

Košice in the Coordinates of European History

Mária Hajduová – Martin Bartoš (eds.)

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The City of Košice, The Košice City Archives

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Preface



Dear reader,

in your hands you are holding an extraordinary publication full of contributions kindly provided by renowned historians from Slovakia and abroad who had scrutinised the rich and alluring history of Košice in an expert complex manner and in September 2013 presented the past and the current relations of our city fostered within European context. In the very year in which Košice was the first Slovak city to be announced the European Capital of Culture, it also hosted an international conference titled “KOŠICE IN THE COORDINATES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY”

and promoted the outputs thereof as a significant contribution to our effort to open up to Europe through the European Capital of Culture project and to invite Europe to Košice in return.

In Košice we wish to leave the door open to new ideas, approaches, solutions, incentives, investments, to the visitors and the new inhabitants of our city, and succeed in the years to come just as we succeeded in the inspiring year of 2013. Thanks to all that has been happening the city of Košice has discovered a new vision and a new dimension of its existence. An existence based on creativity, dialogue, and partnership. It has been accompanied by unheard-of development, which today is perceived and appreciated by experts and the general public alike, as Košice is considered the most dynamically developing city in Slovakia.

I wish to thank all those who have contributed to the success of the conference as well as to the interesting message resulting thereof printed in this bulletin.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a stylized 'R' followed by a wavy line and a horizontal stroke.

*MUDr. Richard Raši, PhD., MPH
Mayor of the City of Košice*

Dear reader,

we hope that the project Košice – European Capital of Culture 2013 will be perceived in the future as one of the most important milestones in the rich history of Košice. The Košice City Archives, being the organic part of the self-government of the city, decided to contribute to this significant event by organisation of an international scientific conference entitled „Košice in the Coordinates of European History“. Slovak and foreign historians assessed the position and significance of Košice in the transformations of times, and presented during the two conference days the latest results of their research in the field of the history of the city. Thanks to their work we have gained an interesting mosaic of knowledge referring about the European and multicultural character of Košice. We have addressed those Slovak and foreign scholars who dealt with the history of Košice in their scientific and publication activities.

It was an original and also unique approach in the conference that the authors, first time in history, decided to present the relationships of Košice in the European context by way of historical synthesis. The fact that the participants of the conference were renowned historians coming from nine European countries (France, Germany, Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Moldavia and Russia) proves its importance. The conference thanks to its high professional level and sophisticated organization work ranks among the most successful professional events of its kind in Slovakia.

In the „collection of conference papers“ we would like to publish the papers in their original, non-edited versions as they were written and sent to us. We sincerely hope the papers will be accepted well by all those who would like to learn more about the history of our city developed in the European context. The conference means for us also a kind of commitment to continue in the further researches in order that the efficient cooperation of the historians and the comparison of the results could reflect not only the history of our city Košice and East Slovakia, but also the history of the European culture.

On behalf of the organizers I would like to express my sincere thanks to the management of the City of Košice, our partners and sponsors for their financial support contributing to the international success of our conference.

*Mária Hajduová
Košice City Archives*

Important archaeological sites and unique artefacts in Košice and its surroundings from the beginning of the Bronze Age

Ladislav Olexa - Tomáš Nováček

Abstract

Region of Košice basin was important part of European prehistory due to the rich finds of minerals, geographical location and healthy nature. One of the most advanced periods was Bronze Age, especially its beginnings. In that time, prehistoric inhabitants build fortified settlements in Košice –Barca, Nižná Myšľa and Rozhanovce, which were the centre of crafts, trans - European trade, metallurgy and religion. After approximately 300 years villages were gone and now, thanks to the archeological excavations, are significant source for better understanding our prehistory. This paper provides new knowledges about the unique artefacts found in the graveyards and in the settlements areas.

Key words: Košice. Bronze Age. Artefacts. Archeological excavations.

The territory of the Košice Basin has been settled by civilisations from the ancient times thanks to its geographic situation, countryside and rich natural resources. These civilisations left significant traces in the history of Europe. One of the paramount periods was the Bronze Age and especially its beginning stage. The inhabitants of our region had built fortified settlements in Košice-Barca, Nižná Myšľa and Rozhanovce that became social-economic centres of the region. In these centres the crafts were thriving, local and trans-European barter trade was functioning and the modern metallurgy of non-ferrous metals was developing. The settlements perished after 300 years of existence; however, their remains studied by the archaeologists provide us really unique information on this forgotten civilization. There have been long term researches during the last decades studying the contemporary burial grounds from which we got valuable knowledge on the life and religion of the people living here 3500 years ago. Many unique finds obtained from the settlements and graves provide us proofs that this region had been once one of the civilization centres of Europe.

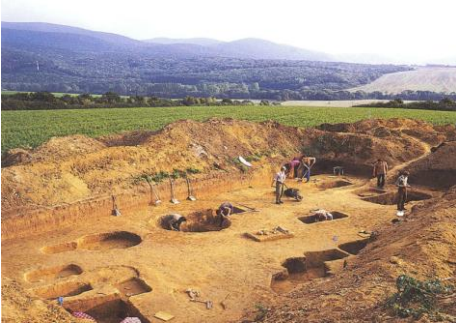
Some centuries before the turn of the 3rd and 2nd millennium B. C. the life in Central Europe started to change dramatically. The Bronze Age came to foreground. The first man-made metal – the bronze, i.e. tin-copper alloy, gave its name to the whole epoch, and in some aspects brought together many European civilizations. The European-wide barter trade contacts got intensified and great migrations of the local inhabitants occurred. The social and economic development accelerated significantly in those communities which were situated near the accessible ore yards of non-ferrous metals or in places along the famous trade routes. The most advantageous territories have been quickly occupied by new colonists. After coming to our region they

absorbed the original inhabitants and pushed through their new, more modern life style and culture. The expansive nation, occupying from South to North the Košice Basin, was part of the Ottoman-Füzesabony culture. They chose as their central settlement an elevation with good strategic position that dominated the terrain over the confluence of rivers by its steep slopes and 45 meter high ascent. They built up a fortified settlement that became an economic –administrative centre and in times of danger it provided refuge for the inhabitants from the adjacent farmer and shepherd settlements. Systematic archaeological excavations began here in 1977 under the supervision of the Košice branch of the Slovak Academy of Science, Archaeological Institute in Nitra. The 36 research seasons proved us clearly that Nižná Myšľa was an important centre along the Tisa-riverside region about 3500 years ago. Thanks to the unique sites in the former settlement and belonging burial ground the archaeologists got a special chance to study in details the prehistoric life style on the territory of the Košice- Basin and to integrate the results to the European context.

The settlement in Nižná Myšľa was founded in the southern edge of the elevation and its fortification has connected the steep slopes of the promontory in a form of arch. The fortification was made up of a strong earthwork and a deep ditch that had been adapted and enlarged twice. The inhabitants built orthogonal and one-room buildings in the protected area of the settlement. The houses with clay floor were a kind of log-cabins with stone wall footings. Integrated parts of the interior of the houses were the clay stoves or slightly elevated fire places, placed in the middle or in the corner of the houses. The inventory of these houses consisted of rich ceramic finds, stone crushers and pads, horn hammers and hoes, stone objects, objects made of bronze and bones, clay weaver weights, coils and spindles. These finds show the prevailing agricultural-artisan character of the settlement and they document the local processing works of the primary and secondary raw materials. Not far from the houses a burial ground was established; from the estimated 1000 graves almost 800 have been researched. The settlement was gradually growing, more inhabitants came and this made necessary to excavate a new larger ditch and a more powerful fortification. The enlarged central settlement with a new gate followed the urban concept of construction works with an area of 7 hectares.



Pict. 1: Total plan of the area of the western slope of Nižná Myšľa where on the hill the fortified settlements and the burial ground were situated.



Pict. 2: Excavation works in Nižná Myšľa.

The Bronze Age is characterised in archaeology by its sophisticated esthetical artefacts of the material culture. This applies to the Košice Basin also where there are found masterworks of top quality. Valuable artefacts worth

mentioning are for example the golden and bronze objects even today ravishing by their beauty and preciseness. Objects of personal adornment and clothes decorations as earrings, knobs, pins and bracelets are the evidences of a well developed civilization comparable with the famous significant centres in South Europe such as Mycenae or Troy.



Pict. 3: Collection of golden artefacts from Nižná Myšľa.



Pict. 4: Variability of golden artefacts from Košice – Barca.

The Bronze Age is known for its numerous trade contacts. Good examples of this are the found Baltic amber that was also imported and processed in Nižná Myšľa. This valuable and exotic raw material was used also in the embalmment procedures of the Egyptian pharaohs. It might be possible that the semi-products were transported through our territory to the far Egypt. A lot of other objects, unfortunately not preserved for us, might have been the objects of the ancient trans-European trade contacts. We have reports on trade activities with honey, fur, salt and slaves from the younger historical ages. People used already horses and carts for transporting business articles that time. We are informed about this thanks to the preserved parts of horse harnesses and also thanks to the model of a toy cart found in the child's grave No. 40 in Nižná Myšľa. The model of the toy cart was surely a real horse cart.

This artefact is also a unique example of an ancient toy.



Pict. 5: Toy of trade cart made from pottery found in a child's grave no. 40 in Nižná Myšľa.

The period of the beginning of Bronze Age, limited by 1900 - 1500 B. C., is characterised in our region by a typical phenomenon of European importance – building of fortified settlements. Specialists talk about so called proto-urban horizon. The idea of centralised settlements was brought to the Carpathian Basin by the existing wide trade contacts. These centralised settlements were a kind of imitation of the southern city-states. The elite of the society sprang from these settlements, who started to accumulate in their hands the wealth and power. It affected positively the development of the spiritual life, the society and from long term aspect these processes served as basis for the European history. From that time up to now the European history is characterised by the idea of building cities representing the trade and cultural centres of our civilization. The southern part of the Košice Basin – the vicinity of Košice jointly by its centres has become one of the so called “civilization kettles“ where the typically European history was born. Despite the fact that no written sources have been preserved, we are sure that our territory played an important role in the prehistoric Europe. The fact that Košice became this year the European Capital of Culture is the logical result of the development started, in a certain sense, 3500 years ago.

The aim of the archaeologists is not only to collect and document the artefacts of the history but to present it properly to the public. In cooperation with different institutions, for example the local museums, - the scientists' ambition involves to present to the wide public the most interesting stories of our local history at the end of which the present society stands. Normally it happens by the way of different exhibitions. However, in the course of the 90ties so called open-air museums have been founded all over Europe. In the ethnographic skanzens of different types, architectonic remains have been preserved from the recent past. The idea of construction or reconstruction of

the older settlements means a new trend in presentation of the history, and it evoked many positive reactions among the professionals and wide public also. The visitors of these –skanzens have a unique opportunity to see the life of the prehistoric settlements and to become a part of it despite of the fact that the presented reality is far-distant from us by several millennia. In 1995 the civil association of Collegium Myssle was founded whose main priority is the true reconstruction of the former fortified settlement in Nižná Myšľa under the supervision of professional historians-archaeologists.



Pict. 6: General plan of the open-air museum in Myšľa. All the elements of the skanzen should represent the real situation of houses, objects and burial ground ascertained by archaeological research.

The Archaeological Skanzen MYSSLE has been defined by the extent of the work performed so far and the prospects of continuing works. In two independent parts of Várhegy and Koscelek they are going to present the history of the development of the housing culture from the Stone Age until the high Middle Ages. It will be done by the way of reconstruction of the prehistoric shelters. In district Koscelek the plans include to build up shelters from the whole history of the region under the existing scientific knowledge. This part of the skanzen will be an integral part of a recreation-sports and scientific area that will be designed in cooperation with the neighbouring partner villages from Slovakia and Hungary. In Várhegy where the remains of

the disappeared prehistoric city have been discovered – the supposed ancient centre of the Košice Basin – it is possible to build up again log-cabins on the original places and to reconstruct parts of the fortification with its entrance gates. By construction of the skanzen MYSSLE the attractiveness of the exhibits presented in Museum Nižná Myšľa will be enhanced. The tourists may learn a lot about the natural beauties of the region and an interesting relax-centre will arise in the Košice Basin for the versatile relax and learning activities. Building up this skanzen we may bring down the unemployment rate in the region and raise the tourist industry. The fact that many renowned specialists coming from all over the world visited the researches in Nižná Myšľa during the XII World Congress of Archaeologists in 1991 gives us guarantee that the skanzen MYSSLE is of high historical quality. Due to this fact and thanks to numerous special publications and travelling exhibitions the European and Transatlantic archaeologists know well the archaeological sites here. Opening the archaeological skanzen MYSSLE would provide access to wide public to see the results of one of the most important and comprehensive central European archaeological researches of the last decades and the outputs of the studies of some other sites could be applied also.

The European cultural heritage has in locations near Košice – Barca, Rozhanovce and Nižná Myšľa three masterpieces of the Bronze Age of the highest rank. The results of the last decades have been gradually professionally evaluated, processed, and it is high time to involve the whole Košice region into projects that would inform the wide public about our ancient history in modern way.



Pict. 7: Reconstruction of a prehistoric house in Nižná Myšľa.

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Beginning and development of the burghership and the city of Košice up to the middle of the 14th century

Ferdinand Uličný

Abstract

The main aim of this paper is to reconstruct the beginning and development of the burghership and the city of Košice up to the middle of the 14th century. Its first part offers the review of the development of settlement in Košice and his surroundings in the period from 10th to 13th Century. The second part describes the beginning of the bourgeoisie of Košice, their professional interests, trade activities, privileges, development of self-government, religious affairs and nationality. This paper also includes the terminology of burghers and town and the reconstruction of the architectural development of the town.

Key words: Košice. Bourgeoisie. 14th Century. Development of settlement.

Development of the settlement in Košice and adjacent surroundings in the 10th up to 13th century.

Košice, particularly historically the oldest part of the City centre is located in the plane surface of the Košice Basin, adjacent to the right bank of the Hornád River, at an altitude of around 210 meters.

The earliest written evidence of Košice and about its population comes from 1230, it was recognized independently both Hungarian and Slovak historian at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century.¹ The relevant record is in the Deed of Eger Chapter house, which officially confirmed that Šimon son of Gregor - pastor of Košice and Peter son of Paul from Košice sold their part of the land property Ľubina to three men whose home jurisdiction in the Deed were not written down. The Deed by the content is directly related to Košice as a human settlement, but not to property of land, because it namely states the four men of the then population of Košice.² One of the sellers was Šimon, son of Gregor - former priest of Košice and the second was Peter son of Paul. Three men were not characterized by social point of view, only Gregor was determined as priest in Košice. Whereas they owned landed estates before 1230, namely shares in Ľubina as owners of land, they were burghers or nobles. Based on the fact that in 1230 they were inhabitants of Košice, it can be concluded that by social point of view they were burghers of Košice. Of course, it cannot be ruled out their possible previous aristocratic affiliation and settlement in Košice shortly before 1230.

Presented explicit record, although only concerning to four people and indirectly three households in Košice in 1230, justifies the judgment that

¹ György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó,

² *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I*, ed. by Marsina, Richard (Bratislava: Sumpibus Academiae scientiarum Slovacae, 1971), 259, no. 366 „quod Symon filius Gregorii, sacerdotis de villa Cassa, et Petur, filius Paul de eadem“.

Košice as human settlement existed already before 1230.

The name of Košice in form Cassa was written down into Latin Deed of the Chapter house of Eger in 1230. It was Latinized name sounding like Hungarian Kaša (in German: Kaschau). Beside to the name Cassa, Kassa, which totally dominated in the Latin writings of the 13th and 14th century, the name also was sporadically occurred in the form Kossa, Cossa (in Slovak pronounced as Koša).³ On the basis of alternating occurrence forms of the name, it can be concluded that the primary, original, the oldest name was the name Koša, which was developed and used by ambient and local Slovenes in the 9th – 10th century. Hungarians known a village named Koša since 10th to 11th century and its Slovak name they adapted to the form of Kasa. It was later prevailing, even permanent Hungarian name for Košice. Slovaks in Abov County and in Košice the Slovak name Koša spontaneously left and adjusted it into the name of Košice. It remained a permanent Slovak name of the Košice city up to present.

Slovak name Košice without a change Czechs accepted, about that there are the documents from the 15th century in the Deeds and letters written in Czech language in Slovakia and also in the Czech Republic.⁴ Also Polish people in Poland accepted Slovak name Košice without a change and since 15th century they used it also in texts written in Latin.⁵ Slovak name Košice, respectively the adjective "košický" occurs in documents written in Slovakia in Slovak language since 17th century.⁶ In the official Hungarian writings the Slovak name occurs from 18th century.⁷

We can briefly summarize, on the base of current research, knowledge and opinions of historians, archaeologists and linguists as the closest neighbouring seats of Košice, namely Barca, Ľubina, Gord, Myslava and Ťahanovce were existing in 10th to 13th century as an ancient Slovak villages.⁸

³ Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapest (MOL), DL, 75 051 „Kossa“ in the year 1282. *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus IX*. ed. by Wenzel, Gusztáv (Pest, 1873), 470 „Kossa“ in the year 1288. See also: Györfy, *Az Árpád-kori...*, 102-103.

⁴ *Středověké listy ze Slovenska*, ed. by Václav Chaloupecký (Bratislava – Praha: Melantrich, 1937), 32, no. 30: „s Kossiczemy“ in the manuscript of Jána Jiskru written in the Czech language in Kremnica in the year 1449; 59, no. 58: „s Cossiczi“ in the year 1452; 56, no. 58: „rychtářovi v Kossyczech“ approximately in the year 1451. See also the page 78, no. 89. *Listář a listinář Oldřicha z Rožmberka II 1438 - 1444*, ed. by B. Rynešová (Praha: Ministerstvo školstva a osvetly, 1932).

⁵ Johannes Długosz, *Historia Polonica IV*, 665 „Kosyce“ to the year 1441. Similarly: Miloslav Vach, „Jan Jiskra z Brandýsa a politický zápas Habsburků s Jagellovci o Uhry v letech 1440 – 1442,“ in *Historické štúdie III* (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1957), 202 – 203. See also: Varsík, *Osídlenie...*, 191.

⁶ *Historický slovník slovenského jazyka II*. (Bratislava: Veda, Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1992), 114 in the password „košický“ he writes „gbelu kossiczkeho“ from the Spišské podhradie from the year 1689; „cossickich“ in the charter of guild from the 17th century.

⁷ Johann Matthias Korabinsky, *Geographisch – historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn* (Presburg, 1786), 284: „Kaschau, Cassovia, Kascha, Kossice“.

⁸ Varsík, *Osídlenie...*, 245, no. 267, 258, 215; 438. Ferdinand Uličný, *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša* (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1990), 322.

The earliest written documents of Košice burghers and the beginning of bourgeoisie in Košice.

Even before the year 1230, inhabitants of Košice Šimon, son of Gregory, priest in Košice and Peter, Paul's son from Košice have owned shares of land in the cadastre of village named Lubina. However, they sold the property in 1230 to other men of unknown origin and the sale was confirmed by Eger Chapter house (Eger Priory) in the relevant Deed.⁹ Since Šimon and Peter sold their own landed estates, they can do so because of their previously owned. With regard to the perception of the text, we can regard it as the oldest but also the indirect evidence of Košice burghers and Košice as a city around the year 1230.

The oldest direct information on the burghers of Košice and Košice as city, they are in the Deed of King Béla IV dated on April 13th, 1249. King through the Deed testified that privileges of burghers in Seňa have provided freedom and privileges, which are already receiving the burghers in Košice, which he gave also them. He wrote just briefly in the Deed, that the privileges of Košice burghers contain e.g. the right to pay tens, right in judicial matters and all other rights not more closely specified. Of course, in the Deed it is also one sentence about the obligations of burghers from Seňa. They will also pay to King the same tax, what pay burghers of Košice and bourgeois households. On the basis of information from used two documents from the years 1230 and 1249 we can establish a finding that the burghers there were living in Košice and Košice was a city already before year 1230.

From the political history of the Hungarian Kingdom is reliably known that Béla IV was the Hungarian King since 1235. However, even during the life of his father and King Andrew II (1205 - 1235) Béla successfully demanded his share in the exercise of the functions of the King, so that since 1220 he was demonstrably younger king in the eastern part of the Hungarian Kingdom. Béla, as younger King, he already could grant burgher's privileges to Košice inhabitants in the years 1220 - 1230. In any case, it happened before the year 1230. However, exactly, so in which year, it remains as one of the mysteries of development of Košice burghers in the 20th years of the 13th century.

Through obtaining of burgher's privileges by Košice burghers began privileged development period of bourgeoisie in Košice. However, consensual, uncontrolled, so spontaneous development here similarly as in other cities in Slovakia and Hungary at all, undoubtedly took place in the 11th and 12th century. However, in consensual period of development of the bourgeoisie, they are absent direct written information on the former Hungarian origin and development of the bourgeoisie and cities.

Košice has been a crossroads of ancient provincial roads they were hauling through adjacent country in the direction of south ↔ north and in the direction

⁹ Marsina, *CDS I*, 259, no. 366 „quod Symon, filius Gregorii, sacerdotis de villa Cassa et Petur, filius Paul de eadem“.

of west ↔ east.

Whereas as a human settlement at the crossroads of provincial roads attracted residents not only from surrounding villages to have acquired a few things that they still needed, but this opportunity was used by contemporary traders. Conformity of a number of circumstances led to the spontaneous introduction of market in Košice. Implementation, but mainly persistent performance of local market was the economic basis of the birth and development of the bourgeoisie in Košice and transformation of the Košice from village to city. These simultaneous processes doubtless run over in the 11th - 12th century.

The favourable geographical position of Košice, but mainly the local market and emerging bourgeois life of the population were undoubtedly very attractive factors for craftsmen from the surrounding villages, but especially for immigrants from abroad, who gradually settled in Košice. The life of new immigrants was almost entirely dependent on the regularly holding market, which was also successfully developing also due to their own making. Immigrants from abroad have brought beside craft and business skills also experiences and ideas about civil and burgher life in his native country. Mainly immigrants and newcomers, so called guests, were the most active group among the group of burghers, who managed in the 20th years of the 13th century to obtain bourgeois privileges through young King Béla. After implementation the privileges and use them in daily life, the spontaneous development of burghers was ended and it was replaced by the development of public and social life of the burghers, especially under the new privileges, thus duly acquired by secular rulers and inventoried in a public register. Privileges have the force of law for the inhabitants of Košice, King, and nobles and for the Church and should be respected even strangers.

Employment of burghers

There are no records concerning to employment of the burghers in Košice during the 12th and 13th century. Nevertheless, we have to consider about the most essential part of almost daily work load and life of burghers. Only knowledge about specific occupations of burghers in Košice during the 14th - 15th century can be the starting point for reflection on occupations. We can to conclude, on the basis of these findings, that the number of Košice burghers created a varied mix of different professional activities. Source of living for individuals, families and households was entirely dependent from the level and the prosperity of their farmer and crafts or trade.

Farming persisted from the previous period of inhabitants of Košice as villagers, peasants and social dependant people. Farming remained as an indispensable way of obtaining all the food for the vast majority of burgher homes in Košice in 13th – 14th century.

The first generation of individuals or a group of growers of vine came from Košice peasants. We can expect that an existence of viticulture there was

before 14th century, but its significant development occurred in the first half of the 14th century. The oldest direct report concerning to Košice viticulture, winemaking and wine trade is from 1347.

The local furriers were the first directly documented craftsmen in Košice. Several Košice furriers already in 1307 founded the guild, i.e. voluntary association with drawn up rules for work and life of the members of the guild. Regulations of the furriers were confirmed by then Mayor of Košice and by City Council members of Košice.¹⁰ Regulations of the furriers from Košice were the oldest guild regulations in Slovakia and in Ungary at all.

In terms of time, a trade was the third occupation of Košice burghers. The beginnings of trade activities in Košice were associated with the sale of its own products by local farmers and wine growers. This activity substantially expanded through Košice traders in the local marketplace. Košice merchants carried out the highest form of trade in position of dealers of various products on the local market and on the markets in nearby towns and cities and later in remote towns in the surrounding of counties and abroad also.

Undoubtedly Košice craftsmen and traders were the initiators of obtaining the right not to pay tolls at markets in Abov County from young King Béla in the end of twenties of the 13th century. In the second half of the 13th century undoubtedly mainly dealers from Košice, as dealers, have traded with a variety of goods. They have bought and sold cloth, grain, salt, iron, wine, lead, furs, wax, honey, flour, horses, oxen, cows, sheep, pigs, tallow, bacon, money, fish, hay and wood.¹¹ It is significant that the first man from Kosice, who was registered through own employment was a local merchant.¹²

Košice traders undoubtedly successfully traded outside Hungary, demonstrably in the north in Galicia and Vladimírsk, in the forties of the 14th century.¹³ Trade and dealership was certainly monetary most lucrative occupation and activity of the burghers from Košice.

Markets and fairs

There are no documents about the possible implementation of the market in Košice on the basis of the authorization of the King. It is known that the Košice burghers obtained privileges in the twenties of the 13th century. It follows that the market took place in Košice before the 13th century and traditionally it was performed in the 13th century.¹⁴ However, only through the record in the Deed of the year 1330 can be learned that the local market was

¹⁰ *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I*, ed. by Vincent Sedlák (Bratislavae: Sumptibus Academiae scientiarum Slovacae, 1980), 225, no. 486. See also the comments of the editors about the preservation of the charters.

¹¹ Wenzel, *CDAC IX*, 204: Gelnická mýtna tarifa z roku 1278.

¹² Sedlák, *RDSI I*, 167, no. 347: „mercator“.

¹³ Juck, *Výsady miest...*, 139, no. 172.

¹⁴ About the trade of Košice in the beginning on the 14th Century see: *RDSI I*, 167, no. 347; 168, no. 350; Juck, *Výsady miest...*, 96, no. 108.

held every Thursday.¹⁵

Košice burghers obtained from King Ludwig I the right to act market every working day in 1347.¹⁶ It was a great commercial advantage for all the burghers, mainly for craftsmen and merchants, because it substantially extended the time of the market, and by this way trading also. Since then, in Košice was held a so-called everyday market. Daily market in the middle of the 14th century took place only in Košice, in other towns in Slovakia remained weekly markets.

Business opportunities of the Košice burghers were significantly increased in the first quarter of the 14th century. Then, in unknown circumstances, but undoubtedly in the interest of the all inhabitants of Košice, especially merchants and craftsmen began to take place once a year annual market, so-called Fair. About performing of fair activities we know from the first record in the Deed from 1330, in this time the Košice Fair was known for inhabitants of Abov County and also in adjacent counties.¹⁷

Burghers of Košice mainly merchants and craftsmen in the middle of the forties of the 14th century again tried to improve business opportunities in Košice in particular through the Fair. They wanted to change the date of the existing Fair and also to enlarge number of days of the Fair. They succeeded in 1347, when King Ludwig I authorized to hold two Fairs in Košice. The first of them lasted seven days on 6th to 13th October, which can be called a Michal's Fair.¹⁸ The second Fair lasted in period of 14 days from the feast of Pentecost or Trinity, therefore sometimes from middle May to middle June, as called Pentecost or Trinity Fair.¹⁹

Operation of two fairs in seeking and profitable parts of the year, i.e. from middle May to middle June and during the second week on October considerably prolonged former three days Fairs. Finally, certainly continues in operation the first Košice Fair. In the middle of the 14th century in Košice took place much more fairs and fair's days than in other cities in Slovakia. Košice daily market during working days of the week and the local two, respectively three Fairs for 21, respectively 24 days yearly presented the greatest business opportunities from cities in Slovakia in the middle of the 14th century.²⁰

Privileges of Košice burghers

Inhabitants of Košice have obtained privileges from young King (prince)

¹⁵ AMK, TA, Jeszeney 2: „feria V... in civitate Cassa ... die fori“.

¹⁶ Juck, *Výsady miest...*, 148, č. 188: „forum, sicut prius, habeant cotidianum“.

¹⁷ AMK, TA, Tókéš 1 „per fora comprovincialia, videlicet in forro ... de Cossa“.

¹⁸ Juck, *Výsady miest...*, 150, no. 189: „nundinas seu ferias ac congregacionem fori annui iniciandi in octavis festi beati Mychaelis archangeli usque quindenam earundem“.

¹⁹ Ibidem, 151, no. 190: „nundinas seu ferias congregacionem fori annui iniciandi a festo beate Trinitatis usque quindenam eiusdem festi sancte Trinitatis“.

²⁰ Only in Bratislava the fair was held from the year 1344 : Juck, *Výsady miest...*, 137-138, no. 169.

Béla in twenties of the 13th century. Reliable record about this is in the Deed of King Béla IV dated on April 13th, 1249, which confirmed the donation privileges to burghers of Košice, then inhabitants of Seňa.²¹

From the history of the development of the bourgeoisie and cities in Slovakia and Hungary, it is known, that in the first half of the 13th century bourgeois has obtained burgher's privileges burghers respectively inhabitants of the fourteen cities. When examining the contents of all the documents on the privileges we find that the privileges have connection with a set of rights and obligations.

The acquired rights contained:

- Election of Mayor and sworn (judex et iurati cives) with judicial and administrative power;
- Exemption the burghers from the jurisdiction of governor respective comitatus;
- Election or selection of pastor for the parish church, whereas the pastor is no longer under power of the relevant representative of archdiocese, but he belong under power of diocesan Bishop;
- The right obtaining a tithe belonging for city pastor from parishioners;
- Exemption from toll charges at some adjacent parts of the country;
- Only burghers in some cities acquired mining law;
- The right to own immovable property and movable assets.

A part of the privileges were also obligations:

- pay to King yearly determined tax;
- equip and send a certain number of soldiers into the army of King;
- adopt, dine and accommodate the King together with his escort, for request during the occasional staying in the relevant Commit (county) or in an adjacent county;
- Give over old coins and accept the new coins each year.²²

The Košice burghers in the second half of the 13th and the first two decades of the 14th century did not consider it necessary to ask for King to provide so-called basic bourgeois privileges for coming into force and use the other, but at that time the standard privileges. The reason was simple. All basic privileges when traditionally used.

Košice burghers up to year 1319 tried to expand and improve privileges in a set of rights and obligations. In 1319 King Charles granted the right to Kosice traders that are not required to pay tolls at booths for royal or aristocratic or church toll booths in counties (comitas) of Abov, Šariš, Zemplín and Uh.²³

²¹ Marsina, CDSI II., s. 223, č. 319: „ut omni libertate gaudeant, qua ex concessione nostra hospites nostri de Kassa perfruuntur“; „tam in decimis exsolvendis, quam in iudiciis, seu eciam in omnibus aliis in eorundem privilegio nominatim per singula et articulatum expressis“.

²² See: Ferdinand Uličný, „Výsadnosť mešťanov od 13. storočia,“ *Historický časopis* 49, no. 3 (2001): 421-430.

²³ Sedlák, *RDSI II.*, 209, no. 442: „a solucione cuiuslibet tributi seu thelonii, tam in castra regia quam ad alios pertinentes, ... in comitatibus de Wyuar, Zemlynio usque ad fluvios Tycie et Sayo...“

They achieved unusual success in the set of obligations to the King, in 1321. Then in the memory of King and also in the memory of Košice burghers still persisted memories of political loyalty to the King when Košice burghers have supported the King by military way in a difficult but ultimately for the King successful battle - Battle of Rozhanovce in 1312. King Charles in 1321, undoubtedly after application of Košice patricians, abolished the annual tax of the individual burgher's households, i.e. half ferton of silver to King. Then the king at the same time stated that the exchange of old coins for new coins will take in Košice six weeks. Finally he agreed that Košice burghers can trade through gold, silver, pennies (groschen) or other coins.

Košice merchants, representatives of a varied group of Košice burghers persistently expressed efforts to expand their rights, and we can say that they were successful in the second quarter of the 14th century.

Košice burghers in effort to expand or improve their own rights in connection to subject of the privileges were successful, mainly in the area of rights for Mayor and City Council. Košice burghers in effort to expand or improve their own rights in connection to subject of the privileges were successful, mainly in the area of jurisdiction of law for Mayor and City Council, in the sense that they as judicial authority shall have the right to solve not only small but also large cases, i.e. all disputes of Košice burghers. However, if some of the parties of the dispute were not satisfied with the statement of the magistrate, the court may recommend the complainants before the court of the King or tavernicus law (*Particuli Juris Tavernikalis*). Such judicial practice was at that time in the most developed cities of Hungary.²⁴

However the greatest achievements in expanding and deepening their rights achieved Košice burghers in 1347. At their request, King Louis I of Hungary (Luis the Great) granted them on July 28th, 1347 privileges of Buda burghers. From the annual harvest of wine they do not send any taxes.²⁵ This custom was without change, because before this agreement no batches of wine were compulsory to give over to the King.

No baron or prelate may require them hospitality and accommodation.²⁶ No burgher shall your land and house to sell to foreigner, only to burgher of Košice.²⁷ It was a new provision in the law order of Košice burghers, although in practice it was previously applied. Childless burgher can give his own property to anybody.²⁸ The burghers will freely choose the pastor for the church in the city.²⁹ They had this right still previously. The burghers will

ac usque ad comitatum de Bereg“. Do comitátu Wyuar vtedy patrilo aj územie Šariša.

²⁴ Juck, *Výsady miest...*, 133-134, no. 164: „ad instar aliarum capitalium civitatum ... ut universas causas tam maiores, quam minores ... iudex ipsorum et iurati ibidem inter ipsos iudicabunt“.

²⁵ Ibidem, 148, no. 188: „de vineis“.

²⁶ Ibidem, „nullus principum“.

²⁷ Ibidem, „nullus hospes“.

²⁸ Ibidem, „quicumque ex ipsis sine herede“.

²⁹ Ibidem, „liberam electionem plebani“.

elect a Mayor who judges all disputes of burghers.³⁰ This right was in Košice applied still previously. Palatine shall require neither from them hospitality and accommodation nor judge them.³¹ This was a new formulation of an older custom. Who would want permanently to live in the city, is expected to contribute to the obligations of the burghers.³² The provision was a new element in the set of privileges Košice burghers. Clash of men must not be a way of resolving disputes between burghers.³³ It was a new part, specifying the rights of the burghers. If the burghers will blame through non-citizens of Košice (foreigners), witnesses may be just the burghers.³⁴

Merchants will carry goods on chariots on the market, which takes place every working day, as till now.³⁵ The market was held in Košice certainly earlier, although no one knows what day exactly it was. From now, they may to trade at a market in each working day; it was a novelty.

Family members of the burghers have the right of ownership of the property in Košice after convicted, punished or escaped burghers.³⁶ The provision certainly only codified the former common in probate matters.

Estate of a childless is distributed as follows. One third belong to pastor for requiem and two thirds belong to the city as a contribution to the construction and maintenance of municipal fortification.³⁷ This provision was a new element in municipal law, although certainly only codified the previous custom. However, it should be noted, and point out that the provision contains the first reliable evidence of previous existing bricked fortification of city of Košice.

Burghers have a right of free elections of Mayor for one year.³⁸ This provision repeated the previous part of privileges of burghers of Košice. An old-fashioned term and improper Latin word for City Mayor - villicus is the proof of the ancient name of this position.

The most important novelty in the set of rights was to have the right to act in Košice market every weekday. In the terminological meaning it was no longer appropriate to speak about the weekly market but the daily market in Košice. Extension, i.e. improving of the rights of Košice burghers confirmed by the Deed of King Luis the Great on July 28th, 1347 has been extended by law to operate two annual fairs in Košice, which was confirmed through other documents by King on the same day. One fair could take place from 6th to 13th

³⁰ Ibidem, „ipsi maiorem ville sibi eligant ... qui omnes causas eorum ... debeat iudicare“.

³¹ Ibidem, „palatinus violenter descendere non possit ... nec eosdem iudicare“.

³² Ibidem, „quicumque cum eis habitare voluerint, habentes ibidem possessiones, cum eis teneantur servicia debita exercere“.

³³ Ibidem, „duellum inter eos non iudicetur“.

³⁴ Ibidem, „cum impetiti fuerint ... ab aliquo extraneo“.

³⁵ Ibidem, „currus descendentes et ascendentes cum mercimoniis apud eos descendant et forum, sicut prius, habeant cotidianum“.

³⁶ Ibidem, „heredes vel proximos, pro homicidio ... maleficio“.

³⁷ Ibidem, „in elemosinas pro remedio anime decedentis ... ad munimenta et edificia castri Cassensis“.

³⁸ Ibidem, „iudicem ... ex eleccione ... in villicum, quem volunt“.

October according to Buda Fair, where may also hold law-suits (trials) before Košice Mayor and City Council.³⁹

King also by another Deed on July 28th, 1347 authorized the operation of the second Fair in Košice, lasting 14 days from the feast of Holy Trinity.⁴⁰ In August and September, Košice patricians and other burghers gradually acquainted with the contents of the three documents of King Luis the Great, issued on July 28th, 1347. The most experienced, most educated and most active of them have concluded that some of the documents can be further improved by content and also stylistically. The result of their volition and consent of the King was a new Deed issued by Luis the Great on October 18th, 1347. Into documents were written down particular the following provisions.

Neither foreign vintners nor winemakers and winegrowers they mustn't tap imported wine until the feast of the Trinity, or Pentecost in Košice, until then they may be dispensed only domestic wines, i.e. Košice origin wines.⁴¹ It was substantially new provision clearly favoured the bar and selling wines from vineyards lying in Kosice or in surrounding of Košice city.

If inhabitant of Košice has committed a crime of theft or killing a man outside the City of Košice, as well should be judged only by Mayor of Košice. Uniqueness of privileges of Košice burghers also meant that they had no tax or military obligations to the King. The only obligation of Košice burghers towards the King in 1347 was an annual grant for the King a reasonable amount of quality meat for roasting.⁴²

Obtaining these large, profitable and advantageous privileges was in the interest of all the burghers in Košice. Merchants have submitted the biggest requirements as follows from the contents of rights. Of course, in the court of King Louis the Great their requirements were submitted, selected, formulated and explained through the man, whose name entered into documents in the form Hannus. He was simultaneously a citizen of Buda and Košice also.⁴³ According to personal name he or his ancestors came from German land and Slovaks in Košice his name have modified to form Hanuš.

Development of self-administration

In the city of Košice were created and permanently acting self-governing bodies, characteristic of all social settlement of burghers, therefore Mayor,

³⁹ Ibidem, 150, no. 189: „nundinas seu ferias ac congregacionem fori annui iniciandi in octavis festi beati Mychaelis archangeli usque quindenam earundem“.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, s. 151, č. 190: „nundinas seu ferias congregacionem fori annui iniciandi a festo beate Trinitatis usque quindenam eiusdem festi sancte Trinitatis“.

⁴¹ Ibidem, 154, č. 193: „nullus extraneus vel aliquis de ipsis civibus vina extranea usque festum Penthecostes in eadem civitate Cassensi propinare audeat ... donec vina ... Cassensium propria vendicioni exponantur“.

⁴² Ibidem, „ut hominem nostrum pro allacione assature semel in anno quolibet remunerare teneantur“.

⁴³ Ibidem, 148, č. 188: „per comitem Hannus, civem ... de ... Cadda et de Buda“; 150, no. 189: „comite Hannus filio Nicolai, dicti Weydner“; 151, no. 190; 154, no. 193.

City Council and the Community (municipality).

We have no information concerning to reeves in Košice during period of 11th up to the early 13th century, i.e. the period of spontaneous development of the city and of the local burghers (bourgeoisie).

New incomers in Košice, who came from abroad, i.e. guests, have obtained burgher's privileges through prince Bela. Part of acquired rights was the right to choose a Mayor and City Council of Košice, who had particular jurisdiction. In the Deed of King Béla IV in 1249 is an austere, but comprehensive record concerning to acquired rights of choice and judicial activity of Košice Mayor and City Council.⁴⁴

Direct evidences of Košice reeves there are since the second half of the 13th century. In the documents from the second half of the 13th century is alternately entered in Latin as villicus and iudex, from the 14th century just as iudex.⁴⁵ Latin name iudex was more apposite, because expressed the jurisdiction of the reeve, i.e. essential part of his official, public activity in the City. Numerous mayors of Košice are namely known since the beginning of the 14th century.

The City Council of Košice was created through board of sworn (in Latin "*iurati cives*") there are direct evidences from the second half of the 13th century.⁴⁶ Council City was created through Board of sworn ("*iurati cives*") in even number from 8 to 12 of adult males. The City Council of Košice was an advisory body for Mayor, especially when judged burghers of Košice or their mutual especially property disputes.

Municipality of the Košice city in early stages of development of burghers was created probably through all adult men. This existence of the municipality persisted even in the middle of the 14th century. The existence of the municipality is documented since the second half of the 13th century by Latin word "*universitas*" in terms of municipality or community.⁴⁷ Košice Mayor (reeve) together with Board of sworn occasionally issued authoritative documents of commercial, judicial, economic and probate matters, for the Košice burghers, at the beginning of the 14th century.⁴⁸

Terminology naming of the burghers and city

Contemporary written sources from the 13th century presented Košice

⁴⁴ Marsina, *CDSI II.*, 223, no. 319: „libertate ... qua ex concessione nostra hospites nostri de Kassa perfruuntur, ... in iudiciis“.

⁴⁵ MOL, DL, 75 194: „villico ... de Kassa“ from the years 1262 to 1273; Juck, *Výsady miest...*, 73, no. 73 „iudex de Cassa“ from the year 1290; *RDSI I.*, 244, no. 532: „Arnoldus, iudex de Cassa“ approximately 1308.

⁴⁶ MOL, DL, 75 194 „iuratis ... de Kassa“ v rokoch 1262 až 1273.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, „universis civibus de Kassa“. Ref. 25, Juck, *Výsady miest...*, 73, no. 73 „universitas ... de Cassa“ in the year 1290.

⁴⁸ Sedlák, *RDSI I.*, 168, no. 350: „Damus pro memoria ... Datum in Cassa“ before the 21th - 27th January 1305; 225, no. 486 in the year 1307, originaly in Latin language; 244, no. 532 „Arnoldus, iudex de Cassa“ around the year 1308.

burghers from social point of view in two Latin words *hospites* and *cives*.

Word *cives* was used less frequently.⁴⁹ Such a characterization in terms of the *burghers* was more accurately, appropriately and correctly as *guests*. However, we should note that the two Latin words in the second half of the 13th century generally had the same content i.e. the *burghers*. Of course, occasionally and exceptionally had been occurred even naming *populi*.⁵⁰ However it has been already inappropriate, incorrect naming in terms of *subjection (liege people)* because inhabitants of Košice city were at that time proven *burghers*.

Košice was characterized in terms of administrative in the second half of the 13th century through Latin word *civitas*.⁵¹ Word *civitas* in meaning *city* properly describes residential urban character of Kosice. However, there was also characterizing through the Latin word *villa*.⁵² In the second half of the 13th century it was already inadequate to describe the city of Košice in the sense Košice like village.

Hungarian kings, nobles, clergy and burghers in the first half of the 14th century regularly, traditionally have described Košice burghers through correct Latin word *cives*, i.e. *burghers* and Košice through word *civitas*, i.e. *city*.

Development of Religious Affairs

Within the religious affairs we must know and describe the evolution of the parish in Košice, i.e. Košice churches, pastors and parishioners also monasteries and monastic society in Košice in the middle of the 14th century.

The existence of the church and the parish in Košice has to be assumed during the initial development of the local bourgeoisie, i.e. already in the 11th up to 12th century. This assumption is indirectly based on two factors, namely the development of neighboring parishes and on the indisputable proven existence of Košice parish in the 13th century. In a Deed from 1230 is the earliest direct evidence, which is concerning to pastor in Košice and indirectly evidence is concerning to the local church and parish.

Košice parish church in the 13th century certainly did not stand in place of the current Dome of St. Elizabeth, i.e. in a space at the street's square. Its location we can to expect in the oldest part of the settlement area of Košice, thus nowadays Kováčská street. Existing church in the first half of the 13th century was in order probably the third in that place. We don't know spiritual

⁴⁹ Marsina, *CDSI II.*, 290, no. 415 in the manuscript of the comes of the Šariš County around the year 1252; MOL, DL, 75 159 in the manuscript of the tavernicus from the years 1291 – 1293; AMK, TA, A Cassovia 3, 4 from the years 1292.

⁵⁰ Marsina, *CDSI II.*, 223, no. 319 in the manuscript of the King Bela the Ivth from the year 1249, in which is use the name „hospites”.

⁵¹ Spiš bishopric, Spišské Podhradie, The private archives of convent of Jasov IV, 31 „stratam ... in civitatem Cassa ducentem“ in the year 1281; AMK, TA, A Cassovia 5 „civitates ... Cassa“ from the year 1297.

⁵² Wenzel, *CDAC VIII.*, 173 „villam Cassa“ in the year 1267.

patron or group of patrons of the oldest churches in Košice.

Present church dedicated to St. Elizabeth of Thuringia and Hungary is from time point of view probably fourth, maybe fifth church in Košice. It was first documented in writing form in 1283, when in this time pastor Arnold has served in the church.⁵³

Original i.e. first church dedicated to St. Elizabeth was built in Košice around the 13th century on the emerging square. The first church served to Košice inhabitants even at the end of the 15th century. Part of its foundation is located under the floor of the ship of the present Dome of St. Elizabeth.⁵⁴

Košice pastors within church legal relations subject to the bishop in Eger, Hungary. A part of religious institutions in Košice was also a local monastery and its occupants the Dominican Order of monks. We can only assume that the construction of the monastery and the action of the first group of Dominicans in Košice occurred in the second quarter of the 13th century. The city on its own expense built a monastery in northwestern outskirts, where the Dominican monastery still exists. The first written record of it comes from 1303.

Nationality of burghers

People of several nations participated in various degrees on the development of social life in Košice during 11th up to 14th century. On the basis of the present knowledge may arise a opinion that residents of Košice in that former period were Slovaks, Hungarians, Germans, perhaps individuals of other ethnic origin.

Slovaks lived in Košice continuously in the 11th - 14th century this finding follows from the development of the settlements adjacent and distant areas, but especially from residential continuity of Košice. Residential development of the oldest, originally ethnically Slovakian part of the settlement then continued, mainly in nowadays Kováčska Street with an adjacent church. Development of Slovak name Košice has continued from the original name Koša into younger and permanent name Košice. Hardly can we doubt that the Slovaks created numerically a majority of the population of Košice.

In chronological order the second population group in Košice were certainly Hungarians. Individuals or households of Hungarian origin can to settle here since 11th century, however, about the Hungarian group, there are not written, noun or settlement parts of Košice. Hungarian name of Košice, i.e. the name Kassa is not a direct proof of residence of Hungarian occupant groups in Košice. Well, all villages and towns in Slovakia had Hungarian names, although only in exceptional lived Hungarians.

Germans were the third ethnic group in Košice. Immigration and residence of individuals and families of German origin in Košice is assumed in the

⁵³ AMK, TA. C Eccl. Hospitale 48: „Arnoldus rector ecclesie Sncete Elisabet de Cassa“. The parson Arnold still served there around the year 1292. Ibidem, A Cassovia 3, 4.

⁵⁴ *Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku II.* (Bratislava: Obzor 1968), 95.

middle of the 13th century. They settled here during the development of the City, whereas the most attractive factor to them was a local market. Just Germans, as Košice burghers have the most contributed in the development of crafts and trade and also in expanding the rights of Košice burghers, especially since 14th century.

Germans were socially most active part of the Košice bourgeoisie since the middle of the 13th century.

Urban and Royal facilities

A poorhouse existed in Košice since the second half of the 13th century and from the first quarter of the 14th century there was the home of the Royal Chamber.

A poorhouse arisen due to an initiative of burgher's and patrician's households. The document concerning to poorhouse comes from 1283.⁵⁵ The house belonging to the King was situated in Košice and in the house representatives of King administered king's profit and money.

Significant development of crafts and trade was due to Košice burghers, who participated in the establishment of the Košice unit *hrivna* (so-called hryvnia or mark) in the first quarter of the 14th century. The earliest direct evidence of Košice unit *hrivna* is from 1329.⁵⁶ The introduction of the Košice unit *hrivna* into the file of weighting and business units, in particular within monetary relations, can be expected in the early of the 14th century, at the latest around the year 1320. Its exact content is unknown. *Košice hrivna* was after *Buda hrivna* of the first weighing unit, called by the city in Slovak territory.

Relationships of Košice burghers to the kings, the bishops of Eger, nobles and burghers

Košice burghers from the beginning of the development of their bourgeois life created and modulated their own relations to the king as the highest secular governor, to political rulers, to the bishops of Eger as functionally closest and highest ecclesiastical authority, to the nobles, the owners of the villages in the vicinity of Košice, mainly to the magnate part of the nobility, as well to the burghers in other cities.

Evolution of the relationship between the burghers from Košice and the Hungarian King we can explore and describe from the beginning of the 13th century. The relationship was expressed by the most important way towards Bela as young king (prince) in the twenties of the 13th century, or later in 1235, when he was the King Belo IV. Acquisition of the burgher privileges from young king Bela has had almost epochal significance for inhabitants of

⁵⁵ AMK, TA, C Eccl. Hospitale 48: „hospitali pauperum“.

⁵⁶ MOL, DL, 41 535 „septem marcarum computi Cassensis“. See also: *Zichí és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család okmánytára I*, ed. by Imre Nagy et al. (Budapest, 1871), 385: „marcam quamlibet ad rationem civitatis Casse computando“ from the year 1332.

Košice, which had no equivalent in success in comparison to sooner or later period.

Mutual positive relationship later arose between younger King Stephen and new settlers in Košice, they were Samphleben and Obl family, for whose young king donated Vyšné Košice in 1261. However, it was only the relationship between young king and worthy donatory men, therefore not a general relationship between the burghers of Košice and young king Stephen.

Košice burghers had the most favorable relationship to King Charles I and Louis I, who provided to Košice burghers the most privileges. Bishop of Eger was in church affairs and relations the nearest functional ruler towards Košice burghers. Košice belonged to the Diocese of Eger since the founding of the Eger episcopate in the beginning of the 11th century. When inhabitants of Košice city acquired between years 1220 - 1230 bourgeois privileges, since this event new church relationships were influenced and evolved into direct relations between the burghers, city pastor and Bishop of Eger. Good mutual relationships between inhabitants of Košice and the Bishop of Eger persisted also later. Development of mutual relations between the burghers and the nobility was generally influenced by completely different volition and refill of life of both social groups. The burghers envied nobles their ownership of large landed estates, villages and estates. Nobles envied burghers that through management of its crafts and merchant activities were able to assemble variety large sums of money.

City of Košice and Košice successful burghers became on the beginning of the 14th century the subject of envy and subjugation through the richest magnate in north-eastern Hungary, Palatine Omodej of the genus Aba. In the summer of 1311 Omodej personally with six sons and dozens of his armed followers and warriors conquered the Košice Square. However, also Košice burghers took up arms. Scrimmage broke, in which burghers of Košice killed Omodej and overpowered his sons and followers, who were captured. Although the widow of the Palatine oligarch Omodej and her sons in early October in Košice undertook to keep determined decisions with confession that they are "liege people" of the King, but they felt humiliated and insulted. They searched way out from the unfavorable situation in the military defeat of King Charles I. They saw timely opportunity in the Battle of Rozhanovce on June 15th, 1312. However, they lost the Battle, because also several inhabitants from Košice fought against them. Since then none nobleman has expressed such hate and enmity against residents of Košice, directly or indirectly.

However residents of Košice developed a desire to acquire land from the nobles. They were successful due to form of mortgage possession and use of numerous, both large and small land holdings.

Mutual social relationships between residents of Košice and burghers in other cities certainly were developed in the 12th century, but about those we have no reports. However even from documents since 13th century we can

examine, explore and describe relationships between burghers from other cities to residents of Košice, but also the relationships of Košice burghers towards burghers in other cities.

When Košice burghers, mainly traders, gradually found that more profitable privileges have burghers in Buda, after that they also tried to acquire the same privileges. They succeeded in 1347, when King Luis I granted them such rights as Buda burghers had. Since then, Košice burghers have had the largest rights within the whole group of burghers in Slovak territory as well as in Hungary at all.

Mutual relations between the burghers of Košice and the burghers in other cities have been particularly influenced by two factors. It was experience and burgher's feeling that they have to assist each other against the common envies that rightly saw in the nobles generally, especially in barons and through knowledge that burghers from different cities are generally, especially in markets and fairs the largest permanent compete with one another.

Building development

After the evaluation of usable contemporary written information and partly also of existing knowledge of historians, but particularly in the light of new knowledge about the history of Košice was a general recognition that the construction and development of urban design and appearance of the city of Košice has been a continuous building process that was entirely dependent on the number of burgher's household and their employment and social stratification, economic prosperity but in particular their personal and social intentions.

It was already mentioned and justified that the oldest residential part of the city of Košice is that part of the present city, which was located in the area of current Kováčská Street. Terraced houses of the burghers by residential way continued in the area of earlier former village called Koša. Socially and customary bourgeois life began and developed there may be from 11th century, but no doubt in the 12th century. Beside to burgher's homes here were situated also the parish church, but we do not know the place and its sanctification.⁵⁷ Unquestionable evidence of the oldest settlement of the part of the city of Košice was medieval name of the street in terms of meaning the Slovak street.

In terms of time's the second habitation or the second street in the city of Košice is certainly a street with the current name Elizabeth Street. Terraced houses and permanent existence of houses along both sides were undoubtedly the work of new settlers, yet German origin from the beginning of the 13th century. This street didn't have name ethnically motivated, because the Germans had no reason denominate it by this way. This street in the direction west ↔ east came down upright to the initial settlement of the city, i.e. towards the street later named Slovak Street.

⁵⁷ The one from the most possible places was the place, where the burghers built the monastery for the Franciscans.

In the open space between the two streets burghers built the first church dedicated to St. Elizabeth of Thuringia and Ungary around the 13th century. The free space between the two streets nearby to the church and adjacent cemetery served as street. At the street along both sides burghers gradually have built new houses. In this manner arose the terraced houses and a square in the form of lens. This way was formed south part, so lower half of Košice Square. The northern half of the square was formed later and it has by now rectangular shape. At the turn of the 13th and 14th century the square has served not only as a place of burgher's meetings, but mainly as a new and has since permanent market place.

On the southern edge of the square burghers built a poorhouse and record about it is since the year 1283.

Probably in the second quarter of the 13th century burghers gave to build a monastery for Dominicans, which has been placed in open space in the north-western part of the city. Proof about already existing monastery of Dominicans and local priory came from the year 1303.⁵⁸

Probably since the middle of 13th century, the burghers gradually have built homes on the open space in the western part of the city. Terraced houses parallel with the square have created the western part of the City. Street with houses has stretched through western side only.

The only building in Košice, which did not belong to burghers or city, was the house belonged to the King. Undoubtedly it has existed since the 13th century. The building served as a warehouse of king's coins, arising from taxes, duties and tolls, also as a stock of old and new coins at their annual exchange. It is not known, in which part of Košice the building was situated.

Košice burghers certainly knew, already in the 13th century, that thieves, who came from surrounding of the city, can steal them rare and useful fixtures and pets. Cleverly built houses including fences and gates around their residences have provided them personal safety and security for other subjects. We can to assume, that at the end of the 13th and at the beginning of 14th century they have built partly brick, partly wood fence, palisade wall around the settlement of the town, through such structural elements have increased its own security in the city.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*, ed. by A. F. Gombos (Budapestini, 1938), 9 „institutum vicarium in provincia Ungariae fratrem Aymericum de Cassa“; Györfly, *Az Árpád-kori...*, 103.

⁵⁹ The theory that the Košice where fortified around the year 1230 was presented by Johann Mathias Korabinsky, *Geographisch-historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn* (Presburg, 1786), no. 284. Václav Mencl, *Středověká města na Slovensku* (Bratislava, 1938), 83. Béla Wick, *Kassa története és műemlékei* (Kassa, 1941); Branislav Varsik, „Slovenská ulica v košiciach a vznik mesta,“ in *Historica Slovaca* VI, VII. (Bratislava, 1948 – 1949), 85 in the year 1948. Halaga, Ondrej R. Halaga, „Dvojité Košice a ich opevnenie,“ *Historický časopis* 37, no. 4 (1989): 489, 490, 497, 503, 507 he argued with the predicted existance of the Chronicle of Košice as well as with the activities of citizens of Košice in the years 1260 – 1290; he also pointed at the not existed and not created manuscripts from the year 1290 as well as with the incorrect

The first record concerning to the construction of a continuous wall with bastions around the city included the entrance gateway is from 1347. In this time Košice burghers acquired the right of Buda burghers and within this law also a right to use two-thirds of the value of the escheats (*bona vacantia*) from Košice's childless persons for the construction of the city's fortifications.⁶⁰ Since the second quarter of the 14th century the residential part of the city was surrounded by a wall. From the outside view of the incoming passengers Košice should look like a castle on a plane.

Since the construction of gates, bastions and the wall around Košice the building development was permanently restricted by two factors: through the number and extent of parcels in city's location and due to the wall or by rampart.

The oldest evidence of Košice's suburb is from the year 1347. The first suburb was created before lower Košice's gate along the provincial road to the city.

Into building development of the city, in broader geographical sense, belonged also the nearby castle. The castle was built by oligarch Omodej of Genus Aba probably shortly before 1310, on the hill, which still has the name Hradová. The purpose of the castle and local military staff was according to the command of Omodej through military force to compel Košice's burghers to recognize the oligarch Omodeja as political suzerain in the city despite the reluctance and resistance of King Charles I and burgher's reluctance. Castle has not fulfilled the expected function of author. After the Battle of Rozhanovce on June 15th, 1312, in which Omodej group was completely defeated, Košice's burghers in their own interest promptly the castle have demolished.

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AMK, TA, Jeszeney 2; Tökés 1; A Cassovia 3, 4, 5; C Eccl.

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interpretations of the few manuscripts and the chronical articles. See also his another work: „Colnice a dôvernici v ríšskom monopole Košíc,” *Historický časopis* 39, no. 1, (1991): 3.

⁶⁰ Juck, *Výsady miest...*, 148, no. 188 „due vero partes ad munimenta et edificia castris Cassensis reserventur“.

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The path of Košice to the privileges of 1347

Attila Zsoldos

Abstract

This paper provides the general characteristic of the path of town Košice to the privileges that received in the year 1347. It also brings the review of relevant events that led into the releasing of privileges by the King in mentioned year. It also reconstructs the circumstances of privileges release and their meaning for the everyday life of the townspeople of selected town. The list of benefits and duties established by the patent of privilege as well as their explanation represents another important part of this paper.

Key words: Košice. Privileges. Burghers. Meddieval period.

Historians have long known the main milestones of the road mentioned in the title and the development process specified by these is unique,¹ with multiple features difficult to understand: my goal is to try to provide an explanation to these.

In 1249, the royal guest settlers from Seňa, Slovakia (*hospites nostri de Scena*) received an approval of Béla IV, king of Hungary to live henceforth with the privileges granted to the king's guests in Kassa [*now Košice, Slovakia*] (*hospites nostri de Kassa*), as the privilege charter issued by the king states in detail (*in eorundem privilegio nominatim per singula et articulatim expressis*). Though only one of the two charters issued to the inhabitants of Seňa survived, we are not fully uninformed concerning the content of the document issued to the inhabitants of Košice, either. Due to the references of the Seňa charter, the charter of the guests residing in Košice contained provisions concerning the manner of tithe payment, jurisdiction and the land tax (*census*) payable annually (*annis singulis*) and by each house (*de singulis mansionibus suis*) and – probably – about the due dates of these.²

Since king Charles I gave permission to the inhabitants of Košice to bring justice by means of their own reeve and jury,³ it is clear that the now lost Košice charter contained some kind of limited jurisdictional privilege: most probably one, which gave the community judge the right to rule in the less significant cases, while restricting the more significant ones to the jurisdiction of the count. It is also due to the privileges received by the burghers of Košice at a later time that we suppose – and do so duly – that this lost Košice

¹ Erik Fügedi, “Középkori magyar városprivilegiumok,” in *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* XIV (Budapest, 1961): 27–28.

² April 13, 1249: *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I–II*, ed. by Richard Marsina (Bratislava, 1971–1987), II - 222–223.

³ January 28, 1342: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku (1238–1350)*, ed. by Ľubomír Juck (Bratislava, 1984), 133–134.

privilege charter did not contain provisions concerning a customs-exempt state, nor provisions concerning removing the obligation of paying the „*lucrum camerae*” tax (nor the *collecta*⁴ tax, levied in lieu of the previous one), since the burghers of Košice received the first of these privileges in 1319⁵ and the second one in 1321.⁶

The fact of mentioning the fair of Košice⁷ in 1311 makes it very probable that the community received the privilege in the now lost privilege charter from the times before 1249,⁸ because Seňa kept fairs, too.⁹ The correlation of the two fairs is also supported by the fact that the fair of Košice was held on Thursday, while the one in Seňa on Wednesday.¹⁰

Among the known and rightly suspected content elements of the Košice privileges, serving as a model for the privileges granted to the burghers of Seňa in 1249 we may find basic, jurisdiction-related information: it makes it clear that the lost document was a *hospes* liberty, giving the community of Košice limited self-governance and therefore the municipality may be considered a royal free village (*libera villa*)¹¹ not a town or city.¹² From this aspect, it is insignificant that starting from the end of the 13th century, Košice is being addressed ever more frequently a *civitas*;¹³ that its judge and jury (*iudex et iurati*)¹⁴ are mentioned in documents and that in 1292 — allegedly

⁴ As to the explanation of this see: Boglárka Weisz, “Collecta levied in lieu of *lucrum camerae*,” in “*Köztes-Európa*” vonzásában. *Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta tiszteletére*, ed. by Dániel Bagi, Tamás Fedeles and Gergely Kiss (Pécs, 2012), 547–557.

⁵ April 9, 1319: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 93–94.

⁶ May 21, 1321: *Ibidem*, 95–96.

⁷ October 3, 1311: *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I*, ed. by Vincent Sedlák (Bratislava, 1980–1987), 392.

⁸ The organization of fairs was bound to the king's permission; see: Boglárka Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok a középkori Magyar Királyságban* (Budapest, 2012), 12–13.

⁹ February 23, 1327: Hungarian National Archives (MOL), „Diplomatikai Levéltár” (DL), 16 095.

¹⁰ Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok*, 135, 28–30 and 37–38.

¹¹ See also, for example, 1267: *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary I. 1000–1301*, ed. by János M. Bak, György Bónis and James Ross Sweeney (Bakersfield, 1989), 42.

¹² *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I–II*, 26. — The following leads to the same conclusion: except for the aforementioned municipality of Seňa, also the municipalities of Zsidópataka [near Drienov, Slovakia] and Koprivnica, Croatia received the liberties of Košice (Oct. 21, 1317: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 88; Jul. 26, 1341: MOL, DL, 40 864.), then Bardejov, Slovakia and Sabinov, Slovakia (March 7, 1376: Carolus Wagner, *Diplomatarium comitatus Sarosiensis quod ex tabulariis et codicibus* (Posonii–Cassoviae, 1780), 99–100; April 15, 1405: *Ibidem*, 174–178.). The privilege charter of Stará Lubovňa, Slovakia of 1342 is counterfeit (May 1, 1342: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 135–136.).

¹³ First time in 1281 (Slovak National Archives and the Private archive of provostship of Jasov, Slovakia. Documents and letters 31; photocopy: MOL, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (DF), 232 795).

¹⁴ See also, for example, October 3, 1311: *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I–II*, 391.

— it even had its own seal:¹⁵ all these phenomena appeared also in the case of other municipalities not being towns or cities, too.¹⁶

The status of the municipality was not necessarily a limiting factor of the development of Košice: it is enough to refer to the data of the papal tithe lists from the 1330's to prove this. In accordance with the aggregated data specified therein, the municipality of Seňa, having the privileges identical to those of Košice since 1249 was paying an annual average of 22 groschen, while Košice paid 552 groschen to the papal tithe collectors,¹⁷ though there was surely not such a difference between the two municipalities in 1249.

However, the *hospes* municipality of Košice – having limited self-governance – meant that the municipality still pertained to the county of Újvár, therefore it was by no means insignificant for the burghers of Košice who was the person, who represented the royal powers in the county of Újvár and how he did so. Starting from the 1280's, this person was Amadé of the Aba clan, who extended his powers to an ever increasing part in the northeast of the Kingdom of Hungary, and from the summer of 1300 his efforts were justified by a royal decree.¹⁸ There is no reason to doubt that Peter, son of George – of the Aba clan (of Drienov, Slovakia) – was the vice count of the county of Újvár (i.e. the county of Abaúj [*in Slovak: Abov*]) under count Amadé Aba between 1288 and 1291, in 1300, and between 1301 and 1304, too.¹⁹ Therefore, we do not have to follow the example of the past Hungarian historians and suspect that Amadé received the municipality as a gift at some unspecified date,²⁰ since it was – pertaining to the county of Újvár – belonging to him at the end of the 1280's even without the royal donation. This situation gives a perfect explanation of the fact why Amadé had his

¹⁵ The Košice City Archives (AMK), *Elenchus iurium et privilegiorum civitatis Cassoviensis fol. XX.*; see also: Ondrej R. Halaga, *Počiatky Košic a zrod metropoly. Hospodársko-sociálne, správne a kultúrne dejiny*, (Košice, 1992), 208–211.

¹⁶ Oradea, Romania has been mentioned multiple times as a „civitas” (Dec.10, 1304: *Anjou-kori okmánytár I–VII*, ed. by Imre Nagy and Gyula Nagy (Budapest, 1878–1920), 89; 1326. [*s. d.*]: MOL, DL, 2271.); Komárom, illetve Patak bírása és esküdtjei (Aug. 14, 1307: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 83; Jan. 26, 1315: *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára I–XII*, ed. by Iván Nagy et al. (Budapest, 1871–1931), 149–150.); Székesfehérvár and Pest (later Buda, too) used a seal even before receiving the city privilege charter (András Kubinyi, “Székesfehérvár középkori oklevéladása és pecsétei,” in *Székesfehérvár évszázadai II. Középkor*, ed. by Alán Kralovánszky (Székesfehérvár, 1972), 151–154. and András Kubinyi, “Buda város pecséthasználatának kialakulása,” in *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából XIV*. (Budapest, 1961), 109–128).

¹⁷ György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* ³–IV (1987–1998), 55, 56.

¹⁸ Attila Zsoldos, “III. András hat nádora,” in *Erősségénél fogva várépítésre való. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Németh Péter tiszteletére*, ed. by Juan Cabello and Norbert C. Tóth (Nyiregyháza, 2011), 289–299.

¹⁹ Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* (Budapest, 2011), 218; Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457 I-II* (Budapest, 1996), 94.

²⁰ See also, for example, Lajos Kemény, Jr, *Száz év Kassa legrégibb történetéből* (Košice, 1893), 14; József Csoma, “Omode nádor fiai és Kassa városa,” *Turul* 29 (1911), 89; Béla Wick, *Kassa története és emlékei* (Košice, 1941), 22; Györffy, *Történeti földrajz*, 106.

official representative in Košice²¹, as well as the – difficult to explain – peculiarity of the 1311 treaty of Košice stating that the sons of Amadé promise not to request Košice as a gift from the king and on the other hand they return Košice along with towns of Moldava nad Bodvou and Gelnica to the king.²²

The burghers of Košice fought with king Charles I in the battle of Rozhanovce against the Amadés and their allies²³ (even though this was proved only by the later chroniclers); however, we can hardly say that the outflow of the king's grace would have repaid the service. Quite the contrary happened: the king recognized the merits of the burghers of Košice only little by little – reluctantly, it seems. In 1319, the town of Košice received the said customs-exempt state, however, it applied only to the territory of the counties Újvár and Zemplén [*Zemplín*].²⁴ The privileges could have been more modest only if they had been granted only for the territory of the county of Újvár. Seen from the standpoint of the municipality, the 1321 privilege removing the obligation of paying the "lucrum camerae" tax (or the "*collecta*" tax, levied in lieu of the previous one)²⁵ might have been even better – it must have had a very positive influence on the economics of Košice – this, again emphasizes the strongly limited nature of the customs-exempt status granted two years earlier. Moreover, in 1323, when king Charles I started to employ a new

²¹ Unknown publisher: MOL, DL, 57 971; for the publications see: Georgii Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis I–XI* (Budae, 1829–1844), VI/2 - 339. (undated, among the deeds from the end of the 13th century) and *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I–II*, 167 - no. 347. (dated 1304–1311). — the date of the letter was specified by János Karácsonyi as from the period 1304–1311 (János Karácsonyi, "A hamis, hibáskeltű és keltezetlen oklevelek jegyzéke 1400-ig" in *A Történelmi Társulat 1908. évi számában megjelent „Pótlások ...”-kal kiegészítve*, ed by László Koszta. (Szeged, 1988), 158–159 - no. 220. sz.), accepted by György Györffy (Györffy, *Történelmi földrajz*, 103, 149.) and then even by Vincent Sedlák. As to the relationship of Amadé and Košice: based on the aforementioned facts it is clear that the *terminus post quem* date of the issue is not necessarily 1304.

²² October 3, 1311: *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I–II*, I - 391, 392.

²³ January 28, 1342: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 133–134; Oct. 18, 1347.: Ibidem, 155., Feb. 10, 1352.: The Košice City Archives, Archivum Secretum (AMK, AS), A. (Cassovia), 15. (photocopy: MOL, DF, 269 075.). — it is also true that the brothers of Jacob, the parish priest of Košice fought in the battle with the king (Dec. 12, 1324: Official archives of the Spiš cathedral chapter, Letters patent 16, p. 8, 9, photocopy: MOL, DF, 263 741.), however, these hardly were burghers of Košice, they were rather aristocrats – landlords in the village of Ragyolc in the county of Szepes [*Spiš*], see: Iván Bertényi, *Az országbírói intézmény története a XIV. században* (Budapest, 1976), 137–139; see also Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457 — Középkori magyar genealógia (Magyar Középkori Adattár)* (CD-ROM, Budapest, 2001). (Szepesi [*Stefffalvi*]). It is also evident that the privilege charters of king Charles I given to Košice refer only to generally mentioned services provided to the king since his arrival to Hungary, both in 1319 and 1321 (April 9, 1319: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 93; May 21, 1321: Ibidem, 95.), though the charters of Charles I from 1317 and 1326 have recorded the fact that the burghers of Košice fought against Charles on the side of the Bohemian king Wenceslas, reigning in Hungary under the name Ladislaus, see also footnote no. 90.

²⁴ April 9, 1319: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 93–94.

²⁵ May 21, 1321: Ibidem, 95–95.

seal,²⁶ the burghers of Košice had their 1319 charter rewritten and confirmed by the king,²⁷ though there is no proof of their getting their 1323 privilege charter confirmation, too; therefore this leads to the suspicion that after 1321 not even the limited customs-exempt state remained in effect. After this came a pause almost two decades long; subsequently, at the beginning of 1342, Košice received – referring to the efforts of the Košice burghers made in the battle of Rozhanovce – "similarly to other major royal cities" (*ad instar aliarum capitalium civitatum nostrarum*), the privilege of settling every case of the burghers of Košice by their own reeve and jury; if these failed to settle the case, not the burghers but the reeve and the jury had to appear in front of the king or the master of treasury — their regular judge (*iudex videlicet ipsorum ordinarius*).²⁸ This decision transformed Košice from a royal free village having limited rights into a fully self-governing city,²⁹ relieving the municipality from the power of the count of Újvár and his jurisdiction. For some unknown reason, the decision was not issued as a privilege charter during the life of king Charles I; however, they had it copied by Stephen Lackfi, the master of treasury – this is how the text survived until today.³⁰

Henceforth, the assignment of privileges to Košice proceeded a lot faster. Two years later, in 1346, king Louis I authorized the burghers of Košice to do the following in the county of Abaúj [*Abov*] (*in comitatu Abawyuar*) : find and condemn the numerous thieves and rogues and other villains, wherever they may be in the county (*ubicunque in dicto comitatu Abawyuar*) and confiscate any goods they may have; moreover, he ordered the people of the surrounding areas to cooperate with the burghers of Košice in all aspects and hand them in the captured villains.³¹ Such a measure would be normally considered to be a grant of the blood court privilege³² – but this is not the case. The charter states that the burghers of Košice were allowed to exercise this right “in the person of master Peter called Poháros, going to war with us, as the count of the same county” (*in persona magistri Petri dicti Paharus comitis ipsius comitatus nobiscum in exercitu existentis*) thus the privilege applied only to the Zadar [*Croatia*] war campaign led against the Venetians.³³

²⁶ Albert Gárdonyi, “I. Károly király nagypécsettjei,” *Turul* 25 (1907), 36; see also: Albert Grün, “I. Lajos király megerősítő záradéka,” *Turul* 19 (1901), 27–37.

²⁷ July 2, 1323: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 99.

²⁸ January 28, 1342: *Ibidem*, 133–134.

²⁹ As it was stated correctly by Gyula Osváth, see: Gyula Osváth, *Adalékok Kassa város közjogi helyzetéhez és közigazgatási szervezetéhez I. Lipót koráig* (Košice, 1918), 13–14.

³⁰ May 21, 1344: AMK, AS, B. (Privilegia), 1. (photocopy: MOL, DF, 269 103.), published in: Gy. Osváth, *Adalékok Kassa város közjogi helyzetéhez*, 80–82.

³¹ May 6, 1346: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 142.

³² József Tutkó, *Szabad királyi Kassa városának történelmi évkönyve* (Košice, 1861), 27. — this is also how the 18th century author of the endorsement of the document proceeded.

³³ Mór Wertner, “Magyar hadjáratok a XIV. században” in *Századok* 39 (1905), 438–439; Gyula Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* (Budapest, 1988), 104–109. — indeed, Peter Poháros fought in the royal army at Zadar, Croatia, see: Oct. 3, 1347. : *Anjou-kori okmánytár V*, 132–134. and Oct 22, 1347: MOL, DL, 108 122.

This conclusion is supported by the fact that the palatine held a general congregation (*generalis congregatio*) – in the usual manner – near Košice for the counties Abaúj [*Abov*] and Sáros [*Šariš*], for the purposes of finding the villains.³⁴

This was followed by granting the privileges to Košice in 1347, in a well-known, though very peculiar way: instead of issuing a single charter containing all the details, the king first issued three solemn privilege charters to the city on July 28 and then two letters patent on October 18. Two of the privilege charters of July 28 were related to annual fairs, concourses held in the city: the first one was held during the week starting with within eight days of St. Michael's feast (i.e. October 6),³⁵ while the other one during the fortnight starting with the feast of the Holy Trinity (thus the first Sunday following Whit Sunday).³⁶ One of the letters patent issued on October 18 repeats the previous provisions concerning the concourse held after St. Michael's day, making sure that the royal charter is duly announced; however, we have to note that the wording was later completed with a text referring to the other annual fair.³⁷ The third privilege charter of July 28 is the one³⁸ containing the standard elements of the city privilege charters issued by the Hungarian kings from 1230 onwards, while the fifth document, i.e. the other letters patent dated October 18³⁹, contains the supplementary provisions of the July 28 privilege charter with the promise that the king shall issue these also in form of a privilege charter.

The fact the five documents have in common is that they refer to the privileges of the city of Buda [*now Budapest, Hungary*] as the origin of the provisions. In 1347, the phenomenon of referring to the liberties of Buda when granting privileges to municipalities had an uninterrupted history of multiple decades. The first example of this is known from the 1263 privilege charter given to the guest settlers in Füzitő [*Almásfüzitő, Hungary*]⁴⁰, then it was seen in the 1265 charter of Komárom, Hungary⁴¹, the 1291 charter of Désakna [*Ocna Dejului, Romania*]⁴², the 1324 charter of Nagymaros, Hungary⁴³ and the 1334 decrees of Szécsény [*Hungary*], Rimavská Sobota

³⁴ June 23, 1347: AMK, *Collectio Schwartzbachiana* 3. (photocopy: MOL, DF, 270 048.).

³⁵ July 28, 1347: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 149–150.

³⁶ July 28, 1347: *Ibidem*, 151–152.

³⁷ October 18, 1347: *Ibidem*, 156.

³⁸ July 28, 1347: *Ibidem*, 148–149.

³⁹ October 18, 1347: *Ibidem*, 154–155.

⁴⁰ 1263. (s. d.): *A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-rend története I–XII*, ed. by László Erdélyi and Pongrác Sörös (Budapest, 1902–1916), II - 325–326.

⁴¹ April 1, 1265: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 47–48.

⁴² January 6, 1291: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen I–VII*. ed. Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner et al. (Hermanstadt–Köln–Wien–București, 1892–1991), 169–170.

⁴³ May 22, 1324: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis I–XI*, VIII/2 - 514–517.

[Slovakia] and Gyöngyös [Hungary]⁴⁴, however, it appears also in one of the privilege charters of Sopron, Hungary.⁴⁵ All these privilege charters refer to the liberties of Buda only in general. However, the 1347 privilege charters of Košice are different: there is no doubt about the fact that four of them were made according to charters of Buda.

The source of the three charters entitling to keep the annual fairs was evidently the charter⁴⁶ of king Ladislaus IV, issued to Buda on June 23, 1287 in a similar matter, though its authenticity is questionable: on one hand, the specific provisions concerning Buda have been removed from the Košice charters, while on the other hand, these were enhanced by the provisions missing from the Buda charters.

The correlation between the privilege charter of Košice from June 28, 1347, which may be considered the privilege charter of the city and two privilege charters of Buda: the Košice charter is a mere exact copy of the wording of two previous Buda privilege charters. The provisions concerning Buda, which were not applicable to Košice have been eradicated from the wording also in this case, however, the wording serving as the blueprint was not extended, unlike the wording of the documents dealing with the annual fairs.

The first thirteen provisions of the Košice charter – from the exemption from the vineyard-tax⁴⁷ to the staple right⁴⁸ – follows the Pest [now Budapest, Hungary] privilege charter of 1244,⁴⁹ containing some elements preceding the year 1242 with some differences in style and the omission of some elements.⁵⁰ The other provisions of the Košice charter are exact copies of the charter issued by king Ladislaus IV on June 17, 1276⁵¹ – naturally, altering the provisions closely related to Buda – who partly rewrote and confirmed the

⁴⁴ May 5, 1334: *Anjou-kori okmánytár I–VII, III - 71–72; Vysady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku, 122–123; Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis I–XI, VIII/3 - 716–718.*

⁴⁵ Nov. 12, 1317: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis I–XI, VIII/2 - 73–76.*

⁴⁶ June 23, 1287: *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, The collection of Dezső Csányi has been extended and prepared for publishing by Albert Gárdonyi (Budapest, 1936), 228–230. — As to the authenticity of the deed: see the comments of Iván Borsa (*Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke I–II*, ed. by Imre Szentpétery and Iván Borsa (Budapest, 1923–1987), no. 3449.), see also György Györffy, *Pest-Buda kialakulása. Budapest története a honfoglalástól az Árpád-kor végi székvárossá alakulásig* (Budapest, 1997), 188–189.

⁴⁷ As to the notion, see: Boglárka Weisz, “II. András jövedelmei: régi és új elemek,” in *II. András és Székesfehérvár*, ed. by Terézia Kerny and András Smohay (Székesfehérvár, 2012), 52–54.

⁴⁸ As to the notion, see: Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok*, 48–107

⁴⁹ Nov. 24, 1244: *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, I - 41–42. — As to the elements from the time before 1242, see: Györffy, *The development of Budapest*, 112–113., 136–138; Attila Zsoldos, “Visegrád vármegye és utódai,” in *Történelmi Szemle* 40 (1998), 23–31.

⁵⁰ The privilege charter of Pest is Buda's own, because king Béla IV transferred the survivors of the Tatar invasion from Pest to the present day castle hill in Buda, henceforth these lived there with the liberties stated in writing in the 1244 privilege charter, see: Györffy, *Pest-Buda kialakulása*, 140.

⁵¹ June 17, 1276: *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, I - 157–158.

privilege charter issued by his grandfather, king Béla IV in 1244 and added new provisions to it, too. The latter ones were included in the 1347 Košice charter, even in unnecessary cases. A good example of this is the matter of the free judge election. This privilege was specified in the 1244 Pest charter and it got copied into the 1347 Košice privilege charter, too.⁵² However, in the fall of 1264 – related to the ever increasing conflict, later leading to a war with his elder son, the junior king Stephen⁵³ – king Béla IV suspended the right of free judge elections of Buda and he himself appointed a leader called the *rector* to lead the city.⁵⁴ So the provision stating that the burghers of Buda “shall not be obliged to accept the judge specified by us, but shall freely elect a judge, whom they want, as it was expressed in the privilege charter issued by our grandfather” (*concessimus eisdem, ut non cogantur recipere aliquem iudicem per nos datum, sed ex electione sua libera assumant in villicum, quem volunt, prout in tenore privilegii avi nostri superius est expressum*),⁵⁵ is present in the 1276 Buda charter rightfully; nevertheless, in 1279 it was again the *rector* appointed by the king, who was the ruler of Buda.⁵⁶ Naturally, repeating this provision in the case of Košice was not necessary, though when formulating the Košice charter, the wording of the Buda charter was followed so closely that this provision made its way into the Košice charter, too, omitting only the reference to the charter of king Béla IV.⁵⁷

This circumstance makes the liberties of the burghers of Buda at last omitted from the Košice charter especially interesting. The above mentioned elements were to be found only in the 1244 privilege charter, given originally to the guest settlers of Pest. The omission of a part of the provisions has an easy explanation: these are provisions applicable only to Buda. In some cases, however, we have to find another solution. The fact that the privilege of money exchange⁵⁸ of the burghers of Pest was omitted from the Košice charter can be easily explained by the fact that the 1321 privilege charter issued by king Charles I⁵⁹ gave Košice a more favorable state, so it is evident that this provision did not make it into the new decree. The provisions concerning the military service of the burghers of Pest⁶⁰ were omitted, too – most probably because in the middle of the 14th century it was not fashionable to include such provisions in city privilege charter. Nevertheless, we would need a good explanation of why the nationwide customs-exempt status

⁵² Nov. 24, 1244: *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, I - 42 and July 28, 1347: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 148.

⁵³ As to the conflict, see: Attila Zsoldos, *Családi ügy. IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as években* (Budapest, 2007).

⁵⁴ András Kubinyi, *Die Anfänge Ofens* (Berlin, 1972), 71–73; Györfly, *Pest-Buda kialakulása*, 194-195.

⁵⁵ June 17, 1276: *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, I - 158.

⁵⁶ Kubinyi, *Die Anfänge Ofens*, 72–73; Györfly, *Pest-Buda kialakulása*, 195.

⁵⁷ July 28, 1347: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 148.

⁵⁸ Nov. 24, 1244: *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, I - 42.

⁵⁹ May 21, 1321: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 95–96.

⁶⁰ Nov. 24, 1244: *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, I - 41.

granted to burghers of Pest⁶¹ was omitted from the Košice decree issued in 1347, even in a modified form. One would hardly believe that this privilege would have not been worth the effort; in spite of this it was not included in the privilege decree and there surely was a good reason to that. So this proves that the first three provisions of the Pest charter concerned warfare, the nationwide customs-exempt status and the vineyard tax exempt status, while the Košice charter contains the latter one, i.e. the vineyard tax exempt status as the first one, introduced with the unambiguous “firstly” (*primo*) expression, with other provisions following this one in the order specified in the 1244 provision charter of Pest.

The close correlation of the Košice privilege charter of July 1347 and the two Buda charters makes clear also why Košice needed another letters patent dealing with the privileges of the city: the July privilege charter meant the takeover of the Buda privileges, however, the privileges necessary for the burghers of Košice due to their local peculiarities were still missing. This hypothesis is supported also by the fact that the provisions of the October deed concerning the jurisdiction and the villains arrested in the city or in its surroundings are quite closely related to the liberties provided by king Charles I in 1342 and by his son, king Louis I in 1346, as stated above, though the correlation of the wordings is less strict than it was in the case of the July privilege charters and the Buda charters.

Scholars have long been aware of the correspondence between the wordings of the 1244 and 1276 Buda charters and the July 1347 Košice privilege charters, respectively. Ferenc Salamon, the monographist of Budapest's history, living at the end of the 19th century used this fact at an attempt to prove the following: both aforementioned Buda charters are fake and they were created sometime during the reign of king Louis I, but earlier than 1347.⁶² Salamon's hypothesis has been rejected by Gyula Pauler⁶³ and Albert Gárdonyi proved it being false using arguments still valid today.⁶⁴

The evident awareness of the burghers of Košice concerning the liberties of the burghers of Buda, as referred to by Gárdonyi⁶⁵ may be easily explained by the fact that count Hannus had a major share in arranging the three Košice charters received in 1347, who was a citizen of both Košice and Buda (*civis [...] de [...] Cassa et de Buda*).⁶⁶ The data required for his identification are in the documents allowing the organization of concourses: these state that he was

⁶¹ Nov. 24, 1244: Ibidem.

⁶² Ferencz Salamon, *Budapest története I–III* (Budapest, 1878–1885), III - 34–84.

⁶³ Gyula Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpád-házi királyok alatt I-II* (Budapest, 1899, reprint: Budapest 1984.), II - 522. (note no. 155).

⁶⁴ Albert Gárdonyi, “Budapest legrégebb kiváltságlevele” in *Turul* 28 (1910), 75–84., 117–127; see also: with the comments of Imre Szentpétery (*Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke I–II*, no. 781).

⁶⁵ Gárdonyi, *Budapest legrégebb kiváltságlevele*, 120.

⁶⁶ July 28, 1347: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 148, 154.

the son of "Michael called Weydner" (*Hannus filius Nicolai dicti Weydner*).⁶⁷ So there is no doubt about the fact that a member of the Weidner family belonging to the elite of the burghers of Buda⁶⁸ was the one, who acted in favor of Košice at the royal court: his grandfather, Veydunerius was mentioned as a Buda juror in 1292 and his father, Michael in 1318.⁶⁹ Another son of Veydunerius, Bartholomew (*Bartolomeus filius Weydneri*), burgher of Buda, served as a witness of a last will in 1312.⁷⁰ Hannus (or John), Michael's son owned mills and vineyards – partly with his brother, Dominic – in the surroundings of Buda⁷¹, however he owned land in the counties Tolna and Fejér, too.⁷² His wife, Margaret came from a noble family in Buda: she was the daughter of John (son of Henc), *rector* of Buda, count of Moson and administrator of the Óvár castle^{73, 74}. Hannus' daughter, Cathleen⁷⁵ married Michael, the son of Töttös Becsei, the royal guard-in-chief.⁷⁶

None of these data contain the slightest reference to the fact that Hannus ever had any links to Košice. Nevertheless, in 1347 he was mentioned as a citizen of the city: maybe he acquired citizenship in Košice following his economic interests – as some hypothesized⁷⁷ – though it may be wise to consider another possibility, too.

At the end of 1324, the sons of a certain Stephen, son of Michael — Simon, Michael and Stephen — confirmed that Margaret, the wife of palatine Philip Druget was the owner of one third of the villages Felnémeti, Középnémeti and Alnémeti,⁷⁸ to which one of the neighbors, John, son of Michael consented, too.⁷⁹ The parties of the transaction were closely related to

⁶⁷ July 28, 1347: *Ibidem*, 150, 151.

⁶⁸ András Kubinyi, "A budai német patriciátus társadalmi helyzete családi összeköttetésekük tükrében a XIII. századtól a XV. század második feléig," in *Levéltári Közlemények* 42 (1971), 225.

⁶⁹ 1292. (s. d.): *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, I – 283; Jan. 20, 1318: MOL, DF 229 964.

⁷⁰ Sept. 4, 1312: MOL, DL 29 662.

⁷¹ Dec. 12, 1337: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis I–XI*, VIII/4 - 292–293; Dec. 13, 1339: *Ibidem*, 369–372; Dec. 20, 1342: MOL, DL, 3536; Jan. 13, 1343: *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára I–XII*, XII - 11–12.

⁷² May 22, 1337: *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára I–XII*, I - 516–517., Nov. 19, 1338: MOL, DL 87 088., July 24, 1346: *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára I–XII*, II - 210–211.

⁷³ Kubinyi, *A budai német patriciátus*, 225, 228; Engel, *Archontológia*, 155, 386.

⁷⁴ May 22, 1337: *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára I–XII*, I – 516; Dec. 20, 1342: MOL, DL, 3536; Apr. 20, 1343: MOL, DL, 97 195.

⁷⁵ Dec. 20, 1342: MOL, DL, 3536; Apr. 20, 1343: MOL, DL, 97 195.

⁷⁶ June 16, 1346: *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára I–XII*, II - 209–210; July 24, 1346: *Ibidem*, 210–211.

⁷⁷ Kubinyi, *A budai német patriciátus*, 225.

⁷⁸ Alnémeti is today's Hidasnémeti, Hungary; Középnémeti is today's Tornynosnémeti, Hungary, while Felnémeti is today's Milhost', Slovakia.

⁷⁹ Dec. 13, 1324: MOL, DL, 75 391. (see also: Slovak National Archives, The Pezinok [Slovakia] branch of the Pálffy family: *Acta Czoboriana* 12., photocopy: MOL, DF, 266 087. and MOL, DL, 90 825.).

each other – they all were descendants of the woman, who served Elizabeth, the wife of king Stephen V. as a nanny in the 1260-1270 period. The woman named Menna – as stated in a fake document – fostered multiple children of the royal couple (among them was Mary, the grandmother of Hungarian king Charles I, the later queen of Naples). Menna's husband was Michael, whose grandchildren transferred one third of the said property to Margaret, wife of Philip. As to the property belonging to the Vizsoly estate of the Hungarian queens, Menna and her husband received the municipality of Alnémeti from queen Elizabeth, Felnémeti from Isabelle, the wife of king Louis IV, while Középnémeti was donated to another son of Menna and Michael, George – the principal of the court of queen Isabelle⁸⁰ – by his Lady.⁸¹ John, the son of Michael, consenting to the 1324 agreement as a neighbor was a relative, too; his mother was a daughter of Michael and Menna.⁸² The wife of palatine Philip was also a member of the family from the mother's side: The marriage of another daughter of Michael and Menna, Elizabeth and an unknown man gave birth to a daughter called Clara, who wed a certain Michael, citizen of Buda: their child was Margaret, the wife of Philip Druget.⁸³ We do not know the date of Philip's and Margaret's wedding, though it seems to have occurred at the end of the 1310's, since in 1318 Philip had an official representative in one of the Németi [*i.e. German*] villages.⁸⁴

The identity of Margaret's father is not clear, since there were multiple citizens named Michael in Buda at the beginning of the 14th century.⁸⁵ Due to the role, which Hannus, son of Michael (son of Veydner) played in the procedure of granting privileges to Košice in 1347 makes it probable that Michael, son of Veydner was the father-in-law of Philip Druget. If Hannus — due to his mother and his sister — had family ties to the surroundings of Košice, we get an answer to the question, why he was so keen on granting privileges to the city. Moreover, the fact that in February 1347, months before the issue of the Košice privilege charter Hannus appears as the leader of the

⁸⁰ see also: Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik. A királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* (Budapest, 2005), 110–112.

⁸¹ 1275. (s. d.): *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, (Based on the manuscript of Imre Szentpétery), ed. by Attila Zsoldos (Budapest. 2008), 106. (no. 166); 1278. (s. d.): *Ibidem*, 114. (no. 177.) and 114–115. (nos. 178a and b).

⁸² And his father was one of the lords of Méra in the county of Abauj [*Abov*].

⁸³ As to the nanny called Menna, see: Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, 109–110; as to the family ties, see: Attila Zsoldos, “Két hamis oklevélről,” in *Történelmi Szemle* 41 (1999), 191–198.

⁸⁴ March 11, 1318.: The state archives of Levoča, Slovakia, The archive of the Spiš cathedral chapter: deeds from the times preceding the battle of Mohács, nos. 28 and 29 (photocopies: MOL, DF 264 142., 264 143.).

⁸⁵ January 20, 1318: *Nicolaus filius Veydner, Nicolaus Lohrer* — MOL, DF 229 964; Dec. 5, 1318: *Nicolaus Lohrer, Nicolaus de Agria, Nicolaus filius Myko* — Slovak National Archives, Official archives of the Spiš cathedral chapter: Deeds 9. 13. 25. (photocopy: MOL, DF, 263 191.); July 24, 1322: *Nicolaus filius Halmanni, Nicolaus filius Myko* — MOL, DF, 229 865.

Košice jury (*Johannes Veyedner*) and in 1352 as a juror⁸⁶ – especially, since his name never appears in the list of jurors of Buda⁸⁷ – it is clear that Hannus, mentioned in summer of 1346 still as a citizen of Buda⁸⁸ moved to Košice and from the beginning of 1347 onwards he was more a burgher of Košice with the citizenship of Buda than vice versa: a burgher of Buda who acquired the citizenship of Košice.

The person of Hannus is the answer to the difficult question as to why did Košice get the privilege charter following the example of Buda in 1347. As a citizen of Buda Hannus might have been fully familiar with the fact that Buda regained the right to elect its judge freely only at the end of 1346,⁸⁹ therefore if Košice had received the privilege of having Buda's liberties at the time, it really would have been a step back for the city. We have a good reason to think that the *spiritus rector* of the 1347 Košice privilege grants was Hannus himself: He could have been the one, who suggested his fellow citizens to request the king to give them the privileges of Buda; he had to be the one, who helped Košice acquire the privilege charter used as a template when formulating the July 1347 privilege charter and it was surely him, who represented the city at the royal court in this matter.

King Louis I – and his father, king Charles I even more – could have decided to grant privileges to Košice in form of a privilege charter, either on their own or by the request of the burghers of Košice, but none of them did so. Naturally, we would like to know, why.

We could say that the conflict that occurred sometime before 1304 and in which the burghers of Košice and some burghers from the Spiš region fought against king Charles on the side of Wenceslas, king of Bohemia made a deep impression in the king and this was the factor preventing him from granting privileges to Košice.⁹⁰ However, we can prove the contrary: as it was stated above – in 1319, 1321 and 1342, the city received some privileges from the king, ones that other cities would receive in the form of a privilege charter. We also have to take into account that during his more than four decades long reign of king Charles I issued only a handful of city privilege charters,⁹¹

⁸⁶ Feb. 6, 1347: AMK, AS, A. (Cassovia), 13. and 14. (photocopies: MOL, DF, 269 074.); Feb. 10, 1352: AMK, AS, A. (Cassovia), 15. (photocopies: MOL, DF, 269 075.).

⁸⁷ Kubinyi, *A budai német patriciátus*, 225.

⁸⁸ July 24, 1346: *Hannus dictus Weyner civis Budensis — A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára I–XII*, II - 210.

⁸⁹ See also: Kubinyi, *Die Anfänge Öfens*, 73.

⁹⁰ May 8, 1317: *Hazai okmánytár I–VIII*. Published by Imre Nagy at al. (Győr–Budapest, 1865–1891), VII. 374; February 7, 1326: The state archives of Levoča, Slovakia, Andrassy család krasznahorkai levéltára, Deeds from the times preceding the battle of Mohács, no. 66 3. (photocopy: MOL, DF, 265 464.); see also: Halaga, *Počiatky Košic*, 312–313.

⁹¹ May 22, 1324: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis I–XI*, VIII/2 - 514–517; May 10, 1328: *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete der Komitate Wieselburg, Ödenburg und Eisenburg I–V*, ed. by Hans Wagner and Irmtraut Lindeck-Pozza et al. (Graz–Köln–Wien, 1955–1999), IV - 26–28; June 3, 1328: *Ibidem*, IV - 34–37; Nov. 17, 1328:

therefore it is quite improbable that the lack of privileges of Košice would have been the result of a factor negatively influencing the relationship of the city and king Charles I: It was rather a policy of the king to grant city privileges very scarcely, not to decrease the income of the supporters of his reign.

The system of rule king Charles used was based on the institute of *honor*⁹² and among the royal property handed over to the property holder *pro honore* were also the royal free villages, along with their income.⁹³ The relationship of the honor property holder and the *hospes* communities in the area he governed was evident in the provinces of old age, such as Transylvania and Slavonia.⁹⁴ At the same time, Košice itself was situated in a province, though it was king Charles himself, who newly created this province. In the period between 1315 and 1334 the king trusted Philip Druget and later his nephew, William with the governance of more and more northeastern counties – the links of these counties were stronger than the fact of having the same count. The force that kept the province together was, just like in the case of Transylvania or Slavonia, the jurisdiction of the baron appointed by the king as its leader: both Philip and William governed their counties with the competence of a palatine even before gaining the title.⁹⁵ The evident proof of the fact that Košice was really under the jurisdiction of the Drugets during the reign of king Charles I. may be found in the privilege charter of the city issued in July 1347. In the 1244 Pest privilege charter the king forbade his dignitaries to require lodging forcefully from the *hospes*' and this provision was included without any change in the Košice privilege charter, too.⁹⁶ The Pest charter

Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku, 115–116; Oct. 3, 1340: *Ibidem*, 130; Nov. 11, 1340: *Ibidem*, 130; Nov. 14, 1340: *Ibidem*, 132–133.

⁹² Pál Engel, “A honor. A magyarországi feudális birtokformák kérdéséhez,” in *Történelmi Szemle* 24 (1981): 1–19; Pál Engel, “Honor, vár, ispánság. Tanulmányok az Anjou-királyság kormányzati rendszeréről,” in *Századok* 116 (1982): 880–922.

⁹³ See also, for example, Sept. 27, 1325: *Anjou-kori okmánytár I–VII*, II – 215; Apr. 22, 1339: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 129.

⁹⁴ April 20, 1322: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen I–VII*, I – 362; Oct. 16, 1328: Tade Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae II–XV*, (Zagrabiae, 1904–1934), IX. 418–419. (see also: Nov. 15, 1340: *Ibidem*, X - 587.); July 17, 1329: *Ibidem*, IX - 478–480; August 27, 1331: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen I–VII*, 446; August 28, 1331: *Ibidem*, 446–447; May 3, 1338: *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae II–XV*, X - 388–389; Apr. 24, 1340: *Ibidem*, X – 537; Aug. 1, 1340: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen I–VII*, I - 506–508. (see also: April 15, 1341: *Ibidem*, 516., 517.).

⁹⁵ Attila Zsoldos, “Debrecen mint igazgatási központ a 14. század elején,” in *Debrecen város 650 éves. Várostörténeti tanulmányok* ed. by Attila Bárány, Klára Papp and Tamás Szalkai (Debrecen, 2011), 49–66; Attila Zsoldos, “A Drugetek és a „hét vármegye”,” in *„Köztes-Európa” vonzásában. Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta tiszteletére*, ed. by Dániel Bagi, Tamás Fedeles and Gergely Kiss (Pécs, 2012), 577–585.

⁹⁶ Nov. 24, 1244: *nullus principum nostrorum violentum descensum facere possit super eos, nec aliquid contra eorumdem recipere voluntatem, sed descendens iusto pretio sibi necessaria debeat comparare* — *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, I – 41; July 28, 1347: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 148. (with the same wording).

repeats the prohibition especially in terms of the vice palatine and it also relieves the *hospes* settlers from the jurisdiction of the vice palatine.⁹⁷ This comes from the fact that in the vice palatine acted in the county of Pest as a count, therefore until the *hospes* in Pest received their privileges, he was their judge, too.⁹⁸ The same provision appears also in the Košice privilege document, though mentioning the palatine, not the vice palatine⁹⁹, therefore there is no doubt about the fact that until the beginning of 1342 Košice was under the jurisdiction of the two Drugets.

Therefore the system of government applied by king Charles I explains why Košice received the full scale of city privileges only gradually. While the province of the Drugets existed, the king kept the most important municipality in its scope and gave Košice only privileges, which did not question this model. The exemption from the payment of the *lucrum camerae* tax, granted in 1319 decreased the income of the king, not that of Philip Druget and the 1342 full juridical immunity decreased the income of William Druget, but it did not affect the land tax. The widely known good relationship of king Charles and the Drugets was a sufficient ground of the king's courtesy. After the death of William, the Druget province was quickly abolished¹⁰⁰ and so Košice had finally a chance to get all the privileges, which it was entitled to receive in accordance with its development level. However, the fact that the privilege charter was issued only in 1347 gives grounds to another suspicion: the leaders of Košice were keen to achieve the privileges of Buda restored in 1346.

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⁹⁷ Nov. 24, 1244: *vicepalatinus violenter descendere non possit super eos, nec eosdem iudicare* — *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, I - 42.

⁹⁸ Győrffy, *Pest-Buda kialakulása*, 137 and Zsoldos, *Visegrád vármegye*, 23-32.

⁹⁹ July 28, 1347: *palatinus violenter descendere non possit super eos, nec eosdem iudicare* — *Yásády miest a mestečiek na Slovensku*, 148.

¹⁰⁰ Engel, *Honor, vár, ispánság*, 907; Pál Engel, “Nagy Lajos ismeretlen adományreformja,” in *Történelmi Szemle* 39 (1997), 145–148.

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The City Elite at the Turn of the 13th and 14th Century in Košice*

Drahošlav Magdoško

Abstract

This paper represents an inquiry into the urban (political and property) elite of Košice. Its aim lies in the analysis of the oldest reference on the names of Town Judge and several other representatives (probably sworn, members of the Town Council) with date around the year 1290. The charter mentioning those burghers was not examined in details yet. Therefore our research summarizes and explores all other informations about those men, leading persons of the town society.

Key words: Košice. The City Elite. Town Council. 13th and 14th Century.

In the following lines we will focus on leading persons of Košice since decades from the end of the 13th and early of the 14th century, when we learn about the first known mayor by their name. Because contemporary reports still are quite enough and given the limited scope of the study, we ignored all numerous references to the men of the city administration, but we focused selectively on some members of the society in Košice.

Before we get to the time, which is outlined in the title of this paper, we have a look at least to the earliest mention about Košice since 1230 there were several names recorded referring to men living in Košice.¹ Around the year 1252 is mentioned a man with name *Nicelet* who admitted own debt at the priest and burghers city of Košice.² Interpretation of record is not clear. They could be fellow-burghers of the priest³ or herewith also they could be fellow-burghers of *Nicelet*.⁴ In the second option, we can to consider the fact that the Germans did not have to be the only or the first guests who came to Košice.

Another source with the names of Košice people is a donation of Upper Košice from younger King Stephen, apparently not only German guests, they are guests of Samphleben and Obl since 1261.⁵ From the late 13th century we have growing number of written sources about Košice and also records of the names of burghers and they are already explicitly associated with the leadership of the City. Especially the Deed from period around 1290 is an

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¹ Richard Marsina, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I* (Bratislava: Obzor, 1971), 259, no. 366.

² Richard Marsina, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae II* (Bratislava: Obzor, 1987), 290, no. 415: „...*Nicelet obligavit se coram plebano de Cassa ... et coram concivibus de Cassa.*“

³ so György Györfy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza I* (Budapest : Akadémiai kiadó, 1963), 105.

⁴ see in Miloš Marek, *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku* (Martin : Matica Slovenská, 2006), 444, com. No. 138.

⁵ Lubomír Juck, *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku (1238 – 1350) I* (Bratislava: Veda, 1984), 43, no. 28.

essential document, which appointed several representatives of Košice, perhaps councillors.⁶ Vylkynus mentioned here, is the first known Mayor of Košice.⁷ He is mentioned also in the Deed from February 1347 as a man who was working in the Office. It is a valuable source because it clarifies the broader genealogical connections. At that time the City took over from descendants of Samphleben and Obl of Upper Košice, who were the owners of the area due to the above-mentioned royal donation (from 1261). According to the text of the agreement concluded between the City Council and former owners of above mentioned territory then belonged to the territory gradually: “*Arnold and Wolkynus, to his brother, our former Mayors and to Herbord Samfleb (and) like to George and Jacob, his brother who, was also called Samfleb.*”⁸

In this citation does not mentioned that Arnold and Volkyn (Vylkyn) could be offspring of Obl, so we can assume that the name Samfleb covered not only the Herbord, but also two brothers-reeves and the like, to further the George and Jacob. Settlement of the property was realized under unknown circumstances sometime after 1275 between the original owners or their descendants and after that compensation the territory of Upper Košice remained only to Samphleben family”.

Arnold, who was mentioned in the record, was also the second known man in Office of Mayor of Košice. Around the year 1290, when his older brother Vylkyn headed Košice, Arnold had to be still very young. Arnold is mentioned in the position of Mayor in the years between years 1307-1343.⁹ Since the period we have not reports on other men of Košice in this position (as reeve) so we can to assume that he held the position even continuously. We can also think over that neither Vylkyn nor led the City during only one year, as stated in a deed issued by the Archbishop. Well in 1347, people of Košice still well remembered him as the former Mayor.

Samphleben family thus had an essential impact on Office of Mayor no later than since the end of the 13th until the middle of 14th century. However, Samphleben itself is not mentioned in donation from 1261 or in its confirmation in 1275 as Mayor of Košice, so staffing occupation of the Office

⁶ The deed comes from years 1289 up to 1292. For her dating and contents see Drahoslav Magdoško, “Vylkynus villicus – najstaršia zmienka o košickom richtárovi,” in *Spoločnosť, kultúra a každodennosť v dejinách Slovenska*, ed. by Alžbeta Bojková (Košice: University of P. J. Šafárik, 2012), 26–33. Edition in Erzsébet Kondorné Látkóczki, *Árpád-kori oklevelek a Heves megyei levéltárban. Diplomata aetatis Arpadiana in archivo comitatus Hevesiensis conservata* (Eger 1997), 77–78.

⁷ Látkóczki, *Árpád-kori oklevelek a Heves megyei levéltárba*, 77: „...Vylkynum villicum....“

⁸ The Košice City Archives (AMK), Archivum secretum (AS), A–Cassovia, 13; Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomataikai Fényképgyűjtemény (in next MOL, DF), 269 074: „...discretis viris, Arnoldo atque Wolkyno fratri suo olym iudicibus nostris necnon Herbordo Samfleb similliter Georgio et Jakobo fratri eiusdem Samfleb eciam vocatis, concivibus nostris...“

⁹ Summary of references in Miroslava Slezáková and Katarína Nádaská, “Košice,” in *Lexikón stredovekých miest na Slovensku*, ed. by Martin Štefánik et al. (Bratislava: Prodama for Historical institute of SAV, 2010), 204.

prior a mention of Vylkyn remains unknown. Similarly, also in other cities, in the second half of the 13th up to 14th century we can see "succession" of the Office of Mayor in one genus.¹⁰ The text of the Agreement since 1347 in the case of Košice speaks at least that of the descendants of the Samphleben family - only Vylkyn and Arnold hitherto were mayors and at once also administrators of family estates (Upper Košice). Herbord, for example, there has not mentioned as mayor, it means that the owner of Upper Košice does not become automatically a mayor.

Arnold, Mayor of Košice is briefly mentioned in written sources also in other than city's contexts. Closer relations with the new magnate genus in north-eastern Hungary, Druget family, who took positions after Omodej family, defeated at the Battle of Rozhanovce (1312), are predictable. A mention in the testament of Abov and Spiš administrator William Druget from 1330, under which Arnold undertaken a liability for the debt of administrator in sum 116 grzywnas of silver, is remarkable.¹¹ It witnessed of wealth of Mayor of Košice. But more about the sources of his income we do not know (just Upper Košice, where the vineyard belonging to burghers could be spreading). It is obvious that the guarantor he has become through personal contacts with administrator. Arnold appears also as a witness (*homo regius, homo noster*) at the financial affairs of the Zipser family of the Lords of Zipser Hrhov - once through the royal regulation (year 1317),¹² and the second time on behalf of Palatine Jan Druget (1332).¹³ It indicates something about his relations and confidence of the King and Druget family to him.

After Arnold, Albert became Mayor, sometime in the middle of the 40th years of the 14th century, but we have not more information about him. Probably he did not come from a family of Samphleben, since he does not mention among the owners of Upper Košice. It was just during his era, when the City Council has agreed with George and Jacob from Samphleben family concerning the purchase of Upper Košice, as proved in the Deed from February 1347.

It points probably to a slight recession of the family from an exceptional position in City's affairs. Even in the summer and in autumn of the same year Košice burghers herewith asked the King about taking over (and rewrite) the

¹⁰ It is also assumed that they were descendants of locators of German settlement in relevant sites after the Mongolian invasion. So Vladimír Rábik, *Mestská kniha príjmov Trnavskej farnosti sv. Mikuláša z roku 1495* (Trnava: Faculty of Arts, University of Trnava 2006), 16.

¹¹ György Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (ďalej len *CDH*) VIII. *Volumen 3*, (Budae, 1832), 509, no. 121.

¹² Together with Phillip Druget and Mikča Ákoš – contemporary leading ruler's officers in north-eastern Hungary and soon in the whole kingdom. MOL, DF, 258 686: „...*magister Phylippus noster fidelis castellanus de Scepus et magister Micx castellanus de Sarus et Arnoldus iudex de Kassa cum filiis Arnoldi comitis auctoritate regia...*“ - *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* I ed. by Vincent Sedlák (Bratislava: Veda, 1980), 110, no. 214.

¹³ MOL, DL, 74 793: „...*presentibus comite Stephano filio [...] de Peruen et comite Arnolde iudice civitatis de Cassa hominibus nostris...*“.

Buda privileges.¹⁴ Well, Samphleben family have not eliminated themselves from the forefront of the City administration and in the second half of the 14th century just mentioned George Samphleben became Mayor several times - he was fourth Mayor known by name.¹⁵

During examination of the text of the Agreement since 1347 we can go even further, because, the Deed states a certain Herbord Samphleben. It is quite remarkable that the names here inscribed heirs do not follow in the chronological order. Primarily Arnold is presented and after him is presented brother Vylkyn, who had to be due to the mention in the document of around year 1290 elder and hence earlier administrator of the family property. After Vylkyn they enrolled Herbord Samphleben, alone without any indication of family relationship, and then the brothers George and Jacob from Samphleben family, whose we can safely to classify into the middle of the 14th century. Mayor Arnold held his position in Office still in 1343, but Upper Košice in 1347 was already sold through George and Jacob. We can to assume that after Arnold just they directly inherited the family property. Thus we have to look for Herbord Samphleben in earlier period. If we would rank retrospectively Arnold and Vylkyna in the minutes from 1347 apply also to this Herbord, who would like as owner of Upper Košice preceded them. However, the possession of the property could get up after 1275, when confirmation of donation to this territory was drawn by still living Samphleben with Obl. In the agreement in 1347 are missing data to suggest what is relationship between Herbord and Vylkyn and Arnold. Probably he was not their brother, because such a relationship is just between the two of them highlighted, like, as well as between George and Jacob. And if he was their father, it would be probably recorded by scribe. Through those considerations we moved therefore in case of Herbord Samphleb at least until the last quarter of the 13th century.

Multiple references there are about the Herbord from Košice just actually from this period. Short statement mentions him in circumstances of summons several people of Košice and their communities to the court of the Master of Treasury (tavernicus law) sometimes in years 1291 - 1293.¹⁶ Guests from Košice, Hanus and George advocated their property claims in Barca (south part of Košice), even earlier, in 1288.¹⁷ This George (already on its own) put in a claim for share in Barca still in the second quarter of the 14th century,

¹⁴ Beside this remarkable chronological context from the text of privilege we can assume and to envisage other circumstances of the time, which was reflected in the privileges; see Drahoslav Magdoško, “Prezatie budínských výsad Košicami v roku 1347,” in *Bítka pri Rozhanovciach v kontexte uhorských a slovenských dejín*, ed. by Ferdinand Uličný and Drahoslav Magdoško (Košice : University of P. J. Šafárik, 2012), 169–189.

¹⁵ List of references concerning to reeves; in Slezáková and Nádaská, *Košice*, 204.

¹⁶ Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, 102: „...Hench, Herbordum, Ryul, Absolonem cives de Kassa...”

