Calvinist noblemen as well. For the Habsburg government needed the cooperation of the entire Transylvanian nobility. The government offered honorific titles and offices, while the beneficiaries could enjoy the social respect and financial income that those brought them.

– polgári társadalom vol. 9, ed. Imre Ódor, Béla Pálmány and Péter Takács (Debrecen: Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem, 1997), 91.

⁶⁷² Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, 27.

⁶⁷³ Act VII § 2. of 1885; Act VIII § 1. of 1886, *Corpus Iuris Hungarici. Magyar törvénytár. 1884–1886. évi törvényzárkék* [Acts of 1884–1886] (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1897), 187, 326.

⁶⁷⁴ Jakó, *Belső-Szolnok és Doboka*, 125.

Miklós (fig. no. 33),⁶⁷⁵ the eldest of the granted sons of Dániel, was born on May 31, 1701,⁶⁷⁶ died on October 26, 1769,⁶⁷⁷ and was buried at Cege on December 10 the same year.⁶⁷⁸ He pursued his studies in the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár,⁶⁷⁹ and then spent all his life on his estates like the majority of the county nobility, not holding any public offices. After the death of his first wife, Countess Éva Teleki of Szék,⁶⁸⁰ he remarried, wedding Baroness Krisztina Bánffy of Losonc.⁶⁸¹ Before 1744 he was named royal councilor, a title that must have pleased him, no doubt. György Rettegi (1718–1786), the diarist nobleman living in Doboka County, remarked that Miklós was very happy with his title and seldom put his name down without adding the formula “*C(onsilia)rius* of Her Imperial Highness.” Rettegi’s further remark on him, noting that Miklós eventually was called simply “*Crius*,” was not devoid of irony. The diarist did not like him because this latter had failed to return a favor. Thus the characterization that we can read is not a bit flattering: “The poor fellow was quite well-off but poor at the same time; he was good at deluding people with words, but not with reality [...] At the age of seventy neither his hair nor beard was flecked with gray. This poor man was tall, skinny and talkative, promising a lot with words, accomplishing little.”⁶⁸² A contemporaneous portrait, which can be acknowledged as an authentic representation of the count, has been preserved in Huszti’s historical work. Eight children were born to Miklós:⁶⁸³ with his first wife he begot *Katalin*⁶⁸⁴ (who first married Sámuel Boldvai of Várad and

⁶⁷⁵ Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 75^r.

⁶⁷⁶ *Wass János feljegyzései*, 254. Other sources (Lukács, *Wass Miklós*) maintain that he was born in 1699.

⁶⁷⁷ Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 76^r (his brother, Ádám Wass, made this inscription).

⁶⁷⁸ Lukács, *Wass Miklós*.

⁶⁷⁹ Szathmári, *Wass Miklós*.

⁶⁸⁰ The diploma granting countship contains – probably owing to the mistake of the copyist – the name Katalin Teleki. Miklós Wass’s wife was actually Éva Teleki, born on September 4, 1704, the daughter of Pál T. and Katalin Vay. See Lajos Kelemen, “Széki gr. Teleki Pálné Vay Kata családi följegyzései (1703–1723)” [Records on her family by Kata Vay, the wife of Count Pál Teleki of Szék (1703–1723)], *Genealógiai Füzetek* 6 (1908): 170–171, and Lukács, *Wass Miklós*. Éva Teleki was still alive on September 29, 1780 (*WassArch*, 1780: no. 2150).

⁶⁸¹ *Krisztina Bánffy*: the daughter of Ferenc B., the *comes* of Kraszna County, and Zsuzsanna Kemény (Rettegi, 221, 310).

⁶⁸² Rettegi, 221.

⁶⁸³ Rettegi, 221; Szathmári, *Wass Miklós*.

⁶⁸⁴ *Katalin*: *1743 or somewhat before, as she already appears in the family history by Huszti, which was finished in 1743 (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 76^r). *Sámuel Boldvai*: †before 6 Aug. 1754. He lived for 34 years. The son of Gergely B. and Ágnes Barcsai, the last male offspring of his family. See Sándor Jósintzi’s funeral sermon on Sámuel

then Ferenc Horváth of Gerendkeresztúr), and with the second he sired György, Ferenc, Klára, Krisztina, Zsuzsanna (the four latter dying early in their childhood)⁶⁸⁵ Eszter (†Cege, 1794)⁶⁸⁶ and Farkas. Only three of them lived to adulthood, and the boy, Farkas (1769–1795), died at the age of 26 leaving no descendants after himself.⁶⁸⁷

The next of the brothers is György; he was born in the castle of Görgény (Torda County) on March 15, 1704, and died at Cege on May 17, 1777. He studied, like his brother, in the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár. After the repression of the *kuruc* War of Independence, like many of his contemporaries, he entered the Imperial army, and beginning in 1727 he served in the regiment of General Ferenc Gyulay (1674–1728) in Germany and Italy. Returning home,⁶⁸⁸ he married Erzsébet Szentpéteri of Sajószentpéter,⁶⁸⁹ with whom he had five children: Éva (the future wife of Baron Zsigmond Kemény senior of Magyargyerőmonostor),⁶⁹⁰ Erzsébet (the future wife of Count Gábor Nemes of Hídvég),⁶⁹¹ Zsuzsanna (who died as a child), Katalin (†1783,⁶⁹² the future wife of Baron Simon

Boldvai, 6 Aug. 1754 (Kolozsvár, 1754), funeral leaflet. *Ferenc Horvát*: “Led an exceedingly careless life; the estates of his wife had a narrow escape from being scattered” (TransNatArch, Family archive of the Teleki in Kendilóna, Missives, Miklós Wass’s letters to count Ádám Teleki of Szék, 18 May 1763).

⁶⁸⁵ Szathmári, *Wass Miklós*.

⁶⁸⁶ *Eszter*: †Cege, 17 May 1794. She lived for 27 years, 4 of which were in marriage. Buried at Cege, in the family grave, in June. Obituary notifications: HungNatArch, Family archive in Marosvásárhely of the Teleki of Szék, P 665, item 1, fasc. 14, 89 (dateless print), and LibrHungAcad, Department of Manuscripts, Ms. 6292/45 (a dated print). *Husband*: Count Károly Mikó (who signed the obituary notifications).

⁶⁸⁷ *Farkas*: *6 Oct. 1769, twenty days before the death of his father (26 Oct.; see Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 76). †12 Sept. 1795. He lived for 26 years. Buried at Cege, on 14 Sept. See Géza Petrik, *Magyarország bibliográfiája 1712–1860* [Hungarian bibliography 1712–1860], vol. 8 (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1991), 222; he quotes the printed obituary, which can no longer be found. “*Registrator*” in 1790 and royalist at the Diet in Kolozsvár (*Tabella*). He traveled to Vienna and Graz, lived carefully, and died at Beszterce (WassArch, 1797: LXXII/23, 563). The information published by Kálmán Hellebronth, according to which he would have been a member of the Hungarian Royal Bodyguard, actually refers to Farkas, a member of the Vas family of Diódvárálja. See Hellebronth, 386.

⁶⁸⁸ WassArch, no. 5329.

⁶⁸⁹ Daughter of András Sz. and Katalin Szemere (WassArch, no. 5329). The wedding of Erzsébet Sz. and György Wass: Sajószentpéter (Borsod County), 1 July 1733 (*Napló*, 571).

⁶⁹⁰ WassArch, no. 5329; Rettegi, 137, 377, 200.

⁶⁹¹ WassArch, no. 5329.

⁶⁹² The funeral sermon of János Malom on Countess Kata Wass of Cege, the wife of Simon Kemény, 16 Mar. 1783 (Kolozsvár, 1783). Her wedding took place on June 20,

Kemény of Magyargyerőmonostor⁶⁹³) and the only boy, *Sámuel*, who died without an heir in 1812. Rettegi describes György Wass as having been “a well-built, tall man, however of soft manners and meek, having brains and sound judgement but no promotion, much as he deserved it.”⁶⁹⁴ He had the Calvinist church of Cege renovated (fig. no. 34), as the memorial tablet testifies (fig. no. 35).⁶⁹⁵ His tombstone can still be seen at Cege; it is decorated with the comital coat of arms (fig. no. 36).

The youngest of the brothers, *Ádám* (fig. no. 37)⁶⁹⁶ was born in Császári on April 12, 1720,⁶⁹⁷ and died there on July 24, 1776. He was buried in the family crypt at Cege on July 27.⁶⁹⁸ He started his studies in the Calvinist college at Kolozsvár, but had to interrupt them in 1738 because of the plague, and in 1739 – through the good offices of Baron Zsigmond Bánffy junior, councilor of the *Gubernium* – became an office clerk (*kancellista*) in Szeben.⁶⁹⁹ In 1774 he was the *comes* of Kraszna,⁷⁰⁰

1768. See Imre Sándor, “Lakodalmas versek” [Wedding-poems], *Genealógiai Füzetek* 5 (1907): 80.

⁶⁹³ *Simon Kemény* (†1764, Rettegi 164): the son of Ádám K. and Druzsianna Rhédey of Kistréde. He was a chamberlain, a general trustee of the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár, and the *comes* of Kraszna then of Fehér County. His first wife was Baroness Polixénia Wesselényi. See Rettegi, 85, 332, 347, 377, 386, and the funeral sermon on Baron István Kemény by Mihály Szathmári Pap, 15 Nov. 1772 (Kolozsvár, 1776), 4^o, 18 leaves (ProfTheolLibr); József Szegedi’s funeral sermon on Baroness Erzsébet Kemény [daughter of Simon Kemény and Kata Wass of Cege], 29 Oct. 1775 (Kolozsvár, 1777), 4^o, 15 leaves (ProfTheolLibr); WassArch, no. 5329; Szabó, *Wass György*. At that time Simon Kemény had together with his wife, Kata Wass, the church of Marosvécs (Maros Seat) renovated and put up a memorial tablet with their coats of arms on the walls of the church in 1770 (fig. no. 85). See Kelemen, *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok*, vol. 1, 106.

⁶⁹⁴ Rettegi, 377.

⁶⁹⁵ The inscription on the memorial tablet reads as follows: D[eo] O[ptimo] M[aximo] S[alvatori]/ QUAM BENE CONCORDENT HEROUM STEMMATA CLARUM/ SISTE QUO AD LECTOR COMMEMORABO GRADUM/ SCILICET HICCE BISONIS PINGIT TE DACE GEORGI/ WASS SUPER AEDE DEI GLORIA PALMA DECUS/ AST CERERIS CONCORDSQUE DVO SIC PARQUE MANIPLUS/ SOGA SZENTPETERI EST ELIZABETA THORI/ PAR SOCIAVIT AETAS HOS POSTQUAM PARQUE LIBERTAS/ PAR FOVET ET VIRTUS PAR AMOR VIQUE DEI/ ERGO PRIUS BOREAS TEPIDUS SIT FRIGIDUS AUSTER/ QUAM NON IN LAUDES VIVAT UTERQUE SUAS. A[nno] R[esurrectionis] S[alvatoris] MDCCLXXI H. R. V. M. P. The inscription is published in the classical scholar Vasile Rus’s reading.

⁶⁹⁶ Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 79^v–80^r.

⁶⁹⁷ *Napló*, 505; WassArch, no. 5330.

⁶⁹⁸ Rettegi, 397.

⁶⁹⁹ WassArch, no. 5330; Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 82^r.

⁷⁰⁰ WassArch, 1744: no. 7219; Rettegi, 332.

then between 1774 and 1779 the *comes* of Inner Szolnok County,⁷⁰¹ offices that ensured him a regular income from the state.⁷⁰² His appointment might have been due to the fact that in 1773, on the reception held by Count Dénes Bánffy (1723–1780) in Kolozsvár, he met Crown Prince Joseph, who was on his tour of Transylvania, and with whom he is supposed to have had a good-humored chat.⁷⁰³ On the occasion of his death, Rettegi put down the following words: “Poor Count Ádám Wass, a learned man, would write a fair hand, was an intelligent, first-rate nobleman,” and the observation that he “was not a specifically wealthy man,” who could not hold any offices for a long time, because “his gold did not arrive everywhere.”⁷⁰⁴ He patronized the Protestant college where he had studied, and donated money for historical and juridical books from the income of his mill at Vízszilvás.⁷⁰⁵ The subjects of these books might illustrate the donator’s range of interests; unfortunately, no book-list has survived to inform us about the books that the Wass had in their possession at that time. He protected the ancient estate, even excessively: once a suit – with a landowner recently married into Szentgyed, Ferenc Éltető – over the boundaries of an estate proceeded to violence.⁷⁰⁶ Ádám lived in constant conflict⁷⁰⁷ with his wife, Countess Katalin Tholdalagi,⁷⁰⁸ yet with her – according to his autobiography – he had ten children: *Ágnes*⁷⁰⁹ (†1818, who became the wife of Baron György Inczédi of Nagyvárad⁷¹⁰),

⁷⁰¹ WassArch, 1774: no. 7199, 1779: no. 2149 – He was appointed as the *comes* of Inner Szolnok County: 5 July 1774; announcement: 22 July 1774; installation: Dés, 29 Dec. 1774 (Husztí, *Genealogia beroica*, 84^v–85^r, Ádám Wass’s autograph note).

⁷⁰² Only a fraction of his officinary correspondance survived in the family archive.

⁷⁰³ According to Rettegi, Crown Prince Joseph “asked Count Ádám Wass why did he not play cards. The latter answered that he could never get used to it, and neither had he ever been familiar with it. To this, His Majesty answered that he himself had tried several times but as soon as he had set on it, he immediately would become sleepy, and this is why he was not fond of that game” (Rettegi, 303).

⁷⁰⁴ Rettegi, 397.

⁷⁰⁵ WassArch, 1761: no. 2643; 1765: no. 2644; 1773–1777: no. 2645.

⁷⁰⁶ WassArch, 1744: XCIX/2.

⁷⁰⁷ Rettegi, 397.

⁷⁰⁸ *Katalin Tholdalagi*: the daughter of Mihály T. and Erzsébet Földvári of Tancs (WassArch, no. 5330; Husztí, *Genealogia beroica*, 76^v). Engagement: 28 Feb. 1743, wedding: 21 May 1743 (WassArch, no. 5330). She was still alive on 27 Mar. 1783 (WassArch, no. 2152).

⁷⁰⁹ *Ágnes*: The comital diploma (1744) already mentions her. †Magyargorbó (Kolozs County), 13 May 1818. She lived for 74 years (her obituary notification appearing in print: HungNatLibr, Department of Manuscripts, Fol. Hung. no. 703, 23–24).

⁷¹⁰ Wedding: Császári, 9 Feb. 1768 (WassArch, no. 5330; 1768: no. 1806). The couple had a country seat at Szilkerék in Inner Szolnok County. There is a memorial tablet on its wall informing the reader about the details of its building: “L(iber) B(aro) N(agy) V(áradi) INTZEDI GYORGY KEDVES GROF/ WAS ÁGNESEVEL SZENTELTE

*Dániel, János, Ádám, Imre, Ferenc, Miklós, Mária, László and Mibály.*⁷¹¹ The two boys, who lived to adulthood – Dániel senior (†1811, the founder of branch I) and Miklós (†1829, the founder of branch II) – carried on the family; the rest of them died in their childhood. It seems that the boys, in addition to their ancient allotment, inherited an estate in Nagyiklód (Doboka County) from their mother.⁷¹²

Ádám Wass was a highly educated aristocrat, fluent in Latin. He was the one who charged the jurist András Huszti with compiling the family history. It is supposed that he managed the acquisition of the countship and the development of the ancient coat of arms (fig. no. 38) for himself, his brothers and all their descendants.⁷¹³ After his death, his family had him buried quickly; when the funeral ceremony was over in Császári, the mourners escorted “towards Cege with a tremendous number of carriages, coaches and horsemen” a coffin filled with stones. The truth came to light probably when the horses bolted because of a flash of lightning⁷¹⁴ and the coffin fell off the funeral carriage.

The family was carried on by the descendants of Ádám. The branch of his brother Miklós ended with the death of Farkas, the son of the latter, while that of György came to an end with the heirless death of his son, Sámuel.

Very little information is left regarding the life of *Sámuel Wass* (†Kolozsvár, 1812).⁷¹⁵ He was the only son of György Wass, one of the three brothers who acquired the title of count for the family. In his child-

E HAZAT AZON/ JEHOVA ÖRÖKÖSSEINEK TSENDES SZALLASOKUL/ EPITÉSÉT ELVEGEZTE 1774. EZTEN(dőben).” The inscription is published in the art historian András Kovács’s reading; hereby I thank him for making it known to me. *György Inczédy*: “[...] left off his studies, did not think of any further learning, his mind being constantly running on marriage, and as so, wedded Count Ádám Wass’s daughter, who was four years his senior” (Rettegi, 230). The son of Sámuel I. and Anna Lészai. See Rettegi, 169, 229–230, 286, and Bálint Kis, “Az Inczédi és a belőle kiágazott báró Jósinczi család” [The Inczédi and the baronial family of Jósinczi deriving from it], *Turul* 11 (1893): 155. *Their children*: Terézia I. (the wife of Péter Barcsai), Ágnes (the wife of Zsigmond Kun) (Rettegi, 230).

⁷¹¹ See the autobiography of Ádám Wass (WassArch, no. 5330 = Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 81^r–84^v). The first of them, Ágnes, is mentioned by the diploma, and thus she must have been born before 1744.

⁷¹² Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 4, 83–85. The children of Dániel senior divided the estate of Nagyiklód between themselves in 1841 (TransNatArch, WassOttíliaColl, no. 235, 20 Sept. 1841).

⁷¹³ Letter patent of countship: WassOttíliaColl, no. 234 (13 Nov. 1744).

⁷¹⁴ Rettegi, 397.

⁷¹⁵ *Sámuel Wass*: †Kolozsvár, 30 May 1812. He lived for 58 years, 15 of which were in marriage. Buried at Nagyalmás (Kolozs County), on 1 Jun. Obituary notifications: JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 203, and HungNatArch, Archive of the Teleki of Szék in

hood he had been greatly spoiled, as Rettegi puts it: “he had grown into boyhood, and his mother and father had still not ceased from spoiling him; he himself warned his parents to stop doing so, as he was no longer a child and was ashamed of continuous fondling.”⁷¹⁶ Between 1790 and 1809 he attended several diets at Kolozsvár,⁷¹⁷ and acquired the title of chamberlain from the court⁷¹⁸ (this latter entitling him to attend the different ceremonies at the court, while, theoretically, the sovereign could call him for service into Vienna) but avoided playing any other part in public life. He promoted the Hungarian Language Society of Transylvania (*Erdélyi Magyar Nyelvűvelő Társaság*) which, founded in 1793, made it its duty to popularize the usage of Hungarian language and the cultivation of sciences in Hungarian. He also promoted the Transylvanian Manuscript-Publishing Society (*Erdélyi Kéziratkiadó Társaság*) – this latter intended to collect all manuscripts concerning the past of Transylvania and publish the most important ones.⁷¹⁹ According to some opinions, we might identify him with that anonymous person, calling himself the *anonym de Czege*, who translated a romantic work from French.⁷²⁰ He gave financial assistance to the construction of the new premises of the Calvinist college in Kolozsvár, where he himself had studied,⁷²¹ and also spent

Marosvásárhely, P 665, 1/14, 92. According to a document issued on May 20, 1778 (*f. IV. p. dom. Cantate*), he had already reached the age of 23 years (JósikaArch, fasc. 877).

⁷¹⁶ Rettegi, 377.

⁷¹⁷ *Tabella*; The names of the attendants on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Transylvanian diets can be known in many cases from the printed records of the diet; another source of these names are the registers displaying the delegates' accommodation. The list of these sources is published in Géza Petrik, *Bibliographia Hungariae. Additamenta. Magyarország bibliográfiája 1812–1860*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Dobrowsky Ágost), 657–658 and vol. 5 (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár), 139. All data referring to the Wass family's attendance at diets are taken from the sources presented above.

⁷¹⁸ WassArch, 1804: no. 1868.

⁷¹⁹ Jancsó, 151, 354.

⁷²⁰ Zoltán Trócsányi, “Bidpai és Lokman magyar fordítói” [The Hungarian translators of Bidpai and Lokman], *Irodalomtörténet* 3 (1914): 255. – However, some other researchers disproved this identification: Lajos Dézsi, “A czegei névtelen” [The anonymous of Czege], *Dolgozatok Békefi Remig egyetemi tanár működésének emlékére* [Békefi memorial volume] (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1912), 354–358; Miklós Bittenbinder, “Bidpai és Lokman magyar fordítói,” *Irodalomtörténet*, 3 (1914): 414; Géza Staud, *Az orientalizmus a magyar romantikában* [Orientalism in Hungarian romanticism] (Budapest: Terebess, 1999).

⁷²¹ Török, *A kolozsvári ref. collegium*, vol. 3, 375; *Carmen Sapphicum in honorem ... domini Samuelis Vas de Tzege comitelli, in spem patriae, columen ecclesiae, parentum solatia, praeclare surgentis, dum musis illustrissimi collegii reformati Claudiaci cum sincero omnigenae felicitatis voto sese associaret decantatum*. Anno MDCCLXIX. VI. ante Idus Septembres (Claudiopolis: Privately printed, 1769).

money on the building plot for the theater of Kolozsvár.⁷²² All this confirms the already known fact that the nobility played a major role in the promotion of culture and sciences in Transylvania in the modern age. He married Countess Rozália Bethlen of Bethlen (†1826),⁷²³ and managed her estate at Nagyalmás (Kolozs County); he was occupied with horse-breeding and having their country seat at Nagyalmás and the minor castle at Cege repaired.⁷²⁴ As they had no children, his wife did not really support the idea of building and renovating; in one of her letters she even rebuked her husband on that score.⁷²⁵ Most probably he engaged the “hydraulician” from Kolozsvár to build the two fountains in the castle’s park at Cege.⁷²⁶ On the occasion of Sámuel’s death, his friend, Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831), a prominent figure of Hungarian literature of the Enlightenment, wrote an epitaph. He was buried at Nagyalmás,⁷²⁷ an estate on which he had spent a considerable part of his life.⁷²⁸ A portrait of him survived on a blank page of Huszti’s family history (fig. no. 39).⁷²⁹ His estates (Cege, Göc, Mohaly, Pulyon, Szentegyed, Szilvás, Balázsháza and Felsőgyékényes) were passed on to his cousin, Miklós Wass (the son of Ádám), and to the three sons (Dániel, Tamás and György) of another cousin of his, Dániel Wass.⁷³⁰ A record of the landed properties belonging to Miklós Wass and his son Farkas was made after the death of the latter, in 1797. The estates (Felsőgyékényes, Szilvás, Szentegyed, Szentgothárd,

⁷²² Ferenczi, *A kolozsvári színház története* 157. Katalin Ágnes Bartha drew my attention to this book, for which I hereby thank her.

⁷²³ *Rozália Bethlen*: †Kolozsvár, 4 Feb. 1826. Buried at Nagyalmás (Kolozs County), on 8 Feb. She lived for 72 years. Cath. (TransNatArch, Collection of obituary notifications). The daughter of the chamberlain Miklós B. and the writer Countess Katalin Csáky (Lukinich, *Bethlen*, 514–516; Rettegi, 357). *First husband* of Rozália Bethlen: Count János Csáky of Kőrösszeg and Adorján: see János Szabó’s funeral sermon on Countess Rozália Bethlen of Bethlen, 9 Feb. 1826 (Kolozsvár, 1826), 8°. 13 leaves. *Their children*: József Cs. and Rozália (the wife of Baron János Jósika): see JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 370.

⁷²⁴ JósikaArch, fasc. 876, 18; Margit B. Nagy, *Stílusok művek, mesterek. Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* [Styles, works, artists: Studies in art history] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977), 45–46; Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 2, 484. He had a stable built at Nagyalmás for his horses, for which reason he had transported stones from the neighboring ruins of the medieval castle of Almás. This practice, however, became prohibited by the county authorities in 1809. See László Kóváry, *Erdély régiségei és történelmi emlékei* [Antiquities and historical monuments of Transylvania] (Kolozsvár: Stein János, 1892), 198–199.

⁷²⁵ “I’m afraid you are building for Dániel’s sons” (JósikaArch, fasc. 878, 7–8).

⁷²⁶ B. Nagy, *Reneszánsz és barokk*, 312.

⁷²⁷ JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 410. A funeral sermon was delivered also by Sámuel Hegedüs (Kolozsvár, 1813, 8°.)

⁷²⁸ JósikaArch, fasc. 876.

⁷²⁹ Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 89^r.

⁷³⁰ WassArch, LXXII/28 (no. 1821).

Pulyon, Cege, Göc and Mohaly) were – at that time – administered by the widow of Miklós, Baroness Krisztina Bánffy of Losonc.⁷³¹ After her death, however, the landed property devolved upon the other branch.

The nobility's way of life in the first part of the nineteenth century

Rather little can be known about the Wass in the first part of the nineteenth century. Their uneventful political life seldom offered opportunities for public appearance. Very illustrative on this matter are the British traveler John Paget's (1808–1892) detailed records. In 1835–1836 he traveled all over Transylvania and Hungary, and later married into a Transylvanian family and settled down there. He gives a fairly vivid description of the Transylvanian nobility. "The life of a country gentleman in Transylvania, though somewhat isolated by his distance from any large capital, and by the badness of the roads, is by no means without its pleasures. For the sportman, a large stud of horses – few men have less than from ten to twenty, – every variety of game from the boar and wolf, to the snipe and partridge, and a boundless range for hunting over, are valuable aids for passing time. If a man likes public business, the county will readily choose him Vice Ispán or magistrate, and the quarterly county meetings are a constant source of interest, and afford ample opportunity of exercising influence. If agriculture has any charms, some thousands of untilled acres offer abundant scope for farming, and promise a rich return for capital. If philanthropy has claims on his heart, the peasantry, who look up to him for almost everything, afford a fine scope for its effusion, and a certain reward if judiciously and continuously exercised."⁷³² It is Paget's description that makes us aware of the rather archaic circumstances of the Transylvanian noblemen's life: "The houses of the richer nobles are large and roomy, and their establishments are conducted on a scale of some splendour. It is true, that they are deficient in

⁷³¹ WassArch, LXXII/23 (no. 1816).

⁷³² John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania; with Remarks on their Condition, Social, Political and Economical* (London: John Murray, 139), vol. 2, 317–320 (all spelling and punctuation as in the original). Several excerpts of the original English work have been published in Hungarian; the largest selection of all is John Paget, *Magyarország és Erdély* [Hungary and Transylvania] (Budapest: Helikon, 1987), ed. Sándor Maller and Zsuzsa Rakovszky. Another author, the memoirist Sándor Újfalvi (1792–1866) from Doboka County, likewise made a detailed portrait of the lesser nobles surrounding him, of their circumstances and relationships at the beginning of the nineteenth century. See Sándor Újfalvi, *Emlékiratok* [Memoirs] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi könyvkiadó), 200–211.

many things which we should consider absolute necessities, but on the other hand they exhibit many luxuries which we should consider extravagant with twice their incomes. It is no uncommon thing, for instance, in a one-storied house with a thatched roof and an uncarpeted floor, to be shown into a bedroom where all the washing apparatus and toilet is of solid silver. It is an every-day occurrence in a house, where tea and sugar are considered expensive luxuries, to sit down to a dinner of six or eight courses. Bare white-washed walls and rich Vienna furniture; a lady decked in jewels which might dazzle a court, and a handmaid without shoes and stockings; a carriage and four splendid horses, with a coachman whose skin peeps out between his waistcoat and inexpressibles, are some of the anomalies which, thanks to restrictions on commerce, absence of communication, and a highly artificial civilization in one part of the community, and great barbarism in the other, are still to be found in Transylvania." ... "In some of the old-fashioned houses in Transylvania, there is still almost a patriarchal simplicity in the habits of the family. An early hour sees all the children, from the eldest to the youngest, – ay, the married ones too – proceed in due order of progeniture to the presence of their parents, whose hands they respectfully kiss and from whom they receive the morning blessing. After a simple breakfast of one small cup of coffee and cream, and a slice of dry bread, the family disperses for the business of the day. The children are left to their masters and governesses [...]. The master of the house takes his meerschaum, ready filled and lighted from the hands of his servant, and sallies out, accompanied by his steward, bailiffs, and overseer, to give directions for the cultivation of his estate, or to settle the lawsuit of his peasantry; or perhaps, the county meeting calls him into town, and then he wraps himself up in his *bunda* [= fur coat], and gets into his carriage, and four fat horses convey him to his destination. Or it may be, the doctor has come over to see after the health of the family, and the seigneur takes that opportunity to lead him round the village, that he may bleed and physic all those who have wanted it for the last three months, or who are likely to want it for the next three months to come. Or, perhaps, some quarrels among the peasantry, or some disobedience to his orders, have provoked the terrible anger of the master, and he at once assumes the authority of the judge, and condemns and punishes, where he himself is a party in the cause. Or, perhaps, the Jew merchant humbly waits an audience, and with shining gold tempts him to dispose of the coming vintage. And then the stables have to be visited, and the cooper to be hurried for the vintage, and the gipsies in the brickyard to be corrected."

Dániel's line

Two sons of Count Ádám Wass started those lines that lived to the twentieth century as well, one of them even to the twenty-first.

I. The eldest son, *Dániel* (†1811)⁷³³ – probably due to his mother Judit Vay's relations in Upper Hungary (today part of Slovakia) – married into an Abaúj County family, his wife being Klára Szerencsy, the daughter of Ferenc Sz. and Borbála Bárczay of Bárca (†1820).⁷³⁴ Both the engagement and the wedding were celebrated at Szinye (today Petőszinye, in Slovakia, once an estate of the Szerencsy), not far from Kassa, in 1771.⁷³⁵ The couple had a castle there⁷³⁶ in which they lived, at least for a short time, because in the meantime Dániel was managing his Transylvanian estates as well.⁷³⁷ Not too much is recorded of them. In 1774 Dániel still possessed the estate of Serke (or at least a part of it),⁷³⁸ which was bequeathed to him by his grandmother, Judit Vay; however, nothing further is known regarding that property. He employed as private tutor to his son a prominent figure of the Romanian national movement, Gheorghe Șincai (1754–1816), who died on the estates of the Wass at Szinye⁷³⁹ although his activity at Szentgothárd is also recorded.⁷⁴⁰ In 1775 Dániel obtained the title of chamberlain,⁷⁴¹ his attendance at the diet in Kolozsvár is mentioned

⁷³³ *Dániel*: †Szentgothárd, 25 July 1811. Buried at Cege, in the family grave, on 27 July. He lived for 67 years (obituary notification: JósikaArch, fasc. 39, 282).

⁷³⁴ WassArch, no. 5330; documents of Otília Wass, no. 238 (4 Feb. 1821), no. 265 (15 Jan. 1821).

⁷³⁵ Engagement: Szinye (Abaúj County), 23 Aug. 1771; wedding: same place, 3 Oct. 1771 (WassArch, no. 5330).

⁷³⁶ János Sziklay and Samu Borovszky, eds., *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. Abauj-Torna vármegye és Kassa* [Counties and towns of Hungary: Abauj-Torna County and the town of Kassa] (Budapest: Apollo Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság, 1896), 275.

⁷³⁷ From 1764 there dates a letter from Császári (TransNatArch, Collection of György Aranka, no. 49).

⁷³⁸ WassArch, 1774: no. 6911.

⁷³⁹ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 2, 487; Gergely Moldován, “Sinkai Sinkay György élete és munkái [The life and works of György Sinkay of Sinka],” *Erdélyi Múzeum* 7 (1890): 524–525; “Elegia nobilis Transilvani, Georgii Sinkai de eadem,” in Ilarianu A. Papiu, ed., *Viețița, operele și ideile lui Georgiu Șincai din Sinca* [The life, works and ideas of Georgiu Șincai of Sinca] (Bucharest: Tipografia Nationale, 1869), 124–125; Mircea Tomuș, *Gheorghe Șincai. Viața și opera* [Gheorghe Șincai: His life and works] ([Bucharest]: Editura pentru literatură, 1965), 110–114, 148–149, 185–187; Gheorghe Șincai, *Hronica românilor* [Chronicle of the Romanian people], Opere, vol. 1–3, ed. and introductory study by Florea Fugariu and Manole Neagoe (Bucharest: Editura Pentru Literatură, 1967), vol. 1, xxxv–xxxvi.

⁷⁴⁰ WassArch, 1798: no. 2611; 1799: no. 2609; 1800: no. 2617; 1801: no. 2606.

⁷⁴¹ WassArch, 10 Mar. 1775: no. 8518; Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 85^v (note by his father, Ádám Wass).

several times (1790, 1792, 1794 and 1809).⁷⁴² Four children were born from his marriage: (A) *Dániel*, who started the Calvinist branch at Cege; (B) *Tamás*, founder of another branch at Szentgothárd; (C) *György*, whose daughters were living in Kolozsvár, and (D) *Klára*.

I. A. *Dániel* (1777–1844; fig. no. 40)⁷⁴³ is supposed to have been born in Kassa; what is certain is that he lived there for a while, because letters dated from there have been preserved.⁷⁴⁴ The bulk of his life he spent in Hungary⁷⁴⁵ – in Kassa and Szinye – but he dwelt in their country seat at Szentgothárd as well.⁷⁴⁶ In 1827, together with his family, he moved definitively to Transylvania.⁷⁴⁷ It seems that the Upper Hungarian properties were lost in the first third of the nineteenth century: his children had their residence exclusively in Transylvania. He attended the diets (1834, 1837 and 1841) as a royalist.⁷⁴⁸ Karolina Lányi (†1860),⁷⁴⁹ the offspring of a Szepes County noble family, was his wife.⁷⁵⁰ Probably more data can be expected on them from the surviving documents (if there are any) concerning the Wass, the Szemere, and the Szerencsi families. However, as is known, a part of the Wass family archive – just the one regarding the Upper Hungarian branch – which was kept at Cege, disappeared (very likely perished) in those troublesome times after World War II.⁷⁵¹ Unfortunately, the Bárczay family archive, which was kept in the National Archives of Hungary until it was conveyed to Slovakia, did not preserve anything in connection with the Wass, apart from several missives.⁷⁵² The children born to *Dániel* and *Karolina Lányi* were *Ádám*,

⁷⁴² *Tabella*; Printed records of the diets and the registers displaying the delegates' accommodation. See footnote 716.

⁷⁴³ *Dániel Wass*: *Kassa (Abauj County), 15 Nov. 1777 (*MNZsebk Főrangú családok*, 266). †Kolozsvár, 21 Apr. 1844. He lived for 67 years. Buried at Cege, in the family vault, on 24 Apr. (TransNatArch, Collection of obituary notifications).

⁷⁴⁴ WassArch, 1817: no. 8460. WassOttíliaColl, no. 265 (15 Feb. 1820).

⁷⁴⁵ WassOttíliaColl, no. 265 (1 Oct. 1816).

⁷⁴⁶ WassArch 1796: no. 2660; WassOttíliaColl, fasc. no. 265.

