

**TRANSFORMATION OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN CITIES
IN HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
(KOŠICE, KRAKÓW, MISKOLC, OPAVA)
FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY**

Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie
Košice, 28.-29. jún 2012

Eds. Henrich Hrehor, Martin Pekár

Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach
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VPLYV PRISŤAHOVALECTVA NA ETNICKÚ SITUÁCIU MIEST NA STREDOVEKOM SLOVENSKU

Miloš Marek

Stredoveké mesto bolo živým organizmom, v ktorom prebiehali po celý čas hospodárske, spoločenské, demografické a urbanistické zmeny. Tieto zmeny sa prejavovali aj na jeho celkovom populačnom obraze. Tak ako v Čechách, na Morave, aj v našom priestore možno hovoriť o tzv. populačnej nesebestačnosti stredovekých miest, ktorá sa prejavovala odkázanosťou na prílev vidieckeho obyvateľstva. Keďže mestská komunita nebola schopná svoj demografický rast pokryť z vlastných zdrojov, musela sa spoľahnúť na príspevok svojho vidieckeho zázemia, ktoré dokázalo saturovať populačný deficit blízkeho mesta.¹ A ak sa vidiek svojou populáciou etnicky odlišoval od národnostného profilu mesta, mohlo sa stať, že sa niekdajší etnický pomer, ktorý sa dovtedy v mestskej komunite ustálil, postupnou infiltráciou z inoetnického okolia začal narúšať v prospech národnosti vidieckych prisťahovalcov.

Tento viac-menej zákonitý proces bol do istej miery utlmený v mestách, ktoré mali pravidelné obchodné kontakty so zahraničím. V nich sa cudzí, (nemecký), hostovský či meštiansky element udržal po celý čas ich existencie a ich obchodné kontakty viedli aj k usadzovaniu sa zahraničných prisťahovalcov v ich strede. Platí to obzvlášť pre Bratislavu, ktorá sa nachádzala na samých hraniciach Uhorského kráľovstva v susedstve s nemeckým jazykovým priestorom, vo významnej miere tiež pre Košice. Ostatné kráľovské mestá ako Kremnica, Prešov, Bardejov či Trnava boli síce tiež prepojené obchodom s cudzinou, no vo svojom demografickom vývoji boli viacej odkázané na svoje bezprostredné okolie.²

Hoci nemeckí mešťania sťahovaniu obyvateľstva z vidieka v podstate nebránili, dokázali sa postaviť proti tomu, aby sa cudzí „nenemeckí“ prisťahovalci usadili v samom centre, na námestí. Buď vo forme nepísaného zvyku alebo písaného štatútu ustanovili, že na rínku smie mať postavený dom len Nemeč. Kráľovná Alžbeta síce v roku 1505 tento zvyk porušila v prípade Banskej Štiavnice a vybavila pre istého Martina Zalaja, familiára vacovského biskupa, povolenie na bývanie na námestí. Mešťanom sa za to však ospravedlnila. Uznala, že podľa právnej zvyklosti banskoštiavnickí mešťania z istých rozumných dôvodov („propter nonnullas rationes idoneas“) zachovávajú oddávna („ab antiquo“) obyčaj, že nijaký Maďar či Slováčik alebo človek inej národnosti nesmie nikdy bývať na námestí tohto mesta. Sľúbila, že odteraz túto obyčaj nebude nijako porušovať.³

Treba povedať, že vôľa sťahovať sa bola u poddanského obyvateľstva silná. Zhoršujúca sa sociálna situácia a zvýšený útlak zemepána viedol poddaných často k rozhodnutiu opustiť svoj domov a hľadať šťastie inde. Prirodzene, najviac lákalo mestské prostredie. Mestá utvárali podmienky pre usadzovanie nového obyvateľstva už vo svojich výsadných listinách. Zemepáni, od ktorých poddaní utekali, však robili všetko preto, aby si ich u seba udržali. Sťahovaniu poddaných robili rôzne obštrukcie a

1 ŽEMLIČKA, J. Venkovské zázemí a etnická skladba českého vrcholně středověkého města. In *Národnostný vývoj miest na Slovensku do roku 1918. K 600 výročiu vydania výsad pre žilinských Slovákov*. Ed. Marsina, R. Martin 1984, 269-270. Do demografických problémov, z ktorých si samo nevedelo rady, sa mesto mohlo dostať aj vďaka častým živelným pohromám – požiarom, epidémiám alebo vojenským udalostiam, ktoré v stredoveku zasiahli negatívnym spôsobom do jeho života.

2 GRANASZTÓI, G. *A középkori magyar város*. Budapest 1980, 254.

3 Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapest (MOLB), Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (MOLB, DF), 234 771.

prekážky, čo sa zasa nepáčilo mestám, ktoré sa na to sťažovali panovníkovi. Uhorskí králi sa vo väčšine prípadov vždy zastali miest. Pre mnohé mestá vydávali nariadenia o slobodnom sťahovaní obyvateľstva, ako o tom bude reč nižšie. Podmienky slobodného sťahovania podrobne ustanovuje dekrét kráľa Žigmunda z roku 1396. Kráľ v ňom reaguje na početné ponosy ľudí sťažujúcich sa na zemepánov, ktorí zatažovali svojich poddaných mimoriadnymi súdnymi pokutami alebo dávkami len preto, aby si ich udržali u seba. Žigmund tu vyjadril názor, že od počiatku všetci ľudia pochádzajú od jedného rodiča – stvoriteľa, preto majú byť slobodní aj tí, ktorých nie príroda, ale ľudské násilie dostalo do podriadeného postavenia.⁴ Preto udelil všetkým kráľovským mešťanom, hosťom alebo poddaným slobodu odšahovať sa na majetky cirkvi alebo svetských šľachticov a naopak zasa umožnil všetkým poddaným cirkevných a svetských inštitúcií presťahovať sa na kráľovské majetky po získaní povolenia a zaplatení pozemkovej dane a iných povinností. Zemepánom kráľ nariadil, aby súdne pokuty od poddaných vybrali do jedného mesiaca. Ak to neurobili, po uplynutí tejto lehoty nemali viac poddaných zadržiavať. Podobne aj pre výber kolekty alebo iných dávok mohol zemepán stanoviť istú lehotu, ktorú mnohol predĺžiť na 15 dní, avšak po ich uplynutí nemohol viac poddaného násilu zadržiavať.

Toto svoje nariadenie Žigmund zopakoval aj v tzv. Menšom dekrete z roku 1405.⁵ Sťahovaniu poddaných sa venoval aj krajinský snem v Bratislave v roku 1435, ktorého uznesenia obsahuje tzv. Väčší dekrét kráľa Žigmunda. Tento raz sa stanovili aj peňažné pokuty za obmedzovanie slobodného pohybu poddaných. Stoličné orgány dostali právo udeliť pokutu 3 hrivien striebra každému šľachticovi, ktorý by bránil poddanému v jeho sťahovaní po splnení si všetkých povinností. Rovnakú pokutu mal dostať aj šľachtic, ktorý by násilne odviezol poddaného na svoj majetok bez povolenia jeho predchádzajúceho zemepána.⁶ Otázka slobodného pohybu poddaných sa riešila aj v ďalšom období. Keďže narastal počet poddaných, ktorí utekali svojim zemepánom aj bez povolenia, boli prijaté ustanovenia, ktoré mali takúto prax zamedziť.⁷

Dopyt po ľudskej pracovnej sile bol teda veľký. Mesto potrebovalo nových obyvateľov pre svoj prirodzený vývin a robilo všetko preto, aby si ho aj v tomto smere zabezpečilo. Sledovanie demografických a národnostných pomerov v stredovekých mestách nám umožňujú početné daňové súpisy. Aj keď treba povedať, že v nich nefiguruje zaznamenané chudobné obyvateľstvo, ktoré bolo nezdanené, takže rekonštruovanie skutočnej populačnej situácie v meste sa dá urobiť len odhadom. Pokiaľ ide o etnicitu, dá sa určiť na základe menného materiálu. Pre zisťovanie pohybu obyvateľstva, jeho sťahovania do mesta a pôvodu prisťahovalcov sú najlepším prameňom matriky novoprijatých mešťanov. Tie sa však pre stredovek zachovali len v minimálnej miere (Bardejov, Košice, zápisy z Trnavy a Prešova). Opäť si teda musíme vystačiť s daňovými súpismi a analýzou osobných mien mešťanov, najmä tzv. pôvodových mien.

Bratislava

Národnostné pomery Bratislavy determinovala jej poloha na hraniciach s nemeckým etnickým priestorom. Nemecký obchodnícky element sa tu usadil pomerne zavčasu, prevrstvil pôvodne slovenský element a ovládol správu mesta. Ďalšie vlny nemeckého prisťahovalectva sa realizovali po tatárskom vpáde. Zasiahli však nielen samotnú Bratislavu, ale celú oblasť juhozápadného Slovenska ležiacu pod Malými Karpatami.⁸ Takto sa aj bezprostredné okolie mesta ponemčilo, čo ešte viac upevnilo pozície nemeckej národnosti v meste. Vojenské udalosti počas bojov o babenberské dedičstvo znamenali značné populačné straty. Z mesta sa jeho obyvateľstvo rozutekalo na viaceré strany, no privilégium pre Bratislavu vydané v roku 1291 kráľom Ondrejom III. počítá z ďalším prisťahovalectvom udelením

4 „cum ab ... rerum exordio omnes homines prima parens equaliter produxerit, hy liberi habeantur, quos non natura, sed humana potentia sibi ipsi iugo subicere conaretur servitutis“, DL 24 793. *Codex diplomaticus ecclesiasticus ac civilis (CDH) X/3*. Ed. Fejér, G. Pestini 1838, 192.

5 *Decreta regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns (DRH)*. Eds. Döry, F. – Bónis, G. – Bácskai, V. Budapest 1976, 195-196.

6 *DRH II*, 258. Na novú právomoc stolice pri ukladaní pokút sa odvolal aj kráľ Albrecht v roku 1438, keď ju vyzval na zákrok v súvisie s bránením sťahovaniu poddaných do Hamuliakova. *Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL)*, 13 220.

7 Zák. čl. XVIII z roku 1459, zák. čl. XI z roku 1468, zák. čl. II z roku 1470, zák. čl. XIV z roku 1474, zák. čl. VII z roku 1475 a zák. čl. XXXIX z roku 1486. *DRH II*, 107-118, 172-178, 182-189, 210-219, 254-257, 260-310. K tejto problematike pozri viac RÁBIK, V. „*Commorandi causa*“..., 173-174.

8 VARSÍK, B. *Z osídlenia západného a stredného Slovenska v stredoveku*. Bratislava 1984, 89. MAREK, M. *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku*. Martin 2006, 72.

významných výsad.⁹ A k sťahovaniu aj došlo. Pôvod nových hostí z priľahlého Rakúska a Uhorska spomína doklad z roku 1296.¹⁰

Toto boli predpoklady, ktoré viedli k tomu, že väčšinu obyvateľstva mesta tvorili po celý stredovek nemeckí mešťania. Tí boli dosť zámožní nato, aby si v meste kupovali domy a tým aj meštianske právo. Ako napríklad istý Kristián Schallenhofer s manželkou Katarínou, ktorí si v roku 1368 kúpili meštianske právo v Bratislave za pol funta fenigov na základe vlastníctva domu na predmestí na Klariskej ulici („auf fer Nunnan pewnt“) a na území mesta.¹¹ Slovenský element tu patril k menšine žijúcej zväčša na predmestí patriacej spoločensky k mestskej chudobe.¹² Tá však nemala veľa prostriedkov na kúpu vlastného domu. Povolenie na prisťahovanie mohli ale aj chudobní ľudia dostať na základe odporúčania dôveryhodnej osoby. V roku 1433 tak poslali Hašek z Valdštejna a Jošt Hecht z Božíc, hlavný moravský komorník, bratislavskej mestskej rade odporúčací list pre sluhu Pavlíka.¹³ Odporúčanie bolo potrebné aj pre zámožnejších ľudí. V roku 1490 žiadal Juraj Frankl, prísažný mestečka Hainburg, bratislavský senát, aby prijal za mešťana jeho strýka Konráda.¹⁴ Samozrejme, chudoba meštianske právo nezískala, napriek tomu vidina ľahšieho života sem priťahovala mnohých. Ako napríklad kartuziánskeho mnícha z kláštora v Gempniku, ktorý s viacerými vecami a dvoma služobníkmi zmizol v roku 1378 v Bratislave. Predstavený kláštora Štefan žiadal mesto, aby mu vrátili aspoň jeho veci, keď už nie samotného mnícha.¹⁵

Keďže v mnohých obciach v okolí Bratislavy sa tiež usadili Nemci, tvorili nezanedbateľnú zásobáreň populačných prebytkov pre toto mesto. Pre stredovekú Bratislavu, žiaľ, nemáme k dispozícii zoznamy novoprijatých mešťanov, musíme preto využiť iné listinné pramene. Jeden z nich nám celkom názorne potvrdzuje deklarovaný stav. V roku 1343 prebiehal spor medzi šľachticom Petrom zo Svätého Jura a bratislavskými mešťanmi. Petrovi nebolo po vôli, že sa z jeho majetkov sťahujú poddaní – osobitne spomenul istého kožušníka menom Pertold – a usadzujú sa v meste. Sporné stránky sa teda dohodli, že ak odteraz bude chcieť niekto z poddaných z akéhokoľvek Petrovho majetku odísť a presťahovať sa medzi bratislavských mešťanov, musí jeden z mešťanov prísť do predchádzajúceho bydliska spomenutého poddaného za Petrom alebo pri jeho neprítomnosti za predstaviteľmi správy tejto dediny: oficiálom, richtárom a starejšími a vyžiadať si od nich povolenie presťahovať sa do mesta, aby Peter už viac netrpel ujmu náhlym a tajným odchodom svojich poddaných.¹⁶

Vojenské udalosti 15. storočia nepriamo zapríčinili, že sa do mesta dostávali viaceré osoby českého pôvodu (ako katolícki duchovní, remeselníci, žoldnieri). Sám kráľ Žigmund Luxemburský podporoval usadzovanie českých jednotlivcov v meste. V roku 1430 daroval majstrovi tesárskeho remesla Jakubovi Bohemovi z Brna, dom vo Vydrici, ktorý kúpil od jeho predchádzajúceho vlastníka. Jakubove schopnosti kráľ využíval pri výstavbe kráľovských opevnení.¹⁷ Mnohí českí žoldnieri sa sami ponúkali do služieb mesta, iných ponúkali Bratislave tamojší šľachtici.¹⁸ Títo jednotlivci posilnili na istý čas slovanský element v meste, no nemohli ohroziť nemeckú dominanciu.¹⁹

Po celý stredovek boli členmi mestského magistrátu v Bratislave výlučne ľudia nemeckej národnosti a platilo to aj o členoch vonkajšej (24-člennej) mestskej rady.²⁰ Bratislava udržiavala ob-

9 *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku (1238-1350)*. Ed. Juck, L. Bratislava 1984, 75, č. 77.

10 „hospites de Austria et Ungaria“, 1296, *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus (CDAC)* V. Ed. Wenzel, G. Pest 1864, 161-162, č. 104.

11 Archív mesta Bratislavy (AMB), Listina č. 248.

12 LYSÁ, Ž. Bratislava. In *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Eds. Štefánik, M. – Lukačka, J. a kol. Bratislava 2010, 117.

13 AMB, Listina č. 1252.

14 AMB, Listina č. 3898.

15 AMB, Listina č. 388.

16 DL 3576.

17 AMB, Listina č. 2001 (MOLB, DF 239 849).

18 AMB, Listina č. 2588 a 2589.

19 Prítomnosť českých a moravských prostáhalovcov v Bratislave za Žigmundových čias dosvedčuje niekoľko dokladov. Podľa jedného z nich z roku 1446 stúpala počet českých žoldnierov zo dňa na deň. DL 71 387. V istom období ich tu žila takmer stovka. Bol to však len prechodný jav, ktorý trval len niekoľko rokov. Česi pôsobiaci vo vojenských službách mesta sa tu natrvalo neusadili. LEHOTSKÁ, D. Vývoj slovanskej society v Bratislave do konca XVII. storočia. In *Slovanská Bratislava II-III, 1949-1950*, 14-20. Existenciu slovenskej a maďarskej menšiny v Bratislave 16. storočia dosvedčuje aj výskyt osobitných kazateľov pre Slovákov, označovaných Nemcami ako Bohemi, a pre Maďarov. ULÍČNÝ, F. K výskumu národnostnej štruktúry stredovekých miest na Slovensku. In *Národnostný vývoj miest na Slovensku do roku 1918. K 600 výročiu vydania výsad pre žilinských Slovákov*. Ed. Marsina, R. Martin 1984, 156-157.

20 LEHOTSKÁ, D. Mestská správa a bratislavské meštiactvo do konca 14. storočia. In *Historické štúdie*, 14, 1969, 204.

chodné kontakty s rakúskym a juhonemeckým priestorom, čo potvrdzujú aj údaje daňových kníh obsahujúcich priezviská miestnych mešťanov. Mnohé z nich sú pôvodového charakteru. Na základe ich rozboru môžeme povedať, že najviac z nich označovalo lokality ležiace v oblasti dnešného dolného Rakúska. Okrem bližších sídel ako Viedeň, Hainburg, Marchegg, Rajka, Wolfsthal, Laa an der Thaya, Zistersdorf, ktoré takpovediac susedia s Bratislavou a mali s ňou aj pravidelné kontakty,²¹ spomeňme o niečo vzdialenejšie (dolno)rakúske lokality Enns, Krems, Mautern, Leithaprodersdorf, Pottendorf a ďalšie, ktoré sú zaznačené v príslušnej mape. Z uhorských miest to boli predovšetkým blízka Šopron, Győr, Vacov, ale aj sedmohradská Sighisoara. Medzi vzdialenejšími západoeurópskymi lokalitami sa spomínajú mestá Würzburg, Norimberg, Praha, Brno, Jihlava, Salzburg. Celý rad mešťanov mal svoj pôvod v sídlach dnešného juhozápadného Slovenska. Súpisu uvádzajú okrem mesta Trnavy a mestečiek Modry, Pezinka, Svätého Jura, Stupavy, Šamorína aj Bernolákovo, Podunajské Biskupice, Devín, Kvetoslavov, Mliečno, Štvrtok na Ostrove, Veľké Trnie (Schukastorf). Vo všetkých z nich existovali v danom čase väčšie či menšie komunity nemeckých hostov.²²

Trnava

Susedná Trnava bola geograficky v trochu odlišnom postavení ako Bratislava. Aj ona ležala na významnej križovatke obchodných trás, čo prilákalo na usadenie významnú komunitu nemeckých hostov, nebola však už v takej bezprostrednej blízkosti nemeckého jazykového priestoru ako Bratislava. Aj tu sa síce vidiecke okolie najmä pod Malými Karpatami v priebehu druhej polovice 13. storočia do istej miery ponemčilo príchodom nových hostov, slovenský etnický element tu však hral významnejšiu rolu ako v predchádzajúcom prípade. Tvoril väčšinu hlavne v radoch mestskej chudoby, dostal sa ale aj medzi strednú remeselnícku vrstvu. Zámožnejšie mešťanstvo, z ktorých sa vyberali členovia mestskej rady, ale naďalej až do 15. storočia tvorili takmer výlučne Nemci.²³

Sťahovanie ľudí do Trnavy uľahčil kráľ Ľudovít I., ktorý v roku 1360 svojím mandátom zakázal uhorským šľachticom a krajinským úradom vyberať mýtny poplatok od ľudí sťahujúcich sa z cudziny alebo okolia do tohto mesta.²⁴ Keďže Trnava potrebovala zabezpečiť populačný rozvoj zo svojho okolia, odpor zemepánov jej v tomto úsilí robil prekážky. Preto sa trnavskí mešťania snažili v tejto veci panovníkov získať na svoju stranu. V nasledujúcom storočí tak vydali podobný mandát aj kráľ Žigmund Luxemburský (1436), Albrecht Habsburský (1438, 1439), gubernátor Ján Huňady (1452) a Matej Korvín (1474).²⁵

O prisťahovalectve a prijatí mešťanstva niekoľkých jednotlivcov jestvuje zopár zápisov v trnavskej mestskej knihe. Ide tu o ľudí slovenského pôvodu z blízkeho okolia Trnavy, ako sa v zápise hovorí: z jeho konfína (Andrusch a Peter Frenko, Thrbotzky, Benko Zakssunckossowi).²⁶ Slovenské mená však mali aj viacerí trnavskí mešťania, ktorí neboli prisťahovalcami, ale tu žili už oddávna a patrili k starousadlíkom. Niektorí z nich boli aj ručiteľmi pri prijímaní nových slovenských prisťahovalcov, ako to vidíme z rozboru najstaršej trnavskej mestskej knihy.²⁷ Najstarší daňový register mesta pochádza až z roku 1536. Okrem niekoľkých osôb označených etnickou prezývkou Hungarus, Moravus či Polonus obsahuje pôvodové mená mešťanov, ktoré odkazujú ich pôvod do oblasti západného Slovenska: Beckov, Borovce, Hrnčiarovce, Chtelnica, Nižná, Piešťany, Senica, Suchá, Šelpice, Špačince, Trenčín, Veľké Kostolany, Vrbové, Žabokreky. Analýza jazykového charakteru ich mien hovorí o tom, že boli slovenského pôvodu (Šimon Beckovský, Bubeník z Bolerázu, Michal Bolerázsky, Šimon Borovský, Matej Hrnčarovský, Bartolomej Kostelanský, Sartor Lopašovský, Václav Nižnanský, Štefan Petranský,

21 Pozri LEHOTSKÁ, D. et al. *Inventár stredovekých listín, listov a iných príbuzných písomností*. Praha 1956, listiny č. 1189, 1578, 2278, 3849 a ďalšie.

22 Pozri: MAREK, M. *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku*. Martin 2006, 72-103.

23 VARSÍK, B. Vznik Trnavy a rozvoj mesta v stredoveku. In *Kontinuita medzi veľkomoravskými Slovianmi a stredovekými severohorskými Slovianmi (Slovákmi)*. Bratislava 1994, 179-180. RÁBIK, V. Hospites de Tyrna. Vývoj národnostnej štruktúry Trnavy v stredoveku. In *Pamiatky Trnavy a Trnavského kraja 7*. Trnava 2004, 35-46.

24 Štátny archív Ministerstva vnútra SR v Bratislave, pobočka Trnava (ŠA BA, pob. Trn.), Magistrát mesta Trnava (MMTT), Listina č. 11.

25 RÁBIK, V. Trnava. In *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Eds. Štefánik, M. – Lukačka, J. a kol. Bratislava 2010, 532.

26 „Qui de confinio morandi causa civitatem Tirnaviensem intrarunt.“ RÁBIK, V. *Mestská kniha Trnavy (1392/1393) 1394 – 1530*. Trnava 2008, 345, č. 947.

27 RÁBIK, V. *Mestská kniha Trnavy (1392/1393) 1394 – 1530*. Trnava 2008, 139 an.

Pišťianska, Jakub Richvalský, Smolenská, Juraj Stražovský, Juraj Suchovský, Lukáš Šelpický, Sterovský, Elena Špačinská, Trenčianska, Andrej Žiabokrecký, Blažej Žabokrecký).²⁸ Silnejšie pozície Slovákov v meste dosvedčuje aj spor s Nemcami o zastúpenie v mestskej rade, ktorý prebiehal v roku 1486 a do ktorého musel zasiahnuť aj kráľ Matej Korvín.²⁹

Bardejov

Významná vlna nemeckých hostí do tejto pôvodne slovenskej osady prišla na začiatku 14. storočia a vďaka kráľovským výsadám sa začala vyvíjať na významné centrum remesla a obchodu v hornom Šariši. Keďže trpelo populačným nedostatkom, uhorskí panovníci sa snažili nových osadníkov prilákať rôznymi spôsobmi. Ľudovít I. prvý za týmto účelom udelil mestu výsadu výročného trhu (1376).³⁰ Kráľ Žigmund v roku 1406 povolil všetkým slobodným ľuďom sťahovanie do mesta.³¹ Aj v tomto prípade však poddaným bránili v ich sťahovaní zemepáni. Bardejovčania sa na tieto prieky sťažovali na kráľovskom dvore, preto v rokoch 1427, 1428, 1438 a 1494 uhorskí panovníci vydali zákaz obmedzovať sťahovanie poddaných do mesta.³² Tento zákaz sa prejavil v raste obyvateľstva Bardejova počas celého 15. storočia.³³

Veľká časť nových prisťahovalcov bola z blízkeho okolia Bardejova. Išlo prevažne o poddaných na makovickom panstve, ktorí podľa tvrdenia súčasníka trpeli prílišným útlakom a veľkým daňovým zaťažovaním, čo ich nútilo opúšťať svoje domovy a hľadať šťastie za hradbami mesta Bardejova. Dosvedčujú to viaceré pramene. Podľa jedného z nich kráľ Žigmund v roku 1410 nariadil Šarišskej župe, aby vrátila naspäť poddaných, ktorí bez povolenia svojich zemepánov – Cudarovcov – utiekli do Bardejova. Zaiste na sťažnosť mešťanov svoje rozhodnutie zrušil a nariadil, aby župné úrady nerobili žiadne opatrenia v neprospech prisťahovalcov, pokiaľ sťažovatelia svoju žalobu neprednesú pred kráľovským človekom Mosticom z Poznane alebo bardejovským richtárom a prisáznymi.³⁴

Masové sťahovanie pokračovalo aj ďalej. Poddaní utekali od svojich zemepánov aj bez povolenia a vyplatenia svojich poddanských povinností. Išlo tu zväčša o slovenské alebo poľské obyvateľstvo.³⁵ Pred rokom 1415 takto utieklo z makovického panstva a mestečka Kurima do Bardejova a Lukavice vyše 30 poddaných. Bardejovčania ich aj napriek viacerým žiadostiam ich zemepánov odmietali vrátiť späť.³⁶ Ako sa riešili problémy s nedovoleným sťahovaním, rozpráva listina z roku 1447. Šoltýs zo Šarišského Čierneho Ján zvaný Gebhart inak Krupeš vtedy tajne utiekol z dediny svojho zemepána, majiteľa makovického panstva, Šimona Cudara, za čo mal byť uvrhnutý do väzenia. Na príhovor dobrých ľudí sa však nad ním jeho zemepán zľutoval a zbavil ho tohto trestu s tým, že už nikdy viac sa nesmie presťahovať na iné miesto. Ak by to predsa len urobil a odišiel by bývať do iných miest, bez akéhokoľvek súdneho procesu mal byť vrátený do rúk Petra Cudara.³⁷

Zachovali sa nám dva zoznamy prijatých mešťanov z rokov 1430-1450 a 1460-1488,³⁸ na základe ich analýzy môžeme identifikovať pôvodné sídla prisťahovalcov, ktorí získali v Bardejove meštianske právo. Okrem etnoným Poliak, tu nájdeme pôvodové mená z obcí ležiacich neďaleko Bardejova (Dlhá Lúka, Gaboltov, Hanušovce, Hertník, Jurkova Voľa, Krásna Lúka, Kobyly, Koprivnica, Kuncelová, Kurima, Raslavice, Smilno). Väčšina z týchto osád bola dosídlená alebo založená na zákupnom práve.

28 BOŤANKOVÁ, M. K topografii mesta Trnavy v 16. storočí. In *Trnava, okres a mesto*. Ed. Šimončíč, J. Bratislava 1980, 86-145.

29 ŠA BA, pob. Trn., MMTT, Listina č. 161.

30 „ut eadem [civitas] populorum multitudine decoratur“, MOLB, DF 212 705.

31 Štátny archív Ministerstva vnútra SR v Prešove, Pobočka Bardejov (ŠA PO, pob. Bard.), Magistrát mesta Bardejov (MMB), sign. 56 (20. apríl 1406).

32 ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, sign. 171 (8. marca 1427).

33 HUDÁČEK, P. Bardejov. In *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Eds. Štefánik, M. – Lukačka, J. a kol., 85.

34 ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, sign. 74/a. IVÁNYI, B. *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára I*. Budapest 1910, 15, č. 75. MÁLYUSZ, E. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár (ZsO) II/2*. Budapest 1958, 7569.

35 Slovenské obyvateľstvo sa však neobmedzovalo len na tzv. Slovenskú ulicu (1515) MOLB, DF 217 467. Slováci boli usadení po celom meste. (Circulus: Jurcko ... platea lanificum: Tomko ... Jancko ... Andris Ffabko ... Janusch ... Kauffgasse: Windisch Hannis ... Andris Socha ... Nicles Beniag ... Marczyn ... Bencko ... Climcko, 1455, MOLB, DF 213 523).

36 DL 10 135, 10 395, MÁLYUSZ, E. – BORSA, I. *ZsO V*. Budapest 1997, 1208, 2017 (10. novembra 1415). ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, sign. 76 (15. júna 1416). RÁBIK, V. „Commorandi causa...“, 37-62.

37 DL 66 916.

38 SROKA, S, A. Registre prijatí do meštianskeho stavu v Bardejove z rokov 1432-1450 a 1462-1488. In *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia*, IX, 2010, 349-381.

Preto neprekvapí, že ráz mien týchto ľudí je nemecký (Grunwalt, Wagner). Slovenských je len zopár (Janusch z Kurimy, Bejniš z Plavča, Vencko z Kuncelovej). Okrem toho v zozname nájdeme domáce mestá ako Kremnica, Košice, Moldava nad Bodvou, Nová Baňa, Podolíneec, Rožňava, Sabinov, Stropkov, Vranov nad Topľou. Mnoho prisťahovalcov bolo z poľského pohraničia z miest, s ktorými mali Bardejovčania úzšie kontakty (Biecz, Gorlice, Krosno 5x). Zo vzdialenejších lokalít to boli sedmohradská Kluž, poľský (dnes ukrajinský) Lvov, Kalisz, Legnica, nemecký Pasov a viacero sliezkych lokalít Wroclav, Klodzko, Szczawin (Saegen), Nysa, Zmigrod. Vcelku možno povedať, že meštianske právo získali v Bardejove zväčša ľudia nemeckého pôvodu. Chudoba bez meštianskeho práva, nádenníci, sluhovia, robotníci, boli zasa prevažne Slováci a Poliaci, ktorí sa do registrov nedostali. Registre udelenia mestského práva teda nie sú prameňmi, ktoré by poskytovali údaje o skutočnom prisťahovalectve.

Na sťahovanie do miest mala veľký vplyv okrem hospodárskych a sociálnych zreteľov aj bezpečnostná situácia v krajine. Odrzkadľujú to aj údaje bardejovského registra o udelení meštianskeho práva. V roku 1473, v čase prebiehajúcej uhorsko-poľskej vojny, ho získalo až 11 Stropkovčanov.³⁹ Mesto Stropkov bolo totiž dobyté poľským vojskom a mnohí mešťania sa zo strachu pred plieniacou armádou uchýlili do okolitých, bezpečnejších miest, ako boli Bardejov a Prešov. V priloženej tabuľke prinášame počet udelení meštianskeho práva za jednotlivé roky od 1432-1450 a 1462-1488.