¹⁷ Gusztáv Wenzel, *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus IX* (Pest, 1871), 470, no. 337; Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, 102.

when he still lived in Košice.¹⁸ Other sources confirm that they were the sons of Herbord. Deed issued by the Archbishop of Esztergom, already mentioned states among the ten states the representatives of Košice - two brothers, sons of Herbord, immediately after Mayor Vylkyn, around the year 1290.¹⁹ Reading of this record would even be possible in the sense that the Vylkyn himself was their brother and thus son of Herbord. But we were discussed about it in the higher part and due to lack of other evidences we cannot support this interpretation.²⁰ Finally we have to state that Herbord as father of Comes Hannus is mentioned also in 1293 and later directly he himself in position of Comes in 1297.²¹ Therefore it appears that in the same period in Košice have lived (Comes) Herbord and Herbord Samphleben. It is therefore admissible, that he might actually be the same person, so the member of Samphleben family. However, due to absence of direct reports this relationship remains the as assumption only.

In next, we'll briefly focus primarily on Hannus who is mentioned around the year 1290 among prominent representatives of Košice, in 1293 in position of Comes (a kind of administrator) and in 1297²² explicitly as administrator of the Royal Chamber in Košice. Surely, just a successful service management of the sovereign institution was the buttress of his request for donation of forest between Gelnica and Košice from Andrew III. There he had of the settlement plans and certainly also mining intentions. Whereas Hannus was a rich man and he exploited the commercial opportunities offered by the city of Košice. His servant was robbed of cloth, two horses and other things, sometime between years 1304 - 1311.²³ We have numerous reports to him and his descendants. We pick up here at least, that son Jacob became a Canonist of Zipser and also long-time pastor in Košice during the first half of the 14th century.²⁴ Just this Jacob is mentioned beside the Mayor Arnold in the testament of William Druget governor (administrator) of Abov and Zipser territory, in 1330. It was again in an interesting context. He was the third of the four listed witnesses. Young magnate summoned as proof of the testament Peter - the Provost of Myšľa, Abbot Jan of Krásna, Master Jacob from Košice and finally by the Prior Jan of Veľký Šariš.²⁵ They were the representatives of

¹⁸ Györfly, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország I*, 104.

¹⁹ Látkóczki, *Árpád-kori oklevelek a Heves megyei levéltárba*, 77–78, no. 51: „...Vylkynum villicum, Georgium, Hannus filios Herbordi...”

²⁰ Maybe even add that in case of Barca in 1288 featured Hannus and George alone. They are not presented among heirs of Vyšné Košice, on the other hand, younger brother of Vylkyn, named Arnold he was.

²¹ AMK, AS, A–Cassovia, no. 5; *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus V*, 169, no. 110: „...Hannus filius Comitis Herbordi de Cassa...”

²² *Ibidem*, „...Hannus filius Comitis Herbordi de Cassa...”

²³ *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I*, 167, no. 347.

²⁴ For example *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae II*, 384, no. 881.

²⁵ *CDH VIII/3*, p. 506: „...praesentibus honorabilibus viris, videlicet Domino Petro, Praeposito de Misle, Domino Iohanne, Abbate de Zeplak, Magistro Iacobo, Plebano de Kassa, et fratre Iohanne, Priore de Saaros...”

the monasteries except for Jacob. Those facts are undoubtedly a reflection of the seriousness and prestige afforded to these four religious personalities and their institutions in their region, which relates also to the rectory of city of Košice. Finally, Jacob and Provost of Myšľa and Abbot of Krásna also have had similar income amounting to 100 grzywnas and more.²⁶

Descendants of Herbord (son Hannus and grandson Jacob have been appeared over the course of several decades in the most important royal or municipal administrative offices of Košice city - at the Royal Chamber, maybe in the City Council and in the Parish Office. Some historians even consider Hannus to be the Mayor of Košice handpicked by Omodej in the early of the 14th century because of its designation as an official of Omodej in the above mentioned Deed from the years 1304 - 1311.²⁷ However the fact that Hannus' relatives and descendants remained in society of Košice after the Battle of Rozhanovce, it denies that possibility of "collaboration". We assume that Omodej's formulation concerning to Hannus as his officer was related to the appropriation of the incomes of the local Royal Chamber. And just it is appropriate to pay attention to this institution, because we can reveal some facts about operation of the Hannus as well as Košice itself.

The earliest mention of the local Royal Chamber is provided in the above mentioned donation in 1297.²⁸ Medievalists and numismatists, who were dealing with especially on Košice,²⁹ pointed to her activity, because in the synthetic works Chamber is not mentioned.³⁰ Thus, while the part of historians adopted a probable minting of coins in the Košice city at least in the end of the 13th century, fully this view, it seems, has been not accepted. The fact is that up to now the coins have not found that could be attributed to Košice minting in this period. The second record related to the Royal Chamber in Košice city is the city privilege from the year 1321. With regard to the exemption from the payment of *lucrum camerae* tax by Košice representatives is incorporated herein Chamber based in the city as well as the

²⁶ Papal dozens for years 1332-1335 in Győrffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, 55–57.

²⁷ So Győrffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország*, 106 and 108; *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I*, 167, no. 347: „...comitis Henaus, officialis nostri de Cassa...”

²⁸ *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus V*, 169, no. 110: „...Hannus filius Comitiss Herboridi de Cassa, Comes camere nostre Majestatis...” Hannus in position of *Comes* (administrator) he was already mentioned in 1293, but without mention about the Chamber.

²⁹ Apparently as the first Lajos Kemény later Artur Pohl and Ondrej R. Halaga. Petách summarized the opinions and minting of coins in Košice in 1290; see in Emil Petách, *Dejiny mincovania v Košiciach* (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1986), 29–31. They present as the possibility Ernő Marosi and István Petrovics, “Kassa,” in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon* (9. – 14. század). ed. by. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel and Ferenc Makk (Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 333.

³⁰ For example: in *Dejiny Slovenska I*. ed. by Richard Marsina (Bratislava: Veda, 1986), 534; Pál Engel, „Kamara,” In *Korai magyar történeti lexikon lexikon* (9. – 14. század). ed. by. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 320; Márton Gyöngyössi, „Magyar pénztörténet (1000–1526),” In *Magyar középkori gazdaság- és pénztörténet*, ed. by Márton Gyöngyössi (Budapest: Bölcsész Konzorcium, 2006), 227–286.

existence of the province, namely territories for which the Chamber worked.³¹ At the same time they mentioned coins that were emitted by Chamber.³² Just these data created a base on which most emphatically was pointed out by Ondrej R. Halaga.³³ The essential is that it comes to capturing a practice before to the reforms of the King Charles Robert, still under the conditions of the Arpadian period. Since the beginning of the 14th century, it is also mentioned a *hryvnia* of Košice (*grzywna*) as numerical unit (*marca numeri Cassensis*).³⁴

Research of Hungarian historians have long since come to the finding that the coins were originally minted probably only in the one Chamber based in Esztergom. During the 13th century, decentralization occurred. References to other coin's chambers appear gradually: since the second decade in Csanád (later Szeged) and since 50th years in Sriem, Buda and in Slavonia (Pakrac, Zagreb). For the period of Arpad's Ungary the historiography refers only to those sites. Royal (coin's) chambers while staying indicated in the Deeds of 13th - 14th century known simply as *camera nostra*, therefore, just as even the Košice Chamber. Records about them are primarily related to finances: with coinage and their exchange within *lucrum camerae* (hence the name of this tax) or the payment of certain sum or amount of weighed silver. Through the survey of documentary editions, we could not find beside Košice a report on another Royal Chamber up to onset of Anjou family, in which it would be generally not accepted coinage among historians. It is therefore clear that if it did not confirm coinage in Košice, questions are remaining unanswered by why and what should be Košice Chamber different from the others. These institutions were created during the time of Arpad family in order to distribution and its linked coinage and all because of the management (financial) of the incomes of the monarch in the demarcated area.

We can find the parallels between the Košice Chamber and other chambers in Ungary under a person of Hannus. The King rewarded him for loyal services by the granting of land property in 1297. Similarly, previous Arpad rulers showed satisfaction with the administrators of Chambers in the second half of the 13th century. Vylvin, the Comes of Royal Chamber, by donating or buying obtained the land adjacent to the property of the Monastery of Virgin Mary from the Zajači island (Island of Hares) in 1261.³⁵ In 1265 Walter

³¹ Juck, *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku (1238 – 1350) I*, 95: „...*ab omni lucro camere nostre in eadem civitate et provincia existentis...*“

³² Juck, *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku (1238 – 1350) I*, 96: „...*novi denarii iamdicte camere nostre...*“

³³ Ondrej R. Halaga. *Košice – Balt I. Výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom (1275 – 1526)* (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1975), 69–70, 85–87.

³⁴ To year 1307 see Petách, *Dejiny mincovania v Košiciach*, 28; *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I*, 226–227, no. 489. The first mention dates back to 1301, but in the Deed with questionable authenticity; see *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I*, 41–42, no. 30.

³⁵ *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus XI*, 503: „...*Wyluinus Comes Camere nostre...*“

received from Bela IV Komárno village to the castle, which he has obtained previously.³⁶ Ladislaus IV in 1281 rewarded Friedman Jewish for faithful services – gave him a village in the Nitra County.³⁷ This monarch generously awarded also services of Merklin by several assets because Merklin demonstrated the services not only to him and even Stephen V and Béla IV.³⁸ Apparently they were the men - financiers. Hannus appears among such Arpad donations as the last. However, he was not in Košice fresh immigrant, because here lived his father, brother and even, as already mentioned, may be considered belonging to the genus of Samphleben family. For comparison: as a rector Walter was standing right at the forefront of Buda, above-mentioned manager and parallel the administrator of local chamber, several years in the second half of the 13th century.³⁹

Royal Chambers were only in a few locations of Arpadian Hungary. Written mention about Košice Royal Chamber from the late 13th century is mentioned that the monarch perceived Košice and its location at a crossroads as the most suitable place to manage his finances stemming from several counties of northeast part of his Kingdom. Settlements, in which the chambers originated in 13th century, had usually just the character of central city. At the same time there were royal or episcopal castles, respectively cities themselves can build curtain walls (Buda), and through it increased the security of mints. Also, it would support the assumptions about the construction of fortifications Košice at the end of the 13th century.⁴⁰ Within the later reform of networks of coin chambers during period of Charles Robert we can see a tendency to move minting of coins in cities where directly precious metals were mined. Maybe because most likely we count with the fact that organizational changes of the first King of Anjou family restricted the activities of the Royal Chamber of Košice for the fixed period. Mining town Smolník became a seat of the nearest coin chamber in the second quarter of the 14th century, but from the period of Louis I coins had been minted in Košice.⁴¹

In conclusion, we can concluded that, as in some other Hungarian cities also in Košice is in the turn of the 13th and 14th century observable control of Mayor's Office by one leading genus in the local case by Samphleben family. They were probably also had been get to management of the Royal Chamber.

³⁶ *CDH IV/3*, 283: „...Waltero Comiti Camere nostre...“.

³⁷ Imre Nagy, *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius VIII* (Budapest, 1891), 221: „...Fredmanus iudeus comes camere nostre fidelis noster...“.

³⁸ Imre Szentpétery and Iván Borsa, *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jehyzéke. Kötet II. Füzet 2–3 (1272–1290)* (Budapest, 1961), 36.: „...meritis Merclini comitis camere nostre...“.

³⁹ György Györffy, “Budapest története az Árpád-korban,” in *Budapest története I*, ed. by László Gerevich (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 300.

⁴⁰ Longer construction of course we cannot fixate to the specific year; see Drahoslav Magdoško, “Nehodnovernosť tradície o opevnení Košíc v roku 1290,” in *Studia Historica Tymaviensia XIV–XV* (Trnava, 2012), 290–308. Chamber and walls, they has been associated still in works of Ondrej R. Halaga, *Právny, územný a populačný vývoj mesta Košíc* (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1967), 14.

⁴¹ Petách, *Dejiny mincovania v Košiciach*, 31, 42 and next.

Some prominent burghers with property around the city and with contacts to the dignitaries of the country or burghers serving for monarch are knowable phenomena. The existence of the Royal Chamber shows to the development of monetary relations in Košice and in the North-East Hungary - and hence today's eastern Slovakia, where more cities were developing at the time.

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Košice in the Anjou period with special regard to business relations of the City within Central-Eastern Europe

Ján Lukačka

Abstract

A formation of Košice as an important medieval privileged town was completed during the first half of the 14th century. Its convenient location on a crossroads of long-distance trade roads affected the town's status; it became the important commercial and craft centre of the northeastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary. The most intense contacts were those with towns of Northeastern Europe, especially with Cracow. This paper reconstructs the long-distance trade of Košice in selected period, the most popular commodities of trade, town's trade partners as well as the development of town caused by the rising income of Košice mainly from the trade activities.

Key words: Košice. Trade. 14th century. Anjou. Merchants.

The Anjou period that takes up more than four fifths of the 14th century belongs to the brighter periods in the history of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.* The rule of Charles Robert (1301 – 1342), his son Louis I (1342 – 1382) and the independent rule of Louis's daughter Mary (1382 – 1387) seems as a significant step towards consolidation and economic expansion of the extensive multi-ethnic kingdom as compared with the previous period of feudal anarchy during the rule of the last Árpád kings (namely Ladislaus IV and Andrew III). It is undoubtedly Charles Robert, the son of Charles Martel, and his close advisories, whom the most credit must be due for the great turn in the history of the Kingdom of Hungary. They had played a very risky game until the Battle of Rozgony, which could have ended in a completely different fashion than the actual parties had imagined. However, Charles as the disinherited first-born had put everything at stake and won. He broke the might of the Amade and partly of Matthew Csák at the Battle of Rozgony on the 15th of June 1312. This turn of tides allowed King Charles Robert to realize significant reforms in the following decades, which helped the anarchy-subverted country to its feet.¹

The story of Košice, one of the most notable medieval cities of the Kingdom of Hungary, falls right into these historical coordinates. Modest circumstances of the old rural Slovak settlement had quickly changed probably before the half of the 13th century, when a community of relatively

*This study was created within the project VEGA 2/0064/11 Economic privileges and business activities of some Slovak cities in the Middle Ages.

¹ Unfortunately, a substantial work that would evaluate the Anjou period in the history of Hungary is missing. There are only partial works focused on individual aspects of political, economic or cultural development of the Kingdom of Hungary in the 14th century aside of the synthetic overviews.

numerous German guests settled down.² Their presence contributed to a quick transition from an old market and toll town to a medieval city. Although we do not know any other details of this process due to the lack of period sources, it is clear that thanks to the German guests carrying further unspecified privileges, Košice gradually established itself as a craft and business centre of the north-eastern areas of the Kingdom of Hungary.³ At the turn of the 13th and 14th century, Košice were already a developed burgher community, whose leading layer decided to resist the serious pressure from one of the most influential aristocratic oligarchs, palatine Amade and his sons, from the ancient House of Aba. A mutual conflict climaxed in September 1311, when the overconfident Amade knowingly broke the prohibition to enter the city without the approval of the municipal government, which eventually took his life.⁴ Košice and its burghers enter at this moment into direct contact with King Charles Robert, which culminated in an active participation of the people of Košice in the largest knight battle since the times of the Tatar invasion. Košice were put on the pedestal thanks to the fortunate outcome of the battle and the city was able to fight its way through the most significant medieval cities in the country in less than half a century. Although they had to wait eight years for the king's gratitude, he had not forgotten to adequately reward his allegiants. In the span from 1319 to 1342, he granted the city of Košice three principal privileges (1319 exempt of paying toll in the Aba and Zemplén counties, 1342 granting complete judicial authority to the reeve of Košice and the possibility to appeal to the court of the master of treasury). These privileges pushed the city among the most significant independent medieval cities with full rights.⁵

Charles's son, Louis I 'inherited' the gratitude towards the people of Košice for their help in the battle against the oligarchs. His generous favour to the city culminated in the second half of 1347. If there were any basic privileges that Košice lacked, then the king definitely eliminated this handicap. On 28th of July, he granted the city the privileges of Buda with

² In the first half of the 13th century, a numerous German community had already resided in the Aba region within the Vizsoly county that belonged to Hungarian queens. However, these settlements were laid to waste during the Tatar invasion and the surviving Saxons began to settle down in Seňa and especially in Košice. During the second half of the 1440s and 1450s, new Saxon settlers joined their ranks. Vladimír Rábik, *Nemecké osídlenie na území východného Slovenska v stredoveku* (Bratislava: Carpatho-German Society in Slovakia, 2006), 216.

³ The basic burgher's privilege of Košice might have not existed, but we do not know what it contained and what had actually happened with it in the Middle Ages. The only mention about its existence is in the privilege from 1249 for guests from Seňa. However, the people of Košice themselves never used it and did not have it confirmed by any Hungarian ruler, which causes various doubts about a real existence of the aforementioned privilege. Therefore, we cannot accept O.R. Halaga's explanation about its un-necessity after 1347, when the people of Košice were given privileges from Buda.

⁴ This matter has been dealt with in detail by Ondrej R. Halaga, *Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly* (1992), 304-356.

⁵ Ľubomír Juck, *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku 1238 – 1350* (Bratislava: Veda 1984), 106, 108 and 164.

several amended article.⁶ On the same day, the city was granted the right to hold a fair in the octave of St. Michael's Day and what is more, that very day, Louis I granted a new individual privilege charter that gave the right to hold another fair in the octave of the Trinity Sunday.⁷ The king's generosity still did not expire after these events. On 18th of October 1347, the king further specified and amended the recently adopted articles of the Buda law based on a request of an influential Košice and Budapest based burgher, who had supported granting the previous privileges. These articles included namely a complete exempt of paying toll for every visiting merchant that comes to Košice. That exact day on the royal court, comes ("komes") Hanus, a 'lobbyer', negotiated the issue of another royal privilege related to a complete judicial competence of the municipal court. The reeve and city council were given the right to judge and punish criminals (sentencing to death as well) and in case of displeasure parties, the possibility to appeal to the king or the master of treasury. They improved on their draft rights too. Only the burghers of Košice could sell wine in the city until the Pentecost.⁸ Another privilege of Louis I from 1361 undoubtedly stimulated business activities in the city. It granted Košice the right for compulsory stock for goods imported from Russia and Poland.⁹ Together with their fellows from Spiš, merchants from Košice definitely supported another privilege of the aforementioned king from 1364, which entitled these merchants to be in advantage when paying toll on the newly-built, i.e. expanded long-distance road heading from eastern Slovakia through Liptov to Žilina and from there to Silesia (Wroclaw).¹⁰ In 1371, Queen mother Elizabeth showed her favour to the people of Košice as well with a charter that made the merchants of the city equal to the Polish (Krakowian) ones even in the amount of customs paid (thirtieth).¹¹ It was her too, who seven years later halved customs in Polish territory for merchants from Košice and Levoča.¹² King Louis I concluded this series of privileges for the city in 1380, when excluded the burghers from the judicial competence of the county courts. Merchants of Košice welcomed another privilege of the same year that prohibited all judges to hold and imprison the people of Košice for the debts of third parties. All respective feuds had to be solved on the

⁶ Ibidem, 188.

⁷ Ibidem, 189 and 190.

⁸ Ibidem, 193 and 194.

⁹ The original copy of the charter issued on 9th of August 1361 is stored in the The Košice City Archives, D - Depositorium, no. 2.

¹⁰ It could have been near the end of 1364, when the long-distance road to Wroclaw was already operating. The people of Košice and Spiš were obliged to pay toll only at three toll stations, namely in Liptov, Turiec and Žilina. The Košice City Archives, Archivum secretum, F - Telonium, no. 6.

¹¹ Queen mother Elizabeth's charter was issued on 24th of May 1371 in Visegrád. The Košice City Archives, F - Telonium, no. 7.

¹² With her charter issued on 16th of September 1378, the Queen undoubtedly observed the increasing intensity of business relations with the Kingdom of Poland. The Košice City Archives, F - Telonium, no 9.

municipal court of Košice.¹³

Based on the previous data, it is obvious that it was during the 14th century when optimal conditions for business activities of the people of Košice were created not only in the city itself, but within the Kingdom of Hungary and adjacent countries as well. The people of Košice seized this opportunity and hence an influential group of merchants dealing mainly with distance trade was gradually created. Not only did they possess a substantial capital, but also with experiences such as where to buy and sell their commodities with the highest profit possible. They did business mostly with metals (gold, silver, copper and iron) and wine that they themselves finished in the closest area of Košice and in the southern part of the Tokaj region. They were buying a part of the sweeter wine in the region of Sarmatia and supplied it to towns in Spiš and several in Poland. The people of Košice generally traded in leather and fur, wood, agricultural products and livestock. The most commonly mentioned articles of long-distance trade include spices (such as domestic saffron), wax and cloth from Netherlands, England, Germany, Poland and occasionally even Oriental ones. More expensive types of cloths were imported to Košice through Prussia and especially Krakow, which was and important partner of *Hanseatic towns*.¹⁴

In the 14th century, Košice kept their most vital business relations with Krakow, which is proved by the convention about mutual business cooperation from 1390. It allowed merchants from Košice to travel through Krakow further to the north (Gdansk) and to other *Hanseatic towns*. Four years later, the two cities agreed on a mutual pact about their business cooperation. Merchants from Košice could freely come with their goods to Krakow and then move on to other large Polish towns with the exception of Prussia, which at that time was an enemy to the Kingdom of Poland. Similarly, Krakowian merchants could freely come for business to Košice and offer their goods. In case any of the parties wanted to break this aforementioned 'pactum mutuum', it would have to announce this decision four months in advance to allow the respective merchants to take their goods back home.¹⁵ Merchants of Košice kept traditional business relations with Silesian towns as well. However, long distance roads were not ready to handle an increasing number of commercial carriages from Košice. Hence, based on an impulse from the people of Košice and merchants from Spiš, King Louis I ordered to alter and broaden an older road leading through northern Slovakia. Although the main route of this road leads to Silesia, a turn heading towards

¹³ The privileges mentioned here reinforced the legal certainty of the merchants of Košice who were frequently out of home on the road, where they were would face various wrongdoings and sometimes even loss of personal freedom. AMK, AS, B - Iudiciaria, no. 11.

¹⁴ The monograph of O. R. Halaga remains as the essential work for business activities of the people of Košice towards Poland and Prussia: O.R. Halaga, *Košice - Balt: výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom 1275 - 1526* (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1975), 133-254.

¹⁵ Halaga. *Košice - Balt*, 148.

northern Moravia and further to Bohemia had been exist before 1364.¹⁶

Košice also had relatively intense relations with Transylvanian Saxon towns that mediated transfer of goods from south-eastern Europe. On the other hand, merchants of Košice were ambitious to offer their goods in Transylvanian towns, though this was sometimes met with unwillingness of the Transylvanian Saxons. A mutual competition was balanced by delimiting the spheres of interest of both parties. King Sigismund had to interfere with these complex relations in the end of the 14th century. Based on a complaint from merchants of Košice, he prohibited merchants from Transylvania and Oradea to hold the Košice right of stock or otherwise they would be punished by having their goods seized.¹⁷

Naturally, Košice supplied goods acquired by long-distance trade to the area around the river Tisza as well, since there were no significant town centres. However, here they had to handle the rejection of their privileges to pass toll towns toll-free.¹⁸

The story of Košice during the rule of the House of Anjou serves as an example how an average burgher's community could turn to one of the most significant Hungarian cities in the course of the 14th century. At the beginning, there was the courage of community of guests to oppose the violent conquer of palatine Amade, followed by the willingness to support the king's army of knights on the field near Rozgony, where their fate would be decided. The leading layer of the city utilized the advantageous geographical aspects of the city as well as the favour of the Anjou kings to be given new legal (protective) and business privileges. These then supported the development of local crafts and prosperity of burghers. Carrying enough capital with them, merchants of Košice, who possessed legal warranties, took the advantage and has cruised the bumpy medieval roads with their carriages across the central-eastern Europe, in order to sell their goods with a profit and bargain to acquire goods that would then be cashed in back in their hometown.

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¹⁶ Ord. note no. 10.

¹⁷ AMK, AS, D - depositorium, no. 8. People of Košice had to fight for recognition of their right for stock in the following years as well, since unfair ways of sale were getting spread directly on business roads before the entry to the city.

¹⁸ King Sigismund of Luxembourg and his wife Mary were great supporters of Košice. They always promptly answered the complaints of the people related to the lack of respect for their exempt of paying toll on royal tollhouses in the area of Aba and Zemplín to the borders of the Bereg County and on the south until the inflow of river Slaná to Tisza. They had to remind their own castellans and county heads several times to do so. Ord. AMK, AS, F - Telonium, no. 16, 18, 19, 20 etc.

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The oldest Coat of Arms in Europe awarded to a city

Jozef Kirst

Abstract

The main aim of this paper is to provide the review of the historical development of the Coat of Arms of City of Košice. It starts with the general characteristic of pre-heraldic period. Subsequently it provides an overview of the granting and description of each of the four Patents of Arms that selected town received in the period of 133 years.

Key words: Košice. Coat of Arms. Patent of Arms. Heraldry.

The city of Košice is the European Capital of Culture in 2013 and this is a unique opportunity for us to look back to our past and evaluate our results in the field of culture. In any community there are raised the questions: what makes our city unique, what are the fields we can be considered the first. Special types of results are the ones where the initiative has come from the community itself which through its representatives acts in the favour of the whole community. The unique result Kosice achieved in the past and has been using it more than 500 years - is the city coat of arms. It is a symbol of self-expression and presentation on the public in the field of culture. The result of the 133 years endeavour of the former city representatives has been topical and alive since the 15th century.

In the pre-heraldic period, documents issued by towns after acquisition of their autonomy possessed legal weight and force only when they were endorsed by the seal of the town and this forced the towns to have seal-dies. The oldest document concerning the seal of the town Košice is a record and description in the first inventory made in the first decade of the 16th century where the following mention is made under the date 1292: „The first seal to be seen on writings in Košice was: one lily on a branch“.¹ Unfortunately no documents have been preserved which bear the print of this seal. We know only some wax prints from the printed seal dies that show us by their size that it was a smaller seal of the city of Košice. The great, authentic seal with full legal force displays the new patron of the city standing in the middle of the three-wing Gothic altar and giving alms. The angels standing in the side-wings turned to her and they are holding in their hands candles. Above the side altar-wings there are depicted the towers of the city fortification. The circular inscription reads that this is a seal of the citizens of the city.² The seal-die is quite big and a nice metal graving Gothic work in Hungarian relations. This great seal had fulfilled the function of the authentic great seal of the city until the end of 1504.

¹ The Košice City Archives (AMK), Archivum Secretum (TA), Scheutzlichov elench, fol. 19 r.

² AMK, TA, in C-Ecclesia no. 6, NN-Miscellanea no. 24.

In the beginning to the heraldic period we have to say that the burghers' initiative claiming the first armorial warrant came from the times from which we have very few documents, and we do not know also the name of the reeve/magistrate of the city. The first time the Košice-burghers asked for the warrant from the king of Anjou dynasty with French aspect of the heraldry and terminology that became the part of the text.³ We have to be sure that the city offered the king something very significant for the counter-value of the acquired first armorial warrant. What it was, we may only guess today.

The first Armorial Warrant

On the 7th of May 1369 in Diósgyőr, King Luis the Great was the first ruler in Europe who issued an armorial warrant to a city as a legal entity. The text is the following: We, Luis, by God's Grace King of Hungary, by means of this warrant make known to all whom it may concern, that with royal favour, and with regard to the appropriate benefit of our loyal Citizens and guests of Košice, desirous that the same should prosper by gifts of grace, on their devoted and humble request we consent out of special benevolence to allow these same our Citizens of Košice the right henceforth and in eternity to use on the confidential and dispatch seal, or flag, of the City the form of a Shield, extracted from our Royal Sign, with namely from the head a band or line of blue colour charged with three images of lilies, and having up the sides from the base four red lines and just the same of white. Under our confidential seal in testimony to this document, which we shall cause to be drawn up as our privilege under our great seal for these same Citizens, when it is brought back to us. Given in Diosgyor this second day before the feast of the Ascension of Our Lord in this year one thousand three hundred and sixty-nine." (7th of May).⁴

By issuing this armorial warrant Luis the Great, as the first ruler in Europe, overstepped the customary limits in the granting of arms to individual persons. On the one hand he was willing and also awarded the coat of arms, on the other hand he could not style the shield in a way it would accord with the rules of heraldry. At that period, namely, it was unimaginable that a city, as

³ AMK, TA, C-Insignia, no. 1 „tractum seu lienam flavei coloris“, The term „flavei“ does not mean the yellow color, but the blue line; according to the French heraldic terminology.

⁴ AMK, TA, C-Insignia, no. 1 „Nos Lodovicus Dei Gratia Rex Hungarie memorie commendantes tenore presentium significamus quibus espedit universis. Quod nos comodose utilitati fidelium Civium et hospitem nostrorum de Cassa regia liberalitate invigilare cupientes, et eosdem gratiarum donis gliscentes ampliari, at devotam et humilem ipsorum supplicationem, eisdem Civibus nostris de Cassa annuimus ex gratia speciali, ut iidem amodo in sigillo ipsius Civitatis secreto et missivo, ac vexillo, formam Cleppei de Signo nostro Regio extortam, desuper videlicet unum tractatum seu lineam flavei coloris, tribus imaginibus liliorum compaginatum, et de subtus quatuor lineas rufas et totidem albas, lateraliter habentis in perpetuum gestare valeant atque possint. Harum sub nostro sigillo secreto testimonio litterarum, quas in formam nostri privilegii sub magno nostro sigillo, pro ipsis Civibus redigi faciemus dum nobi fuerint reportate. Datum in Diosgewr feria secunda proxima ante festum Ascensionis Domini, Anno eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo nono.“

a legal entity, could obtain those elements of armorial bearings which were the characteristic symbols connected with individuals. These were the helmet, crest and mantling, which only a knight or warrior could wear. The city obtained only the most important part of the coat of arms – the shield. In granting it and defining the charges on it, Luis the Great took his own coat of arms as his starting point but transformed it to create new coat of arms. His arms were split vertically, the right field divided seven times into red and silver bands and left strewn with gold lilies.⁵ For the city shield he created a horizontal split with blue top part in which he placed just three gold lilies. Below this he also divided the whole field seven times into red and silver bands, just as in his own bearings, but starting from the base. This way he achieved the alteration in order to silver and red which was necessary if one basic heraldic principle was to be maintained at the contact line between this field and the head of the shield: colour to metal, metal to colour. In granting this shield and deciding the charges on it, Luis the Great and other rulers after him, who granted coats of arms during the period of active heraldry, kept military requirements in mind. On the banner under which the city divisions would fight, one of two fundamental symbols of the kingdom would be visible: a field divided seven times into red and silver bands. This way the question of the content of the shield in the coat of arms was solved. It remained only to find a solution to the most serious legal and formal problem stemming from the very granting of coat of arms. The rightful granting of a coat of arms according to contemporary custom in the form of charter of privileges would ennoble the city – raising it to aristocratic status. However the vision of a situation in which the city might enforce its position of nobility and attempt to claim its share and representation in the administration of the kingdom, was in 1369 still something impossible. The monarch had to exclude consistently even the possibility of this. And he did so by issuing the warrant in the form of a patent granting temporary rights, promising to draw up an award of privilege guaranteed by the great royal seal which could only be done after presentation of this warrant. Additionally, he limited the use of the arms to the confidential and dispatching seal. This smaller city seal had only lesser legal force and a secondary function. Formally he left untouched the use of the authentic great seal with St. Elizabeth, which had full legal power. This way to some extent he suppressed the significance of his own decision to grant the bearings.

Košice thus became the first city in Europe to possess an armorial warrant granted by a monarch. They had outrun their era by several decades. It was the first and last awarding of coat of arms in the 14th century. After several decades of waiting, at the beginning of the 15th century the city had an armorial seal prepared, with a shield according to the original warrant. In evaluation of this seal of Košice, where the city has the priority, we have to

⁵ Országos Széchényi könyvtár, Viedenská obrázková kronika, fol. 69 r.

be very careful in making any conclusions whatsoever under the principles of logic and comparing Košice with some other cities. The reason might lead us to false conclusions. For example the smaller seal of the city with circular inscription in Gothic majuscule: S(igillum) MINUS.CIVIUM.CIVITATIS.DE.CASSA, is improperly classified under the schematically engraved angel having the function of the shield bearer. The assertion that: „whereas the angel appears only on the second armorial warrant dated from 1423, there is no doubt that this seal-die was made for the city only after this year“⁶ - cannot be considered truthful. Pursuant to his interpretation there is the image which the city took over from the armorial warrant. In fact the opposite happened, first of all the city seal-die was made with the image of the angel who touched by his wings or hands the shield of the city from above. The city considered the shield without helmet, mantling and crest unsatisfactory so it solved the problem by having engraved an angel on the seal into the space between the circular inscription above the shield. The print of this seal on the documents of 1419⁷ and 1420⁸ is a clear evidence of the fact that it was a municipal initiative and the royal document afterwards made out in 1423 is the image of the angel depicted in the miniature of the second armorial warrant. The city created the angel – the shield bearer as the substitute for the helmet, crest and mantling. The city did not realise that from the aspect of heraldry it was not a help, in fact it made the situation even more complicated. It was introduced in to practice a substitute element that has been accepted but subsequently it prevented the city from getting the further integral parts of the coat of arms. The angel gradually has become in the Hungarian heraldry the shield bearer, substituting the attributes the city wanted to achieve. From the neighbouring cities acquired similarly drafted coat of arms Bardejov⁹ and Kežmarok.¹⁰ It came to significant changes in legal obstacles in 1405. Since that time the cities have become privileged estates in the country formally recognized by the king, and nothing prevented them any more to get their coat of arms in the form of privileges.

The second Armorial Warrant

On the 31st of January 1423 in Bratislava, King Sigismund issued for Košice the first charter of rights and privileges contained the first miniature in the country.¹¹ The city was only partially successful in its attempt to have the incompleteness of the coat of arms and its formal inadequacies remedied. It is not possible to consider a success the fact that the entitlement from the

⁶ Jozef Novák, *Pečate miest a obcí na Slovensku, -I. zväzok, A-M* (Bratislava, 2008), 473.

⁷ AMK, Schwarzenbachiana (Schw.), no. 133 (22.12.1419).

⁸ Magyar országos levéltár, DL 54127 (7.6.1420).

⁹ National Archives in Prešove, Branch Office Bardejov, Magistrates of Bardejov, Patent of Arms from the year 1453.

¹⁰ National Archives in Levoči, Branch Office Poprad, Magistrates of Kežmarok, Patent of Arms from the year 1463.

¹¹ AMK, TA, C-Insignia, no. 2.

original warrant was practically copied word-for-word. The miniator had only redrawn the city seal-matrix and he magnified the picture of the angel in proportionately to the shield. Another remarkable feature of this armorial warrant is that there is a second shield, painted on the lower corner below the text which is the coat of arms of the mayor of the city that time, Johanes Hebenstreyt. The text of the document does not contain a blazon, only refers to the miniature.

The third Armorial Warrant

On the 7th February 1453 in Bratislava King Ladislaus V granted Košice a deed of privilege that involved further efforts by the city to redress the incompleteness of the coat of arms.¹² It is another semi-successful, partial advance. It is still not acceptable that a city acquire a complete coat of arms. Ladislaus V does not touch the shield bearings. His response was to enrich the shield by adding a gold coronet at the upper rim of the shield. In the subsequent text he referred like Sigismund to the painted miniature. The miniaturist however reinstated below the blue top section of the shield the field divided seven times into red and silver bars which were characteristic that time. By doing this he fundamentally changed and confirmed by miniature of 1423 the sequence metal-colour, for the opposite order colour-metal, disturbing the sensitive and heraldically proper version from the past. Under the blue top of the shield there was improperly placed a colour instead of metal. This could be a manifestation of the tendency to preserve the authentic colour pattern of the coat of arms of the realm, and to incorporate it into the coat of arms of those cities, who have acquired their armorial warrants first time. So Bardejov in 1453¹³ and Kežmarok in 1463¹⁴ got their arms with the same heraldic mistake through colour-colour combination. Contemporary taste also determined the miniaturist's adaptation of the form of the early Gothic shield to late Gothic. On the miniature it is surprising, that in the places over the corners of the upper rim of the shield limited by the long and short feathers of the angel's wings the drawing shows through. It is in this area which should have the colour of a neutral, brick-clay background, but is in fact greyish, and plenty of lines show through. The fact is that there is some original artwork there which does not match with the end-result of the miniature, that was obviously removed and the remaining space filled with wavy lines, as basic drawing excluding any subsequent painting. This is the space where the helmets, crest and mantling should be placed. And finally the fact is that the subsequent armorial warrant placed the mentioned attributes here. Ladislaus V extended permission to use the coat of arms on any form of

¹² AMK, TA, C-Insignia, no. 3.

¹³ National Archives in Prešove, Branch Office Bardejov, Magistrates of Bardejov, Patent of Arms from the year 1453.

¹⁴ National Archives in Levoči, Branch Office Poprad, Magistrates of Kežmarok, Patent of Arms from the year 1463.

seal or object. In conclusion he added to the warrant the right to use red wax. In spite of the fact that the city could have made a new great seal it did not do so. It did not either replace the above mentioned smaller seal only had changed the colour of the wax from green to red. The intensity with which the need for a complete coat of arms was felt, we can see directly on the north tower of the St. Elizabeth cathedral, where on the last known representation of the original shield of arms (1497), made five years before the next warrant (1502) there is the city coat of arms sculpted in classical form already boasting a helm and mantling, even though these should not have been included at that time.

The fourth Armorial Warrant

On the 8th December 1502 in Buda, King Wladislav II issued for Košice an armorial warrant consummating the development of the city's coat of arms,¹⁵ the first in the realm giving a city a shield together with a helmet and crest and mantling. Usage based on force of habit established through maintenance was not considered sufficient. The city was aware of this fact because in the warrant of 1453 the use of coats of arms by free royal cities was specified either according to right or according to conventions. The first step Vladislav II took was to tackle the bearings on the shield. He left unchanged the blue strip at the top with its three gold lilies, but he vertically bisected the lower field originally divided seven times into the silver and red bars. He corrected the error in the order of colours in the warrant issued by Ladislaus V and in his description he restored the original pointed form of shield. Into the heraldic left hand field created by the bisection, he placed half of Polish eagle taken from his own ancestral arms. Using part of the coat of arms of his wife, Queen Anna, he made the area at the foot of the shield blue, put in another bar sloping to the left of the shield, divided seven times into gold and red segments and complemented it with three lilies, one above and two below. At the top of the shield he removed the gold coronet and replaced it with two helmets with crest and mantlings. The description of the coat of arms in the armorial warrant does not start with the shield. It begins with the supporter and other accessories which appear here in a city's coat of arms for the first time in Hungarian heraldry. The two silver helms have gold coronets and gold clasps. In the centre of the crests which are pair of wings with yellow topsides and blue undersides there is one gold lily apiece. Despite the rich description and the flowery language of the warrant the miniature picture is heraldically more informative. The crests consequentially symbolize the head of the shield and the Anjou dynasty, the red-silver mantling also symbolize the Árpád dynasty, even these details are missing in the heraldic description. The crests and mantling were created additionally after the coat of arms ordinaries and in their content they were conceived to correspond with the first shield of 1369.

¹⁵ AMK, TA, C-Insignia, no. 4.

We find for the first time in Hungarian heraldry the additional interpretation of the silver bars on the shield, which under the warrant are improperly considered the main rivers in the realm: Danube, Tisa, Dráva, Sáva that was included into the famous law-book, the Tripartitum of Werbőczy also. The monarch recalls events which occurred twelve years previously, just after his coronation when his brother Johannes Albertus who also aspired to the crown attacked him with his army from Poland. He took Eger, but then Košice stopped his advance by involving him in a siege lasting several months. From the armorial warrant we can cite: „The city endured and did not break, suffering heavy losses and spilling much of blood, but finally the citizens tore into the enemy positions, and achieved a great victory and spoils, during the long lasting and cruel siege. As the one and only bastion of the kingdom, the city stood its ground out of loyalty to the new king. In the year 1504 the city commissioned one of the most beautiful of the Hungarian Renaissance city seals based on the armorial warrant. In contrast to the text and miniature the seal has a late – Gothic shield, and the angel is supplemented with crossed ribbons over his chest. In the conclusion it has to be said that Košice has always been well aware of its heraldic development and of the wealth of its heraldic relics during its history. Pursuant to the historical continuity, the city was of the opinion that the concept and design of any individuals or commissions in the matter of the use of the coat of arms are unacceptable if they did not take into consideration the historical development with the 133 years long efforts of the city, the four armorial warrants from four monarchs and the fact, that the applied coat of arms of the city is a great reward for the citizens’ blood spilled in battles. The city considers the development itself and the achieved result a European uniqueness. It seems that the discussions and research in relation to the Košice coat of arms will never finish. It serves however in favour of the city, and reminds us that our citizens with their efforts and way of thinking stood on the foreground of the European development in the Middle Ages.

The city’s coat of arms is so strongly deep-rooted symbol in the mind of the Košice citizens that on the 500th anniversary of its awarding on 8th December 2002 it was immortalized also in the sculptural form on the Košice Main Street /Hlavná ulica. In the castle of Diósgyőr, today city ward of Miskolc in Hungary, in 2010 there was a memorial tablet installed informing about the oldest awarding of a city coat of arms in Europe.

And finally a brief evaluation of the heraldic priorities and uniqueness of the Košice coat of arms in Europe and in the country. The armorial warrant issued for the city of Košice is the oldest document proving awarding a coat of arms to a legal entity – a city in Europe. No other European city is known from the history who has got four armorial warrants awarded by four monarchs until 1502. After 1405 when the cities were formally represented in the Diet, Košice as the first city in Hungarian Kingdom, in 1423 got its armorial warrant in the form of charter of rights and privileges. The miniature

seen on the document of 1423 is the first armorial miniature in the Hungarian Kingdom placed in municipal document. The miniatures on the documents issued in 1423 and 1502 are the masterpieces of the Gothic and Renaissance arts. Košice as the first city in the Hungarian Kingdom, by means of four royal armorial warrants, succeeded to finish its development in getting the complete city coat of arms in 1502. Almost 150 years long endeavour of the city administration testifies their admirable and strong-minded continual work in the achievement of the set aim – the complete coat of arms.

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The correspondence of Krakow with Kosice in the Middle Ages

Stanisław A. Sroka

Abstract

The correspondence of the city serves as the one of the most valuable sources to depict the trade relations. The correspondence of the city of Krakow refers mostly to trade issues, which might seem to be monotonous and one-sided; nevertheless, it depicts the everyday life of the city residents living on the both sides of the Polish – Hungarian borders. The aim of this paper is to provide the general review of correspondence between medieval Krakow and Košice, with the emphasis on the merchants Ján Kyszwater and debts interventions.

Key words: Košice. Krakow. Correspondence. Trade. Ján Kyszwater.

The city correspondence is one of the most valuable sources to depict the trade relations. We learn from it about the everyday life of the city dwellers, financial problems, dishonest merchants or about the transportation of goods.¹ For the fact that the medieval correspondence addressed to the Krakow's city authorities as well as the registers of the correspondence sent from Krakow have been lost, the letters from Krakow councillors and aldermen must be searched for in the archives of other cities of Poland and in the foreign archives. The city archives of the former Kingdom of Hungary serve as a rich source for the research because of the thriving trade which linked the former capital of the Kingdom of Poland with these cities. The state in which the archives are preserved is obviously diverse. Undoubtedly, the best archive is the archive of Bardejov, which despite many difficulties have been preserved in an excellent condition.² Also, the city archive in Kosice stores a vast collection of the city's correspondence. As early as 1902 Stanisław Kutrzeba published quite a broad collection of records referring to the trade relations between Poland and Hungary.³ This was only possible thanks to Ludwik Kemény – a Kosice archivist – who had sent the letters and documents (more than a hundred) to a Polish historian in Krakow (it should be added that with the consent of the city council). The archive stores 21 letters from the authorities of the city of Krakow to Kosice (until 1526). These letters (but only until 1505) were published by Stanisław Kutrzeba in the previously mentioned collection. Some of the letters which the publisher did not take into consideration have been included in the first volume of *Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego Królestwa Węgier*⁴ prepared by me. However, it must be

¹ M. Starzyński, “Średniowieczny Kraków w badaniach Stanisławy Kutrzeby,” in *Finanse i handel średniowiecznego Krakowa*, ed. S. Kutrzeba (Kraków, 2009).

² S. A. Sroka, *Średniowieczny Bardów i jego kontakty z Małopolską* (Kraków, 2010), 11-12.

³ Kutrzeba, S. “Akta odnoszące się do stosunków handlowych Polski z Węgrami głównie z archiwum koszyckiego z lat 1354-1505,” in *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej* vol. IX (1902).

⁴ *Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego Królestwa Węgier* vol. 1, ed. S. A. Sroka (Kraków, 1998).

added that the collection of records prepared by Kutrzeba included not only the letters from Krakow councillors, but also a large number of the letters from the city of Kosice and some letters from Krakow burghers and noblemen.

The correspondence of the city of Krakow refers mostly to trade issues, which for that reason might seem to be monotonous and one-sided. Nevertheless, it depicts the everyday life of the city dwellers living on both sides of the Polish-Hungarian border known for being unusually disturbed, where a successful journey of a merchant from one of the borderland towns to Kosice and back was quite rare. Therefore, many letters sent by the city of Krakow asked for stolen goods to be returned and for damages to be paid to those merchants who had suffered losses. These losses were the consequence of not only a large number of border robbers but also of the crime committed by state officials, namely, by the customs officers who collected the duty called *tricesima*. These people, in source material referred to as *tricesimatores*, were often evil and became for the Krakow merchants travelling to Hungary the first obstacle, sometimes difficult to overcome. The duty called *tricesima* was introduced during the reign of King Andrew II, but as late as the 14th and 15th centuries it came to prominence.⁵ The collection of *tricesima* was regulated by Sigismund of Luxembourg in the first decree of 1405 for Hungarian cities. Article 17 of this regulation determined that *tricesima* – 1/30 of the value of goods (3,33%) – must be paid on both the goods imported to and exported from the Kingdom of Hungary.⁶ Nevertheless, in the new political situation after Sigismund's death, *tricesima* was raised to 5%, so in practice *tricesima* changed into *vigesima* – 1/20 of the value of a product subject to duty.⁷

In the mid 15th c. the Krakow city authorities corresponded intensively with councillors of Kosice about the case of Jan Kyszwater (Botenwalder), who was firstly a Krakow burgher and then settled in Presov. In 1452 he was carrying the goods from Kosice and was claimed not to have paid the required duty – *tricesima*. As a result, one of the Kosice customs officers, Pongracz, confiscated all his goods worth 300 florins.⁸ This started the dispute between Kyszwater and Kosice, which lasted a few years and which involved not only Krakow councillors but also feudal lords, with Jan Melsztyński taking the

⁵ P. Zs. Pách, *A harmincadvám eredete* (Budapest, 1990); P. Zs. Pách "A harmincadvám az Anjou-korban és a 14.-15. század fordulóján" in *Történelmi Szemle* 41 (1999): 231-236. See also K. Mollay "A soproniak harmincadvámja 1383-1542," in *Házi Jenő Emlékkönyv. Emlékkönyv Házi Jenő Sopron város főlevéltárosa születésének 100. évfordulója tiszteletére*, ed. P. Dominkovits and É. Turbuly (Sopron, 1993), 129-133.

⁶ *Decreta regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns 1301-1457*, ed. F. Döry, G. Bónis and V. Bácskai (Budapest, 1976), 205-206.

⁷ This is proved by the letter from Jerome Lando, a papal legate, Archbishop of Crete, who came to the Hungarian royal court of Matthias Corvinus in 1462. See: P. Zs. Pách "Hogyan lett a harmincadvámából huszad? (1436-1457)," in *Történelmi Szemle* 37 (1995): 257, footnote 3.

⁸ Pách, *Hogyan lett....*, footnote 26.

lead. Both King Casimir Jagiellon and the Bishop of Krakow, Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, were informed of that dispute. First, in May 1452, Krakow councillors asked the councillors from Kosice to help Kyszwater to demand justice. This was the standard form of wording for diverse wrongdoings committed in the trade relations which was used in the correspondence between the borderland towns. This letter also mentioned what damage the Krakow burgher had sustained.⁹ A very intensive correspondence concerning Kyszwater was observed in the period from January to April 1453. In January Jan Melsztyński, who had taken care of the robbed Krakow merchant and regarded him as one of his *familiares*, wrote to Kosice demanding the confiscated goods be returned.¹⁰ In March the same year, another person intervened in Kosice to help Kyszwater – Jan of Czyżów, a castellan and *starosta* (chief administrator) of Krakow.¹¹ From January to March 1453, in their letters to Krakow and to Jan Melsztyński, the councillors of Kosice explained the so called matter of Kyszwater, assuming that both the mentor of the Krakow merchant (Melsztyński) and the Krakow councillors knew only the version of events presented by the complainer himself. In the letter they claimed that Kyszwater had not paid the duty and as a result Pongracz, a *tricesima* collector, had confiscated his goods. The councillors proposed that Kyszwater should, at the time convenient for him, stand a trial before Mikołaj Brczal, who was the superior of royal duty collectors – *tricesimatores*.¹² Melsztyński was quite harsh in his reply, mentioning that the case had engaged his majesty the king on whose behalf Mikołaj Chrzastowski had been sent to Brczal. Melsztyński himself threatened Kosice that if the Krakow merchant's goods were not returned, the Kosice merchants' goods would be confiscated then.¹³ Having heard this threat, on the same day – 17 April, 1453 – the Kosice councillors sent long letters to the Bishop of Krakow, Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, and to Jan Melsztyński.¹⁴ In their letter to Cardinal they described the whole incident adding that Kyszwater had resigned from the city right in Krakow and went – *more aliorum levium hominum* – to the castle in Melsztyn where he was employed as Jan Melsztyński's servant. While serving there, he started robbing Kosice merchants and confiscating their goods. The councillors from Kosice emphasized once again that this dispute should be resolved in court, at the time convenient for Kyszwater. On the other hand, the letter to Melsztyński seemed to be more conciliatory in its content. The councillors explained to Melsztyński that first they had treated a customs officer, Pongracz, not as their co-inhabitant (*non noster coinhabitor*), but as a king's man (*homo regius*),

⁹ Ibidem, footnote 25.

¹⁰ Ibidem, footnote 26.

¹¹ Ibidem, footnote 27.

¹² Ibidem, footnote 30 – 31.

¹³ Ibidem, footnote 33.

¹⁴ Ibidem, footnote 34-35.

which caused the fact that the goods were confiscated *de mandato domini sui*. Later however, when the disputed act was committed, Pongracz was treated as a co-inhabitant, and in consequence, the authorities of the city of Kosice demanded that he provided explanations. He, however, insisted on giving his explanations only to his lord.¹⁵ When the case was to be tried by Mikołaj Brczal, Pongracz's superior, all the parties were called to resolve the intricate dispute, but Kyszwater did not come. In the further part of the letter, the councillors repeated what they had said in the letter to Oleśnicki, so they mentioned the robberies Kyszwater committed near the castle in Melsztyn and once again they appealed for the dispute settlement in court. This dispute between Kyszwater and Kosice lasted many years and the final outcome is not known.¹⁶

The council of Krakow often intervened about the debts with the councillors of Kosice. In 1431, Krakow councillors asked Kosice councillors to help Piotr Hirsberg of Krakow to have the debt paid by Stefan Wallraben of Kosice.¹⁷ There are similar letters of request which date back to 1495. A year later Krakow councillors wrote to Kosice about the king's bugler, Andrzej, whose brother had died in Kosice, which caused some problems with acquiring an inheritance.¹⁸ In addition, the letters of the early 16th c. prove that there were problems with paying regularly the due amounts connected with trading. In 1503 the Krakow councillors demanded from Kosice 320 florins for some Krakow burghers. This case lasted many years on.¹⁹ In the same year (1503) the Krakow councillors asked their friends from Kosice to help Jan Borek from Krakow to receive the money owed by Jerzy Swarcz and in 1521 the merchants from Kosice owed some money to the merchant from Krakow, Lenhardt Fogelwerder.²⁰

The correspondence between Krakow and Kosice is, as it was mentioned earlier, one-sided for the fact that the letters addressed to the Krakow city authorities have not been preserved. Despite this, however, we still have some source material which proves the reaction of Krakow councillors to complaints received from the cities of Upper Hungary. The problems mentioned in the letters sent to Krakow by the councillors from Kosice prove that the robberies were committed on the borderland on a large scale, and not only Hungarians robbed Polish merchants. Inefficient medieval records of the cities of Little Poland, thus not only of Krakow, make it impossible to assess the scale of robberies which Poles committed against Hungarian merchants. We might only presume, on the basis of scarce source evidence, that

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, footnote 36.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, footnote 39 – 44.

¹⁷ *Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego Królestwa Węgier*, vol. 1 no. 55.

¹⁸ Kutrzeba, *Akta odnoszące się do stosunków handlowych Polski...*, 73-75.

¹⁹ Municipal archives of Košice (AMK), Appendix Schwarzenbachiana, no. 18119, Schwarzenbachiana 848, 857; National Archives of Hungary, DF 270871, 270880, 271218); Kutrzeba, *Akta odnoszące się do stosunków handlowych Polski...*, no. 92.

²⁰ AMK, Halagianum, no. 392; National Archives of Hungary, DF 271699.

Hungarian merchants were faced with similar troubles.²¹

To conclude, it must be emphasized that the correspondence of the city of Krakow with Kosice refers mostly to the trade relations on the border between Poland and Hungary. Most of the letters from Krakow authorities (councillors and aldermen) are either the pleading for Krakow merchants whose goods were confiscated by customs officers or the intervention regarding neglectful Hungarian merchants who did not pay their debts. Some of the disputes, for example of Jan Kyszwater with Kosice, were long-lasting and engaged not only the authorities of the two cities but also the elites of the country. The recorded correspondence also reveals the activities in which Krakow councillors were involved in order to help Hungarian merchants who had incurred damage in Poland. Nevertheless, the conclusions about relations should be drawn cautiously, taking into account the state in which this correspondence, especially in the archive of Kosice (no records of the letters addressed to the authorities of the city of Krakow), is preserved.

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²¹ Sroka, *Średniowieczny Bardiów...*, 93-95.

Vienna and its relations to the Regnum Hungariae in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Period (15th–16th century)

Ferdinand Opll

Abstract

The contribution is aiming to outline the alternating relations between Vienna and the Hungarian Kingdom in the late medieval and early modern period under the auspices of reciprocal exchange and interdependencies as well as interferences. The first part of paper represents a brief survey of the development of the conditions starting from the Hungarian land grabbing in the 10th Century and the process of Vienna's development in the 12th Century up to the 15th Century. The second part describes the relations between Hungarian Kingdom and Vienna in the 15th and 16th period.

Key words: Hungarian Kingdom. Vienna. Late Medieval Age. Early Modern Age. Political relations.

Since the earliest mention in the year 881 in the annals of Salzburg history,¹ the evolution and opportunities of what would later become the Austrian capital were closely integrated into the framework of relations to Hungary and the Hungarian people.² From the second half of the 10th century, the *marchia orientalis* was created in the Danube region³ that is currently part

¹ See: Klaus Lohrmann and Ferdinand Opll, "Regesten zur Frühgeschichte von Wien," in *Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte* 10 (Wien 1981): 31 n. 4: »Primum bellum cum Ungaris ad Weniam.« – With regard to the history of Vienna from its origins until the Early Modern Period see: *Vol. 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Ersten Wiener Türkenbelagerung*, (Wien, 2001); *Geschichte einer Stadt. Vol. 2: Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Opll co-ed. by Karl Vocelka and Anita Traninger (Wien – Köln – Weimar, 2003); in the form of a gazetteer see: "Die Stadt Wien" ed. by Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Opll in *Österreichisches Städtebuch Vol. 7*, ed. by Othmar Pickl (Wien 1999). – For the translation I owe many thanks to Ursula Lindenberg (Vienna).

² Summaries about the history of Hungary and the Hungarians have been published: *A History of Hungary*, ed. by Peter Frigyes Sugar, Tibor Frank and Peter Hanák (London, 1990); Miklós Molnár, *Geschichte Ungarns. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Hamburg, 1999); Paul Lendvai, *Die Ungarn. Eine tausendjährige Geschichte* (München, 2001). For the medieval period see: Pál Engel, *The realm of St. Stephen: A History of medieval Hungary* (London, 2001), 895–1526.

³ The best presentation of Austrian history is the series edited by Herwig Wolfram; with regard to the medieval and early modern period see the following volumes: Karl Brunner, "Hrztogtümer und Marken. Vom Ungarnsturm bis ins 12. Jahrhundert," in *Österreichische Geschichte 907–1156*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram (Wien, 1994); Heinz Dopsch, Karl Brunner and Maximilian Weltin, "Die Länder und das Reich. Der Ostalpenraum im Hochmittelalter," in *Österreichische Geschichte 1122–1278*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram (Wien 1999); Alois Niederstätter, "Die Herrschaft Österreich. Fürst und Land im Spätmittelalter," in *Österreichische Geschichte 1278–1411*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram (Wien, 2001); Alois Niederstätter, "Das Jahrhundert der Mitte. An der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit," in *Österreichische Geschichte 1400–1522*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram (Wien, 1996); and Thomas Winkelbauer, "Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter. Voll. 1 and 2" in *Österreichische Geschichte 1522–1699*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram (Wien, 2003).

of Austria, establishing the Babenbergs from Eastern Franconia as the new margravian family. The reigning prince of the Hungarian Árpádians of that time, Vajk, had already been baptized in 985 and had adopted the name of the patron saint of the Passau bishopric, Stephen. From the time of Vajk/Stephen's coronation until the middle of the 12th century, the new Hungarian Kingdom remained a turbulent and uneasy neighbour for Austria as well as Vienna. From the reign of the Margrave Leopold the Blessed (d. 1136), various marriages between his children and members of the Árpádian family are recorded as having taken place, thereby establishing a pattern by which political marriages provided the best guarantee for peaceful relations between dominions both during and long after the medieval period. However, it was also true that conflicts ("bella") continued to take place thereafter. One particularly dramatic event in this context was the battle at the river Leitha near the Austro-Hungarian border in 1246. Duke Frederick II (Frederick the Warlike) of Austria died at the battlefield and with his death the male line of the Babenberg dynasty⁴ became extinct.

For Vienna, which had undergone urban development during Babenberg rule, including the building of city fortifications around 1200, and which had increasingly taken on the attributes of a real capital with the founding of numerous churches and monasteries and given its importance as an intellectual and educational centre, relations to Hungary were clearly shaped by this political framework.⁵ Especially for citizens with an interest in business, economic contacts and possibilities were of highest importance and their wishes were focused on the maintenance of balanced and stable relations with the eastern neighbour. Because of its agricultural output and with its enormous stock-breeding Hungary was of the utmost importance to Vienna in terms of supplying food to the growing city. A great deal of research has been carried out especially on the topic of the Hungarian cattle trade westwards.⁶ While the demand for agricultural products and fresh meat provided significant stimulus for Hungarian import trade to Vienna, measures were taken by the Austrian capital from the 13th century onwards to counter the import of Hungarian wine as a rival to domestic production – the Hungarian basin together with regions in Upper Hungary formed a far larger vineyard

⁴ For the Babenberg history see Karl Lechner, "Die Babenberger. Markgrafen und Herzöge von Österreich 976–1246," in *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. 23, (Wien, 1992); and Georg Scheibelreiter, *Die Babenberger. Reichsfürsten und Landesherren* (Wien, 2010).

⁵ For the main lines of the history of Vienna in the 13th century see Ferdinand Opll, "Wien um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Europas Städte zwischen Zwang und Freiheit. Die europäische Stadt um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann (Sonderband: Regensburg, 1995), 233–255.

⁶ István N. Kiss, "Die Bedeutung der ungarischen Viehzucht für Ungarn und Mitteleuropa vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," in *Akten des 7th International Economic History Congress Edinburgh 1978 Internationaler Ochsenhandel (1350–1750)*, ed. by Ekkehard Westermann (Stuttgart, 1979), 83–123.

cultivation area producing wine in much greater quantities than Austria.⁷ Until the second half of the 18th century, it was strictly forbidden to import Hungarian wine.⁸ Among the goods which were exported from Hungary to the West furs and leather goods are mentioned from the high middle ages onwards, and precious metals, gold, silver and copper came from the territory of Upper Hungary (modern Slovakia).

The *Regnum Hungariae* suffered from the Mongol invasion of the early 1240s to a much greater extent than its Austrian neighbour. There were only a few years in the following decade during which King Béla IV was able to profit from the extinction of the Babenberg Dukes of Austria. The man who eventually asserted a claims over Austrian territories was the Bohemian King Přemysl Ottokar II. However, the unification of the former Babenberg territories with Bohemia already came to an end in the 1270s, with conflict between the newly elected Roman-German King Rudolf of Habsburg and the Přemysl rulers. The former Babenberg Duchy fell to the Habsburg family, whose reign ended only in 1918. In 1301 the Árpádian dynasty became extinct and after the shortlived reign of Wenzel II of Bohemia, who called himself Ladislaus V as the Hungarian King, the Throne of the Árpádes was devolved to a new dynasty also, the southern Italian House of Anjou. In an era of particularly long-lived sovereigns – Charles I Robert (1308–1342) and his son Louis the Great (1342–1382) – the Anjou rulers were able to bring Poland under their control. Although the Habsburgs' hope of retaining the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire ended with the death of Albert I and the defeat of his son Frederick the Fair against Louis of Bavaria, the 14th century nonetheless brought a number of successes for the territorial policy of the Habsburgs, including the acquisition of Carinthia and the Tyrol .

Long periods during which the political ambitions of the two neighbours were not primarily aimed at direct confrontation with one another encouraged the development of economic relations. For Vienna in particular – notwithstanding a number of significant setbacks, e.g. the plague of 1349 and its aftermath – the 14th century may be seen as a flourishing period for urban evolution. This may be seen not only in the general expansion of urban settlement but also especially in the initiatives of Duke Rudolf IV (Rudolf the Founder), which included the foundation of the University of Vienna. The existence there of an Alma Mater increased the attractiveness of the Austrian

⁷ András Kubinyi, “Weinbau und Weinhandel in den ungarischen Städten im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Stadt und Wein (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas, vol. XIV)*, ed. by Ferdinand Opll (Linz/Donau, 1996), 67–84; as well as: Jozef Baďurik, “Westslowakische Städte und der Weinbau im 13.–15. Jahrhundert (mit besonderer Beachtung von Bratislava/Preßburg und weiteren kleinkarpatischen Weinstädten),” in *Stadt und Wein (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas, vol. XIV)*, ed. by Ferdinand Opll (Linz/Donau, 1996), 85–98.

⁸ Erich Landsteiner, “Weinbau und Alkoholproduktion im südöstlichen Mitteleuropa. Eine langfristige Perspektive (16.–19. Jahrhundert),” in *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 48 (2004): 266–284.

capital for Hungarian students in particular, a phenomenon upon which a recent thesis⁹ concerning students coming from Kaschau/Košice focused. For a number of years, the partition of the Habsburg sovereignty after Rudolf's death into two branches of the same family allowed Vienna's urban élites as represented in the city council a great deal of political room to manoeuvre. This underwent lasting change in the 15th century. The Austrian Dukes of the Habsburg family achieved a great success in regaining the throne of the Holy Roman Empire during this era and thus re-entered the international political stage with all its opportunities and risks. The Hungarian realm was taken over by Sigismund of Luxemburg¹⁰ after the death of Louis the Great, who had no male heirs. With a period on the Hungarian throne lasting half a century (1387–1437), Sigismund, who also became sovereign of the Roman-German Empire in 1411, managed to exceed even the lengthy reigns of his predecessors. The marriage of Sigismund's daughter Elisabeth to Duke Albert V of Austria in 1421 paved the way for the return of the Habsburgs as Holy Roman Emperors. Albert, who acceded to the throne upon the death of his father-in-law as King Albert II,¹¹ was the first Habsburg ruler to be able to unite the Holy Roman Empire with the Bohemian and Hungarian Kingdoms. Although his short reign of one and a half years, even when considered together with the reign of his son Ladislaus Postumus, appears only as a transient episode, nonetheless the *Regnum Hungariae* became a central focus for the sovereigns ruling Austria from that time onward.

Albert's successor, his Styrian relative Duke Frederick, was to extend even further the longevity of all late-medieval sovereigns, with his reign lasting 53 years. Nevertheless, King Frederick IV, as Emperor Frederick III, whose achievements are assessed by recent research far more positively than had previously been the case,¹² had to suffer the loss of the Hungarian Kingdom. Even in those difficult times, however, the stone balustrade of a house at the Fleischmarkt in Vienna bearing the coats-of-arms of Austria, Portugal (the wife of Frederick III was Eleonor of Portugal), the Empire, Hungary and Styria¹³ testifies clearly to the fact that the Habsburg claim to the Hungarian throne was supported by the Viennese city élite. In the *Regnum Hungariae*, the son of the general vicar and governor John Hunyadi, Matthias became

⁹ Iulia Caproș, *Students from Kosiče at foreign Universities before and during the Reformation Period in the Town* (Doctoral Thesis. Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, Budapest, 2010); online under: www.etd.ceu.hu/2010/mpfcai01.pdf (May 8, 2013).

¹⁰ *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismund von Luxemburg 1387–1437*, ed. by Imre Takács (Ausstellungskatalog, Augsburg, 2006); and the contributions in: *Kaiser Sigismund (1368–1437). Zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen*, ed. by Karel Hruza (Wien – Köln – Weimar, 2012).

¹¹ Günther Hödl, "Albrecht II. Königtum, Reichsregierung und Reichsreform 1438–1439," *Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Vol. 3, (1978).

¹² Heinrich Koller, "Kaiser Friedrich III." in *Gestalten des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Darmstadt, 2005).

¹³ *Steinerne Zeugen. Relikte aus dem alten Wien*, ed. by Renta Kassal-Mikula (Ausstellungskatalog des Wien Museums, Wien, 2008), 18–23, n. 1.1.

King in 1458. The new King was very much the equal of the Habsburg Emperor in terms of political acumen, and was also open to the new intellectual tendencies of the age, especially towards Renaissance art. For the city of Vienna, these decades represented a difficult time, characterized by many different causes of upheaval.¹⁴ As in previous centuries, Hungary once again became the sign of threat and danger for the Viennese. In direct response to the turbulent years around 1440 marking the period of transition from the reigns of Albert II to Frederick, Vienna began to protect its suburbs through the erection of a defensive line around this area.¹⁵ Quite differently from the city walls, a solution was chosen which could be implemented rapidly and at lower costs. Along the arterial roads, ramparts with gate-towers were built, while the fortification line between these ramparts consisted only of fences and palisades. As the later Habsburg conflicts in the 1450s and 1460s and the siege of Vienna by the troops of King Matthias of Hungary twenty years later demonstrated, this suburban line of defence could not guarantee any real and effective protection. Indeed, Matthias Corvinus was able to conquer Vienna. Austria and Vienna remained under Hungarian sovereignty from 1485 until the death of the Hungarian King in the spring of 1490. Interestingly, detailed studies relating to these five years of Hungarian rule have shown clearly that the manifold connections between members of the same families that were active both in Vienna and in Hungarian towns, especially in Buda, provided a degree of political stability. There are no hints at all of any unrest amongst the Viennese burghers or even the general population against Hungarian dominance being seen as “foreign rule”. However, it would be wrong to assume that King Matthias¹⁶ had any special preference for the city of Vienna and it is certainly incorrect to characterise Vienna as a residence of the Hunyad Hungarian King. The political attitude adopted by Vienna and its rich citizens related to their trading and commercial interests, in which they viewed the maintenance of security for business as the best guarantee for economic success. Contemporary accounts support this interpretation: In spring 1463 groups of Viennese citizens are reported as already have started to “grumble” because of the uncertainty of the times (related to intra-Habsburg conflicts). In a report to the Elector of Brandenburg, we read: “The Viennese are fed up with Duke Albert and would prefer to have another lord, namely the King of Hungary.”¹⁷ In older research

¹⁴ For the reports of the coeval historiography cf. Ferdinand Opll, *Nachrichten aus dem mittelalterlichen Wien. Zeitgenossen berichten* (Wien – Köln – Weimar, 1995), 138–230.

¹⁵ Ferdinand Opll, “Alte Grenzen im Wiener Raum,” *Kommentare zum Historischen Atlas von Wien* 4, (1986): 41–56.

¹⁶ See *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490* (Exhibition Catalogue, Budapest, 2008); for the rule over Vienna see Ferdinand Opll, “Wienna caput Austrie ad Vngaros pervenit. Matthias Corvinus und Wien,” *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 65 (2010): 1–20.

¹⁷ Opll, *Wienna caput Austrie*, 8: *Die Wiener haben herczog Albrechten gar gnug und hetten gern einen andern herrn, nemlich den kenig von Hungern.*

literature, attitudes such as this were qualified as “betrayal”, and often the city as a whole was characterized in the same way – but this provides an erroneous picture.

In any case the political developments of the 15th century heralded a new phase for relations between Austria and Vienna on one hand and Hungary on the other. For the first time in history, the Austrian Duchy and the Hungarian Kingdom had been united under the same rule, albeit for a short time. Recent research has even referred to an “anticipation of the Danube Monarchy,”¹⁸ and only the premature deaths of Albert II and his son Ladislaus confounded a purposeful expansion of this concept. In any case it is unmistakably the case that the political ambitions of the Habsburgs continued to focus on achieving sovereignty over Hungary repeatedly from the 1440s onwards. Less by military and more by diplomatic means, the claim to St Stephen’s Crown was consistently asserted. The reclamation of the throne of the Holy Roman Empire was of decisive importance for the Habsburg dynasty in the 15th century. In the European context, the wide extent of their power was soon perceived as being far too great. At the beginning of the 15th century, the focus of the House of Habsburg’s rule lay with its Austrian territories of Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Tyrol, and the lands of so-called Further Austria (Vorderösterreich). Yet within only a few decades it had experienced enormous advancement, laying claim to the leadership of the Holy Roman Empire from 1438 and managing to bring the two neighbouring Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary within its sphere of influence. Through the marriage of the Emperor’s son Maximilian¹⁹ with Mary of Burgundy (1477), these developments attained even wider dimensions, and with the union of Maximilian’s children Philipp and Margaret with the Spanish king’s children Juana and Infante Juan (1495), the cornerstone for the global dominance of the Casa de Austria was laid.

However, let us return to the context of the relations between Austria, especially Vienna, and the *Regnum Hungariae* in this period: There a number of wonderful examples that show us just how intensive the exchange was and how contact was also widened to include the cultural sphere among some of the true artistic masterpieces of the second half of the 15th century: The anonymous master, or “Schottenmeister” of the so-called Viennese “Schottenaltar”²⁰ (altar of the Monastery of the Irish Monks) and the artistic movement around this outstanding example of late-gothic panel painting

¹⁸ Niederstätter, *Jahrhundert der Mitte*, 346.

¹⁹ Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit, Voll. 1–5* (Wien und München, 1971–1986); Manfred Hollegger, *Maximilian I. (1459–1519). Herrscher und Mensch einer Zeitenwende* (Stuttgart, 2005).

²⁰ Lukas Madersbacher, “Wien und Niederösterreich,” in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich 3: Spätmittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. by Artur Rosenauer, (München – Berlin – London – New York, 2003), 411– 425; Ferdinand Opll and Martin Stürzlinger, *Wiener Ansichten und Pläne von den Anfängen bis 1609. Mit einem Neufund aus Gorizia/Görz aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Wiener Geschichtsblätter, Beiheft, 2013), nn. 7 and 8.

became the key stylistic model for a number of contemporary altars from that period (late 15th/early 16th century) in Transylvanian churches. Among the most famous of these Hungarian examples are the main altar of St Margaret's church in Mediasch/Mediaș²¹ and the winged altar of St Mary's church in BIRTHÄLM/Biertan.²² And to pay respect to the place of the current conference, a family of outstanding artists from the 15th century who emigrated from Kaschau/Košice to Vienna should also be named: the father and son, Jakob and Hans Kaschauer,²³ who lived in Vienna from 1429 to 1500. At the end of the 15th and in the 16th century we also come across members of the Pempflinger family,²⁴ citizens of and in Buda and Vienna, who played an important role in the administration and politics of both countries.

Although Maximilian I, who succeeded his father on the throne of the Empire in 1493, did not manage to win back St Stephen's crown after King Matthias' death, by means of an astonishingly skilful and intelligent diplomacy making use of a well-considered marriage-policy in order to gain and secure influence, he did succeed in laying the cornerstone for the recovery of the Hungarian Crown. The double marriage arranged by Vienna connected the grandson of Maximilian, Ferdinand of Castile,²⁵ with Anna, daughter of King Wladislaw, and at the same time Mary,²⁶ Maximilian's granddaughter, with Louis of Hungary. The Jagiellonian princess Anna became the mother of Ferdinand's 15 children, among them Princess Mary of Austria, who at the age of ten married the nine-year-old Hungarian prince and became Queen of Hungary in 1522, when her husband was crowned in Stuhlweißenburg/Székesfehérvár. The death in 1526 of King Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia in the battle of Mohács against Ottoman forces in southern Hungary became the decisive turning-point for Austro-Hungarian (and also Bohemian) relations, in fact it became the real basis for the "Danube

²¹ Otto Folberth, *Gotik in Siebenbürgern. Der Meister des Mediascher Altars und seine Zeit* (Wien – München, 1973); Opll – Stürzlinger, *Ansichten und Pläne*, nn. 10–12.

²² Harald Krasser, "Zur siebenbürgischen Nachfolge des Schottenmeisters. Die BIRTHÄLM Altartafeln," in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 27 (1973): 109–121.

²³ See Richard Perger, "Wiener Künstler des Mittelalters und der beginnenden Neuzeit. Regesten," in *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Kunstgeschichte* 7, ed. by Artur Rosenauer (Wien, 2005), 74–79 and 79–84. – Recently it has been shown that Hans Kaschau (the younger artist) was commissioned with the decoration of the funeral of Emperor Frederick III in St Stephen's in Vienna (1493), see Michail Bojcov, "Die Wiener Totenfeier für Kaiser Friedrich III.: Die Vorbereitungen des Veranstalters," in *König und Kanzliste, Kaiser und Papst. Friedrich III. und Enea Silvio Piccolomini in Wiener Neustadt (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters, 32)*, ed. by Franz Fuchs, Paul-Joachim Heinig and Martin Wagendorfer (Wien – Köln – Weimar, 2013), 281–305 (291 sg.).

²⁴ András Kubinyi, "Die Pempflinger in Wien und Buda," in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 34 (1978): 67–88.

²⁵ *Kaiser Ferdinand I. 1503–1564. Das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. by Wilfried Seipel (Ausstellungskatalog, Wien – Milano, 2003); Alfred Kohler, *Ferdinand I. 1503–1564. Fürst, König und Kaiser* (München, 2003).

²⁶ *Mary of Hungary. The Queen and her Court 1521–1531* (Exhibition Catalogue, Budapest, 2005).

Monarchy” of the Habsburgs until 1918. The acquisition of the Hungarian Crown²⁷ led to an enormous increase not only in power and prestige, but also in income. In 1528, Ferdinand established the Hungarian chamber for financial affairs,²⁸ first in Buda, then in Preßburg/Bratislava and from the middle of the 1550s in Vienna. After Captain General Lazarus of Schwendi founded a special centre for the financial administration of Upper Hungary in Kaschau/Košice in 1567, the so-called “Szepes Chamber”, some years later in the 1570s, the percentage of the annual Habsburg revenues obtained from the Hungarian, the Szepes and the Lower Austria Chamber was approximately 30:30:40. Revenues from Hungary amounted to 150 % of those from Austria, and in relation to the whole Habsburg Monarchy, the Hungarian Kingdom generated a third of all revenues.²⁹

While Vienna and its politically active citizens had played an active role in the formation of relations with Hungary during the late middle ages and especially during the 15th century, this was bound to change in many respects during the first century of the Early Modern Period. Vienna underwent a transformation from an active burgher’s city to the royal residence of this new age, following similar tracks of development as many other cities of that time. Not only with regard to its urban evolution, but very distinctively also within the framework of its role and impact internationally, the city of Vienna became a symbol of Habsburg imperial sovereignty. A study of the relationship between Ferdinand I and Vienna published in 2005³⁰ demonstrated clearly how the city, despite its critical opposition to the new sovereign following the death of Maximilian I in the early 1520s, rose in the eyes even of the Habsburg ruler precisely because of the dramatic events of the first Ottoman Siege in 1529 to become a symbol of Christian triumph against the Muslim enemies. In the apposite words of the schoolmaster at Vienna’s Schottenkloster, Wolfgang Schmeltzl, in the 1540s Vienna had become the “bulwark of Christendom.”³¹

Despite the fortunate defense of Vienna against the Ottomans, the 1529 siege led to a profound and dramatic change in relations between the traditional Habsburg countries and also the Roman Holy Empire towards the Hungarian Kingdom, which had come under Habsburg rule only three years

²⁷ With regard to the Kingdom of Hungary in the 16th century see Géza Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the sixteenth century* (New York, 2009).

²⁸ Pálffy, *Kingdom of Hungary*, 121–129.

²⁹ Pálffy, *Kingdom of Hungary*, 130 sg.

³⁰ Ferdinand Opll, “Ferdinand I. und seine Stadt Wien. Versuch einer Neubewertung des Verhältnisses zwischen Herrscher und Stadt,” in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 61 (2005): 73–98.

³¹ Karl Vocelka, “»Du bist di port und zir alzeit, befestigung der christenheit«. Wien zwischen Grenzfestung und Residenzstadt im späten Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Metropolen im Wandel. Zentralität in Ostmitteleuropa an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, ed. by Evamaria Engel, Karen Lambrecht and Hanna Nogossek (Berlin, 1995), 263–275, and Ferdinand Opll, “Innensicht und Außensicht. Überlegungen zum Selbst- und Fremdverständnis Wiens im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 59 (2004): 188–208.

earlier and in which their dominance was by no means yet established. The impact of this was compounded by the fact that this military threat occurred during a period in which Vienna had lost most of its medieval privileges and the political activities of its citizens were restricted. Medieval civic autonomy ceased to exist, as citizens developed into subjects of the Early Modern State. At the same time, the traditional basis of the secular and ecclesiastical system of rulership came under greatest pressure from the ideas of the Reformation. Under such circumstances, a well-organised and regulated inclusion of Hungary in the Habsburg sovereignty was simply not possible, and for several years conflicts with the national Hungarian opponent of the Habsburgs, John Szapolyai, set the tone. It was only in 1538 that a peace treaty could be concluded, intended to prepare the ground for Ferdinand to claim the Hungarian Kingdom after John's death. In 1541, the royal troops of the Habsburg ruler were defeated by the Ottomans, which led to the loss of great parts of the *Regnum Hungariae*. Buda became the centre of a large Osman province and the seat of a governor. After this time, Hungary was divided into three parts, Royal Hungary under the Habsburg ruler, large areas under Ottoman control, and Transylvania. Ferdinand's territories lay mainly on the western and northern edges of the former Hungarian Kingdom between the Adriatic coast and the south and Upper Hungary (today's Slovakia), with the city of Kaschau/Košice³² as one of its most important centres in the east and at the same time one of the most significant bastions of the Habsburg dominance over Hungary.

The change of the coronation place for the Hungarian King was a clear indication of this situation: In 1527 John Szapolyai as well as Ferdinand I. had been crowned at the traditional location, in the basilica of Stuhlweißenburg/Székesfehérvár, yet in 1563 the coronation of Ferdinand's son Maximilian II took place in Preßburg/Bratislava. Due to this extension of Habsburg dominance to the east, Vienna's importance for Hungary became more and more decisive, and in this context the fact that Ferdinand exerted his rule over Hungary from outside the country played a key role. From 1526 onwards, the Habsburg King had introduced a *locumtenens* in Hungary. Due to the precarious military situation, another important role was exercised by the "Oberstfeldhauptmann" (Commander-in-Chief) and the chancellor in the person of the Archbishop of Gran/Esztergom, together with the "Ungarische Hofkanzlei" (Hungarian Court Chancellery) in Vienna was an important link. From 1541/1543 in particular, when not only Buda, but also Stuhlweißenburg/Székesfehérvár and Gran/Esztergom had come under

³² For the history of Kaschau/Košice (in German language) see Franz Xaver Krones, "Zur älteren Geschichte der oberungarischen Freistadt Kaschau. Eine Quellenstudie," in *Archiv für öst. Geschichte* 31 (1864): 1–56; online under: <http://archive.org/stream/archivfrsterrei04kommgoog#page/n15/mode/2up> (May 8, 2013, and most recently Tobias Weger – Konrad Gündisch, *Kaschau/Košice. Eine kleine Stadtgeschichte* (Regensburg 2013).

Ottoman control, the key decisions with regard to finances, the military situation and foreign policy for and about the *Regnum Hungariae* were made from outside the country, either in Vienna or in Prague. Nonetheless it should also be noted that quite a number of improvements may be seen in relations between the Habsburg ruler and the Hungarian nobility precisely during this period. The activity of high representatives of the Hungarian nobility and clergy at the Vienna court, the education of children of Hungarian noble families in the new schools in Vienna, especially the Jesuit school, encouraged the sustained integration of the Hungarian domain into the Habsburg sphere.³³ Vice-Chancellor Miklós Oláh, from 1553–1568 Archbishop of Gran/Esztergom, lived for many years at the Vienna court and privately owned a house in Vienna's Wallnergasse from 1550, which came into the possession of the Esterházy family in the early 17th century. There is also evidence of property in Vienna being owned by another prominent Hungarian nobleman, Nikolaus/Miklós Zrinyi, the Habsburg loyalist commander and Ban of Croatia, who lost his life during the siege of Sziget/Szigetvár near the current Hungarian-Croatian border in 1566. Thomas Nádasdy, Palatine from 1554 onwards, and John Pethő, General Captain of Komorn/Komárom, also owned houses in Vienna.³⁴ Nevertheless it should be stated that when compared to the presence of Spanish subjects in Vienna during the same period,³⁵ the “Hungarians” formed only a small group. The Habsburg residence became a centre for Hungarians to a far greater extent than it had been previously. And all this happened at a time when the name of Vienna had become a symbol for opposition to the Ottomans in wide swathes of Europe and when the Hungarian Kingdom, due to its geographical position and its fragmentation, had to carry the heaviest burden in terms of defensive actions. To a certain degree, the image of Vienna and that of Hungary were synonymous in this era, both City and Kingdom were presented as symbols for the defense against the Ottoman Empire.

Not only the military situation but also the political situation created by the activities of the Hungarian national pretenders to the throne had led to a wave of emigration – especially to Vienna – by former German inhabitants of Hungarian towns, an emigration which is documented for Ofen/Buda as well as for Kaschau/Košice in the 1530s.³⁶ Not only as the residence of the

³³ Pálffy, *Kingdom of Hungary*, 78.

³⁴ As to these »Hungarian« houses in Vienna see Ferdinand Opll and Martin Scheutz, *Der Schlierbach-Plan des Job Hartmann von Enenkel. Ein Plan der Stadt Wien aus dem frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Quelleneditionen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Wien, 2013), n. 48 and n. 79, as well as Pálffy, *Kingdom of Hungary*, 79.

³⁵ Ferdinand Opll, “Spanier in Wien,” in *Wir. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Zuwanderung nach Wien* (Katalog der 217. Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien, 19. September bis 29. Dezember 1996), 91–101.

³⁶ Lajos Geccsényi, “Die Auseinandersetzungen des Wiener Stadtrats mit den aus Pest und Buda/Ofen vertriebenen Bürgern im Jahre 1534,” in *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 61/3 (2006): 54–64; Weger and Gündisch, *Kaschau/Košice*, 57.

Hungarian King, as the most important place for decision-making with regard to Hungary and the Hungarians, but also as the seat of the Habsburg court and becoming increasingly attractive for members of the Hungarian nobility, Vienna continued to develop into the “second Hungarian capital.”³⁷ The rise of Preßburg/Bratislava – being far closer to Vienna than Buda – not only as the new site for Hungarian coronations but also as a link between Vienna and Upper Hungary, was a direct consequence of the tripartition of the Kingdom.

Among the most interesting documents for the new role Vienna had gained with regard to Hungary is the Vienna map created by Domenico Zenoi, copper-engraver and publisher in Venice between 1560 and 1570. The map,³⁸ published as a copper-engraving in 1566, contains only a picture of Vienna castle (Hofburg) while the rest of the map is focused on military objects, the fortifications, the Arsenal at the north-western edge of the city and the new armoury in the Renngasse. Another version of this map published 1567 also shows buildings inside the walled city, albeit in a completely inaccurate form. What is of greatest interest for our concern is the denomination of the map: “Vienna. Città principal d’Ongheria nel modo che al presente e fortificata”. By calling Vienna the “capital of Hungary” this cartographic document bears testimony to the role Vienna had gained not only after 1529 but even more so after the development of Hungary in the 1540s. Furthermore, the denomination of the eastern gate of the Vienna fortifications, which has borne the name “Stubentor” since the 13th century, as “porta d’Ongheria” also points in the same direction as the map’s title. The Zenoi map together with the denominations on it bear witness to the new role which Vienna – but also other cities close to the Ottoman border, such as Graz and Laibach/Ljubljana – had gained as a centre of coordination for all defense measures against the Ottomans as well as for any military actions against them. In fact in 1547 an armistice for the next five years together with the humiliating obligation to provide an annual tribute had been agreed with the High Port in Adrianopol/Edirne. At the same time, any occasion for a possible improvement of the Habsburg position was seized. In the 1560s Ferdinand tried – ultimately in vain – to gain control over Transylvania. Battlegrounds could be found in both the north and the south of the Hungarian realm. Having exercised control over only 17 counties in 1537, the Habsburg ruler managed to increase this number to 50 by 1555/56, although the loss of Transylvania reduced the number in 1557 again to only 32 counties.³⁹

All these developments and the constantly changing overall framework made it necessary to establish a military border regime in Habsburg-dominated Hungary, the organisation of which is referred to with the term “military border” in the southern parts. In many aspects the structure of Hungarian rule by the court, being characterised by governing the country

³⁷ Pálffy, *Kingdom of Hungary*, 65–69.

³⁸ Opll and Stürzlinger, *Ansichten und Pläne*, n. 51.

³⁹ Pálffy, *Kingdom of Hungary*, 122.

from outside, was reflected within the military organisation;⁴⁰ The decisive and key military commanding positions, not only at the highest level, in the person of figures such as Niklas Count Salm the Younger, son of the defender of Vienna in 1529, but also at the level of the General Captains with responsibility for individual fortified locations remained mostly in the hands of non-Hungarians. As far as documentation shows, German and to a lesser extent also Italian military experts represented the majority.⁴¹ In 1556, the “Hofkriegsrat” (Imperial War Council)⁴² was established in a fixed form in Vienna and became the centre for planning, coordination and necessary decision making. In this context specialists and experts in the construction of fortifications as well as early military cartography found a wealth of opportunities to apply their skills. Amongst the most impressive testimonies to their activities are the fortification maps of Hungarian fortresses and plans of the Hungarian regions which were designed by members of different members of the Angielini family, originating from Milan.⁴³ Documents of their work are found in three atlases preserved in the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, the Sächsische Staatsarchiv, Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. Without going into greater detail here it should be mentioned that in the atlases maps of many different Hungarian fortresses, of Kanischa/Nagykanisza in the south, of Veszprém north of the Balaton, of Pápa in the south of Raab/Győr, of Komorn/Komárom at the Danube or of Kaschau/Košice, can be found. The high technical and cartographic value of the Angielini documents is mainly connected with the famous map of Hungary as part of the atlases on the one hand, and on the other hand with the map of Vienna, which in slightly different versions occurs in all editions in Dresden, Karlsruhe and Vienna. Together with the cartographic representations of Graz and Laibach/Ljubljana made by the Angielinis, these documents mirror the role of these cities as organisational centres for the defensive structures in the east. With regard to the cartographic history of Vienna, the Angielini map must be counted among the most important documents drawn only two decades after the oldest city-maps which had been drawn by Augustin Hirschvogel and Bonifaz Wolmuet⁴⁴ in 1547 in the context of the construction of the new fortification system with bastions⁴⁵ in Vienna.

With the final acquisition of St Stephen’s crown by the Habsburgs, Vienna, whose relations to the neighbouring country had experienced growing

⁴⁰ For the following Pálffy, *Kingdom of Hungary*, 88–118.

⁴¹ See the Pálffy, “List of Rulers and highest Dignitaries of Hungary,” in *Kingdom of Hungary*, 247–255.

⁴² Pálffy, *Kingdom of Hungary*, 97 sg.

⁴³ Géza Pálffy, *Die Anfänge der Militärkartographie in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Budapest 2011), and Opll – Stürzlinger, *Ansichten und Pläne*, n. 50.

⁴⁴ Opll and Stürzlinger, *Ansichten und Pläne*, nn. 35 and 37.

⁴⁵ Cf. Opll, *Alte Grenzen*, 59–82, and Id., “Schutz und Symbol. Zur Stadtbefestigung von Wien vom hohen Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* LXIV, fasc. 1/2 (2010): 12–21.

importance and dynamism during the 15th century, had gained a new role as the main reference point for the *Regnum Hungariae* in the Early Modern Period. In the era of a dynasty and aristocratic elite that was clearly involved in international matters, the language barrier played no great role in the long term, and it was far more the unifying link of the common defense against the Muslim Ottomans which stood in the foreground. In these decades, even the spreading Reformation movement together with the deep split of the Christian world it provoked had no really decisive effects on relations with Hungary. At times, Vienna truly became something like a “capital” of Hungary. However, Habsburg rule in and over Hungary had to deal with preconditions quite different from the situation west of the Leitha river, such as the opposition rights of the Hungarian nobility going back to the early 13th century, to mention but one among many. Positioned among the major determining factors of the political scenery in Central Europe during that period - the Ottoman power, the position of Transylvania at the intersection between East and West and the sphere of Austrian and imperial sovereignty - even in times when the Court had moved to Prague, the later “Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt” of Vienna remained the lynchpin for the *Regnum Hungariae* until the early 17th century.

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The legal background of the trade life of Košice in the middle ages*

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to create an overview of legal background of the trade life of Košice in the Middle Age. The description of trade development is supplemented by the list of received relevant privileges that affected trade activities of citizens of Košice. The most significant right of burghers of Košice was so-called staple right. The development and importance of this privilege represent the main object of research of this paper. The image of trade life of Košice is completed with the list of annual trade and most frequent trade commodities of selected town.

Key words: Košice. Middle Age. Trade. Legal background of trade. Staple right.

The economic life of Košice was significantly influenced by its favorable geographic position: It was and is situated at the meeting point of the lowland and the mountains, on the main trading routes,¹ through which one could get to Poland or even Russia from the Kingdom of Hungary. Due to the latter, the municipality became one of the places where the foreign trade customs duty, the thirtieth duty introduced by king Andrew II had to be paid in the Árpád era.² Until the second half of the 14th century, the traders coming from abroad had to stop at the thirtieth customs duty collection offices, unpack their goods and pay the foreign trade customs duty corresponding to the price of the goods.³ Naturally, this had a positive effect on the trade life of the municipality, since if the merchant had already opened his wagon, he often tried to sell his goods, too. He could do so only if he had the chance, thus the venue of the exchange of goods was guaranteed. In the beginning, he was allowed to do so at three "locations": at the weekly fair, at the national fair and

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¹ See also: Gyula Osváth, *Adalékok Kassa város közjogi helyzetéhez és közigazgatási szervezetéhez I. Lipót koráig* (Košice, 1918), 19; György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza I.* (Budapest, 1963), 53. és térképmelléklet: Abaújvármegye a XIV. század elejéig.

² 1311: *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae I*, ed. by Vincent Sedlák (Bratislava, 1980), 392. see also: Boglárka Weisz, *Az Árpád-kori harmicadvám. In: Erősségénél fogva várépítésre való*, ed. by Juan Cabello and Norbert C. Tóth (Nyíregyháza, 2011), 271, 274–275.

³ 1336: *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból. Acta extra Andegavensia I*, ed. by Wenzel Gusztáv (Budapest, 1874), 344.

in the city warehouse.⁴ Until the middle of the 14th century, Košice provided only the first possibility.

The decree permitting Košice to keep weekly fairs has not survived, however, we suspect that the town received this at the time it received the hospes privileges, thus before 1249,⁵ even though it was first mentioned in 1311.⁶ From the 14th century onwards we see two weekly fairs in the charters: those kept on Thursdays⁷ and those kept on Sundays.⁸ The one held on Thursday may have been the fair granted in the hospes privilege charter, since keeping fairs on Sundays was forbidden in the 12th and 13th centuries, so the kings could not have even issued such a permit in that time. However, in the 14th century, keeping fairs on Sundays got permitted again, so the burghers of Košice had to receive the privilege charter permitting these fairs before 1340;⁹ though this didn't survive until today. Permitting a second weekly fair suggests that the trade of the municipality was too large for a single fair. The significance of the Košice weekly fairs in the county is shown by the fact that starting with the 14th century these were venues of the three fair announcements.¹⁰ On the other hand, we may duly suspect that not only the inhabitants and merchants of the county appeared at these fairs, but their catchment area was a lot larger than that.

Due to the increased interest it may have been necessary for Košice to request a permit for keeping an annual fair. King Louis I issued two identical charters concerning annual fairs on July 28, 1347 – except for the fair dates:¹¹ one of these permitted keeping a fair within a week of St. Michael's feast (October 6) and the other one during the fortnight of feast of the Holy Trinity.

⁴ We say in the beginning, because after gaining the staple right the foreign merchants were forbidden to sell their goods at the weekly fairs and were allowed to trade only at annual fairs and in the city warehouses. see also: Boglárka Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok a középkori Magyar Királyságban* (Budapest, 2012), 101–102.

⁵ see also: Attila Zsoldos, *The path of Košice to the privileges of 1347 – a study in the present publication.*

⁶ The Košice City Archives, Archivum Secretum (AMK, AS), A - 7 (also in Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (MNL, OL, DF) 269 067).

⁷ 1327: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár (MNL, OL, DL) 16 095. 1330: *A zichi és vásoneői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára I–XI*, ed. by Imre Nagy and Iván Nagy (Budapest, 1871), 411.; 1330: *A nagymihályi és sztárai gróf Sztáray család oklevéltára I. Published by count Anton Sztáray*, ed. by Gyula Nagy (Budapest, 1887), 64.; 1335: *A zichi és vásoneői gróf Zichy család idősb ágának okmánytára I–XI*, 445., 446.; 1342: MNL, OL, DL, 103 170.; 1370.: MNL, OL, DL, 5896.; 1344: MNL, OL, DF, 282 896. 1475: Lajos Kemény, „A kassai kereskedők első czéhszabályzata 1475-ből,” in *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle* 4 (1897), 191.

⁸ 1342: MNL, OL, DL, 103 170.

⁹ In October 1340, the Sunday fair of Košice was a venue of three fair announcements, MNL, OL, DL, 103 170.

¹⁰ As to the importance of the three fair announcements see: Weisz: *Vásárok és lerakatok*, 42–45.

¹¹ The city privilege charter of Košice was issued on the same day, according to the privilege charter of Buda, see also: Attila Zsoldos, *The path of Košice* (along with the previous literature of the subject).

The king granted permission for keeping the fairs in a form identical to the liberties of the burghers of Buda (*ad instar huiusmodi libertatis fidelium civium et hospitem nostrorum Budensium*). This meant that the king excluded the fair from the jurisdiction of the palatine, the master of treasury, the judge royal and other great officers of the state, thus only the judge of Košice was allowed to decide in the matters of the fair; those coming to the fair by land or by water did not pay duties within the city limits and were allowed to trade their goods freely; neither the merchants arriving to the fairs, nor their possessions could be limited due to their previous debts or deeds.¹² The reference to the charter of Buda was not a general formula seen in numerous other cases,¹³ but the charter of Košice was prepared according to the privilege charter of Buda¹⁴ concerning the annual fairs, issued on June 23, 1287.¹⁵ Besides omitting the parts specific for Buda, we can also find elements differing from the 1287 Buda charter. On October 28, 1357 king Louis I granted Žilina, Slovakia the privilege of keeping annual fairs in the fashion of the annual fair of Buda, for the fortnight starting with the Lord's day.¹⁶ When issuing the Žilina privilege charter, it was again the Buda privilege charter of June 23, 1287, which served as the template. If we compare the privilege charter of Žilina and the July 28, 1347 Košice privilege charters,¹⁷ we see that the items differing from the 1287 Buda charter are present in the Žilina charter, too. Therefore we have to consider three possibilities: 1. The Žilina charter was written according to the Košice charter; 2. Buda had a privilege charter containing the right of keeping annual fairs, which did not survive until today; 3. the items in the enhanced wording are standard in the privilege grants applicable to annual fairs, used in the era of king Louis I, therefore they could be included into the two charters even without any correlation of these. We really see notes concerning free trade and seizing goods in the charters on the market right issued by king Louis I, though the wording of these differs from that of the charters of Košice and Žilina; the latter ones are identical word by word, therefore we can clearly ignore the possibility of including these texts into the city privilege charters independently of each other. In accordance with the Buda book of laws we know that king Ladislaus IV had also a charter dealing with the trade and fairs in Buda,¹⁸ however, we do not

¹² see also: *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I (1238–1350)*, ed. by Ľubomír Juck (Bratislava, 1984), 149-152.

¹³ For example: Bardejov, Slovakia, August 2, 1364. Štátny Archív v Poprade, Pobočka Bardejov 20. (MNL OL, DF 212 697).

¹⁴ *Budapest történetének okleveles emlékei I. (1148–1301)*, the collection of Dezső Csánky has been extended and prepared for publishing by Albert Gárdonyi, (Budapest, 1936), 228–230.

¹⁵ see also: *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ Pobočka Žilina, Archivum secretum 46. (MNL OL, DF 274 715).

¹⁷ see also: *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ see also: 76 §, 84§. 90§: Karl Mollay, „Das Ofner Stadtrecht. Eine deutschsprachige Rechtssammlung des 15. Jahrhunderts aus Ungarn,” in *Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia I.*

know its entire content, since this charter has not survived until today. This is why we may suspect – though without any proof – that when writing the Košice and Žilina privilege charters concerning the market right, another Buda privilege charter was used as a template, too, besides the 1287 privilege charter issued by king Ladislaus IV.

On October 18, 1347, king Louis I issued another market right charter, in which he allowed keeping a fair during the week starting with the octave of St. Michael's feast;¹⁹ a run-in was added to this provision stating that the privilege applied also to the week starting with the octave of the feast of Holy Trinity. The latter inclusion contradicts the provisions of the July charter, since it permits the city to keep a fair for a fortnight from the feast of Holy Trinity. We do not know when this run-in was made, but it is sure that it has been written by a different hand using different ink than the rest of the charter²⁰ and that the author of the run-in was wrong about the date of the fair. On October 24, 1355, king Louis I issued another charter, in which he granted the right to keep a fair for a week from the octave of St. Michael's feast, however, the burghers of Košice did not consider it appropriate due to the vintage and other activities,²¹ therefore he shifted the annual fair to the feast of Holy Trinity and the fortnight following.²² The interesting aspect of this charter is that according to the 1347 July charters it seemed that the city received the right to keep fairs at both feasts, therefore transferring the fair from one feast to the other makes no sense, except for the possibility that the burghers of Košice received permission only for the octave of St. Michael – as referred to in the 1355 charter issued by king Louis I – and the other charter was written based on this one. However, there is no external sign suggesting that the market right granted for the feast of Holy Trinity in one of the July privilege charters would be a fake: both the writing, as well as the two seals prove its genuineness; moreover, there is also the 1364 confirmation clause of king Louis I on it.²³ Since the first seal of king Louis I got lost in 1363, all privilege charters issued with his first seal had to be confirmed. The privilege charters, which had to be confirmed were not issued as new charters, but rather a confirmation clause was written at the bottom of the charter to be confirmed (usually on the right side) and the new seal was affixed to the left

(Budapest, 1959): 90, 93, 95; As far as the charters are concerned, the Buda law book says only that they were issued by king Ladislaus, one might also think of identifying the issuer as king Wenceslas (Ladislaus/Vladislaus) acting against king Charles – this would also explain why king Charles and later king Louis I did not transcribe the charter.

¹⁹ *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I*, 156.

²⁰ AMK, AS, E - 3.

²¹ AMK, AS, E - 4.

²² AMK, AS, E - 4.

²³ The wording of the clause is identical to wordings of other clauses put into writing at the time, see also: Albert Grün, „I. Lajos király megerősítő záradéka,” in *Turul* (1901): 30–31.

of the old seal.²⁴ This is can be seen also on the Košice charter. The 1355 charter makes sense only if we consider the 1347 charter granting the right to keep the Holy Trinity annual fair counterfeit. The reason for counterfeiting could have been the 1364 confirmation, for which a privilege charter, not a transfer permission was necessary. In spite of this we can't prove it really being counterfeit – we only know that the data in the charters are contradictory.

With the 1355 charter, the annual fair starting with St. Michael's day was abolished and the one starting with the feast of Holy Trinity was being referred to in the 14th century as the one of the Lord's day.²⁵ After all this, on November 30, 1392 the city received the permission to keep a second annual fair during the week preceding and following the feast of St. Elizabeth (November 19). They were allowed to keep this fair in the form and with liberties of the Košice Lord's day fair and the annual fairs of other royal cities, respectively.²⁶ Thereafter, Košice kept only these two annual fairs, until king Louis II granted permission to keep fairs on the feast of the Discovery of the Holy Cross (May 3) and the Ascension of Mary (August 15), as well as the days preceding and following these feasts, as necessary.²⁷ Thus by the end of the middle ages Košice had four annual fairs. Though there were multiple towns and cities in the Kingdom of Hungary having more than two annual fairs – for example Oradea, Romania, often visited by the burghers of Košice kept 11 annual fairs a year – the fact that the burghers of Košice did not try to acquire further permission to keep annual fairs was due to another institution of trade, the staple right. The cities having a rather large number of merchants and capable of acquiring the staple right were duly called merchant cities. Their goal was not to increase the number of annual fairs providing free trade, but to achieve the trade monopoly of the local merchants. Vienna having full staple right (*Sperrstapel* in German) – the one, which Košice had later, too – kept only two annual fairs.²⁸ It is not by accident that Košice requested the king to grant the right of keeping further annual fairs only when its staple right was beyond its heyday.

When Košice received the privileges of Buda on July 28, 1347, the

²⁴ Ibidem, 33–34.

²⁵ AMK, AS, E - 5.

²⁶ AMK, AS, E - 5.

²⁷ AMK, AS, E - 6.

²⁸ In 1278, there were fairs on St. Jacob's day (July 25) and the day of Purification of the Virgin (February 2) (*Die Rechtsquellen der Stadt Wien*, ed. by Peter Csendes (Wien–Köln–Graz, 1986), 80–81.). In 1382, these have been changed to the feast of Ascension and St. Catherine's day (November 25.) (*Rechtsquellen der Stadt Wien*, 194.), later, these two dates remained. see also: 1417: *Die Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien II*, ed. by Johann Adolf Tomaschek (Vienna, 1879), 24; Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Oppl, *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt. I. Von den Anfängen bis zur ersten Türkenbelagerung (1529)* (Vienna, 2001), 137, 412.

provisions taken over declare also²⁹ that the wagons passing down and up should stop in the city and keep a fair every day, just as before. There is only a single difference between the 1244 Buda (Pest) privilege charter and the Košice 1347 privilege charter: the one of Košice mentions wagons moving up and down, not boats, unlike the one of Pest.³⁰ This shows that the Pest privilege decree was not copied word by word, but they rather tried to adapt it to Košice. In spite of this we do not consider possible that the note in the wording referring to the previous times (*sicut prius*) is appropriate,³¹ thus that there was a possibility of everyday trade even before 1347.³² This provision of the privilege charter gave Košice the staple right,³³ though due to the too general wording king Louis I specified the right in detail in 1361. In accordance with the charter issued by the King, the foreign merchants coming from Russia, Poland and their provinces had to sell their goods in Košice, moreover, they weren't even allowed to pass the city of Košice.³⁴ Therewith Košice received the full staple right (*Sperrstapel*) applicable to foreign merchants coming from the north and northeast, since the king even forbade them to travel further.³⁵ Košice acquired the same rights as did Cologne in 1259: the foreign merchants – among them those of Hungary – were not

²⁹ See also: Zsoldos, *The path of Košice...*

³⁰ Item currus descendentes et ascendentes cum mercimoniis apud eos descendeant et forum, sicut prius, habeant cotidianum — *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I*, 148.; see also: as to the privileges of the city of Buda: 1244: Item naves et carine descendentes et ascendentes cum mercibus et curribus apud eos descendant et forum sicut prius habeant cottidianum — *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae III/2*, ed. by András Kubinyi et al., (Budapest, 1997). (hereinafter referred to as: EFHU III/2.) 40.

³¹ Halaga states that Košice may be considered to be a city having the staple right from the end of the 13th century onwards (Ondrej Halaga, „Colnice a Dô verníci v Ríšskom Monopole Košic,“ in *Historický Časopis* 39 (1991), 3), though nothing supports this idea.

³² This is not a daily fair (*Tagesmarkt* in German), as Halaga suspected, but a right to trade granted to the foreign merchants, regardless of the weekly fairs. see also: Halaga, *Colnice a Dô verníci*, 3; Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok*, 16–18.

³³ As to the staple right of Košice, see: Róbert Farkas, *Kassa árúmegállító joga. A város titkos levéltárának adatai alapján*, (Košice, 1893); Ondrej R. Halaga, „Počiatky Diaľkového Obchodu Cez Stredné Karpaty a Košického Práva Skladu,“ in *Historica Carpatica* 4 (1973): 13–25. As to the staple right of the towns and cities of the Kingdom of Hungary in the territory of today's Slovakia see: Michal Suchý, „Stredoveké právo núteného skladu,“ in *Historický Časopis* 10 (1962): 198–215.

³⁴ AMK, AS, D - 2. (MNL, OL, DF, 269 219). This charter was transcribed by king Louis I in 1364: AMK, AS, D - 3 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 220) and later by king Sigismund in 1393: AMK, AS, D - 7 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 224); the latter was copied by the convent of Jasov, Slovakia in 1422: AMK, AS, D - 21 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 236).

³⁵ As to the staple right of Krakow and its relationship to Košice, see: Stanisław Kutrzeba, „Handel Krakowa w wiekach średnich na tle stosunków handlowych Polski,“ in *Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 46 (1902): 20–21.; Ondrej R. Halaga, „Krakovské právo skladu a sloboda obchodu v uhorsko-poľsko-pruskej politike pred Grunwaldom,“ in *Slovenské Štúdie* XVI (1975): 163–191.

allowed to pass it.³⁶

However, the king soon relieved the Polish merchants from the strict staple right of Košice: on February 25, 1368 he allowed them to could leave the town on the fifth day after their arrival and take their goods wherever in the Kingdom of Hungary or even beyond, if they could not sell their goods for three full days.³⁷ This must have made the burghers of Košice angry, since the Polish merchants were the most important to them. On August 4, 1372 they convinced king Louis I to issue a new decree, one stating that the merchants of Poland and other foreign merchants coming to the Kingdom of Hungary from Polish territory were obliged to deposit their freight in Košice and were not allowed to pass Košice southwards.³⁸

The next step of Košice in making the staple right more complete was to extend their privilege to the domestic merchants, too. They achieved this in two steps: first, in 1388 they arranged with king Sigismund to accept the fact that their right applied to all merchants coming from Polish territory, not only foreign merchants;³⁹ later on, in 1399 they extended this provision even to the merchants heading to the aforementioned territory, since king Sigismund demanded that all domestic and foreign merchants, mainly those coming from Transylvania and Oradea, Romania were obliged to sell their goods in Košice and not to take them any further.⁴⁰ A year later, in 1400, the king ruled that all domestic and foreign merchants passing through the country was first (*primitus*) obliged to unload their freight in Košice.⁴¹ Naturally, this decision was aimed most of all against Levoča, Slovakia, a city interested in purchasing goods coming from Poland and having a right of forcing the merchants passing through the city to sell their goods there in a period of 15

³⁶ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln II*, published by Leonard Ennen and Gottfried Eckertz (Cologne, Germany, 1863), 414–416.; As to the staple right of Cologne, see: Otto Gönnerwein, *Das Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht*, (Weimar, Germany, 1939), 18–22; Bruno Kuske, „Der Kölner Stapel und seine Zusammenhänge als wirtschaftspolitisches Beispiel,” in *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 21 (1939): 1–46.

³⁷ *Codicis diplomatici civitatis Cracoviensis I. (1257–1506), Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa I. (1257–1506)*, published by Franciszek Piekosiński (Krakow, 1879), 47–48.

³⁸ AMK, AS, D - 4 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 221); see also: 1378: AMK, AS, D - 5 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 222).

³⁹ AMK, AS, D - 9 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 226); However, in 1390 king Sigismund forbade the burghers of Košice to hinder the burghers of Sibiu, Romania on their way. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen II*, ed. by Franz Zimmermann and Carl Werner (Sibiu, Romania, 1893), 640–641.

⁴⁰ AMK, AS, D - 8 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 225); AMK, AS, D - 10, D - 11 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 227).

⁴¹ AMK, AS, D - 13 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 229); Transcribed by the convent of Jasov, Slovakia on July 15, 1404: AMK, AS, D - 15 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 231) and on December 27, 1453 by the convent of Jasov: (MNL, OL, DF, 269 242) AMK, AS, D - 64.

days.⁴² So by the beginning of the 15th century, the Košice staple right applied to merchants both coming from Poland as well as heading there. The deeds of king Sigismund, which set Košice off from the other towns and cities caused displeasure with the merchants of both Poland and Hungary. The previous ones managed to convince the Hungarian nobility in 1401 to ensure that they could take textile and other goods to any town and city in Hungary;⁴³ the king relieved the domestic merchants from the Košice staple right in 1402, while he confirmed the staple right in terms of the foreign and Transylvanian merchants,⁴⁴ thus they were obliged to visit the city and sell their goods there.

Since the burghers of Košice could not enforce their staple right in terms of the domestic merchants (except for those of Transylvania), they wanted to regulate the trade permissible in the city warehouse in a way, which would have ensured the interests of the merchants of Košice. They existed three ways of achieving this in the middle ages: 1. only burghers of cities having staple right (e.g. Buda,⁴⁵ Venice⁴⁶) were allowed to purchase goods in the city warehouse; 2. for a certain time, only the merchants of the city were allowed to make purchases in the city warehouse, thus they had the right of preemption; others were allowed to make purchases only afterwards (there are no other examples of this from the territory of Kingdom of Hungary, while there were some examples abroad⁴⁷); 3. the amount of goods one could sell in the city warehouse was limited (e.g. Buda⁴⁸ or Kežmarok, Slovakia⁴⁹).

Both foreign and domestic merchants were allowed to make purchases in the city warehouse of Košice;⁵⁰ though the burghers of Košice were not allowed to visit their debtors in order to collect their debts or credits without a special permission of the judge and the jury (*sine speciali indulto vel*

⁴² *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae II*, ad edendum praeparavit Vincent Sedlák (Bratislavae, 1987), 300.; As to the staple right of Levoča, see: Michal Suchý, *Dejiny Levoče I* (Košice), 67–71.

⁴³ *Codicis diplomatici civitatis Cracoviensis I*, 141.; However, in 1423 king Sigismund decided that they were not allowed to pass Košice with their goods (AMK, AS, D - 22, MNL, OL, DF, 269 237). In 1518, king Louis II ruled similarly (MNL, OL, DF, 269 270.). As to the Polish-Hungarian trade relationship in the 15th century see: *Stanisław Sroka and Marcin Starzyński*, „Handel und Politik. Die Karriere des Markus von Nürnberg in Ungarn an der Wende vom 14. zum 15. Jahrhundert,” in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 97 (2010): 35–38.

⁴⁴ AMK, AS, D - 14 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 230).

⁴⁵ 74§ Ofner Stadtrecht 89–90.

⁴⁶ see also: Maartje van Gelder, *Trading places: the Netherlandish merchants in early modern Venice* (Library of economic history, 2009), 37–38.