⁷⁴⁷ Bariț, 135.

⁷⁴⁸ *MNZsebk Főrangú családok*, 266.

⁷⁴⁹ *Karolina Lányi*: †Kolozsvár, 24 Jan. 1860. She lived for 74 years. Buried at Cege, in the family vault, on 25 Jan. Cath. (UnivLibr, department of Manuscripts, Collection of obituary notifications, Karolina Lányi, the wife of *Dániel Wass*).

⁷⁵⁰ Nagy Iván, vol. 7, 23–25; *Magyar Nemzetségi Zsebkönyv. Második rész. Nemes családok* [Hungarian genealogical handbook, Part 2: Noble families] (Budapest: Magyar Genealogiai Társaság, 1905), 385–386. According to a letter from 1817 by *Dániel Wass*, his wife had never been to Transylvania before (WassArch, 1817: no. 8460).

⁷⁵¹ Entz, *Wass-Tarjányi*, 109.

⁷⁵² Central Archives of Slovakia (Bratislava), Archive of the Bárczay family, Documents regarding the families related to the Bárczay, title no. 28, fasc. 10, Wass

Amália (the future wife of Sámuel Almádi of Szava),⁷⁵³ *Ida* (†1870),⁷⁵⁴ *Natália* (†1894, the future wife of Gábor Kozma of Kézdiszentlélek)⁷⁵⁵ and *Klára* (†1869, the future wife of Sándor Puteáni).⁷⁵⁶

I. A. 1. *Ádám* (1821–1893; fig. no. 41)⁷⁵⁷ was the owner of the still extant minor castle (figs. no. 42–48)⁷⁵⁸ and in one the founder of the Calvinist branch at Cege. He pursued his studies in the Calvinist college in Kolozsvár.⁷⁵⁹ Obviously, the core of his estates was Cege. In 1857 he had the Calvinist church rebuilt there, and did not fail to place a memorial tablet on its walls (fig. no. 49).⁷⁶⁰ He was a member of the perma-

family of Cege – Microfilm: HungNatArch, Department of Microfilms, reel no. 12705). Gábor Erős helped me in the exploration work concerning this material.

⁷⁵³ *Amália Wass*: WassArch, 1848: no. 3849; 1871: no. 8318. *Her husband*: Sámuel Almádi of Szava (WassArch, 1857: no. 8313), the son of Zsigmond A., a noble magistrate then *vicecomes* of Doboka County, and Julianna Kabos of Magyargyerőmonostor. Notary of Doboka County. See Imre Sándor, “A szavai Almádi család” [The Almádi family of Szava], *Genealógiai Füzetek* 8 (1910): 73–80. *Their child*: Viktor A. (WassArch, 1871: no. 8318).

⁷⁵⁴ *Ida Wass*: †5 Feb. 1870. She lived for 50 years. Buried (temporarily) at Kiskend (Küküllő County), on 8 Feb. 1870 (HungNatLibr, Small-Print Collection, Collection of obituary notifications).

⁷⁵⁵ *Natália Wass*: †Szentdemeter (Udvarhely County) 11 Jan. 1894, in the 20th year of her widowhood. Buried at Kiskend, in the family vault of her husband. She lived for 77 years. Cath. (TransNatArch, Collection of obituary notifications). *Her husband*: Gábor Kozma of Kézdiszentlélek, †22 Mar. 1874. He lived for 66 years, 34 of which were in marriage. Buried at Kiskend, on 25 Mar. 1874. Cath. (TransNatArch, Collection of obituary notifications). *Their children*: Ida K. (the wife of Count Lajos Rhédey), Irma (married to Lajos Sombory of Zombor) and Katinka (TransNatArch, Collection of obituary notifications, Gábor Kozma).

⁷⁵⁶ *Klára*: †Pest, 23 Dec. 1869. Buried on 25 Dec. 1869. She lived for 59 years. Cath. *Her husband*: Baron Sándor Puteáni. *Their children*: Kálmán P., Vilma, Béla, Natália (TransNatArch, Collection of obituary notifications).

⁷⁵⁷ *Ádám*: *Kassa (Abaúj County), 21 Feb. 1821; baptized there on 23 Feb. (Wass-TarjányiColl, certificate of baptism from the register of baptisms of the Calvinist church in Kassa, 1821, 3). †Guraszáda (Hunyad County), 11 Jan. 1893 (NatArch, Collection of Registers, Registers of the Calvinist parish of Cege, 238/2, vol. 2, 56). He lived for 71 years (corrected in pencil from 73), and was married for 42. Buried at Cege, in the family vault, on 13 Jan. 1893. Calv. (TransNatArch, Collection of obituary notifications).

⁷⁵⁸ WassArch, no. 8308–8312. At this time ancient Roman fashioned stones decorated the park of Ádám Wass’s castle at Cege. See Carl Goos, “Chronik der archäologischen Funde Siebenbürgens,” *Archiv des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge 13 (1876): 269.

⁷⁵⁹ Török, *A kolozsvári ref. collegium*, vol. 3, 113.

⁷⁶⁰ The inscription on the tablet says the following: ISTEN DICSŐSÉGÉRE ÉS A CZEGEI HELVÉT HITÜEK [!] LELKEK ÉPÜLETÉRE UJBOL ÉPITTETTE EZ IMA HÁZAT CZEGEI GROF WASS ÁDÁM ÉS NEJE KÉNOSI SÁNDOR BERTA 1857BE [!].

ment committee in Doboka County in 1861,⁷⁶¹ and head of the committee in charge of the accomplishment of the manumission compensation also in Doboka County.⁷⁶² Between 1861 and 1862 he acted as treasurer of the lower district of the above-mentioned county.⁷⁶³ As for his political taste, in 1871 and 1872 he was head of the Deák Party in Doboka,⁷⁶⁴ a party that was formed to support the Austro–Hungarian Compromise (1867, *Ausgleich*, *Kiegyezés*, as a result of which the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy came into being, the alliance of two states of equal rank). From 1876 to 1886 he was a member of the administrative and permanent committee of Szolnok-Doboka County.⁷⁶⁵ He was deeply involved with the problem of manumission compensation, which evidently concerned his family as well. He had all affairs of this kind left in charge of his friend and lawyer in Budapest, Farkas Deák.⁷⁶⁶ Ádám was quite an entrepreneur: he provided the road-building project in his county with wood, and it seems that he was able to exploit to a certain degree the possibilities offered by the economic prosperity after 1876. He was also interested in science, mainly in the natural sciences, and maintained a connection with Ottó Herman (1836–1914), one of the leading scientists of his time.⁷⁶⁷ He was married twice, first to Baroness Jozefa Petrichevich-Horváth of Széplak (†1849),⁷⁶⁸ and then in 1850⁷⁶⁹ to Berta Sándor of Kénos (1830–1912; fig. no. 50).⁷⁷⁰ From this latter five children were born to him: *Armin, Olivér, Hortenzia,*

⁷⁶¹ WassArch, 1861: no. 5470.

⁷⁶² WassArch, 1861: no. 5487

⁷⁶³ WassArch, 1861: no. 5469; 1862: no. 5500; former treasurer: WassArch, 3 Jan. 1863: no. 5501; Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 7, 323.

⁷⁶⁴ WassArch, 1872: no. 5513.

⁷⁶⁵ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 7, 259, 261, 264–265, 267.

⁷⁶⁶ WassArch, no. 8225–8231.

⁷⁶⁷ LibrHungAcad, Department of Manuscripts, Ms. 282/373–375.

⁷⁶⁸ *Jozefa Petrichevich-Horváth*: †Kolozsvár, 10 May 1849. The daughter of Mihály P.-H. and Baroness Mária Inczedy of Nagyvárad. See Imre Sándor, “A széplaki Petrichevich-Horváth család” [The family Petrichevich-Horváth of Széplak], *Genealógiai Füzetek* 6 (1908): 143–144.

⁷⁶⁹ Dés, 14 Oct. 1850 (Wass-TarjányiColl, marriage certificate from the register of marriages of the Calvinist church in Dés, vol. 1, 303).

⁷⁷⁰ *Berta Sándor*: *Kolozsvár, 23 Mar. 1830. The daughter of János S. and Julianna Cserényi of Alsóbalázsfalva (Wass-TarjányiColl, certificate of baptism from the register of baptisms of the Calvinist church in Kolozsvár, vol. 100, 107). †Cege, 8 Oct. 1912. Buried there on 10 Oct. She lived for 82 years. Calv. (TransNatArch, Collection of obituary notifications). She is the author of an itinerary: Wass Ádámné, *Úti képek. Szeptember–november 1859* [Sketches of a journey: September–November 1859] (Kolozsvár: Demjén László bizománya, 1860; 2nd ed.: Kolozsvár: Demjén László bizománya, 1864). In 1911 she was already seriously ill, as she relates in one of her letters to Ottília Wass: “My daughter Berti is my devoted nurse, I have been in bad health in the last few years. [...] It’s almost more than 12 years since we have been to Kolozsvár. [...] Years have elapsed

Berta and *Irma*. Berta Sándor had landed properties in Hunyad County (Alsóboj, Guraszáda, Runksor, Kimpur, Kimpényszurduk, Sztrettye etc.);⁷⁷¹ she spent a long time with her husband at Guraszáda.⁷⁷² Their portraits – representatives of the so-called ‘biedermeier’ style, were painted by György Vastagh (1834–1922) in 1861 and 1862, and decorated the walls of their castle in Cege along with those of other nineteenth-century family members. All these paintings disappeared after World War II; presumably they were destroyed together with the household goods.⁷⁷³

I. A. 1. a. *Ármin* (1851–1914; fig. no. 51)⁷⁷⁴ studied at the Oriental Academy (*Orientalische Akademie*) in Vienna, from which he graduated in 1875.⁷⁷⁵ He became a diplomat, and thus spent a good part of his life abroad, his posts having been Belgrade ([Serbia], 1876–1879), Saloniki ([Ottoman Empire, today Thessaloniki, Greece], 1879), Cetinje ([Montenegro], 1880–1883), Bucharest and Ploiești ([Romania], 1883–1884), Tripoli ([Ottoman Empire, today in Lebanon] 1885), Turnu Severin ([Romania], 1886), Alexandria ([Egypt], 1887–1893), Saloniki (1893–1895), Warsaw (1896–1898) and Smyrna ([Ottoman Empire, today Izmir, Turkey], 1898–1900). After that he left office and retired to his estate at Cege. His mother, Berta Sándor put it this way in her letter to Ottília Wass: “My son Ármin, leaving off his vocation, returned home and became a common farmer. [...] He too reached the age when one can live at ease if one has no ambition; although he had such a beautiful career in front of him. Neither did he wish for a family. Both of my sons are bachelors although I did not bring them up to be so.”⁷⁷⁶ The minor castle guarded even during World War II the art treasures that Ármin had collected during his years of service in the Near East. In 1883 he ac-

since I last saw my dear old home in Hunyad County, my kinsmen and good acquaintances (Berta Wass to Ottília Wass, Cege, 16 Jan. 1911, WassOttíliaColl, no. 159).

⁷⁷¹ Wass-TarjányiColl, certificate of inheritance issued by the Probate Court after Ármin Wass’s death.

⁷⁷² WassArch, 1885: no. 8348.

⁷⁷³ The photographs made of the portraits of Ádám Wass and his second wife can be found in the Wass-Tarjányi collection in Vienna.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ármin*: *13 Sept. 1851: see *Jahrbuch des K. u. K. auswärtigen Dienstes 1908*, vol. 12 (Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckrei, 1908), 357. This volume, containing information regarding Ármin’s career as a diplomat, was brought to my attention by Olivier Tondolo. †Budapest, 24 Jan. 1914. Buried at Cege, on 27 Jan. 1914. He lived for 62 years. He was a knight of the Order of Franz Joseph (*Ferenc József-rend*) and was decorated with the Order of the Iron Crown (*Vaskoronarend*); he was also an Imperial and Royal chamberlain. Calv. (TransNatArch, Collection of obituary notifications, Á. W.)

⁷⁷⁵ WassArch, n.d.: no. 8281; 1874: no. 8321.

⁷⁷⁶ Ármin’s younger brother, Olivér, got married eventually; see hereunder. The letter quoted: WassOttíliaColl, no. 159.

quired the title of chamberlain⁷⁷⁷ and was decorated with the Order of Danilo in Montenegro.⁷⁷⁸ He never married; all his properties – which consisted of the estates in Hunyad and Szolnok-Doboka Counties (Göc, Cege Császári, Mohaly) and of bonds – estimated at 53,000 crowns were inherited by his brothers.⁷⁷⁹

I. A. 1. b. *Olivér* (1855–1932; fig. no. 52)⁷⁸⁰ graduated from the military academy in Vienna,⁷⁸¹ and then, in 1875, chose the profession of war; however, he was qualified as unfit for service in 1895. He retired as captain of the Hungarian Noble Bodyguard (*Magyar királyi testőrség*).⁷⁸² Olivér was profoundly religious, and converted to Catholicism in 1898.⁷⁸³ He can be considered successful in civil life; he acquired the title of chamberlain.⁷⁸⁴ He spent his life mainly in Vienna, where he got married twice – first to Rosa Lorenz von Riesenstett, née Dressler (1844–1897),⁷⁸⁵ then to Vilma Kernyeccsai Jagodics, née Klinke (1879–1967)⁷⁸⁶ – both unions linked him to the *haute bourgeoisie* of Vienna. In the letter

⁷⁷⁷ Chamberlain, on 18 Sept. 1883 (Wass-TarjányiColl, Deed of Chamberlainship).

⁷⁷⁸ *Magyarország névtára*, vol. 6 (Budapest, 1887), 56.

⁷⁷⁹ Wass-TarjányiColl, certificate of inheritance issued by the Probate Court after Ármin Wass's death.

⁷⁸⁰ *Olivér*: *Cege, 26 July 1855; baptized there on 9 Aug. †Vienna, 1 Mar. 1932, cremated on 5 Mar. 1932. Funeral at Cege, 18 Sept. 1934, Calvinist cemetery (Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificate from the register of births of the Calvinist church at Cege, vol. 1, 37; certificate of domicile in Budapest, no. 1931/294060, death certificate; certificate from the crematorium of Vienna; certificate from 1934 by Ferenc Csűrös, Calvinist minister of Cege).

⁷⁸¹ WassArch, no. 1874: 8322.

⁷⁸² *Olivér*: Cadet in the Hussar Regiment no. 12 (1875–1876), corporal, lance-corporal (1876), lieutenant (from 1876), first lieutenant (from 1881), member of the Hungarian Royal Bodyguard (from 1885), cavalry officer (*ad honores*: from 1889; 2nd class: beginning with 1892). See Hellebronth, 534, and Österreichisches Kriegsarchiv (Vienna), Personalverordnungsblatt für das k. u. k. Heer, 7/1876, 55/1876, 5/1880, 18/1881, 60/1881, 3/1885, 16/1889, 17/1892, 26/1895 (Wass-Tarjányi Collection, certificate of the Kriegsarchiv from 23 Aug. 1953).

⁷⁸³ Wass-TarjányiColl, certificate from the St. Stephen parish in Vienna (2 Dec. 1898).

⁷⁸⁴ Wass-TarjányiColl, certificate (18 Sept. 1883).

⁷⁸⁵ *Rosa Lorenz von Riesenstett* née Dressler. The daughter of Franz Dressler and Johanna Kiesling, *19 Jun. 1844; baptized on 24 Jun. (Wass-TarjányiColl, certificate from the register of births of the Catholic parish in Oboá, Novy Budzov, Bohemia, 1841, fol. 22). †Vienna, 17 Nov. 1897 (Wass-TarjányiColl, obituary notification).

⁷⁸⁶ *Wilhelmine Maria Klinke*, later on the widow of Alexander Jagodics Kernyeccsai. *Breitensee (Lower Austria), 1 July 1879 (Wass-TarjányiColl, certificate from the register of births of the Penzing Catholic parish in Vienna, vol. 23, fol. 85). †Langenschönbichl bei Tulln (Lower Austria), 27 Sept. 1967. Funeral at Langenrohr (Lower Austria), 29 Sept. 1967 (Wass-TarjányiColl, obituary notification). The daughter of Johann Georg K. and Maria Schandl (Wass-TarjányiColl, death certificate). Her marriage to Olivér

to Ottília Wass – in which he announced the marriage – Oliver sketched a written portrait of his first wife: “My wife is a gentle and nice woman, a widow and childless, well-educated, her name is Rosa von Lorenz Riesenstett – an old, distinguished family, and – which is also an essential point – she is really wealthy.”⁷⁸⁷ Olivér, indeed, inherited a considerable fortune after her, from which, among other things, he bought an estate in Langenschönbichl (Lower Austria) from Prince Johann Liechtenstein.⁷⁸⁸ Although he did not come home either before or after 1920 – when Transylvania was annexed to Romania – his ashes were taken back to Cege in 1934 and buried in the Calvinist graveyard. He was the last member of the so-called “Calvinist branch” of Cege.

I. A. 1. c. *Hortenzia* (or Horthense, †1939).⁷⁸⁹ She got married relatively late to János Bogya, who was many years her junior, and with whom she was in Zürich in 1916.⁷⁹⁰ János Bogya entered the diplomatic corps, a consulship having been procured for him by Ármin Wass, or at least so gossip maintains.

I. A. 1. d. *Berta* (1857–1933).⁷⁹¹ Ilona Wass’s opinion about her is that “she was kind-hearted, modest, likeable” and “rather pretty” in her youth.⁷⁹²

I. A. 1. e. *Irma* (1865–1947),⁷⁹³ the wife of Ákos Tarjányi senior (fig. no. 53). In October 1944 she fled from Cege to Austria, then to Germany, where she is supposed to have died in a refugee camp.

As neither Olivér nor Ármin had children, their sister, *Berta*, who lived at Cege,⁷⁹⁴ adopted in 1930⁷⁹⁵ *Irma*’s younger son – *Ákos Tarjányi*

Wass: Vienna, St. Elisabeth church, 5 Jan. 1922 (Wass-TarjányiColl, certificate from the Vienna Register of Marriages of the year 1922; death certificate of O. W.).

⁷⁸⁷ Marriage: Vienna, St. Stephen chapel, 12 Nov. 1895 (WassOttíliaColl, no. 170, letter by Olivér Wassto Ottília Wass, 20 Nov. 1895).

⁷⁸⁸ I thank Olivier Tondolo for this information.

⁷⁸⁹ *Hortenzia Wass*: †Cege 16 Mar. 1939. Buried there, on 18 Mar. 1939. Calv. (HungNatLibr, Department of Small Prints, Obituary Notifications).

⁷⁹⁰ Siemers, *Wass*, 68.

⁷⁹¹ Gudenus, vol. 4, 232.

⁷⁹² Siemers, *Wass* 68; WassOttíliaColl, no. 164 (8 Jan. 1916); no. 159 (27 Mar. 1913).

⁷⁹³ *Irma*: *Cege, 5 Mar. 1865. †Metten (Lower Bavaria), refugee camp, 17 July 1947 (Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificate from the register of births of the Calvinist parish of Cege, vol. 3, 43; death certificate of Irma Wass). Confirmation at Cege on 21 Mar. 1880 (NatArch, Register of the Calvinist parish of Cege, 238/2). Marriage: Guraszáda, 23 Sept. 1896 (Wass-TarjányiColl, marriage certificate).

⁷⁹⁴ Wass-TarjányiColl, certificate of inheritance by the Probate Court after the death of Berta Sándor, no. 160/1913, District-court of Szamosújvár.

⁷⁹⁵ Wass-TarjányiColl; the adoption contract was signed before the notary Corneliu Rusu at Szamosújvár on 28 Apr. 1930.

junior (1900–1983; fig. no. 54)⁷⁹⁶ – born from Ákos Tarjányi senior (1855–1903).⁷⁹⁷ The adopted boy changed his name to Wass-Tarjányi, and in accordance with the then-current rules of Romanian legislation he was not entitled to use either the title of count or the coat of arms; however, the Hungarian version of the adoption contract – respecting Irma Wass and her brothers’ and sister’s intentions – contained the transfer of both. With this act they wanted to eliminate the possible difficulties from the way of inheritance. Irma’s husband, Ákos Tarjányi senior, was an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army and destined both of his sons – Ernő (*1899)⁷⁹⁸ and the previously mentioned Ákos junior – for the army, although the collapse of the Monarchy made his plans impossible. After

⁷⁹⁶ *Ákos Tarjányi junior*: *Budapest, 30 May 1900; baptized at Cege, on 12 Oct. 1902 (Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificate from the register of births, Budapest, no. 3420; birth certificate from the register of births of the Calvinist parish of Cege, 1 Apr. 1900). He finished the Secondary Grammar School (*Gyakorló Főgimnázium*) in Budapest and continued his studies at the Technical University of Budapest (*Műegyetem*). In 1918 he served in the Hussar Regiment no. 11, stationing in South Tyrol, and in the same year he entered the officers’ training school in Stockerau (Austria). In 1919 he set about managing his estates at Cege: see *Keresztény Magyar Közéleti Almanach* [Christian Hungarian Almanac], vol. 3, *Erdély* [Transylvania] (Budapest: Athenaeum [n.d.], 327). †17 Jun. 1983. Buried at Langenrohr bei Tulln, Austria, on 23 Jun. Cath. (Wass-TarjányiColl, obituary notification). He lived for 83 years. During the 1940s he had a common monument put up for several members of the family in the Calvinist cemetery at Cege (fig. no. 55).

⁷⁹⁷ *Ákos Tarjányi senior*: *Óarad, 3 Feb. 1855; baptized there, on 6 Feb. (Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificate from the register of births of the Catholic church of Arad). The son of Vilmos T., district attorney, and Ilona Vörös of Monostor (Wass-TarjányiColl; see also Kempelen, vol. 11, 142). †Budapest, 24 May 1903. Buried in the upper cemetery of Arad, on 26 May. He lived for 48 years, 7 of which were in marriage. Cath., then Calv. (TransNatArch, Department of Obituary Notifications). He pursued his studies at the Technical Military Academy in Vienna. He was assigned to the Imperial and Royal Hungarian Hussar Regiment no. 14 as lieutenant, beginning his service on September 1, 1875. From 1888 he was already a captain, and in 1896 a major. He retired in 1898 as disabled. He was stationed at Debrecen, Óarad, Sarajevo, Kassa, Szamosújvár, Jászberény and Marosvásárhely. In 1882 he participated in the occupation of Bosnia. In 1892 he won a prize at the Vienna–Berlin cross-country riding competition. He was also decorated with the War Medal (*Hadi Érem*) and with the Maria Cross of the Order of Malta (Wass-TarjányiColl, registry of the status identity of Tarjányi Ákos, in the archives of the Hungarian Royal Ministry of Defense [War History Archives, Budapest]). He spoke several foreign languages, such as German, English and French. Mária Péchy of Pécsújfalu was his first wife (1889). Ákos had estates in Alsóbalázsfalva (Doboka County) (Wass-TarjányiColl).

⁷⁹⁸ *Ernő Tarjányi*: *Budapest, 21 Apr. 1899 (Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificate from the register of births of Budapest, no. 2965). He studied at the Technical Military Academy in Mödling (Austria) (Irma Wass’s missive from 8 Jan. 1916 to Ottilia Wass, WassOttiliaColl, no. 164). Calv. (Wass-TarjányiColl). In 1924 he emigrated to Canada, and died in Vancouver in Apr. 1995. His wife was Clementina Böhm (1901–1944). Their child: Hedwig Tarjányi (Denise Banham acquainted me with these facts).

the Romanian land reform of 1923 properties were left for this branch of the Wass of Cege only in Cege and Göc (which was actually merged into Cege at the end of the nineteenth century); those in Hunyad County were sold by the family at some point between the two World Wars.⁷⁹⁹

After 1920 Ákos Wass-Tarjányi lived at Cege; towards the end of the Second World War he fled to Austria, then to England and Canada; he eventually returned and died in Austria (1983). His wife, Zsuzsanna Eugénia Tholnay of Sellye and Szentlászló (*1916),⁸⁰⁰ did not follow him, but moved up from Cege to Kolozsvár, and not much later they obtained a divorce. The couple had one child, *Zsuzsanna Wass-Tarjányi* (*1941).⁸⁰¹ The minor castle of Cege belonged to this branch of the family until the end of World War II. Then Irma Wass, with her son, Ákos junior, and his daughter, flew to Austria, because her branch still owned there the estate purchased by Oliver and a house in Vienna. Although certain parts (pieces of the facade and the Baroque pavilions around the building) of their castle at Cege were destroyed, the main building remained relatively intact, and due to Romanian property restitution-law from 2001 the family could retrieve it.

I. B. *Klára*⁸⁰² was first the wife of a Bárczay,⁸⁰³ and then married Ferenc Boronkay of Boronka.⁸⁰⁴ She probably lived most of her life in northern Hungary; according to the records, in 1849 she stayed in Debrecen. She died around 1861.⁸⁰⁵

⁷⁹⁹ Information from Olivier Tondolo.

⁸⁰⁰ *Eugénia Zsuzsanna Tholnay* became the wife of the historian István Juhász (1915–1984), who was professor of Protestant Theology in Kolozsvár. She still lives in Kolozsvár (Gudenus, vol. 4, 232).

⁸⁰¹ *Zsuzsanna Wass-Tarjányi*: *Kolozsvár, 18 Aug. 1941 (Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificate from the register of births of the Catholic parish of Szamosújvár, vol. 3, 166). See also Gyöngy Kovács Kiss, ed., *Álló- és mozgóképek. Vázlat az erdélyi főnemességéről* [Still pictures and motion pictures: Sketches of the Transylvanian aristocracy] (Kolozsvár: Korunk [2004]), 50, 52. *Her husband*: Vienna, 19 Nov. 1969. Gino Maria Michael Tondolo, jurist (Wass-TarjányiColl, marriage certificate, Wien-Währing, 1001/1969). *Their children*: Vilma Patrizia T., Olivier Guido Maria Reginald, Gina-Maria, Eva-Christina (Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificates).

⁸⁰² Mentioned on 16 Aug. 1811 (JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 282). Gudenus, vol. 4, 231, and *MNZsebk Főrangú családok*, 266, mistakenly affirm that her husband was Baron György Inczédi of Nagyvárad. This latter had actually been the husband of Ágnes (see Rettégi, 230), the daughter of Ádám Wass (1720–1776).

⁸⁰³ *Gyulay Lajos*, vol. 2, 255.

⁸⁰⁴ WassOtíliaColl, no. 265 (7 Mar. 1825), and no. 275 (27 Oct. 1855). The Boronkay family took its name from Boronka, a settlement in Somogy County; however, later on its members lived mainly in Upper Hungary (Nagy Iván, vol. 2, 187–190).

⁸⁰⁵ Bariț, 135 (Samu Wass's missive from 2 Dec. 1869 to Bariț, in which he shares with this latter some data of family history).

I. C. *Tamás* (†1831,⁸⁰⁶ son of Dániel) was the founder of the branch of *Szentgothárd*. On his life only snippets of information are available. At some point before 1817 he moved to Transylvania (together with one of his brothers, György) from his estates in Upper Hungary.⁸⁰⁷ He served as a cavalry officer in the noble uprising of 1809;⁸⁰⁸ in 1831 he acted as an assessor of the Kővár region (*assessor sedriae generalis*).⁸⁰⁹ He could still have had contacts in Upper Hungary, as a letter from Kassa dates from 1821.⁸¹⁰ He was accorded the title of chamberlain,⁸¹¹ and was elected trustee of the Calvinist diocese of Szék.⁸¹² He held some landed property in Nagyiklód (Doboka County).⁸¹³ With his wife, Countess Rozália Mikes of Zabola (†1850),⁸¹⁴ he had two children: *Antónia* and *Albert*.

I. C. 1. *Antónia* (†1858)⁸¹⁵ married Baron Ferenc Petrichevich-Horváth of Széplak.⁸¹⁶

I. C. 2. *Albert* (1819–1911; fig. no. 56)⁸¹⁷ studied in the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár, and took an exam in jurisprudence at the *Tabula Regia* (*Kir. Ítéltábla*) in Marosvásárhely (the supreme Law Court of Transylvania) in 1840. He started his career – like many young nobles at that time – as a state official, and in the same year he was transferred to the *Gubernium Transylvanicum* and from there, in 1841, entered into office in the Transylvanian Court Chancellery in Vienna and moved up

⁸⁰⁶ *Tamás*: *1781. See *Genealógiai Füzetek* 1 (1903): 26 (Gyulai Richárd). †Kolozsvár, 1831 (*MNZsebk Főrangú családok*, 265). Buried in the crypt at Cege, on 8 Dec. 1831. Calv. (Funeral sermon on Tamás Wass by Sándor Szabó. 8 Dec. 1831. Kolozsvár n.d. 8°).

⁸⁰⁷ Barit, 135.

⁸⁰⁸ Sturm, *Országgyűlési Almanach 1887–1892*, 131.

⁸⁰⁹ *Calendarium*, 1831, 78.

⁸¹⁰ WassOttíliaColl., no. 238 (1821).

⁸¹¹ *Calendarium*, 1832.

⁸¹² See the funeral sermon on Tamás Wass by Sándor Szabó.

⁸¹³ WassArch, 1814: no. 2258; WassOttíliaColl, no. 235 and 265 (1816);

⁸¹⁴ *Rozália Mikes*: †Kolozsvár 15 Feb. 1850. Buried at Kolozsvár, in the public cemetery, on 17 Feb. Cath. (TransNatArch, Department of Obituary Notifications, Rozália Mikes). The daughter of János M., appointed judge (*főkirálybíró*) of Háromszék, and Countess Róza Mikes of Zabola (JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 171, 242).

⁸¹⁵ *Antónia*: †Kolozsvár, 5 Jan. 1858. She lived for 43 years. Buried in the public cemetery. Cath. (TransNatArch, Department of Obituary Notifications, Antónia Wass).

⁸¹⁶ *Ferenc Petrichevich-Horváth*: the son of Károly P.-H. of Széplak and Rozália Barcsay of Barcsa. See Bálint Kis, *Erdélyi családtörténelmi adatok* [Data on Transylvanian family history], *Turul* 15 (1897): 32, and Gudenus, vol. 3, 80. *Their children*: Ida P.-H. (the wife of Miklós Bethlen), Károly, Gábor, Kálmán (TransNatArch, Department of Obituary Notifications, Antónia Wass).

⁸¹⁷ *Albert*: *Nagyiklód, 10 Feb. 1819 (*MNZsebk Főrangú családok*, 265; Sturm, *Országgyűlési Almanach 1887–1892*, 131). †15 Oct. 1911. He lived for 93 years, 62 of which were in marriage. Calv. (TransNatArch, Department of Obituary Notifications, Albert Wass). His tombstone can be found in the Házsongárd cemetery in Kolozsvár.

there. He returned home in 1846 when he was appointed as secretary at the *Gubernium Transylvanicum*.⁸¹⁸ As a volunteer he joined the Revolution in 1848 (which brought about the abolition of noble privileges). After the Revolution had been put down in 1849, he never accepted any other office. In 1864, along with several other aristocrats, he tried to find further financial assistance for the maintenance of the theater of Kolozsvár.⁸¹⁹ As a royalist, he attended the diet convoked at Kolozsvár in 1865,⁸²⁰ which decided for the union of Transylvania and Hungary. He was elected a lifelong member of the Hungarian Upper House (*Főrendiház*) from the year 1885⁸²¹ as befitted all the conditions that were set up: he was an aristocrat (bearing the title of count) and the direct taxes of his estates exceeded 3,000 florins a year.⁸²² He was the curator of the Calvinist diocese of Szék;⁸²³ he had possessions in Záh, Szentgothárd, Pulyon and Szentegyed,⁸²⁴ all of which – apart from the first – he gave to his son

⁸¹⁸ *Calendarium*, 1842, 26; 1843. 25; 1844. 25; 1845. 23; 1846. 6; 1847. 6. From the summer of 1843 there date missives from Vienna (TransNatArch, Archive of the Wesselényi in Zsibó, no. 155).

⁸¹⁹ Ferenczi, *A kolozsvári színház története*, 462

⁸²⁰ For printed records of the diets and the registers displaying the delegates' accommodation, see footnote 716 and *Az Erdélyi Nagyfejedelemség szabad királyi Kolozsvár városába 1865-ik év November 19-dik napjára országgyűlésre összehívott tek. nemes rendeknek névsora és szállásainak kimutatása* [The list of names and accommodations of the noble estates invited to the Diet held in the privileged town of Kolozsvár, Grand Duchy of Transylvania, on 19 November 1865] (Kolozsvár: Róm. Kath. Lyceumi nyomda, 1865), 21.

⁸²¹ Sturm, *Országgyűlési Almanach 1887–1892*, 131; Albert Sturm, ed., *Országgyűlési Almanach 1892–1897. Rövid életrajzi adatok a Főrendiház és Képviselőház tagjairól* [Annual of Parliament for the years 1892–1897. Short biographical data of the members of the Upper House and the House of Representatives] (Budapest: privately printed, 1892), 138; Albert Sturm, ed., *Országgyűlési Almanach 1897–1901. Rövid életrajzi adatok a Főrendiház és Képviselőház tagjairól* [Annual of Parliament for the years 1897–1901: Short biographical data on the members of the Upper House and the House of Representatives] (Budapest: Budapesti Tudósító, 1897), 141; Sturm, *Országgyűlési Almanach 1901–1906*, 143–144; Henrik Fabro and József Újlaki, eds., *Sturm-féle Országgyűlési Almanach 1905–1910. Rövid életrajzok az Országgyűlés tagjairól* [Sturm's Annual of Parliament for the years 1905–1910: Short biographies of the members of Parliament] (Budapest: Pesti Lloyd-Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1905), 142. See also Act VII § 2. of 1885, and Act VIII § 1. of 1886, *Corpus Iuris Hungarici. Magyar törvénytár. 1884–1886. évi törvényzikkék* [Acts of 1884–1886] (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1897), 187, 326.

⁸²² The aristocracy maintained its enormous influence on the country's political life and administration even after 1848, due to its place in the Upper House, along with its money and qualification, and in spite of the abolition of noble privileges. See Ernő Lakatos, *A magyar politikai vezetőréteg 1848–1918* [The Hungarian political élite between 1848 and 1918] (Budapest: privately printed, 1942), 28–37, 62.

⁸²³ TransNatArch, Department of Obituary Notifications, Albert Wass.

⁸²⁴ Siemers, *Wass*, 42.

when the latter got married. After that, he himself with his wife retired to Záh,⁸²⁵ and they would usually spend their winters in Kolozsvár.⁸²⁶ According to the memoirs of their granddaughter, Ilona Wass, Albert enjoyed good health even in his old age. He was a great hunting man, and shot a fox even at the age of eighty. He lived a very long life, 93 years. His wife, Mária Kilyén (†1912; fig. no. 57), who was ten years his junior, came from a smallholder noble family⁸²⁷ and later on, even after becoming a count's wife and a woman of property, continued to live frugally, almost puritanically. She died at the age of 83, outliving her husband by only a few months. Four children were born to them: *Ida*, *Béla*, *Rozália* and *Antónia*.