Počet udelení meštianskeho práva v Bardejove za roky 1432-1488											
rok	počet	rok	počet	rok	počet	rok	počet	rok	počet	rok	počet
1432	16	1433	5	1434	3	1435	3	1436	4	1437	17
1438	7	1439	23	1440	11	1441	8	1442	18	1443	8
1444	5	1445	20	1446	9	1447	6	1448	4	1449	5
1450	1										
1462	1	1463	9	1464	8	1465	8	1466	-	1467	7
1468	7	1469	8	1470	8	1471	11	1472	5	1473	24
1474	11	1475	7	1476	11	1477	11	1478	8	1479	11
1480	13	1481	14	1482	16	1483	19	1484	10	1485	9
1486	10	1487	-	1488	1						

Hoci sťahovanie do mesta Bardejovčania pôvodne podporovali, jeho hromadný charakter spôsobil postupnú zmenu etnickej situácie v meste. V obave z oslabenia svojich pozícií sa v roku 1530 bardejovský richtár a mestská rada obrátili na kráľa Ferdinanda I. so žiadosťou, aby vydal zákaz sťahovania Slovákov a Poliakov. Ferdinand im vyhovel a vydal osobitný mandát zakazujúci prisťahovalectvo oboch týchto národností.⁴⁰

Prešov

Prešov sa už v stredoveku vyvinul na mesto troch národností. Spolu s Bratislavou a Košicami boli mestami, kde žila už v stredoveku popri Nemcoch a Slovákoch aj početnejšia maďarská menšina.⁴¹ Stopou po pôvodnom slovenskom elemente v Prešove je názov Slovenská ulica, popri Maďarskej ulici, ktorá je zasa reliktom niekdajšej maďarskej strážnej osady. Tieto tri národnosti sú v Prešove prítomné po celý stredovek. Z písomností, ktoré nám umožňujú získať si istý obraz o prisťahovalectve do Prešova, je veľmi cenná tzv. Matrika mesta zachovaná v Knihe účtov a výdavkov mesta. Obsahuje zápisy o prisťahovalcoch, ktorí získali v Prešove meštianske právo. Tieto zápisy sú od roku 1523 a končia ro-

³⁹ SROKA, S, A. *Registre prijatí...*, 350.

⁴⁰ *Dejiny Bardejova*. V. Košice 1975, 60.

⁴¹ ULIČNÝ, F. *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša*. Košice 1990, 158-159. DOMENOVÁ, M. Prešov. In *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Eds. Štefánik, M. – Lukačka, J. a kol. Bratislava 2010, 337-338.

kom 1536.⁴² Okrem toho klasickým zdrojom informácií sú tiež daňové knihy s menami mešťanov, pri ktorých nájdeme často uvedené aj miesto pôvodu.⁴³ Z údajov matriky vidno, že mnoho prisťahovalcov pochádzalo z poľskej oblasti: zo Sliezska a Malopoľska (Dukla, Glogow, Gorzyn, Krosno, Legnica, Osvienčim, Strzegow, Svidnica, Zgorzelec). Vo veľkej väčšine prípadov to však neboli poľskí osadníci ale ľudia pochádzajúci z tamojších nemeckých komunit.

Matrika však zaznamenáva len zámožnejších obyvateľov s meštianskym právom. Mnoho ľudí sa dostalo do Prešova z okolitých poddanských osád, ktoré nemali nemecký charakter, ale boli osídlené Slovákami, v menšej miere aj Maďarmi. Atraktivita života v meste priťahovala mnohých, ktorí sa tu chceli usadiť. No tak ľahké to nebolo. Šľachta robila všetko preto, aby to svojim poddaným prekazila. Majetok bez poddaných pre ňu nemal cenu, takže ich snaha je celkom pochopiteľná. Na druhej strane zasa mesto rado prijímalo nových prisťahovalcov, ktorí preň znamenali nové pracovné sily. Týkalo sa to aj Prešova. Kráľ Žigmund v roku 1397 vydal nariadenie prikazujúce všetkým majetným ľuďom, aby nebránili svojim poddaným v sťahovaní do tohto mesta, ak si splnia svoje poddanské povinnosti, to jest zaplatenie feudálnej renty a iných dávok.⁴⁴ Už v prípade Trnavy a Bardejova sme videli, že dotyčné osoby toto kráľovo nariadenie neuznávali. V roku 1434 sa na nerešpektovanie tohto kráľovského dekrétu sťažovali Žigmundovi v mene komunity prešovských mešťanov a hostí dvaja miestni prisázní Juraj Schönher a Stanislav Forgáč.⁴⁵ Nezmenená situácia podnietila Prešovčanov k ďalšej sťažnosti adresovanej novému panovníkovi Ladislavovi Pohrobkovi. Richtár Gašpar a prisázný Matej Slezan mu vysvetlili situáciu a kráľ vydal rovnaké nariadenie ako jeho predchodca.⁴⁶ To isté zopakoval na sťažnosť Prešovčana Pavla Literáta v roku 1471 aj kráľ Matej Korvín⁴⁷ a v roku 1498 aj Vladislav II.⁴⁸

Kráľ sa v tejto veci zastával miest, no boli aj prípady, keď pri sťahovaní poddaných nebolo všetko v poriadku. Ako napríklad v roku 1498, keď sa do Prešova presťahoval niekdajší richtár dediny Ražňany Tomáš Kapolnay. Hoci sa jeho presťahovanie udialo so súhlasom zemepána Šemšeiho a po zaplatení feudálnej renty, predsa len richtár odišiel z dediny bez toho, aby svojmu zemepánovi podal vyúčtovanie zo svojho richtárskeho úradu. Aspoň tak interpretoval situáciu kráľovský dvoran František Šemšey. Preto kráľ nariadil mestu, aby poslalo Kapolnaya do Ražňan kvôli vyúčtovaniu richtárstva. Po vykonaní tejto povinnosti sa mohol vrátiť do Prešova.⁴⁹ Kapolnay sa však do Prešova nevrátil. František Šemšey ho totiž uväznil, zhabal mu majetok a odmietal pustiť. Mešťania sa preto obrátili na úrad Šarišskej stolice, ktorá si Šemšeya predvolala. Keďže sa pred ňu nedostavil, odsúdila ho na 3 hrivny pokuty s tým, že župan a slúžni mali Kapolnaya spolu s jeho vecami odvieť z Ražňan naspäť do Prešova.⁵⁰ No nestalo sa tak. Stolica časom zmenila rozsudok v prospech ražňanského zemepána a Prešovčanom uložila súdnu pokutu 25 hrivien. Tí sa potom sťažovali kráľovi, ktorý sa ich teraz zastal. Nariadil stolici, aby dotyčnému poddanému dovolili slobodne bývať v meste, postarali sa o vrátenie jeho vecí a mesto Prešov nezaťažovali pokutou. Ak by to neurobili, celý spor mali predať kráľovi.⁵¹ K ďalšej eskalácii sporu však nedošlo. František Šemšey a Prešovčania sa na stoličnom súde napokon zmierili a Tomáš Kapolnay mohol pokojne zostať bývať v Prešove.⁵²

Šľachtici teda robili všetko preto, aby zamedzili sťahovanie svojich poddaných. Prípád Tomáša Kapolnaya nebol ojedinelý. Podľa sťažnosti mesta Prešova z roku 1498 musel kráľ riešiť prípad istého Mareka poddaného Tomáša Šebeškého, ktorý sa chcel odsťahovať do Prešova. Na žiadosť Prešov-

42 Štátny archív Ministerstva vnútra SR v Prešove, pobočka Prešov (ŠA PO, pob. Preš.), Magistrát mesta Prešov (MMP) – Knihy (K), sign. 2678 (1497-1514). IVÁNYI, B. Das Deutschtum der Stadt Eperies im Mittelalter. In *Südostforschungen*, V, 1940, 397-399. Jestvuje aj Matrika prijatých do zväzku mesta, ale tá obsahuje zápisy až z rokov 1538-1676. ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – K, sign. 2118.

43 Sú zachované od roku 1428. ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – Listiny a listy, sign. 147. 1450, MOLB, DF 228 730; 1451, DF 228 744; 1480, DF 228 939; 1489 DF 229 013; 1491, DF 229 013.

44 Štátny archív Ministerstva vnútra SR v Prešove, Magistrát mesta Prešov – Listiny (MMP – LL), sign. 79. MOLB, DF 228 526. IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára (Archivum liberae regiaeque civitatis Eperjes) 1245-1526*. Szeged 1931, 50-51, č. 124.

45 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 165 (MOLB, DF 228 624). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 108, č. 232.

46 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 287. (MOLB, DF 228 767). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 168-169, č. 381.

47 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 379. (MOLB, DF 228 867). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 204, č. 489.

48 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 619. (MOLB, DF 229 132). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 303-304, č. 773.

49 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 614. (MOLB, DF 229 127). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 302, č. 768.

50 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 616-617. (MOLB, DF 229 129-229 130). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 303, č. 770-771.

51 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 618. (MOLB, DF 229 131). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 303, č. 772.

52 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 622. (MOLB, DF 229 135). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 304, č. 776.

čanov mu síce Tomáš dal súhlas na odsťahovanie, no neskôr ignoroval lehotu 15 dní, ktorá sa podľa uhorského obyčaja poskytovala ľuďom na vysťahovanie, a Mareka zadržal spolu s jeho vecami a celým majetkom.⁵³

V priebehu 30. a 40. rokov 15. storočia, po doznení husitských vojen sa na Slovensko dostalo mnoho českých a moravských žoldnierov, ktorí si tu hľadali svoje uplatnenie. Spomenuli sme ich prítomnosť v Bratislave. Mnoho Čechov sa dostalo aj do Prešova, ktorý ich prijal v nádeji, že ich využije pre svoju obranu v neistých časoch. V roku 1453 o tom písal Prešovčanom aj kráľ Ladislav Pohrobok. Konštatoval, že Česi odtiaľto znepokojovali krajinu a jej obyvateľstvo. A hoci z mesta napokon odťahli, nariadil, aby v budúcnosti Prešovčania viac neprijímali do mesta nijakého Čecha alebo iného cudzinca, ale radšej sa v otázke vlastnej obrany obrátili so žiadosťou o pomoc na susedné Košice.⁵⁴

Nepokojné časy 15. storočia donútili mnohých ľudí hľadať ochranu pod hradbami miest. V Prešove ju našlo aj mnoho obyvateľov neďalekého Stropkova, ktorí sem podobne ako do Bardejova utiekli zo strachu pred poľským vojskom. Ich zemepán Mikuláš z Perína na to pozeral len s veľkou neľúbosťou, preto im ani nedovolil predať svoje nehnuteľnosti, ktoré zanechali v Stropkove. Na sťažnosť prešovskej mestskej rady musel zasiahnuť kráľ Matej Korvín, ktorý v roku 1474 Mikulášovi nariadil, aby rešpektovali uhorský obyčaj a slobody mesta Prešova hovoriace o práve na voľné sťahovanie po splnení všetkých poddanských záväzkov.⁵⁵

V prípade sťahovania poddaných z územia Šarišskej stolice sa zachovávala stará obyčaj,⁵⁶ že ten, na ktorého majetok sa chcel poddaný odsťahovať, musel požiadať o udelenie povolenia úrad tejto stolice. Stolica potom vyslala svojho človeka, zväčša jedného zo slúžnych, ktorý sa dostavil do bydliska tých, ktorí sa chceli odsťahovať a osobne im udelil sťahovacie povolenie. Následne zemepán alebo richtár a prisažní dotyčnej lokality týchto ľudí nechali odísť spolu s ich vecami, prípadne určili výšku dlhu, ktorý bol poddaný povinný zaplatiť a až po jeho zaplatení ho prepustili alebo vyslovili s odsťahovaním svoj nesúhlas. Služný o tom podal správu stolici a tá o tom vydala osobitnú listinu. Evidujeme viacero takýchto žiadostí prešovského magistrátu a udelených licencií: v roku 1455 pre Gregora Wrdeka a ďalšieho Gregora z Podhorian (Hažgútu), poddaných Ladislava zo Šebastovej,⁵⁷ v tom istom roku pre Mateja krajčira zo Svätého Petra,⁵⁸ v roku 1485 pre Jána, zámočníka z Hanušoviec,⁵⁹ v roku 1488 pre Maťa Gregora a Egida z Chmeľova,⁶⁰ v roku 1498 pre dvoch poddaných z Hanušoviec: istého Ondreja a Egida obuvníka,⁶¹ v tom istom roku tiež pre dvoch poddaných z Čemic: Valentína a Juraja,⁶² napokon pre Gašpara Facena z Kendíc.⁶³

Videli sme, akým spôsobom a podľa akého obyčaja dochádzalo k sťahovaniu poddaných do Prešova. V tomto prípade nefigurovali ľudia, ktorí sa za nového prisťahovalca zaručovali. Je však pravdou, že inštitút ručiteľov (fidejutorov) existoval aj v Prešove. Týkal sa pravdepodobne ľudí, ktorým bolo udelené meštianske právo. Použil sa aj v prípade istého Imricha Brica, pre ktorého v roku 1510 orodoval pätkostolský biskup Juraj Cotmar. Podarilo sa mu presvedčiť prešovský magistrát, aby ho prijali za meštana napriek tomu, že pred niekoľkými rokmi bol za istý zločin odsúdený na stratu hlavy. Zaručili sa však za neho mnohí šľachtici zo šarišských dedín Žehňa, Mirkovce, Solivar, Richvald ale aj z Prešova. Hlavným ručiteľom bol Martin Rosoš zo Žehne, ktorý zaručil, že Imrich ani slovom, ani činom nebude spomínať alebo sa mstiť za to, že v predchádzajúcich rokoch kvôli svojmu excesu bol vyhnaný z mesta a proskribovaný.⁶⁴

53 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 630. (MOLB, DF 229 143). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 306, č. 784.

54 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 273. (MOLB, DF 228 753). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 163, č. 366.

55 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 392. (MOLB, DF 228 882). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 212, č. 505.

56 „iuxta morem et vetustam consuetudinem regni et huius comitatus“, ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 483. (MOLB, DF 228 981). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 251, č. 618.

57 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 290. (MOLB, DF 228 770). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 170, č. 384.

58 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 291. (MOLB, DF 228 771). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 170, č. 385.

59 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 483. (MOLB, DF 228 981). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 251, č. 618.

60 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 498. (MOLB, DF 229 001). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 257, č. 639.

61 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 621. (MOLB, DF 229 134). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 304, č. 775.

62 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 629. (MOLB, DF 229 142). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 306, č. 783.

63 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 632. (MOLB, DF 229 145). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 306, č. 786.

64 ŠA PO, pob. Preš., MMP – LL, sign. 113 1. (MOLB, DF 282 528). IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi...*, 68, č. 169.

Košice

V tejto pôvodne slovenskej osade ležiacej na dôležitej obchodnej trase spájajúcej Pobaltie s Balkánom sa Nemci usadili v priebehu 13. storočia. O existencii slovenskej osady na území Košíc svedčí aj názov Slovenská ulica spomínaný v stredovekých písomných dokladoch. Keďže Košice ležia v blízkosti slovensko-maďarskej etnickej hranice, už od stredoveku tu žili aj Maďari. Tvorili však len menšinu obyvateľstva.⁶⁵ Od svojho príchodu tu dominovalo nemecké meštianstvo, ktoré držalo správu mesta vo svojich rukách. Prameňom pre zisťovanie národnostnej štruktúry v stredoveku nie sú daňové knihy, ktoré sa v podstate nezachovali,⁶⁶ ale mestská súdna kniha z rokov 1393-1405.⁶⁷ Veľmi cenným prameňom pre zisťovanie prisťahovalectva je mestský protokol, ktorý obsahuje zápisy o novoprijatých mešťanoch, resp. ľuďoch, ktorí dostali v Košiciach mestské právo z rokov 1489 až 1526.⁶⁸ Na základe jeho analýzy možno konštatovať, že značnú časť prisťahovalcov tvorili ľudia zo vzdialenejších končín Uhorska (Baraňa, Kluž), ba aj zo zahraničia (Budejovice, Kolín nad Rýnom, Landshut, Strasbourg, Švajčiarsko, Taliansko).

Ak tieto údaje doplníme informáciami, ktoré nám poskytuje mestská súdna kniha, vidíme, že Košice boli v stredoveku vďačným cieľom prisťahovalectva. V porovnaní s ostatnými mestami je tento obraz najviac pestrý.⁶⁹ Svedčí o rozvinutých kontaktoch, ktoré malo toto mesto so zahraničím. Hoci sa do Košíc sťahovalo mnoho ľudí z blízkeho okolia (Budimír, Krásna nad Hornádom, Košická Polianka, Sokolany), ich sťahovanie nenarušilo etnický obraz mesta do tej miery, ako to bolo napríklad v prípade mesta Trnava alebo Bardejov, kde došlo k otvorenej nespokojnosti jednej skupiny obyvateľstva aj vďaka tomu, že druhá strana početne zmocnela a ohrozovala dovtedajšie mocenské pozície staršieho patriciátu. Do Košíc sa sťahovalo množstvo ľudí nemeckej národnosti, ktorí pomáhali udržať vedúce mocenské postavenie nemeckej národnosti. V registri novoprijatých mešťanov je ich veľká väčšina. Slovenských mien tu nájdeme poskromne (Blaschko, Drobowsky, Martinus Jesko, Laczko, Lussensky, Thornoffczky, Vaschko, Woyaczek, Zabranzy, Zorenzky). O niečo početnejšie sú zaznamenané maďarské mená (Azalosch, Banyaz, Czysaroschs, Domonkosch, Faggyas, Fazakas, Fekethe, Fodor Janusch, Hayasch, Kalmar Laslo, Pathaky Janusch, Korcholas, Oweggyartha Mihál, Barlabas Paysjartho, Pechy, Peterfy, Sarkanthus, Sarosy, Somosy Mathe, Thornay, Tho^ero^eck Isthwan, Zabo, Zanthay, Zarwosch Benedik, Zolosy, Zygyartha).⁷⁰

Treba si však uvedomiť, že tieto druhy prameňov (daňové registre, zoznamy novoprijatých mešťanov) nezaznamenávajú obyvateľstvo bez meštianskych práv, teda mestskú chudobu, ktorej migrácia zostala mimo akejkoľvek pozornosti dobových dokladov. Na to, aby sa niekto mohol stať mešťanom musel spĺňať viacero kritérií. Okrem mravnej bezúhonnosti to boli aj primerané majetkové pomery. V košických zoznamoch novoprijatých mešťanov museli adepti meštianskeho práva zložiť do pokladnice mestskej rady istú sumu peňazí⁷¹ a musel sa za neho zaručiť aspoň jeden domáci mešťan. Preto si kompletný a plastický obraz o vplyve prisťahovalectva na celkovú etnickú situáciu mesta utvoríť nedokážeme. Napriek tomu nám tieto pramene poskytujú cenné informácie o migrácii a populačnom vývoji mestskej society v stredoveku.

65 Vo väčšom počte sa Maďari do Košíc dostali v priebehu 16. storočia, keď sem utekali v strachu pred Turkami. VARSÍK, B. Vznik a začiatky mesta Košíc. In *Kontinuita medzi veľkomoravskými Slovienmi a stredovekými severouhorskými Slovanmi (Slovákmi)*. Bratislava 1994, 192-193. HALAGA, O. R. Vývoj jazykovo-národnostnej štruktúry Košíc. In *Historický časopis*, 30, 1982, 588-604. SLEZÁKOVÁ, M – NÁDASKÁ, K. Košice. In *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Eds. Štefánik, M. – Lukačka, J. a kol. Bratislava 2010, 201.

66 Za zmienku stojí daňový súpis z roku 1480. Jeho analýzou sa zaoberal HALAGA, O. R. *Právny, územný a populačný vývoj mesta Košíc*. Košice 1967, 54.

67 HALAGA, O. R. *Acta iudiciaria civitatis Cassoviensis 1393. Die älteste Kaschauer Stadtbuch*. München 1994.

68 Archív mesta Košíc (AMK), Tajný archív (TA), Supplementum H, H III/4, fol. 1-18 (Mestský protokol z rokov 1489-1528; MOLB, DF 271723) a AMK, Suppl. H III/2, pur. 3.

69 Halaga, ktorý túto mestskú knihu analyzoval, však počítal medzi prisťahovalcov aj mnoho takých, ktorí v nej figurovali bez toho, aby bolo isté, že by boli košickými mešťanmi. Ďalším problémom je stotožňovanie osobných mien s miestnymi názvami (osob. meno Kolin = miestny názov Kolinovce). Pozri priložené mapky. HALAGA, *Acta iudiciaria...*, 346 an. HALAGA, O. R. *Počiatky Košíc a zrod metropoly. Hospodársko-sociálne, správne a kultúrne dejiny*. Košice 1992, 168-171.

70 AMK, Suppl. H, III/4, fol. 1-18.

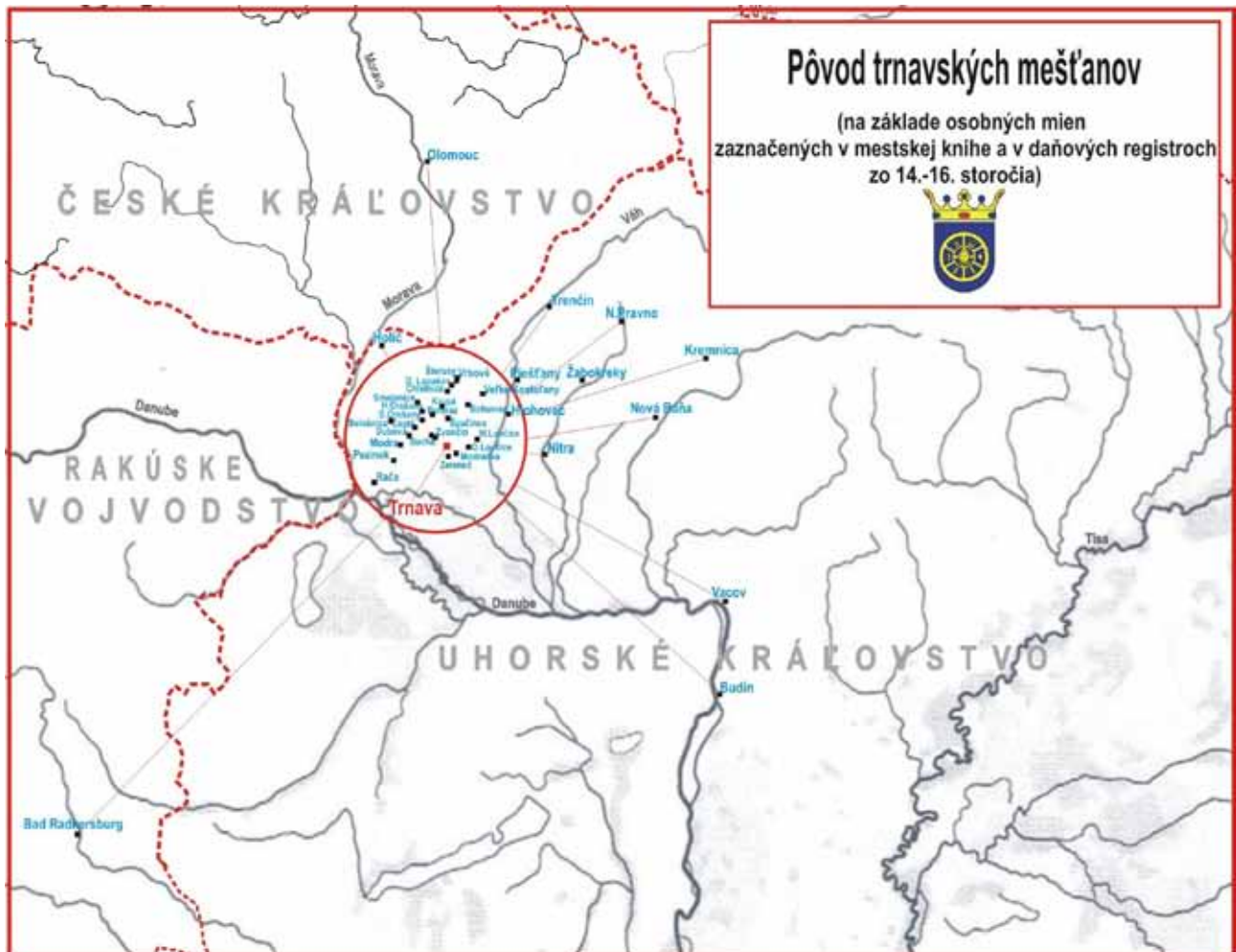
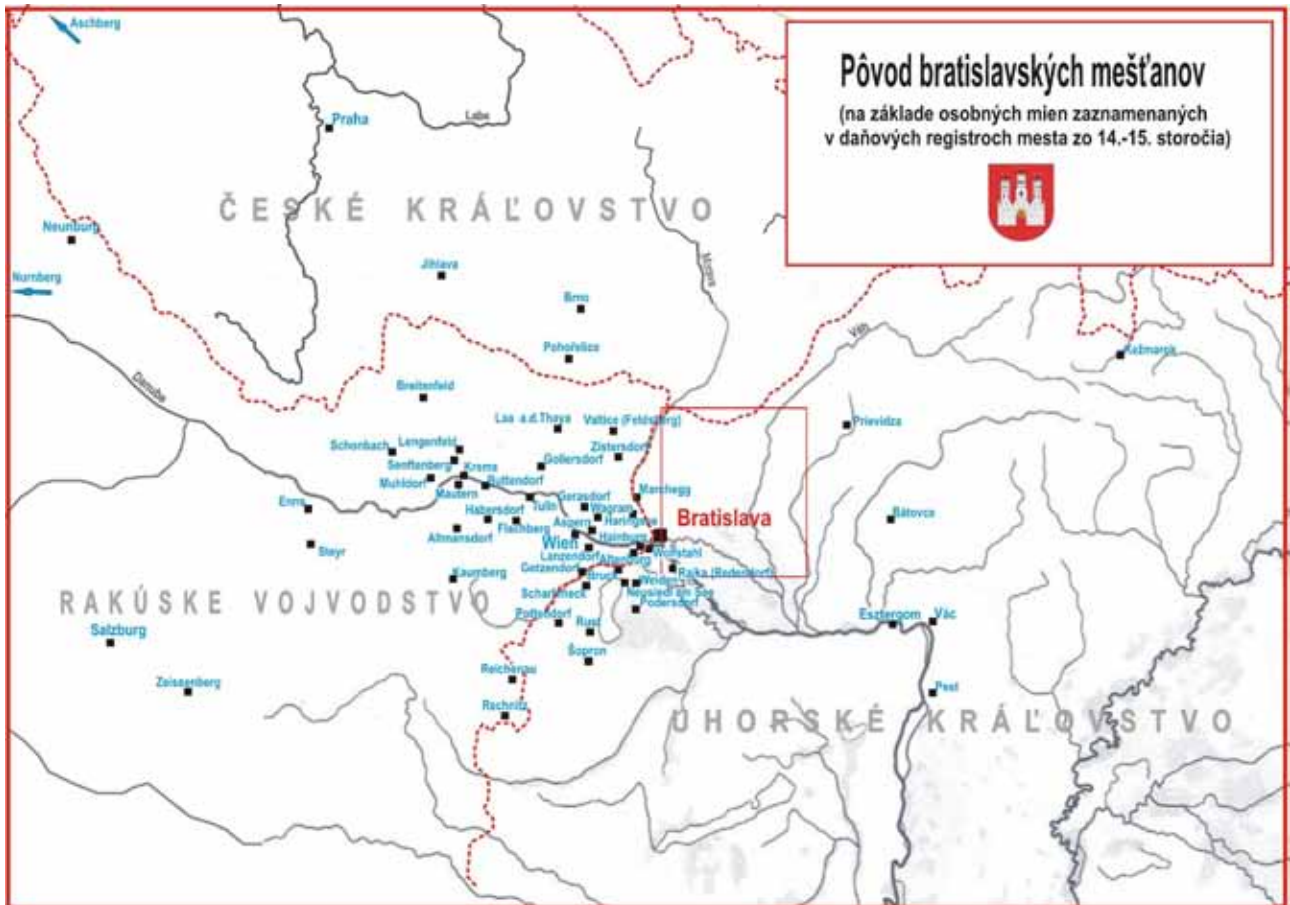
71 Najčastejšie 1 florén, no aj viac, chudobnejší („nam pauperes dicebantur“) aj menej (24-40 denárov), niekedy sa dávali aj naturálne dary: puška, nádoby s masťou, tehly, často podľa zamestnania adepta.