⁴⁷ see also: Gönnerwein, *Das Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht*, 279–285.

⁴⁸ For example: 76, 77, 104§ Mollay, *Das Ofner Stadtrecht*, 90–91., 100–101.

⁴⁹ see also: Kálmán Demkó, „Késmárk város kereskedelmi szabályzata a XV-ik század elejéről,” in *Történelmi Tár* (1886): 137–140.

⁵⁰ see also: 1368: *Codicis diplomatici civitatis Cracoviensis I*, 47–48; 1399: AMK, AS, D - 10, D 11 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 227).

licentia).⁵¹ Naturally, trading goods for credit was a common habit also with the burghers of Košice, just like stocking the unsold goods. A good example of this is the contract between Košice and Krakow, Poland from 1394, in which the parties agreed to sell goods freely in each other's cities and they were allowed to terminate the agreement with a notice period of four months to allow the goods to be sent home and the debts to be collected.⁵² The amounts of commodities to be sold by abroad merchants and foreigners (i.e. people not residing in Košice and not being citizens of Košice) to other foreign merchants were first limited in 1404⁵³ – they weren't allowed to sell less nor more. Thus the city forbade the retail transactions among them, limited the amount of purchasable goods, but none of these rules applied to the burghers of Košice. Nevertheless we are sure that the burghers of Košice were not allowed to make retail transactions in the city warehouse either,⁵⁴ since for this purpose they had the weekly fairs, just as the foreign merchants were allowed to make retail sales only at the annual fairs.⁵⁵ Except for this, in 1404 the foreign merchants were forced to use the scale of the city and have no weights, scales or length measuring instruments at their accommodation, in their shops or larders.⁵⁶ The rules and regulations of the Košice guild of merchants forbade the members of the guild to lend weights or scales to the foreign merchants.⁵⁷ Naturally, the merchants had to pay for using the city scale – this contributed to the income of the city.

It is clear that the Polish merchants tried to restore their free trade in the Kingdom of Hungary again and again, while Košice wanted to extend the staple right to the domestic merchants, too. The two aims met at court in 1423

⁵¹ see also: 1399: AMK, AS, D - 10, D - 11 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 227); 1417: AMK, AS, D - 19 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 235); 1417: AMK, AS, D - 20.

⁵² *Codicis diplomatici civitatis Cracoviensis I*, 17; The publication contains the year 1324, this is what was accepted by the Polish and Slovak literature, too – see: Kutrzeba, *Handel Krakowa*, 59; Branislav Varsik, „K Boju Medzi Košickými Mešťanmi a Omodejovcami,” in *Historický Sborník X* (1952), 235; Ondrej Halaga, *Košice-Balt. Výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom (1275–1526)* (Košice, 1975), 97; Krzysztof Baczkowski, „Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Krakau und Oberungarn (der Slowakei) im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert (ca. 1471–1526)” in *Weltwirtschaft und Wirtschaftsordnung. Festschrift für Jürgen Schneider zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Rainer Gömmel and Markus A. Denzel (Stuttgart, 2002), 17; The judge of Košice, Jacob Kilián, who issued the charter, lived in the 1390's (see also: AMK, AS, D - 12, MNL, OL, DF, 269 228), moreover the pair of the agreement is now in the Košice city archives with the year 1394 on it, therefore we may consider this the real date of the agreement – AMK, AS, D - 1 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 218).

⁵³ AMK, AS, D - 16 (DF, 269 234).

⁵⁴ It was only by request of the Košice tailors' guild that the city allowed the burghers to purchase goods from foreigners for their own needs and the needs of their families, though for further processing they allowed only purchases of whole fabric rolls. Lajos Kemény, „A kassai szabók 1461. évbeli czéhszabályzata,” in *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle* 10 (1903): 429.

⁵⁵ see also: 1475: Kemény, *A kassai 1475. évi czéhszabály*, 191.

⁵⁶ AMK, AS, D - 16 (DF, 269 234).

⁵⁷ Lajos Kemény, „A kassai kereskedők czéhszabályzata 1446-ből,” in *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle V* (1898): 31, 33.

– the result of the trial was half a victory for Košice. On one hand, king Sigismund forced the Polish merchants to sell their goods in Košice and not to travel past the city, but on the other hand he considered this provision valid also in case of those, who were coming to the Kingdom of Hungary from Polish territory.⁵⁸ Two years later, the king ordered both the Hungarian and the foreign merchants to enter the Košice city warehouse and sell their goods there.⁵⁹ This was in fact the restoration of the full staple right (*Sperrstapel*) of Košice, also in regard of the domestic merchants; this didn't change even during the following times.⁶⁰

However, the merchants wanting to avoid Košice were trying to find routes avoiding the city and thus the Košice city warehouse. Naturally, Košice could not allow this, therefore they acted continually against such routes. One of these led through Humenné, Slovakia, therefore the burghers of Košice requested the king to issue decrees aimed at the abolishment of the route leading through Humenné. When justifying their request, they were referring once to their staple right, or to the one thirtieth duty levied in the city and the debts in paying this duty at other times. It was in 1455 that the burghers of Košice first objected against the Humenné route and king Ladislaus V accepted the objection: he ordered the merchants to enter the city and unload their freight, though he forbade the burghers of Košice to seize the goods of the merchants.⁶¹ The interdiction of the use of the route through Humenné returned in the later times, too.⁶² The old route from Poland to Košice passed through the mountains of Krompachy, Slovakia through the thirtieth duty collection site of Košice: Stará Lubovňa, Slovakia. At the beginning of the 16th century, John Szapolyai [*Zápolský*], hereditary count and voivode of the county of Szepes [*Spiš*] built a new road through Tvrdošín, Slovakia by crushing stones and rocks and so the road passed through the valley.⁶³ Košice made all necessary steps to prevent the use of the new road and in 1516 the city succeeded, when king Louis II demanded the merchants coming from Poland travel through Košice and not to use the road through Tvrdošín, allowing only horsemen and pedestrians taking food to the mining towns to use it.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ AMK, AS, D - 22 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 237).

⁵⁹ AMK, AS, D - 35 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 248); Transcribed by the Provostship of Jasov, Slovakia in 1491, Ibidem.

⁶⁰ see also: 1453: AMK, AS, D - 26 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 241); 1460: AMK, AS, D - 32 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 246); 1503: AMK, AS, D - 48 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 261); 1511: AMK, AS, D - 54 (DF, 269 267).

⁶¹ AMK, AS, D - 29 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 243).

⁶² see also: 1453: AMK, AS, D - 30 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 244); 1459: AMK, AS, D - 31 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 245); 1460: AMK, AS, D - 32 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 246); 1461: AMK, AS, D - 34 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 247); 1511: AMK, AS, D - 54 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 267).

⁶³ AMK, AS, E - 20 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 290).

⁶⁴ AMK, AS, D - 55 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 268).

From the second half of the 15th century on, one of the most important trading goals of Košice was to lay its hands on the wine trade of the northern parts of the country. Therefore, they acted against the nearby landlords,⁶⁵ the town of Levoča, Slovakia, as well as three towns from the county of Sáros [*Sariš*]: Prešov, Bardejov and Sabinov. These four towns tried to act against the staple right of Košice – both independently and jointly.⁶⁶ It seems that by the time court trials ended, an agreement was concluded, which set rights and obligations for both parties. This is how we can interpret the provision of the decree issued by king Vladislaus II on June 10, 1501, according to which the merchants of Levoča, Bardejov, Prešov and Sabinov were obliged to sell their goods only for two days and they could eventually take their unsold goods and sell them elsewhere, they could buy goods and wine freely, though they were obliged to stop on the way back at the Košice marketplace and stay there until noon – if they could not sell their wine or other goods by that time, they could continue freely. This provision applied to the burghers of Levoča, too.⁶⁷ Following this, the staple right of Košice was applicable to Levoča, Bardejov, Prešov and Sabinov only to a limited extent.⁶⁸ The cities acted against the Košice staple right again at the beginning of the 16th century,⁶⁹ after king Vladislaus II forbade the burghers of Košice and Sopron, Hungary to force the nobility and commoners of Upper Hungary to enter their towns when moving along the usual roads with their wagons, horses and wine.⁷⁰ The king declared that this law applied only to the nobility, not to the cities, therefore these had to take their wine to Košice⁷¹ and offer it for sale in the way described above. Thus, the staple right of Košice was limited in regard of the aforementioned 4

⁶⁵ see also: 1482: AMK, AS, H - 132 (MNL, OL, DF, 271 438); 1482: AMK, AS, H - 133 (MNL, OL, DF, 271 439); 1503: AMK, AS, D - 47 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 260); 1503: AMK, AS, D - 48 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 261); 1522: AMK, AS, D - 58 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 271); 1522: AMK, AS, D - 60 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 272); 1522: AMK, AS, D - 59 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 344); 1522: Štátny Archív v Poprade, Pobočka Bardejov (SAB), 5164 (MNL, OL, DF, 218 096).

⁶⁶ see also: 1491: AMK, AS, D - 36 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 249); 1494: AMK, AS, D - 37 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 250); 1495: AMK, AS, D - 38 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 251); 1495: AMK, AS, D - 39 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 252 = D 39); 1501: SAB, 3589. (MNL, OL, DF, 216 476).

⁶⁷ AMK, AS, D - 43 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 256); AMK, AS, D - 44 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 257).

⁶⁸ see also: 1501: SAB, 3612 (MNL, OL, DF, 216 499); 1501: SAB, 3624 (MNL, OL, DF, 216 511); 1501: SAB, 3626 (MNL OL, DF 216 513); 1503: SAB, 3738 (MNL, OL, DF, 216 625).

⁶⁹ see also: 1503: SAB, 3752 (DF, 216 639); The actions of the towns and cities against Košice were described in a summary published at the beginning of the 19th century under the title „Kassai Századok”, written by an anonymous writer; according to this, in 1495, the burghers of Košice seized the wagons of Levoča loaded with wine and took them to Košice, which led to the creation of law no. 19 in 1504. Kassai Századok 25. (Oszk Kézirattár Oct. Hung. 528.).

⁷⁰ *Corpus Juris Hungarici. Magyar törvénytár. 1000–1526. évi törvényczikkek*, translated by Gyula Nagy et al. (Budapest, 1899), 682.

⁷¹ see also: 1504: AMK, AS, D - 49. (MNL, OL, DF, 269 262); 1504: SAB, 3818 (DF, 216 706); 1505: AMK, AS, D - 41 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 254); 1505: AMK, AS, D - 50 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 263); 1505: AMK, AS, D - 52 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 265); 1505: AMK, AS, D - 53 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 266); 1505: AMK, AS, D - 51 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 264); 1516: AMK, AS, D - 57 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 269).

towns. It seems that the burghers of the thirteen towns of the county of Szepes put in pawn could travel past the city,⁷² because in his 1523 decree addressed to the burghers of Košice king Louis II stated that when trading their wine and other goods, the thirteen towns of the county of Szepes were allowed to go not only until their regular place of unloading, i.e. Košice, but to any place in the country, therefore he demanded Košice not to limit them in exercising this right of theirs.⁷³ The obligation of unloading wine did not apply to the inhabitants of the Máramaros [*Maramureş*] county either, therefore Košice could apply the staple right against them only in terms of other goods. This is stated in the decree of king Vladislaus II issued on March 14, 1501 addressed to the count of the chamber in Máramaros county and the thirtieth duty collector of Košice, in which he stated that the burghers of the Máramaros region should enter Košice and the city warehouse (*locum scilicet depositionis*) with any goods except for wine and unload their freight there.⁷⁴

Even though only with lesser or greater compromises, the city of Košice managed to maintain its staple right until the end of the middle ages – this vastly improved the trade possibilities of the burghers. The Košice merchants' guild had their own building (*crom, steincrom*), where the members could rent a shop for a fee.⁷⁵ However, in accordance with the 1446 rules of the guild the members were not allowed to display or sell the goods of foreign merchants – i.e. being from different municipalities and even not being members of the guild – and they were not allowed to enter into trade associations with these.⁷⁶

Thanks to the staple right, the merchants of Košice acquired an advantage, primarily in the field of purchasing goods coming from the Polish territories. The merchants of Košice bought up goods and sold them off later on, while they had to purchase goods, which they sold to merchants who were not allowed to pass the city southwards – mostly Polish merchants. The costs of trade beyond the city could be lowered by acquiring customs and the thirtieth duty exempt status, therefore the burghers of Košice were keen on this. However, this was not as easy as acquiring the staple right. At the beginning of the 14th century, the city was granted only a limited customs-exempt status: in 1319 king Charles I relieved the *hospes* of Košice from paying customs and other duties levied by royal castles or others in the counties Újvár, Zemplén [*Zemplín*] until the rivers Tisza [*Tisa*] and Sajó [*Slaná*] – up to the borders of Bereg county.⁷⁷ However, the burghers of Košice have lost this privilege after

⁷² In 1500, king Vladislaus II ordered Košice not to hinder the thirteen towns (of the county of Szepes/Spiš) to use the old and regular routes — AMK, AS, D - 42 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 255).

⁷³ Státny Archív v Levoči, B, 1, 4 (MNL, OL, DF, 267 849).

⁷⁴ AMK, AS, D - 46 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 259).

⁷⁵ György Kerekes, „A kassai kereskedő-czéh (Bruderschaft) könyve,” in *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle* 10. (1903): 343-344, see also: Zsigmond Pál Pach, „Szófejtés és gazdaságtörténet. Crom–cromer–kalmár,” in *Magyar Nyelv* 72 (1976): 423–425.

⁷⁶ Kemény, *The guild rules of the merchants of Košice from 1446*, 31–32.

⁷⁷ *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I*, 93.

1323⁷⁸ and they managed to regain the privileges only by the end of the 15th century; until that time they received only reduced customs rates. Therefore if they went to Wroclaw and the Czech territories, in accordance with the 1364 charter issued by king Louis I they were to pay customs only in the counties of Liptó [*Liptov*], Túróc [*Turiec*] and the city of Žilina – 4 groschen both inwards and outwards for each great wagon [*currus magnus oneratus – mázsaszekér*] loaded with goods.⁷⁹ From 1371 on, due to the courtesy of queen Elizabeth, they had to pay only as much customs in Poland as the merchants of Krakow and Poland had to pay;⁸⁰ then later, in 1378 queen Elizabeth relieved them from paying half of the customs in *Alba ecclesia sive Chyhou* [*Czchów, Poland*].⁸¹

Finally, the burghers of Košice managed to convince king Sigismund to confirm the 1319 charter of king Charles I on March 10, 1392.⁸² However, a long time elapsed between granting the customs-exempt status and its enforcement, so the repeated enforcement was not without any trouble.⁸³ Later on king Sigismund himself confirmed his own 1392 confirmation charter in 1423, then in 1492 king Vladislaus II confirmed the 1319 charter of king Charles I,⁸⁴ however, in fact all kings accepted this customs-exempt status in spite of the fact that the city's privilege charter was not rewritten by them.⁸⁵

The city gained nationwide customs-exempt status only at the beginning of the 15th century, even though it had a chance to get it earlier, too. Košice received the privileges of Buda [*now Budapest, Hungary*] on July 28, 1347⁸⁶ and among the provisions of the 1244 privilege decree of Pest [*now Budapest, Hungary*], serving as a model was also the provision of the nationwide customs-exempt status.⁸⁷ However, this customs-exemption provision is not

⁷⁸ see also: Boglárka Weisz, *Megszerezni és megtartani egy kiváltságot. A kassaiai vámmentessége.* (prepared for publication)

⁷⁹ AMK, AS, F - 6 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 299).

⁸⁰ AMK, AS, F - 7 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 300); AMK, AS, F - 8 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 301).

⁸¹ AMK, AS, F - 9 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 302).

⁸² AMK, AS, F - 14 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 307).

⁸³ See also: 1393: AMK, AS, F - 16 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 309); 1404: AMK, AS, F - 18 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 311); 1404: AMK, AS, F - 19 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 312); 1404: AMK, AS, F - 22 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 315); 1404: AMK, AS, F - 20 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 313); 1404: AMK, AS, F - 21 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 314); 1405: AMK, AS, F - 24/A (MNL, OL, DF, 269 318).

⁸⁴ January 29, 1423: AMK, AS, F - 34 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 328); April 6, 1492: AMK, AS, Confirmatio I - 1. (MNL, OL, DF, 269 459); The 1392 privilege charter of king Sigismund was transcribed by the convent in Jasov, Slovakia, January 30, 1406: AMK, AS, F - 25 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 319); The 1392 privilege charter of king Sigismund was transcribed by palatine Michael Ország during a court trial led against the holders of the customs, March 3, 1482: AMK, AS, F - 95.

⁸⁵ See also: 1453: AMK, AS, F - 45 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 339); 1478: AMK, AS, F - 77 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 371).

⁸⁶ *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I*, 148.

⁸⁷ *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae III/2*, 40.

present in the Košice privilege charter,⁸⁸ which suggests that – for some unknown reason – the king did not want to grant the burghers of Košice a nationwide customs-exempt status. This is very interesting, even in the light of the fact that the city was granted one of the most important trade privileges, the staple right.⁸⁹ Moreover, when the city received the nationwide customs-exempt status from king Sigismund in 1405, this happened due to a factor independent of Košice. On April 15, 1405 in his municipal law Sigismund ordered to collect a thirtieth duty payable for all imported and exported goods; to mitigate the effect of this, he relieved the merchants from paying the royal customs.⁹⁰ On the next day the burghers of Košice gained the nationwide customs-exempt status referring to the decree, which applied only to the customs duties payable in regard of possessions of the king – though they might have been even in the hands of a honor occupant.⁹¹

There was a significant difference in the customs-exempt status limited to a certain territory and the nationwide customs-exempt status. The previous one applied only to the duties payable in regard of royal possessions and those held by others, while the nationwide customs-exempt status applied only to customs duties payable in regard of the royal possessions. It is not a matter of coincidence that the territorial customs-exempt status was important for the burghers of Košice throughout the medieval era. However, it is interesting that they did not have the 1405 privilege charter on customs exemption of king Sigismund rewritten by any of the medieval kings. One would expect that they had their privilege charter on the nationwide customs-exemption confirmed by the king at least in 1492, when they convinced king Vladislaus II to confirm multiple privilege charters, though not concerning all their privileges,⁹² among them also the 1319 privilege charter of king Charles I concerning the territorial customs-exemption.⁹³ In spite of this, the historical data make it clear that the nationwide customs-exemption of the burghers of Košice was being practiced actively and the lack of confirmation does was not caused by loss of the privilege, but something different. Starting from the middle of the 15th century we see charters referring to the old customs-exemption or that applicable since the grant of king Sigismund – this is most probably a reference⁹⁴ to the nationwide customs-exempt status of the

⁸⁸ See also: Zsoldos, *The path of Košice*.

⁸⁹ See also: Weisz, *Vásárok és lerakatok*.

⁹⁰ *Decreta Regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns 1301–1457*, ed. by Franciscus Döry, Georgius Bónis and Vera Bácskai, (Publicationes Archivi Nationalis Hungarici II, Budapest, 1976), 206.

⁹¹ AMK, AS, F - 23 (DF, 269 316).

⁹² AMK, AS, Confirmatio I - 1 (DF, 269 459).

⁹³ This charter was transcribed only by the convent in Leles, Slovakia, in 1458, AMK, AS, F - 52 (DF, 269 347); AMK, AS, F - 53 (DF, 269 348); AMK, AS, F - 54 (DF, 269 349).

⁹⁴ 1458: AMK, AS, F - 51 (DF, 269 346); 1470: AMK, AS, F - 70 (DF, 269 364); 1474: AMK, AS, F - 72 (DF, 269 366); 1481: AMK, AS, F - 80 (DF, 269 374); 1482: AMK, AS, F - 83 (DF,

burghers of Košice or even more than that. The collection of customs from the burghers of Košice is not forbidden only to the royal collectors, but also to the occupants of the royal possessions. In 1475, king Mathias noted that Košice was granted customs-exemption just like other royal cities⁹⁵ and in his 1500 law king Vladislaus II confirmed that it was widely known that the royal free cities, such as Košice were exempt from paying any customs.⁹⁶ The data make it clear that the burghers of Košice could enforce their customs-exemption privilege in spite of its not being confirmed in writing; moreover, since it was not confirmed, by time they also managed to extend it to the non-royal customs.

Since the burghers of Košice conducted significant foreign trade, they wanted to be exempt also of paying the foreign trade customs collected since the 13th century, the thirtieth duty. Similarly to the nationwide customs-exempt status, arranging this took a longer time. In 1404 king Sigismund relieved them from paying the half of the thirtieth duty for 10 years;⁹⁷ however, king Ladislaus V provided the exemption only for a year.⁹⁸ Finally, in 1454 king Ladislaus V granted the burghers of Košice full exemption from paying the thirtieth duty⁹⁹ for the services provided to him by the city, i.e. the 33000 florins the city paid to king Ladislaus V. Nevertheless, the burghers of Košice had to pay for the crown customs introduced in 1467: 400 florins a year.¹⁰⁰ At the end of the middle ages, after the abolishment of the crown customs, king Vladislaus II confirmed the thirtieth customs-exemption of the burghers of Košice,¹⁰¹ which seemed to be in effect also later.

In the middle ages, Košice received privileges, which helped to boost the trade life of the city. The city kept weekly and annual retail fairs, though the wholesale transactions were made in the city warehouse. The latter allowed the merchants of Košice to act as proxies in the trade conducted in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. This was supported by the customs and thirtieth duty exempt status acquired with much effort. Nevertheless, Košice had to protect these privileges continually, thus enforce these privileges and

269 377); 1483: AMK, AS, F - 96, F - 97; 1484: AMK, AS, F - 98; 1490: AMK, AS, F - 102; 1491: AMK, AS, F - 101; 1492: AMK, AS, F - 103.; 1492: AMK, AS, F - 105.

⁹⁵ AMK, AS, F - 73 (DF, 269 367).

⁹⁶ In accordance with this he issued a decree for the burghers of Košice on May 25, 1500 (AMK, AS, F - 115) and on August 11, 1500 he forbade the nuns at the island of St. Margaret to collect taxes from the burghers of Košice in Pest [*now Budapest, Hungary*] (AMK, AS, F - 116).

⁹⁷ AMK, AS, E - 1 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 273); AMK, AS, E - 2.

⁹⁸ AMK, AS, E - 4 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 275); AMK, AS, E - 5 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 276); AMK, AS, E - 6 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 277).

⁹⁹ AMK, AS, E - 7 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 278); see also: 1454: AMK, AS, E - 8 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 279); 1454: AMK, AS, E - 9; The thirtieth duty exemption of the burghers of Košice was accepted also by king Mathias I in 1464, AMK, AS, E - 10 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 280).

¹⁰⁰ 1468: AMK, AS, E - 13 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 283); 1471: AMK, AS, E - 14 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 284).

¹⁰¹ AMK, AS, E - 16 (MNL, OL, DF, 269 286).

even though the city was forced to make compromises, all in all we can say that the city protected its business interests successfully and became one of the significant trade centers of the Kingdom of Hungary.

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The Population of Košice in the Early Modern Era, in Comparison with Europe

György Granasztói

Abstract

In the archives of Košice, 16th century population conscription data unique to the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary have survived – no such documents are available in the towns and cities of the Danube region and they are scarce even in all of Europe. Based on these data, the author has written a study – a book – on the social history of the town, which has been published recently.¹ Below you may find some excerpts of this book, with explanations.²

Key words: Košice. Early Modern Age. The Population. Europe.

Introduction

As it is known, Košice was one of the most important towns and cities of the Kingdom of Hungary. In the medieval hierarchy of the treasury cities – the most developed municipalities, having the most important role in commerce – it was second behind Buda and before Bratislava, Trnava, Sopron, Bardejov, Prešov and later Pest.³ In the second half of the 15th century, its state of economy and commerce, legislation and administration and most probably even of its population reached some kind of culmination in the given conditions. The economy and society of Košice showed signs of maturity.

After the battle of Mohács, Košice became – due to its position – one of the main targets of the military manoeuvres of the emperor Ferdinand, as well as Szapolyai [*Zápol'ský*]. The town was not strong enough to resist any of these and not even its allies, the four other cities of Upper Hungary provided sufficient support in this.⁴ In 1536, the town was occupied by the army of John Szapolyai, which contributed to the disruption of trade and brought a social crisis, too. In 1552, Košice got back under the influence of Emperor Ferdinand and became the seat of the Upper Hungarian military headquarters. Along with this, the main directions of commerce changed – it was the connection to the Hungarian Lowlands, which received focus, especially concerning the region of Tokaj. The wine produced here was exported to Poland in ever increasing amounts and the town had a significant role in this. The beginnings of Protestantism date back to the 1520's, and by the middle of

¹ György Granasztói, *A városi élet keretei a feudális kori Magyarországon. Kassa társadalma a 16. század derekán* (Budapest: Korall, 2012).

² As to the referred bibliography, see the publication referred to in the previous footnote.

³ Szentpétery, (1934), 540; and Kubinyi, *Budapest története 2* (1973), 164–165.

⁴ The towns of Košice, Bardejov, Prešov, Levoča and Sabinov – the *Quinque civitates superiores* – made a "law" (*gesecz*) for the first time 1412; in this they undertook to cooperate in matters of debt collection (Iványi, 1931. p. 170.) This was a loose relationship, in which the towns had even sharp mutual conflicts, just like Levoča and Košice at the end of the 15th century.

the century, the reformed church gained its structure.

In addition to a short description of the historical conditions we also have to note a few things concerning the aforementioned special resources of social history. Among the medieval and early modern resources present in Košice we may find many municipal document types, though only as fragments. This means that there are hardly any sources, which would allow us to research a topic over a longer period of time or in general. Tax lists and conscriptions have survived only sporadically, from larger periods of time, though Sopron, Bardejov, Kežmarok, Levoča, Brašov and – starting with the end of the 16th century – even Trnava had longer, though incomplete data series.⁵ Considering the lengthy data sources of the Western European cities having massive amounts of homogeneous information (such as parish registers or marriage contracts) – the 1427 *Catasto*⁶ of Florence being the most comprehensive and precise of all – we can state the following: the sources of Košice are more modest in size and insufficient for the performance of a statistical analysis of the processes.

Nevertheless, when investigating the conditions of the era and the region, one may start out only from the town's own state. The archives of Košice contain really diverse information on the local civil society of short, several-year periods. Such a period was also the last quarter of the 15th century, mainly due to the often exceptionally verbose tax registers. Another period of this kind is the period between 1549 and 1560, from which population conscriptions, tax registers and “*ambulatio*” documents have survived, though this period is exceptionally abundant also concerning other sources. The text below contains statements based on the sources of the second period mentioned. Among these sources are two Košice conscriptions of special value, worth mentioning in detail.

The first survived conscription of the town population (Conscr. 1549) was elaborated during the rule of Szapolyai. In 1549, all inhabitants – heads of families/households, adult men, women and children – residing in the area within the town walls were surveyed, in each and every house. The first quarter is especially valuable: the author did a very good job in recording the

⁵ As to *Sopron*: Granasztói, 1970.; As to *Bardejov*: Gácsová, 1972.; As to *Kežmarok*: the IBY series in the town archives, starting with 1434; a significant drawback of these registers is that they are limited only to house owners (currently, they are situated in the District Archives of Poprad, in Stará Lubovňa), see also: Gácsová, 1971; *Levoča*: Suchy, 1969; *Brašov*: Granasztói, 1972. – as to the mining towns see: Paulinyi, 1971. Due to their verbosity, the tax registers of Trnava may be used to demonstrate the changes in the social burdens of the town in the 16th – 18th centuries. György Granasztói, *A barokk győzelme Nagyszombatban* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó), 2004.

⁶ See also: Goubert, 1960; Marcel Couturier, *Recherches sur les structures sociales de Châteaudun (1528–1789)* (Paris, 1969); Christiane Klapisch and Michel Demonet, „A uno pane e uno vino,” in *La famille toscane au début du XVI^e siècle. Annales. E. S. C 27* (1972), 873–901; *An introduction to English historical demography*, ed. by E. A. Wrigley (London, 1966); Laslett, 1966.

details of the inhabitants' marital status. The conscriptions of the other three quarters were terser. The aim of the authors was to produce a list of men capable of military service.

Using the detailed list of the first quarter, we can specify the population of families/households, men and women, the number and sex of the minors, the relations/statuses of other persons (maids, servants), while the surname suggested the profession of the head of the family/household and whether he was the main resident or not. The domicile of the people listed in the register may be found here, too. The data of the other three quarters were less detailed concerning the structure of the families/households, but these show the numbers of the adult men and the incapable of military service (women, children, maids) and the status of the men, who were not members of the families. The remaining data types are similar to those of the first quarter. Registers containing family structure data are exceptionally scarce among the medieval and early modern municipal historical resources.

The second conscription of 1554 was made in Košice after the town returned under the rule of the emperor, Ferdinand – the population was already mostly exchanged by then. Its character is similar to the previous one, though the references to the demographical structure of the population are terser, they cannot be compared to the first quarter of the 1549 conscription. The main goal was the registration of persons capable of warfare this time, too; they also added the grain reserves of the homes. Using these data, we can specify the headcount of the families/households, the number of people capable of warfare, the total number of women, children and maids, the occupation of the heads of the families/households and the main/co-resident status. The persons may be localized this time, too.

The number of burghers in the 15th - 18th centuries

In the town surrounded by walls there were 1522 people in 365 households in 1549 and 2283 people in 457 households in 1554. The military were not mentioned in either case and the clergy was missing, too (in 1549, only the monks were missing, because the inhabitants of the parish were registered). We assume there were 10 clergymen, 106/160 children of 0-3 years and 350/320 soldiers not listed in each group, respectively.⁷ Thus the population of the town was the following:

⁷ As to the numbers of the clergy and the military, see: Granasztói, 2012.: addendum 4. As to the numbers of the minors, see below.

In 1549	In 1554
1522	2283 burghers in total
106	160 minor burghers
10	10 clergymen
350	320 soldiers
1968 people	2733 inhabitants

An estimate based on the tax registers of the 1480's shows that the number of burghers was higher (approx. 2800 people).⁸ As to 1566, we may assume the number of inhabitants to be 1605 – using the data of a conscription, which has not survived – though this number is very low.⁹ In 1632, we estimate the number of burghers of the town to be lower than 2300.¹⁰ In 1762, during the grand census of the town inhabitants 2575 burghers were found within the town walls.¹¹ The changes in the numbers of burghers are the following:

1480's (estimate)	1549	1554 (partial estimate)	1568	1632 (estimate)	1765 (conscription)
2800	1628	2443	1605(?)	2300	2575 people

The population of Košice in comparison with Europe

The above numbers are those of the privileged burghers living within the walls of the town. The parts beyond the walls belonged under the jurisdiction of the landlords. At the end of the 15th century, there were approx. 1,700 inhabitants in the suburbs, while in the first half of the 16th century their number was approx. 1,100. The whole population was approximately 4,500 – together with the suburbs – at the turn of the centuries, while less than 4,000 fifty years later.

Therefore Košice was one of the larger towns of the Kingdom of Hungary at the end of the middle ages, larger being only Buda, Pest, Szeged, Brašov and maybe Bratislava (the first two having more than 10,000 inhabitants). In the so-called Danube region, which – in addition to the Kingdom of Hungary – comprised also Austria and Bohemia, there were 33 towns with a population exceeding 3,000 people in the first half of the 16th century. In this ranking, Košice was at the 20th-25th place. Except for Vienna, Prague and Brno (CZ) it was Schwaz (A), Olomouc (CZ) and Plzeň (CZ), which had more than 10,000

⁸ As to the estimate, see the same – addendum 1 and chapter 8.1.

⁹ In 1568, there were 1,500 people registered in the inner city enclosed with walls – we have added the 70% of small children probably omitted from the listing to this amount (as to the sources, see: Granasztói, 2012, chapter 3.1., note 3!). The population is so low that without knowing the source we may publish this only with an expression of doubt.

¹⁰ The 1633 tax register listed 492 taxpayers. Considering an average of 4.6 persons per household (see also: Granasztói, 2012, addendum 7.1!), the population is 2,263 persons.

¹¹ *Conscr. 1762.* (Granasztói, 2012, chapter 2., note 10!).

inhabitants; among the towns larger than Košice we may find Bratislava, Graz or Salzburg.¹²

The surface area of the Danube region is 493 thousand km², with an estimated total population of 7.5 million at the beginning of the 16th century. Considering municipalities with more than 2,000 inhabitants, the so-called urbanization rate (the number of people living in towns/cities compared to the total population) was around 5%, which was one third of the similar indicator of Europe, while this rate was even smaller in the case of the Kingdom of Hungary: approx. 3%.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to estimate the rate of urbanization based on the population rates, since this indicator is a function of civilization, culture and behaviour, too. The role of Košice among the towns and cities of the country, its weight beyond the borders and in the trade conducted towards the Hungarian Lowlands, the maturity of its institutions, the diversity of its economic activities, its special role in the field of culture, administration and military gave the town a special status within the country and the region, too; its burghers had strong ties to the municipalities of these – for example, Krakow. The towns and cities of the Kingdom of Hungary – or more broadly: those of the whole Danube region – were, due to the character of their urbanization, part of the urban area spreading from Britain to the Carpathian mountains and from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean, regardless of the local characteristics. We are going to make an attempt to prove this by means of family demographics.

The two population conscriptions in the 16th century

The change – decrease – in the numbers of burghers in the time between the 15th and 18th century is an interesting addition to the history of the city. The change, which occurred between 1549 and 1554 is exceptional in all aspects.

Why did the population increase by 50% during such a short time? The town returned under the rule of Emperor Ferdinand and this had significant consequences – among other things, this was the time when the expelled returned. However, this explanation is too vague. We can't tell if the structure of the municipal households changed after the 1552 change or not. A question is whether the two survived conscriptions reflect an abnormal situation.

¹² György Granasztói, *A középkori magyar város* (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1980); György Granasztói, "A dunai térség városodása (XVI-XVIII. Század)" in *Demográfia* 32 (1989), 175 - 180, nos. 3-4.

The number of households in 1549 and 1554:

	single member	2 and 3 members	4 and 5 members	6 and 7 members	8 and 9 members	10 and more members	Total
1549	23	124	140	58	13	7	365
	6,3%	34%	38,4%	15,9%	3,5%	1,9%	100%
1554	34	117	154	85	42	25	457
	7,4%	25,6%	33,7%	18,6%	9,1%	5,6%	100%

From the full frequency tables omitted from this study due to reasons of length we can calculate some popular statistical indicators:

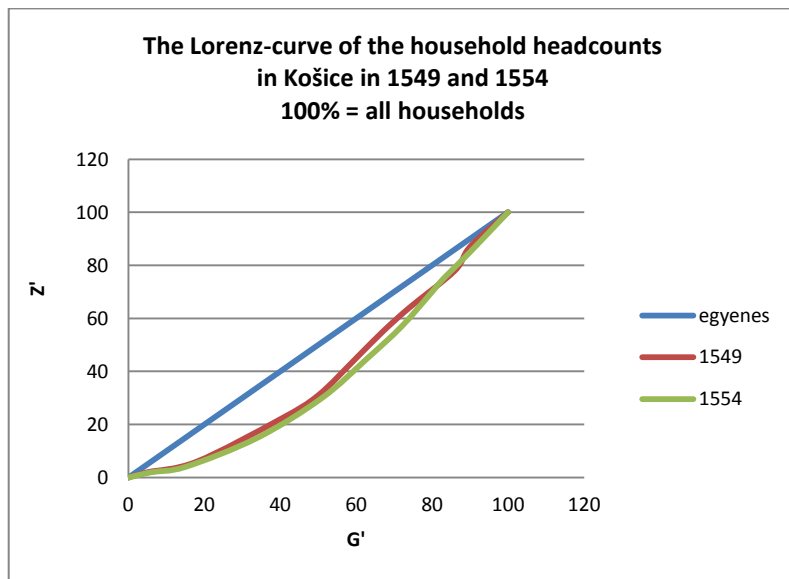
	mean headcount (\bar{X})	attribute values	range (R)	variance (O^2)
1549	4,17	12	12	1,8 (!)
1554	4,99	19	23	6,7

The evaluation of the table and the indicators leads to the conclusion that the *essentials* have not changed in Košice during the said five years, even though the two mean values differ. More than 2/3 of the households in the town had 2 to 5 members. Thus, this value characterizes the *average* situation. However, the sum of *variances* is different. This value expresses the average *difference* from the mean value, therefore it is an equally important characteristic of the sample. The low variance of 1549 shows that the vast majority of households had a headcount close to the mean value – there were only a few larger households. In principle, these headcount values would be balanced, if the household types specified by their headcount – the attribute values – had identical total headcount values, thus the same number of members. For example, if in the group of single-member households (attribute values) found in 1549 there would have been a total of 30 people and the groups of 2, 3, 4 member households would have equally 30 members in total. However, there is no such thing in practice. Quite the opposite is true: we check the extent to which the sample differs from the ideal state, thus how much it is concentrated. This difference is measured by means of the so-called *Lorenz-curve*.¹³ The more the curve differs from the diagonal (the latter one represents the ideal state), the larger the concentration of the surveyed sample is. A high concentration would appear if a small number of members (sum of values) were connected to the household types specified by their headcount.

¹³ The benefit of the simply constructible Lorenz-curve lies in the fact that it demonstrates the so-called relative concentration, such as the concentration calculated according to the proportional distribution. Therefore, the frequencies expressing various qualities (such as the frequencies separated according to the various units) may be compared, too. To draw the curve, one would usually use the cumulative values of two distribution value series. On the X axis we mark the cumulative relative frequencies of the attribute values (g'), while on the Y axis we mark the cumulated relative sums of values (z').

In case of such a large concentration, the curve is far from the diagonal.

The two curves visible in the figure show a mild concentration, which supports the previous statement: the difference between the 1549 and the 1554 situation is not significant.



The composition of the burgher households

1. Household types

The classic municipal statistics – mainly those of German authors – just as today's historical demographics say that the way of determining household types is a serious problem. The question is: how to organize the information related to the composition of households. The first solution is classification of households by size. Another solution is the specification of the average composition of households (husband, wife, children, servants, other persons – their numbers) A decent analysis – if made with aim of comparison – may not stop at counting the atomic parts of households, since there may be links of various kinds between them. Population structure may be described only with the knowledge of these links, since these are the bases of comparison.

The nomenclature used here was invented by P. Laslett.¹⁴ In this, the

¹⁴ The basis of the system suggested by Laslett is an analytical projection method, which allows the description of the population of all houses, by household. When elaborating this, Laslett was 118

members of a household are primarily the husband, the wife and the children. Then, in second place, the other relatives follow – those, who are connected to the family by blood or marriage and they live under the same roof. As third come the servants and then the visitors, guests and other persons of unknown status.¹⁵ The group of servants is to be understood broadly, since all persons serving the head of the family and dependent on him may be listed here.

In this system, the family is not a complete group of people living together under the same roof. The household stands for a domicile, expresses family relations and living together. Laslett puts each household into one of these two classes, depending on if they have any servants or not. Due to this difference, the structure of the household changed, though we cannot claim that the presence of servants would define the final composition of the household. In the proposed system, the main household types, specified by the family composition are the following: simple family household; extended family household; multiple family household.¹⁶

The advantage of this proven nomenclature is that it can be used to compare populations of various regions, eras, civilizations and cultures. Since it allows the evaluation the blood ties, other family ties and dependencies within the households, the comparison is analytic.

The drawback of it is that it requires exceptionally detailed sources, which are difficult to find in older ages.¹⁷ For example, our sources from Košice are not appropriate for such an analysis. Or, to be more precise: not fully. The conscription of the first quarter of 1549 is perfect for the aim specified by Laslett – we may consider this being a matter of luck or a favour of fate.

inspired by a similar, but worse procedure used in anthropology (Laslett, 1972, 26–31. and 41–42.).

¹⁵ Ibidem, 26. The category of „visitors, guests and other individuals of unsure status” is not quite identical to what Laslett suggested. He classified certain residents here, too: *the lodgers and the boarders*, whom we cannot differentiate; moreover these most probably weren't even known in Košice in the 16th century. If there were any, these were categorized as individuals of unknown state.

¹⁶ Ibidem, 28–29. These categories may be characterized shortly as follows: A *simple family* consists of a married couple and eventually of one or more children of theirs or the widow(er) of the couple and one or more children his/her. An *extended family* is a simple family extended by one or more relatives. A relative is not a direct descendant of the married couple. An upward link means that the family member belongs to the generation preceding the head of the household; it is a downward link, if (s)he is a member of a younger generation. If it is a sister, brother, brother-in-law, it is a collateral link. A *multiple family* consists of a family consisting of two or more marital links, which are connected by blood ties or other family relationship. As to these short descriptions see: Laslett, 1972, 29–30.

¹⁷ The first comparative tables made using the Laslett method have been created from 9 different sources from the period between 1599 and 1782. Of the examined population samples, the smallest had 85 households, the largest 311 households (see the shorter, French version of the study: *Annales*. E. S. C. 1972, 865, table V. On p. 85 of the original, longer study Laslett compared only 5 sources using this method).

The population of the first quarter of 1549, according to Laslett's nomenclature:

	Categories and subcategories	Without servants	With servants	Total
1.	Solitaires			
	a) widow(er)s	1	0	1
	b) single people or those whose marital status is not known	9	0	9
	Total			10; 8,5%
2.	No family			
	a) unmarried siblings who live in the same household but without a coresident parent	0	0	0
	b) other types of unmarried relatives living together.	0	2	2
	c) unrelated coresident persons	1	0	1
	Total			3; 2,5%
3.	Simple family			
	a) married couples	14	17	31
	b) married couples with children	28	25	53
	c) widowers with children	0	2	2
	d) widows with children	6	1	7
	Total			93; 78,0%
4.	Extended families			
	a) extended upwards	0	0	0
	b) extended downwards	0	2	2
	c) extended laterally	7	2	9
	d) any combination of types 4a – 4c	0	1	1
	Total			12; 10,1%
5.	Multiple families			
	a) second unit upwards	0	0	0
	b) second unit downwards	0	0	0
	c) units on one level	1	0	1
	d) „frérechés”	0	0	0
	e) other	0	0	0
	Total			1; 0,9%
6.	Households of indeterminate structure, with certain family ties:	0	0	0
	Grand total	67	52	119; 100%

Indicators:

a) number of households	119
b) population	504
c) mean headcount	4,22
d) minimax.	1 – 13
e) median	6

The vast majority of the registered households house simple families. The family members are connected by parent-child blood ties, the differences

between the families lie only in the presence or absence of servants. The comparison data provided by Laslett show to what extent is the situation in Košice specific.

Households by categories in 10 countries. 16th – 18th century (according to P. Laslett):¹⁸

	1%	2%	3%	4%	5%	6%	7%	8%	9%	10%
Household categories										
1.	8,5	12	1	1	8	2	11	7	7	8
2.	2,5	2	6	1	0	2	1	2	0	1
3.	78,0	78	76	85	73	67	93	43	90	77
4.	10,1	6	14	5	9	15	5	27	3	11
5.	0,9	2	3	5	11	14	0	21	0	3
6.	0	0	0	3	0	0	0		0	0
Sample size (=100%):	119	85	66	121	66	273	311	132	71	211
Average number of members in the households:	4,22	4,75	5,05	5,75	4,16	4,90	5,39	4,95	4,85	5,25
The rate of complex households (types 4 and 5):	11,0%	8%	17%	10%	20%	29%	6%	49%	3%	14%

1 = Košice, 1st quarter – 1549

2 = Ealing (England) – 1599

3 = Longuenesse (France) – 1778

4 = Löfflingen (Germany) – 1687

5 = Colorno (Italy) – 1782

6 = Belgrade (Serbia) – 1733–34

7 = Lesnica (Poland) – 1720

8 = Nishinomiya (Japan) – 1713

9 = Bristol R. I. (colony, America) – 1689

10 = Aross in Mull (Scotland) – 1779

This comparison across continents, centuries, towns and villages allows us to make some general statements.

In all surveyed communities (except for Japan), the prevailing type was the family cell organized around the married couple as a unit. The complex households are in minority everywhere, though – as it was emphasized by Laslett – the evolution of these shows certain differences not only across continents, but also between France and England. Laslett sees households being extended primarily downwards. The families in Košice are mostly

¹⁸ Laslett, *Annales*, 865.

extended laterally.¹⁹ Another important thing to note is that there is no correlation between the complexity of the families and their average headcount.

2. The composition of the households

1. Principal questions

The majority of the Košice households were simple family households. From the above classification it comes clear that the phenomenon appearing in the town is a general characteristic of pre-industrial societies.²⁰ The question is whether the town household – as a phenomenon of social history – shows homogeneity or it evolves with the classes of society.

Carl Bücher provided a decisive answer in his long cited monograph of the classical bibliography of municipal history. Concerning the 1449 Nuremberg census he stated that the medieval town household was equivalent to the family and – as to its type – it is homogeneous. Its head is the father of the family and except for him it is the wife, the children and the servants and craftsmen, who belong to the family. In the middle ages there were no married craftsmen working in families; the medieval town societies did not know renters, lodgers or boarders of the modern era.²¹ More than 70 years after this statement Oszkár Paulinyi decided to provide a lengthy refutation of it.

He claims Bücher was wrong in thinking that the prevalence of the burgher households proves the absence of classes in medieval towns – based on the Nuremberg census.²² This erroneous idea led even to a methodical error in the subsequent population estimates made under the influence of Bücher, because it became a general habit to suppose the existence of another 3-4 people behind the heads of families of the town societies. Bücher and his followers did not take into account that the polarization of society materializes also in the varying number of people living individual households, because plebeian households differed from burgher households in their composition and headcount, too. Many people were living without a family, as solitaries – naturally even without servants. Paulinyi resolved the contradiction in case of mining towns by distinguishing “home owner” and “renter” households. As he stated: “The social differentiation of the household members may be proven

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 868.

²⁰ The increase in the numbers of extended families is a modern phenomenon (see: Laslett, *Annales*, 868).

²¹ Bücher, 1886, 37–38.

²² Later it became clear that the conscription was made under war circumstances and the town council removed the persons not having any victuals. This meant that the plebeians having no property, such as many apprentices of crafts were simply expelled (Paulinyi, 1958, 367.)

statistically using the example of the medieval town of Dresden.²³ He applied the same principle to estimate the headcount of the mining towns along the river Hron, using the 1542 register of the 1/60 tax.

Not even Bücher's contemporaries accepted the theory on the homogeneity of the town household types.²⁴ The habit of using only the average headcount of Nuremberg in population estimates is – in principle – the acceptance of these views. In spite of this, before performing such population estimates one has to perform – whenever possible – an analysis of social classes, since the estimate makes sense only like this. Thus, the population is defined by the historical and social reality of the time.

Paulinyi's idea has to be refined in two aspects. We have to clear what was the role of the household in the social structure of the town was and we also have consider how the size of households correlates with the classes of the society.

The first of these points can be summarized as follows: Except for some exceptional Italian sources – being currently processed – we know of no town population conscription made in the proto-statistical times, which would express the demographics and wealth of the town population *jointly*, on the same sheets. The conscriptions and the tax registers had different aims. In other words: it is not sure, whether the registrars used identical criteria for the town households when conducting the conscriptions or elaborating the tax register. This was already mentioned by Mendl. When estimating the population of Wrocław, he started with the fact that the number of tax payers in the town was higher than the number of households.²⁵ This is how Paulinyi sees it in the quoted study, too, since among the data types of tax registers of three mining towns he lists the taxpaying family members and associated persons – belonging to some separately registered burgher household – separately. The tax registers listed therefore all persons, who could be taxed for some legal reason – due to their property or income.²⁶

The conscription authors did not follow this practice, though. Paulinyi brings a proof of this, in a footnote of his study. Here he cites the source of the population conscription in Dresden, which shows the principles of

²³ Ibidem, 368. From the 1454 conscription of Dresden and the property tax listing of the previous year it comes clear that the average headcount of the households was 3.61; however, the average of home owners was 5.07, while that of the renters was 2.14.

²⁴ The most critical was Paasche, 1882 in his study on the population of Rostock. The author could not know the later articles on the birth of the Nuremberg conscription (see: Ott, 1907), nevertheless he claimed that Bücher used a too low estimate of the non-burghers living among the city walls, with many solitaries living in the worst poverty (p. 372). He had the same critical view considering the author of the study on the 16th century population of the town of Münster (Lethmate, 1912, 17.).

²⁵ Mendl, 1929, 137.

²⁶ However, it is possible that some persons were taxed together with others (e.g. the merchant women with their husbands, etc.). The number of people listed in the source may be modified by such circumstances.

registration. The registrars had to register *the house owner, his wife, their children, the servants and residents* along with their children and servants.²⁷ The Košice conscriptions were similar in this aspect, though in this case there were no directions such as the ones from Dresden; moreover, the tax register was written a few years later. In spite of this, we may find that a part of the "residents" distinguished by the word *ibidem* in the tax register were in fact family members.²⁸ This distinction was probably applied to a large part of the extended families. It is also probable that the peasants were – similarly – listed separately, just like in the mining towns.²⁹

If it is true that the population was registered in a different fashion when writing the tax register and the conscriptions, we may conclude that when performing population estimates using tax registers, we cannot rely on the averages of sources created using other principles. To put it short: if we use the Nuremberg average of 4.68 people per household, we commit not one but two methodical errors at the same time. In the tax register there will necessarily be more solitaries and the class of "residents" ("renters" of Paulinyi) will grow. This is the practical aspect of the problem, which – as we have seen it above – is a methodical obstacle, though not an unsolvable one.

However, we have to take the following into account, too: The burgher households in towns were unique organizational units – in pre-capitalist society they were usually managed by the head of the household, being also the head of the family in the vast majority of the cases. In the mining towns

²⁷ Paulinyi, 368, footnote 30.

²⁸ We support this claim with three quotations:

Conscr. 1554	Taxa, 1557
a.) Lakatos [Locksmith] street	
no. I/85.: lakadjarto balint feydverfoghato 4, seled 2.	no. I/85: Relicta Valentini lakatgartho den. 25 – ibidem Jacobus lakatgartho den. 12.

In the meantime, the head of the family died and his place was taken by his widow, however Jacob Lakatgyártó [Locksmith], mentioned as an inhabitant was most probably their son.

b.) Mészáros [Butcher] street	
no. II/45 Pupuss István fegver 1, zelled 2	II/47. Steffan pupisch den. 50 – ibidem pupischin den. 12.

Of the family of Stephen Pupos [Hunchback] it was his widow mother, who was separated, as it is evident from the records of the 1549 conscription:

II/25 Ambrosius Pupos, familia 4,
– Stephanus filius

c.) Ring	III/15 Cziko Bartolous fl 1 mit dem – ibidem eiden den. 50.
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This record is evident.

²⁹ We have no direct proof; we can support this claim only by the fact that a part of the inhabitants was mentioned by their given names. In towns, this happened only to people of very low social status. Just to make sure, we are going to make a calculation below.

along the river Hron, as it is evident from Paulinyi's study, the situation was special. Here, the mining industry of the early capitalist era separated the venue of family life and work life of certain groups of inhabitants in its own primitive way. The non-burgher – plebeian – population was special: most of its members were workers in mines or smelters (in Banská Bystrica, for example, 535 of the 789 renters were workers). These lived in households without any family structure, mostly alone. No such capitalist enterprise comparable to mining was present in Košice, the town was not different from the other Hungarian towns. It is probable that – unlike in the mining towns – most workers having no property were *within* the burgher households of the other medieval and early modern towns.³⁰

The composition of a household – as it is evident from the table elaborated from the data supplied by Laslett – is not determined by the differences in the family ties, since more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the households were covered by simple families. The difference is in the presence or absence of the servants. Thus if there were further men capable of warfare registered along the head of the household, most of these were not family members but peasants, apprentices and other servants. Therefore, the correlation of the size and the composition of the household may be investigated this way. The question is how to express the correlation of the size and content and the social status of the head of the household.

We have to differentiate the main resident and the co-resident households,

³⁰ The rate of co-residents to the main residents in some towns.

<i>mining towns a)</i>		
Banská Bystrica %	82,4 (!)	1542
Banská Štiavnica	57,1	
Kremnica	24,7	
<i>other Hungarian towns</i>		
	%	
Košice	end of the 15 th century	36,5
...	1549	18,1 (Conscr.)
...	1554	18,6 (Conscr.)
...	1557	20 tax registers
Brasov b)	end of the 15th century	20–30%
Bratislava b)	1439	41,2
Sopron b)	1458	38
Bardejov c)	1552	25,8
Bardejov d)	1437–1542	17,4–37,3
Prešov e)	1551	22
Trnava f)	1579	32
<i>other towns</i>		
Wroclaw g)	1403	36%
Brno g)	1365	54%
Prague (Old Town) h)	1429	56/
Rostock j)	1522	57%

Bibliography data: a) Paulinyi, 1958, 371., b) Granasztói, 1971, 359. and 387. c) the same author, 1970, 305, d) Gácsová, 1972, 33, e) the same author, 1970, 352, f) Kazimir, 1970, 53, g) Mendl, 1929, 177, h) Beer, 1919, 83, j) Paasche, 1882, 366.

mainly if the population estimate was done based on the tax registers. Paulinyi's wording is ambiguous at this point. It is, because in another part of the study he himself states that the “renters” formed a very varied class, unlike the relatively homogeneous class of house owners. Nevertheless, the high proportions of the renter class are a unique feature of mining towns. These numbers are high not only compared to the data of the other towns of the Kingdom of Hungary, but even to the numbers of Prague and Wroclaw.³¹ We have already stated that this agile, frequently changing class – in terms of numbers and composition – was distinguished in accordance with the one-time "theory of classes". Though its aim was to express the various social statuses, it did not represent a clearly defined category meeting the requirements we have today; not even if the towns gave home to some capitalist enterprises using a larger number of permanently (not temporarily) hired workers. On the other hand, it is undeniable that the workers were listed as residents. Their solitaries increased the numbers of residents and decreased the average headcount of the households. Pirenne stated that "the more developed was the industry, the lower the average headcount of households was in the medieval towns."³²

2. The composition of families

When analysing the composition of families we can use only the data of the 1st quarter of 1549.³³ Since more than three quarters of these were simple families, first we turn to the number of children.³⁴

Tab : The number of children in the 1st quarter of 1549

	households	persons
boys	39	67
girls	16	29
little boys	14	24
little girls	8	17
unknown sex	9	19
Total	86	156

We may state that percentage of children is 31% of the total population; there were 1.31 children in a household, though the average headcount did not

³¹ Pirenne (1903) stated in his study – basic even today – that the industry provided work and living for the poor. Ypern, the large linen producing town of Flanders had the most solitary poor people at the height of its 15th century boom. During the decline and after the total collapse of the production of linen, the number of the more numerous households has increased (p. 13).

³² see also: Granasztói, 2012. addendum 6.1., tables 1-5.

³³ The numbers of the incomplete families (widow(er) parent and one or more children living with him/her) are not large. A larger number of incomplete families would suggest an epidemic, as it was proven in the study on Sopron (Granasztói, 1970, 312.)

³⁴ As to this complex problem see: Wrigley, 1969,23–29. and Laslett, 1969, 116.

reach 2 people – not even considering families with children. These are very low numbers.³⁵

This phenomenon requires explanation, even if these are only inhabitants of a single quarter. Population growth resulted from families with 3 or more children and only 16 such families were among the registered.

Analysing the distribution of children by sex and source we see that the rate of *boys* was almost half of all children. It even seems as if the number of small children was smaller, though it is a generally accepted idea that in the old ages the situation was quite the opposite; because the average age of the population was lower than today. During the analysis of the population by age we see a pyramid, in which there are many minors at the bottom.³⁶ This distribution is different from the one of present day Hungary, for example. Therefore we have to answer the question: what was the registrar's idea of differentiation of children by age and could it be that the youngest generations were omitted.

The Košice sources don't answer this question – we may only assume this according to the analogous cases. One of the bases of the criticisms against the general applicability of the Nuremberg conscription was that the small children were not included in this list created for victual purposes. There was a strong commercial boom in Nuremberg in the first half of the 15th century, in spite of the fact that in the 20's of the century the Hussite wars occurred not too far away from the town and they surely affected life there. The first conscription of the town population was in fact a consequence of the war against the Hussites, the *Reichskrieg* – this conscription was aimed at listing all people capable of warfare and all inhabitants above 12 years of age, but – in fact – everybody was registered, except for the small children. This multiple-part conscription was not used by Bücher. The famous 1449 conscription was made – unlike the previous one – due to the direct threat to the town, the *Markgrafenkrieg* (war of margraves). Therefore it depicts an unusual state, not to mention the fact that a few years earlier there was a plague in Nuremberg.³⁷ Except for registering the adults capable of warfare, this register was aimed at listing the resources of victuals. The town council ordered the burghers to store a certain amount of cereals, in proportion to their wealth; later even they had to hand over the whole stored amount.³⁸ Nevertheless, not even this time did they account small children among the population needed to be fed. The same happened in Strasbourg 30 years later,

³⁵ From the table it comes clear the number of girls is a lot lower than that of boys, in both age groups. It is so even if we add the persons of unknown gender to this category. Unfortunately, we can only guess the reason for this, since the sources do not provide an answer. Therefore, we cannot investigate this interesting problem.

³⁶ Ott, 1907, 16–24.

³⁷ Karl Hegel, *Chroniken der deutschen Städte. 2. Bd.* (Nürnberg-Leipzig, 1864), 300.

³⁸ Eheberg, 1883, 312.

when Charles the Bold wanted to put the town under siege: small children were omitted from the register of the population made in haste.³⁹

Not even more severe cases of emergency could have affected the population numbers and structure in Košice. Let us inspect some data of comparison using the available bibliography:

Population indicators of some European cities (15th – 17th century):

Town	Percentage of children in the population	Number of children per household	The average headcount in a household
<i>Košice, 1 quarter</i> 1549	31,00%	1,31	4,22
<i>Nuremberg, whole</i> 1431 1449	30,34% 30,54%	1,39 1,65	5,41 4,68
<i>Freiburg, whole</i> 1447–48	35,10%	1,81	4,14
<i>Cologne, 4 quarters</i> 1574	35,48%	1,66	5
<i>Münster, whole</i> 1591 1658–59 (only 1 quarter)	32,00% ?	1,78 1,86	4,25 ?
<i>Rostock, whole</i> 1594–95	38,72%	1,77	4,57
<i>Aix-en-Provence, whole</i> 1695	41,50%	1,74	3,86
<i>Ypern, 1 quarter</i> 1506	?	2,00	4,70

Except for the Košice and Nuremberg conscriptions, all of these included all age segments of the population.⁴⁰

This data set has two evident properties. The first is that except for Košice and Nuremberg, the average number of children per household differs only by 0.02, while the average headcount in households varied in a larger interval. The other one is that the average number of children and the corresponding percentages are almost identical in Košice and Nuremberg.

From this we assume that the small children were – undoubtedly – omitted from the 1549 Košice conscription. Due to the identical phenomena witnessed all over Europe we assume that the rate of children not older than 3 years of

³⁹ The conscription of Münster was very pedantic, since this contained the age of the children in weeks (Lethmate, 1912, 12).

⁴⁰ thus the number of persons living in the burgher households of the 1st quarter change a little: 1st quarter: 504 registered persons, 37 minors (estimate), 541 people.

age was at most 70%. The average number of children is thus 1.8 persons per family.⁴¹

Even if it is possible to doubt the rightfulness of the estimation or whether some part of the small children was omitted, one thing seems undoubted: In 1549, the population of Košice was not capable of increasing its numbers nor to reproduce itself. Therefore, it faced the same fate as the other European towns and cities, regardless of their size, social composition, economical and political weight.

As to the other members of the burgher families, it is sure that there were hardly any grandparents, cousins or other ancestors, descendants and collateral relatives of the head of the household present. Adult young men living in the same household with their parents was just as rare. Therefore, the average families consist only of the parents, in addition to the children.

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⁴¹ Granasztói, 2012, addendum 6.2., tables 6-9.

City of Košice in the Central European Context of early modern period

Marie Marečková

Abstract

East Slovakian burghers in the Central European connection of the early modern times have the legitimate position, because their social and cultural model met the requirements of typology of the Central European towns. The East Slovakian Towns were famous centre of culture, arts, science and education. Except the East Slovakian municipal everyday culture and except the East Slovakian school, which started in Slovakian tradition of modern philosophical thinking, especially the late Gothic and Renaissance architecture, plastiques, paintings and artistic crafts, represented permanent creative contribution and preserved their continuity of longterm wide cultural influence until nowadays. That reflected quality of East Slovakian burghers both in the area of cultural creation and in the area of culture consuming and reception, the life style, mentality and ideology.

Key words: Košice. Burghers. Gothic and Renaissance architecture. Philosophical thinking.

Slovak historiography has shown that the East Central European bourgeoisie in the context of the early modern period has its rightful place, because it has the social and cultural model, which fit the typology of Central European cities.

Eastern Slovak bourgeoisie has obtained social dynamics in the early modern period and especially in the 16th and 17th century has successfully coped with the basic civilizational transformations that brought the growing role of the state, bureaucracy, military transformation, economic transformation and the new demands on education. Part of the bourgeoisie was able to undergo its own transformation into bureaucrats, businessmen and cultural creators, without being lagged behind the nobility. Besides, leaders of the eastern Slovak bourgeoisie (from Košice and also Prešov) had an interest about nobility and thereby strengthen the ranks in particular of the caretaker nobility. Eastern-Slovak urban culture of early modern period has become one of the focuses of arts and education and its impact largely overcame barriers between bourgeoisie of neighbouring countries and of different social status within the own city. However, considerable differences there were in the property, power and cultural conditions of the bourgeoisie of different countries and within individual countries, so that the bourgeoisie in Early Modern Europe remains highly differentiated social layer.

During the 17th century the process of demographic lag of Central European cities has deepened with regard to the cities of western and southern Europe, which just during the 17th century undergoing through demographic

growth. Historically created structure of the settlement and its wider context was one of the reasons of temporary relative demographic stagnation of the East Central European, Eastern-Slovak and Czech cities. A relatively dense network of cities and small towns beside a large density of population had been created in Central Europe, while in Great Britain and France was not so dense settlement. In the Slovak territory, in the middle of the 19th century there were an average of 14 municipalities in the 100 km², 16 in Moravia, Bohemia 25, but 7 in France and in the UK only 5 municipalities in the 100 km². Nevertheless 250 inhabitants lived in an average village in the Slovak territory, 350 inhabitants in the Czech country, but 850 in France and in UK even 1.800 inhabitants.¹

This predisposition "in sight from the church tower," influenced the specific symbiosis with the surrounding villages, which were surrounding of the cities and it has appeared also in the process of industrialization. Initially it was not linked with urbanization. Many industrial enterprises originated in the villages. Though new plants were built in cities and suburbs, at first it did not result in greater movements of people. That was possible the workforce to engage in closer or wider area in regard to the density and structure of the settlement. The result was a typical attendance or later commutation, which exists still today and it makes employment problems.

Košice, Prešov and Levoča were medium-sized cities in the context of Central Europe.² However, during at least thirty years the cities started a way of demographic development and comprehensive activation of internal production potential since the second decade of the 18th century, but there started more extensive development of handicraft production and exchange. Wealthy businessmen, who were excelled above common average, were enforced only temporarily and to a lesser extent. A characteristic feature of the social structure of the Eastern Slovakia cities was thus continuity of numerical and property superiority of wealthy middle classes, so that social differences were not acute as in Western European cities. Their types were more pronounced differentiation and corresponded to the bottom border of the possession, then a greater proportion of the poorest strata of the population. From point of view the crafts and trading in developed cities of Košice, Prešov and Levoča the urban poor sometimes was slightly numerically predominant, especially in periods of economic prosperity. Most single women belonged to the urban poor. In this framework then women constituted

¹ Marie Marečková, „The social structure of Central European cities on the threshold of modern times,” in *Czech countries 1434-1620* (Brno: MU, 2002), 29-33.

² Marie Marečková, *Cities of Eastern Slovakia and bourgeoisie on the threshold of modern times* (Brno: MU, 1995), 32 n.

the poorest layers for all taxable people.³

During the 17th century city of Košice and Prešov remained centres of European trade area. They supplied goods from Central and Western Europe to Southeast Europe. After a decline of the importance of Krakow market since the early thirties of the 17th century they were strengthened direct ties with Vienna and Austrian markets, later with Wrocław and with the Silesian and Moravian production centres. In particular, Prešov and Košice were organizational centres of market links with the Balkans. Capital base for the business was profitable export of Hungarian wines for Polish nobility.⁴

Although in 1619 there were delivered Hungarian wine to Krakow mostly through Silesia⁵ in 1624 (export of Hungarian wines to Krakow was 6.537 barrels)⁶ identically to the year 1631 there were dominated supplies directly from Hungary. Among the Eastern Slovakia cities, Prešov and Bardejov won in the 17th century prominent place in wine export, which was concentrated in 16th century mainly in Košice.⁷ Since the late thirties up to the fifties of the 17th century, the export of wine into Krakow via Košice and Prešov still increased.⁸ Ungarian wine delivered to Krakow in 1631 was mainly intended for consumption in the city and surrounding area. Only 8% were exported

³ Marie Marečková, „Business activities of single women in Bardejov, in the first half of the 17th century,” in *Žena a právo*, ed. by Tünde Lengyelová (Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press, 2004), 196-204.

⁴ Marie Marečková, „Die ostslowakischen Städte Oberungarn in den mitteleuropäischen Handelsverbindungen der Frühneuzeit,” in *The First Millenium of Hungary in Europe* (Debrecen, 2002), 311-316.

⁵ Marian Wolański, *Zwiazki handlowe Śląska z Rzeczpospolitą w 17 wieku ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Wrocławia* (Wrocław, 1961), 216.

⁶ In 1624, the Ungarian wine export into Krakow presented: 6 537 barrels. František Hejl, „Czech trade in the Krakow market after the Bila hora (White Mountain),” in *Proceedings of the Faculty of Arts Proceedings of the Faculty of Arts, UJEP in Brno, order C 8* (1961), 239. In 1631 export reached 5,167.5 of barrel, 3 buckets 25 “půlkuf” 88 containers 3 “barylky” and 1 barrel of Ungarian wine. This year, the Polish traders contributed import by two-fifths (Krakow’s merchants imported 1.067 barrels) and nobility (if it was registered). The rest was transported by traders from Slovakian and Hungarian cities, especially from Lubovňa (667 barrels), and likewise as in other years, traders from Prešov (535 barrels 3 “barylky” 1 barrel). Marie Marečková, „The role of Prešov as a centre of wine trade in the first half of the 17th century,” in *Proceedings of the Faculty of Arts, University of Brno C 27* (1980), 90-97.

⁷ Pavol Horváth, „Trade relations Levoča with Poland in the second half of the 16th century,” in *Historical studies 1* (1955): 135-136; Marie Marečková, „The role of Prešov as a centre of wine trade in the first half of the 17th century,” in *Proceedings of the Faculty of Arts, University of Brno C 27* (1980), 90-97.

⁸ Prešov merchants supplied more than one-third of the total import of Hungarian wines. In years 1630 – 677 barrels, in 1644 – 624 barrels, in 1653 – 420 barrels. Pavol Horváth, „Business relations of Levoča with Poland in the second half of the 16th century,” in *Historical studies 1* (1955), 136. The opinion of reducing the import of Ungarian wines to Krakow from the beginning of the third decade of the 17th century (Marian Wolański, *Zwiazki handlowe Śląska z Rzeczpospolitą w 17 wieku ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Wrocławia* (Wrocław, 1961), 216) so apparently only applies to deliveries of wine through Silesia.

further into Polish cities.⁹

Since the late thirties of the 17th century except price-out of Krakow's people from the trade with Hungarian wine has been occurred substantial shifts in the orientation of its import to the Krakow's market. Wine from the Tókai region traditionally declared by traders from the Eastern Slovakia cities headed by Prešov and Košice since the seventies of the 17th century was replaced by wine from south-western Slovakia and from the Sopron. It was delivered through traders from Pezinok and St. Jur to the Krakow market.¹⁰ The main supplier was Prešov up to 1669 and also significant share of imports have had Košice and Kežmarok. However, since the early seventies of the 17th century Pezinok clearly dominated and together with the cities of St. Jur and Banská Bystrica has exceeded the stagnant and declining import from Prešov.¹¹ Apparently certain signs and consequences of changes in eating habits this way were expressed, because when preparing meals, more care was taken to preserve the natural taste of raw materials, which should emphasize the natural light wines. These requirements fit the wines of south-western Slovakia and Moravia. Considerable import of Moravian wine through Krakow's Jewish merchants during the first half of the 17th century seems to conform to these eating habits.

Bourgeois society was relatively open and fluctuating. External migration was still expressively limited in Bardejov and Kežmarok, but also in Levoča to the immediate vicinity. In particular, the cities of Košice and Prešov kept wider open contacts with foreign countries. Besides the influx of skilled craftsmen and traders of German nationality at the same time the share of the population of Slovak towns and villages grew louder.¹²

The attraction of individual cities of the Eastern Slovakia was different for certain nationality and maintained tracks of ethnic diversity. Under the general trend, Slovak bourgeoisie grew especially in Prešov, but also in Bardejov and in Sabinov.¹³

⁹ From Krakow was also exported 3 276.5 barrels 1 bucket 3 "půlkufy" of Ungarian wine. Marie Marečková, *Remote trade of Prešov in the first three decades of the 17th century into Krakow market* (Dissertation work, Brno: Faculty of Arts UJEP, 1971), 96.

¹⁰ In the years 1660-1679 were exported to Krakow total of 9,980 barrels of Ungarian wines. Marie Marečková, František Hejl and Rudolf Fišer, „Die ostslowakische Städte in der Struktur der mitteleuropäischen Handelsverbindungen im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Problems of Continuity and Discontinuity in History* (Prague, 1980), 119 n.

¹¹ Rudolf Fišer, „Krakow market in the second half of the 17th century and its importance for Moravian and Slovak cities,” in *Proceedings of the Faculty of Arts University of Brno C 27* (1980), 104-105.

¹² Peter Kónya, „Society of Upper Ungarian cities in the 17th century,” in *From Bardejov to Pressburg*, ed. by Enikő Csukovits and Tünde Lengyelová (Prešov – Bratislava, 2005), 269, 274-277, 283-284.

¹³ Marie Marečková, *Cities of Eastern Slovakia and bourgeoisie on the threshold of modern times* (Brno, 1995), 33; Peter Kónya, „Society of Upper Ungarian cities in the 17th century,” in *From*

Also, thanks to the Eastern Slovak bourgeoisie, Slovakia was very intensely involved in European cultural exchange. Eastern Slovak cities were traditionally prestigious centres of culture, art, science, education and organization of Protestant Church in the northeast territory of the country. Since 1667 Prešov became the residence of the Evangelical College, the third Hungarian Reformed Educational Institute.¹⁴ During the 17th century, most of the newly adopted Eastern Slovak burghers was literate and knew more than one language, almost a fifth has controlled several languages and Latin. This multilingualism demonstrates not only the wider socio-economic ties, but particularly high cultural level of business classes and the urban intelligentsia.¹⁵

In its ranks had superiority offspring of the rich and middle affluent layers of traders and entrepreneurs, except for the craftsman origin. At least one-fifth came from families of the urban intelligentsia, including religious intelligence. They mostly belonged to the rich and middle affluent burgesses, their financial situation was stable and to patriciate they were connected through cooperation, which was deepened by mutual marriages.¹⁶ Teachers, public notaries, leaders of urban Church have excelled due to own level of humanitarian and reformist education at prestigious foreign universities, especially at the Lutheran University of Wittenberg. Systematic interest in upgrading of their knowledge was attested by a notarial and especially teacher's private libraries with the great size and composition.¹⁷ Credit concerning to deepen and cultivate civic and legal awareness belongs to municipal notaries.¹⁸ The cultural influence of the urban environment and literacy has been demonstrated at nearby manor villages of Eastern Slovakia cities.¹⁹

Cities of Eastern Slovakia during Counter-Reformation provided a refuge for immigrants from Bohemia, Moravia and Upper Silesia. They became pastors, teachers or notaries in urban schools. They gained recognition and

Bardejov to Pressburg, ed. by Enikő Csukovits and Tünde Lengyelová (Prešov – Bratislava, 2005), 269-284.

¹⁴ Marie Marečková, „Formation of urban culture in Free Royal Cities of Eastern Slovakia in the 17th century,” *Historical magazine* 39, no. 3, (1991): 280.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 285.

¹⁶ Marie Marečková, „Comments to the social status of teachers in Bardejov urban school in the first half of the 17th century,” in *Proceedings of the Faculty of Education UJEP, Brno – series of social sciences* 7 (1976), 96.

¹⁷ Marie Marečková, „Libraries of the bourgeoisie of Eastern Slovakia in the early modern period,” in *Book 2001-2002. Proceedings of the problems and history of book culture* (Martin, 2002), 152-156.

¹⁸ Marie Marečková, „Comments to the social status of urban notaries in Bardejov in the first half of the 17th century,” in *Diplomatic production in the medieval town*, ed. by Júlia Ragačová (Bratislava: Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, 2005), 120 – 128.

¹⁹ Marie Marečková, „Serf villages of Bardejov in the first half of the 17th century,” in *Proceedings of the Faculty of Arts, UJEP, Brno C 21-22* (1975), 143 n.

existential certainties expressed by marriages with the daughters of the leading merchant families. City Council took the orphaned offspring of Czech immigrants and were supported them during the expensive university studies abroad.²⁰ Cultured burgesses of Eastern Slovakia have granted also private scholarships.²¹ The part of emigrants from Lands of the Bohemian Crown, who were active during the second quarter of the 17th century as teachers or spiritual in eastern cities, reaching more than one-fifth.

Especially late Gothic and Renaissance architecture, sculpture, painting, music and handicrafts have presented continuous creative contribution and retained long-term continuity of the broad cultural interaction up to the present day, beside the level of bourgeois culture and also Prešov's philosophical school that commenced the tradition of modern philosophical thought in Slovakia.²² This mirrored the level of Košice burgesses in the sphere of cultural creation and patronage so in the sphere of cultural consumption, education, reception of lifestyle, mentality and ideology.²³

Eastern Slovakia cities played an important role in the European cultural exchange. If it can be to - through cooperation with foreign researchers and by mutual comparison of results - we can further clarify and develop it, we will write not only a history of Prešov and Košice, but also a piece of European cultural history.

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²⁰ Marie Marečková, „Formation of urban culture in Free Royal Cities of Eastern Slovakia in the 17th century,” *Historical magazine* 39, no. 3 (1991): 286.

²¹ e.g. Daniel Lengfelner - citizen of Prešov, in the thirties of the 17th kept a century at universities abroad with his son Jan an emigrant from Moravia - Jan Matthaed Jr., who then contributed to the fame of Prešov philosophical school. State Archives Prešov, Archive fund of Prešov, manuscript. č. 2118, r. 1537-1676, f. 77, the Book of burgher's rights. Ferdinand Uličný, Jr., „Evangelical preachers in Šariš residence in years 1614-1644,” in *The population of Carpathian Basin I*, ed. by Peter Kónya and René Matlovič (Prešov, 1997), 168. Similarly, it was also in the North-Carpathian Polish area. F. Leśniak, *Rzemieślnicy i kupcy w Krośnie. 16 - pierwsza połowa 17 wieku* (Kraków, 1999). Example in 1609.

²² Marie Marečková, „Music and theater in cities of Eastern Slovakia during early modern times,” in *Proceedings of the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University – series of social sciences No. 19* (Brno: MU, 2003), 35-40.

²³ Marie Marečková, *Formation of urban culture*, 282.

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Relations between Cracow and Košice in the 16th century

Zdzisław Noga

Abstract

Extensive trade contacts existed between Košice and Cracow from at least the 14th Century and reached their apogee in the following century, lasting until 1526. Mainly the description of long-distance trade operations between these two mentioned localities represents the main object of this paper. Not only general characteristic, but also the concrete examples of merchants performing two-sided trade activities are also offered. The emphasis is put also on the social, cultural and material relation between the burghers of these mentioned trade destinations.

Key words: Košice. Cracow. Long-distance trade. Merchants.

Medieval and early Modern cities in Central Europe developed a network of heterogeneous ties, which in some cases assumed an organised form, such as Hansa on the Baltic Sea basin, or remained informal in character, as occurred in Central European countries. Especially worthy of attention in the latter case are the contacts that evolved between Nuremberg, Frankfurt am Main, Wrocław, Prague, Krakow, Košice and Lviv. We can also study these ties within a narrower framework, focusing on contacts between particular towns and cities.¹ In the present article we will examine Krakow's relations with Košice during this period. Contacts between the two cities were extensive as in the mid-14th century Košice did not allow Polish merchants to conduct business in towns in southern Hungary or Transylvania.² As a consequence, Košice became Krakow's biggest trading partner south of the Carpathians in the Middle Ages. With the backing of the Jagiellonian dynasty the city tried to monopolise trade with Poland and outmuscled other Slovakian towns and cities when competing for commerce. Košice maintained its privileged position until the end of the reign of the Jagiellonians in Hungary. After their defeat at the Battle of Mohács Košice supported Jan Zápolya, but other Slovakian towns and cities (Levoča, Bardejov, Prešov) threw their weight behind the Habsburgs, thanks to which they gained trade privileges and were able to break Košice's monopoly. Therefore, the bonds between Košice and Kraków were strongest in the first quarter of the 14th century. After that they weakened somewhat, until the establishment of the Spišská Komora (Chamber of Spiš) in 1567 once more raised the city's profile.

Kraków on the other hand was an important trade emporium for Slovak and Hungarian towns and cities. It was through Kraków that the trade route

¹ See: *Elita władzy miasta Krakowa i jej związki z miastami Europy w średniowieczu i epoce nowożytnej (do połowy XVII wieku)*. Zbiór studiów, ed. by Zdzisław Noga (Kraków, 2011).

² Krystyna Pieradzka, "Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI" in *Biblioteka Krakowska* 87 (Kraków, 1955): 64-66.

passed on its way northward to Prussian towns and Gdansk and from there onto the Hanseatic towns and Flanders.³ Over time the importance of this route admittedly decreased, but contacts between both cities continued throughout the whole of the 16th century, which any historian will have no difficulty in verifying if they check the well-stocked archives of both Kraków and Košice. The abundant correspondence between the cities preserved in the Košice archive includes letters regarding general matters exchanged between Kraków City Council and Košice City Council. They also include interventions in the affairs of specific merchants, disputes over debts, the safety of roads, proxy in trade matters and other factors.⁴

Such extensive contacts between Kraków and Košice inevitably gave rise to feuds. The cities waged trade wars from the 14th century onwards.⁵ First Krakow lost its monopoly. Thanks to privileges they obtained from Polish kings Hungarian merchants were able to reach Gdańsk along other routes other than via Kraków along. On the other hand, Krakovian merchants at all times had to respect Košice's privileges and were forced to conduct commerce via the brokerage of the city's own traders. Attempts to break this monopoly proved unsuccessful. In 1495 Krakovian traders residing in Košice were summoned to the town hall, where they were threatened with death and the confiscation of their goods if they did not sell them on site and instead sought storage in another city. Similarly, in 1507 higher charges were imposed on their merchandise.⁶

They were also unable to stray from the route designated by Košice for the transport of goods. Michał Meydel-Spiss, a Kraków councillor and *wójt* (alderman) of the town of Nowy Targ, attempted to do so in 1516, but was accosted on the road between Tvrdošín and Ružomberok by citizens of Košice, who seized all his goods, claiming that he had deviated from the mandatory route for such goods and had travelled along a road intended only for mining towns for transporting copper and lead.⁷ After numerous appeals the goods were returned to him. Just before Christmas 1517 Krakovian merchants planned to transport a large volume of goods, including cloth, to Slovakia, but the authorities in Košice blocked their transit despite an attempt by the influential Kraków merchant Leonard Fogelweder to intercede with the Emperor on their behalf. Instead, the Emperor backed Košice's privileges. In 1566 a Krakovian trader had similar problems with the authorities in Košice, since his agent had purchased wine in the countryside without their

³ Ondrej R. Halaga, *Košice-Balt. Výroba a obchod v styku východnoslovenských miest s Pruskom (1275-1526)* (Košice, 1975); Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI wieku*, 33, 62.

⁴ Some of these materials were published in Poland: *Records documenting Poland's trade relations with Hungary, mainly from the Košice archive from 1354-1505*, (*Historical Commission Archive, Vol. 9*), ed. by Stanisław Kutrzeba (Kraków, 1902), 407-485.

⁵ Halaga, *Košice-Balt*, 137-139.

⁶ Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI*, 64-66.

⁷ *Ibidem*, 54.

permission.⁸

Trade between Kraków and Hungarian-Slovak towns and cities in the 16th century is fairly well documented.⁹ Here I will mention only the fact that wine accounted for the biggest share of commerce, and included a special type called *vinum cassovianum*. More than 1,000 barrels of wine were exported from Košice to Poland each year, purchased in the autumn and transported in the early Spring, when it had already matured and the roads were still frozen and thus suitable for transport.¹⁰ One particular customer was the Polish Royal Court in Kraków, which also imported, with Košice acting as broker, various luxury items, including southern fruit. Another important commodity was Hungarian copper, which was mainly transported in the Middle Ages via Kraków and was thus even called for this reason “Kupferstadt”. Admittedly, new roads for its conveyance appeared in the 116th century, but Kraków continued to play a major role.¹¹ Trade in copper was closely connected with trade in lead. Copper mines in Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica and Kremnica began to revive at the turn of the 15th century thanks to fresh investments from a company owned by the Turzon and Fugger families. Demand there grew for lead (up to 3,000-6,000 quintals a year), mainly brought from mines in Olkusz, Sławków and Trzebinia near Kraków. Thanks to privileges granted by the Hungarian rulers Władysław Jagiellończyk and Maciej Korwin in 1453 and 1462, lead could only be imported and distributed in eastern Slovakia via the brokerage of the Camera Regis in Košice. From there it made its way to Transylvania, Moldova and Wallachia. In the 16th century Košice gradually lost its favoured position to other Slovak towns and cities. On the other hand, lead from Poland was mainly exported via Kraków and Krakovian traders had their own lead warehouses in Košice.¹²

Two less important commodities traded between the cities were cloth and rock salt mined in Wieliczka and Bochnia. Other goods included salted fish, books, crafts, stallholder goods, i.e. *merces Norimbergenses*, and agricultural produce (e.g. plums).

⁸ *Ibidem*, 63.

⁹ *Ibidem*; Feliks Kiryk, “Związki handlowe i kulturalne miast małopolskich ze Słowacją w XV i XVI stuleciu,” *Historycke Studie* 41 (2000): 9 – 23; Feliks Kiryk, “Studia nad wymianą towarową Polski z Węgrami w XV wieku,” in *Studia Historyczne* 41 (2006): 199-231; Danuta Molenda, (Warszawa 2001), 52-64, 104-106.

¹⁰ Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI*, 66. In actual fact, the actual amount was far higher, because customs registers did not take into account wine that was collected in small barrels, for “refills”, i.e. for supplementing any possible losses during transport. Since this “additional” wine was exempt from customs, it was taken in relatively large amounts.

¹¹ Ekkehard Westermann, “Geschichtsverhältnisse, Preise und frachtkosten im Fuggerschen Kupfergeschäft zu Neusohl, Krakau, Breslau, Stettin, Stralsund und Danzig in der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Aus Vorbereiten und -überlegungen zu einer möglichen Edition,” in *Vom rechten Maß der Dinge*. (Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift für Harald Witthöft zum 65. Geburtstag) (Verlag: Scripta Mercaturae, 1996), 166-181.

¹² Molenda, *Polski ołów na rynkach Europy Środkowej w XIII-XVII wieku*, 40, 53, 54 57, 104.

These close contacts gave rise to trading companies and trading posts. At the end of the 15th century and the first years of the 16th century the most important concern was owned by Jan Boner and Zeyfryd Bethman.¹³ The scale of its operations was evident in the fact that in 1501 the city of Košice was obliged to repay them 1100 florens in yearly instalments of 220 florens. A dispute over this sum, which was taken by Košice for war aims, lasted until 1508.¹⁴ We also have authenticated accounts of the close relationship that existed between Jan Boner and Zygmunt Richter from Košice, who in 1510 owed the Krakovian merchant the sum of 2000 florens. Both company owners were suppliers for the Royal Court in Kraków and this explains the scale of their trade operations. Their agent of many years standing in Košice was Anton Brendler, who was born in St. Gallen.¹⁵

The Fogelweders, a Kraków family also originating from St. Gallen, conducted business with Košice on a slightly smaller scale.¹⁶ Evidence of the extent of their involvement is seen in the fact that they dispatched a family member, Stanisław Fogelweder, to Košice, who after renouncing his rights and privileges under the Kraków City Charter settled in the Slovak city in 1498, from where he oversaw the southern trade operations of the Fogelweder company and the brothers Hektor and Jan von Watt. The company was managed from Kraków by Leonard Fogelweder, and it encompassed within its scope Lwów, Wrocław, Frankfurt am Main and Nuremberg.¹⁷ As a citizen of Košice Stanisław Fogelweder maintained permanent contacts with Poland and in 1567 even gave away his daughter Zofia Fogelwederówna in marriage to Waclaw Ratkowski from Kraków. He had children in Košice, and one burgher in the city in the mid-16th century, a certain Jan Fogelweder, may have been his son. We ought to add that members of the Fogelweder family also settled permanently in Banská Bystrica.¹⁸

The Krakovian Bank family also began to reside in Košice in the Middle Ages, having earlier arrived in Kraków from Wrocław. In 1498 Kraków city councillor Franciszek Bank went bankrupt and in the following year was forced to sell his house in Košice. Jan Boner came to his aid at that time and shortly afterwards the bankrupt recovered his fortune, including real estate in Košice and Levoča. His properties in these cities were inherited by his son Erazm Bank, a councillor and one of the wealthiest of the Krakovians as well

¹³ Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI wieku*, 68-69.

¹⁴ *Records referring to trade relations between Poland and Hungary*, nos 82, 83, 85, 86, 92, 93.

¹⁵ Ernst Kausler, *Ein Pfälzer in Polen. Die Landauer Boner und ihre Weißenburger Freunde* (Landau/Pfalz, 1974), 104.

¹⁶ Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI wieku*, 69.

¹⁷ Z. Noga, "Elita Krakowa i jej kontakty z miastami górnych Węgier oraz ze Lwowem w XVI wieku," in *Miasta i mieszczaństwo w Europie Środkowowschodniej do połowy XIX wieku*, ed. by D. Michaluk i K. Mikulskiego (Toruń, 2003), 103-104.

¹⁸ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie., *Consularia Cracoviensia*, 446, s. 38; Pieradzka, *Handel Krakowa z Węgrami w XVI wieku*, 63, 69-70.

as the husband of Katarzyna Krupkównam He maintained closer contacts mainly with Levoča, from which he brought specialists for mining work in lead mines in Olkusz. Despite this fact, they only resided permanently in Košice. Up to four members of the family were living in the city in the mid-16th century: Franciszek, Jan, Erazm and Mikołaj.¹⁹

Another Kraków family with permanent links with Košice were the Krupeks, who were distantly related to the Banks. We know that five members of the family were present in the city in 1492-1525: Piotr, Jan, Erazm, Stanisław and Konrad, with part of the family maintaining close ties with Levoča.²⁰

We should also not overlook the Schillings, one of the most prestigious Krakovian merchant families of this period. In 1560, following the death of Jost Schilling, the family appointed Jan Schaidr to act as proxy for his affairs in Košice, together with Krzysztof Schade, Stefan Kolosteri and Hallerowa. Moreover, the wine merchant Jerzy Paczko maintained extensive contacts with Košice merchants, including Piotr Klein and Jan Ferber.²¹ We could mention the names of numerous Krakovians here, since virtually every major Kraków merchant traded in some way with Košice. To manage their business affairs they sent family members and colleagues, who grew up in the new environment and even sometimes married and left descendants. The migrations of the burgher elites were facilitated by already existing family links and widespread use of German, which was the language of correspondence between Slovak towns and cities and, so it seems, at least until the mid-16th century the first language of contact. Other factors favouring this trend were a similar style of life and financial status.

The intense interrelationship between the two cities was reflected not only in commerce. We should also be aware of the links that existed between craftsmen and artisans. Many of the 30 Košice citizens who were awarded the rights and privileges of the city of Kraków in the 15th century were commoners.²² In the first half of the following century the following were awarded burgher status in Kraków: Michael Jaskolka (1507), the furrier Hannes Bauch (1510), Helias (1511), the carpenter Nicolaus Weysper (1511), the brewer Michael (1515), Gregorus Kulygk (1517), Allexius (1521), Antonius Johannes (1527) and Mathias (1531) who originated from a village near Košice.²³ Starting from the 1530s Košice inhabitants stopped seeking Kraków citizenship and it was not until the end of this century that they began

¹⁹ Ibidem, 72 - 73, 86.

²⁰ Ibidem, 78-79.

²¹ A list of his trading partners from Košice: National Archive in Kraków, Scabinalia Cracoviensia, 10, pp. 333-334.

²² Kiryk, *Związki handlowe*, 17.

²³ *Alba civilia lub Libri iuris civilis (Charter of Rights and Privileges of the City of Kraków) 1507-1572*, ed. by Aniela Kiełbicka and Zbigniew Wojas (Kraków, 1993), no. 13, 205, 287, 292, 556, 847, 1475, 1773.

to settle permanently around Wawel again. They included the innkeeper Andrzej Jędrzejowski from the village of Borzyków, whose genealogy was confirmed in the city chancellery in Kraków by Jakub Jastrzębski from Košice in 1587. Later, in 1590, the merchant Sebastian Szwirka de Kyani presented proof of his genealogy drawn up in Košice. In 1595 the Košice tailor Wojciech Rozmin was awarded the rights and privileges of Kraków and 10 years later, in 1605, the goldsmith Stefan Pesty obtained the same.²⁴ Moreover, Kraków had already attracted a number of goldsmiths earlier. We know that in the first half of the 16th century peasants from Košice made up the largest group of foreign apprentices in the well-documented guild of Kraków goldsmith.²⁵

So far I have focused on contacts between burghers, but we should also recall the role played by the Jagiellonian University in relations between the cities. In the first half of the 16th century at least a dozen or so students from Košice enrolled as students during this period.²⁶ Almost all of them earned a bachelor's degree and some were awarded master's degrees and doctorates.²⁷

The examples cited above confirm the close relationship that existed between Kraków and Košice in the 16th century and which had been established already in the Middle Ages. It was based on commerce between the two cities. Against this backdrop close links developed between the upper echelons of merchant society in both cities. Over time, lower ranking merchants also made their mark in trade between them. The closeness of the Kraków and Košice was also visible in the direct contacts between craftsmen, apprenticeships in guilds and eventually in the enrolment of Košice students on Kraków University. We might go so far as to argue that the Kraków and Košice were more familiar with one another and the ties between their citizens stronger in the 16th century than they are today.

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National Archive in Kraków, Consularia Cracoviensia, 446, s. 38; Scabinalia Cracoviensia, 10, pp. 333-334.

²⁴ *Alba civilia lub Libri iuris civilis (Charter of Rights and Privileges of the City of Kraków) 1573-1611*, ed. by Aniela Kielbicka and Zbigniew Wojas (Kraków, 1994), no. 937, 1202, 1567, 2196.

²⁵ Jerzy Pietrusiński, *Złotnicy krakowscy XIV-XVI wieku i ich cech* (Warszawa, 2000), 119-120.

²⁶ 1512 Kaspar Joannis, Petrus Petri, 1513 Valentus Stephani, 1516 Joannes Antoni 1517 Joannes Oszwaldi, Joannes Joannis, Joannes Baltazar, Laurentius Stephani, Georgius Romuli, Michael Michaelis, 1518 Volfgangus Joannis, Christophorus Joannis, 1519 Paulus Thome, Joannes Stephani, 1521 Joannes Kaspar, 1529 Simon Joannis. Marinus Blasii, who enrolled at the university in 1511, also almost certainly came from Košice. See *Records, i.e. album of the Jagiellonian University 1509-1551*, ed. by Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek and Izabela Skierska (Warszawa, 2010), 26, 35, 41, 50, 63, 76, 78, 86, 87, 92, 96, 99, 1101, 120, 161, 314.

²⁷ *Oldest book of doctoral graduations at the Faculty of Arts, Jagiellonian University 1402-1541*, ed. by Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek and Izabela Skierska (Warszawa, 2011), 339.

Alba civilia lub Libri iuris civilis (Charter of Rights and Privileges of the City of Kraków) 1507-1572, ed. by Aniela Kielbicka and Zbigniew Wojas (Kraków, 1993), no. 13, 205, 287, 292, 556, 847, 937, 1202, 1475, 1567, 1773 and 2196.

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Presence of Košice Inhabitants at European Universities from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century: Facts and Numbers

Iulia Caproș

Abstract

In my contribution I would like to present and comment upon the academic peregrination of burghers from Košice to foreign universities until the middle of the seventeenth century. The research is based on a variety of sources, from universities matriculation lists to documents available in the Town Archives in Košice. After a short description of university foundation development throughout the research period, I will elucidate the numbers of university attendees and the fluctuations of these numbers throughout the time with an attempt of explanation for these changes. In parallel to that, I will comment upon other issues connected to university attendance, such as reasons for choosing one or another academic institution, attending more than one university in a row, content of study, whenever information available. In this way, I hope to elucidate the presence of the town of Košice in the European academic context of the time by means of its studious citizens.

Key words: Košice. Students. European universities. 15th to 17th Century.

During the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times, young people from Central and Eastern Europe did not have many possibilities to pursue university studies locally. Immediately after the establishment of the three main universities in the region: Prague (1348), Cracow (1364), and Vienna (1365), there were attempts to found a university in Hungary, but, regrettably, these universities were short-lived and failed to satisfy the academic needs of the country. Thus, for most of the time until the seventeenth century, young men from Eastern European territories had to go to foreign universities in order to obtain advanced education. The overwhelming majority of them came from the largest towns and Košice was estimated as being among the first eight as regards the number of its citizens attending foreign universities.¹

The first documentary attested university attendance of a student from Košice dates back to the year 1372. Thus, it may be supposed that the university peregrination from this town was already en route from the last third of the fourteenth century. Around this date several universities have established themselves in Europe and were capable of attracting a considerable number of students from different regions of both western and central Europe. Yet of major importance for the academic progress of the region was the rapid development of the University of Cracow and of universities in the German territories throughout the fifteenth century. Between 1348 and 1506 seventeen universities were founded within its

¹ Kubinyi, András, "Städtische Bürger und Universitätsstudien in Ungarn am Ende des Mittelalters," in *Stadt und Universität im Mittelalter und in der früheren Neuzeit*, ed. by Erich Maschke and Jürgen Sydow (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1977), 162.

borders north of the Alps. After Prague and Vienna, universities were founded in Heidelberg (1385/86), Cologne (1388), Erfurt (1392), Würzburg (1402), Leipzig (1409), Rostock (1419), Leuven (1426), Greifswald (1456), Freiburg (1457), Basle (1459/60), Ingolstadt (1472), Trier (1473), Mainz (1476), Tübingen (1477), Wittenberg (1502), and Frankfurt on the Oder (1506)².

There were several criteria that made certain universities more-or-less attractive for students at that time. The academic institutions of higher learning of the time were, as nowadays, of various types and sizes. Universities from Vienna, Cracow, and Leipzig, among others, were large by contemporary standards and had great success in recruiting their students. Heidelberg was a medium-sized university (with 300-400 students) and towns such as Freiburg, Basle, or Tübingen housed smaller universities (100-200 students). The urban qualities of the towns housing these universities, as well as their position within the region were significant factors in determining these differences.³ The larger universities all operated in important trading towns with large markets, integrated into important communication networks. They were favorably situated and easy to reach in areas with a relatively well-developed infrastructure. Furthermore, they belonged to, or were surrounded by, territories that had successfully consolidated their authority during the state-building process in Europe from the fourteenth century onwards. In many cases, the regional connections were very important: in those centers of education close to their place of origin students expected, with good reason, to have better social success than in the unfamiliar environment of foreign universities located far away.

The choice of university was also very much influenced by different cultural, political, or religious changes in society at the local or interregional level. Several events that occurred from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century in Europe in general and in Central-Eastern Europe in particular were reflected, one way or the other, in the directions and numerical development of the *peregrinatio academica* of those coming from the central-eastern parts of Europe. During the middle of the fifteenth century the new cultural elements of Humanism and Renaissance started to gain grounds in the Hungarian regions. While in Hungary Humanism made its first appearance at the royal court and some Episcopal sees (Pécs, Várad, Veszprém, Vác), Cracow and Vienna had different kind of humanist centers: their universities. Lectures on philology and poetics in line with these new intellectual

² Directly related to the foundation of universities Ferdinand Seibt, "Von Prag bis Rostock. Zur Gründung der Universitäten in Mitteleuropa," in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. by Helmut Beumann (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1973), 406-426.

³ See a comment on this issue by Rainer C. Schwinges, "Zur Wirkung von universitärem Wissen auf den Stadtraum im deutschen Spätmittelalter," in *Tradieren. Vermitteln. Anwenden: Zum Umgang mit Wissenbeständen in Spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Städten*, ed. Jörg Rogge (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 155-175, here 156ff.

tendencies promoted by Humanism were of particular interest at the University of Cracow, while Vienna was renowned for the high level of its mathematical and astronomical research, in addition to the literary activity of some of its members.⁴

In the sixteenth century the Reformation began to exert an influence on the academic tendencies of Hungarian regions. It brought immense popularity to the universities of the German Empire, many of which promoted considerable changes in their study plans and ideology. The University of Wittenberg played a special role in launching the Reformation process and just as it reached a certain level of development the next Lutheran university was founded in Marburg (1527). The universities in the Protestant lands were reorganized and new ones were established, based largely on the model of Wittenberg. Basle was reformed in 1532 and in the fall of 1536 university reform took place in Tübingen. In the forties of the sixteenth century similar changes occurred in Leipzig, Greifswald, Frankfurt on the Oder, and later at Heidelberg and Rostock. A number of further new Reformist universities were founded in Königsberg (1544), Jena (1558), Helmstedt (1575) and subsequently at Giessen (1607), Rinteln (1621), Strasbourg (1621), and Altdorf (1622). Anyone of the reformed faith wanting a humanist education in literature and theology would now think of a university of this kind.⁵

Even before the Lutherans became organized, Calvinism made its way as an increasingly popular branch of Protestantism, especially in Switzerland and later in the Dutch territories of the northern part of Europe. From the 1560s, Heidelberg was a Calvinist center and, similarly, the University of Frankfurt an der Oder had to take a Calvinist position because of confessional changes by John Sigismund of Brandenburg.

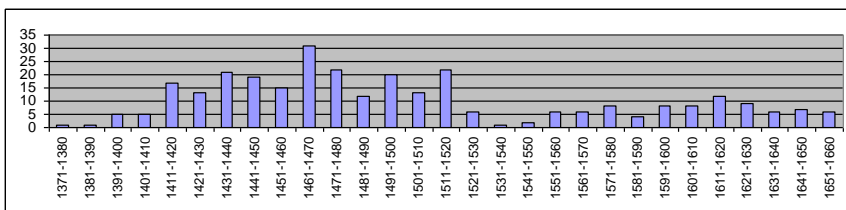
The reform movement launched by the Catholic Church with the help of the Jesuits had its influence on academic peregrination as well. Besides the universities of Paris, Leuven and Cologne, which were quick to condemn Luther, such universities as Leipzig, Mainz, and Ingolstadt played an important role in the Catholic effort from its very beginnings. In the German territories, the order of Jesuits expanded quickly and already by the middle of the sixteenth century they had opened a significant number of colleges. In 1561 the Jesuits established a college in Trnava, the relocated see of the archbishop of Esztergom, which soon became a center of intellectual life for all Hungarian lands under Habsburg authority and, in a certain way, provided

⁴ See among the most recent works dedicated to the history of University of Vienna the chapter written by Kurt Mühlberger, "Die Gemeinde der Lehrer und Schüler – Alma Mater Rudolphina", in *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt*, volume 1: *Von den Anfängen bis zur Ersten Wiener Türkenbelagerung (1529)*, ed. Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Opll (Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2001), 319-410, especially 395ff.

⁵ See *A History of the University in Europe*, Volume 2, *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, ed. by Ridder-Symoens and Hilde (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 416-448.

a start for offering possibilities in higher education within their own territories. Therefore, until the middle of the seventeenth century students from Košice were compelled to travel in order to pursue university studies and had one or more of the choices briefly described above.

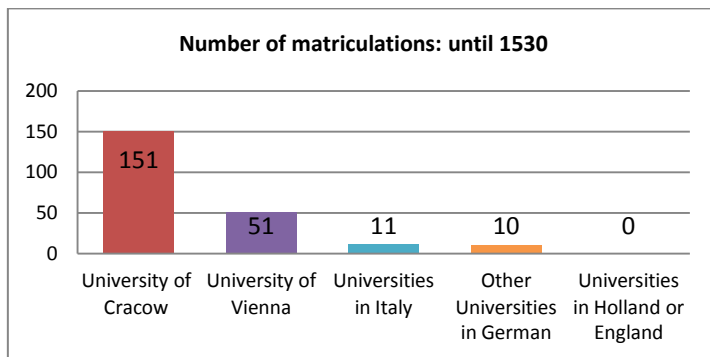
From the second half of the fourteenth century, that is, from the first registered matriculation of a student from Košice in Prague in 1372 until the year 1660 inclusively, 306 matriculations of 278 students coming from this town were identified at 29 different universities. The number of matriculations throughout the entire research period (by decades) can be seen in the following chart:



Two sub-periods with the boundary somewhere in the 1530s are visible on this graph. The first period lasted until the twenties of the sixteenth century (conventionally considered ending with the year 1530) and the second period began in the thirties of the sixteenth century until the end of the Reformation period in the town. These two periods differ firstly in terms of numbers of students attending foreign universities and secondly with regard to the geographical framework of their academic peregrination.

A much larger number of students coming from Košice could be identified from the first period: out of a total of 278 students, 212 (76 % or three fourths) went abroad to universities until the year 1530. The other 66 students (24 %) attended universities from the 1530s until 1660. The reasons for this numerical discrepancy are manifold and are connected with the political events and the economic and demographic development of the town. The fifteenth century was relatively stable politically, and this significantly favored the commercial, economic, and cultural development of the town. This stability is reflected in the high numbers of university attendees until the 1520s. The Ottoman threat, the battle of Mohács in 1526 and the following instability in the country largely constitute a turning point in the academic peregrination of Košice inhabitants. After this date, the number of students going abroad decreases dramatically, and, even if these numbers recover slightly later, they never reached the fifteenth-century levels again. The Reformation brought with it a certain increase in students' numbers, especially from the 1550s and these numbers stayed approximately at the same level until the end of the Reformation period in the town.

In terms of the geographical structure of the academic peregrination of students from Košice during the first period can be represented as follows:



Obviously dominating this picture are the geographically closer universities of Cracow and Vienna. The first student from Košice matriculated at the University of Cracow in 1406, making the beginning of an intensive peregrination to this university. There were a number of factors influencing its popularity including geographical proximity, the extensive commercial relationships between the two towns, broad traveling possibilities in a relatively safe entourage, lower costs of living in Cracow and the high quality of studies provided by the university itself. The peregrination of students from Košice to Cracow until 1530 reached a record figure of 151 matriculations - a number no other university would ever approach. This number was almost three times as great as the number of matriculated students from this town at Vienna, the next most popular university where there were 51 matriculations in this period.

Five students matriculated in Prague, three of them in the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, the sources related to the functioning of this university during the period of this research are only partially preserved.⁶ The general matriculation list of students from 1358 to 1621 is basically lost, only two parts of it being preserved, the *Liber decanorum* and the *Album facultatis iuridicae*.⁷ This fact makes the process of identifying students from different towns at the University of Prague rather difficult if not impossible.

⁶ For more information about sources from the University of Prague see the contribution of Josef Bergel in *Studien zur Geschichte der Karls-Universität zu Prag*, ed. Rudolf Schreiber (Freilassing-Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1954), 15-38.

⁷ *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae universitatis Pragensis, ab anno Christi 1367 usque ad annum 1585*, ed. by n.a. (Prague: Typis Joan. Nep. Gerzabek, 1830) (= Monumenta historica universitatis Carolo Ferdinandae Pragensis, Tomus I, pars 1) and *Album seu Matricula Facultatis Iuridicae Universitatis Pragensis ab anno Christi 1372 usque ad annum 1418*, ed. by n.a. (Prague: Typis Joan. Spurny, 1834) (= Monumenta historica universitatis Carolo Ferdinandae

At the same time, the University of Prague had a complicated internal history. While developing a very good reputation right after its foundation in 1348, soon thereafter the university fell victim to various internal conflicts which led to its almost total isolation by the middle of the fifteenth century. During the later years of the fourteenth century the development of a local Czech self-consciousness accompanied by antipathy towards German elements in the city was more and more in evidence. Struggles between Utraquists, Taborites, and orthodoxy, the long turmoil of the Hussite wars and the general economic decline of the kingdom of Bohemia further expanded this conflict. The reaction was instantaneous: German members left the University of Prague for Leipzig, and the decline of the University of Prague, starting at this moment, continued until the middle of the seventeenth century. Humanism may have touched individuals, but not the university itself and there was no scientific advance in scholastic life during this period of time. In the sixteenth century, although the university changed in religion and became Protestant, its fortunes did not change. Masters there remained quite poor and the number of students was very low.⁸ All faculties, except that of arts, stayed closed until the beginning of the seventeenth century, so that the university functioned essentially as a training college for teachers and town clerks.

Regarding the town of Košice, three students from this town registered there in the fourteenth century (Horcho de Cossicz in 1372, Joannes Stewer in 1388 and Joannes Caschaw in 1395). Thus, the University of Prague became, in addition to that of Vienna with four matriculations, one of the only two universities students from Košice could be identified at during the fourteenth century. This implies that Prague University entertained certain popularity among citizens from this town, especially due to its geographical proximity and most probably also thanks to strong connections and certain cultural and social affinities between the two bordering regions. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, during the decanate of Johannes Huss, there is another student from Košice who received his bachelor degree in Prague, a certain Georgius de Kassowia. After the events of the year 1409, he moved to the University of Cracow to receive his master degree there. During the sixteenth century, there is again one registered student from Košice, Martinus Cassovinus, who appears in the records in the year 1525. However, the context of his matriculation and his subsequent fate is unfortunately unknown.

The German universities during the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century were able to attract only a very few students from Košice. Three of these students matriculated in Leipzig: Andreas and Johannes de

Pragensis, Tomus II, Pars 1).

⁸ For a social – statistical overview of the frequency of attendance at the university until 1409 see the work by František Šmahel, *Pražské universitní studentstvo v předrevolučním období 1399-1419* (Students in Prague during the pre-revolutionary period 1399 –1419) (Prague: Academia, 1967).

Casschovia in 1418 and Stanislaus de Kassaw in 1455, one, Sebastianus Ungarus de Cassa, in Heidelberg in 1433 and another student, Johannes Anthonius Cassoviensis, matriculated in Tübingen in 1520.

Slightly more attractive, however, for students from the region before and during the fifteenth century were universities in Italy. Besides the notable amount of university documentation preserved as originals, among the most helpful secondary sources for identifying students from the Hungarian regions in Italy are the two publications of Endre (Andreas) Veress⁹ and the prosopographical catalogue assembled by Prof. Astrik Gabriel.¹⁰ According to them, students were already traveling from Hungary to Italy during the thirteenth century with the universities in Bologna and Padua being more popular. Two social groups were mainly present at Italian universities: representatives of mendicant orders usually sent to one of the universities to receive a degree in theology at the order's expense and members of rich noble families. While being rather tolerant towards confessional issues, what mattered for Italian universities was the social status of the students who came to register there.¹¹ Most students came from wealthy families and had to be older than the minimum of 14 years in order to be listed in the matriculation roles. They needed considerable financial resources during their studies in Italy since its universities were, perhaps, the most expensive at the time.

The university in Padua recorded the greatest number of students from various countries north of the Alps. It was well known abroad for the quality of its lectures, the tolerant environment and for its public and university libraries, which contained an extensive quantity of good quality books. Two students from this town could be identified at this university. These are the Dominican friar Hieronymus de Cassovia, who matriculated in 1436 and the son of a rich burgher family, Joannes Antoninus de Casschovia, who matriculated sometime around the year 1520, thus representing the two above-mentioned categories of students. The latter one studied medicine in Padua, after receiving degrees in Cracow and Vienna, and then moved to Tübingen to obtain his doctorate.

During the fifteenth century the faculty of theology at the University of Bologna was very popular as well. This popularity was to a great extent the merit of the Dominicans, who lead a *studium generale* there for members of the Dominican order as part of the faculty. Among other things, the

⁹ *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitate Patavina studentium (1264-1864)*, ed. by Andreas Veress (Budapest: Typis Societatis Stephaneum Typographicae, 1915) and *Matricula et acta Hungarorum in universitatibus Italiae studentium (1221-1864)*, ed. by Andreas Veress (Budapest: MTA, 1941).

¹⁰ *Prosopographia of Hungarian Students in Medieval Universities*, Alphabetical, 6 boxes, compiled by Astrik Gabriel, preserved in the Hesburgh Library, Medieval Institute, University of Notre Dame du Lac, USA.

¹¹ See Ronald Edward Ohl, *The University of Padua, 1405-1509: An International Community of Students and Professors* (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 63.

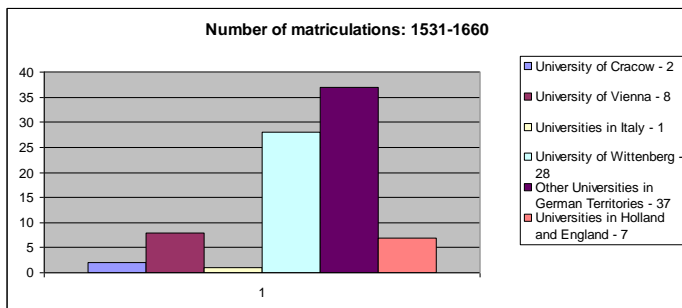
Dominicans put great emphasis on the teaching of philosophy, including the ancient philosophy, of both Greek and Hebrew together with the history of the Antique world, rhetoric, astronomy, and astrology. In this way their program of teaching in many aspects reflected the humanist tendencies of the time. Two citizens from Košice have been identified as spending some time at the University of Bologna in the fifteenth century and one in the sixteenth. Iohannes de Caschovia, who registered in 1471, had already some academic background by that time and came to Bologna as private teacher of the brothers Nicolaus and Iohannes Stoltz de Slantz from Silesia.¹² Another well-known personality of the time, a descendant of a rich family in Košice, who arrived in Bologna at some point, was György Szatmári, later archbishop of Esztergom, whose exact date of matriculation could not be established.

A few students from Košice could be identified at other Italian universities during the fifteenth century as well. Among these are the University of Florence with three matriculations, the University of Pavia with one matriculation, the University of Perugia with one matriculation and the University of Siena with two matriculations. All of these students were representatives of the Dominican order, this possibly being connected to the fact that the Dominicans had a *studium particulare* in Košice.¹³ To sum up, until the 1530s, most students from Košice who were interested in university studies went to the universities in Cracow, Prague or Vienna, or went to Italian universities, if they had sufficient financial support, either as representatives of the Dominican order or as scions of rich families in the town.

As for the second identified period, from 1531 until 1660, the structure of university attendance of Košice students is represented by the following graph:

¹² *Acta nationis germaniae universitatis bononiensis ex archetypis tabularii malveziani*, ed. by Ernestus Friedlaender and Carolus Malagola (Berlin: Typis et impensis Georgii Reimeri, 1887), 215: *Recepta: a reverendissimo in Christo patre et domino domino Nicolao Stoltz de Slantz de Slesia [Nicolaus II, episcopus Varadiensis, 1469-1473] pro se ac domino Iohanne Stoltz de Slantz fratre suo, Iohanne de Caschovia decretorum doctore pedagogo suo, Gregorio Nencke canonico Agriensi, Nicolao de Slaboni capellano suo, Caspate de Augusta, Cristoffero Seydelitz, Iohanne de Ratispona, prefati domini episcopi familiaribus II ducatos Florentinos* [lines 15-24].