I. C. 2. a. *Ida*, the eldest of the four, got married twice: first to Gyula Újfalvi of Mezőkövesd (†1898),⁸²⁸ with whom she lived in Graz, then becoming the wife of an Austrian nobleman, Baron Theobald Seenuss. This latter had a castle in Marburg (today Maribor in Slovenia): the couple lived there.⁸²⁹

I. C. 2. c. *Rozália* (†1868)⁸³⁰ died at the age of thirteen.

⁸²⁵ Siemers, *Wass*, 31; *WassArch*, 1865: no. 8308.

⁸²⁶ Deák-Ferenc Street no. 5. See Pál Hantz, *Legújabb kolozsvári név- és lakásjegyzék* [The latest directory of Kolozsvár] (Kolozsvár: Radics Sándor biz., 1910), 230, and Siemers, *Wass*, 49, 112.

⁸²⁷ *Mária Kilyén*: †Kolozsvár, 19 Jan. 1912. Buried on 21 Jan. She lived for 84 years. Unitarian. The daughter of Mihály K. and Mária Huszár of Kászon. See HungNatLibr, Department of Small Prints, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Mária Kilyén of Szentistván, the wife of Albert Wass; Siemers, *Wass* 42; *Keresztény Magvető* 47 (1912): 64 (obituary notification). Her tombstone can be found in the Házsongárd cemetery in Kolozsvár.

⁸²⁸ *Gyula Újfalvi*: †Kolozsvár, 27 Sept. 1898. Buried at Mezőzáh, on 30 Sept. He lived for 53 years, 12 of which were in marriage. Calv. See TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Gyula Újfalvy, and Kálmán Persián, "A mezőkövesdi Ujfalvi család" [The Ujfalvi of Mezőkövesd], *Genealógiai Füzetek* 4 (1906): 76.

⁸²⁹ *Keresztény Magvető* 47 (1912): 64; Siemers, *Wass*, 43.

⁸³⁰ *Rozália*: †Kolozsvár, 20 Feb. 1868. Buried there, on 22 Feb. 1868. She lived for 13 years (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Wass Rozália). Her tombstone can be found in the Házsongárd cemetery in Kolozsvár.

I. C. 2. d. *Antónia* (†1936)⁸³¹ became the wife of Béla Szilvássy Cseszelicki,⁸³² who was a landowner in Hadrév (Torda County).⁸³³ Their child, Karola Szilvássy,⁸³⁴ married Baron Elemér Bornemissza of Kászón (†1938).⁸³⁵

I. C. 2. b. *Béla* (1853–1936; fig. no. 58)⁸³⁶ pursued his studies in the Calvinist college of Kolozsvár⁸³⁷ between 1860 and 1868, and then continued them until 1870 at the University of Zürich, Faculty of Arts. Between 1868 and 1873 he studied civil engineering at the Technical University of Zürich (*Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich*),⁸³⁸ and then went to Munich.⁸³⁹ He spent a few years (from 1874 to 1876) at the agricultural college in Hohenheim (*Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule Hohenheim*),⁸⁴⁰ and then at that of Plaisir Grignon (near Paris). He returned home to Szentgothárd in 1876.⁸⁴¹ He lived, together with his family, in the castle

⁸³¹ *Antónia*: †Kolozsvár, 16 Oct. 1936. Buried there, in the Házsongárd cemetery, on 18 Oct. She lived for 81 years. Calv. (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications).

⁸³² *Béla Szilvássy*: †Kolozsvár [1920]. He lived for 79 years, 45 of which were in marriage (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Béla Szilvássy). The son of Miklós Sz. and Anna Gedő of Homoródszentmárton. See *Genealógiai Füzetek* 1 (1903): 26 (Richárd Gyulai), and TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Antónia Wass).

⁸³³ Siemers, *Wass*, 45.

⁸³⁴ *Karola Szilvássy*: *1878, Hadrév. The documents of Karola Sz. in the Central Archives of the Transylvanian Calvinist District, Kolozsvár, legacy of Karola Szilvássy: see Veronka Dáné and Gábor Sipos, eds., *Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Központi Gyűjtőlevéltárának ismertető leltára* [Expositive inventory of the Central Archives of the Transylvanian Calvinist District], Erdélyi Református Levéltári Kiadványok, vol. 1 (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület, 2002), 84–85.

⁸³⁵ *Elemér Bornemissza*: Reserve officer (captain) in the Imperial and Royal Hussar Regiment no. 2, and member of the local magistrature in Tolna County. †Bogárpusztá, 7 Sept. 1938, and buried there, on 11 Sept. He lived for 70 years. Cath. (Central Archives of the Transylvanian Calvinist District, Kolozsvár, legacy of Karola Szilvássy, obituary notification).

⁸³⁶ *Béla*: †Mezőzáh (Torda County), 1 Sept. 1936. Buried at Kolozsvár, in the public cemetery, on 3 Sept. 1936. He lived for 84 years (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications).

⁸³⁷ Antal Bíró, *Szolnok-Dobokamegyei emlék Magyarország ezredéves ünnepére* [Memorial book on Szolnok-Doboka County for the Hungarian millenary festivity], ed. Károly Bornemissza (Dés: Demeter és Kiss, 1896), 124.

⁸³⁸ Szögi, *Svájc*, no. 794 and 1209.

⁸³⁹ Szinnyei, vol. 14, 1438. It is worth mentioning that the work of László Szögi on Hungarian students in Germany does not mention anything about Béla Wass's studies in Hamburg; consequently this information – at least until further confirmation – must still be handled cautiously. See Szögi, *Német*, passim.

⁸⁴⁰ Szögi, *Német*, no. 13054.

⁸⁴¹ Szinnyei, vol. 14, 1438.

of Szentgothárd, which they had renovated on the occasion of his marriage, adding a new story to the old house and completing the whole with a corbelled central frontispiece. However, for the winters they would also rent an apartment in Kolozsvár,⁸⁴² where Béla Wass was a member of the Club (*Casino*).⁸⁴³ Before the turn of the century he bought a property in Feketelak (Kolozs County);⁸⁴⁴ according to his daughter's memoirs, the family lived modestly because the father invested all his money in land-acquisitions. In 1885 and 1905 he acted as an elected member of the administrative board of Szolnok-Doboka County,⁸⁴⁵ while between 1897 and 1906 he carried out duties as deputy of the Nagyiklód sector (Szolnok-Doboka County)⁸⁴⁶ – during that time he lived at Budapest – and then from 1907 to 1910 was the *comes* of Szolnok-Doboka County⁸⁴⁷ (spending the winters with his family in the official residence in Dés). Before 1920 Béla was at first a member of, then the president of, the Board of Directors of the Szamos-Valley Railroads (*Szamosvölgyi Vasút*, with headquarters at Dés).⁸⁴⁸ He played, even after 1920, a great part in public life, representing the Hungarians who became a national minority on the territories detached from Hungary. Within the borders of the newly formed Romania the protection of interests of Hungarians had been provided by the National Hungarian Party (*Országos Magyar Párt*); in 1922 Béla Wass became a member of both the Executive Committee and the Presidential Council of this Party, and remained so all through the 1920s.⁸⁴⁹ From February 21, 1925, he also assumed the presidency

⁸⁴² Siemers, *Wass*, 31; Hantz, *Legtöbb kolozsvári név- és lakásjegyzék*, 230.

⁸⁴³ Apart from him, the club accepted as members the following: Jenő Wass (1888), György Wass (1901), Endre Wass (1912) and Béla Wass (1924). The book of suggestions of the Noble Club in Kolozsvár (private property). Károly Vekov made a xerox copy of this material for me; hereby I thank him for this favor. In 1934 the writer Albert Wass joined the Club as well: see *A Kolozsvári Casino Évkönyve 1943* [The annual of the Club in Kolozsvár for the year 1943] (Kolozsvár: Minerva, n. d.), 26.

⁸⁴⁴ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 3, 440.

⁸⁴⁵ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 7, 260, 265–266.

⁸⁴⁶ Szinnyei, vol. 14, 1438; Albert Sturm, ed., *Országgyűlési Almanach 1897–1901. Rövid életrajzi adatok a Főrendibáz és Képviselőház tagjairól* [Annual of Parliament: Short biographical data of the members of the Upper House and the House of Representatives for the years 1897–1901] (Budapest: Budapesti Tudósító, 1897), 377; Sturm, *Országgyűlési Almanach 1901–1906*, 393.

⁸⁴⁷ *Magyarország névtára*, vol. 26 (Budapest, 1907), 119; vol. 29 (Budapest, 1910), 130; Siemers, *Wass*, 44.

⁸⁴⁸ Member of the Directory: *Magyarország névtára*, vol. 15 (Budapest, 1896), 369; vol. 24 (Budapest, 1905), 263; vice-president: vol. 25 (Budapest, 1906), 277; vol. 31 (Budapest, 1912), 320; president: vol. 32 (Budapest, 1913), 334; vol. 37 (Budapest, 1918), 311.

⁸⁴⁹ *Iratok a romániai Országos Magyar Párt Történetéhez* [Documents relating to the National Hungarian Party of Romania], vol. 1, *A vezető testületek jegyzőkönyvei* [Minutes

of the Transylvanian Museum Society; he was the one who deposited the rich family archive of the Wass with the Archives of the Society at some point before 1920. In addition to these offices, Béla was the vice-chairman of the Transylvanian Bank (*Erdélyi Bank*) and curator of the Calvinist diocese of Szék.⁸⁵⁰ First of all, he was interested in natural sciences; being a committed lepidopterist, from time to time he even sent rare species of butterfly from the Mezőség to the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest (*Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum*). Just like Ádám Wass, Béla himself was acquainted with Ottó Herman, whom he entertained several times in his house at Szentgothárd.⁸⁵¹ Like many members of his family, Béla Wass was a great hunter himself. As for his other scientific contributions, he was a member of the committee arranging the compilation of a monograph on Szolnok-Doboka County,⁸⁵² and at the end of the nineteenth century he put the manuscripts of the diaries of György and László Wass at the disposal of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (*Magyar Tudományos Akadémia*) in order to have them published. Due to the Romanian land reform of 1921 he lost all his estates in Szentegyed⁸⁵³ and the major part of the others as well. According to the remembrances of his grandson, the writer Albert Wass, only 8,000 *ár* of cultivatable land and 32,000 *ár* of marshland and woodland were left in the possession of the family. Béla died at Mezőzáh in 1936 and was buried in the Házsongárd cemetery in Kolozsvár. His wife, Baroness Ráchel Bánffy of Losonc (†1936),⁸⁵⁴ also came from the aristocracy, and was said to have been a most beautiful woman in her youth (fig. no. 59). Five children resulted from their marriage: *Ráchel*, *Mária*, *Albert*, *Ilona* and *Endre*. The previously mentioned memoir of *Ilona*, the wife of Johann Siemers, provides information regarding the family at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth century.

of elected bodies], ed. Béla György (Csíkszereda: Pro-Print; Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2002), passim.

⁸⁵⁰ TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Béla Wass.

⁸⁵¹ Their correspondence: LibrHungAcad, Department of Manuscripts, Ms. 282/377–399. See also Siemers, *Wass*, 43–44.

⁸⁵² Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 1, vi.

⁸⁵³ Siemers, *Wass*, 24. On the general circumstances, see József Venczel, “Az erdélyi román földbirtokreform” [The Romanian land reform in Transylvania], in *Az Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet Évkönyve 1940–1941* [Annual of the Transylvanian Scientific Research Institute 1940–1941] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1942), 309–465.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ráchel Bánffy*: †Szentgothárd, 15 Jun. 1936. Buried there, on 17 Jun. She lived for 88 years, 59 of which were in marriage. Calv. (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Ráchel Bánffy). The daughter of János B. and Jozefa Wesselényi.

D. György (†1836)⁸⁵⁵ was in 1807 studying law in the Royal Lyceum (*Királyi Lyceum, Lyceum Regium Academicum*) at Kolozsvár.⁸⁵⁶ According to the diarist Lajos Gyulay, he was a “straight, educated, gallant man,” while Sándor Bölöni Farkas (1795–1842) described him as having been an “unforgiving enemy of evil and loyal friend of justice. In politics, at the county assemblies he was a real scourge for all those who were not devoted patriots and in private life for rogues and thieves. On the other hand, he was an ardent supporter of all good things, had scientific knowledge of agriculture and practiced it likewise, was skilled in languages, ingenious in society, gallant with ladies, was educated in every way, a highminded man. In his youth he took part in the last French [Napoleonic] war. He was not an enemy of adventure either: mounting his favorite yellow stallion, taking his white cloak on his back, he started off, no one knew where to – he turned up once in one part of the country, then in another, always following his nose.” “Having been a restless spirit,” – adds Gyulay – “he could not stay put. He was one of those special persons who cannot be replaced by anyone else.”⁸⁵⁷ György was in touch with Miklós Wesselényi (1796–1850), the leader of the Transylvanian political opposition, which started to act with increasing vigor against Habsburg absolutism. György not only discussed with Wesselényi the major problems of public life, but also went hunting on this latter’s estates at Zsibó (Middle Szolnok County) several times.⁸⁵⁸ The only thing known of him, apart from everything already mentioned, is that he owned some landed property in Nagyiklód as well.⁸⁵⁹ He married Countess Franciska (Fanny) Gyulay of Marosnémet (†1865; fig. no. 60);⁸⁶⁰ this latter often held so-called literary evenings in her house (which

⁸⁵⁵ György: †Szentgothárd, 17 Nov. 1836. He lived for 44 years. See Kántor, *Wass Ottília*, 88. “György Wass’s body rests in one of the compartments of the 900-year-old vault at Cege,” see *Gyulay Lajos Mss.*, vol. 112, 6 (UnivLibr, Department of Manuscripts). The 137 volumes of Lajos Gyulay’s diary were deposited into the family archive of the Gyulay of Marosnémet and Nádaska – Kuun of Osdola, and as such they were transferred to the TransNatArch. One part of the volumes is today kept in the UnivLibr (Ms. 1450), the other one in the NatArch (Gyulay-KuunArch, no. 348–385). The content of the unpublished volumes is known to me from the detailed notes taken by Professor Elek Csetri. Hereby I thank him for his generosity.

⁸⁵⁶ Varga, *A kolozsvári Líceum*, no. 1227.

⁸⁵⁷ *Gyulay Lajos Mss.* vol. 112, 3 (4 Apr. 1864) in the Gyulay-KuunArch, no. 374. The characterization made by Sándor Bölöni Farkas is quoted by Gyulay in his diary.

⁸⁵⁸ Miklós Wesselényi’s letters to György Wass. See Gyulay-KuunArch, no. 392 (27 Dec. 1830; 5 March 1831; 8 Jan. 1833).

⁸⁵⁹ *WassOttíliaColl*, no. 265 (1816); From 1832 there dates a letter from Szentgothárd (*WassOttíliaColl*, no. 239).

⁸⁶⁰ *Franciska Gyulay*: †Nagypacal (Middle Szolnok County), 14 Jan. 1865 (*WassArch*, 1865: no. 5246). She lived for 67 years. Buried there, on 21 Jan. Calv. (*HungNatLibr*,

was an important scene of society life at that time)⁸⁶¹ and frequently exchanged letters with Ferenc Kazinczy. She took the initiative in founding a reading society for women in Kolozsvár,⁸⁶² and a school at Tresztia (Hunyad County).⁸⁶³ It was her younger brother, also an advocate of literature, Count Lajos Gyulay (1800–1869), from whom she inherited the house in the Main Square (*Főtér*) of Kolozsvár, which was later passed on to the daughters of György Wass, *Zsuzsanna* and *Ottília*, together with the estate in Nagypacal (Middle Szolnok County).⁸⁶⁴

D. I. *Gizella* (†1838); one of György's (†1836) children. She died early, at the age of seventeen. Blanka Teleki (1806–1862) painted her portrait.⁸⁶⁵

D. II. *Lajos* (†1835)⁸⁶⁶ died in early childhood.

D. III. *Zsuzsanna* (or *Minka*, 1827–1911; fig. no. 61)⁸⁶⁷ in 1858⁸⁶⁸ married the journalist Baron Kálmán Jósika of Branyicska (1832 or 1833–1910).⁸⁶⁹ After four years of marriage they already lived apart but never divorced.⁸⁷⁰ Ilona Wass considers “aunt Minka” in her memoirs to have been a rather shrewish and unbearable woman.

Department of Small Prints, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Countess Franciska Gyulay, the wife of György Wass). The daughter of the chamberlain Ferenc Gy. and Zsuzsanna Kacsándy of Kohány – the latter originating from Zemplén County (JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 377).

⁸⁶¹ Kántor, *Wass Ottília*, 89.

⁸⁶² Richárd S. Gyulai, “A marosnémeti és nádaskai Gyulai család” [The Gyulai of Marosnémet and Nádaska], *Genealógiai Füzetek* 9 (1911): 115.

⁸⁶³ *Gyulay Lajos Mss.*, vol. 18, 145 (UnivLibr, Department of Manuscripts).

⁸⁶⁴ Kántor, *Wass Ottília*, 88; *WassOttíliaColl.*, no. 22 (27 Mar. 1869).

⁸⁶⁵ *Gizella*: †Kolozsvár, 29 Dec. 1838. Buried at Cege, in the family vault, on 2 Jan. 1839. See *Gyulay Lajos Mss.*, vol. 23, 45–47, 51 (UnivLibr, Department of Manuscripts). According to Gyulay, she was 9 years old in 1831 (*Gyulay, Napló*, 128).

⁸⁶⁶ *Lajos*: †before 1 Mar. 1835 (*Gyulay, Napló*, 93). Buried at Cege, in the family vault. His mother, Franciska Gyulay “could never get over her son’s death. [...] She loved her son so much that after losing him she could not love anything else anymore.” See *Gyulay Lajos Mss.*, vol. 112, 6 (*Gyulay-KuunArch*, no. 374).

⁸⁶⁷ *Zsuzsanna*: *1827. †10 Apr. 1911. She lived for 85 years (Kántor, *Wass Ottília*, 87–88).

⁸⁶⁸ Kántor, *Wass Ottília*, 87–88.

⁸⁶⁹ *Kálmán Jósika*: *1832 or 1833 (NatArch, Genealogical collection of Lajos Kelemen, Jósika family, copies of the missives from Kálmán Jósika to Count Géza Kún). The son of Imre J.; see *Kolozsvári Hírlap* 8, no. 11 (1910): 5. He studied law in Kolozsvár and Vienna, although instead of practicing it, he rather turned to writing. He became a journalist, and wrote feuilletons and short stories (publishing them in *Fővárosi Lapok*, *Pesti Hírlap* and *Magyar Hírlap*) and even novels. See Pál Gulyás, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [The life and works of Hungarian writers], New series, ed. János Viczián, vol. 10 (Budapest: Argumentum, MTA Könyvtára, 1993), 828, where the year of his birth is mistaken.

⁸⁷⁰ Kántor, *Wass Ottília*, 88.

D. IV. *Ottília* (1829–1917; fig. no. 61)⁸⁷¹ was a very cultivated woman; she had a good command of several foreign languages, speaking German, French, English and Italian; she wrote and translated poems.⁸⁷² According to her uncle, Lajos Gyulay, she was gifted with an excellent memory – he called her a “walking encyclopaedia.”⁸⁷³ *Ottília* traveled a lot, visiting almost every country in Western Europe and also Greece and Turkey. Numerous postcards have been preserved in her legacy illustrating these journeys. During the First World War she worked with charitable organizations. She bequeathed her house on the Main Square of Kolozsvár (fig. no. 62), together with the furnishings, to the Transylvanian Museum Society, her estate in Pacal to the Transylvanian Calvinist Church and her library to the Kún Calvinist college at Szászváros. All her documents were left to the Transylvanian Museum Society; among these there survived the letter patent of countship of the family from 1744.

Szentgothárd

Szentgothárd was the core of the estates possessed by the branch that Béla Wass had started. A stud-stable and a great number of livestock completed the farm; right before World War I, for example, it counted nine hundred cattle, as the cultivation of the clay-earth of the hills and dales was impossible with horses. The village itself had a population of Romanian nationality already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it was around that time that the Calvinist church of the settlement collapsed. Services had been performed in the castle, which rather differed from the surroundings. It had been the residence of the branch of Szentgothárd; however, no trace of it was left after World War II. According to some photographs and fragmentary information, the castle was a one-story building in neoclassical style (figs. no. 63–65) surrounded by a 55 acre (*hold*) garden. The great parlor constituted the main scene of social and family life, having been furnished with all requisites of late nineteenth-century bourgeois well-being: fireplace, library, piano.

⁸⁷¹ *Ottília*: *Kolozsvár, at the very beginning of 1829. †5 Mar. 1917 (Kántor, *Wass Ottília*, 87–88). On her life, see also Kelemen, *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok*, vol. 2, 152, 326.

⁸⁷² Her poems were published in the following anthologies (after Szinnyei, vol. 14, 1439): Gyula Sárosy, *Az én albumom* [My album] (Pest: Herz János, 1857); *Hölgyfutár* (Pest), 1858–1859; *Hölgyek lantja* [Ladies' lute], ed. Károly Zilahy (2nd ed., Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1873). Translation: Ferencz Liszt, *Chopin*, transl. by Ottília Vass (Budapest: Franklin-társulat, 1873).

⁸⁷³ *Gyulay Lajos Mss.*, vol. 140, 156 (Gyulay-KuunArch, no. 385).

Furthermore, studies and living rooms (fig. no. 66), along with bathrooms and a large dining room, satisfied the demands of a modern life. Belletristic and scientific works were equally to be found in Hungarian, German and French in the library; unfortunately, all perished together with the furniture and the castle itself. Together with the family there lived in the house the Hungarian private tutor of the children (while, however, as the status of the family required, from time to time French and German governesses turned up as well) and the ground floor served as lodging for the servants. At that time a large staff had been employed in the castle: a cook, a kitchen maid, a washerwoman, several maids, a woodcutter, a gardener and a coachman. The estate was managed by a farm manager (*gazdatiszt*), and Béla Wass even employed a vermin-killer. In shaping everyday life, ceremonial dinners and tea-parties had an important role, and apart from these daily life was spiced with entertainments, balls and hunting parties. For the winter the family would move up to Kolozsvár and enjoy an even more active social life: frequenting balls, paying mutual visits to acquaintances and relatives, and holding birthday parties. The hereunder mentioned children of Béla Wass grew up in these conditions, which represented cloudless childhood, and became the embodiment of nostalgia felt for the past way of living. The children were committed to the care of private tutors from a very young age, and left home only when they were sent to college.⁸⁷⁴

Ráchel (fig. no. 67), daughter of Béla, died in 1944, when a Russian soldier massacred the whole dinner party in the Óváry-house in Kolozsvár.⁸⁷⁵ Her husband was Count Rudolf Petrichevich-Horváth-Tholdy,⁸⁷⁶ they had

⁸⁷⁴ Besides Ilona Siemers's already-mentioned memoirs, Countess Gabriella Kornis's accurate descriptions inform us about the way of life of the Transylvanian aristocracy at the beginning of the twentieth century: *Elődök és utódok: erdélyi főnemesek a 20. században* [Ancestors and descendants: Transylvanian aristocrats in the twentieth century] (Budapest: Unikornis, 2002).

⁸⁷⁵ *Ráchel*: †Kolozsvár, 16 Oct. 1944 (epitaph, Házsongárd cemetery; Siemers: *Wass* 177, footnote no. 61).

⁸⁷⁶ *Count Rudolf Petrichevich-Horváth-Tholdy of Széplak, Nagyszalonta and Feketebátor*: *1870. The son of Gábor P-H. and Ida Szilvássy Cseszelicki. In 1888 Lajos Horváth-Tholdy assigned his own title of count, name and blazon to Rudolf Petrichevich-Horváth. See Imre Sándor, "A széplaki Petrichevich-Horváth család" [The Petrichevich-Horváth family of Széplak], *Genealógiai Füzetek* 6 (1908): 143–144, and Gudenus, vol. 1, 558, and vol. 3, 80–81. In 1858 Count Sámuel Tholdy [†1862] assigned through adoption (31 Mar. 1858) the title of count, blazon and name to Baron János Petrichevich-Horváth, cavalry general, who afterwards carried on the family under the name of Count Horváth-Tholdy. See Emil Petrichevich Horváth, "A nagyszalontai és feketebátori Tholdy-család eredete [Origin of the Tholdy family of Nagyszalonta and Feketebátor]," *Turul* 51 (1937): 75.

held their wedding at Szentgothárd.⁸⁷⁷ Rudolf had his estate in Pata (Kolozs County); later they sold that one and bought the Kemény castle in Marosnémeti, near Déva, which had previously belonged to the Kún of Osdola.⁸⁷⁸

Mária (fig. no. 68)⁸⁷⁹ moved to Switzerland,⁸⁸⁰ where she died in 1916. She was married to Baron Elemér Atzél.⁸⁸¹

The elder son, *Albert* (1881–1902; fig. no. 69), was sent to the Franz Joseph boarding school of the Royal Catholic Gymnasium in Budapest, 2nd district (*II. kerületi Kir. Katolikus Főgimnázium Ferenc József Nevelőintézete*)⁸⁸² and completed his university studies in Graz, Munich and Paris.⁸⁸³ His Dutch colleagues made a great impact on him during his stay in Paris: he interrupted his studies and – without his parents’ knowledge or approval – through the Netherlands went to South Africa in order to support the Boer War against the British conquerors (1899–1902). He was killed on May 14, 1902, in Transvaal, when a British patrol shot him while crossing the border. His parents had a memorial plaque placed in the Calvinist church on Farkas Street in Kolozsvár in commemoration of their son, deceased at the age of 20,⁸⁸⁴ (fig. no. 70) and a granite tombstone on his grave in Africa.

Ilona (1884–1950; figs. no. 71) started her studies in a boarding school in Budapest, and then attended the Steyber’sches Institut in Leipzig. In 1910 she married the business tycoon Johann Siemers and moved to Hamburg, Germany.⁸⁸⁵ Their children, among them the still living Hans-Edmund Siemers as well, often visited Szentgothárd. (Ilona Wass and Johann Siemers’s marriage is a good example of the phenomenon whereby the Hungarian aristocracy has been linked on several points, mainly since the second half of the nineteenth century, with the Hungarian and foreign – chiefly Austrian – wealthy bourgeoisie. As the Wass family’s marital strategy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries indicates,

⁸⁷⁷ Siemers, *Wass*, 139.

⁸⁷⁸ Siemers, *Wass*, 142.

⁸⁷⁹ Gudenus, vol. 4, 233.

⁸⁸⁰ Between 1911 and 1912 she studied at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Lausanne (Szögi, *Svájc*, no. 701).

⁸⁸¹ Siemers, *Wass*, 132, 176.

⁸⁸² Siemers: *Wass*, 99, 174, footnote no. 73.

⁸⁸³ Graz and Paris: Siemers, *Wass*, 134–135; Munich (where he studied law in 1900): Szögi, *Német* no. 9051.

⁸⁸⁴ Géza Entz and András Kovács, *A kolozsvári Farkas utcai templom címerei* [Blazons in the Farkas Street church] (Budapest: Balassi; Kolozsvár: Polis, 1995), 84. On the death of Albert Wass, see two letters by his father, Béla, to Ottó Herman (LibrHungAcad, Department of Manuscripts, Ms. 282/379 and Ms. 282/389).

⁸⁸⁵ Siemers, *Wass*, 119–120, 136, 164. Their daughter, Éva Siemers, later married her first cousin, the writer Albert Wass.

the Transylvanian aristocracy likewise connected itself through marriage with lesser noble and even bourgeois families.)

Endre (1886–1975; fig. no. 72), like his brother, was sent to the Franz Joseph boarding school of the Royal Catholic Gymnasium, Budapest 2nd district, and then, after graduation, attended the agricultural college in Mosonmagyaróvár and Budapest.⁸⁸⁶ During the First World War he fought in the Hussar Company no. 9,⁸⁸⁷ and after the war retired to Szentgothárd. He married Baroness Ilona Bánffy of Losonc (“Alili” as she was called) in 1906, but their marriage ended in divorce as early as 1911. Their son was the writer *Albert*. In 1917 Endre remarried, this time wedding Baroness Izabella Mannsberg.⁸⁸⁸ Both of them left the country in 1945; however, the wife returned the same year. Endre Wass hid in Hungary after the war, and by using a false name took on jobs in agriculture. Due to Hans-Edmund Siemers’s help, he could legally get to Hamburg in 1957. From there he emigrated in 1959 to the United States, where his son Albert lived. A short time afterwards, he returned to Hamburg, where he had relatives living, among whom was his daughter-in-law, the wife of the above-mentioned Albert. He died in Germany in 1975.⁸⁸⁹

Albert Wass (1908–1998; fig. no. 73; son of Endre), a writer, was beyond doubt the most popular member of the family. He started his studies in the Calvinist college in Kolozsvár, and then continued at the Agricultural College in Debrecen (1928–1931, *Gazdasági Akadémia*)⁸⁹⁰ and later in Germany. He returned to Romania in 1932 and after a short spell of military service took over the management of the estates. As the last members of the two branches of Cege were already deceased – György having died in 1925 and Olivér in 1932 – he remained the only male member of the family, and thus he was the one who carried on the lineage through his sons. He started his career as a writer quite early (publishing in periodicals such as *Debreceni Újság*, *Budapesti Hírlap*, *Ellenzék*), and had some poems published as well, but actual fame was brought to him by his best-

⁸⁸⁶ Siemers, *Wass* 9, 119, 148, 150.

⁸⁸⁷ Wass-TarjányiColl (unmarked photocopies from the War History Archives, Budapest).

⁸⁸⁸ Several passages of her diary appeared in print as well: “Gróf Wass Endréné naplójából” [From the diary of Izabella Mannsberg, the wife of Count Endre Wass], *Szászrégen és Vidéke* 4, no. 3–12 (2002. Mar.–Dec.) (parts 1–10), and 5, no. 1–9 (2003. Jan.–Sept.) (parts 11–19).

⁸⁸⁹ I am grateful for this information on Endre Wass to his still living grandson, Andreas Wass.

⁸⁹⁰ Endre Bakó, “Wass Albert debreceni évei (1928–1931)” [Albert Wass’s years in Debrecen (1928–1931)], *Könyv és könyvtár. A Debreceni Egyetem Egyetemi és Nemzeti Könyvtárának Évkönyve* (Debrecen), 24 (2002): 133–154.

selling novels (like the *Farkasverem* [The Wolf Pit], *A funtineli boszorkány* [The Witch of Funtinell] etc.), which have not lost their popularity up to now.⁸⁹¹ Albert was a member of the Kisfaludy Literary Society (*Kisfaludy Társaság*, a prestigious literary circle)⁸⁹² and curator of the Calvinist Diocese of Szék.⁸⁹³ In 1944, with the army corps heading west, he himself fled to Germany⁸⁹⁴ and from there – together with four (*Vid, Huba, Miklós* and *Géza*) of his five sons – emigrated to the United States of America in 1951. He wrote about his intention to leave the Continent in his letters of February 1950 to his friend, the writer and publicist Béla Menczer (1902–1983): “Otherwise, I’m leaving Europe in two or three months, emigrating to Montana and hiring myself out as a lumberer. [...] At any rate I am not needed here [i.e. Germany]. The Germans do not understand me and I have nothing to do among them. I think the Indians of Montana will be an easier task for me.”⁸⁹⁵ His wife of that time, Éva Siemers⁸⁹⁶ (whom he divorced in 1952), and their youngest son, *Andreas (Endre)* (*1950), remained in Germany. At the time of the communist takeover, as a result of a trial – the fairness of which has been questioned up to the present day by Hungarian public opinion – in May 1946, both Albert and his father were sentenced to death (in their absence) by the People’s Court (Rom. *Tribunalul Poporului*, Hung. *Népbíróság*) of Kolozsvár and their possessions were confiscated. (In that very month the executors sent to

⁸⁹¹ A scholarly evaluation of his authorship and works has been written by Enikő Szűcsné Harkó, *Wass Albert írói életpályája* [Albert Wass’s career as a writer] (Dunaújváros: Meritum Text, 2004). See also Ildikó Balázs, *Wass Albert életmű-bibliográfia 1923–2003* [Bibliography of the Albert Wass oeuvre, 1923–2003], ed. Lászlóné Bajnok (Pomáz: Kráter Könyvkiadó, 2004). The oeuvre of Albert Wass is being published by the Mentor publishing house in Marosvásárhely as the one authorized by the heirs and assigns.

⁸⁹² *Magyarország névtára*, vol. 49 (Budapest, 1942), 645; vol. 51 (Budapest, 1944), 706.

⁸⁹³ *Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Clujon 1935. november hó 23 és 24. napján tartott rendes közgyűlésének jegyzőkönyve* [Minutes of the general assembly of the Transylvanian Protestant Church District held on 23 and 24 November 1935 in Cluj] (Cluj: Minerva, 1936), 7; *Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Kolozsvárott 1941. március hó 29. napján tartott rendes közgyűlésének jegyzőkönyve* [Minutes of the general assembly of the Transylvanian Protestant Church District held on 29 March 1941 in Kolozsvár] (Kolozsvár: Minerva, 1941), 9. It seems that it is mistakenly stated in the *Magyarország névtára* – vol. 49 (Budapest, 1942), 556 and vol. 50 (Budapest, 1943), 595 – that he still held the office in 1942 and 1943.

⁸⁹⁴ On the family’s stay in Germany, see the missives of Éva Siemers to Karola Szilvássy (Central Archives of the Transylvanian Protestant Church District, Legacy of Karola Szilvássy).

⁸⁹⁵ LibrHungAcad, Department of Manuscripts, Ms. 5892/389 (Albert Wass’s letter from 3 Feb. 1950 to Béla Menczer).

⁸⁹⁶ On her life, see Ádám Szabó T., “Gr. Czegei Wass Albertné Siemers Éva emlékezete” [In memory of Éva Siemers, the wife of Count Albert Wass of Czege], *Korunk* (Kolozsvár), 1991: 1043–1044.