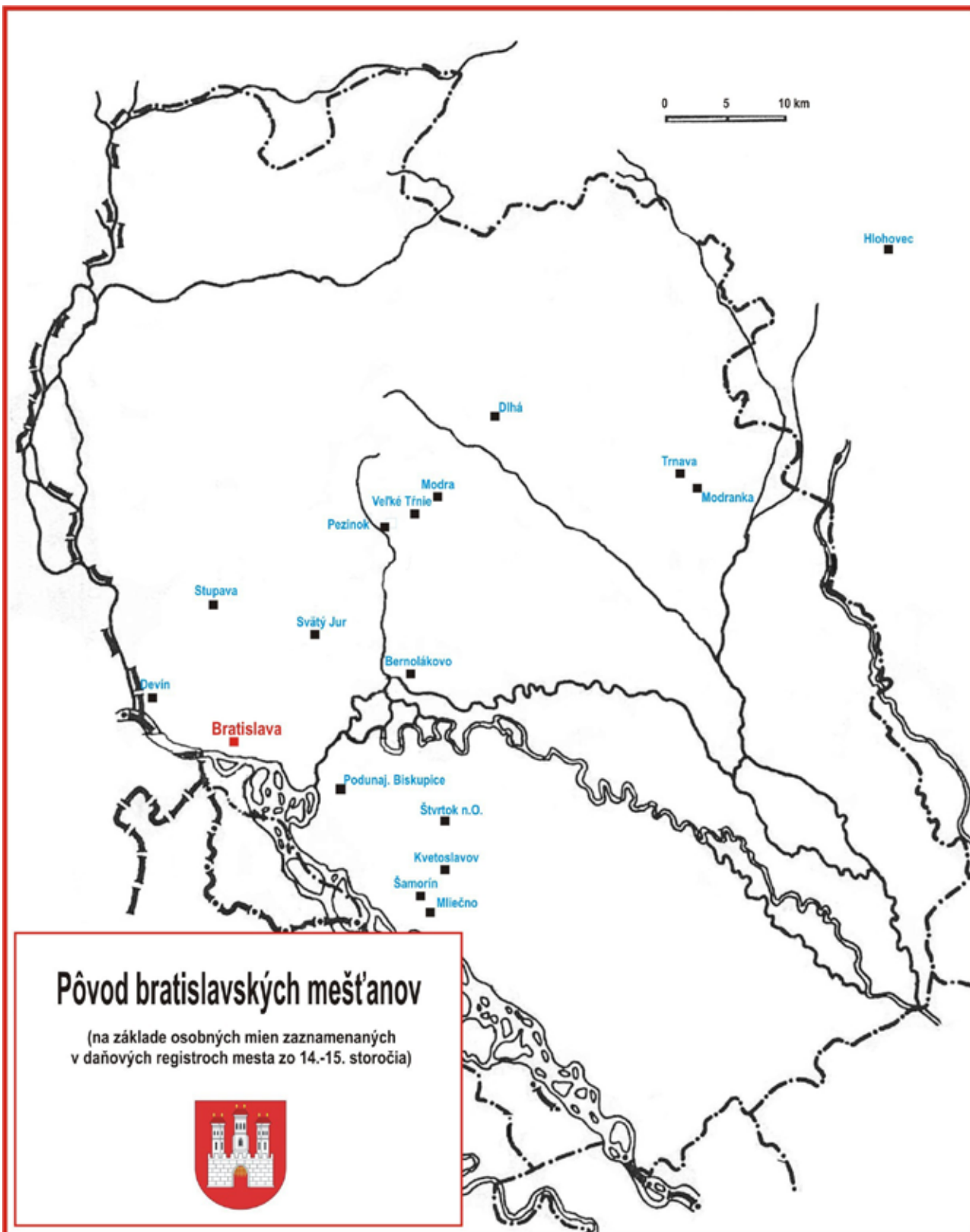
Počet udelení meštianskeho práva v Košiciach za roky 1489-1526											
rok	počet	rok	počet	rok	počet	rok	počet	rok	počet	rok	počet
1489	4	1490	5	1491	4	1492	35	1493	23	1494	30
1495	22	1496	16	1497	16	1498	29	1499	28	1500	20
1501	25	1502	12	1503	5	1504	17	1505	43	1506	43
1507	31	1508	26	1509	20	1510	17	1511	11	1512	17
1513	15	1514	12	1515	24	1516	32	1517	20	1518	15
1519	16	1520	12	1521	11	1522	26	1523	23	1524	31
1525	34	1526	12								

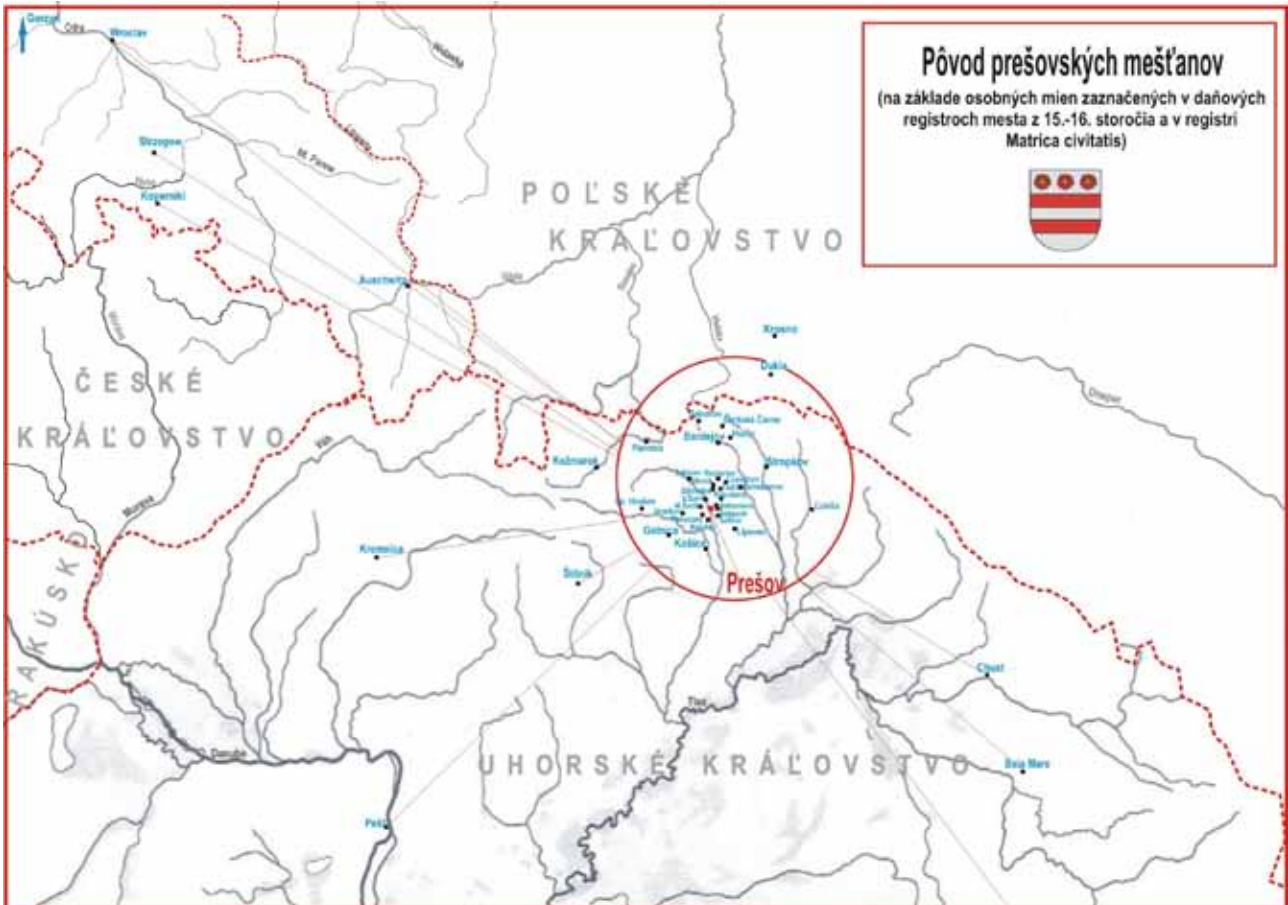
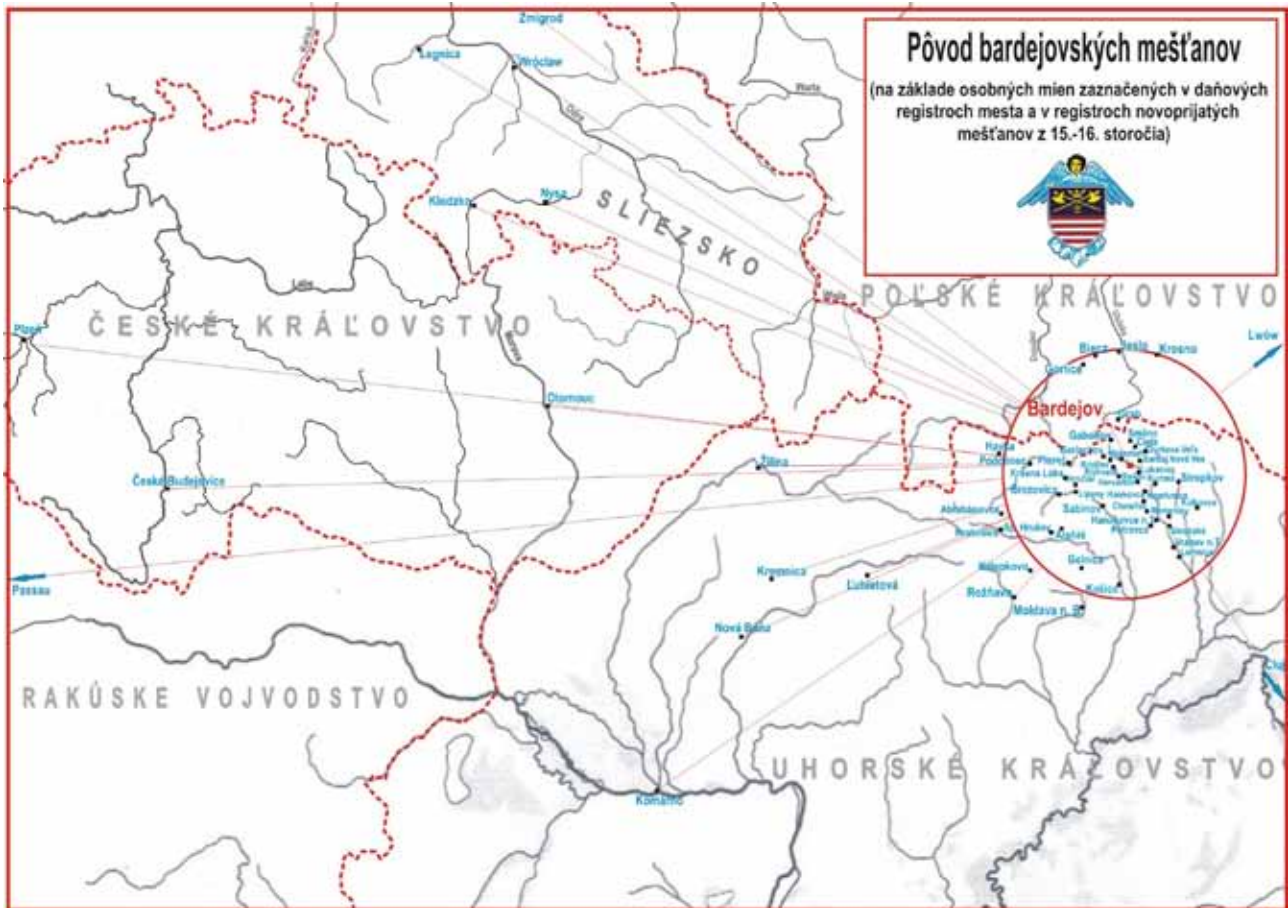
ZOZNAM POUŽITEJ LITERATÚRY

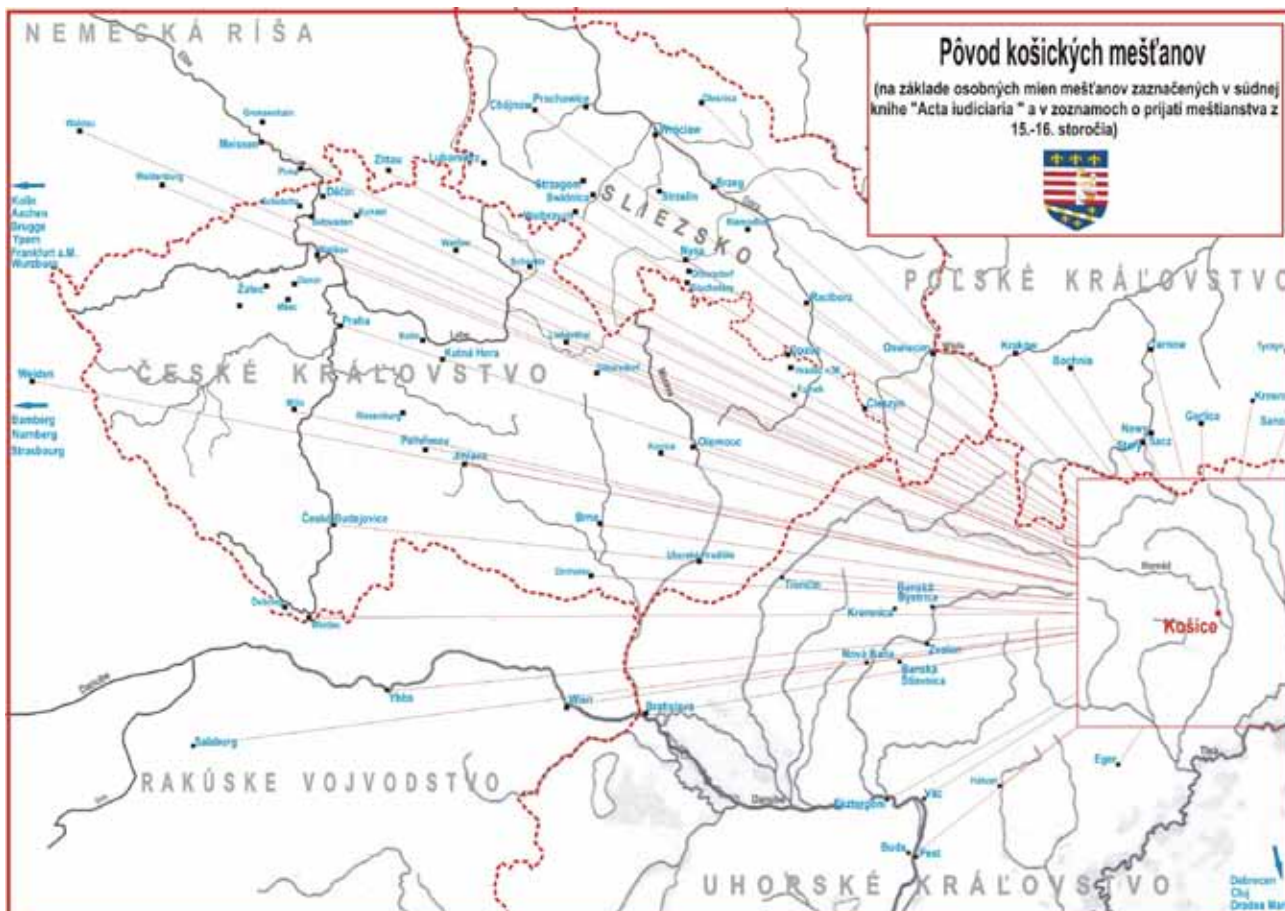
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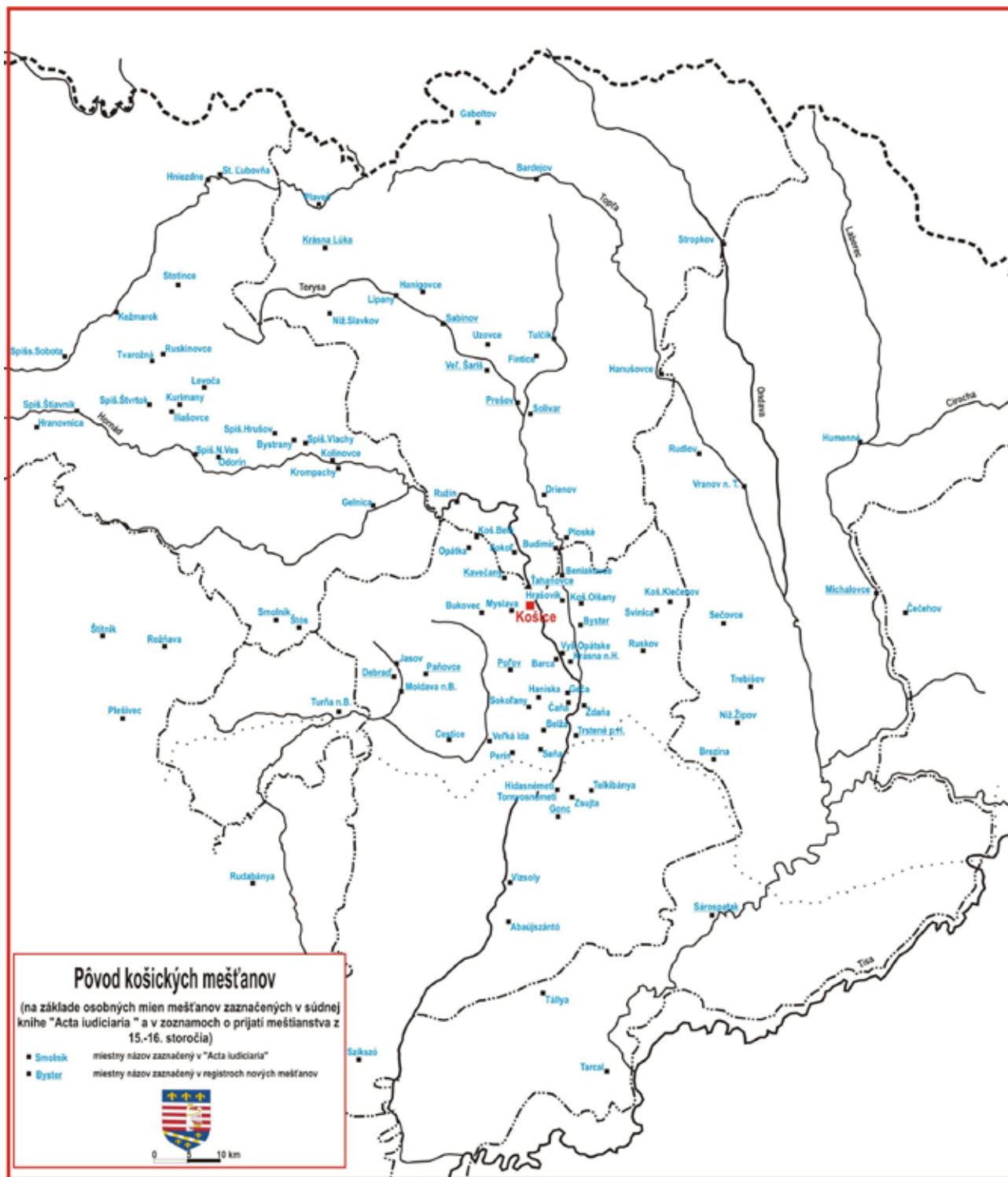
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THE RELATIONS BETWEEN BURGHERS OF KOŠICE AND KINGS OF HUNGARIAN KINGDOM BY THE HALF OF THE 14TH CENTURY

Ferdinand Uličný

Burgers and towns existed in the eastern part of Central Europe (north of the middle Danube) since the 9th century. Nitra was the oldest town on the Slovak territory. Local markets represented the economic basis for the creation and initial development of the bourgeoisie and towns. The bourgeoisie and towns had been developing spontaneously by the end of the 12th century, adopting desired and favorable customs. Since the beginning of the 13th century burghers of the Hungarian Kingdom's towns acquired privileges – collections of rights and obligations confirmed by Hungarian kings through the means of the royal charters. Only the burghers of Székesfehérvár (Hungary) continued in spontaneous development also in the 13th century, as well as the inhabitants of Bratislava (Slovakia) until 1291.¹ Acquisition of various privileges by towns on the initiative of their burghers proceeded in the 14th century.

We find that it is necessary to note that the traditional interpretation of the political relations among kings and burghers has been already exhausted. The existing scientific attitude seems to be rather unproductive for the future. Therefore, we have investigated the relations in the opposite fashion, as the burghers and the king. The basis for this exploration lies in the finding that the privileges of burghers were mainly a result of their own requirements. Kings just granted them the requested liberties and rights, as well as endurable obligations. The burghers were the initiative ones. So the traditional meaning about the kings' generous disposition loses its justification. The political loyalty of the burghers, or their military assistance to the king, must also be emphasized.

With Košice in focus, it is inevitable to get acquainted briefly of the oldest written documents about the local burghers and about the beginnings of Košice as a town. It has been long known and established in professional circles of historians-medievalists, that the oldest applicable documents are represented by a charter of Chapter of Eger from 1230 and charter of King Béla IV. from 1249. The first document contains the earliest indirect information about the burghers of Košice, the second one proves the oldest direct evidence of the burghers and the town of Košice.

According to the contents of the first charter, the inhabitants of Košice, Simon, son of Gregory a cleric of Košice, and Peter, son of Paul, had owned estates in the village Ľubina lying in the vicinity of Košice even before 1230. They sold the properties to men of unknown origin in 1230 and the transac-

1 ULIČNÝ, F. Začiatky miest na východnom Slovensku. In *Zborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského*. Bratislava 1997, 111-116; ULIČNÝ, F. Trhy a mestá na Slovensku v 9. – 12. storočí. In *Zborník príspevkov k slovenským dejinám. K životnému jubileu univ. prof. PhDr. Richarda Marsinu, DrSc.* Ed. Sedlák, V. Bratislava 1998, 53-61; ULIČNÝ, F. Výsadnosť mešťanov od 13. storočia. In *Historický časopis*, 49, 2001, 3, 415-431; ULIČNÝ, F. Nitra – mesto v 9. – 12. storočí. In *Nitra v slovenských dejinách*. Ed. Marsina, R. Martin 2002. 140-146; ULIČNÝ, F. Mesto Banská Bystrica okolo roku 1255. In *Minulosť a prítomnosť Banskej Bystrice 1*. Eds. Nagy, I. – Graus, I. Banská Bystrica 2006, 5-14; ULIČNÝ, F. Pôvod a vývoj miest na Slovensku od 9. do 14. storočia. In *Historické štúdie*, 46, 2010, 315-335; ULIČNÝ, F. Falošná listina údajne kráľa Bela IV. z roku 1237 pre stoličnobelehradských mešťanov. In *Slovenská archivistika*, XLV, 2010, 2, 6-13; ULIČNÝ, F. Vývoj bratislavského mešťanstva v 12. – 13. storočí a listina výsad z roku 1291. In *Slovenská archivistika*, XLVI, 2011, 1-2, 17-28.

tion was confirmed by the charter of Chapter of Eger.² The fact of selling estates, which belonged to Simon and Peter, proves that they owned the lands previously. So the sellers could not be peasants, because the contemporary customs excluded peasants from the right of possessing and, thus, selling estates. The sellers Simon and Peter were not nobles either. If they were nobles, it would be reflected in their social characterization by the Latin word comes before their names which was not the case. The only possible explanation which offers itself here is that they were burghers and Košice was a town, although the text is missing stating their social status expressed by the Latin words cives or hospites, as well as for Košice the word civitas. Due to such interpretation of the document, it can be regarded as the oldest, but indirect evidence of Košice burghers and Košice as a town around 1230.

The earliest direct information about burghers of Košice and town Košice can be found in the charter of King Béla IV. dated to 13 April 1249. The document testified to the provision of liberties for hospites (guests) from Seòa. The privileges were to be identical to those ones already received by burghers in Košice (granted by the same king). So the charter does not contain enumerated paragraphs. Instead of this, there is just a brief mention of the concession to the adaption of the same system of paying tithes, judicial matters and all other unspecified rights endowed to Košice.³ Naturally, there is a sentence about obligations for the Seña inhabitants too. The tax payable to the king should have been paid in the same way, as households of Košice burghers did it.⁴ From the contents imply that the inhabitants of Košice were burghers and Košice was a town, not just in 1249, but even before that.

Based on the information of the two documents from the years 1230 and 1249 it can be established, that burghers lived in Košice, and Košice was a town, already before 1230. Moreover, it is necessary to continue exploring and discovering the circumstances, which existed during the life of the first burghers' generations.

The inception of such research lies in one part of the document of King Béla IV. from 1249. There it is written that the king grants to hospites of Seòa identical privileges, which had been once given by himself to Košice burghers and confirmed by a charter.⁵ As it has been already found out by exploration of the charter from 1230, Simon a Peter from Košice were burghers before this year. From the political history of the Hungarian kingdom, it is well, that Béla IV. Ascended to the royal throne in 1235. However, even during the life of his father, king Andrew II. (1205 – 1235) Béla successfully participated in the rule of the country. He acted in function of younger king. The status allowed him to govern the eastern part of the Hungarian Kingdom, what is proven by several references since 1220.⁶ So the privileges could be granted to Košice burghers by Béla even in the years 1220 – 1230. Anyway, it must have happened before 1230.⁷ But the precise date remains to be one of the enigmas of Košice bourgeoisie is development in the 1230s. A surprising piece of information has offers itself at this point, and namely that the examined charter of the younger king Béla has preserved neither in the original, nor in the later confirmations or transcriptions, and even without any reference in the latter documents. This immutable fact has caused difficulties to historians for a long time in their circumstantial research related to the town privileges of Košice. Despite the adverse situation, we must try to know the factors of that time.

Košice was a crossroad of old provincial routes running in the south–north and the east–west directions. The provincial road south-north led along the lower flow of the river Hornád to Košice, and the first written evidence about this route inheres to the charter from the year 1230 listed above.

2 MARSINA, R. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I*. Bratislavae 1971, 259., „quod Symon, filius Gregorii, sacerdotis de villa Cassa et Petur, filius Paul de eadem“.

3 MARSINA, R. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae II*. Bratislavae 1987, 223, 319., „libertate ... qua ex concessione nostra hospites nostri de Kassa perfruuntur, tam in decimis exsolvendis, quam in iudiciis, seu etiam in omnibus aliis in eorundem privilegio nominatim per singula et articulatum expressis“.

4 MARSINA, R. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae II...*, 319., „censum ... quem ... populi nostri de Kassa“.

5 MARSINA, R. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae II...*, 319., „ut omni libertate gaudeant, qua ex concessione nostra hospites nostri de Kassa perfruuntur ... in eorundem privilegio nominatim per singula et articulatum expressis“.

6 Evidenciu jeho listín pozri: SZENTPÉTERY, E. *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica I/1*. Budapestini 1923, 174; SZENTPÉTERY, E. *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica II-2*. 1943, 185.

7 Porovnaj: ULIČNÝ, F. *Začiatky miest na východnom Slovensku...*, 112.

There is a mention about the section of the road from Barca to Košice and further north along the river Torysa to Solivar and Prešov. Such information provides the description of the Ľubina's boundaries.⁸

Two important roads led to Košice from the west. One of them ran from the castle Turňa via Moldava to Košice. A charter from 1324 has mentioned it.⁹ The second route stretched from the south-eastern Spiš to Košice. A record about this from 1330 has been preserved.¹⁰ A provincial road directing to the central part of Zemplin country towards Sečovce and Michalovce led to the east from Košice. Other road led from Sečovce crossing Trebišov to south Zemplín.¹¹

The routes listed above have been documented by written sources since the 13th century. Since they had been already known and used, their existence should be expected well before the 13th century. The roads were regularly used mainly by traders, occasionally by soldiers too. Košice was a crossroad of those routes undoubtedly in the 12th, as well as before the 12th century. Košice as a human settlement at the junction of roads occasionally attracted not only people from surrounding villages to acquire a few necessary things, but gradually also merchants. Coincidence of several factors led to the spontaneous establishment of a market. Introduction, but especially the permanent conduction of the local market, was the economic basis of the nascence and development of the Košice's bourgeoisie and of the transformation from village to town. These processes lasted undoubtedly in the 11th – 12th centuries.

Advantageous geographical location of Košice, the local market and developing life of the townspeople, were surely attractive elements for craftsmen from other villages, but especially for immigrants from abroad, who gradually settled in Košice. Life of the incomers was almost entirely dependent on a regularly held market that was also well supported by them.

The foreigners brought from abroad, in addition to craft and trading skills, also experience and ideas of civil (bourgeois) life from their native country. They were the most active group among townspeople in Košice, so that they acquired privileges from the younger king Béla in the 20's of the 13th century. By the introduction and using of the privileges in everyday life, the spontaneous evolution of the townspeople ended and was replaced by the development of public and social life according to the liberties acquired from the king, written in the charter. The privileges had the force of law for Košice burghers, for the king, the nobles and the church, and should have been respected even by foreigners.

Now we shall describe relations between the Košice burghers and Hungarian kings in a specified period of time. Since the beginnings of their burgher's life, the Košice's townspeople shaped their connections to the king, as the highest secular (political) suzerain, to the bishop of Eger, as the functionally and geographically the nearest and the highest ecclesiastical authority, to the nobles, as the owners of the villages in the vicinity of Košice, especially to the barons of the nobility, and to the burghers in other towns. These links to different social groups expressed general efforts of the Košice's townspeople with the influential contemporary human factors. Every burgher, or rather the most of the townspeople participated on the creating of the relations to the world outside the town. But the patricians were certainly most initiative who held the office of the Judge and members of the Town Council.

Evolution of the burgher's attitude to the Hungarian kings could be explored and described since the early 13th century. It was expressed during the reign of Béla as a younger king in the 1230s, or possibly since the year 1235, as he became king – Béla IV. Acquirement of the privileges from the younger king Béla had almost epochal significance for the Košice burghers, which could be hardly compared to any of their success sooner or later. There is no doubt that the inhabitants were aware of the king's encouragement and magnanimity which led them to sincerely appreciate and honor him. It was certainly the most favorable relationship of the Košice burghers with a king of the House of

8 MARSINA, R. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I...*, 259. „*ad magnam viam, qua itur ad Castrum Salis, ... ad magnam viam, que viniens de Barca*“. Trasy krajinských ciest uvádza ULIČNÝ, F. *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša*. Košice 1990.

9 Magyar Országos Levéltár (MOL), Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL), 84 776; 84 780: „*via magna ... de Scepsy versus Cassam*“.

10 Archív mesta Košice, Tajný archív, M – Tókés, č. 1. „*ad magnam viam ... de Scepus ad Cossa*“.

11 O trasách krajinských ciest v Zemplíne pozri: ULIČNÝ, F. *Dejiny osídlenia Zemplínskej župy*. Michalovce 2001, 731-732 (mapka).

Árpád. The beneficial connections existed later also between the younger king Stephen and two home-steaders of Košice, Samphleben and Obl. Both hospites received Vyšné Košice (Upper Košice) in 1261. However, it was only the relation between the younger king and the deserving men, not a general attitude to the townspeople of Košice. So this personal relation was in no connection with the fact, that the donated estate became later a part of Košice's cadaster.

King Andrew III. (1290–1301) also had sympathy for the people from this town. He entrusted Hanus (John), son of Herbord, a Košice's burgher, clearly a rich trader who was well experienced with finances, with the administration of the Royal Chamber located in the town. It was an especially important role because of the custody of the royal revenue for the king's thesaurus. Hanus held the post in the 1297.¹²

A uniquely beneficial relation had been developing between the king Charles I. and burghers of Košice, lasting continuously for 30 years. It is known, that also purlers from Košice supported the king in his military victory in the battle of Rozhanovce (15. June 1312), when he prevailed over Omodej's family. It may be expected, that soon after the battle, the king was convalescing from the incident in Košice. Certainly he stayed in town on 10 August 1312.¹³

In 1319 envoys of Košice, especially traders, acquired from Charles I. the lucrative right allowing them not to pay tolls at all in Abov, Šariš, Zemplín and Uh counties. The king rewarded the burghers for their political loyalty, and undoubtedly also military merits, of which both parties were well aware.¹⁴ Sometimes only a polite formula of contemporary charters was fully justifiable in this case.

Also in 1321 the king appreciated and remunerated famous merits of the Košice townspeople by the right not to pay the annual tax payable to him.¹⁵

Charles I. visited Košice personally with his entourage on 27 June 1329.¹⁶ The burghers surely welcomed him with hospitality, which belonged to the very favorable king.

Their envoys visited the king even in 1342, six months before the death of Charles I. As the result of the negotiation the king confirmed the right to judiciary over all violations and crimes of the burghers by their Judge and the Town Council (charter dated on the castle Visegrad, Hungary, 28 January 1342). It was justified as a reflection of old merits. Needless to say, after 30 years since the battle of Rozhanovce, the then burghers of Košice and royal notary confused the information about the battle, so they mixed up the names of oligarch Matthew of Trenčín with the Omodej's clan. It reflected in the narration of the charter.¹⁷ It should be noted, that certainly from the initiative of the envoys, as well as from the king's point of view, Košice was then included among the most developed towns in the Kingdom of Hungary, and was the only such town in Slovakia.¹⁸

Very positive relationship between the burghers and the king from the House of Anjou, Louis I. the Great (1342 – 1382), the son of Charles I., continued from the early years of his reign. The young king complied to the appeal of traders from Košice already in 1344 ordering to a Russian captain not to levy from them higher tolls than from Polish merchants on the Polish–Russian border.¹⁹ Also in 1346 the king satisfied the requirement of Košices patricians allowing the burghers to capture and punish criminals in the Abov country.²⁰

But Louis I. in 1347 expressed the greatest favour when on 28 July 1347 he granted to inhabitants of Košice the same collection of rights as they had been used by burghers of Buda and hereby he enabled Košice holding two fairs lasting together 21 days. Finally, on 18 October 1347, the king

12 WENZEL, G. *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* V. Pest 1867, 169., *Hannus ... de Cassa, comes camere nostre maiestatis*"

13 NAGY, E. *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis* I. Budapest, 268., *Datum prope Cassam*".

14 JUCK, L. *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I. (1238 – 1350)*. Bratislava 1984, 93., *nos consideratis fidelitatibus et multigenis serviciis fidelium hospitem nostrorum de Kassa*".

15 JUCK, L. *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I...*, 95., *nos consideratis fidelitatibus et serviciorum ... hospitem de Cassa preclaric*".

16 MOL, DL, 62 173; 62 174., *Datum in Cassa*".

17 JUCK, L. *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I...*, 134., *contra Mattheum ... de Trenchen, ... iuxta fluvium Tarcha ... prope ... Cassa ... cum sumpma diligencia et sedula sollicitudine nobis exhibitum*".

18 JUCK, L. *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I...*, 134., *ad instar aliarum capitalium civitatum nostrarum*".

19 JUCK, L. *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I...*, 139.

20 *Ibidem*, 142.

specified and amplified the rights valid till then, which concerned the selling and drawing of wine, judging criminals, and possessing houses and estates.²¹The king's donations satisfied the contemporary requirements of Košice's burghers with success. But it is necessary to be noted, that the envoys of Košice barely arrived at the royal court empty-handed. Kings and their chancellors tactfully remained silent about the gifts. The appropriate advancements to the king, however, brought the burghers lucrative benefits and liberties. There were no king's appointees in Košice, no in other towns in the Slovak territory, respectively in the Hungarian Kingdom, during the Middle Ages, who have been known in the important towns of Czech or Poland Kingdom, where such persons have been generally called as Burgermeister (Town Mayor). The absence of such a man allowed also in Košice freer enforcement of the Town Judge's official duties, even public life. Unveiling of this difference in the self-government of the burghers in the Hungarian Kingdom in comparison to those in surrounding countries is a new piece of knowledge about the history of the bourgeoisie and towns in Central Europe during the Middle Ages.

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21 JUCK, L. *Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku I.*..., 148-149, 150, 151, 154-155.