¹³ See Gabriel, *Prosopographia of Hungarian Students*; Beatrix Romhányi, “A koldulórendek szerepe a középkori magyar oktatásban” (The role of the mendicant orders in medieval Hungarian education) in *A magyar iskola első évszázadai. Kiállítási katalógus* (The first centuries of school education in Hungary. Exhibition Catalogue) ed. Katalin Szende, (Győr, 1996), 35-40, especially 35 and 39.



From the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, the university attendance picture changed greatly. The total number of university matriculations decreased, with only 83 matriculations compared to the 223 in the previous period, while the directions taken by these student peregrinations changed considerably. Students from Košice almost completely stopped attending university in Cracow. A number of factors such as internal changes at this university and the Reformation put an end to its popularity, so that only two students register in Cracow after the third decade of the sixteenth century up to the end of the research period: Christophorus Steinensis in 1545 and Joannes Andreae Czerwienski almost one century later – in 1639. Students continue to go to Vienna throughout the entire period, but in a much more limited way and with a number of considerable breaks determined by events of various characters. Only one student, Emericus Lippay Cassoviensis Ungarus, registers at a university in Italy during this period (in Bologna, in 1571).

The majority of students from Košice who went to study abroad after the 1530s matriculated at German universities. The most popular among the attended universities was, without any doubt, the University of Wittenberg, with a total number of 28 matriculations starting from the year 1533, when the first student from the town, Gregorius de Belswitz is officially recorded. An altogether 37 further matriculations of students from Košice have been identified at various other universities in the German speaking territories during this period, distributed as follows: Altdorf (1 matriculation), Basle (2), Frankfurt an der Oder (7), Graz (2), Heidelberg (1), Helmstedt (2), Jena (3), Königsberg (9), Leipzig (2), Olomouc (3), Rostock (2), Salzburg (1), Strassburg (1), and Tübingen (1). The greater part of these matriculations took place at the end of the sixteenth century throughout the first half of the seventeenth. The majority of attended universities were adherents of the Lutheran faith, although it still happened occasionally that a student from Košice would go to a Calvinist and then later to a Catholic university. The universities of Heidelberg and Basle, for example, were active in training Calvinist clergy. Since the urban administration and community in Košice

strongly opposed Calvinism on an official level, there was only one single student from Košice who registered in Heidelberg during the sixteenth century. Two students from this town spent some time at the University of Basle, but only in the first decade of the seventeenth century. It was also in the first two decades of the seventeenth century when students from Košice started to go to established Calvinist universities in towns of Holland, such as Franeker, Leiden, and Utrecht, mainly thanks to the relatively tolerant attitude of these institutions towards the faith of their students and not because they were strong adepts of Calvinism.

After 1530, Italian universities ceased to attract students from Košice, so that only a single student from the town could be identified at an Italian university in all of the sixteenth century, a nobleman Emericus Lippay Cassoviensis Ungarus, who matriculated in Bologna in April 1571. The Reformation re-directed the academic peregrination of students from the town towards the universities located in the German territories. In addition to Wittenberg, Protestant students from Košice went to other reformed universities, although much less frequently. The second Protestant university favored by students from this town was the university at Frankfurt an der Oder.¹⁴ This university, advantageously located not far from the territories of northern Hungary, had as its main attraction the fact that it was positioned on the way towards other German or Dutch universities which became particularly popular in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Usually, students traveling to or from another university further north would make a stop in Frankfurt an der Oder and stay at its university for a year or two. Another reason bringing students from Košice (and elsewhere) go to Frankfurt an der Oder was a number of changes that had been made at other universities, making them unacceptable or unattractive, for example, the expulsion of the adepts of the Cryptocalvinism from Wittenberg in the seventies of the sixteenth century or the re-catholization of some German universities beginning in the first decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁵ The first documented student from Košice, Valentinus Ungar, went to Frankfurt an der Oder some time before 1571, as witnessed by a letter in the town archives.¹⁶ He is followed by six other students from Košice: Georgius Cramerus who matriculated in 1582, Johannes Georgius Triglerus in 1602, Christophorus Teubelius in 1612, Daniel Weinsperger in 1614, Daniel Widos in 1618, and

¹⁴ See J. Zoványi, "Magyarországi ifjak az Odera melletti frankfurti egyetemen (Hungarian students at the University Frankfurt an der Oder)," *Protestáns Szemle* 1 (1889): 178–202; S. Ladányi, "Ungarische Studenten an der Universität Frankfurt an der Oder," in *Iter germanicum: Deutschland und die Reformierte Kirche in Ungarn im 16.-17. Jahrhundert*, ed. by András Szabó (Budapest: Verlag Calvin, 1999), 214–220.

¹⁵ Othmar Feyl, "Die Viadrina und das östliche Europa," in *Die Oder-Universität Frankfurt: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte*, ed. by Günther Haase and Joachim Winkler (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1983), 105–139, here 114f.

¹⁶ Municipal Archives of Košice (AMK), Halaganum (H) I, no. 3087/76.

Stephanus Litterati in 1619. Of these seven students, four went to other universities as well, staying in Frankfurt an der Oder only for a short period of time. Triglerus matriculated in Leipzig in 1606, Teubelius in Jena in 1614, Weinsperger in Wittenberg in 1615, and Widos matriculated in Wittenberg in September 1618, only a few months after his registration in Frankfurt an der Oder.

Jena housed another reformed university, located, similarly to that in Frankfurt an der Oder, on the route to Wittenberg. In 1557 it already functioned as a university with all rights and featuring disciplines which were characteristic for a humanist curriculum of a reformed university of the time.¹⁷ The majority of students matriculated in Jena were Lutheran Germans from the eastern regions and only a very small number among them were representatives of other nationalities.¹⁸ The small number of Protestant universities in the northern German regions where Jena had a central advantageous position and the cheap costs of living made it an attractive location for students from Hungary at that time. Three students from Košice matriculated in Jena, all of them in the seventeenth century, Matthias Schwartz in 1604, the already mentioned Christophorus Teubelius in 1614, and Johannes Paludmius in 1638. All of them, before matriculating in Jena, went on to other universities as well. Schwartz went to Basle in 1601 and Helmstedt in 1603, Teubelius matriculated in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1612 and Paludmius went to Rostock in 1634. This testifies that the University of Jena was not neglected in the process of academic peregrination of students from Košice from one university to another.

There is no officially registered matriculation of students from Košice at the University of Leipzig throughout the entire sixteenth century. There may be a number of reasons why students from the town no longer favored this university, including the reluctance of this academic institution to keep pace with the progressive movements of the time. Certainly, it was not easy for the University of Leipzig to attract students once the university in nearby Wittenberg was founded. However, by the end of the sixteenth century, after a series of important reforms, the number of students in Leipzig increased considerably and it started to appear among those places of study some

¹⁷ On the foundation of the University of Jena see: *Alma mater Jenensis: Geschichte der Universität Jena*, ed. by Siegfried Schmidt, et al. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1983), 32ff.

¹⁸ Othmar Feyl, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der slawischen Verbindungen und internationalen Kontakte der Universität Jena* (Jena: Veb Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1960), 4-5. Feyl refers to data from Klotz's article, see Ernst Emil Klotz, "Über die Herkunft der Jenaer Studenten im 1. Jahrhundert des Bestehens der Universität," in *Geschichtliche Landeskunde und Universalgeschichte. Festgabe für Hermann Aubin zum 23. Dezember 1950*, ed. by Hermann Aubin (Hamburg: Nölke, 1950), 97-111. See also Christel Krämer, "Der Osten als Herkunftsbereich der Rektoren und Studenten der Universität Jena," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung. Länder und Völker im östlichen Mitteleuropa* 7 (1958): 402-419, here 418.

students from Košice would go to. In the year 1575, a citizen of Košice, Gedeon Adamj, wrote to the town council asking for financial support to go to Leipzig University (which he names *celeberrima Academia*), although it is not certain if he got there¹⁹ and later on, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, two Košice students, Christophor Deubelius (Teuffel) and Iohannes Georgii Triglerus matriculated in Leipzig (in 1601 and 1606 respectively). Both of these students went to other universities as well. Deubelius matriculated in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1612 and in Jena in 1614, and Triglerus was matriculated at the University in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1602.

The situation of the university in Königsberg was somewhat different. This university was founded in 1544 modeled on the University of Wittenberg.²⁰ A number of its lecturers came to Königsberg at the direct recommendation of Melanchthon including its first rector Georg Sabinus, who was Melanchthon's son-in-law. The early period of operation of the University of Königsberg was marked by a number of difficulties caused by religious and political conflicts, which, however, did not hinder its development. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the number of matriculated students grew consistently, the majority of them coming from adjacent regions of Prussia together with a number of students from the Baltic regions, Hungary and Transylvania as well.²¹ For Košice it seems to have replaced the University of Wittenberg as university of choice in the first decades of the seventeenth century with nine matriculations until 1660. This fact is also confirmed by letters preserved in the town archives in Košice. After the year 1620, 28 students' letters were sent to the town council from Königsberg and only two letters from Wittenberg. The University of Königsberg became particularly attractive as a safe study place for students coming or moving from regions endangered by the thirty years war (1618-1648). Another attractive aspect was the fact that pauper students or Lutheran pastors and their sons were not required to pay the matriculation fee.²² The first student from Košice at this university was Petrus Brewer who matriculated in 1598 while the others went to Königsberg in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Daniel Weinsperger probably arrived at the university in 1630, Benedictus Schemtei in 1638, Adamus Kys probably in 1645, David Kilger at some point before 1646, Matthias Ostropatky in 1647, Johannes Mach in 1649, Andreas Kuhn shortly before 1655, and

¹⁹ AMK, H I, no. 3285/98.

²⁰ For detailed information about the foundation and development of the University of Königsberg see among others the book by Kasimir Lawrynowicz, *Albertina: Zur Geschichte der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg in Preussen* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), especially 51ff.

²¹ About the foundation of the University of Königsberg see also Hartmut Boockmann, "Die Geschichte der Universität Königsberg und die Perspektiven der historischen Forschung in Ostmitteleuropa," in *Aspekte der Zusammenarbeit in der Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung: Tagung des Herder-Instituts und des J.G. Herder-Forschungsrates am 22./23. Februar 1994*, ed. by Hugo Weczerka (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 1996), 45-61, especially 50-51.

²² Erler, *Die Matrikel der Universität Königsberg, volume 1, part 2*, p. xviii.

Johannes Ericus Scheibenpoden in 1655. Weinsperger, Kys, Kilger, Ostropatky, Kuhn and Scheibenpoden went to Königsberg with the support of the town council.²³ Of all Košice students who attended this university only Johannes Ericus Scheibenpoden officially received, according to the registers, a master's degree from the faculty of arts in 1655.²⁴

The other two Protestant universities where a few students from Košice went in the seventeenth century were in Helmstedt (founded in 1576²⁵) with two persons matriculated there in the same year – 1603 – Laurentius Stiberus and Matthaeus Schwartz and in Rostock (founded in 1419) with Iohannes Paludius registered in 1634 and Iohannes Mautner in 1635. The universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen were not popular among students from Košice in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Besides Johannes Antoninus, who received his doctorate in medicine in Tübingen in 1523, there is only one other matriculation from Košice at Heidelberg and Tübingen, by the same student: David Sigismundus matriculated in Heidelberg in 1577 and in Tübingen in 1578. One of the reasons for their lack of popularity was more the undefined and insecure situation of these locations during the sixteenth and first decades of the seventeenth century. The frequent changes of power in both towns and of the confessional orientation at the universities lead to a considerable confusion in their activity until after the war in the late forties – beginning of the fifties of the seventeenth century. Another reason may have been the distance and the higher costs related to this factor.

Until the Reformation, the University of Basle had mainly regional character and the majority of matriculated students came from southern German-speaking areas. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the university achieved international status. Among the main reasons for its popularity was the geographical position of the town on the commercial and travel routes towards the south of Europe, the foundation of a book printing workshop, and the relative tolerance towards religious worship. Students from the Hungarian regions started to come to Basle very soon after the Reformation.²⁶ The relationship between different Hungarian territories and

²³ See letters preserved in the Košice town archives: AMK H I, no. 6348/37; no. 6348/1; no. 7312/21; no. 7312/19; no. 7467/20; no. 7467/21; no. 7467/22; no. 7598/17; no. 7598/18; no. 7788/18; no. 7788/26; 7788/11; no. 7788/8; no. 8034/2; no. 8134/40; no. 8199/19; no. 8257/17; no. 8257/5; no. 8257/14; no. 8257/16; no. 8317/11; no. 8362/3; no. 8362/2; no. 8400/17; no. 8511/46; no. 8511/12; no. 8719/3.

²⁴ Manfred Komorowski, *Promotionen an der Universität Königsberg 1548-1799* (Munich: Saur, 1988), 73.

²⁵ For basic information on the history of the University of Helmstedt see Bernd Becker, *Die Privilegien der Universität Helmstedt und ihre Bekämpfung durch die Stadt 1576-1810* (Ph.D. diss., Technische Hochschule Carolo-Wilhelmina zu Braunschweig, 1939).

²⁶ For more information about Hungarian students in Basle see: Edgar Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart 1460-1960* (Basle: Verlag Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1960), 230-231 and the article by Erneste Staehelin, "Bâle et la Hongrie à travers l'Histoire," *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* (1948): 226-242.

the University of Basle grew even closer, especially when Protestantism started to be repressed by the Habsburg Catholic reform movement. The number of matriculated students started to decrease from the thirties of the seventeenth century, a tendency characteristic for other German universities as well. One of the main reasons was, again, the thirty years war, which affected many regions, including those not directly involved in the conflict. Additionally, the main directions of academic peregrination in Europe changed from Italy and France to the newly founded universities in Holland; as a result Basle ceased to be an important stop-over on the way towards the former. Although popular among Hungarian students in general, only two students from Košice could be identified at the University of Basle, Matthias Schwartz who matriculated in 1601 and Benedictus Bakai who matriculated in 1627. Both of these students went to other universities as well but graduated in Basle with the title of doctor in theology which was the highest academic degree at the time. The fact that both of them graduated in Basle also suggests that this university had more favorable conditions for graduation, and that students who attended different other universities considered it to be a better place to receive their degrees.

From the twenties of the seventeenth century the matriculation lists of the newly founded universities in Leiden, Utrecht, and Franeker display quite a number of students from Hungary.²⁷ The Dutch Republic was an important commercial power by the beginning of the seventeenth century and well known as a very tolerant region in Europe. The increasing material wealth led to higher demands in cultural development and the necessity for universities became obvious, especially after the Calvinists gained limited access to the universities of Leuven or Cologne. The first student from Košice identified at a Dutch university in the seventeenth century is the active peregrine Benedictus Bakay, who matriculated in Leiden in the year 1624 and was 27 years old according to a note in the matriculation list. Before matriculating in Leiden he studied in Wittenberg, and, after attending Leiden University, went to Oxford and later to Basle. Four other matriculations of students from Košice could be identified at Dutch universities up until the seventh decade of the seventeenth century including two more students in Leiden - Joannes Thallyai who sent a letter to the town council from Leiden in 1626²⁸ and Johannes Kasai Hungarus who matriculated in March 1643. In September 1643 the latter already matriculated at the University of Utrecht. Another

²⁷ On the Hungarian peregrination to Dutch universities see, among others, the recent books: *Studiosorum et librorum peregrinatio: Hungarian-Dutch Cultural Relations in the 17th and 18th Century*, ed. by August den Hollander, István Monok and Ferenc Postma, (Amsterdam and Budapest: Universiteit van Amsterdam and Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2006); and Péter Eredics, *Ungarische Studenten und ihre Übersetzungen aus dem Niederländischen ins Ungarische in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008).

²⁸ AMK H I, no. 6165/27 and no. 6196/54.

student from Košice, Johannes Herczegh was identified at the University of Franeker in 1657 as a student in theology. As for the majority of students registered at Dutch universities, the town of origin is missing in the matriculation lists (perhaps it was not required at the registration) so that it is difficult to identify the students' place of origin. It may well have been that the number of students from Košice at Dutch universities was higher during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Two students from Košice were identified at well-known universities in England: Joannes Thallyai in Cambridge in 1625 and Benedictus Bakay in Oxford in 1626. Both Oxford and Cambridge had already achieved a high reputation during the Middle Ages, especially in the fields of logic, science, and theology. At the beginning of the sixteenth century these institutions had a collegiate structure and relied upon tutorial teaching. Due to this development, the role of the university was reduced to that of a degree-awarding institution. After serious internal disputes, Oxford and Cambridge were compelled to accept royal control and the dominance of the Anglican Church. Whereas, with the Reformation, many universities revised their statute's regulations and contents of study, the University of Oxford in contrast, at least in its statutory legislation, remained untouched by the changes of the sixteenth century and retained much of its medieval curriculum in arts.²⁹ The number of students from Hungarian regions in general was not very high, primarily because of the very distant geographical location. Another problem was the high costs of tutoring and accommodation. The required length of study at Oxford was, according to the statutes, approximately four years to receive the first degree. Those who planned to take a degree had to satisfy the residence qualifications, those who did not were free to leave whenever they had obtained the desired instruction. Benedictus Bakay spent one year in Oxford and in 1627 he was already at the University of Basle. He did not receive a degree at Oxford, and most probably never intended to do so, selecting Oxford as one among the other institutions he visited during his academic peregrination. The other student from Košice who was identified in England, Johannes Thallyai, sent his first letter from Cambridge in December 1625 and in July 1626 he was already in Leiden. Thus, he did not stay very long in England either.

Although Košice was mainly Protestant until the last third of the seventeenth century, there are a number of students from Košice who registered at Catholic universities during this period. One student from Košice could be identified in Salzburg, Franciscus Fegirer, who matriculated in 1652. Two students matriculated in Graz, Stephanus Cassovius in 1586 and Antonius Kys in 1618. The Academy in Graz was the first Catholic university in a region close to Košice. One of the main ideas of its foundation was to

²⁹ James McConica, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford*, volume 3: *The Collegiate University* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 157f.

assure successful missionary activity. It had only two faculties: philosophy and theology, thus, having the status of an academy. The faculty of philosophy consisted primarily of three chairs: logic, physics, and metaphysics, and later on chairs for ethics, mathematics, and Greek were added. With the opening of the university the Jesuits also acquired the possibility to print books. The aim was to educate Catholic preachers, who would participate in fighting against Protestantism in the region. Especially at the end of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a majority of Catholic clergy of Hungary was educated in Graz, before its own Catholic institutions were created in Trnava and later in Košice.³⁰

In 1657, the Academy of Košice with a faculty of philosophy and theology was founded with the help of Bishop Benedikt Kisdy, modeled on the already existing Academy in Trnava. Among the ten rectors of this institution during the seventeenth century, six of them appear in the matriculation lists of the University of Graz as students of theology: Franz Topos, Martin Palkovich, Michael Gribócsi, Ladislaus Vid, Ladislaus Permay, and Johann Kechkeméty.³¹ The foundation of this institution can be considered to begin, indirectly, another period in the academic peregrination of students from Košice to foreign universities, the possibility of receiving higher education being offered, from this point on, in the town itself.

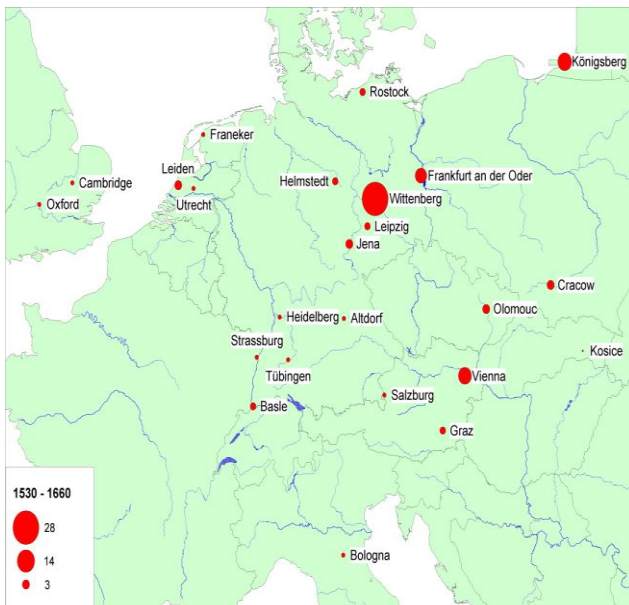
³⁰ *Studenten und Lehrer aus Ungarn und Siebenbürgen an der Universität Graz (1586-1782)*, ed. by Johann Andritsch (Graz: Verlag der Historischen Landeskommission, 1965).

³¹ Andritsch, *Studenten und Lehrer*, 314.

Map 1: University attendance of students from Košice until 1530



Map 2: University attendance of students from Košice from 1530 until 1660



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Pentapolis – Cooperation and Conflicts

Ivan Chalupecký

Abstract

The study deals with the organization as well as specific activities of the Union of Five East Slovak (Upper-Hungarian) Free Royal Towns of Košice, Levoča, Prešov, Bardejov and Sabinov between the 14th – 17th centuries. They cooperated in the area of defence against their enemies, politics, economy, law, religion as well as in the area of common procedure at the Diet of Hungary. At their regular meetings they negotiated common procedures. There were occasional feuds among them, especially due to the Wide Storing Right that the town of Košice often used to claim.

Keywords: Town. Guild. Law. Politics. Economy.

In the history of Europe and of the historical Hungary there were several associations of cities. Some of them were based on the law-system that several cities used jointly. Sometimes the cities were connected pursuant to their common interests. In Slovakia we know about associations of Central Slovakian and East Slovakian miner cities. The reason of their origin was the fact that they applied the identical miner law. These associations, however, involved only the administration of the mines within which they applied common procedures.¹ In other matters there were no relations between them. The Association of XXIV cities, later transformed into XIII Spiš Cities Association, was a different kind of group. They had been associated on the basis of the commonly applied Spiš /Zipser/ Law, and they established even a joint central administration. The Association of XIII Spiš Cities was associated deeply by their united fight for their privileges and their joint protection against the owners of the valid pawn by the Polish king or high Polish nobility. The Association of Five Upper Hungarian or East Slovakian cities - the so called Pentapolitana, was very different from this kind of associations or societies. It was founded in the 15th century and persisted several centuries experiencing several changes during its existence. The Pentapolitana cities had been united by one important fact: all they were free royal towns. On the other hand, while Levoča was administered under the Spišs Law, in fact under the Saxon Mirror, - the other cities followed the Buda or Košice legislation that inclined more to Magdeburg Law.² The cities were situated on the boundaries of three counties: Spiš, Šariš and Abov-Turňa.

It is interesting that the Pentapolitana was a very significant and active association of cities pursuant to the preserved archive documents. In the

¹ Ivan Chalupecký, „K dejinám správy banských miest na Spiši a v Gemeri,“ in *Vývoj správy miest na Slovensku*, ed. by Richard Marsina (Martin: Osveta, 1984), 239 – 246.

² Comp: Ivan Chalupecký, „Stadtrechte im Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei,“ in *Karpaten Jahrbuch 2012*, ed. by Heike Drechsler and Heinz Schmitt (Stuttgart, 2011), 43 – 56.

monographs published so far on the history of the individual member cities there are very few, practically, no mentions about this association.³ Especially Ondrej Halaga wrote about its history.⁴ He evaluated the Pentapolitana mostly as an economic alignment of cities pursuant to the then valid Marxist perception of the history.

Long time of existence of the Pentapolitana and a detailed documentation of its functioning would make a good topic for a doctoral thesis. In our presentation I would like to give brief characteristics of the association to concentrate on its aims and importance in the history of Slovakia and the Royal Hungary.

The Association of Five Upper Hungarian or East Slovakian cities came to existence in the beginning of the 15th century. By the end of the 14th century some of them became full powered free royal cities (Levoča and Košice became free royal cities in the first half of the century, Prešov in 1374, Bardejov - 1376 and Sabinov - 1405). The well-known decree issued by Sigismund from Luxembourg in 1406 played surely a very important role in this process, by virtue of this decree he acknowledged the cities as independent estate in the country. According to Halaga the first known meeting of the concerned five cities of the Upper Hungary took place on 19 April 1412 in Košice. The cities stated the joint activity plan against the debtors in relation to different cities⁵ - namely Košice, Levoča, Prešov, Bardejov and Sabinov. Later on Sabinov somehow fell out from the group, and it became its regular member only in the beginning of the 18th century.⁶ When the cities met each other in 1440 to state the joint action plan there were only four of them.⁷ Sabinov came to mention only in 1481 when Košice, Prešov and Bardejov were settling conflicts with the citizens.⁸ From 1490, however, Sabinov already acted as a regular member of the Pentapolitana.⁹ The five cities worked and represented their interests together up to the second half of 17th century. That time it was enlarged by Kežmarok. More than 100 years Levoča and Kežmarok were in fierce conflict about their staple right. Even after fading of these conflicts Kežmarok did not have much hope to enter the association although it wanted to do so.

³ Ondrej Halaga et al., *Sabinov a okolie* (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1962); *Dejiny Prešova I.*, ed. by Imrich Sedlák (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1965); *Dejiny Bardejova*, ed. by Andrej Kokula, Andrej Lukáč and Ladislav Tajták (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1975); Michal Suchý, *Dejiny Levoče I.* (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1974); *Dejiny Košic v dátach, I. diel.*, ed. by Štefan Eliáš (Košice, 2006).

⁴ Ondrej R. Halaga, „Spoločenstvá miest na Slovensku,“ in *Vývoj správy miest na Slovensku*, ed. by Richard Marsina (Martin: Osveta, 1984), 51 – 67.

⁵ Halaga, *Spoločenstvá miest*, 55.

⁶ Halaga, *Sabinov a okolie*, 59.

⁷ Štátny archív v Prešove (SA P), pobočka Bardejov (pB), Magistrát mesta Bardejov (MMB), no. 364.

⁸ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2202.

⁹ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2873.

Kežmarok joined to Confessio Pentapolitana as it had lost in the meantime its position of free royal town that it regained again only in 1655. Kežmarok's entering to the association affected the change of its name to Sexapolitana. When it happened, we do not know exactly, however in 1683 there are representatives of six cities, including Kežmarok, acting jointly in the public.¹⁰ It has to be mentioned, however, that in the meantime significantly changed the position of the royal free towns being permanently stripped off of their former privileges. In spite of that the Association was further enlarged. In the 18th century further cities joined. In 1755 the Pentapolitana association included besides the original five members also Kežmarok, Debrecen and Nová Baňa so it was built up of 8 cities.¹¹

What was their main task? Surely the protection of their rights in all fields, including the political and legal ones, but also economic, and in some sense they acted also as a judicial authority. The cities have defined their priorities many times by adopting the so called *conclusiones*. The first interesting document on the joint action of the four cities (Sabinov was not among them) is the declaration of 25 February 1440 sent to the tavernicus to Poland, in which the cities declared their loyalty to the Queen namely: They are not allowing anybody to their cities until the time when a new, officially elected monarch will come to power.¹²

The next agreement was concluded on 29th March 1571 when the 4 cities have restored their Stadt Concordia in the meeting in Košice. This agreement is well known¹³ and is quite detailed. The cities agreed 20 clauses. The first defines the renewal of the existing old agreements. 2nd: They shall not change their rights and customs if this might be harmful for some of the member cities; 3rd: If any commander enforces in a city some fees or rights, this shall not affect the others; 4th: The cities will protest against the staple right (Niederlag) of the towns Stropkov and Humenné; 5th: Their measures and weights will be adapted to the measures and weights in Košice; 6th: The cities will fight against raising the tricesima; 7th: The cities will protect themselves against merchants who are buying Turkish goods in some other places, and

¹⁰ State archive in Levoča (SA L), branchoffice Levoča (pL), Magistrát mesta Levoča (MML), XIII/103.

¹¹ SA/ SA - State Archive/ L, pL, MML, no. XIII/112.

¹² SA/ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 364. The text reads as follows: *Conclusio generalium quatuor civitatum. Das man den Tharnokmeyster und dy hern lasse dy in polen synth, umb daswyllen, das dy stete kegen der heyligen Coronen und yrer naturalichen frawen der königin und der ganczen lanthschafft acht yn ungenade möchten komen, und das sye in war ngebrunen und angeangatzten helbey möchten bestendig infanden werden, so haben sye sich des verelbareth, das sye yczund in dy stete nymand wellen ynlossen, Alzo lange bis das sye eynen natürlichen könig und herren werden haben, der do wan der ganczen landtschafft, mit verayolbertungen irer gnedigen frawen der königin irweleth und gekrönet wirt, das ire gnode, dy stete darynne nicht geruche vormerken und ire ungenode auff sye werden wenne ire gnade dasselber inkomen magen, das yn anderen nicht gebureth zenthnen Datum in die beati Mathie Apostoli.*

¹³ Cited by Ondrej R. Halaga, *Spoločenstvá miest*, 59 – 60.

then sell it here as peddlers. The concerned merchants have to take out or to buy the goods in the city; 8th: The cities have concluded an agreement about the tollage, namely that some cities do not need it and also will not save it; 9th: The business activities with wine are forbidden for all the cities; 10th: As for the craftsmen - they should be free in the markets and cities; 11th: The cities shall protect the craftsmen against the nobility in order the latter shall not require improper payments from them on their markets; 12th: In the villages no dabblers “*die Storer*” are allowed to work. 13th: The cities shall not cause each other any harm; 14th: The German language shall be maintained in the cities; 15th: The cities shall make an agreement in relation to the higher orders of the Chamber and so on, that might cause harm to cities; 16th: They shall protest against the steeple right (Niderlag) at Magóczy Kloster in Lechnica; 17th: Any conflicts between the debtors shall be settled by friendly settlement. 18th: The cities shall prevent the Moravians (Merherren) and Liptov merchants to measure their cloths by measures of cubitus in the cities. 19th: In case the cities get in conflicts, these shall be settled *concordialiter et bona vicinitate*. 20th: In matters of where and when to renew the mutual agreement, the cities will agree their procedures: a) when they come to an agreement on the meeting that the terms shall be observed, and no cities should wait for another one a whole day; b) the common matters shall be preferably negotiated on the meetings, and the private ones only at the end of the meetings if some time left for this c) Division of money among the cities.¹⁴

Another agreement - *Vorbundtnus* – was concluded at the meeting in Košice on 17th September 1588. The agreement involved 6 clauses. The first one concerned the fact that the cities overtake to observe the Augsburg Confession and religion at schools and churches and they will avoid any sects. 2. The cities undertake to get on well with each other and to help each other; 3. Had the Košice Captain any requirements doing any harm to the member cities, they should not agree to any of these terms; 4. As for maintaining 200 drabants – guardsmen, they agreed to keep this number while Košice will ensure about one third of them, the other cities are responsible for the rest of two thirds; 5. The cities made an agreement, except of Levoča, in monitoring the movements of the drabants on the roads in order not to violate the staple right at Košice; 6. By the exception of Levoča, the cities shall oversee their markets in relation to the Moravian and Polish merchants, namely that the latter should not sell there cloths under their measures /cubitus/elbows/, but only by pieces.¹⁵

The cities renewed their former agreement on 19th June 1635 in Košice. The amended agreement dealt with the division of the limited expenses, the position of butchers and meat prices, joint settlement of conflicts between the

¹⁴ SA L, p L., MML, XIII/80/1.

¹⁵ SA L, pL., MML, XIII/83/1.

guilds and craftsmen. The member cities settled the complaint of cloth-makers from Košice filed against the masters of other cities, they decided also on the city boundary disputes between Košice and Levoča. Most of the decisions dealt with the regulation of craftsmen's work.¹⁶

Gradually the mutual Pentapolitana-agreements got their specific forms pursuant to the current needs and problems of the cities. It can be traced on the decisions of joint meetings held in the second half of the 17th century. For example, on 24th January 1656 six clauses were adopted that gave also instructions for the ablegates of the cities sent to the Diet. The delegation consisted of envoys of Košice, Prešov and Levoča. They had to inform their municipalities about the outputs of their negotiations; for the envoy's expenses there were 500 talers stated and they had to inform their cities also on the outputs of the Synod held in Prešov.¹⁷

The cities met each other according to the needs, sometimes several times yearly. At the beginning the meetings were held mostly in Košice, subsequently from the second half of the 15th century also in Prešov, Sabinov or Levoča. Under the official documentation of the city Bardejov, the Pentapolitana city-meetings were held as follows in the 15th century: In Košice 11 times,¹⁸ in Prešov, having more central position, six times,¹⁹ twice in Sabinov²⁰ and only once in Levoča.²¹ The date and place of the meetings were proposed by the individual cities. For example, Košice proposed to hold a meeting in Prešov in 1472 and 1485.²² Not all the cities attended all the meetings. In the 90ties of the 15th century four cities got to conflict with Košice in the matter of their requirement of the storage rights. For that reason Košice was not present at their meetings. In April 1498 they talked especially about this conflict with the representatives of Košice.²³ It happened once when the representatives of Levoča were invited to Košice meeting on 22nd January 1682 that they proposed to move the meeting to Sabinov as the envoys faced some problems with accommodation possibilities in Košice.²⁴

Sebastian Albertinus who was delegated by Levoča on the city session held in Prešov on 28th March 1554 informed us about the course of these meetings. The session always started by the greetings and welcoming of the guests, afterwards the program was presented and adopted by the delegates. The Prešov session had to arrive to agreement in relation to the Košice

¹⁶ ŠA L, pL., MML, XIII/86/1.

¹⁷ ŠA L, pL., MML, XIII/95/1.

¹⁸ ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 433, 472, 525, 539, 948, 966, 1335, 1338, 2284, 2656, 3431.

¹⁹ ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 1182, 1854, 1862, 2389, 2779, 2801, 2821, 3222, 3284, 3371, 3379, 3421, 3453, 3499, 3511 a 3538.

²⁰ ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 3217 a 3256.

²¹ ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 3213.

²² ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 1854 a 2389.

²³ ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 3379.

²⁴ ŠA L, pL., MML, XIII/104.

Captain, István Kendy in the matter of mutual relations. The Levoča-ablegate presented the problems of the city with different military troops, he complained about the road reconstruction works on the roads to Košice, reported about the problems with guardsmen at the city gate. Kendy's application had not been either supported or dismissed. The representatives talked also about their mutual conflicts. In the matter of the Captain of Košice, they asked the Captain of the Šariš Castle, - Imrich Werner, to write to the Monarch on behalf of the concerned cities. István Kendy paid visit to Werner personally in the matters of the consignment of salt they had to overtake. Werner, however, reminded him about Lasky's complaint in relation to Levoča about the quality of the roads.²⁵ The delegated city-envoys had to inform their cities in written form on the outputs of their meetings.²⁶ As a result of this we have very detailed documentation about the work of the Pentapolitana.

What was the program of the joint meetings of Pentapolitana? They dealt with very different issues the cities faced during their administrative work: the program involved the joint procedures on the Diets, the defence against highwaymen or landlords, regulation of taxes, tolls and tricesima by intervention at state authorities; from time to time some cities acted also as judicial authorities. Let us have a look on some specific cases.

Almost all the 15th century history was interlaced by different rebellions and throne battles. Especially East Slovakia faced a lot of problems with Jiskra and his brethren's army. So the Captains - Imrich and Štefan Zápoľský or Štefan from Rozhanovce, frequently asked the cities *partium superiorum* about help or loyalty. This situation was reflected in the content of the individual meetings. The mentioned document on the Declaration of Loyalty to the widowed Queen of 25 February 1440 – proved that the cities reacted to her request in Levoča, Prešov and Bardejov. The issue involved the throne battles with the Polish King, Vladislav.²⁷ In July 1451 Košice convened all the cities because Jiskra arrived again in their city.²⁸ In September they consulted the Monarch's letter sent to Levoča.²⁹ The next issue involved the joint settlement of the issue of Levoča citizen, Kyswetter, in 1457 who was convicted by a court in Košice.³⁰ On June 5th, 1457 there was a meeting with Talafus and Matej Knězič in Košice in the matter of defence of Hungary. Prešov informed Bardejov that the enemy occupied and fortified the hill Radic

²⁵ ŠA L, pL., MML, XIII/82/1.

²⁶ It is proved by 55 reports of the Levoča envoys written between 1605 – 1680. ŠA L, pL., MML, XIII/102/1-55.

²⁷ Jozef Špirko, *Husiti, jiskrovci a bratřici v dejinách Spiša (1431 – 1462)* (Levoča: Spišský dejepisný spolok, 1937), 36 – 37.

²⁸ ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 646.

²⁹ ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 651.

³⁰ ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 948 a 987.

near Sabinov on 26th April 1456, and they asked for help.³¹ In December the same year there was a discussion on some criminal, named Spitko, who had to be imprisoned. Košice informed Bardejov that they had a visit some days ago, - a certain Czech whose name was Spitko, but he accepted Christianity. There were talks between them on highwaymen near Sabinov.³² The close relations of Pentapolitana with Jiskra had been proved by his application of January 1458 on consultations about: - what would be the topic of his negotiations with the new King Mathias and the governor in Strážnica.³³ The cities agreed to provide help to Štefán Zápoľský in 1463.³⁴ It happened that some of the cities could not take part at the meeting because of uncertain political situation. That was the situation, for example in 1472 in Bardejov. The city representatives could not arrive in Košice because of the threats from the side of the enemies.³⁵ In 1483 the envoy of the Monarch wanted to come to Košice so all the city-representatives had been invited to meet him.³⁶ There were debates about the invasion of the Polish into Hungary on the meeting held in Prešov in July 1490.³⁷ Shortly after the member cities asked Košice to help them against the attacks of Peter Kmith and Ján Polyak taking place on 10 September 1490.³⁸ The cities helped each other also later, for example, during the uprisings of the estates. In 1604 Košice suffered from the battles between the Habsburg commander Belgiojoso and Štefán Bocskai, so the other four cities appealed to the Monarch asking for help and protection against damage caused by these battles.³⁹

All the cities of Pentapolitana, being free royal cities, were empowered to take part in the debates of the Hungarian Diet. In some matters they asked also the Monarch to help them. While the trips to the Diet or to Court were very costly, the cities tried to help each other in different ways. In June 1484 Prešov wanted to send its envoys to Royal Court about which it informed the other cities.⁴⁰ In a year Košice, Bardejov and Prešov sent their representatives to the Monarch.⁴¹ In 1487 Prešov informed Bardejov on the fact that their ablegates were going to Buda on 25th or 26th April.⁴² In 1496 Levoča invited the representatives of Bardejov to Spišské Podhradie where they were planning to discuss their joint trip to Buda.⁴³ Levoča's proposal to the other

³¹ ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 873.

³² ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 919.

³³ ŠA P, pB, MMB, no. 992.

³⁴ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 1473 and 1491.

³⁵ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 1862.

³⁶ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2284.

³⁷ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2801.

³⁸ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2828.

³⁹ SA L, pL., MML, XIII/85/1.

⁴⁰ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2338.

⁴¹ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2411.

⁴² SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2650.

⁴³ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 3251.

cities made in 1498 was also evidence on the joint travel arrangement. It concerned the meeting of the cities in Szikszó on their trip to Rákos and to continue jointly to their destination.⁴⁴ In June 1500 Košice convened the representatives of Bardejov and Prešov to Prešov in order to agree the joint action on the Diet in Rákos.⁴⁵

The cities used up their ablegates' trips to Diet for visiting some high dignitaries, and asking for help in protection of their freedoms. When they had been travelling to Diet in August 1647, they stopped first in Bojnice and asked Count Pavol Pálffy for intervention. Then they stopped again in the village Nedašovice at the chancellor's office, visited the Archbishop in Trnava, the head of the Chamber and Municipality; in Bratislava they dropped in the Municipality. They acted similarly during their further trips.⁴⁶

The cities often sent their ablegates to individual state dignitaries in special cases, or they asked for help. They drew up a joint petition to the tavernicus/chamberlain - Andrej Báthory at the meeting in Prešov held on 12th February 1532, asking him to take part on their joint meeting in Košice. They asked him also to support their application requesting help in the current dangerous situation.⁴⁷ In July 1642 the cities sent their ablegates to František Wesselényi whereby they got instructions adopted in the Pentapolitana session in Bardejov. There were requests for submitting to the Diet during the preparation of some new laws limiting city privileges and rights. The requests dealt with laws burdening the cities by new taxes, levying taxes and tricesima and asked for issuing a protecting deed enabling the cities to present their complaints on the upcoming Diet. Wesselényi heard their requests and appealed to the Monarch directly on 14th July. The request was upheld also by the Spiš County Prefect/Comes Štefan Csáky.⁴⁸ On 21st January 1642 the cities filed their application to the Palatinus asking him to support the observation of their privileges. They reacted so to the application of the city Banská Bystrica asking them for help in the matter according to which the Vice-Comes of the Zvolen County, Ferdinand Fischer sentenced some citizens of Banská Bystrica before the County Court despite of the fact that they were subject to the Municipality jurisdiction.⁴⁹ Similar interventions went on often and successfully as proved by 12 reports made out by the Levoča envoys coming from 1549 – 1650. The application settled the appeal of the Catholics from Košice, Prešov and Levoča regarding the returning of one of the churches at least to the concerned Catholic congregations, but the request was

⁴⁴ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 3376.

⁴⁵ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 3511.

⁴⁶ SA L, pL., MML, XIII/88.

⁴⁷ SA L, pL., MML XIII/81.

⁴⁸ SA L, P. L., AML, XIII/89 – 91.

⁴⁹ SA L, P. L., AML, XIII/87.

strictly refused, and the Diet confirmed the related decision.⁵⁰

The cities kept informed each other on their envoys' knowledge acquired in Buda, or elsewhere. The reports are interesting, sometimes funny, containing court gossips. For example, the Košice Notary Filip Rudiger wrote 16 January 1457 to Bardejov and Prešov colleagues: "Pursuant to the report of the envoys returning from the court, the King is healthy and content, growing in soul and body, and when they meet the King surely will like him. He is inclined to everything that is good." Further they informed about the Monarch's plan to visit the „Windisches Land“.⁵¹ It is interesting to read the letter sent from Košice to Bardejov on 19th March 1457, informing about the report of the envoys from the Royal Court. The envoys wanted to visit the King on 14th March, however the gate was closed and the drawbridge lifted. They have learned that Jiskra got near to the Monarch. Jiskra imprisoned both of the sons of the governor Hunyady - Ladislav and Mathias, and some other Hungarian noble lords, including the Bishop from Varad, Sebastian Rozgoň and a German knight as a result of events happening in Kricheschweisenburg.⁵² Košice informed Bardejov on 30th October 1468 that the King is healthy and he succeeded to conquer one of the monasteries near Olomouc. Beside this the Hungarian and Polish noblemen have to meet each other in Bardejov. The Hungarian delegation involves the Archbishops from Esztergom and Eger, László Palóczy, Januš Rozgoň and the Great Count.⁵³ Also Levoča informed Bardejov on 17th February 1469 on the affairs of the Monarch, e.g. what territories he conquered and so on. The Archbishop from Esztergom, the Chamberlain and the Great Count will be present at the court session in Buda.⁵⁴ Košice informed Bardejov on 14th March 1478 that it had sent a copy of the letter of Monarch, and also that the joint matter of the tollage in Várád will cost 160 zloty. Košice has already paid 100 zlotys and the rest is the responsibility of Bardejov and Prešov.⁵⁵ In June 1492, when the Polish King died, Košice asked Bardejov to send to Poland a spy to ascertain who will be the next king.⁵⁶ In October 1496 Levoča informed the other cities on the situation in Buda and the Royal Court from where their notary Bernhard came back. There is a mention about some floods.⁵⁷

The cities sent each other also royal documents. In August 1498 Sabinov sent to Bardejov a copy of the Sigismund's Privileges, asking them to forward it also to Prešov.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ SA L, P. L., AML, XIII/93/12.

⁵¹ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 930.

⁵² SA P, pB, MMB, no. 945.

⁵³ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 1756.

⁵⁴ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 1767.

⁵⁵ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2027 a 2028.

⁵⁶ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 3044.

⁵⁷ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 3286.

⁵⁸ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 3392.

Naturally the cities helped each other also in the field of economy. It was especially in protection of their rights, exemption from different payments etc., or the matters of their⁵⁹ guilds. In December 1457 Košice reminded the other cities that because of grouping of some people, Košice would not advise the cities to transport their goods towards Debrecen and Tokaj. They have often fought against tricesima, imposed on them by higher authorities. In 1467 Košice informed the other cities on royal decrees regarding the tricesima.⁶⁰ Of course, Košice had also the tricesima. And it happened that Levoča, Bardejov, Prešov and Sabinov jointly stood up in 1490 against the collector of the tricesima, Ján Tárcazay from Košice.⁶¹ Many meetings settled the issues of guilds, especially the butchers who strived to limit the prices of meat. This was the case in 1601 and 1635.⁶² In 1635 the conflict of craftsmen with the so called “dabblers” was also settled. In 1686 the cities tackled the issues of vineyards and the requirements of the Zemplín County against them regarding this matter.⁶³

Despite the fact that the Pentapolitana was a civil association of cities, they often tackled religious issues as these closely related to the public administration that time. It has not been explained what was the *Confessio pentapolitanis* of 1549 that was adopted also by Kežmarok and further 13 Spiš cities pawned to the Polish King. This situation is still to be traced in the administrative organisation of the Lutheran Church in Slovakia. In the Agreement concluded in 1588 one of the clauses concerned the issue that the cities had to follow the Lutheran Church rules of Augsburg confession.

As we have shown above, the cities took over the functions of courts in some cases, especially if the case dealt with conflicts arising between the member cities. In Levoča the citizens were not satisfied with the judgment of the city of Košice rendered against Levoča citizens Konrad and Jan Kyswetter. For that reason they asked Bardejov and Prešov requiring consultations in the case.⁶⁴ In 1481 Košice, Prešov and Bardejov rendered a judgement in a dispute with Sabinov and his citizens.⁶⁵ The Monarch also respected their jurisdiction. It is proved by the fact that in March 1493 King Vladislav II entrusted Košice and Levoča to act as the appeal instance against the judgement rendered by Bardejov in the dispute arisen between the brewers and some other guilds. If the parties did not accept the judgement they should ask the City Council of Buda.⁶⁶ In 1673 a dispute arose between Sabinov and its magistrate, Ján Stokkel, who was accused of embezzlement of money from

⁵⁹ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 985.

⁶⁰ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 1681.

⁶¹ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2873.

⁶² SA L, P. L., AML, XIII/84 a 86.

⁶³ SA L, P. L., AML, XIII/101.

⁶⁴ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 928.

⁶⁵ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2202.

⁶⁶ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 3094.

Bardejov and some other serious crimes. Subsequently he was removed from his office, and his case was decided by the Court of the five cities on 14 June 1673.⁶⁷

Naturally the cities had also some mutual conflicts and disputes. An issue of conflict between Košice and Levoča was especially the staple right that played very important role in the development of the concerned region. In the Spiš region Podolinec was the city disposing by this right already in 1299. In Poland the city of Krakov was delegated this right in 1309 and Levoča was awarded the staple right by Luis the Great in 1321. Košice, however got its staple right only in 1347 although this right was of greater competency than its competitor cities' rights: The staple right granted to Košice did not allow the merchants to transport their goods from North further beyond the borders of Košice. In spite of the fact that by the end of 15th century the Košice staple right was dominant, Levoča did not fall behind also as part of the Polish merchants had to pass first by Levoča.⁶⁸ Košice had become the economic centre of East Slovakia under the rule of Sigismund from Luxembourg. The importance of Košice rose gradually especially due to the new situation according to which in the fights against the Turkish Empire the city became the seat of the military commanders, and also the seat of Spiš Chamber (originally Levoča was supposed to be the seat of the Chamber). Košice faced a lot of unpleasant conflicts with the other member cities. These culminated in the last decade of the 15th century. In 1491 the citizens of Levoča complained about Košice that the latter has stopped their merchants on their trip to the market in Varadín.⁶⁹ The disputes culminated in 1495 when Levoča filed several complaints against Košice representatives in the sense that they force the merchants transporting goods about 3 miles distance from the city to go through their stores under the threat of confiscating the transported goods. Actually, in November the Košice officials confiscated the Levoča merchants their goods when they were coming back from Szikszó town market.⁷⁰ The dispute of staple rights between the four member cities of Pentapolitana and Košice went on in 1498 and when the Monarch rendered a judgement in the case regarding the transport of wine, the other four members protested against this before the Varad Chapter. The case was discussed in April 1498 in Prešov.⁷¹ It seems us the dispute had been settled finally while all the Pentapolitana member cities had a joint meeting in Košice in May 1499.⁷²

The second well-known dispute within the Pentapolitana occurred in the field of production and processing of textile. From 1446 there was a long term

⁶⁷ SA L, P. L., AML, XIII/99 a XIII/100.

⁶⁸ Sándor Domanocszky, *A székesi városok árúmegállító-joga* (Budapest, 1922), 28.

⁶⁹ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 2919.

⁷⁰ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 3188 and 3217.

⁷¹ SA P, pB, MMB, no. 3379, 3403 and 3408.

⁷² SA P, pB, MMB, no. 3431.

dispute between Prešov on one side and Bardejov and Košice on the other one regarding cloths bleaching. In this regard there was an agreement concluded between Košice and Bardejov. When Prešov also started bleaching cloths, this fact resulted in many conflicts that could not be settled by the great number of legal documents issued in favour of Košice and Bardejov. The situation got even worse when also Levoča started to produce textile products en gross.⁷³

In spite of all these facts, Pentapolitana has remained an extraordinarily important chapter of our history that surely deserves more of our attention.

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⁷³ Ondrej R. Halaga , *Košice – Balt. Výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom (1275 – 1526)* (Košice, 1975), 260; *Dejiny Bardejova*, 73; Mária Jeršová, „Z dejín plátenníctva na východnom Slovensku v 15. storočí,“ in *Príspevky k dejinám východného Slovenska* (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1964), 145 and 154 – 155.

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Legal, social and economic relations between Košice and cities in the territory of Eastern Slovakia in the Middle Ages

Mária Fedorčáková

Abstract

The paper deals with chosen legal, social and economic relations between the town Košice and the towns Prešov and Bardejov in the Middle Ages. The aim of the paper is to present Košice as the natural centre of Eastern Slovakia region, which influence manifested in the area of the town law (the town order of Košice and Bardejov), in the area of social contacts (town elite, town representatives, migration of townspeople) and in the economical area (trade contacts).

Key words: Košice. Middle Ages. Town order. Social contacts. Trade contacts.

Origin and formation of medieval cities was not an isolated phenomenon. Individual sites of urban character in spite of individual development have characterized by interactions in different fields of municipal life. If we assume that any city has reached in its region important position, most likely its influence manifested in mutual legal, economic and social relations with other cities in the space of the region and beyond. Košice belonged in the Middle Ages among the important cities of Hungary with economic and social impact overlapping the territory of today's Slovakia. Preserved sources, particularly municipal correspondence suggests about mutual interaction of Košice with the cities in its immediate neighbourhood, in the region of Spiš (Zips) and Šariš. Intensive cooperation between Košice and cities of Levoča, Bardejov, Prešov and Sabinov has crystallized during the 15th century. It has touched mainly common political, diplomatic and defence objectives. These cities acted in co-ordinate action in relation to the King and royal dignitaries, in time of war and political instability or in time of threats to their privileges and security. Between the representatives of these cities was conducted intensive written and personal contact and Košice were frequent place of joint discussions.¹

In examining the relations between cities, we found a number of legal, social and economic contexts, which in this paper cannot be completely truthful. Therefore, we focused to concrete examples of relation between Košice and Bardejov in area of municipal law and management of municipal administration. It was just in the 15th century, for both cities was characteristic mutual cooperation with cities Levoča, Prešov and Sabinov; both cities have belonged to legal circuit, which has used special law – *Particuli Juris Tavernikalis*.

The development of municipal community in Bardejov passed off later

¹Ondrej R. Halaga, "Spoločenstvá miest na Slovensku," in *Vývoj správy miest na Slovensku*, ed. by Richard Marsina (Martin: Osveta, 1984), 56.

and it was under the influence of factors other than in Košice. Guests settled in Bardejov have got basic municipal privilege along with the original inhabitants awarded through King Robert I in 1320.² Important privileges on the District Justice of the population in Bardejov were granted to hereditary mayor named Vavrínek (Lawrence).³ During the 14th century city of Bardejov was dynamically developed along the economic terms, driven mainly privileges relating to the proceedings of the Fair of the city awarded through the King Louis the Great.⁴ Favourable economic conditions have had an impact on formation of municipal community in Bardejov, which full-fledged rights were limited through Office of hereditary Mayor. For this reason, citizens of Bardejov extorted removal privileges of hereditary Mayor from King Louis the Great and have established free choice of Mayor; it was attested by written document from 1376.⁵ Previously granted privileges to Bardejov (with one exception)⁶ in the text were not mentioned as takeover of privileges of other cities.⁷ Such a formulation we can find only in a document from 1376, which states that ruler joined Bardejov to the community of the royal cities of Buda and Košice⁸ and further, that the citizens of Bardejov can look forward to the other freedoms and privileges that are taking by the townspeople of Kosice and Buda, namely the privilege Comorian profit (*lucrum camerae* tax) and free choice of Mayor.⁹ From presented text it

²State Archives in Prešov, branch office of Bardejov, fund of Municipal Authorities of Bardejov, sign. 17. (next ŠA PO, pB, MMB). *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku (1238 – 1350)*. I., ed. by Ľubomír Juck (Bratislava: Veda, 1984), 94-95; Eugeniusz Janota, *Bardejów. Historyczno-topograficzny opis miasta i okolicy* (Kraków, 1862), 136.

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³Legal responsibilities of Vavrínek has related to serious offenses as are theft, murder, arson, which in practice meant the right to enter final judgment - death sentence. Fedorčáková, *Bardejov za vlády Anjouovcov*, 211.

⁴In 1352 Bardejov won the right for the Fair through King Louis the Great, in 1365 the same monarch extended the term of the execution of the Fair and for its participants has granted freedoms and privileges by the pattern of Buda city. Finally, in a deed in 1377 privileges for buyers were extended waiving to turnpike tolls and thirtieth tax. ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 174, sign. 20, sign. 27; Marta Muzeláková, *Privilegiálne listiny mesta Bardejov v rokoch 1320 – 1453*. (Thesis) (Prešov: FF PU, 1998), 22 – 23; Fedorčáková, *Bardejov za vlády Anjouovcov*, 212 – 213.

⁵ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign.27. Janota, *Bardejów...*, 144.

⁶Charter conferring a rights to participants of Bardejov Fair since 1365. „...perpetuo celebrandas sub modis, libertatibus, gratiis, indultis et consuetudinibus (...) omnibus quibus nundinae sive congregaciones fori annualis specialiter in Civitate nostra Budensi...“. ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 20.

⁷To the theme of acceptance of Buda privileges by Košice see: Drahoslav Magdoško, „Prevzatie budínskych výsad Košicami v roku 1347,“ in *Bitka pri Rozhanovciach v kontexte slovenských a uhorských dejín*, ed. by F. Uličný and D. Magdoško, 169 – 189.

⁸ „...in numerum, collegium et catervam civitatum nostrarum regalium Cassensis et Budensis de benignitate regia duximus aggregandam...“. Janota, *Bardejów...*, 144.

⁹ „...ut a modo in antea fideles cives et hospites nostri de dicta Bartfa tam in lucro camerae et electione iudicis eorum, quam etiam aliis quibuscunque immunitatibus, libertatibus, gratiis,

follows the question, why citizens of Bardejov in text documents had let to incorporate a reference to the privileges cities of Buda and Košice and how to interpret this fact in the context of overall development of privileges and municipal communities in Bardejov. Existing research indicates that during 14th century burghers of Bardejov had succeeded in obtaining important privileges legal and economic nature, which no doubt prompted the formation of self-governing bodies (sworn chambers)¹⁰, however the city administration and the judiciary has still managed by hereditary Mayor, whose privileges in the field of municipal justice were repeatedly confirmed by monarch.¹¹ Removing of hereditary mayoralty therefore worth burghers of Bardejov considerable effort and it has required the intervention of the King, which was done apparently in 70s of the 14th century.¹² Therefore, this fact together with obtaining complete judicial and administrative autonomy found expression in text documents make it clear that burghers of Bardejov have this same form of elected local government as burghers of Košice and Buda. Except express citation of privileges of Chamber profit, was not necessary to specify the other privileges and freedoms of burghers in mentioned cities, because most of them have used them as normal privileges of Bardejov. Appealing to the privilege of Košice and Buda had in Bardejov Deed of municipal privileges also representative dimension, which has reflected the inclusion of Bardejov city into an elite society of major royal cities.

Autonomous municipal jurisdiction belonged among the most important privileges of burghers.¹³ Exclusive jurisdiction of the magistrate above its burghers was the privilege and also statutory duty. In practice, the privileges of burghers and freedoms of municipal courts had been often violated and it was leading the cities for submitting complaints or recourse to a higher instance, mostly to monarch.¹⁴ At the end of 14th century the efforts for transform of the Court of Tavern (*Particuli Juris Tavernikalis*) as a higher instance for cities on the base of Sigismund decrees since 1405 became evident, the cities have the right to withdraw the dispute in appeal either to the Court of Tavern (*Particuli Juris Tavernikalis*) or to the parent city.¹⁵ An

concessionibus et praerogativis perpetuis temporibus utantur, gratulentur et potiantur, quibus cives nostri fideles Cassienses et Budenses gaudent potissime et fruuntur..." Ibidem.

¹⁰ Sworn (iurati) are presented in literature sources since 14th century. Ferdinand Uličný, „K vývinu správy šarišských a zemplínskych miest a mestečiek v 14. – 16. storočí,“ in *Vývoj správy miest na Slovensku*, ed. by Richard Marsina (Martin: Osveta, 1984), 125-126.

¹¹In the year 1365 the King Louis the Great conferred a rights to "šoltys" (scultetus) in Bardejov, to sworn (iurati) and for burghers a right of the sword (ius gladii), which essentially confirming a previous authority of šoltys in judicial matters and is extending their territorial scope. ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 19. Fedorčáková, *Bardejov za vlády Anjouovcov*, 213.

¹²To the circumstances of repurchase of hereditary mayoralty see: Ibidem, 214 – 216.

¹³ Ferdinand Uličný, „Výsadnosť mešťanov od 13. storočia...“, in *Historický časopis* 49, no. 3(2001): 423 – 424.

¹⁴ Štefánia Mertanová, *Ius tavernicale* (Bratislava: Veda, 1985), 18.

¹⁵ Ibidem, 21.

interesting case describing the practical aspects and applications of municipal tavernik law (*Particuli Juris Tavernikalis*); it was the case of Bardejov burgher Jan Czaus, through which we would like on the base of the preserved records since 1427 it bring near.¹⁶ At the beginning of the case, was the violation of municipal laws and regulations on confidentiality of matters discussed at the City Council on the part of senator Jan Czaus.¹⁷ Jan Czaus asked the City Council for a pardon, and he voluntarily agreed to pay a fine of 500 denarii, however from which he paid only 300 denarii.¹⁸ By payment of the fine the case shall not end, just the opposite - Jan Czaus summoned in his case Bardejov Mayor and City Council to the Court of Tavern (*Particuli Juris Tavernikalis*).¹⁹ Court of Tavern forwarded the case to the City Council Košice.²⁰ Jan Czaus, according to testimony of the document, before the Court of Tavern and Košice judicial forum was trying to defame the members of the Municipal Court, claiming that they have demanded money from him by force, deliberately did not want to set the date of the proceedings, even hired two burghers who had come to Košice and they testified against members of Bardejov Municipal Court.²¹ Jan Czaus himself has appeared before the Košice City Council and he challenged the reliability of Mayor of Bardejov - Nicholas Glawchener.²² As stated in the documents, his testimonies were always different, depending on it before which judicial forum he has predicated his testimony.²³ He has been guilty in face of urban jurisdiction and regulations, because he was appealing to Court of Taverna instead it he has sought at first appeal his rights before the Municipal Court.²⁴ All these offenses led to the punishment, which was forgiven due to number of persons who pardoned him, on condition that he never has objected to the judgment, otherwise he will be subjected to capital punishment.²⁵ The presented case highlights the importance and significance of the provisions of municipal law and the authority of the Municipal Court. Violation of an oath, which has consisted through City Councillor at the Inauguration, has not only trespassed

¹⁶ ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 180. The charter was issued in 1427 by Bardejov Mayor Nicholas Glawchener and City Council members.

¹⁷ "*Quod Johannes Czaus concivis noster graviter deliquit contra consilium nostrum (...) Primo manifestavit secreta consilii...*" ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 180.

¹⁸ "...protunc dedit se voluntarie ad solutionem lc denariorum pro emenda, de quibus soluit xxx c denarios..."

ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 180.

¹⁹ "*Posthac citavit omne consilium scilicet Judicem et Juratos Bartpfenses ante magistrum thawarnicorum regalium...*" ŠA PO, b B, MMB, sign. 180.

²⁰ "... qui ultra citavit nos coram Cassensi consilio..." ŠA PO, pB, MMB, sign. 180.

²¹ ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 180.

²² ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 180.

²³ ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 180.

²⁴ "*Item fecit contra leges et statuta civitatis quod prius nos citavit ad magistrum Thawarnicorum et non conquisivit ius suum in civitate.*" ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 180.

²⁵ ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 180.

against municipal laws, but against the whole community of burghers, as is expressly stated in the documents.²⁶ The appeal before the Court of Tavern (Particuli Juris Tavernikalis), perhaps in an attempt to reverse the process in favour of Jan Czaus not brought the desired result, however from text documents is resulting that both, the Court of Tavern and the Magistrates Court in Košice listened to all litigants in a regular manner. The document does not inform us as to which judicial forum had been yield a final judgment, which strengthened the authority of the District Municipal Court. In terms of law and examination of law relations, it raises the question whether the Magistrates Court in Košice served as second level judicial instance only in this particular case (on the basis of the decision and the participation of Court of Tavern)²⁷, or it was its involvement in appellate practice of Bardejov city normal custom and usage.²⁸

The impact of Košice city on legal and administrative life of Bardejov perhaps most significantly came to light by takeover of provisions of legal instrument *Articuli pro consulibus...*, whose author was John Hebenstreyt, councilor and mayor of Košice city.²⁹ Councillor Order consists of 47 articles that relate to particular activities Mayor and City Council, their mutual relations, law of succession and Municipal Court Practice.³⁰ Importance of Councillor Order consisted mainly in the codification of the rules of management of municipal administration. Councillor Order should be assisted to the City Council to manage municipal administration so as to serve for the honour and benefit the whole community of burghers.³¹ Takeover of provisions of Košice Councillor Order by other cities, among them also Bardejov, meant on the one hand that the regulations constituted a sort of legal model for control of municipal administration, on the other hand, did not exclude variability and application of local legal practice. The provisions of Bardejov Councillor Order are substantially identical to those of Košice Order, but not their literal transcription. While inspecting the contents of the individual articles we can found in many places emphasis on good relations

²⁶ „*Quod Johannes Czaus (...) graviter deliquit (...) contra totam Civitatem communitatis...*“ . ŠA PO, bB, MMB, sign. 180.

²⁷ Š. Mertanová points to the instability of judicial practice of Court of Tavern (Particuli Juris Tavernikalis), to which were invited usually representatives of several cities, but in this particular case was decided only by the Košice City Council. Mertanová, *Ius tavernicale...*, 25.

²⁸ Only systematic research of papers of municipal justice of both cities can bring the answer to this question.

²⁹ Legal document “*Articuli pro consulibus multum utiles, qui memoriae commendandi dignissimi existunt*” is stored in ŠA PO, bB, MMB, Books, sign. 1 and probably erroneously dated to year 1404. The collection consists of medieval and modern version of writing-off. M. Tischlerová has dated the medieval version of the document to the year 1429 and the modern version to the year 1594. Maria Tischler, “Hebenstreyt, Hans,” in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters Verfasserlexikon* 11/ no. 2 (2001): 596.

³⁰ Tischler, *Hebenstreyt, Hans*, 596 – 597.

³¹ Tischler, *Hebenstreyt, Hans*, 595.

between members of the City Council. For example, in the second article of Bardejov Councillor Order it says that the Mayor has a duty to express love for those who swear with him the oath (sworn as a member of Council).³² Assembly (session) of the City Council, at which were discussed secular or ecclesiastical matters, should serve to honour of God and the Virgin Mary and previously it was held meeting in the parish church.³³ Provisions of Councillor Order have concerned also those cases, when before the municipal court stood Mayor or City Council member in a dispute with one of burghers of the city.³⁴ Intergenerational relations in the City Council have govern through 13th article, which states that if someone joined the City Council as a new member, the duty of other City Councillors have been thoroughly check whether the exercise of his powers is acting in accordance with the municipal laws.³⁵ Even in the article No 44 of the Councillor Order is mentioned that older and wiser councillors have to pass their experiences to younger and less experienced members.³⁶ Some articles of the Councillor Order to deal with the procedural aspects of municipal justice.³⁷ Diplomatic activities and responsibilities of municipal notary were next area that has been regulated through Councillor Order. Way of writing to the municipal books, rules for opening and reading letters from secular or ecclesiastical authorities, but also provisions on confidentiality and preserving secrets under consideration by the City Council have formed the contents of individual articles.³⁸

Acceptance of the rules of city management and administration of justice, reliance on municipal privileges of Košice, judicial action of the Košice City Council in appellate practice in Bardejov City Court, as well as their correspondence between Bardejov and Košice, relating to policy, diplomacy and relations between these cities, indicate the Košice in the Middle Ages had a significant impact on towns in its vicinity. Preserved medieval material offers additional possibilities of examination of this issue in the economic, social and political area.

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³² „Item der Richter ist pflichtig vnd soll Sünderlich libhaben dy mit ym geschworen haben...“ . ŠA PO, p B, MMB, Books, sign. 1.

³³ „Item wenn die Reth samlung haben zu handeln allerley nottürfft geystlich eder weltlich ynn der Eer gotes vnd der Jüngk frauen Marie. So sollen sy anheben von erst yrer seel seligkeytt zu yren Pfarrkyrchen...“ . ŠA PO, p B, MMB, Books, sign. 1.

³⁴ ŠA PO, p B, MMB, Books, sign. 1, art. 12.

³⁵ ŠA PO, p B, MMB, Books, sign. 1, art. 13.

³⁶ ŠA PO, p B, MMB, Books, sign. 1, art. 44.

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John Henckel, the parson of Košice – a personality of European Renaissance and Humanism

Miloslava Bodnárová

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct the life and work of Ján Henckel, the priest of Levoča (in the period of 1513 – 1521) and Košice (in period of 1522 – 1525). He served as the confessor of the Queen Mary and lectured in the University. His general characteristic is supplemented by his ideas and opinions, as well as with his relation to the reformation and humanism and the list of his most significant publications.

Key Words: Ján Henckel. Košice. Reformation. Humanism.

With regards to the Central European situation, renaissance and humanism established themselves in the Kingdom of Hungary quite early. However, it was not the cause of the economic and social development of the country. It was the consequence of the purposeful initiatives of Matthias Corvinus and several noble scholars.¹ At the very beginnings, the nobility was the bearer of the ideas of renaissance and humanism, though in the first half of the 16th century, the followers of renaissance appeared among the burghers. Humanism and renaissance created an ideological, cultural, artistic and social movement that aimed to the revival of man and to the development of a human personality within the spirit of the classical Greek and Latin ideals. Central European humanism should not be understood only as a resurrection of the classical Greek and Latin culture, but it should be taken as a movement featuring rationalism, interest in secular matters and their rational categorization. Before the battle of Mohács, humanist thinking was strongly influenced by Desiderius Erasmus (1467-1536), who was one of the first critical researchers of the New Testament. His essential demand was to rationally review all religious authorities and dogmas. He was the highest authority and advisor for humanists in reviewing classical works of art, in religious questions, but also in moral and political demands related to rulers. European humanist thinking had an impact on the University of Vienna and Cracow that were attended by Slovak students, who took the ideas home with them.² Desiderius Erasmus and his teachings were especially influential at the University of Cracow. However, his influence was appreciable also in Hungary. The Thurzos and significant personalities of the Church (Mikuláš

¹ J. Mišianik, "Vývin humanizmu na Slovensku," in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku v 15. – 16. storočí* (Bratislava: SAV, 1967), 197-233.

² P. Horváth, "Študenti zo Slovenska na krakovskej univerzite v 15. a v prvej polovici 16. storočia," in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku* (Bratislava: SAV, 1967), 162-172; M. Kučera, "Študenti zo Slovenska na viedenskej univerzite do r. 1530," in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku v 15. – 16. storočí* (Bratislava: SAV, 1967), 173- 188.

Oláh, Anton Verančič, Peter Bornemissza) were reading his works and struggled for his favour. In the sense of spreading of Cracowian humanism and Desiderius' cult, an important role was laid upon Slovakian cities, which became bearers and representatives of the humanist teaching. Unlike Italy, it was not based on the ideology of rich burgesses. It was formed as an intellectual movement restricted to a narrow circle of burgess intelligence and to private circles of scholars.

Cities were founding municipal schools, grammar schools, seminaries and academies. Many significant native and foreign teachers worked there, e.g. the English humanist and poet Leonard Cox at the municipal schools of Levoča and Košice. Grammar and rhetoric were being taught, classical Greek and Latin authors were being read and later lectures from natural sciences were held. The character of humanism was also influenced by the Reformation, which also inspired the foundation of schools, printing-works and libraries and accelerated the development of the national culture and literature. Since the Reformation, the students had also been attending the University of Wittenberg.

John Henckel was a remarkable figure of humanism and renaissance in Slovakia. He was born in 1481 into the old burgess family of George Henckel and Agnes Leudischer, residing in the city of Levoča. In 1495, Henckel studied at the University of Vienna, later in 1498 at the University of Cracow, where he achieved a master's degree in liberal arts in 1503. According to E. Kovács, in 1508 Henckel, as a student in Vienna, was a member of the society *Natio Hungarica* and in 1510 he was recorded in the registry of the Faculty of Law.³ He finished his studies in Padova, Italy, receiving the degree of the Doctor of Theology. In 1512, he became a canonist in Oradea, Romania and a provost of Eger, Hungary. In 1513 he was elected a parson of Levoča and after a trial sermon he was initiated into Office on 3 January 1514.⁴

Unlike the humanist movement of the period of King Matthias, in the beginning of 16th century the humanist understanding of life was already largely shaped. The humanist lifestyle succeeded in cities, being implanted through municipal schools, which were searching for adequately educated rectors. The municipal school in Levoča was famous for its teachers, such as the Englishman Leonard Coxe, *poeta coronatus*, who also worked at the University of Cracow, studied at Sorbonne, and was a friend of Melanchthon and a follower of Desiderius Erasmus. For the purpose of increasing the standard of the school and after an approval of the Council of Levoča, Henckel offered Coxe the municipal school rector's office in 1520. Coxe was

³ E. Kovács, "Vzťahy krakovskej univerzity k Slovensku za renesancie," in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku v 15. – 16. storočí* (Bratislava: SAV, 1967), 153.

⁴ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek a Magyarországi hitújítás korából* I., ed. by V. Bunyitay, R. Rapaics and I. Karácsonyi (Budapest, 1904), no. 505.

initiated on March 16, 1520.⁵ As a man being informed on the matters in Europe, John Henckel was trying to transfer the spirit of humanism to the conservative Levoča, what often caused him problems. Supposedly initiated by some burghers of Levoča, the Zipser provost John Horváth and the canonist Laurent Wasserbauch made a visitation of Henckel on January 1, 1518 and investigated the dissension between the parson and believers. However the city council protected Henckel and witnessed on his favour.⁶ J. Henckel as Levoča's parson was focused on the works of the theologian John Gerson.⁷ A proof of Henckel's admiration of Gerson is a sculpture of Gerson that is placed onto the altar in the church of St. James, side by side with the Evangelists. Henckel ordered the altar at Master Paul of Levoča and gifted it to the church.⁸ At this time, J. Henckel was also the Archdeacon of Turňa, till 1521.

In 1522, the city council of Košice chose John Henckel for his good reputation and made him the successor of the deceased parson John Röbl. In Košice, he was initiated personally by the mayor John Verber and Michal Engelbrecht, the chairman of the city council.⁹ Henckel's reasons to leave Levoča are unknown, as he was very popular in Levoča and as the chronicler Conrad Sperfogel wrote: „Everybody liked him, really liked. And with reason as there was nothing on him to be ashamed of.“¹⁰ He also had considerable belongings in Levoča, e.g. a mill, which he sold for 450 guilders to the city of Spišská Nová Ves in 1525. A considerable part of the aforementioned amount was divided and distributed to beggars, poor people and craftsmen, who wanted to settle in Levoča.¹¹ Henckel was not very satisfied in Košice. Right after his arrival he complained about the scruffy parsonage and its garden.¹² A short time before him Leonard Coxe left Levoča, too; he came to Košice to become the rector of the Košice municipal school. At the school he worked in the humanist sense and led his students to read Desiderius Erasmus' work

⁵ Kovács, *Vzťahy krakovskej university...*, 153.

⁶ I. Chalupický, „Spoločenský a duchovný život Levoče v prvej polovici 16. storočia,“ in *Evanjelici a evanjelická teológia na Slovensku. Zborník pri príležitosti sedemdesiatky Doc.ThDr. Andreja Hajduka a Doc. ThDr. Daniela Štefana Veselého*, ed. by David P. Daniel (Bratislava, 1999), 23-24.

⁷ John Gerson (1363-1429) was a professor and a chancellor of Sorbonne in Paris. He was a follower of a councillor theory and the unity of the Church. He was a nominalist and defended an indirect power of the Church in secular matters. Being one of the leaders of the Council of Constance he repudiated the opinions of Wicklef and Hus. He took care of the reform of clergy and sharply criticized its recklessness and ignorance. *Ottív slovník naučný, X* (Praha, 1896), 79.

⁸ Š. Klubert, „Ikonografické poznámky k dvom dielam Majstra Pavla,“ in *Monumentorum Tutela* 5 (1969), 61.

⁹ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 70.

¹⁰ Sperfoglova kronika, f. 54v. Preklad: J. Sopko *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska* (Budmerice, 1995), 231.

¹¹ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 221.

¹² *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 70.

entitled *De duplici verborum ac rerum copia*. In 1525 the steps of Henckel and Coxe split, because Coxe returned to Cracow¹³ and J. Henckel started his career in Buda at the court of the Queen Mary, having become her preacher and confessor.¹⁴ The queen was environed by humanists like Simon Gryneus, a schoolmate of Melanchthon, Vitus of Windheim and a court preacher, Conrad Cordatus. Within this humanist circle, Desiderius Erasmus was honored greatly. The humanists around the Queen Mary were zealously reading the writing entitled *De educationis principis*, which Desiderius dedicated to Charles V. They accepted also the *Paraphrases on the New Testament*, also dedicated to Habsburgs. Among the humanists at the Hungarian royal court, a sharp criticism of religious matters was present, too; from 1519, the concern for Desiderius was shared by Martin Luther. In 1521, Conrad Cordatus was accused of reformist views and the queen reached his liberation only after a hard struggle. Based on the law against the followers of Martin Luther, issued on 24 April 1523, Simon Gryneus and Vitus of Windheim were forced to leave the court.¹⁵ Although Louis II had not allowed the presence of reformed preachers at his court, the Hungarian court was opened towards humanist ideas. In this environment Henckel got acquainted with the writings of Desiderius Erasmus and through his friend John Antonín got into a written contact with him. John Antonínus Cassoviensis came from Košice and was active as a doctor of the Polish king. He was the main promoter of humanism at the University of Cracow and he was also a member of a circle of various nations, where the Englishman L. Coxe, the Frenchman Bourgoïn and Polish Jan Laski belonged, too. Their common link were the humanist ideas and the honour of Erasmus. Antoninus visited Desiderius Erasmus in Basel in person and Desiderius considered him to be his personal friend.¹⁶ John Antoninus struggled to spread erasmian ideas and many significant personalities got into contact with Desiderius through him. In his letter from 21 January 1526 John Antoninus recommended Henckel to Desiderius, introducing him as a highly educated person, the queen's confessor and the former of Košice, who did not become a bishop only for his modesty.¹⁷ Still in 1526, Desiderius sent Henckel a letter, where he explained

¹³ In 1530, L. Coxe was already in England, he achieved his master's degree at Oxford. He was also an educator of Henry VIII. And he died in 1549. Mišianik, *Vývin humanizmu...*, 211.

¹⁴ J. Kvačala, "Kráľovná Mária a jej účasť v dejinách reformácie," *Viera a Veda*, I. (1930): 10-22 and 97-105.

¹⁵ A. Hudak, "Der Hofprediger Johannes Henckel und seine Beziehungen zu Erasmus von Rotterdam," in *Kirche im Osten. Studien zur Osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte. Herausgegeben von Robert Sturprich*, vol. II. (Stuttgart, 1959); A. Hudak is possibly wrong in stating that Henckel was present at the Hungarian court together with these preachers, because at that time Henckel was still a parson in Košice. (Hudak, *Der Hofprediger Johannes Henckel...*, 107).

¹⁶ Kovács, *Vzťahy krakovskej univerzity...*, 153.

¹⁷ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...*I., no. 226

broadly his own attitude towards the Reformation¹⁸ and enclosed his edition of the Paraphrases on the New Testament. John Antoninus died two years later and John Henckel sent a letter to Desiderius Erasmus on 18 July 1528, informing him about the death of their mutual friend.¹⁹

The upcoming reformation adjusted humanist teachings for its own purposes, especially the criticism of the Bible. The moderate reformation branch suited the wealthy burghers of the royal cities and the nobility. Cities and nobles were looking for preachers, who would have been able to interpret the new teaching correctly. According to older literature, J. Henckel was considered to be the first reformed preacher of Košice, preaching in the spirit of the reformation.²⁰ However, nothing proves that the society in Košice would have been attracted by the reformation. In 1526, during the Big Lent the burgesses of Košice accused their preacher at the vicar of Eger claiming that he openly revolted against the Lent rules and defended himself by saying that only old and sick people were allowed to eat meals made of eggs and milk.²¹ This accusation could not be related to Henckel, because during Lent he was not in Košice yet. The accused parson was W. Schustel, who was similarly accused later in Bardejov, too.²² By a letter from 15 March 1526 Henckel informed the mayor of Košice Andrew Meltzer that although the queen was restraining him and offering him the Chapterhouse provostry in Eger, he would rather have returned to Košice to his believers. He also asked the mayor to send him a coach on Easter Monday.²³

In 1527 Henckel sent a letter to Wrocław's reformed preacher, John Hess, writing that the troubles with the house and the garden were making him want

¹⁸ Desiderius Erasmus had just finished an anti-script „Hyperaspites diatribes adversus servum arbitrium M. Lutheri”. Hudak, *Der Hofprediger Johannes Henckel...*, 108.

¹⁹ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 401.

²⁰ Ján Henckel is usually put to the first category of Reformation preachers, within the literature written at Catholic (A. Harčár, *Historický význam protireformácie v Košiciach z roku 1604* (Budapešť, 1962), 32; J. Špirko, *Cirkevné dejiny II.* (Martin, 1943), 199; V. Frankl, *Henckel János Mária Királyné udvari papja. Akad. Ertek. A története tud. Kőréből* (Budapest, 1872); B. Wick, *A jesuita rend története Kassán* (Bratislava, 1931), 4) or Lutheran (J. Kvačala, *Dejiny reformácie na Slovensku 1517-1711* (Liptovský Mikuláš, 1935), 53; L. Kemény, *A reformáció Kassán. Oklevéltárral* (Košice, 1891), 6; J. S. Klein, *Nachrichten von den Lebensumständen und Schriften Evangelischer Prediger* (Leipzig-Ofen, 1789), 110-116) positions. The Reformation activities of J. Henckel were questioned in a newer literature by Š. Klubert, “Ikonografické poznámky k dvom levočským dielam Majstra Pavla,” in *Monumentorum Tutela* (Bratislava, 1969), 62; M. Bodnárová, “Spišský rodák Ján Henckel,” in *Spiš v kontinuite času*, ed. by Peter Švorc (Prešov-Bratislava-Wien, 1995), 76-82; Chalupecký, *Spoločenský a duchovný život Levoče...*, 25. Henckel is concerned to be a humanist and a neutral personality in the religious struggles of the 16th century – by A. Hudak, “Der Hofprediger Johannes Henckel und seine Beziehungen zu Erasmus von Rotterdam,” in *Kirche im Osten. Studien zur Osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by Robert Stuperrich.

²¹ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 240.

²² V. Jankovič, “Dve postavy zo začiatkov reformácie v Bardejove,” in *Historický časopis* 38, no. 5 (1990), 641.

²³ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 238.

to give up the priest's office.²⁴ In 1528 after having rejected the eparchy, offered to him by J. Zápoľský, he became the preacher of Queen Mary again.²⁵ And, as a consequence of the forthcoming events, he had no conflicts with the city council or the believers, while the reasons for leaving Košice were those of a private character. Although the city council of Košice invited him back in 1529, he refused to return. He apologized in a letter written in Znojmo and explained the reasons that made him stay at the court of the Queen Mary. He begged not to be accused of mammonism.²⁶ Also the Queen had written a letter to the Košice city council claiming that she appreciated Henckel and that she couldn't let him go. She recommended the council of Košice that to find another priest to take care about the parsonage, which had been vacant for 1 year and she would have taken care about Henckel.²⁷ Probably she meant her letter²⁸ and the letter from King Ferdinand I from 28 October 1528²⁹, where James, the Bishop of Wroclaw was asked to grant the nearest provostry, chapterhouse office or canonist estate to Henckel, the courtly preacher of the Queen, because, due to the obligation to fulfill his actual duty he was forced to renounce the parsonage of Košice. J. Henckel definitely renounced his office at the Košice parsonage in his letter from 6 May 1529.³⁰ The burghers of Levoča were interested in Henckel in 1529, too, since after the death of Sebastian Henckel they elected John Henckel to be their parson.³¹ His brother Bernard Henckel and Thomas Sartor went to visit John Henckel in Linz and offered him an office of a parson. However, Henckel rejected the office claiming that he would not have dared to accept it without the consent of the Queen.³²

As a courtly preacher of Mary, John Henckel revived his contacts with Desiderius Erasmus and begged him for a consolation for the widowed Queen. Erasmus fulfilled his request and in 1529 he sent the Queen a consolation letter "De vidua christiana".³³ In 1530, Henckel accompanied the Queen to the Augsburg diet and later he sent a report about the diet to Desiderius.³⁴ Desiderius was also invited to the diet, which should have ensured the peace between Catholics and Protestants, but he refused to take part. Due to this, Erasmus was considered to be one of the elements that

²⁴ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 329.

²⁵ Hudak, *Der Hofprediger Johannes Henckel...*, 110.

²⁶ Archiv mesta Košíc (ďalej AMK), Schwarzenbach, no. 1430. *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no.457.

²⁷ AMK Schwarzenbach, no. 1371, *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 391.

²⁸ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 418.

²⁹ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 417.

³⁰ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 457.

³¹ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 505.

³² *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...II., 1530-1534*, (Budapest, 1904), no. 11.

³³ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 496

³⁴ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...II.*, no. 64

caused the failure of the diet.³⁵ Henckel struggled to overcome the distinctions of individual parts; he led dialogues with the protestants P. Melanchthon, A. Capito and M. Bucer. At the Augsburg diet, Henckel followed the aim to seek and find the unity of the reformation and Christian humanism. He saw this unity as the order of the age that should have helped to abolish the Turkish threat. At the diet, Henckel handed over of his works to Melanchthon asking him to deliver it to Luther. Queen Mary contacted Luther through Henckel, too, in the matter of concession for the Communion, but Luther rejected it.

Mutual contacts and a certain understanding between Henckel and Luther, but especially between Henckel and Melanchthon caused that Henckel was accused of Lutheran tendencies and later even of heresy. In 1530, Henckel complained to Desiderius Erasmus that John Eck attacked him in presence of the bishop Faber, called him a heretic and accused him of frequent meetings with Melanchthon. However Henckel denied it having written: "Nothing has hurt me more than the accusation of understanding the heretic Melanchthon".³⁶ Suspicion of the inclination to the reformation might have been the cause of the Emperor's demand on the Queen Mary not to take Henckel with her to Brabant where she went as a governor.³⁷ Before her departure, the Queen had provided him with the office of canonist in Wroclaw. Henckel had worked here since 1531 and at his inauguration he swore the fidelity to the Catholic Church although he was not asked for it as he was supposed to incline to Lutheranism.³⁸ In the period of 1531-1533 he was a parson in Schweidnitz. In Schweidnitz, worships had been celebrated in "a new way" since 1522. It is not known whether they knew that Henckel swore the fidelity to Catholicism, but they were satisfied with him.³⁹ Despite of this, he left Schweidnitz in 1533. At that time he was still in contact with Desiderius and with the later Archbishop of Esztergom, the humanist Mikuláš Oláh, who substituted him as a confessor of the Queen Mary in Brabant.⁴⁰ J. Henckel was active in Wroclaw until his death in 1539. He was buried in the cathedral of Wroclaw.⁴¹

John Henckel was a renaissance man and a humanist, but there are no proofs of his reformation activities. Although he was aware of the

³⁵ V. Bucko, *Mikuláš Oláh a jeho doba 1493-1568. Nikolaus Oláh und seine Zeit* (Štúdia zo slovenských dejín 16. storočia) (Bratislava, 1940), 64

³⁶ Nihil erat, quod mihi tandem poterat obiiicere, nisi quod cum heresiarcha illo Philipo Melanchtone commercia habuissem plurima. *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...II.*, no. 64.

³⁷ In his letter from 3 January 1531 Karol V. recommended to the Queen Mary to dismiss Henckel. *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...II.*, no. 101.

³⁸ Chalupecký, *Spoločenský a duchovný život Levoče*, 25.

³⁹ Hudak, *Der Hofprediger Johannes Henckel...*, 112; *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...II.*, no. 136.

⁴⁰ On 24 September 1532 J. Henckel wrote to Olah asking him to intercede for his cousin at the Queen Mary. *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...II.*, no. 186.

⁴¹ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...III. 1535-1541*, (Budapešť, 1906), no. 523.

insufficiencies within the Catholic Church, he understood the reasons for Luther's reformation struggles and kept the contacts with the representatives of Protestantism. In questions of the church reformation, he inclined to the views of Desiderius Erasmus and called for reforms inside the Church. As an educated man, he opposed violence and intolerance. He adopted a negative attitude towards Anabaptists and Sacramentarians. In his letter from 1529, written to Košice's mayor Michael Kukulbrecht he wrote that during his stay in Moravia, where he accompanied the Queen Mary, he got acquainted with the teachings of Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, but he rejected the teachings and thanks to his struggles many people rejected these communities as well.⁴² He considered the movement of Anabaptists in Upper Austria stating that they had abandoned the God, although he described their misery with a great sympathy.⁴³ In his letter to Desiderius in 1530 he wrote that the Sacramentarians Capito and Bucer visited him in Augsburg and they struggled to convert him to their views, but he refused and finished the meeting.⁴⁴ It is likely that Henckel inclined to the ideas of Protestantism, but his practical attitudes were very carefully expressed as they were determined not only by social but also by private reasons. Although he understood the necessity of the reform of the Church, he did not want a religious schism and he did not proclaim reformation publicly. Henckel struggled for cooperation and an agreement of all Central European nations and desired for the unity of all nations against the Turks. He believed that only a firm peace in the Christian world may have ensured the help against the Turkish crescent. As Henckel believed, humanism should have played a significant role in the protection of Europe and its civilization based on classical Greek and Latin and Christian platforms.

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⁴² In his letter from 28 August 1528 Henckel describes also an anti-reformation movement in Vienna against the reeve, tradesmen selling Luther's writings and also against the inhabitants who possessed these writings. *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 405.

⁴³ A letter from 21 January 1529, *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...I.*, no. 432.

⁴⁴ *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek...II.*, no. 64.

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The Establishment of the Reformed Church in Košice in the Context of the Development of Calvinism in Central Europe

Anna-Maria Kónyová

Abstract

Košice Reformed Church has undergone a long and complex evolution however it was a reflection of the period and the on-going process of the confessionalisation in the society. Calvinist believers had to lead an almost one century long battle with the Protestant City Council concerning to the free exercise of religious practice and of the establishment their own Church after 1647. The first Calvinist church was built in 1654 and Andrej Horváth Regéczi and Štefan Czeglédi - they were the first Calvinist pastors. In the middle of the 17th century, they were still exposed in more and more extent recatholisation policy of the Habsburg Court. Church and the school were confiscated in the year 1673. Both Košice Calvinist priests, Adam Bithó and Nicholas Kécske were in 1674 presented to a special law court - Bloody Court in Pressburg. Košice as a place of hard struggle between Lutherans and Reformed believers happened an imaginary line where to the north Calvinism spreading only rarely, or only for a short period (Prešov). Although from point of view of development Hungarian resp. middle-European Calvinism did not play or could not play a more significant role, but the Košice Reformed Church, certainly it boasts through many personalities, as preachers (Gál Huszár; Gregor Szegedi) or teachers (George Csipkés Komáromi, Stephen Czeglédi), who had shorter or longer time to act on its forehead, and he helped to build its foundations.

Key words: Košice. Calvinist. Reformed Church. Religion.

After the speeches of Martin Luther in Wittenberg in 1517, the ideas of the Reformation in very short time penetrated into the territory of Hungary. Even before this period, scholars and preachers taught the ideas of humanism in Hungary and they spread the need of reforms within the Church and other views close Reformation doctrine. Despite a relatively long distance from the centre of the Reformation in Germany, the German reformers have received ideas through students and traders also to Hungary respectively and its outlying areas.

The free royal city of Košice, as one of the most important cities in Upper Hungary, with its relatively large German burghers and developed business contacts with German countries, met the basic conditions for a rapid and successful adoption of reforming ideas. Humanist and reformer Ján Henckel¹

¹ Ján Henckel (1481 Levoča – 1539 Wroclav) was a humanist and a dignitary of the Catholic Church. Supported by the Thurzo family, he studied in Cracow, Vienna and Padua. After his return he worked as a parson in Levoča in 1513, later he became a courtly priest of Mary of Habsburg. Since 1526, he worked in Košice, Schweidnitz and in Wroclaw. He was a pen friend of Desiderius Erasmus, Phillip Melancthon and other significant humanist scholars of his time. That was why he inclined towards the ideas of Reformation. *Magyar Nagylexikon* 9 (Budapest:

worked in Košice already during period before the Battle of Mohács and Matej Bíró Dévai² worked on the post of Hungarian preacher at the beginning of 30th years of the 16th century, precisely in 1531. He obtained, due to his broad knowledge, but also of the Reformation views, which preached, more and more supporters between the Košice burghers. Inhabitants of Košice, after his imprisonment by the Bishop of Eger, they did utmost to achieve his liberation, because they like him.³ Despite the fact that by the younger generation was Dévai labelled as the "Hungarian Luther", from the theological point of view he was not only representative of the views of the German reformer. Opinions of Philip Melanchthon, but also influences of the Swiss teachings, especially by Martin Bucer are occurred in his sermons. About this it is evidenced a record by Stöckel Leonard, who wrote about him, that in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper followed the "golden mean". Although Dévai is in historiography ever considered as initial propagator of the Swiss Reformation, it can be assumed about him at the end of his life, sometime after his third journey to Wittenberg in 1541. Therefore in connection with the initial spread of Calvinist Reformation in Košice we can influence of Dévai to exclude in this respect. Anyway Košice as a member of the Association of Upper five royal free cities, so-called Pentapolitana, from the beginnings of the Reformation represented one of the important centres of Lutheranism.

Calvinism as the second most widely direction of Reformation was formed under the influence of teachings of John Calvin and other Swiss reformers (Beza, Bullinger and Bucer) and into other European countries, including Hungary, began massive to penetrate in the middle of the 16th century. Mainly reformist preachers, who for different precisely yet not identified reasons, they switched from platform of Lutheranism to Swiss teachings they were the first propagators of Calvinism. They had taking slowly new ideas of the new reformed teaching and gradually introduced them to their preaching practice (which is why in many cases it is not always clear why belonging to one or another direction of Reformation). Besides them, also students studying at foreign universities were contributed ideas of the new direction of the

Magyar Nagylexikon kiadó, 1999), 374; *Evanjelická encyklopédia Slovenska* (Bratislava: BoPo, 2001), 127.

² Matej Bíró Dévai, was born around 1500 in Deva, Transylvania, studied in Cracow and in Wittenberg. He was one of the first propagators of the Reformation in the Kingdom of Hungary. As a preacher, he visited many places (Buda, Košice, Transylvania, Debrecen), he was frequently persecuted and arrested for spreading the ideas of the Reformation. He died in Debrecen in 1545. Jenő Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon* (Budapest: A magyar református egyház zsinati irodájának sajtóosztálya, 1977), 148 – 149.

² Gregor Szegedi is known as an author of a Protestant hymn-book, which was published in 1569. He came from Szeged, studied in Wittenberg, in 1557 he worked as a teacher in Debrecen and later as a preacher in Tökay and Eger. *Pallas Nagy Lexikona 15* (Budapest: Pallas Irodalmi és nyomdai részvénytársaság, 1897), 506.

³ Dénes Dienes, "A történelmi Tiszáninneri Református Egyházkerület a 16. században. I.," *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2, no. 1 (2011): 25.

Reformation, as well as John Calvin himself through his works, as well as their extensive correspondence with local reformers and followers of Calvinism. Local nobility and aristocracy had large share of the acceptance and dissemination of the Calvinism.⁴

Lutherans have started and gradually built their church structures (Statement of Faith, synods and elections of senior), it was in the time in Hungary and also in our nowadays space, when Calvinism began to penetrate and gain new followers. For fear of endangering his own existence, but also from the transition of many Lutheran believers to Calvinism (the loss of believers, new teaching was considered heresy, they feared of jeopardizing their own positions; the Sacramentary Rebate Act about persecution from 1548 was valid, etc.), great hostility and rivalry was characteristic for the relationship of the representatives of both confessions and was persisting for several decades. From this point of view it should be pointed out that Hungary was the place of such a hard fights between Evangelical and Reformed believers; just free royal towns, among them Košice, became the site of hard match.

Royal free cities with a large share of the German burghers tending to Lutheranism, had established themselves at the centre of Luther's evangelical orthodoxy and emerging church structures (the statements of Faith were issued and synods were organized here), and in every way they want to prevent the penetration of new teachings, among them Calvinism. So in an environment with a majority German population, Calvinism did not get a chance to gain new adherents, while the Hungarian ethnic environment, where they are not made any more solid structure of Evangelic Church was quickly accepted by the Lutheran believers, who have passed so-called process of "the second Reformation", as used to be according to the latest historical terminology for the identification of Calvinist reformation.⁵ While in the case of today's eastern Slovakia nascent Lutheran Church managed to in free royal cities and in their respective estates, to save from penetrating the Calvinism, but in places outside their manorial rights (estates of the nobility and aristocracy, landlords' cities) population gradually passed to the platform of Calvinism (regardless of whether it was among ethnically Hungarians, Slovaks or even Ruthenians).

In this context, in Košice, where lived in that period numerous German and Hungarian burghers, but also Slovaks, they were created decades-long

⁴ Anna-Maria Kónyová and Peter Konya, *Kalvínska reformácia a reformovaná cirkev na východnom Slovensku v 16.-18. storočí* (Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Prešovskej univerzity, 2010), 13 – 23.

⁵ *Die Reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland – Das Problem der, Zweiten Reformation,* ed. by Heinz Shilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1986); David Paul Daniel, "Konfessionalismus a konfessionalizácia ako historická interpretatívna paradigmu," in *Konfessionalizácia na Slovensku v 16.-18. storočí*, ed. by Peter Konya et al. (Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Prešovskej univerzity, 2010), 6 – 17.

conditions affecting the development of religious and even the process of establishment of the Reformed Church in this city.

In Košice ideas of the Swiss Reformation have began to spread very soon. One of the main reasons was numerous Hungarian bourgeoisies, which thanks to the Hungarian preacher was briefed on the new teaching. During a time, when various reformist trends have been theologically unstable, Hungarian preachers were acting earlier in regions where the unhindered spread Calvin's teachings, particularly open to new ideas of the Second Reformation. The first proven propagator of Calvinism in Košice was the Lutheran preacher Anton Szentkirályi in 1555. Representatives of the other four sites of Pentapolitana almost immediately pointed to the inadmissibility of Košice Council of the City, for which the preacher worked, and urged the city management to release priest.⁶

However, already two years after the first incident, Gregory Szegedi, at this time already well-known representative of the Calvinist Reformation, has preached in Košice. Against Szegedi's activity in Kosice, in addition to local German preachers strongly has step off a senior of Šariš and Pentapolitana - Michal Radašín and Bardejov's Rector Leonard Stöckel, who identified Szegedi as heretic. Szegedi soon went out of city and took the post of preacher in the centre of Hungarian Calvinism in Debrecen. However further penetration and spread of Calvinist Reformation city's Lutheran pastors and City Council, who were watching over the purity of religious life in Košice, failed so long withstand.

Already in 1560 Gál Huszar, another representative of Swiss learning, became Hungarian preacher for a short time. About the life of Gál Huszár, who was usually called "Gal- the Preacher" historiography knows quite little.⁷

⁶Miloslava Bodnárová, "Reformácia vo východoslovenských mestách v 16. storočí," in *Reformácia na východnom Slovensku v 16.-18. storočí*, ed. by Ferdinand Uličný (Prešov: Biskupský úrad Východného dištriktu ECAV na Slovensku, 1998), 27-28.

Gregory Szegedi was known as an author of the Protestant hymn-book, published in 1569. He came from Szeged, studied in Wittenberg, in 1577 worked as a teacher in Debrecen, later as a preacher in Tokaj and Eger. *Pallas Nagy Lexikona* 15, 506.

⁷The first report about him dates from 1554, when he ahead of persecution by Archbishop Nicholas Olah preacher resorted to Magyarovar. There under the protection of the Crown Prince, the future King Maximilian he could operate freely. At this time from his Viennese friend Rafael Hoffhalter he learned the craft of printing, bought a printing machine and began publishing the Reformation literature. Devoted to letterpress and among other activities also issued a first work of another Calvinist reformer Peter Juhász Melia. Two years later he went for a preacher to Komarno, where he had again run away from imprisonment and started working in Trnava. Finally few quiet years he lived and worked in Komjatice, Nitra County under the protection of Baron Imre Forgách (Forgáč). At the end of his life in 1574 he was called to be a preacher in Pape, where after nearly a year of operation, died of the plague. His papers included: Latin *List Bullingerovi* (1557), *Kázne o svätej večeri, utrpení a zmrvýchvstani Pána Ježíša Krista* (1558), *Tri latinské listy ku Košičanom* (1559-60), *Žalmy a chvály Boha* (1560, it is the first partially preserved reformed hymn book with sheet of music), *Božské chvály a modlitby v krestanskom*

After brief activity, because he preached Calvinist teachings, the bishop of Eger Anton Veransics capture him, but on the intervention of angry burghers and sympathizing Emperor's soldiers, he was freed from prison and fled to Debrecen.⁸ Another Calvinist preacher is documented in 1567. He was called Mathew Bíró Gyarmathy (Đarmati), who vigorously opposed against images in churches, but after an initiative of the Upper-Hungarian captain, he had to leave Košice.⁹

At a time of escalating repression by the Protestant City Councils against followers of Calvinism many of them were forced to confess to Calvinism secretly (so-called Crypto-Calvinism), however in many groundless cases were being accused of Crypto-Calvinism the followers of the moderate Lutheranism. Like this, the largest Lutheran authority - Gregor Horváth Sztancsics has accused the Košice's Hungarian preacher Matej Thoraconymus Kabát. He finally at the beginning of 80th left the city and his attachment to Calvinism also confirmed by accepting a teaching job in reformed college - in Sárospatak, where he later became the rector.¹⁰

Protestant leadership of Košice city has exerted a great effort in each direction, so in 1581 they have alerted the main Lutheran preacher to strictly supervised schools in order to receive none Calvinist doctrine.¹¹ Despite this restriction measures, the number of Calvinists in the city grew, partly due to the activities of several Calvinist reformers, to who's held the Hungarian population undeniable sympathy, but also many immigrants - Calvinists, especially in the areas occupied by the Ottoman's power. However neither of these facts, Košice Calvinist faithful has not to create your own church choir at the end of the 16th century nor in the early decades of the next century. The main obstacle was the evangelic City Council, which, like in the other Royal Free cities of Upper Hungary strictly careful to ensure the exclusivity of the Augsburg Confession as the only tolerated religion. Strong followers of Calvinism, they could meet only in private or in one of the rural parishes, mostly in Barca.¹²

Stephen Bocskai - leader of the first Habsburg uprising and later Transylvanian prince, represented important role on the way to the formation of the Reformed Church in Košice community, when in autumn of 1604 conquered the city and chose it as his own residence. On his proposal Košice City Council invited preacher Peter Alvinczi on the position of Hungarian

zbore (1574). He wrote a catechism for smaller children, which was approved as a reformed textbook during synod in Pápa in 1630. Jenő Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestáns....*, 271

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Dénes Dienes, *A történelmi Tiszáninnen református egyházkerület....*, p. 45-46.

¹⁰ Marcel Sebők, *Humanista a határon. A késmarki Sebastian Ambrosius története* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2007), 177. He acted as a rector of school between 1585 -1588. Mihály Szentimrei, *A Sárospataki református kolégium története* (Sárospatak, 1996), 9.

¹¹ Lajos Szabó, *Kassai kálvinista krónika (1644 – 1944)* (Kassa, 1944), 6.

¹² Ibidem, 6-7.

priest. Alvinczi, already in that time known Calvinist theologian, formerly Varadin (Oradea) reformed pastor and the Senior of Bihar, greatly contributed to the non-violent spreading of Calvinism in Košice, despite the fact, that he was one of the priests of Lutheran parish. City Council of Košice has been careful to strictly religious unity of the burghers and did not admit the existence of any other religion in the city. Alvinczi also had to comply with the formalities and outward signs of the Augsburg Confession (oath on Augustae and the Book of Concord, the wafer at the Lord's Supper, church equipment, etc...) however in religious life he brought many elements of Calvinism. Besides it that he refused to wear scrapbook and to provide individual confession, he attended the Synod of the reformed seniorate of the county of Abov and his chaplains let to ordain to Senior of Abov. Therefore he allowed the peaceful penetration of elements of Calvinism in the life of Hungarian Lutheran church in Košice and its gradual transformation. Withal he as an excellent theologian gained great authority in the city. Thanks the authority he was able to prevail in conflict with a local priest in the year 1625, which ended with his departure from the city. During Alvinczi's presence in Košice was raised unwritten union between Lutherans and reformed believers, existing until to his death in the year 1634. In this period, the Hungarian congregation was labelled as Calvinist for its neutrality and syncretism.¹³

However after Alvinczi death, the period of peaceful coexistence of the two reformist currents ended after the city refused to respect for his successor - chaplain Ján Tállyai, open conflict broke out between the City Council and followers of Calvinism. Those who refused to comply with the new Hungarian preacher and prefer to attend reformed worship services in the neighbouring village named Barca. Superintendents and also representatives of Abov See intervened in favour of the redundant chaplain and later for Calvinist burghers. Despite it, the restoring of the unity of the church failed up to the first half of the 40th and they remained without reforming preacher. In addition to the reformed burghers, however, about their rights Catholic burghers, officers and soldiers, gathered around the captain of Upper Hungary - Adam Forgách have also been claimed.¹⁴

Even changes in political conditions allow establishment of Košice Calvinist church and also it was occupation of the city by army of Transylvanian Prince George I. Rákóczi during the following Habsburg Uprising in the spring in the year 1644. He at Easter in 1644 (March 27th) has established in Košice the first Calvinist church, not as a city's church, but Court Religious Congregation (*ecclesia aulica*) and the place for worship he appointed in the Royal House.¹⁵ The first priest of the Church community he

¹³ Kálmán Révész, *Százéves küzdelem a kassai református egyház megalakulásáért* (Budapest, 1894), 18 - 27.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 41 - 46.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 51.

became a Court preacher Andrej Regéczy. At the same time he founded the first Calvinist school in Košice, which should have the character of grammar school.¹⁶

Conditions for the transformation of the charge to city's parish were defined by Acts No. 18 and 19 of Congress in the year 1647, which gave to Košice Catholics and Calvinists right to religious practice and to the construction of own temples. At the same time, in terms of Peace of Linz (a treaty concluded on December 16th, 1645 in Linz) which ended the Uprising of George I. Rákóczi, the city passed under administration of the Duke of Transylvania. City Council since 1648 so had to suffer there still the existence of courtly congregation, however for reformed burghers denied the full range of church activities in the territory of the city. Their situation has worsened after the death of George I. Rákóczi when Košice again got into the hands of the King and City Council decided at any cost to dispose of the Calvinist Church. From this reason on the Congress in 1649 Košice delegates again defended the old right of the city for confessional unity and refused to respect the previous legislation on freedom of confession of Catholics and Reformed. However legal articles of the Congress ordered them to respect the right for both faiths to freely practice religion and to grant them a site for the construction of churches, parishes and schools. Since the City Council was not willing these laws to comply, the Palatine Pavol Pálffy personally came to the city and together with chief captain František Wesselényi by threats forced the Mayor and City Council to obedience. At the beginning of 1650, Košice reformed burghers finally gained place for building a church, parish and school, near the local slaughter, at the corner of the streets Mäsiarska and Úzka.¹⁷ There in 1651 they began to build the first church, finished in 1654. They also obtained building for the rectory and expanded school. Andrej Horváth Regéczi and Štefan Czeglédi - they were the first Calvinist pastors in Košice.¹⁸

The reformed parish in Košice belonged to Abov seniorite. It worked until the beginning of violent recatholisation at the beginning of the seventies. Church and the school were confiscated in the year 1673.¹⁹ Both Košice Calvinist priests Adam Bithó and Nicholas Kécske was in 1674 brought to a special executive court - Bloody Court in Pressburg.²⁰ The occupation of the city by Thököly kuruc troops in summer 1682 has allowed recovering of Reformed Church community. Calvinists received back church, school and other property during the uprising. They have used buildings after the end of the resistance, up to 1696, when they had to leave, and according to the

¹⁶ Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestáns ...*, 299.

¹⁷ Révész, *Százéves küzdelem...*, 81 – 82.

¹⁸ Szabó, *Kassai kálvinista krónika...*, 28-43.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 62-64.

²⁰ Károly Rác, *A Pozsonyi vértörvényszék áldozatai 1674-ben*, 2. (Lugos, 1899).

religious articles of Sopron they had to build a wooden church and a wooden school building in the suburb.²¹

The reformed congregation of Košice functioned in the suburbs until the outbreak of the Uprising of Francis Rákóczi II, when it was able to return to the city. At that time, in the years 1685 - 1705 the Calvinist school in Košice provided refuge for some time for students and teachers from Sárospatak Collegium, who was expelled by Sophia Bathory.²² However they had to wait for the return of the church until the adoption of legal articles of the First Kuruc Assembly in Sečany in the autumn 1705. On the basis of the above mentioned articles Košice congregation regained its church through joint Committee of the Assembly in the beginning of January.²³ But after Szatmár peace in 1711 (today Satu Mare, Romania) Calvinists had to leave the church again, and they took their place in the wooden church and a school in the suburbs, where remained until Josephine period.²⁴

In the period after Szatmár peace, in renewed suburban parish a preacher was Thomas Gyarmati (1713), followed by Paul Gyöngyösi.²⁵ At the end of the first quarter of the 18th century the Košice Reformed Parish had no rural affiliates and its preacher was Andrew Nánasi.²⁶ Only the period of tolerance from the 80th of the 18th century brought new development of Košice Reformed Church, its return to the city and construction of a new bricked temple.

Košice's Reformed Church has undergone a long and complex evolution however it was a reflection of the period and the on-going process of confessionalisation in society. Calvinist believers had to lead an almost one century long struggle with the Protestant City Council concerning to the free exercise of religious practice and of the establishment their own Church with own temple and until the middle of the 17th century they were still exposed in more and more extent recatholization policy of Habsburgs. Košice as a place of hard struggle between Lutherans and Reformed believers happened an imaginary line where to the north Calvinism spread only rarely, or only for a short period (Prešov). Although from point of view of development Hungarian resp. middle-European Calvinism did not play or could not play a more significant role, but the Košice Reformed Church, certainly it boasts through many personalities, as preachers (Gál Huszár, Gregor Szegedi) or teachers

²¹ Szabó, *Kassai kálvinista krónika...*, 67 – 72.

²² Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestáns...*, 299.

²³ Gáspár Schiessler, "Emlékezetes megjegyzések mindarról, ami Kassa szabad királyi városbantörtént," in *Rákócziútkör I.*, ed. by Béla Köpeczi and Ágnes Várkonyi (Budapest: Szépirodalmi kiadó, 1973), 515.

²⁴ Zoványi, *A magyarországi protestáns...*, 299.

²⁵ TIREL (Tiszáninnen Református Egyházi Levéltár) Sárospatak. R.G. VII. 4/1: Zápispnice kanonických vizitácií abovského seniorátu years 1713 – 1714.

²⁶ Pál Csáji, "A magyar református eklézsiák és prédikátorok első hivatalos összeírása 1725 – 1729," *Egyháztörténet* 1(1958): 50.

(George Csipkés Komáromi, Stephen Czeglégi), who led the congregation for a shorter or longer period of time or who helped to develop into further time.

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Fortification of Košice in its History

Jozef Duchoň

Abstract

This paper provides the overview of development of fortification in Košice from its early beginnings in 13th Century to its final version. The main part of work is represented by the architectural development of town's fortification, its reconstruction and legal backgrounds. The text summarized published relevant information with the newly researched archaeological dates and creates the general historical overview.

Key words: Košice. Fortification. Architecture. Development of Košice.

Not everybody thinks of city walls as a complicated work of engineering. In case of larger cities with busier historical development, such as Košice, these city walls are literally built and rebuilt for centuries. In very short time, this construction goes through an unexpected development and therefore we shockingly find out, that it is actually even more complicated than many cathedrals. In this short article, I will try to describe the development of Košice's fortification from exactly this point of view. However, it is pity that there's not much time to deal with all the notable individuals, either politicians or experts, who were related to initiating and building this city stronghold, and not even with the curious historical and technical details that influenced it.

In the past, the origin of Košice's fortification was dating to the beginning of the 14th century. However, excavations on Hlavná Street in the 1990s helped to move this dating between the years 1270 and 1290. At that time, the people of Košice built quite unusual walls in Slovak conditions, which were thick around 125 centimetres with the peristyle resembling a blind arcade from stone. There were approximately thirty-two (a part is only estimated) rectangular towers open into the city's interior and three closed city gates - Horná (Upper), Dolná (Lower) and Hnilná. There were three water cloaca built under the Upper and Lower gate, where the Čermel' brook, called Fehrenbach in the Middle Ages, was flowing in and out. In that age, this type of walls was common in Germanic countries; however, I've only seen something similar in these parts of Europe in a Romanian town called Sigishoara.

However, this first fortification did not have a moat. Walls were built from a strikingly yellowish stone – so called paleo-rhyolite - that was mined in Hradová. This leads us to think of the 1261 donation of Upper Košice as a matter of accessing the source of building material. Since the oldest times, towers and gates were occupied by specific craft guilds from the city. This fortification has been called Árpád as well, since it was created during their reign. It served well even in the times of the Anjou.

Sometime after 1380, a fire damaged the western part of the fortification and it was then repaired using a different building style. A three-meter thick wall was built here from a greenish phyllite slate with two closed towers. It seems that at the same time, the people of Košice broke through the fortification and created two new city gates in the eastern side of it - called Mlynská and Maľovaná. All that represented the first Luxemburg fortification construction phase.