Szentgothárd had to face the fact that the castle had been plundered to such an extent that even door- and window-frames were missing.) The prosecutors held Endre Wass and his son Albert responsible for the tragic events that had happened in September 1940, when a lieutenant – Pakucs by name – of the entering Hungarian troops arrested six inhabitants of Szentgothárd, and then shot four of them to death in Cege when those were making an attempt at escape.⁸⁹⁷ Albert Wass was also held responsible, as the alleged instigator, for the slaughter at Omboztelke, when the entering Hungarian soldiers led by Lieutenant Gergely Csordás killed eleven people. The United States of America – finding the accusations to be unsubstantiated – refused the demand for his extradition. In today's Romania Albert Wass is considered a war criminal. In 2003 the author-

⁸⁹⁷ Regarding the life and trial of Albert Wass, see the following: István Péter Szakács, ed., *A vádlott neve Wass Albert (dokumentumok a Wass Albert-dossziéból). Pro memoria* [The name of the accusee: Albert Wass (documents from the Albert Wass-file). Pro memoria] (Székelyudvarhely: Litera, 2002); Mihály Zoltán Nagy, "Wass Albert háborús bűnpere" [State trial of Albert Wass, accused of war crimes], *PoLisz. A Kráter Műhely Egyesület irodalmi és kulturális lapja*, vol. 78, suppl. (2004 aug.–sept.): 1–7; Ernő Raffay, Mihály Takaró, Károly Vekov, *A gróf emigrált, az író itthon maradt. Wass Albert igazsága* [The count emigrated, the writer remained at home: The truth about Albert Wass], with studies by Ildikó Balázs and Éva Lukácsi (Budapest: Szabad Tér, Fort Myers, FL/USA: Czegei Wass Foundation, 2004); Károly Vekov, "Wass Albert »bűne«" [Albert Wass's »crime«, in *Emlékkönyv Csetri Elek születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* [Elek Csetri memorial volume in honor of his 80th birthday], ed. Judit Pál and Gábor Sipos (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2004), 525–534; Péter Illésfalvi, "»Édes Erdély itt vagyunk... «: Az 1940-es erdélyi bevonulás során történt atrocitásokról" [On the atrocities committed at the time of the Hungarian entry into Transylvania in 1940], *Pro Minoritate*, 2000 Tavasz, 58–77; Mihály Zoltán Nagy, "Adalékok Wass Albert népbírósági bűnperehez" [Additions to Albert Wass's trial at the People's Court], *Korunk*, 3rd ser., 16, no. 7 (2005): 102–108. An opinion radically different from all those mentioned above can be found in Bodea, Gheorghe I.–Suciu, Vasile T.–Pușcaș, Ilie I., *Administrația militară horthystă în nord-vestul României. Septembrie–Noiembrie 1940* [Military administration in the north-west of Romania under Horthy] (Cluj–Napoca: Dacia, 1988), 413–431, and Lechințan, Vasile, "Procesul criminalilor de război de la Ip, Treznea, Huedin, Mureșenii de Câmpie și din alte localități sălăjene" [Trials of the war criminals from Ip, Treznea, Huedin, Mureșenii de Câmpie and from other settlements in Sălaj County], *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, 17 (1993): 271–306. Summary of the disputes about Albert Wass: Gábor Murányi, "Döntések és állítások (Wass Albert-szobor-vita)" [Dispute about the statues of Albert Wass], *HVG* (Budapest), 2004, no. 11: 79–82. The files: NatArch, Népbíróság (Tribunalul poporului) [documents of the People's Court of Kolozsvár], 10/1946 (I thank Mihály Zoltán Nagy for this information). The record of the executions at Cege taken by the Hungarian military authorities: András W. Kovács, "Kiegészítés a »Wass Albert-dosszié«-hoz" [Additions to the Albert Wass-file], *Korunk*, 3rd ser., 16, no. 7 (2005): 98–101. It is only to be hoped that although the Romanian and Hungarian public opinion elaborated and asserts two utterly different views regarding Albert Wass, the debate emerging as a result of the exceptional interest and the expected new source materials will create some rapprochement between the two standpoints.

ities had all his statues (erected after 1989 in Holtmaros, Szászrégen and Vice) removed.

Miklós's line

II. *Miklós* (†1829)⁸⁹⁸ is not known to have assumed any roles in public life apart from a few attendances as a royalist at the diets held at Kolozsvár (1790, 1792, 1794, 1809).⁸⁹⁹ This fact is probably not entirely due to the rare sources referring to him. The wording of his obituary composed by his son, Imre, says that “although he did not sparkle among the prominent phenomena of his time, he was always a straight person and a great patriot, and voiced that freely.” He was also one of the patrons of the Hungarian Language Society of Transylvania (1798).⁹⁰⁰ His portrait appears in András Huszti's manuscript of the family history (fig. no. 74).⁹⁰¹ He had his residence in Császári;⁹⁰² he married Countess Anna Nemes of Hídvég (†1806)⁹⁰³ in 1785, with whom he had a son called *Imre*.

II. A. *Imre* (1790–1854)⁹⁰⁴ – surprisingly enough there is not more information on him than on his father. In 1807 he studied law in the Royal Lyceum in Kolozsvár.⁹⁰⁵ He acted as lay assessor (*assessor sedis generalis*) in Kolozs County in 1815,⁹⁰⁶ he took on an office in Vienna around 1822 (most probably as a kind of abstractor – *conciipista* – at the Transylvanian Court Chancellery) and he is known to have frequented the Viennese theaters in those days;⁹⁰⁷ he was a secretary (*secretarius*) of the *Gubernium* between 1824 and 1828,⁹⁰⁸ and then was deputy *comes* (*administrator*) of

⁸⁹⁸ *Miklós*: †Cege, 27 Mar. 1829. Buried there, in the family vault, on 30 Mar. He lived for 74 years, 21 of which were in marriage, and 23 in widowhood (obituary notification: JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 405).

⁸⁹⁹ *Tabella*; Printed records of the diets and the registers displaying the delegates' accommodation: see footnote 716.

⁹⁰⁰ Jancsó, 257.

⁹⁰¹ Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 87^r.

⁹⁰² Deák, *Wass Samu*, 4.

⁹⁰³ *Anna Nemes*: †1806. She lived for 47 years, 21 of which were in marriage (funeral sermon delivered by Márton Biró on Countess Anna Nemes of Hídvég, the wife of Count Miklós Wass of Cege. 9 Oct. 1806. Kolozsvár 1807. 8^o).

⁹⁰⁴ *Imre*: †(of cholera) Pest, 5 Dec. 1854, at the age of 64 (József Kemény, *Repertorium nobilitatis*, Tomus XII, 99^v, excerpt of the obituary notification).

⁹⁰⁵ Varga, *A kolozsvári Líceum*, no. 1228

⁹⁰⁶ *Calendarium*, 1815.

⁹⁰⁷ Gyulay, *Napló*, 71.

⁹⁰⁸ *Calendarium*, 1824–1828.

Middle Szolnok County (1829–1830);⁹⁰⁹ he attended diets on several occasions between 1834 and 1848.⁹¹⁰ The time of his conversion to Catholicism is not known, and neither is the year in which he acquired the chamberlainship, although this must have happened before 1832.⁹¹¹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century he spent quite a long period in Kolozsvár and was a great supporter of musical life there.⁹¹² He was a member of that group of aristocrats which formed itself in 1824 with the aim of maintaining the Hungarian theater of Kolozsvár. In 1832, together with another member of this group, he offered to cover the rental costs of the building, on the condition that performances would be made only in Hungarian and never again in the German language from that time onwards.⁹¹³ From his wife, Baroness Rozália Jósika of Branyicska (†1825),⁹¹⁴ he had two sons, *Miklós* and *Sámuel*, with whom they divided the already mortgaged estates in 1838. Imre retained for himself Császári, Szentgothárd, Szentegyed and Mohaly,⁹¹⁵ and furthermore he owned a country seat at Balázsháza as well.⁹¹⁶

II. A. 1. *Miklós* (1812–1887)⁹¹⁷ completed his studies in the Military Academy in Vienna (1828), and from 1831 was a lieutenant of the Imperial

⁹⁰⁹ *Calendarium*, 1829, 55; *Calendarium*, 1830, 53. Consequently the information on his keeping this office until 1832 is mistaken: see Zoltán Fallenbüchl, *Magyarország főispánjai 1526–1848. Die Obergespane Ungarns 1526–1848* (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994), 150.

⁹¹⁰ Printed records of the diets and the registers displaying the delegates' accommodation: see footnote 716.

⁹¹¹ *Calendarium*, 1832, 57; *Kämmerer-Almanach. Historischer Rückblick auf die Entwicklung der Kämmerer-Würde. Zusammenstellung der kaiserlichen Kammerherren seit Carl V. bis zur Gegenwart. Die Geschichte der Landeserbkämmerer. Im Anhang die lebenden k. u. k. Kämmerer mit ihren Titel, Würden etc. und Domicil* (Vienna: Verlag des Kämmerer-Almanach, 1903). Information taken from the review of the aforementioned work: *Genealógiai Füzetek* 1 (1903): 130–132.

⁹¹² Elek Jakab, *Kolozsvár története* [History of Kolozsvár], vol. 3 (Budapest: Egyetemi nyomda, 1888), 776.

⁹¹³ Ferenczi, *A kolozsvári színház története*, 305–307, 323, 402.

⁹¹⁴ *Rozália Jósika*: †Kolozsvár, 5 Mar. 1825. The daughter of the chamberlain Miklós J. and Countess Eleonóra Lázár of Szárhegy (JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 423, 438).

⁹¹⁵ NatArch, Doboka County Archives, 7/1838.

⁹¹⁶ JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 209.

⁹¹⁷ *Miklós*: *5 Nov. 1812. See Miklós Szabó and László Szögi, *Erdélyi peregrinusok. Erdélyi diákok európai egyetemeken 1701–1849* [Transylvanian peregrinators: Transylvanian students at European universities] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 1998), 498. †Alsóilosva (Szolnok-Doboka County), 20 May 1887. Buried there, 22 May 1887. He lived for 75 years, 33 of which were in marriage. Cath. (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications).

Hussar Regiment no. 1.⁹¹⁸ He attended the diets of 1846, 1848 and 1865 as a royalist.⁹¹⁹ In 1868 he became an honorary county recorder (*tiszteletbeli főjegyző*) of Middle Szolnok.⁹²⁰ In 1838 he received from his father the estates of Cikud, Pulyon and Szentiván and two thirds of Mezóméhes – representing his share in the estates.⁹²¹ His wives were Countess Karolina Haller of Hallerkő (1817–1849)⁹²² then Baroness and Countess Eugénia Berchtold of Ungarschitz.⁹²³ This latter bought a property in Alsóilosva⁹²⁴ (Doboka County) in 1869, Miklós Wass died and was buried there.

II. A. 2. *Samu* (1814–1875; fig. no. 75) is one of the most colorful personalities of his family. His personal documents and legacy can no longer be traced, but fortunately his friend Farkas Deák had seen it, and wrote the biography of Samu in 1880, constructing it first of all upon that material. Today this biography represents almost the only source of Samu's pretty adventurous life, as in the Wass family archive only documents of less importance survived regarding him.⁹²⁵ Samu was born on January 14, 1814, in Kolozsvár,⁹²⁶ and spent a part of his childhood with his grandfather in Császári. He studied for eight years in the Royal Lyceum in Kolozsvár, and it is known that between 1830 and 1832 he was a student of law and arts.⁹²⁷ A representative of his age, the so-called Reform

⁹¹⁸ Szabó and Szögi, *Erdélyi peregrinusok. Erdélyi diákok európai egyetemeken 1701–1849*, 498.

⁹¹⁹ *Az Erdélyi Nagyfejedelemség szabad királyi Kolozsvár várossába 1865-ik év November 19-dik napjára országgyűlésre összehívott tek. nemes rendeinek névsora és szállásainak kimutatása* [The list of names and accommodations of the noble estates invited to the Diet held in the privileged town of Kolozsvár, Grand Duchy of Transylvania, on 19 November 1865] (Kolozsvár: Róm. Kath. Líceumi Nyomda, 1865), 22.

⁹²⁰ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 7, 257.

⁹²¹ NatArch, Doboka County Archives, 7/1838.

⁹²² The daughter of János H. and Zsuzsanna Kleisch. See Lajos Szádeczky, "A Haller grófok nemzetség-könyve" [The book of genealogy of the Counts Haller], *Turul* 4 (1886): 71.

⁹²³ Regarding his family, see Nagy Iván, vol. 2, 6, *MNZsebk Főrangú családok*, 42, and Kempelen, vol. 2, 113–114.

⁹²⁴ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 4, 119.

⁹²⁵ Farkas Deák, *Gróf Wass Samu emlékezete* [In memory of Samu Wass], *Értekezések a természettudományok köréből*, vol. X/7 (Budapest: MTA Könyvkiadó-hivatala, 1881). The biography of Samu is given in resumé form in the present study on the basis of this work; if not specifying any other work, the data are taken from here. On Samu Wass, see also the biographical collection of the Ödön Vasváry Collection in the Somogyi Library in Szeged (Hungary); the record numbers are as follows: R1/d: 24–25, U4:49, W1/c: 28–40. Mária Korász provided me with information from the material; hereby I thank her for her help.

⁹²⁶ Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificate from the register of births of the Catholic parish in Kolozsvár, vol. 4, 77 (the date of birth published by Farkas Deák is mistaken!).

⁹²⁷ Varga, *A kolozsvári Líceum*, no. 3040.

Era, he was a good swimmer, fencer and marksman. In 1832 he traveled along the lower part of the Danube, and then went to Italy from there. Returning home he became an apprentice-at-law (*joggyakormok*) at the *Gubernium* and the *Tabula Regia* of Marosvásárhely (1833–1835), and then judge of the county court (*derékszéki bíró*, 1839) and chief justice (*főbíró*, 1841–1848) of Doboka County.⁹²⁸ From 1848 he deputized for the *comes* of Doboka, who withdrew at that time. For the first diet of the parliamentary system held in Budapest, Doboka County elected him as their representative.⁹²⁹ Apart from his activity in public life, Samu was occupied managing his estates – in 1838 he received from his father Sályi, Velkér, Cege, Göc and one third of Mezóméhes.⁹³⁰ After the Union of 1848 he became – for a short time (1848–February 1849) the representative of Doboka County in Parliament. Lajos Kossuth, who considered him an able young man, sent him to Bucharest, Constantinople, Paris and Brussels in order to handle the negotiations with the European governments.⁹³¹ Thus, Samu Wass had the opportunity to travel around Europe, got to London as well, and from there – also on behalf of Kossuth – went to America at the end of July 1849 to acquire support for the Revolution. As in the meantime this was suppressed, he could not return home. At first he was busy in New York, helping the refugees arriving there, and then in 1850 he went to California to prospect for gold. In 1852, together with another Hungarian emigrant, Count Ágoston Haraszthy (1812–1869), he established the *Eureka Gold and Silver Refining Company* in San Francisco, employing several Hungarian co-revolutionists, among them Major Kornél Fornét (1818–1894) and Lieutenant Ágoston (Gusztáv) Molitor [Müller] (†1883). As the State Mintage in San Francisco was incapable of processing the huge quantities of gold, the US Government

⁹²⁸ *Calendarium*, 1843, 58; 1844, 58; 1845, 52; 1846, 52; 1847, 52. *Revoluția de la 1848–1849 din Transilvania/Documente privind revoluția de la 1848 în Țările Române, C, Transilvania* [Documents regarding the Revolution of 1848 in Transylvania] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1977–1988), 4 vols. Vol. 2, 95; chief justice (*főbíró*), of Doboka County: *ibid.*, vol. 2, 203; government commissioner (*kormánybiztos*): *ibid.*, vol. 3, 554.

⁹²⁹ Pálmány, *Az 1848–1849. évi országgyűlés*, 955–956 (indicating all manuscript sources regarding Samu Wass's activity in Parliament).

⁹³⁰ NatArch, Doboka County Archives, 7/1838.

⁹³¹ *Kossuth Lajos összes munkái* [Complete works of Lajos Kossuth], vol. 14, *Kossuth Lajos 1848/49-ben* [Lajos Kossuth in 1848/49], vol. 4, *Kossuth Lajos az Országos Honvédelmi Bizottmány élén* [Lajos Kossuth heading the National Defense Committee], Second part (1 Jan.–14 Apr. 1849), ed. István Barta (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1953), 659. Reports by Samu Wass of the negotiations in Constantinople and Paris: Eszter V. Waldapfel, *A forradalom és szabadságharc levelestára* [Documentary of the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence], vol. 4 (Budapest: Gondolat, 1965), 539–541.

entrusted the *Eureka* with minting gold dollars (figs. no. 76 and 77).⁹³² Samu Wass made sure that the Hungarian National Museum got several pieces;⁹³³ his golden coins are today highly sought-after by museums and private collectors. As he put it, it was “not the thirst for riches but the indifference of an exile towards any kind of place and the strong desire for experience” that led him towards this “new El Dorado.”⁹³⁴ He was allowed to move home after nine years, in 1858 – according to slanderous tongues, he bought with money the permission for his return.⁹³⁵ Applying the experiences gathered abroad – as a western-style entrepreneur with British-American capital – he intended to establish an iron foundry at Lunka (Zaránd County); however, his plans failed.⁹³⁶ In 1861, then in December 1865 as a magnate, he entered the Upper House.⁹³⁷ Between 1866 and 1875⁹³⁸ he was a member of the House of Representatives (as

⁹³² Béla Várdy, *Magyarok az Újvilágban. Az észak-amerikai magyarság rendbogyó története* [Hungarians in the New World: An unorthodox history of Hungarian-Americans] (Budapest: A Magyar Nyelv és Kultúra Nemzetközi Társasága, 2000), passim, and espec. 162–163; *Xántus János levelei Éjszakamerikából* [Missives of János Xántus from North America], ed. István Prépost (Pest: Lauffer és Stolp, 1858), 171–174; Ödön Vasváry, *Magyar Amerika* [Hungarian America] (Szeged: Somogyi-Könyvtár, 1988), passim; Győző Dojcsák, *Amerikai magyar történetek* [Stories of Hungarians in America] (Budapest: Ifjúsági Lap- és Könyvkiadó, 1985), 72–74; Győző Dojcsák, *Arany Kaliforniában* [Gold in California] (Budapest: privately printed, 1992), 101–107; Theodore H. Hittel, *History of California*, vol. 3 (San Francisco, 1897), 405, 445, 548 (the part in Hittel’s book referring to Samu Wass is presented here relying upon Vasváry’s notes).

⁹³³ *Vasárnapi Újság* (Budapest), 28 Oct. 1844 (no. 43).

⁹³⁴ Samu Wass, *A nyugot-indiai szigetek* [The Islands of the West Indies], in *A magyarbani Földtani Társulat munkálatai* [Works of the Hungarian Geological Society], vol. 2, ed. József Szabó (Pest: Emich G., 1863), 129.

⁹³⁵ “Samu Vass was allowed to go home from California in order to straighten out his affairs. He has got money; he was popular at that time, as much as he is today. He could grease the wheels. He achieved his permit to return home with the help of Californian gold and managed to get into the realm of Mr. Bach.” See Lívia Görög, *Teleki Sándor Emlékezései* [Memoirs of Count Sándor Teleki] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1958), 321. Lajos Gyulay mentions only the fact that “our brave fellow countryman and kinsman got bored with California and returned home” See *Gyulay Lajos Mss.*, vol. 86, 56 (Gyulay-KuunArch, no. 362).

⁹³⁶ Elek Csetri and Ambrus Miskolczy, “Gyulay Lajos és világa” [Lajos Gyulay and his world], introduction to *Gyulay Lajos*, vol. 1, 37. Gyulay noted in his diary that Samu Wass “had a lot of entrepreneur friends in America and in England who might be in possession of considerable capital.” See *Gyulay Lajos Mss.*, vol. 86, 56 (Gyulay-KuunArch, no. 362).

⁹³⁷ Pálmány, *Az 1848–1849. évi országgyűlés*, 956.

⁹³⁸ József Ruszoly, *Országgyűlési képviselő-választások Magyarországon 1861–1868* [Election of representatives for the Diet in Hungary between 1861 and 1868], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae, Acta Juridica et Politica*, Tom.

deputy of the lower district of Doboka County) supporting the Deák party. He was an erudite aristocrat, fluent in several languages, such as German, Latin, Italian, Romanian, French and English, and showed a great interest in science. This latter interest appeared quite early: in 1844 on the occasion of the physicians' and natural historians' annual congress in Kolozsvár, Samu delivered a lecture on the economy and geography of the Mezőség.⁹³⁹ Back from emigration, he made use of his vast geographical knowledge in scientific works,⁹⁴⁰ and summarized his memories in a book on his travels (fig. no. 78).⁹⁴¹ He is also considered an ethnographer, as in the course of his journeys he took considerable observations on the Antilles and on Haiti.⁹⁴² He assisted the founding of the Mortgage Bank (*Földhitelintézet*), the shipyard of Újpest (*Újpesti Hajógyár*) and the First Danube Steam Navigation Company (*Első Magyar Gőzhajózási Társulat*). After 1860 he sought a connection with George Bariț (1812–1893), one of the intellectual leaders of the Romanians in Transylvania. He tried to negotiate with him, and urged the collaboration of the two nations.⁹⁴³ As an

LVI, Fasc. 2 (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1999), 428, 430–432; Pálmány, *Az 1848–1849. évi országgyűlés*, 956.

⁹³⁹ Samu Wass, “A Mezőség, gazdasági ’s ásvány-földtani szempontból vázolvá” [The Mezőség from economic, mineralogical and geological points of view], in *Magyar orvosok és természetvizsgálók Kolozsvárt tartott ötödik nagy-gyűlésének munkálatai* [The works of the fifth congress of physicians and natural historians held in Kolozsvár], ed. József Szócs and Samu Brassai (Kolozsvár: Ev. ref. főiskola könyom., ifj. Tilsch János, 1845), 85–88.

⁹⁴⁰ Samu Wass, “A lég-áramlásokról” [On air-flows] (inaugural speech delivered on 24 Mar. 1862), in *Magyar Akadémiai Értesítő. A Matematikai és Természettudományi Osztályok Közlönye* [Bulletin of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: Journal of the Departments of Mathematics and Natural Sciences], vol. 3, ed. Sándor Győry (Pest, 1862), 158–175; Wass, “A nyugot-indiai szigetek,” 129–159.

⁹⁴¹ Samu Wass, *Kilencz év egy száműzött életéből* [Nine years from the life of an exile] (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1861–62), 2 vols.; subtitle of the second vol.: *Szárasi és tengeri utazások* [Journeys on land and sea].

⁹⁴² *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* [Hungarian Ethnographic Encyclopaedia], ed.-in-chief Gyula Ortutay, vol. 5 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), s. v. Wass Samu.

⁹⁴³ Zoltán Szász, “Az abszolutizmus kora Erdélyben” [The era of absolutism in Transylvania], in *Erdély története három kötetben* [History of Transylvania in three volumes], ed.-in-chief Béla Köpeczi, vol. 3, *1830-tól napjainkig* [From 1830 until today], ed. Zoltán Szász (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), 1475. Correspondence of Samu Wass and George Bariț: *Az erdélyi oláh nemzetről szóló országos törvényczikkek az Unióval szemben és ezekről értekezlet egy magyar és egy oláh közt* [Acts of Parliament against the Union regarding the Wallachian nation in Transylvania and a discussion of those Acts between a Hungarian and a Wallachian] (Brassó: Römer és Kammer, 1861), and Bariț, *passim*. On this topic, see also the following article, which is, however, of a low standard: Aurel Decei, “Încercarea de înțelegere maghiaro-română, prin groful Samuil Wass și George Bariț, în noiembrie 1860” [An attempt at Hungarian–Romanian understanding through

acknowledgement of his scientific activities the Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected him as a corresponding member in 1861. In 1834⁹⁴⁴ Samu married Rozália Eperjessy of Gyulafehérvár (1812–1884), who had landed properties in Magyaregregy (Doboka County).⁹⁴⁵ Fifteen years later, in 1849 Lajos Gyulay writes in his diary of this “once real beauty” that “now fattened she hardly reminds anyone of her one-time beauty.”⁹⁴⁶ Four children were born to Samu Wass and his wife: *Mária* (1837–1889)⁹⁴⁷ (the future wife of Sándor Montbach of Jungferndorf and Bechau),⁹⁴⁸ *Emma*

Count Sámuel Wass and George Bariț in November 1860], *Ziridava. Muzeul Județean Arad* 9 (1978): 117–140.

⁹⁴⁴ Wass-TarjányiColl, marriage certificate from the record of marriages of the St. Michael parish in Kolozsvár, vol. 5, 133 (24. Nov. 1834), according to which the bride was 19 years old at that time [?!].

⁹⁴⁵ *Rozália Eperjessy*: *4 Oct. 1812. Fodorháza (Inner Szolnok County); baptized on 13 Dec. 1812. The daughter of Károly E. and Terézia Szentmiklósi (Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificate from the register of births of the Catholic church of Dész, vol. 1, 146). †Magyaregregy (Szolnok-Doboka County), 24 Jun. 1884. Buried there on 27 Jun. 1884. She lived for 70 years. Cath. (HungNatLibr, Department of Small Prints, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Rozália Eperjessy of Károlyfehérvár, the wife of Sámuel Wass). On the Eperjessy family, see also Nagy Iván, vol. 4, 56, and Kempelen, vol. 3, 446.

⁹⁴⁶ *Gyulay Lajos*, vol. 2, 272.

⁹⁴⁷ *Mária*: *Magyaregregy, 4 Jan. 1837 (Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificate from the register of births of the Calvinist parish of Kide, vol. 1, 52). †Válaszút (Kolozs County), 11 Nov. 1889. Buried there; public cemetery 13. Nov. 1889. She lived for 52 years. Cath. (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Mária Wass).

⁹⁴⁸ Marriage: Pest, 6 Nov. 1856. *Sándor Montbach of Jungferndorf and Bechau*: *Dunapentele (Fejér County), 1 July 1835. †Magyaregregy, 2 Dec. 1885. Buried there, 5 Dec. 1885. He lived for 50 years. Cath. The son of the chamberlain Károly M., a landowner in Dunapentele, and Countess Sarolta Draskovich of Trakostyán. Cath. (Wass-TarjányiColl, birth certificate, Dunapentele; marriage certificate from the register of marriages of the Ascension of the Virgin church in Pest; TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, senior and junior Sándor Montbach †1885, †1912, Mária Montbach). *Children*: Sándor M. (his wife: Baroness Mária Wesselényi of Hadad), Iván, Mária (the wife of Lajos Ödön Todesco then of Count Ödön Csáky of Kőrösszeg and Adorján), Aladár, Sarolta (married to Baron Albert Bánffy of Losonc), Emma (the wife of Count Károly Attems), Rózsa, Jenő (his wife: Irén Sántha of Csíktusnád), Imre (his wife: Jolán Bölöny-Balogh of Váncsod and Berekböszörmény): see TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications; Sándor Montbach senior †1885; Sándor Montbach junior †1912; Mária Montbach.

(the future wife of Baron Félix/Bódog Orczy of Orci),⁹⁴⁹ *Jozefa* (†1881)⁹⁵⁰ (the future wife of Aladár Salamon of Alap)⁹⁵¹ and *Jenő*. Samu signed over Cege (and very probably all of his other estates) to his son in 1869,⁹⁵² and after that lived only for public affairs. He died in Budapest on March 20, 1879;⁹⁵³ several newspapers commemorated his death.⁹⁵⁴

Jenő (1844–1911; fig. no. 79),⁹⁵⁵ son of Samu, was a highly respected person in the county, and so held several offices: he was elected as a member of the administrative committee (*közigazgatási bizottság*) and of the standing committee (*állandó választmány*) of Szolnok-Doboka.⁹⁵⁶ His most important estate was Cege: there he had his residence, the so-called major castle (perished by now; fig. no. 80) at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth century.⁹⁵⁷ This castle was a two-story building in neoclassical style but contained also seventeenth-century fashioned stones. Jenő

⁹⁴⁹ *Félix Orczy*: the son of the Imperial and Royal chamberlain György O. and Countess Erzsébet Berényi. See György Petrovay, “A báró és nemes Orczy család eredete, leszármazása és története” [Origin, descent and history of the baronial and noble branches of the Orczy family], *Turul* 5 (1887): 23. *Their child*: Emma Orczy (Tarnaörs, 27 Sept. 1865–London, 12 Nov. 1947) was taken to England in her childhood, and later wrote novels, the most popular of which is *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1905). See *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon* [Hungarian Biographical Lexicon], ed.-in-chief Ágnes Kenyeres, vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), 321.

⁹⁵⁰ *Jozefa*: †Bp., 21 Sept. 1881. Buried there, Kerepesi Street cemetery, 23 Sept. 1881. She lived for 38 years, 19 of which were in marriage. Cath. (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Jozefa Wass). With her husband she moved to his estates in Szepes County (WassOttíliaColl, no. 167, the letter of Jozefa Wass to Ottília Wass, Pest, 28 May 1863). The portraits of Emma and Jozefa Wass were made in 1858 by Mihály Kovács (1818–1892). See Szegedy-Maszák Hugó, “Kovács Mihály,” *Művészet* 9 (1910): 254.

⁹⁵¹ *Aladár Salamon of Alap*: †Bp., 5 Apr. 1910. Buried there, Kerepesi Street cemetery, 7 Apr. 1910. He lived for 70 years. Cath. (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Aladár Salamon). The son of Elek S. and Kornélia Palocsai (WassOttíliaColl, no. 167, Jozefa Wass’s letter to Ottília Wass, Pest, 28 May 1863). *Children*: Hedvig S., Olga, Klára (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Jozefa Wass). See also Kempelen, vol. 9, 206.

⁹⁵² WassArch, 1869: no. 8366.

⁹⁵³ *Samu Wass*: †Bp., 20 Mar. 1879. Buried there, Kerepesi Street cemetery, 23 Mar. He lived for 64 years, 44 of which were in marriage. Cath. (Obituary notification: HungNatArch, Archive in Marosvásárhely of the comital family of Teleki of Szék, P 665, 1/15, 169).

⁹⁵⁴ *Fővárosi Lapok*, 1879, no. 68; *Nemzeti Hírlap*, 1879, no. 79; *Magyarország és a Nagyvilág* 17, no. 5 (1880); *Vasárnapi Újság* 1879, no. 12.

⁹⁵⁵ *Jenő*: †Cege, 28 Oct. 1911. Buried at Cege, in the family vault, on 30 Oct. 1911. He lived for 67 years. Cath. (TransNatArch, Collection of Obituary Notifications, Jenő Wass).

⁹⁵⁶ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 7, 260–261, 267.

⁹⁵⁷ WassArch, 1869: no. 8366; no. 8338–8358.

Wass bequeathed a considerable fortune to his children, besides the castle and estate at Cege, two properties in Budapest and bonds.⁹⁵⁸ He was interested in family history: his name can be found among the subscribers to the *Turul*, a periodical dealing with genealogy and heraldry. Irma Bakó of Hete (†1939),⁹⁵⁹ who had properties at Búza, neighboring Cege, became his wife. She was widowed early; as for her character, she must have been quite an eccentric figure: she first kept a fox, and later tamed wolves (fig. no. 81), which she walked on long chains. Jenő and Irma had four children: *Rózsa*, *György*, *Erzsébet* (or *Elza*) and *Emma*. Not much else is known about the family; information on them rarely appears in Ilona Wass's *Memoirs* because – owing to conflicts over some estates – the two branches did not entertain too kind feelings for one another.

The only son of Jenő, *György* (1879–1929; fig. no. 82),⁹⁶⁰ studied at the Piarist college in Budapest. In 1899 he took the state examination in Law in Pozsony and obtained a doctorate in 1900 in Kolozsvár. He started his career as an administrative trainee (*közigazgatási gyakornok*) of Szolnok-Doboka County (1901), and later became first vice-, then secondary notary (*aljegyző, másodfőjegyző*) of the same county (1902–1918).⁹⁶¹ In 1903 he set up the newspaper *Dési Hírlap* with a friend.⁹⁶² He lived in Dész, as he had his job there, although to subsist he needed the income of his estates.⁹⁶³ He led a free and easy life;⁹⁶⁴ as he was usually deeply in debt, his creditors intended to seize his estate in Cege several times.⁹⁶⁵ Once – for fighting a duel – he was put in prison.⁹⁶⁶ He composed several popular songs and wrote poems;⁹⁶⁷ he was a member of the Transylvanian

⁹⁵⁸ JósikaArch, fasc. 875, p. 222 (testament of Jenő Wass).

⁹⁵⁹ *Irma Bakó of Hete*: †Cege, 27 Feb. 1939. Buried at Cege, in the family vault, on 1 Mar. 1939. The daughter of knight Károly B. of Hete and Karolina Hónel. Cath. (KvNLt, Collection of Obituary Notification, Irma Bakó, Károly Bakó). The Bakó originally possessed property in Bereg County (Hete), but Károly Bakó had his estate in Búza, Doboka County, which he bought in 1863 from Baron János Jósika (Kádár-Tagányi, vol. 2, 310).

⁹⁶⁰ *György*: †15 Mar. 1929 (*Ellenzék*, Kolozsvár).

⁹⁶¹ Administrative trainee: *Magyarország névtára*, vol. 20 (Budapest, 1901), 201; vice-notary: *Magyarország névtára*, vol. 21 (Budapest, 1902), 203; vol. 31 (Budapest, 1912), 135; secondary notary: *Magyarország névtára*, vol. 32 (Budapest, 1913), 139; vol. 37 (Budapest, 1918), 110.

⁹⁶² Kádár-Tagányi, vol. 7, 222.

⁹⁶³ WassOtíliaColl, no. 160 (3 Apr. 1904); JósikaArch, fasc. 875, 222 (16 Mar. 1912).

⁹⁶⁴ JósikaArch, fasc. 875, p. 222 (The register of Jenő Wass's legacy).

⁹⁶⁵ JósikaArch, fasc. 875, p. 254.

⁹⁶⁶ WassOtíliaColl, no. 160, György Wass's missive to Otília Wass, 7 July 1907.

⁹⁶⁷ His works (after Szinnyi, vol. 14, 1439): *Asszonyok*. Rajzok [Women. Sketches] (Dész: Goldstein Jakab kvny., 1904); *Őszi mesék* [Autumn tales] (Dész: Bernát, 1903); *Hópelyhek. Költemények* [Snowflakes. Poems] (Dész: Erdélyi Irodalmi Társaság, 1911).

Literary Society (*Erdélyi Irodalmi Társaság*).⁹⁶⁸ Towards the end of his life he lived at Cege, in a peasant house, together with his Norwegian wife, the nurse Larsen Signe (†1968).⁹⁶⁹ They had no children, and thus this branch of the Wass died out in 1929.

Róza (†1949).⁹⁷⁰ In 1912 she lived in Kolozsvár.

Erzsébet (vagy *Elza*, †1947).⁹⁷¹ In 1906 she married the reservist cavalry lieutenant Baron Frigyes Blomberg, whose family was of German origin,⁹⁷² and lived on his estates at Gardánfalva (Szilágy County). After the death of Irma Bakó they inherited the major castle at Cege and moved in there, becoming its last owners. Erzsébet Wass died in 1947; her husband outlived her and after the Second World War lived in Szamosújvár.⁹⁷³

Emma got married twice, first to Ödön Hye of Hyeburg, major general of the Hussar Regiment no. 2⁹⁷⁴ (with whom in 1912 she lived in Brassó);⁹⁷⁵ her second husband was also a military man, Oskar Mertens. After World War II they lived in Germany, in Wolfenbüttel, near Braunschweig.⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁶⁸ For example, *Magyarország névtára*, vol. 29 (Budapest, 1910), 692; vol. 36 (Budapest, 1917), 680.