RELATIONS AND COMMUNICATION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TOWN ADMINISTRATIONS IN KOŠICE, BARDEJOV AND PREŠOV IN THE 15TH CENTURY

Mária Fedorčáková

Researching various forms of communication in medieval town has nowadays become one of the favourite topics to explore by the Slovak medieval research.¹ Undoubtedly the interest about this topic results from the amount and quality of written sources deposited in the archives of medieval towns in Slovakia. In spite of the mentioned interest it is necessary to say, that research about the communication and relations between medieval towns has not been done sufficiently yet, neither in the case of particular town, nor in the case of medieval towns in general. The town archives in Košice,² Bardejov³ and Prešov⁴ contain many proofs of the intensive communication between these towns in particular or between the towns on the one side and the King, representatives of the royal court, nobility or prelates on the other side. These documents provide an opportunity to explore various aspects of the town policy, economy, and diplomacy, cultural, and social life. The cooperation between these towns was pointed out especially in older historical works to prove the existence of the town union called *Pentapolitana*, according to the town unions in Western and Northern Europe.⁵ We do not contest this opinion, but we assume that individual relations between towns need to be considered comprehensively, not just from the view of cooperation, which was in many cases the result of necessity, but also from the view of relative trials, which reflected rivalry and opposition of the towns, especially in the business and economic areas.

We have chosen Košice, Bardejov, and Prešov and their correspondence in the 15th century as examples for researching our topic. We would like to point out the examples of cooperation and the examples of rivalry between these towns, as well. In both cases relations between these towns were developed through the representatives of the town administration.

Mutual cooperation of the towns involved the area of town diplomacy, policy, economy, culture and social life. However we may observe the cooperation also in promoting political and economic interests of the towns, in cases of defending town privileges and in times of war cloud. In the 15th century free royal towns appeared as an important societal factor with an emphasis on their collective town identity, which was characterized by the acquired privileges. View over town diplomacy in this period indicates practise of sending common envoys to royal court, which performed tasks related to the communication with the King and royal dignitaries, attended councils and a diet or stayed in the royal court to promote demands of the towns or just to acquire important information. We may usually find the town mayor (*iudex*), the town notary or members of the town council acting as envoys.

1 Various forms of communication in medieval town were investigated in: *Stredoveké mesto ako miesto stretnutí a komunikácie*. Bratislava 2010.

2 Archív mesta Košice (AMK, Municipal archives of Košice), Magistrát mesta Košice (MMK, Magistrate of Košice).

3 Štátny archív v Prešove, pobočka Bardejov (ŠA PO, pob. Bard., State archives in Prešov, Bardejov Branch), Magistrát mesta Bardejov (MMB, Magistrate of Bardejov).

4 Štátny archív v Prešove (ŠA PO, State archives in Prešov), Magistrát mesta Prešov (MMP, Magistrate of Prešov).

5 HALAGA, R. O. Spoločenstvá miest na Slovensku. In *Vývoj správy miest na Slovensku*. Martin 1984, 51-68.

In some cases there were people acting as professional envoys for many years or decades, for a period they were also members of the town administration.⁶ The correspondence of these towns from the 15th century reveals many examples of sending common envoys. King Matthias Corvinus in a letter from 1462 appealed to the town council in Bardejov to send two or four envoys for a consultation to Košice with Ladislaus Palóczy, who performed the function of *comes curialis*.⁷ A letter by Peter Mager and George Hermastetter, the envoys from Bardejov from the end of the 15th century refers to certain town envoys who went to the royal court.⁸ They wrote to the town council of Bardejov and taunted the members of the council with sending envoys who were too young and were not able to represent the town accordingly.⁹ A letter of George Mager, town mayor in Bardejov in 1479 informs about an coercion of the towns when delivering charges.¹⁰ He writes to the town councils of Košice, Levoča, Bardejov and Prešov and invites them to pay the tax to the Royal treasury.¹¹

Before sending envoys, the towns held common consultations. In 1454 George Stenczel, the town mayor in Bardejov wrote to the town council of Bardejov from Košice and informed the members of the council about the consultation of the towns and new information about political situation.¹² Communication between the town councils took place both in writing and orally.¹³ Some information was sent out to the representatives of the towns in letters; the most important one was sent just to the town mayor. In 1469 John Tackler, the town mayor in Košice, wrote to the town mayor in Bardejov about his meeting with Viceregent and information about gathering the Polish army at the border of the Kingdom.¹⁴ Similarly, Stephen Cromer, who was another town mayor from Košice, informed in his letter addressed to the town council in Bardejov in 1460 that the member of the town council in Košice was sent to Ladislaus Palóczy, to discuss about reaching peace with the rest of the warriors called *bratřici*.

Although the area of warfare and spying does not represent the main topic in researching the relations between the medieval towns, we cannot deny its importance especially in times of war cloud. Town books of accounts inform about expenses for town employees, among them also spies. A letter of the town council in Bardejov from 1483 was addressed to the town council in Košice, in which members of the council informed those in Košice about their spy, who infiltrated the group of robbers, spent some time with them and told them the names of robbers. It is proof of a developed cooperation between the towns in this area.¹⁵ A letter from the town council in Bardejov addressed to the town council in Košice in 1492 is yet another example. Here, the town council in Bardejov informs about the death of the Polish king about which they found out from „their person“ coming from the Polish kingdom.¹⁶

In the periods in which towns did not have a common enemy, their relations changed from cooperation to rivalry, especially in economic and business area. In written sources from the 15th century we may find many examples of keen competition and arguments between the towns lasting for many years and decades. One of these arguments lasted almost the whole 15th century and involved the practice of bleaching linen in Bardejov and Prešov. The exclusive right of bleaching was granted to Košice and Bardejov by the privilege of the King Sigismund of Luxemburg in 1420.¹⁷ This privilege was also

6 As an example may be mentioned Juraj Stenczel, who served as a member of the town council in Bardejov in the 15th century for many years and at the same time as an envoy of the town. ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, e.g. sign. 618, 684, 689.

7 ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 1399.

8 ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 3563/m.

9 „...von Casscha werden zyhen ken hoffe her Augustin Cramer (...) von dem Eperyes der her Richter (...) von der lewtschow zwen herren dy eldestin (...) ewr Ersamkeyth wirth besteheen mit zwen Jungen wuweysen dy von ewrer Ersamkeyth nicht mit antworth synt wuderweyest worden was sy antworten sullen...“ ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 3563/m.

10 ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 2072.

11 Ibidem.

12 ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 733.

13 DVORÁKOVÁ, D. Vyslanci, poslovia, vyzvedači, špehovia – o spôsoboch šírenia informácií v stredoveku. In *Stredoveké mesto ako miesto stretnutí a komunikácie*. Bratislava 2010, 125.

14 ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 1775.

15 AMK, MMK, Missiles, 141.

16 AMK, MMK, Missiles, 163.

17 *Dejiny Bardejova*. Eds. Kokuľa, A. – Lukáč, A. – Taják, L. Košice 1975, 73.

confirmed to Bardejov later.¹⁸ In spite of this privilege Prešov worked for the opportunity to bleach, too. It led to a long lasting strife between these two towns. The case was heard in several courts, from the court of Tavarnicus (*Magister tavarnicorum regalium*) and Viceregent to the Šariš County Court, in favour of Bardejov. Charters from the first half of the 15th century attest to a period in the trial in the Šariš County Court. David, a lawyer of Bardejov protested in court against bleaching linen in Prešov.¹⁹ On behalf of the town mayor, town council and the community of burghers in Bardejov, he asked for the prohibition of this activity in Prešov and for the supervision by chosen men to its adherence.²⁰ Other charters in which David is mentioned again proved intensive continuance of the case in 1446.²¹ During the case the towns took appeal to the court of Tavarnicus, as shown in the charter of Tavarnicus John Perényi from 1446.²² The trial continued in later years. The charter from 1447 mentioned the lawyers on both sides – Ambrosius with Prešov and Paul with Bardejov.²³ In January 1448 attorney Paul represented Bardejov in front of the representatives of the Šariš County during the proceedings in Prešov.²⁴ Because the verdict of the court was well-disposed to Bardejov, the town representatives of Prešov took to violence. Mikuláš, the mayor of Prešov captured the attorney Paul and took all charters and privileges related to the case from him,²⁵ so he committed serious crime of detainee of charters, which was punished by the steep fine.²⁶ The letter of the town councils of Sabinov and Veľký Šariš addressed to Tavarnicus informed about this incident.²⁷ He appointed partial reconciliation in this case and established peace till the charters will be proposed repeatedly and the cause will be resolved.²⁸ Finally, the result in this case was favourable for Bardejov, although the case was in progress during the whole 15th century.

Our contribution presented some examples of cooperation and rivalry between the chosen towns in the 15th century, which were carried out by the representatives of the town administration. It is evident, that the towns helped and cooperated in the area of advocacy of their collective rights and privileges or in times of war cloud. But in the economic area and business they behaved as rivals, especially when they defended their particular rights and privileges. This attitude led to many arguments, lawsuits, and violence.

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18 Ibidem.

19 ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 455.

20 „Quod David procurator (...) de Barthfa ad nostram veniens presentiam in personis Judicis Juratorum et totius communitatis de Barthfa (...) dicta permodo protestationis et prohibitionis (...) quod prout ipsi percipisset et ad eorum dervenisset notitiam, quod civitas Eperies Tella de albare intententur et vellent...“. ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 455.

21 The charter of Benedik, viccomes of Šariš County, dated in the 6th of April 1446 and in the 28th of April 1446. IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára. Archivum liberae regiaeque civitatis Eperjes*. 1245 – 1526. Szeged 1931, 134-135; ŠA PO, MMP, 303; 305.

22 IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi város...*, 138; ŠA PO, MMP, 309.

23 IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi város...*, 144; ŠA PO, MMP, 315.

24 ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 505.

25 „...tunc Nicolaus Judex dicte Civitatis Eperies de medio Comitum et Judicium Nobilium necnon ceterorum Nobilium ipsum paulum extrahendo minus iuste et indebite captivasset (...) Insuper omnia litteralia instrumenta ipsius Civitatis Bartpha ab eodem abstulissent...“. ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 505.

26 LUBY, Š. *Dejiny súkromného práva na Slovensku*. Bratislava 2002, 238.

27 ŠA PO, pob. Bard., MMB, 505.

28 IVÁNYI, B. *Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára, Archivum liberae regiaeque civitatis Eperjes*. 1245 – 1526. Szeged 1931, 149; ŠA PO, MMP, 326.

MEMBERS OF THE MERCHANT GUILD IN KOŠICE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH OF TOWN ELITES IN KOŠICE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Miroslava Slezáková

One of the attributes with which the urbanization of a certain populated area is defined, is a concentration of craft production and trade. The economical function of a town can be quantified by a number and differentiation of craft guilds, trade potential (strategic position in a network of trade routes) and its real fulfilment of numbers of organized regular markets. The following contribution is about a particular guild – The Guild of Rich Merchants of Košice, its function, its place within the Middle Ages urban society, and its relationship with other town inhabitants.

Guilds, associations of town craftsmen with the same or similar occupation, first appeared in Western Europe at the end of the 11th century. Generally accepted thesis is that guild organizations in the Kingdom of Hungary emerged in relation to German colonization after the Tatar invasion. From their original country, the new inhabitants brought a tradition of forming associations for craftsmen of the same or similar occupation. In comparison with the craftsmen guilds in Western Europe, the guilds in the Kingdom of Hungary were mainly oriented at the production function; they were not involved in the political situation of the town as an opposition to the ruling town elites.¹ The highest representatives of guilds participated in town municipality as well, the ruling and the highest productive classes of citizens merged.

Trade had a specific status in the classification of town inhabitants' occupations, as it did not produce new goods but only provided their transport and sale. Ambiguous categorization of trade among the classical crafts of the Middle Ages puts merchants on the verge between producers and end consumers. The status of merchants within the Middle Ages society changed radically throughout the centuries, especially in relation to the acceptance of this occupation by church authorities who originally condemned it (because of handling the money and profits from sales). The preparation for the job of a merchant had different educational and financial requirements for the candidates than the preparation for crafts production. Especially the knowledge of arithmetic, writing and reading were necessary bases of every merchant's education. Initial capital, either inherited or gained from own activities, was also important for successful merchant practise. However, as pointed out by Aron J. Gurevič, in many cases trade was not the only source of merchants' incomes. Capital gained from their own work was warily invested in lands as a safer investment.² Moreover, merchants acquired profits from selling the land yields and in case of failure and bankruptcy it provided perspective survival, or it served as a financial cover for risky businesses.

The risks and financial costs associated with transportation of goods motivated medieval merchants to create merchant guilds. Undoubtedly the best know and the most influential one which had

1 ŠPIESZ, A. *Remeslá, cechy a manufaktúry na Slovensku*. Martin 1983, 34.

2 GUREVIČ, A. J. *Středověký kupec*. In *Středověký člověk a jeho svět*. Ed. Le Goff, J. Praha 1999, 212.

the largest number of members in Europe of Middle Ages was the Baltic Hansa, the association of German merchants. It connected overseas merchants from more than 200 towns stretching from Great Britain to Russian ports in the Baltic and northern ports of Norway. The word hanza was originally used for all associations of travelling merchants, sometimes its activities merged with the religious function of the gild.³

The first association of merchants within a town is documented in sources at the beginning of the 11th century in the Dutch town Tiel. These associations that can be called merchant guilds gradually spread over the majority of relevant trade centres in the north of France, Netherland and Lower Germany. Their common features were exclusivity and low number of members⁴. Thus the membership was not compulsory as was the case of craft guilds. On the other hand, the possibility to get in among the elite trade leaders of a certain town brought new opportunities in the social and business field.

The records show that in Košice, a trade centre located on the way between Krakow and Transylvania, there was a group of residents whose main interest was trade. The oldest Book of Brotherhood and/or of the Guild (bruderschafft und adir zech) of Košice Merchants namely in collection C (Cehalia) is stored in the Košice City Archives (further AMK).⁵ According to the given dating, the brotherhood of Košice merchants is the oldest merchant guild with documented guidelines in Slovakia and the Kingdom of Hungary.⁶

Košice Merchant Guild stayed unnoticed in Slovak literature for a long period, even though a study about the book was written at the beginning of the 20th century⁷ and both so called articles were re-written on pages of Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle by an archivist of Košice Lajos Kemeny. The oldest Slovak paper about guilds mentioned the brotherhood only briefly as an association of Košice's pedlars.⁸ Anton Špiesz did not mention it at all in his two publications about the history of guilds and crafts in Slovakia. Ondrej R. Halaga based his papers on brotherhood rules, he did not study the accounting records in depth.⁹ Tomáš Tandlich dealt with the brotherhood and its articles the most in Slovakia, in several studies published in Slovak Archivist¹⁰ and then also in his thesis paper.¹¹ Even one of the latest papers about Slovak guild organizations does not mention the brotherhood although Tandlich's studies are listed as a literature sources.¹² From the recent papers of Hungarian historians, Zsigmond Pál Pach dealt with the brotherhood and in detail especially with the development of the words Crom and Cromer in relation to the meaning of the word Kalmar.¹³

The Book of Brotherhood also contains guidelines of the association from 1446.¹⁴ Next record is from 1480, continuous notes were made between the years 1495 – 1522 and 1527 – 1536. The last entry in the book is from 1553. After a forced break, the activities of the brotherhood were renewed with the articles from 1631 and 1632.¹⁵

As suggested in its name, Košice Brotherhood and or the Merchant Guild should connect religious-social and economical interests. Before a closer look at its structure and functions, it is vital to mention the ways of its naming. The word brotherhood evokes clear religious and beneficent interests in this heterogeneous organization which stands away from the traditional family and social

3 ENNEN, E. *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalters*. Göttingen 1987, 147.

4 ENNEN, E. *Die europäische Stadt ...*, 113-116.

5 Archív mesta Košice (AMK), C, Obchodníci I (Steincrom I. 7), car.. 19/2, inv. number 258.

6 TANDLICH, T. *Artikuly obchodných cechov v slobodných kráľovských mestách Košice, Prešov a Levoča*. In *Slovenská archivistika*, 32, 1997, 1, 59.

7 KERÉKES, G. *A Kassai Kereskedő-czéh (Bruderschafft) Könyve. 1446 – 1553*. In *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle*, 10, 1903, 342-352.

8 HOUDEK, I. *Cechovníctvo na Slovensku*. Martin 1943, 37.

9 HALAGA, O. R. *Právny, územný a populačný rozvoj mesta Košíc*. Košice 1967, 62-63; HALAGA, O. R. *Košice – Balt. Výroba a obchod v styku východoslovenských miest s Pruskom (1275 – 1526)*. Košice 1975, 252.

10 TANDLICH, T. *Artikuly obchodných cechov...*, 58-70 (about the merchant guild in Košice see p. 59-60) and *Cehová kniha obchodného cechu v Košiciach z rokov 1446 – 1553*. In *Slovenská archivistika*, 33, 1998, 2, 69-81.

11 TANDLICH, T. *Obchodné cechy v slobodných kráľovských mestách Košice, Prešov a Levoča v 15. – 18. storočí*. [Dissertation Thesis]. Bratislava 2000, 207.

12 MAJERECH-MRZUCH, J. *Remeselnícke cechové organizácie na Slovensku*. Bratislava 2000, 211.

13 PACH, ZS. P. *Szójéjtés és gazdaságtörténet. Crom – cromer – kalmár*. In *Magyar Nyelv*, 72, 1976, 4, 422-429.

14 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 2 a 2 v.

15 TANDLICH, T. *Artikuly obchodných cechov...*, 60.

bonds.¹⁶ In Košice, there are the following brotherhoods documented – medieval Brotherhood of Corpus Christi, Brotherhood of St. Michal, Brotherhood of St. Leonard, Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary, Brotherhood of St. Šebastián, Brotherhood of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Brotherhood of St. Anton.¹⁷ However, as A. Špiesz remarked, the name brotherhood (*fraternitas, Bruderschaft*) was also originally used to label the first guilds starting in Germany as per the example set by similar merchant associations. A generic title guild (*Zunft, Innung*) spread across only in the 14th century.¹⁸ The first guilds in the Kingdom of Hungary were called brotherhoods with a particular saint for a patron at the beginning too.¹⁹ So it is not possible to automatically connect the term brotherhood with a religious association especially when the guidelines do not state any patron or saint. In the name of organization in Košice appears also a newer term *zech/zeche* (die Zeche).²⁰ In this study, I will call Košice's merchants organization equally as a guild, brotherhood, association or community (not a society) of merchants.

The oldest guidelines of the association (*Unser satzung der bruder yn den Cromen habin alle gewillert unttyndir*) were written in German (as well as the whole book of accounts) and consisted of ten points. The requirement for entering the guild (for both men and women) was to pay two red florins and give four funts (pounds) of wax. In my opinion, it is not necessary to accentuate the wax, because entrance or membership payment in brotherhoods and guilds in the form of wax was quite wide-spread and traditional in the Middle Ages.²¹ Another condition for entering the brotherhood was to organize a traditional banquet (*molzent*)²² with food and drinks for all brothers and sisters (in the book of accounts they used the term *gross mol, klein mol* or *halb mol*). A man who married a female member (widow) or a single female member could become a member of the association too. Thus the financial background and social contacts were required for the membership too.²³ Not taking part in the annual guild meetings, trading with non-members of the guild, disobeying the guildmaster's notices, lending their own weights and scales (the measures of length are not mentioned at all), or renting and selling their own selling spaces (*Croms*) to non-members, were sanctioned by a fine in form of wax (usually the weight of half the funt). Forced handover of traded goods could happen to a member who attempted to further sell products of non-members of the guild („...*keynis fremdyn manny's guttir der nicht nit uns yn der bruderschaft adir zech ist...*“) or who liaised with non-members. If a member left or rented his Crom, he lost the brotherhood membership and when re-entering, the same rules applied to him as to other new brothers. The guidelines do not contain the issue of the annual membership fees, the organization inside the guild, guildmasters' elections or frequency of members' meetings.

The only product directly mentioned in the guidelines was spice (*pfheffir, phffir*, 10th point).²⁴ There were special conditions for storage and dealing with the spice, it was important to keep the cleanliness and quality of the commodity. Trading with spices had to be done according to laws of Košice, of Levoča, of Bardejov and of Prešov („...*noch der wilkor fyr stete Casscha lowtscha bartpha Eppries.*“) The text of the 10th point confirms that spices were sought after, the most expensive and the most valuable trading commodities; the advantage was their rather easy transport and manipulation.

The last point of the guidelines that was not numbered can be explained in many ways. Kemeny and also Tandlich avoided its interpretation in their studies. It is not clear if this part informs about

16 OEXLE, O. G. Gildy. In *Encyklopedie středověku*. Ed. Le Goff, J. – Schmitt, J.-C. Praha 2002, 177-178.

17 SLEZÁKOVÁ, M. – NÁDASKÁ, K. Košice. In ŠTEFÁNIK, M. – LUKÁČKA, J. et al. *Lexikon stredovekých miest*. Bratislava 2010, 207.

18 ŠPIESZ, A. *Remeslá, cechy a manufaktúry...*, 31.

19 ŠPIESZ, A. *Remeslo na Slovensku v období existencie cechov*. Bratislava 1972, 34.

20 This term was in German countries less used than *die Zunft*. *Lexikon des Mittelalters IX: Werla bis Zipresse*. München; Zürich 1998, 496.

21 *Lexikon des Mittelalters II: Bettlerwesen bis Codex von Valencia*. München; Zürich 1983, 739.

22 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 2. „...und zal gebin den brudern und swerstirn ein smolzent mit essen und mit trinken alz von alders gewonlich gewest ist.“

23 Peter Wasserbauch became a member with the help of brothers Hans Gurtler and Hermas Cupel, moreover he gave to the brotherhood a vine. AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 19 v. I Hans Schewtzlich became a member in 1509 through („... *gewonne dy bruderschaft der Steyncrom durch die Namhaftigen Herren...*“) two aldermen (Oswald Morgner, Stenzel Fogelwader). AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 22.

24 Sometimes the term *phffir* is translated as black pepper. PACH, SZ. P. *Szójejtés és gazdaságtörténet...*, 425.

accepting new members or handling the goods on particular days, or perhaps a combination of both.²⁵ Absence of a number next to this point encourages allocating it to a previous clause. The most acceptable interpretation is by Sz. P. Pach, that brothers and sisters could not unload (i.e. sell goods) on Sundays and on Our Lady of Sorrows holiday (15th August). Those who were interested in the guild's membership had to unload their goods only after the mass on the Sending the Twelve holiday (15th July) as a declaration of their ambitions.²⁶ If this was really followed in practise and gradually desisted, it is not contained in the brotherhood's records.

Throughout the guild's existence a problem occurred with the members who did not pay the membership fees. Twenty-year old or older debts were not exceptions; in 1504 the guild recorded two debtors from 1480, one debtor from the years 1483, 1484, and 1488, the rest owed only for approximately last ten years.²⁷

Religiousness and its manifestation meant an important stabilizing element in the life of the medieval folk. Craftsmen guilds chose their saints, patrons, and protectors to whom the guilds addressed. Although there is no record of religious orientation in the guidelines of Košice Merchant Guild, the payments of fines in the form of wax show its using in the form of candles for church masses. The only reference to the wax for Elizabeth can be found among book entries of accounting records from 1496²⁸ a specific altar is not mentioned though. The list of expenses from the year 1504 contains the receiver of the gift-altar of St. Barbara—a product made of machelen (from a Brabantian town of Mechelen).²⁹ Also a record from the year 1514 instructed Hans Scheutzlich to give wax for candles valued two florin to the same altar.³⁰ Other cases when the wax and candles are mentioned in the records are in relation to Easter and the Holy Sepulchre holidays. The brotherhood even hired one of the town inhabitants for the role of guarding the Sepulchre in the church during Holy Saturday and look after the burning candles that the Merchant Guild donated for the holidays.³¹ The expenses for wax and candles production (namely by nuns only in the years 1495 and 1497³²) occurred a few other times in the records, however not always it stated the purpose of them. The question of the religious orientation of the brotherhood and its members, especially in relation to the brotherhood's patron, is not definitely closed and requires further research.

The potential connection between the brotherhood and city's clerical institution is indicated by the record of debtors of wax from the year 1480: Elmaris (Hannus?) Zipser donated four florin to the Dominican Order (ad fratros predicatorum) for unclear purpose (ad tu(re)ring—for a doorbell?).³³ Writing of the accounting guild record, as is obvious from several different handwritings in the book, was not a task of only one 'brother' or writer, the writing styles changed each year. I presume that the records were probably controlled by one of the guildmasters. On most of the pages in the book at the top or bottom, is stated in various writing styles the name of brother – debtor who is listed as the first record on that particular page. The notes about debtors are entered together with the unpaid sum on the last pages of the book as well, most of the entries are crossed out – the debt was paid. The records of the book which refer to one year, are divided into two parts – incomes (fines collection, entrance and annual fees), and expenses (expenses of the brotherhood „Mus geben“). The oldest entries in accounting records are related to entrance fees collection, fines, and probably annual fees. These brief notes consist usually of only the name and the sum. The style of writing about the brotherhoods' activities gradually changes – the records are denser and longer. They contain the names of new members,

25 *Item is zal keyn bruder noch swestir auslegin an eynem sontage an uns(e)r libin frawen tag. Sunder an der XII botyn tag noch dem amacht der messe zo mag aus legen werdo wil undir uns reychin Cromern.*

AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 2 v.

26 PACH, SZ. P. *Szójajtés és gazdaságtörténet...*, 425.

27 Highest debt was 19 florins. AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 14 v.

28 „Ite(m) xxx d(enarii) umb wachs in die elizabeth“ AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 8 v.

29 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 15 v.

30 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 25.

31 Candles Year 1497 *Item iiiii d dem totten greber dy kertzen aws tzw warten pay dem grab.* AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 10. Year 1505: „*Eodem die (oster abend) vor kertzen machen zu dem grabe d 3. Der wartern das licht pey dem grabe d 4.*“ AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 17.

32 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 7 and fol. 10.

33 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 3.

brothers and sisters, information about new guildmasters or annual costs of the brotherhood.

The biggest expenses of the brotherhood represented the costs for servicing the Crows (places where they offered their goods) and a salary for the so-called „Cromhütter“, a person responsible for guarding the Crows, mending and repair work. He was paid from the common cash box, sometimes, as per the records; he was moreover paid by individual traders too.³⁴ Apart from Cromhütter, the brothers paid to craftsmen as well: masons and carpenters. The book also captures the materials needed for mending the Crows. The guild was involved in securing the sold and stored products so brothers bought a key³⁵ and a lock³⁶ too. Among the rest of the most traded goods were wine, already mentioned wax and candles, rarely bread, cheese, meat and spices. The costs related to organizing guild banquets were bored mainly by new brothers.

Specific expenses were traditional financial and tangible gifts to new elected town mayors. The financial gift was between one and two florin. Sometime spices and saffron³⁷ were mentioned as gifts-commodities that were traded by richer merchants in Košice.

The comparison of the lists of elected town representatives and of members of the brotherhood gives us a picture about the brothers' status in local community. Between 1495 and 1526 when the continuous records from the book preserved, the town mayors (even several times) were brothers Hans Opicz, Jorg Gabriel, Michael Kukelbrecht, Hans Scheutzlich and Hans Ferber. Other members of the brotherhood served, usually for many years, as aldermen (2nd column in the table) or as members of wider council (3rd column) see table no.1³⁸ Table nr. 1. Brothers in city structures. There are some well-known names from Košice's history in the table: Hans Scheutzlich, a town archivist and the author of the first archive's registry and inventory, also in 1513 – 1519 comes tricesimarum,³⁹ Nicles (Nicolaus) Krompholz, a builder and a mason who was originally sent to Košice for the cathedral's reconstruction after Polish siege in 1491. A year later he was already recorded in the list of new accepted citizens⁴⁰ and in 1498 he joined the merchant guild with his wife.⁴¹ In 1514, Barbara, Krompholz's wife, is noted as a sister of Balthazar Geulch, another member of the guild and important citizen.⁴² The possessions of citizens are documented in the tax registry too. In Košice, some parts from the years 1475, 1480, 1483, 1484 and 1487 were preserved. Several members of the brotherhood can be found among the tax payers. Jorg Gabriel paid a tax of 18 florins and Hans Opitzer 3,5 florins in 1480. Then neighbours from the first quarter of the town, Bartholomeus Apotheker (8 florins), Hans Brechtel (4 florins) a Balthazar Roth (10 florins) were recorder in the tax registry in 1483. In that same year Jeronimus Trinkaus paid 4 florins. Bartholomeus Ap(o)teker paid a tax of 5 florins in 1487 for a garden, meadows and fields, excluding two houses in town.⁴³ Missing records about tax collections from the following years do not allow us to compare the possessions of brotherhood members more closely. According to the sum of paid taxes, E. Fügedi put the brotherhood merchants into the third group out of four town classes; the most highly taxed citizens made the fourth group.⁴⁴ Women of Košice were not excluded from the guild's membership, as indicated in the guidelines. In comparison with men, there were inadequately fewer women in the brotherhood, and nothing shows their aspirations for higher posts. Partial list of sisters' names was done by G. Kerekes.⁴⁵

34 For example see AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 25.

35 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 17 v.

36 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 27 v.

37 For example in year 1495: „... und Saffran den her,(r)en richtle(r) zu er(ober)ung.“ AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 5. „It(em) dem Richtte(r) zu eru(n)g pfeffer(n) Sapran Jubel 1,5 fl.“ AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 23 v.

38 Sources: Liber Civitatis Maior (AMK, Suppl. H III/2, pur 2) and NÉMETH, I. *Kassa város archontológiája. Birág, belső és külső tanács 1500 – 1700*. Budapest 2006, 37-68.

39 HALAGA, O. R. Colnice a důvernici v říšskom monopole Košic. In *Historický časopis* (39) 1991, 1, 7.

40 AMK, Stadtbuch, Supplementum H (Suppl H), H III/2., pur 4., fol. 2.

41 FÜGEDI, E. Kaschau, eine osteuropäische Handelsstadt am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts. In *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae II*, 1956 (1957), 206; AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 9 a 10.

42 AMK, Suppl H, H III/2., pur 4., fol. 322.

43 KEMÉNY, L. *Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei 1431 – 1533*. Košice 1982, 39. (Gabriel and Opitzer), 44. (Apotheker, Brechtel, Roth), 43. (Trinkaus), 55. (Apotheker in 1487).

44 FÜGEDI, E. *Kaschau...*, 197-198.

45 KERÉKES, G. *A Kassai Kereskedő-czéh (Bruderschaft) Könyve*. Budapest 1913, 346-347.

The female members of the guild (sisters) were usually, like in other resources, listed only after their husbands (e.g. Jorg Diackyn⁴⁶ or Jorg Ferberin⁴⁷). Women appeared in the records in two circumstances: in case of their husband's name's absence thus probably after his death when they inherited all business commitments together with the brotherhood membership after their deceased husbands. Apart from widows, the wives of living members could become guild members too. One example is Barbara, wife (*hausfraw*) of Tobias Pleibet, who entered the brotherhood together with her husband in 1498 and both 'owed' other members after the banquet. Another documented woman is Simo Geulchin; her name on the list of members is entered before her relation (brother-in-law?) Baltazár (Baltizar) Geulch.⁴⁸ There is an exception, *fraw Kattusch*, who was documented among the members in 1499 for the first time.⁴⁹ Not before or after was her husband member of the guild, there is no record about her father or other relations with the same name. So we can say that she was an individual female member of the brotherhood. She even might have belonged to the Košice Merchant Company.⁵⁰

One of the attributes of medieval guilds was their social function. Guild's money was contributed to funerals, weddings, and other significant events in the lives of members; compassion with widows and orphans after the deceased members was extended too. The records of the Košice Merchant Guild do not indicate any expenses related to deaths of its members, they are not even mentioned there. One example offers itself here when an influential citizen and brotherhood member Nicles Krompholtz who was replaced by his wife (marked as *Nicolaus Krumpolzin*) in 1515 in the records about membership fees.⁵¹ Similarly there are no records about members who left the brotherhood for some other reasons.