The second fortification, built at the turn of the 14th and 15th century, was a lower fort wall around Košice with 12 to 20 meter clearance from the Árpád fortification. At the same time, the city has finally built a moat and wooden bridges over it. There were also new and larger city gates protruding to the area of the lower wall. A massive reinforcement of wall section was realized as well, in places where the streets ended at the walls, even to the length of four meters. It could have been the evidence of using the oldest artillery in the Kingdom of Hungary.

Sigismund of Luxembourg ruled too long and hence Košice lived to see even the third Luxemburg fortification construction phase. At that time, the whole northern section of the walls and a major part of the north-eastern section was moved. Therefore, the city's area was increased by almost one hectare. Here, the city built an armoury and a cannon foundry and that meant building a new Upper gate. However, the brook was not flowing under it anymore, since it had been diverted beside the gate, under a section of the wall. This construction phase built in the 1430s was not completely finished, due to the death of the ruler as well as because of Jan Jiskra's presence in Upper Hungary. The north-eastern moved section of the walls was subsequently ran into the original Árpád fortification, which created a characteristic clearance in these parts of the city's fortifications.

In the mid-1440s, according to a historical tradition, Jiskra initiated a modernization of the existing fortification in Košice, which meant building massive horseshoe shaped barbicans under the city's gates. Moats and bridges built around them were now made from stone. Barbicans were a clear evidence of flanking fire defence artillery around the perimeter. There are several stone-made cannon balls found during excavations in these areas. One of these barbicans, today's Katova bašta (Executioner's bastion), probably the largest, could have even served as a small stronghold.

Afterwards, when the conditions in Hungary calmed down during the reign of Matthias Corvinus, the fortification work of the brothers was remarkably perfected. In this so-called first Corvinus phase realized in the 1460s, the barbican of the Lower gate got a new two-winged tower with a notable cradle bridge over the moat. A remarkable triple bridge was built in front of the Executioner's bastion, i.e. in front of the Maľovaná gate. The perimeter wall of this barbican itself was reinforced through eight meters, so there were nine vaulted artillery chambers created. This constructional phase

already carries traces of renaissance fortification architecture. Therefore, chambers of the Executioner's bastion are unique, since they have a stone shell construction, though the inside is made from soil backfill. This is the first fortification architecture in Košice, where stone and soil constructions were combined to provide resilience and hence resistance against artillery.

At that time, it was assumed that the building of the barbican was influenced by a famous trio of Italian architects, Aristotele Fioravanti, Pietro Solari and Pašo Mišelievič (a Croatian from Dubrovnik), who were probably passing through Košice. However, this assumption has not been proved so far.

The Corvinus era witness a second fortification constructional phase as well. We know precisely that it started early in 1484. Evidently, it was something new, since it was based on building a brand new stonewall interposed due to flanking by crescent roundels with a clearance of about 50 meters from the previous city walls outwards. Therefore the existing city moat found itself between two walls and a new moat had to be created in front of the Corvinus wall within this fortification phase. New stone bridges in front of the Upper and Lower gates started being built as well, probably even new gate passages in the Corvinus wall.

This new wall was created only on the eastern hemisphere of Košice's perimeter. Events related to the battle of the throne in Hungary after Matthias Corvinus' death 1490 halted the construction. The city then built crosspieces at the unfinished ends of this new wall in the area of the Upper and Lower gate. They probably even established a temporary city gate in the place of the latter Mlynská bašta (Mill bastion). Construction of the new wall did not continue even years after Vladislaus II strengthened his power. When the city finally got down doing it, there was already a technically different wall from stone built on its western hemisphere, which leaned on to what was then probably a thick soil-based bulwark on the rear ward. The Corvinus fortification construction phase was basically then finished as a Jagiellonian.

However, this fortification work was not completely finished either. Only the western section was managed to be built, ranging from the Upper gate to the Hnilná gate. The rest, from Hnilná to the Lower gate was left uncovered, probably due to the break of Hungary and subsequent occupation of Košice by John Zápolya. This section was eventually very poorly reinforced by some sort of wooden and earthen wall with uncharacteristic small roundels built very closely to each other, obviously cheap and earthen as well. This final section was probably built at the turn of the 1540s and 1550s.

Then, however, the emperor's party got hold of Košice for a longer period of time and so the city fortification decline was over. Italian engineer Felicia da Pisa worked here for a few years and considerably rebuilt the barbican of the Lower gate, where there were now forerunners of the caponier. The summer of 1566 witnessed an almost revolutionary event. The emperor's general and Upper Hungary captain Lazar Schwendi embarked on rebuilding

the up to then roundel based fortification and gradually transformed it to a modern bastion-like one.

Previous walls were probably kept, though they started adding adjacent massive bastions to walls on strategic places. The first three of such constructions were done on the northern and north-western side of the Košice perimeter, the so-called Tupý (Blunt), Tehlový (Brick) and Mlynský (Mill) bastions. These were still the so-called shell bastions and it seems that an unknown Italian engineer had designed them. In that age, Košice started losing their residential and economic function and became a fortress. There were several eastern Slovak towns that mandatorily contributed to improving its fortification. Košice even became the seat of the Upper Hungarian captaincy, and therefore there were only two city gates left - the Upper and Lower - while the others were walled up.

However, the concept of semi-circular bastion was quite soon criticized and abandoned, which was caused by another fortress engineer, German Daniel Specklin. Together with Italian Nicolo Angelini, they are authors of the two oldest preserved designs of Košice's fortification (from 1573 and 1577), which might help us restore the fortification's earlier construction phases. Angelini designed a development of large demi-bastions; however Specklin, the emperor's fortification advisor, rejected them. Therefore, German-type bastions from massive ramparts were beginning to be built under the leadership of Ottavian Baldigara. This bastion fortification was basically finished by the end of the 16th century. Comprised of seven bastions, although we only know about three of those, namely Mlynský (Mill), Bethlenov (Bethlen's) and Železný (Iron) that did not yet have their latter form. It must be noted, that the names of these bastions are only from the 18th century.

Even though the 17th century was accompanied by a number of an anti-Habsburg uprisings and the city was handed from one hand to another, Košice's fortification did not stop continuously improving. Sometime after 1620, Gabriel Bethlen assigned engineer Maurizio Venieri to rebuild and especially equip the bastion of the Lower gate by a cavalier, giving it his name as well. In 1630, Michal Vaš, a Košice reeve, ordered to reinforce the Mill bastion with stone and the Iron bastion was around 1658 definitely shaped into its final form. Four artillery cavaliers were established around the inner perimeter of the original Árpád fortification during these times - namely the Mäsiarsky (Butcher's), Hnilný (Decayed), Železný (Iron) and Kováčsky (Blacksmith's). Finally there was a properly bastion-fortified section of the outer fortification between Hnilná gate and Lower gate, which meant that the original low wall perished.

So far, there was only one section of Košice not secured by a bastion, and it was the centre of the eastern part of the fortification. However, it was here, where the Executioner's bastion was dominant and served as an emergency bastion. In 1660, they eventually heaped up a bastion-looking bulwark, which

basically saved it constructional and therefore it is our only over-ground barbican left in Košice nowadays.

One of the last bastion fortification construction phases was the building of a five-side citadel in front of the southern side of the city, which was in August 1671, in the times of Upper Hungarian captain Paris Spankau, heaped up by the emperor's army under the leadership of Germanic Strassold, although Jakob Van Holst was the project architect. This building was supposedly a replica of the citadel in Frankfurt (Oder). All of its bastions had cavaliers; it had two gates, three towers in curtain walls and bastions named Cintorínský (Cemetery), Mlynský (Mill), Klaudiin (Claudia's), Montecuccoliho (Montecuccoli's) and Leopoldov (Leopold's). There was supposed to be a wide moat around it, however, this was never filled with water. Inside in the citadel, a church, barracks, armoury, grocery storage, bakery and even a few wells were drafted. Unfortunately, none of these building was managed to be done.

Thököly, with his kuruc army, took over the unfinished citadel in the summer of 1682 and removed two bastions opposite the Lower gate, so the citadel would not threaten the city, which was temporarily occupied by the kuruc. The 1685 drawing of Košice and its area portrays the citadel in such decay. Afterwards, there was nobody who would try to continue its constructions.

We got the very last bastion fortification construction phase that was realized. Initiated by Francis II Rákóczi from 1707 to 1711, the construction was comprised of glacises, concourses, covered paths and counterscarps on the northern, western and eastern perimeter of the city. He also polished up the appearance of the outside moat, which previously looked as a neglected puddle. The southern and eastern perimeter of the fortification was upgraded by four ravens as well, named after St. Charles, Eugene, Joseph and Peter. The decayed and unfinished citadel could have served, if necessary, as the fifth and very effective ravelling. Rákoczi's fortification endeavours were the work of his French fortification engineer, Le Mair. It is worthy saying, that during these years, it was the last time that the guild wall towers from the Árpád period were used, although only as logistics.

However, Rákoczi's uprising was suppressed and Košice's fortification was facing its new fate - a gradual decay. In 1713, Joseph Renaud, commander of Košice, was dealing with contemplations about connecting the citadel's fortification with the city walls, though they gradually started to remove it. Hungary's border, threatened by the Turks, was moved far to the south into Transylvania and Vojvodina, which resulted in Košice losing its position as a fortress. Probably the last reflections about a potential construction of Košice's fortification were two redutas in the area of today's City Park, designed by Claude de Rochelle in 1747.

In the second half of the 18th century, there were more and more reports in

various descriptions of the city about the decay or about the lack of military use of the fortification. Ravens became orchards, city gate towers became storages and the actual area of the fortification was slowly filled with explosives and ammonium nitrate. The rear ward of the Mill bastion was transformed into a laboratory, a sort of military ammunition manufacture.

A group of fortification experts lead by engineer Lodovico Marini carried out a detailed documentation about the condition of the walls for the court military board. It captured a very unfavourable situation of the oldest fortification from the Árpád era and suggested to remove a number of its parts completely. It showed the arch area build up with various sheds and shacks, and former guild towers were portrayed mostly as ruins. Two years later, in 1783, Joseph II the Holy Roman Emperor himself stopped in Košice and the builder of fortress Terezín, Carlo Anselmo Pelegrini, who was also a famous fortification expert, followed him in the escort. These gentlemen agreed to remove the bricked up Hnilná gate after the reeve of Košice requested them to do so.

Afterwards, the city fortification started to quickly disappear. Several other sections of the walls were removed in order to extend the streets out of the city, as well as earthen bastion were taken to level the terrain of the city's exterior. However, several fortification objects remained intact, such as the Executioner's bastion and the Mill bastion, since the first city manufactures were created in their spaces. From 1805, a Calvinistic church started to be built at the place of the former Maľovaná (Painted) gate, and its tower is established precisely on the base of this gate. In 1807, when Ján Nepomuk Chunert carried out his remarkable plan of Košice, he described the city as "Ehemalige Grenz Festung" - a former border fortress.

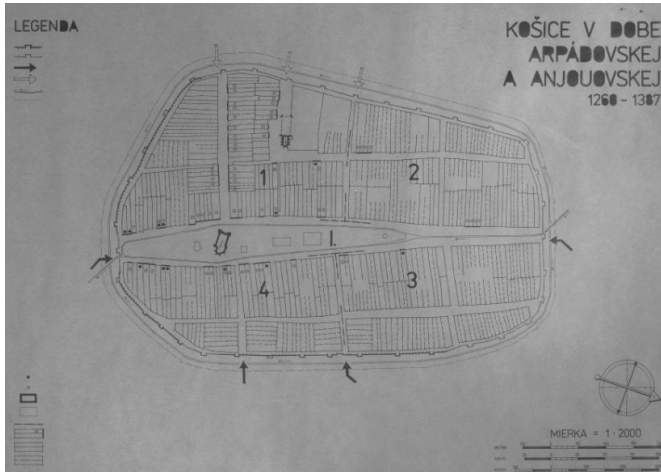
In the second half of the 19th century, areas of the former shooting ranges, which had served for decades as the city's large promenade, began to be filled with built up and this process has basically been ongoing until now. Even though all of the earthen bastion and ravens are long gone, some of the brick elements of the fortification have been preserved - Corvinus walls, one smaller roundel, Executioner's bastion and Mill bastion, remains of two shell bastion, larger section of the Luxemburg wall and arched wall on the western side, and even a single guild tower from the Árpád era partially hidden in the mass of the Calvinistic church's nave and in the so-called Executioner's flat. The history of Košice's fortification has gradually been appearing and reconstructed since the 19th century and it would be very interesting to speak about that as well. This process eventually culminated with a whole range of discovering archaeological researches in the last seventeen years.

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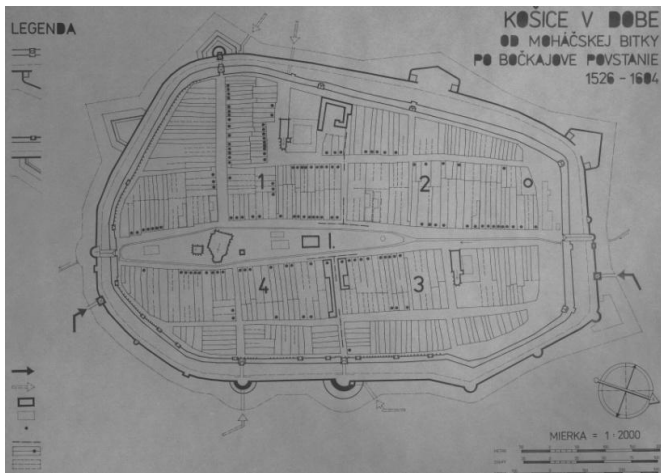
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Appendix



Košice in the Arpad and Anjou period (1260 - 1387)



Košice in the period started with the Battle in Moháč to the Bocskai Rebellion (1526 - 1684)

Košice as part of the anti-Turkish defence line in the 17th century

Martina Orosová - Katarína Kučerová Bodnárová

Abstract

Košice took a very important position in the defence against the expansion of the Ottoman Empire from the half of the 16th century. The city was encircled by the best city walls; Košice was the seat of the Upper Hungarian Capitanate and the imperial mercenary army, the Imperial Armoury, cannon foundry, gunpowder stores and other military commodities. Košice having a favourable geographic position in East Hungary was a very attractive city for the anti-Habsburg rebels who often made the city the centre of their revolt. Emperor Leopold I tried to prevent this by construction of the bastion fortification - citadel raised behind the city walls that should pacify the city, and at the same time it might serve as an anti-Turkish stronghold. The author of the project of the citadel was the experienced German engineer, builder of fortifications and Quartermaster-Officer - General Jakub von Holst (1609 Marienburg – 1674 Vienna), appointed in 1660 Chief-engineer and Colonel of the Imperial Artillery.

Key words: Jakub Von Holst. Court Council of War. Citadel in Košice.

Europe of the 17th century gradually went through several changes, got mature and stabilized. The Middle Ages have passed away definitively and the Modern Age was born in the fires of the Thirty Years' War. Vienna has become the permanent seat of the Holy Roman emperors and the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy where „die Sonne nicht untergeht“. Vienna was the seat of the highest royal authorities: The Secret Council (Geheimer Rath, 1527), Court Chancery (Hofkanzlei, 1528), Court Chamber (Hofkammer, 1528) and Court Council of War (Hofkriegsrat, 1556). They made the basis of the new central authorities, common for the member countries of the future centralised monarchy.¹ The main mission of the Military Council was to ensure the defence of the country against the Ottomans, management and coordination of the imperial army, recruiting mercenaries, building the boundary defence lines by construction and modernization of the fortifications, by high quality personal of the garrisons, procurement of arms, ammunition, food-staff and other necessary supplies.

Ferdinand I divided Hungary into six Capitanates pursuant to military-strategic aspects (Kreisoberst, supremus capitaneus partium regni Hungariae, prorox, banus, ország hadnagya/kapitánya, királyképe). The boundaries of the Capitanates respected the real geopolitical situation, i.e. territories directly occupied or threatened by the Ottomans². On the territories of the today Central Slovakia the Pre-Danube Capitanate was founded spreading from

¹ Vojtech Dangl and Vojtech Kopčan, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska II. zv. 1526-1711* (Bratislava: Ministerstvo obrany SR, 1995), 20-21.

² *Ibidem*, 53.

Bratislava to Gemer and Spiš regions and involving the Central-Slovakian miner cities having their Captain of Miner Cities (*capitaneus ante montanas civitates, supremus capitaneus civitatum montanarum*). The seat of the Capitanate was Nitra, later Šurany, Levice and Nové Zámky. Thirteen counties of North-eastern Hungary (today East Slovakia, Tisa-river territories and part of Ukraine) made the Upper Hungarian Capitanate from 1559, having its seat in Košice. The Trans-Danubian Capitanate spread along the Southwest part of today Hungary on the boundaries with Austria and Slovenia, between the Balaton and Dráva. Its seat was the Kanizsa Castle near the modern city Nagykanizsa from 1566. The castle was rebuilt into bastion fortification by Pietro Ferrabosco in 1569. An independent capitanate was founded in the unconquered territory of Lower Hungary in Croatian-Slovenian Banate. The cities along the Adriatic-Sea were part of the Maritime Capitanate having their seat in Senj (Zeng). The leaders of the Capitanates were the Captains/Generals who were partly Hungarian magnates loyal to the emperor or foreign mercenaries hired by the Habsburgs for specific services.³

The line of the boundary fortifications commanded by special appointed Captains (*Grenzoberst, supremus capitaneus confiniorum*) seated in the main fortifications (*Haupfestung*) played a very important role in the defence of the country against the Ottoman Empire. They were superior to dependant smaller fortifications, castles fortified cities (*Grenzfestungen, confinia*), and the whole relevant region. The captains of the fortifications and the Commanders of the Capitanates were often identical persons.⁴ The importance of fortifications has changed pursuant to the current political-military situation. It was a new type of army organization where the main role was not played by the nobility insurrections or banderiums of the magnates headed by the Palatine, rather the army of foreign mercenaries under the command of Captains appointed by the Council of War or the Monarch were the decisive powers.

The construction of fortifications and strengthening of the artillery was forced by the new warfare coming in the end of the 15th century in which fire arms played the main role. The medieval stone castles with their high walls and bastions lost their defence powers and the knights' cavalry had become gradually obsolete also. Hungary had a great number of medieval castles absolutely unsuitable for the new way of warfare. In addition many of these were weak or destroyed after the Ottoman attacks happening from 1529.⁵ The modernization was inevitable. The Court Council of War beside the talented commanders and artillerists needed also engineers, architects, construction engineers and other military construction masters. During the Thirty Years

³ The list of captains during 16th – 17th century: Géza Pálffy, „Kerületi és végvidéki főkapitányok és főkapitány-helyettesek Magyarországon a 16. - 17. században,” *Történelmi Szemle* 39, no. 2 (1997): 258-259.

⁴ Pálffy, *Kerületi és végvidéki főkapitányok...*, 257.

⁵ Dangel and Kopčan, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska...*, 24-25 and 58-59.

War it was a rule that the military constructors were also military commanders who could prove the strength of their constructions directly in the battle. One of these construction-engineer specialists of the Court Council of War was Colonel Jakob von Holst. As the last period of life and work of this significant West European expert is connected with Hungary and directly with Košice, we consider it useful to provide the public his biographic data taken from the study of the Austrian art-historian, Franz Peter Wanek.⁶

Jakub von Holst was born on 2nd May/June 1609 in Marienburg in the former Prussia. Today it is the Polish city Malbork. In 1630-1633 he studied „art of fortifications“ in Brussels and Hague. This time he acquired the first six books on geometry and geodesy that made the basis of his scientific library. These books enable us to have a look into the way of education of fortification constructors. Holst's library was further enlarged by his son Johann Friedrich von Hollstein and Johann Ferdinand II, Count from Herberstein. Today we call this library Hollstein-Herberstein-Bibliothek, and it is to be found in the University Library in Graz.⁷ After his studies Holst started to work as an engineer in the service of Kurfürst Georg Wilhelm from Brandenburg, and in three years time he became a Captain (Hauptmann) of infantry regiment. He took part in many battles and sieges, at the same time he acted also as a construction master (Festungsbaumeister) in improving the old fortifications and constructing new ones in Brandenburg. In a certain military mission during the siege of Brandenburg an der Havel by the Swedes, he was seriously wounded by a cannon ball on his left arm. This event was depicted in his coat of arms. He took part in the siege of bastion-fortification Dömitz at Mecklenburg in 1637 lying on the river Labe between Hamburg and Berlin. He had shown here such a heroism that subsequently was appointed commander of the fortification in the age of 28. In 1638 jointly with Hydde Hoerenken he proposed the enhancement of the renaissance citadel Spandau near Berlin. In a year after this he fortified Landsberg an der Warthe, then he restored Berlin after burning out its suburbs. He made this work under the command of the Brandenburg governor, Count Adam von Schwarzenberg. In the same year he was promoted to Major (Obristwachtmeister) and at the same time appointed technical inspector of all the Brandenburg fortifications. In 1644 Holst was raised to nobility by the Emperor Ferdinand III as a result of his works in Brandenburg. We know his unfinished project from 1650 related to the enlargement of Küstrin fortification (today Kostrzyn nad Odrą in Poland)⁸ and Peitz where he served as fortification engineer and Deputy-

⁶ Franz Peter Wanek, „Die Porträtbüste des Jacob von Holst. Ein unbekanntes Werk Francesco Mangiottis,“ *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 62, no. 1 (2008): 50-54.

⁷ Hans Zotter, *Die Hollstein/Herberstein Bibliothek*. [online], accessed 20. 09. 2013. Accessible on internet: < <http://sosa2.uni-graz.at/sosa/druckschriften/druckschriften/g-hollstein.php> >

⁸ Wolfgang Scharfe, „Festungspläne,“ *Küstrin*, 4. [online]. Picture 3.1.1-5 Jacob Holst: *Cüstrin wie es gewesen Anno 1650*. Colored hand-drawn plan stored in Deutsche Staatsbibliothek

Commander of the fortification. He implemented a lot of different fortification- and other construction works. During the Swedish-Polish War of Succession (1655 – 1660) Holst was appointed Quartermaster-General (Generalquartiermeister) in the staff of the Brandenburg Chief Commander, Field General Otto Christoph von Sparr, i.e. he was uncharged by the organization of the transport of military corps and their accommodation. In 1656, during the absence of the governor, General Henrich von Uffeln, Holst became the Commander of the city Berlin. It was that time that Raimondo Montecuccoli (1609 – 1680), the Austrian Field Marshall and Commander in chief came to Berlin. This meeting became decisive for his further life. Montecuccoli was one of the best commanders of his time and was as old as Holst. Both they loved military affairs and admired fire arms and inventions which they tested successfully in their armies later. We can say that it was Montecuccoli who introduced Holst in Vienna and recommended him as a member of the Court Council of War - fortification and artillery specialist. The urgent need for qualified fortification engineers and builders for the modernization of the Hungarian castles, neglected during the Thirty Years War, made Holst the Chief-Engineer (Ober-Ingenieur) and Colonel of the Imperial Artillery (Artillerie-Obristen).

Holst actively participated in construction and modernization works of the anti-Turkish fortifications (in years 1660 – 1674), but took part in the battles also. His closest colleague was Lucas Georg Sicha who was similarly famous engineer and master of fortifications. In 1662 he visited Zrinyivár, the fortification that the Croatian Ban, Mikuláš Zrinsky started to build. We know about their plan to enlarge the Tokaj castle in 1664 designed to protect the cities and villages along the Tisa River.⁹ In years 1665 – 1666 he worked in reconstruction of the fortification Egersee/Zalaegerszeg demolished by the Turks. He served in the unsuccessful siege of Kanizsa fallen to Turks (28. 4. – 2. 6. 1664), defence of Zrinyivár (3. 6. – 30. 6. 1664), and as the commander of the Artillery he became the hero of the Battle at St. Gotthard on 1st August 1664.

Fortifications, castles and fortified cities that were designed to be the imperator's strongholds regularly failed during the estates' revolts. A good example of this was the case of Košice. Its strategic position in the defence of Upper Hungary against the Ottoman Empire was enhanced in 1552, when the city got back to Ferdinand I after nearly 20 years of rule of Ján Zápoľský and his widow, the Polish princess, Isabella Jagiellon. Ferdinand I had a royal

Berlin, SX 22185/25. [accessed 12. 08. 2013]. Accessible on internet: <http://www.geog.fu-berlin.de/2bik/Kap3/kap3_1_1-04.php3>

⁹ Ferenc Karsay, „A Törökvilág néhány térképeről,“ in *Geodézia és Kartográfia* 6 (2003): 45-46. [online]. [accessed. 20. 10. 2013]. Accessible on internet: <<http://www.fomi.hu/honlap/magyar/szaklap/2003/06/8.pdf>>

armoury built here.¹⁰ In 1559 Košice became the seat of the Upper Hungarian Captain (supremus capitaneus regni Hungariae superiorum, Feldoberst/Generaloberst Oberungarn); the office was conferred on Imrich Thelekessy.¹¹ Thanks to imperial investments and privileges the city had become the centre of the armourial industry in Upper Hungary. Cold arms, fire arms, gunpowder and ammunition were produced here, and even river boats for the guards on Tisa River. The imperial armoury, foundry of cannons, food staff stores, bakery, brewery, mill, wine and beer cellars, granaries, gunpowder mills, saw-mills, and smithery, cannon ball stores, equipment and saltpetre stores served for the equipment of the imperial garrisons in the entire Capitanate.¹²

Košice had the best city walls in Upper Hungary and despite this fact it always fell relatively easily under the attacks of the rebels. The imperial garrison was not large enough to concentrate a real military force here. In 1604 Košice was conquered by Štefan Bocskay, in 1619 by Gabriel Bethlen, in 1644 - Juraj Rákóczy I took the city, in 1682 - Imrich Thököly, and finally in 1704 František Rákóczy II.¹³ Paradoxically, the Ottomans never conquered Košice. The city represented for the Vienna Court an unreliable strategic place so Košice could not be ignored any more. After the disclosure of the Wesselényi-conspiracy in 1671 they decided to apply a radical solution. The Habsburg repressive politics involved the liquidation of those nobility seats where anti-Habsburg elements were concentrated. The President of the Court Military Council was Raimondo Montecuccoli that time that was entrusted by the inspection of these locations. So Montecuccoli sent to Košice his loyal friend, Colonel von Holst. Jakub von Holst arrived in the depressed Košice in June 1671 and reported his arrival to General Paris von Spankau. They went together to check the city-walls and all the fortification elements. Holst prepared for the Court Council of War a report with his own proposal of settlement of the „Košice unreliability“. He drew up the plan of the citadel – fortification that would be built up behind the city walls, in the South peripheral district of Košice. It should have served as an anti-Turkish fortification, military barracks for the imperial garrison, and if need be, its cannons might have been turned against the city itself. It was a really original and unique project in the history of Hungary. It is likely that the Court Council of War considered pacifying the rebellious city by a citadel earlier as it was usual in West-European cities that time. Colonel von Holst was the one who

¹⁰ Martina Orosová and Henrieta Žažová, *Košická citadela* (Bratislava : For Aupark Košice A 21, 2011), 45.

¹¹ Géza Pálffy, „Kerületi és végvidéki főkapitányok és főkapitány-helyettesek Magyarországon a 16. – 17. században,“ in *Történelmi Szemle* 39, no. 2 (1997): 272; Pálffy, *A főkapitányi hadipari műhely kiépülése Kassán, és nyersanyagellátó forrásai*, 184.

¹² Orosová and Žažová, *Košická citadela*, 45-46.

¹³ Dangel and Kopčan, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska...*, 53-61.

implemented this idea.

He applied all his experience acquired from Brandenburg and Mecklenburg fortification systems projecting a bastion-type fortification with a pentagonal shaped moat. He decided for an interesting and unique combination of brick-built and earthen elements. The ramparts of the bastions and curtain walls were copied by the lower continual defence line placed in front of un-armoured bastion fronts, called in literal sources as „wall in a ditch“ or zwingler/bailey. It was a type of masonry *fausse braye* - very popular fortification element of the French marshal Vauban. Another interesting component of this system was the so called *bonnet* that strengthened the peaks of the bastions from inside, called in the contemporary sources as „horns or emergency dams“. They enabled the defenders to move freely between the citadel and the second defence line of *fausse braye*.¹⁴

Colonel Holst equipped by imperial deeds started to coordinate the construction of the citadel. While the demolition of the Southern Suburb and other preparation earth-works were running, the Colonel used up the summer months for inspections of some other castles and fortifications in both Upper and Lower Hungary. He integrated into his report the knowledge from the cities he passed during his trip from Vienna to Košice. He visited the following 15 cities:

1. Nielab (?), 2. Ibrani – Ibrány, 3. Kischwarda – Kisvárd, 4. Onot – Onód, 5. Dioschgiör – Diósgyőr, 6. Zendra – Szendrő, 7. Zatwar – Szádvár (near the village Szögliget), 8. Putnock – Putnok, 9. Devin – Divín, 10. Bollog/Balogvár – Velký Blh, 11. Turno – Turna castle/ Turňa nad Bodvou, 12. Saroch – Šariš Castle, 13. Bergschloss Cassa not far from Ilava (?) “Seat of the outlaws and rebels“, 14. Orawa – Orava Castle, 15. Lickowa/Likowa – castle Likava.

After his return to Košice he wrote a report on 5th September 1671 for the Court War Council. The report was entitled „Description of some castles, boundary fortifications and other places in Upper and Lower Hungary with the attached recommendations“ (Beschreibung etlicher bergschlösser, gränitz hauser, und anderer orten, in Ober, und Unter Ungarn, mit angehendendem guttachten). In his report he described the overall situation of the concerned location, its position and accessibility, the surrounding countryside, the nearby cities and villages, rivers, bridges, fords. Further he informed whether it was a castle, mansion house or boundary fortification. Then he provided a brief description of the place and informed about the technical state of the fortification elements. In the conclusion he gave some recommendations regarding the tasks: what should be built complementarily, what has to be rebuilt or demolish in order to improve the defence capacity of the concerned location. In some cases he suggested the absolute demounting of the existing

¹⁴ Orosová and Žažová, *Košická citadela*, 130-135.

premises.¹⁵

Colonel Holst was substituted in supervision of the construction of citadel by his colleague engineer Lucas Georg Sicha. The construction works went on very slowly and the author of the project did not see its final form. Jakub von Holst died on 7th October 1674 in Vienna. His remains were taken to Lower Lausitz and buried in the crypt in the Roman Gothic Church in Stradow, not far from Brandenburg frontier city, Spremberg. Holst bought here an estate in 1659 that he gave to his daughter Ann Elisabeth as dowry, when she got married to Ludwig von Pfuel (Pfuhl). The church was a burial place for the families of Holst and Pfuel. Stradow was totally demolished because of the local coal mines in 1983 – 1984. On that occasion a complex archaeological research was made in the church crypt where Jakub von Holst was buried. The copper plate with Holst's coat of arms and an inscription written on the cover of his coffin was taken to the Spremberg Museum. In the Stradow church the lord and patron of the church - Jakub von Holst was remembered by his portrait-bust and armorial mortuary (Totenschild). Both these were taken to the church in Spremberg in 1982. The bust is made of gypsum and its author is the Roman sculptor Francesco Mangiotti. The date is damaged showing 16[.], that might be 1669 or 1665. As the art-historian Franz Peter Wanek said, the bust might have been made on the occasion of Holst's 60th birthday or as the glorification of the St. Gothard victory. We do not know whether a bronze or stone sculpture was made under this gypsum bust.

The Košice citadel was not a long time construction. The system did not have all the fortification elements even by the beginning of the 80ths of the 17th century and Captain Andrej Szirmay made just use of this shortages by conquering the citadel through a stratagem for the army of Imrich Thököly in 1682. Minimally two of the cannon balls, found during the archaeological research, hit the fausse braye but they did not damage it at all. Von Holst's construction was perfectly planned and built up. Thököly paralysed the bastions by gunpowder charges and the Citadel ceased to be a threat for the city. After the defeat of the Ottomans the unfinished and damaged citadel lost its function as an anti-Turkish military fortification. The systematic destroying of earthen and masonry constructions, smoothing the terrain and the unfavourable climatic conditions caused the total destruction of the citadel.¹⁶

Colonel Jakub von Holst is, however, still alive, he has become the symbol of the „museum nights“, an annual event held in September in the Lower Lausitz museum in Spremberg under the slogan „Wenn Jacob von Holst erwacht – dann ist wieder Museumsnacht“ [When Jakub von Holst wakes up

¹⁵ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, Kriegsarchiv, Akten des Wiener Hofkriegsrates, 1671 September no. 227.

¹⁶ Orosová and Žažová, *Košická citadela*, 146-151.

– then will start again the night of museums].¹⁷

The Košice citadel and all the anti-Turkish fortifications in the territory of the today's Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Slovenia, Croatia and Austria that stopped the expansion of the Ottoman Empire have become a significant part of the European history. Their European dimension might be discovered and presented through our joint researches. And the results might serve not only for Europe but also for us, - for the citizens of the succession states of the Habsburg Monarchy.

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¹⁷ Lausitzer Museenland Spremberg [online], Accessed 20. 09. 2013]. Accessible on internet: http://www.lausitzer-museenland.de/index.php?f_article_id=1571&f_action=view_article&f_action_id=8000
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Košice a drift in the European municipal politics

István H. Németh

Abstract

This paper analyzes the city Košice as the capital of revolts that took a place in form the 16th to 18th century in the Hungarian Kingdom. It also presented the city as the centre of region situated into the the proximity of Transylvania and on the periphery of the Kingdom of Hungary, which caused the close connections to the history and political ambitions of the very close Principality of Transylvan. The paper also deals with mentioned factors and tries to place them in the frame of European municipal politics. Thus the author do not study the political changes occurring in the 16th - 18th centuries as local or national phenomena, but in comparison with the characteristics of municipal politics implemented also in the other states of Europe.

Key words: Košice. 16th and 18th century. European municipal politics.

In the Austrian and thus the international bibliography, the Kingdom of Hungary was depicted as the main source of revolts within the Habsburg Monarchy. This view was influenced not only by the historical facts, i.e. the attacks of the Transylvanian princes, the liberation war of Rákóczi or the 1848-49 war of independence. The Hungarian historians have taken a liking in depicting the relation of the Habsburgs and the Hungarians in this way, oversimplifying it to the „relation” of the oppressor and the rightly revolting party. In the minds of the Hungarians, Slovaks and Austrians, the city of Košice appears traditionally as the capital of these revolts.¹ As far as the the political history of the city is concerned, this image is correct. The main cause of this was that the history of Košice was closely related to the history and political ambitions of the very close Principality of Transylvania. In spite of this, the changes in the history of the city fit into a well-defined frame of municipal politics, with all the parallels and the influence of the state politics applied to the European cities. The aforementioned geopolitical factors of Košice (the proximity of Transylvania and the fact that it was situated on the periphery of the Kingdom of Hungary), as well as the central position in the region gave rise to these factors and/or emphasized them. However, these phenomena have to be studied as a whole, otherwise we might get very distorted results. The distortion of judgment is not an uncommon phenomenon – in fact, it is very frequent among the historians of Hungary and Slovakia. Therefore, this study deals with these main factors and tries to place them in

¹ Géza Pálffy, „Ewige Verlierer oder auch ewige Gewinner? Aufstände und Unruhen im frühneuzeitlichen Ungarn,” in *Die Stimme der ewigen Verlierer?(Aufstände, Revolten und Revolutionen in den österreichischen Ländern (ca.1450 - 1815); Vorträge der Jahrestagung des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung (Wien, 18.-20.Mai 2011)*), ed. by Peter Rauscher und Martin Scheutz (Wien-München, 2013), 151-176.

the frame of European municipal politics. Thus we won't study the political changes occurring in the 16th - 18th centuries as local or national phenomena, but in comparison with the characteristics of municipal politics implemented also in the other states of Europe.

Past works presented the analyses of such changes as a Hungarian and prevaillingly negative phenomenon, focusing on the anti-Habsburg ideas strongly represented by the national historians. In the case of the recatholization, for example, protestantism was considered to be the national religion, while those of catholic faith were the servants of the Habsburgs, the royal court in Vienna and the „enemies of the nation”, i.e. the Hungarian catholic nobility. This interpretation has also been reinforced by the fact that the princes of Transylvania, depicted as the supporters of the idea of having an independent Hungarian state, appeared as the protectors of some branch of protestantism. On the other hand, the strong self-governments were considered to be the bastions of national resistance, therefore any intervention against these institutions was considered to be an attack against the nation itself.²

As far as the the cities of the early modern times are concerned, their social structure and their class system was a whole lot more open than it used to be in the middle ages. The municipalities got more and more integrated into the centralizing state administration. This was caused by the public administration changes on one hand and by the ever more interwoven relationships of the burghers and the nobility on the other. The latter phenomenon led to the estates of the realm blending with one another, being the most important feature of the early modern times. Except for this, one of the basic phenomena of the early modern times was that the state got more powerful: the scope of authority of the state administration expanded. In the first period, the state infiltrated the cities primarily in the fields, which were related to the development of the armed forces and the public administration. Starting from the 16th century, military centers of the cities, fortified towns, official seats and residences were the first to see these factors change in the field of public administration and the legal and social fields.³

² Ibolya Felhő, „A szabad királyi városok és a magyar kamara a XVII. században,” in *Levéltári Közlemények* 24 (1946), 209-267; Jenő Szűcs, „Das Städtewesen in Ungarn im 15–17. Jahrhundert,” in *La renaissance et la réformation en Pologne et en Hongrie*, ed. by György Székely and Erik Fügedi (Budapest, 1963), 97-164; Anton Špiesz, *ovské mestá na Slovensku v rokoch 1680-1780* (Bratislava, 1983); Anton Špiesz, „Rekatolizácia Na Slovensku v Mestách v Rokoch 1681-1781,” in *Historický Časopis* 39 (1991): 588–612; Peter Kónya, „Spoločnosť hornouhorských miest v 17. storočí,” in *Z Bardejova do Prešporku. Spoločnosť, súdnictvo a vzdelanosť v mestách v 13.-17. storočí*, ed. by Enikő Csukovits and Tünde Lengyelová (Prešov-Bratislava, 2005), 267-284.

³ Christopher R. Friedrichs, *Urban politics in early modern Europe. 1. publ. London ua* (Routledge, 2000); *Ein zweigeteilter Ort? Hof und Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Susanne Claudine Pils (Innsbruck - Wien – Bozen, 2005).

In the next period, i.e. from the 17th century onwards the state apparatus tried to get insight into the everyday life of an ever larger part of the society and subsequently, intervene into it more and more. This effort went hand in hand with the fact that the centralized – and later the absolutist – state introduced centralized rules in the matters previously managed exclusively by the estates of the realm and their representatives. By this we mean mostly the relationship of peasants and landlords, directed by the state in the 18th century or matters of religion, pastoral care, healthcare, poverty related matters, etc. Matters of war and military financing – which became a state task at the time – have developed under the control of the absolute monarch; in accordance with the novel way of exercising power, a centralization occurred also in other fields of the state (i.e. tax administration, jurisdiction, tasks related to certain units of public administration, etc.) and became tasks of the state administration, backed by his legitimation.⁴ In the history of economy, the above transformation is described as the birth of the fiscal state, which exactly expresses the purely economic, financial relationship between the causes and the solutions. These phenomena have influenced also the cities being under the control of the monarch. The income issuing from the activities of the bourgeoisie (the ever increasing taxes, trade income, etc.) formed an ever increasing part of the state income, therefore the state and the wealthy commoners had more and more interests in common.⁵ Some call this the advent of state bureaucracy in the towns and cities, the integration of the cities into the state administration, or, with a little exaggeration: the “nationalization” of municipalities. As a consequence of the changes implemented in the state administration and in municipal politics, the

⁴ *Der Absolutismus - ein Mythos? Strukturwandel monarchischer Herrschaft in West- und Mitteleuropa (ca. 1550-1700)*, ed. by Ronald G. Asch and Heinz Duchhardt (Köln; Weimar; Wien: Böhlau, 1996); Ronald G. Asch, „Kriegsfinanzierung, Staatsbildung und ständische Ordnung im Westeuropa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert“ *Historisches Zeitschrift* 268 (1999): 635–671; Heinz Duchhardt, „Absolutismus — Abschied von einem Epochenbegriff“ *Historisches Zeitschrift* 258 (1994): 113–122; Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European Monarchy* (London: Longman, 1992); Gerd Heinrich, „Staatsaufsicht und Stadtfreiheit in Brandenburg–Preußen unter dem Absolutismus (1660–1806),“ in *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Wilhelm Rausch, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 5) (Linz (Donau), 1981), 155–172; Rudolf Vierhaus, *Deutschland im Zeitalter des Absolutismus (1648–1763)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978); Alwin Hanschmidt, „Zur Armenpolizei und Armenversorgung in der Stadt Münster im 17. Jahrhundert,“ in *Städtisches Gesundheits- und Fürsorgewesen vor 1800*, ed. by Peter Johanek, (Städteforschung, Reihe A 50) (Köln: Böhlau, 2000), 225–241.

⁵ *The rise of the fiscal state in Europe c.1200–1815*, 1. publ, ed. by Richard Bonney (Oxford ua: Oxford University Press, 1999); Marjolein C.‘t Hart, *The making of a bourgeois state. War, politics and finance during the Dutch revolt* (Manchester ua: Manchester University Press, 1993); O’ Patrick K. Brien and Philip A. Hunt, “The Rise of a Fiscal State in England, 1485–1815,“ *Historical Research* 66, no. 160 (1993): 129–176; *La fiscalità nell’ economia europea secc. XIII–XVIII: Atti della “Trentanovesima settimana di studi”* (22–26. aprile 2007), ed. by Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze University Press, 2008).

previously closed municipal life has come to an end by the 18th century and handed over its place to municipalities integrated into modern states, developing at a pace never seen before.⁶

The above phenomena have fully culminated mainly in the cities of Western Europe, however, as a trend, this also applied to every province of the Habsburg Monarchy. Nevertheless, there is almost no example of the full implementation of these measures. Within the Monarchy, centralized municipal politics were implemented as first in the main provinces (in Lower, Upper and Inner Austria and in the 17th century even in Bohemia and Moravia), more than half a century earlier than in the Kingdom of Hungary. Militarily and financially, the Kingdom of Hungary became a strongly centralized part of the Habsburg Monarchy, nevertheless it remained a monarchy limited by the estates of the realm, having an influential and numerous political elite. After the battle of Mohács (1526), both parties recognized that bilateral compromises had to be done in order to protect the monarchy and the Kingdom of Hungary. Therefore, the political influence of the Hungarian estates of the realm remained a lot greater than the power of those in the other provinces of the Habsburg monarchy. Therefore the self-governments of the estates of the realm (the counties and the royal free cities) performed their tasks getting ever stronger, while the full power above the state politics and the jurisdiction remained in the hands of the estates of the realm. The Kingdom of Hungary remained the state having the most independent and powerful estates of the realm within the Habsburg Monarchy.⁷

The municipalities being so-called royal free cities could exercise their rights and implement their political interests in this political situation. These

⁶ As to the “nationalization” of cities: Klaus Gerteis, *Die deutschen Städte in der frühen Neuzeit. Zur Vorgeschichte der “bürgerlichen Welt”* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), 73-80. See also: Nicolas Rügge, *Im Dienst von Stadt und Staat. Der Rat der Stadt Herford und die preußische Zentralverwaltung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Charles Tilly and Wim Blockmans, *Cities and the rise of states in Europe, A.D. 1000 to 1800* (Boulder, Coloua: Westview Press, 1994); Alexander Cowan, *Urban Europe 1500–1700*, 1. publ. (London ua: Arnold, 1998); *Le pouvoir central et les villes en Europe du XVe siècle aux débuts de la révolution industrielle: Actes du colloque de la Commission internationale pour l'histoire des villes au Danemark, Copenhague 1976*, ed. by Thomas Riis and Poul Stromstad (Copenhagen, 1978); Mathieu Marraud, *De la ville à l'État, la bourgeoisie parisienne, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2009); Giorgio Chittolini, “Städte und Regionalstaaten in Mittel- und Oberitalien zwischen spätem Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit,” in *Res Publica. Bürgerschaft in Stadt und Staat. Tagung der Vereinigung für Verfassungsgeschichte in Hofgeismar am 30./31. März 1987, Der Staat Beiheft 8* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1988), 179–200; Thomas A. Brady, *Turning Swiss. Cities and Empire, 1450–1550, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); *Urban Elections and Decision-Making in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Rudolf Schlögl and Jan Marco Sawilla (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2009).

⁷ Géza Pálffy, „The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century,” *Hungarian Studies Series 18* (New York: Boulder, 2009).

cities had the right of full self-governance, independent of the royal powers from the 15th century onwards.⁸ In spite of this, the royal free cities had only certain rights as estates of the realm and they did not equal the nobility in exercising these rights. In general we can say that they received all their privileges as estates of the realm thanks to the compromises brought to life by the fall of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Among the estates of the realm they had a situation never doubted, but very oppressed.⁹

The first period was therefore the period of developing the venue of intervention. This is when the fortified and residence cities, royal seats were established. The establishment of fortified cities was motivated mainly by the fact that the European civil wars and the Ottoman assaults (mainly on the Iberian peninsula and in Italy) forced the central governments to finance the fortification of their cities at an ever growing pace.¹⁰ The European continent saw similar fortification efforts in the urban areas, too, mainly at the main fronts of the military operations (in France, in the Netherlands) and later, during or after the thirty year war in the cities of the Holy Roman Empire.¹¹ Numerous cities of the Habsburg Monarchy (Salzburg, Vienna, Graz,

⁸ Szűcs, *Das Städtewesen in Ungarn im 15–17. Jahrhundert*; András Kubinyi, “Der ungarische König und seine Städte im 14. und am Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts,” in *Stadt und Stadtherr im 14. Jahrhundert. Entwicklungen und Funktionen*, ed. by Wilhelm Rausch, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 2) (Linz/Donau: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung), 1974), 193–220.

⁹ István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon* (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004).

¹⁰ Alicia Cámara Muñoz, „Città e difesa dei regni peninsulari nella Spagna imperiale (secoli XVI–XVII),” in *La città e la mura Szerk*, ed. by Jacques Le Goff and Cesare De Seta (Roma–Bari, 1989), 80–105; Enrico Guidoni and Angela Marino, *Storia dell’Urbanistica. Il Cinquecento* (Roma–Bari, 1982), 217–418, 500–505 and 578–610. As to the abundant Italian literature on urbanism, see: Ibidem, 658–661.

¹¹ Bernhard R. Kroener, „Vom „extraordinarii Kriegsvolk“ zum „miles perpetuus“. Zur Rolle der bewaffneten Macht in der europäischen Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit,” *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen* 43. (1988/1.): 141–188; Ralf Pröve, *Stehendes Heer und städtische Gesellschaft im 18. Jahrhundert. Göttingen und seine Militärbevölkerung 1713–1756* (München, 1995); Daniel Hohrath, „Der Bürger im Krieg der Fürsten. Stadtbewohner und Soldaten in belagerten Städten um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Krieg und Frieden. Militär und Gesellschaft in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Bernhard R. Kroener and Ralf Pröve (Paderborn, 1996), 305–329; Holger T. Gräf, „Militarisierung der Stadt oder Urbanisierung des Militärs? Ein Beitrag zur Militärgeschichte der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Klio in Uniform? Probleme und Perspektiven einer modernen Militärgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Ralf Pröve (Köln, 1997), 89–108; Jutta Nowosadtko, „Der Militäristand ist ein privilegierter Stand, der seine eigene Gesetze, obrigkeitliche Ordnung und Gerichtsbarkeit hat.” Die „Verstaatlichung“ stehender Heere in systemtheoretischer Perspektive,” in *Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Umrisse eines dynamisch-kommunikativen Prozesses*, ed. by Markus Meumann and Ralf Pröve (Münster, 2004), 121–141; Pierre Lavedan, Jeanne Huguency and Philippe Henrat, *L’urbanisme a l’époque moderne (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Genève, 1982), 3–69.

Radkersburg) were fortified with modern fortification systems.¹²

The permanent presence of military troops in cities appeared – as a consequence of the Ottoman conquests – very early in the Kingdom of Hungary, in the middle of the 16th century, along with the fortification. As it was expressly stated in the available German literature, this was the time when the armed forces appeared as a separate group in society, with granted/acquired privileges.¹³ In the 16th and 17th centuries, Košice was – except for Varaždin, Croatia – the only royal free city in the Kingdom of Hungary having a garrison. This special status of being an estate of the realm and the fact that the city was behind the first line of defense saved the city from its transformation into a fortified city. However, a strong power, controlled by the centralized state, the military headquarters of Upper Hungary moved into the city. The interests of this power influenced the development of the city in many aspects and they cut the self-governance rights of the city council. Such aspects were the jurisdiction in matters between the military forces and the burghers, supervision of city territory, due to the facilities of the armed forces and the catering needs of the soldiers, special problems related to the boarding of the army (erection of facilities, conflicts issuing from the social integration of the military). By the middle of the 16th century the chief of the military gained competence in matters such as specifying the fire-protection regulations of the city or altering the city layout in case of its fortification. The presence of the military forces allowed the merchants of Košice to become involved in the military supply chain (as far as they could) and the settling soldiers became a sources of migration for the city. The new internal market possibilities were suppressed by the military wine and beer bars as well as slaughterhouses being sources of conflict between the city council and the local military headquarters even at the end of the 18th century.¹⁴

¹² Helfried Valentinitich, *Die innerösterreichischen Städte und die Türkenabwehr im 17. Jahrhundert, Europäische Städte im Zeitalter des Barock* (Gestalt — Kultur — Sozialgefüge) (Krüger, Kersten Köln, 1988), 176 and 179-184.

¹³ As to a summary of the Kingdom of Hungary, see: Géza Pálffy “The Border Defense System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. by László Veszprémy and Béla K Király (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 111–135. As to the phenomena in Germany, see: Jutta Nowosadtko, „Der Militairstand ist ein privilegierter Stand, der seine eigene Gesetze, obrigkeitliche Ordnung und Gerichtsbarkeit hat. Die „Verstaatlichung“ stehender Heere in systemtheoretischer Perspektive,” in *Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Umriss eines dynamisch-kommunikativen Prozesses*, ed. by Markus Meumann and Ralf Pröve (Münster, 2004), 121–141.

¹⁴ István H. Németh, “Kassai polgárok és katonák a 16. században. A hadsereg beköltözésével járó társadalmi és közigazgatási jelenségek a felsőmagyarországi városok életében a Mohácsot követő évtizedek során,” *Levéltári Közlemények* 68, no. 1–2 (1997): 143–197; István H. Németh, “Végvárak, városok, hadseregszállítók. A felső-magyarországi városszövetség és a védelmi rendszer 1526-159,” *Történelmi Szemle* 42, no. 3–4 (2000): 203-243; István H. Németh, “A beszállásolások rendszere és hatásai a XVI-XVII. századi magyar királyság szabad királyi városaiban,” *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 122, no. 2 (2009): 281–320.

Due to the processes described at the beginning of this study the early modern times were those of bureaucratization, development of the modern authorities and their becoming dominant. Modern offices came to life with the public administration reforms deployed by the Vienna royal court – with noble, though intellectual staff.¹⁵ These officials were linked to the urban environment, urban culture. There were strong links between the urban spheres and these clerks; a city, where a central authority had its offices gained a lot from their presence. The political influence of the city grew; for the merchants, the officials living “next door” and creating family ties became a customer base having taste and style; these meant also new career examples for the intellectual burghers.¹⁶ Nevertheless, a city had to provide the conditions appropriate for becoming an administrative center. Along with becoming a military center, Košice became a financial administrative center, too, when the Szepes [*Spiš*] Chamber moved to the city in 1568. Though the first plans were to move the local chamber administration to Prešov, Slovakia, in the end it was the rational proposal of Lazarus von Schwendi that won.¹⁷

Košice attracted the nobility as a double seat. As the leaders of the civilian and military offices, high aristocrats settled in the town, while people from the middle and lower aristocratic levels worked as office clerks. The latter ones could gradually become qualified bureaucrats, intellectual burghers. This development path of the city was applicable in most cases – it was in the 16th and 17th centuries when the palaces of the high nobility and houses of the offices clerks were being built in the city centers.¹⁸ The city, as a center of the

¹⁵ Győző Ember, *Az újkori magyar közigazgatás története Mohácstól a török kiűzéséig* (Budapest, 1946); Lajos Gecsényi, “Egy kamarai tisztviselő a XVI. században. Nagyváthy Ferenc,” *Turul* 72, no. 3–4 (1999): 77–83; Lajos Gecsényi and Tatána Pavlovna Gusarova, “A Szepesi Kamara vezető tisztviselői 1646-1672. között,” *Századok* 137, no. 3 (2003): 653–672.

¹⁶ As an analogy to this, see: Edith Ennen, „Residenzen. Gegenstand und Aufgabe der neuzeitlichen Städteforschung,” in *Residenzen. Aspekte des hauptstädtlichen Zentralität von der frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, ed. by Kurt Andermann (Sigmaringen, 1992), 189–198; Michael Stürmer, „Wir fürchten uns vor einer Hauptstadt,” in *Das Hauptstadtproblem in der deutschen Geschichte. Residenzen. Aspekte des hauptstädtlichen Zentralität von der frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, ed. by Kurt Andermann (Sigmaringen, 1992), 11–23; Jürgen Wolg, „Darmstadt als Residenz der Landgrafen und Großherzöge von Hessen,” in *Residenzen. Aspekte des hauptstädtlichen Zentralität von der frühen Neuzeit bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, ed. by Kurt Andermann (Sigmaringen, 1992), 365–395; Kurt Andermann, „Cours et résidences allemandes l’époque moderne. Bilan et perspectives de recherche,” *Francia* 22 (1995) 159–175. As to Bohemia, see: Josef Janáček, „Valdštejnův Jičín.” (Příspěvek k otázce rozvoje vrchnostenských měst v první polovině 17. století), *Česká města v 16.–18. století*, ed. by Jaroslav Pánek (Praha, 1991), 87–100; Jaroslav Čechura, „Městská šlechta — součást pražského patriciátu? K otázce kontinuity pražského patriciátu 14.–16. století,” in *Documenta Pragensia*, ed. by Václav Ledvický and Jiří Pešek (Praha, 1991), 64–82.

¹⁷ István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, 1. vol (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 474.

¹⁸ Jana Šulcová, „Dodávky skla pre pálfiovský dvor v Bratislave v 17. storočí,” in *Zborník Slovenského národného múzea* 83 (1991), 5 – 34; Jana Šulcová, „Stavba pálfiovskej záhradnej rezidencie v Bratislave,” in *Ars* 2 (1991), 139 – 149; Jana Šulcová, „Nižšia šľachta a nobilitovaní 228

economy was of great importance in the economic activities of the landlords, primarily as a market for the wine and other agricultural produce of their estates. The produce of the aristocratic farms had good sales conditions in the city.¹⁹ Except for this, the city, as the center of knowledge and culture played an important role in the studies of the youth. The decent educational institutions of the cities attracted also the aristocratic youth of the surrounding settlements. To lodge the students, the cheapest and best possibility for them was to own or buy a house in the city.²⁰

The settling aristocracy served also as career examples of the city burghers. In the first step they sought to get an aristocratic title while keeping the bourgeois lifestyle and source of income. This phenomenon was not a tradition coming from the middle ages, since at that time it was not a typical feature of the commoners living in cities.²¹ Acquiring an aristocratic title meant reaching the highest social rank of the time and was a symbol of their rise in the society – this was not typical only for Hungary. The aristocratic bourgeoisie – unlike the patricians of the cities of the German empire – did not become a member of the privileged burghers, but became members of the aristocracy of the county as burghers.²² This way of achieving growth in the society was so widespread that almost every member of the city elite had an aristocratic title, too. Many of them, however, didn't give up their bourgeois lifestyle and source of income, not even after the acquisition of the aristocratic title.²³

mešťania ako úradníci v službách Bratislavského hradu, Uhorskej komory a Pavla Pálfiho,” in *Zemianstvo na Slovensku v novoveku. Časť 2. Duchovná a hmotná kultúra*, ed. by Miloš Kovačka, Eva Augustínová and Maroš Mačuha (Martin, Slovenská národná knižnica, 2009), 46-55; Anna Fundárková, „Pálffy Pál építkezései,” in *Sic Itur ad Astra* 15, no. 1 (2003), 15-34; *Život pražských paláců. Šlechtické paláce jako součást městského organismu od středověku na práh moderní doby*, ed. by Olga Fejtová, Václav Ledvinka and Jiří Pešek (Praha, 2009); Edith Ennen, „Mitteleuropäische Städte im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Wilhelm Rausch, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 5.) (Linz/Donau, 1981), 1-20; Mathias Meinhardt, „Chancengewinn durch Autonomieverlust. Sächsische und anhaltische Residenzstädte zwischen bürgerlicher Selbstbestimmung und fürstlichem Gestaltungswillen,” in *Der Hof und die Stadt. Konfrontation, Koexistenz und Integration in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Werner Paravicini and Jörg Wettlauffer (Residenzforschung 20) (Ostfildern, 2006), 37-62. As to Vienna, see: *Ein zweigeteilter Ort? Hof und Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Susanne Claudine Pils (Innsbruck - Wien - Bozen, 2005).

¹⁹ István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 450 – 452.

²⁰ AMK, Schw., no. 12859, no. 12859, no. 12862. Jelšava, Slovakia, August 29, 1709.

²¹ Judit Majorossy, „Towns and Nobility in Medieval Western Hungary,” in *Mittler zwischen Herrschaft und Gemeinde: Die Rolle von Funktions- und Führungsgruppen in der mittelalterlichen Urbanisierung Zentraleuropas* (Wien, 2013), 109-150.

²² See also: Antal Áldásy, *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum könyvtárának címereslevelei 1200 – 1867*, vol. 1-8 (Budapest, 1904 – 1942).

²³ Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, „Egy kereskedőcsalád metamorfóza”, in *Óra, szablya, nyoszolya*, ed. by Vera Zimányi (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1994), 42-46; István H. Németh,

The demand of the bourgeoisie to become members of the highest levels of the society of the time is understandable, since the aristocratic title became the symbol of social success of the individual. The city management did not consider this dangerous or harmful, since the top levels consisted mostly of these aristocratic burghers.²⁴ Beside the aristocratic title, many of them acquired even the title “familiaris aulicae” – in the 16th and 17th century one could get this for service in offices, intellectual and economic services. The goal was to raise the members of the Hungarian gentry, the bourgeoisie and – due to the administration reforms – the representatives of the ever more numerous class of officials into the group governing the Kingdom of Hungary, patronized by the monarch and coordinated in a system of compromises.²⁵ The state and the monarch himself made their best to transform the bourgeoisie and the other noble officials into a loyal group and playing an important role in the state administration and the military supplies; this group could later become a source of the people operating the public administration.²⁶

The military contingent in Košice and the office staff jointly allowed the monarch also to intervene in the city in the most effective way, if the interests of the monarch or the state of the new politics required so. The first of these points of conflict was religion. Here we have to point out that this was the reason why Košice and other cities were more or less happy to see military troops – with Hungarian members – heading against the Habsburg monarchs, mainly troops led by the princes of Transylvania. However, the cause of this may be traced back to the trends setting the municipal politics in Europe. One of the most significant parts of the centralist, absolutist state administration practice was confessionalism, thus the authoritative supremacy of the monarch in all aspects of life, i.e. also in religion and church, too. The fusion

„Šfacha v mestách - prirodzený proces alebo negatívny jav?,” in *Forum Historiae* 2, no. 1 (2008).

²⁴ István H. Németh, “Az állam szolgálói vagy a város képviselői? A központosuló várospolitika hatásai a soproni politikai elit átrendeződésére,” *Soproni Szemle* 61 (2007): 125–141.

²⁵ Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, „Egy kereskedőcsalád metamorfózisa,” in *Ora, szablya, nyoszolya*, ed. by Vera Zimányi (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1994), 33–85; Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, „Polgár vagy nemes?,” in *Ezredforduló — századforduló — hevenedik évforduló. Ünnepi tanulmányok Zimányi Vera tiszteletére*, ed. by Zsuzsanna J. Újváry (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem BTK, 2001), 395–426; István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, vol. 1. (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 439–472; István H. Németh, „Polgár vagy nemes? A városok nemesi rendű lakosainak problematikája a felső-magyarországi városszövetség tevékenysége tükrében,” *Korall — társadalomtörténeti folyóirat* 9 (2002): 79–106; István H. Németh, „Šfacha v mestách - prirodzený proces alebo negatívny jav?,” in *Forum Historiae* 2, no. 1 (2008). As to the “familiaris aulicae” title see: Géza Pálffy, „The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century,” *Hungarian Studies Series* 18 (New York: Boulder, 2009), 75.

²⁶ István H. Németh, “Venerable Senators or Municipal Bureaucrats? The Beginnings of the Transformation of the Estate of Burghers at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *The Hungarian Historical Review: New Series of Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, vol 1* (2012): 49–78.

of the state and the church is therefore a characteristic feature of the 16th and 17th centuries, both in the case of the protestant churches, as well as in the case of roman catholic church.²⁷ This supremacy was implemented by means of the state administration having an ever broader scope of competence, built around the “one state, one religion” theory. This effort was, just like in the other states of Europe, an integral part of the religious politics of the Habsburg government in the Bohemian and Austrian hereditary provinces.²⁸

The first signs of recatholization/counter-reformation became visible during the reign of emperor Rudolph, when the monarch, after the 1604 national assembly, approved a law, which aimed to establish the monopoly of the catholic faith, without consulting the estates of the realm. Before the law became effective, the churches of the Lutherans have been confiscated with the help of the military forces and were handed over to the catholics being in minority in the cities, as first in Košice. This was the first time when the idea of armed resistance against the monarch appeared in the correspondence of the association of cities and towns of Upper Hungary. At the 1604 territorial assembly held in Sečovce, Slovakia all estates of the realm of Upper Hungary supported the protest of the towns and cities and demanded the monarch to return the churches. Building on the religious tension and discontent due to the damages caused by the long war, Stephen Bocskai organized a revolt. The council of Košice took a step unseen before: they prevented the troops returning from Transylvania led by Giovanni Giacomo Barbiano Belgioioso to enter the city; then Melchior Reiner and Johannes Bocatius demanded the catholic priests to leave Košice and subsequently they handed over the city to hajduk captain Balázs Lippay. However, we may not consider the city government to be fully rebelling, since in the following years they adhered to the oath of fidelity given to the monarch. First of all, the cities wanted peace

²⁷ Olaf Mörke, “Die politische Bedeutung des Konfessionellen im Deutschen Reich und in der Republik der vereinigten Niederlande,” in *Der Absolutismus — ein Mythos? Strukturwandel monarchischer Herrschaft in West- und Mitteleuropa*, ed. by Ronald G. Asch and Heinz Duchhardt (Köln, Wien, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1996), 125–164; Wolfgang Reinhard, “Zwang Zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena Zu Einer Theorie Des Konfessionellen Teitalters,” in *Zeitschrift Für Historische Forschung* 10 (1983): 257–277; Heinz Schilling, *Konfessionalisierung und Staatsinteressen: internationale Beziehungen 1559 - 1660* (Paderborn; Wien ua: Schöningh, 2007); Heinz Schilling, “Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988): 1–45.

²⁸ Ernst Hinrichs, “Abschied Vom Absolutismus. Eine Antwort Auf Nicholas Henshall,” in *Der Absolutismus — Ein Mythos? Strukturwandel Monarchischer Herrschaft in West- Und Mitteleuropa (ca. 1550–1700)* (Köln, Wien, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1996.), 353–371; Rudolf Vierhaus, *nde. Vom Westfälischen Bis Zum Hubertusbürger Frieden 1648 - 1763* en-Verlag, 1984), 15-38; Arno Herzig, *Der Zwang zum wahren Glauben: Rekatholisierung vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Jiří Mikulec, „Die staatlichen Behörden und das Problem der konfessionellen Emigration aus Böhmen nach dem Jahr 1620,” in *Glaubensflüchtlinge. Ursachen, Formen und Auswirkungen frühneuzeitlicher Konfessionsemigration in Europa*, ed. by Joachim Bahlcke, (Berlin: LitVerlag, 2008), 165-186.

and Lutheran faith, to which they saw a threat in both the monarch, as well as the Calvinist faith spread forcefully by Bocskai and his hajduks.²⁹

In spite of the fact that the leaders of the municipal elite letting Bocskai into the city were two Germans of Lutheran faith, the internal relationships of power have changed at this time. The prevailingly Calvinist Hungarian bourgeoisie started acquiring more and more important positions in the municipal council. It seems that starting from the first decade of the 17th century, the councilor positions were distributed 50/50 among the Hungarian and German burghers. In spite of the fact that starting with the middle of the 16th century, significant numbers of Hungarian commoners came to Košice, their political influence was visible only from the end of the century onwards. This was the time, when the members of the city council changed, too: the Hungarian members became prevalent. From this time on members of a more radical Hungarian bourgeoisie with a strong affinity to the Calvinists, the most vociferous objectors of the Vienna peace treaty got a chance to express their views. Representatives of the more radical Hungarian commoners (George Szabó, Andrew, George, Michael and Martin Szegedi Materna, Andrew Varannay Tóth, Paul Tóth, Stephen Almási) played a dominant role until the first third of the 17th century.³⁰ Instead of the Habsburgs, this elite supported the Principality of Pfalz as propagated by reverend Peter Alvinczi. The interests of the burghers of Košice countering the capital, Pozsony [*Bratislava, Slovakia*] could have been best represented by a large and an adequately powerful national principality, therefore they took the side of the princes of Transylvania in the thirty year war.³¹

During the reign of emperors Ferdinand II and III, the state administration tried to achieve a catholic majority in the towns and cities of the Kingdom of Hungary by more peaceful means. Contrary to this, these were the times of culmination of the recatholization efforts in the provinces of Austria, Bohemia

²⁹ Michal Suchý, „Pentapolitana v predvečer povstania Štefana Bočkaja,” *Historický časopis* 18 (1970): 187-191; István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 122-128; András Péter Szabó, „Inhalt und Bedeutung des Widerstandslehre im Bocskai-Aufstand,” in *Calvin un Reformiertentum in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen*, ed. by Márta Fata and Anton Schindling (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2010), 327–331.

³⁰ János Bocatius, *Őt év börtönben (1606–1610)* (Budapest: Csonka Ferenc Budapest, 1985), 168. These were the same, whose arresting Martin Pethe of Hetes, Hungary suggested in May 1604. Oszkár Paulinyi, *Iratok Kassa rekatolizálásának történetéhez* (Budapest, 1931), 65-66. See also: István H. Németh, *Kassa szabad királyi város archontológiája. Birák, külső és belső tanács (1500–1700)* (Budapest: Szentpétery Imre Történettudományi Alapítvány, 2006).

³¹ János Heltai, *Alvinczi Péter és a heidelbergi peregrinusok*, (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1994), 163-164. As to the relationship of Alvinczi and the burghers of Košice: Ferenc Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéséhez* (Budapest: Balassi, 1995), 217-218; ill. Zsuzsanna J. Újváry, „Egy kereskedőcsalád metamorfózisa,” in *Óra, szablya, nyoszolya*, ed. by Vera Zimányi (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1994), 33–85, and/or in detail: István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 109-128.

and Moravia. Due to the religious politics applied in Hungary, more and more members of the high nobility converted; starting from the first quarter of the century, only Catholics were admitted as officials of the state administration.³² A similar phenomenon appeared at a municipal level, though there the efforts had less significant results. Starting from the middle of the 17th century, the most important means in the process were the monk orders settled in the more important towns and cities (mainly the Jesuit order) and the educational institutions created by them. The Jesuits were soon followed by the Franciscans and the Pauline order. In spite of the fact that the monk orders and their educational institutions provided a very important educational possibility for the bourgeoisie and the region, this did not lead to the birth of a real Catholic class of city leaders yet.³³ The effect of recatholicization was visible in the cities of Hungary and the fact that the aforementioned Calvinist Hungarian municipal political elite determined the political ambitions of Košice made the situation even more interesting. The vast majority of the city councilors handing the city over to Bocskai's hajduks were still councilors during the war campaigns of Gabriel Bethlen, prince of Transylvania. Knowing the previous events it is not a surprise to find out that when the troops of Bethlen, led by George Rákóczi arrived to the walls of Košice, the city council decided to make an oath of fidelity not to Andrew Dóczy, the chief of the troops in Upper Hungary, but Bethlen. Its members argued that protecting their faith was important to them and (as they said openly in front of the council) it suffered a lot of damage in the past few years. The towns and cities decided similarly also in 1644, when prince of Transylvania, George Rákóczy I attacked the territories of Upper Hungary. The members of the municipal councils have

³² Joachim Bahlcke, *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999); Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, vol. 2 (Wien, 2003), 128-133; Jiří Mikulec, *31.7.1627. Rekatolizace šlechty v Čechách. Čí je to země, toho je i náboženství* (Praha, 2005); Josef Hrdlička, "Die (Re-)Katholisierung Lokaler Amtsträger in Böhmen: Konfession Oder Disziplin?," in *Staatsmacht Und Seelenheil. Gegenreformation Und Geheimprotestantismus in Der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. by Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claidine Pils, and Thomas Winkelbauer (Wien: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2007), 357-366; Katalin Péter, "The Struggle for Protestant Religious Liberty at the 1646-47 Diet in Hungary," in *Crown, Church and Estates. Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by Robert John Weston Evans and Trevor V. Thomas (London: Macmillan in association with the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies University of London, 1994), 261-268; István H. Németh, "Európska doktrína alebo uhorská špecialita? Zásahy štátu a rekatolizácia miest v Uhorsku v priebehu 17. storočia," *Historický Časopis* 57, no. 4 (2009): 641-658.

³³ Robert J. W. Evans, *Das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie 1550-1700. Gesellschaft, Kultur, Institutionen* (Wien-Köln, 1989), 100-110; Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, vol. 2 (Wien, 2003), 122-127, and/or István H. Németh, "Európska doktrína alebo uhorská špecialita? Zásahy štátu a rekatolizácia miest v Uhorsku v priebehu 17. storočia," *Historický Časopis* 57, no. 4 (2009): 641-658.

decided primarily in accordance with the balance of forces at the time. The councilors expressed their unison view that history had shown it clearly: whenever a town battled with the enemy, it brought only evil and debris.³⁴

This period was the period when the centralizing state was intervening more and more intensely. The monarch, like a landlord, ordered the cities to pay an annually payable land tax (census). Starting from the first third of the century, the central financial authorities could even multiply the number of years of the levy at the national assemblies, regardless of the decision of the assembly. In case of Košice and the other cities the increased taxes and the diminishing sales possibilities led to a rapid decrease in the municipal tax paying capabilities, while the state steadily increased the tax burden due to the thirty year war.³⁵ This led to the fact that the municipal tax arrears, i.e. their debts grew rapidly. Just like in the other towns and cities of the Habsburg monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire.³⁶ The debts, the defaults in tax payment (as well as recatholization) led to identical political solutions: the state intervened into the internal affairs of the municipalities ever more, first of all into the municipal economy. This was the time, when a crucial change occurred in the relationship of the state and the municipalities in the early modern times – nevertheless this was common in Europe, too. Moreover, due to the strong nobility of the Kingdom of Hungary, the signs of centralization appeared in the Hungarian cities approximately half a century later than in the Austrian and Czech municipalities. The election commissioners, representatives of the monarch's will, appeared in the cities of the Habsburg Monarchy in the first quarter of the 17th century, while in the Kingdom of Hungary only half a century later.³⁷

³⁴ István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*, vol. 1. (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2004), 141; AMK, H I, 7145/49. Prešov, Slovakia, Sept. 26, 1644

³⁵ István H. Németh, “Die finanziellen Auswirkungen der osmanischen Expansion auf die Städteentwicklung in Ungarn,” in *La Fiscalità nell'economia europea secc. XIII–XVIII – Fiscal Systems in the European Economy from the 13th to the 18th Century*, ed. Cavaciocchi Simonetta (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2008), 771–780.

³⁶ Franz Quarthal, *Landstände und landständisches Steuerwesen in Schwäbisch-Österreich, Stuttgart, 1980* (Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde 16), 117–219; Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, vol. 1. (Wien, 2003), 123–173.

³⁷ Otto Brunner, “Städtische Selbstregierung und neuzeitlicher Verwaltungsstaat in Österreich,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für öffentliches Recht* 6 (1955): 221–249; Karl Gutkas, “Das Städtewesen Des Österreichischen Donauländer Und Der Steiermark Im 14. Jahrhundert,” in *Stadt Und Stadtherr Im 14. Jahrhundert. Entwicklungen Und Funktionen*, ed. by Wilhelm Rausch (Linz (Donau): Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1972), 234–237; Franz Baltzarek, „Die Stadtordnung des Ferdinands I. und die städtische Autonomie im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Wien an der Schwelle der Neuzeit*, ed. by Franz Baltzarek et al. (Wien: Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, 1974), 31–43; Martin Scheutz, “Compromise and Shake Hands. The Town Council, Authority and Urban Stability in Eighteenth-century Austrian Small Towns,” *Urban History* 34, no. 1 (2006): 51–63; Thomas A. Brady, *Turning Swiss. Cities and Empire, 1450–1550, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: New

Due to the tax increases and the revocation of the trade privileges, the measures of municipal politics affecting Košice have become ever more intense, until a strong control of the state appeared in the last third of the 17th century. In accordance with provisions elaborated for the Austrian cities, royal commissioners appeared in Košice and in other cities, too, confiscating the Lutheran churches for a second time with the help of the available military forces and handed them over to the parish priests appointed by the chamber (and not the city).³⁸ On the other hand, the commissioners had the task to put catholic officers to power and perform detailed investigations of the cities, describing almost every detail. They had to check the city account books and they had to get acquainted with the overall state of the cities. Their reports, included not only the description of the state of religion, the churches and faith of the inhabitants, but also a general description of the burghers, the city management, the state of the municipal buildings, taxation matters and all aspects of the municipal economy in general. Requiring legal and economic knowledge besides being of catholic faith in staffing the new city management would have led to an improvement and transparency of the municipal economy. The appointed chamber commissioners arranged that at least one half of the leading elite of the cities was catholic and the most important positions of trust (the leaders and notary public of the city) were people selected by the commissioners. The legitimacy of the chief officers and bodies changed, too: previously, it were the bourgeois electors, who elected the officers, while from the last third of the 17th century the new officers were inaugurated by the commissioner representing the monarch, thus the officers received their legitimacy from him.³⁹

One of the focal points of the election commissioners' activities was the selection of the political elite of the cities. Though besides being of catholic faith, candidates to the positions of city officials had to have possessions

York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Klaus Gerteis, *Die deutschen Städte in der frühen Neuzeit. Zur Vorgeschichte der "bürgerlichen Welt"* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986); Nicolas Rügge, *Im Dienst von Stadt und Staat. Der Rat der Stadt Herford und die preußische Zentralverwaltung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Mathieu Marraud, *De la ville à l'État, la bourgeoisie parisienne, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2009).

³⁸ László Benczédi, „Szelephényi érsek ügye és a lipóti abszolútizmus megalapozása 1670 őszén,” in *Történelmi Szemle* 18 (1975), 489–502; László Benczédi, „A Habsburg-abszolútizmus indítékai és megvalósulása az 1670-es évek Magyarországon,” in *Történelmi Szemle* 21 (1978), 335–356; László Benczédi, *Rendiség, abszolútizmus és centralizáció a XVII. század végi Magyarországon (1664–1685)* (Budapest, 1980), 53–57 and 68–74.

³⁹ As to the commands, see, for example: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Hoffinanz Ungarn [*Austrian State Archives, Financial and Treasury Archives, Hungarian Royal Finances*] RN 360. December 1693, fol. 365–372. December 15, 1690 As to this phenomenon, see: István H. Németh, “Pre-Modern State Urban Policy at a Turning Point in the Kingdom of Hungary: The Elections to the Town Council,” in *Urban Elections and Decision Making in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Rudolf Schlögl and Jan Marco Sawilla (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 276–299.

(*benepossessionatus*) and had be qualified (*qualificatus*),⁴⁰ in the haste caused by the fast position switches it happened many times that people with insufficient qualification and social status received very lucrative positions.⁴¹ In spite of this we can't say that (contrary to the emperor's will) the changes implemented on the base of religion would have greatly and irrevocably decreased the qualifications of the city leaders. In the second generation after the switch we can see quite the opposite! Before the aforementioned change in municipal politics, the councils of most cities were dominated by the monopoly of the Lutheran church – there weren't almost any catholics in the councils. The qualifications of the Lutheran elite were proven by both the reports of the chamber commissioners as well as the analyses of the social history of this class. A significant part of the Lutherans went to universities or were university graduates. Besides their education, within the cities they had also strong roots, since the members of the Lutheran elite were interconnected in a very strong network of family ties and their houses occupied the most noble streets of the cities. Their exceptional position was shown also by the fact that almost each of them had a noble title and many of them bore also the “*familiaris aulicae*” title for their services as officials, intellectuals and economists. These characteristics remained unchanged until the first third of the 18th century, but the ratio of university graduates – mainly in the field of law – grew and the practice of acquisition of noble titles and promotion did not cease either. This trend suggests that after the consolidation following the successful war against the Ottoman empire, the beginnings of a professional city management appear, which – also due to the demands of the royal court in Vienna – fulfilled also the requirement of legal and economic qualification

⁴⁰ „...necessarium valde et expediens iudicavimus, ut quandoquidem catholica orthodoxa per Dei gratium fides, magnum illic incrementum sumpsisse, frequentesque catholicae bene qualificate, ad gerenda senatoria, et quaelibet alia inter vos consueta officia, idoneae personae inveniri comperiantur.” AMK, Schw., no. 9277. Vienna, December 16, 1674 see also: Ibidem no. 9332. Bratislava, Slovakia, July 19, 1675, no. 9405. Košice, Slovakia, January 7, 1676, no. 9475. Vienna, Austria, December 24, 1677, no. 9476. Bratislava, Slovakia, January 2, 1677, no. 11008. Vienna, Austria, December 2, 1696.

⁴¹ Szűcs, *Das Städtewesen in Ungarn im 15–17. Jahrhundert*, 156; Špiesz, *ovské mestá na Slovensku v rokoch 1680-1780*, 29-46; Anton Špiesz, “Der Wiener Hof und die Städte in Ungarn in den Jahren 1681–1780;” in *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Wilhelm Rausch, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 5) (Linz/Donau), 1981), 83–95; Špiesz, *Rekatolizácia Na Slovensku v Mestách v Rokoch 1681-1781*, 588–612.; Marie Marečková, “Politická autonómie a vnútňi samospráva východoslovenských svobodných kráľovských miest v 17. stoloťi,” *Historický Časopis* 41 (1993): 543–550; István H. Németh, “Európska doktrína alebo uhorská špecialita? Zásahy štátu a rekatolizácia miest v Uhorsku v priebehu 17. storočia,” *Historický Časopis* 57, no. 4 (2009): 641–658; István H. Németh, “Venerable Senators or Municipal Bureaucrats? The Beginnings of the Transformation of the Eastate of Burghers at the Turn of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *The Hungarian Historical Review: New Series of Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* vol 1 (2012): 61-62.

and allowed a more “bureaucratic” city management.⁴²

At the turn of the 17th and 18th century, significant changes took place even among the catholic city leaders. With almost no exception, the elected officers had no legal education and it was impossible to put anybody into a position without strong social ties. The qualified catholic city leaders, who acquired the positions, came from various social environments. A part of them came from beyond the cities, but they had partly family ties and partly social and economic ties, therefore they had significant prestige. These “semi-foreigners” came from the officers of great estates neighboring the cities, having strong economic ties. Many of them were permanently residing in cities earlier, too, owning houses in the city centers. These can be classified as city aristocracy (thus not members of noble families with commoner professions), who belonged once to the class of economic intellectuals.⁴³ It was typical for this class that their either descendants remained in the city councils, or went to serve the state or wed a person in the services of the state. By the last two decades of the 17th century we see burghers, who were not only catholic, but were also sufficiently qualified, though these were not too numerous. With them, burghers embedded in society as required acquired city council positions – as to their families, these people had double identities in most of the cases. Due to their burgher professions and partly due to their family ties they were connected to the local burghers; however, they also had ties to the state authorities and the other family ties with state authority officials connected them to the state administration. Therefore they can be perceived as the predecessors of the new city management elite, who got to power from the beginning of the 18th century onwards and (as far as their attitude is concerned), the precursors of the intellectual class of the so-called honorators.⁴⁴

In spite of this it is sure that the previous Lutheran city management elite suffered a significant defeat, since at the time it had to share positions with an elite of a faith, the first generation of which was unacceptable for them since its members were insufficiently embedded in society. After 1670, the judges of Košice were former military officers of Upper Hungary, while the members of the catholic elite were lacking the required qualification at first. These phenomena, as well as the proximity of Transylvania resulted in the fact that the region of Upper Hungary was the traditional focal point of uprisings, so at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries Košice became the center of the

⁴² Németh, *Venerable Senators or Municipal Bureaucrats...*, 58-61; István H. Németh, *Kassa szabad királyi város archontológiája. Bírák, külső és belső tanács (1500–1700)* (Budapest: Szentpétery Imre Történettudományi Alapítvány, 2006).

⁴³ István H. Németh, „Polgár vagy nemes? A városok nemesi rendű lakosainak problematikája a felső-magyarországi városszövetség tevékenysége tükrében,” *Korall — társadalomtörténeti folyóirat* 9 (2002): 79–106; Németh, *Šľachta v mestách - prirodzený proces alebo negatívny jav?*.

⁴⁴ Németh, *Venerable Senators or Municipal Bureaucrats...*, 63-74.

movements of Upper Hungary, the Kingdom of Upper Hungary led by Emeric Thököly, as well as the Rákóczi war for independence.

The reaction of the old municipal elite was almost as expected: they did not accept the legitimacy of the previous elite, they made new elections and subsequently the Lutherans took over the city positions, again.

The control over the cities did not change even during the war of independence led by Rákóczi. Rákóczi sent his election commissioners to the cities occupied by his forces, just like emperor Leopold I did before.⁴⁵ This time it was the catholic city council, who requested libera electio/free elections at the time of the capitulation in Košice:⁴⁶ the right violated by the king of Hungary in favor of the catholics and against which the Lutherans revolted. This time it happened vice versa: the Lutherans requested the prince to send an election commissioner in order to get back the power they had before.⁴⁷ The measures of the municipal politics implemented during the war of independence led by Rákóczi show many similarities to those of the absolutism of emperor Leopold I. Due to the costs of maintaining the war of independence, the burden of Košice and other towns and cities did not lessen and the artificial inflation robbed the burghers just like the similar measures of Leopold I. The prince did not give real power the city council members either: though only to a little extent, he tried to influence the new elections, he did admit the representatives of the towns and cities (i.e. the fourth estate of the realm) in the Economic Council and it was only due to the united action of the royal free cities of Hungary that after a lot effort they finally managed to include two representatives of the cities into the jury of the Tribunal.⁴⁸

The characteristics of municipal politics in Košice came from the same political space as those seen in other European countries. However, due to the special geopolitical situation of the Kingdom of Hungary – and specifically Košice – some phenomena, like the military presence, the development of the city nobility, the tax burden of the cities, etc. were more emphasized, while others, such as the state control over the cities, the effects of recatholization arrived with a delay. Therefore, we can say that the political elements of the development of Košice, just like it was in the case of other Hungarian cities, fit into a well-defined European trend. The causes of these unique phenomena are the effects of the local factors influencing these characteristics.

⁴⁵ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár [*Hungarian National Archives*], Országos Levéltár, Thököly- és Rákóczi-szabadságharc levéltára, Rákóczi-szabadságharc levéltára, G 25 (counties and cities i.) III.2.a. December 28, 1703, March 26, 1706 As to Kremnica, Slovakia, see: Ibidem III.2.b. 1704.

⁴⁶ AMK, Schw., no. 12183. Košice, August 24, 1704.

⁴⁷ AMK, Schw., no. 12353. Košice, Slovakia, January 21, 1705; AMK, Schw., no. 12327. May 3, 1705. As to this, see also: R. Várkonyi Ágnes, „II. Rákóczi Ferenc államáról,” in *Az államiság megőrzése. Tanulmányok a Rákóczi-szabadságharcról* (Budapest: Czigány István Budapest, 2002), 252-253.

⁴⁸ AMK, Schw., no. 12372. April 3, 1705. As to the assessors of the tribunal: AMK, Schw., no. 12659. July 18, 1707; AMK, Schw., no. 12708. Levoča, Slovakia, August 7, 1707.

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St. Elizabeth's Cathedral in Košice as *spiritus movens*

Peter Zubko

Abstract

The most important sacral building in the center of Košice is not just an architectural feature of the town and region. This paper presents a varied, but permanently dominant view of spiritual, religious, but also out-ecclesiastical, cultural and global significance of the Cathedral of St. Elizabeth in Košice. The historical-philosophical-theological reflection not only analyzes the past, but will also offer the potential to use this approach to address the current spiritual moral.

Key words: Košice. Dome of St. Elizabeth. Religion. Architecture.

The aim of this paper is to point to the historical importance of a central dominant landmark of the Kosice city, Dome of St. Elizabeth, which is the original parish church and concurrently it is also the Cathedral. Dome is the most impressive dominant of the Košice town, ever since of its construction up to this day. The church is in principle just a building, but so much symbolic that symbolizes not only God, but also the faith and its confessional nuances and related events. It was built by city that due to its position and due to its political skill dragged it to the second position in country soon after the capital city and to the prominent city of Upper Hungary *priores civitas superioris Hungariae*, in the first position among Pentapolitana. Besides the religious significance of the Cathedral we cannot fail to see that the history of both, of the Cathedral and the city were closely interlinked. The city let to build the church, which represented the city in the region and throughout the country. Mankind has always been creating symbols and it likes symbolic thinking. The church symbolizes the Presence of God, on the other hand, represents the human mind of a concrete place, *genius loci*. In the case of Košice, it were not only the walls, but also the sacred atmosphere created inside, by which was the Dome famous, up to the its restoration in 19th century, because several monarchs extolled the grandeur of the Cathedral, which outperformed other temples.¹ The reputation of Cathedral brought fame to the Košice city.

Why the Cathedral has arisen in its renowned form? At the beginning it was the local Eucharistic miracle besides the human wit. The miracle happened in the old parish church sometimes in the middle of the 14th century and subsequently this place became a place of pilgrimage, one of the most famous in the country. It seems that the first was built Chapel of St. Michael for saintly relics of the Holy Blood. When in the end of the 14th century was began to build the present Cathedral, soon changed the project, particularly on the south side, which was architecturally adapted to the local Cult of the Holy

¹ G. Szerdahely, *Celebrium Hungariae urbium et oppidorum, Chronographia bipartita, In prima parte veterem, in secunda novam Hungariam complectens* (Cassovia, 1732), 153.

Blood and also was adapted a part of the Cathedral's iconography. The mandylion with the image of the face of Christ became its dominant. The mandylion with the image of the face of Christ became its dominant. It is told by theological tongue. Every pilgrim there could look to Christ face and could beseech for mercy as it is resulting from indulgenced Bull of Pope Boniface IX of 1402.² The Temple was not only the aim of believers of the Latin ritual (response of the Cult is provable in locations: Košická Bela, Rožňava,

² Bula was published 4 times according to a transcript from 1889 (*Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Series prima. Tomus quartus. Bullae Bonifacii IX. P. M. Pars altera. 1390 – 1404 (MVHRH I/4)* (Budapest, 1889), document No. CCCLXXV, s. 417-418; J. Mihalik, *A kassai Szent-Erzsébettemplom* (Budapest, 1912), 25-26; V. Wick, *St. Elizabeth's Cathedral in Košice* (Košice, 1936), 24-26; P. Zubko, *The Cult of the Holy Blood in Košice* (Košice, 2012) (the 2nd edition 2013), 43-44). According to our research we can state that it was not published complete or accurate transcription, therefore we would like to indicate the exact transcript of the Deed (in Latin):

„Bonifacius etc. Universis christifidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis Salutem etc. licet res de ejus unar venit etc. Cum itaque sicut accepimus parochialis ecclesia beate Elizabeth Cassoviensis Agriensis Diocesis in qua gloriosus sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi a longis retroactis temporibus miraculose est inventus et ad eam fidelium et infidelium utpote Olachorum et Ruthenorum inibi confirmantium propter sepius inibi illucentia divinitas miracula confluit multitudo et ipsorum infidelium nonnulli gratia eis affluente divina ad fidem catholicam se converterunt hactenus et convertunt in dies olim combusta et de novo per Christicolos inibi commorantes erecta et nundum (sic!) completa existat et quondam consummatione operis huiusmodi et reedificatione et reparatione ecclesie predictae indigere ruedeatur expensis non modicum sumptuosis. Nos cupientes ut ipsa ecclesia ipsa decenter repararetur desumeret et etiam congruis honoribus frequentetur et ut fideles ipsi eo liberarius causa devotionis confluent ad eandem et ad reparationem conservationem et fabricam ipsius ecclesie eo servitius in poringendo manus adiutentes annuentur quo ex hoc ibidem dono celestis gratie uberius conspexerint se refatos de omnipotentis dei misericordia et beatorum petri et pauli apostolorum enis auctoritate confesi omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui in festo beatorum philippi et Jacobi Apostolorum a primis vesperis usque ad secundos vesperos et per tres dies dictum festum immediate sequentes dictam ecclesiam devote visitaverint annuatim et ad reparationem conservationem et fabricam ecclesie predictae manus porrexerint adiutentes illas videlicet indulgentias et remissiones peccatorum auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium concedimus quas visitantes ecclesiam sancti marci de venetiis Castellane diocesis in ascensione domini nostri Iesu Christi necnon ecclesiam sancte marie de Portiuncula alias dictam de Angelis extra muros Assisinas annuatim et alias quomodolibet consequuntur. Et nichilominus ut fideles ipsi ad dictam ecclesiam beate Elizabeth ut perfertur etiam indulgentiarum verum consequendum huiusmodi confluentes consciencie pacem et animarum salutem deo proprio uberius consequi possint sanguinis agere volentes dilecto filio rectori dicte ecclesie beate Elizabeth qui nunc est et pro tempore erit et duodecim presbyteris secularibus vel religiosibus ad hoc ydoneis per ipsum rectorem in confessores pro tempore eligendis instituendis et destituendis prout sibi placuerit ut ipsi confessiones omnium et singulorum Christifidelium huiusmodi ad dictam ecclesiam beate Elizabeth ut perfertur confluentium in huiusmodi festo sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi et per tres dies sequentes huiusmodi auctoritate apostolica audire et ipsorum confessionibus diligenter audites promissis eis debitam absolutionem impendere valenit et immulgere promodo culpe penitentiam salutarem et alia que de jure firmiter injungenda nisi forsitan talia fuerint propter que Sedes Apostolica sit merito consulenda predicta auctoritate plenam et liberam auctoritate presentiam licentiam elargimur et talli ergo etc nostre concessionis insongare etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Kalendis Martii Anno Tertio decimo.“

Bardejov, Leles), but also for orthodox believers, after whose there remained a precious gift, a part of epitachile from 1380. Orthodoxy believers in Košice "were turned to the true faith", they were latinized (were Christianized). It is one of the chapters of Anjou government, which till now has not given more attention. The Cathedral was the mother of spiritual life not only in the close region, but by means of pilgrims also in the wider context.

The Cathedral's architecture has influenced several buildings in the wider region, thus we can speak about Košice's school. The Dome became the mother of several churches, it found response in the architecture of the Church of the Holy Spirit in Moldava nad Bodvou, in the portal of the western tower in Gyöngyöspata, in the north Chapel of the parish church in Plešivec, in the vaulting of the Choir of the Franciscan Church of All Saints in Humenné, at the southern portal of the parish church in Szikszó, at the southern portal of the Church of the Assumption Virgin Mary in Rožňava, at the southern portal and double winding stairs in Bergkirche in Sighișoara, the portals of Church of St Michael in Cluj, in the portals of the Church in Brașov, in the south hall of the Church of St Catherine in Kazimierz in Cracow, during working at the Church of St. Egidius in Bardejov.³

Some significant events in the Middle Ages were unwinding around Košice and the Dome of Košice. Dominicans and Franciscans in Košice, who were an alternative to the secular pastoral care, but we know that monks very pleased and often are used to go preach to the Cathedral, which is why disputes arose between the priest and monks.⁴ The Cathedral enjoyed such a spiritual authority that has attracted the religious people from other churches in the city. Authenticity of the authority has provided through Eucharistic relics and by pilgrims.

Reformation and re-Catholicization touched directly to the St. Elizabeth's Cathedral in Košice. Košice has joined to the *Confessio Pentapolitana* (1549), religious faith formulated by the first generation of Protestants. Municipality itself was concerned to the idea that Dome must be retained in its medieval form and significant changes in the interior and inventory has been made only due to fires, with the small exception in 1635 - 1641 (when the room, where they were stored relics of the Holy Blood was profaned), when the local clergy openly penetrated Calvinist ideas. The transition from Catholicism to Protestantism took place gradually and peacefully. Protestantism was initially spread as a humanistic and modern evangelical thinking, not as something anti-Catholic. In 1604 has been Cathedral in Košice in the hands of the Protestants, who are not identified with the Catholics, but explicitly were

³ E. Marosi, "Architecture of the first half of the 15th century, in Spiš and eastern Slovakia. St. Elizabeth's Dome in Košice," in *Gothic. History of Slovak art*, ed. by D. Buran at all. (Bratislava, 2003), 221-223; *History of the Bardejov city*, ed. by A. Kokuľa, A. Lukáč and L. Tajták (Košice, 1975), 100-101 and 198-199.

⁴ *MVHRH I/4*, 423-424.

separated from them. Emperor Rudolf II ordered remove the Cathedral from a Protestants and put it into the hands of Catholics; in its decision is captured very symbolic statement that the Church should be returned to Catholics because it was built in the times of the Catholic faithful by Catholic people and funds of Catholic monarchs. This event was one of the first open Re-Catholicization speeches.⁵ The Dome was in the hands of Catholics only a few months in 1604 and according to Košice model then withdrawn church from off Evangelicals in Sabinov. Although the Dome was not sustainable in the hands of Catholics, has become a real symbol of ingoing Re-Catholicization.

The history of Dome was connected also with the history of professional uprisings. Bocskai, Bethlen, Thököly and Rákoczi are defended their own professional interests. Three Košice's martyrs, Catholic priests, were extremely cruel manner murdered in the shadow of the Cathedral; two of them belonged among the first Jesuits in the city. Finally King gave the Jesuits his property with land, where stood Spiš chamber. Jesuits have built University Church, Monastery and University at this point where had been killed three martyrs and they led uncompromising Catholicism.⁶ Sanctification of the place by martyrdom played important role from the very beginning.⁷

Košice had belonged into the Diocese of Eger for centuries and after occupation of the bishop's seat by the Turks, bishop escaped with the Spiš Chapter house (Spišská Kapitula) just to the north into Košice in 1596. Protestant city did not welcome them with open arms, but symbolic motif for coming here was just Dome; Eger Chapter was sitting here only in short time (1597 - 1609). Bishop finally lived in Jasov in the Premonstrate monastery and Chapter escaped to Trnava, until the Hungarian Parliament by Law commanded to return to Košice (1647 - 1699/1700) and the city had an obligation to accept Canons and along with them came back the Bishop.⁸ There has been some symbolic discontinuity, because the Canons did not received sacral spaces in the Dome or part of it, but the Presbytery of the Franciscan Church. Bishop Kishdy had been aware of the importance of the Košice city, that's why he founded college in 1657, it was the second after Trnava, and entrusted it to the Jesuits.⁹ When in the third period of 17th century the Dome together with vicarage returned into the hands of Catholics, Eger's Canons were vicars. It was the last generation of these Canons in Košice, because since 1700 Eger's Chapter renewed its domicile in Eger. Also urban vicarage remained in the hands of diocesan priests.

⁵ Compare: A. Harčar, *The historical importance of the Counter-Reformation in Košice from 1604* (Budapest, 1942), 139.

⁶ Compare: G. Graff, *Christianum svadae Cassoviensis somnium* (Cassoviae, 1731), 45.

⁷ J. B. Akai, *Initia Cassoviensis Societatis Jesu MDCXL* (Cassoviae, 1743), 175.

⁸ Compare: The Košice City Archives (AMK), *Schwarzenbachiana*, sign. 11266.

⁹ The history of church education, see: R. Farkas, *A kassai kath. főgymnasium története 1657–1895* (Kassa, 1895), 426.

Two spiritual centres were in city at the end of 17th and in 18th century: The Cathedral with vicarage that served for local residents and Jesuit's University with a church and seminary, which served for Youth of the University, which was coming to Kosice for education and spiritual formation. It was a pity that urban parish was not in the hands of the Jesuits at least some time, as in other cities, such as in neighbouring Prešov. A strong unity of labour was created in Prešov, while in Košice there was a dualism. So the Jesuits were focused on their own tasks, which were education and their own spirituality (*pietas Austriaca*), they built Calvary over the city within the tasks. All these traditions were new, whereas older local traditions (local memory of Eucharistic miracle) were left in the hands of local secular priests who had not so many possibilities as Jesuits, because Jesuit's army was simply more numerous, better and more powerful in the spiritual work. However, how dominant this work has been, it so quickly extinguished in 1773, when the Society of Jesus was cancelled. *Ratio educationis* from Maria Theresa meant liquidation of university education in Košice. Consequently, there has been a deterioration of ecclesiastical and academic life in the city.

Anton Szirmy (1747 – 1812), rector of the Košice's University wrote on the occasion of repairing of burned-out tower in 1775 a Latin poem in distich: *Carmina Restauratae Turris Cassoviensis globo inclusa*. He praised in it all that symbolized Cathedral and indirectly the Košice city, all what was around the Cathedral once happened also with the names of important people: He praised in it all that symbolized Cathedral and indirectly the Košice city, all what was around the Cathedral once happened also with the names of important people: Ungarian kings, Luther's faith, Matthias Corvinus, Bocskai, Bethlen, Rákócí, Tököly, burghers, Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II.¹⁰

Monarchs sought opportunity to dismemberment of the Eger's diocese already in the 18th century, but they encountered to resistance of their own Bishop of Eger or Chapter. When in 1804 Francis I. was able to carry out the distribution of the diocese, Košice has become one of the new episcopal residences, because the city had had the best church for exaltation on the Cathedral. We can say that the Dome gave birth to a new diocese's Cathedral.¹¹ I would like just recall the theological principle that the Cathedral is the mother of all churches in the diocese because feast of its consecration to be celebrated as a holiday throughout the diocese. But here's Cathedral with its historical meaning, it has become an important, not because they were ruled by King and the Pope, but because the decision had to be reaching through what I called as *spiritus movens* of the Košice's Dome. Dome with

¹⁰ S. Paszlavszky, "Szirmay Antal „poéta laureates," in *Figyelő. Irodalomtörténeti közlöny. V. kötet*, ed. by L. Abafi (Budapest, 1878), 378-388.

¹¹ The earliest history of the diocese in: J. Rupp, *Magyarország helyrajzi története. Fő tekintettel városok, helységek, s azokban létezett egyházi intézetek, püspökmegyék szerint rendezve. Második kötet. Az egri érseki egyház-tartomány* (Budapest, 1872), 245-339.

the quality of Cathedral automatically born Department, Bishop, Chapter house, Seminary and lyceum. On the one hand, there are indeed Institutes of every episcopal city but Kosice had they long period before, though during Turkish occupation. Spiritual life, which has been only temporary, has returned into the city and it was primary, own for this place and the city.

The idea of heritage preservation was born in the shadow of the Košice's Cathedral in 19th century. Imrich Henszlmann and others finally gave rise to the systematic protection, knowledge¹² and restoration of heritage and woke interest in the history of the city.¹³ The Dome itself was in 19th century several times damaged by natural elements. Subsequently there were performed two restorations, the first was named after the Bishop Fábry and the second - called purist, which lasted nearly a quarter century, and it resulted in a neo-Gothic church rather than a return to medieval appearance. Gothic look of many Hungarian churches has become a symbol of the Hungarian national pride. Restoration in this extent was without end, but the upcoming Hungarian millennium was the motive of the completion of the work. The 6th September 1896 became the Day of consecration, Joseph Samassa - Metropolitan of Eger, has reached human reconstruction efforts. It seems that the date was chosen deliberately because it was the eve of the martyrdom of the three Košice's martyrs, who at that time had not yet been beatified, but Bishop Sigismund Bubits pragmatically predicted that if this happens sometime, the date of their liturgical memories will most likely day their birth for Heaven (7th September) and it will enhance pomp of this place.

Finding of the remains of Francis Rákóczi II and his fellows, who were after removing the imperial curse transported into Hungary is not as traitors but as heroes, was probably another motive of the symbolic procedure. Hungarians in 19th century were able to reinterpret their history so that the match of the Hungarian nobility of his interests began interpreted as a fight for national interest; private wars and revolts have since been interpreted as heroism and all-Hungarian priority. Above all the city's Cathedral became a worthy tomb of Francis Rákóczi II and his fellows, in spite of political background and it became the symbol of Hungarian emigration and anti-Habsburg winning fight. Beyond the year of burial (1906) this symbol was multiplied after painting of the apotheosis above northern gate by Andrej Dudics and also in the years 1914 -1916, it was commemorative inscription on the outside of the crypt, which was added in 1938 and recently the crypt and fresco were restored. Here it should be mentioned the regulation of

¹² I. Henszlmann, *Kassa városának ó német stülö templomai* (Pest, 1846), 25; I. Henszlmann, *Régészeti kalauz különös tekintettel Magyarországra. II. rész. Középkori építészet* (Pest, 1866).

¹³ Porov. K. Weiss, „Der Elisabeth-Dom zu Kaschau in Ungarn,“ *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*. II. Jahrgang, September 1857, no. 9, 236-245; K. Weiss, „Der Elisabeth-Dom zu Kaschau in Ungarn,“ in *Mittheilungen...* II. Jahrgang, October 1857, no. 10, 275-278.

Bishop Augustin Fischer-Colbrie, at that time he was Apostolic Administrator, dated on 1st March 1907 during the annual Masses, which should be celebrated for Francis Rákóczi II¹⁴ and so they have exponentiated the importance of his person.

Dome is the traditional place of remembrance of the identity, but also memory of Košice's particular clergy. Every year the priests of Košice's presbytery meet three times usually in the Cathedral on diocesan retreats (Holy Thursday, Day of Martyrs of Košice, the patron feast of the Diocese of St. Andrew), while in some dioceses does not happen even once. A memorial plaque to eight victims of priestly vocation during 20th century was unveiled in 2008. Of course, it is what is happening in the Cathedral, ceremony or even approach to it than to the building and to the monument, it is an example for the whole archdiocese. This priority of the Temple has also certain advantages, because in it getting quality works of art, on the other hand, the Cathedral is spared from the unreasonable ideas (floor heating). Already in earlier centuries were placed into the Cathedral not only memorial plaques, but also other valuables. When in 1734 in the sediments of the Hornád river between Košice and Košice Nová Ves were found bones of gigantic mammoth; they were attracted local attention (identifying them as the bones of an elephant or ox), and finally they were placed in the Dome.

In the history of the Dome we can find several events that documented misunderstanding of the meaning of the symbol in the middle of itself Catholic Church. The first was the episcopal consecration of the first post-totalitarian bishop in 1990, which did not take place in the Dome, as was advocated by Anton Harčar, but at the stadium, which was decaying and it was unworthy for a place sanctified by a major celebration; and the second misunderstanding of the symbolic importance of the Dome was failure at least formal personal visit of Pope John Paul II in the Dome on 2nd July 1995 when the canonization of Košice's three martyrs took place in Kosice.

Košice's Dome always had kept strong and dominant *spiritus movens*, it was the engine and the mover of political, military, social and religious historical events. The omission of the Cathedral as a symbolic place and ignore of its potential as *spiritus movens*, especially by the Church itself, in

¹⁴ „Crypta Ecclesiae Cathedralis a die 29. Octobris anni praeteriti [1906] exuvias continet Francisci II. Principis Rákóczi sociorumque sui exilii. Aequum est, ut in illa aede praecipue fiant sacra suffragia pro animabus illorum, quorum ossa inibi diem gloriosae resurrectionis expectant. Quapropter constituo, ut bis per annum, die nimirum 8. Aprilis, utopie anniversario mortis Francisci Rákóczi et die 29. Octobris, utopie anniversario depositio ossium in dicta Crypta, in Ecclesia Cathedrali sacrum solemne pro defunctis celebretur. Utroque die, cantata Missa conventuali diei post Tertiam, Missa de Requiem celebranda est post Nonam; et die quidem 8. Aprilis sumenda est missa de anniversario diei obitus, die vero 29. Octobris missa quotidiana defunctorum cum Oratione unica pro pluribus defunctis et Sequentia *Dies irae*.“ Archbishop archive of Košice (AACass), Administrative files, sign. 864/1907; *Circulares Dioecessanae Cassovienses 1907*, IV, 29.

the future may mean cracked authority of the Church itself, for which it was the symbolic heart. Who can connect on the past, can multiply benefit and importance of own work through contextualization to a historical memory, and thus grow and deepen its own identity. Even reinterpretation of some events may be beneficial for contemporary pastoral and laic society. Even topics that seem like contradictory, because they are separating confessions, nations or communities, they can be the bridges of connection. It's about them, as once said John Paul II in the High Tatras, they are not mountains that separate the Slovaks and Poles, but they create association. It is the greatest future potency of the Dome as *spiritus movens*, which sometime will connect those which now apparently divides (ecumenical community, as the first swallow of reconciliation, already working in the city).

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The Officials of the Spiš/Szepes (Košice) Chamber in the 17th century

Tatjana Gusarova

Abstract

Szepes treasury, operating alongside the Hungarian one, was one of the few institutions of the central power on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary in the XVI-XVIIth centuries; it was mainly located in Košice. This paper traces the careers of several Szepes treasury counselors chosen from the list of the second half of 1640 – 1660. The choice included officials appointed by the Habsburgs and those two owned their position to Juraj II. Rákóczi. It also offers the general characteristic of mentioned institution and creates its social and political portrait.

Key words: Košice. Szepes treasury. Treasury counselors. Juraj II. Rákóczi.

The Spiš/Szepes Chamber was one of the few central bodies of the Habsburg Empire in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary having its seat mostly in the capital of Upper Hungary: Košice. During these times it was called the Košice Chamber. In the 17th century, the Chamber had to undertake a difficult role, being active in times of war. The town became a battlefield: both the Hungarian kings and the Transylvanian princes wished to rule it. The military events, the immense influence of the Rákóczi family (having large properties in the surrounding area) and the frequent changes of the authorities created an atmosphere of constant tension. In general, the local nobility was not loyal to the Habsburgs – they maintained close ties to the Rákóczi clan, both in times of peace and their war campaigns in the Kingdom of Hungary. In addition to this, the aforementioned nobility expressed its unreliability towards both the Habsburgs and the Transylvanian princes, too. Therefore, both sides did their best to win the nobility of Upper Hungary for their aims, use it against the competing party and while doing so, they had to be very careful. All this resulted in the state of the Szepes Chamber being very unstable, so it became dependent on the opposing forces. The Chamber was forced to suspend its activities multiple times or to move from Košice to the nearby town of Prešov. In turbulent times, the Szepes Chamber had also other names: it was a directorate, led by the director, who was also a royal councillor.¹

In these circumstances Košice, as the seat of the Szepes Chamber has a special role: it was not only the capital of Upper Hungary, an important regional centre of the economy, a social, political and military centre, but also a link between the local towns and counties on one side and the central state

¹ Ember Győző, *Az újkori magyar közigazgatás története Moháctól a török kiűzéséig* (Budapest, 1946); *A Szepesi Kamara Levéltára 1567-1813* (Budapest, 1990), 109.

institutions on the other. Therefore, it was very important to sufficiently staff the Szepes Chamber, because many things were dependent on the appointment of the officials: they had not only fiscal, but also political tasks and they had to provide the military with supplies, too. When appointing the chamber officials, in addition to their professional skills, the selected persons had to express their loyalty to the authorities ruling the region and Košice at the particular time. Therefore, not unexpectedly, whenever there was a change of government in Košice, the officials of the Chamber had to leave, too.

During the 17th century, the social, ethnic status and origin of the officials underwent significant changes. Zoltán Fallenbüchl proved it: before the Vienna peace treaty – and for a certain time after it – there were many burghers of German origin and even though the aspect of nobility became prevalent, mainly among the royal councillors, these noblemen were never local landlords. It is also true that the chamber officials being burghers could (and even did) ascend to the noble class by serving the state. Such were, for example, auditor Anton Thann (this profession passed from father to son in his family), or the secretary of the chamber, John Raisz (who was an employee of the Szepes Chamber for almost 50 years – both under the rule of the Habsburgs and in the era of the Transylvanian princes). They represented the intellectual class of bourgeois origin – they could rise in society by professional experience in their field of expertise, their strong ties to the Chamber, though they did not receive the highest positions in the Chamber.²

In this paper, the author focuses on the period following the Vienna peace treaty: or, more precisely the period between 1620 (the war campaigns of the Transylvanian princes in Hungary) and the beginning of the 1670's (when the peace between the Habsburgs and the Hungarian estates of the realm ceased existence). The list of the studies and papers dealing with the officials of the Szepes Chamber is not long and it doesn't occupy too much space in the bibliographies. Except for the basic monograph of Győző Ember on the public administration of the Kingdom of Hungary in the early modern era and the book of Jenő Szűcs on the archives of the Szepes Chamber³ I have to mention the study of Zoltán Fallenbüchl, who reconstructed the list of all officials employed by the institution in the 16th-18th centuries.⁴ Lajos Geccsényi went even further in his research: he studied the careers and living conditions of the individual officials and tried to provide a picture of the social state of the

² Z. Fallenbüchl, *A Szepesi Kamara tisztviselői a XVII-XVIII. században, Levéltári Közlemények* 2 (1967), 194-195.

³ Győző, *Az újkori magyar...*

⁴ Fallenbüchl, *A Szepesi Kamara...*, 193-236; Fallenbüchl wrote a similar study on the staff of the Hungarian Chamber (Z. Fallenbüchl, „A Magyar Kamara tisztviselői a 17. században,” *Levéltári Közlemények* 39 (1969): 233-268). These data were published in Z. Fallenbüchl's summary publication, too (Z. Fallenbüchl, *Allami (királyi és császári) tisztségviselők a 17. századi Magyarországon. Adattár* (Budapest, 2002).

officials of the Kingdom of Hungary in the early modern era.⁵ Though István Németh did not study this topic in great detail, his works are inevitable for those, who study the relations of the staff of the Szepes Chamber and the society of Košice.⁶

The staff of the Chamber may be separated into two groups: the management staff (thus: the president, the councillors, the treasurer, the royal vice-plenipotentiaries, the auditors, secretaries) and the others (the vice-secretaries, assistant auditors, registrars, draftsmen, scribes, publishers, etc.). The carrier moves and political turmoil is more visible in the management group than among the other staff, therefore it is more interesting to focus on the first one. From the leading officials listed in the chamber lists of 1620-1660. The author has selected those, of whom we now at least some data. The author has elaborated an "inquiry form", in which she tried to prepare the social and political portrait of the chamber officials. Using these examples we shall show what links there we 1) between the Szepes chamber and the nobility of the counties in the region; 2) the Szepes Chamber and the town of Košice; 3) the Szepes Chamber and the central authorities, primarily the national assembly, since the cooperation between the state and the estates of the realm materialized by means of this institution. To serve space and to aggregate the data, the author has prepared a table with the data – this is located at the end of the article. The data contain gaps, but they show the main directions of the research better.⁷

Starting with the 1620's, the staff of the Szepes Chamber changed: the main trend shows that most staff members were noblemen, Hungarians, local landlords and of catholic faith. As we might see, this was not quite the state described in the Vienna peace treaty: both parties violated the agreement concluded after tough negotiations, though the equilibrium between the central power and the Hungarian estates of the realm remained in effect until

⁵ L. Gecsényi, „Egy kamarai tisztviselő a XVI. században Nagyváthy Ferenc,” in *Gazdaság, társadalom, igazgatás. Tanulmányok a kora újkor történetéből*, ed. by Csaba Katona (Győr, 2008), 401-407; L. Gecsényi and Tatiana Gusarova, „A Szepesi Kamara vezető tisztviselői 1646 – 1672 között,” in *Gazdaság, társadalom, igazgatás. Tanulmányok a kora újkor történetéből*, ed. by Csaba Katona (Győr, 2008), 453-473; L. Gecsényi, „Egy beregi nemesúr a Szepesi Kamarában. Szigeti Vas Márton kamarai tanácsos 1659-1666,” in *Szabolcs- Szatmár-Beregi Levéltári évkönyve XVIII. Dr. Nagy Ferenc levéltárigazgatójának ajándékba*, ed. by Éva Kujbushné Mecsei (Nyíregyháza, 2008), 163-178.;

⁶ István H. Németh, *Kassa város archontológiája. Birák, belső és külső tanács 1500-1700.* (Fons könyvek 3), vol. 2 (Budapest, 2006); István H. Németh, *Várospolitikai és gazdaságpolitikai a 16-17. századi Magyarországon (A felső-magyarországi városszövetség)*, vol. 2. (Budapest, 2004); István H. Németh, „Polgár vagy nemes? A városok nemesi rendű lakosainak problematikája a felső-magyarországi városszövetség tevékenysége tükrében,” in *Korall – Társadalomtörténeti folyóirat* 9 (2002): 79-106; István H. Németh, „Šľachta v mestach – prirodzený proces alebo negatívny jav?” *Forum historiae* (2008): 5.