⁹⁶⁹ *Larsen Signe*: †Stavanger (Norway), St. Francis hospital, 3 Oct. 1968. Buried at Stavanger, on 7 Oct. (Wass-TarjányiColl, the letter of the Catholic parish priest of Stavanger on 2 Feb. 1969 to Ákos Wass-Tarjányi in Vienna).

⁹⁷⁰ *Róza*: †Kolozsvár, 11 Sept. 1949, according to the registry of the Házsongárd cemetery. I thank Olivier Tondolo for this information.

⁹⁷¹ *Erzsébet*: †21 Feb. 1947. Buried at Cege, on 22 Feb. 1947. Cath. (Obituary notification of Elza Wass, documents of Frigyes Blomberg in the possession of Mária Lengyel in Szamosújvár).

⁹⁷² Marriage: Cege, 26 Apr. 1906 (invitation card in the possession of Mária Lengyel Mária in Szamosújvár). *Frigyes Blomberg*: the son of Lajos B. and Baroness Borbála Apor of Altorja. See the aforementioned invitation card and *Királyi Könyvek. Az I. Ferenc József és IV. Károly király által 1867-től 1918-ig adományozott nemességek, főnemességek, előnevek és címerek jegyzéke* [*Libri regi*. Register of noble and aristocratic titles, property names and blazons donated by Franz Joseph I and Charles IV between 1867 and 1918], ed. József Gerő (Budapest, 1940), 25.

⁹⁷³ Fragments of his documents can be found with Mária Lengyel in Szamosújvár (2003). Frigyes Blomberg and Elza Wass had three children: Karola or Carla, her pen-name being Carla Czegei (see *Romániai Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [Dictionary of Hungarian literature in Romania], vol. 1 [Bucharest: Kriterion, 1981], 244), Erzsébet and Lajos (Siemers, *Wass*, 65; Kempelen, vol. 2, 247; Gudenus, vol. 5, 39).

⁹⁷⁴ *Ödön Hye*: the son of Arthur H. and Zulejka Dessewffy of Csernek and Tarkó (Wass-TarjányiColl, invitation card for their marriage, Cege, 7 Feb. 1906). The son of Elza Wass and Ödön Hye: György H. (WassOtíliaColl, no. 165, 30 Mar. 1905).

⁹⁷⁵ JósikaArch, fasc. 875, p. 222 (Testament of Jenő Wass).

⁹⁷⁶ Siemers, *Wass*, 65.

Birth and death in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

By the end of the seventeenth century and especially at the beginning of the eighteenth there is knowledge of quite many children in the cases of those couples about whom diaries and other sources inform us (thus providing continuous data on their lives). János Wass (1636–1680), assessor of the Court of the Prince (*fejedelmi tábla*), had ten children, while his son Dániel had (1674–1741) thirteen and the diarist György (1658–1705) twelve. Usually the first child was born quite early after the marriage, and the rest followed it at short intervals.⁹⁷⁷ In February 1723 László Wass (1696–1738) married Countess Júlia Bethlen of Bethlen, who died in May 1731. During the eight years of their marriage, the woman gave birth to five children. The first, Erzsébet, was born in December 1723, not long after the wedding, and was followed by four further children at intervals of one to three years. The last one, Juliska, was born one month before her mother's death, in April 1731. One year later László Wass remarried, wedding Katalin Kemény of Magyargyerőmonostor in January 1732. She bore him seven children: the first in December of that very year, and the last in 1739. Having this many children was a general feature even throughout the eighteenth century. The number of children in the families of the three brothers acquiring countship was as follows: Miklós Wass (1701–1769) had eight, György (1704–1777) five and Ádám (1720–1779) ten (see the family tree). On the basis of other cases as well it can be stated that among Hungarian noble couples regular and – considering the rhythm of conceptions – usually unprotected sexual life was general. Pregnancy sometimes resulted in miscarriage, and childbirth was quite hazardous, in several cases costing the mother's or the child's life, or even both. Calculating to the moment the expected time of the birth, they knew if it happened too early. One of the diarist György Wass's sons was a premature baby (“great misfortune befell my poor wife as she had a premature baby boy; God save her from this again”).⁹⁷⁸

Besides this fruitfulness of the families, another feature seems to have been general: the alarmingly high rate of infant mortality. All of the three above-mentioned brothers (Miklós, György and Ádám) made brief autobiographical notes in which they almost apathetically list those

⁹⁷⁷ Katalin Péter, “A gyermekek első tíz esztendeje” [The first ten years of children], in *Gyermek a koraiújkori Magyarországon* [Children in the Hungary of the early Modern Age], ed. Katalin Péter, Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok, vol. 19 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996), 17.

⁹⁷⁸ *Napló*, 525.

of their children who died in infancy. They do not even note the data of birth, but only mention their names. Most of the newborn infants died in their first days or in the first two years, and many before the age of five. The first child of the diarist György was stillborn, and his baby daughter, Erzsébet, after her birth was “very sick ... vomited blood all the time.”⁹⁷⁹ Five children out of eight of Miklós’s, and seven out of ten of Ádám’s died at a very early age. As for György’s family, the situation seems to have been much better: four children out of five lived to adulthood. The other extremity is shown by the fate of the diarist László Wass’s children: all ten died in early childhood. The other Transylvanian diarist of the age, György Rettegi, for example, wrote the following of Krisztina Bánffy (the wife of Miklós Wass): “she gave birth to one child each year, but they all died except for the two last of them: that is, a daughter called Eszter and a son called Farkas are all that remained to her.”⁹⁸⁰ Erzsébet, the little daughter of János Wass (†1680), the *comes* of Inner Szolnok County, died of smallpox eighteen months after her birth, and likewise of smallpox died three children of the diarist György (all having contracted the disease from one another).

Certainly, this high rate of infant mortality cannot be put down to the parents’ negligence, as they, indeed, had taken perfect care of their offspring. György Wass showed great concern about the life of his little children. After the birth of one of his daughters, Judit, he wrote the following in his diary: “Lord! You take care of this little child, because I commend her to your care; guard her, care for her, bring her up, feed her, instruct and teach her as you wish, my Lord.”⁹⁸¹ Likewise, he wrote affecting lines on their deaths. Thus, the possibility of emotional indifference is out of the question.⁹⁸² In September 1705 he sent his wife with two of their children, Zsuzsanna and József, who were affected with asthma, from Cege to Kolozsvár in the hope that “doctors can help them and ease them in some way.” The treatment turned out to be unsuccessful, “the doctors in Kolozsvár not being of any assistance to the children,” and as József’s illness turned serious their father put off his previously projected journey.⁹⁸³ In the “traditional world” of Transylvania – as

⁹⁷⁹ *Napló*, 83.

⁹⁸⁰ Rettegi, 221.

⁹⁸¹ *Napló*, 54.

⁹⁸² Consequently, the indifference (which in fact mostly turns out to be only apparent in any case) that has been perceived on occasion by posterity cannot be considered as general. See on this opinion Ádám Dankanits, *A bagyományos világ alkonya Erdélyben* [The decline of the traditional world in Transylvania], *Nemzet és emlékezet* (Budapest: Magvető, 1983), 15.

⁹⁸³ *Napló*, 464–465.

Ádám Dankanits (1932–1977) characterized it – childhood counted as the most dangerous period of life.⁹⁸⁴ In the case of poor families, infant mortality grew to even greater dimensions; after all, the living conditions of noble families were much better than those of the tenant peasants, who lived in much reduced circumstances. Nevertheless, wealth could secure only very slight protection against the diseases experienced at the beginning of the modern age.

Taking a look at the family tree it will be obvious that with the appearance of the new generation at the end of the eighteenth century one has to reckon with a much more reduced number of children. Only four of their children lived to adulthood, and only two of these begot children themselves. Farkas (1769–1795) – of whom a note says that he was of poor health – never married and died quite young, at the age of 26. His cousin Sámuel (†1812), although he got married (his wife being Countess Rozália Bethlen of Bethlen), had no children at all. The family was carried on by the two sons of Ádám Wass: Dániel (1744–1811), who had in turn four children, and his younger brother, Miklós (1755–1829), who had only one child. Unfortunately, very little is known of them, as there is no sign of their diaries (since they probably never wrote one), and neither were their biographies compiled (at least no such source survived). It is very probable that it is not only the case that a lack of sources impedes us from knowing about infants who died; the general observation is that life had become safer by the end of the eighteenth century, and children – in most cases – lived to adulthood.

The average life expectancy might seem quite short compared with that of the present day. The age of a person was not always easy to follow, as many times not even the representatives of those times knew the exact year of their birth.⁹⁸⁵ Actually, age was not kept count of before the nineteenth century, or if it was, then its reliability can be questioned most of the time. János Wass (1591?–1638) died around the age of 47; his elder brother, Ferenc, passed away at an even younger age, at some point before 1608. János, the grandson of the above-mentioned János, died in 1680 at the age of 45. László (†1662) must have died in his twenties because in 1646 he was only a child. György (1668–1703) lived for 35 years, and his cousin, the diarist György (1658 or 1659–1705), for 36 or 37. Dániel Wass already lived for 67 years (1674–1741), while his sons lived to 68 (Miklós, 1701–1769), 73 (György, 1704–1777) and 56 (Ádám, 1720–1779) – this latter was probably taken away by podagra. The diarist György suffered from ill health for almost one year in 1674: he contracted smallpox in

⁹⁸⁴ Dankanits, *A hagyományos világ alkonya Erdélyben*, 12.

⁹⁸⁵ *Napló*, 3, 235.

the spring; he had recovered from it by Whitsuntide, but his eyes became cataracted, and after harvest the shivers almost killed him; eventually he was tortured by typhoid fever. As he wrote: “I was so very unwell that my death was expected.”⁹⁸⁶ László, the son of György, gave such a summary of the past year in his diary on the very last day of 1729: “it was an unhealthy year, as all sorts of maladies rampaged about among both children and adults, especially smallpox almost all over the year *sine pausa*, and rampaging now here, now there, me myself having been affected, sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, of the prevailing maladies and passed the whole year in sickness and indisposition.”⁹⁸⁷ Minor afflictions were attended by the barber-surgeon; for example, when the diarist László Wass broke his leg barber-surgeons went from Kolozsvár and Szamosújvár to Cege, and the one from Kolozsvár started to cure him. However, László must have been very dissatisfied with this particular one, as he calls him a “mean-souled inadequate barber,” and all phases of the treatment presented in the diary are accompanied by exquisite curses.⁹⁸⁸ Likewise, the barber-surgeon was the one who performed venesection, considered a general-purpose treatment at that time. Epidemics were extremely dangerous – the above-mentioned Ádám interrupted his studies at the Calvinist college in Kolozsvár because of the plague of 1738,⁹⁸⁹ while his kinsman, the diarist László, fell victim to it. The Black Death ravaged not only the towns but also the countryside: on June 3, 1719, the plague broke out in one of the outskirts of Kolozsvár, and the very next day cases were recorded already in Szentgothárd and in the autumn of the same year in Méhes. There is no more information about fatal diseases from the better-documented seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; on the other hand, it is known that the physician Ferenc Pápai Páriz junior (1686–1737) was often called to the country seat of Dániel Wass (†1741) in Császári,⁹⁹⁰ in the capacity of both neighbor and doctor. The family of László Wass were visited several times by Sámuel Pataki senior (1692–1766), medical officer of health of Inner Szolnok County.⁹⁹¹ Cases of violent death are not recorded, unless the unclear circumstances of the death of György, the castellan of Szamosújvár, cover such a thing.

Although they were familiar with death, they could not get over it easily. The first wife of György Wass died of the injuries caused by childbirth; her husband wrote the following in his diary: “her terribly woe-

⁹⁸⁶ *Napló*, 4.

⁹⁸⁷ *Napló*, 550.

⁹⁸⁸ *Napló*, 490–494.

⁹⁸⁹ *WassArch*, no. 5330; Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 82^r.

⁹⁹⁰ *WassArch*, 1737: no. 5721.

⁹⁹¹ *Napló*, 541; Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 1, 498.

ful sickness ... tormented me so much, indeed, had it befallen on me maybe it would not hurt that much”; “all parts of this year [1682] have been most painful and miserable for me myself”;⁹⁹² and on the death of his son Ferkó (from his second wife) he wrote that “it happened to my great trouble and affected me much.”⁹⁹³ After the funeral of his first wife he wrote: “I encoffined my great treasure to the great distress of my heart.”⁹⁹⁴

Evolution of landed property

From the last third of the fourteenth century until the property acquisition of György Wass, the *comes* of Kolozs County, in the sixteenth century, the family practically did not get hold of new estates (although it acquired smaller parts through marriage) and the individual branches re-divided the old ones time after time. Throughout these centuries the core of the estates of the Wass consisted of the settlements in Doboka County; the richness of their fishponds made them valuable in the eyes of contemporaries. József Benkó (1740–1814), a Calvinist minister and historian, in his *Transsilvania specialis* describes them like this: “The fairs in which the village of Cege takes pride serve for its glory, and so does the long and deep pond that stretches out over the territory of two villages and which is the first of all fishponds in Transylvania – very rich in fish and grallatores. This pond of Cege, otherwise called Hódostó [*bód* = ‘beaver’], that is, in Latin *Castoreus lacus* (because the species called beaver lives on its shores), which carries off its water towards Császári, Ördöngösfüzes and Szamosújvár, has its end near Cege, where a strong embankment stops it so as not to flood when swollen from rainfall or snowfall. However, it happened that it burst its banks and filled the houses in Ördöngösfüzes with its fretful waves, carrying inside the houses the largest amount of pikes and other similar species. The net that makes possible a comfortable net-fishing in this very deep and large pond is not cheaper than 100 Rhenish florins.”⁹⁹⁵ Fishing was practiced in wintertime as well, through ice holes, a practice that was not completely devoid of danger: in December 1683 the ice gave way under György Wass, and although he escaped, the lake swallowed up the two sleigh-horses, and

⁹⁹² *Napló*, 27.

⁹⁹³ *Napló*, 286.

⁹⁹⁴ *Napló*, 555–556.

⁹⁹⁵ József Benkó, *Transsilvania specialis. Erdély földje és népe* [*Transsilvania specialis: Land and inhabitants of Transylvania*], ed. György Szabó, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Kriterion [1999]), 404–405.

the coachman himself could eventually get to the surface only by swimming along under the ice until he reached another hole.⁹⁹⁶ Carps, pikes and crucians were fished in the lake⁹⁹⁷ sometimes with a tow-net, which made possible the lifting out of several thousands of fishes at one time.⁹⁹⁸ Besides that of Cege, ponds were to be found at Császári⁹⁹⁹ and Méhes.

Ever since the Middle Ages, the most considerable property acquisitions can be attributed to György Wass. The family also acquired several mortgaged estates, for example, in 1598, when Katalin Erdélyi (the widow of György Wass, the castellan of Szamosújvár) got hold of György Palásti's share in Göc;¹⁰⁰⁰ later on that was inherited by the Wass.¹⁰⁰¹ Just as over the previous centuries, brothers got an equal share from the paternal estate, and landed properties belonging to an extinct branch passed on to the living kinsmen. Besides donated estates, properties could be procured by taking in mortgage – landed properties of the Treasury (and thus inalienable) were allowed to be acquired for certain periods. Princes certainly assigned those mainly to their adherents. The Wass had four such estates in their possession for a longer time: Kupsafalva, Láposdebek, Ungurfalva (Inner Szolnok County) and Ünőmező (Doboka County). All of them had been acquired by Katalin Erdélyi in 1600, and the Wass possessed them until the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁰⁰² The previously mentioned Kötke, Mikola and Szentmárton were properties of the Treasury, and possibly so were all the others as well, belonging to the Wass only temporarily, and the circumstances of their alienation are unknown. The rest of the estates were acquired through marriage, first of all from the Bogáti, Ébeni and Vay families (map no. 3).

The Bogáti estates

Druzsianna Bogáti (the wife of Ferenc Wass) owned extensive lands. In 1608 Prince Gabriel Báthori (1608–1613) donated her the estates

⁹⁹⁶ *Napló*, 34.

⁹⁹⁷ *Napló*, 62, 263–264, 500; In 1766 Ádám Wass sent a pike to Ádám Teleki to Lóna (Doboka County); as he wrote: “... *not having any more fish I wanted to please you with this little pike*” (TransNatArch, Archive in Kendilóna of the Teleki of Szék, Missives, letter by Á. W. on 18 Aug. 1766).

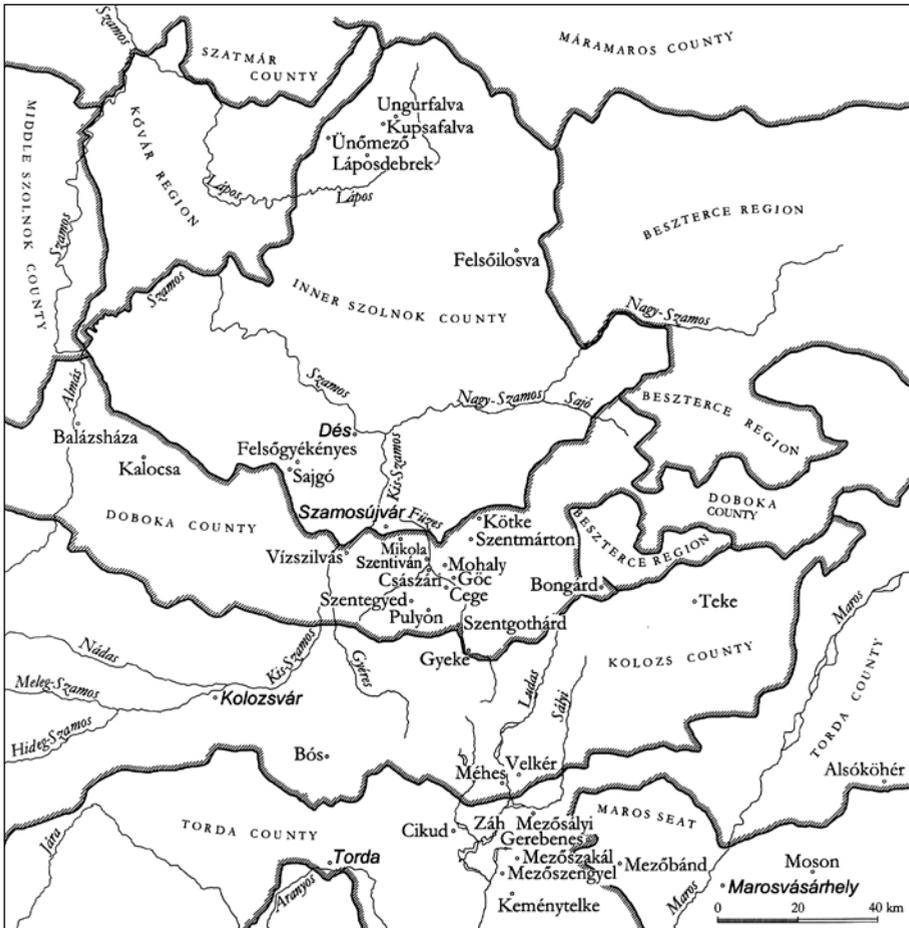
⁹⁹⁸ *Napló*, 263.

⁹⁹⁹ *Napló*, 263.

¹⁰⁰⁰ WassArch, 1598: XV/12; 1714: I/8 (a late mention of taking it in mortgage). Registered: WassArch, 1598: XV/13.

¹⁰⁰¹ In 1670 János Wass and Anna Teleki, the widow of his brother László, are owners here (WassArch, 1670: XV/15).

¹⁰⁰² Abundent data regarding the evolution of the estates are presented in Kádár-Tagányi: Kupsafalva (vol. 4, 535), Láposdebek (vol. 4, 560), Ungurfalva (vol. 2, 288), Ünőmező (vol. 7, 48).



Map. no. 3. Estates of the Wass family (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).
Made by István Karácsony.

of Alvinc, Borberek, Tartaria, Borsómező, Karna and Rakató (Fehér County) together with the market town of Teke (Kolozs County) and the ancient Bogáti estates (Bogát, Ludas, Keménytelke, Bodon – in Torda County, Oroszi, Szentjakab, Jácintos – in Fehér County, Balázstelke, Kornéltelke – in Küküllő County).¹⁰⁰³ However, these latter escheated to the Treasury in 1654 after the heirless death of Zsigmond Barcsai (Druzianna's son by András Barcsai, her first husband).¹⁰⁰⁴ Felsőszöcs

¹⁰⁰³ WassArch, 1608: XLVII/3. The Bogáti estates: WassArch, 1608: XLIV/8; 1620: XLIV/10. Kornéltelke: a depopulated settlement by the side of the river Kisküküllő, probably in the neighborhood of Dicsőszentmárton (Csánki, vol. 5, 885).

¹⁰⁰⁴ WassArch, 1654: XLVII/9.

(Inner Szolnok County) was impledged to her by Gabriel Bethlen in 1617,¹⁰⁰⁵ and her son, Zsigmond Barcsai, left Teke at her disposal.¹⁰⁰⁶ The latter must have been taken back by the Treasury rather late, as even Druzianna's great-grandchild, Dániel Wass, possessed it for a while.¹⁰⁰⁷ Moson in Maros Seat also belonged to Druzianna Bogáti,¹⁰⁰⁸ and through the marriage of Judit Wass (the daughter of Druzianna)¹⁰⁰⁹ it passed to László Ébeni.¹⁰¹⁰

The Ébeni inheritance

The Wass were twicfold connected with the Ébeni. Judit Wass was the second wife of László Ébeni, and János Wass married Éva Ébeni (who was actually the daughter of the above-mentioned László Ébeni by his first wife, Ilona Kun of Osdola). This marriage to Éva Ébeni brought several estates into the possession of the Wass: Császári (Doboka County), Szengyel (Torda County), Ajton (Kolozs County), Háporton, Tordos, Bagó and Ispánlaka (Fehér County). The fate of these estates can be traced fairly well. The first three, which belonged to the Treasury, had been impledged by Sigismund Báthori to his *familiaris*, György Borbély of Sima, in 1597.¹⁰¹¹ It remains unknown how György Borbély acquired the further four properties, but all of them were mentioned in his will made in the same year.¹⁰¹² Furthermore, he owned Keménytelke and Mezőszakál (Torda County) as well, but one of his daughters, Anna Borbély, the wife of Gothárd Kun of Osdola, mortgaged it to Ferenc Macskási, together with Mezőszengyel.¹⁰¹³ As for the rest, she had had a share in them, which was later inherited by her daughter, Éva Ébeni, the wife of János Wass.¹⁰¹⁴ From the Ébeni estates Császári remained with the Wass for the longest period – they had a share in it even at the

¹⁰⁰⁵ WassArch, 1617: XLIV/32.

¹⁰⁰⁶ WassArch, 1657: XLVII/14.

¹⁰⁰⁷ WassArch, 1737: XLVII/23.

¹⁰⁰⁸ WassArch, 1640: V/39.

¹⁰⁰⁹ WassArch, 1653: XLIV/26.

¹⁰¹⁰ Both Judit Wass and her husband László Ébeni died in Moson (1662 and 1661), and the latter was buried in the church of that place (*Wass János feljegyzései*, 352).

¹⁰¹¹ WassArch, 1597: LXVI/11; deed of gift by Voivode Mihai for György Borbély regarding the estates of Császári, Ajton, Szengyel and Mezőpanasz (this latter in Bihar County, today deserted – near Geszt; see Györffy, vol. 1, 651): WassArch, 1599: LXV/13).

¹⁰¹² At that time he was the castellan of Lipppa. His children: György, András (this latter in an Ottoman prison), Krisztina, Anna and Katalin (WassArch, 1597: LXV/12).

¹⁰¹³ WassArch, 1592: LXV/9; 1734: XLIV/19a. Later on these were inherited by the Rhédey (LibrHungAcad, Department of Manuscripts, Tört. Gen. 4^o, 1/76, Wass).

¹⁰¹⁴ On the descent, see WassArch, 1734: XLV/19a.

beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁰¹⁵ Kata Kun acquired a share in Kalocsa, Récekeresztúr, Császári (Doboka County) and Fűzkút (Kolozs County) through exchange with her sister Borbála Kun.¹⁰¹⁶ It was also through the Borbély–Kun–Ébeni relationship that they came into possession of a few other parts of estates in Fehér County (Algyógy, Tordos, Ispánlaka, Fugad and Háperton) and in Küküllő County (Szásznádas and Hétúr).¹⁰¹⁷ A part of these was probably transmitted down through the female line; some of them were – no doubt – alienated soon after their acquisition. Another estate belonging originally to the Treasury, Sajgó (Inner Szolnok County), was mortgaged to István Ébeni in 1659,¹⁰¹⁸ and from him it went to his granddaughter, Éva Ébeni, and to her husband, János Wass, assessor of the Court of the Prince. A part of it was bequeathed to Dániel Wass, the son of this latter.¹⁰¹⁹ The Treasury redeemed its portion, eleven tenant peasants, from the son of this Dániel, Ádám, in 1766.¹⁰²⁰ Also by inheritance Dániel acquired a share in the estates of Renget, Algyógy and Mada in Hunyad County.¹⁰²¹ Ilosva (Inner Szolnok County) was impledged to László Ébeni and his wife, Judit Wass,¹⁰²² by György Rákóczi II in 1658, but the prince redeemed it as early as 1659.¹⁰²³ Through the Ébeni the Wass inherited parts of the estates of Szótelke (Doboka County),¹⁰²⁴ Girolt, Debrek, Szemesnye (Belső-Szolnok County), Szakadát (Bihar County),¹⁰²⁵ Magyar- and Oláhtótfalu (Kolozs County).¹⁰²⁶

The Vay estates

Judit Vay (the future wife of Mihály Rhédey of Kisréde, but then married to Dániel Wass) was the daughter of Ádám Vay senior¹⁰²⁷ and

¹⁰¹⁵ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 2, 361.

¹⁰¹⁶ WassArch, XLVI/4; 1640: XLVI/6. On the possessions of the Wass in Kalocsa, see also Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 4, 194.

¹⁰¹⁷ WassArch, 1730: XLVIII/a/2; 1665: XLVIII/b/2; 1659: XLIII/c/2; 1688: XLVIII/c/3; Huszti, *Registrum*, 155^r (LXVI/4, abstract of the lost document).

¹⁰¹⁸ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 6, 8.

¹⁰¹⁹ WassArch, 1687: XLIX/2; around 1700: XLIX/4; 1702: XLIX/4.

¹⁰²⁰ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 6, 9.

¹⁰²¹ WassArch, 1730: XLVIII/a/3.

¹⁰²² WassArch, 1658: L/2.

¹⁰²³ WassArch, 1665: L/6.

¹⁰²⁴ WassArch, 1668–1718: LI/1–5; Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 6, 477 (in 1809 Sámuel Wass still had two peasant tenures there).

¹⁰²⁵ WassArch, Fasc. LIX–LX.

¹⁰²⁶ WassArch, Fasc. LXIII.

¹⁰²⁷ Ádám Vay senior remarried after the death of his first wife, epousing Anna Zay, with whom he had two children: Sámuel Vay and Klára (WassArch, no. 5688).

Erzsébet Fekete of Ivány; her sisters were Erzsébet Vay (married first to Count Mihály Bethlen of Bethlen, and later to Ferenc Dujardin), Anna (the wife of Baron Simon Kemény of Magyargyerőmonostor), Kata (married to Count Pál Teleki of Szék), and her brother was Ádám Vay junior (the husband of Krisztina Pongrácz of Liptószentmiklós and Óvár).¹⁰²⁸ Ádám Vay senior was a general in Ferenc Rákóczi II's troops¹⁰²⁹ and fled to Poland after the uprising was put down, and eventually died there.¹⁰³⁰ The Treasury of Szepes, administrator of the government possessions, confiscated his estates, but his children redeemed them:¹⁰³¹ thus Judit inherited a considerable fortune. After the property division of 1737 with her sisters and brother, she was allotted Serke, Baraca, Simonyi (Gömör County), Alsópokorágy (Kishont County) and Kazinc (Borsod County),¹⁰³² but later redeemed the family's share in Ajnácskő,¹⁰³³ which had been mortgaged by her brother, Ádám junior. The estates were managed by an administrator at Serke, year by year keeping an account of incomes and expenses.¹⁰³⁴ After losing her husband, Judit Vay chose to live at Serke, but one of her children, Ádám Wass, remained in Transylvania¹⁰³⁵ and another one as well, György Wass, although having lived at Serke for a period,¹⁰³⁶ returned to Transylvania eventually. At the beginning of the nineteenth century none of these estates were in the possession of the Wass any longer.

After 1848

The manumission compensation carried out in the years following 1848 brought about considerable changes: the state released copyhold estates from all their obligations (socage, levy, financial obligations) towards landowners, and in exchange paid a certain compensation to these latter. Regarding the dimensions of these estates and the extent of the compensation, a register printed in 1863 gives us some information. Landed properties mentioned in connection with the Wass are mainly part of the ancient estate of the family or of those acquired by marriage. Thus, for example, Lackonya (or Lacház) and Berence (Kővár region) be-

¹⁰²⁸ WassArch, 1752: no. 5672; 1753: no. 5675.

¹⁰²⁹ WassArch, 1711: no. 6357.

¹⁰³⁰ WassArch, 1723: no. 5848.

¹⁰³¹ WassArch, n. d.: no. 5738.

¹⁰³² WassArch, 1732: no. 5591.

¹⁰³³ WassArch, no. 5965.

¹⁰³⁴ Statements remained after the administrators of Serke (1731–1740, 1751–1775), Ajnácskő (1764–1770) and Kazinc (1759–1769); see WassArch, no. 6706–6805.

¹⁰³⁵ Ádám Wass was in Doboka County at the time that his mother died. He went to her funeral, to Serke through Balázsháza, in April 1770 (Rettegi, 228).

¹⁰³⁶ WassArch, 1737: no. 6154; 1739: no. 5796.

longed to the Mikes estates;¹⁰³⁷ nevertheless, Antónia Wass (†1858) and Albert (1819–1911) received compensation for those due to their mother, Countess Róza Mikes. It is not clear how it was possible for Albert Wass to receive manumission compensation for Felsőegres in Inner Szolnok, or Samu Wass for several estates in Middle Szolnok (it is only presumable that these belonged to their wives).

Name of the owner	Compensated copyhold estates	Dimensions of the terrain and the sum of the compensation (first number: cadastral <i>bold</i> [Hungarian acre] and square <i>öl</i> [Hungarian fathom]; second: florin, denier)
Ádám Wass	Mohaly, Szentegyed, Göc, Cege (Doboka County) Felsőgyékényes (Inner Szolnok County) Mezővelkér (Kolozs County)	993.18 21507.19
Albert Wass	Vízzsilvás (Doboka County) Mezőzáh, Cikud (Torda County) <i>Felsőegres (Inner Szolnok County)</i>	1620.138 36993.56 2/4
Albert Wass Antónia Wass	Lackonya, Berence (Kővár region)	859253 15477.21
Samu Wass	Cege, Pulyon, Mohaly, Göc, Noszoly and <i>Magyaregregy, Felsőkékesnyárló, Borzova, Szentpéterfalva (Doboka County), Bercse (Kolozs), Fűrmenyes (Middle Szolnok County)</i>	1534.1374 34147.45

Source: Josef Ritter v. Grimm, *Das Urbarialwesen in Siebenbürgen* (Vienna: M. Förster, 1863), 68 (no. 84), 123 (no. 1480), 168 (no. 2738), 144 (no. 2033).

On the dimensions of the estates that remained in the possession of the family after the manumission compensation, the register of landowners offers approximate information. From the estates listed in the two tables hereunder, Alsóilosva belonged to Eugénia Berchtold, the wife of Miklós Wass (1812–1887), while Kackó and Alsóbalázsfalva, just like the estates in Hunyad County (Guraszáda, Hosdó), were holdings of Berta Sándor, the mother of Ármin Wass (1851–1914).¹⁰³⁸ It is unknown today how Magyarráta got to Albert Wass (1819–1911); Pele was beyond doubt

¹⁰³⁷ Kádár–Tagányi, vol. 4, 546; vol. 2, 150.

¹⁰³⁸ *MNZ-sebk Főrangú családok*, 266. At Kackó and Alsóbalázsfalva, Berta Sándor's mother, Julianna Cserényi of Alsóbalázsfalva, had estates.

an estate of the Gyulay and was passed on in that way to Ottília Wass. The rest constitute the ancient allotment of the family.

Name of the owner	Name of the estate	County	Dimensions of the land (cadastral <i>bold</i> [Hungarian acre])
Miklós Wass	Alsóilosva	Szolnok-Doboka	931
Ármin Wass	Kackó		135
Ádám Wass	Császári		399
Jenő Wass	Cege		1991
Béla Wass	Pulyon		157
	Szentegyed		265
	Szentgothárd	949	
Albert Wass	Mezőzáh	Torda-Aranyos	1128

Source: Károly Baross, *Magyarország földbirtokosai* [Landowners of Hungary] (Budapest: Hungária könyvny., Singer és Wolfner, 1893), 671, 677, 679–680, 719.

Name of the owner	Name of the estate	County	Notes
Ádám Wass	Hosdó	Hunyad	Both belong to Berta Sándor, the wife of Ádám Wass (the mother of Berta and Irma Wass)
Berta and Irma Wass	Guraszáda		
Irma Wass	Alsóbalázsfalva	Beszterce-Naszód	Berta Sándor's (the wife of Ádám Wass) inheritance from her mother
Ármin Wass	Kackó	Szolnok-Doboka	
widow of Ádám Wass	Cege		
Jenő Wass	Cege		
Béla Wass	Szentgothárd		
Albert Wass	Mezőzáh	Torda-Aranyos	Estate of the Wass
	Magyarfráta	Kolozs	
Ottília Wass	<i>Pele</i>	Szilágy	Of unknown origin

Source: *A magyar korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája* [Agricultural statistics of the lands of the Holy Hungarian Crown], vol. 2, *Gazdacímár* [Register of the landowners] (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1897), 466, 602, 612, 614.

Numerical data reflecting the situation of the individual villages are not available about the expropriations effected by the Romanian land reform of 1921. Ilona Wass's memoirs let us know that Béla Wass of the branch of Szentgothárd lost Szentegyed at that time, and significant



Map. 4. Cege and Szentgothárd (after the Second World War).
Made by István Karácsony.

parts were taken away from the other estates as well.¹⁰³⁹ After World War II the state expropriated every single estate, and for the fractions of the estate of Cege – which is offered for revendication – the entitled branch, the heirs of Akos Wass-Tarjányi, are litigating (2004) (map no. 4).

The family is being carried on by the sons of Albert Wass from his first wife – *Vid, Huba, Miklós, Géza* (United States of America) and *Endre* (Germany) – and their descendants, respectively. The adopted branch is represented by the daughter of Ákos Wass-Tarjányi, Zsuzsanna (married to Gino Tondolo, Vienna) and her children. The Wass family's situation at present shows that the family successfully conformed itself – after the necessary emigration from Transylvania – to the utterly different conditions of life.