We can presume that Košice Merchant Guild or the brotherhood of merchants played a role of elite organization which associated also people with different original occupations. The most obvious example is the previously mentioned Nicolaus Krompholz who left his original job as a builder, bought a house in Košice and in 1499 he even became one of the four guildmasters.⁵² The second names of some of the brothers are related to different crafts, such as Bartholomeus Apotheker, Jorg Dyakin, Scott Schreiberer, Emerich Gurtlerin, Georgius Schneider, or many with the surname Ferber and written variations of the surname Goldschmid, and they show various previous occupations of the Košice Merchant Guild members. The Cromers, whose surname described their occupation the most, were only five in the guild. We cannot automatically link the second name of merchants to their occupations – at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, the surnames and jobs did not have to overlap.⁵³ There was nobody with the surnames Mercator, Kaufmann or Istitor in the guild.

There is a document from the year 1475 in the Košice City Archives and it was in my opinion incorrectly identified as the brotherhood's guidelines by Kemény, Halaga and Tandlich.⁵⁴ The document is sometimes being recognized as the articles of the brotherhood of minor merchants, pedlars but this is not accurate either. I think that a more convincing argument is that the town representatives validated the existence of the brotherhood with this document (the guidelines from 1446 were probably ratified by the brothers themselves) and so the brotherhood was promoted to a proper guild status.⁵⁵

Although the brotherhood of rich merchants is mentioned in the document, its contents are more about the regulation of the goods sales by non-members - other citizens or foreigners. Every foreigner or town inhabitant without citizenship rights („...alle awslender oder die nicht burgerrecht dieser stadt haben,...“) was allowed to sell their products only at the markets, among each other they

46 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 16.

47 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 20 v.

48 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 5 v. and fol. 8.

49 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 10 v.

50 TANDLICH, T. *Cechová kniha...*, 79.

51 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 25 v.

52 AMK, C, 19/2, fol. 11.

53 HALAGA, O. R. *Právny, územný...*, 61.

54 AMK, Schwarzenbach, č. 433. Copy in AMK, Cehalia-Mercatores, Der Steinkrome Czechbrieff 1475; KEMÉNY, L. A. Kassai kereskodók első czéhszabályzata 1475-ből. In *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle*. 1897, 190-192; Analysis of this document in HALAGA, O. R. *Košice – Balt...*, 253.

55 FÜGEDI, E. *Kaschau...*, 208.

only could trade goods valued of less than four florins. Local inhabitants (including craftsmen) were free to sell only on Thursday's markets, on all other days they could only sell in their houses or dwellings but the goods had to be of a low value, not more than four florins. Exception was given to holiday foods (*festil speisze*)⁵⁶ which could be sold any time at the markets. A breach of those rules was sanctioned by a loss of the products and by a non-specified punishment.

The privilege demanded directly by the brotherhood meant to protect their own business interests and reduce the competition; it did not involve the definition and regulation of internal function of the merchant guild at all.

Before analysing the goods in the aforementioned document, it is necessary to divide Košice's merchants into several categories. As obvious from analysis of the town's tax registry, the first group consisted of the well-off and rich citizens, members of the brotherhood or the merchant guild. Sometimes they themselves added to the brotherhood's name the remark rich merchants – *Reichin Cromern*. The expression *reichin* (*reichen*) was used to distinguish the rich merchants from the representatives of the second group where minor pedlars and merchants belonged – people of lower classes, and understandably not many written records were preserved about them.

I find it useful to analyse the subject of poorer merchants in Košice in detail from another point of view. Lajos Kemény was the first one to allocate the expression *Armenkrenleyn*⁵⁷ and *Armen Kremelen* to the poor pedlars of Košice. He backed his theory with a segment from the Košice City Book.⁵⁸ He connected the interpretation of the regulation from 1509, accepted by T. Tandlich as well, to the pedlars who were allowed to sell in the town by paying annual fee of three or four florins. However, from the mentioned town council's order is not clear that it is about the professional small merchants because especially the last sentence evokes a connection to crafts, not trade: „Das so indert eyn hantwerger doryn wolde arbeten, das her geben soll der stadt czw czínsz 3 aler 4 fl. eyn jor.” Moreover, paying the required sum would have been possible only for the richest town citizens, even the merchant guild members paid much less for using the selling spaces every year (between 25 dinars = 1 ort or 1 florin).

A theory that pedlars themselves associated with a brotherhood or a guild is dubious. This association should have divided from the brotherhood of rich merchants.⁵⁹ The list of town's incomes from 1487 contains a remark about so called *Kauffkammern*,⁶⁰ storehouses, store-rooms, or shops in general. The income from renting them or tax for their keeping was insignificant (1 florin altogether) thus we can assume that they were very modest spaces, more suitable for small merchants and craftsmen.

Quantities and types of strategic trade commodities were thoroughly recorded in the above mentioned town status from the year 1475. The textiles and products made of them dominate the list: barchet, leymet, zindel (type of taffeta), goltsch (*golsch, kölsch*),⁶¹ untezenholt, blue fibres and yarn, veils, trousers, bedclothes; a luxurious saffron is mentioned too, and a non-specified type of spice (*pfeffer*) tops the list. Previous researchers did not note on the permission written in the document to sell less than eight shillings of *dromel*. Based on a record from the Budin's codex of town laws⁶² I assume that in the Košice merchants' case also the permission was about a certain kind of fish (or fish in general). The following items were not included in the list: products of other craftsmen, different agricultural products, livestock, groceries and drinks (especially wine). Hence the merchants associated in the guild gained the monopoly for trade with textiles from the town council. There are no records about respecting this edict.

56 PACH, ZS. P. Translates it as Lent meal (*Fasten*); PACH, ZS. P. *Szójejtés és gazdaságtörténet...*, 427.

57 KEMÉNY, L. *Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei...*, 56.

58 KEMÉNY, L. *Armenkremen*. In *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle*, 9, 1902, 139.

59 HALAGA, O. R. *Právny, územný...*, 63.

60 KEMÉNY, L. *Kassa város régi számadáskönyvei...*, 57.

61 Cloth from German town Köln, usually with blue stripes. *Matthias Lexers Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*. 34. Auflages. Leipzig 1974, 112.

62 „Item Von ainem drumel, haissen oder ander visch...” *Das Ofner Stadtrecht. Eine deutschsprachige Rechtssammlung des 15. Jahrhunderts aus Ungarn*. Ed. Mollay, K. Budapest 1959, 97.

In relation to the sales regulations in Košice, the document from 1475 had an example in the privilege of Žigmund Luxemburský from 15th July, 1404.⁶³ The decree prescribed the highest allowed quantities of commodities that could be freely sold in the town by foreign merchants. The list contained imported textiles (Polish and Cologne cloth) and products made of them, leathers, spices („... unam libram piperis de quaslibet speciebus...”) and armours.⁶⁴ Both documents are different, except spices and Cologne cloth, which shows the change in trade priorities of Košice merchants and citizens. I presume that Žigmund's decree was made under the pressure from Košice citizens – merchants. This illustrates their significance in trade in the northern part of the Kingdom of Hungary.

The regulation for merchants issued and confirmed by the Košice town council in 1475 contains valuable information about the status and influence of rich merchants in this town. It especially revealed the impact of merchants' influence. The document itself originated from the guild's representatives initiative because they wanted to secure their old freedoms and rights, i.e. to protect their exceptional status in town and region. So the merchant guild members were allowed to sell within the town in addition to markets.

The rich merchants of Košice associated in the brotherhood specified themselves from other town inhabitants by using the names Cromer and Reich Cromer (other merchants, non-members of the guild, were marked as kaufmann), and also by the organization's inaccessibility and elitist attitude. Their influence is also obvious in the unique status in selling the goods within town, when they won (or re-gained) the monopoly in the trade of luxurious or common commodities like foreign textiles and some products made of them, spices, and exported fish.

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63 Archív mesta Košice (AMK), fond Tajný archív (TA), D (Depositorium), nr. 16.

64 O. R. Halaga translated words *kyrsay* a *harnas* as names of clothes (HALAGA, O. R. *Košice – Balt...*, 251). On the basis of *Matthias Lexers Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch...*, 82. I suppose, *kyrsay* and *harnas* were part of warrior equipment.

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KOŠICKÍ MEŠŤANIA A ICH KAŽDODENNÝ ŽIVOT V 16. STOROČÍ*

Bernadeta Fabová

Košice v 16. storočí

Košice predstavovali do istej miery atypické Európske mesto. Veľkosťou populácie predstavovalo relatívne malé mesto v celoeurópskom ponímaní, no z politického hľadiska dosahovali vysoké postavenie vo svojom regióne, ako aj v celej Habsburskej monarchii. Napriek histórii, bohatej na významné udalosti, sa zachovalo relatívne malé množstvo archívnych prameňov, relevantných pre výskum stanovenej problematiky.

Z uvedeného dôvodu je exaktná rekonštrukcia demografie, topografie, sociálnych a ekonomických podmienok, ako aj každodenného života jeho obyvateľstva do istej miery problematická. To môže byť jedným z dôvodom existencie relatívne malého počtu publikovaných kníh či štúdií venujúcich sa tejto problematike.

Za jednu z najrozsiahlejších monografií venujúcich sa charakteristike sledovaného obdobia je možné považovať prácu Ondrej R. Halagu: *Právny, územný a populačný vývoj mesta Košice*.¹

Ďalšou autorkou, ktorá sa zaoberá výskumom uvedenej problematiky je Miloslava Bodnárová. Na základe svojich výskumom vpublikovala niekoľko štúdií venujúcich sa rekonštrukcií demografie a majetkovej štruktúry,² remeselnej výroby³ a počiatkom reformácie⁴ v Košiciach v období 16. storočia. Podkladovú bázu jej výskumov predstavovali zachované daňové registre⁵ a v určitej miere aj mestské knihy. Vzhľadom na skutočnosť, že uvedený druh prameňa, daňové súpisy, sú zachované pre danú lokalitu vo fragmentárnom stave, je nevyhnutné doplnenie výskumu iným druhom archívneho prameňa obsahujúceho absentujúce údaje.

Majetková štruktúra ako aj sociálna diferenciácia obyvateľov miest východného Slovenska v stanovenom období predstavuje predmet prác i Márie Marečkovej.⁶ Vo svojich publikáciách sa tiež zameriava na stav a rozvrstvenie populácie i v meste Košice, ale len okrajovo.

Všeobecne známe poznatky indikujú prekonanie podstatných zmien v statuse a hospodárskych podmienkach mesta v období raného novoveku. Hospodárstvo mesta, no hlavne obchod, boli značne ovplyvnené presunom obchodných ciest z východu na západ, na pobrežie Atlantického oceánu a do Nového sveta. Skutočnosť, že nové obchodné cesty neviedli v blízkosti mesta Košice, spôsobila výrazný pokles obchodných aktivít mesta, ako aj jeho príjmu z tejto činnosti. Celkový hospodársky úpadok mesta bol tiež prehĺbený expanziou Osmanskej ríše.

Po výhre Osmanskej armády v známej bitke pri Moháči v roku 1526 boli južné časti Uhorského kráľovstva na dlhý čas pripojené k ríši a začlenené do ich systému správy. Tento fakt ovplyvnil zmenu

* Príspevok bol vypracovaný v rámci projektu VEGA č. 1/0101/12 Miesta pamäti Košíc I. (historické prelomy a inštitúcie).

1 HALAGA, Ondrej R. *Právny, územný a populačný vývoj mesta Košíc*. Košice : Východoslovenské nakladateľstvo. 1967. 134 p.

2 BODNÁROVÁ, M. Majetková štruktúra obyvateľstva Košíc v 16. storočí. In *Historica Carpatica* (18) 1987, 179 – 205.

3 BODNÁROVÁ, M. Remeselná výroba v Košiciach v 16. storočí. In *Historica Carpatica* (17) 1986, 99 – 119.

4 BODNÁROVÁ, M. Počiatky reformácie v Košiciach. In *Acta facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Šafarikanae*. Košice 1994, 38- 49.

5 Uschované sú v Archíve mesta Košice (AMK). (AMK, Taxa Media in civitate per iudicemet iuratos cives imposita, Ladula 1. 1476 – 1694, taxa 28, 29, 30.).

6 MAREČKOVÁ, M. Majetková štruktúra a sociálny rozvrstvení obyvateľ východoslovenských svobodných kráľovských miest v ranom novoveku. In *Historický časopis* (42) 1994, 3, 425 – 445.

statusu Košíc vo výraznej miere – z predchádzajúceho obchodného centra sa mesto pretvorilo v novú obrannú pevnosť proti Osmanskej expanzii.

Uvedené a neuvedené významné historické udalosti spôsobili pokles počtu obyvateľov a ich celkovej životnej úrovne. Napriek týmto zmenám si mesto zachovalo status obchodného a remeselného centra východnej časti Horného Uhorska. Dôkaz vysokej úrovne remeselnej výroby podáva Ondrej. R. Halaga vo svojej knihe,⁷ v ktorej rozoznáva spolu 230 remeselných špecifikácií vykonávaných v meste na začiatku 16. storočia. Táto skutočnosť tiež poukazuje na vysoký stupeň remeselnej diferenciácií mesta, ktorý je typickým znakom rozvinutého ranonovovekého mesta. Napriek týmto skutočnostiam je v sledovanom období badateľný výrazný populačný pokles v zvolenom meste.

Rekonštrukcia počtu obyvateľov celého mesta je vzhľadom na nedostatok relevantných prameňov, ako aj fragmentárnemu zachovaniu daňových registrov obtiažna. Počet obyvateľov je odhadovaný na základe daňových registrov na 4500 v období 16. storočia. Odhad komplikuje aj fakt, že sa zachoval len jediný kompletný register vypracovaný pre všetky štvrte mesta, ako aj pre predmestie. Na dokumente absentuje datovanie, jeho vznik je odhadovaný medzi rokmi 1522 a 1524.⁸

Napriek existencií uvedených relevantných dokumentov je stratifikácia mestskej spoločnosti na základe majetkového a sociálneho hľadiska obtiažna. Všetci uvedení autori preferovali využitie klasického modelu troch tried – najbohatších, strednej triedy a mestskej chudoby. Presné vymedzenie každej triedy je ťažké, vzhľadom na povahu zachovaných prameňov. Výsledky aplikácie trojtriedneho systému na základe oboch kritérií – majetkového a sociálneho, nemusia zákonite predstavovať systémy s identickými výslednými skupinami. Jeden mešťan môže napríklad patriť na základe sociálneho statusu medzi strednú triedu, na základe majetku je ho však možné zaradiť medzi najbohatších obyvateľov.

Na základe známych poznatkov je možné konštatovať, že skupinu najbohatších obyvateľov mesta predstavoval mestský patriciát bývajúcí vo vnútornom meste, hlavne v oblasti blízko mestského centra a trhu. Maďarský autor Erik Fügedi používa na označenie tejto kategórie mešťanov pre obdobie 15. storočia nemecký termín „Ringbürger“. Členovia tejto triedy boli najfrekventovanejšie obchodníci a kupci so zameraním na diaľkový obchod, rovnako ako aj banskí podnikatelia a spracovatelia drahých kovov.⁹ Mali právo využívať privilégia mesta, z ich radov boli volení členovia mestskej rady a tiež prísažní. Rovnako richtár mesta prináležal k tejto vrstve obyvateľstva.

Stredná trieda zahŕňala mešťanov obývajúcich vnútorné mesto zaoberajúcich sa diaľkovým obchodom a výkonom remesiel. Neboli takí bohatí a vplyvní ako predstavitelia najvyššej triedy. Predmetom ich remeselnej aktivity bolo najčastejšie spracovanie kovov, pôsobili ako zlatníci, spracovatelia kovov a zvonolejáři. Druhá najväčšia skupina remeselníkov sa zaoberala spracovaním dreva, ako debnáři, kolári a tesári. Spracovanie kože v remeslách koželuh, opaskár a sedlár bolo rovnako populárne.¹⁰ Členovia tejto triedy tiež pôsobili ako prísažní, preskúmanie ich ďalšieho pôsobenia v prostredí mestskej samosprávy si vyžaduje detailnejší výskum.

Poslednú, tretiu skupinu populácie predstavovali najchudobnejší obyvatelia. Príslušníci tejto vrstvy obývali predmestie a nevlastnili žiadnu nehnuteľnosť. Patrili do nej hlavne nájomníci vykonávajúci menej ziskové remeslá, nádenníci, sluhovia a slúžky. Ich majoritná časť nemala žiadne stále zamestnanie, boli to žobráci, kriminálnici a imigranti bez majetku.¹¹ Práve táto skupina obyvateľstva, mestská chudoba, najviac reflektovala progres a regres ekonomiky mesta zmenou veľkosti a ľudnatosti predmestia. Rekonštrukcia ich každodenného života je obtiažna, vzhľadom na nedostatok zachovaných relevantných dokumentov.

Napriek skutočnosti, že mestská spoločnosť bola tvorená troma triedami, táto práca sa nezaobera poslednou, najchudobnejšou vrstvou obyvateľstva, nakoľko jej príslušníci nepatrili medzi mešťanov

7 Počet obyvateľov je možné odhadnúť v relácií približne 2807 až 4411 ľudí. (HALAGA, O. R. *Počiatky Košíc...*, 54 – 55.)

8 Viac: BODNÁROVÁ, M. *Majetková štruktúra...*, 179 – 205.

9 FÜGEDI, E. Kaschau, eine osteuropäische Handelstadt am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts. In *Studia slavica Academiae scientiarum hungaricae* (3) 1957, 2, 185-213.

10 BODNÁROVÁ, M. *Remeselná výroba...*, 99 – 119.

11 FÜGEDI, E. *Kaschau, eine...*, 185-213.

Košíc. Dôraz sa kladie na rekonštrukciu rôznych aspektov každodenného života meštianstva, ich majetku, oblečenia, bývania a spôsobu života.

Zdroje výskumu

Pramennú základňu výskumu mestskej spoločnosti predstavujú mestské knihy, ale aj testamenty, súpisy majetku a „divisionales bonorum“ (delenia majetku). Jednotliviny posledných vôli a súpisov, ktoré tvoria jadro výskumu predkladanej štúdie, sú uložené v Archíve mesta Košice. Nevytvárajú jeden fond, sú rozdelené do viacerých fondov.¹²

Pred začiatkom samotného výskumu bola nevyhnutná identifikácia všetkých zachovaných testamentov a súpisov vykonaná na základe Swchartzenbachových inventárov, hlavne prvých dvoch zväzkov. Takisto bol upravený aj časový rozsah výskumu na základe platného zákona o Archívoch a registratúrach číslo 395/2002, ktorý limituje dolnú hranicu dostupnosti archívneho materiálu na rok 1526. Základ výskumu predkladanej práce predstavovalo 205 testamentov a 54 inventárov napísaných hlavne v nemčine, maďarčine, menej v latinčine. Vzhľadom na nejednotnosť ich formy nebolo možné zaradiť do výskumu všetky uvedené dokumenty, časť z nich nedosahovala dostatočný informačný potenciál.¹³

Posledné vôle a súpisy obsahovali relevantné informácie o konkrétnom vlastníctve košických mešťanov. Ich hlavnou úlohou bolo poskytnutie prehľadu o majetku testátora a stanovenie jeho nových majiteľov. Dokumenty obsahovali aj konkrétne mená dedičov, čo je využiteľné pri genealogickom výskume košickej mestskej spoločnosti. Stanovenie dedičov tiež reflektovalo platný dedičský zákon. Uvedené informácie, obsiahnuté v testamentoch a inventároch, ich robia vhodnými pre základ na výskum každodenného života mešťanov.

Využitie testamentov ako primárneho zdroja výskumu má však aj niekoľko nevýhod. Hlavným nedostatkom je malý počet zachovaných posledných vôli, ktorý umožňuje rekonštrukciu každodenného života len malej skupiny mešťanov. Rok vzniku dokumentov tiež pokrýval hlavne poslednú štvrtinu 16. storočia, čo značne skresľuje prehľad o situácii na začiatku sledovaného obdobia.

Ďalším problémom je absencia informácií o stave a pôvode testátorov. Z tohto dôvodu je obtiažne oddeliť mešťanov od šľachticov, ktorí sa prisťahovali do mesta. Napriek tomu, že obe tieto skupiny disponovali privilégiami mešťanov, nebolo by vhodné ich zaradiť do jednej skupiny.

Okrem skúmaných jednotlivín testamentov a inventárov sa testamentárne záznamy nachádzali tiež v mestských knihách, ale aj v knihe testamentov pochádzajúcej z konca 16. storočia. Tento druh archívnych prameňov nebol zahrnutý do výsledkov predkladanej štúdie z dôvodu ich nedostatočného doterajšieho výskumu.

Nehnutelný majetok košických mešťanov

Majetok mešťanov Košíc je možné rozdeliť na dve základné skupiny. Prvú predstavuje nehnuteľný majetok. Táto skupina zahŕňa hlavne domy, ktoré predstavujú základný druh nehnuteľností mešťanov. Vlastníctvo príbytku bolo totiž prvou podmienkou meštianstva, medzi ďalšie patrilo výkon remesla a určitá majetková úroveň. Veľká časť mešťanov vlastnila len jeden dom, niektorí príslušníci strednej či prvej vrstvy ich však vlastnili viac. Skutočnosť, že počet príbytkov nemusel nevyhnutne reflektovať sociálny status majiteľa, poukazuje na nesúlad medzi sociálnymi a majetkovými vrstvami v meste v sledovanom období. Niektorí členovia najvyššej vrstvy vlastnili jeden dom, zatiaľ čo príslušníci strednej triedy ich mali viac.¹⁴

12 AMK, Magistrate of Kosice (MMK), Schwartzentachiana, 1604 – 4815; AMK, MMK, Archivum secretum (AS), U – NN.

13 Niektoré závety boli tvorené len konštatovaním zanechania všetkého svojho pozemského majetku uvedeným dedičom bez špecifikácie konkrétnych zdedených položiek.

14 K tomuto záveru dospel aj Erik Fügedi. Viac: FÜGEDİ, *E. Kaschau, eine...*, 185-213.

Konkrétny popis lokalizácie vlastnenej budovy sa v textoch sledovaných dokumentov vyskytoval len zriedkavo. Najfrekvencovanejšie sa využívalo stanovenie polohy nehnuteľnosti pomocou vymenovania mien susedov¹⁵ alebo určenie lokality výskytu - teda vnútorného mesta alebo predmestia. Vlastníctvo jednej budovy vo vnútornom meste a jednej v predmestí nebolo raritné. Uvedenie konkrétneho mena ulice na ktorej dom stál bolo zriedkavé.¹⁶

V blízkosti obydli sa nachádzali dvory rôznych veľkostí. Bol to priestor určený na výkon remesiel a ustajnenie domácich zvierat alebo vozov. „Maierhoff“¹⁷ bol špecifický dvor, ktorý sa väčšinou nachádzal v predmestí s využitím pravdepodobne najmä na hospodárske účely prinášajúce majiteľovi zisk.

Ďalším druhom nehnuteľností boli záhrady. Nachádzali sa najčastejšie v okolí domov alebo v predmestiach.¹⁸ Ich veľkosť bola rôzna. Slúžili pravdepodobne ako miesto na umiestnenie domácich zvierat, vozov, vykonávanie remesiel či uskutočňovanie obchodov. Tiež mohli poskytovať priestor na relax a uskutočňovanie sociálnych kontaktov ich majiteľov.

Najbežnejším pozemkovým majetkom košických mešťanov boli nepochybne vinice. Vinohrady sa rozprestierali na kopcoch obklopujúcich mesto. Stanovenie presnej lokality výskytu konkrétnej vinice na základe posledných vôli je problematické. Podobne ako pri domoch, stanovenie polohy sa obmedzuje na vymenovanie mien najbližších susedov.¹⁹ Napriek tomuto zložitému určovaniu polohy je možné predpokladať, že vinice väčšiny mešťanov boli situované priamo v najbližšom okolí mesta. Ak sa vyskytovali v inej lokalite, bola táto skutočnosť v texte uvedená. Druhou najobľúbenejšou lokalitou pre kúpu viníc bola Tokajská oblasť.²⁰ Bolo to spôsobené hlavne nadpriemernými podmienkami na pestovanie viniča. Víno vyprodukované v meste Košice a v Tokaji bolo veľmi obľúbeným a žiadaným obchodným artiklom domáceho a diaľkového obchodu. Zaujímavosťou bolo neplatenie daní košických mešťanov z vinohradov, ale len z objemu vyprodukovaného vína.²¹

Poslednú skupinu pozemkového majetku predstavovali lúky a polia. Ich vlastníctvo bolo však v skúmaných materiáloch spomenuté zriedkavo. Na základe tejto skutočnosti je možné predpokladať, že lúky a pasienky predstavovali menšinový druh v rámci pozemkového majetku mešťanstva. Potraviny boli pravdepodobne kupované prevažne na pravidelných trhoch od roľníkov pochádzajúcich z okolitých obcí. Podobne ako pri ostatných druhoch nehnuteľností bola lokalita pozemkov a lúk stanovená hlavne vymenovaním mien najbližších susedov.²²

Majoritná časť skúmaných dokumentov neposkytuje informácie o veľkosti nehnuteľností. V prípade domov je uvedenie ich hodnoty ojedinelé, cena budovy by mohla pritom predstavovať kľúč pri odhade jej veľkosti. Veľkosť pozemkov, hlavne poľnohospodárskej pôdy sa uvádzala len v ojedinelých prípadoch, a to pomocou stanovenia objemu úrody.²³

Hnuteľný majetok košických mešťanov

Hnuteľný majetok mešťanov Košíc je možné rozdeliť do niekoľkých skupín. Najdrahšiu skupinu predstavuje luxusný tovar. Pod tento termín je možné zaradiť predmety dekorované zlatom, striebrom, kameňmi a perlami. Veľkú časť z tejto skupiny predstavujú šperky, pričom najväčší výskyt je zaznamenaný pri prsteňoch s rôznymi kameňmi. Z materiálov šperkov dominuje zlato, striebro je využívané menej. Spomedzi kameňov boli najviac využívané smaragdy, rubíny i zafíry. Za drahšie a menej sa vy-

15 „...das haus ist gelogen zwischen herrn Casper Land Schneiders und Hansen Plattners...“ (Testament Jána Budaia; AMK, AS, CC, Budai, 1); „...zwischen des Jacob Fleischers und Albrecht Glesers haisern gelegen...“ (AMK, AS, AA, Holtmaier, 2).

16 Napríklad v testamente Uršuly Hopperovej, manželky Andreja Meltzera pochádzajúceho zo dňa 4. septembra 1554, kde sa píše: „...als velich lygende oder beveglyche gutter czu ersthenn nein haus auf der Faulgassen czu mander...“ (AMK, AS, X - Melczer, 13).

17 „... der meyerhoff in der firstatt auff Sanct Lenaharts gasse...“ (Inventár Sebastiana Holtmaiera; AMK, AS, GG, Holtmaier, 2).

18 „...mehr in flekenn oder gartenn, gelegenn in der vorstad bey den newen gäffell...“ (Testament of Martin Grünberg; AMK, AS, II - Grünberger, 1).

19 „...zwischen des Tarczy Pals und Pap Ferencz Weingarten gelegen...“ (The inventory of Sebastian Holtmaier; AMK, AS, GG, Holtmaier, 2).

20 „...Zum funfen das stuckle weingarten so gegen Uyfaluligt...“ (Testament of Margarete the widow of Erasmus Kirschner; AMK, AS, II - Kirschner, 1).

21 BODNÁROVÁ, M. *Majetková štruktúra...*, 179 – 205.

22 „...sindt 5 seel ackerlandt der ein nachsbar ist Greger Czipser...“ (Inventár vdovy Ladislava Szaba; AMK, AS, Z - Szabo, 7).

23 „Uber den flus Hernad ist anderhalb seel ackerlandt...“ (Posledná vôľa Petra Nitscha; AMK, AS, HH - Nitsch, 2).

skytujúce je možné označiť diamanty a tyrkys. Spomedzi prsteňových typov prevládli hlavne prstene pečatné, pamätné, ochranné či prstene s obrázkom. Okrem týchto druhov šperkov sa frekventovane vyskytovali v majetku mešťanov aj rôzne reťaze vyrobené zo zlata ozdobené mincami, kameňmi, ale aj úplne bez dekorácií. Špecifický druh klenotov predstavovali nezasadené kamene, ktorých využitie nebolo bližšie určené v stanovenom druhu prameňov.²⁴

Medzi drahé predmety je možné zaradiť aj produkty každodennej potreby v luxusnejšom prevedení. Tu patria najfrekventovanejšie rôzne druhy pohárov, hrnčekov či kalichov. Častý výskyt dosahujú i špecifické vyhotovenia fľaší, lyžíc a svietnikov či misiek. Najčastejšie boli vyrobené zo striebra alebo bližšie neurčeného materiálu a následne pozlátené a dozdobené. Veľmi populárnu skupinu luxusného tovaru predstavovali aj gombíky vyrobené zo striebra a následne pozlátené, alebo z krištáľu. Rovnako bežné bolo i využitie rôznych dekorácií pri ženských účesoch, boli to hlavne zlaté či strieborné čelenky zdobené perlami. Medzi drahý tovar je možné tiež začleniť aj niektoré dekoratívne vyhotovenia zbraní, ako napríklad zamatový opasok s párom nožov a zlatou reťazou.

Druhou najdrahšou skupinou predmetov v majetku mešťana boli zbrane.²⁵ Táto skupina zahŕňa pušky s rôznym zapalovaním a pištole rozličnej veľkosti. Prachovnice predstavovali potrebný doplnok k týmto zbraňami. Spomedzi ostatných druhov zbraní je možné uviesť rôzne meče, kordy, dýky, jazdecké meče, lovecké nože, sekery a nože. Luxusnejšiu variantu predstavovali jazdecké meče zdobené striebrom doplnené striebornou reťazou. Pod túto kategóriu majetku mešťanov je možné tiež zaradiť časti výzbroje určené na obranu rôznych partíí tela, a to hlavne rúk a ramien.

Najväčšiu skupinu huteľného majetku mešťanstva predstavovalo oblečenie. Nanešťastie sa v stanovenom druhu archívnych dokumentov detailný popis odevov nevyskytoval. Opis pozostával z určenia farby, materiálu, stavu zachovania a výzdoby šiat. Spomedzi farieb najbežnejšie využívaných v období 16. storočia jednoznačne dominovala čierna, biela a červená. Hnedá, favia a zelená sa vyskytovala v menšom počte prípadov. Z materiálov boli najfrekventovanejšie hodváb, damask, zamat, taft, vlna, plátno, lan a koža.

Odevy tvoriace majetok mešťanov je možné rozdeliť do dvoch základných skupín – ženské a mužské. Niektoré druhy oblečenia boli nosené príslušníkmi oboch pohlaví. Typickými prvkami mužského šatníka boli kabáty, vesty, nohavice a golieri, vo všeobecnosti boli menej zdobené. Ženská garderoba pozostávala zo šiat, sukni, korzetáží, punčoch, živôtikov a kabátov. Medzi typicky mužské pokrývky hlavy patrili klobúky, ženy nosili závoje a čepce.

Uvedené druhy oblečenia tiež vykazovali rôzne spôsoby úprav, najbežnejšou bolo podšitie kožušinou, hlavne z líšky, kuny a bobra, ktorá mala i zateplovanie účinky. Výlučne estetickou úpravou bolo dekorovanie zlatom, striebrom alebo lemovanie hodvábom či zamatom. Ozdobovanie perlami a rôznymi strihovými variáciami tiež nebolo ojedinelé. Spomedzi doplnkov prevládali hlavne rukavice, šatky, rukávniky a zástery vyrobené z vyššie uvedených látok.