⁷ The references in the article are limited, because the author could not find a way to include all bibliography used by the author and her colleagues in this small article and in tabular form.

the end of the 1670's. This makes the complaints on the troubles finding appropriate candidates in the region for the positions of chamber officials understandable.⁸ Except for the main trend we may see also some minor things, which made the historical image more varied.

The names of the councillors and treasurers from 1620 to the 1660's were the following: Sigismund Péchy, Caspar Tassy, John Úsz, Stephen Úsz, Emmerich Mosdóssy, Louis Melczer, Stephen Sztankay, Michael Podbilány, Paul Szemere; later Martin Vas, Michael Bélaváry, Paul Chernyey, Sigismund Holló, etc. – these were all local noblemen. This was a very important factor from the aspect of the kings and the Rákóczi dynasty, too: local landlords had to be in the chamber council, for both competing parties were trying to find supporters among them: the Upper Hungarian counties could not be won without their support and mediation. These officials were respected noble landlords, even though they did not inherit most of their lands from their ancestors, but they rather used the possibilities of their services to increase the wealth inherited from their ancestors.⁹ They knew the local state of affairs well, because they were at the key positions in the county government as vice-counts (e.g. Stephen Úsz was the vice-count of Sáros [Šariš] county) or notaries (Paul Szemere was the notary of the counties Abaúj [Abov] and Sáros [Šariš]). Due to their family ties they could get anywhere and they could influence the activities and decisions of the local (municipal or county) institutions. It is not by chance that certain officials remained at the Chamber even when the Habsburgs and the Rákóczis switched rule in the region.

Another very important aspect of the management staff of the chamber was that they had to be internal members of the chamber. Researching the individual careers we see that it was not rare to find people not only working for the chamber for years, but also ascending in the staff hierarchy. E.g. Emmerich Mosdóssy served the Szepes Chamber as a councillor and even as a director, for period of almost 20 years, starting from 1639. Michael Bélaváry started as a treasurer and later he became director, too (after serving as a councillor for a few years). This link to the chamber was supported also by the fact that the chamber leaders had not only professional tasks: they had to keep their eyes on the wayward nobility of Upper Hungary, their everyday contacts with the princes of Transylvania and they had to report these findings to the appropriate authorities.¹⁰ It was a very delicate task and not everybody was willing to undertake it, but who did, had a good career. In these things the authorities could count on the dynasties of officials within the Košice

⁸ Hoffinanz Ungarn Rote Nummer 153. 1636, fol. 153.

⁹ E.g. Emmerich Mosdossy, who managed to acquire real estate in the counties Abaúj, Szatmár, Bereg and Ugocsa and in the region Szamosköz during his service of the Chamber (see: Gecsényi and Gusarova, *A Szepesi Kamara...*, 656-657).

¹⁰ Ibidem, 654.

Chamber.¹¹ It was not by chance that they had to provide supplies for the military in times of war.

The Chamber was – just as other state institutions of the early modern times – in constant operation, requiring professional skills and everyday hard work from the officials. Therefore, the chamber rules stated that certain members of the management had to be present in the office at all times. The officials had to have their domicile in the seat of the Chamber, i.e. in Košice. We know multiple cases, when the councillors and treasurers bought apartments or houses in Košice. Some of them became inhabitants of the town by marriage. Nevertheless, at the time these were rather chamber officials than town inhabitants. The high ranking officials, being noblemen, preferred to live at their lands, because they were not used to live in towns yet. Many times owning a real estate in the town was too costly for the chamber staff. This circumstance could be an obstacle for the nobility to move to the towns and on the other hand, it prevented uninterrupted operation of the Szepes Chamber. The authorities tried to help the situation and in some cases they rented the flats for these officials¹² and they even bought houses in the town, where they lodged the chamber staff.¹³ However, these cases were not general rules. The local noble landlords working for the Szepes Chamber were more likely to stay at their lands also because the county nobility and the burghers had strong conflicts in this period. The nobility gained ever more ground in the sphere of economy, politics, law and religion, a proof of which are also the resolutions of the diets in the 17th century (held in 1635, 1647, 1649 and 1655).¹⁴ The town was opposing the nobility in their activities. Therefore, in 1648 Košice didn't allow the county of Abaúj [Abov] to hold its diet in the house of George Csernel of Csernelháza, situated in the town, stating that the noble county had no assembly in the town before. Nevertheless, the objection had no consequences.¹⁵

The noble officials of the chamber did not hate Košice to the extent of fully isolating themselves from the life of the town. They married there; thus they gained real estates in the town, inherited houses and made new contacts with the town elite. We have seen cases of chamber officials acquiring

¹¹ For example: councilors David and Michael Bélaváry, John and Stephen Usz, Louis and Paul Melzer, Sigismund and Louis Péchy, etc.

¹² In 1661, when the new treasurer of the Szepes Chamber, George Danéczy wanted to move to the Košice house, where Martin Vass was already living, the latter objected heavily. He stated that due to the little space in the interior, he requested the premises in the lower part of the house and the shop, too ("*I am a servant of his Majesty, too*"), wanting Danéczy to forget about this house and keep to the flat of the previous treasurers or the one of Podbelányi (MOL, E 254 Representationes, informationes et instantia, October 1661, no. 1).

¹³ In 1672, the Szepes Chamber bought a house in Košice and did not do so for the first time (Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika...*, vol. 1, 523).

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 500-512.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 445.

positions in the town (Michael Bélaváry was postmaster of Košice). The ties of the officials to Košice were even richer if we take into account that Košice was the seat of the Upper Hungarian military headquarters and providing supplies to the military required close contacts with the civilian and military authorities.

The Szepes Chamber was in constant contact with other state institutions, mostly with the Hungarian and Royal Chambers, which were superordinate to it.¹⁶ These relations improved the operations of the Szepes Chamber, because the organization and the operation of the superordinate institutions was at a higher level and was closer to the financial management of the state of the early modern era. It is enough to say that the councillors of the Hungarian Chamber were often even councillors of the Košice Chamber (or directorate). The Chamber was closely connected to the Royal Court. As we see, the experts having legal experience, who worked at the royal courts as protonotaries or assessors (e.g. Louis Melczer, Paul Szemere, Paul Cherney) came to the Chamber many times as councillors. Therefore, the Chamber was not connected to the state only in the line of financial management, but also in other aspects. Finally, the Szepes Chamber was connected also to the institutions of the estates of the realm, thus to the national assemblies, which increased the respect of the chamber officials and the rate of participation in the political life of the country. We know many cases, when the county ambassadors were the councillors of the Szepes Chamber. However, this correlation was not unilateral: at times these people went to the diets at the time they held positions at the chamber, sometimes before that and sometimes later than that. Anyway, their state service and presence at the fora of the estates of the realm connected the state and the estates ever more closely, allowed more space for negotiations, regardless of how fiery or aggressive this dialog was. Starting with the 1630's, their presence at the diets was more frequent than before and this overlapped the increasing conflicts of the central powers and the Hungarian estates of the realm, caused by the increasing rate of absolutism.

This complex situation was fabulously illustrated by the career of Paul Szemere, chamber councillor appointed by George Rákóczi II in 1644. The fact that the prince took a liking in this person was not by chance: Paul Szemere was one of the most active noble politicians of the second quarter of the 17th century.¹⁷ He had significant lands in Upper Hungary, starting with 1623 he was one of the assessors in Abaúj [Abov] county, along with his

¹⁶ As to this, see: Gyöző, *Az újkori magyar közigazgatás története...*, 157-158.

¹⁷ When constructing the portrait of Paul Szemere we used the logs of the diet, the copies of which are stored in the Hungarian National Archives (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltára, Budapest N 114; Regnicolaris levéltár, Kovachich Márton gyűjteménye, Diaria Diaetalia, vol. 1-2).

father, Albert Szemere.¹⁸ For long he was a notary of the counties Borsod, Sáros [Šariš] and Abauj.¹⁹ In 1643, the diet of Abauj county confirmed Szemere in his notary position, which he held for 15 years; he was offered and given 100 imperial dollars and "*a memorial plaque worth a 100 imperial dollars*".²⁰ He went many times to visit the uppermost authorities of the kingdom²¹ and the military authorities of Upper Hungary in Košice²² and the princes of Transylvania, too. The genealogist Iván Nagy suspects that he started his career in 1622²³ as the notary of the Royal Court and returned to the institution in 1635 as an assessor.²⁴ He was present at all diets between 1625 and 1648, he was the soul of the protestant (Calvinist) opposition, he was present at all negotiations with the uppermost authorities of the kingdom and the committees established by the diet. Between 1643 and 1644, he was one of the main mediators between the royal authorities and George Rákóczi. Rákóczi's trust showed in the fact that he appointed Szemere with representing his interests at the 1646/1647 diet. At the end of his career, he was appointed councillor of the Szepes Chamber in 1644. We see that both parties requested the services of Szemere. However, George Rákóczi I, the temporary ruler of Košice and Upper Hungary did not manage to sustain the Chamber, its operations ceased for a year. Therefore Paul Szemere could not demonstrate his features in this position; especially since after the re-establishment of the Chamber (the directorate) he died (he was killed). It seems that the activities of Szemere in the Szepes Chamber were not key to its existence. He was rather a representative figure, or to put in a different way: the Upper Hungarian nobility exerted control of the Szepes Chamber by means of Szemere. His case supports the emperor's following requirement set to the staff – especially the councillors – of the chamber and the Košice Chamber: they had to be not only professionals but also closely linked to the noble landlords of Upper Hungary, the regional, municipal and military authorities. Loyalty to the emperor was a very tricky issue under these

¹⁸ János Korponay, *Abaujvármegye monográfiája, vol II. (a vármegye közgyűléseinek jegyzőkönyvei)* (Košice, 1878), 134,138.

¹⁹ He was in this position at the county of Abauj since 1630 (Ibidem, 179).

²⁰ „Zemerey Pál, ezen tekintetes Abauj vármegyének, első ifjusági virágzásának idejétől kezdve a mai napig, a megyének és szerette házájának külön- és sokféle ügyeiben, országi és kerületi gyűlési kiküldetéseiben tíz ízben hűségteljesen s a keső maradékokra leáramló nevének és hírének dicsőséges fénykörével működött”. [*From the first times of flourishing of the present respected county of Abauj until the present day, Paul Zemerey acted in various and many cases of the county and beloved homeland, at the national and regional assemblies ten times, enlightening the name and giving fame to his late descendants*]. (Ibidem, 757).

²¹ Ibidem, 197.

²² Ibidem, 224, 232

²³ Iván Nagy, *Magyarország csládai czimerekkel és nezetrendi táblákkal*, vol. 10 (Pest, 1863), 601.

²⁴ *Magyar Törvénytár (Corpus Juris Hungarici) 1608–1657. évi törvényczikkek*, ed. by Dezső Márkus (Budapest, 1900), act 72 of 1635; act 91 of 1647; act 28 of 1649.

circumstances; however, the authorities were more concerned about the negotiation skills and political and social respect of the person in question.

Table no. 1: *The leading officials of the Szepes Chamber between 1620 and 1660*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Service at the Szepes Chamber (yrs).</i>	<i>Other position at the Chamber</i>	<i>Other position elsewhere</i>	<i>Presence at the diet</i>	<i>Faith</i>	<i>Relations</i>	<i>Domicile, property</i>
Andrew Berzeniczey	councillor 1619-1621 under Bethlen						
John Palaticz	councillor 1619-1621 under Bethlen						
John Rákóczi	councillor 1621-? under Bethlen				cath.	his father, Francis I. was the vice-count of Zemplén co., the brother of the prince of Transylvania	nobleman, lord in Zemplén co.
David Bélaváry	councillor 1621-1624 under Bethlen	governor of the Chamber				his son, Michael was in the Chamber	Nobleman
Francis Dóczy	councillor 1624-? under Bethlen					related to the Péchy family	Nobleman
John Szepsy	councillor 1624-? under Bethlen						nobleman, lord in Zemplén co.
Sigismund Péchy	councillor 1629-1631 †	also director, 1610-1621: councillor				related to the Dóczy and Usz families	nobleman, lord in Sáros [Šariš] co.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Service at the Szepes Chamber (yrs).</i>	<i>Other position at the Chamber</i>	<i>Other position elsewhere</i>	<i>Presence at the diet</i>	<i>Faith</i>	<i>Relations</i>	<i>Domicile, property</i>
Caspar Tassy	councillor 1630-1638	also secretary; vice-secretary 1613; office clerk 1610-1613					nobleman, lord in Gömör [Gemer], Borsod and Abaúj [Abov] cos.
John Usz	councillor 1639-1641 †	also director, secretary 1638-1639	tithe collector in Sáros [Šariš] co., later administrator of the Spiš castle (1619-1620);	1630 ambassador of Paul Rákóczy			nobleman, lord in Sáros [Šariš] co.
Emmerich Mosdossy	councillor 1639-1644 (1648), 1649-1651 †	also director,	assessor in Abaúj [Abov] co. 1621-1623, 1630 ²⁵	1646/47, 1655, in the diet commissions	cath.	related to Paul Cherney (?) ²⁶	nobleman, lord in Szatmár co., house-owner in Košice
Stephen Sztankay	councillor 1639-1640 abdicated			1634/35 followed by the widows of M. Alaghy; 1637/38 Sáros [Šariš] co.			nobleman, lord in Sáros [Šariš] co.
Stephen Duka	councillor 1642-1643 suspended	first 1/30 duty collector in Humenné					

²⁵ János Korponay, *Abaujvármegye monográfiája*, vol II. (Košice, 1878), 123, 127, 184.

²⁶ Emmerich Mosdossy call Paul Cherney "mr. brother in law" in his last will of 1658 (MOL, A 57, Libri regii, vol. 12. 193-195).

<i>Name</i>	<i>Service at the Szepes Chamber (yrs).</i>	<i>Other position at the Chamber</i>	<i>Other position elsewhere</i>	<i>Presence at the diet</i>	<i>Faith</i>	<i>Relations</i>	<i>Domicile, property</i>
Stephen Usz	councillor 1644-1646 † under George Rákóczy I		1/30 duty collector in Tokaj 1620; vice-count of Sáros [Šariš] 1637, constable of Jeszenő castle in 1644, constable of Sáros [Šariš] 1649	1637/38, 1642 Sáros [Šariš] county,		related to the Péchy family	nobleman, lord in Sáros [Šariš] co.
Paul Szemere	councillor 1644-1648 (?) under George Rákóczy I		notary of the convent in Jasov, notary of the Royal Court in 1622, assessor of Abaúj [Abov] co. 1624-, 1629; notary of counties Abaúj [Abov], Borsod and Sáros [Šariš], assessor of the royal court since 1635, ambassador or Rákóczy. ²⁷	1625: Borsod county, 1630: Sáros [Šariš] co.), 1634/35 1637/38, 1642 (Abaúj co.), 1646/7 (Rákóczy's ambassador), 1648 (Abaúj co.)	calv.		nobleman, lord in Abaúj [Abov] co.
Stephen Körösy	councillor 1649-1651 †				cath.		

²⁷ Korponay, *Abaújvármegye...*, 134, 138.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Service at the Szepes Chamber (yrs).</i>	<i>Other position at the Chamber</i>	<i>Other position elsewhere</i>	<i>Presence at the diet</i>	<i>Faith</i>	<i>Relations</i>	<i>Domicile, property</i>
Louis Melczer	councillor 1650-1655 †		assessor of the royal court in 1650,	1646/47, 1648/49 Sáros county.		His wife is Anne Konczik, daughter of a Košice burgher	nobleman, lord in Abaúj [Abov] and Zemplén [Zemplín] county. House in Prešov.
Michael Kapronczy	councillor 1654-?						
Michael Podbilány	councillor 1656-1661 treasurer 1639-1644, 1648-1651	first in Carei (RO) (1630), then in Prešov (SK) (after 1650): 1/30 tax collector	royal commissioner in 1659 when returning the counties Szabolcs and Szatmár				nobleman, lord in Sáros [Šariš] and Szepes [Spiš] county
Martin Vass	councillor 1659-1666 †		court assessor (1642) of Bereg co. and vice-count (1651-1659). ²⁸		cath.		nobleman, lord in Zemplén, Bereg, Máramaros cos., house-owner in Košice ²⁹
Miklós Bélaváry	councillor 1661-1667	treasurer 1652-1661; director 1665-1667	Mayor of Košice			his wife was the widow of the main judge of Košice, Elizabeth Madarász.	nobleman, home owner in Košice

²⁸ T. Lehoczky, *Bereg megye monográfiája*, 358.

²⁹ A. Komáromyi, „Szigethi Vass Mártonnak, a Szepesi Kamara tanácsosának végrendelete,” *Történelmi Tár. Új folyam*, vol. 1901 (Budapest, 1901): 456.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Service at the Szepes Chamber (yrs).</i>	<i>Other position at the Chamber</i>	<i>Other position elsewhere</i>	<i>Presence at the diet</i>	<i>Faith</i>	<i>Relations</i>	<i>Domicile, property</i>
Paul Chernyey	councillor 1667-?	fiscal advocate of the Chamber (1650)	notary of Zemplén co. (1649-1662), protonotary of judge royal Nadasdy (1666) ³⁰		cath.	his wife is Anne Sennyey, of one of the best families in Sáros [Šariš] county	lord in Zemplén [Zemplin] county.
Sigismund Holló	councillor 1669-1685, fired by Thököly in 1682	treasurer 1665-1669	1/30 tax collector in Stropkov (1638-1651), 1/30 tax collector in Levoča, Prešov until 1669, postmaster in Prešov		cath.		nobleman, lord in Szepes [Spiš] county.
John Raisz	secretary 1619-?, 1639-1644	registrar 1606-1618; office clerk before 1602-1607; clerk and archive warden 1619-1630 under Bethlen; auditor of the royal income 1630-1644; auditor 1644-1648 under George Rákóczy I					burgher of Košice, became a nobleman in 1609 ³¹
Michael Nebest	treasurer 1629-1639	office clerk 1639-1642					

³⁰ MOL, Film archives, box 3535: *Zemplén megye jegyzőkönyve*, vol. 8, fol. 21.

³¹ Korponay, *Abaujvármegye...*, 143.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Service at the Szepes Chamber (yrs).</i>	<i>Other position at the Chamber</i>	<i>Other position elsewhere</i>	<i>Presence at the diet</i>	<i>Faith</i>	<i>Relations</i>	<i>Domicile, property</i>
Michael Oroszlány	secretary 1639	office clerk 1631-1633					
Michael Sándor	secretary before 1653 ?-1655; royal vice-commissioner 1652?-1655, abdicated	1/30 duty collector in Uzhhorod, 1650-1651, was 1/30 duty collector also in Humenné					

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Košice in German sources from Early Modern Age

Julia Brandt

Abstract

This paper focusses on printed German sources from the early modern age, which regard Košice from abroad, and which primarily address readers in the German territories of the Holy Roman Empire. It is especially interested in the presence of the city on the mental map of those – German speaking Europeans –, and in changes in the structure of knowledge referring to the place. The focus in these observations is thus on drafting the general image of the city in different types of German prints in that age. Already for reasons of extent, a comprehensive survey is not intended here; nevertheless, main works shall be regarded.

Key words: Košice. Early Modern Age. German sources.

To examine this question, we can refer to several types of publications: There is a wide range of pamphlets, which deal with current events of the time, also in Hungary, as the Ottoman Empire continues its conquest in Southern and Eastern Europe and threatens to affect the Holy Roman Empire, too. The events in Hungary and the country's successive incorporation into the Ottoman Empire are regarded and commented by a large number of such pamphlets and early "Zeitungen", newspaper-like prints of one or a few pages. But already for reasons of their mere number, too, it would not be possible to survey them in this context.¹ Nevertheless they demonstrate that Hungary was by far not that much "exoticized" as it is sometimes remarked in the research literature.² Analyses of such "Zeitungen" in Southern Germany from the 16th century show that Hungary was rather a familiar and frequently contacted place of commerce, and news on current events an important means of business planning and politics.³ These prints were soon accompanied by booklets, and with regard to the presentation of such contents, they go over to

¹ To convey an impression, see as an example the survey by Monika Schwob on such prints and "Neue Zeitungen" appearing in the city of Nurnberg till the end of the 16th century. (Ute Monika Schwob, *Kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Nürnberg und den Deutschen im Südosten im 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (München, 1969), 177-197.)

² For instance Zsuzsanna Nádor, "Das Ungarnbild in der niederländischen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit," in *Das Ungarnbild in der deutschen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit. Der Ungarische oder Dacianische Simplissimus im Kontext barocker Reiseerzählungen und Simplicziaden*. Hrsg. von Dieter Breuer und Gábor Tüskés. Bern etc. Peter Lang (2005), 77-93.

³ Regina Dauser, *Informationskultur und Beziehungswissen. Das Korrespondentennetz Hans Fuggers (1531-1598)* (Tübingen, 2008), 232-233 concerning the „turkish wars“; Nóra G. Etényi, *Hadszintér és nyilvánosság. A magyarországi török háború hírei a 17. századi német újságokban* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2003), esp. 33-44; Wolfgang Behringer, "Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe: Zur Bedeutung des Zeitungs- und Nachrichtenwesens während der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges," in *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe*. Hrsg. von Beningna Krusenstjern et al (Göttingen, 1999), 39-81.

rather voluminous and substantial publications, which look back on longer ranges of events and finally put them into the context of imperial politics and the history of the states involved – in other words, the “contemporary history” of the Age. The last ones are one of the sources to look at here.

Beside them, there is a type of publication by eyewitnesses and visitors, reaching from rather fantastic reports on the country with emphasis on the adventures lived through to serious travel reports. The last ones gain in number in the time after the wars against the Ottoman Empire. And moreover, we have to consider the first lexicons or reference books in vernaculars that begin to appear in this time. These three types of work cover the historical and current descriptive knowledge concerning our region. Together, they deliver a good basis to draw some observations on the general development of this external view on the city of Kaschau.⁴

(1) The first broad overviews on the events of the Turkish wars and their prehistory do as a matter of fact not start at zero. There was a fairly rich literature in Latin dealing with Hungary (and Transylvania) to go back to, and that continued to appear parallel to that vernacular series of printed matter being of interest here.⁵ Hieronymus Ortelius⁶ (Oertl) so-called Hungarian war-chronicle/ *Ungarische Kriegschronik*⁶, first published in 1602, is the first of the works to be regarded here. The first volume dealt with the time till 1592, the work was soon continued, still 1602 further editions were published addressing the events just until the year of publication, and further, so-called “Continuations” took up the years 1603 and 1604. A forth part was added in 1613. It covered the time until the coronation of Mathias II. as king of Hungary (1608) and his election and coronation as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1622; a last, revised edition appeared in Nürnberg in 1665.⁷ Both the *Chronologica* as the so-called *Ortelius Continuatus* offer information on the events of 1604 in Košice. Gaspar Ens’ *Fama Austriaca*, regarding the 16 years till its edition in 1627, offers, as far as Košice is concerned, a description of Bethlen’s wedding in the city in 1626.⁸ A further important

⁴ On views /vedutas/ of the city, beginning in the 16. century, see Viera Kejlová, “Veduty Košic v minulosti,” in *Historica Carpatica* XI. (1980), 296-339.

⁵ For an overview, see in short: Katalin S. Németh, “Fiktionalität und Realität in den deutschen Ungarnbeschreibungen des 17. Jahrhunderts,” in *Das Ungarnbild* (fn. 2), 55-76, 66.

⁶ Hieronymus Ortelius, *Chronologica oder Historische beschreibung aller Kriegsempörungen vnd belägerungen auch Scharmützel vnd Schlachten, so in Ober Vnd Vnder Vngern auch Sibenbürgen mit dem Türcken von Ao 1395 biß auff gegenwertige Zeit gedeknhwürdig geschehen [...]* (Nürnberg, 1602).

⁷ Ortelius Continuatus, oder der ungarischen Kriegs-Empörungen, historische Beschreibung [...] Darinnen enthalten alles, was sich bey vorgenommenen Beläger- und Eroberungen ... in Ober- und Nider-Ungarn wie auch Siebenbürgen [...] von dem 1395. [...] Jahr [...] zugetragen [...] (Nürnberg, 1665).

⁸ Gaspar Ens, *Fama Austriaca: Das ist Eigentliche Verzeichnuß denckwürdiger Geschichten / welche sich in den nechstverflossenen 16. Jahren hero biß auff und in das J. 1627. begeben haben* (Cölln, 1627).

publication on the Turkish War and the things happening in Hungary are Franz Christoph Khevenhüller's *Annales Ferdinandi*⁹. Events in Košice covered by the work are again the occurrences during the Bocskay uprising, furthermore Gabriel Bethlen's first war against the Habsburgs 1619-1620/21. A continuation of the work that appeared only later, also covered the time till 1637.¹⁰ Another series with relevant information is *Theatrum Europaeum*, a chronicle of finally 21 volumes describing the time of the 30 year's war and the hundred years following its outbreak. In this case, the focus is not only or foremost on Hungary or the affairs of the house of Habsburg, but on the developments in Europe, from the military campaigns over coronations and dynastical affairs till major floods, earthquakes and crime stories, listed at the end of the respective annual reports.¹¹ In the third volume of his *Delineatio Provinciarum Pannoniae* from 1686, Johann Christoph Wagner added a report on the events since 1685, including a narrative on the conquest of Caschau by Imperial troops in 1685.¹²

These reports normally focus on telling events, preferably in much detail and based on reliable accounts. Thus they do not spend much attention to local surroundings and circumstances, as far as those are not a factor in the events themselves. Ortelius' account on the seizure of the main church from the Protestants and the ban on their religious practise may serve as an example.¹³ The hopelessness of the citizens' situation in the face of the military equipped even with heavy artillery and the threat of life and property is well conveyed. Later, the event found its way even into lexicon articles by Zeiller and Krekwitz. In the country, the Imperial commanders pointed to the fact "daß die Strassen / wegen der straffenden / abtrünnigen / meyneydigen Heyducken / sehr gefährlich und unsicher / auch des mordens und Raubens bey den armen Unterthanen kein Auffhören", but „verheerung / beraubung

⁹Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, *Annales Ferdinandi Oder Wahrhafft Beschreibung Kayzers Ferdinandi des Andern [...] Thaten. 1.-9* (Regensburg / Wien, 1640-1646).

¹⁰ Ibidem, 1.-12, 2 Suppl., (Leipzig, 1721-1726).

¹¹ Wolfgang Schmale, Essay "Matthäus Merian: Theatrum Europaeum," in *Europabegriffe und Europavorstellungen im 17. Jahrhundert. Web-Projekt, Wolfgang Schmale* (Dir.), accessed 15-07. 2013

http://www.univie.ac.at/igl.geschichte/europaquellen/essays/merian_theatrum_europaeum.htm.

With many philologic details about the single volumes: Hermann Bingel, *Das Theatrum Europaeum. Ein Beitrag zur Publizistik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1909). The research project „Theatra“ at Universität Kassel and Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel offers a conference volume on the problem of the architecture of knowledge on its website: <http://www.theatra.de/index.php?cPage=3&sPage=0&searchRes=0>. An overview on research literature: <http://www.theatra.de/index.php?searchRes=0&cPage=3&sPage=2>.

¹² Johann Christoph Wagner, *Delineatio Provinciarum Pannoniae Et Imperii Turcici in Oriente. [...] 3. Interiora Orientis Detecta [...] Sampt einem Anhang, welcher enthält eine Fortsetzung der Ungar- und Türckischen Chronik: Begreifend, was seit dem Augusto deß verwichenen 1685. Jahrs / so wol durch der Kayserlichen und Polnischen / als Venetianischen Waffen / gegen den Erb-Feind Denckwürdiges verrichtet worden* (Augsburg, 1686).

¹³ Ortelius, *Chronologia* vol. 4 (1613), 3-4.

unnd plünderung“ are at the same time the means to make rebellious noblemen or the population in general obey, and they may describe the situation of the civil population in the presence of military units.¹⁴ Under these circumstances, the inhabitants refused in 1604 to take in Imperial troops. According to Ortelius they told, they refused the demand, because 1. they could not feed so many people, even less as the military already seized all mills and several other possessions of the city, 3. they had already bad experience with these soldiers, 3. immediately before, they had got threats by the commander how he would rule the place, 4. they were afraid of the revenge of the rebels.¹⁵ The lengthy description of the events conveys an idea of the main parties, who had to find an agreement – the military commanders, i.e. the Feldtoberster, the Mustermeister, and the Commander of the small military unit inside the city, moreover the president and the Counsellors of the Chamber seated in Caschau, sometimes the bishop, and on the other hand, representatives of the citizens.¹⁶ The latter held their refusal to admit Imperial troupes to the city; beside the impossibility to feed them, they point to the measures around the seizure of the church and continue to demand its restitution.¹⁷

These and similar accounts describe well not only the events connected to the city – like the most important ones already listed above -, but also the life at the place, even when they are not suitable to give a topographical image of it. The admittance of Bocskay's commander Balázs Lippai into the city, together with a small contingent, is qualified as betrayal,¹⁸ nevertheless the detailed narrations of the circumstances allows to detect a considerable protestant party in the city, which is partly willing to obey the Emperor, but defends its interest. Moreover, the narration tends to confront a Hungarian resp. German party within the city, the former one in a secret agreement with the rebels around Bocskay.¹⁹ Without going into more detail concerning the durability of single statements on facts established in the report, it obviously conveys an idea of some power relations within the city facing the first wake of Viennese absolutism, of the interests of the inhabitants, and their living conditions.

Khevenhüller's *Annales Ferdinandi* also tells this confrontation at the sight of the arrival of rebel troops to Caschau, then displaying the subsequent events.²⁰ Only the seizure of the main church, that had happened earlier, is left out here. A comparison of both texts shows, that the report published in

¹⁴ Quote *ibidem*, 25, 41, as examples for a continuous information.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 52.

¹⁶ While several persons are named, Johannes Bocatius, the judge and thus mayor of the time, is never mentioned.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 57, 59/60.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 68-74.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 67/68, 74, 81 etc.

²⁰ Khevenhüller, *Annales* (fn 12*), part VI. (1643), 149-159.

Ortelius' work, like an independent record, was either copied from there or from another contemporary document, more or less word for word, with some slight changes in single expressions.²¹

Gaspar Ens' *Fama Austriaca* and *Theatrum Europaeum* I. don't go back till the Bocskai uprising. As an important - and first of all splendid - event connected to Košice, they describe Gabriel Bethlen's wedding with Katharina of Brandenburg. In this case, it is rather the listing of representatives from foreign states, the description of their outfit and of the wedding gifts, and the narrative on the first meeting of the couple that get attention. The city itself is simply the scenery.²² *Theatrum* I. simply states the formal wedding in Brandenburg, the bride's journey to Caschau, her reception and the consummation of the marriage.²³ It rather follows Bethlen's subsequent steps till the peace of Preßburg, thus shifting its focus away from the city. The less detailed account may also be attributed to the larger focus - no longer on Hungary and Transylvania, like in Ortelius' works, and not only on developments around a Habsburg Emperor, but on Europe in general, which demanded to share attention and space to a broad range of incidents. The same refers to the presentation of the conquest of Košice by Prince Rákóczi in 1644 in *Theatru* V.²⁴ The fact of the conquest is briefly told²⁵, the citizens obviously impeded a resolute defence of the place, even against an Imperial patent that ordered unconditional loyalty and resistance to the rebels²⁶. But the focus is on the relation between Rákóczi and the Imperial commander count Forgács, and on information concerning the military developments. Krekwitz mentions the event in his *Lexicon*²⁷, adding a remark on the long-lasting hostility between the two, which gave that meal its extraordinary character.

The description of the conquest of Košice by imperial troops fighting against Imre Tököly and his rebels in 1685 permits to assume, that the inhabitants were most of all interested to avoid a long siege by a probably successful army. They confirmed Tökely of their loyalty after a turmoil between his troops and inhabitants.²⁸ After more than two weeks of siege and attacks with incendiary bombs, negotiations begun. The inhabitants especially tried to get Hungarian occupation troops into the city, to continue their Lutheran religious exercises, to save their commercial privileges, and to keep a

²¹ Ortelius, *Glaubwürdiger Bericht* / was sich mit Herrn Erichen Lassato / Röm. Käys. Majest. Rath / gewesenen Mustermeister zu Caschau in Ober Ungern / vom 24. Octobries Anno 1604. biß auff 11. Novembris / daselbst zugetragen / [...]. Idem, 49 - 77; the end of this specific report within the text is not quite clear.

²² Ens, *Fama Austriaca* 1627, 862-864.

²³ *Theatrum* I. [1635], used ed. (Frankfurt [a. M.], 1662), 943-944.

²⁴ *Theatrum* V. [1647], used ed. (1651), 304-305, on the proceeding political events: 286-291.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 304,

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ Krekwitz, *Totius Regni Hungariae*, 69.

²⁸ *Theatrum* 12 (Frankfurt, 1698), 832.

city council half of Lutherans and half of Catholics.²⁹ After about three weeks of siege, an agreement was reached. But the citizens only got an abdication of punishment for their resistance, otherwise, they got the “freedom” to apply again for their former privileges to the Emperor. The main church immediately seized again and German units cantoned in.³⁰ The information on Košice is thus narrow, but gives an impression especially on the interests and situation of the citizenry, whereas circumstances like the estate of buildings etc. after the bombings with several fires can only be speculated. In a rather lexicon-style article within a work regarding Hungary in 1687 after the Ottoman conquest, Tscherning includes the conquest, but gives a much shorter report on the developments. He notes the failure of the citizens to surrender, the fact of the siege, the death of the Duke of Württemberg, inserts the story of Tökely’s loss of Ottoman favor, his capture and transport to Adrianople, and continues with what was, in this narrative, the consequence: the city’s surrender to the Imperial troops. The details of the change of power in the city are not told, the important fact of the narrative is, the lexicon character notwithstanding, is the end of the rebellion in Upper Hungary. Wagner in his *Delineatio* of 1686 is even shorter: the centre of his account is the news about Tökely’s capture by the Ottomans, the effect on the inhabitants and the subsequent surrender of the place.³¹

(2) In principle, there is also a whole range of works describing travels thorough Hungary, already in the 16th and 17th century. They vary from travels done by envoys and ambassadors, for instance to the Ottoman Court, over account by soldiers and hostages returning from the battlefields or sometimes from long years auf slavery, to such one’s embedded in a novel-structure, the most important being the *Hungarian or Dacian Simplicissimus*.³² As historians remark, the accounts of real journeys were enriched by information taken from other books on the respective region, either to appear more serious or to enhance the market interest towards the publication. Furthermore, fictional and real elements were often interfused, which has to be kept in mind during their interpretation.³³ Concerning the city

²⁹ Ibidem, 837.

³⁰ Ibidem, 837-838.

³¹ Wagner, *Delineatio* vol. 3, Annex, 3.

³² *Ungarischer oder Dacianischer Simplizissimus (1683)*. Hrsg. von Marian Syrocki und Konrad Gajek (Wien, 1973) (=Wiener Neudrucke; 3); “On the genre and the relevant works concerning South-Eastern Europa: Nachwort” in Ibidem, 187-208; “A summary of the content,” 205-205 (Nachwort).

³³ On travels by diplomats: Karl Nehring, *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaftsberichte und Finalrelationen als Quelle zur Geschichte Südosteuropas im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Études Balcaniques* (1986), 111-114; on other voyagers: Schwob, *Kulturelle Beziehungen...*, 163-177. On the travels to Hungary till the 17th century: Németh, *Fiktionalität und Realität... On the genre in general: Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte*. Hg. v. Antoni Maczak und Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (Wolfenbüttel, 1982); Michael Maurer, “Reisen interdisziplinäre – Ein

of Košice, the main problem is nevertheless that these travels, the voluntary as well as the involuntary ones, usually followed the Danube River and thus did not touch the city of Košice.³⁴ Sigmund von Birken's wellknown *Donaustrand* made this its structural principle.³⁵ German speaking soldiers rather got around at the Balkans, and inside Hungary, their reports referred primarily to the Western region.³⁶

The exception is *Simplicissimus*, an anonymous work by Daniel Speer, a musician from Silesia active in Göppingen in the second half of the 17th century, who may himself have travelled through some of the territories he describes in his fictional adaptation of such experiences.³⁷ The Hungarian *Simplicissimus* passed Kásmark/Kežmarok, Leutschau/Levoča, Zeben/Sabinov, Bartfeld/Bardejov, Kirchdrauf /Spišské Podhradie, Scharosch /Vel'ky Šariš and Eperies/Prešov and then first came to Košice.³⁸ Even in its introduction into the topography of the city, his outline of the place includes a description of many customs. At the first place he mentions the insalubrious air and wine, he is obviously fascinated by the diverse penalties used in Košice – which should, however, also be understood as an element connected to the genre and to the type of unreliable, dubious hero of this picaresque novel. Moreover the text describes wedding customs and, concerning the institutions of the city, the system of the interior and exterior Council, their election and inauguration. As will be seen later, the factual information on the city is standard of the age, some additional information regards customs and institutions. The moment of amazement conveyed by the description should also be owned to the narrative strategy of the adventurous novel, it is in other words not necessarily an exotization of the places visited.

Forschungsbericht in kulturgeschichtlicher Perspektive,” in *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung*, hrsg. von Michael Maurer (Berlin, 1999), 365-394.

³⁴ In general: Németh, *Fiktionalität und Realität...*, 60, 63; Schwob, *Kulturelle Beziehungen...*, 173-174, and the resp. reports by Stephan Gerlach, *Tage-buch [...] an die Ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel [...]* (Frankfurt, 1674); Salomon Schweigger, *Beschreibung der Reiß von Tübingen nach Wien biß Constantinopel* (Nürnberg, 1608); Nicolaus Schmidt, *Kurtze und wahre Beschreibung. Der Fünff-jährigen harten Gefängnus, welche ~ ~ [...] unter den Türcken [...] außgestanden hat* (Leipzig, 1684).

³⁵ Sigmund von Birken, *Der Donau-Strand mit Allen seinen Ein- und Zuflüssen / angelegenen Königreichen / Provinzen / Herrschaften und Städten / auch dererselben Alten und Neuen Namen / vom Ursprunge bis zum Ausflusse: in dreyfacher Land-Mappe vorgestellt [...]* (Nürnberg, 1664).

³⁶ See, for instance, “Kurtze, umständliche Relation” from 1664, a publications presented by Németh, *Fiktionalität und Realität...*, 63.

³⁷ The *Nachwort* gives an extensive overview on the development of the respective research and follows Moser's interpretation of Speer, including the details reconstruction of Daniel Speer's biography.

³⁸ Dacianischer, Chapter 19, 100; ibidem, espec., 104-105. The rather well-known and often quoted passage shall not be cited here for reasons of extend. See for instance: *Kaschau war eine europäische Stadt: Ein Lese- und Reisebuch zur jüdischen Kultur und Geschichte in Košice und Prešov. Košice boli európskym mestom* (Wuppertal, 2005), 145-151.

Otherwise, his type of literature is no yielding source to regard contemporary knowledge about Košice in the 16th and 17th century. Travellers after the Turkish wars, in the 18th century, passed Northern Hungary more often, but often focused on topics, that were not connected to Košice. If they described educational journeys or advised young nobleman how to plan them, they rather took an interest in the Mining Academy in Schemnitz/ Banská Štiavnica, or the mines in the Mountain district. Kaschau as an important seat of authorities and a commercial town was only casually visited. A good example is Johann Georg Keyssler, who tried to direct young men's interest away from France and Paris with their many distractions by turning it rather towards Italy with his ancient places and art collections, and who also included a Hungarian journey.³⁹ He presents many aspects of mining, even touches religious issues of the country, but does not regard Košice. The same refers to descriptions by scholars taking an interest in mining or mineralogy. A good example is Jens Esmark's *Kurze Beschreibung einer mineralogischen Reise* from 1798: The author stayed several months in Schemnitz, took only an excursion to Pest, „but mainly I was absorbed by the area stretching from Cremnitz/Kremnica and Neusohl/Banská Bystrica till Lipsch [Libethen/ L'ubietová?].“⁴⁰ Robert Townson (who's report appeared in English and French) had a similar purpose, he only gave some short personal impressions on Košice to continue with a opal-mines in Czerwenitza/Cervenica.⁴¹ Ignaz Born, Johann Jacob Ferber or Wilhelm Becker can serve as further examples for travels omitting the city.⁴²

It is rather another type of travel books that tries to describe and to analyse the situation of the fatherland in the early 19th century – generally undertaken by inhabitants of the kingdom of Hungary and directed to their compatriots or even to the outside world, using German as a functional means of understanding – that was more concerned with other town in Hungary, too. Vince Battyány's *Reise durch einen Theil Ungarns* or Samuel Ludvigh report

³⁹ Johann George Keyblers, *Mitglieders der Königl. Großbritt. Societät, Reise durch Teutschland, Böhmen, Ungarn, die Schweiz, Italien und Lothringen, worinn der Zustand und das merkwürdigste dieser Länder beschrieben wird. I.-2* (Hannover, 1740-1741).

⁴⁰ Jens Esmark, *Kurze Beschreibung einer mineralogischen Reise durch Ungarn, Siebenbürgen und das Bannat* (Freyberg, 1798). „Ich reiste den 19^{ten} Juli 1794 von Wien über Pressburg nach Schemnitz, wo ich einige Monathe verweilte..“

⁴¹ Robert Townson, *Travels in Hungary* (London, 1797), 304, 327-333. The deputy lieutenant, i.e. a noble man at the head of the county administration, could save him from that inconvenient situation.

⁴² Ignaz von Born, *Briefe über mineralogische Gegenstände, auf seiner Reise durch das Temeswarer Bannat, Siebenbürgen, Ober- und Niderungarn, an den Herausgeber derselben* (Frankfurt – Leipzig, 1774); Johann Jacob Ferber, *Physikalisch-Metallurgische Abhandlungen über die Gebirge und Bergwerke in Ungarn [...]* (Berlin – Stettin, 1780); Wilhelm Gottlieb and Ernst Becker, *Journal einer bergmännischen Reise durch Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. I.-2* (Freyberg, 1815-1816).

written after the Cholera-year of 1831, may illustrate this tendency.⁴³ But these publications, accompanied by like-ones by foreigners and by a series of simple travel reports as well⁴⁴, are rather part of the Hungarian literature about reforms necessary to the country in the interest of its development, its “civilization” and “bourgeois progress”, to use the language of the contemporaries. They stand alongside the developing descriptive literature on the country, the “Landesbeschreibung” and the upcoming statistics, before the revolution of 1848.

(3) Lexicons and reference books are the third type of literature on Hungary in that age which offer information on Košice. This type of publication only emerges at the time, amalgamations of historical narrative from antiquity to current events and alphabetically ordered information on certain places are a possible solution. Wilhelm Dillich’s *Ungarische Chronica*, which appeared in 1600, is such a work.⁴⁵ The first parts deals with the current description of the country, the second, more voluminous one, aims at telling mores and customs, clothing, the history and other things that occurred among that people.⁴⁶ Among the schematic maps with numbers that refer to cities, towns, regions etc. the one on Upper Hungary also marks “Cassavv”.⁴⁷ The text of the first part⁴⁸ gives a short description of Hungary within its frontiers to neighbouring states – Transylvania, the river “Drab”, Austria and Poland –, with a praise of its natural resources in general, mentions some rivers and mountain ranges and explains Upper- and lower Hungary as territories separated by the Danube. The descriptive part contains “Preßburgk”, “Tockay”, “Cassaw”, “S. Niclaus”, “Erla”, “Watzen” and “Sollnock” in Upper Hungary.⁴⁹ The descriptions are completed by sights of the places.⁵⁰ The city is seen from a geographic and military perspective. The part on Lower Hungary also focusses on places that were or were used as fortresses.⁵¹

The first lexicon only dedicated to a description of places in Hungary

⁴³ Vince Battyány, *Reise durch einen Theil Ungarns, Siebenbürgens, der Moldau und Buccovina* (Pest, 1811); Samuel v. Ludvigh, *Reise in Ungarn im Jahre 1831 in den Comitaten a) disseits der Donau: Pesth, Gran, Neograd; ... b) jenseits der Donau; Comorn, Raab, Oedenburg, Eisenburg, Zala, Veszprim, Stuhl-Weissenburg; c) disseits der Theiss: Zips, Sáros, Abauj, Torna und Gömör* (Pesth – Leipzig, 1832).

⁴⁴ An example of the first one is the German philosopher and agricultural author: Johann Gottfried Elsner, *Ungarn durchreiset, beurtheilet und beschrieben* (Leipzig, 1840).

⁴⁵ Wilhelm Dillich, *Ungarische Chronica darinnen ordentliche, eigentliche und kurzte Beschreibung des Ober unnd Nider-Ungern, sampt seinen Landtfaeln und vieler fürnehmer Festungen und Stedten Abriß [...]* (Cassel, 1600).

⁴⁶ Von Sitten und Rühmlichen Thaten der Ungarn. Das ander Theil. Ibidem, 20-195, with many additional maps.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, no page numbers [19].

⁴⁸ *Von Gelegenheit des Ungarlandes / das Erste Theil*, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, 3-9, Košice, 5-6.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, 6. In the copy of the Staatsbibliothek München, the map of Košice is missing. Other maps in the volume seem to be complete.

⁵¹ Ibidem, 10-19.

seems to be Martin Zeiller's *Neue Beschreibung des Königreichs Ungarn*, from 1646, with later, extended editions in 1664 and, after the author's death, in 1690. But a Hungary is already included in his *Itinerarium Germaniae Nov-Antiquae* from 1632-40. Chapter 29 suggests routes through Hungary, starting in Vienna and heading for Transylvania or Constantinople.⁵² The author points to German inhabitants of cities and other places, what made him include four travels to Hungary, too.⁵³ Caspar Ens and Wilhelm Dillich are the sources of information he mentions in the passage on Caschau, the complete first journey "von Wien auß auff etliche Ungrische Stätte" follows a written account by Veit Marchthaler⁵⁴, like Zeiller a citizen of Ulm.

"St. Caschau. 2 meil. Gedachter *Caspar Ens* setzt 6. meil von Eperies auff Caschau / so aber gar klein sein müssen. Dann wann man uber das Gebürg / der Cascherhamer genant / von der Leutsch auff Caschau reisen will / so kann man Sommerszeit in einem Tag dahin reiten. Besagte Stadt Caschau / oder Cassovia/ solle von dem Römer Cassio den Namen haben / wie Dillichius will. Sie ist die Haupt-Statt in Ober-Ungarn / mit Mauren unnd Gräben zimlich versorgt. Hat zwey Thor / den allwegen eins eine Wochen / und das ander die andere offen gehalten / unnd mit Teutschen unnd ungarischen Knechten bewachtet wird. Ausser der Stadt rinnet das Wasser Herwat. Auß dem Weingebürg laufft ein kleiner Bach beym obern Thor in die Statt / und theilt sich innerhalb der Statt alsobald in zwey theil / und fleußt also in zweyen Bächlein in die länge der Statt auß / darber 34. Brücklein gehen. Die KirchenGebräuch werden fast auff Bergstädtisch gehalten. Der Rath ist von Teutschen besetzt / so der Augsbürgischen Confession. Es wohnen gleichwol auch viel Ungarn alda / die in den eussern Rath kommen können. Man redet / neben der Teutschen unnd Ungarischen Sprach / auch Polnisch daselbsten / unnd ist der meiste Handel mit dem Wein / so in Poln geführt wird. Es ist allhie die Königlich Zypserische Camer / item der Herr KriegsZahlmeister / und Mustermeister in Oberungarn / wie auch das Zeughauß [...] und da het der Vice Re, so die Ungern Kyral kepe nennen / das ist der FeldObriste in Ungarn / sein Residenz [...] Wie es aber etlich Jahr hero / in deme solche Statt der Bethlen Gabor Fürst in Siebenbürgen / auff ihre Keyserliche Majestät zulassen und belieben / biß an seinen Tode innen gehabt / gehalten worden / oder nach dessen Tod gehalten werde / nach dem sie jetzt wider des Königs / kan ich nicht wissen. Biß auf 6. meil von hier ist alles dem Türcken gehuldigt."⁵⁵

Zeiller hence sketches the topographical situation, the languages spoken by the inhabitants and the social position of the speakers, the main authorities situated there, and points to the measure of reliability of the information.

⁵² Martin Zeiller, *Itinerarium Germaniae Nov-Antiquae. Teutsches Reißbuch. [...]* (Straßburg, 1643-1640). Das Neun und Zwanzigste Capitel. Von den Ungarischen Raisen / von Wien auß nach Sibenbürgen / und Constantinopel: Zu sambt der Beschreibung des Königreichs Ungarn /auch der Länder Siebenbürgen / Wallachey / Moldau / etc. Ibidem, 574-614. Relying on the usually used short title and the presentation of the work in secondary literature, I owe this finding to Katalin S. Németh and her paper on travel literature. See: Ortelius, *Chronologica oder Historische beschreibung...*

⁵³ Zeiller, *Itinerarium*, 574.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, 574-575.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, 583.

Fourteen years later, Zeiller put information on Hungary in a new form by presenting knowledge on single places in alphabetical order instead. The context, formerly being the inspiration to self-reliant travels and the accumulation of knowledge by travelling, now turned to a collection and condensation of knowledge on a country close to Austria and the Holy Roman Empire, connected to both by history as well as interest, but now being in big danger. Hungary, as the preface to *Descriptio Hungariae* puts it, might serve as a moral example in the face of the Ottoman threat.⁵⁶ The lexicon article gives similar topographical information as the *Itinerarium*, but first regards rank and administrative situation of the city. Then it gives a short topographical description, lists the main authorities situated there, describes the main Church and other important buildings, comes back to the topography, describes the poor quality of the wine, the city Council staffed by Germans, who are Lutherans, the languages of the city, and the close frontier to the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁷ This is followed by a historical summary from King Mathias I. till the recent Rákóczi uprising. Later editions of 1664 and 1690 tell the same text, adding further details on the events of the last years. In 1690, Stübel added incidents of the Rákóczi uprising, battles of 1672, the fire of 1674, the earthquake of 1676, first attacks of the rebels in 1672-78, the conquest by Tököly 1682 and his decrees, and the reconquest by Imperial troops in 1685.⁵⁸ Several details – the duke of Württemberg's death, the effect of Tököly's failing to send relief forces – correspond with the account of *Theatrum Europaeum* XII. As that one only appeared in the following year in Frankfurt, both authors supposedly went back on common sources in current pamphlets and newspapers. The annex of the third volume of Wagner's *Delineatio* from 1686 may also have been familiar to Stübel, an even more probable source is Tschernings Article, which shall be presented below.⁵⁹

In the last part of his lexicon article of 1646, Zeiller finally mentions his sources, namely Ortelius, David Frölich, Istvánffy und his own *Itinerarium*

⁵⁶ *Descriptio Hungariae oder Neue Beschreibung des Königreichs Ungarn / und der darzu gehöriger Landen / Stätten / und vornehmster Oerther / [...] / und was sich vom Anfang deß Türckenkriegs / bis auff gegenwärtiges Jahr daselbsten zugetragen [...] Ulm 1646. Vorrede, 1 (without page numbers), quote in the text: 10-11.*

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 73-76.

⁵⁸ *HUNGARIA oder Neu-vollständige Beschreibung des gantzen Königsreichs Ungarn / sammt darzu gehörigen Landen und Stätten etc Welche hievor der Welt-berühmte Martin Zeiler herausgegeben; Nunmehr aber mit unzehlichen nöthigen Vermehr- und Verbesserungen in zwey Theilen ordentlich abgefasset / und durchgehends mit allen denckwürdigen Anmerckungen und Geschichten biß auf das Jahr 1690 ergänzt Andreas Stübel* (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1690), 363-375.

⁵⁹ Wagner, *Delineatio*, 3; Theodor Tscherning, *Das von den Türcken lang-gequälte, nun Durch die Christen Neu-Beseelte Königreich Hungarn. Das ist Kurzgefasste Vorstell- und Beschreibung der Hungarischen Stätte / Vestungen und Schlösser / samt angrenzenden Ländern [...]* (Nürnberg, 1687), 165-169.

Germananiae, above in the text also current maps and *Theatrum Urbium*. Marchthaler is no longer mentioned, nevertheless, the text contains elements that occurred in Speer's *Simplicissimus*, too: The common source is Veit Marchthaler, whose manuscript, as Katalin Nemeth has proved, was consulted extensively by Zeiller, but used – directly or via other printed works – by other authors too. Daniel Speer's use of the manuscript is not probable, other known or yet unknown texts may have served as intermediators.⁶⁰ Especially the remark on the poor wine and the Hungarian saying about it go back to Marchthaler, als Németh could prove.

Theodor Tscherning's work on Hungary – *Das von den Türcken langgequälte[...] Königreich Hungarn* – from 1687 gives, in chapter three, an overview on the physical geography of the country and its natural resources.⁶¹ Chapter seven, structured like a lexicon, delivers information on a range of places, among them “Caschau”/Košice, in alphabetical order. The descriptive part of the text is a slightly shortened compilation of Zeiller's article of 1646, with the difference, that hints to a possible limited validity of the information⁶² are now omitted.⁶³ The spelling of the river's name is on the other hand rather the result of the lecture of Dillich or others. The historical overview which follows, puts emphasis on the last decennia. While Zeiller (being an exulant himself, living in the city of Ulm) shows empathy for the decisions of the protestant inhabitants in 1604 by explaining the course of action of the Imperial side,⁶⁴ such elements are missing in Tscherning's account. Beside the circumstances of the siege which Stübel tells, Tscherning also reports in extenso the story of Tököl's invitation to the Bassa of “Erla”

⁶⁰ On the manuscript: Katalin S. Németh, “Veit Marchthalers Reisebeschreibung und die Ungarn-Beschreibung des deutschen Barock. Aspekte vergleichender Untersuchung,” in *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 28 (München, 2007), 293-299. The manuscript in the Ulm city archive is dated on 1588. Németh describes Zeillers way to compile elements from Marchthaler to his own text (ibidem, 294, 295). Marchthaler, on the other hand, knew Hungarian and used Hungarian sources not accessible to other German authors. (ibidem, 296). On the transfers of elements concerning the description of Košice: Németh, *Fiktionalität*, 67- 71; moreover *Eine wiederentdeckte Reisebeschreibung. Veit Marchthaler, Ungarische Sachen, 1588. = Deutschland und Ungarn in ihren Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsbeziehungen während der Renaissance*, Hrsg. von Wilhelm Kühlmann und Anton Schindling (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 207-218. A complete, commented edition of the manuscript by Németh is being prepared.

⁶¹ Tscherning, *Das von den Türcken*, 94-114: Drittes Capitel, von dem Königreich Hungarn insgemein, 154-421: Von des Königreichs Ober- und Nieder-Hungarn Städten / Schlössern und Vestungen / und was sich so wol vor alten als kurzen Zeiten allda ereignet. Pp. 178-182 deals with Ofen/Buda, in a text of 464 pages (and about 50 uncounted pages of registers).

⁶² Zeiller, *Descriptio*, 75.

⁶³ Ibidem, p. 165-169.

⁶⁴ Ao. 1604. ist obgedachte grössere Kirch den *Protestirenden* genommen / und den Domherren von Erla / (so nach dem Erla/ oder *Agria*, Türkisch geworden/ sich nach Caschau begeben/) auß daß Keyzers Befelch / oberantwortet worden. Daher / und dieweil Johann Jacob *Barbianus*, Graff zu *Belgioiosa*, Commendant allhie / die Prediger verjagt / und die Burger umb ungefehr 28. Dörffer / so sie auß der alten Könige Freygebigkeit besessen/ beraubt hatte / die Caschauer / in Abwesenheit des *Belgioiosa*, oder *Barbiani*, zum Steffan Boscai gefallen seyn. Ibidem, 77.

/Eger, his capture and subsequent transportation in bonds to Constantinople, the new vow of his followers to the Sultan and their changeover to the Imperial army in change for a pardon.⁶⁵ An anecdote on a Turkish captive, a “slave”, who used the negligence of the merchant in whose house he lived, to kill the latter as well as several servants and members of the city guard, is told in both works, but with differing wording.⁶⁶ Zeiller also served as an important reference to Krekwitz’.⁶⁷

This type of lexicon or regional reference book, as Zeiller or Krekwitz and – with more emphasis on the events of the last decades and on political history, as suggested by the event of the Imperial conquest of Ofen and large parts of the Kingdom – Tscherning present, is obviously an amalgamation of condensed geographical, economic, administrative information, of older as well as of newest history, with some tendency to improve the market value of the work by telling astonishing stories from the place in question, too. Johann Heinrich Zedler’s *Universallexikon*⁶⁸, appearing nearly a hundred years after Zeiller’s first respective work, means a new step in this development. While regional reference books continued to appear, knowledge from diverse areas of science and humanities was now put together in a single, collectively produced work, as a kind of extended memory of the cultivated contemporary, embracing all areas of knowledge. Technically, it was no longer the product of a single author, but the work of a vast number of collaborators employed to realize the gigantic plan in a continuously growing publishing project.⁶⁹

In this context, the information on Košice is relatively restricted, an excerpt from the literature that was already mentioned here under (2) and (3). Zedler mentions status (capital of Upper-Hungary), geographic situation (Abaujwar County, river Kunnerth/Hornath), supposed origin of the name, and function of the city (well equipped fortification, commercial town, upper Hungarian role since the 16th century), its highschools, the main church. The historic overview focusses on the position between the Emperor, the Ottoman Empire and the Hungarian rebels; according to Zedler, the inhabitants were

⁶⁵ Ibidem, 167-168.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, 168-169, Zeiller/Stübel 1690, 374-375.

⁶⁷ Krekwitz, *Totius*.

⁶⁸ *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste, Welche bißhero durch menschlichen Verstand und Witz erfunden und verbessert worden. 1.-64.* (Leipzig – Halle, 1732-1750); Suppl. 1751. Caschau: Vol. 5, (1733), 625, accessed 15.07.2013; See <http://www.zedler-lexikon.de/blattem/einzelseite.html?id=51719&bandnummer=05&seitenzahl=0625&supplement=0&dateiformat=1>. As this site is well accessible, the text is not quoted in extenso.

⁶⁹ On the author and his projects: Gerd Quedenbaum, *Der Verleger und Buchhändler Johann Heinrich Zedler 1706–1751. Ein Buchunternehmer in den Zwängen seiner Zeit* (Hildesheim – New York, 1977). On the novelty of that type of presentation espec. p. 57-58; Ulrich Johannes Schneider, “Die Konstruktion des allgemeinen Wissens in Zedlers Universal-Lexicon,” in *Wissenssicherung, Wissensordnung und Wissensverbreitung. Das europäische Modell der Enzyklopädien*, ed. by Theo Stamm and Wolfgang E. J. Weber (Berlin, 2004), 81-101.

still Protestants (“der Augspurgischen Confession zugethan”). The information on poor air and water and bad wine (“ist nicht werth, daß er gebauet wird”) survives at the end of the article. Nevertheless, main facts are thus included in a universal collection of up-to-date knowledge regarding the whole of the physical world as well as the world of human thinking.

Already before Zedler, scholars in Hungary had tried to explore and to summarize the current estate the country after the Turkish wars. Mathias Belius’ (Mátyás/Matej Bél’s) *Hungariae antiquae et novae prodromus*, published in Nurnberg in 1723, drafted the respective program.⁷⁰ The project, that included a range of collaborators, recruited mainly from his pupils, and contained new maps by the cartographer Samuel Mikoviny, was also delayed, because the counties were extremely hesitant or even unwilling to deliver information to the project – similarly, as they usually hampered actions of the state interfering with their own traditional rights or customary position. Finally, only the first volumes appeared in print, the description of Abaujvar County was not included. The first work was familiar to Zedlers collaborators, too⁷¹, but information on Košice could, under these circumstances, not be applied in the lexicon.

The background of Belius’s famous but incomplete project is helpful to understand, that other advances towards a description of the country given by inhabitants of the country and accessible to the public, were undertaken by single authors and in much smaller scope. These works are outside the focus of this paper, they shall thus only be mentioned in short as further reading material on the country accessible to contemporaries in German. Works by the Pressburg city politician, publisher and scholar Karl Gottlieb Windisch deliver some examples.

His *Politisch-geographische und historische Beschreibung des Königreichs Hungarn* from 1772 gives an overview on the country - the structure of the state, the administrative and religious situation of the country, its Geography, and some more extend, its history. The part on “Caschau, Cassovia” is thus fairly condensed.⁷² *Geographie des Königreichs Ungarn* of 1780 gives some more information on Košice⁷³. The respective paragraphs show the development of knowledge in the early history of the place, based on sources instead of ancient authors, and again puts emphasis on the improvement of sanitary conditions.⁷⁴ An other important change is the integration of this information into a systematic description of the country

⁷⁰ *Hungariae antiquae et novae prodromus* (Nürnberg, 1723).

⁷¹ Sp. 1380, on “Schriften“ (article „Ungarn“).

⁷² Karl Gottlieb Windisch, *Politisch-geographisch- und historische Beschreibung des Königreichs Hungarn* (Pressburg, 1772); on the city: 78.

⁷³ Karl Gottlieb Windisch, *Geographie des Königreichs Ungarn. 1.-3. On Abaujvar county and Košice: Vol. 2* (Pressburg, 1780-1780), 67-82, 69-74.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, 70, see also the argument in *ibidem* (1772), 78.

with much regard to its economic capacity, the last one being considered especially with regard to agriculture and natural resources.

Korabinskys *Geographisch-Historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn* presents its information again in alphabetical order.⁷⁵ As already the long title of the work informs and as the preface accents, his work was supposed to convey practically useful information. The author holds to follow a need of society and regarded his work as a product of love to his fatherland.⁷⁶ This defines the outlay of this article on Košice, too.⁷⁷ The descriptions of the country like those by Martin Schwartner followed already the new direction of political science and statistics, as developed in Göttingen, mainly influenced by Schlözer.⁷⁸ Schwartner chose German as a language better prepared to convey the new content, at the same time he defines himself as a Hungarian Patriot, trying to correct wrong opinions on his home country abroad.⁷⁹ His presentation followed a structure suggested by Schlözer, he thus gave an introduction into state and politics, then described the physical situation, laws and juridical system, and the administration of the country. Specific places were only mentioned, if they were connected to important products of the country. The same applies basically to Csaplovics', whose much later "Gemälde von Ungarn" readopted that – meanwhile established – pattern.⁸⁰ His chapter on the royal free city's only lists them in order of their inhabitants, and describes Ofen and Pest.⁸¹ Soon after Korabinsky's lexicon or Schwartner's first "Attempt" of a statistic description of the country, similar works began to appear in Hungarian. The pioneers were András Vályi with his Description of Hungary, Dániel Ercsey with his Statistics, and Pál Magda with a statistical and historical description of Hungary. The famous Ludovicus Nagy turned to Latin again, and finally there appeared the statistical works of Elek Fényes, mostly in Hungarian, and of László Kőváry. As those lay definitely beyond the period defined for this survey, they are only mentioned here to point to the new character of the presentation of our topic: If we regard the statements of the authors as well as the context of the Age, these works – as well as certain travel reports mentioned above – have to be placed into the movement to "reform" and to develop the country, and to enlighten it on its own situation for this purpose. Especially the authors last mentioned are part of that movement of the Age before the 1848 revolution,

⁷⁵ Johann Matthias Korabinsky, *Geographisch-Historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn, in welchem die vorzüglichsten Oerter des Landes in alphabetischer Ordnung angegeben [...] werden.* Von Johann Matthias Korabinsky (Preßburg, 1786).

⁷⁶ Vorbericht, no page numbers, 14 p.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 284-291.

⁷⁸ Martin Schwartner, *Statistik des Königreichs Ungern. Ein Versuch* (Pest, 1798). 2., amended and improved edition: 1.–3. (Ofen, 1809–1811).

⁷⁹ Vol. 1., Vorrede. *Ibidem*, p. XI; Einleitung, *ibidem*, 34.

⁸⁰ Johann v. Csaplovics, *Gemälde von Ungarn*. I. II. (Pest, 1829).

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, I, 165-182.

were the problem of “reform” and of “civilization” of one’s own country, in order to become “bourgeois” and competitive like for instance, the much-admired England, where in the centre of public debate.⁸²

Summary

In the view of medieval historiography, the Kingdom of Hungary was an unquestionable part of Christian Europe. It kept this place on the mental map of the contemporaries, when since the late 15th century the Ottoman conquest proceeded and incorporated much of its territory. That development even strengthened the former understanding of the country, and additionally endowed it with the role of a defender of Christianity. The territorial-political changes just mentioned rather concerned the actual status of certain territories and were dealt with as regarding simply the temporary situation within the vicissitudes of the age. It is rather due to the more important role of other areas as war theatres, that pamphlets and actual accounts from the 16th century rather don’t mention Košice. Overviews on the events of the newest history from the 17th century tell about the city in the contexts of the Bocsky, Bethlen, Rákóczi and Tököly uprising, as a scene of sieges and battles, and finally a place regained by the Imperial army. Remarks on the circumstances of these political and diplomatic events give a guess about the situation of the civil population. Travel reports on Košice are rare, as it was neither close to the main travel route at or along the Danube River toward Constantinople and the Balkans, nor among the places with important mineral resources and mines, when both physiocratism and modern science turned toward this topic. The presence of the city in the first lexica as well as in descriptions about the country after the Ottoman conquest indicates the importance of the place and demonstrates the continuation, copying, and slow development of knowledge available to a German speaking public. But simultaneously, the image of the country – and its regions and places – underwent specific changes during early modern age. A transition in the order and presentation of knowledge took place, also a change concerning its integration in specific contexts. Old-style traditional scholarly knowledge, which would self-evidently start with a report of everything accumulated since Antiquity, was turned into a more practical orientation in a world to be mastered by entrepreneurial and explorative individuals. This includes the swift from a predominantly Latin presentation to one in German – as a vernacular of the time. Moreover, knowledge concerning single territories – of human spirit, as well as of geography – could now be bound together and placed within universal containers – in general encyclopaedias or lexicons. Even in them, Hungary and the city of Kaschau had a self-evident place. At the end of this early

⁸² Gergely Krisztián Horváth, “Statistica’ és a ‘polgárisodás’ a reformkori Magyarországon. Előzmények,” in „*Honisme*“ és „*statistica*“ 1819–1848, ed. and intr. by G. K. Horváth (Budapest, 2002), 9–32.

modern process of the development in science and humanities, a further step took place, which was marked by the emergence of “Staatswissenschaft” and statistics. Concerning Hungary, it was most off all promoted by individual researchers and publishers, integrated in a European network of scholars, who referred to the demand of a society “in the making”. Soon, this patriotic undertaking of an inquiry about one’s own country, abandons German changes mostly to Hungarian: a development already beyond the period investigated here.

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Košice in the European Migration Processes (1781-1848)

Gábor Czoch

Abstract

The article aims to analyze the composition of the privileged burghers in Košice. The analysis is based on the burghers' geographical origin and the so-called register of burghers, the Liber Neoconciivum of the city; mainly the last volume of the register, starting from the year 1781 was examined. The analysis ends in the revolutionary year of 1848, since with the abolition of feudal privileges, the feudal burgher rights disappeared as well. The emphasis was laid on the religion as well as the profession of the newly accepted burghers of Košice.

Key words: Kosice. Burghers. Burgher rights. Liber Neoconciivum.

Košice: in the middle of the 19th century, the centre of the North-East part of the Kingdom of Hungary was a real multi-ethnic, multi-cultural city; the Hungarian, German and Slovak names of the city refer to the three relevant ethnic groups living in the town at the time; however, members of many other ethnic groups were present among the inhabitants.¹ The mixed ethnicity of the city dates back to the medieval history of the town, since the settlement being the core of Košice was most probably founded by the German *hospes* settlers, who arrived here due to the invitation of the king in the 13th century; Hungarians, Slavonic and other people joined them later, too.² Then, the immigration to the town – both from within and beyond the borders of the multi-ethnic kingdom – enhanced this multi-ethnic character even more.

However, any analysis of this immigration would face serious troubles, due to the lack of appropriate sources. In the opinion of the author, an attempt at a more detailed survey could be made only for the period starting with the end of the 18th century – thanks to the ever more systematic statistical survey activities of the state and the local governments. The present study refers to the period between the last third of the 18th century and the middle of the 19th century. Nevertheless, we also have to add that in accordance with the current state of knowledge, it is not possible to provide a detailed specification of the origin and social status of all of these immigrants. Researchers may only assume some aspects of immigration, by combining the various sources; there are also resources, which refer only to some groups of immigrants, though these allow a more detailed analysis. In accordance with the available details, we can make an attempt at the formulation of some hypotheses, regarding the whole group. Anyway, we do have sufficient information for an effort to illustrate how the town of Košice managed to integrate into the European

¹ Hereinafter the author uses the present-day name of the city.

² For a summary of the medieval history of Košice see, for example: Béla Wick, *Kassa története és műemlékei* (Košice, 1941); *Abauj-Torna vármegye és Kassa. Magyarország vármegyéi és városai I.*, ed. by Samu Borovszky and János Sziklay (Budapest, 1896).

migration processes of the time.

To be able to specify the rate of immigration at a greater level of detail and to tell, what role it had in the growth of the population of town, we have to find out the demographic details – the changes in the numbers and the births and deaths of the population.³ The demographical changes of the population of the town can be followed from the end of the 18th century onwards. The starting point is the census of Emperor Joseph II, in which 7590 persons were registered. Subsequently, the almost complete series of the annual conscriptions conducted by the town authorities starting with 1788 serve as the primary data source. These were conducted mostly to inform the town government and for tax collection purposes. The last such conscription was conducted in 1847 – at the time, Košice had 14,959 inhabitants. Naturally, the speed of population growth was not uniform. Until the middle of the 1820's there was a slightly growing trend, with strong annual variation and a fall-back at the beginning of the 30's (prevalently due to the plague of 1831); however, starting from the middle of the 30's, the population grew and took a rapid increase in the 40's.

The significance of immigration in the growth of the population is also evident from the available data related to the natural population changes. The population almost doubled in the period between the last third of the 18th century and the middle of the 19th century in spite of the fact that there was a natural population decrease among the Catholics, i.e. the majority of the population (in this period, their rate was constantly above 80%), therefore the population increase was prevalently caused by immigration.

However, the conscriptions provide no data concerning the ethnicity, the social status nor the origin of the immigrants coming to Košice. The sole exception to this were the Jews, since after the 1840 act allowing the immigration of Jews into the town, the data on the Jewish households – separated from the Christian population – have appeared in the town conscriptions (nevertheless, their origin was not stated). Based on the above, we may say that the immigration of the Jews active mostly in agricultural commodity trade focused primarily on the centre of the town; on the other hand, it was quite significant: the data of the town council suggest that while before 1840 there were only three Jews in the town, in 1847 there were 650 of them and the 1851 census mentioned 729. This extreme growth is interesting also due to the fact that the town administration did their best to prevent Jews from moving to the town. The fact that in spite of this, they became the fourth largest ethnic group of the town (6% of the full population) shows how

³ Due to space reasons, we have to keep to the bird's eye view on the topic in this paper. For details see: Gábor Czoch, *Városlakók és polgárok. Kassa társadalma a XIX. század első felében* (Doctor's thesis) (Budapest, 1997). When describing the data on the population trends, the author refers to this work of his.

attractive the town was and what economic potential it had.⁴

If we combine the data of the conscriptions with the data of 1850/51 nationwide Austrian military census, we can come to some conclusions concerning the Slovak immigrants, since the latter one was the first census to register the ethnicity of the population.⁵ The surviving data refer only to the burghers – the legal residents – 10,185 people, on the contrary to the 13,034 inhabitants registered in Košice in total. However, the data show that among the legal residents, the rate of the Slovaks was only 10% of the population in the town centre, unlike in the suburbs, where they were prevailing – they surpassed two thirds of the population in all three suburbs. Since the conscriptions show that the population increase in the first half of the 19th century was a lot more significant in the suburbs than in the *intra muros* territory – the mass immigration targeted primarily the suburbs – we may suggest that the accelerating population increase of the first decades in the 19th century meant primarily greater Slovak immigration. Therefore, we may also state that one of the most significant sources of the mass immigration targeting Košice in the aforementioned period was the population of the territories situated north of the town, inhabited mostly by Slovaks.

In detail, we may study the origin and the social status of those immigrants, who gained the burgher status after moving to Košice. The Košice administration had detailed files on the persons accepted as burghers. The data concerning this period can be found in the last volume of the so-called *Liber neoconciuium*, starting with the year 1781.⁶ This register stated the new burghers' names, religions, occupations, origins and many times even their marital status, until 1848.

In the Kingdom of Hungary, burghers were – from a legal point of view, until the revolution of 1848, which abolished the feudal privileges – only those persons, who acquired citizenship in a royal free city, such as Košice. Towns conditioned the acquisition of burgher privileges to strict rules, therefore not anybody could become a proper burgher. Only legitimate men with good manners and of Christian faith, owning appropriate property could apply successfully.⁷ Except for fulfilling the strict conditions, becoming a

⁴ See: Czoch, *Városlakók és polgárok*, and Tamás Csíki, *Városi zsidóság Északkelet- és Kelet-Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1999).

⁵ As to the Košice data of the 1850/51 conscription, see: Gábor Czoch, „A városok szíverei” in *Tanulmányok Kassáról és a reformkori városokról* (Bratislava, 2009), 149–164.

⁶ The Košice City Archives, Supplementum H., III/2, civ. 3, *Liber Neoconciuium*. Based on the data stored in the volume of *Liber neoconciuium* starting with 1781, the author has created a database of persons and in the subsequent parts of the analysis he is referring to this. For details see also: Gábor Czoch, „A kassai polgárság származási és foglalkozási összetétele a Liber Neoconciuium alapján (1781-1848),” in *Léptékváltó társadalomtörténet. Tanulmányok a 60 éves Benda Gyula tiszteletére*, ed. by Zsolt K. Horváth, András Lugosi and , Ferenc Sohajda (Budapest, 2003), 145-156.

⁷ As to becoming a burgher and its significance the author builds on his previous research. See also: Czoch, *A városok szíverei*, 94-148.

burgher meant significant material expenditures, too. When becoming a burgher, the privileged person had to pay a one-time tax – the burgher tax – encumbered with further expenditures, such as the allegedly voluntary (nevertheless obligatory) donation for municipal firefighting assets and the city hospital, moreover the costs of the uniform and weapons required for the municipal guard service – an obligation of all burghers being in an appropriate physical condition, from the beginning of 19th century onwards. The burgher tax varied by the origin and profession of the new burghers. The lowest rate (6 florins) was payable by the descendants of local burgher families; the craftsmen of the guilds and shop-owning traders, who were non local and of bourgeois origin, having a “bourgeois profession” had to pay 12 florins, while all other new burghers had to pay 50 florins. For comparison: a city hajduk earned 40 florins annually in the 1840's, therefore becoming a burgher would have required him to make a one-time expenditure larger than his annual income.

Becoming a burgher – even though it meant significant material effort – could be important, because a burgher could stabilize his position in the society of the town and he could take part in the political life of the town, too – this was a privilege not available for the inhabitants not being burghers. Operating a wine tavern bringing significant income, opening a craftsman's shop or trading in shops was restricted to burghers. While owning wine bars was – until 1848 – a privilege of the burghers, starting from the end of the 18th century, more and more tinkerers, i.e. craftsmen not members of guilds, non-burgher vendors and traders appeared in the town and their numbers rose during the first decades of the 19th century – just as in other towns – therefore, the monopoly of the burghers was threatened more and more in the field of crafts and commerce, too.

All in all, by the end of the 18th century, the majority of the town population was made up of non-burghers. The rate of burghers in the first half of the 19th century was approx. 6% of the whole population; even with their family members, they formed only 20% of the total population. Based on the author's own research on Košice, the author claims that the former content and significance of burgher privileges changed in parallel with the long and gradual metamorphosis of the society of the estates, even before the 1848 revolution: being a burgher was more and more a symbol of belonging to the town elite; in the first half of the 19th century, the burghers represented the wealthier part of the city society, even though they did not cover all rich people living in the town.⁸ While the practical positive aspects of being a

⁸ Except for the notion of bourgeoisie in accordance with the definition of the estates of the realm, the burghers may be defined naturally also from an economic or cultural point of view. One of the exciting questions of the history of sociology in Hungary is the following: to what extent were the people legally accepted as burghers identical to those, defined as members of the bourgeoisie by their profession or lifestyle. For a summary of this problem, see, for example: Vera Bácskai, „A

burgher were diminishing, this privilege still meant prestige in society. Therefore, the analyses of the data relevant to the persons becoming new burghers do not reveal anything concerning mass immigration, only the origin and the social status of a wealthier, legally defined group; this is illustrated by the fact that in the period between 1781 and 1848 only an average of 35 people became burghers annually.

If we have a look at the origins of the new burghers during the whole period (see table no. 1 of the appendix), we see that the relative majority (40%) were the natives of the town and its surroundings, thus they came from Košice and the neighbouring counties (30%). It is also interesting to see that among the burghers not born locally, the rate of those coming from the Hungarian regions more distant from Košice (10%) was almost the same as the rate of those coming from some Austrian hereditary province (9%), while those coming from beyond the borders of the empire were only slightly behind (7%). The sum of all people coming from beyond the Kingdom of Hungary was 1.5 times that of the people coming from the counties other than the counties of the Kingdom of Hungary neighbouring Košice.

If we have more detailed look at the rate of the burgher groups coming from the various regions in the respective decades, we see that while the rate of the natives grew, the rate of those coming from other regions decreased. The lowest decrease was in the rate of those coming from the regions closer to Košice; by the 1840's, the rate of those coming from the more remote areas of the kingdom, the hereditary provinces and foreign countries decreased to approximately the half of the rate of the 1780's. To interpret the changes we have to say that the decrease in the rate of the burghers coming from beyond Košice is a sign of the decline of the immigration to the town, since the increase of the town population, as stated above, started anew in the 1830's-1840's, as a sign of immigration. This phenomenon may be – on one hand – a sign of the change of the social status of the immigrants, i.e. there were less and less immigrants, who would meet the criteria of becoming burghers. Another aspect of this was that getting a job in the town was – compared to the beginning of the century – less related to guilds, thus there were ever more possibilities of making a living without the severe costs of becoming a burgher.

Naturally, the origins of the non-native burghers cannot be identified with the origins of all immigrants; we can only claim that there could not be too significant differences between the two, i.e. the catchment area of the town can be approximately defined in accordance with the data related to the burghers.

Analysing the origin of the burghers coming from the more distant areas (a

régi és új polgárságról,” in *Zsombékok. Középosztály és iskoláztatás Magyarországon a 19. század elejétől a 20. század közepéig*, ed. by György Kövér (Budapest, 2006), 15-37; and/or: Czoch, *A városok szíverei...*

total of 249 persons, see table no. 1), which were the main source of immigration show that within the Kingdom of Hungary, the town attracted immigrants primarily from a semi-circular area ranging from the northeast of the town to the north-western border (183 people). The origin data of these burghers suggests that a smaller but still significant group of immigrants came from the central parts of the country (47 people), mainly from the centrally positioned county of Pest (24). Prevalently, these came from Buda (6) and Pest (12). However, only a few immigrants came from the southern parts of the country (16 people). In the surveyed 60 years we have found only two burghers from Croatia – being in a personal union with the Kingdom of Hungary – and only 18 from Transylvania (being subject to the Hungarian crown, though the Habsburgs have separated it from Hungary in 1690 and managed it as separate province).

A more detailed analysis of the burghers' origins coming from the hereditary provinces shows that their relative majority came from some Austrian province (39%) and Bohemia (31%), respectively, followed by Moravia (13%) and Galicia (7%) and the Italian provinces (6%). As to the rate of the burghers coming from Vienna, these made up 15% of those coming from the hereditary provinces; however, burghers coming from Prague (6%) are notable, too.

As to the origin of those coming from beyond the borders of the Empire, we see that the majority came from the Holy Roman Empire: these made up almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the burghers coming from beyond the Empire. Leading this group was Prussia, with Bavaria following closely and Saxony third, being significantly behind the first two. The rate of the people coming from the prevalently German-speaking lands is even higher, since those coming from Switzerland (5% of all foreigners) belong here, too. In the surveyed period it was the historical region of Silesia – which belonged prevalently to Prussia and had a significant German-speaking population – which contributed by almost 10% to the amount foreign-origin Košice burghers; those coming from the kingdom of Poland contributed to the numbers with a similar figure. The immigrants came from municipalities of various sizes; among them also from significant European cities, such as Berlin, Dresden, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Krakow, Königsberg, Leipzig, Luxemburg, Magdeburg, Mannheim, Nuremberg, Warsaw or Würzburg.

The occupation data of the immigrants coming from beyond the Kingdom of Hungary shows that most were craftsmen (tables 3.a-3.c of the appendix). There were a lot fewer, who made a living of commerce or were intellectuals; the number of those active in agriculture was insignificant. The latter ones were – without exception – registered in the book of burghers as gardeners. Those classified as “others” had two professions: the majority were musicians (16 of 27) and innkeepers, coffeemakers (8 of 27), respectively. It is also interesting to see that among the traders and the intellectuals there were a lot

more coming from some Austrian hereditary province than those, who came from beyond the borders of the Habsburg Empire. As far as the intellectuals are concerned, a further difference is that besides the two teachers coming from beyond the empire we have found five medical doctors, while the intellectuals coming from within the empire formed a lot more mixed group. It is interesting to see that one third of the latter were town officials, thus it seems that getting a job in the town administration was more difficult for those coming from abroad or these were less eager to acquire such a position. However, we still don't know if these differences really prove that the two immigrant groups were viewed differently and had different possibilities of integration – this question has to be answered by further research.

We know of cases when a foreign immigrant managed to apply for and get burgher privileges right away after moving to the town; naturally, there could be a delay of years between becoming a burgher and moving to the city, i.e. the profession registered at the time of becoming a burgher was not necessarily identical to the one at the time of arrival. Nevertheless, there is a group of resources, which – though it does not allow us to make such systematic statistical analyses as the register of new burghers – allows us to be informed about foreign immigrants directly, too.

This resource is the series of nationwide conscriptions of the ignoble people – the *Conscriptio Populares Ignobilium* – executed primarily to provide data on the resources available to the army at the beginning of the 19th century. The government intended this as a regularly repeated data acquisition, in which the municipal governments had to provide not only a conscription of the people having no privileges, i.e. the tax-payers, but also the data concerning natural population growth and migration. However, these data were provided by the counties and towns only partly, they were not precise and they were not concluded every year; moreover, the sources survived incompletely.⁹ Of the reports, which had to be handed over to the vice-regency council – the supreme Hungarian governmental body – the first one related to Košice dates back to 1810 and lists only the immigrants coming from the hereditary provinces. Then, starting with 1816, reports on the immigrants to Košice from beyond the empire and the hereditary provinces survived only with multiple-year gaps, though from 1825 on they – from time to time – made a separate list of those, who moved away from Košice to foreign countries.

We do not have the possibility to validate these sources. The question is, how precise the town administration was when preparing the reports, how many people arrived to Košice from abroad except for those listed in the register and how many left the country without the knowledge of the town

⁹ As to this, see: Gusztáv Thirring, „Népesedésünk kútforrásai a múlt század első felében,” in *Értekezések a társadalmi tudományok köréből*, vol. XII., no. 10. (Budapest, 1903). The reports handed in are stored in the Hungarian National Archive - see: MNL, OL, C 53, F 14.

administration. Nevertheless, one needed an official permit to settle in the town, practice a profession, move abroad, get a passport or journey book. Our aim is not to use these reports primarily in an attempt to express the abroad peregrination concerning the town in figures. Firstly, they allow us to see the role of Košice within the European migration processes concerning both reception and emission; and secondly, by comparing the data relevant to the burghers we may complete our knowledge of foreign immigration.

In order to perform a more detailed analysis the author has selected a sample, in which both emigration and immigration data have survived for a period of three consecutive years – 1841, 1842 and 1843. The files contain the origin of the migrating persons, their destination, religion, profession, age, marital status and the travel documents used (passport, journey book). From a detailed inspection of these we see that there are multiple identical names in the emigrants' and immigrants' list – naturally, the authors of the files altered only their age data, thus they did not record only the newly arrived people but they kept these records as a register of emigrants and immigrants from abroad.¹⁰

Anyway, the occupation data of the foreign immigrants confirms the data related to the burghers: except for a waiter and an innkeeper, all of the 59 people coming from beyond the borders of the empire were craftsmen; among the 86 people coming from the hereditary provinces there was one trader, one literate and six waiters, while the others were craftsmen. A large part of the immigrants (summing up both groups) were apprentices, arriving with journey books. Most of them (49%) were men of an age between 20 and 30, with a significant group (39%) above 30, while those under 20 made up only 11%. Married were only five. All of this suggests that a significant part of these immigrants came to Košice not only to study their profession but also to find a living here. As far as their origin is concerned, the rates are similar to those of the burghers, both in the group coming from the hereditary provinces and the group coming from abroad. This confirms our previous hypothesis that the origins of the burghers may be considered an approximation of the catchment area of the city in terms of migration.

In our three-year sample there are a total of 27 people, who moved abroad from Košice. Except for a “*medicinae alumnus*”, who moved to Vienna and an “*auditor*”, who moved to Vicenza, all were craftsmen and only three of these were not apprentices. As far as their age is concerned, there is some difference, compared to the immigrants: the youngest was 20, the eldest was 32 years old and there were only 4 people above 30; moreover, most (18) were below 25. Thus, in the latter case it is more probable that they had left Košice as part of the compulsory migration, to complete their professional

¹⁰ One would have to do further research as to what were the conditions of taking off somebody from the list of foreigners by the town administration, except for the eventual admission to the bourgeoisie.

studies. The administration of Košice stated that the domicile of nine people was unknown, while the author was unable to identify the domicile of one person. Of the remaining, researchable 17 people 6 moved beyond the borders of the empire; it was a jeweller who went the farthest, to London. Among the destinations we may find Munich, Frankfurt, Kassel, Warsaw and Vicenza, as stated above. The majority moved to Vienna (7 people), 1 person went to Linz and one to the capital of Transylvania, known as a hereditary province. Therefore, the directions of emigration from Košice are vaguely similar to those of the immigration, while the data suggest that Vienna was a special destination of the emigrants from Košice – people coming from Vienna were numerous among the immigrants, too.

Using the results of a recent data acquisition of the author we can also compare the rates of the foreign-origin Košice burghers with the analogous indicators of other towns of the Kingdom of Hungary. This research was aimed at a five-year period preceding the 1848 revolution, in which the author investigated the characteristics of the bourgeoisie of all royal free cities of the Kingdom of Hungary.¹¹ Of the researchable towns and cities, the rate of foreigners among the new burghers exceeded the one of Košice – being 4% for this 5-year period, i.e. from 1843 to 1847 – only in 5 cases. These were: Pest (9%), Bratislava (8%), Sopron (8%), Trnava (6%), Győr (5%). Except for Pest, which was becoming the de facto capital, the economic centre of the country, all of these were cities close to the north-western borders of the country. On the other hand, in Debrecen, the large regional centre located southeast of Košice – a lot more populated than the latter – we find only a single foreigner among the new burghers in this period. We have to state that except for Pest, these figures mean only a few persons; nevertheless, the author believes this is a notable fact in the light of the differences between the levels of attraction these cities had for the foreigners; in the end, they suggest that Košice was one of the favourite destinations of immigrant foreigners in the Kingdom of Hungary.

What is the reason for this? One of the reasons at hand is the language of the town. Speakers of German, as well as the immigrants fluent in some Slavonic language had a lot fewer troubles in everyday communication here than – for example – in the prevalently Hungarian-speaking town of Debrecen. A not less significant factor was also that Košice, with its economy and central functions (county centre, bishop's see, nationwide educational management centre), was one of the most important towns of the country and

¹¹ As to this, see: Gábor Czoch, „Egy kutatás első tapasztalatai a magyarországi rendi polgárság társadalmi viszonyairól a 19. század első felében. Adatok a polgárság származáshelyéről,” in *A város és társadalma. Tanulmányok Bácskai Vera tiszteletére*, ed. by István H. Németh, Erika Szívós and Árpád Tóth (Budapest, 2011), 153–163. The survey sample is related to approximately the half of all royal free cities in the Kingdom of Hungary; however, it covers all significant towns and cities having full privileges, except for Timișoara, Romania.

had one of the largest market catchment areas nationwide, even though at the time it had only a population around ten thousand and thus it was only a middle-sized town. The favourable location and good road connections were not negligible for the immigration either. One of the most important and best nationwide main roads passed along Košice, while at the beginning of the 19th century, 80% of the towns and cities of Hungary had no such first class road connection.¹² Also the level of the municipal services and the visual appearance of Košice were of significant appeal. All of this was reflected also in the reports of foreign travellers on Košice. The French geographer, François Sulpice Beudant summarized his views on his 1818 visit stating that Košice, as the most important city of Upper Hungary had everything necessary to make a stay pleasant.¹³ Concerning his 1835 trip to the city, the English traveller John Paget stated: “All the usual consequences of the diffusion of wealth are visible here; handsome houses, well-stocked shops, a good casino, a theatre, and pleasant promenades are among the outward signs”.¹⁴

However, it is not probable that the immigrant foreigners would have come to Košice due to the favourable descriptions. Many may have come here by chance and then, due to the positive experience, the possibilities of making a living led them to stay here for long; naturally, there were also people, for whom Košice was just a stop on their journey and moved on or returned to their homeland. The information spread orally or in writing, the communication channels and the networks of family members and friends had a significant role in spreading the name of the town and the possibilities of making a living here to hundreds or even thousands of kilometres from Košice, taking part in the active migration processes both as an emitter and a receiver was connected to the nearer and farther parts of Europe by many links, hidden from today's historiographers in their entirety, providing only some indications of their existence, thus many times they do not get the attention they would deserve – nevertheless, their significance in history is undoubted. These links connected the widest variety of fields of Europe by building on personal experience and myriads of everyday interpersonal connections.

¹² Csaba Fazekas, „Útviszonyok, úthálózat és városok a 18. század végi Magyarországon,” *Közlekedéstudományi Szemle* 8 (1992): 308-318.

¹³ François Sulpice Beudant, *Voyage minéralogique et géologique en Hongrie pendant l'année 1818*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1822), 193-194.

¹⁴ John Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania with remarks on their condition, social, Political and Economical* (Philadelphia, 1850), 268.

Appendix

Table no. 1: The origin of the burghers

	Košice	Neighbouring counties	Other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary	Transylvania, Croatia	Austrian provinces	Foreign countries	Unknown	Total
head-count	946	724	249	20	208	158	79	2386
%	40	30	10	1	9	7	3	100

Source: the author's own database, based on the Liber neocivium.

Table no. 2: The origins of the burghers, by decades

	1781-89	%	1790-99	%	1800-09	%	1810-19	%	1820-29	%	1830-39	%	1840-48	%
Košice	95	34	104	31	194	40	144	39	106	45	158	43	146	47
Neighboring counties	86	31	117	35	140	29	114	30	75	31	109	30	83	27
Other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary	37	13	54	16	45	9	34	9	23	10	33	9	24	8
Transylvania, Croatia	1	0	4	1	5	1	4	1	2	1	4	1	0	0
Austrian provinces	38	14	24	7	44	9	28	8	16	7	33	9	25	8
Foreign countries	21	7	28	8	41	9	31	8	11	4	17	5	9	3
Unknown	3	1	5	2	14	3	19	5	4	2	12	3	22	7
Total	281	100	336	100	483	100	374	100	237	100	366	100	309	100

Source: the author's own database, based on the Liber neocivium.

Table 3.a: Professions of the immigrants coming from beyond the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary.

Profession	Craftsmen	Merchants	Intellectuals	Agriculturals	Others	Unknown	Total
Headcount	223	49	24	4	27	39	366
%	61	13	7	1	7	11	100

Source: the author's own database, based on the Liber neocivium.

Table 3.b: Professions of the immigrants coming from the Austrian provinces

Profession	Craftsmen	Merchants	Intellectuals	Agriculturals	Others	unknown	total
Headcount	114	35	17	1	20	21	208
%	55	17	8	0	10	10	100

Source: the author's own database, based on the Liber neocivium.

Table 3.c.: Professions of the immigrants coming from foreign countries

Profession	Craftsman	Merchant	Intellectual	Agricultural	Other	unknown	total
Headcount	109	14	7	3	7	18	158
%	69	9	4	2	5	11	100

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Cassovia vetustissima – Košice according to Matthias Bel's Manuscripts

Éva Gyulai

Abstract

During the 16th century economic preosperity of merchants and burghers of Košice increased their interest in market with the towns of Upper Hungary, which were producing marketable agricultural goods, mainly wine, included Miskolc situated at the edge of the Great Plains and on the double taxation area shared between the Ottoman Empire and Hungarian Kingdom. A number of traders from Košice appeared in Miskolc, where they acquired property, such as urban housing estates and vineyards. Some representatives had dual citizenship of royal city Košice and the market town Miškolc; one of them acquired nobility and coat of arms as a cattle-dealer and as a courageous fighter against the Turks. After the Long War (Fifteen Years's War) the trade relations declined, instead of them military and administrative contacts occurred between Free Royal Town Košice and market town Miškolc.

Key words: Košice. Miškolc. 16th century. Trade contacts. Dual citizenship.

So far, Matthias Bel's description of Košice has been ignored by historical science, which can primarily be explained by the fact that it is not an independent work but only a part of the description of Abaúj county in Matthias Bel's grandiose description of the country, proceeding from county to county. It is a well-known fact that the basic organising principle of the chorography entitled *Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica* is identical with the most important unit of feudal Hungarian society: the county. Until 1746, only the descriptions of 11 counties appeared in print.¹ The rest could be read in autographic and copied manuscripts, and that is how it has been preserved in public and private collections. The description of Abaúj county can only be read in manuscript form, too.²

One of the groundbreaking undertakings of the study and publication of sources in Hungary nowadays is due to Gergely Tóth, a young researcher in the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who, together with his colleagues, started to publish the critical editions of the Latin manuscripts county by county, with the descriptions of the following historical counties having been published in recent years: Orava (Árva), *Trenčín*

¹ Mathias Bel, *Hungariae antiquae et novae Prodromus*, cum specimine, quomodo in singulis operis partibus elaborandis versari constituerit. (Norimbergae, sumptu Petri Conradi Monath bibliopolae, 1723); *Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica*, I-IV, ed. by Paulus Strabius and Petrus van Ghelen (Vienna, 1735–1746); *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica. Pars secunda Trans-Danubiana*, Tomus V. (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1892).

² Gergely Tóth, *Bel Mátyás „Notitia Hungariae novae...” c. művének keletkezéstörténete és kéziratának ismertetése*, I-II. (Ph.D. Thesis) (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2007), 217–222.

<http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/tothgergely/diss.pdf>

(*Trencsén*), Sopron, Vas, Zala and Veszprém.³ The manuscript containing the description of Abaúj county is preserved in several versions.⁴ The 130 folio copy, produced after the author's death and kept in the National Széchényi Library (*Comitatus Abaujvariensis*), was donated to this national collection in 1801 by Péter Kubinyi (1765–1835) lawyer, judge of appeal court, emperor and king's counsel, vice president of Rožnava (Rosenau/Rozsnyó) iron industry association and one of the best-known sponsors of the Hungarian National Museum.⁵

In *Notitia*, Bel presents the Hungarian Kingdom county by county, and the settlements of the counties district by district so following the system of the other counties, in spite of its status as a free royal borough, Košice is presented in the part about the Košice district (*Membrum I. De Processu Cassoviensi*) although it was outside the authority of district jurisdiction. In the manuscript, the final version of the description of Košice (*De Libera Regiaque Urbe Cassoviensi*), completed around 1731, is very long, comprising 53 folios or almost 110 pages.⁶ It is divided into 50 § or short chapters, of which 42 deal with the city's history, testifying the author's historical interests. Matthias Bel's encyclopaedic ambition and oeuvre were at their best in the field of geographical-statistical and historical country description. Although a lot of scholars were involved in the interdisciplinary field of country studies in the period, Matthias Bel was outstanding in that he used several results of historical science, historical statistics, historical and economic geography, the study of sources, etc. In fact, while contemporary country studies put greater emphasis on the issues of the political system and the structure of the state, Bel favoured historical geography, local history and country studies. As a matter of fact, he taught archaeology, philology and history in the Bratislava (Pressburg/Pozsony) lyceum.

In the description, only 8 chapters are concerned with the 'profile' or classical description of Košice as oldest town in Upper Hungary (*Cassovia vetustissima Hungariae Superioris urbs*), or its 'name card'. In spite of its

³ Matthias Bel, *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica... Comitatum ineditorum tomus primus, in quo continentur Comitatus adhuc in mss. haerentes Partis Primae Cis-Danubialis, hoc est, Comitatus Arvensis et Trentsiniensis*, edendo operi praefuit et praefatus est Gregorius Tóth; textum recensuerunt notisque instruxerunt Ladislaus Glück, Zoltanus Gözsy, Gregorius Tóth. *Sumptibus Instituti Historici Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae–Archivi Hungariae Regnicolaris* (Budapest, 2011); *Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica... Comitatum ineditorum Tomus II. in quo continentur Comitatus adhuc in mss. haerentes Partis Secundae Trans-Danubianae, hoc est, Comitatus Soproniensis, Castriferrei, Szaladiensis et Veszprimiensis*, ed. by Gregorius Tóth. *Textum recensuerunt notisque instruxerunt: Bernadett Benei et al. Sumptibus Instituti Historici Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae–Archivi Hungariae Regnicolaris* (Budapest, 2012).

⁴ Tóth, *Bel Mátyás*, 217–222.

⁵ Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattár [Hungarian National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Mss.] (OSZK Kt.) OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268.

⁶ OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268., ff. 10–64.

length, the history of the city may cause some disappointment to the researchers of history from several aspects. Here, of course, it is not the methodology of modern historical science that one misses in Bel's description, who represented European standards in contemporary Hungarian academic life. It is just natural that a contemporary city history starts with an etymology of the origin of the city's name (*Cassoviae denominatio*) in the spirit of late humanism.⁷ It is not originality that is missed, either, given the fact that contemporary scholarly works complied with different criteria concerning the use of the scholarly results and texts of other authors. What is problematic is rather the gaps and inconsistency in the history, showing a lack of coherence.

In the part about the city's origin, the sketchy and incomplete treatment of the Middle Ages is conspicuous. As regards the earliest periods of Košice's history (*Urbis natales*), the text mentions Saxons, that is, Germans, settled in Hungary and thus in Košice, as well. However, Bel thinks that Košice might not have been founded by the Saxons but the Germans only 'joined' the original inhabitants later (*Sed ambigo tamen, an non, illi [Saxones] Cassoviam sua hac demigratione auxerint potius, quam condiderint*). Unfortunately, Bel does not reveal his source but only says that he learned it from people knowledgeable in history (*apud rerum gnaros*) that in the beginning, there were two cities Košice, one was a settlement on the plains while the other was a castle built on the top of a nearby mountain, which the inhabitants of the city used as a last resort, and in the end, King Stephen V (1270–1272) donated it to the city.⁸

Similarly to other contemporary city historiographers, Bel does not, in fact, write a city history but mostly gives a list of the events of the common history of the country taking place locally, and even that very rhapsodically and inconsistently. It is understandable, however, that as a free royal borough, the history of Košice follows that of the kings. Košice's real history started with the Angevins, i. e. House of Anjou. As regards the Middle Ages, Bel's sources were mainly the works written by Ladislaus Turóczi (1682–1756), professor of Košice Jesuit Seminary (est. 1650) whose description on Košice was published in 1729;⁹ and humanist Antonio Bonfini (c.1434–1503), whose

⁷ OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268., ff. 12–13.

⁸ *Sed ambigo tamen, an non, illi [Saxones] Cassoviam sua hac demigratione auxerint potius, quam condiderint. [...] Cassovia gemina, campestris et montana. Duplicem enim fuisse, in confesso est apud rerum gnaros montanam alteram, editione iugo positam, alteram campestem, quae hodieque superest. Res quidem disputatu difficilis, sed eorum tamen proxima, ad verum coniectatio est, qui id, de inferiore hac, intelligun, superiore per fugii causa, Tartarorum metu, excitam coeptam autumantes. Cui opinioni multum accidit vero similitudinis, quod montanum castrum Stephanus V. cum hucusque in privatorum esset potestate, anno MCCLXX urbis ditiosis liberaliter adiecit.* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268., ff. 13–14.

⁹ Ladislaus Thuróczi. *Ungaria suis cum regibus compendio data* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis Societatis Jesu per Fridericum Gall, 1729).

work was printed as early as in the 16th century.¹⁰ Therefore it is strange, and what is more, almost inexplicable that almost no mention is made of King Matthias Corvinus I (1458–1490) in Bel's manuscript, while, as regards the age of Matthias, Jan Jiskra and the Czech bohemians, who played a decisive role in Košice's history, are given an exhaustive coverage. Vladislaus II (1456–1516, reg. 1490–1516) is also dealt with thoroughly by Bel, partly on the basis of Bonfini's but mostly on the basis Ludovico Tubero's work on the 1492–1522 period.¹¹ Both were available in printed form in the 16th century.

One of the characteristic features of the text is already present in the medieval part, namely, that the manuscript speaks about the city several times as 'our Košice' (*Cassovia nostra*) as if the history of the city were related by a person from there. Research has not revealed yet who gave Bel assistance with the description of Košice but the expression probably indicates one or more 'informants' although it may also mean 'the Košice concerned'.

The history of the city really unfolds after Mohács. The age of the dual kingdom is presented at great length, among others, on the basis of Wolfgang (Farkas) Bethlen's (1639–1679) work, fragments of which were first published in Keresd (today: Criș, Romania) in 1687, presenting the history of Transylvania between 1525–1609.¹² The book of Wolfgang Bethlen's was ordered to be destroyed by Emericus Thököly, prince of Upper Hungary between 1682–1685 so it was a real rarity in the 18th century but Matthias Bel managed to obtain it, referred to Bethlen's book several times from mid 16th century and had it in his library.

As a historiographer, Matthias Bel primarily relies on printed historical works and hardly ever refers to any archival, diplomacy or manuscript sources in his history of Košice. The greatest influence was exerted on him by Nicolaus Istvánffy's work as he makes a large number of references to it in the chapters on the 16th century and on the first decade of the 17th century, quoting it word by word several times.¹³ In his library, he had the first edition of Istvánffy's work.¹⁴ Probably, the reason why Matthias Bel did not deal with King Matthias Corvinus I was his reliance on Istvánffy as a source as historiographer Nicolaus Istvánffy's work starts the history of Hungarian

¹⁰ Antonii Bonfinii, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades quatuor, cum dimidia* (Basileae: ex officina Oporiniana, 1568); 2nd edition (Francofurti, apud Andream Wechelm, 1581).

¹¹ Abbatis Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae, *Commentariorum de rebus suo tempore nimirum ab A.C. MCCCCXC usque ad A. MDXXII in Pannonia et finitimis regionibus gestis*, Libri XI. Francofurti, impensis Claudii Marnii et haeredum Ioannis Aubrii (1603).

¹² Wolfgangus de Bethlen, *Historiarum Pannonico-Dacicarum Libri X a clade Mohazensi 1526 usque ad finem seculi*, ed. by P. Mihály (Keresd, 1684–1690) (RMK II. 2036)

¹³ Nicolai Isthvanyi, *Pannoni Historiarum de rebvs Vngaricis libri XXXIV*. (Coloniae Agrippinae: Sumptibus Antonii Hierati, 1622).

¹⁴ Gergely Tóth, *Bél Mátyás kéziratai a pozsonyi evangélikus liceum könyvtárában (Katalógus) – Catalogus manuseriptorum Matthiae Bél, quae in bibliotheca Lycei Evangelici Posoniensis asservantur*. OSZK–Gondolat, (Budapest, 2006) [Nemzeti Téka], 87.

Kingdom after the death of King Matthias. Bel also used Bocatius' collection of poems as a source,¹⁵ quoting the Elogium of Bocatius written to chief captain and commander Lazarus von Schwendi among others (*Elogium Schwendii*).¹⁶

Inevitably, Matthias Bel considered the city's peak period to start from the second half of the 16th century as the name of the city was very often mentioned in contemporary historical works. According to Bel, the city's history took a turn again in 1596 as with the fall of the border castle of Eger, Košice gained an enhanced military and political role with the attention of the Hapsburg kings being increasingly attracted to the city. After the Battle of Mezőkeresztes (1596), Košice was repeatedly visited by Archduke Maximilian (1558–1618),¹⁷ and on her way to her fiancé, Sigismund Báthori (1572–1613), Prince of Transylvania (1588–1602), Archduchess Maria Christierna of Austria (1574–1621) also stopped here with her retinue.¹⁸ What is more, her mother and father, Archduke Maximilian also accompanied her as far as Košice.

The most important parts of the historical chapters are about Stephen Bocskai's anti-Hapsburg uprising (1604–1606) and Transylvanian Prince Gabriel Bethlen's age (1613–1629). In these chapters, it is clearly revealed that Matthias Bel, also his 'informants', co-editors and co-authors, sources – among them mainly Nicolaus Istvánffy – supported the Hapsburgs, moreover, they defined the essential political preference of the city in its loyalty to the Hapsburgs. The city caused the decay of the country by opening its gates to the rebellious Bocskai. Bel expresses doubts even about Giacomo Belgiojoso count of Barbiano's guiltiness. Quoting Istvánffy, Bel depicts the Hajduk leaders of Bocskai's uprising, especially Balázs Lippai as murderous and greedy monsters who robbed Košice people of all their possessions.¹⁹

¹⁵ Johannes Bocatius, *Hungaridos libri poematum V.* (Klöss, Bartpha, 1599).

¹⁶ *Elogium Schwendii*. OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 28r.

¹⁷ *Sed amissa Agria, major Cassovia celebritas esse coepit, ipso etiam Maximiliano Archiduce Rudolphi Caesaris fratre huc semel atque iterum divertente. Hieme dein anni MDCV Transilvanorum legati, honestissimo cum comitatu, quem insigni carmine Bocatius desenssit, ad Rudolphum Imperatorem a Sigismundo Báthory missi, urbem subierant, acceptique sunt, ea pompa, quae principem utrumque decuit.* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 29.

¹⁸ *[S]ponsa Marie Christierna, Archiduce Austriae impetrata Cassoviam iterum iidem illi legati, sed geminato comitatu, accessere, praeter sponsam enim, quam insigne gynaeceum sequebatur, mater quoque et Maximilianus Archidux in eodem comitatu Cassoviam usque venerat, ubi eam Emericus Bogáthi, monine Sigismundi salutavit.* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 29.

¹⁹ § XIX. *Bocskaii defectio. [...] Barbianus [...] Cassovia Johannis Bocatii factione exclusus in arcem Scepusiensem se recepit, urbs autem, magno rei publicae malo, Botstkayo portas aperuit, maiorem civium, an barbiani culpa, non temere dixerim. [...] Nihil publicarum, nihil privatarum opum supererat, quin id avarissime diriperetur. Imprimis saevitum in eos est, qui vel religione a Blasio [Lippay] dissidebant, vel partes Caesaris sequebantur. Quibus omnibus diripiendis tanta Lippai erat immanitas, ut nemini parceret, qui aurum, argentum, pecuniam, arma, equos, vestes, vina, frumentum, peccora et quicquid ejusmodi dici potest ab iis, apud quod relictum habebatur,*

Discussing Bocskai's uprising Bel have used original letters of Heyduk captains Balázs and Ferenc Némethy Lippai written to county authorities of Upper Hungary from Košice in 1605.²⁰

Matthias Bel sees the age of Gabriel Bethlen Prince of Transylvania as the end of the relatively peaceful period following Bocskai (*§XXIV. Cassoviae securitatem Bethlenius perturbat*), and includes in his list of sources Khevenhüller's historical lexicon, illustrated with engravings, which was published in the 1720s, only following the author's death.²¹ Khevenhüller was Stephen Bocskai's contemporary. When in September 1619, Gabriel Bethlen was elected Prince of Hungarian Kingdom in Košice by his supporters at Košice assembly, and Bethlen called Košice his own town, Matthias Bel simply considers it ridiculous that Prince Bethlen called the Košice meeting of his supporters 'the assembly of the three nations although he had obtained everything infamously and with robbery, and nobody created him a prince but he made Košice his own through outrageous sin'. Naturally, Matthias Bel could not omit the detailed description of Bethlen's famous wedding in Košice. According to Bel, Košice was as good as freed from slavery with Bethlen's death.²² As a matter of fact, the death of George I Rákóczi (1593–1548) Prince of Transylvania (1630–1648), ruling the counties of Upper Hungary, too, also brought relief to Košice but not long after the city was again threatened by anti-Hapsburgs wars and disturbances, of which the most severe was the anti-Hapsburg uprising and Upper-Hungarian reign of Emericus Thököly (1657–1705) between 1682–1685.

The last historical part of the manuscript, relating the common history of Prince Frances II Rákóczi (1676–1735) and Košice, is exceptionally interesting as Rákóczi's was Bel's contemporary so the author could incorporate his own experience from his youth in the story.²³ According to

iure iurando adactis, crudelissime extorqueret, et multis occultare et negare conatis vulnera et necem intentaret. OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 30. (Cf. Istvánffy Hist. XXXIII.).

²⁰ *Exstant apud me utriusque litterae, quas ultima Octobris [1605] ad Comitatus Superioris Hungariae Cassovia dederunt, cum hac subscriptione: Illustrissimi ac magnifici Domini Stephani Botskay Sacrae Christianae et Orthodoxae religionis Defensoris Milites et Capitanei, Blaius Lippay et Blasius Némethy.* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 30.

²¹ Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, *Conterfet Kupfferstich – Annales Ferdinandeï Oder Wahrhafft Beschreibung Kaysers Ferdinandi Des Andern... Thaten, I–XII.* (Weidmann, Leipzig, 1721–1726).

²² *§ XXV. Bethlenius Cassoviam venit et comitia isthic habet: [...] Jam enim Principem Hungariae se gerebat Bethlenius, et urbem Cassoviam suam adpellabat; et quod ridendum fere est, hanc asseclarum coitionem Generalia Trium Stauum Comititia vocitabat. Prave omnia et ex raptō. Nam principem quidem Hungariae reaverat nemo; Cassoviam autem insigni maleficio suam fecerat, ut nihil dicamus nequaquam dici posse generalia cimitia, ad quae quatuor Status ex universa Hungaria corrogati haud fuerint. [...] Morte Bethlenii quasi manumissa videbatur Cassovia.* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 37., 42.