¹⁰³⁹ Siemers, *Wass*, 24.

Part V

The Letter Patent of Countship of the Wass of Cege



The richly decorated diploma from 1744 was part of the family archive in 1754, when András Huszti organized the documents,¹⁰⁴⁰ although it is very likely to have been extracted soon afterwards and used for purposes of representation (fig. no. 83). Throughout the nineteenth century it belonged to Ottília Wass (1829–1917), and survived among her documents.¹⁰⁴¹ Relatively late, only after the death of the countess, it was deposited in a public collection – just like the newly acquired letters patent of armorial bearings of many other families, as the descendants usually guarded their documents at home. The letter patent of countship incorporates a coat of arms (on a heart shield) that repeats the blazon used earlier by the family. Thus, Queen Maria Theresa expanded the ancient coat of arms of the family – the one used since the Middle Ages – which remained on the heart shield, but the composition of the whole is now characterized by the variety of colors of the emblazonry, whereas elevation of rank was usually accompanied by the donation of a more colorful blazon.¹⁰⁴² Title donations were seldom initiated by the sovereign; in most cases those were requested by a member of the granted family.¹⁰⁴³ It is possible that one of the Wass wrote a petition of this kind, although neither a copy nor a draft of it remained in the family archive.

The expanded coat of arms was, indeed, taken in use by the family: it can be seen on the still extant gravestone at Cege of György Wass, the one who acquired the title, on the memorial tablet placed in 1771 in the Calvinist church of Cege in memory of its renovation, on the seal-ring of Ádám Wass (from 1770, fig. no. 84),¹⁰⁴⁴ in one of the pen-sketches of Huszti's *Genealogia heroica*¹⁰⁴⁵ and on the memorial tablet from 1770, in

¹⁰⁴⁰ Huszti, *Registrum*, 161 (“1744. Mariae Theresiae reginae Hungariae etc. diploma super titulo ac dignitate comitis, illustri familiae Wass collatum”).

¹⁰⁴¹ WassOttíliaColl, no. 234.

¹⁰⁴² Áldásy and Czobor, *Címereslevelek*, ix.

¹⁰⁴³ Nyulászi–Straub, *Öt évszázad címerei*, 14.

¹⁰⁴⁴ WassArch, no. 6850.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 79^v.

the church of Marosvécs (fig. no. 85).¹⁰⁴⁶ Certainly, besides this, the family went on using the simple, ancient coat of arms as well: for example, as an illustration of the funeral sermons of Miklós Wass (1701–1769)¹⁰⁴⁷ and György Wass (1704–1777)¹⁰⁴⁸ (figs. no. 86 and 87), on the funeral blazon of Krisztina Wass (1726–1802) (fig. no. 88),¹⁰⁴⁹ on a large, decorated family tree drawn in 1822 (fig. no. 89),¹⁰⁵⁰ on the memorial tablet in the Farkas Street Calvinist church in Kolozsvár of the young Albert Wass (1881–1902) who died in the Boer War (fig. no. 70), on the facade of Ottília Wass's house, also in Kolozsvár, and on other personal belongings of the family from the nineteenth century (figs. no. 90–91). Of course, the coat of arms preserved on different illustrations follows the changes introduced by artistic schools, and thus the individual pieces show slight differences. However, in heraldry these are not considered as mistakes.

The letter patent of countship is in fact a charter in book form, bound in red velvet, and the parchment leaves are held together by a seal suspended on gilded threads. The coat of arms is painted on the interior side of the first page in the parchment booklet, and is definitely decorative. This aspect seems to be enhanced by the drapery behind the shield, the three crests, and the presence of a count's coronet. The coronet indicating rank entered into usage among the aristocracy as a distinguishing mark in the seventeenth century. Being a count's coronet, it is nine-branched (although in the eighteenth century the number of branches may vary)¹⁰⁵¹ and in accordance with the prevailing practice of the era each branch ends in a pearl. There are fastened upon the branch-endings three crests, the number of which is also determined – after foreign fashion – by the countship. The coat of arms itself already disregards the norms of classical heraldry: one color covers the other, the shield is repeatedly split and the emblems are not stylized (figs. no. 92–93). This latter characteristic is a Hungarian tradition: emblems show realistic figures (the head of a bear, goat, stag or warrior), while the blue sky in the background with clouds on it only intensifies this feature. In conformity with the majority of Hungarian family coats of arms, an arm appears in

¹⁰⁴⁶ The memorial tablet was meant to record the renovation finished in 1770 of the church of Marosvécs. It was Baron Simon Kemény of Magyargyerőmonostor (†1764, Rettegi 164) – married to Kata Wass (†1783) – who had the whole work initiated and the tablet placed on its wall.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Lukács, *Wass Miklós*.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Szabó, *Wass György*.

¹⁰⁴⁹ In 2002 a copy of it was still to be found in the Calvinist church of Ajton (Kolozs County), while another one is guarded in the Historical Museum of Kolozsvár.

¹⁰⁵⁰ WassArch no. 5343.

¹⁰⁵¹ Nyulászi–Straub, *Öt évszázad címerei*, 21.

the function of an adjoin crest. Under the floating blazon a squared floor is shown, with an imaginary landscape and blue sky in the background, while on the frame – which is actually gilded claret drapery – the blazons of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia and Transylvania (this latter at the head) appear. Every page of the booklet is bordered with arabesque-like floral ornamentation. The text of this Latin patent is rather lengthy, as it contains both the description of the extended coat of arms and the history of the family. The publication clause is placed on the last page of the diploma. It says that the patent was promulgated without demur on March 7, 1746, at the diet of Szeben, which began on 15 February the same year. According to the common practice of the age, the patent was also introduced into the Transylvanian *Libri Regi*, a sort of book of copies of the most important privileges and donations made by the sovereign.¹⁰⁵²

The very rich decoration beyond doubt reflects the price that was charged for it; nevertheless, the eighteenth-century book-like patents of nobility are usually more decorated than those written on leaf-like parchments.¹⁰⁵³

Overdecoration is a basic feature of the Wass diploma; however, the whole composition is a fine example of the Baroque patent-decoration and could worthily serve the demands of self-representation of a family about eight hundred years old. The fortunate survival of this letter patent is due to its getting into a public collection, thus escaping the fate of antiquities circulating from one collector to the other.

Appendix

November 13, 1744, Vienna. Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Archduchess of Transylvania, grants Miklós, György and Ádám Wass of Cege the title of count and expansion – as described in the patent – of the coat of arms (WassOttíliaColl, no. 234).

Nos Maria Theresia, divina favente clementia regina Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Slavoniae, archidux Austriae, dux Burgundiae, Brabantiae, Styriae, Mediolani, Carinthiae, Carnioliae, Mantuae, Parmae et Placentiae, Limburgiae, Lucemburgiae, Geldriae, Wirtembergae, superioris et inferioris Silesiae, princeps Sveviae et Transylvaniae, marchio Sacri Romani Imperii, Burgoviae, Moraviae, superi-

¹⁰⁵² Illéssy and Pettkó, *Királyi Könyvek*, 287 (Erdélyi Királyi Könyvek vol. 9, 624).

¹⁰⁵³ Áldásy and Czobor, *Címereslevelek*, 61.

oris et inferioris Lusatiae, comes Habsburgi, Flandriae, Tyrolis, Ferretis, Kyburgi, Goritiae, Gradiscae, Arthesiae, Namurci et Siculorum, Landgravia Alsaciae, domina marchiae Slavonicae, portus Naonis, Salinarum et Mechliniae, nupta dux Lotharingiae et Barri, magna dux Hetruriae, vobis fidelibus nostris egregiis Nicolao, Georgio et Adamo Vas de Czege salutem et gratiae nostrae regio-principalis incrementum. Quandoquidem antiquissima stemmatis vestri nobilitas eximiam sui memoriam ad seculum plane duodecimum, suamque iam tunc spectatam celebritatem, eamque a viris exinde uti praestantibus, sic et de regibus, principibusque suis ac republica optime meritis et per hoc summis honoribus et dignitatibus functis facinorum munerumque obitorum gloriam auctam referat, prout ex ea Lobum, eiusque fratrem Thomam adhuc Belae tertii Hungariae regis tempore ob militarem fideliter fortiterque contra Graecos navatam virtutem eiusdem regis collatione novem terras in Transylvania, comitatu Dobocensi sitas obtinuisse, eademque dein Chamae, Lobi filio ab Hungariae pariter rege Bela quarto ob insignia memorati Lobi merita non solum confirmatas, verum etiam Jacobo, eiusdem Chamae filio, ob parem fidelitatem et virtutem, quod iste dicto regi, qua eius armiger immota contra Tartaros fortitudine ac constantia adstitisset, terram in Hungaria castri Vesprimyensis Totrada [*recte: Tótréde*] adiectam fuisse, alios vero memorati Lobi ex filio Emich nepotes, Nicolaum et Joannem, illum comitis honore et castri de Csicsó praefectura eminuisse, hunc autem ob praeclara sua fideliter praestita servitia possessionem Csacsul [*recte: Káltháza*], alias Bánföldre [*recte: Bánkföldre*] a rege itidem Hungariae Carolo primo fuisse consecutum stirpemque suam octo filiorum egregiis domi, militiaeque servitiis ac muneribus conspicuorum generatione auxisse et ex his Nicolaum comitis de Kolos et castellani arcis Kóhalom, ita etiam Ladislaum castellani arcis Hollókő [*recte: Hóltövény*], pariter Thomam castellani de Csicsó et Deseu in Ludovici primi Hungariae regis militia chiliarchae, praeterea vicecastellani et vicecomitis de Scepus honores tenuisse, Petrum vero eiusdem Ludovici primi Hungariae regis agazonum magistri dignitate ornatum et tam domesticis aulae, quam etiam militaribus servitiis intimum eiusdem regis favorem nactum ab eodem terram in comitatu Iauriensi Barbatelke [*recte: Borbetelke*] vocatam obtinuisse et ab his propagatos non tantum secularibus, sed etiam ecclesiasticis orthodoxae Romano-catholicae ecclesiae canonicatus ac praepositurae dignitatibus refulsisse; quantumque derivationis vestrae lineam attinet: ab ultimo dicto Nicolao eius filium Paulum, ab isto Dominicum et ab hoc Blasium, a Blasio tandem Joannem et a Joanne Georgium, viros suis etiam virtutibus claros descendere et signanter Georgium Joannis primi et secundi Transylvaniae principum, nec non Bathoraeorum regiminis tempore ob singularem erga suos principes fidelitatem conspicuis comitis de Kolos et arcis Szamosújvár [*recte: Szamosújvár*] capitanei, ac primarii consilarii muneribus simulque

possessionibus in comitatu Colosiensi Méhes, in Thordensi autem Záh et in Dobocensi portione loci Bongárd eidem collatis eiusque filios, Franciscum Sigismundi Bathori Transylvaniae principis dapiferum ab eodem principe portione in possessione VasasSzilvás existente habita, Joannem autem a principe Catharina Brandenburgica tabulae regiae in Transylvania iudiciariae assessoris officio et relaxatione arendae ex condigna ab his quoque fideliter praestitorum servitiorum consideratione decoratos, auctosque et eundem Joannem ob ferventem et intensum in unice orthodoxam Romano-catholicam fidem zelum et singularia sua in sacrum societatis Jesu ordinem merita ab eiusdem societatis praeposito generali Mutio Vitelesco in huius sacri ordinis confraternitatem seu omnium spiritualium suffragiorum participationem assumptum fuisse, eoque deficiente, subsequentem huius tam egregii stemmatis seriem proxime dicti Francisci filium Georgium in prognatis suis Ladislao et Joanne, Ladislaum porro in Georgio, Joannem vero in Daniele propagavisse ac nunc dictum Georgium, Ladislai filium, primo Transylvaniae principis Michaelis Apaffi cubicularium, dein praeattactae tabulae regiae assessorem et eiusdem Transylvaniae principatus gubernatoris comitis Georgii Bánffi qua civitatis Claudiopolitanae capitanei vicarium non solum his suis officiis eximie satisfacisse, verum etiam gravissima illa ad augustissimum pietissimae memoriae imperatorem et regem Leopoldum, avum et praedecessorem nostrum gloriosissimum in momentoso memorati Transylvaniae principatus cedendi negotio sibi concredita ablegatione eximiam prudentiam ac dexteritatem devotamque in augustissimam domum Austriacam fidelitatem insigni nacto hinc ad immortalis nominis sui gloriam merito comprobavisse ac propterea aureo torque ab eodem imperatore donatum hanc quoque singularis eiusdem in se clementiae theseram reportavisse; non secus Joannis filium Danielem, genitorem nimirum vestrum a sua in omnibus praestantia et intemerata in altefatam domum Austriacam fidelitate, ut pari modo ad honorificum Tabulae Regiae iudicariae assessoris officium assummi meritis fuerit, commendabilem extitisse demisse recenseretis ex generis vestri tam vetusti, tot illustribus factis, ac comparatis inde meritis, istaque secutis accessionibus adaucti, ac nonnulorum fidelium nostrorum de vobis singulariter factae recommendationis benigne habita reflexione, eaque fiducia, vos quoque exemplo maiorum vestrorum, tantoque magis huius nostrae peculiaris in vos clementiae incitamento commonitos nihil eorum praetermissuros esse, quibus vestra fidelitas ac in promovendis nostris augustaeque domus nostrae servitiis ac publicis patriae vestrae commodis valor quibusvis in occasionibus possint testata reddi, vos Nicolaum, Georgium et Adamum Vass de Czege, ac Nicolai coniugem Catharinam [*recte: Evam*] aliunde natam comitem Teleki, filiamque Catharinam, item Georgii coniugem Elisabetham Szentpéteri ac filias Evam, Elisabetham et Susannam nec non Adami coniugem Catharinam

Tholdalagi et filiam Agnetem iam natas et imposterum divina ex benedictione e legitimo thoro nascituros liberos, haeredes quippe et posteros vestros utriusque sexus universos in infinitum motu proprio et ex certa nostra scientia, animoque deliberato deque regio principalis potestatis nostrae plenitudine in statum et gradum comitum eveximus et nostros haereditarii nostri Transylvaniae principatus, regnique nostri Hungariae ac aliorum regnorum, ditionum et provinciarum nostrarum haereditariarum comites fecimus et creavimus, eiusque honoris et dignitatis titulo, qui veris natis et indubitatis comitibus de iure et consuetudine competit insignivimus, decernentes per expressum et statuentes ut vos Nicolae, Georgi et Adame Vass de Czege, praescriptique vestri nomen, dignitatem et titulum comitum ferre, habere et tam in literis, quam nuncupatione verbali, inque rebus, negotiis et actibus spiritualibus et temporalibus a nobis et successoribus nostris aliisque omnibus et singulis cuiuscunque status, gradus, ordinis, conditionis et dignitatis extiterint, pro veris comitibus haberi, dici, nominari et honorari possitis ac valeatis; prout nos, vos, praescriptosque vestros universos, comites nominamus, appellamus et declaramus perinde ac si a quattuor avis paternis et matris tales nati essetis, volentes et autoritate nostra regioprincipali decernentes ut ubivis locorum et terrarum tam in iudiciis, quam extra iudicia omnibus iis et singulis privilegiis, indultis, immunitatibus, libertatibus, iuribus, consuetudinibus, honoribus, dignitatibus, praerogativis, exemptionibus, gratiis et favoribus uti, frui, gaudere et potiri valeatis et possitis, quibus alii veri et antiqui comites uti, frui et gaudere solent et possunt, omni contradictione et impedimento semotis; eam porro vobis, vestrisque praescriptis peculiarem fecimus et elargiti sumus gratiam ac vigore praesentium facimus et elargimur ut in omnibus literis et scripturis, quae a nobis et successoribus nostris ad vos dabuntur et expedientur vel in quibus per nos et successores nostros vestri vel vestrorum praescriptorum fiet mentio, titulo spectabilis et magnifici ab aliis vero quibuslibet respective illustrissimi honorari et ornari debeatis ac debeant prout hanc formam per eos, quorum inter est, ita observandam volumus et iubemus. Quocirca universis ecclesiasticis et secularibus principibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, nobilibus, clientibus, capitaneis eorumque vices gerentibus, dominis, praefectis, castellanis, locumtenentibus, officialibus, heroaldis, caduceatoribus, burgimagistris, iudicibus, consulibus, civibus et generaliter omnibus et singulis fidelibus et subditis nostris, cuiuscunque dignitatis gradus, ordinis et conditionis existant, serio mandamus et praecipimus ut vos praescriptosque vestros universos pro nostris haereditarii nostri Transylvaniae principatus, regnique nostri Hungariae ac aliorum regnorum, ditionum et provinciarum nostrarum haereditariarum veris et indubitatis comitibus habeant, reputent, nominent et honorent, eoque titulo, gradu et ordine, nec non iuribus, privilegiis, libertatibus, praerogativis et praeeminentiis, armorumque vestrorum insignibus partim avitis, partim a nobis

nunc clementer auctis et eo, quo paulo inferius descripta sunt, schemate formatis, quae vobis vestrisque praescriptis tanquam comitibus habenda, gerenda et ferenda clementer acceptavimus et confirmavimus ac respective dedimus et contulimus: scutum videlicet militare erectum quadripartitum priore dextra ac posteriore sinistra sui parte aureum et priore quidem exhibet tria capita ursina, unum inferius et duo superius iuxta se posita, posteriore autem cervum salientem sagittam per nares transfixum virentemque ramum ore ferentem, sinistra porro priore et posteriore dextra caeruleum, quarum illa arborem abietem et iuxta eam ex flammis erectum dorcadem seu rupicapram ramum de arbore decerpentem ista vero equitem candido seu argenteo ac phaleris ephipioque aureis ornato equo vectum, sago militari rubeo et flavis seu aureis cothurnis indutum, strictaque framea amputatum Turcicum caput deferentem continet; scutum tandem insitum seu pectorale argenteum, quod caput urobubali recens exectum et per os naresque sagitta transfixum ostendit, superius scutum maius est redimitum corona comitibus propria, novem scilicet impositis unionibus ornata, indeque assurgunt tres galeae ternariae, auro coronatae, clatrataeque purpum suffultae, auro reductae, torquibus et monilibus circumductae, suisque respective apicibus fastigiatae ac prima quidem, quae media est situ recto tribus sagittis coronae infixis, media aura, duabus utrinque atris fastigiatur, secunda vero, qua dextra est et situ obliquo erga sinistram vergit, apicem habet brachium cathaphractum tenens tres plumas strutionias mediam argenteam et duas utrinque rubras, tertia denique seu sinistra ad dextram obvesso situ brachium quoque sustinet cathaphractum tenens frameam equitis scutarii, laciniae galeae primae argenteae et atrae, secundae argenteae et rubrae, tertiae denique aureae et caeruleae, quae utrinque ad scuti latera defluunt, illudque pulcherrime ambiunt et exornant, prout haec omnia in capite seu principio praesentium literarum nostrarum arte pictoris, suis coloribus illustrata lucidius ob oculos intuentium posita sunt, omnibusque aliis praemissis uti, frui et gaudere sinant, vosque et vestros praescriptos universos in omnibus et singulis defendant ac manuteneant atque alios ne quid in contrarium attentent et moliantur, pro viribus prohibeant et impediunt in quantum indignationem nostram gravissimam et poenam centum marcharum auri puri pro dimidio nostro et successorum nostrorum fisco, pro reliqua vero parte iniuriam passo vel passis toties quoties contrafactum fuerit, omni spe veniae sublata solvendam incurere noluerint. Harum nostrarum manu nostra subscriptarum et sigilli nostri maioris et impendentis munimine roboratarum vigore et testimonio literarum mediante. Datum in civitate nostra Vienna Austriae, die decima tertia mensis Novembris anno domini millesimo septingentesimo quadragésimo quarto, regnorum vero nostrorum quinto. Maria Theresia mp.

Comes Ladislaus Gyulafi Liber Baro de Rátót mp.
Josephus Kozma de K[é]zdi]szentlélek mp.

Anno domini millesimo septingentesimo quadragesimo sexto, die septima mensis Martii, in generali inclitorum dominorum, statuum et ordinum trium nationum principatus Transilvaniae et Partium regni Hungariae eidem reincorporatarum diaeta nomine et mandato sacratissimae suae maiestatis regiae catholicae pro die 15^{ta} mensis Februarii anni currentis 1746 in liberam regiamque civitatem Saxonicalem Cibiniensem indicta et celebrata, praesentes litere collationales seu privilegiales sacratissimae suae maiestatis super titulo, gradu et caractere comitum, nominibus et in personis introscriptorum illustrissimorum dominorum, dominorum comitum Nicolai, Georgii et Adami Vas de Czege ac Nicolai coniugi Catharinae aliunde quoque natae comitissae Teleki, huius aequae Catharinae necnon Georgii coniugi, Elizabetae Szentpéteri ac filiabus huius Evae, Elizabetae et Susannae, postremoque Adami coniugi Catharinae Tholdalagi ac filiae suae Agneti ex memoratis parentibus susceptorum et progenitorum, exhibitae, lectae, publicatae, proclamatae ac nemine prorsus contradictore apparente et extradatae per magistrum Sigismundum Kun, alterum per principatum Transilvaniae et partium regni Hungariae eidem reincorporatarum protonotarium m[anu] p[ro]pria].

Gazetteer of Geographical Names



The hereunder gazetteer contains only the place-names that do not belong to the actual territory of Hungary, but were parts of it up to 1918. First the Hungarian place-name appears, followed, in brackets, by the name of the administrative unit to which it belonged before 1876. Then the actual official name (Romanian, Serbian etc.) of the respective place is indicated. In the case of settlements located today in Romania, the name of the actual county to which they belong follows them (in brackets). In the rest of the cases only the country of which they are part today is marked.

Abbreviations

AD = Arad (Arad)	CS = Caraş-Severin (Krassó-Szörény)
AB = Alba (Fehér)	CV = Covasna (Kovászna)
BH = Bihar (Bihar)	MS = Mureş (Maros)
BN = Bistriţa Năşaud (Beszterce-Naszód)	MM = Maramureş (Máramaros)
BV = Braşov (Brassó)	SB = Sibiu (Szeben)
HD = Hunedoara (Hunyad)	SJ = Sălaj (Szilágy)
HR = Harghita (Hargita)	SM = Satu Mare (Szatmár)
CJ = Cluj (Kolozs)	TM = Timiş (Temes)

Abafája (Torda) – Apalina (MS)	Alsódevecser <i>see</i> Devecser, Alsó-, Kis-
Ácintos <i>see</i> Jácintos	Alsóilosva <i>see</i> Ilosva, Alsó-
Ádámos (Küküllő) – Adămuş (MS)	Alsóköhér <i>see</i> Köhér, Alsó-
Adorján (Bihar) – Adrian (BH)	Alsópokorágy <i>see</i> Pokorágy, Alsó-
Ajnácskő (Gömör) – Hajnáčka (Slovakia)	Alsózsuk <i>see</i> Zsuk, Alsó-
Ajta, Közép- (Háromszék) – Aita Medie (CV)	Altorja <i>see</i> Torja, Al-
Ajton (Kolozs) – Aiton (CJ)	Alvinc <i>see</i> Vinc, Al-
Ákosfalva (Marosszék) – Acăţari (MS)	Arad (Arad) – Arad (AD)
Algyógy <i>see</i> Gyógy, Al-	Bács (Kolozs) – Baci (CJ)
Almás, Nagy- (Kolozs) – Almaşu (SJ)	Bagó (Fehér) – Băgău (AB)
Alsóbalázsfalva <i>see</i> Balázsfalva, Alsó-	Balázsfalva (Fehér) – Blaj (AB)
Alsóboj <i>see</i> Boj, Alsó-	Balázsfalva, Alsó- (Doboka) – Blăjenii de Jos (BN)
Alsócernáton <i>see</i> Csernáton, Alsó-	Balázsháza (Doboka) – Bălan (SJ)

- Balázstelke (Küküllő) – Bläjel (SB)
 Bálványos (Belső-Szolnok) – Unguraş (CJ)
 Bánd, Mező- (Marosszék) – Band (MS)
 Baraca (Gömör) – Barca (Slovakia)
 Bárca (Abaúj) – Barca (Slovakia)
 Barcánfalva (Máramaros) – Bârsana (MM)
 Barcsa, Nagy- (Hunyad) – Bârcea Mare (HD)
 Bátor, Fekete- (Bihar) – Bătar (BH)
 Bazin (Pozsony) – Pezinok, Bösing (Slovakia)
 Bercse (Kolozs) – Bercea (SJ)
 Berekeresztúr *see* Keresztúr, Bere-
 Berence (Kővár-vidék) – Berința (MM)
 Berend (Kolozs) – Berindu (CJ)
 Beresztelke (Torda) – Breaza (MS)
 Berkenyes (Kolozs) – Bercheșiu (CJ)
 Berkesz, Sáros- (Kővár-vidék) – Berchez (MM)
 Besenyő (Belső-Szolnok) – Vișoara (BN)
 Beszterce (Belső-Szolnok) – Bistrița, Bistritz (BN)
 Bikal (Kolozs) – Bicălatu (CJ)
 Bodok (Háromszék) – Bodoc (CV)
 Bodon, Mező- (Torda) – Papiu Ilarian (MS)
 Bogács (Doboka) – Băgaciu (CJ)
 Bogát, Maros- (Torda) – Bogata (MS)
 Boj, Alsó- (Hunyad) – Boiu de Jos (HD)
 Boldogfalva (Hunyad) – Sântămăria-Orlea (HD)
 Bonchida (Doboka) – Bonțida (CJ)
 Boncnýíres *see* Nyíres, Bonc-
 Bongárd (Doboka) – Bungard (BN)
 Borberek (Fehér) – Vurpăr (AB)
 Borosjenő *see* Jenő, Boros-
 Borsómező (Fehér) – Inuri (AB)
 Borzova (Doboka) – Borza (SJ)
 Bós (Kolozs) – Boju (CJ)
 Botháza (Kolozs) – Boteni (CJ)
 Branyicska (Hunyad) – Brănișca (HD)
 Brassó (Brassó-vidéke) – Brașov (BV)
 Bréte, Szekér-, Felső- (Belső-Szolnok) – Bretea (BN)
 Bún, Kis- (Küküllő) – Țopa (MS)
 Búza (Doboka) – Buza (CJ)
 Bükkös, Magyar- (Fehér) – Bichiș (MS)
 Cege (Doboka) – Țaga (CJ)
 Cikud (Torda) – Valea Largă (MS)
 Cintos *see* Jácintos
 Császári (*today part of Szentiván*, Doboka) – Cesariu/Sântioana (CJ)
 Csernáton, Alsó- (Háromszék) – Cernat (CV)
 Csernek (Belső-Szolnok) – Cernuc (SJ)
 Csernek (Pozsega) – Cernik (Croatia)
 Csicsó (Belső-Szolnok) – Ciceu (BN)
 Csicsóújfalu *see* Újfalu, Csicsó-
 Csíktusnád, *see* Tusnád, Csík-
 Csíkszentimre *see* Szentimre, Csík-
 Csobánka (Belső-Szolnok) – Ciubanca (CJ)
 Csomafája (Doboka) – Ciumăfaia (CJ)
 Debrek, Lápos- (Belső-Szolnok) – Dobricu Lăpușului (MM)
 Derzs (Udvarhelyszék) – Dârjiu (HR)
 Dés (Belső-Szolnok) – Dej (CJ)
 Déva (Hunyad) – Deva (HD)
 Devecser, Alsó-, Kis- (Doboka) – Diviciorii Mici (CJ)
 Devecser, Felső-, Nagy- (Doboka) – Diviciorii Mari (CJ)
 Dézna (Arad) – Dezna (AD)
 Dícsőszentmárton *see* Szentmárton, Dícső-
 Diódvára *see* Gyógy, Fel-
 Diós (Kolozs) – Deușu (CJ)
 Doboka (Doboka) – Dăbâca (CJ)
 Egerbegy (Kolozs) – Vișoara (CJ)
 Egregy, Magyar- (Doboka) – Românași (SJ)
 Egres, Felső- (Belső-Szolnok) – Agrișu de Sus (BN)

Enyed, Nagy- (Fehér) – Aiud (AB) –
 Ercse, Nagy- (Kolozs) – Ercea (MS)
 Érkőrös *see* Kőrös, Ér-
 Érsemjén *see* Semjén, Ér-
 Esküllő (Doboka) – Așchileu (CJ)
 Farnas (Kolozs) – Sfăraș (SJ)
 Feketebátor *see* Bátor, Fekete-
 Feketelak (Doboka) – Lacu (CJ)
 Felsőbréte *see* Bréte, Szekér-, Felső-
 Felsődevecser *see* Devecser, Felső-, Nagy-
 Felsőegres *see* Egres, Felső-
 Felsőgyékényes *see* Gyékényes-, Felső-
 Felsőkékesnyárló *see* Nyárló, Felsőkékes-
 Felsőszócs *see* Szócs, Felső-
 Fráta, Magyar- (Kolozs) – Frata (CJ)
 Fugad (Fehér) – Ciuguzel (AB)
 Füreményes (Közép-Szolnok) – Firminiș
 (SJ)
 Füzés, Ördögös- (Belső-Szolnok) –
 Fizeșu Gherlii (CJ)
 Fűzkút (Kolozs) – Sălcuța (BN)
 Galac (Doboka) – Galații Bistriței (BN)
 Gardánfalva (Közép-Szolnok) – Gârdani
 (MM)
 Gerebenes (Torda) – Grebenișu de
 Câmpie (MS)
 Gerendkeresztúr *see* Keresztúr, Gerend-
 Gernyeszeg (Torda) – Gornești (MS)
 Girolt (Belső-Szolnok) – Ghirolt (CJ)
 Gorbó, Magyar- (Kolozs) – Gârbău (CJ)
 Göc (*today part of Cege*, Doboka) – Ghiolț/
 Țaga (CJ)
 Görgény (Torda) – cetatea Gurghiu (MS)
 Guraszáda (Hunyad) – Gurasada (HD)
 Gyalakuta (Maros szék) – Fântânele (MS)
 Gyeke (Doboka) – Geaca (CJ)
 Gyékényes, Felső- (Belső-Szolnok) –
 Jichișu de Sus (CJ)
 Gyéres, Oláh- (Kolozs) – Ghirișu Român
 (CJ)
 Gyerőmonostor, Magyar- (Kolozs) –
 Mănăstireni (CJ)

Gyógy, Al- (Hunyad) – Geoagiu (HD)
 Gyógy, Fel- (Fehér) – Stremț (AB)
 Gyulafehérvár (Fehér) – Alba Iulia,
 Weissenburg (AB)
 Hadad (Közép-Szolnok) – Hodod (SM)
 Hadrév (Torda) – Hădăreni (MS)
 Háporton (Fehér) – Hopârta (AB)
 Hátszeg (Hunyad) – Hațeg (HD)
 Hete (Bereg) – Lypove (Ukraine)
 Héjjasfalva (Felső-Fehér) – Vânători (MS)
 Hétúr (Küküllő) – Hetiur (MS)
 Hídvég (Felső-Fehér) – Hăghig (CV)
 Holtmaros (Torda) – Lunca Mureșului
 (MS)
 Homoródszentpál *see* Szentpál, Homoród-
 Hosdó (Hunyad) – Hășdău (HD)
 Hosszúaszó (Küküllő) – Valea Lungă (AB)
 Höltövény (Brassó-vidéke) – Hălchiu
 (BV)
 Huszt (Máramaros) – Hust (Ukraine)
 Idecs (Torda) – Ideciu (MS)
 Igalja *later* Szentandrás, Sajó-
 Iklód, Nagy- (Doboka) – Iclod (CJ)
 Iklódszentivány *see* Szentivány, Iklód-
 Iktár (Temes) – Ictar-Budiți (TM)
 Ilosva, Alsó- (Belső-Szolnok) – Ilișua
 (BN)
 Impér (Csíkszék) – Imper (HR)
 Indal (Torda) – Deleni (CJ)
 Ispánlaka (Fehér) – Spălnaca (AB)
 Jácintos, Ácintos, Cintos (Fehér) – Ațintiș
 (MS)
 Jenő, Boros- (Arad) – Ineu (AD)
 Kackó (Belső-Szolnok) – Cățeau (CJ)
 Kalocsa (Doboka) – Călăcea (SJ)
 Kályán (Kolozs) – Căianu (CJ)
 Karna (Fehér) – Blandiana (AB)
 Károlyfehérvár *see* Gyulafehérvár
 Kassa (Abaúj) – Košice (Slovakia)
 Keménytelke (Torda) – Chimitelnic (MS)
 Kend (Doboka) – Cornești (CJ)
 Kend, Kis- (Küküllő) – Chendu (MS)

- Kendermező (Doboka) – Chendrea (SJ)
 Kendilóna *see* Lóna, Kendi-
 Kénos (Udvarhelyszék) – Chinuşu (HR)
 Keresztúr, Bere- (Marosszék) – Bâra (MS)
 Keresztúr, Gerend- (Torda) – Grindeni
 (MS)
 Keresztúr, Réce- (Doboka) – Recea-
 Cristur (CJ)
 Keresztúr, Sajó- (Doboka) – Cristur-Şieu
 (BN)
 Kernyécsa (Krassó) – Cârnecea (CS)
 Keszü (Kolozs) – Chesău (CJ)
 Kézdiszentlélek *see* Szentlélek, Kézdi-
 Kide (Doboka) – Chidea (CJ)
 Kimpényszurdok (Hunyad) – Câmpuri-
 Surduc (HD)
 Kimpur (Hunyad) – Câmpuri de Sus
 (HD)
 Kimpány (Bihar) – Câmpani (BH)
 Kisb *see* Bún, Kis-
 Kiskend *see* Kend, Kis-
 Kisszőlős (Küküllő) – Seleuş (MS)
 Kohány (Zemplén) – Kochanovce
 (Slovakia)
 Kolozsmonostor (*today part of Kolozsvár*) –
 Cluj-Mănăştur/Cluj (CJ)
 Kolozsvár (Kolozs) – Cluj, Klausenburg
 (CJ)
 Komlód (Kolozs) – Comlod (BN)
 Koronka (Marosszék) – Corunca (MS)
 Köblös (Doboka) – Cubleşu Someşan (CJ)
 Köhér, Alsó- (Torda) – Chiheru de Jos
 (MS)
 Kőrispatak (Háromszék) – Crişeni (HR)
 Kőrös, Ér- (Közép-Szolnok) – Chereuşa
 (SM)
 Körösszeg (Bihar) – Cheresig (BH)
 Kötke (Doboka) – Cutca (CJ)
 Kövesd, Mező- (Marosszék) – Cuiేశd
 (MS)
 Középjata *see* Ajta, Közép-
 Kő – Banoştora (Serbia)
- Kővár – Chioar (MM)
 Krizba (Brassóvidéke) – Crizbav,
 Kreisbach (BV)
 Kudu (Belső-Szolnok) – Coldău (BN)
 Kupsafalva (Belső-Szolnok) – Cupşeni
 (MM)
 Küküllőszéplak *see* Széplak, Küküllő-
 Küsmöd (Udvarhelyszék) – Cuşmed (HR)
 Lackonya (Kővár-vidék) – Lăschia (MM)
 Láposdebrec *see* Debrec, Lápos-
 Légen (Kolozs) – Legii (CJ)
 Lippa (Temes) – Lipova (AR)
 Liptószentmiklós *see* Szentmiklós, Liptó-
 Lóna, Kendi- (Doboka) – Luna de Jos
 (CJ)
 Losonc (Nógrád) – Lučenec (Slovakia)
 Ludas, Maros- (Torda) – Luduş (MS)
 Lunka (Zaránd) – Lunca (HD)
 Mada (Hunyad) – Mada (HD)
 Magasmart (Belső-Szolnok) – Mogoşeni
 (BN)
 Magyarbükös *see* Bükös, Magyar-
 Magyarereggy *see* Egregy, Magyar-
 Magyarfráta *see* Fráta, Magyar-
 Magyargorbó *see* Gorbó, Magyar-
 Magyargyerőmonostor *see*
 Gyerőmonostor, Magyar-
 Magyarótótfalu *see* Tótfalu, Magyar-,
 Oláh-
 Malomviz (Hunyad) – Râu de Mori (HD)
 Moró (Doboka) – Morău (CJ)
 Marosbogát *see* Bogát, Maros-
 Marosludas *see* Ludas, Maros-
 Marosnémeti *see* Németi, Maros-
 Marosvásárhely, Székelyvásárhely
 (Marosszék) – Târgu Mureş (MS)
 Marosvécs *see* Vécs, Maros-
 Medgyes (Medgyesszék) – Mediaş,
 Mediasch (SB)
 Méhes – (Kolozs) – Miheşu de Câmpie
 (MS)
 Mezőbánd *see* Bánd, Mező-