Akýsi druh podkategórie oblečenia predstavuje spodné prádlo označované termínom „weise kleider“. Do tejto skupiny patrí spodná bielizeň, ale aj oblečenie určené na spanie. Spodné prádlo zastupovala hlavne tunika využívaná oboma pohlaviami.

Oblečenie dopĺňali topánky vyrobené z kože rôznych zvierat. Stanovenie konkrétneho typu obuvi využíanej v sledovanom období v zvolených prameňoch absentuje.

Na základe výskumu problematiky oblečenia v meste Košice je možné konštatovať výskyt veľkého množstva kusov odevov rôznych cenových kategórií, čo indikuje možnosť odrazu sociálneho statusu mešťana prostredníctvom oblečenia.

Rovnako málo detailný je i popis vybavenia domácností. Viditeľná je hlavne absencia veľkého množstva nábytku v príbytkoch testátorov. Tento fakt môže indikovať všeobecne malé využitie

24 Počet a hodnota šperkov do vysokej miery reflektovala majetkový status ich majiteľa. Tiež mohla byť indikátorom sociálneho statusu mešťana či naznačovať jeho členstvo v mestskej rade, a to hlavne vlastníctvo pečatného prsteňa, ktorý bol využívaný ako garant právnej sily dokumentu pri rôznych právnych pokonaniach.

25 Vlastníctvo zbraní nebolo bežným javom. Najviac ich vlastnil zvonolejár Andrej Illenfeld, mohlo to byť spojené s výkonom jeho profesie. (AMK, AS, DD – Illenfeld, 3).

nábytkov v domácnostiach, rovnako ako aj ich malú typovú škálu. Za primárny nábytok využívaný v domácnostiach je možné stanoviť posteľ počas celého 16. storočia. Ich dizajn nebol v skúmaných dokumentoch stanovený, zaznamenaná bola len ich veľkosť. Špeciálnym druhom postelí, predstavujúci vrchol ranonovovekého komfortu predstavuje „himmelbett“ (tzv. posteľ s nebesami) so závesmi. Na uskladnenie odevov a vybavenia domácnosti boli využívané truhlice a skrine rôznych veľkostí. V každej domácnosti sa vyskytovalo veľké množstvo týchto druhov nábytku.

Vybavenie miestností záviselo hlavne od účelu ich využívania. Okrem spálne, ktoré sa vyskytovali hlavne v príbytkoch najbohatších mešťanov, predstavovala základnú miestnosť domu kuchyňa spojená s jedálňou. Okrem nej domácnosť dopĺňali komory a pivnice určené na uskladnenie potravín a rôznych nástrojov. Celkovú veľkosť príbytkov je možné odhadnúť, na základe zvoleného druhu prameňov, len na základe počtu ich miestností. Špecifický prípad predstavuje v súpise majetku Andreja Illenfelda uvedená „spisovňa“ (akási kancelária).²⁶ Zariadená bola stolom so stoličkou, závesmi, truhlicami a sudmi, jej využitie nebolo v uvedenom dokumente stanovené.

Bežným vybavením kuchyne bol stôl s lavicami využívaný na stolovanie a prípravu jedál. Vybavenie spálni tvorila posteľ, malý stolík, stoličky a tiež niekoľko truhlíc. Dekorácie izieb predstavovali závesy, obrazy a koberce, ich osvetlenie zabezpečovali sviece umiestnené v svietnikoch.

Pohodlie domácností dotvárali textilie, z ktorých väčšinu predstavovalo posteľné prádlo. Do tejto skupiny patrili obliečky, prikrývadlá a vankúše. Materiál, z ktorého boli vyrobené, bol pravdepodobne plátno či súkno, aj keď to v samotných dokumentoch uvedené nie je. Ich farba a výzdoba rovnako nebola stanovená.

Ostatné textilie v príbytkoch predstavovali obrusy, utierky, zástery a deky vyrobené hlavne z plátna. Ich využitie bolo nevyhnutné pre osobnú hygienu a zachovanie čistoty a poriadku v obydlí. Ich pranie prebiehalo na dvoroch domov rovnako, ako aj v prípade ostatných odevov mešťanov v rôznych kadiach či nádobách.

Posledný druh textilu predstavujú závesy a pokrovce plniace nielen dekoračnú funkciu, ale slúžiacie aj ako tepelná izolácia. Popis ich materiálu ako aj výzoru v testamentoch a inventároch absentuje.

Okrem uvedených položiek obsahovalo príslušenstvo kuchyne a dvora tiež kuchynský riad. Tvorili ho hlavne rôzne druhy panvíc, hrncov, kotlov, roštov, mažiarov, naberačiek a ražňov využívané na prípravu jedla. Najhodnotnejšiu variantu predstavoval medený riad, lacnejší bol vyrobený z cínu, hliny a dreva. Samotné stolovanie bolo zabezpečované využitím lyžíc, nožov, tanierov, pohárov a mliekoviek vyrobených hlavne z dreva a hliny. Zásoby potrebné na prípravu pokrmov boli uskladňované v sudoch a truhliciach v priestoroch pivníc i komôr. Boli to hlavne zásoby s dlhším dátumom spotreby, čerstvé suroviny boli kupované na miestnych trhoch každodenne.

Ďalšiu skupinu nástrojov predstavovalo remeselné náradie uskladnené v komorách či na dvore domu. Jeho zloženie záviselo od vykonávanej remeselnej činnosti. Konkrétny popis tohto druhu hnutelného majetku mešťanstva nepredstavuje predmet výskumu predkladanej práce. Náradie potrebné na údržbu príbytku tvorilo menšiu časť vybavenia domácnosti. Boli to hlavne rôzne kladivá, reťaze, háky, nože, klince, a sekery.

V inventári ranonovovekého mešťana tiež nechýbala výstroj potrebná na jazdenie, ako napríklad sedlo, uzda či lano, ale aj klince a podkovy. Vlastníctvo kočov a vozov tiež nebolo neobvyklé pre sledované obdobie a lokalitu. Vozy boli využívané na presun dreva, slamy, surovín, tovaru a potravín. Výskyt väčšieho počtu prepravných prostriedkov v majetku mešťana môže poukazovať na výkon diaľkového obchodu.

Medzi špecifické druhy hnutelného majetku je možné zaradiť zbierky kníh.²⁷ Zoznam kníh v testamentoch či súpisoch majetku je tvorený hlavne názvom titulu, zriedkakedy aj menom autora a cenou konkrétneho knižného diela. Veľká väčšina z týchto prác sa zaoberala najmä historickými, filozofickými a teologickými témami. Tematické zameranie tiež reflektuje dopyt po určitom druhu

26 „... in der hindern schreibstuben...“ (AMK, AS, DD – Illenfeld, 3).

27 Napríklad súpis majetku Andreja Illenfelda obsahuje zoznam 37 kníh zaoberajúcich sa históriou, filozofiou a teológiou. (AMK, AS, DD – Illenfeld, 3).

kníh v stanovenom období v zvolenej lokalite. Kolekcie kníh boli typickým majetkom hlavne najvyššej vrstvy obyvateľstva. Výnimku predstavovala zbierka Jána Galena, ktorý pôsobil v meste ako kníhkupec.²⁸ Vlastnil rozsiahlu kolekciu prác, napriek tomu ho nemožno zaradiť medzi mestský patriciát. Výskyt veľkého množstva diel v jeho domácnosti bol spojený s jeho profesiou.

Poslednou časťou hnutelného majetku meštianstva boli zásoby, suroviny a domáce zvieratá. Zmienky o nich sa v skúmaných dokumentoch vyskytovali ojedinele. Najbežnejším tovarom tejto skupiny bolo víno uskladňované v sudoch. Pri jeho popise bol zdôrazňovaný jeho pôvod, rozlišované bolo košické a tokajské víno označované tiež ako dolnozemske. Zásoby vína predstavovali najhodnotnejší artikel tejto skupiny majetku.

Druhovú skladbu surovinových zásob bola ovplyvnená povahou remesla vykonávaného konkrétnym mešťanom. Vlastníctvo domácich zvierat je možné považovať za bežný jav, napriek absencii konkrétnych zmienok o ňom v skúmaných dokumentoch. Ich uskladnenie bolo najčastejšie v priestore majerov v predmestí či okolí mesta.

Zvyšnú časť hnutelného majetku tvoria nezaraďené predmety ako armálesy, listiny privilégii, zoznamy dlhov a kúpno-predajné zmluvy uschované v truhliciach mešťanov.

Záver

Na základe uvedeného hnutelného a nehnuteľného majetku je možné predpokladať existenciu len zopár skutočne bohatých mešťanov v priestore mesta Košice v období 16. storočia. Zoznam šperkov a oblečenia odráža najfrekvencovanejšie artikli diaľkového obchodu ako aj kúpyschopnosť mešťanov. Absencia drahších druhov látky, ako zlatohlav či atlas, môže indikovať vo všeobecnosti nižšiu kúpnu silu meštianstva. Rovnako nižší počet šperkov a ich malá variačná škála a celkovo menšie množstvo majetku indikuje celkovo nižšiu ekonomickú silu košických mešťanov v období 16. storočia.

Údaje obsiahnuté v testamentoch a súpisoch majetku neobsahujú všetky dostupné relevantné informácie. Iné druhy prameňov, ako napríklad mestské knihy a delenia majetkov obsahujú tiež podstatné údaje pre výskum meštianskej spoločnosti Košíc, do tejto práce však zahrnuté neboli. Celková rekonštrukcia problematiky košického meštianstva je stále v procese výskumu.

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28 Viac: FABOVÁ, B. Ján Galen a jeho knižná zbierka. In *Z dejín knižnej kultúry východného Slovenska II*. Prešov 2011, 166 – 171.

RELIGIOUS ISSUE AND THE INITIAL PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION IN KOŠICE

Peter Fedorčák

Religious issues do not represent the same (big) problem in the Late Middle Ages or in the 19th century as it did in the early modern period. In this period it affected the political and social life in Košice significantly. The factographic scheme, which represents the actual state of knowledge, is insufficient to encompass this subject accurately, because it tied in strongly not such much with the religious institutions as with culture and personal religious practice.¹ There were several issues about the religious life in Košice in the early modern period during the accepting of the Reformation in the town on which this paper focuses.

The initial period of the Reformation in Upper Hungary has been covered in many books and studies including the Reformation in Košice. The positivist approach dominated the Slovak historiography following the research and editorial work before 1918 for a long time. It was sporadically influenced interpretively by confessional aspect. Studies by Branislav Varsík,² Ján Kvačala,³ Vojtech Bucko⁴ and Anton Harčar⁵ mainly in the first half of the 20th century and collective research effort of several scientific teams after 1989 created the necessary framework.⁶ Reformation in Košice in the first half of the 16th century is part of the research conducted by Miloslava Bodnárová,⁷ which created essential background applicable for succeeding interpretation and research.

The comprehensive contours of historical development are well defined thanks to the aforementioned scientific research. However some essential and relevant points are yet to be observed or resolved. The importance of religion and church for society was the reason for the intervention of worldly power even on a local level. These aspects were reinforced even more during the Reformation and the Counter Reformation. The Reformation didn't lean toward the Modern World in our view,

1 See also the study about confessionalization from David P. Daniel: DANIEL, D. P. K problému a interpretácii konfesionalizácie a protireformácie na Slovensku. In *Evanjelici a evanjelická teológia na Slovensku*. Bratislava 1999, 55-67; DANIEL, D. P. Konfesionalizmus a konfesionalizácia ako historická interpretatívna paradigma. In *Konfesionalizácia na Slovensku v 16. – 18. storočí*. Prešov 2010, 6-16.

2 VARSÍK, B. *Husiti a reformácia na Slovensku do žilinskej synody*. Bratislava 1932. Later B. Varsík published also the study: VARSÍK, B. Vznik a vývin slovenských kalvínov na východnom Slovensku. In *Historický časopis*, 39, 1991, 2, 129-148.

3 KVAČALA, J. *Dejiny reformácie na Slovensku*. Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš 1935.

4 BUCKO, V. *Reformné hnutie v arcibiskupstve ostrihomskom do r. 1564*. Bratislava 1939; BUCKO, V. *Mikuláš Oláh a jeho doba*. Bratislava 1940.

5 HARČAR, A. *Historický význam protireformácie v Košiciach z roku 1604*. Budapešť 1942.

6 *Die Reformation und ihre Wirkungsgeschichte in der Slowakei. Kirchen- und konfessionsgeschichtliche Beiträge*. Eds. Schwarz, K. – Švorc, P. Wien 1996; *Obdobie protireformácie v dejinách slovenskej kultúry z hľadiska stredoeurópskeho kontextu*. Ed. Doruľa, J. Bratislava 1998; *Reformácia na východnom Slovensku v 16. – 18. storočí*. Ed. Uličný, F. Prešov 1998; *Evanjelici a evanjelická teológia na Slovensku*. Ed. Daniel, D. Bratislava 1999; *Konfesionalizácia na Slovensku v 16. – 18. storočí*. Ed. Kónya, P. Prešov 2010; KÓNÝA, P. – KÓNÝOVÁ, A. *Kalvínska reformácia a reformovaná cirkev na východnom Slovensku v 16. – 18. storočí*. Prešov 2010.

7 BODNÁROVÁ, M. Počiatky reformácie v Košiciach. In *AFPUŠ Spoločenskovedný zborník – História*, 3, 1994, 38-49; BODNÁROVÁ, M. Die Reformation in den ostslowakischen königlichen Städten in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. In *Die Reformation und ihre Wirkungsgeschichte*, 22-36; BODNÁROVÁ, M. Reformácia vo východoslovenských kráľovských mestách v prvej polovici 16. storočia. In *Trnavská univerzita 1635 – 1777*. Trnava 1996, 333-345; BODNÁROVÁ, M. Reformácia vo východoslovenských kráľovských mestách v 16. storočí. In *Reformácia na východnom Slovensku*. Ed. Uličný, F. Prešov 1998, 19-37; BODNÁROVÁ, M. Protireformácia vo východoslovenských kráľovských mestách v 18. storočí. In *Obdobie protireformácie v dejinách slovenskej kultúry*. Ed. Doruľa, J. Bratislava 1998, 58-68; BODNÁROVÁ, M. Vplyv mestských rád na cirkevný život miest v 16. storočí. In *Kresťanstvo v dejinách Slovenska*. Prešov 2003, 51-65; BODNÁROVÁ, M. Organizačno-správny vývoj evanjelickej cirkvi a. v. na východnom Slovensku v 16. a 17. storočí. In *Vývoj cirkevnej správy na Slovensku*. Krakov 2010, 366-390.

but through the opposition to secularized Renaissance Church required even wider impact of religion in society, which is possible to observe also in Košice.

Košice in the 16th century represents a Micro History of the Reformation including all local particularities. The discovery starts with estimating the start and the end of the Reformation in history of Košice. What is the year 1517 for Košice? Luther's appearance evoked a huge response and in Košice it was well known very early especially through the people with active contacts abroad. We can possibly speak about this time as the first phase of the Reformation in the town – information phase. The role of humanists and intellectuals in this process in general could be characterized by the fact that though they did not even have the first-hand knowledge about this movement in the theological spheres, they were competent to judge it based on their erudition. They probably didn't do so on mass meetings, but in the circles (also correspondence) of intellectuals and people, who had sufficient knowledge about this movement.

This humanistic period obviously ended with the second departure of John Henckel from Košice (he was in Košice since 1522) in 1528, when he was already in royal court in Buda.⁸ The first known person, who started with applying new ideas in Košice was Wolfgang Schustel. As a native he didn't return from education in Krakow to Košice directly in spite of the established habit. He was as a preacher in Košice from 1519 till 1526 when J. Henckel was still here. He later started establishing the Kingdom of Heaven in Bardejov. In the give period his reformation activity in Košice is not known. However he presented liberal ideas and advocated a release of fasting rules for some people. More importantly, the city council of Košice accused him of this by the Eger canonry (in that time the city council yet applied to Eger canonry, Wittenberg became the appellate instance later).⁹ How to interpret this correctly? It could be the result of personal animosity or decline of such experiments in religious issues. W. Schustel confirmed this animosity himself, so perhaps that could have also been the reason for his departure from Košice. Ten years after Luther's appearance, the city council of Košice banished the preacher who introduced some theologically irrelevant changes. W. Schustel has been greatly radical after arriving to Bardejov and in the issues of religious reformation he trumped M. Luther himself.¹⁰

Development of Reformation in Hungary could not overtake the development in Germany since it was concentrated on the teachings of M. Luther and the correct commentary of them. It is known that in 1520s and also later the teachings of M. Luther in his own explanation and in interpretation of his co-operators and followers developed and changed quite quickly. In this context it is necessary to revise the idea of accepting these teachings and the Reformation in general in the form of canon, the packet of theological dogmas and pastoral work directions. In this second period, we can observe the activity of some individuals from the church background, who publicly agreed to these ideas (or some of them) and were trying to put them into practice depending on circumstances. It is characteristic, that their interpretation is very suggestive and their attitude greatly individual in a way that M. Luther is only an inspiration for them while they have own concepts of reforms needed in church. Their attitude towards the Reformation was completely selective, which applied to those „reformers“, who have only heard about the Reformation or have seen its application, but had no contact with Wittenberg as a new established center for correct interpretation of the Reformation. This unrestrained time period of the Reformation in Hungary was facilitated also by catastrophic weakening of royal and clerical power in country.

Magyar preacher Matthias Dévai Bíró served as a priest in Košice since 1531. Wittenberg was not a catchment area for students from Hungary like it was for universities in Krakow, Vienna, and Prague which were closer. He decided to study theology in Wittenberg probably after the Luther's appearance and maybe because of it. He was between the first one from church background in Hungary and especially in Košice, who was formed directly at the heart of Protestantism. His deep captivation

8 BODNÁROVÁ, M. *Reformácia vo východoslovenských...*, 336.

9 BODNÁROVÁ, M. *Reformácia vo východoslovenských...*, 22.

10 Ibidem.

with the Reformation issue which made him famous in Hungary was also the reason for his capture ordered by the bishop of Eger. M. Dévai supposedly influenced a Slovak preacher in Košice Anthony Transilvanus, who was shortly released to Košice after his disclaimer. M. Dévai resisted so his imprisonment continued until he was released on appeals from the city council of Košice. After this he still continued to preach the protestant ideas mostly outside Košice;¹¹ he left the town probably in 1537.¹²

J. Henckel, W. Schustel a M. Dévai Bíró represents three characteristic types which reflected the three developmental phases of the initial period of the Reformation in Hungary/Košice – a humanist, a willful reformer and a missionary. Preference of the city council was evident. In the case of the Magyar preacher M. Dévai we assume a significant role of his charisma which influenced mainly German city council and inhabitants in the town. Especially M. Dévai who despite the short time he spent in Košice has left a mark of a veritable reformer in the history of the Reformation in town. Without this active element which consisted of priests and preachers, the burghers would not accept the Reformation at this time; or conversely the burghers would not take over Protestantism in the case of opposition from the local church represented by priests.

The activity of M. Dévai symbolically closed the second decade of the Reformation. The first decade (1517 – 1527) is characterized by the activity of J. Henckel and W. Schustel; during the second decade approximately till 1537 M. Dévai was in Košice. The third decade was somewhat revolutionary in the history of the Reformation in this region. The decade ended by the synod in Prešov in 1546 and three years later by the declaration (which is a better term than acceptance) of confession known as *Confessio Pentapolitana*. During this time the initiative moved from clergy to the city council, which unprecedentedly extended his competency into theology and mainly liturgy. Simultaneously the contact with other towns in region and also with Wittenberg was reinforced due to the need for correct interpretation of teachings. At that time the city council presented itself as a competent institution with the right and the duty to uphold the responsibility for religious issues also in theological meaning, which among other things confirms the importance of religion for the society of the period.

The third period is characteristic by systematic approach mainly thanks to the involvement of the city council. The fundamental theological issues were defined anew and practice was modified according to new needs all in cooperation with five royal free towns and with Wittenberg. This contact was arranged by the priests who completed their studies in Germany. In the beginning, the practical side was far away from the declared ideological frame defined in Germany but it was freely adapted in Upper Hungary. Practice adjusted to the ideology slowly in an evolutionary not revolutionary way.

The restoration of order in this issue and the effort to disavow radical streams of the Reformation and also independent acting reformers with own ideas of reform were accepted paradoxically by church and regal authorities. This fact needs a special attention, because it illustrates the situation inside the Hungarian church before the Council of Trent at a time when Protestants regarded themselves as catholic as well. On the other hand, the towns associated in Pentapolis appealed to the Augsburg Confession which quasi accepted or tolerated memorandum of some catholic movement like Protestantism were the new progressive stream within the Catholic Church, which could establish itself with the help of part of higher clergy. *Confessio Pentapolitana* from 1549 ended the first three decades and also three periods of the Reformation in Košice in the first half of the 16th century.

While some of the towns associated in Pentapolis had problems with Anabaptism, in the case of Košice it was Calvinism. In the context of the development of this reformation movement this polarity was topical until the half of the 16th century.¹³ In this conflict the Lutherans also left the decoration behind which together with all churches in the town including the already finished parish church dedicated to St. Elisabeth were financed by their ancestors as confirmed by the preserved testaments from the end of the 15th century.¹⁴ It was not maybe the first religious conflict in the town, because in the first half of the century the orders of Franciscans and Dominicans were still in town.

11 KVAČALA, J. *Dejiny reformácie...*, 55-56, 58.

12 BODNÁROVÁ, M. *Reformácia vo východoslovenských...*, 24-25.

13 KÓNYA, P. – KÓNYOVÁ, A. *Kalvínska reformácia...*, 30-31.

14 BODNÁROVÁ, M. *Reformácia vo východoslovenských...*, 333.

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THE MONARCH AND THE TOWN. PRINCES AND KINGS VERSUS KRAKÓW AT THE TURN OF THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES

Andrzej Marzec

Prince Boleslaus the Pudicus initiated the location of Kraków by the Magdeburg Law in 1257.¹ Very soon Krakow became a town in the full meaning of the word, and one of the most important Polish towns. It is important to remember, however, that apart from being a town under lay authority, Kraków was also the centre of one of the most important Polish dioceses. The prestige of the Kraków Church was considerably heightened after the canonization of Bishop Stanislaus which had taken place not long before the location of the town.² At the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries the Wawel Castle, the Cathedral and the Town were in fact in a political unity called Kraków and this fact infused the name with a specific political value. At the end of the 13th century the tension on Polish territories grew, while the increasing pressure to consolidate them under one rule was focused on and around Kraków as the key to the domination over the whole Piast heritage.³ Those princes who were thinking about the unification and restitution of the kingdom worked first of all to gain control of the Wawel Castle; the Kraków bishops and the Cathedral Chapter after St. Stanislaus' canonization became the trustees of the most important idea contained in his Lives „Zywoty“ which was central to all plans for the coronation.⁴ The loss of the crown by the Piast dynasty, i.e., the disintegration of the state, was seen as punishment for his death, a punishment which could be revoked and the Kingdom would be reunified again. The coronation insignia were kept in the Cathedral Treasury. Such is the background and political context into which the town gradually grew in the second half of the 13th century. It became the youngest participant in the political contest, but also the one of most dynamic.⁵

The town of Kraków was a royal town. The location depended on the will of the monarch. The moment of location, however meant that the owner of the town entered into a contract with its citizens.⁶ Apart from the division of income, the most important aspect was the consent for the autonomy. This element of the Magdeburg Law was its fundamental condition, often decisive about the history of towns. If only the political conditions under which a Town was developing were favourable, the

1 *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa (KDMK)* 1. Kraków 1879, 1; WYROZUMSKI, J. *Dzieje Krakowa 1 : Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich*. Kraków 1992, 147-174; WYROZUMSKI, J. *Lokacja czy lokacje Krakowa na prawie niemieckim*. Kraków 2007; WYROZUMSKI J. *Cracovia Mediaevalis*. Kraków 2010, 123-158.

2 PAUK, M. R. *Kult św. Stanisława na tle innych kultów politycznych Europy Środkowej w średniowieczu*. In *Kult św. Stanisława na Śląsku (1253 – 2003)*. Ed. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, A. Opole 2004, 31-47.

3 BASZKIEWICZ, J. *Powstanie zjednoczonego państwa polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV w.* Warszawa 1954; BIENIAK, J. *Wielkopolska, Kujawy ziemie łączycka i sieradzka wobec problemu zjednoczenia państwowego 1300-1306*. Toruń 1969; ŻMUDZKI, P. *Studium podzielonego Królestwa. Książę Leszek Czarny*. Warszawa 2002; KURTYKA, J. *Odrodzone Królestwo. Monarchia Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego w świetle najnowszych badań*. Kraków 2001; MARZEC, A. *Urzednicy małopolscy w otoczeniu Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego (1305-1370)*. Kraków 2006; KURTYKA, J. – DRELICHARZ, W. *Idea zjednoczenia Królestwa w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie polskim*. Kraków 2012; JUREK, T. *Dziedzic Królestwa Polskiego książę głogowski Henryk (1274 – 1309)*. Kraków 2010; JUREK, T. *Polska droga do korony królewskiej 1295 – 1320 : Proměna středovýchodní Evropy raného a vrcholného středověku. Mocenské souvislosti a paralely*. Brno 2010, 139-191.

4 KURTYKA, J. – DRELICHARZ, W. *Idea zjednoczenia...*, 93-387.

5 STARZYŃSKI, M. *Krakowska rada miejska w średniowieczu*. Kraków 2010, 21-59.

6 *Ibidem*; WYROZUMSKI, J. *Dzieje Krakowa...*, 147-175; GAWLAS, S. *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa. Niemieckie władztwo terytorialne a geneza społeczno-ustrojowej odrębności Polski*. Warszawa 1996, 26-37; RAJMAN, J. *Kraków, zespół osadniczy, proces lokacji, mieszczanie do roku 1333*. Kraków 2004.

municipal authorities were often able to gain an exceptionally strong position on the political scene.⁷ This was the case in Little Poland at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries. Boleslaus the Pudicus' rule was stable and helped the early development of the town. The records here are scarce. The town was literally being born by marking out the streets, staking out the lots, and forming basic social relations.⁸ The person who controlled these processes was an administrative officer (*advocatus*) whose position equaled soon that of a mayor.⁹ However, the death of prince Boleslaus in 1279 brought fundamental changes in the relations between the town and the monarch.

Prince Leszek the Black took over the Kraków throne in 1279. Three years later he ordered a new seal which emphasized his rule over Kraków. The seal belongs to the best known objects of Polish medieval sfragistics. It represents the Prince kneeling before an altar, where St. Stanislaus himself celebrates the Holy Mass.¹⁰ This image through which the Kraków monarch links himself with the young but immensely popular patron saint unambiguously expresses the ideology of the ruler over the Kraków and Sandomierz lands. His reign, though, in spite of strenuous ideological endeavours to stress the majesty and the right to the Polish crown, did not run smoothly.¹¹ Leszek, who came from Sieradz, ruled over Lesser Poland merely 10 years and had to face two serious conflicts. The first to challenge him was bishop of Kraków, Paweł (Paul) of Przemankow. Among others, the quarrel was connected with the widow of the previous prince, Kinga, who owned the lands of Nowy Sącz and Biecz – nearly a separate state.¹² Leszek sitting on the Kraków throne wanted to consolidate his rule and limit the autonomy of other participants in the political strife for power. The Bishop of Kraków, like the Bishop of Wrocław who fought openly against Prince Henry Probus, wanted to achieve independence of his authority over possessed lands.¹³ Kinga, on the other hand, wanted to keep the autonomy of the Nowy Sącz dominium, which went against the will of Leszek. Thus Kinga and the Bishop of Kraków acted in solidarity against Leszek. In the end Leszek imprisoned the Bishop and took a part of Kinga's lands by military force, leaving only the castellany of Nowy Sącz in her hands.¹⁴ Several months later the Kraków castellan Janusz and Otto the voivode of Sandomierz, of the Topor clan, led an army of the knights of Lesser Poland against the Prince of Kraków. They paid loyalty to Conrad, Prince of Masovia.¹⁵ That was the moment when the town of Kraków entered the political scene. Prince Leszek sought help in Hungary, leaving the Wawel Castle in the hands of his wife Gryfina and under protection of Kraków burghers with their mayor Henryk, rather than the knights. They resisted Conrad's siege, even though the town without proper walls was set on fire. Leszek with the Hungarian aid defeated the rebels in a battle at Bogucice and regained full control over Lesser Poland.¹⁶

Ever since the later eighties of the 13th century the political role of the town was ascending. In return for the loyal help in defending the rebels the town got the right to build walls and ramparts which

7 GAWLAS, S. *O kształt zjednoczonego...*, 26-37; ZIENTARA, B. Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze i przestrzenne miast w dobie lokacji. In *Miasta doby feudalnej w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Przemiany społeczne a układy przestrzenne*. Eds. Gieysztor, A. – Roslanowski, T. Warszawa 1976, 75-80.

8 Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz. Ed. Kozłowska-Budkowa, Z. In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica nova series*, 5, 1978, 86; KRASNOWOLSKI, B. *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne na obszarze ziemi krakowskiej w XIII i XIV wieku. Część I: Miasta ziemi krakowskiej. Chronologia procesów osadniczych i typologia układów urbanistycznych*. Kraków 2004, 28-38.

9 KAMIŃSKA, K. Lokacje miast na prawie magdeburskim na ziemiach polskich do 1370 r. (*Studium historyczno-prawne*). Toruń 1990, 122, 130; SAMSONOWICZ, S. Samorząd miejski w dobie rozdrobnienia feudalnego w Polsce. In *Polska w okresie rozdrobnienia feudalnego*. Ed. Łowmiański, H. Wrocław 1973, 134; GAŚSIOROWSKI, A. Wójt i starosta. Ramie monarsze w polskim mieście średniowiecznym. In *Ars Historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*. Poznań 1976, 437-440.

10 PIECH, Z. Pieczęć Leszka Czarnego z przedstawieniem św. Stanisława. In *Analecta Cracoviensia*, 15, 1983, 331-343; PIECH, Z. *Ikonoografia pieczęci Piastów*. Kraków 1993, 216.

11 ŻMUDZKI, P. *Studium podzielonego Królestwa. Książę Leszek Czarny*. Warszawa 2002.

12 KARASIEWICZ, W. Paweł z Przemankowa, biskup krakowski 1266-1292. In *Nasza Przeszłość*, 9, 1959, 198-211; KOZŁOWSKA-BUDKOWA, Z. Kunegunda. In *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 16, 186-189; WYROZUMSKI, J. Paweł z Przemankowa. In *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 25, 391-394; BARAŃSKI, M. *Dominium sądeckie. Od książęcego okręgu grodowego do majątku klasztoru klarysek sądeckich*. Warszawa 1992, 100-110; DEPTUŁA, CZ. *Czorsztyn czyli Wronin. Studium o najstarszych dziejach osadnictwa na pograniczu polsko-węgierskim w rejonie Pienin*. Lublin 1992, 80-82.

13 MACIEJOWSKI, M. *Orientacje polityczne biskupów metropolii gnieźnieńskiej 1283 – 1320*. Kraków 2007, 115-151.

14 RYBARSKI, A. Rola Toporczyków w uwięzieniu biskupa krakowskiego. In *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 26, 1912, 1-12; ŻMUDZKI, P. *Studium podzielonego Królestwa...*, 310-346; WOJCIECHOWSKI, P. K. Ugrupowania polityczne w ziemiach krakowskiej i sandomierskiej w latach 1280-1286. In *Przegląd Historyczny*, 70, 1979, 57-72.

15 WOJCIECHOWSKI, P. K. Ugrupowania polityczne..., 57-72; SZCZUR, S. Otto. In *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 24, 631-632.