²³ Matthias Bel's opinion regarding Rákóczi and the war of independence, more cf.: Gergely Tóth, "Felekezeti és történelmi emlékezet. A Rákóczi-szabadságharc a 18. századi honi történetírásban," *Történelmi Szemle* 52, no. 1 (2010): 13–36. Here: 13–23.

Bel, it put an end to a three-decade period of royal Hapsburgs' rule, spent in relative calmness and freedom(!), when 'Rákóczi started his unfortunate rebellion' and raised the people in order to imitate the acts of his ancestors, the princes of Transylvania. In the beginning of Rákóczi's war (1703–1711), Košice remained loyal to the King and Emperor of Habsburg but finally, after a long siege, the hardships of which Košice people were only able to endure through their loyalty to the Emperor, they surrendered to Rákóczi (October of 1704). However, many of them fled to Pressburg (Bratislava), Vienna or Silesia at that time.²⁴ According to Bel, in the declining period of his uprising, in 1708, Rákóczi was making preparations to strengthen Košice's city fortress as he planned to make the city a last resort, a so called Pergamon for him and his followers in his unfortunate rebellion. Finally, Košice remained loyal to Rákóczi until the Treaty (or Peace) of Szatmár (1711), and there was a peaceful takeover of the city by the troops of the Habsburg Ruler. While the imperial soldiers were marching in through the Upper Gate, the 'Hungarians' (that is, Rákóczi's supporters!) left the city sadly through the Lower Gate. As Matthias Bel puts it, having surrendered, Košice at last got free from its unblest and uninvited guests after 6 years.²⁵

Similarly to the other city descriptions in Notitia, printed or preserved in manuscript form, the last chapters of Bel's text about Košice provide the general characterisation and description of the city. After the story of such catastrophes as the fire and the earthquake, there is a remarkable chapter giving a summary of all the things Košice is famous for or that are advantageous for the city, or with a modern expression: an inventory of assets

²⁴ *Francisci Rakóczii tumultus. Urbs interim nostra egregie opitimi principis indulgentia efovebatur, iamque tria lustra post libera tam eam abierant, cum Franciscus Rakóczius infaustum caput, turbas ciere; atque patris et avorum aemulari facionara occipit. [...] cum adhuc fidem Caesaris constanter sequeretur Cassovia, suo quod impositum habebat praesidio, eousque tuta, dum militi civibusque connexus sufficeret. [...] Rákóczius sane, et qui signa ejus sequebatur, Hungari lenta obsidione urbem cinxerant, prohibebant annonam [...] Proinde militum atque aerarii praefecti, cives item ne capta per vim urbe ultima pati cogerentur, habito senatu, deditioem, legibus, quam poterant aequissimis, pacti Simoni Forgáchio anno MDCCIV decimo septimo Calendas Octobres se permitunt; posteaquam obsidionis mala in alterum annum eximia in Caesarem fide toleravissent. Ac deditiis quidem egregie servatae fuerunt, quas pepigerant conditiones, dimissi enim hi Pisonium, hi Viennam, alii in Silesiam incolumes pervenere. Quantum rebus Rakóczii hac urbis deditioe accesserit, eventus docuit.* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 52.

²⁵ *Adeo imparata tunc ad reiciendum hostem Cassovia fuerat. Itaque omni ope connisus Rakóczius, id dedit operam, ut haec sua, suorumque Pergama, ultimumque infelicitis seditionis perfugium comunirentur iterum, atque adparatibus tolerandae obsidioni necessariis oppleretur tempestivius, quod quidem annis qui secuti sunt, duobus, strenue praestitum meminere ejus tumultus annales. [...] urbis Gubernator Daniel Eszterházyus... Wiardum unius legionis cataphractorum ducem in urbem intermittit. Quatriduum praesidariis datum est, ut sarcinas conversarent. Id, ubi praterlapsum est, Caesareus quidem miles per superiorem portam urbem subibat, dum interim Hungari per inferiorem tristes emigrarent. Ita Cassovia infaustis hospitibus sexenino post, quam ejus victas manus dederat, exonerata.* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 54.

or the definition of the city's image. In 1562, Košice became the seat of the Commissioner (Military Leader) of Upper Hungary, due to the Turkish wars and its geographical location, namely that it lays between Transylvania and the mining towns. What is more, the royal treasury and the Zips (Špis/Szepes) Chamber were moved to the city in 1639, too.²⁶

Bel quotes Bocatius' poem about Košice's reputation (*Martia belligeros Cassovia nota per Hunnos Regia...*), and according to Bel, poet Johannes Bocatius himself also contributed to Košice's becoming famous for sciences, which led to the establishment of a college in the city. It also improved Košice's prestige when in 1639, the outcast Erlau's (Agria; Eger/Jager) Bishop's Chapter (*Capitulum Agriense*) transferred its seat from Jasov (Jossau/Jászó) to the city in 1639.²⁷

Classic chorographical description cannot lack the characterisation of the geographical location of settlements. It is at this point that Matthias Bel – quoting Ladislaus Thuróczi – mentions the city's famous public buildings, the Chamber, the Arsenal, the Bornemisza or Generals' House and the Barracks, which all did honour to the city. Like in a guidebook, this is followed by the description of church buildings from St Elisabeth's Parish Church to the quarters of the Religious Order of St Ursula, who had moved here from Bratislava, and the Kisdý Seminary, also a Convict for noblemen. In the description of St Elisabeth's Church, Bel remarks that in many respects, it surpasses the (Gothic) churches of Buda and Bratislava, and perhaps only the castle church of Banská Bystrica (Neusohl/Besztercebánya) is more beautiful than the St Elisabeth's. The Jesuit Church of Košice could also compete with Hungary's most beautiful buildings with its beauty. The spires of the church, built by Sophia Báthory (1629–1680) and her son, Frances I Rákóczi (1645–1676), were only erected in 1701.

The list only includes Catholic institutions, Matthias Bel makes no mention of any Protestant church buildings as around 1730, the Protestant denominations possessed no prominent church buildings of cityscape importance and Calvinist and Lutheran meeting-houses could only be set up outside the walls of the city. However, in the description of the cloister of the

²⁶ § XLIV *Celebritates et praerogativae Cassoviae [...]* Ad urbem ipsam, quod adinet, nihil eae ista regione magnificentius, sive aedificiorum, quibus superbit, cultum, sive praerogativam spectes, quam post interceptum temesvarinum et secutis postea temporibus, indepta est. [...] MDLXII... generalis praetura et sedes belli ducum Hungariae superioris facta est. Decretum De celebratione iudiciorum Cassoviae pro viginti octo Comitatus... Itaque belli non minus quam pacis studiis frequentebatur Cassovia. Qui vero illi fuerint comitatus, conjectatu facile est. Nempe inter Transilvaniam et montanas urbes positi. Accessit postea aerarium regium, Cameram vocant Scepusiensem, quam hic anno MDLXIII Maximiliani iussu Schvendium consituisse. His profecto rebus multum urbis celebritati accessit, ut iam et habitantur copiosius et cultui aedium egregie effloresceret. OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 57.

²⁷ *Illustrior postea evasit Cassovia cum praeter armatam, litterata etiam Pallas domicilium hic fixisset. [...] MDCL Capitulum quoque Agriense Jaszoviae hucusque hospitans, an axulans Cassoviam translatum est.* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 57.

Order of St Ursula, Bel remarks that St Michael's Church, belonging to the Ursuline nuns, had originally been owned by the Calvinists, who built it.

In the description of Košice, developed into a city fortress in the Early Modern Age, Bel devotes a separate chapter to the fortifications of the city and its natural protection by the rivers Hornád and Torysa (Tarca). The oval-shaped city wall, together with its bastions and the spacious suburbs, provided enough protection for Košice.

It is here that Bel characterises Košice's society at the beginning of the 18th century, consisting of three ethnic groups: Hungarians, Germans and Slavs (Slovaks). In Bel's age, the Germans living in the city were newcomers and not descendants of the founders while the Slovaks were ancient inhabitants, having lived here since 'Sarmatian' times (that is legendary proto-Slavonic period). What is more, they made up the majority of the inhabitants. The smallest ethnic group in early 18th century Košice was that of the Hungarians, according to Matthias Bel.²⁸ The population earned their living, on the one hand, from trading and growing grapes, and on the other hand, from the activities of professionals, which was very important for the attractiveness of the city. It was to the benefit of Košice's inhabitants that there were a lot of markets in the region but it was disadvantageous for them that a lot of Jewish, Greek and Serbian peddlers were wandering from village to village, offering their goods.

As a matter of fact, Košice was the richest Hungarian city in the Middle Ages due to the privileges it had received from the kings although many of these vanished through the centuries. City holidays included: the days of St Fabian and St Sebastian, St Philip and St James, the Feast of Corpus Christi and the Assumption of Mary.

The last but probably most peculiar chapter in Bel's description of Košice is about the suburbs or Hofstadts (*Hostat*), forming an integral part of the city. In Košice suburbs, beautiful gardens could be found around the residential buildings, the most beautiful ones along the River Hernád, and there were meadows and fields, but most importantly, orchards and hills covered with vineyards, with small valleys between them, having springs, trees and grass-covered clearings. Bel depicts an almost bucolic picture of the suburbs, quoted verbatim Ladislaus Thuróczi's description of Kosice and its suburban gardens.²⁹

²⁸ *Triplex horum est natio: Hungarica, Germanica et Slavica. Germani veteres illi Saxonibus sati fuere. Qui hodie urbem colunt, advenae sunt, plerique omnes, ut vix civem dederis per[r]aro Cassoviense prognatum. Slavi, genus avitum et Sarmatiae huic confinio familiare. Superant hi incolas reliquos numero. Enim vero paucissimos urbem habet Hungaros, plures germanos, Slavos omnium frequentissimos. Mores, singulis, pro gentis ingenio variant, tamen sunt a cultu civitatis alieni.* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 63.

²⁹ *Suburbiorum opportunitas. Urbem late diffusum suburbis sed longiuscule submota a moenibus circumcludunt. Suus et his nitor atque opportunitas est. [...] Suburbarias aedes praedia, horti,*

At the end of the description there is also described Košice's ancient coat of arms.³⁰

The sources of the description are given by the author himself in his notes. These include the topography by the Jesuit Michael Bombardi (1683–1729), published in 1718,³¹ the short chapter of which about Abaúj county was copied by Matthias Bel in his own handwriting.³² We have already mentioned Jesuit professor Ladislaus Turóczi's chorography which largely deals with Košice, this work was –in addition Istvánffy's– the most widely source of Matthias Bel's description.³³

Of the contemporary Košice descriptions, a well-known work, often used by modern urban historiography, was Cassovia by Johann Baptist Tersztyánszky (Trst'anský).³⁴ It was published around the time (1732) when Bel finished his manuscript about Abaúj county. The Jesuit professor from Košice devoted a book to his city, which, however, was not free from Catholic prejudice while there is no sign of such a thing in the manuscript of the Lutheran Bel. What is more, the issue of denominations is remarkably missing from his text, which was mainly of a historical character. In the case of the Lutheran scholar and teacher of the evangelical lyceum of Bratislava, this could only be accounted for by reference to his loyalty to the King and to the 'spirit of the age' as the issue of religion was considered to be a very sensitive topic in the Hungarian Kingdom, witnessing intentions of recatholisation on the part of the ruler after the Turkish period. Therefore, Bel simply avoided this topic although the relationships of the different religious denominations could not be left out from the history of Košice in the Early Modern Age. It happens just once that Bel gives himself away: mentioning the Jesuit church and monastery as famous buildings and institutions, he commemorates the

pomaria, agri, frumentarii, vineaeque excipiunt. Audiamus voluptates has, describentem Thuroczium... OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 64.

³⁰ *Insignia Urbis, ne id quoque sileamus, scutum referunt tripartitum, cujus basis in campo caeruleo tri lila habet. Reliquum scuti bifariam finditur, sex alternis trabibus transversim distinctum; quarum tres rubeae sunt, totidemque aureae. Sinistrum dimidietati scuti semicorpor aquila insignit. Quod ultra has trabes superiore scuti parte resudum est, iterum in campum desinit caeruleum, tribus liliis decoratum. Nequimus haec tam eximia simulacra interpretari, nisi ipsi Cassovienses excusso tabulario lucem umbris istis voluerint adfundere. Iam est, ut valedicamus urbi celeberrimae, numen praecati, ne unquam ei quidpiam eveniat, quam undiquaque sit fortunatissimum!* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 64.

³¹ Michael Bombardi, *Topographia ma*
, cum annexis Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Sclavoniae, Serviae, & Bulgariae
(Viennae Austriae: typis Ignatii Dominici Voigt, universit. Vienn. Typographi (IS), 1718).

³² Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár [Cathedral Library of Esztergom] Hist. I. b. ff. 54–57, *Descriptio Comitatus Aba-Uyvariensis ex Topographia Magni Hung. Regni Michaelis Bonbardi Viennae A. 1718.*

³³ Ladislaus Thuroczi, *Ungaria suis cum regibus compendio data* (Tyrnaviae: Typis Academicis Societatis Jesu per Fridericum Gall, 1729).

³⁴ Johannes Baptista Tersztyánszki, *Cassovia vetus ac nova chronologice proposita* (Cassoviae, Typis Academicis per Joannem Henricum Frauenheim, Anno 1732).

martyrs tortured to death by Prince Gabriel Bethlen's soldiers, and then makes this remark: 'but this blow on the Jesuits could not prevent the Society of Jesus from expanding further as they perceivably became even stronger after Bethlen's death'.³⁵

It is a less known fact that another description of Košice was written in the mid 18th century, and it was not published in printed form, either. The author was Andreas Fucker (Fuker, †1751), a Lutheran wine merchant from Prešov, who printed a map of the Tokaj wine region in 1749.³⁶ Fucker added a description of the wine culture of Tokaj–Submontanum to his map, a manuscript copy of which can be found in the Bocatius Public Library of Košice.³⁷ This manuscript was not published in printed form, either. In addition to the market towns of the region, in this manuscript, Fucker gives a brief description of Košice, too, as when he was making the map, at the side of the map, he also indicated Cassovia, as a city connected to the Tokaj wine region, so he mentions the city in the descriptive part, as well. Fucker gives a short description of the sights of the city, among them, the printing press transferred from Bardejov to Košice, which was maintained by the Jesuits, and was, on the one hand, an exceptional treasure of Košice, and on the other hand, was of immense benefit to Upper Hungary. The building and institution of the Royal Chamber also enhanced Košice's status, and it was also lucky for the city that the officials of the Chamber lived in the city. Andreas Fucker also mentions the Lutheran meeting-place, located outside the city walls, at a 4-stadium distance (700–800 m) to the west of the old city. The short description of Fucker is based on a bachelor thesis' colligatum published in Košice Jesuit Academy. This collection of rhetorical exams contains short descriptions on contemporary cities including Košice.³⁸

In *Notitia*, and consequently, also in the description of Košice, Matthias Bel primarily appears as a historiographer. His text is predominantly of a

³⁵ *Adflixerat Bethlenius, cum A(nno) MDCXIX urbe poliretur, Jesuitas Stephano Pongrácz et Melchiore Godercz per tumultum e medio sublatis. Sed ea clades, adeo prohibere nequivit, ut porro increceret societas, ut visa etiam sit, mortuo Bethlenio, novas inde vires sumpsisse.* OSZK Kt., fol. lat. 268. f. 62.

³⁶ Andreas Fucker, *Montium vitiferorum utpote: TOKAIENSIS Tarczal Tallya Mad et reliqvorum nec non Regionis vicinæ Geographica repræsentatio. Authore Andrea Fuckero* (Eperiesini, 1749)

³⁷ „Cassovia,” in Andreas Fucker, *Tokainum illustratum sive celeberrimæ regionis viniseræ Hungariæ superioris in comitatu Zempliniensi sitæ nec non de vineis et vino ejusdem terræ brevis dissertatio, Andreae Fuckeri Jur. Et Math Cul.1751.* (Manuscript. Jan Bocatius Public Library in Košice, Slovakia, no. 152. ff. 13–16) (OSZK Kt., quart. lat. 1984.)

³⁸ *Cassovia. Ung: Kassa, Germ: Caschau, Slav: Kossyce.* In: [Johannes Neumayr/Ján Krstiteľ Najmar]: *Imago Hungariæ, Perillustribus, reverendis, prænobilibus, nobilibus ac eruditis DD (Doctoribus Divinitatis) AA. LL. (artium litterarium magistris) Et Philisophiæ doctoribus, dum per Rev. Patrem Sigismundum Ruman E Societate JESU AA. LL. Et Philosophiæ Doctorem ejusdemque Professorem ordinarium, nec non facultatis SENIOREM in alma, episcopali universitate Cassoviensi supremam recens acciperent lauream oblata a rhetorica Cassoviensi, anno 1721* (Cassoviae: typis Academicis, 1721. ff. E2–3).

historical character although he says nothing about the history of religious denominations in conjunction of the city. As a matter of fact, Bel started the publication of historical sources, as well. The title engravings of this work, *Prodromus*, heralding *Notitia*, and the third volume of *Notitia* all arouse the idea of history. According to his intention, with his monumental work, *Notitia*, Matthias Bel wanted to present the whole Hungarian Kingdom to the educated public of the country, and those of the Hapsburg Empire and foreign countries with modern scholarly devices. With this, he would have served the popularisation of the country in addition to the scholarly results. The first four volumes, published in Vienna, had or could have had this function. If the entire work had been published, *Notitia* could have positioned the Hungarian Kingdom, with its natural and social geographical features, its regions, micro-regions and cities in the network of the European countries and settlements, and in the context of European history.

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Košice during the period of Hungarian capitalism

Ladislav Tajták

Abstract

The paper provides the general characteristic of city of Košice in the period of Hungarian capitalism. It describes the events related to the revolutionary years 1848 – 1849 and to the city. The second part of paper is dedicated to the description of the situation and events that occurred in the period of Bach's absolutism and provisory. Another part characterizes the impact of the industrial revolution and the advent of capitalism on the life of selected city. It also put the emphasis to the beginnings of the labour movement and development of national circumstances. The final part describes the influence of establishment of Czechoslovakia to the city Košice.

Key words: Košice. Hungarian capitalism. Revolutionary years. Labor movement. National circumstances.

Košice in the revolutionary years 1848-1849

In period of beginnings of the 19th century ideological and political development was marked by the spread of revolutionary passwords liberty, equality and fraternity, formation of modern nations and movements, the onset of the industrial revolution and capitalism. Specific phenomenon of the Habsburg Monarchy and the Kingdom of Hungary was their multi-ethnic character. Non-German and non-Magyar nations began to declare for their national rights. The situation in Hungary has formulated by a conservative politician Emil Dessewffy who has stated that the country's 5 million Hungarians and 10 million non-Hungarians inhabitants. He proposed to solve the ethnic question by adoption of such measures in order to majority did not get more rights than minority. In the polemic with him Lajos Kossuth (Louis Kossuth) rejected these proposals as reactionary and proposed a solution on the principle of civil, implying equality of all citizens before the law regardless of ethnicity, but without addressing national issues.

Multi-ethnic composition should also Košice; it was the fact that the largest group of the population were Slovaks, Hungarians, and Germans and others. It also indicates the statements of prominent personalities like the singer Mrs Déryné and Alexander Petőfi, who after visiting Košice stated that in the streets, could not hear Hungarian speech.

French February Revolution paved the way for the revolutionary transformation, which in Hungary under the leadership of Lajos Kossuth led to achieve a success in constitutional independence and March Laws, which abolished serfdom, guarantee equality of citizens before the law, freedom of expression, assembly and association with certain restrictions, but didn't touch the question concerning to nationality. Right to vote was already committed to an equity census. On the other hand, in the demands

summarized in the Requests by Slovak Nation have dominated the question focused to recognition of Slovaks as a distinct nation and equal, universal suffrage without an equity census, newspaper and print without bail, democratic gathering and the right of association. In education process they have required technique and also university and solution of issues concerning to questions of day labour arose mainly in the east part of Hungary and transformation of Hungary into a federation of nations. Similar requirements were submitted by representatives of other non-Hungarian nations. The two essential issues and requirements of "freedom and nationality" have dominated in the political clash of views, in the statement and in polemics. From all-imperial point of view Karel Havlíček Borovský pointed out that the leaders of the Germans and Hungarians emphasize that political freedom is over nationality and subsequently replied that "we Slavs want political and national freedom". According to the spirit of it František Palacký spoke in his statement that idea of the years 1848 - 1849 it is the idea of ethnic. Similarly it was expressed by Jonáš Záborský in his critical memorandum: "we do not satisfy any civil rights until our nationality is oppressed". S. Barnatiu - Romanian representative clearly pointed out: "for us there is no freedom without nationality".

How to responded to these requirements Lajos Kossuth shows his negotiations with the Serbian delegation in Bratislava when he refused their demands for recognition as a nation and government and Serbs answered with that in that case they will seek support elsewhere, namely in Vienna. To their decision the Kossuth replied that in that case the dispute decided sword. So instead of negotiation to a military conflict it has paved way. Similarly, the government of Lajos Bathany refused Slovak demands and to amicable challenges responded by martial rule and for Slovaks L. Štúr, J. M. Hurban and M. M. Hodža they issued an arrest warrant. These decisions definitely buried hopes for a peaceful and amicable negotiation on resolving the nationality question in Hungary. And when the conflict between Pest and Vienna has exploded into the military confrontation, non-Hungarian nations stand on the side of Vienna. Hungarian government changed its stance when it was too late.

The revolutionary events have triggered activity also in Košice and on March 20th, 1848 public meeting held on the City Council, which adopted a resolution through proclaimed loyalty to the dynasty, constitutional reforms, political freedom, equality and fraternity. Echo in Hungarian, German and Slovak language was issued on this occasion. Important event were city's (municipal) and parliamentary elections, in which the Slovaks although they have had ethnic superiority, did not receive representation in municipal bodies or parliament. The question arises why? In Hungary, Slovakia had not autonomous status, Slovak nobility was denationalized, it wasn't created large expanding middle class and intelligentsia, suffrage was legally bound to a

property census, which excluded the masses of the people's from political life. This meant that the right to vote in local and countrywide conditions gave only about 6% of the population, which allowed the nobility within the new bourgeois-democratic conditions maintaining of political power in the own hands. It was reflected in the results of parliamentary elections, which meant that aristocracy, gentry and a part of the bourgeoisie have received around 70% of the votes. For comparison of the political developments in the monarchy we can note that even in the Austrian lands held parliamentary elections, but on the basis of universal suffrage which led to the gain to representation in parliament also the lower social strata of the population, and on that based on the numbers of Slavs gained a slight predominance. These results have raised hopes of all peoples of the monarchy, thus also in Hungary. They thought that these results will lead to an equitable solution to their political and national requirements. But government of L. Batthany refused the Slovakian demands and Slovak national activities was declared as sedition and issued ominous warrant against to Ľ. Štúr, J. M. Hurban and M. M. Hodža. And when the conflict between Pest and Vienna has exploded into the military confrontation, non-Hungarian nations stand on the side of Vienna.

Košice became the scene of military events. National Guard and forming militia have maintained public order at the beginning on a voluntary basis, later on the basis of declared and organized countrywide military service as the key to establishing two men - recruits from 127 inhabitants. Slovaks served in both formations. Košice due to its strategic position became the scene of alternating occupation from the side of the Austrian and Hungarian troops, in number nine. Inhabitants had been apprised by alternating hanging of national flags. Slovak volunteers had been also participated in military fighting, in period naming as Slovak national army. J. M. Hurban gave reasons for participation of Slovaks in the military activities through a brief statement: "When Hungarians will give us it what belongs to us, we will not to fight with them, if not then of course we will fight, because there is no freedom without a fight." To this should be added that Slovaks held this principle in the First and also in the Second World War.

Slovak challenges and responses in the spirit of Requests by Slovak Nation through Slovak activists were given also to eastern Slovakia, to Košice. However, the most significant event in the national and political awakening of eastern part was coming of Slovak military units under the leadership of B. Bloudek and under the political leadership of Ľ. Štúr and J. M. Hurban. The aim of their arrival in wording of J. M. Hurban was to extend the Slovak uprising in these "the most forgotten and the poorest parts of Slovakia". Declaration of martial law has frustrated not only any national-political plans in Košice, but led to the indictment and arrest of alleged firebrands in Košice and surroundings. House searches have found in J. Záborský concept of his memorandum, which, according to his testimony, he

wanted to send to the highest representative of the government in Budapest. In his file he has argued that from Hungarians we cannot demand full equality, but only such rights, without which we cannot live. He demanded from Hungarians justice for the development of the Hungarian and Slovak people, its economy and education. He stated that to solution of the Slovakian-Hungarian relations and "to support our claims are not worth our back thousands of bayonets, but costs thousands of unsatisfied souls, because they do not meet any civil rights, for our ignorance when we fall into greater poverty and animal position". He added challenge: "Hungarians! If you want to love you after that you should love us and when you to require a respect, you must demonstrate a respect to us". He even wrote in the article published in the Slovak national newspapers on this issue that, "God gave freedom not only for one, but for everyone when it has to be equality, as well as equality for Slovaks, Ruthenians ... and next .. because we are free".

F. Hradovan (Š. Šteliar) wrote about Košice resolution as a whole, in which Košice is directly expressed requirements for Slovaks. He evaluates it as a Košice's contribution to the May Requests by Slovak Nation. In this study he gave a detailed list of secured Slovaks, who were familiar with their contents. Ev. teacher J. Tomáško ev. pastor Sekčík, ev. pastor J. Rányi, shoe-maker's master J. Tomáško, tanner J. Matej, shoe-maker's fellow J. Pribulovič were among them. According to the author, Košice through these acts clearly and in public expressed its support of the Requests by Slovak Nation.

The arrival of Austrian troops has freed defendants from the threat of punishment at the beginning of February 1849 under the leadership of vice-marshal J. Ramberk. At that time the units of Slovak national army came to Košice and L. Štúr utilized this opportunity to meet with J. Záborský, who in the discussion showed disagreement with situation that the Slovak national army take a part in military action within the Austrian army because, when the Germans will win, they can will make oneself understood with the Hungarians and Slovaks will don't achieve own aim. L. Štúr advocated participation in the uprising that court will be grateful to Slovaks. During a stay in Košice he spoke at the convened people's meeting of representatives of neighbouring municipalities with a speech concerning to the Requests by Slovak Nation. J. Ramberk - the commander of the Austrian troops during the stay in Košice issued trilingual proclamation in which he declared that the Slovak nation is part of the Austrian army, and that any attack against it will be considered as an attack against the imperial troops. Important manifestation, which supported Slovak origin of Košice city, was a festive march of Slovak units through the city's streets. After their departure to Prešov, Slovak large troop came back to Košice city in order to transported food and shoes, which were promised by municipality of Košice. L. Štúr and J. M. Hurban addressed on a large meeting for people and nobility in Prešov and their speech had large public acceptance. After a short stay they both went to Kroměříž, where was

announced Imposed March Constitution on March 4th, 1849, which emphasizing the unity of the Austrian Empire, but also the right of every people to preserve their language and nationality, but the Slovaks did not receive special status in Crown land and they had to satisfied with smaller concessions on the field of administration, education and culture.

Slovakian-Hungarian evaluation of revolution is contradictory. What is the importance of Slovak uprising from Slovak point of view? The importance is in this that Slovaks got off in revolution and in the uprising as equal and sovereign nation that for its fair demands came into the fight, as were also other non-Hungarian nations. Arrival of the Slovak national army under the military and political leadership demonstrated that eastern Slovakia and Košice are an integral part of the Slovak national territory and nation.

Košice in period of Bach's absolutism and provisional arrangement

Imposed March Constitution has guaranteed equality for all peoples of the monarchy, but at the cost of limited civil rights and set up a police regime. Slovaks have obtained appeasement in education, in some secondary schools they were taught in Slovak language, Slovak government newspaper has been issued, which also came to the countryside, allowing in the modest conditions to activate Slovak national and cultural life. German language became the official language. B. Svěčený was named after administrative changes into forehead District of Košice and general Bordolo became military commander. Košice lost the special status of the royal city, but Slovak gained claiming the rights in the city office and on the field of popular education and reading of the Slovak newspaper was extended. On spreading of Slovak language in the city shows a fact that about 90% of the population knew Slovak. J. Záborský walk away from Košice to Bratislava in accordance with the decision of B. Svěčený was a great loss. His staying in position of editor in Slovak newspapers in Bratislava was restricted by censorship, but he continued according to the possibility in his work and has interpreted the legitimate demands of the Slovaks, whom he called "*a nation of non-national*". An example is his response to the article Magyar Hirlap, which was reported that the Hungarians don't know term - Slovakia. J. Záborský promptly and boldly replied that "if you don't recognize the term - Slovakia, we turn, in the same law and we don't recognize "*Magyarország*" because "*Magyarország*" and Hungary is not the same".

The fall of Bach's Absolutist direction has restored a way for politics dealings between Pest and Vienna. The result was the restoration of the Constitution of the year 1848. Political life revived and also activities of the national movements. According to M. Potemra, yeoman-landowning circles have determined target in national politics to consolidate the position of the Hungarian nation and the Hungarian language in all spheres of life. The concept of the Hungarian political nation consisting of all citizens regardless

of their mother tongue and implementation of national interests only within the political and territorial unity of the state was formed under these conditions. Every Hungarian citizen has to learn Hungarian language, it is the role of schools and Hungarian became the language tuition language in all secondary schools and universities. Although Slovaks formed a majority in Kosice, Slovak language was applied only to elementary schools. The number of Hungarians in this period amounted to around 25%. Efforts to oust German language from public life and obstruct the natural development and also application of Slovak language in political and cultural life were seen more and more. Foreign policy failures of Vienna and internal resistance lead into a declaration of October diploma and restoring of constitutional rule and, ultimately into a statement of municipal and parliamentary elections, which meant the onset of provisional arrangement and opening the way to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in the year 1867.

Political relationship in Košice after of Austro-Hungarian Compromise were characterized by the rivalry of the two ideological orientations and political parties, the Deák's Conservative Party, which was highlighting the advantages of monarchy for Hungary and Hungarians and on the other hand, supporters of legal and constitutional independence from exile supported by Lajos Kossuth with the requirement of complete independence of Hungary. Opposition party was represented by Party of the left-centre under leadership of Kalman Tisza. The demand of a separate Hungarian army, claimed by Independence Party, was lively discussed and it led to the outbreak of the political crisis. On the military demand ruler responded vigorously when through military order in Chlopy in the year 1903 declared that the army is united and indivisible, and that it cannot be applied in the interests of individual nations. Košice's liberal circles have adopted this solution with the fact that without Hungarian participation in joint army there is impossibility to provide neither power position nor industry development and application of Hungarian products overseas. These circles have already seen the monarchy like lifebelt for the Hungarian nation against separatist tendencies of non-Hungarian ethnicity within the monarchy. This concept was carried out through policy "strong hand" of Kálman Tisza. In the internal political life, the question of general electoral law came to the forefront, which according to all political circles could not have come into consideration because it would mean national suicide, because majority of non-Magyar population of Hungary is the enemy of Magyar national state. Basic opinion of the ruling circles resulted from this reality i.e. while not quite Hungary Magyar, universal suffrage cannot be imposed, because allegedly the country belongs only to the Magyar people.

Unresolved constitutional issues in a busy year of 1905 led to a political crisis. The City Council has expressed political atmosphere in Košice and adopted a resolution to solution of the political crisis in a spirit of Magyar

national requirements. The conclusion was that the monarch withdrawn Government of Feyérvary and appointed a new Coalition Government of Wekerle, in which played an important role Julius Andrassy. The price of the Compromise between Vienna and Budapest was preservation of the dualism, and on the other hand, the abolition of the promise of universal suffrage. In the elections in the year 1906 in Košice won the Julius Andrassy, who in the inaugural speech stressed, that Košice is Magyar National City, which has a mission to disseminate of Magyar culture throughout the region.

The industrial revolution and ingoing capitalism

The radical change in the economic development of the country and the city meant the coming of the industrial revolution, namely transition from manual work and manufacturing to machine production. This process in comparison to Western Europe is delayed about half a century. In the recent past a scientific polemic was running in the Slovak and Hungarian historiography about the causes of this phenomenon. Hungarian works has argued that the main cause of this phenomenon was so called colonial respectively semi-colonial policy of Vienna, which hampered this process. A. Špiesz pointed out that the Empress Maria Theresa indeed has done several measures that have hindered the development of the first manufacturing industry in Hungary, but she wasn't strongly opposed. According to him, Royal Court has desired that Hungarians to give up of their tax privileges and when they refused, Vienna has compensated this through specific customs policy, which in further slowed the process of development of the industrial revolution in Slovakia and Hungary.

Two manufacturing centres in Bratislava and Košice began to form in Slovakia since the end of the 18th century. An example of the development of manufacturing and its transition to machine production was an attempt of entrepreneur F. Gebracht from Košice, who founded a manufactory for making hats that supply the army. He worked with 25 journeymen, but his business, due to various obstacles, has defunct. Another company was more successful, they produced stoneware, worked since 1861 with 50 employees and they used English machines. Cloth factory within "house work" also had manufactory character and employed also jobless people and beggars. English spinning machines had been used also in this company. Guilds from competitive reasons had put obstacles in the development of machine production.

Chamber of Commerce based in Košice in 1850 was an important institution for the promotion of industry and it represented 10 counties. Economic development after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 gets a new boost with aim of economic balancing between the two government formations. The new Licensing Act in accordance with the Article No. 8/1872 allows that any citizen could apply for a licence, which mobilized competitive

fight and it's leading to a decline of handicraft. In the development of the industrial production initially dominated the food industry as mills, brewing, and production of coffee substitutes, distillery, and tobacco processing factory with the highest number workpeople particular female, around 1300 people. Wood industry focused on the production of parquet and furniture held an important place. Metal processing industry was represented by machinery plant and foundry Fleischer and Schirger and machinery plant of K. Poledniak. Modern businesses have been represented by gasworks and power station. Upper-Hungarian Construction Company has supported development of construction.

Undeveloped credit system necessitated the establishment of financial institutions, at the beginning only as a savings bank. Hence the Košice savings bank as holding company arose in 1844. New type of bank, which has financed industries entered into the services of economic life later. But internal financial resources were insufficient to accumulate investment capital; therefore, the way was open to foreign capital, which in the 70th accounted for 60% and in 1900 about 50% of investments mainly into the development and construction of railways, banks and food and iron industry.

Development of transport has contributed significantly to economic growth of Košice city. Passenger and postal transport existed between Košice and through Prešov high-speed wagons, later it was extended in the direction of Miskolc and Budapest. Delayed railway transport went first to Miskolc in 1860, but its main direction towards the Austrian market was realized by building of the railway route Košice - Bohumín in 1872.

Modern capitalist entrepreneurship permeated into all areas of life of the city and its construction and urbanization. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867, in Hungary grew stronger political voices, which demanding a separate customs territory and for accelerated industrial development, which had to accelerate promotion of industrial law in the form of subsidies, such as allocation of land, transport concessions, railway tariffs and the like. It is doubtless that the intervention policy has contributed faster economic development of industry and economy.

Despite the progress, Hungary continues remained agrarian country, where agriculture was at the end of the 19th century employed 64.5% of the population and in the industry 17.1% only. Large-scale industrial production in enterprises over 20 employees exceeded small-scale production only in the pre-war period. In point of view of total employment in the industry Košice had 36.5% and Bratislava 37.5% representation, which were at the level of Ružomberok, Zvolen and some other cities.

The origins of the workmen's movement

The industrial revolution and the factory machine production was born and shaped the labour movement. Hard working conditions of workers, long

working hours, low wages, weak social measures and protection provoked among workers according to western examples of activities that led to the creation of workers' unions and the movement for better and fairer conditions of work and life. First associations under at that time legal conditions could had only self-help character. The first such association in Košice was the First Association of Upper-Hungarian Trade Helpers from the year 1861. Magazine of Slovak workers' "New Times" published for the Slovak workers got to Košice in 1897, even if only for a short time. The success was the publication of the leaflet Voice of Slovak workers' people. Positive role in the establishment in a process of awaking and life of workers played leaflets and the people's meetings. Such leaflet in Košice was trilingual occasional newspaper Vörös Iran - Red mir and Rotte Richtung (read direction). The establishment of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary in 1890 and publishing its leaflet "Voice of the People" (Népszava) has involved on the rise of labour movement in Košice and also ranking of the May Day celebrations. In the beginning of the 20th century labour movement in Slovakia and also in Hungary has received to a higher degree of organization, which meant that the ethnic working class could set up their own regional party organization. In the territory of Slovakia has been created two organizations Western-Hungarian and in the east in 1905 Upper-Hungarian in Košice. In 1907 it began issued newspaper of the authority of the regional organization of Košice, so-called Košice's' worker (Kassai Munkás). Because both regional parties have associated Hungarian workers, therefore Slovak workers have established in 1905 own Slovak Social Democratic Party, which was governed by the basic idea of the party, that emancipation of the working class can only be the result of class struggle, removing the capitalist political system and the establishment of the socialist establishment. Although Slovak workers had superiority in Košice, leadership took himself Hungarian regional organization. In the national question the Budapest party leadership proclaimed the equality of all nations in Hungary, but did not recognize the right to self-determination. With regard to the ethnic composition of Košice and eastern Slovakia, leadership of the regional party underestimated the importance of national issues in a democratic transformation. Party condemned the forced assimilation, but identified with the idea of cultural assimilation, which bring together and to unite the nationalities of Hungary. Migration of Slovak working class into cities the Party understood as a process, in which these masses will acquire a Hungarian language, culture and feelings. The Party concurred with the opinion that not only the school but social democracy contributes to Magyarization of Košice Slovak working class.

Development of national circumstances

Statistics from the year 1850 states that Košice had 13,034 inhabitants, of

which number 4,738 were Slovaks, 2,904 Hungarians, 1,592 Germans and 2,838 foreign. Therefore Slovaks were most numerous ethnic groups. In the following decades their number has steadily decreased, but predominantly since Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867. Statistics from the year 1880 states, that from the total population 26,097 Slovaks were 10,674 but 16,987 Hungarians, 4,356 Germans and 678 others. Statistics from r. 1910 already shows significant changes in the total number of 44,211 was only 6,547 Slovaks, 33,350 Hungarians, 3,189 Germans and 1,125 other. There is a question, what caused that the Slovaks so significantly shrunk and on the other hand, the number of Hungarians are so sharply increased. It was a range of causes and contexts. The main idea of the Hungarian state (Magyar allameszme) embodied in the Nationality Law since year 1868, which, unlike Austria recognizes the right of every nation to maintain their nationality and language, enacted the idea of a single, indivisible Hungarian political nation (hence Hungarian nation). Non-Magyar nations were so degraded to people with different language whose fate should be assimilation. In this period began the process of creating from multi-ethnic Hungary speaking and ethnically unified Hungarian nation and the Hungarian state. In Košice this denationalizing process took place in all areas of life, which is captured on the pages of the Hungarian press, as pointed out by M. Potemra and M. Mihoková. Magyarization also had severe consequences of ethnic, social, cultural, and social, which are reflected in the fact that the Slovak people in the east and in Košice fell to the level of political injustice and helpless ethnic mass. It was the legacy of violent Magyarization. The challenge of the Hungarian authorities in Prešov, which was addressed to Károly government in 1918 points out that Prešov has to continued and remained as part of Hungary, because apparently the city in all areas of life is the Hungarian and Slovaks there are only workers and servants, for whose cannot hand over the government. Similar circumstances ruled in Košice, which J. Straka - Košice's scribe and worker has characterized in words, that in Košice we can heard the conversation in Slovak only in market and during the physical work. Slovaks in Košice were at that time so oppressed and silenced, they did not have the strength or ability to speak about their requirements. And there was not a single Slovak intelligent, which would, has been publicly reported for the Slovaks and spoke for the interests of their nation. There were also those who their origin dissembled due to existential consequences.

Liberated Košice in Czechoslovakia

Subsequently after the declaration of Czechoslovakia an actual military and administrative power and administration remained in the hands of the Hungarian Károly government, which has made great political, military and diplomatic efforts to keep Slovakia in the new Hungary. It evoked a historical phenomenon known as the struggle for Slovakia and the Košice.

During the revolutionary changes in Košice was created Hungarian National Council, which effectively functions as leading administrative autonomy. Among the political parties the most influential and best organized party was the Upper Hungarian Social Democratic Party; it was also reflected in the fact that the Budapest government has appointed M. Molnar - chairman of this Party into position of government commissioner, as Office District Administrator for the city of Košice. Workmen Military and Priestly Council played an active role at the time and especially armed guards to ensure order and safety. All local authorities have proclaimed the support for Károly government and its policies for the maintenance of Slovakia in the new Hungarian People's Republic. The government sent to Slovakia various activists, alleged experts of Slovak question in order to spread among the people support for the retention of Slovakia in Hungary. In that spirit the Government supported issuing of different challenges, printing and organizing of the People's meetings. Minister for Minorities O. Jasz was also active in this regard; he has supported and assured the Hungarian population of Košice, that the city will remain a part of the Magyar state. The fictitious statement Slovak People's Republic on December 11th, 1918 was also an example of such support under leading of self-appointed leader - V. Dvortsák.

Takeover of the administration into the hands of the Czechoslovak authorities began on December 30th when was created the Slovak National Council headed by President J. Kustr, who at the time was still in military service Italian Czechoslovak legions. Chief Secretary was happened Š. Demeter - professor of theology, cashier was M. Sitár and scorer for catechist A. Straka. V. Šrobár named the Košice lawyer Vl. Mutňanský for the burgomaster of Košice.

Requirements of the Hungarian authorities and governments in order to Košice has to remain within Hungary had not historical justification, because Košice was not Hungarian city, but Magyarized city only. The census in 1921 points out in a free and democratic spirit according to which the total number was 52,699 and of it 31,572 Slovaks, 11,206 Hungarians, 2,145 Germans, 5,275 Jews (by nationality) and others. The process of natural de-Magyarization in terms of observance of laws, civil and national rights in the spirit of the principles laid down by the League of Nations began.*

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Cultural and Social Associations in Košice in the Second Half of the 19th Century

Tamás Csiki

Abstract

The paper deals with the emergence of a wide variety of voluntary associations – confraternities, charitable, cultural and professional societies as self – governing organizations of the urban population in Košice of the Modern Age. Examining how people organized their associational life, the study explores the role of voluntary associations in the creation of confessional and ethnic groups as well as of social classes in Košice during the Austro-Hungarian Dualism and between the two World Wars. The comparison of the two (three) historical periods provides an opportunity to obtain a picture of the relationship between local authorities and civil society in the various political milieus as well as of changing ideas of sociability.

Key words: Košice. Modern Age. Confraternities. Cultural and professional societies. Voluntary associations.

For a long time, the historical investigation of associations was linked to the concept of *achieving middle class status* as the great many interpretations of the term were equally adaptable for researchers. This was because in contrast to the state, the associations were the free partnerships of legally equal citizens which (although not exclusively) served the needs of culture, science, education and health care, or in one word, the needs of the progress of *civilisation*. The majority of these organisations contributed to the breaking down of feudal and religious barriers, strengthening the civil character of social life, patterns of behaviour or altruism. But through the transformation and assumed unification of the way of life, associations promoted the *achieving lower middle class status* of workers and other social elements difficult to capture with layer categories as well as the *achieving middle class status* of peasants in villages and agricultural towns.¹

These varied interpretations of achieving middle class status also apply to the different trends in association research (e.g. the investigation of the organisational culture, social composition or the role in urbanisation of the

¹ For example, Gábor Pajkossy, “Egyesületek a reformkori Magyarországon,” *História* 2 (1993): 6–9; Gábor Gyáni, “Elkülönülés és egyesülés. Szegregáció és egyesületek a dualizmus kori Vásárhelyen,” in *Rendi társadalom–polgári társadalom* 4, ed. by Zsuzsa Mikó (Csokonai, Debrecen, 1995), 181–190; Tibor Papházi, *Egyesületek, társadalom, egészségügy. Fejezetek az egyesületek szociológiájának köréből* (Budapest, Nonprofit Kutatócsoport, 1997), 13–45; Árpád Tóth, *Önszervező polgárok. A pesti egyesületek társadalomtörténete a reformkorban* (Budapest: L’Harmattan, 2005), 138–139. (The study was made in the programme of the Ethnographic Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Debrecen University, with a Bolyai grant.)

particular association²), but in this paper, I have no opportunity to elaborate on any of these in appropriate detail. Through the presentation of the objectives and membership of some associations, I only seek an answer to the question whether with respect to the age of dualism, which witnessed the urbanisation of Košice, an accelerating moving into the city and the transformation of its linguistic, religious and occupational structure, the abovementioned interpretation frameworks are suitable or satisfactory to give an account for the different phenomena of varied association life or not.

I. Social associations

One often faces difficulties when attempting to classify associations according to their objectives, which is because of their varied character. Therefore, I resort to Gyula Lekly's classification. He was a technical school teacher who knew Košice associations in the age of dualism very well, himself being quite an active participant in them. In the monograph of Abaúj-Torna county and Košice published in 1896, Lekly distinguishes three types of associations: 'social associations in a narrower sense', cultural and self-development associations, and charity and aid associations.³

In Košice, István Széchenyi's initiative found its followers very quickly: in 1828, Társalgási Egylet ('Conversation Club') (Nagy Kaszinó 'the Grand Casino') was established. According to its regulations, written 3 years later in the German and Hungarian languages, it was 'the association of educated men', in which 'regardless of his civil status, every noble man of worthy conduct' could become a member. According to this, citizenship was not a prerequisite of membership and although its social composition cannot be determined and the changes cannot be precisely tracked, it can safely be concluded that the rate of aristocrats residing in the county or in Košice, who constituted the majority in the period of foundation, already started decreasing in the feudal period while that of those having a civil occupation, primarily that of wealthy merchants and craftsmen was on the increase. This group can already be recognised in the 1855 list of members⁴, and in the following decades, the new middle-class elite: the entrepreneur-bourgeois, city officials

² For this, see: Tóth, *Önszervező polgárok...*, 17–28.

³ Lekly wrote the chapter entitled 'Kassa Society', in which he listed dozens of associations. This paper is concerned with the organisations belonging to the first two categories. Gyula Lekly, "Kassa társadalma," in *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. Abaúj-Torna vármegye és Kassa*, ed. by Samu Borovszky and János Sziklay (Budapest: Apolló, 1896), 209–211.

⁴ Merchant Sámuel Mahr, Sándor Novelty, who opened a grocer's shop in 1849, Károly and József Moll, founders of an earthenware factory, owner of an iron and wire factory Vilmos Gosznovitzer (principal of the body of merchants) and joiner and millwork jobber (later owner of a floorboard factory) József Láng. (Of them, the Novelty and Molls had the rank of noblemen.) In 1855, the Jewish jeweller József Adler, who had been admitted to the board of merchants in the previous year, was also a member of the casino. György Kerekes, *A kassai kereskedők életéből harmadfélszázad 1687–1913* (Budapest: Országos Ipartestület, 1913).

and professionals became dominant among the members (and naturally, in the board, too). (From the middle 1880s, Gyula Lekly was its director.)⁵ In 1867, Polgári Társaskör ('Civil Club') was established in one of the oldest middle class residences of the city, Lőcsei House. Its objectives included the organisation of 'the enjoyment of refined social life', the promotion of the 'rise of the civil element' and the support through aids of the members impoverished through no fault of their own as well as the widows and orphans of the latter. Although self-help and the establishment of an aid fund did not belong to the typical functions of social associations, still, it was in line with the clearly formulated intentions of the association: 'those in austere financial conditions should also be able to participate.' Its foundation was initiated by Mihály Balázs, teacher of the community elementary school. In 1867, it had about 130 members, most of whom were craftsmen but there were also merchants and teachers among them (shoemaker András Tordássy was elected director of it). The association had an institutional relationship with the local craftsmen's club, and although in the following decades, it also had city aldermen, teachers and factory owners among its members⁶ (what is more, they could get mayor Tivadar Münster to be their chairman), which certainly enhanced the status of the organisation, its social composition remained basically the same.⁷

In chronological order, the next social association, Kassai Kaszinó ('Košice Casino') was founded in 1878. It had its rooms in one of the most atmospheric old buildings of Fő utca (High Street), Forgách Palace. No members' lists have remained for this association but only its chairmen and directors in the 1890s are known. The former, representative position was filled by Imre Darvas of Nagyrét, retired Lord Lieutenant of Abaúj-Torna county and Košice, and Count László Semsey, imperial and royal lord-in-waiting while its directors were Gábor Harmos, chairman of the Regional High Court in Košice, chief notary of Nógrád county, then judge of the Regional High Court in Košice, Endre Rakovszky, also having started his career in county administration and Kálmán Slachta, director of the savings bank. All of them were landowners and holders of noble (aristocratic) titles. In addition to the former, descendants of the oldest patrician families with the most extended family relations, Ödön Laszggallner, director of mill, and Gyula

⁵ *A kassai Casino alapszabályai tagjainak névsorával* („Regulations of Kassa Casino with the list of its members' names.”) (Košice, 1832); *A Kassai Társalgási Egylet (Casino) alapszabályai*. („Regulations of Kassa Conversation Club (Casino)”) (Košice, 1885); Hungarian National Archives (MOL), K 150. 417., cs. 21767/1875.

⁶ E.g. Vendel Tfirst deputy clerk, dr Arnold Hoffman teacher of theology, Gyula Sztudinka furniture manufacturer and József Láng. At the same time, self-help was deleted from among the objectives of the association.

⁷ MOL, K 150. 2478., cs. 21357/1894, *A Kassai Polgári Társaskör alapszabályai* („Regulations of Kassa Civil Club”) (Košice, 1893); Károly Köves, *A 400 éves Lőcsei-ház és a 63 éves Kassai Polgári Társaskör* (Kosice: Athenaeum, 1931).

Éder city notary were elected. It is not known who the initiators were but it seems that Kassai Kaszinó ensured the segregation of county clerks and landowners of medium and big estates. According to István Weis' observation made later, besides them, those could join the association who 'either had very good names or had very good manners and were very wealthy, or had such connections in the county which opened the doors for them.'⁸

This did not put an end to the establishment of social associations. In 1880, the merchants' body, having a long past of several centuries, was transformed into a trade association which decided to form a social association for tradesmen in cooperation with the association of young tradesmen. Kereskedő Kaszinó ('Merchants' Casino) started its operations with 170 members in 1881. Its declared objectives included the promotion of the interests of the 'trade class', having conversations and providing 'spiritual motivation' as well as the 'use and spread' of the Hungarian language. To achieve these objectives, there were plans to set up a library and an amusement hall and to organise scientific lectures and discuss members' essays.

Thus, the social association was established with the assistance of the merchants' board so it could also promote the preservation of the former connections, the safeguarding of interests and the acquisition of the new skills and knowledge of the trade. The connection can be detected in the persons of the leaders of the association (and presumably, in the members, too) as Károly Szakmáry became chairman and his secretary was Andor Gyula Siposs, who held the same positions in the trade association, as well.⁹

The choice presented so far was still not enough for Košice citizens craving for social life. In 1893, Kassai Társaskör ('Košice Club'), also known as the Jewish casino, was established (its documents have not been preserved, either). In the 1890s, its director was attorney-at-law József Engel, followed by landowner Jenő Holländer while its board consisted of wealthy merchants, private officials and professionals (Artúr Scharman, Károly Adler, Lipót Glück, Péter Lorber, Samu Fényes).¹⁰

Finally, mention must be made of another social association that had a different function from the former and displayed some characteristics of the citizenship of free royal boroughs becoming involved in and city life becoming interwoven with politics. In 1869, Kassai Deák-kör ('Košice Deák Circle') was established. According to its regulations, it intended to promote

⁸ On the basis of *Kassai Kalauz. Czim-Naptár 1891–1895.* („Kassa guide. List of addresses and calendar 1891-1895”); Lekly, *Kassa társadalma...*, 209–211; István Weis is quoted in György Kövér, “Kisvárosi elit társaságok. Hajdúböszörmény a két világháború között,” in *Rendi társadalom-polgári társadalom 4*, ed. by Zsuzsa Mikó (Debrecen: Csokonai, 1995), 220.

⁹ MOL, K 150. 884. cs., 10884/1881, 886., cs. 22232/1881; Kerekes, *A kassai kereskedők...*, 239.

¹⁰ On the basis of *Kassai Kalauz. Czim-Naptár 1893–1896.* („Kassa guide. List of addresses and calendar 1893-1896”).

'liberal progress based on democratic principles' and enforce it in the 'solution' of both local and national 'issues'. For this purpose, it set the objective to hold public meetings and board meetings, and 'enliven and enlighten' the public 'through the press, dialogue and exchange of ideas'. The circle set up three special committees: a political one to evaluate the decisions of the government and propose reforms, another one involved in city matters to discuss local 'issues' and promote their implementation, and one concerned with the press to enforce the interests of the circle in daily papers. In order to recruit members and popularise its objectives, the circle placed sheets at several points in the city for citizens to sign (the precondition of membership was only a record of 'civil honesty' and the payment of the membership fee of 1 Forint per year.)

Nothing is known either about the activities of Deák-kör or about whether it became permanent or was only established to support the candidate of the party in power at the 1869 elections. However, its intentions (or political ideals) included the protection of constitutionalism and the Austro-Hungarian compromise, involvement in city politics, the enlivening of public life and publicity and the creation of the forums of free opinion forming.

The social composition of the circle is seemingly 'democratic'. The board consisted of no fewer than 100 people, and aristocrats (Ferenc Barkóczy, Rezső Csáky, János Klobusiczky), city and county clerks (Pál Ardényi, Gyula Szent-Léleky), professionals (Lajos Alexy, Jónát Brósz), several members of the entrepreneurial elite (Ignác Ungár, Károly Elischer), merchants and craftsmen (Sándor Novelly, Ágoston Lasz gallner, Dániel Haydu, Károly Fröhlich), that is, 'old' and 'new' citizens, Catholics (among them bishop of Košice diocese János Perger, Lutherans and Israelites, the members of Nagy Kaszinó and Polgári Társaskör likewise joined the association. Thus, Deák-kör attracted people of very different social standing (it is true that in all probability, they had the most superficial personal relations among all the associations), but a well-definable group of it was made up of Lutheran citizens linked with family connections.¹¹ And perhaps it was not by chance that soapmaker Dániel Haydu, belonging to the former group, was elected chairman of the association.

II. Cultural and self-development associations

In his paper listing Košice associations, Gyula Lekly put cultural associations concerned with literature, arts and sciences and self-development associations in the second category. Let us continue following his classification in seeking an answer to the question what kind of cultural ideals

¹¹ Vilmos Benczúr, József Loósz, Dániel Haydu, Gyula Fiedler, Ágoston Lasz gallner, Rezső Záhr. The family (and business) connections were revealed by György Kerekes for several generations in his book published in 1913. MOL, K 150. 53., cs. 4876/1869; Kerekes, *A kassai kereskedők...*, 36–37.

the different societies represented, and for it, what kind of organisational culture they adopted (including their relation to the state, the churches or the city).

Historical literature considers singing associations to be typical civil organisations which played a determining role in the cultural life of towns, in the organisation of really active microcommunities and in how individuals spent their free time.¹² After some antecedents in the Reform Age, *Első Magyar Dalegylet* ('First Hungarian Singing Association') was formed 'in the heart of the city' in Košice in 1867. According to its regulations, elaborated in 1873, it intended to 'have and give entertainment through combining songs and music, establish the broadest cooperation relations in social terms and promote the development of singing through the spread of music'. It is not known what the underlined attachment to the city exactly meant (financial support or participation in the organisational work). In any case, this enhanced the prestige of the association among the others. It represented Košice as a community not only in local events but also in the singing competitions held in a lot of places throughout the country and given wide publicity. This way, the singing association could become a device of cultural marketing and strengthened its members' identity, attached to the city.¹³

It was another type of cultural ideal and identity policy that led to the establishment of *Kassai Nemzeti Kör* ('Košice National Circle') in 1881. It regarded as its objective 'to promote culture as well as reflections and exchange of ideas of public benefit' therefore it held scientific and literary reading sessions and singing and musical performances and poem recitals. However, it also had a more specific intention, formulated by court judge Gyula Giczey, chairman of the founding operative committee in the following way: 'with respect to local conditions, it is necessary to establish an association which regards it one of its main objectives to spread the use of the Hungarian national language among the inhabitants of different mother tongues living in our city.' This was not entirely free from conflicts in Košice public life at the beginning of the 1880s – this is also hinted at in Giczey's words: they had to face 'the malicious operation of contrary interests spreading untrue information concerning the causes of the coming into being' of the association.

There is little information about the actual activities of *Nemzeti Kör* but on account of its importance, they published the material of one of the 'scientific' reading sessions held by Gyula Lekly in 1885. I quote a few ideas

¹² For example, Pl. Erika Kruppa, *Das Vereinswesen der Prager Vorstadt Smichow, 1800–1850* (München: Oldenbourg, 1992), 82.

¹³ In 1870, they came third in the first national singing competition, organised in Pest. In 1873, they participated in Nagyvárad singing competition. MOL, K 150. 325., cs. 8987/1874; Lipót Schalkház, *Dalos Kassa. A Kassai Zenekedvelők Koszorus Dalegyletének története. 1907–1942* (Košice: Grafika, 1944), 8.

from it as it reveals a lot about the intellectual atmosphere of the association: 'The majority of Košice's young craftsmen speak Slovakian as their mother tongue even if they have the most Hungarian sounding names... [The city] must undertake a leading role in the great national movements, and must flourish the flag of glory under which Košice patriots made so many sacrifices for the nation in the past. The time when Upper Hungary worked together with Transylvania must be brought back... It should be our common objective to change our varied ethnographic map. A significant number of our citizens – I do not mean the professionals – are Germans and the common people are Slovaks.'¹⁴

A key motive behind the foundation of Nemzeti Kör was the strengthening of national identity and the Magyarization of the inhabitants of the city whose native language was not Hungarian. The association subordinated education and the spread of culture to this objective, too. Thus, its coming into being was due to the political philosophy and the intentions of those in political power, which determined its future. After a few years' activities, in 1886, it was replaced by Abaúj-Tornavármegyei és Kassai Közművelődési Egyesület ('The Cultural Association of Abaúj-Torna County and Košice'), which extended the programme of Magyarization to the whole count and combined it with the education of common people therefore it needed a better organisation.¹⁵

The education of common people was primarily the task of elementary school teachers who founded Kassa vidéki Római Katolikus Néptanítók Egyesülete ('The Košice Region Association of Roman Catholic Elementary School Teachers') in 1885. According to its regulations, the association united the teachers of church and state elementary schools in the spirit of Roman Catholicism, improved their 'social and financial status', helped their self-development through the discussion of topics set by church authorities, and supported them or their family members in case of illness or death. The association consisted of three dioceses (Košice, Šaca and Moldava nad Bodvou), which were themselves made up of circles, holding annual meetings (which were obligatory for members to attend), where the decrees issued on public education were read out. With the board's preliminary permission, teachers were allowed to deliver lectures on educational and organisational topics that were followed by discussion. Legally, the association was controlled by the bishop of Košice, and Mihály Hámorszki, the priest of Felsőtőkés, was elected chairman.¹⁶

There was an association founded for teachers in Košice already in the

¹⁴ Lekly, *A közművelődési egyesületek és Kassa*.

¹⁵ Gyula Lekly, "Kassa társadalma," in *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. Abaúj-Torna vármegye és Kassa*, ed by. Samu Borovszky and János Sziklay (Budapest: Apolló, 1896), 209–211.

¹⁶ MOL, K 150. 1354., cs. 27273/1885.

1870s, which indicates the activation of Catholic public education as well as the appearance of an organisational culture different from the previous ones. Its structure followed church hierarchy therefore the members in the different dioceses were isolated from each other. Training and giving financial support were centralized, they were controlled and supervised by the church authorities, and were combined with the control of teachers. (Membership fees were forwarded to the deans, who decided on financial aid.) And although there are no data available about what devices the church had to persuade teachers to join the association, and with what efficiency it applied them, the association may both have contributed to the maintenance of the separation of denominations and the strengthening of Catholic corporatism.

The number of self-development associations increased after the decade of absolutism, from the middle of the 1860s. These were partly established by the students of schools and partly by apprentices employed in industry. In 1877 and 1878, as many as two societies were established at the royal academy of law. The first was the reading circle, which set the objectives of developing its members' knowledge in the fields of law and state administration, and enhancing their level of culture and 'moral credibility'. The circle set up its own library, held reading sessions, discussions and other programmes 'developing the mind and spirit', and even published a yearbook. László Brósz, coming from a German family in the Highlands, who was in all probability the most active organiser, was elected chairman. One year later, the singing circle of the law academy was established. It intended to facilitate self-development in the field of the art of music, completed with the 'arousing and development of the artistic sense' of the students.¹⁷ The reading circle could play a role in vocational socialisation and in the strengthening of professional and group awareness, thus contributing to professionalization. In addition, just like the singing circle, the reading circle was also founded because there was a demand for culture and continuous self-development (*Bildung*), inseparable from the former, and promoted the latter becoming an internalised value, which later led to members becoming active in the association and in the cultural life of the community.¹⁸

What kind of cultural philosophy or individual and collective social strategies can be assumed as the underlying motive for the industrial workers' establishing associations? In addition to giving financial aid, to which they

¹⁷ MOL, K 150. 600., cs. 18734/1877, 683., cs. 20343/1878.

¹⁸ László Brósz, who became a wealthy lawyer, took part in the foundation of Kassai Irodalmi Társaság ('Literary Society of Kassa')(predecessor of Kazinczy Circle), also worked as member of the theatrical board of Kassa, the Royal Hungarian Scientific Society and Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület ('Hungarian Cultural Association of Transylvania') but was president of the Lutheran congregation, as well. On the basis of Kassai Kalauz. Czim-Naptár ('Kassa guide. List of addresses and calendar.') 1900. Márkus Keller, *A tanárok helye. A középiskolai tanárság professzionalizációja a 19. század második felében, magyar-porosz összehasonlításban* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2010), 48–50.

only allocated the interests of the membership fees remaining annually, Kassai Iparos Ifjúság Önképző és Segélyegylete ('Association for Self-development and Aid of Young Craftsmen in Košice'), established in 1869, paid more attention to culture, discussions and the improvement of 'skills and useful institutions within its social scope' but also created opportunities for 'decent entertainment with the exclusion of any gambling games'. The general assembly, held one year later, decided to elect 'a respectable man of common sense ... from the middle class' as honorary chairman, a person who would make the association 'respected' and would establish contact with other associations.¹⁹

In this case, the study of the regulations may be misleading as in order to avoid the retorting or ban of the authorities, they did not mention the possible political intentions.²⁰ Still, in my opinion, this organisation had the character of a social association, and self-development contributed to the adoption of middle class models of sociability and the provision of the supply of skilled tradesmen.

The Catholic church was active not only in the organisation of teachers but also in that of apprentices 'Pearls have been missing from the jewels of the city of Košice, its bouquet has been lacking this flower for long' – this was how one of the founders commented on the establishment of Katolikus Legényegylet ('Association for Catholic lads') in 1887, which, according to its regulations, combined the education of its members with the 'arousal of religious and civil sense' with means different from those of the previously mentioned associations. This was because in addition to the reading sessions, teachers of the association gave lectures and practical classes on a wide range of topics (theology, ethics, national history, geography, natural sciences, drawing up civil law documents, accounting, drawing, physical education, singing). Tailored to the participants' needs, the classes were held in Hungarian, German or Slovakian. On the other hand, the discussion of political issues and 'altercating behaviour' were prohibited by the 'laws' of the association. Similarly, its organisation and control aimed at compliance with the requirements of Roman Catholic worship and the regulation and control of the apprentices' way of life. The main patron of the association was the diocesan of Košice, and teachers, a priest and craftsmen were elected as members of the directorate.²¹ The deans were responsible for internal order. They warned their fellow members about their duties with 'love and

¹⁹ MOL, K 150. 81., cs. 2078/1870.

²⁰ In 1877, the Minister of the Interior ordered that Kassai Munkások Önképző Egylete (Association of Kassa workers for self-development), which set the similar objective of making it possible for apprentices to spend their free time in a civilised way and the cultivation and spread of the Hungarian language, should add the following provision to its regulations: the association 'is not involved in social democratic issues. MOL, K 150. 602. cs. 34231/1877.

²¹ Alajos Klekner, Geyza Katinszky, Gyula Sztudinka and Ede Buliczka.

gentleness'.²²

The association of Catholic lads, maintaining a home for 50 apprentices, indicates the adoption of Adolf Kolping's movement in Košice. It was a centralised educational programme seeking to find Catholic answers to the problems of family life, and related to it, the problems of the social integration of people moving into towns from the provinces and finding employment in industry. Just like any other Kolping organisations, the association required its members to comply with clearly defined ethic norms and behavioural patterns: diligence, frugality, sense of duty, love of fellow-men and Christian humility. On the one hand, these characterised the employment relation subordinating the apprentice to the employer's authority who acted like a family head. On the other hand, this offered a clear model for socialisation and mobility: it prepared youngsters for family life and independent craftsmanship, which was expected to ensure the continuity and survival of the 'old and honest class of craftsmen' in contrast to factory work 'involving moral dangers'.

III. Summary

The paper presents some of the Košice associations that existed in the age of dualism. In most of the cases, their presentation only relies on the regulations and members' lists which may make the conclusions hypothesis-like. The social composition of associations is focussed on. Társalgási Egylet (Nagy Kaszinó) admitted wealthy merchants, craftsmen and city officials even before 1848. This may have been a new form of the expression of their social prestige, making distinctions between citizens in the Reform Age.²³ In the following decades, the casino became an exclusive association of the middle class elite. As one of the principals put it: it was 'the social centre of our city'. Still, one cannot be sure that the cultural and mentality differences between the different social groups were eliminated by the fact that they were all members. Here, suffice it to refer to Gyula Lekly, settling in the city in the 1870s, who distinguishes *middle class* and *professionals* according to their nationality.

The craftsmen and merchants of the petty bourgeois, founding Polgári Társaskör, followed the middle class models of social life, and intended to 'strengthen' the middle class system of values, the most important components of which they considered to be culture, expertise and patriotism. The recommendation system was also adopted from the practice of Társalgási Egylet, and there were common members, too. It is true, however, that in Társaskör, a really active role was played by teachers or deputy clerks who had been elected directors. The exclusivity and transformation into a city

²² MOL, K 150. 1579., cs. 40322/1887.

²³ The same tendency was characteristic of Pest National Casino. Tóth, *Önszervező polgárok...*, 142–154.

association of Nagy Kaszinó was probably not satisfactory for county officials and landowners therefore they joined Kassai Kaszinó. The foundation of the Jewish social circle as well as the participation of Israelites in Társalgási Egylet indicates that the individual strategies of social conformity, the adoption of the form of middle class associations and denominational affiliations co-existed without excluding each other.

In the Reform Age, the participation of middle class people and their descendents in associations may be indicative of a change in their social status. The 'forefathers of entrepreneurs', wealthy merchants (and their wives) could be found among the members of several associations. In addition to the abovementioned Deák-kör, József Moll was vice chairman of the Gymnastics Association in 1868, Mrs Rezső Zähr, Mrs Sándor Novelly, Mrs Károly Spielmann, the daughters of Ágoston Laszggallner, Mrs Geyza Benczúr and Mrs László Aranyossy were on the board of Fröbel Association, founded in 1873²⁴, while Rezső Zähr, Sándor Novelly, Gyula Fiedler, Károly Szakmáry and Berti Laszggallner were the participants of the statutory meeting of the Skaters' Association in 1874. In Kereskedő Kaszinó, initiated by the tradesmen's board, which not only admitted the entrepreneurs of the bourgeois era but also gradually enhanced their influence, Károly Szakmáry and Károly Spielmann fulfilled leading positions.²⁵ These families were integrated into the middle class elite, and their membership in associations may have promoted this process, the establishing of new social connections and the reinforcement of their (modern) civil identity (e.g. charity work, stabilisation of a middle class lifestyle).²⁶ The investigation of the names calls attention to another thing. We are concerned with related families here so the survival of traditional social bonds cannot be excluded from the wide variety of individual and collective intentions leading to the foundation of associations, either.

In the following chapter, culture and (self)-development were investigated in the context of political ideas, and it was examined in what association environments this manifested itself. As Vormärz's German models reveal, liberal, democratic and national ideas co-existed in the singing societies²⁷; but we have less information about how it was in the case of Košice singing association, founded in 1867 mostly with the participation of German citizens.

²⁴ Benczúr was Kassa's chief public prosecutor and the supervisor of the Lutheran church while attorney-at-law Aranyossy was president of the local savings bank. Kerekes, *A kassai kereskedők...*, 37.

²⁵ MOL, K 150. 33., cs. 2217/1868, 240., cs. 33930/1873, 329., cs. 46231/1874 Kerekes, *A kassai kereskedők...*, 239.

²⁶ A „modern polgárság előfutáiról” ('On 'the forefathers of a modern middle class') Vera Bácskai, "A régi polgárságról," in *Zombékok. Középosztályok és iskoláztatás Magyarországon a 19. század elejétől a 20. század közepéig*, ed. by György Kövér (Budapest: Századvég, 2006), 15–38.

²⁷ Papházi, *Egyesületek, társadalom, egészségügy...*, 53.

Its name contained the attribute *Hungarian*, and its regulations, underlining the democratism of members' admission and association, was also written in the Hungarian language. In 1870, the association celebrated Beethoven's centenary, a few years later, they performed Liszt's vocal mass in c minor in Nagyváradi, and invited the maestro to Košice. Therefore, it seems that German culture, local attachment and patriotism could all find their self-expression in the singing association.²⁸ After some time, however, militant nationalism also became a community forming factor. There were associations, e.g. those of young merchants, joiner apprentices or Kereskedő Kaszinó, whose objectives included the development of the knowledge of the Hungarian language of their members ('spread' of the language), which served communication and the enlarging of their social connections. On the other hand, Nemzeti Kör and its successor, Abaúj-Tornavármegyei és Kassai Közművelődési Egyesület followed the more and more radical programme of Magyarization (or 're-Magyarization', that is, the restoration of ethnic continuity). In their rhetorics, Košice appeared as the preserver of the traditions of the nation.

Košice associations were also distinguished according to the way of acquiring culture. The members of the self-development and singing circle founded in the law academy acquired qualifications and culture (and music aesthetical knowledge as a part of it) out of an inner need in an autonomous social life. On the other hand, in Katolikus Legényegylet, respectable principals educated apprentices in the spirit of Christian religious morals, which included the regulation of their lifestyle, as well; and in the association of Catholic elementary school teachers, self-development and public education were both supervised by church authorities. These changes had their impact on the organisation of the associations, too. The students of the law academy worked out the rules of cooperation together so the individuals formed the community. In contrast, Catholic associations realized the neo-conservative ideology of sociability: the bureaucratic rules of social relations became prevalent, and in Katolikus Legényegylet, the individual's freedom of action was not restricted by the state but by the 'laws of the association'.²⁹

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²⁸ *Kaschauer Zeitung* (1872), 25. 9.

²⁹ Miklós Szabó, *Az újkonzervativizmus és a jobboldali radikalizmus története (1867–1918)*. (Budapest: Új Mandátum, 2003), 18–19.

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Košice through eyes of William Ritter – a Swiss lover of Slovak cities

Xavier Galmiche

Abstract

„Cassovia - despite all the circumstances a cohesive city in the middle of a big chaos“ (1926). William Ritter was a critic of Swiss nationality, journalist; occasionally cartoonist as well. He was the first French speaking writer who has been for all his long life curious of the cultural life of Central Europe. He was extraordinary interest to capture the image offered by the region of Central Europe from the late nineteenth century till the year after the Second World War, with the emphasis on the “successor states”. The paper focuses on one of his failed big projects, *Villes (Cities)*, a study written in the 1920 as a cycle, which could be nowadays called a big report: the traveler will draw a sentimental journey through a dozen cities of Italy, Switzerland, France and Central Europe, including the town of Košice.

Key words: Košice. William Ritter. “Villes (Cities)”. Travelers’ memoirs.

Cassovia: Košice and Francophone travellers

Written records of francophone travellers across Central Europe (travel books, reports or monographs) still waiting for thorough analysis, although was partially processed¹. Original and sometimes embarrassing style of William Ritter reigns over them on the “turn of the century”. Ritter - critic, journalist, artist of his time and tireless correspondent of Swiss origin (1867-1955). He was the first francophone author who all his life systematically has interested in the cultural life in Central Europe. Voluminous work that he has left behind is largely manuscripts and is a very interesting insight into the region between the ends of XIX century until the end of World War II Since 1890 Ritter particularly interested in nation of states, that after World War I become so called “the successor states” of Austro-Ungarian monarchy. Chronologically, as he gradually gained the affection, he is interested primarily in Romania, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, which especially has appreciated in the depth of his soul. Reasons, for which young William began to travel, are very diverse: sometimes they can evoke a kind of cultural pilgrimage, just when we recall his first trip Wagner-trip, which has led him in 1886 into Bayreuth. They are also adventure that allows him to escape more towards the east, leave the cramped space of Roman Switzerland (which is described in his first novel, *Aegyptiacque*²) and go to free countries, where is born his sensibility for fine exotic scenery, the revelation of rural civilization

¹ See mainly in Milena Lenderová, “Two centuries traveling or Bohemia through eyes of French visitors,” *Scientific Letters of the University of Pardubice, Volume C, Institute of Languages and Social Sciences* 4 (1998): 24-41.

² Paris: Albert Savine, 1891.

on the brink extinction ... and for the boys.³ Let's go to analyse the material connection between the situation of an outsider that has ever seen as decadent dandy Ritter and also later demanded to his relationship and to those countries that its original environment more or less affect (Switzerland who is a citizen; France and Germany, which gave him education, Italy and once again Germany that he loves).

As today is the work of William Ritter undervalued, it is because of its tendency to take for his nationalist manifestations of his mediators and friends (Romanians, Czechs and Slovaks in particular) and exaggerate anti-Semitism, which they were subjected. Finally, he is seen more than chronicler partial to them, than as a reliable source of information. Nevertheless, in recent decades Ritter caught the attention of several experts with different specializations: experts who focused to culture of Romanesque Switzerland, of course, thanks to privileged contact they had with Mahler⁴; also amateur musicologists and art historians⁵ and architecture, for whose William Ritter was interesting as a teacher in a group around Le Corbusier;⁶ further for experts of "synaesthesia", characterized as a dialogue between mutually influencing arts at the end of the century.⁷ Without exception, all researchers were faced with his ideological contradictions. At the end of XX century the name William Ritter serves as an identification label for publications associated with strongly nationalist movements. Undoubtedly it is because it he could be seen as one of "the good Westerners" who - for their naivety or the good feeling that swim against the flow - have offered as guarantors "things" of extreme neo-nationalism, no-finding understanding⁸ in abroad.

„No country is more satisfying and does more comfort for proud and weary souls than Slovakia“

In the large central European kaleidoscope, in the heart of which the

³ See: Xavier Galmiche, „William et les garçons,“ (William and boys) in *Platform William Ritter*. <http://www.circe.paris-sorbonne.fr>.

⁴ Claude Meylan, the author of: *William Ritter, chevalier de Gustav Mahler, Écrits, correspondance, documents* (William Ritter, knight of Gustav Mahler, articles, correspondence, documents) (Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 2000).

⁵ See Philippe Kaenel, "William Ritter (1867-1955). Un critique cosmopolite, böcklinien et anti-hodlérien," *Revue suisse d'histoire* (1998): 73-98; Gérard Bourgarel, Grzegorz Tomczak and Augustin Pasquier, *Józef Mehoffer: de Cracovie à Fribourg, ce flamboyant Art Nouveau polonais* (Fribourg: Méandre, 1995).

⁶ Marie-Jeanne Dumont has prepared their correspondence for publication by Linteau publisher.

⁷ Laurence Brogniez gives an attention in *Préréphaélitisme et Symbolisme. Peinture littéraire et image poétique Prerafaelismus and symbolism. Literary painting a poetic picture* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), one chapter to William Ritter "William Ritter et le 'roman-peinture'" (William Ritter and Roman painter), 114-116.

⁸ Such an example of work "Centre of Slavonic Studies William Ritter": Stanislav J. Kirschbaum, *Slovaks and Czechs. Attempt a new look at their political history*, introduction by Georges-André Chevallaz (1987); _____ a Joseph A. Mikuš, *Slovakia, a nation in the heart of Europe*, introduction by J.-M. Rydlo (Lausanne: L'Âge d'homme, 1992).

William Ritter settled (first in Vienna, and Munich), the country called Slovakia (then still part of the Ungarian Kingdom) engaged his attention later - after Romania, Montenegro and after Bohemia. In the early days about it he knew only by hearsay mainly due to the «Czech-Slav» ethnographic exhibition, held in Prague in 1895 and that it led him to the idea of Czechoslovakism. The exhibition also appears in the plot of the novel *Slovak girl*, which he began write in Vienna. During one of his trips in 1903 under the leadership of the Czech friend, painter Miroslav Rybák, he gets from Moravia to the Tatra Mountains. For young travellers craving for exoticism and authenticity this trip is a real discovery. Better understanding of the importance of the trip give to us a Ritter's notes from the trips decorated with numerous sketches and pictures emphasising wealth of folk culture.

The importance of common discovery and enthusiasm of the trips are doubled by intimate enchantment Ritter, when in August 1903 amid the wheat fields near the town of Myjava he meet with Janko Cadre who becomes his faithful companion until his untimely death in 1927. This dual meeting - a meeting with the country and meeting with friend - has an impact on Ritter's work: the clearest signs is to be found in Ritter's two novels, the *Slovak girl* which wrote soon after meeting with Janko and in *Slovak stubbornness*, which reflects the fact as way William understood a political and social situation in Myjava.⁹

Let's focus on the first novel released in 1903. He describes the life story of Annie, "little shepherdess from the Slovak village Nová Ves village known in Vienna under German and Hungarian name Neudorf called Ujfalu [sic]".¹⁰ Annie goes to Vienna to serve in Wieland family belonging to new petit bourgeoisie. She does not see hope for change her hostile fate, while she is impressed with the poster of Prague ethnographic exhibition featuring a group of typical characters on the one corner of Vienna's streets. Among them is one Slovak, into which falls in love. After long peripeteia (escape from Vienna, waitresses work in Slovak pavilion at the Prague exhibition, returning home) finally she hit to the live replica of her idol, the beautiful boy who - just happened - and he calls Janko and is emerging on the horizon.¹¹ *Slovak girl* should be the first part of a series "ethnic novels". The main moral message is clear, at once ethnic and racial. On the one hand we can feel protection of Slovaks supported by Czech people in the complex ethnic mosaic of Austria-

⁹ *L'Entêtement slovaque Slovak stubbornness* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Occident, 1910); (Czech translation by Petr Princ, *Paličatost slovenská (Slovak stubbornness)* (Moravská Ostrava: Cooperative Moravsko Slezská Revue, 1911)).

¹⁰ *Le Cycle de la nationalité. Fillette slovaque* (National novels. *Slovak girl*) (Paris: Mercure de France, 1903), 19. emphasized by W. Ritter.

¹¹ "Au fond de la vallée du Waag, plus haut que Szolna (aujourd'hui Žilina), près de Zwardon (Zwardoń, en Pologne), à l'extrême frontière hongroise, vers la Galicie..." (At the end of the river Vah valley, behind Žilina, close to the Zwardoń (Zwardoń in Poland), on the very borders of Hungary, towards Galicia ...), Ibidem, 302.

Hungary against the dominance of Hungarians,¹² on the other hand, Ritter praises manifestations « 'fine' barbarism », so characteristic of the “rural Slovak soul whose sensitivity is reflected in the music and songs¹³”. When we add to the base, which is made up by debates about Czechoslovakism in the specific context of the perception of Europe on the “turn of the century” next spiritual dimension, we see Slovakia surrounded by myths, Slovakia, which appears as country of idyllic towns, the most appropriate area for finding roots. Motto of this novel declares: “No country conforms and does bring more solace to proud and weary souls more than Slovakia^{14c}”.

Other Slovakia: reports

Ritter is not the only writer. He is earning a living as a journalist. He writes monographic series, in which records own feelings of roads. Only a few of them he is able to issue and publish mainly before the World War I.¹⁵ And just in these texts we find two references to Cassovia (Košice) recorded around 1920. The first mention we can find in the sixth part of a series of articles that were published in 1921 in *La Gazette de Lausanne*¹⁶ called *Czechoslovak notes*. To their publication was preceded by Ritter's trip to the recently proclaimed Republic, which was his friendly attitude towards the Czechs and Slovaks generally known, so he was adopted like *persona grata*. The second article was never published. It was a little later chapter of the writing cycle studies *Cities*, which was partly re-used once already published material. Today we saw it as great travelogue reportage. However, the project remained in preparation. Experienced traveller described the sentimental a tour of ten cities around Italy, Switzerland, France and Middle Europe. The criteria for selection were purely subjective, in the opinion of the significance and distinctive charm that the city.¹⁷

¹² See: Lenka Bydžovská, “William Ritter, Slavonian-phil from the west, “ in *the Bohemia and Europe in culture of 19th century* (Prague: National Gallery in Prague /Institute of Czech and world literature Academy of Sciences, 1993), 74-78; Karolína Fábelová, “Camille Maclair and Czech modern art,” in *Communication and isolation in Czech culture of 19th century*, (Proceedings of the 21st Symposium in Pilsen) (Prague: KLP, 2002), 404-411.

¹³ See: Cécile Gauthier, “William Ritter et l’imaginaire de la slavité,” (William Ritter and imaginary Slavonic) in *Platform William Ritter*. <http://www.circe.paris-sorbonne.fr>.

¹⁴ “ nul pays n’est plus que le slovaque propice et apaisant aux âmes altières et lasses,” *Fillette slovaque...*, 12.

¹⁵ *Etudes d’art étranger* (Studies of foreign art in Paris) (Société du Mercure de France, 1906); *Smetana* (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1907) (reed. Editions d’aujourd’hui, Les Introuvables, 1978); *La Passion de l’art en Moravie notes de voyage (été 1908)* (The popularity of art in Moravia, scraps from the trips (summer 1908)), Extrait de la Bibliothèque universelle a Revue Suisse (Lausanne, 1912).

¹⁶ From the Slovak cities commentary reminds row after row, e.g. Bratislava (17.01.1921, 05.02.1921, 14.02.1921), Zempline [sic] – Uzhgorod (28.2.1921); Bystrice-Rožnov (09.05.1921, 09.05.1921).

¹⁷ Manuscript owned by the Swiss Literary Archives (archives littéraires suisses (ALS) Swiss National Library (Bibliothèque nationale suisse, Berne), fund Ritter, box 25, 1921/1926.

Cities of the former Hungarian Kingdom were strongly represented: Esztergom /Ostrihom/, Košice, Nitra a Levoča, which Ritter consistently referred exclusively to their French names: Cassovie, Strigonie, and even in the case of neologisms creation, such as Lévochie!¹⁸ In May 1926 Ritter edits chapter "Cassovie" and his work based upon the memories of two trips that took between 1901 and 1921. The text itself is actually a topographical description of the city, into which he enters through the historic centre. After a general presentation of the city he lists sights (Cathedral, Town Hall, etc.) as if it was a tourist guide, and also recalls the most important dates in the history of the city.

“Cassovie - Košice, it is primarily Dome, fundamentally renovated during Hungary period, by Emperor Franz Joseph. Its roof of enamelled tiles, carved towers terminated or added whole, is seen from any part of the city. Dome is bordering the city at the bottom part. In the middle of the street, as if the Dome displaces themselves from both sides of the main street. The Cathedral that stands primitive isolated on an island formed by the river Hornad has in the history of Hungary primary importance. Just as Prague Cathedral, also this is the work of Villard de Honnacourt (...)”¹⁹

(However the analogy with the Prague Cathedral is based on erroneous information – the original plan of the Dome is the work of Mathieu d'Arras and not of Villard de Honnacourt. Anyway it is a symptomatic manifestation of Ritter's belief about similarities between the two cities. As we can see in the next, according to Ritter Cassovie (Košice) it's like Prague by ethnic composition of the population and its past). Ritter's informative style is based on the tradition of the German chroniclers (he is citing Zeiler's Chronicle from 1664²⁰) and also the rare Francophone written records since XVII and XVIII century.²¹ In some of them the French name Cassovie derived from the

¹⁸ This unique approach will surely have to reproach, because in chapter devoted to Esztergom (Ostrihom), Ritter rebels: “In Hungarian it is *Esztergom*, in Slovak *Ostrihom*, in German *Gran* and in Latin it is a *Strigonium*; No we are it (= not me), who translates the name of the city as a *Strigonie*. Even at the centuries of Classicism was used the French name *Strigonie*. Neither prince Eugene, Max Emmanuel, Sobieski nor historians of monarchy did not use a different name in his writings and stories, such as the *Hungarian Revolution (Révolutions de Hongrie)* or in *Memories on my time (Mémoires de mon temps)*.”

¹⁹ „Cassovie, c'est avant tout sa cathédrale, toute rénovée par la Hongrie de François Joseph et dont la toiture aux tuiles émaillées et les tours grattées et terminées ou entièrement ajoutées sont visibles partout dans cette ville dont elle borne l'entrée en aval et semble écarter les deux côtés de la large rue. Cathédrale de première importance dans l'histoire de la Hongrie et primitivement isolée sur un îlot de la Hernad. C'est comme la cathédrale de Prague, encore une création de Villard de Honnacourt (...). « , p. 2.

²⁰ Martin Zeiler, *Neue Beschreibung des Königreichs Ungarn*, ed. by J. Beza (Leipzig, 1664).

²¹ French publications about Košice (especially Francois Sulpice Beudant and his *Voyage Minéralogique et géologique en Hongrie pendant l'année 1818* (Mineralogical and Geological trip to Hungary from 1818), Paris), see Gábor Czoch, “De l'identité nationale dans une ville multiethnique au milieu du XIXe siècle: le cas de Kaschau / Kassa / Košice” (The national identity in a multiethnic city in the middle of the XIX century: the case of Kaschau / Kassa /

Latin Cassovia is trivializing.²²

The walk continues through two different directions into the suburbs, where each line has a separate page. One walk leads to the abandoned cemetery, the second into the market. When one realizes the ethnic distribution of the population of Košice - Hungarian element dominates in the centre of the city and Slavic element in the suburbs. By the way, Ritter finds geopolitical and cultural reasons for explain of the ethnic diversity of the population in Košice. He attaches them some mythical dimension given by location of the city, which bumps into the north to Slavic mountains and in the south again to the Hungarian Plain (in Ritter's view of German ethnicity almost completely absent).

City Cassovie (Košice) is located on the main junction with Poland leading through the Carpathians, in the place where the road leads to the Hungarian Lowlands. Through the city frequently crossed business expeditions of Slavic kingdoms from the north to the Slavic kingdoms in the south and vice versa. Hungary has consistently benefited from the position of Košice due to two-way flow of goods. Warsaw was heading to Europe via Košice. Krakow was heading to east across Košice. The Hornad River, into which fall wild tributaries of the Tatra and Torysa opened the way to Poland. Košice has become a very important marketplace with a strong position and so about the city Czech Kingdom and Hungarian Kingdom seduced many battles (p. 1).²³

On Ritter's perception of the topography of the country is evident strong ethnic influence that gave rise to the ethnic conflict and extreme views spreading hatred against the policy Hungarization (Magyarization) practiced in the last decades of the monarchy. "There, in the south, where the bluish tones ruling on the horizon are gradually replaced by colours of meadows and stubbles, there is already Hungary. City, where Bishop built wall against the

Košice), *Miroirs brisés. Récits régionaux et imaginaires croisés sur le territoire slovaque. Cultures d'Europe centrale*, special issue No. 7 (2010): 219-234.

²² For example *Idée de la Hongrie ou mémoire sur la situation de ce pays View of Hungary or a tractate on the situation in that country* cited by Károly Kecskeméty, *Notes et rapports français sur la Hongrie au XVIIIème siècle*, (French notes and papers on Hungary in the XVIII century) (Bruxelles, 1963), cited by Lajos Kover and Géza Szasz; *Les villes d'Europe centrale vues par les voyageurs français dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle: le cas de la Hongrie* (Cities of Central Europe through the eyes of French travelers in the second half of the eighteenth century: the case of Hungary) in *La Revue française, special edition* (La culture des voyageurs à l'âge classique), web journal, <http://revuefrancaise.free.fr/>.

²³ "Cassovie est au débouché sur la plaine hongroise de la grande route de Pologne à travers les Carpathes ; de là le commerce des royaumes slaves du Nord prenait le chemin des royaumes slaves du Sud, ou l'inverse et la Hongrie buvait assidûment au passage à ce double courant. Varsovie s'en allait en Europe par Cassovie. Cracovie s'en allait en Orient par Cassovie. Sur la Hernad qui arrive des Tatra par des engorgements sauvages qui vient de recevoir la Tarca et qui lui a ouvert la porte de la Pologne, Cassovie fut en plaine un très gros marché, une forte position que se disputèrent plus d'une fois le royaume de Bohême et le royaume de Hongrie. ", p. 2.

Hungarian defendants and conspirators, there is in sight”(!) (p. 2).²⁴ We must add that Ritter is an artist rather than a historian, and so it attracts by what they see. From minorities he spotted only the presence of the Jews - because of their different appearance and significantly clothing worn (of course it is mainly traditional characters Ostjuden, he hates them; the presence of an assimilated Jewish bourgeoisie he spots significantly less). He does not mention about the Ruthenians and the Gypsies. Ritter is here at the mercy of what I have called “empathy syndrome”, that is the process which is forcing the visitor from abroad to repeat and to exaggerate arguments that are not necessarily his own.²⁵ He does not make a difference when he accepts the extreme Czechoslovak nationalist views. The entire topography of the city he interprets according to the rules of nationalist antagonism: “Outwards, where the country gradually descends to the Hungarian plains, last hills are lifting from her, from whom our Slovak volunteers have pushed Hungarian Bolsheviks”.²⁶ Syndrome of empathy has other consequences: Ritter's issued texts clearly give space to spread nationalist interpretation, and thus in an article published in La Gazette de Lausanne, Ritter particularly recalls the presence of Jews, which disturbed him, and then also “a well-deserved success which crowned the first exhibition of Czechoslovak Writers in the former Kingdom of Hungary”. And vice versa, in a text written by more personal tone, unpublished, these racist considerations sometimes are not occur. Ritter's remarks are characterized by a greater sense of detail. Just in them is hidden the true value of Ritter's testimony.

Unsharpness of the boundaries and bittersweet traveller

However, many such texts, which only have recorded and analysed his feelings arisen during Ritter's expeditions. No doubt they are much more compelling than the declarations of his political and ideological affiliation. Ritter travelled through Central Europe in order that coped with its own otherness, with which only hardly he could has cope elsewhere. In countries where he had no family or job responsibilities, finally he is able to give free space to its somewhat morbid ideas stemming from less formal view of the character of sites to visit – here he is a subject to specific atmosphere of

²⁴ “Là ou au Sud les tons bleuâtre des lointains commence à se substituer au ton local des prés et des éteules, c'est déjà la Hongrie, reléguée à quelques encablures de cette ville où l'Evêché fait un point d'appui intolérable à la résistance et aux complots magyars.”, p. 2.

²⁵ See Xavier Galmiche, “tout ce qui de mon temps donnait sa physionomie particulière à l'Autriche-Hongrie tout entière. William Ritter en Slovaquie: le syndrome empathique “ (‘everything what in my days has determined a specific character of the Austro-Ungarian Empire. William Ritter in Slovakia: empathy syndrome), in *Miroirs brisés. Récits régionaux et imaginaires croisés sur le territoire slovaque, Cultures d'Europe centrale* n° 7, ed. by Étienne Boisserie and Clara Royer (Paris: CIRCE / Institut d'études slaves, 2011), 205-216.

²⁶ “En aval l'entrée de la plaine hongroise montent les dernières molles collines d'où les bolchevistes magyars furent repoussés par nos volontaires slovaques.”

suburbs of Košice. Just we only try to recall the full text of the manuscript, in which he has focused on the cemetery in Košice (sans doute le cimetière du calvaire): (undoubtedly Calvary Cemetery).

Melancholy dusty path leads northwest of Košice, under the first hillocks ascending from the broad fields that wind along the oddly shabby clayey Hungarian countryside. It is lined in this period greatly wilted lime trees and pathetic desolate chapels of the way of the Cross. Abandoned cemetery with rose bushes will appear later. Last pale roses are seen in the high, dry grass between the monuments, which awaken the worst sentimental feelings, how sweet songs. However, sometimes they resemble real fine Biedermeier or Empire, from the time before the Hungarian uprising and before dualism, from the time called in German *altväterisch*, from which we preserve something in the expression “*du bon vieux temps*” (the good old days). At this point, next to the ceremonial and naively splendid chapels, among the tombs, which are dotted in all directions, where the resurrection seems to be intimately close, facing to the plains long open foreign invasion wide open, man is dominated by gentle sadness. So tender, that dust on the ground it seems like ash kept from the time immemorial flowing through waves of migration from Asia to Europe...

And in the evening, on returning to the city through the popular suburbs, actually it becomes part of the beautiful scenery near a village intimacy (p. 5), when he walks the streets surrounded by white-storey buildings under shingle roof, around the tiny square, where Slovak children dressed in shirts withdrawn into wide trousers are playing (Tuesday, May 18th, 1926). Night is coming from the east, away from the sprawling hills that separate valley of the river Hornad from Carpathian Ruthenia. Man is dominated by feel that he is standing in front of door of mysterious countries, somewhere there, where Europe ends. And equipment that can be glimpsed through the small windows, deeply planted in wide rugged white walls and divided into four squares, not at all like in us. Much more resembles to equipment of a "room" than dwellings in the suburbs of Strasbourg, Aix en Provence or ... (scribble). Bottom of the courtyard here do not take vehicles and tools for farmers. You can discover them in the wide frame doors for coaches, painted in white and roofed with black shingles. We record here a completely different picturesqueness. Of the all-white houses, children or young people dressed in white are going out. It seems that (...) they mitigate obsession by this unfortunate border, which in the last days is causing increasing anxiety on numerous manoeuvres of troops. As in Bratislava during our first trip after the war, also here we warn against the possibility of the Hungarian coup also there eventually the presence of the Czechoslovak Army is certifying. A sign of the world, which is gradually gaining Asian feature, is trampled loam in the streets and squares, in which only occurs here and there a few paving stones, for me, a well-known awful mud running down at the end of winter.

Everywhere in the Carpathians government feeling of unease that was felt every time when heaven prophesy the storm, or when night was coming and like a big burden is falling to shingle cottages. White bell towers in the background especially have to remind that the cause of fear is the feeling, man being there as in the extended bastion of civilization, for which you will never no one could be sure what awaits him; and that everything that is not where we are today, it is one big unknown and future horizons are lost in the grey bad premonitions.

Painful melancholy of a little cemetery, which brunt of sharp autumn wind swirling dust completely dried, the life of people in the suburbs, Slavic, but that is no certainty that tomorrow will not have to be Hungarian people, the military character of the street where there may be moments during the state of siege and at the end this day we are affected by bittersweet feeling.²⁷

²⁷ "Il y a au Nord Ouest de Cassovie, à la base des premières collines, sur les longs mouvements de terrain qui les préparent un chemin mélancolique et poudreux, déjà de ce spécial délabrement des campagnes argileuses de Hongrie, planté de tilleuls à ce moment là fortement flétris et bordé de chapelles d'un chemin de croix pathétique et sauvage. Puis c'est le cimetière à l'abandon avec ses rosiers – aux pâles dernières roses parmi de hautes herbes sèches et des monuments touchants du plus mauvais goût sentimental de romances et parfois d'une vraie gentillesse Biedermeyer ou Empire d'avant l'Insurrection hongroise et d'avant le dualisme, de ces époques enfin *altväterisch* comme dit si bien l'allemand, mot dont nous avons quelque chose du contenu dans l'expression" du bon vieux temps." Ici, c'est d'une tristesse si douce auprès de ces chapelles ferventes et naïvement déclamatoires, ces tombes en tous sens où l'on entend si confiant la résurrection en face de ces plaines grand'ouvertes depuis si longtemps aux invasions... que cette poussière du sol semble elle-même faite de la cendre de ces mémorables migrations de l'Asie vers l'Europe...

Et quand le soir on revient en ville par les faubourgs populaires, à quelle jolies scènes d'intimité presque villageoise n'assiste-t-on pas dans ces petites rues bardées de rez-de-chaussée blancs sous toiture de bardeaux, autour de ces petites places où jouent les enfants slovaques vêtus d'une chemise prise dans de larges braies blanches (mardi 18 mai 1926). La nuit monte déjà à l'orient du côté des larges collines séparant la vallée de la Hornad de la Russie subcarpathique et l'on se sent aussi aux portes de régions mystérieuses où commence de cesser l'Europe. Et les intérieurs qui s'entrevoient par les petites fenêtres à quatre carreaux, profondes dans les épais murs blancs bosselés, ne sont plus du tout ceux des gens de chez nous. On est bien plus proche de l'isba que du faubourg de Strasbourg ou d'Aix en Provence ou des villes de (*manuscrit illisible*). Et pas davantage les fonds de cours encombrés de véhicules et de matériel rural qui apparaissent dans l'encadrement de vastes portes cochères de la même blancheur sous le petit toit de bardeaux noirs. C'est un tout autre pittoresque. Et de toutes ces maisons blanches sortent des enfants ou des adolescents vêtus de blanc, et sous les jeux des groupes silencieux il semble que plane cette obsession de la mauvaise frontière dont tant de mouvements de troupes ces jours donnent l'angoisse. Ici comme à Bratislava lors de notre premier voyage après la guerre on est averti de la possibilité d'un poutsch hongrois et l'armée tchécoslovaque donne acte de sa présence. Ces rues et ces places terreuses qui ne sont qu'une aire à peine marquée ici ou là de quelques pavés et dont je connais les épouvantables cloaques de boue à la fin de l'hiver elles aussi nous parlent d'un monde qui lentement s'achemine aux aspects asiatiques. Ce sentiment d'inquiétude qui est partout dans les Carpathes et qui y fut toujours dès qu'un ciel d'orage ou de nuit qui monte pèse lourdement sur les chaumières et en arrière des clochers blancs, il est surtout fait de cela qu'on se sent dans un bastion avancé de la civilisation au-delà duquel plus personne n'a jamais été sûr de ce qui l'attendait ; tout ce qui n'est pas l'emplacement présent c'est l'inconnu et chaque horizon

In the description of the walk it appears several elements that could be used to specify what kind of experiences traveller Ritter searches. Above all, we see the landscape painter, who in his memoir revives special place, almost supernatural cemetery. He is maintained at the level of meditation between dream and reality, between the present and the past, between the actual existence and phantoms. We can talk about the conception highlighting beggary, which is moving towards emotions evocative compassion through poignant vision on temporality kept in line of melodramatic genre scene (“and in evening, on returning to the city through the popular suburbs, a man actually becomes part of the beautiful scenery almost a rural intimacy (p. 5), when he walks by the streets surrounded by white-storey building under shingle roof, etc.”- My personal emphasis). You will discover here essayist style that growing up in the era of the turn of the century, era, which has marked by symbolism and decadence. Ritter admired and familiarized oneself with the important figures of the Parisian literary life from the turn of the century, with Barbey d'Aureville, Péladan, Montesquiou, Loti, etc. He joins to the literary impressionism, which frequently works with questions of genius loci and the atmosphere of cities. The impact of symbolist text of Prague is demonstrating with him.²⁸ It was in connection with the painter Miloš Jiránek (1875-1911), who also accompanied him at times while travelling into the Hungarian Slovakia. Jiránek had the need to record his own feelings also in writing – specifically in his work *Impressions and wanders*²⁹ in 1908. Ritter stays trusty to this style, though occasionally presents anti-modernist attitudes, e.g. when he attacked the first manifestations of the avant-garde. However, description of the trip to Košice cemetery can be considered a contribution of late Impressionism for the city.

Ritter stays trusty to his style. Undoubtedly he does not show especially original when he is developing melancholic themes: discovering the elegiac tone, “tender vision” of an abandoned cemetery on the outskirts of the city, slowly dying vegetation ... This part of text arises from a specific overlaying used motif and looking at civilization, about which Ritter is thinking in context of the Austro-Hungarian “old world”. He concisely analyses the

est gris d'appréhension.

Mélancolie souffreteuse du petit cimetière fané à l'aigre vent d'automne qui soulève la poussière, vie populaire de ces faubourgs, slave mais qui n'est pas sûr de n'être pas forcé de redevenir hongrois demain, état militaire de la rue qui peut d'un moment à l'autre tourner à l'état de siège, cette fin de journée nous laisse tout dolent.”

²⁷ MS aux ALS, Fonds Ritter, box 25, 1921/1926, p. 4-5.

²⁸ *Prague nocturne* (Gand, Imprimerie A. Siffer, 1896).

²⁹ M. Jiránek, *Impressions and wanders (1901-1908) (Impressions et flâneries (1901-1908))*, in *Literary work Œuvre littéraire*, 269-385, he text was written and edited by Ladislav Jiránek, Prague: Fr. Borový (coll. “Pantheon”), 1936 (1st edition 1908). In this case, see more in Catherine Servant, “Présences slovaques dans l'œuvre de Miloš Jiránek,” (Slovak presence in the work of Miloš Jiránek) *Cultures d'Europe centrale* 3 (2003).

stylistic and anthropological phenomena (such as *biedermeier*, sentimentalism) and also what we now refer to as *kitsch* (“memorials to awaken the worst sentimental feelings, how sweet song”), “memorized culture” (*altväterisch*, “the good old days”), the ancient bond induced by caressing and control us in memories about childhood and looking at family photo associated with a certain kind of irony.

Furthermore, this poorness that profits from the widespread *schopenhauerism* reflects in two directions. More than other Francophone writer, Ritter notes what his contemporary, journalist and writer Karl Emil Franzos, named “semi-Asia”.³⁰ He observes territories of eastern Europe as antechamber of the Orient: “trampled loam in the streets and squares (...) are also a sign of the world, which gradually takes on Asian features (...) man here feels like in the extended bastion of civilization, behind which you will never no one could be sure of what to expect” etc. Therefore Cassovie (Košice) is the place par excellence where Ritter could ever get a clear understanding and awareness about the limitations that mark Central Europe, the countries where the boundaries are faded away.³¹

We can say, that in the cited text Ritter utters his direct experience with the background of the post-war period, when the imminent threat of war further deepened the already difficult livelihoods. In that, that he is aware the “obsession by unfortunate border“, he points by quite original character and the burden of existence in a Central-European territory of XX century. Ritter visited Austrian-Ungarian monarchy in the period of crisis at the turn of the century and after the dissolution of the monarchy at the end of the World War I. By rights we can think that even if supported nationalist tendencies in the recipient countries (mainly in Romania and Czechoslovakia), was also one of the first to like “bittersweet” traveller developed and analysed nostalgia of the “yesterday's world” which Stefan Zweig pathetic outlined in the next decade and which admirably revived in the years 1970-80, and which eventually surrounds us today. Undoubtedly based on this profound experience, stemming from feelings of admiration and discomfort, Ritter analyses question of identity of Cassovie (Košice) and he evaluates the following

³⁰ See “William Ritter et les ‘façons boyaresques’ de la ‘vienne Roumanie’, 1890 – Syndrome empathique, fascination pour les confins et identification au semi-barbare“ (William Ritter and ‘boyar's ways of the old Romania’, 1890 – Syndrome of empathy, fascination by borders and identification with semi-barbarians), in *“Halb-Asien” und Frankreich. Erlebtes und erinnertes Osteuropa in Literatur und Geschichte*, ed. by Charlotte Krauss and Ariane Lüthi (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2012), 91-104.

³¹ I proposed the idea of “open borders” in “Europe centrale et patries personnelles chez William Ritter,” (Central Europe and their own homeland by William Ritter), *Cultures d'Europe centrale*, 2, (the myth of borders), introduction and ed. by Delphine Bechtel and Xavier Galmiche (2003), 137-15.

conclusions: City (later he will write thus also about Prague)³² benefits from its diversity, in order to evoke by specific manner interest and also anxiety.

Unique and exciting layout of the Cassovie city (Kosice) (...) is based on contrasts, such as harmonized, but rather mutually overlapping, or just accumulated, but without a deep common bond. When you want a mixture of diversity leading to disharmony, here it is the presented in the physical, not in the chemical form. (...)Neither Europe nor Asia, nor mountains or plains; semi-rural, semi-bishop's; semi-monumental, semi-village's; semi-lord's and semi-folk; Slavic noted by Hungarization (Magyarization) and tattooed with something we refer to as Germanic civilization. Despite everything, cohesive city in the middle of a big chaos, it is Cassovie (Košice).³³

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³² „Us who have become greatest friends of the nation and greatest lovers of this what the best offers us, ever since we are the most fascinated by all those what had no connection what is found in a single location in the country, which contributes to the fact that Prague is like never recognized large flower, like sunflowers facing always the same propulsion and life-giving source; complicated as Christ's crown and receiving some look quite exotic flower, while a little later in addition to the beauty and the tenderness discharging most delightful and most delicious fragrance of our vervain flowers” In Library of the city La Chaux-de-Fonds (Swiss), fund William Ritter, code WR 100, *La Slovaquie* (1947), unedited manuscript; current version: transcribed on a typewriter.

³³ “Dès lors le complexe charme étrange et inquiétant d’une ville comme Cassovie est [...] fait de contradictions, harmonisées tant bien que mal et encore plutôt juxtaposées ou même conglomérées mais sans alliage profond. Le mélange du disparate y est si l’on veut à l’état physique et non pas chimique. [...] Ni Europe, ni Asie; ni montagne, ni plaine; mi-rurale, mi épiscopale; mi-monumentale, mi village; seigneuriale et populaire; slave balafnée de magyarisme et tatouée de ce qu’on appelle la civilisation germanique; cohérente tout de même au centre d’un grand désordre, Cassovie,” p. 6.

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The life and work of Béla Gerster (1850 – 1923)

Juraj Halász

Abstract

The main object of research of this paper is life and work of native of Košice Béla Gerster, on the occasion of 90th anniversary of his death. This paper is divided into the eight chapters that describe the origin of Gersters' family, the school years of Béla Gerster, his trip to the František's canal, Panama Canal and Corinth canal. The last three articles are dedicated to his national activities, his monument and to the characteristic of the other members of Gersters' family.

Key words: Košice. Béla Gerster. Personalities of Košice. Gersters' family.

The Gerster family

The Gerster family came from Switzerland, precisely from the Canton of Basel. Their ways to Košice lead through Vienna and Győr. This artisan family later produced some very talented and famous descendants.

At first it was the carpenter Jozef Gerster, a Napoleon war veteran, (1778, Győr - 10th October 1842, Košice), who settled down in Košice. He married Teresa Brant on 14th Jan 1805 and had three children, Anna (1806), Žofia (1810) and Jozef (1812). Unfortunately, this marriage did not last long, since his wife died in 1815. He married again in 1816 with Magda Vandratsek and had six children: Mikuláš (1816), Karol (1819) Teresa (1820), František (1823), Anton (1825) and Juraj (1828).

The name of Karol Gerster (22nd January 1819, Košice – 27th Jan 1867, Budapest), should be pointed out here, since this constructor lead restoration works with the help of Ludovít Frey from 1857 to 1863 on the Cathedral in Košice, together with a sculptor with Spiš origins, Ján Marschalko, painter František Klimkovic from Košice and archaeologist Imrich Henszlmann. In 1862, along with I. Henszlmann, he participated on excavations at the place of the castle cathedral in Eger. It's a nice example of the cooperation of two natives from our city.

Mikuláš-Ignác (6th Dec 1816, Košice – 4th July 1874, Vienna-Perchtoldsdorf), was the fourth child of Jozef Gerster, a soap maker and the father of Béla Gerster. He took over his father's house in 1841 and gained house law. He married Karolina Schmidt in 1841. Although they had sold the house after his father's death in order to properly divide the property, they were able to buy it again in 1845. The house was extensive and had two parts. The older, smaller one stood on today's Zvonárska street and was a part of a previous administration building from a demolished city gate and its walls were three feet thick. Jozef Gerster had the second part built on the new, expanded part of Hlavná Street with ten windows. House walls on Zvonárska Street were part of the old fortification.

It was in this house, where *Béla Gerster* was born together with his eight

siblings: Mária Karolína (1843), Konstancia Franciska (1844), Gejza Árpád Karol (1848), Béla Mikuláš (1850), Adalberta (1852), Etela Adalberta Karolína (1854), Jozef Gabriel (1856), Anna (1859) and Karol Imrich (1865).

On 11th Dec 1848, Mikuláš Gerster took part in the battle near Budimír as a lieutenant.

The pursue affiliates of revolution began in July 1849 in Košice as well. Together with 22 other citizens, Mikuláš Gerster was taken as a hostage to Krakow. He returned home to his many children after two months. He was a member of the commercial and industrial chamber since 1850 and a member of the city council in 1848, 1861 and 1872. He was a member of the Upper Hungarian Museum Society as well.

Béla Gerster –School years

He was born on 20th October 1850 in Košice, where he completed elementary and also secondary education on the Premonstratensian High School. In the school year of 1866/67 he had teachers such as: József Szakkay, the late founder of first industrial education of its kind in former Hungary and Central Europe; and Béla Klimkovics, one of the founders of the Upper Hungarian Museum Society in 1872. He graduated Technical University in Vienna and got his diploma in engineering in 1873 and the following year started in the city as a civil engineer.

Ferdinand's canal

He then worked at his brother-in-law, István Kauser, a builder and businessman in Pest (Adalberta Gerster, the famous opera singer, was his wife).

Commissioned by István Türr, István Kauser work on an extensive development of the water system for the whole Bácska in the area of Ferdinand's canal, which was had been operating since 1802. These works included building a new canal to the south of Ferdinand's canal, the one called Canal of Ferdinand Joseph. Béla Gerster led these works already as the main engineer. He also designed directions of two cruise canals, Vukovar - Šabac and Horná – Kulpa (nowadays Vojvodina in Serbia).

The Austrian Society of Engineers and Architects accepted him not only as a member, but also as the main engineer of Ferdinand's canal on 31st July 1878. In 1880, he designed an irrigation station near Nové –Verbás (nowadays Vrbas in Vojvodine, Serbia).

Panama canal

General István Türr¹ noticed the young talented engineer and

¹ István Thier – an artisan apprentice from Baja, a soldier, who was awarded the rank of lieutenant in Italy in 1848, got acquainted with the Italian liberating movement and joined the side of the

recommended him to his brother-in-law, Lucien Bonaspart Wyse,² a French naval officer, who took him on an international expedition in 1876. The task of which was to find and determine the most suitable route of an interoceanic canal in Central America.

Old sailors had tried to discover it 300 years before, even Christopher Columbus had the same vision in 1501. The goal of these exploring expeditions focused on finding the connection between the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean, had always been the search for a natural inter-connection between the oceans. Places such as Tehuantepec, Nicaragua, Panama and the Darién gap have been discovered thanks to such expeditions. The result of such research was the conclusion that there wasn't such connection that they were looking for. Therefore, Spanish kings Charles V (1516 – 1556) and Phillip II (1527 – 1598) were the first to plan a construction of an artificial canal in their government directives. A map portraying the Darién gap by Don Andres de Ariza, the then-governor, who had carried it out in the year 1774-1781 proved to be the first even in the age of Béla Gerster.

It is difficult to image a 26-27 year old Gerster far away from his family, from home. He wrote a letter about the problems and troubles he was confronting, to his older brother, who was a surgeon in New York. From the city of La Paya, he even wrote a letter to general Türr full of complaints and troubles that he had to deal with. He eventually apologized at the end of the letter about the depressing spirit it had. Conflicts between main engineers Wyse and Celeron were constantly causing problems, although in the letter to his brother, he had revealed that he must be careful since Wyse is Türr's brother-in-law.