- Mezőbodon *see* Bodon, Mező-
 Mezőkövesd *see* Kövesd, Mező-
 Mezőség, *a region in Transylvania* –
 Câmpia Transilvaniei
 Mezőszakál *see* Szakáll, Mező-
 Mezőszengyel *see* Szengyel, Mező-
 Mezővelkér *see* Velkér, Mező-
 Mezőzáh *see* Záh, Mező-
 Mikes (Torda) – Micești (CJ)
 Mikola (Doboka) – Nicula (CJ)
 Mocs (Kolozs) – Mociu (CJ)
 Mohaly (Doboka) – Măhal (CJ)
 Moró (Doboka) – Morău (CJ)
 Moson (Marosszék) – Moșun (MS)
 Nádas, Szász- (Küküllő) – Nadeș (MS)
 Nádas, Szász- (Küküllő) – Nadeș (MS)
 Nagymás *see* Almás, Nagy-
 Nagybarcsa *see* Barcsa, Nagy-
 Nagydevecser *see* Devecser, Felső-, Nagy-
 Nagyenyed *see* Enyed, Nagy-
 Nagyercse *see* Ercse, Nagy-
 Nagyfalu, Sajó- (Belső-Szolnok) –
 Mărișelu (BN)
 Nagyiklód *see* Iklód, Nagy-
 Nagypacal *see* Pacal, Nagy-
 Nagyszalonta *see* Szalonta, Nagy-
 Nagyszombat (Pozsony) – Trnava, Tyrnau
 (Slovakia)
 Nagyvárad *see* Várad-, Nagy
 Németi, Maros- (Hunyad) – Mintia (HD)
 Noszoly (Doboka) – Năsal (CJ)
 Nyárádszentlászló *see* Szentlászló,
 Nyárád-
 Nyárádtő (Marosszék) – Ungheni (MS)
 Nyárló, Felsőkékes- (Doboka) – Stâna (SJ)
 Nyíres, Bonc- (Doboka) – Bonț (CJ)
 Nyitra (Nyitra) – Neutra (Slovakia)
 Óarad (Arad) – Arad (AD)
 Oláhbuda (Kolozs) – Vechea (CJ)
 Oláhgyéres *see* Gyéres, Oláh-
 Oláhpalatka *see* Palatka –
 Oláhtótfalu *see* Tótfalu, Magyar-, Oláh-
 Omboz(telke) (Doboka) – Mureșenii de
 Câmpie (CJ)
 Ónok (Doboka) – Bârlea (CJ)
 Oroszi (Fehér) – Orosia (MS)
 Osdola (Háromszék) – Ojdula (CV)
 Oszvaj (Belső-Szolnok) – Osoi (CJ)
 Ótorda *see* Torda
 Óvár (Trencsén) – Starhrad (Slovakia)
 Ördöngösfüzes *see* Füzes, Ördöngös-
 Ős (Doboka) – Fântânele (BN)
 Pacal, Nagy- (Közép-Szolnok) – Viișoara
 (BH)
 Palatka (Kolozs) – Pălatca (CJ)
 Paptelek (Doboka) – Popteleac (SJ)
 Pata (Kolozs) – Pata (CJ)
 Pécsújfalu *see* Újfalu, Pécs-
 Pekrovina (Kőrös, then Pozsega) –
 Petrovina (Croatia)
 Pele (Közép-Szolnok) – Becheni (SM)
 Pete (Kolozs) – Petea (CJ)
 Pete (Torda) – Petea (MS)
 Peterd (Torda) – Petreștii de Jos (CJ)
 Pokorág, Alsó- (Kishont) – Nizna
 Pokoradz (Slovakia)
 Pozsony (Pozsony) – Bratislava, Pressburg
 (Slovakia)
 Pulyon (Doboka) – Puini (CJ)
 Radna (Beszterce-vidéke) – Rodna (BN)
 Radnótfája (Torda) – Iernuțeni (MS)
 Rakató (Fehér) – Răcățău (AB)
 Récekeresztúr *see* Keresztúr, Réce-
 Régen, Szász- (Torda) – Reghin,
 Sächsisch-Regen (MS)
 Renget (Hunyad) – Renghet (HD)
 Rőd (Kolozs) – Rediu (CJ)
 Runksor (Hunyad) – Runcșor (HD)
 Sajgó (Belső-Szolnok) – Șigău (CJ)
 Sajókeresztúr *see* Keresztúr, Sajó-
 Sajónagyfalu *see* Nagyfalu, Sajó-
 Sajószentandrás *see* Szentandrás, Sajó-
 Sajóudvarhely *see* Udvarhely, Sajó-
 Sályi (Torda) – Șăulia (MS)

- Sármás (Kolozs) – Sărmașu (MS)
 Sárosberkesz *see* Berkesz, Sáros-
 Sebesvár (Kolozs) – Bologa (CJ)
 Sellye (Marosszék) – Šilea Nirajului (MS)
 Semjén, Ér- (Bihar) – Șimian (BH)
 Sepsiszentgyörgy (Háromszék) – Sfântu
 Gheorghe (CV)
 Sepsiszentistván *see* Szentistván, Seps-
 Serke (Gömör) – Širkovce (Slovakia)
 Simonyi (Gömör) – Šimonovce (Slovakia)
 Sófalva (Doboka) – Sărata (BN)
 Somkerék (Belső-Szolnok) – Șintereag
 (BN)
 Szakadát (Bihar) – Săcădat (BH)
 Szakál, Mező- (Torda) – Bărboși (MS)
 Szalonta, Nagy- (Bihar) – Salonta (BH)
 Szamosfalva (Kolozs) – Someșeni (CJ)
 Szamosújvár (Belső-Szolnok) – Gherla
 (CJ)
 Szárhegy (Csíkszék) – Lăzărea (HR)
 Szásznádas *see* Nádas, Szász-
 Szászrégen *see* Régen, Szász-
 Szatmár (Szatmár) – Satu Mare (SM)
 Szava (Doboka) – Sava (CJ)
 Szeben (Szebenzék) – Sibiu,
 Hermannstadt (SB)
 Szék (Doboka) – Sic (CJ)
 Szék (Bihar) – Seliște (BH)
 Székelyvásárhely *later* Marosvásárhely
 Szekérbréte *see* Bréte, Szekér-, Felső-
 Szemesnye (Belső-Szolnok) – Șimișna (SJ)
 Szengyel, Mező- (Torda) – Sânger (MS)
 Szentandrás, Sajó- (Doboka) – Șieu-Sfânt
 (BN)
 Szentbenedek, Nyárad- (Marosszék) –
 Murgești (MS)
 Szentdemeter (Udvarhelyszék) –
 Dumitrești (MS)
 Szentegyed, Vasas- (Doboka) – Sântejude
 (CJ)
 Szentgothárd, Vasas- (Doboka) –
 Sucutard (CJ)
- Szentgyörgy, Torockó- (Torda) – Colțești
 (AB)
 Szentgyörgy (Pozsony) – Biely Kameň
 (Slovakia)
 Szentimre, Csík- (Csíkszék) – Sântimbru
 (HR)
 Szentistván, Seps- (*today part of*
Háromfalva, Marosszék) – Ștefănești/
 Trei Sate (MS)
 Szentiván, Vasas- (Doboka) – Sântioana
 (CJ)
 Szentivány, Iklód- (Doboka) – Sântivan
 (CJ)
 Szentivány, Vajda- (Torda) – Voivodeni
 (MS)
 Szentjakab (Fehér) – Sâniacob (MS)
 Szentlászló, Nyárad- (Marosszék) –
 Sânvășii/Gălești (MS)
 Szentlélek, Kézdi- (Háromszék) –
 Sânzieni (CV)
 Szentmargita (Közép-Szolnok) –
 Sânmărgrita (CJ)
 Szentmárton, Csík- (Csíkszék) –
 Sânmartin (HR)
 Szentmárton, Dícső- (Küküllő) –
 Târnăveni (MS)
 Szentmárton, Homoród- (Udvarhelyszék)
 – Mărtiniș (HR)
 Szentmárton, Széknyerű- (Doboka) –
 Sânmărtin (CJ)
 Szentmihálytelke (Kolozs) – Mihăiești
 (CJ)
 Szentmiklós, Káposztás- (Marosszék) –
 Crăciunești (MS)
 Szentmiklós, Liptó- (Liptó) – Liptovský
 Mikuláš (Slovakia)
 Szentpál, Homoród- (Udvarhelyszék) –
 Sânpaul (HR)
 Szentpéterfalva (Doboka) – Bozna (SJ)
 Szepes (Szepes) – Spišský hrad (Slovakia)
 Széknyerűszentmárton *see* Szentmárton,
 Széknyerű-

- Széplak, Küküllő- (Küküllő) – Suplac (MS)
- Sziget (Máramaros) – Sighetu Marmăției (MM)
- Szilkerék (Inner Szolnok) – Corneni (CJ)
- Szilvás, Víz- (Doboka) – Silivaș (CJ)
- Szind (Torda) – Săndulești (CJ)
- Szinye (Abaúj) – Svinice (Slovakia)
- Szokol (Bosnia) – Sokolac (Bosnia-Hercegovina)
- Szombattelke (Kolozs) – Sâmboleni (CJ)
- Szótelke (Doboka) – Sărata (CJ)
- Szőcs, Felső- (Belső-Szolnok) – Suciul de Sus (MM)
- Sztrettye (Hunyad) – Stretea (HD)
- Szucság (Kolozs) – Suceagu (CJ)
- Tancs (Kolozs) – Tonciu (MS)
- Tarkó (Sáros) – Kamenica (Slovakia)
- Tartaria (Fehér) – Tărtăria (AB)
- Tasnád (Közép-Szolnok) – Tășnad (SM)
- Teke (Kolozs) – Teaca (BN)
- Tóhát (Belső-Szolnok) – Tăure (BN)
- Torda (Torda) – Turda (CJ)
- Tordos (Fehér) – Turdaș (AB)
- Torja, Al- (Háromszék) – Turia (CV)
- Torockószentgyörgy *see* Szentgyörgy, Torockó
- Tótfalu, Magyar-, Oláh (Kolozs) – Tăuți (CJ)
- Tők (Doboka) – Tiocu (CJ)
- Trakostyán (Varasd) – Trakošćan (Croatia)
- Trau (Dalmatia) – Trogir (Croatia)
- Tresztia (Zaránd) – Trestia (HD)
- Tusnád, Csík- (Csíkszék) – Tușnad (HR)
- Udvarhely, Sajó- (Belső-Szolnok) – Șieu-Odorhei (BN)
- Újfalu, Pécs- (Sáros) – Pečovska Nová Ves (Slovakia)
- Ungurfalva (Belső-Szolnok) – Ungureni (MM)
- Uraj (Marosszék) – Oroiu (MS)
- Uzon (Háromszék) – Ozun (CV)
- Ünőmező (Belső-Szolnok) – Inău (MM)
- Vaja (Marosszék) – Vălenii (MS)
- Vajdaszentivány *see* Szentivány, Vajda-Válaszút (Doboka) – Răscruți (CJ)
- Várad, Nagy- (Bihar) – Oradea (BH)
- Vasasszentegyed *see* Szentegyed, Vasas-Vasasszentgothárd *see* Szentgothárd, Vasas-
- Vasasszentiván *see* Szentiván, Vasas-Vasasszilvás *see* Szilvás, Víz-Vászol(telke) *later* Szentegyed, Vasas-Vécs, Maros- (Marosszék) – Brâncoveniști (MS)
- Velkér, Mező- (Kolozs) – Răzoare (MS)
- Vice (Doboka) – Vița (BN)
- Vinc, Al- (Fehér) – Vințu de Jos (AB)
- Vingárt (Fehér) – Vingard (AB) – Virágosberek (Belső-Szolnok) – Florești (BN)
- Vízszilvás *see* Szilvás, Víz-Zabola (Háromszék) – Zăbala (CV)
- Záh, Mező- (Torda) – Zau de Câmpie (MS)
- Zára (Dalmatia) – Zadar (Croatia)
- Zsibó (Közép-Szolnok) – Jibou (SJ)
- Zsombor (Kolozs) – Zimbor (SJ)
- Zsuk, Alsó- (Kolozs) – Jucu de Jos (CJ)

Illustrations

1

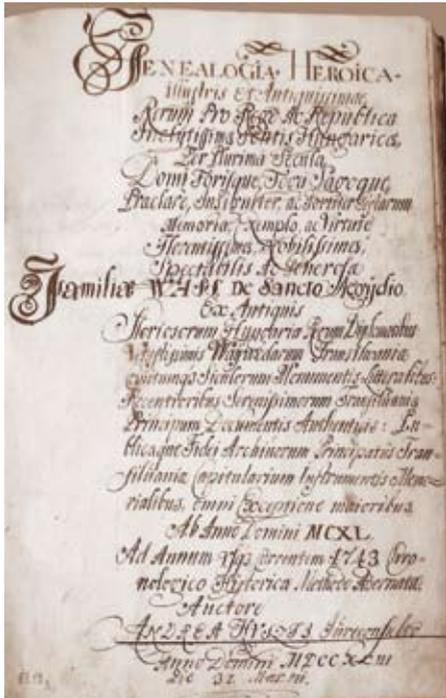
András Huszti's *Genealogia heroica*,
title-page (1743) (WassArch, no. 5313, 1^r).

2

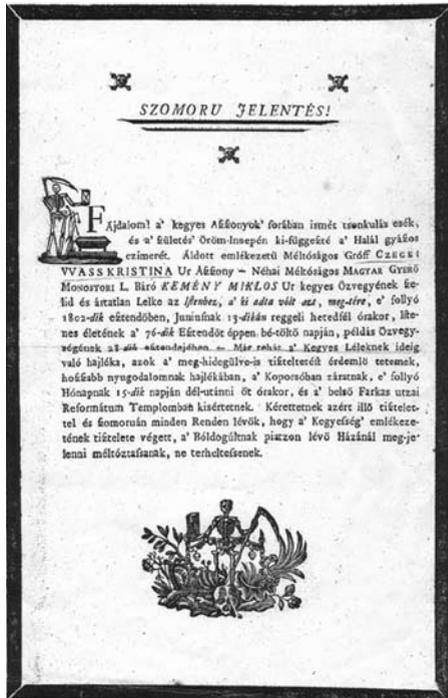
Obituary notification of Krisztina Wass
(†1802) (JósikaArch, fasc. 39, p. 103).

3

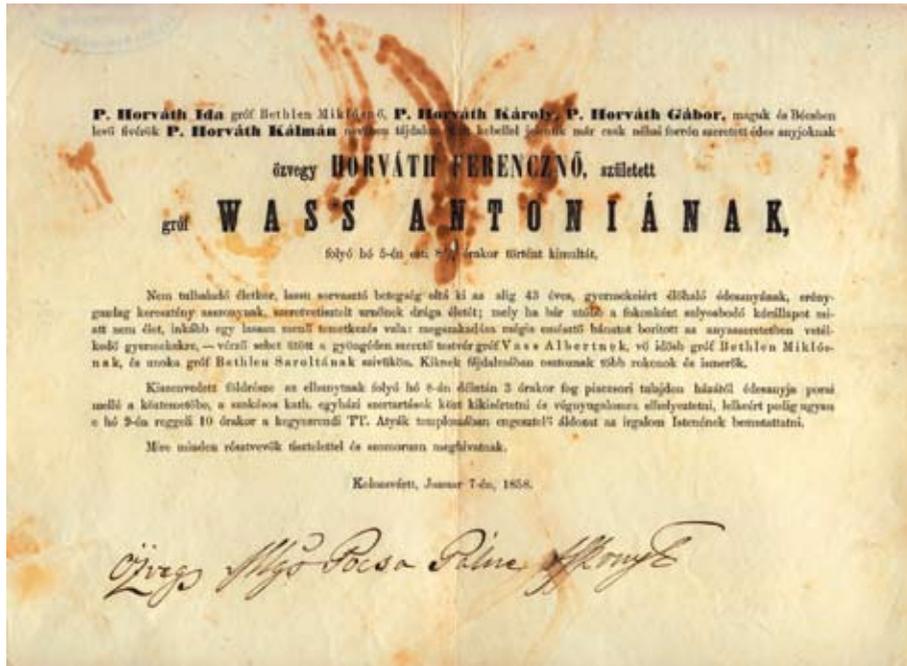
Obituary notification of Antónia Wass (†1858),
the wife of Baron Ferenc Petrichevich-Horváth of Széplak (Private collection).



1



2



3

4

Obituary notification of Samu Wass (1814–1875) (Private collection).

5

Funeral sermon delivered
on Dániel Wass on 25 Jan. 1741, title-
page (LibrRomAcad).

6

The ancient coat of arms of the Wass
on an eighteenth-century Baroque shield
(Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 8^r).

Örv. gróf Wass Sámuelné assz. Eperjessy Rozália a maga 3 gyermekei **Mária** Menthah Szaborné, *ferje és gyermekei*, — **Jozefine** Salamon Aladárné, *ferje és gyermekei*, — **Emma** báró Orézy Bodogné, *ferje és lánya*, — **Jenő**, *neje Bakó Irma 3 gyermekei*, — továbbá gróf Wass Miklós és neje az gróf Berchtoldt Eugénia valamint több köznépből és társasági rokonek részben melyek leajzott biastos szívvel jelent, hogy ferőn szeretett ferje, a gondos jó atya, nagyapja, testvér és rokon

CZEGEI gróf WASS SÁMUEL

sok éven át országgyűlési képviselő, jelenleg a felső ház és a m. t. akad. tagja stb. stb.

E. k. 20-án délután 5 órakor hossza betegsége következtében a halotti szentségek újraindítására, életének 64-ik és boldog hazatérésének 24-ik évében jobb létre szenderült.

A meglobogást költ tetemei E. hó 23-án d. n. 3 órakor a r. kath. szertartás szerint becsontatván szelgőmosen a koporsó-otl temetőbe fekszik elhelyeztetet.

Az engedély az. mise áldását pedig E. hó 24-én délután 10 órakor fog a temetőbeni Gyűlömlenben a Munkalabáink beosztattal.

Kelt Budapest, 1879 márcs. 20-án.

Béke hazatérés!

Lakás: Nagló-ut 49. sz.

„Cooper’s” budapesti temetőzsi vállalat (Károly-utca 2. sz.)

Kyón Rozsán N., Budapest.

4

ÖRÖKÖS HÁZ
MELLYNEK
*Epitafiusz ígerte ISTEEN Davidnak, és ő-benne min-
den ISTEEN' Hadát vívelő Hérokek a' Krizys ABGAIL
által, Sám. I. Könyv. 25. R.É. 28. 9-ben.*

Mellyből,
A' N. MÉLTÓSÍGOS és TEKINTETES URNAK
C Z E G E I
VASS DANIEL
URNAK

Meg-hidegedett Tetemeinek Koporsóban való
Bécszatartásának Alkalmatoságával, együgyű, de Szent
lény gerint-váló Tanítást tett a' Császári Udvar-Háznál egy-
bogyult Méltóságos Tekintetes és Tüteleles Sokaság
előtt a' meg-tomorodott Méltóságos Ur-Háznak
vígáztatására 1741. *Dilóg Aff. Hav. 25. Napján*

ZÁGONI A. GYÖRGY,
Az J. KRISTUSNAK a' Székli R. Előfőháza méltatlan Szolgája.

•••••
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•••••

KOLOSVÁRATT.
Nyomat: SEATHMÉRI PÁP SÁNDOR által,



5

6

7–8

Imaginary portraits of some fifteenth-century members of the Wass family (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 41^v–42^r, 38^r).

9

Eighteenth-century representation of a medieval knight (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 18^v).

10

Unfinished portraits in Huszti's family history (*Genealogia heroica*, 49^r).

11

The first letter patent of donation received by the Wass (WassArch, [1176–1196]. Transcription from 15 Dec. 1349. Photocopy: Hungarian National Archives, DF 252690).



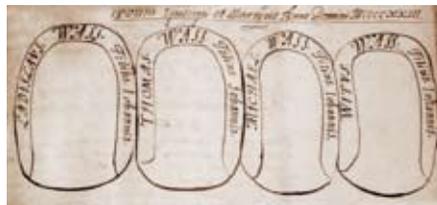
7



8



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11

12

Lóáb and Tamás, twelfth-century ancestors of the Wass (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 9^r).

13

Miklós Wass senior (1304–1347), castellan of Csicsó (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 17^r).

16

Miklós Wass junior, the *comes* of Kolozs County (1349), castellan of Kőhalom (1357–1358) (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 27^r).

14

Door-wing from the second quarter of the fourteenth century – remnant of the demolished church of Szentegyed (Historical Museum, Kolozsvár, permanent exhibition).

15

The iron mounting of the church-door of Szentegyed (drawing by Géza Entz) (after *Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Történeti-, Művészeti- és Néprajzi Tárából*, 1944, 112).

18

Dezső Wass, *vicecomes* and vice-castellan of Szepes (1346–1348) (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 33^r).

17

László Wass junior, castellan of Hóltövény (1335–1344) (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 28^r).

19

Péter Veres, deputy master of horse (1344–1348) (Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 29v).



12



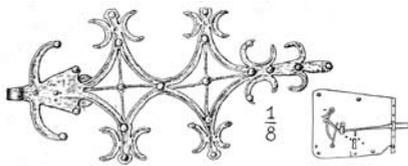
13



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20

The charter from 1363 by King Louis the Great donating the *ius gladii* to the Wass
(WassArch, 8 July 1363. Photocopy: Hungarian National Archives, DF 252712).

21

The three sons of Péter Veres: András, Miklós and László
(Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 39^o).

22

Mihály Wass
(Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 43^o).

23

The seal-ring from 1361 of Miklós Wass,
the *comes* of Doboka County
(HungNatArch, DL 73688).



20



21



22



23

24

The seal-ring of János Wass from 1511 (WassArch, 23 Nov. 1511. Photocopy: HungNatArch, DF 255370).

25

Portrait of János Wass (†1635). Unknown painter, end of the seventeenth century. The wording on the picture contains mistaken data: “Ioannes Waas Transilvaniae vaivoda. Anno 1590.” On the balustrade: “Qvid tum.” Hungarian National Museum (Budapest), Historical Gallery, no. 276.

26

Richly decorated diploma from 1624 documenting that János Wass (†1635) was given a share in the “spiritual goods” of the Jesuit Order (WassArch, XLI/263).



24



25



26

27

Portrait of László Wass (†1662).

Unknown painter, end of the seventeenth century. The wording under the portrait: “Quisqui fortunae sua faber.” Hungarian National Museum (Budapest), Historical Gallery, no. 53.243.

28

Dániel Wass (1674–1741)
(Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 72^v).

29–30

The joint coat of arms of László Tholdalagi (†1779) and Kata Wass on the facade of the Tholdalagi palace in Marosvásárhely.

31–32

The coats of arms of Dániel Wass and Judit Vay (†1770) on the Renaissance-style door-frame of their house in Kolozsvár.



27



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31



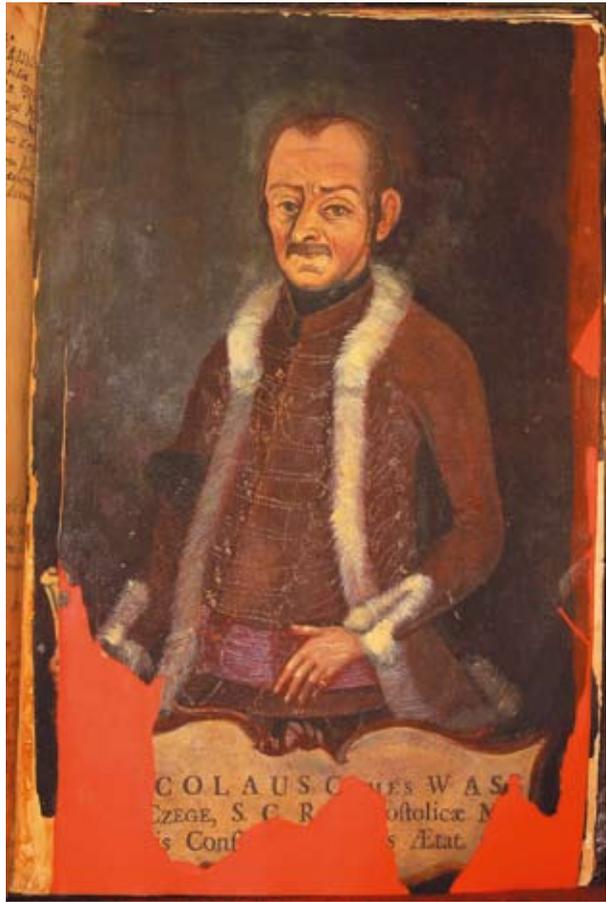
32

33

Portrait of Miklós Wass (1701–1769) (Huzti, *Genealogia heroica*, 75^r).

34

The Calvinist church at Cege in 2005.



33



34

35

The memorial tablet of György Wass (1704–1777) and Erzsébet Szentpéteri of Sajószentpéter placed in the Calvinist church of Cege on the memory of its renovation in 1771.

36

Gravestone of György Wass (1704–1777) at Cege.



35



36

37

The family coat of arms and the portrait of Ádám Wass (1720–1776)
(Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 79^v–80^r).

38

The extended coat of arms of the family
on the letter patent of title donation from
1744 (TransNatArch, WassOttíliaColl,
nr. 234).

39

Portrait of Sámuel Wass (1754–1812)
(Huszti, *Genealogia heroica*, 89^r).



37



38



39

40

Dániel Wass (1777–1844). Etching by unknown Viennese artist from the first part of the nineteenth century. Hungarian National Museum (Budapest), Historical Gallery, no. 55.285.

41

Ádám Wass (1821–1893). Oil-painting by György Vastagh (1834–1922): before World War II it was guarded in the minor castle at Cege, but at the end of that it either perished or was nationalized, and so is hidden today (Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).

42

The so-called minor castle at Cege by the end of the nineteenth century (Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).

43

The so-called minor castle at Cege at the beginning of the twentieth century (back view) (Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).



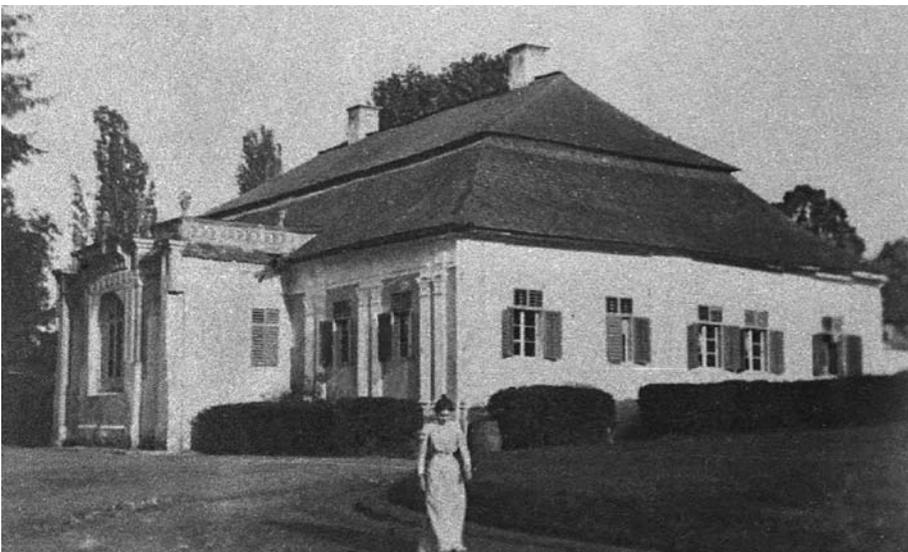
40



41



42



43

44

The so-called minor castle at Cege
in the first part of the twentieth century
(Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).

45

The so-called minor castle
at Cege: house interior
in the 1940s (Wass-Tarjányi
Collection, Vienna).

46

The so-called minor castle at Cege in 1976 (Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).

47

The so-called minor castle at Cege in 2005.



44



45



46



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48

The cellar of the so-called minor castle at Cege in 2005.

49

The memorial tablet of Ádám Wass (1822–1893) and his wife, Berta Sándor of Kénos (1830–1912), in the Calvinist church of Cege from 1857.

50

Berta Sándor of Kénos (1830–1912). Oil-painting by György Vastagh (1834–1922): before World War II it was guarded in the minor castle at Cege, but at the end of that it either perished or was nationalized, and so is hidden today (Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).



48



49



50

51

Ármin Wass (1851–1914)

(Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).

52

Olivér Wass (1855–1932)

(Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).

53

Ákos Tarjányi senior (1855–1903)

(Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).

54

Ákos Wass-Tarjányi junior (1900–1983)

and his wife, Eugénia Tholnay

(Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).



51



52



53



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55

The gravestone at Cege of the Wass family of Cege built in the 1940s.

56

Albert Wass (1819–1911).
Painted by August Bresgen
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).

57

Mária Kilyén, the wife
of Albert Wass (1827–1912).
Painted by August Bresgen
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).



55



56



57

58

Béla Wass (1853–1936). Painted by August Bresgen (Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).

59

Ráchel Bánffy, the wife of Béla Wass (1849–1936). Painted by August Bresgen (Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).

60

Portrait of Countess Franciska (Fanny) Gyulay of Marosnémet (†1865), the wife of György Wass (†1836) (watercolor, nineteenth century, legacy of Ottília Wass, Transylvanian Historical Museum, M 3986).

61

Ottília Wass (1829–1917) and Minka (1827–1911). Painted by Blanka Teleki (1806–1862). Formerly in the Collection of Antiquities of the Transylvanian Museum (after *Erdélyi Múzeum* 43 [1938]: 93).



58



59



60



61

62

The house of Ottília Wass
on the Main Square (Fő tér) of Kolozsvár, the one
bequeathed to the Transylvanian Museum Society.

63

The castle at Szentgothárd at the beginning
of the twentieth century (photograph)
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).



62



63

64–65

The castle at Szentgothárd at the beginning of the twentieth century (photograph)
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).



64



65

66

The castle at Szentgothárd: house interior in the 1940s
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).

67

Ráchel Wass (†1944)
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).

68

Mária Wass
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).



66



67



68

69

Albert Wass (1881–1902)
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).

70

The memorial tablet of Albert Wass
(1881–1902) in the Farkas Street church
in Kolozsvár.

71

Ilona Wass (1884–1950)
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).

72

Endre Wass (1886–1975)
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).



69



70



71



72

73

Albert Wass (1908–1998)
(Edmund Siemers-Stiftung, Hamburg).

74

Portrait of Miklós Wass (1744–1829)
(Huszti, *Genealogia heroica* 87ⁱ).

75

Portrait of Samu Wass (1814–1879).
Etching by Zs. Pollák (after *Magyarország
és a Nagyvilág*. 17 [1880]: 69).

76–77

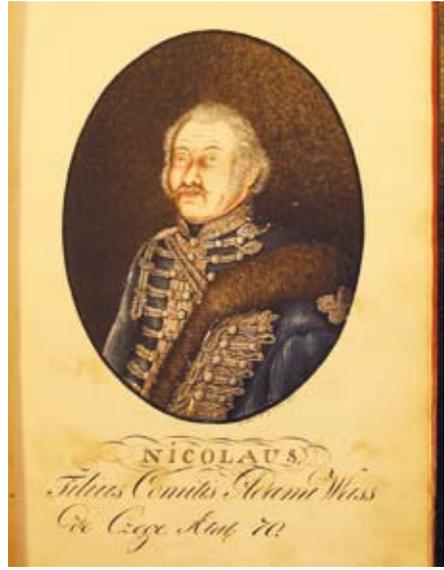
50 Dollars gold coin minted by Samu Wass
(1814–1879) and Gusztáv Molitor in 1855.
Inscription: Wass Molitor & Co.
San Francisco California. 50 Dollars
(Source: Internet).

78

Title-page of the book by Samu Wass
(1814–1879) on his journey in America
(Private collection).



73



74

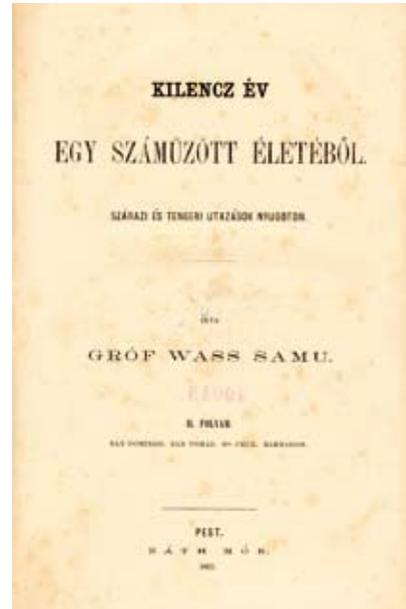


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79

Jenő Wass (1844–1911) (legacy of Otília Wass,
Transylvanian Historical Museum, M 4377).

80

The so-called major castle at Cege (no longer existent today)
at the beginning of the twentieth century
(Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).



79



80

81

Irma Bakó of Hete (†1939)
(Wass-Tarjányi Collection, Vienna).

82

György Wass (1879–1929).
(Private collection).