16 SAMSONOWICZ, H. Piastowskie Mazowsze a Królestwo Polskie w XIII-XV wieku. In *Piastowie w dziejach Polski. Zbiór artykułów z okazji trzechsetnej rocznicy wygaśnięcia dynastii Piastów*. Eds. Heck, R. Wrocław 1975, 121; ŻMUDZKI, P. *Studium podzielonego Królestwa...*, 399-419.

were not joined to the Castle.¹⁷ The Mayor of Kraków who had full control over the town became an essential person for Leszek.¹⁸ It is quite possible that it was at that time that the famous Kraków seal was designed. It represents a stone structure with two towers on top of which there are two saints, Wenceslaus and Stanislaus. Above there is a shield with an uncrowned eagle with two other crowned shields on the sides with a half-eagle/half-lion each. At the foot of the structure, in a gate, the Mayor adores St. Stanislaus.¹⁹ The ideological contents of the seal point to two important messages: first, a tight relationship of the town with the monarchs – the late Boleslaus, the founder of the town, and his successor Leszek who both are represented by their coats of arms. Second, the position of the mayor is exposed as the representative of the town. He is shown in the gate of a building which is strongly reminiscent of the mayor's house of the end of the 13th century, which has been preserved until today.²⁰ At the time the house was one of very few stone buildings in town, its shape of fortified tower stressing the prestige and position of the office. Such interpretation is corroborated by the further developments in the town-castle relationship until the tragic year 1312.

Leszek died in 1288. In a series of political crises the town of Kraków played an important role and soon found itself in the very centre of great politics. The struggle for the throne of Kraków and the attempts at rebuilding the Kingdom were conditioned by the relations with the burghers of Kraków, their expectations and their vision of their own constitution.²¹ The successor of Leszek, Henry Probus, prince of Wrocław, controlled Kraków and Wawel for two years helped by the Kraków castellan Sułek, who ruled in his name over the castle and the town.²² The town, being then fully protected by fortifications was a politically important factor. However, Henryk died in 1290, and then the conflict between Przemysł II, the prince of Greater Poland, and Wenceslaus II, the king of Bohemia broke out. Przemysł was backed by Leszek's younger brother, Władysław Łokietek. Wenceslaus had the Power of all Bohemia on his side. The King of Bohemia won the conflict having attracted the loyalty of the knightly elites of Lesser Poland as well as that of the bishop of Kraków by bestowing privileges (the Lutomyśl privilege). The town stood on his side too. Przemysł retreated to Greater Poland, Władysław was defeated in 1292 and had to accept his domination over the Kraków and Sandomierz lands.²³ The Czech rule came to an end in the years 1305 – 1306.²⁴

The nineties of the 13th century were the time of effective rivalry between various political powers as to the conception of the country's constitutional shape. The two main opposing parties were the monarchs on one side, and the knights, the Church and the towns on the other. The fundamental issue was, of course, which of the three opponents would become the leading ally of the monarch.²⁵ The Church was the weakest of the three; on the other hand the monarch's guarantee for the church

17 WYROZUMSKI, J. *Dzieje Krakowa...*, 183-185.

18 WYROZUMSKI, J. *Dzieje Krakowa...*, 186-194; WYROZUMSKI, J. Miasta w życiu politycznym Polski średniowiecznej. In *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu*. Toruń 1996, 33; STARZYŃSKI, M. *Krakowska rada miejska...*, 171-175.

19 CHMIEL, A. Pieczęć wójtowska krakowska z drugiej połowy XIII wieku. In *Rocznik Krakowski*, 9, 1907, 213-223; CHMIEL, A. Pieczęcie miasta Krakowa, Kazimierza i jurydyk krakowskich do końca XVIII wieku. In *Rocznik Krakowski*, 11, 1909, 79-99; SEROKA, H. W sprawie początków pieczęci miejskiej Krakowa. Ze studiów nad średniowieczną sfragistyką miast małopolskich. In *Droga historii. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Józefowi Szymańskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Eds. Dymmel, P. – Skupieński, K. – Trelińska, B. Warszawa 2001, 22-25; ŚLIWIŃSKI, B. Nowa hipoteza o początkach godła Krakowa. In *Księga jubileuszowa profesora Feliksa Kiryka*. Ed. Jureczko, A. – Noga, Z. Kraków 2004, 155-164; KURTYKA, J. – DRELICHARZ, W. *Idea zjednoczenia Królestwa...*, 346-348.

20 STARZYŃSKI, M. *Uwagi w sprawie genezy najstarszej pieczęci Krakowa z XIII wieku (na marginesie ostatnich badań)*.

21 NOWACKI, B. Zjednoczenie państwa polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku w badaniach do początku lat pięćdziesiątych XX wieku. In *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, 57, 2005, 1, 113-128; JUREK, T. Jana Baszkiewiczza Powstanie zjednoczonego państwa polskiego z perspektywy półwiecza. In *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, 57, 2005, 1, 147-170; JUREK, T. *Polska droga do korony...*, 139-191.

22 NOWAKOWSKI, T. *Małopolska elita władzy wobec rywalizacji o tron krakowski w latach 1288-1306*. Bydgoszcz 1992, 15-25.

23 GAWLAS, S. *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa...*, 89-92; JASIŃSKI, K. Rola możnowładztwa wielkopolskiego 1284 – 1314. In *Roczniki Historyczne*, 29, 1963, 215-250; NOWAKOWSKI, T. Stosunki między Przemysłem II a Władysławem Łokietkiem, w okresie walk o Kraków po śmierci Leszka Czarnego, 1288 – 1291. In *Roczniki Historyczne*, 54, 1983, 143-161; TĘGOWSKI, J. Zabiegi księcia kujawskiego Władysława Łokietka o tron krakowski w latach 1288 – 1293. In *Zapiski kujawsko-dobrzyńskie*, 6, 1988, 43-68; DŁUGOPOLSKI, E. *Władysław Łokietek na tle swoich czasów*. Wrocław 1951, 1-56.

24 WŁODARSKI, B. *Polska i Czechy w drugiej połowie XIII i początkach XIV wieku*. Lwów 1931; BARCIAK, A. *Czechy a ziemie południowej Polski w XIII oraz w początkach XIV wieku. Polityczno-ideologiczne problemy ekspansji czeskiej na ziemię południowej Polski*. Katowice 1992, 77-148; JUREK, T. *Polska pod władzą obcego króla. Rządy czeskie w latach 1291 – 1306*. In *Król w Polsce XIV i XV wieku*. Eds. Marzec, A. – Wilamowski, M. Kraków 2006, 187-220.

25 GAWLAS, S. *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa...*, 95-97; BARAŃSKI, M. Książęta i społeczeństwo wobec zjednoczenia Polski na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku. In *Polska około 1300. Państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*. Ed. Fałkowski, W. Warszawa 2003, 9-56.

privileges would safeguard the clergy's support.²⁶ Only in Silesia the situation was different where bishops were in possession of their own duchy.²⁷ In Lesser Poland bishop Jan Muskata worked persistently towards achieving a similar position.²⁸ The conflict between knights and burghers was more important. In Greater Poland, Silesia and Lesser Poland, where urbanization was relatively well developed, the position of town-dwellers was growing because they possessed ready money which was in constant demand of the princes. It would be offered to them on a condition of guaranteed autonomy and law enforcement indispensable for flourishing trade.²⁹ Thus Władysław, who took over the throne of Poznań after Przemysł's death in 1296, and who had the support of the knights from his own lands in Kujawy, energetically solicited the support of both the clergy and towns in Greater Poland.³⁰ The political importance of the latter in Greater Poland was quite high until 1314.

Wenceslaus II also kept a political balance by strengthening the position of towns and of the bishop of Kraków against the knights. The highest offices were guaranteed for the nobles, but not the court offices which were left vacant because the monarch did not reside in Kraków. A new position of a starost (district head) was opened only for trusted Czech officers.³¹ However, at one point it was given to Jan Muskata the Bishop of Kraków who was a close associate of the Czech monarch who allowed the bishop to fortify his own towns and who gave him two castles.³² The other pillar on which Wenceslaus built his domination were towns with Kraków at the forefront. The popularity of the Czech rule was the result of cultural affinities and economic advantages of safe trading.³³ Nowy Sącz in 1292 became a new and important town centre under Wenceslaus, and a stronghold of the monarch's power, which in fact destroyed the political autonomy of the St. Claire's Convent and its domain – the power which had been an obstacle for Leszek.³⁴ One understands the reasons of Wenceslaus' licence if not part financing of brick fortifications in Kraków (in place of the earlier earth and timber construction). It is interesting, though, to note that the king ordered a connection of the town and castle fortifications, which was much less to the burghers' taste.³⁵ Making sure that the bishop and the town were supporting him, the king did not neglect his own policy of extending his power. The considerable income from silver and lead mining was used to support wide international political activities as well as strengthening the social independence of his position in his own territories.³⁶ All this time the knights of Little Poland were deprived of any real influence on the decisions of the monarch.

The end of the Czech rule was brought about by Wenceslaus's II Hungarian policy and the growing unrest among the knights. When in 1306 the young Wenceslaus III died, Władysław Łokietek when raiding Lesser Poland with the support of a large part of the knights of several lands, did not neglect politically either the clergy or the towns, but tried to find a quick agreement. On one hand he needed peace to secure the rule of Pomerania and Greater Poland, on the other hand he needed the burghers' money. In September 1306 Kraków opened the gates to welcome him and in return the town got considerable privileges of judiciary independence both within the town and outside its walls, relief

26 RADZIMIŃSKI, A. Kościół w Polsce około roku 1300. In *Polska około 1300. Państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*. Ed. Falkowski, W. Warszawa 2003, 128-131; MACIEJEWSKI, J. *Episkopat polski doby dzielnicowej 1180-1320*. Kraków 2003, 153-159.

27 MACIEJOWSKI, M. *Orientacje polityczne biskupów...*, 115-151.

28 NOWAKOWSKI, T. Krakowska kapituła katedralna wobec panowania Przemysłidów w Małopolsce w latach 1292 – 1306. In *Przegląd Historyczny*, 82, 1991, 1-20; NOWAKOWSKI, T. *Polityka biskupów krakowskich w końcu III*. Warszawa 2001, 43-103.

29 GAWLAS, S. Polityka wewnętrzna Przemysła II a mechanizmy społecznych dążeń i konfliktów w Wielkopolsce jego czasów. In *Przemysł II odnowienie Królestwa Polskiego*. Ed. Krzyżaniakowa, J. Poznań 1997, 65-80; GAWLAS, S. *O kształt zjednoczonego Królestwa...*, 88-96; CZAJA, R. *Miasta i mieszczaństwo na ziemiach polskich na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku*. In *Polska około 1300. Państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*. Ed. Falkowski, W. Warszawa 2003, 57-72.

30 JUREK, T. *Dziedzic Królestwa Polskiego, książę głogowski Henryk (1274 – 1309)*. Poznań 1993, 63-95; KARASIEWICZ, W. *Działalność biskupa Andrzeja Zaremby w okresie jednoczenia Państwa Polskiego na przełomie XIII i XIV wieku*. Poznań 1961; PAKULSKI, J. *Sily społeczno-polityczne w Wielkopolsce w pierwszej połowie XIV wieku*. Toruń 1979.

31 JUREK, T. *Polska pod władzą obcego króla...*, 187-220.

32 PIETRAS, T. *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem...*, 43-86.

33 SAMSONOWICZ, H. *Miasta wobec zjednoczenia Polski XIII i XIV wieku*. In *Ars historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*. Poznań 1976, 425-436.

34 RUTKOWSKA-PŁACHCIŃSKA, A. *Sądeckizna w XIII i XIV wieku. Przemiany gospodarcze i społeczne*. Wrocław 1961, 126-127; *Dzieje miasta Nowego Sącza 1*. Ed. Kiryk, F. Kraków 1992, 85-87.

35 GAWLAS, S. „Nova civitas in Okol”. Fragment z dziejów Krakowa. In *Spółczesność Polski Średniowiecznej 6*. Warszawa 1994, 101-110.

36 GAWLAS, S. *Polska Kazimierza Wielkiego a inne monarchie Europy Środkowej – możliwości i granice modernizacji władzy*. In *Modernizacja struktur władzy w warunkach opóźnienia. Europa na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*. Warszawa 1999, 5-34.

in taxes, and the right of storage.³⁷ The bishop of Kraków got the guarantee of possessions and of the autonomy of full rule over his lands.³⁸ This brought about difficulties in keeping a stable relationship between the nobles and knights on one side, and the highly privileged towns and the Church on the other. Bishop Muskata began a regular war in 1307³⁹; the town of Kraków in 1311 under the leadership of the famous mayor Albert closed its gates and asked for the protection of the prince of Opole, Boleslaus, offering him the throne of Kraków.⁴⁰ Other important towns rebelled as well. Władysław had to fight to defend his power. Fortunately for him, the relations between the interests of burghers and knights, as well as the solidarity of the clergy were more nuanced than it looks at first sight. Not all clergymen supported Muskata, while the archbishop of Gniezno turned expressly against him opening a court case against him in Roma.⁴¹ Nowy Sącz hoping for big profits in case of possible weakening of the position of Kraków supported Łokietek, similarly a part of town dwellers of Sandomierz and their mayors Marek and Ruprecht sided with Łokietek.

The victory over the rebellious Kraków was a decisive moment in the shaping of the town's constitution in the newly restituted kingdom. After 1312 the knights and the nobles took over the powerful and influential position by the monarch.⁴² The burghers of Kraków were severely repressed, put under a tight political control and punished by the annulment of the great privilege of 1306. They never regained their earlier political importance though with time they improved their economic status, and even quite a few of them gained important functions at the court. The knights dynamically growing in power gradually evolved into a closed class of gentry (szlachta) and did not let their dominant position in all spheres of public life slip from their hands.

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37 KDMK, 1, nr. 3.

38 PIETRAS, T. *Krwawy wilk z pastorałem...*, 87-89.

39 Ibidem, 89-103.

40 DŁUGOPOLSKI, E. Bunt wójta Alberta. In *Rocznik Krakowski*, 7, 1905, 135-186; KŁODZIŃSKI, A. Jeden czy dwa bunty wójta Alberta. In *Studia historyczne ku czci Stanisława Kutrzeby 2*. Kraków 1938, 339-356; WYROZUMSKI, J. *Dzieje Krakowa...*, 199-211; GAWLAS, S. *O kształt zjednoczone Królestwa...*, 93-94.

41 GAWLAS, S. Człowiek uwikłany w wielkie procesy – przykład Muskaty. In *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*. Warszawa 1997, 391-402; GAWLAS, S. Verus heres. Z badań nad świadomością polityczną obozu Władysława Łokietka. In *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 95, 1988, 77-104.

42 MARZEC, A. Die Amtsträgerelite im Königreich Polen unter Władysław Ellenlang und Kasimir dem Grossen (1305 – 1370). In *Studien zum Adel im mittelalterlichen Polen*. Hrsg. Mühle, E. Wiesbaden 2012, 303-334.

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MAIN MARKET SQUARE AS A STAGE IN THE TOWN THEATRE. AN EXAMPLE OF MEDIEVAL KRAKÓW

Marcin Starzyński

„All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players. They have their exits and their entrances, and one man in his time plays many parts.“¹ These widely known words are uttered in the last scene of the second act of the comedy by William Shakespeare *As you like it*, written at the close of the 16th century, though published not until in the twenties of the next century. A concept expressed does not constitute an acquisition of the Elizabethan age, for Shakespeare clearly alluded (somewhat impossible to determine whether intentionally or not) to an assertion made at the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries BC by Greek philosopher Democritus of Abdera saying that „the world is a theatre, life is a play, you come, look, you come out.“² We need to concede the point to the historians of theatre, who unanimously accentuate that the comparison of life with theatre happens „virtually since the beginning of the existence of that art.“³

Following the above-mentioned reasoning it appears to be permissible to identify the institution of the town, perceived most often as the space separated from the world with a ring of walls, in which life was led in compliance with explicitly defined rules,⁴ with a huge theatre stage. Likewise, ancient Rome was many a time depicted in that manner in the literature on the subject. Its inhabitants were identified not only as spectators but also actors playing their roles in performances that both unified and separated that community.⁵ Romans-spectators marveled at the public theatre, fully expressed in the triumphant entrance of the victorious leaders to the town, take for instance the conquerors of Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus in 167 BC (that entrance changed into several days' manifestation of power of the Republic).⁶ Romans – actors participated, in turn, in the political theatre, in which a murderer of Caesar Brutus summoned to Forum Romanum on the day of his commission of crime an assembly of the Roman citizens so as to convince them to his arguments.⁷ Ergo the afore-mentioned oldest square of early Rome was not only a place of social meetings and exchange of information, but also a stage of the political and religious events of the immense significance.⁸

1 SHAKESPEARE, W. *As You Like It*. In *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories & Tragedies*. London 1623.

2 *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker griechisch und deutsch*. Ed. Diels, H. et al. Zürich 2005; KOCUR, M. *We władzy teatru. Aktorzy i widzowie w antycznym Rzymie*. Wrocław 2005, 13.

3 KOCUR, M. *We władzy teatru...*, 13; See also: EDWARDS, C. *Acting and Self-actualisation in Imperial Rome. Some Death Scenes*. In EASTERLING, P. et al. *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*. Cambridge 2002, 377-394, 377-381.

4 See: CLASSEN, A. *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. Historical, Mental, Cultural, and Social-Economic Investigations*. In CLASSEN, A. et al. *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*. Berlin; New York 2009, 1-145, 96-145; Comp. BARTNIK, C. S. *Polska teologia miasta*. In *Miasto i kultura polska doby przemysłowej. Wartości*. Ed. Imbs, H. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków 1993, 51-59.

5 DEBORD, G. *Society of the Spectacle*. Detroit 1970.

6 LANGHORNE, John. et al. *Plutarch's Lives*. Baltimor 1831, 187-202, 198-202; see also: BARZANÒ, A. *Biografia pagana come agiografia. Il caso della vita plutarchea di Lucio Emilio Paolo*. In *Rendiconti. Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche*, 128, 1994, 403-424; KOCUR, M. *We władzy teatru...*, 21-33 (Chapter 1.1: *Teatr uliczny*).

7 KOCUR, M. *We władzy teatru...*, 39-44 (Chapter 1.3: *Teatr polityczny*), 47-49.

8 *Ibidem...*, 44-51 (Chapter 1.4: *Forum Romanum jako scena*); See also: WATKIN, D. *The Roman Forum*. London 2009.

Identical functions were performed by the main square of the mediaeval town.⁹ It was the space of high prestige. The urban life concentrated there, people traded, met and discussed; there was a seat of local authorities as well, and finally, it was there that its regulations were introduced and a main town temple was located. In the west of Europe it was most often referred to as a place (German Platz) or a market (German Markt), while in Poland to a square.¹⁰ Indisputably, etymology of the word „square“ needs to be searched in a German word Ring (Polish pierścień, Latin circulus). Nevertheless, it is somewhat striking that the above-mentioned word did not appear in the topography of the German towns.¹¹

Urban planning arrangement of Kraków, located in accordance with the Magdeburg law in 1257,¹² whose focal point was represented by a place similar in shape to a square with a side almost 200 m long, is agreeably recognized as „the essence of the urban planning achievement of the towns located on the German law.“¹³ The breadth of that foundation, in turn, truthfully testifies to the ambition of its founder, a duke of Kraków and Sandomierz Boleslaus the Chaste, in the plans of whose Kraków was to assume a role in Lesser Poland parallel to the one Wrocław played in Silesia.¹⁴

The above-mentioned central square of Kraków of Great Location, covering the area of c. 40 000 square metres, marked most probably in 1257,¹⁵ for the whole period of the Middle Ages was gradually built up.¹⁶ In its south-west part, at the exit of Vistula (platea Visle) and Jewish (platea Judeorum) Street (later St Ann's Street), assuredly at the beginning of the 14th century a Town Hall was erected, noted for the first time in 1316 in the written sources.¹⁷ Along with the beginning of the next century the height of the tower of the Town Hall nearly doubled to almost 40 metres, which henceforth became one of the dominant features in the architectonic landscape of the town. That monumental building, drawing by virtue of sculpture decorations to the royal foundations on the Wawel Hill, became not only a clear symbol of the position Kraków attained among other Polish towns, but also manifestation of the aspiration of the representatives of the local patriciate.¹⁸ Until the end of the 15th century a seat of the Kraków's local authority occupied almost half of the west part of the Main Square.

To the east of the Town Hall, in the centre of the square, merchant buildings were located, most probably in its original plan older than the Town Hall. They constituted a chain of cloth stalls, stalls and bread benches. At the end of the 14th century the Cloth Hall, a massive basilican building with the length of over one hundred metres, comprising thirty-four shops, in which cloth was merchandised, and two specialized workshops (cropping buildings) where the cloth was cropped before it was sold, was erected in that place. To the east side of the Cloth Hall, in place of the old 13th- and 14th-century stalls, at the same time a subsequent merchant building was erected, the so-called Rich Stalls a complex of sixty-four ground-floor stalls, in which minor articles, canvas and metal and haberdashery

9 STABEL, P. The Market-Place and Civic Identity in Late Medieval Flanders. In BOONE, M. et al. *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*. Leuven – Apeldoorn 2000, 43-64, 50; See: Funkcje i formy placów miejskich w średniowiecznej Polsce. Konferencja komisji Historii Miast Komitetu Nauk Historycznych PAN. In *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej (KHKM)*, 42, 1992, 273-381; CALABI, D. *The Market and the City. Square, Street and Architecture in Early Modern Europe*. Aldershot 2004; orig. *Il mercato e la città. Piazze, strade, architetture d'Europa in eta moderna*. Venezia 1993; JAMES, M. Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late medieval English Town. In *Past & Present*, 98, 1983, 3-29.

10 The oldest known usage of the word square in Polish is dated at 1400, see: *Słownik staropolski* 8. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków; Gdańsk; Łódź 1977 – 1981, 64. (*Cso Potrasz Potraszowi dal rani, to mu ye dal, eze gi potkaw na rinku y dal mu naprzod rani*); See also: URBAŃCZYK, S. et al. Targ. In LABUDA, G. et al. *Lexicon antiquarum Slavicarum*. Wratislaviae; Varsaviae; Cracoviae; Gedani 1977, 25-32.

11 TYSZKA, P. *Obraz przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa XIV – XV wieku w świadomości jego mieszkańców*. Lublin 2001, 71-73.

12 WYROZUMSKI, J. Eine Lokation oder mehrere Lokationen Krakaus nach dem deutschen Recht? In MUHLE, E. *Rechtstadtgründungen im mittelalterlichen Polen*. Köln; Weimar; Wien 2011, 245-274.

13 KRASNOWOLSKI, B. Rynek Główny w Krakowie – kompozycja i funkcja na tle regularnych układów urbanistycznych średniowiecznej Europy. In *Krzysztofory. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa (Krzysztofory)*, 28, 2010, 53-74, 73.

14 KRZYŻANOWSKI, J. Polityka miejska Bolesława Wstydliwego. In *Studia historyczne ku czci Stanisława Kutrzeby*. Kraków 1938, 381-430.

15 There is every likelihood that that usage of the phrase was dictated by the fact that the oldest source note referring to the location of Kraków in 1257 – the entry in *Annalis capituli Cracoviensis* – was registered in that manuscript not until in 1266, see: KOZŁOWSKA-BUDKOWA, S. *Annales Cracovienses priores cum calendario*. In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series Nova*. Warszawa 1978, 30-38, 86. (*MCCLVII Cracoviensis civitas iuri Theuitonico traditur et situs fori per advocatos et domorum et curiarum immutatur*).

16 Kraków's Main Market Square has an extensive monograph, in its assumption popular and scientific, nonetheless, based on thorough architectonic and historical studies, see: KOMOROWSKI, W. – SUDACKA, A. *Rynek Główny w Krakowie*. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków 2008. The above-mentioned study complements it in detail. The newest findings over the elements of the building development of the Main Market Square referred to in this work as well as juxtaposition of the older literature on the subject are to be found in the studies quoted in footnotes 17-21.

17 KOMOROWSKI, W. Ratusze Krakowskie. In *Krakowska Teka Konserwatorska*, 6, 2007, 23-48.

18 WALCZAK, M. Przyczynek do badań nad wieżą ratuszową w Krakowie. In *Folia Historiae Artium. Seria Nowa*, 12, 2009, 21-53.

products, including articles of eastern origin, such as silk, pepper or spices, were traded. To the west side of the Cloth Hall a complex of the bread benches was placed.¹⁹

In the south and east part of the Main Market Square the biggest scales in Poland were located. In the Great Scale (Leaded) metal was weighed, while in the Small One (Waxen) wax, pepper, spices, as well as soap, tar, alum, sulphur and resin. On the first floor of that building Ferrier's House was located – a merchant room in which furs could be purchased. Functioning of the above-mentioned scales was linked to the strategic position Kraków held in the Middle Ages, not only in trading in metal, especially Hungarian copper and lead of Olkusz, but also in the Black Sea trading.²⁰

On the undeveloped parts of the Main Square specialized market places were operating. The biggest of them, a chicken market, recorded for the first time in 1437, occupied the space between the north end of the Cloth Hall and the Main Market Square's frontage. Salt and fish markets, which have been preserved in the sources of the years 1343 and 1375, were located on the west half of the Main Market Square, vis-à-vis the Town Hall. Cooper's (1435), potter's (1435), coal (1462) and lead (1500) markets were situated in the south part of the Main Market Square, near the building of the Great Scale. Bread (1396) and cereal (1440) markets adjoined the main parish church of the town, the church dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, occupying the north-east corner of the Main Market Square. Its high tower, surmounted in 1478 with a helmet in the shape of the crown, symbolically designated the ideological centre of the town.²¹

Bearing in mind the afore-mentioned description of the building development of the Main Market Square, it seems to be uncomplicated to arrive at a conclusion that in the Middle Ages the Kraków's Main Market Square was unquestionably a vibrant place, filled with the hubbub of those trading and their clientele. By way of illustration, „a crowd of people“ (*confluentia hominum*) witnessed the events of 1369 when the governor Bodzęta of Kosowice, engaged then in a public dispute with the authorities of Kraków,²² appeared on the Main Square during the May fair and throw off a hat symbolizing trade freedom.²³ The echo of the atmosphere of Kraków to some extent may be conveyed by the content of the town statutes issued by the town council in January in 1430, in which an instance of divulging secrets of the clerks of the Town Hall was presented. An editor of that statute heavily emphasized that it was unacceptable that stallholders, various hecklers as well as town rabble debated over matters which were discussed in the seat of the authorities.²⁴ There is every likelihood that those discussions were held, above all, on the central square of the town, surrounded by the houses of the most affluent burghesses belonging to the so-called higher class (*Oberschicht*). Among them a town palace of the king Casimir the Great at the exit of Grodzka Street (*platea Castri*), whose front elevation in the 15th century was adorned with figures of the Polish monarchs placed in niches, must have attracted attention.²⁵

19 DRYJA, S. – GŁOWA, W. – NIEWALDA, W. – SŁAWIŃSKI, S. Przemiany architektoniczne Kramów Bogatych i Kramów Bolesławowych. In *Krzysztofor*, 28, 2010, 153-172; DRYJA, S. – GŁOWA, W. – NIEWALDA, W. – SŁAWIŃSKI, S. Sukiennice – fazy budowy. In *Krzysztofor*..., 173-198.

20 KOMOROWSKI, W. Krakowska Waga Wielka w średniowieczu. In *Rocznik Krakowski*, 72, 2006, 33-44; SUDACKA, A. Budynek Małej Wagi na Rynku Krakowskim na podstawie źródeł historycznych. In *Krzysztofor*..., 45-56. See also: NIEWALDA, W. – SŁAWIŃSKI, S. Wielka Waga na Rynku w Krakowie – interpretacja odkryć i próba rekonstrukcji. In *Krzysztofor*, 28, 2010, 265-274; SCHEJBAL-DEREŃ, K. – DEREŃ, M. Wielka Waga na Krakowskim Rynku w świetle badań archeologicznych. In *Krzysztofor*..., 7-30; SCHEJBAL-DEREŃ, K. – GARBACZ-KEMPKA, A. Działalność Krakowskiej Wielkiej Wagi w kontekście badań metaloznawczych. *Ibidem*..., 31-50; GŁOWA, W. – NIEWALDA, W. – SŁAWIŃSKI, S. Budynek Małej Wagi na Rynku Krakowskim – próba rekonstrukcji. *Ibidem*..., 51-65. On the issue of the role Kraków played in the trade in those metals, see: SROKA, S. A. – STARZYŃSKI, M. 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, 40-42. On the role Kraków played in the trade in the East, see: WYROZUMSKI, J. Handel Krakowa ze Wschodem w średniowieczu. In *idem. Cracovia mediaevalis*. Kraków 2010, 335-353.

21 DRYJA, S. – GŁOWA, W. – NIEWALDA, W. – SŁAWIŃSKI, S. Rynek Krakowski po lokacji – główne kierunki rozwoju bloku śródmiejowego. In *Krzysztofor*, 28, 2010, 99-112.

22 The above-mentioned dispute I discussed in detail in the article entitled 'Spór o miasto. Kraków w ostatnim dziesięcioleciu panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego. In STARZYŃSKI, M. *Kazimierz – sławny i z czynów Wielki*. Kraków 2011, 85-95.

23 WYROZUMSKA, B. *Liber proscriptio et querelarum civitatis Cracoviensis 1360 – 1422*. (KP). Kraków 2001, 136.

24 PPEKOSIŃSKI, F. *Codex diplomaticus civitatis Cracoviensis*. (KDMK) Cracoviae 1882, 307. (*Und is ist unere und schande, das weyber und schrepir und trunkinbolde und allerley ungunner sullen eyns ratis heymelichkeit mawiblewen und hadirwaschen und spotten*).

25 LUKACZ, M. Zabudowa pierzei Rynku Głównego w Krakowie w okresie średniowiecza. In *Krzysztofor*, 28, 2010, 75-98; see: RAJMAN, J. *Kraków, zespół osadniczy, proces lokacyjny, mieszczanie do roku 1333*. Kraków 2004, 244-268; WALCZAK, M. Domniemany pałac królewski z drugiej połowy XIV wieku przy Rynku Głównym w Krakowie. In FEJTOVA, O. et al. *Život pražských paláců. Šlechtické paláce jako součást místského organismu od středověku na práh moderní doby*. Praha 2009, 355-370.

Evidently, with a considerable simplification, we may describe a decoration accompanying spectacles witnessed on the Main Square in the era of the Middle Ages.

Aside from the above-mentioned primary function of that place, performing the role of forum mercatorum, we need not overlook the fact that within its space a public sphere permanently permeated the sacral one. Decisions of the local authorities were announced there, while penalties exacted. With reference to Kraków, since 1320 the capital city of the Kingdom of Poland, its central square commenced over time to function as forum regale. There, after all, every new monarch, inaugurating his own reign, was paid homage by his burgesses, there as well his subjects said goodbye to his king in the funeral ceremony. Once a year, on Thursday after Sunday Trinitatis, Kraków's Main Market Square changed into a great temple unifying all the inhabitants in the procession of Corpus Christi. Nonetheless, not many sources have been preserved of the 13th – 15th centuries that would illustrate those issues. Admittedly, a historian of Kraków has almost a complete resource of municipal judicial books of the time at his disposal, nevertheless, to a lesser extent, he is capable of reaching for the accounting books of the time, in which chancellery writers recorded in a sequence of numbers everyday life of the town.²⁶

At the Main Market Square in front of the Town Hall, Kraków's town councilors publicized the content of the subsequent town statutes issued, i.e. acts which regulated various aspects of life of the town. For this purpose in 1403 and 1408 burgesses were summoned with the ring of the bell hung in the Town Hall.²⁷ In turn, a town statute referring to the merchants arriving in Kraków, issued in 1432 in accordance with the order of the authorities was to be written on boards later displayed in the Cloth Hall.²⁸

The Main Market Square was also a public place of the execution of law, serving the role of a particularly significant instrument in charge of the municipal authorities, which, in turn, reminded the local community of the necessity for complying with the accepted norms. Since the corporal character was then assigned to evil, infliction of penalty in plain view of numerous gathered audience constituted a symbolic act of purifying the municipal space. Therefore, communitas eliminated from its circle a person or persons that threatened its security.²⁹ In Kraków decapitation (beheading) was executed near the main entrance of St Mary's Church. There on Saturday 4th September 1406 a town councillor Andrew Wierzynek, one of the richest and most respected patricians, charged with stealing money from the municipal treasury, was caught in the act and sentenced to death the same day. That unprecedented event must have shocked the public opinion and most probably for several weeks was widely discussed. It appears to be justified to claim that Kraków's town councilors wished to communicate that no one was allowed to act against the municipal order, especially those who brought it.³⁰

At the Main Market Square the stake was as well burnt. In 1396 a woman who desecrated the host spitting it out from her mouth on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was burnt. From the municipal treasury eighteen groschen were paid to an executioner on wood, three on tar, and one on straw.³¹ Nine years later (1405) a Jew Fetter, charged with forging coins, died in that way as well. Before he had been executed, he was showed around the Kraków's streets decorated with counterfeit coins.³² Those sentenced to banishment (those proscribed) were flogged with rods and

26 The issue of the condition of the preserved mediaeval Kraków's archive materials is thoroughly discussed in the article entitled Nad średniowiecznymi księgami rachunkowymi miasta Krakowa In *Roczniki Historyczne*, 74, 2008, 165-178.