Gerster fulfilled Türr's expectations and did a great job. "The International Civil Society for the Interoceanic Canal through the Darién gap" remedied Gerster's damages for an early termination of works to set the route in Panama (due to rain) and therefore for the prolonged stay, which was one month longer compared to other engineers. Furthermore, he was assigned to process the whole scientific material as the expedition's leading engineer. Thirty-one various drafts to build the Panama canal saw the light of the world and were in compliance with the ideas and budget of the investors. There were even some who suggest a tunnel canal. Gerster's draft was eventually approved; the one that preferred a surface canal with the use of properly regulated additional arms of rivers nearby.

In 1878, Gerster was the first to suggest the area between Panama and Colón as the place for the canal. That very year, the bulletin number 12 of the

Italian army, after he had heard about the situation in Hungary. He was a fellow fighter of General Garibaldi under the name István Türr and later became a military governor in Napoli.

² Türr, as an adjutant of King Victor Emmanuel, met with Princess Adele Bonaparte Wyse, niece of Napoleon III. He married her in 1861 settled down in Paris. He returned to Hungary in 1867, after he had been given amnesty.

„Society of Hungarian Engineers and Builders“- contained in the third part an article by Béla Gerster titled: "Preparation works to cut the American isthmus". The society of Ferdinand Lesseps was created based on this report and works to build the Panama Canal commenced in 1879. His work about this job is called: "The newest plan of the Panama canal, 1891".

Türr could finally begin to realize his old dream – building the Corinth Canal.

Corinth canal

It was already in the ancient times when people were thinking of the idea to cut the isthmus of Corinth, that is 40 km wide, though narrowing down to 5 km in its narrowest part. In 4th century BC, Démétrios Poliokrétés had the isthmus researched with the intent to cut it. However, his representatives inaccurately measured the high differences and stated that the water in the Corinth gulf is placed higher than the water in the Aegean Sea. So if they built the canal, the sea water could flood a part of the land, hence they abandoned this plan.

Emperor Nero later revived the idea to build the canal, using slaves and prisoners of the Judea mission. Even in the phase of planning they kept in mind the idea of the possibility for warships to swim here. Therefore, they needed to cut out a 20 m wide and 4 m deep canal into the rock. At some places, it was even 80 or 120 m over the sea level. Where it was necessary to cut too deep, they preliminarily dug out 28 shafts that were from 37 to 42 m deep, rectangular with dimensions of 2 or 3 m and connected them at the bottom by adits. The precision of those architects and miners has been proven even by modern research and measures. While the works were progressing, the Emperor had to halt them because of riots in Hispania and since he had to move away the army. After Nero's death, the Roman directorate did not pay further attention to the works on the canal.

Emperor Hadrian and even the wealthy Herodes Atticus planned to continue in the construction though all of the advances were in vain until the end of the 19th century.

In 1867, Greek patriots tried to create a society with the purpose to build the canal. It wasn't until 1881 that they got to invite István Türr, living in emigration, and ask him to lead the building of the canal. Türr asked the king and the Greek government for a building permit as a businessman. He got it in spring 1881 and then put the basic requirements in compliance with Lesseps. He appointed Béla Gerster to carry out a study of the canal's plan after he had got a written consent of his intentions.

During the inspection of the terrain and preliminary excavations, Gerster noticed that the Romans had already done a good and useful job, and therefore continued in their steps. Four engineers from Pest, István Kausér, László Nyári, Garibaldi Pulszky and István Stéghmüller carried out the preliminary

project under his leadership during summer. István Türr arrived in August to accept it and then introduced it at a meeting of the International Geographical Society in Venice. He then convinced the local banks to support his plan with the amount of 30 million francs, according to Gerster's calculations. The Corinth Canal Society was founded and István Türr became the chairman. This society assigned Béla Gerster to design and lead the building of the canal. During the winter, businessmen from Pest started to concentrate with the purpose to carry out in detail Gerster's realization project.

Building of the Corinth canal began on 4th May 1882 with a celebratory dig of the Greek King George I. Here, Gerster built an industrial railway to transport material, provided the workers with supplies, health care, drinkable water etc. We could call it perfect logistics nowadays.

In 1884, a 152 member delegation of the Society of Hungarian Engineers and Architects arrived to look at the works, and they were guided throughout the whole construction site by Béla Gerster, who was an honourable member of this society.

Although the works were planned for a six-year period, the canal was only completed for 80% in 1888. Unexpected problems had caused delays and increased building costs. However, the problem was mainly the fact that the money did not come from the same banks, which financed Lesseps's society to build the Panama Canal. In nine years' time, works on building the Panama Canal merely progressed while a threefold of the planned 600 million francs was spent. It later leads to a financial collapse in the Corinth Canal Society. It is exactly this event that serves as a source for the term 'panamázás' (in Hungarian), which means a financial scandal, since it caused the construction lead by Hungarian businessmen to go into bankruptcy.

Deep grooves according to the so-called English method were made during the building of the Corinth canal. They were making the original shafts deeper, connected them with adits while making use of the Roman work, and created grooves in the shape of 'V' out of these. The water route is 6100 metres long from sea to sea and it is 22 metres deep. On one end – in the Corinth gulf, the town of Pozidonia was built and on the other one – from the side of the Aegean Sea, the town of Isthmia. Both of them had proper harbours. The extent of works are characterized by the fact that there were 11 million cubic meters of soil dug out with the use of 1200 tons of gunpowder and 450 tons of dynamite. They did not even avoid an earthquake, which threatens every deep construction. A 30 meter-long section fell down in 1886 and took lives of several people. Hence, they later started to carve out less steep slopes in order to avoid damages that might happen during possible earthquakes.

In order to finish the works, Türr initiated the creation of a Greek society after the Hungarian businessmen had left. A group of Greek businessmen then took over the works and finished them according to Béla Gerster's plans in 10

years under the leadership of Antonisz Matszas. The work was ceremonially opened on 6th August 1893 in the presence of the Greek ruling couple and Ferdinand Joseph I. It was handed into commencement on 28th October 1893.

A memorial plaque was later placed at the entry of the canal to honour István Türr and Béla Gerster written in Hungarian and Greek. Similarly, another plaque was revealed on 6th August 1993 to both men in Budapest. A monument was revealed to honour both men on 27th May 2009 on the side of Lutraki near the canal.

In 1894, Gerster wrote a book about his grand work titled, cutting through the Corinthian Isthmos ". In 1896, he published it in French as well and called it: „L'isthme de Corinthe et son percement".

Aside of this work, it was Gerster, who set out the route of the Athens – Larissa railway (1881 - 1886).

Activities at home

On 23rd August 1882, he married Ilona Gerster in Budapest (the daughter of Karol Gerster and Mária Kauser), and had four daughters: Margita (1887), Jolana (1889), Alžbeta (1891) and Sarolta (1893).

In 1886, he returned to Hungary for good and was dealing mainly with building railways. He was repeatedly returning to Košice, his hometown, which bound him with business activities aside of his relatives.

He was the constructor of the Košice – Turňa railway, which he began to build on the basis of a permit from the Ministry of Transportation and Public Works from 26th September 1887.

Transportation on this track commenced in 1890. This track can be credited with the fact that a very nice railway station was built in 1896 by arch. Jozef Hubert (1846, Bratislava – 1916, Budapest), though it was unfortunately destroyed in 1970. Béla Gerster became a member of the board of directors in the stock company Local Railway Košice - Turňa.

On 24th May 1886 a meeting of the Abov – Turňa County decided to acquire the old country house for reconstruction from 1779 instead of building a new one. This house got an extension of the courtyard until the Orlia Street, including the repair of the roof of the neighbouring house called „Black eagle“. This decision was passed by the regulation No.155 10 of the Ministry of Interior from 9th March 1887.

Construction costs were budgeted to 69.483, - forints. Laszlo Komáromi, a royal advisory, and a vice governor announced a closed tender on 4th January 1888. Out of six offers, Gerster's was the best with a 19.5% discount. It is possibly that his love for the hometown played an important role. Some of the participants included names such as Répászky and Török, Péter Jakab, József Lang, Vilmos Kolacsek, Pajtás and Wirth, and Hugó Hanisch as well. Reconstructions concluded in 1890.

In the 1890s, new rental housing estates started to be built in large

numbers, usually on newly-created streets. The then period press did not pay any special attention to it, nor to the builders of such, amongst which was also the house of Danielovits on Ružová Street No. 6 (nowadays Roosevelt Street No. 22), built by Béla Gerster in 1889. He used new and efficient methods of construction (such as thinner walls) which attracted criticism of the then royal housing authority. However, Gerster proved the accuracy of his solutions by calculations, which is only strengthened by the fact that this very building has stood there until today.

Gerster later dealt mainly with building railways and did more than 13 of them.

In 1919, he led the Directorate for building a canal between the Danube and Tisza.

Béla Gerster had an interesting opinion on designing and planning marine routes. He was convinced that it's such an investment that does not bring immediate profit, but rather serves for future generations. The important economic growth of great European nations was based exactly on the fact that their government did not regret to invest in such buildings from the state budget. Supporters of this opinion had the goal to build mainland marine routes through navigable rivers, until the only harbour in Hungary at that time – Rijeka (Fiume).

His memory

He died on 3rd August 1923 in Budapest. His gravestone was done by Károly Lotz and Alajos Stróbl. Unfortunately, there is nothing else in Košice besides a simple memorial plaque revealed on 21st April 1999 on his birth house that would remind us of this forgotten and notable native of Košice.

Personalities of European Importance Connected with Košice between 1848-1920

Ján Gašpar

Abstract

This paper offers a list of the most significant personalities related with Košice between the years 1848 – 1920. It involved the famous artists (Július Benczúr), historicists (Imrich Henszlmann), singers (Jozefína Ernst), balets (Irma Peterdy), musicians (Jani Rácz), scientists (Róbert Ultzmann), medicians (Arpád Gerster), generals (Jozef Békessy), filosofos (Siegfried Áron Bettelheim), politics (Július Andrássy), soldiers (Svetozár Borojevič) and athletes (Dr. František Sobota). It brings the short biography of 23 most important personalities united with the city in selected period.

Key words: Košice. Personalities. The years 1848 – 1920.

In the 2nd half of the 19th century Košice was a lively, rapidly developing city that did not experienced only a turbulent territorial development, but it acquired also more important economic, geopolitical and cultural-social role. There were living and working personalities who contributed through their activities to the city's versatile promotion. In spite of this fact only very few of them succeeded to achieve a more significant position from the European-wide perspective. The reason was not the required high-level, but rather the fact that their reputation hardly ever overstepped the regional or Hungarian boundaries from this provincial part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. We could mention from the economy the famous industrial entrepreneurs: Karol Gottfried Fiedler, Konštantín Bauernébl, Karol Poledniak senior, the Schirger brothers, Leopold Ungár, the Haltenberger and Bradovka family; the architects: Michal Répaszky, Peter Jakab and his sons Árpád and Géza; in the sphere of culture the Klimkovics brothers, the famous painters: Ľudovít Csordák, Elemír Halász – Hradil, Anton Jasusch, Kövály-Kacsmarik, Lengyel-Reinfuss, Anton Stadler and many others. In the science and education Jozef Szakkay had great achievements; in the politics and ecclesial life the famous mayors: Teodor Münster and Edmund Éder, the bishop Zsigmond Bubits and Augustín Fischer-Colbrie.

It is important to define what kinds of criteria have to be set for the personalities to state that they have achieved European dimensions during their lifetime. First of all we have to emphasize that the concerned personality's work has to be connected with Košice either being a native of Košice or a person who lived here a certain time, and this way we might consider them Košice citizens. On the other hand we cannot deem Košice citizens those personalities of European prominence whose work was only implemented in Košice but they lived in our city only short time during their

working for the city. Here we may talk especially about some architects and constructing engineers.

In this context we have found 30 personalities in the period between the national- bourgeois revolution of 1848-49 and the end of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918 who have acquired supra-regional importance, and they spread the good reputation of Košice outside the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy or their work showed the characteristics of European significance in certain period of their life, even though these personalities were not directly connected with the city of Košice. Respecting the limits of this presentation I would like to present only some brief characteristics of the chosen personalities.

The highest number of significant personalities, city celebrities we could find in the arts, both among the Košice native artists and among the artists who were connected with the city in certain period of their life. We could mention in this connection the artist-painter **Július Benczúr**, who was born in Nyíregyháza in 1844 but his youth is connected with Košice between 1847-1861 through the famous family of the Košice city pharmacist Viliam Benczúr. Július Benczúr studied in the secondary school in Košice, he got the basics of painting at school of Anton Stadler and later from 1860, in the studio of Vojtech and František Klimkovics. In 1861 he lived in Munich where he studied at the Academy of Visual Arts. He founded here his art studio and after taking some study-tours in Italy and France, he became the professor of the Munich Academy in 1874. Since 1885 he was the director of the Masters Arts School in Budapest. In the 60ties of the 19th century he painted some portraits in Košice. His portrait of Karol Fiedler from 1864 being his first artistically valuable portrait was awarded a special prize in Nuremberg exhibition. From 1910 he became the member - correspondent of the Hungarian Academy of Science. The king appointed him the lifetime member of the Hungarian Parliament in 1906. He had several individual exhibitions in Košice in 1906, 1908, 1910. Among others, his nephew – the famous painter *Július Éder*, was also his student. In the end of his life he lived in his castle in the little town Szécsény where he died on 26th July 1920. In 1927 the town was renamed Benczúrfalva as tribute to his memory.

Another significant painter born in Košice 2nd February 1838 was **Leopold Horovitz**. Her mother being in Košice market gave him birth unexpectedly here; however, his parents lived in Rozhanovce that time. He has learned the basics of drawings and painting in Košice in *Imrich Emanuel Roth's* School. Between 1853 – 1858 he studied in Vienna Academy, and afterwards again in Košice at school of *Vojtech Klimkovics*. In June 1857 he evoked great interest with his paintings on the First Industrial exhibition of Upper Hungary. Between 1860 – 1870 he worked in Paris where he improved his style in painting portraits. Although later he has settled in Košice he worked more in Warsaw where he was living in 1873. Besides the mentioned

portraits he painted also genre art pictures from the life of the Polish Jewish community. In 1893 he established himself permanently in Vienna as a court painter and portraitist of the aristocratic circles. His reputation as a great portraitist provided him high income through painting portraits of rich and influential people and public dignitaries from Warsaw through Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Budapest and Vienna. L. Horowitz died in 16th November 1917 in Vienna.

The famous art historian, the founder of the Upper-Hungarian Museum Association and university professor, **Imrich Henszlmann** was born in a German family of the local iron monger in Bardejov. He was born in 13th October 1913 in the former Szirmay-House on the corner of the Main Street /Hlavná/ and today Elizabeth/Alžbetiná Street. His father bought this house in 1811 but in 1817 he died. Imrich was brought up by his brother in law Karol Gottfried Fiedler, the famous businessman who got married with his sister.

He studied in Košice and after in Prešov Lyceum. In Budapest he studied medicine; however, he did not work in this profession. He devoted himself to arts study, studying architectonic memorials and their protection. He got further qualification in this field in Rome and during his study tours in Italy, Germany and Vienna. Since 1873 he worked as the professor of the newly established Department of Art History in the University in Budapest. Since 1841 he published reviews and critics on Shakespeare's works and wrote several theatre monographs. In his rich publishing activities and research work he worked especially in archaeology and history of architecture. Although he worked mostly out of Košice, within these works he has often returned to Košice, especially in connection with the Košice St. Elisabeth Cathedral in the neighbourhood of which he was born and brought up. His volume on Gothic churches in Košice is considered the first Hungarian work in this field that also affected the reconstruction works of the Košice Cathedral performed in the period between 1857 – 1863. For his attitude showed in 1848/1949 he was convicted. Between 1849 – 1860 he was living in emigration in London and Paris. In 1867 – 1888 worked as professor in the Budapest University and as a Member of the Hungarian Parliament. His bill related to the protection of cultural heritage was adopted in 1881. He had published articles in Hungarian and foreign newspapers and periodicals. Henszlmann bequeathed to the Košice Museum, supported by him all his life, a collection of artistic objects, books and his own drawings and documents. – He was elected Honorary Citizen of Košice in 1846. His name has been immortalized in the memorial tablet placed on his birth place – the house on Košice main Street / Hlavná ulica (today House No. 32) in 1897. Later on his bust was here installed in 1914 (sculpture of the Budapest sculpture Alex Lux) – initiated by the Košice Tourist Association in 1908, and originally deposited in the Košice Archive. Henszlmann died on 5th December 1888 in Budapest.

A famous art historian, museologist was also **Viktor Myskovszky** the teacher of the gymnasium in Košice. He was born on 17th May 1838 in Bardejov in a Polish noble family of the court advisor František Myszkovszky. He studied in gymnasium in Bardejov where he has learned the basic knowledge in fine arts, and then he continued in his studies of construction in technical school in Buda and Vienna. In 1868 he became professor of descriptive geometry, drawing and calligraphy in the Košice gymnasium. The pedagogical work was for him, however, only a necessary financial guarantee, - his focus concentrated on art history and connected painting and drawing. His relation to architectural artworks has arisen during his studies in Budapest. His drawing talent served as basis for the research of architectonic monuments in the time when photography was not really well developed. The proof of the quality of his works is the gold medal awarded him in Paris world-exhibition in 1867 for his collection of 9 albums with aquarelles of buildings from East Slovakia. His ability of professional description and evaluation of the studied buildings and artworks led him to cooperation in their protection. His study tours carried out in 1871 in Nuremberg, Augsburg and Regensburg, in 1874 in Italy and in 1890 in Paris aimed at the issues of protection of architectural monuments. He was a member of many scientific associations in Budapest and Milano. In 1893 was appointed the member of the Commission of Sacral Arts and Architecture in preparation of the millennial construction works performed in Budapest. In 1904 he became a member of the State Commission on protection of artistic monuments. It was important for Košice that he became also a member of the Supervisory Commission of restoration works of the Košice St. Elizabeth Cathedral between 1876 – 1896. Besides the honours for some special exhibits in exhibitions he was awarded the cross of Knights Order of Franz Joseph and in 1905 the title of royal councillor. Died in Košice on 2nd November 1909.

Several famous opera singers were born in Košice or they acted here some time. **Jozefína Ernst** née Kaiser was born on 29th November 1821 in the family of a doctor living in Mäsiarska Street. She was introduced to music world and supported by Count Jozef Dessewffy. She asserted herself in many opera houses all over the world. It was in 1839 she sang first time in Košice. In 1844 – 1845 she played in Vienna opera, in 1846 in Budapest. Between 1846 – 1851 she was a guest artist in Germany, Italy, France and Spain. Between 1851 - 1861 she was a member of the National Opera in Budapest. In her repertoire there were famous woman soprano roles. Died 14th July 1873 in Budapest.

She helped to start the artistic career of **Mária Rabatinszka** (born 1842 in Čaklov). They played together in the Theatre of Endre Latabár in 1862. Mária Rabatinszká was brought up in Košice in her aunt's family. She finished the Vienna Conservatory. From 1862 she became the soloist of the Hungarian

National Theatre in Budapest and between 1866 – 1873 she played in Vienna opera. After getting married to the businessman from Berlin, Ján Zachariáš, in 1873 she gave up her artistic career. After the death of her husband she lived in Paris.

Etela Gardini, opera singer, was born in Košice on 27 July 1854 in the family of a soap maker, **Mikuláš Gerster**. In 1872 she enthralled the public with her singing on the charity concert. She acquired musical education on the conservatory in Vienna. She appeared in Košice in 1875 and occasionally in 1892. In 1875 she sang in the Vienna Opera in Traviata under the presence of G. Verdi who highly appreciated her voice. Between 1875 - 1879 she appeared in famous European theatres (Venice, Paris, Madrid, Marseille, London, Berlin, Budapest, Moscow, Petrograd). In 1877 she got married to a famous impresario in Genoa who helped her to build up her opera singer career. After her performance in New York (1879) she decided to finish her rich artistic career despite of her young age. They lived with her husband in the estate near Bologna where she founded a singer academy. Died on 20 August 1920 in Pontecchio in Italy.

Her sister **Adalberta** born on 8 September 1852 was also an opera singer. In 1870 she got married to the successful construction engineer from Budapest, Jozef Kauser. In 1877 she appeared in an Italian vocal quartet, after as opera singer she played in many European opera stages. Died in Paris on 23rd April 1885.

Actress and opera singer, **Ilka Pálmai** (alias Ilona Petráss) was born in the family of an engineer in Užhorod on 21st September 1859. After the death of her mother she lived at her aunt's house in Prešov since her early childhood. Since 1868 she lived in Košice where her father worked that time. She changed her name and started her singer career in the age of 15 in the Košice theatre company of Viliam Lászy. She studied music in Budapest under the support of her father in law Ede Szigligeti, the director of the National Theater in Budapest. Through Prešov, Satu Mare, Kecskemét, Kluž she got to Budapest in 1878 and since 1880 she was a guest singer in Vienna, Prague, Berlin, London and New York for more than 15 years as one of the most celebrated primadonnas of her age. The most important roles she sang were the famous operetta characters. In 1928 she finished her career, died in Budapest on 17th February 1945.

The twins **Jenny and Mary Landesmann** were also famous opera singers appearing on USA opera stages by the end of 60s. They were born in 1846 in the family of a milliner in Košice. In the 70s of the 19th century they were performing successful opera roles in Košice.

Irma Peterdy née Rotter another Košice native (1841) was a successful primabalerina of the European stages. Her talent was discovered by the dancing master, Anton Mayer from Vienna, in whose children group she was dancing in Košice between 1853-1855. By the financial help of the Košice

aristocracy she got to the balet troupe of the Budapest National Theatre. In Košice she appeared in 1863. Between 1865 – 1869 she was engaged at the Vienna Court Opera. – Later between 1869-1879 she appeared again in Budapest. Died in April 1913 in Budapest.

A famous first violinist of European rank was **Jani Rácz**. He was born in Lučenec on 27th June 1844 in the family of a Gypsy musician. Jani Rácz being extraordinarily talented, his father arranged him a high level musical education. Since his 12 years of age he played in the group of Marci Dombi, later on from 1866 as a first violinist. He played with his own group in Lučenec and Rimavska Sobota (1870 – 1872), later he became the court musician of the prince Filip Coburg in his Gemer estate. Between 1872 – 1880 Rácz got engaged in Budapest where he played in the spa at the Margit-isle during the summer season. As a result of this he got several work offers (castle Miramare in Terst, German cities). In 1883 he settled down with his group in Košice. Until 1885 he would play in *Jozef Docskalik's* cafe on the Mäsiarska Street (today house No. 15). In Terste (1882) and Cracow (1887) exhibitions he was awarded the Silver Medal for the propagation of the Gypsy music. Queen Elizabeth also highly appreciated his musical talent listening to his music in Bardejov spa in 1895. Died in Košice in May 1902.

Another famous first violinist - the „womanizer“ **Feri Horváth** was born in 1855 in the family of a musician from Banská Bystrica. He played in his father's band since his childhood with his four brothers. He acquired special education in Vienna. Since 1873 he was the family musician of Count Szapáry in Budapest. In 1885 he got the prize *the First Violinists' King* in the industrial exhibition in Budapest. In 1886 he played with his band in Paris at the international exhibition, and then played as a guest artist in London (1887), Paris (1889), Berlin, Stockholm, in Belgium, Holland and all over Hungary. Before 1914 he had settled in Košice, since 1920 he played regularly in the Hotel Európa. In 1928 he conducted the concert of a joined Gypsy group in Košice at the occasion of 10th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic. His repertoire included besides the popular music also the classical pieces which he rendered by his sophisticated technique. His admirers were the European monarchs. Died in Košice on 4th April 1939, his grave is in the Košice public cemetery.

Róbert Ultzmann has achieved a significant place in the field of science and research. He was a famous urologist and university professor in Vienna, - born in Košice on 30th March 1842. As a half orphan he was brought up by his aunt, studied in the gymnasium in Košice and later on medicine in Vienna where he worked all his professional life as an assistant and university professor. – He achieved great scientific results and is deemed one of the founders of the urology as a separate medical discipline, elaborated new operation methods, constructed medical devices and was the author of several

well-known publications and studies in urology. Died on 9th June 1885 in Wiener Neustadt.

Another famous doctor was the Košice born **Arpád Gerster**, the brother of the famous engineer of transport constructions, *Vojtech Gerster*, and the singers *Etela Gardini* and *Adalberta Kauserova*. He was born on 22th December 1848 and after the final examination in Košice he graduated from Vienna University Medical faculty in 1872 and became a surgeon. He started to work as a hospital doctor in Košice, in 1874 he left Košice for Germany and USA. He started to practice as a surgeon in Manhattan and New York as one of the first doctors in his specialization. He has updated some surgical approaches; his aseptic methods were considered revolutionary in his times. Later he became the professor of the clinical surgery at Columbia University (from 1910), the President of the American Surgeon Association (1911 – 1912). – Published a great number of books, several dozens of studies and articles in professional periodicals. He was talented also in music, played the organ and appeared in chamber orchestras. In addition he had also artistic talent for caricatures, drawings, sketches and illustrations to his own works. Died on 11th March 1923 in New York.

The agricultural expert **Eugen Roditzky** was born on 13th February 1844 in today's Romania and died on 4th January 1915 in Hungarian town, Alag. He studied natural sciences at Polytechnic Institute in Budapest; in 1870 he was awarded the title of doctor at the university in Tübingen. In 1869 he became professor of the Agricultural Academy in Magyaróvár and from 1883 was appointed a director of the Agricultural Academy in Košice. In 1892 he was working at the Ministry of Agriculture, and in 1898 became director of the State Institute for Research of Wool. He was a great specialist and organizer and these qualities helped him to develop the Košice research institute. He published a lot of works in different agricultural fields in Hungarian, German and French: his interest involved economy, beekeeping, breeding home animals, growing potatoes, tobacco etc. He published also individually several books on growing tobacco and protection of animals. His books were published both in Hungary and abroad and his work results became famous jointly with his organization work that has achieved great results on the international exhibitions in Vienna, Paris and other places. He was awarded several prizes in Hungary and abroad (Austria, Serbia, France).

General **Jozef Békessy** was the commander of the 77th Home Guard - infantry brigade in Košice between 1909 – 1913, but he was more successful as inventor. He was born in Kolozsvár (today Romania) on 16th February 1858. In 1899 he worked in the Ministry of National Defence in Budapest in the rank of major. This time he invented the mobile field-bakery through which he is considered one of the pioneers of the modernization of the army food supply. The invention prevented to over-baking of the bread under unfavourable weather conditions. The bakery was produced in the Manfréd

Weiss Steel Works in Csepel and it was used in the Austrian army until 1929 and in the Hungarian royal army even after 1934. From 1914 he was promoted to titular field marshal.

In the field of education **Ján Weyde**, the teacher of the Košice technical school achieved some results of European significance. He was born in Bratislava 1st July 1858 in the family of a watchmaker. He was awarded a diploma in electric engineering in 1882 at the Technical School in Vienna. After working in the company Ganz Budapest, since 1887 he worked as a teacher in the higher technical school in Košice teaching electrotechnics, machine-engineering, construction drawings and structure of railway machines. He affected the reorganization of the schools emphasizing the visual aspect of the teaching process. His handbook of technical drawing of machines was approved by the ministry of education as a supporting school textbook for the technical schools. He is the author of a reference-book on the operation of the electric engines and their application in craftsman workshops that was later translated into German and published in Berlin. Weyde achieved recognition also in Paris electrotechnical exhibition by his presentation. Died in Košice on 22 March 1902, buried in the local public cemetery.

Siegfried Áron Bettelheim was a significant philosopher, doctor, rabbi and hebrewist born on 4 April 1830 in Hlohovec. He studied at rabbinical schools in Bratislava, Leipzig and Prague where he got the title of Doctor of Philosophy. In London he was a redactor of several newspapers. In the beginning of the 50ties he was the director of school in Timișoara (Romania) and the editor of the political weekly magazine *Elôre /Forwards/*, in 1856 he worked in Bohemia as official translator of oriental languages and censor of Hebrew books. In 1860 he was the main rabbi in Komárno, and he became the first Jewish school inspector in the country. From here he arrived in Košice in January 1862 where he became the second rabbi in order of the Košice Jewish religious congregation. From 1866 he was the redactor of the first newspaper issued in Slovakia in Hebrew – the weekly magazine *Hajehudi-Der Jude* and also the secretary of the Jewish congregation. From 1867 he left Košice for USA because of some conflicts in his community, there he worked as a rabbi in several cities and as a college professor in Philadelphia. He studied at Faculty of Medicine in Richmond and got a doctor's diploma. He issued and edited his own German language newspaper *Der Patriot*, later published in English under the title of *The State Gazette*. – He left a rich literary heritage, wrote short stories from the life in Jewish ghetto and articles in Hungarian, German, English, Hebrew and Yiddish. Some of these works have been translated into Hungarian. His detailed biography, published in USA was written by Rabbi Dr. *George Alexander Kohut (1874 – 1933)*. – Bettelheim's wife was the first Jewish woman teacher in Hungary. He died on 21st August 1899 on the trip to USA.

Count **Július Andrássy** was also born in Košice, - prime minister between 1867 – 1871, later on 1871 – 1879 minister of foreign affairs and of finance for Austria-Hungarian government. Born on 1st March 1823 as the member of the Betliar branch of the famous noble family. In 1848 Count of Zemplín County, during the Hungarian national revolution the commander of the national garda. In 1849 he became adjutant of the General Artúr Görgey and envoy of the revolutionary army in Istanbul. After the defeat of the revolution he lived in emigration in London and Paris, returned to Hungary only after the amnesty in 1857. From 1856 he was awarded the title of Honorary Citizen of Košice. In 1888 - honorary member of the Hungarian Academy of Science. He has written a plenty of political articles in periodicals. – In 1899 a Carrara marble memorial tablet was installed in honour of J. Andrássy in Košice with his relief on the wall of the palace built up on the place of his former relative, *Juraj Andrássy's* house (1797 – 1872), where he was born (today Hlavná ulica no. 81). Died on 18th February 1830 in Volosk (Croatia).

General **Ludwig Michael Appel** had been the member of the 34th Infantry regiment since 1896 in Košice, between 1899 – 1904 he was its commander. He was born in Vienna in the family of a cavalry general on 21st February 1856. After finishing the Military Academy of Theresianum in Viener Neustadt he served in several troops in the Monarchy. From 1904 he served in the rank of general-major, commander of army corps in Bosnia-Hercegovina. From October 1911 he was the commander of the 15th army corps. As its commander got an infectious disease in Serbia, in Erdevik and died 1st February 1915. In memoriam decorated by the Knight Grand Cross of Military Order of Maria Theresa in 1927.

Count **Artur Arz** was the commander of 34th infantry regiment between 1901 – 1903 in Košice. He was born in Hermannstadt (today Sibiu) in Transylvania on 16th June 1857. During the World War I he served as the chief of general staff of the Austria-Hungarian army during 1917 – 1918. Decorated by the Knight Grand Cross of Military Order of Maria Theresa and by some other high military awards. Honorary Doctor of Philosophy at the University Kluž. Died on 1st July 1935 in Budapest.

Imperial-royal field marshal **Alexander Benedek** was born on 12th November 1818 in Canta (Romania). Graduated from the Military Academy of Theresianum in Viener Neustadt (1838). In the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel he was the commander of the 34th infantry regiment that was commanded to Italian front in 1859, where conducted fierce battles near Solferino to oppress the resistance against Austria. During the Prussian-Austrian war in 1866 he was fighting in the Hradec Králove battle in the rank of general as the commander of one of the brigades of the 3rd army. There he was wounded and captured as war prisoner but he presented himself as very brave and capable commander. From 1869 he worked at the Ministry of War Affairs in Austria, in 1870 appointed as head of the department. From 1872

field marshal, from 1876 president of the military appeal court. – In 1861 Colonel Alexander Benedek became honorary citizen of Košice due to his military merits. Died on 2nd January 1878 in Vienna.

Field Marshall **Svetozár Boroević** was also Honorary Citizen of Košice from 1915. He was born on 13 December 1856 in city Umetić (Croatia). After he had finished the school of the general staff in 1884, he started to work as a teacher of tactics at the Military Academy of Theresianum in Viener Neustadt. From 1895 as a lieutenant colonel gradually he became the chief of general staff of infantry divisions in Plzeň, Mostar, and Košice at the 27th infantry division, and then moved to the 8th infantry corps in Prague. From 1904 in the rank of general-major he became the commander of the 14th infantry brigade in Petrovaradin, after acted as the chief of the 7th Home Guard /honvéd/ District in Zagreb. Between 1912 - 1914 - commander of the 6th army corps in Košice. During the World War I as the famous „black-yellow general“, he was fighting in the eastern front (1914 – 1915) and Italy (1915 – 1918). – He was awarded the highest Austria-Hungarian military decorations and orders. In 1917 he was raised to nobility, from 1918 field marshal, used the nobiliary particle »de Bojna«. Died on 23th May 1920 in Klagenfurt.

Andrej Gallik, originally a Košice-born businessman, later globetrotter and adventurer, was the major of the USA army; born in Rožňava on 28th November 1815 in the family of an entrepreneur. After finishing his schools in Levoča he worked there as sales assistant; in 1843 he became the co-owner of the shop with cloths in Košice. After the defeat of the Hungarian revolution he escaped to Paris in 1849 and from there he moved to the USA where he earned his living by occasional works. From here he arranged with his friend several adventurer trips all over the USA and Australia, where he wanted to be a gold-digger; he travelled also to New Zeland. In 1860 he returned to the USA and took part in the fights of the civil war on the Unionists' side - achieving the rank of major. In 1865 he stood as a candidate to the position of the governor of the state Missouri. After 1865 he studied medicine, however worked as a veterinary doctor in Kansas City where he founded a veterinary institute in 1868. – Before his emigration he had published his philosophical essays and professional medical works issued in the USA. In his old age he came back to his son *Gejza (1847 – 1900)* to Košice in May 1881, who worked here as a pharmacist. Andrej Gálik died in Košice in 18 June 1885.

In the sport competitions of the first Olympic Games there were several sportsmen representing Hungary who had contacts with Košice. **František Holubán** (1886) won the bronze medal in Greco-Roman wrestling on the Olympic Games in Athens in 1906, later the same year he became European and also world champion. He worked in the Athletic Club Košice since 1906 and went on after 1920 when he became also a trainer and lead courses in wrestling for young people interested in this sport. The trainees of the so-called Holubán School were successful in wrestling competitions also abroad,

died in Budapest 6th March 1945.

Dr. František Sobota - sportsman, athlete successful in 100 m run. He was born on 30th August 1891 in Košice, and after graduating from Law Faculty he worked here as a court judge until 1921. He was the pupil of professor *Ludovít Kmetyk*. Sobota represented Hungary on Olympic Games in Stockholm in 1912 in 100 m run, in broad jumping and in relay-race 4x100 m in which he got to the semi-final. Between 1920 - 1921 he was the head of the athletic club KAC in Košice, died in Levoča in 1939.

Alexander Prokopp, son of a telegraph clerk, was born also in Košice (7th May 1887), however he worked as a clerk in Budapest. He represented Hungary already in 1908 London Olympic Games in shooting sport. On the Olympic Games in Stockholm in 1912 he won the gold medal in this discipline. Died in Budapest 4th November 1964.

Famous pedagogues connected with the Košice city

Jana Mešterová

Abstract

Dominican convent school performed its activity in Košice (since the end of the 13th century). In the city worked J. Müller Regiomontanus and M. Bylica (15th century). Here worked and died G. J. Reticus, assistant of M. Copernicus (16th century). During the Protestant Reformation period was established Latin School (1546). During the Counter-Reformation period was founded Jesuit University - the Universitas Cassoviensis (1657). University was substituted by the Royal Academy (1777). Oncoming industry requested the establishment of a higher secondary school (1858). In 1937 M. R. Štefánik State Technical College was established in the city.

Key words: Košice. Exact sciences. Schools. Pedagogues. Students.

Dominican Monastery School in Košice (the end of 13th century – 1556)¹

Monasteries were the first centres of education in Slovakia. Dominican Order started operating in Košice in Slovakia before 1250. At the meeting of the Order in 1304 was decided that in each domain will arise school (studium generale). Schools will be placed in convents and Order will support them and they will be independent of the ruler.² The level of the Košice school increased in the second half of the 15th century – professors Ondrej Blasius de Cassovia, Peter from Košice, Matej from Staré next to Michalovce. Some professors had been acting in the Buda Dominican school; Jakub from Košice, Nicolas de Mirabilis (most important Professor from Košice). Košice's Convent was known also by own scriptorium activity – Jan from Košice (Janusch Dijack, Dyak), Vavrinec from Stropkov, Martin Craus, Michal Slovak (Michael Slavus, Vandalus) and Daniel.³ In 1480 King Matthias Corvinus appointed the scribe Daniel to copy for his library the selected codices in Venice. As a result of fire in 1556 a great deal of the city of Košice had been burned. Dominican church and monastery burned, there was also included the school. Due to lack of money for the reconstruction, the Dominicans left the city on the time of long 150 years.

¹ T Morovics, *Vzdelávanie a veda. Slovensko. Ottova obrazová encyklopédia* (Bratislava, 2006), 134 – 135.

² *Régi magyar egyetemek emlékezete. Memoria universitatum et scholarum maiorum regni Hungariae 1367-1777.* (Budapest, 1995).

³ “Michal Slovák ;“ in *Lexikón katolíckych kňazských osobností Slovenska* (Bratislava, 2000), 922.

Ján Müller-Regiomontanus (1436-1476), great German astronomer, mathematician and pedagogue, he served six months in Košice.⁴

Since 1467 he lectured at the Academia Istropolitana in Bratislava, which was led by the Dominicans.⁵ Regiomontanus was the most important astronomer before Copernicus. He also stayed in the courtyard of Archbishop Jan Vitez in Esztergom and in the courtyard of Matthias Corvinus in Buda (1468). King has founded library (Bibliotheca Corviniana). During obtaining codices he consulted with Regiomontanus. King out of respect for Regiomontanus gave the Royal assent for preparing of transcript his works.⁶ Regiomontanus probably visited the Dominican monastery school in Košice, he has interested on the job in library and labour of scribes. Obtained some codices in Košice which planned after leaving of Hungary to issue the codices in future in his own printer-shop? After the death of Jan Vitez in 1472, Regiomontanus left the Hungary. He set up an observatory and printing-shop where he has issued printed matter own and other of astronomical and mathematical works. Regiomontanus while working on an adaptation of the calendar died suddenly in Rome (1476). Matthias Corvinus asked the City Council of Nuremberg for Regiomontanus inheritance. Later king sent Hans Dorn to buy the inheritance, but failed. During research in Nuremberg in 1966 they found 17 codices originating from Slovakia.⁷ Germanic National Museum Library in Nuremberg today has three codices of the Dominican Convent in Košice. Are those codices from the Regiomontanus inheritance?

Martin Bylica ((*probably in 1434 - † probably in 1492).⁸

He was Polish astronomer, mathematician and pedagogue. The king ruled by fiat to Bylica and he made astronomical measurements, from which was determined the geographical coordinates of selected Hungarian cities (1477). On this occasion he visited Košice. It is likely that he is an author on the southern wall sundials on the St. Elizabeth Cathedral, because for construction the knowledge about latitude was necessary. Viennese mechanic Hans Dorn probably also participated in the implementation of sundials. It is the oldest wall sundials in Slovakia (sign.1477). He lectured at the Academia Istropolitana. He served in Buda as court astronomer, astrologer and physician (1468-1490). He lectured on the "studium generale" in Buda (1475). Bylica returned to Krakow after the death of Matthias Corvinus (1490). He left manuscript concerning to the geographical coordinates in Krakow University, where he worked at the end

⁴ "Regiomontanus," in *Kronika techniky*, by F. R. Paturí (Bratislava, 1993), 96.

⁵ V. Segeš, at all. *Kníha kráľov. Panovníci v dejinách Slovenska a Slovákov* (Bratislava 2010), 173 – 182.

⁶ "Regiomontanus," in *Lexikón katolíckych kňazských osobností Slovenska* (Bratislava 2000), 1146-1147.

⁷ J. Mišianik, *Za našimi rukopismi v NSR* (Bratislava, 1966), 626 – 629.

⁸ P. Adamuv, *Snečné hodiny na Slovensku* (Košice, 1980), 29, pict. 28.

of life.⁹

Joachim Rheticus (* 1514 - †1574), German mathematician, astronomer, propagator of the doctrine of Nicolaus Copernicus.

He was so much impressed by the first Copernicus sketch of heliocentric system from 1530, so he left to visit Copernicus in Frombork (Frauenburg) (1539-41). He wrote an informative debate on the work of Copernicus (1540). He encouraged Copernicus to complete his great work – *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* – (On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres). Rheticus supervised the printing of the first edition of the work (1543). Rheticus after the death of Copernicus left with his precious manuscript to Wittenberg. His position at the universities was still complicated. Finally he came from Krakow to Košice and visited his pupil Valentine Otho (1574). Half of year he served as city's physician in Košice. Hereat he working to complete trigonometric tables *Opus Palatinum de triangulis* a and translated Paracelsus work *Da alchymia liber verationis*. He died in Košice on December 4th, 1574. Otho with the Copernican work promptly left the city. The manuscript was owned by various scholars, e.g. also J. A. Comenius. The last owner was Count Nostiz in Bohemia. In 1956, the Czechoslovak Government gave the valuable manuscript Poland.¹⁰

Protestant Latin School in Košice (1546-1750)

During the 16th -17th century Ungary was suffered under several adverse circumstances, which did not wish development of schools and education - they were the Turkish occupation, Rákóczi's uprisings, clerical reformation and counter-reformation. Nevertheless, during the Reformation was established in Slovakia a relatively dense network of Protestant schools. Protestant Latin Schools were due to contact with Western European Protestant universities more open to progressive philosophical and scientific ideas. City council – magistrateship in Košice, at the time of establishment of the Protestant School, had protestant origin. It had providing personnel matters, external organization of school and school expenses. During existence of the School there were 50 active teachers. Rector of the School, he held also the office of judge. The School had 5 classes, each being divided to 2 – 3 divisions. At the School they were learned classical Latin, Greek, Hebrew, rhetoric, and the foundations of Christian doctrine. The first Chancellor of the School was Leonhard Cox (1546), who helps to reinforce increasing Reformation in Košice. Jakub Pribicer, he has given lessons at the School two years before his death (1580-1582). He was the author of publication: *Tractatus de cometa ... Banská Bystrica* in 1578, the first printed editions file with astronomical themes in Slovakia. Jan Bocatius

⁹ “M. Bylica “ in *Dejiny vedy a techniky na Slovensku*, by J. Tibenský (Martin, 1979), 30.

¹⁰ “Rheticus,” in *Dejiny vedy a techniky na Slovensku*, by J. Tibenský (Martin, 1979), 53-54.

[Ioannes Bocatius 1569-1621] taught at the school in the years 1599-1610 and after 1618. He wrote a poem *Hornus cometa 1618 Cassoviae* 1618. Gašpar Hain (1632-1687) began a teaching career in Košice, continued in this in Levoča. He is the author of *Spiš - Levoča Chronicle*, which was preserved in manuscript. It was published in book form in 1911. During re-catholicization the School was sporadically closed (1671-83). Jan Rezik (1650-1711) joined the school after forced closedown. When Protestant Magistrate-ship was replaced by Catholic, it had resulted in little support of the School. Rezik was under inquest of office and retired from Košice. (1690). He initiated the processing of history of Slovak Protestant Schools - grammar schools. The book was prepared for printing by rector Samuel Matthaeides in Prešov, but it remained in manuscript (1728). The work maps the origin, evolution and expiration of Slovak Protestant Schools, its internal organization since the beginning of the Reformation up to the first half of 18th century.¹¹

Jesuit University in Košice - Academia Cassoviensis (1657-1777)¹²

Jesuits in Košice settled in the late of the 16th century. Positive consequence of the counter-reformation and the Turkish invasion in the 17th century was the establishment of Jesuit University in Košice. Eger's Chapter house returned to Košice in 1650. Bishop Bedictus Kisdý founded in Košice Jesuit Grammar School (1654), which was upgraded to College (1657) and which was upgraded to the Academy by Emperor Leopold I, confirmed by the Golden Bull to College with theological and philosophical faculty (1660). He equalizes the University in Košice with the then European universities. Together with Trnava University [Universitas Tyrnaviensis] they were the only universities in Hungary in the 17th century. At the Academia Cassoviensis had been educated members of all nationalities living in eastern Slovakia. Teaching language was Latin. In the City Archive in Košice is preserved register *Catalogue - evidence book of the University*. It contains the names of university management professors, students, and learning subjects. Yearly at the school there were active 20 professors - Jesuits.¹³ Professors worked at Jesuit Universities within the Habsburg Monarchy. The total number of university graduates was around 400-500 students. Teaching was performed according to the single study Order Ratio Studiorum (since 1599). The study at the Faculty of Arts was preparation for theological study. They lectured, the natural philosophy and mathematics, physics, astronomy,... Jesuit Universities have been conservative in adopting of

¹¹ "Cox, Pribicer, Bocatius, Hain, Rezik," in *Gymnaziológia: Dejiny gymnázií na Slovensku*, by J. Rezik and S. Matthaeides (Bratislava, 1971), 260, 263, 269-270, 323, 418-419). Expert for history of education in Slovakia, V. Ružička, this work saved, translated from Latin, made a selection and wrote a comment.

¹² V. Ružička, *Školstvo na Slovensku v období neskorého feudalizmu* (Bratislava, 1974), 55.

¹³ P. Fedorčák, "Profesorský zbor Košickej univerzity," in *350. výročie Košickej univerzity* (Prešov, 2007), 117 – 136.

modern scientific views. In the beginning of the 18th century they were giving lectures according to Aristoteles and Ptolemaios. Access to the natural science began to change due to educational reforms of monarch Maria Theresa in the second half of the 18th century. Departments of Mathematics, Astronomy and Physics have begun to form. Professors promptly wrote new school-books. They have begun to profess Newton's physics and Copernican heliocentric system. Jesuit Order was abolished (1773) and the University was transferred to state ownership. In 1777, the two Universities were moved to Buda.

Prominent professors and students of the University¹⁴

* Martin Szentiványi (1635-1705), professor of Mathematics at the University of Košice (1664/1665). He has included the Copernican heliocentric system among "matters of false and dubious existence".

* Peter Mayr (1688-1753), professor of Logic and Physics, at the University (1723-26)¹⁵

* Krištof Akai (1706-1767), professor of Logic and Physics, at the University (1738-43), dean of the Grammar School (1742-43);

* Tomáš Rost (1695-1765) professor of Physics and Philosophy at the University (1730-35, 1741-44), rector of the Convict (1737), Dean of the Faculty of Arts (1741-1744)¹⁶

* Michal Lipsicz (1703-1766), professor of Mathematics and Physics at the University (1737-1741). His textbook Statics .., Košice 1740 already includes Newton's dynamics. He is the author of the first textbook of Algebra in Hungary *Algebra or special analysis...*, Košice 1738.

* František Weiss (1717-1785), student Faculty of Arts (1738), teacher in Grammar School (1741), (1744-45)¹⁷

* František Borgia Kéry (1702-1763), mathematician, physicist, astronomer and rector (1755-1759). He adopted Newton's dynamics and its application to celestial mechanics. He knew the Physics of Descartes, Copernicus and Galileo's discoveries. He was a leading figure during changes made by monarch. Brought the first generation of Slovak physicists He was a pioneer of Astronomy at universities, where he worked.

The 1st first generation of Slovak physicists who studied and worked in Košice:

* Andrej Adáni (1715-1795), professor of Rhetoric and Poetics at the University (1742-43)

* Andrej Jaslinský (1715-1784), student Faculty of Arts

¹⁴ "P. Mayer/," in *Dejiny astronómie a Slovensko*, L. Druga, (Bratislava, 2006), 144.

¹⁵ "Szentiványi, Akai, Rost, Lipšic (Lipsicz), Fr. Borgia Kéry," in *Lexikón katolíckych kňazských osobností Slovenska* (Bratislava, 2000), 9, 659-660, 824-825, 1168-1169, 1217.

¹⁶ "Weiss," in *Lexikón katolíckych kňazských osobností Slovenska* (Bratislava, 2000), 1496-1497.

¹⁷ "D. Kmet'," in *Priekopníci vedy a techniky na Slovensku 2*, by J. Tibenský, et all., (Bratislava, 1988), 96 - 102.

* Michal Klaus (1717-1792), professor of Mathematics at the University (1751-52), dean of the Grammar School (1751-52)

* Anton Revický (1723-1781), grammar teacher at the Grammar School (1744-45)

* Ján Ivančič (1722-1784), student Faculty of Arts (1743-45), Professor of Physics at the University (1746-47)

Royal Academy in Košice (Academia Regia Cassoviensis, 1777-1849)

Part of school reform was the establishment of the Royal Academy, instead Universities. Academy formed a transitional stage between Grammar School and University. It was a complete Latin school, consisting of three steps: 1st - four grammatical classes, 2nd - two humanities classes, 3rd - two-year Arts course and a three-year legal course. Anyone who wanted to study Law, Medicine and Theology at a University or Technology School had to undergo a course of Arts. Compulsory teaching of the Hungarian language began in 1792. Religious and secular professors taught at school.

Prominent professors and students of the Academy:

* Jozef Wolfstein (1773-1859); Professor of Mathematics (1803-1818), He wrote in Košice eight books;

* Daniel Kmeť(1783-1825); Professor of Mathematics (1823-25), he is buried in the University church in Košice.¹⁸

* Jozef Maximilián Petzval (1807-1891), student of Arts course (1822-24), the father of the lens, professor of Mathematics at the University of Pest and Vienna.¹⁹

Higher secondary school in Košice (1858 - 1938)

It was a new kind of school which mission was to educate experts for emerging industry, trade, agriculture and forestry. It was preparatory school for study at technical universities. Study took six years later, eight. The tuition language was German, since 1861/62 Hungarian. School was attended by boys aged from 10 to 18 years.

The most important student of this secondary school:

* Aurel Stodola (1859-1942), student (1872-76)²⁰

In the State Archive in Košice is located Class book of school-leaving year-class

¹⁸ The Košice City Archives, Košice, inv. no. 55, manuscript sign. 216. *Catalogus studiorum almae ac Epistopalıs Cassoviensis Jesu ab anno 1693* (Catalogue of Students of the University and Academy).

¹⁹ J. Mešterová, "Študentské roky Jozefa Maximiliána Petzvala strávené na Slovensku," in *Zborník dejín fyziky MESDEF 26* (Bratislava, 2012): 103 - 112.

²⁰ J. Mešterová, "Stredoškolské štúdiá známych osobností z oblasti fyziky a techniky v Košiciach v 19. storočí," in *Zborník dejín fyziky MESDEF 25* (Bratislava, 2008): 69-82.

of student A. Stodola (1876). He graduated with honours. Scholarships for study abroad in Zurich advised him native of Košice Sandor Rajtó, co-author of the Great Révay lexicon. Technical University in Zurich he graduated with honours (1878-1881). He continued his studies in Berlin and Paris Sorbonne. Technical University in Zurich offered him a professorship (from 1892). He was a founder of the theory of steam and water turbines. He was awarded by Gold medal of James Watt for technical contribution (equivalent of the Nobel Prize in technique, 1940). Albert Einstein had an allocution in celebration seventieth of A. Stodola. Busta of A. Stodola with a commemorative plaque is located on the facade of the Slovak Technical Museum in Košice.

Technical University of Milan Rastislav Štefánik in Košice (1937- 1938)²¹

After origination of Czechoslovakia, struggle began for the establishment of a technical university in Slovakia. Individuals, institutions and political parties were engaged in this process. At the forefront of these efforts was Jur Hronec. Technical University of M. R. Štefánik in Košice began its activities on June 25th, 1937. The first professors of the Technical University were appointed on July 1938: Jur Hronec/Mathematics, Alois Tichý/geodesy, Jozef Sahánek/Technical Physics, Jozef Kaucký/Mathematics, Jiří Klapka/descriptive geometry, Dimitrij Andrusov/geology, Karol Krivanec /transport, Miloslav Kopřiva/civil engineering, Anton Bugan/Mechanics, Štefan Bella/hydraulic engineering and economy. Professors at the first meeting chose the first rector of the School professor J. Hronec. Opening of the school year 1938-39 was planned for the 20th anniversary of the origination of Czechoslovakia, but the opening was not realized. School was evacuated to Prešov after the Vienna arbitration, then to Martin, where began the first lectures (on December 5th, 1938). The school year was already implemented in the changed political conditions. The school continued to operate under the name Slovak Technical University in Bratislava.

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²¹ T. Sikorová, *Profesor Jur Hronec a Vysoká škola technická* (Bratislava, 1980), 59 - 69.

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Košice at the end of the Second World War - the political and social centre of Czechoslovakia

Štefan Šutaj

Abstract

The article deals with the importance of Košice in the period in which it has worked in the most important institutions of the restored Czechoslovakia, President of the Republic, the Czechoslovak government and Slovak national authorities, the Slovak National Council and Board of Commissioners and on this basis shall be give an attention to the shaping of the political system, political parties, restoration of social and economic structure of the region, country and the own territory of Košice city in this process.

Key words: Košice. Czechoslovakia. Social and economic structure.

After the liberation Košice became the temporary headquarters of central offices: from the end of January 1945 Delegation of the Slovak National Council for the liberated territory – new legislative authority, which originated during the Slovak National Uprising, later the Bureau and plenum of SNR (Slovak National Council), Authority of Delegation of SNR replaced by the Assembly of Commissioners,¹ from 3rd April a residence of President of Czechoslovakia Edvard Beneš² and from 4th April up to 6th May 1945 a seat of Czechoslovak government.³

Here, following on from the events of the previous developments they have shaped the real foundations for a new society, political and economic

¹ The Chairmanship of the SNR has approved on October 22nd, in Banská Bystrica a delegation to the liberated territory in composition: Ján Púll and Ladislav Novomeský – members of Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS) and Vavro Šrobár and Ján Ursíny for Democratic Party (DS). Michal Falt'an, Jozef Šoltész and Félix Vašečka have been designated as collaborators for KSS and Tomáš Tvarožek, Ivan Štefánik and Peter Zaťko for DS. Representatives of SNR gradually came from the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine or from the liberated territory of Slovakia into Košice. Since February 7th, 1945 Activity of Board of Commissioners was renewed (ZP), who replaced the Office of the Delegation of the SNR.

² At the meeting of the Chairmanship of SNR on March 19th, 1945, they discussed the preparation of the arrival of the President to Košice. The preparatory committee had represented by the SNR, Office of government delegate, the Soviet Army and the city of Košice. (*Demokrat* I., no. 7, (21. 3. 1945): 2.)

³ On April 5th, 1945 at a meeting of the Slovak National Council the Programme of the first government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks was declared - Košice government program (KVP), who noted political life for a long period. The Programme determined the fundamental principles of foreign and domestic policy, the economy and the economy, outlined the basic principles for addressing national issues, cultural and educational policy, the nature of the military, etc. All political parties have their activities within the National Front (NF) bind to fulfil its principles. Even then, they were formed by other governments NF, which prepare their government statements and de facto legal replace KVP, didn't lose the ideological force of the basic guidelines for the NF and the political situation in 1948.

system of the new republic. Here was formed the basic organizational structure of political parties. Activities of above mentioned institutions are charted in Slovakia and Czech literature and we do not consider as appropriate for this case to repeat the known or less known facts.⁴ Therefore on the background of historical facts and events we remind only those specifics and particularities of "Košice" development that are deposit of Košice into historical development.

On January 19th, 1945 Košice was occupied by troops of 4th Ukrainian Front. We cannot omit the point into which Soviet troops were coming. On August 24th, 1944 all political parties in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom were abolished, also in the territory obtained through Vienna Arbitration of November 2nd, 1938. The last months of Kosice in Royal Hungary, after the coup and deposing of Horthy in October 1944, were stigmatized by the nyilas (*arrow*) terror. Governor Gyarmathy, city leader of Darabos Arrow Cross Party, Varholy - the chief of secret police and others have organized these repressions in Košice. Deportation of Jews to concentration camps was the result of their activities in Košice and surroundings; in Košice were killed over 500 people and many people were deported to Germany for forced labours.

On January 5th, 1945 publicly hanged on trees and lamp posts on today's Hlavná ulica (Main Street) 12 people and further on January 17th, 1945 at tunnel of Ťahanovce they shot dead 17 people.⁵

Soviet army brought into the Košice liberation from these atrocities, brought in hope for change, a new order and Czechoslovak administration, underpinned by democratic political system and order. People have seen in the liberation a hope for a better life, order and world. That reality often has developed differently, that's story written through real life. Destroyed the city, the lack of goods, warmth, food, impaired health conditions all in this period were the factors that combine rather than distributed.⁶

⁴ Above all, it should be mentioned publication Elo Rákoš and Štefan Rudohradský, *Slovenské národné orgány 1943-1968* (Bratislava: Slovenská archívna správa, 1973).

⁵ Štefan Šutaj et. al, *Kľúče k dejinám Košíc* (Košice – Prešov : Universum, 2009), 72.

⁶ Košice were immediately organically incorporated into the Czechoslovak Republic. Revolutionary National Committee of Košice headed by Štefan Kaifer took power on January 23rd, 1945. It was confirmed by Commissariat of SNR of the Interior on February 8th, 1945. Administrative Commission of Košice led by Štefan Kaifer was created by a seven-member. The first memorandum contained in the materials of city archive is from February 19th, 1945. At the meeting was attended by Chairman: Štefan Kaifer, vice chairman Július Maurer. Members: Pavol Drocar; Anton Harčár; Ján Herha; František Bajus, Štefan Sendek. (The Košice City Archives, *Minutes of the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the city of Košice*, February 19th, 1945.) On March 5th, 1945 Administrative Commission noted the information about the public meeting on February 25th, 1945 "at the National Theatre", where Colonel Dvorkin gave to Vavro Šrobár, Chairman of SNR the golden key of the City of Košice as a symbol of legal power „which by this act transferred to the Czechoslovak hands“. V. Šrobár gave the key to the Chairman of the Administrative Commission of Košice Š. Kaifer, who put it into the City

In the liberated Košice very clearly appeared factor of new relationship to the Soviet Union. During this period, it was not circumvented by the received documents and the opinions of state and political representation, regardless of political or ethnic. Freedom came from "the East" and the new state should be to build in close cooperation with the Soviet Union. Dimension of connection to Soviet policies was naturally varied in accordance with political orientation, but the basic status, formulated for this period, did not challenge the new position of the Soviet Union in Central European politics. Government delegate of the London government in exile František Němec⁷ in this regard said: „*We will win the sooner where we will permanently a neighbour of our great Slavic ally, the Soviet Union. After five years' experience we are able to make understood permanently.*“⁸

Similarly, it was declared by the Chairman of the Democratic Party Ján Ursíny. He stated that due to the Soviet Army is life in Slovakia becoming safe and free and Soviet help us committed to lasting gratitude: „*It obliges us to permanent, unbreakable and eternal brotherhood and friendship to the Soviet Union. And if someone wanted to escalate on us or another Slavic state, faithfully side by side, one with another, we fight, die and win. Not only interest so preaches to us, but also so preaches to us our honour and national feelings. Czechoslovak Republic will be the most faithful ally of the Soviet Union. Cannot and must not be otherwise.*”⁹ In the article *New spirit* Ursíny has justified altering the Czechoslovak foreign policy based on the principle of Slavic and cooperation with the Soviet Union.¹⁰

Glorification of the Soviet Union took on the character of the modern leftist pan-Slavism. In the article: *We found the path to the Slavs*, it has begun by reminding of pro-Russian orientation of Kollar and Vajanský and it has ended through vision of the government of Slavic world: „*Way to world power of Slavs we have already found. All Slavs will commit themselves to the protection of the USSR, they will live together in love and harmony, that life of Slavs becomes like biblical milk and honey, like flowing Canaan.*“¹¹ These trends, which have been fully manifested already in Košice, certainly passed the whole former typical political spectrum. Orientation of Edvard Beneš to

Treasury on March 1st, 1945. Kaifer later went to the Ministry of Justice and the new chairman of the Administrative Committee of the city Košice became Julius Maurer from May 9th, 1945. Activities of Administrative Commission of Košice finished on August 22nd, 1945 and simultaneously National Committee was elected, whose chairman was a communist Julius Maurer.

⁷ SNR adopted a resolution on February 8th, 1945, which defined the powers of the government delegate to mediate contact between SNR and the Czechoslovak government in London, possibly by Soviet military authorities. (*KSČ a vývoj revolučného procesu na Slovensku* (Bratislava : ÚML ÚV KSS, 1978), 400.)

⁸ „Slováci spoločne s Čechmi,“ *Demokrat* I., No. 1, p. 1.

⁹ Ján Ursíny, „Na cestu,“ *Demokrat* I., no. 1 (4. 3. 1945): 1.

¹⁰ Ján Ursíny, „Nový duch,“ *Demokrat*, I., no. 2 (7. 3. 1945): 2.

¹¹ „Našli sme cestu k Slovanom,“ *Demokrat* I., no. 5 (16. 3. 1945): 1.

the Soviet Union and acceptance of the new role of the Soviet Union by him, manifesting in real political acts (agreements, the return to the homeland via Moscow), the influence of civil resistance in Slovakia by him, BBC radio broadcast in this direction was real contribution and completion of a "natural line" of communists in this orientation. Undoubtedly, thereby they have created an atmosphere to support of the position of the Red Army. The result was a consensus in this area in the first months during the liberation of the territory of Slovakia, despite the events that invalidated the action of liberation mission of the Soviet Army. In addition to finding that in other Slavic countries above mentioned factors had been played an important role, should be noted that the Slavic factor (in particular underlined the anti-German, but especially anti-Hungarian focus in our country) was supported by the internal and international policies of the Soviet Union. Pan-Slav Committee in Moscow organized on March 16th, 1945 in Moscow party in honour of SNP (Slovak National Uprising). Ambassadors of Slavic nations attended in the evening party. Speech was read by General secretary, colonel Močalov, but also V. Šrobár, Josef Šrámek, Ludvík Svoboda, L. Novomeský, Rudolf Stránský, Bohumil Laušmann a Zdeněk Nejedlý.¹² Slovak historian Robert Letz has described the alliance with the Soviet Union connected to the liberation mission and revival of Slavic ideas representing the Soviet Union Slavic power, which guarantees freedom of other Slavic nations 'new patriotism'.¹³

The reverse side of the liberation mission accepted in the political declarations of elites of the first sequence were events related to the liberation: - deportation of people to the Gulag, Soviet commanders access to the war booty, but also interventions Soviet Communist political officers preferring versions of communist policy. One of the affected groups was in Košice representatives of Slovak National Unity Party (SSNJ), who worked during the war in the territory annexed to Hungary. Since January 23rd, 1945 its leaders in Košice (Grobon J., L. Štofko, A. Harčár, M. Potemra, also the editors of Slovak unity Saučin L., A. Berta, F. Mondik) were arrested by the NKVD and were released only through the intervention of Delegation of SNC for the liberated territory. J. Grobon and F. Mondik already had been transported away to Dombas. F. Mondik died in the Soviet Union and J. Grobon after returning from prison. The reasons are still shrouded in secret.¹⁴ Movement of the Soviet Army also brought suffering to the civilian

¹² "Večierok na počesť slovenského povstania," *Demokrat*, I, no. 6 (18. 3. 1945): 2.

¹³ Róbert Letz, "Politický režim na Slovensku 1944-1948," (Characteristic of the regime, the basic trends for February 1948) in *Február 1948 a Slovensko*, ed. by Ondrej Podolec (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2008), 116.

¹⁴ Anton Harčár, "Ako vkročila do okupovaných Košíc v štyridsiatom piatom sloboda," *Národná obroda* (19. 1. 1995): 10; Štefan Šutaj, *Občianske politické strany na Slovensku* (Bratislava: Veda, 1999).

population and not just as a direct fighting, but also due to the fact that the army is progressing not always been as liberating, but as well as conqueror army. People particularly beset that tens of thousands of civilians were abducted into Soviet gulags.¹⁵ In the Košice, residents were arrested and concentrated on the Soviet Army headquarters, where they were detained for several weeks and later they were deported to the USSR. The arresting has occurred spontaneously, based on an impeachment or even to supplementation of the people for the work in order to deportation to the USSR. The Soviet Union has acquired cheap labour and the emerging regime to get rid of potential political opposition. Property, machinery, locomotives, cars - all identified as hostile, Hungarian assets was often shipped away to the Soviet Union as war booty.

Already the presence of the Red Army was a significant factor in the formation of public authorities and Košice city was in this respect also a good example.

Republic - national state of Czechs and Slovaks, and relationship to minorities

Shaping relations between Czechs and Slovaks had the primary task for the Košice period of activity of the state and national authorities. Most important political statements there were accepted, which were voiced for the first period the barriers of mutual relationship. On the one hand the Manifest of SNR (Slovak National Council) on February 4th, 1945 is declaring the position of the SNR as the supreme organ of political power, on the other hand, Košice government programme bringing formal declaration of equality relation, which bring a new spirit into the mutual relationship and it was the confirmation of political will to build this relationship on new foundations. However, it was in reality hardly to implement due to rooted stereotypes of interwar policy, Beneš and his 'scientific' opinion and centralist policy of the Czech "Czechoslovak" political parties and the Communist centralism. Although the Regulation of SNR No. 30/1945, published in Košice, has created a barrier to unbridled application of legal centralism, through limiting of presidential decreative powers with consent of the Slovak National Council, but subsequently, it non-Košice, but the Prague's political agreements have created gradually limitation of the Slovak autonomic and federalist experiments.

Similarly, shaping of minority policy, especially against Hungarians, passed in Košice by turbulent development. Modification of like uprising solution of minority issues based on punishing those who are guilty and

¹⁵ Ján Buocik, "K problematike odvečených občanov Slovenskej republiky do ZSSR po roku 1944," in *Slovenský politický exil v zápase za samostatné Slovensko*, ed. by Ján Bobák (Bratislava: Dom zahraničných Slovákov, 1996), 97, lists 69 000 persons. Other sources written from 20 to 60,000 persons.

"uprooting impact of Germans and Hungarians and the Slovak accomplices" presented in the Manifest of SNR on February 4th, 1945 on Beneš model-building of nation-state of Czechs and Slovaks declared in the first government of NF Program and remelted after his full acceptance of both the London and Moscow exile, but also political parties of NF was constructed in discussions of Košice period and then later to translate into legislative form of presidential decrees and regulations of SNR.

Government delegate František Němec in an interview for newspaper said that from the peoples living in this area, it is possible to count only those who have stood up for the Czechoslovak Republic. *"Everyone else who participated in breaking of our state, have to bear the consequences. It was forgotten that in many ways the Hungarians have done the same, if not worse than the Germans."*¹⁶ His expression for the Democrat newspaper, despite its weakened position in the liberated territory, can be considered as representative in terms of Czech and Slovak elites. *„ The territory occupied by the Hungarians, especially Kosice, must be Slovakian. For who the opinion is a foreign, he must reckon with the consequences. "*¹⁷

Particularly actual in this period was so-called the "anyás question". Newspaper *Demokrat* already in its second issue brought an article in which referred to the legitimacy of expatriation "anyás" from Košice (they were placed at the occupied territory from Budapest after the Vienna arbitration, received the property belonging to the displaced Czechs and Slovaks, they came to fulfil of Budapest regulations and to implement violent Hungarianization). According to the newspaper Slovaks from them *"do not want anything from them, just to get back where they came from"*.¹⁸ Administrative Commission in Košice has verified activity of every "anyás" and on the date March 8th, it released 20 "anyás" from city services. Justify it follows: *"The Administrative Commission just announced to them that it does not reflect on their services. This is in conformity with the question of the duration of Czechoslovak Republic. From the constitutional point of view the Czechoslovak Republic has never ceased to exist and what is the territory occupied by Hungarians after 1938 happened was illegal and invalid. Therefore, the Administrative Commission of Košice not released "anyás" because under the applicable laws and regulations in Czechoslovakia employees of Košice were never actually received."*¹⁹

Slovakia and mainly in eastern Slovakia, where after the liberation the basis for a new organization of society started to form, there was very hardly due to impact by front-line combat operations. SNR authorities responded to the situation by issuing of regulations (in Košice there was released 28 SNR

¹⁶ „Slováci spoločne s Čechmi,“ *Demokrat* I., no. 1 (4. 3. 1945): 1.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ „Zachraňujeme iba slovenskosť Košíc,“ *Demokrat* I., no. 2 (7. 3. 1945): 2.

¹⁹ „Zo služieb mesta odišlo 20 „aňášov,“ *Demokrat* I., no. 3 (9. 3. 1945): 3.

regulations, which were published in the Collection of Regulations SNR), later-created and transformed through the Board of Commissioners by decrees emanating in the Official Journal. It was necessary to restore roads, railways, to repair damaged buildings, to provide nourishment of public and protection of the population against epidemics and unexploded munitions.

It was necessary to solve the most important functions ensuring the security of life on the liberated territory. To reconstruct of railways, roads, bridges and buildings to ensure the production in damaged plants. For this purpose it can be used wood from state forests and confiscated wood, necessary to restore war-damaged infrastructure. Already on March 13th, Michael Fal'an - the appointee must to issued guidelines through which he has mandated national committees to supervise to prevent mass destruction of forests.²⁰ Commissariat of SNR for Internal Affairs also ordered an inventory of all vehicles on the liberated territory of Slovakia. On March 1945, activity of Košice's banks was gradually renewing.²¹ The establishment of epidemic hospital in Košice was certainly interesting for this period. Commissioner of Health Ivan Thurzo has informed about its opening in a building of former military hospital. The advent of 21 doctors from England has created the conditions for epidemiological service throughout the liberation of territory.²² The problem in Košice and in the surrounding area was mainly typhus. Chief epidemiologist of IV Ukrainian Front Prof. Sinai and from Czechoslovak side Dr. Ungar, Dr. Hollender, Bardoš and Friedmann also participated at his disposal.²³ A particular problem was the care about social weakest people. It was described a number of persons and social facilities, which have existed in Košice at the beginning of the year 1945.²⁴ There were 112 incurable people on the Pest Street (Red Army Street), 60 orphans in the orphanage of St. Anton and 637 persons received support from the Office of obsolete people.²⁵

After the liberation, it was possible to use the Czechoslovak crowns, the Slovak crowns and Hungarian pengö. Rate of the Slovak and Czechoslovak crown was set on 1:1 and the rate Czechoslovak crown and pengö 1:2. The official command that they have to prefer Czechoslovak currency and then only means of payment that were in circulation before the liberation it was officially given. In the press information has also appeared that the receipts received by the residents of the Red Army for confiscated goods should be saved, they will be reimbursed and should be regarded as securities.²⁶

²⁰ „Ochrana lesov a zásob dreva,“ *Demokrat I*, no. 4 (14. 3. 1945): 4.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² „Epidemická nemocnica v Košiciach otvorená,“ *Demokrat I*, no. 2 (1945): 2; „Konferencia lekárov v Košiciach,“ *Demokrat I*, no. 7 (21. 3. 1945): 4; „Pomáhajme zriadiť protiepidemiologické stanice,“ *Demokrat I*, no. 8 (23. 3. 1945): 2.

²³ „Neúprosný boj proti chorobám,“ *Demokrat I*, no. 6 (18. 3. 1945): 2.

²⁴ „Starostlivosť Košíc o najchudobnejších,“ *Demokrat I*, no. 4 (14. 3. 1945): 3.

²⁵ „Prednosť má československá koruna,“ *Demokrat I*, no. 3 (9. 3. 1945): 3.

²⁶ *Demokrat I*, no. 4 (14. 3. 1945): 4.

Rumours have been spread apparently under the influence of outgoing "anyás" and within whispering propaganda that for pengő will be provided favourable exchange rate and the city started to be traded in the Hungarian currency and Czechoslovak currency refused to hire. Pengő could be used only in the territory, which was annexed by Hungary. Elsewhere, authorities may confiscate it. Slovak and Czechoslovak crowns were equal and no one could reject one or the other currency.

Forming of the basic principles of democratic Czechoslovakia

The political system since the war up to February 1948 was a hybrid system, containing elements of democratic and authoritarian. Communists named it as a popular democracy, which wanted to emphasize that differs from the "formal" pre-war democracy. Constitution from the year 1920 was valid according with formal point of view, but the post-war political system of the Republic had little in common with the pre-Munich Republic.²⁷ We meet with other denominations that system. For example system so-called controlled democracy,²⁸ regulated democracy,²⁹ limited democracy,³⁰ or socialization democracy under E. Beneš. We can state just for Košice period of activity of the central and national authorities that there were essential elements of the formation of the regime, which carries the basic elements of an authoritarian leftward regime.³¹

Czechoslovakia was a country with limited democracy. It's clearly seen in relation to the policy for restricting of the activities of political parties within the NF and the prohibition of some political parties, relationship to Slovakia and to possible self-governing elements, relationship to non-Slavic minorities who lost their Czechoslovak citizenship and also lost associated rights with relation to churches that have lost the right to education, boarding schools and banned religious associations for youth. Freedom political life was limited by presence of Soviet troops and through activities of NKVD, which has interfered within political life after liberation. Suffrage and competition were limited. Restrictions were made through nationalization, land reform, confiscation of property, retribution - People judiciary - all of these elements hit to national committees and clubs. Within conditions of Košice city, the centre of the state, these elements showed very significantly, even if their appearance was still justify by this war conditions, by the need to mobilize all

²⁷ Michal Barnovský, „Politický systém v Československu v rokoch 1945 – 1948,“ in *Studia historica Nitriensia III* (Nitra, 1995), 149.

²⁸ LIPTÁK, Eubomír Lipták, „Vonkajšie a vnútorné faktory politických systémov na Slovensku,“ in *Od diktatúry k diktatúre*, ed. by Michal Barnovský (Bratislava: Veda, 1995), 9.

²⁹ This term was mentioned in the talk of Rudolf Fraštacký „*Politický program a organizácia Demokratickej strany*“ (Slovak national archive in Bratislava, f. DS 403 - 50 - 2).

³⁰ Jozef Lettrich, *Dejiny novodobého Slovenska* (Bratislava: Archa, 1993), 182.

³¹ Letz, *Politický režim na Slovensku 1944-1948 ...*, 115-117.

forces for the reconstruction of war-torn economy, and security measures resulting from the need to ensure public order.

DS and KSS (Democratic Party and Communist party of Slovakia) were considered as political basis for the National Front formally linked on March 17th, 1945. Preparatory Committee NF composed for KSS Július Ďuriš, Edo Friš, Karol Bacilek and Ján Púll, for DS Fedor Hodža, Ivan Pietor, Milan Polák and Tomáš Tvarožek. The Preparatory Committee issued the same day the call for the population to reconstruction, cooperation of both parties, creating NV (national committees) without traitors, call to the recruits to enlisted into the army, call for the promotion of the Red Army, etc.³²

J. Ursíny in programming article of the *Demokrat* newspaper stated that life should be so arranged that everybody was free to present their political opinion. It is essential that you realize, despite the closeness of NF, the existence of two political parties *"political development is not perfect, because we have the view that the two-party system is not enough to guarantee democracy. Of course in the future cannot be with us talking about the old political shattered system, which was only to the detriment of law, democracy and our whole public life."*³³ It should be noted that just in Košice started first reflections on the formation of the Catholic political party.

The need to create the Catholic party has mentioned in Kosice in an interview with Bishop Jozef Čársky and Ivan Pietor.³⁴ Religious leaders in the negotiations on the establishment of Catholic political parties do not enter directly, but through the laics. The negotiations in Košice were held between representatives of Communist Party (D. Husák, E. Friš) and representatives of Catholics from the end of April 1945 P. Čarnogurský has described in his reminiscences. Even mentioned that before accepting KVP (Košice Government Programme) an offer of G. Husák: *"try to do according with recommendation of the proposal for underpin the Slovak Catholics in separate political grouping"*.³⁵ He described the negotiation about programme of a new party and personality composition with the Secretary of the Communist Party - E. Friš. P. Čarnogurský designed a leading personality of the new party a historian and member of the Slovak Parliament František Hrušovský, but he emigrated and after that submits a new proposal on Emanuel Böhm, representative of the Slovak National Unity Party, with him was explicit consent.³⁶

³² „Spoločnými silami porazíme fašistického nepriateľa,“ *Demokrat* I, no. 6 (18. 3. 1945): 1.

³³ Ursíny, *Na cestu...*,

³⁴ Imrich Kružliak, „Povojnová obrana katolicizmu,“ in *Arcibiskup Dr. Karol Kmetko*, ed. by M. Kona and V. Kona (Wilmette – Cambridge: Dobrá kniha, 1989), 423.

³⁵ Pavol Čarnogurský, „Vedúce postavenie dr. Karola Kmetka v kritických záležitostiach slovenskej politiky,“ in *Arcibiskup Dr. Karol Kmetko*, ed. by M. Kona and V. Kona (Wilmette – Cambridge: Dobrá kniha, 1989), 325.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

Democratic Party

The first informative meeting of founders of DS on liberated territory was held in January 17th, 1945 in the house of father of J. Géci, central secretary of DS and later the Regional Secretary of Košice - Michal Géci. It was attended by J. Ursíny, T. Tvarožek, F. Hodža, V. Šrobár, I. Štefánik, J. Géci, P. Zafko, Š. Koričanský, O. Žoldoš, therefore, important representatives of civil resistance, participants in the Uprising and local activists of the Party.³⁷

First regional association of DS was established on February 18th, 1945 in Košice.³⁸ At that time, DS occupied the building of the former Agrarian Party in Košice, where was active the temporary organizing committee and later the Central Secretariat headed by F. Hodža.³⁹

DS, which in this period acted as a democratic block, civil-democratic block or civil block was not sufficiently formed and in most places it hit to more trouble than communists. Organizational foundations of Slovakian DS on liberated territory laid Conference, Congress of delegates from liberated territory in Košice April 4th, 1945, attended by delegates from 32 districts.⁴⁰ At the congress, was elected new chairmanship composed of J. Ursíny and vice-presidents: J. Lettrich (at that time he was still in the occupied territory), J. Lichner, J. Styk, M. Polák, O. Takáč and O. Žoldoš. J. Styk was in the position of executive vice-president; M. Kvetko was at that time head of press and propaganda. M. Géci a Š. Koričanský, they were on positions of central secretary of DS for Eastern Slovakia.

Communist Party of Slovakia

If we should to characterize the ideas of the new Left in Košice about new Czechoslovakia, we can use the speech of representative trade union - Kugler on January 29th 1945 before workers of the company Poledniak in Košice. *"After all these experiences we now should to restore the old Czechoslovakia with all the weaknesses that ultimately led to its end? No. Working class, the peasantry and the working intelligentsia in the new Republic must have proper involvement in the management of the entire public life. Because the new Republic has to be the People's Republic ..."*⁴¹ Chairmanship of KSS was not in Košice in the same composition as was chosen by the "unification congress" on September 17th, 1944 in Banská Bystrica. At first Bacílek Karol, Karol Dolinský (former Social Democrat), Ladislav Novomeský and Ján Púll, they were in Košice from KSS. G. Husák and E. Friš who came from

³⁷ *Demokrat* III., no. 26 (31. 1. 1946).

³⁸ *Hlas ľudu...*, no. 1 (7. 2. 1945); Samuel Cambel, *Slovenská agrárna otázka 1944-1948* (Bratislava : Pravda, 1972), 114.

³⁹ Pavol Plánovský, „Spomienky na časy veľkej nádeje a veľkej neistoty,“ *Naše snahy* 6, no. 3 (1970): 1 - 6. Rozhovor s M. Gécim, *Naše snahy...*(1992), no. 5.

⁴⁰ *Naše snahy...*, (1965), no. 3.

⁴¹ „Košické robotníctvo sa zapojuje do výstavby,“ *Pravda*. II, no. 5 (1. 2. 1945).

Moscow, they were joined later - on February 20th, 1945.⁴² Husák was the highest official of the Central Committee KSS up to the April 12th, 1945 when Karol Šmidke came to Košice and took the Office as Chairman of KSS. However, Husak March 7th, 1945 went by train to Moscow for negotiations on a government program and returned to Košice together with the President of the Republic in the beginning on April 1945.⁴³ Friš practically headed KSS during absence of Husák and Bacílek was the only elected member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in B. Bystrica. J. Ďuriš, who worked in KSS in position of secretary for propaganda and publicity issues came to Košice on March 1945 and Friš was a political secretary and Bacílek was secretary for management.⁴⁴ One of the main tasks that leaders of KSS wanted in the first place to implement on the liberated territory was to carry out the completion of "integrating process" of labour parties into one - the Communist Party. Social democracy merged with KSS on February 25th, 1945 in Košice during workshop. Delegation of KSS (Husák, M. Čulen, F. Komzala and E. Friš) was attended in the workshop. The workshop was opened by Chairman of Košice organization J. Rácz, who in the opening speech said that *"the organization of social democracy originated in eastern Slovakia because officials were not informed about the Congress in Banská Bystrica."*⁴⁵

After finishing of workshops, for which there has been a merger of organizations of social democracy with the communists, was in the meeting of the Central Committee of KSS on February 26th claimed that in Slovakia there is no social democratic organizations and nobody has the right to act on behalf of that party.⁴⁶ Although KSS successfully managed to maintain an organizational unity of KSS during this period, efforts to create a separate Social Democratic Party has never stopped.

Košice belonged since its inception to the most important cities of all state formations within which it had been existed. The geopolitical situation at the end of World War II ordained Košice, building on its importance and place, became the centre of the renewal Czechoslovakia. Košice as the residence of the President of the Czechoslovak Government and the seat of Slovak national authorities, the Slovak National Council and the Board of Commissioners, brought into the period a specific deposit through own atmosphere, conditions - both material and personnel. Fundamental conceptual issues of state had been solved here and here have to introduced the topic concerning to the

⁴² Jan Pešek, *Komunistická strana Slovenska. Dejiny politického subjektu* (Bratislava : Veda, 2012), 22.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, 23.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 24. Also used the designation "central secretary".

⁴⁵ Gustáv Husák, *Svedectvo o Slovenskom národnom povstaní* (Bratislava: Pravda, 1975) 619.

⁴⁶ SNA, f. ÚV KSS, predsedníctvo, kart. 788, a. j. 1, 1945.

character of the state and society. Once again in the history of Košice confirmed its dominance and importance in Central Europe.

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Košice as a historical pillar of Slovakia

Štefan Eliáš

Abstract

A general view on history always allows a deeper reflection about broader connections. Therefore, the author thinks about and examines the history of Košice in the complete integration of the city into a stratified context of Slovak history, which is quite specific and appealing to follow the story of a nation without a king and a city without a given status for life and without a more just democratic society to evolve. This study reveals the pillars of Slovak history that have formed the whole country on the horizon of European politics, science and intelligence in a humongous concert of intra-ethnic relations that add potential and limits to them.

Key words:

Anyone who conscientiously studied the history of Central Europe knows that there is not even a slight mention of Slovakia in all of medieval history of this area. However, Slovakia has never been the territory that is plotted on maps of modern times just as the child of Trianon. It was not invented by French nor American diplomats of the twentieth century. Life itself is the mother of Slovakia.

Historically, it has been through a complex process of creating Slovak nationality itself and the coincidence of historical circumstances that occurred exactly by their ethno genesis and formation of the Hungarian Empire in the heart of Europe. However, in order to put such a historical process in motion, there has to be a Slovak ethnic group that steps out from its anonymity, endures, and contributes to the creation of an original environment for the country and its culture.

Historiography nowadays has no doubt that Slovaks have been permanently inhabiting the whole eastern Slovakia since the 5th century¹ and that the city of Košice has played a unique role in the formation of this region.² As an elected natural centre of the region, it has been given a proud title of Hungariae Superioris Metropolis on all main vedutas by our ancestors.

People say that what is not established on culture will not survive the storms of the centuries. It is twice as true for Slovakia since it was not defined by the political power of princes and kings. It was born different as compared to other surrounding geographical units. Slavomír Ondrejovič, a Slovak linguist, says it right, that: „Slovak space has never been any reservation.“³

Slovak [language] could not become a pillar of Slovakia either since it was lacking the necessary domination since its conception. Nonetheless, it has

¹ Branislav Varsik, *Osídlenie Košickej kotliny I.-III.* (Bratislava, 1964-1977).

² *Dejiny Košíc v dátach I.-II.* (Košice, 2007-2011).

³ Slavomír Ondrejovič, *Jazyk, veda o jazyku, societa* (Bratislava: Veda, 2008), 93.

appeared on the stage of history and it is something to think about. Every pillar must be strong and well anchored in order to mean something in history and in the lives of people.

Therefore we dare to state that historically and economic, Slovakia has been standing on three pillars since time immemorial. Nitra is on the first place, followed by Trnava and then Košice. The whole Slovak history has been unfolding for more than a thousand years based on them and there is no intervention in these regions that could possibly change this.

Nitra represents the first city on the map of Slovakia and the most important Slovak centre of culture and history that was established on Slavic fundamentals. It was the place where the Slovak ethnic group was being created and the scene of the most important civilizational gap related to Great Moravia⁴. It was here, where Rastislav invited Greek scholars Cyril and Methodius, in order to bring the Christians of this region a Slavic liturgical language and higher mundane culture. Simply said, they completed what any other mission from the West could not.

Hence, our ancestors were given the Slavic Glagolitic alphabet by the brothers of Thessaloniki as well as the Old Church Slavonic. Let's never forget that it was a southern-Slavic language. Let's admit neither that it was not ideal nor promising for the distant future. Slavomír Ondrejovič has an appropriate take on the matter: „It was for the first, though not the last time, when a language other than the native served as the official one on our territory.“⁵

Since we are of western Slavic origin, we joined the currents of cultural Latin together with the Hungarians in their country for many centuries. History cannot ever be idealized. On the other hand, culture is always a permanent gain and customs always have their positive purpose in the lives of nations.

Trnava is shaped as a cultural pillar already in the 13th century. The town walls were built around 1270 and it was promoted to a free royal town by Béla IV around 1238. The population density was high and Trnava benefited from its strategic position on the crossroads of commercial arteries from Brno to Esztergom and from Pressburg to the area along the river Váh.⁶ Its reputation spread in the beginning of the 14th century all the way to France. A foreign source titled *Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis* from 1308 lists the towns of Buda, Esztergom, Győr, Veszprém, Pécs, Alba Iulia, Zagreb, Pressburg and Trnava.⁷ Such a town as Košice could not have been worthy of attention for an anonymous author of this document and who was surely

⁴ Michal Lacko, *Svätí Cyril a Metod* (Trnava: Dobrá kniha, 2011).

⁵ Ondrejovič, *Jazyk, veda o jazyku, societa...*, 81.

⁶ Jozef Šimonič, *Mojej Trnave. K dejinám Trnavy a okolia* (Trnava: B-print, 1998).

⁷ Balázs Nagy, “A középkori magyar városok a külföldi utazók leírásaiban,” in *Korall* 38 (2009): 85.

a friar.

Trnava was ahead even of Nitra which temporarily lost its magic. It was a significant business centre - civitas matching any European criteria with a functioning town hall under authority of its reeve. Not even Jews were afraid to settle down here, after all the first written mention of the presence of Jewish families is from the year 1430. We would not have found them there unless Trnava was becoming a larger and richer town.⁸

Nonetheless, what is important is the way how Trnava quickly and successfully started up under the leadership of its municipality and with the support of the Crown, as well as how it held on in a positive economic and cultural competition until the end of the 18th century. The continuous development of the town must be credited to the Jesuit University of Trnava that included Košice into its universally developed operation as well.⁹

Although the youngest as a cultural pillar, Košice are no less an initial point of the cultural-political-economic centre that is being born early in the 14th century, together with how the Slovak element gains its proportionate civilization habitus everywhere else.

The grounds of a royal house existed already in the second half of the 13th century in Košice even though we do not know exactly since when. This means, that *Domus regis Cassoviensis* was considered a legitimization of the Arpád dynasty in central European context. The state did not consider it necessary to build a second royal house somewhere else in the northern parts of Slovakia and this reveals by how people were thinking and acting in the Middle Ages.¹⁰

Binding the region of Košice symbolically and factually to a military unit meant to put the whole modern eastern Slovakia to the reigning dynasty as well as a meaningful gesture to our Polish and Russian neighbours. It was Hannus, Count of the Košice Chamber, who represented power and politics in Košice in 1297. Royal duty was collected on castles and it was strictly overseen in Košice. We do not know whether count Hannus (possibly non-Hungarian) had any predecessors due to the lack of sources of Hungarian provenance and its obvious fragmentation. We do not know the names of his successors either. However, his actions are still an important piece of information about the dominance of Košice in the whole modern eastern Slovakia. It is also a clear symbolic message to each possible and ambitious oligarch and their followers directly from Hungary.

After the Tatar invasion in 1241, ambitious Germans became the burghers of Košice who lived in tolerance with Slovaks and Hungarians, since we do not possess any data about a possible feud between them. These colonists knew all the actualities of the western European feudalism. They cared about

⁸ Šimonič, *Mojej Trnave...* 30.

⁹ *Dejiny spoločnosti Ježišovej na Slovensku 1561-1988* (Cambridge: Dobrá kniha, 1990).

¹⁰ Štefan Eliáš, "Domus regia Cassoviensis," in *Košické historické zošity* 18 (2008).

the fast development of all economic and cultural relationships in quantity and quality in their new homeland and wanted to stabilize prosperous results afterwards.

Craft had an important role in the town's community as we know by establishing the guild of leatherworkers as a collective of one profession and by issuing their privileging charter in 1307, which was the oldest in Hungary. People of Košice attending the frequent medieval market were not an uncommon sight either. What is more, they contributed to the history of business relations with Poland and eastern Prussia.¹¹ The market in Hungarian mainland was adequately profitable as well and all this are factors that only multiply the prestige and wealth of people of Košice.

Whoever wants to prosper reasonably will do everything for it and that people of Košice did just that. They built town walls already in 1290 as the first in eastern Slovakia. Another fact worthy of attention is that there was a far more larger church than it was necessary and that leads us to believe that the royal dynasty itself decided to provide support and help develop Košice in order for it to be accepted as an appropriate and business centre of the region.¹²

Arpad surely had a positive relationship towards Košice and it never changed. Only the decease of this dynasty could cause some problems. We can follow in detail the arising conflict between Košice and the feudal House of Amade thanks to richer sources and the depth of their descriptions.

The internal problem of the privileged aristocracy soon became a serious central European problem and caught the attention of the pope. We shall not deal with it now. We know that the multi-ethnic medieval Hungarian Empire sank into long-standing battles and Košice found itself on the brink of a threatening catastrophe in 1311 after the crown was passed to the Anjou with the accession of Charles I.¹³

The self-confidence of the town's spirit was deeply offended since the young ruler gifted the blossoming town to the palatine Amade Aba. It surely must have been without any disinformation of certain actors in history, native prelates and magnates.

There was nothing left to do and an important political and social event was about to happen which was quite clear and understandable to everyone living in the urban area. It was the entrance of governor into Košice with his whole entourage. For the sake of appearance, the people went out into the streets to show loyalty to the newly elected lord. However, something totally unexpected happened inside the walls of Košice. While the bells were ringing, the burghers present arose to redeem the great humiliation caused by the

¹¹ Ondrej Halaga, *Košice – Balt* (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1975).

¹² Štefan Eliáš, "Románske Košice," in *Košické historické zošity* 4 (1994).

¹³ Štefan Eliáš, "Povstanie Košičanov proti palatínovi Omodejovi a jeho synom roku 1311," in *Historica Carpatica* 43 (2013).

authority that did them so many malicious and arrogant wrongs for so many years.¹⁴

A perfectly elaborated act to welcome the notable aristocracy and their ladies got out of hand and resulted in a battle of man versus man. With the help of weapons, the defeated town came out as the winner against the magnates. All was left on the floor were the bodies of the killed. Amongst them was Amade Aba himself while his sons John and David were captured with others.

Surprisingly enough nothing especially cruel happened afterwards to revenge the blue blood. In the capital of Buda, the Košice problem becomes a main topic of politicization and deliberation of the royal court. These discussions did not lead to any punishing expedition being sent in October to Košice but rather the appearance of the three most prominent bishops of Hungary, namely archbishop Tamás from Esztergom, bishop István from Veszprém and bishop Martin from Eger. All done because of the burghers.

At the end of the discussions, they drew up a parchment charter where the Amade and their allies became the ones who were charged with crime. King Charles I changed his attitude, for he comprehended the nature of the Amade politics and of all the Hungarian oligarchs. The Amade not only promised but also signed and confirmed by stamping not to build new castles without the King's consent. They will not obstruct the people of Košice in harvesting wood. They will not levy duties or thirties from the regions of Spiš, Gelnica or Košice. They will not interrupt markets held in Košice directly or otherwise. They will not bother any royal clerks or officials in Aba or the Zemplin County, and will allow them to serve justice. They will even allow everyone to freely serve the king or however they want to without being revenged by them. They will abolish illegal taxes and will serve the legitimate king based on their abilities forever.¹⁵

The cohesiveness of the Košice community and their urban awareness managed to battle out a win for a just matter a hence reached an important consolidation that unfortunately did not become definite. The directly defeated feudalists from the camp of Upper-Hungary oligarchs were secretly getting ready for a counter-attack. Their driving force of retaliation was the unending hatred towards Košice. Therefore it [the town] was supposed to be their first aim of attack. It was reckoned that Košice, as an old storage town for north-border merchants, would compensate at least a part of the costs for conquering the town.

However, conquering a town in the Middle Ages was a problem. The enemies of the town were satisfied with just smaller attacks against the king's followers and castle until they felt strong enough to launch a full attack. King

¹⁴ *Kronika uhorských kráľov zvaná Dubnická* (Budmerice: RAK Publishing, 2001), 100.

¹⁵ Ondrej Halaga, *Počiatky Košice a zrod metropoly* (Košice: 1992), 325-330.

Charles I replied with a purposeful military initiative to the surrounding and conquering that awaited the Šariš castle on a high volcanic hill. The king himself stood up at the forefront of his army and decided to expel the Amade out of this fortress. Unfortunately it was quite the feat due to very difficult accessibility (570 meters altitude) and woods on the slopes.

A military expedition sent out by Matthew III Csák came to the aid of the besieged and hence the king retreated with haste back to Spiš. Therefore, the Amade freed them from being surrounded and with revenge; they decisively decided to test the resistance of Košice itself. They assumed that with Matthew Csák's army, there is enough of them to play such courageous game and that Charles I does not have enough armed men and will not even come to save Košice.

They simply reckoned to put a quick end to the resilient burghers now and forever. The battle under the walls of Košice lasted two weeks and they still did not break through the gates. Everything got complicated and prolonged. A lightning quick victory was becoming rather questionable.

It was in the morning on June 15th 1312 when the massive armies of the oligarchs standing below the walls of Košice got the news that the king was on his way. Everybody started to look for a strategic position to tackle a bloody fight that could not be avoided anymore.¹⁶ However, rocket-quick redeployment was not in vogue even in the capabilities of the period military and so the two armies clashed at the borders of Košice. Charles I expelled them¹⁷ and ensured a free development of creative work for the whole region with his conceptual politics.

All of this information about this battle, which can be found in the Illustrated Chronicles, was captured by the pens of the medieval ruler's clerks and hence they could not really be involved in the fights. This record still has a great testimonial value even though they surely missed many violent events since being the interpreters of such.

The whole Europe started to be aware of the northern part of the kingdom, called Hungary, populated by Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Russians and sparsely Poles, when it gained respect in the medieval country in 1312. From a historical point of view, Košice rightfully became the third pillar of Slovak history. Not only had they been granted their own grand privilege with great advantages from Louis I on the 28th of July 1347, but their wish to be awarded a coat-of-arms was met in 1369 as well.¹⁸

Merchants and craftsmen of Košice then did not loiter, but were intensively bringing their city to prosperity, which had become a centre of legal solidarity of all the eastern Slovak free royal towns. Therefore, for some centuries, the Pentapolitana was created and then expanded to Sextapolitana.

¹⁶ "Obrázková kronika," in *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska* (Bratislava: RAK, 1995), 65.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 66.

¹⁸ Jozef Novák, *Slovenské mestské a obecné erby* (Bratislava: SAS, 1967), 123.

Strength is unity, and it was properly used in matter of economy, culture and religion.

Central Slovakia did not gain any dominant city in the medieval Hungary. In 1966, architect Igor Thurzo published an article called 'Unresolved problem of our settlement' in the monthly magazine World of Science. He went on to state that central Slovakia still did not have any significant centre and that the settlement structure of Slovakia was still not able to overcome the unbalanced vacuum in the middle. Even though many years have passed since 1966, a significant centre is still missing.

Hence, central Slovakia had never fulfilled the function of a pillar of Slovak culture during the existence of feudal Hungary. Although it had its personalities and important events, it lacked a determinative administrative, economic, cultural, populating and politic role. It did not apply its values for the life of the whole country, since from a material point of view; Slovaks did not rule their thinnest part of country and land themselves because of a complete mingling of economic structures of Hungary and the Habsburg Empire. Nor did it change during the times of dualism.

The inhabitants undoubtedly preferred a Slovak population structure based around a single core and it was concentrated on the plain between Trnava and Nitra. On the east, it happened around Košice, which are even officially mostly Slovak until 1890. Population balance simply did not exist.

Even in the period of late feudalism, Bratislava still presents itself as a mainly German city. The character and spirit of the bourgeoisie was distinctively German. Slovak presence in the city on river Danube was minimal and their role irrelevant in the life of the community. The Slovak element is simply lost and therefore we cannot even consider Bratislava as a determining Slovak city. It did not change even in the 19th century and so we don't deal with Bratislava-Pressburg at all in this work. The city belongs into a different part of our history.

However, let's return to Košice, which still figure as a very important centre of business and Hungarian politics from every historical points of view even in the periods of Ottoman and state battles. They remain such especially after the fall of the Ottoman power and after outflow of Hungarians, which leaves it a Slovak ethnical environment in a broader area. Trilingualism of the burghers was quite common and the awareness of allegiance to the Hungarian state did not quickly change to Hungarian national awareness at all.

Therefore, we can still consider the city of Košice as a stable pillar of Slovakia for the whole 18th century and a substantial part of the 19th century. Special attention must be paid towards the existence of the universities in Trnava and Košice. Both of them managed to retain a strong craftsmen layer in their respective royal free cities, which then gives birth to many future notable Slovaks. These universities then provide a long and permanent cultural-ethnic bridge of civilization spanning over Slovakia from the west to

the east.¹⁹ The main communication axis is horizontal and properly anchors the existential pillars of the country and of the Slovak population. Everyone can access this bridge. The Jesuits had ensured it in a simple equality of nationalities among the inhabitants and it transferred even into the reasoning and acting of the town magistrates.

What is more, the Sextapolitana exists as a regional basis of the Hungarian state as well. It even survives the event when Maria Theresa closed universities and takes the positive cooperation of united bourgeoisie into the following years. Sextapolitana itself had originally been created and tested by craftsmen from the point of view of business, education and religion. It was well known, that even the mixing of native inhabitants with other people does not change the fact, that the universal cooperation of Košice, Prešov, Bardejov, Sabinov, Levoča and Kežmarok remains forever beneficial and prospering.

We should also think of the fact, that the historical region of Sextapolitana was viable by itself. It had never inclined towards western Slovakia. It retained its cultivation of environment and art in such a unique way as it had been during the gothic and renaissance periods. Simply put, Košice were still the supra regional cultural and educational centre thanks to the well-kept royal academy. A major part of Liptov and even Orava was inclined to the city basically until World War I. There was not even any another high education institution except for the latter Evangelistic College in Prešov that had tried to transform itself to a university.

It was similar economy-wise. Košice was the significant centre for the whole area of eastern Slovakia and witnessed the fastest technical development as well as lively entrepreneurship. The city had a uniting function that it has never lost and so it's not by chance that it is amongst the candidates for the EU's honourable title of capital of culture. All the lines of politics, economy and culture concentrated here. We could still observe commuting and the first connection to Košice-Bohumín railway in 1872.

Therefore, Košice were never on a blind path, rather the opposite - they grew on the crossroads of cultures and multicultural traditions that were the source of strength, wisdom and experience. It was the only way how they could have become today's city of schools and developed industry.

We can be proud inhabitants of eastern Slovakia, which has survived heroic past events full of battles with Tatars, Ottomans and other armies. We have rich traditions, personalities and hence a contribution to the European 'jewel box' of culture. We've got art, scientists, inventors and heroes. The people of Košice attended the Krakow University when they did have one of their own. They were educating themselves and even Erasmus of Rotterdam, the most important representative of Christian humanism, knew very well

¹⁹ Štefan Eliáš, "Košická univerzita," in *Jezuitské školstvo včera a dnes* (Bratislava, 2006).

where Košice can be found and where does his friend Antoninus, the doctor, live.

Whether someone likes it or not, it is even in the Modern Age that Košice is now permanently the cradle of modern Slovak technical education, veterinary medicine, the seat of the second Slovak university and even the place of the second professional Slovak theatre. This is how history had planned it out.

All of these unchanging facts need to be emphasized when we think of the road Slovakia had to undergo in order to reach its just authenticity. Historical pillars are given to every nation, even to those that never had their own kings, but they function and create permanent values. History is not blind and in the critical moment of Slovak history, the Society of Jesus stood on critical posts of the civilizational effort of our ancestors from the west to the east. Without its wisdom, sacrifice and civilizational work, there would be no cultural Slovak language, nor Anton Bernolák and his fellows.

United in strength, the majority established massive fundamentals for millennia and these could not have been weakened even by the daring Koloman Tisza. Slovaks survived and God's justice gave them everything that rightfully belonged to them, just like it was with other nations participating on the formation of Central Europe.

From today's point of view, the wrongdoings of Slovaks were seriously impeding any modernizing process and the natural development of Slovak-Hungarian ethnical relationships. The ruling dualism was disturbing their coexistence and put the Slovak element for decades to the countryside with all of its painful problems and even with the variety of Slovak dialects.

Therefore, it disallowed the rural Slovaks to know the standard Slovak language and the language of the urban environment. The possibility to recognize this version of the language narrowed to an unbelievable minimum.

The people were sentenced to rural life where bright education and a higher urban civilized version of the spoken language could be heard usually in the form of spoken Hungarian from the reader, and what is more, even by the mouth of the pastor. It was a model speech emphasizing the language of the educated, which was a mile away from the simple forms of rural conversation. Everyone could sense it and many wished to improve rhetorically and somehow integrate themselves into a higher social class.

These were the language attitudes and tendencies. There were almost no educated Slovak families, although the standard Slovak spread so much, that it could not have been removed from press or artistic literature, or from the aware communication within the family. This was only emphasized by the fact, that Samuel Cambel (1856-1909), the government specialist for Slovak language, used it freely.

However, Slovak carried signs of rurality and conservatism due to the strained last years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The importance of city

language for linguistics was absolutely specific, since it presented language variability, a progress that the urbanization and industrialization influenced by affecting the development of the language.²⁰

It progressed slowly and the political impeding of everything Slovak allows the cultivation of language to be free after 1918. It was happening in Košice as well, as the last necessary phase promoting the sinking Slovak language to the level of standard language of the urban community. On the other hand, multilingualism is not condemned at all.

We could call it the return to the simple ordinary state of the urban community and the liberation of a living form of the language in social aspect by improving it in the favour of the inhabitants of the city and countryside. It is noticeable in Košice quite imminently. Bilingualism remains and German can be found in schools.

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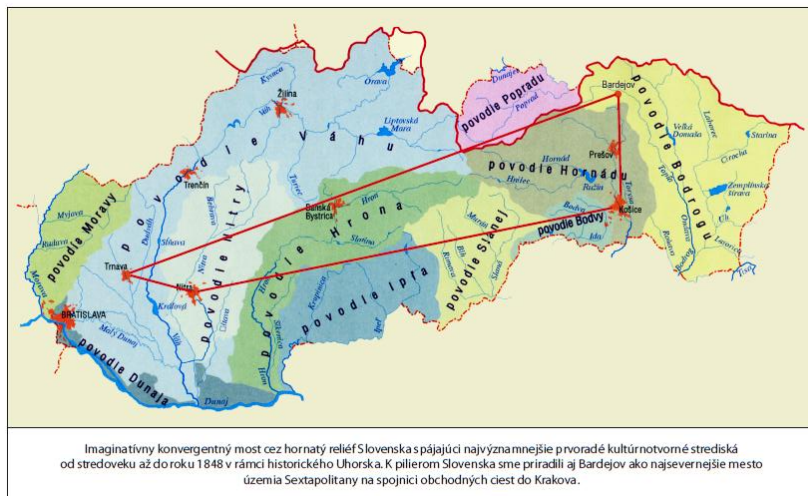
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²⁰ Ondrejovič, *Jazyk, veda o jazyku, societa...*

Appendix



The map of imaginative convergence bridge through the relief that connects the most significant culture centres of Slovakia from the Middle Age to the year 1848.

Programme of international conference:

19. september 2013

9:00 – 10:00 – opening

10:00 – 10:15

PhDr. Ladislav Olexa (Archeologický ústav SAV Nitra – OVVS AÚ SAV Košice)

Important archaeological sites and unique artefacts in Košice and its surroundings from the beginning of the Bronze Age

10:15 – 10:30

prof. PhDr. Ferdinand Uličný, DrSc. (Filozofická fakulta, UPJŠ, Košice)

Beginning and development of the burges-ship and the city of Košice up to the middle of the 14th century

10:30 – 10:45

akademik Attila Zsoldos (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Budapest)

The path of Košice to the privileges of 1347

10:45 – 11:00

Mgr. Drahoslav Magdoško, PhD. (Filozofická fakulta, UPJŠ, Košice)

The City Elite at the Turn of the 13th and 14th Century in Košice

11:00 – 11:20 – break

11:20 – 11:35

prof. PhDr. Ján Lukačka, CSc. (Filozofická fakulta, Univerzita Komenského, Bratislava)

Košice in the Anjou period with special regard to business relations of the City within Central-Eastern Europe

11:35 – 11:50

JUDr. Jozef Kirst (Archív mesta Košice, emerit.)

The oldest Coat of Arms in Europe awarded to a city

11:50 – 12:05

prof. Dr hab. Stanislav A. Sroka (Instytut Historii, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków)

The correspondence of Krakow with Kosice in the Middle Ages

12:05 – 12:20

Univ.-prof. Dr. Ferdinand Opll (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Institut für Stadt-geschichts-forschung der Ludwig Boltzmann, Wien)

Vienna and its relations to the Regnum Hungariae in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Period (15th –16th century)

12:20 – discussion

12:30 – 13:30 – lunch

13:30 – 13:45

prof. Dr. György Granasztói (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Budapest)

The Population of Košice in the Early Modern Era, in Comparison with Europe

- 13:45 – 14:00
prof. PhDr. Marie Marečková, DrSc. (Pedagogická fakulta, Masarykova univerzita, Brno)
City of Košice in the Central European Context of early modern period
- 14:00 – 14:15
Dr. Boglárka Weisz, PhD. (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Budapest)
The legal background of the trade life of Košice in the middle ages
- 14:15 – 14:30
Mgr. Marcela Domenová, PhD. (Filozofická fakulta, Prešovská univerzita, Prešov)
Multiethnicity of townespeople of Košice in the 16th century (the probe into registers of newly-accepted townspeople)
- 14:30 – 14:45
prof. Dr hab. Zdzisław Noga (Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, Krakow)
Relations between Cracow and Košice in the 16th century
- 14:45 – 15:00
Dr. Iulia Caproş (Pedagogická univerzita v Kišineve, Moldavsko)
Presence of Košice Inhabitants at European Universities from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century: Facts and Numbers
- 15:00 – 15:20 – break**
- 15:20 – 15:35
doc. PhDr. Ivan Chalupecký
Pentapolis – Cooperation and Conflicts
- 15:35 – 15:50
Mgr. Mária Fedorčáková, PhD. (Filozofická fakulta, Prešovská univerzita, Prešov)
Legal, social and economic relations between Košice and cities in the territory of Eastern Slovakia in the Middle Ages
- 15:50 – 16:05
doc. PhDr. Miloslava Bodnárová, CSc. (Filozofická fakulta, Prešovská univerzita, Prešov)
John Henckel, the parson of Košice – a personality of European Renaissance and Humanism
- 16:05 – 16:20
Mgr. Annamária Kónyová, PhD. (Filozofická fakulta, Prešovská univerzita, Prešov)
The Establishment of the Reformed Church in Košice in the Context of the Development of Calvinism in Central Europe
- 16:20 – 16:35
Ing. arch. Jozef Duchoň (Východoslovenské múzeum v Košiciach, emerit.)
Fortification of Košice in its History
- 16:35 – 16:50
Mgr. Martina Orosová – Mgr. Katarína Bodnárová, PhD. (Slovenský pamiatkový úrad, Bratislava – Slovenská národná galéria, Bratislava)
Košice as part of the anti-Turkish defence line in the 17th century
- 16:50 – 17:05

prof. PhDr. Peter Kónya, PhD. (Filozofická fakulta, Prešovská univerzita, Prešov)

Košice, the capitol of the Habsburg resistance

17:05 – discussion

18:00 – reception

20. september 2013

9:00 – 9:15

Dr. István Németh, PhD. (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Budapest)

Košice a drift in the European municipal politics

9:15 – 9:30

prof. PhDr. ThDr. Peter Zubko, PhD. (Arcibiskupský archív, Košice)

St. Elizabeth's Cathedral in Košice as spiritus movens

9:30 – 9:45

Doc. Tatjana Gusarova (Lomonosov Moscow State University)

The Officials of the Spiš/Szepes (Košice) Chamber in the 17th century

9:45 – 10:00

Dr. Julia Brandt (Institut für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte

Südosteuropas, München)

Kosice in German sources from Early Modern Age

10:00 – 10:35 – break

10:35 – 10:50

doc. Dr. Gábor Czoch, PhD. (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Budapest)

Košice in the European Migration Processes (1781-1848)

10:50 – 11:05

doc. PhDr. Vladimír Segeš, PhD. (Vojenský historický ústav, Bratislava)

Municipial militia in Košice

11:05 – 11:20

doc. Dr. Éva Gyulai, PhD. (Miskolci Egyetem, Miskolc)

Cassovia vetustissima – Košice according to Matthias Bel's Manuscripts

11:20 – 11:35

PhDr. Pavol Šalamom (Holokauszt Emlékközpont, Budapest)

Jews in Košiciach in years 1840 - 1944

11:35 – 11:50

prof. PhDr. Ladislav Tajták, CSc. (Prírodovedecká fakulta, UPJŠ, Košice)

Košice during the period of Ungarian capitalism

11:50 – 12:05

doc. Dr. Tamás Csiki, PhD. (Miskolci Egyetem, Miskolc)

Cultural and Social Associations in Košice in the Second Half of the 19th Century

12:05 – discussion

12:15 – 13:15 – lunch

13:15 – 13:30

Juraj Halász (Technická univerzita v Košiciach)

The life and work of Béla Gerster (1850 – 1923)

- 13:30 – 13:45
prof. Xavier Galmiche (Université Paris-Sorbonne, UFR d'Etudes slaves, Paris)
Košice through eyes of William Ritter – a Swiss lover of Slovak cities
- 13:45 – 14:00
JUDr. Ján Gašpar (Štátna vedecká knižnica v Košiciach)
Personalities of European Importance Connected with Košice between 1848-1920
- 14:00 – 14:15
RNDr. Jana Mešterová (Slovenské technické múzeum, Košice)
Famous pedagogues connected with the Košice city
- 14:15 – 14:30
PhDr. Robert Pollák (Východoslovenské múzeum v Košiciach)
Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice, its history and the most important collections
- 14:30 – 14:45
prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. (Filozofická fakulta, UPJŠ, Košice)
Košice at the end of the Second World War - the political and social centre of Czechoslovakia
- 14:45 – 15:00
Mgr. Štefan Eliáš (MV SR, Štátny archív v Košiciach, emerit.)
Košice as a historical pillar of Slovakia

The City of Košice, The Košice City Archives

Košice in the Coordinates of European History

Mária Hajduová – Martin Bartoš (eds.)

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