83

The letter patent of title donation of the Wass family
from 1744 (WassOttíliaColl, nr. 234).



81



82



83

84

The sigils and signatures of *Ádám Wass* (1720–1776) and his sisters from 1770 (WassArch no. 6850).

85

The coat of arms from 1770 of Baroness *Kata Wass* (†1783), the wife of *Simon Kemény* of *Magyargyerőmonostor*, on the memorial tablet in the church of *Marosvécs*.

86

Title-page of the funeral sermon delivered on *Miklós Wass* (1701–1769) (LibrRomAcad).

87

The funeral leaflet of György Wass
(1704–1777) (LibrRomAcad).

88

The funeral blazon of Krisztina Wass
(1726–1802) (Transylvanian Historical
Museum, no. F 8351).

89

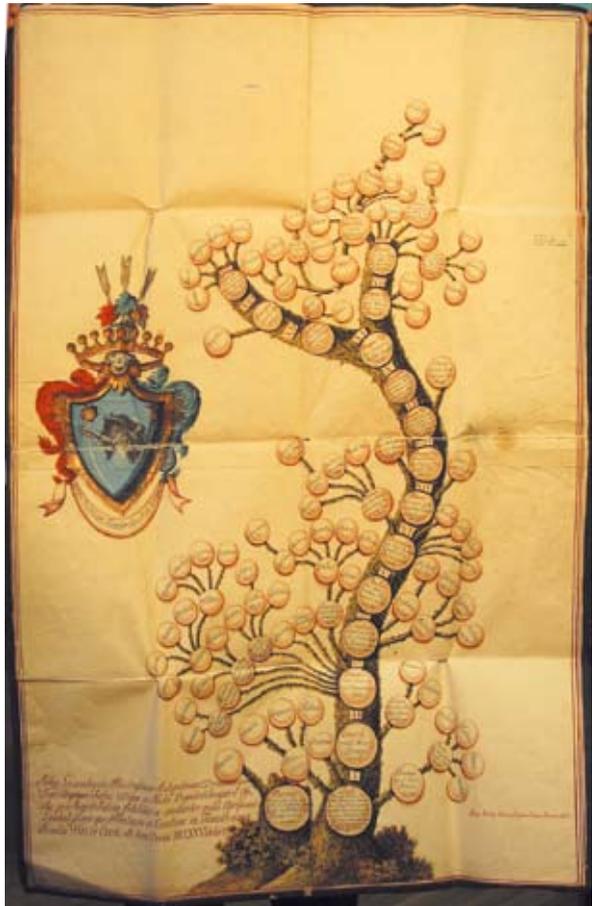
The richly ornamented family tree of the Wass from 1822
(WassArch, no. 5343).



87



88



89

90

Seal-ring with the coat of arms of the Wass family of Cege (nineteenth century, legacy of Ottilia Wass, Transylvanian Historical Museum, M 4703).

91

Pottery with the coat of arms of the Wass family of Cege (nineteenth century, legacy of Ottilia Wass, Transylvanian Historical Museum, M 3051).



90



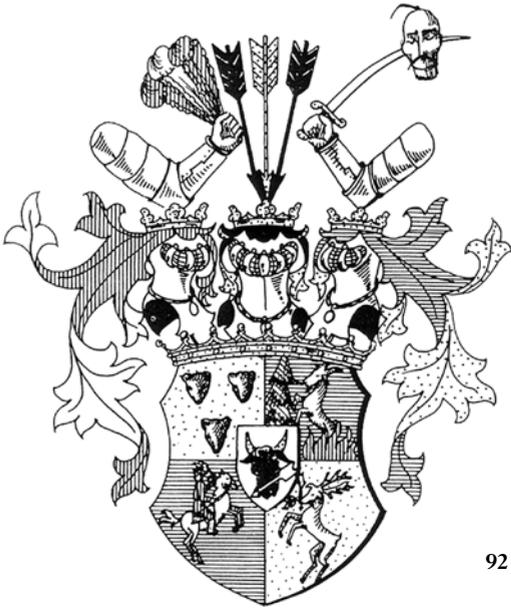
91

92

The coloring of the extended coat of arms of the Wass family after Szabolcs Vajay, *A Jobannita rend lovagjai* [The knights of the Order of St. John] (Budapest: privately printed, 1987), 53, no. 203.

93

The comital coat of arms of the Wass family of Cege (watercolor, beginning of the twentieth century, legacy of Ottília Wass, Transylvanian Historical Museum, M 4021).



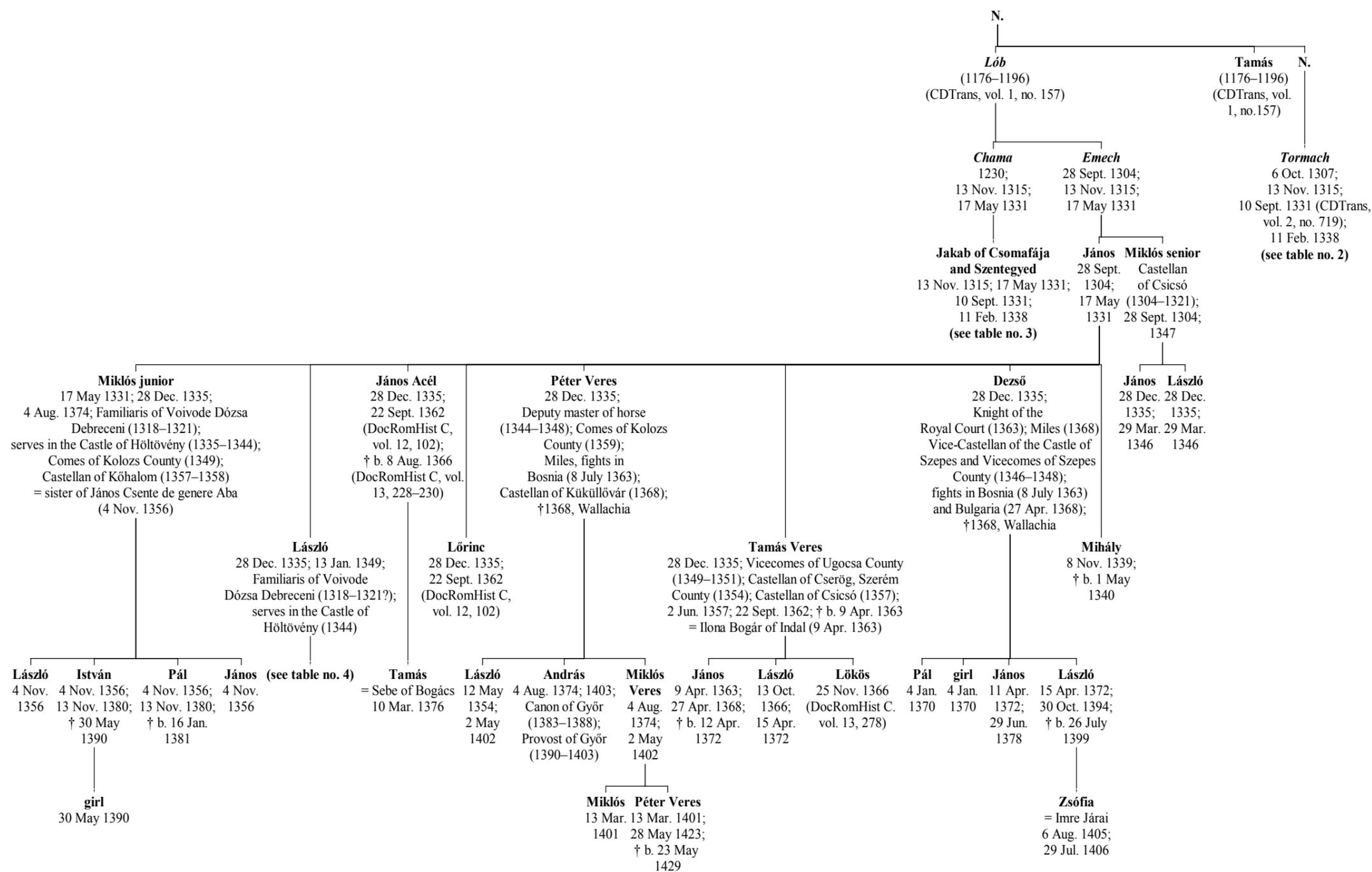
92



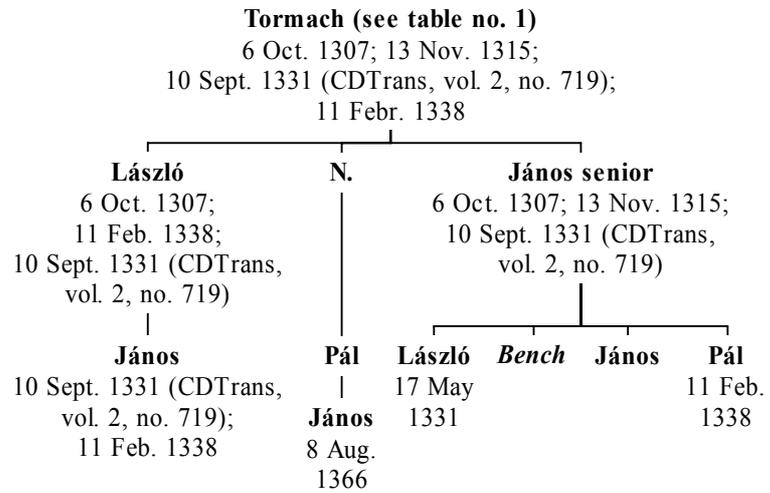
93

A part of the illustrations were made by using the photographs from the Wass archive and Wass Otília collection (no. 1, 4, 6–13, 16–22, 24, 26, 28, 33, 37–39, 74, 83–84, 89). The original documents are being kept in the National Archives Cluj County Branch (Arhivele Naționale, Direcția Județeană Cluj). Dr. Ioan Drăgan, director, was so kind as to help my research work there. The rest of the photographs were taken by Mátyás Gödölle (no. 25, 27, 40), István Karácsony (no. 29–30, 70), Melinda Mihály (no. 14, 31–32, 60, 62, 79, 88, 90–91, 93), Levente Túrós (no. 34–35, 48–49), and András W. Kovács (no. 47, 55, 85). The access to photographs from the Wass-Tarjányi collection (no. 36, 41–46, 50–54, 80–81) was possible thanks to Olivier Tondolo, those from Edmund Siemens-Stiftung thanks to Andreas Graf Wass von Czege (no. 56–59, 63–69, 71–73). Likewise, I thank Csaba Reisz T., deputy-manager of the Hungarian National Archives, for permission to publish the photograph made of Miklós Wass's seal-ring (no. 23). Other pictures are from the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj/Kolozsvár (5, 86–87) and private collections (no. 2–3, 78, 82).

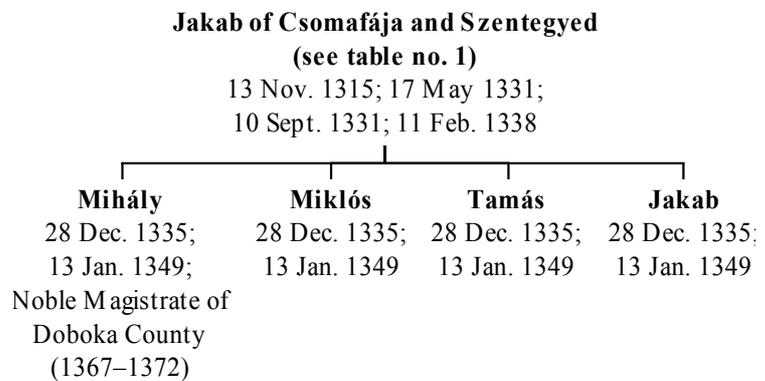
The Wass Family of Cege (1)



The Wass Family of Cege (2)

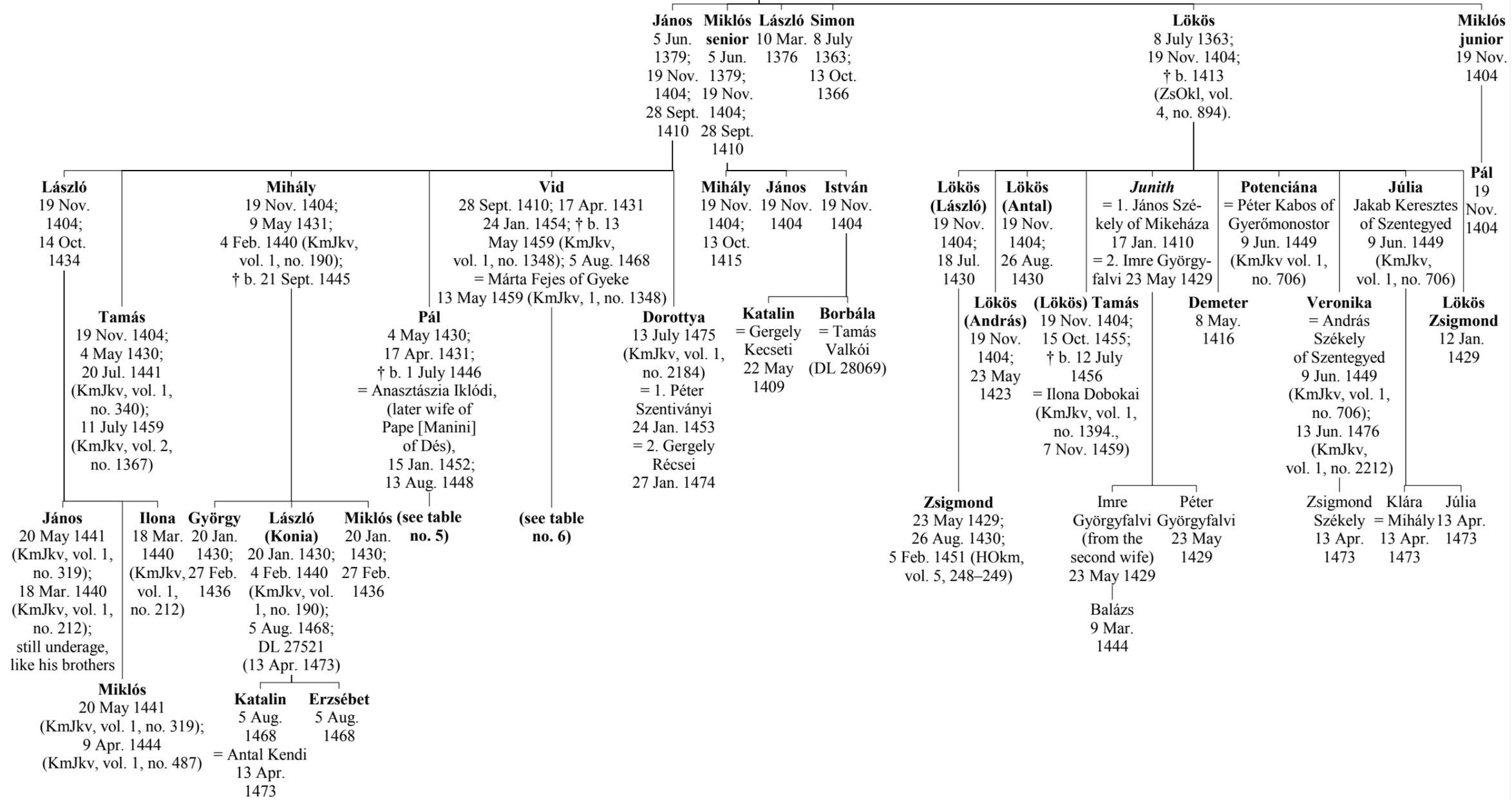


The Wass Family of Cege (3)

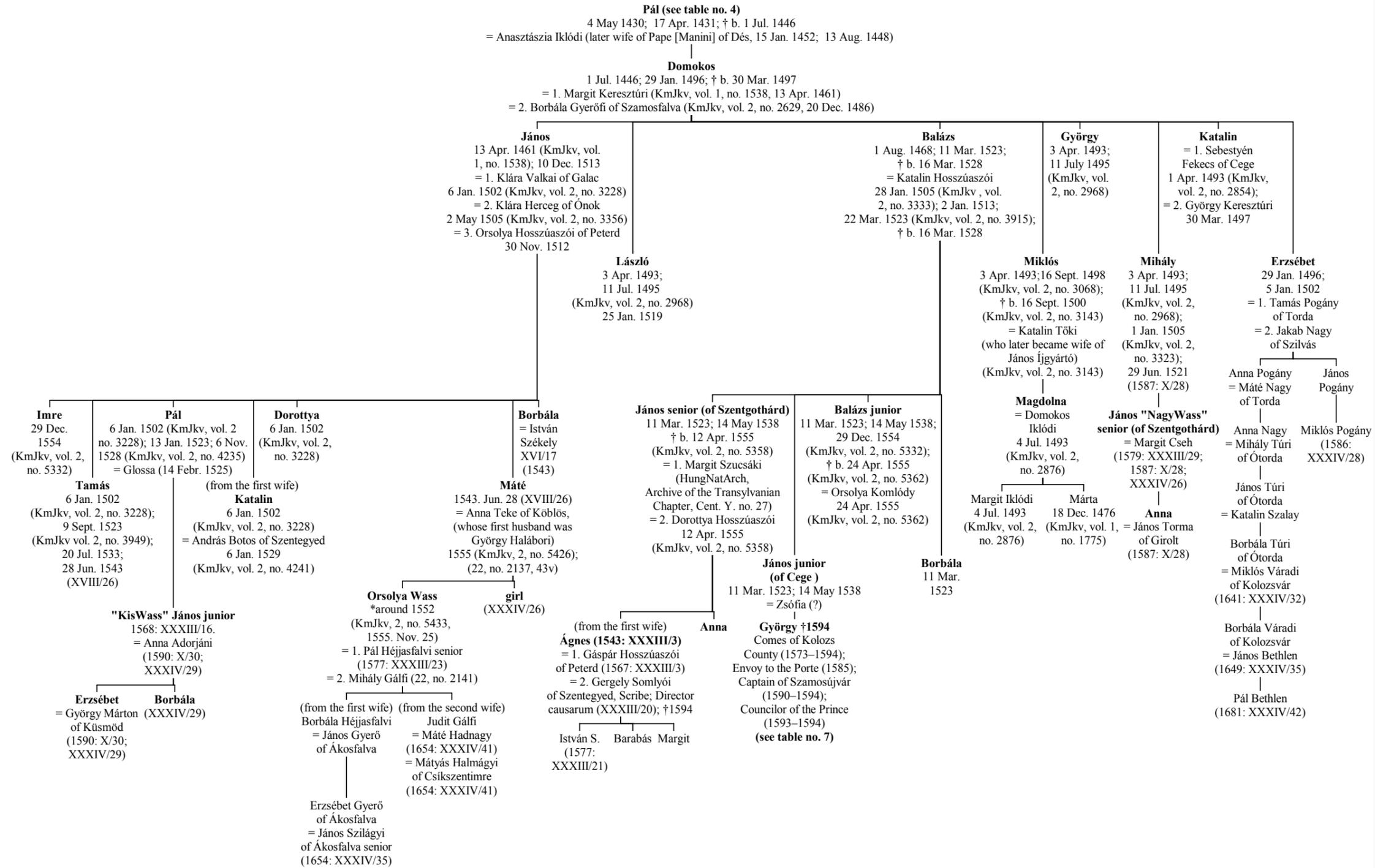


The Wass Family of Cege (4)

László (see table. no. 1)
 28 Dec. 1335; 13 Jan. 1349;
 Familiaris of Voivode Dózsa Debreceni (1318–1321?);
 serves in the Castle of Höltövény (1344)



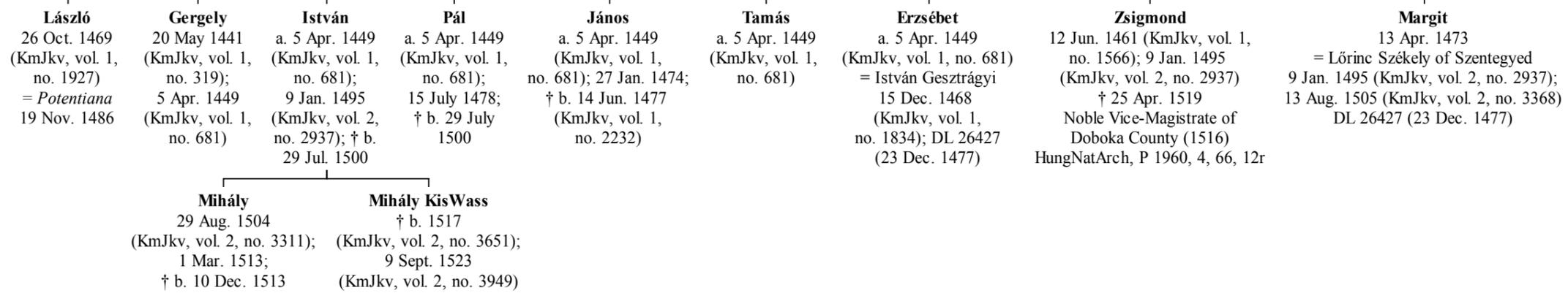
The Wass Family of Cege (5)



The Wass Family of Cege (6)

Vid (see table no. 4)

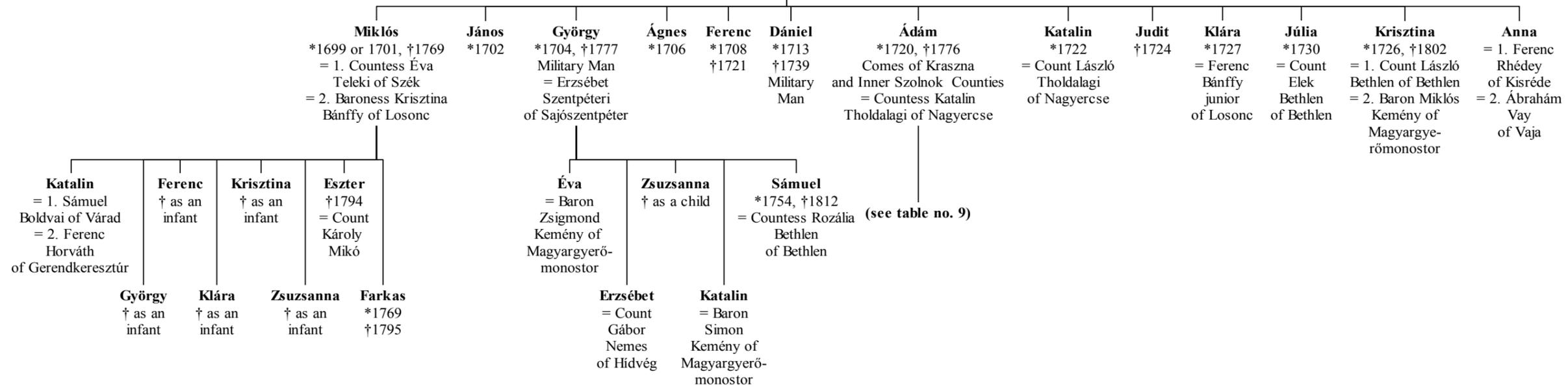
28 Sept. 1410; 7 Apr. 1431; 24 Jan. 1454
 † b. 13 May 1459 (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1348); 5 Aug. 1468
 = Márta Fejes of Gyeke
 13 May 1459 (KmJkv, vol. 1, no. 1348)



The Wass Family of Cege (8)

Dániel (see table no. 7)

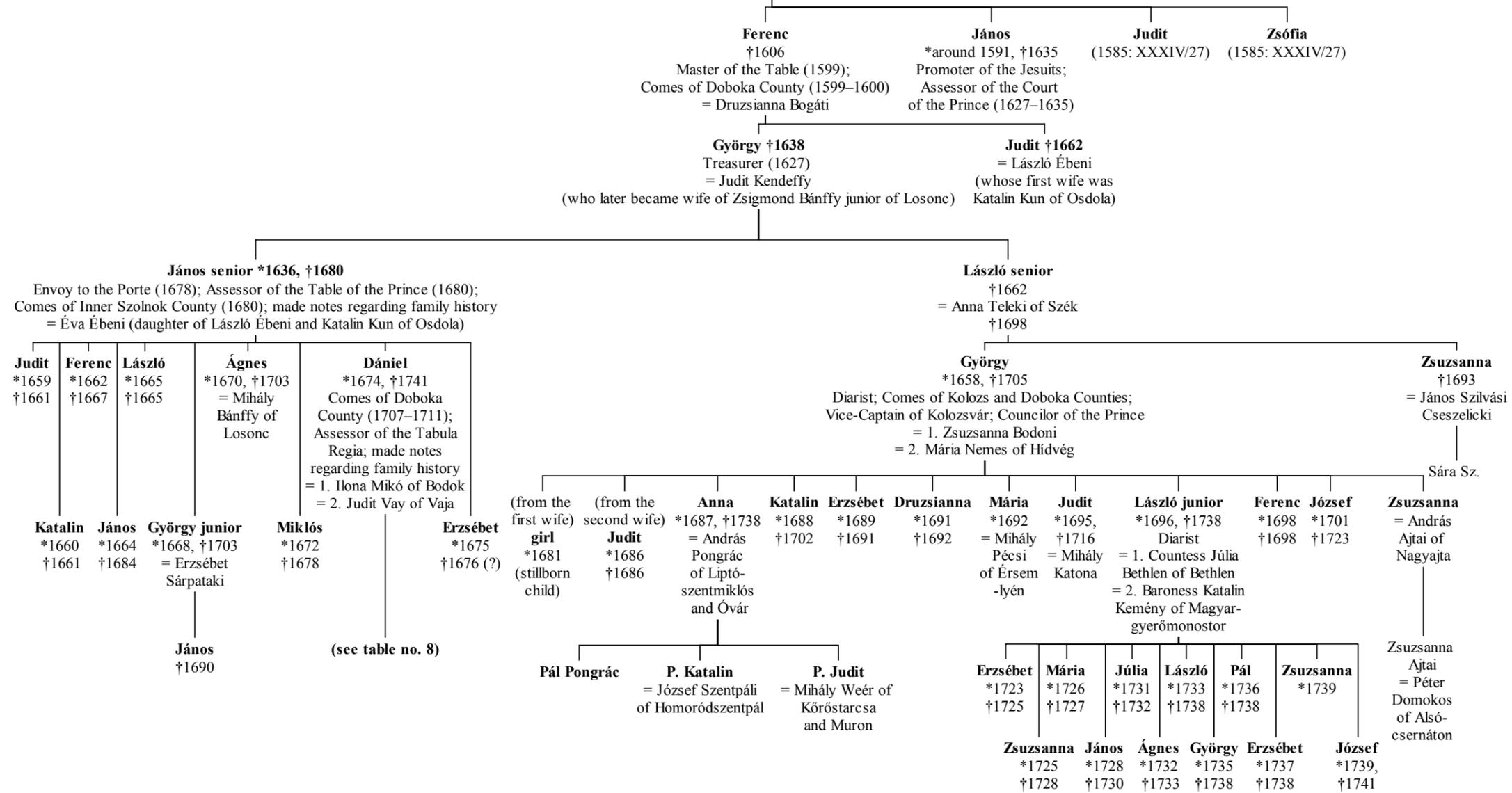
*1674, †1741
 Comes of Doboka County (1707–1711);
 Assessor of the Tabula Regia (from 1721); made notes regarding family history
 = 1. Ilona Mikó of Bodok
 = 2. Judit Vay of Vaja



The Wass Family of Cege (7)

György Wass (†1594) (see table no. 5)

Comes of Kolozs County (1573–1594); Envoy to the Porte (1585); Captain of Szamosújvár (1590–1594);
Councillor of the Prince (1593–1594)
= Katalin Erdélyi of Somkerék

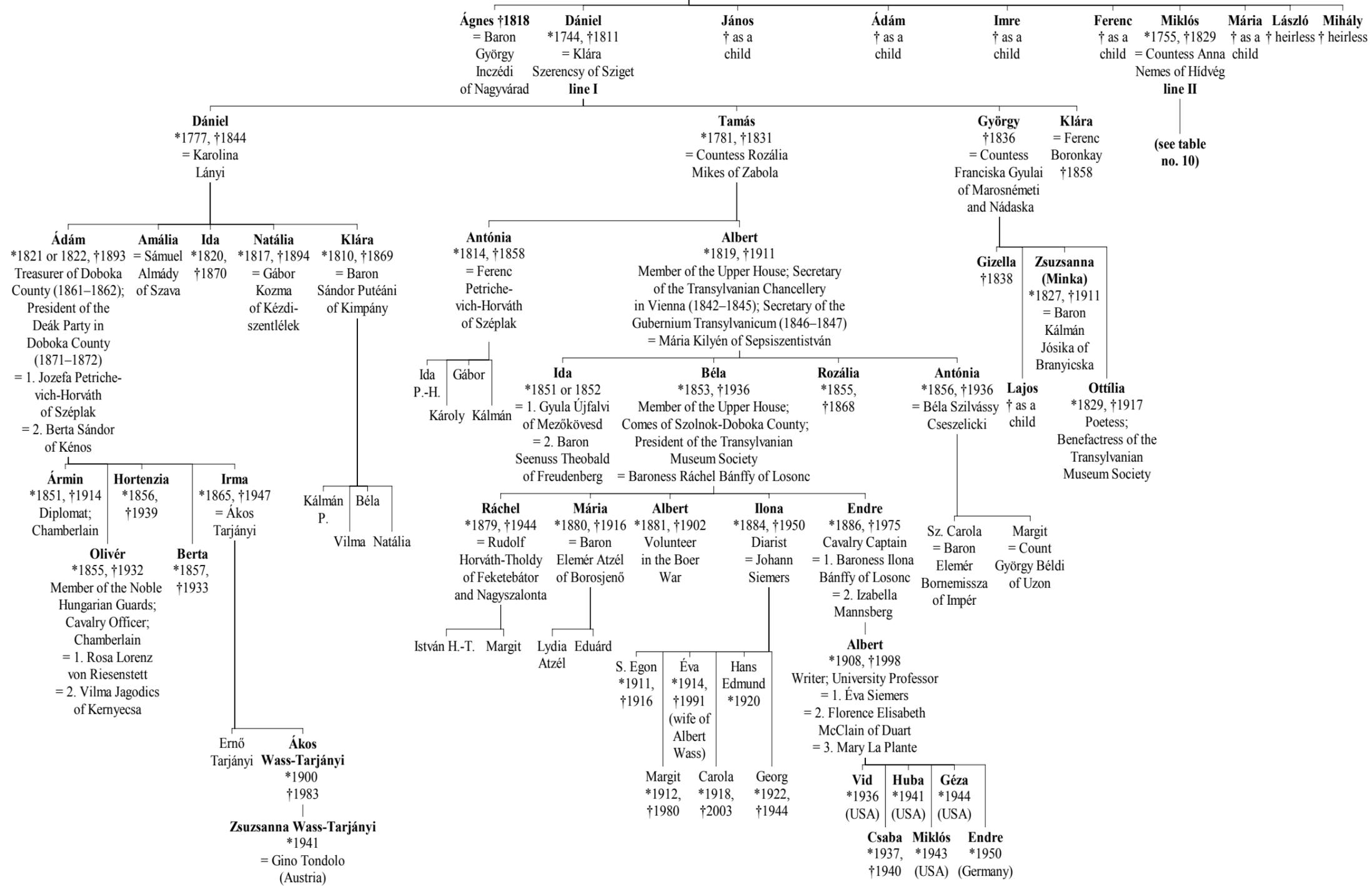


The Wass Family of Cege (9)

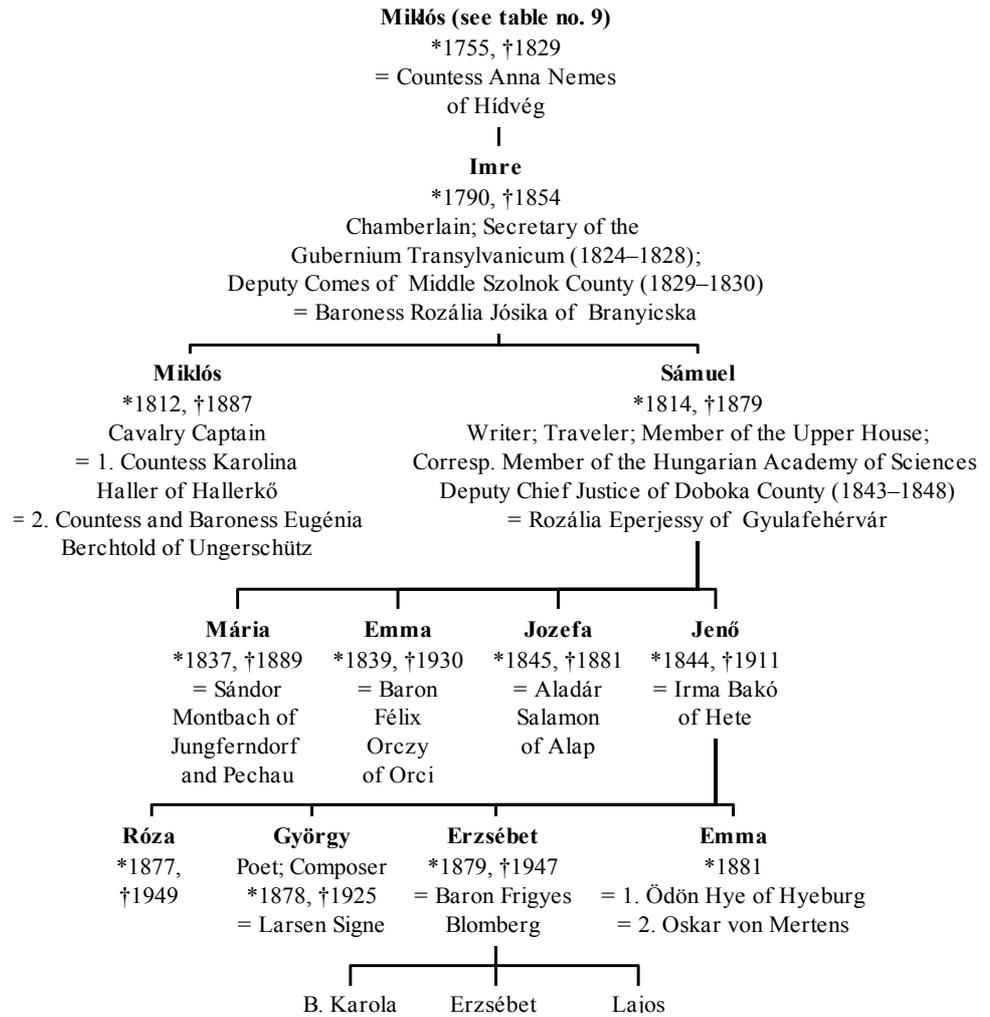
Ádám (see table 8)

*1720, †1776

Comes of Kraszna (1774) and Inner Szolnok Counties (1774–1779)
= Countess Katalin Tholdalagi of Nagyercese



The Wass family of Cege (10)



The History of the Wass de Czege Family



The History of the Wass de Czege Family

András W. Kovács