27 PIEKOSINSKI, F. Registra perceptorum et distributorum civitatis Cracoviensis annorum 1390 – 1393, 1395 – 1405, nec non 1407 – 1410. (RK) In idem. et al. *Libri antiquissimi civitatis Cracoviensis ab anno 1300 usque ad annum 1400*. Cracoviae 1877, 335; Archiwum Państwowe Kraków (APK), Ms. 1594, 27.

28 KDMK II..., 286. ; See also: STARZYŃSKI, M. *Disponenten der Herrschaft im mittelalterlichen Krakau* (in print).

29 ZAREMSKA, H. Miejsca kaźni w Krakowie w XIV – XVI wieku. In *KHKM*, 42, 1992, 306-312, 312; see also: SPIERENBURG, P. *The Spectacle of Suffering. Executions and the Evolutions of Repression from a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience*. Cambridge 1984.

30 APK, Acta consularia Cracoviensia, Ms. 427, 248-253, 255-259; STARZYŃSKI, M. *Disponenten...*

31 RK..., 313 (*Nota, quod certa mulier die Assumptionis Marie, suscepto Corpore Domini in os, emisit id in pavimentum et pretendebat sacrilegium facere. Item pro crematione cuiusdam mulieris primo III grossos pro pino. Item pro lignis XVIII grossos et I grossum pro straminibus*).

32 Ibidem..., 341 (*Item I grossum pro straminibus, quando Judeus fuit crematus, Vettir Judeus*); ZAREMSKA, H. *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina Krakowska*, Warszawa 2011, 463-464; Długosz incorrectly dated that event at 1406, see: *Joannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae (Annales)*. lib. X – XI. Varsaviae 1997, 15.

taken around the Main Market Square before their exile, as it took place in 1383, when the proscribed Hannus Rosinhayn was accused of polygamy.³³

A principal role Kraków assumed at the beginning of the 14th century, when it became a place of the coronation of the Polish monarchs, a main residential centre and finally a capital of the country, exerted a marked influence on the fact that it was there that subsequent rulers of the Kingdom of Poland a day after the ceremony of coronation received homagium from the town councilors and numerous burgesses assisting them. Thus, naturally in the symbolic sphere, the reception of a new monarch by the people was held. For many it was a sole occasion to look at the majesty of the ruler at least from a distance. John Długosz, an author of the greatest historiographical work which originated in 15th-century Europe, recorded that already Ladislaus the Elbow-high in 1320 was paid tribute by the Krakówians.³⁴ Unfortunately, no contemporary source confirms that. There is every likelihood that the chronicler transferred a custom he knew from experience to the realities of the 14th century. Nevertheless, it is known that in the years 1434 and 1447 he was an eye-witness of two tributary ceremonies cancelled at the last moment, owing to the arguments dukes of Mazovia provoked, when newly crowned monarchs were already present at the Main Market Square.³⁵ In the oldest municipal copybook a rich-in-details description of the oath of allegiance to the Jagiellon dynasty which the Krakówians paid to Ladislaus the Jagiellon and his newly born son Ladislaus in February 1425 has been preserved. A Royal pledge confirming the existing rights and privileges of the town was announced to those assembled sub utraque lingua, i.e. most probably in Polish and German. Town councilors gave a pledge on the golden cross carried by the Kraków's bishop Sbigneus Oleśnicki, while representatives of communitas rendered it by virtue of raising their fingers. Subsequently, Jagiello shook hands with every town councillor.³⁶ Similarly to the events of the 16th century, the monarch stood on the platform built by the Town Hall at the exit of Bracka Street, in place which in the topography of Kraków's Main Market Square was defined as na goldzie.

The central square of the town also assumed the role of the scene of the funeral ceremonies of the late monarch. For the first time it took place on 19th November 1370 when a ceremonial procession marched across the Kraków's Main Market Square, in which Casimir the Great, deceased several days earlier on the Wawel Hill, was symbolized by a horseman clad in golden royal robes, while money was scattered among the crowd epitomizing generosity of the monarch departing his people. During subsequent funeral ceremonies, since 1434 on, a funeral cortège with the coffin of the earthly remains of the monarch marched across the Main Square, which constituted a part of the so-called Royal route (via regia), leading from St Florian's Gate to the castle hill.³⁷ Ergo the space of the Kraków's Main Mar-

33 KP..., 63, 611. (*Item Hannus Rosinhayn, verberatus virgis cum voce preconum per totum circulum et mox de civitate prohibitus propter adulteraciones*).

34 *Annales...*, lib. IX. Varsaviae 1978, 108. (*In crastino vero coronacionis Wladislaus rex fasciis regiis vestitus, in urbem Cracoviensem ad thronum sibi preparatum cum prelati et baronibus descendens, girata prius urbe, a civibus Cracoviensibus ultro illud prestantibus accepit omagium et fidelitatis iuramentum*).

35 *Annales...*, lib. XI – XII. Varsaviae 2001, 137 (*In preparatum autem sibi circa eodem pretorii non descendit thalamum, ubi consulum et civium Cracoviensium suscepturus erat subieccionis, obediencie et fidelitatis iuramentum, propter litem, que inter pontifices et Masovie duces, latus regium ambientes, de superioritate et prioritare loci fuerat subsecuta utrisque adnitentibus se ad dexteram regis, dum ad thalamum ex equo descenderet, consessuros et pluribus racionibus, his pontificalem, illis vero ducalem prestare ducentibus dignitatem*); *Annales...*, lib. XII. Cracoviae 2003, 47. (*Altera coronacionis die rex Casimirus in apparatu regio in equo ivit in circulum [...] Et dum esset prope thronum, sibi iuxta pretorium preparatum, duces Masovie Wladislaus et Boleslaus tenere dextram partem lateris regis conati ac per hoc habere locum supra pontifices alcioem sortiri, novum scisma introducunt, pontificibus id non ferentibus sed in continenti factis perprius variis tractatibus a rege in domos suas discedentibus. Rex molestissime eorum discessum ferens nec thronum sibi preparatum ascendit nec homagium a civibus cepit sed girato circulo ad castrum tristis rediit*); see also: ROKOSZ, M. Ceremonia hołdu pokoronacyjnego na Rynku Krakówskim. In SMOLUCHA, J. et al. *Historia vero testis temporum. Księga jubileuszowa poświęcona Profesorowi Krzysztofowi Baczkowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*. Kraków 2008, 537-552.

36 ESTREICHER, S. *Antiquum registrum privilegiorum et statutorum civitatis Cracoviensis*. Kraków 1936, 16-17. (*Anno Domini mccccxxvo feria tertia post dominicam Invocavit cum serenissimus princeps dominus noster gloriosissimus rex Wladislaus baptisare fecisset filium suum inclitum Wladislaum, qui eo anno natus est ei, venit ipse cum consilio suo et potioribus dominis huius Regni in locum ante pretorium civitatis Cracovie. [...] Et fecit hanc promissionem clamari ad populum circumfusum sub utraque lingua. Propter quod placuit omni congregacioni communitatis fieri hommagium et iurare. [...] Tunc ergo totus consulatus super ipsas promissiones domini nostri et iussionem dominorum ad crucem auream in manibus episcopi Cracoviensis prestitit iuramentum [...] Post hoc iuravit et tota communitas digitis sublevatis sub eisdem verbis, ut iam dictum est. Hiis igitur expletis recepti rex stipulacionem a consulibus modernis et senioribus, dans manum singulis eorum*); see also: STARZYŃSKI, M. *Disponenten...*, (in print).

37 BORKOWSKA, U. The Funeral Ceremonies of the Polish Kings from the Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries. In *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36, 1985, 513-534; STARZYŃSKI, M. Last Tribute to the King. Funeral Ceremony of the Polish King Casimir the Jagiellon (1492) in the Light of an Unknown Description (in print); see also: CHROŚCICKI, J. A. CHROŚCICKI, Juliusz. A. Przestrzeń ceremonialna w nowożytnym mieście. In *KHKM*, 43, 1993, 213-224.

ket Square became in an anthropological dimension the space of the beginning and end – opening and closure of the reign under people's very eyes.

The Main Market Square was also a sacral space, over which towers of the parish church dominated. In the years 1453 – 1454 the Krakówians assembled there to hear sermons of the charismatic Italian monk, John of Capestrano, who called for conversion and change of the customs; who as well completed numerous healing processes.³⁸ Conrad of Freystadt, who accompanied him in his missionary journey around East-Central Europe, recollected that in winter when Capestrano moved from the church dedicated to St Adalbert to St Mary's church, people froze to death for they could not get inside the temple.³⁹ At least since the 1380s on the day of Corpus Christi, with the sound of the trumpets, the procession wound its way around the Kraków's Main Market Square, turning it into the great temple filled with the crowds of the faithful. The priest leaving the walls of the main parish church with the monstrance of the Holy Sacrament signified the change of the character of that feast. For it exhibited signs of guild organizations. The sequence of the proceedings in the procession directly reflected the position individual participants took in the social structure of the town. Hence it mirrored an image of the town „in its legal, professional and financial diversification.“⁴⁰

The last quote needs to be regarded as a brief, though, apt recapitulation of the afore-mentioned deliberation on the function of the Kraków's Main Market Square in the era of the Middle Ages, in which the town was mirrored in its legal, professional and financial diversification.

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38 The above-mentioned stay I thoroughly discussed in the article entitled *Il re, il vescovo ed il predicatore. Giovanni da Capestrano a Cracovia 1453 – 1454*. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 104, 2011, 485-518.

39 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. NAL 1763, f. 189v (*Anno Domini 1453 tali intensissimi frigoris hiems erat, quod etiam homines in plateis morte oppressit, quorum ego frater Conradus de Libera Civitate Minorum indignus, horum preclarissimorum miraculorum divitus operatorum, insufficiens collector et scriptor vidi hoc fore factum ante porticum ecclesie Virginis Gloriose Cracovie diversimode, que alios plurimos invadendo suo flatu frigidus lesit*).

40 ZAREMSKA, H. Procesje Bożego Ciała w Krakowie w XIV – XVI wieku. In GEREMEK, B. *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków; Gdańsk 1978, 25-40, 39; MORAWSKI, Z. Funkcje religijne placów miejskich w średniowiecznej Polsce. In *KHKM*, 42, 1992, 295-303.

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THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN KRAKÓW AND KAZIMIERZ AND THE JEWISH COMMUNAL AUTHORITIES IN THE LIGHT OF INTERNAL SOURCES (16TH – 18TH CENTURIES)

Anna Jakimyszyn

The oldest references confirming the presence of Jews in Kraków dates back to the second half of the 12th century.¹ However, the existence of the Jewish religious community dates back to the 14th century due to the fact that the first information about the „the Jewish street“², synagogues, cemeteries, mikveh and hospitals – all places and objects that are necessary for the functioning of the organized Jewish community – is found in this period.³

All properties were located in the north-western part of the city, in the quarter called platea Judaeorum – the Jewish quarter, where the life of the Jewish community focused. However, platea Judaeorum was not a closed area, away from Christians.⁴ Its existence was not in fact based on the provisions of the church law, ordering the Jews to create a separate residential area, but it resulted from the fact that it was easier for the group to live in accordance with the requirements of Judaism, to prepare kosher food, organize prayers and holidays.⁵

The next century – the 15th century – proved to be very difficult for the Jewish community living in Kraków. Previous relations between Jews and Christians deteriorated. Christians were observed to incline to anti-Jewish speeches and riots more and more frequent. The situation of the Jews in Kraków was also visible in the real sense. In 1469, the Jews sold their land and property to the chapter of Kraków, which in turn forwarded it to the Academy of Kraków, and they moved to the area lying to the north-east of Market (Szpiglarska Street).⁶ However, most of them did not stay in the area for too long. Deteriorating living conditions, harassment by the citizens, limiting sources of income, which were the result of the agreement concluded in 1485⁷, as well as the conflagration, which in 1494 destroyed the part of the Jewish building were the reasons for decision made by the members of the Kraków community to once again look for a new headquarter and began to move to Kazimierz.⁸

Kazimierz was a town in the south of Krakow, in the alluvial terrace of the Vistula. It was created by the Town Charter issued on February 27, 1335 by King Kazimierz the Great, who it also owed its name. Kazimierz was the center of transit, through which a variety of goods circulated. It was probably the economic factors that attracted Jews, whose presence in the area was already confirmed in the 14th

1 WYROZUMSKI, J. Żydzi w średniowiecznym Krakowie. In *Krzysztofor. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa*, 15, 1988, 8. See also: ZAREMSKA, H. *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie Środkowej: w Czechach, Polsce i na Węgrzech*. Poznań 2005, 70-81.

2 *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od r. 1300 do 1400*, I, 1877, 28.

3 ZAREMSKA, H. *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*. Warszawa 2011, 342-409; WYROZUMSKI, J. *Żydzi w średniowiecznym Krakowie...*, 9.

4 ZAREMSKA, H. *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce...*, 345-362.

5 ZAREMSKA, H. *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Europie Środkowej...*, 28-31.

6 BAŁABAN, M. *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu 1304-1868, vol. I: 1304-1655*. Kraków 1931, 56-58.

7 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Krakowa*, 1, 1871, 192.

8 MIECHOWITA, M. *Cronica Polonorum. Cracoviae 1521*, 349; WYROZUMSKA, B. Czy Jan Olbracht wygnał Żydów z Krakowa? In *Rocznik Krakowski*, LIX, 1993, 5-11.

century.⁹ However, it was the migration of the Jews of Kraków contributed to the development of the local Jewish community.

Most of the Jews living in Kazimierz were the members or descendants of the representatives of the community of Kraków.¹⁰ Owing to the fact that they never resigned from belonging to the community of Kraków, Jewish residents of Kazimierz were specified as „the members of the community in Kazimierz, Kraków“¹¹, and for this reason, further analysis will focus on the group.

Jews did not settle the whole Kazimierz, and only the fifth part, called Oppidum Judaeorum – the Jewish town.¹² Initially, their houses bordered with facilities belonging to Christians. In the course of time, the Jews began to repurchase the properties and parcels from Christians. Furthermore, they enlarged the area of „Jewish Quarter“ by purchasing new plots in the years 1553 – 1554, 1583 and 1608.¹³

Gradually, the two parts of Kazimierz – Jewish and Christian – were separated from each other. The first distinction by a wooden fence was replaced with the wall that separates the lands of the two communities in the 17th century. Built to provide for the „peace and security“ wall created a closed territory of „the Jewish town“, which in the form of non-enlarged with any part of the land, survived until the end of the 18th century.¹⁴ Over the centuries and the number of inhabitants of the area changed, in the 70s of the 16th century it was estimated to be 2,000¹⁵, and in the 18th century it reached 4,500 people.¹⁶ The population growth was the reason for a lack of space. Added to this, overcrowding resulted in a lack of privacy and control of the co-believers over the neighbours.

Despite the difficulties arising from the territorial limitations, the Jewish quarter was the epicenter of religious, cultural and intellectual Ashkenazi Jews. Moses Isserles, Nathan Spiro, Jom Tov Lipman Heller lived and worked there.¹⁷

With reference to administration, Oppidum Judaeorum subjected to the magistrate of the town of Kazimierz. However, „Jewish town“ was managed by the Jewish authorities. For this reason, it was an example of the management and operation of the Jewish communities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹⁸

In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth two types of rules governing the functioning of the administrative and political solutions adopted in the Jewish communities were in force. The first group of rules were rules of state: general and special privileges¹⁹, royal decrees and orders of regional governors.²⁰ The other one included internal regulations of the Jewish authorities. In the case of the community of Krakow, one of the groups consisted of the Kraków Community Charter and the Record Books.

Both types of the Jewish materials have unique character and interesting history. Statute of the community of Kraków consisting of 93 paragraphs written on more than 110 cards, and containing

9 WYROZUMSKA, B. *Czy Jan Olbracht...*, 9.

10 Ibidem.

11 Ibidem.

12 PIECHOTKA, M. – PIECHOTKA, K. *Oppidum Judaeorum. Żydzi w przestrzeni miejskiej dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Warszawa 2004, 153-163.

13 KRASNOWOLSKI, B. Rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny Miasta Żydowskiego na krakowskim Kazimierzu. In *Krzysztofory. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa*, 15, 1988, 84-98; KRASNOWOLSKI, B. *Ulice i place krakowskiego Kazimierza*. Kraków 1992; KRASNOWOLSKI, B. Z badań nad architekturą i urbanistyką krakowskiego Kazimierza w okresie późnośredniowiecznym i nowożytnym. In *Rocznik Krakowski*, 55, 1989, 103-111; ŚWISZCZOWSKI, S. Miasto żydowskie na Kazimierzu w świetle nowych badań. In *Biuletyn Krakowski*, 2, 1960, 47-72; ŚWISZCZOWSKI, S. Założenie i rozwój miasta Kazimierza. In *Biuletyn Krakowski*, 3, 1961, 34-79; ŚWISZCZOWSKI, S. *Miasto Kazimierz pod Krakowem*. Kraków 1981.

14 BAŁABAN, M. *Historja Żydów w Krakowie...*, 199.

15 ŚWISZCZOWSKI, S. *Miasto żydowskie na Kazimierzu...*, 55.

16 REDEROWA, D. Studia nad wewnętrznymi dziejami Krakowa porzoborowego 1796–1809, part II : Zagadnienia ustrojowe i ekonomiczno-społeczne. In *Rocznik Krakowski*, XXXVI, 1962, 73.

17 *Krakowianie. Wybitni Żydzi krakowscy XIV–XX wieku*. Ed. Kutylak, A. Kraków 2006.

18 BAŁABAN, M. Ustrój gminy żydowskiej w XVI-XX w. (nowe badania naukowe). In *Głos Gminy Żydowskiej*, I, 1937, 4-7, 33-34, 81-82, 101-103, 129, 131; II, 1938, 30-32, 53-55, 82-84, 103-105, 130-132, 176-178, 204-207; III, 1939, 6-8, 29-31, 54-56, 79-82, 104-107; BAŁABAN, M. Ustrój kahału w Polsce XVI-XVIII wieku. In *Kwartalnik Poświęcony Badaniu Przeszłości Żydów w Polsce*, I, 1912, 2, 17-54.

19 *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth. Charters of Rights Granted to the Jewish Communities in Poland-Lithuania in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Ed. Goldberg, J. Jerusalem 1985.

20 See also: *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Żydów w księgach grodzkich dawnego województwa krakowskiego z lat 1674-1696, vol. I: 1674-1683*. Ed. Kaźmierczyk, A. Kraków 1995; *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Żydów w księgach grodzkich dawnego województwa krakowskiego z lat 1674-1696, vol. II: 1684-1696*, Kraków 2009.

provisions in force in the community was issued by the communal authorities in 1595.²¹ The statute was to be valid only for three years, until 1598.²² However, over the next decades, the provisions were supplemented, corrected and expanded.²³ As a result, the provisions of statutes governed the life of Kraków's Jews to the time of the partition, and it became the basic law, which was a model for codes valid in other Polish and Lithuanian communities.²⁴

The statute of the community of Kraków stand out from other similar collections with the language in which it was prepared. Jewish provenance documents were written in Hebrew – the language of the liturgy and law, and the statute was drawn up in Yiddish – the everyday language of the contemporary Polish Jews.²⁵ Lawmakers made such a decision in order to be sure that the provisions of the statute (the first such regulation in the Jewish community resulting from the Polish lands) would be understood by everyone, even by uneducated members of the community (Fig. 1).²⁶

The statute was stored with other important communal documents in one of the synagogues in Kraków. There it was found by Nathan Dembitzer, who made a summary in Hebrew, which was published by Chaim N. Wettstein.²⁷ However, it was not the original text, but only an extract of the statute. Full copy was made by another Jewish historian Meir Balaban, who published it in two parts in the years 1912 – 1916.²⁸ It is the only fully preserved copy of Kraków's community statute.²⁹

The record books were handwritten by local Jewish institutions. Communal pinkasim, provincial assemblies pinkasim (regional council) and pinkasim of the Council of Four Lands belonged to this group. Communal pinkasim were the most important for the community of Kraków. All issues relevant to the community in Kraków were recoded: protocols for local council election, authorities provisions, financial settlement, the provisions concerning the distribution and collection of taxes, decisions on economic and judicial matters as well as various issues related to social and religious life. Owing to the fact that the community of Kraków belonged to large communities, the number of made decisions was large, and hence records; however, it was impossible to include all records in one pinkasim. For this reason, the community of Kraków had several types of pinkasim for administration alone, among others special pinkasim included authorities provisions, pinkasim of nominations, including records from the communal elections, pinkasim of communal counter with the provisions relating to taxes or pinkasim of judges with provisions of the Jewish courts. In addition, separate pinkasim were written by brotherhoods, associations and the Jewish organizations operating in the community, as well as they were owned by the synagogues and *beit-hamidrash*.³⁰

Pinkasim were regarded to be a document confirming made decisions, and therefore who or what the issue concerned and the features of issues were described in detail. In order to validate made decisions, people representing the government and participated in the case were listed, and signed by the highest communal officials and witnesses.³¹ In the case of litigations sometimes the person of the concerned case signed. Thus, depending on the nature of the case the sign was of three to several people (Fig. 2).

21 *Statut krakowskiej gminy żydowskiej z 1595 roku i jego uzupełnienia : Tłumaczenie sporządzone na podstawie odpisu Majera Bałabana*. Ed. Jakimyszyn, A. Kraków 2005, 100, LXIX.

22 *Ibidem*.

23 *Statut krakowskiej gminy żydowskiej...*, 101-109, LXIX-LXXVII.

24 *Gminy żydowskie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej : Wybór tekstów źródłowych*. Ed. Michałowska, A. Warszawa 2003, VII-XVII.

25 See: GELLER, E. *Jidysz – język Żydów polskich*. Warszawa 1994.

26 *Gminy żydowskie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej...*, XIX.

27 WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Otzar ha-Sifrut*. Kraka 1892.

28 BAŁABAN, M. Die Krakauer Judengemeinde Ordnung von 1595 und ihre Nachträge. In *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft I*. Frankfurt a/M. 1912 – 1913, 296-360; *part II*. Frankfurt a/M. 1916, 88-114.

29 Translation: BAŁABAN, M. *Historja Żydów w Krakowie...; Gminy żydowskie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej...*, 3-7, 25-32, 46-50, 84-86, 125-127; CYGIELMAN, S. A. *Jewish Autonomy in Poland and Lithuania until 1648 (5408)*. Jerusalem 1997, 46-104.

30 Par ex. FRAM, E. D. From the Pinkasim of Kraków in the Early Eighteenth Century. In *Gal-Ed. On the History and Culture of Polish Jewry* 23. Ed. Engel, D. Tel Aviv 2012, 165-175; WEINRYB, B. D. *Texts and Studies in the Communal history of Polish Jewry*. New York 1950; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Kadmoniyot mi-pinkasot yeshanim*. Kraka 1892; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Dewarim atikim: Mi-pinkase ha-kahal be-Kraka*. Kraka 1900; SA Kraków, *Acta judaica*, III-1-11.

31 *Ibidem*.

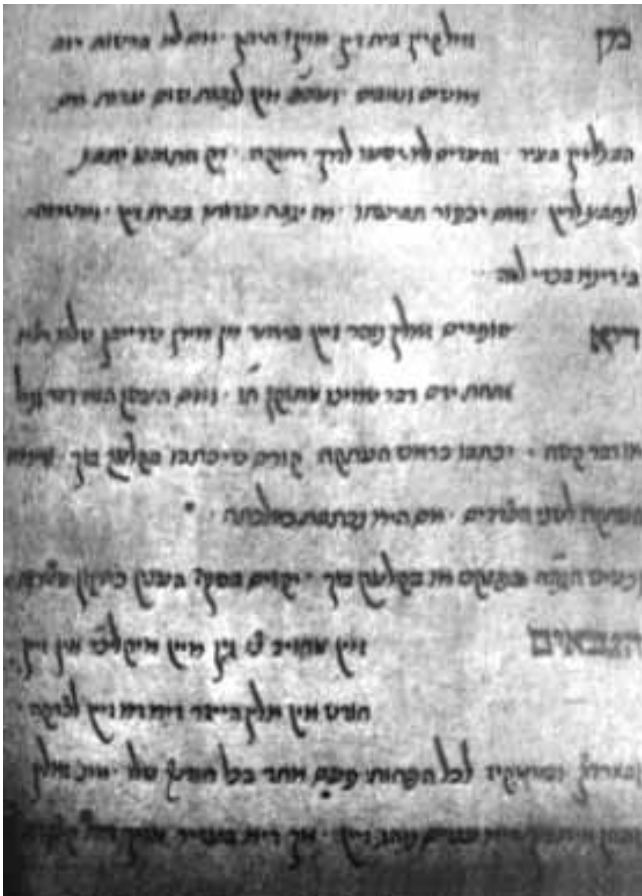


Fig. 1.
Page from the statute of the community of Kraków.
Source: M. Bałaban, *Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu 1304 – 1868*, vol. I: 1304 – 1655, (Kraków, 1931 reprint 1991), 466b.

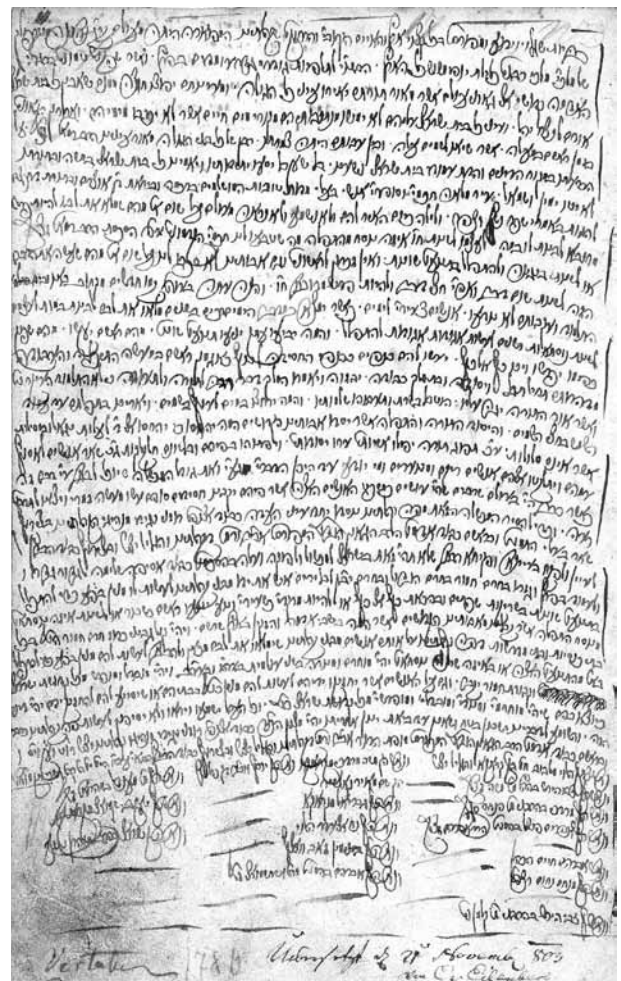


Fig. 2.
Page from the Kraków's pinkas.
Source: State Archive in Kraków, Acta judaica, sygn. III-1-11, 17.

The record books were bounded, paginated and binded volumes.³² Over the years they formed a subsequent volumes, consisting of tens or hundreds of notes prepared in Hebrew.³³ Some of the records in Kraków pinkasim was collected and developed by Chaim N. Wettstein, a part is to be published.³⁴ Pinkasim that were not published covers the court books with records dating from 1762 and it is the only original and preserved to this day, part of the extensive collection of materials of Jewish provenance from the community of Kraków.³⁵

The records in both the communal statute and pinkasim determine the range of the impact of the provisions. The Statutes of the community reported that its provisions apply to „the Jewish street“ that is in the Jewish quarter of Kazimierz, and „in Kraków, Kazimierz, Stradom“³⁶, which allowed for conclusion that the Jews of Kraków did not perceive Kraków and Kazimierz to be two separate town centers (formally Kazimierz was included in Krakow only in 1800).³⁷ In turn pinkasim records stated that the decisions were valid in „the holy town of Kraków“, and in the areas belonging to it, in the suburbs. In the case of the rabbinical court decisions it happened that the its announcement was expected, and hence the respect in the whole Community of Kraków.³⁸

Both statutes of the community of Kraków and pinkasim were the documents of the provenance of Jewish determining the overall communal life in the sixteenth to the 18th century, as well as the structure and operation of community activities and scope of works and competences of its authority, and dependencies and relations between the representatives of the communal hierarchy.

People who worked for the community did not constitute a unique community, but were divided into two groups. The first one were the officers who carried out the duties entrusted to them, free of charge. The second group consisted of functioners and officials who were paid for performance their duties.³⁹ In addition to the remuneration, the differences between the two groups concerned the competences and responsibilities, workplace and position in the hierarchy of the community.

The group of communal officials included people among of whom three levels can be distinguished. The first of these was the Community Council (referred to as the Board or the appropriate kahal). Community councils of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth areas ranged from a dozen to several dozen people. In Kraków, there was a principle according to which the number of members was equal to the number of people sitting in minor Sanhedrin. Thus, each time the council had 23 members, who were divided into three groups: parnasim (4 people), towim (5 people) and kahal (14 people).⁴⁰ Therefore, the community council retained three-level-principle, analogous to the force valid in the boards of German towns and Polish towns arising under the Magdeburg Law.⁴¹

Every month, of the four seniors the highest officer of „the Jewish town“ was elected, the mayor. It was called the Parnas of the month, due to the fact that he took over power in the „Jewish town“ for a period of one month. This solution was considered to be more democratic than putting the power of one person, and each Parnas functioned duties for 3 months each year.⁴²

Community board members were called sometimes the olders of the community. Their responsibilities related to the relevant issues concerning the community: community representation to non-Jewish authorities, supervising the work of other people acting on behalf of the whole community, participation in litigation and prosecution of criminals who broke the valid rules, controlling finances

32 State Archive in Kraków (SA Kraków), Acta judaica, III-1-11.

33 ALTBAUER, M. O języku dokumentów związanych z samorządem żydowskim w Polsce. In *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Wrocław; Warszawa 1991, 12-22.

34 See: WEINRYB, B. D. *Texts and Studies in the Communal history...*; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Kadmoniyot mi-pinkasot...*; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Dewarim atikim: Mi-pinkase ha-kaahal be-Kraka*. Kraka 1900.

35 SA Kraków, Acta judaica, III-1-11; FRAM, E. D. *From the Pinkasim of Kraków...*, 175. This part which wasn't published is preparing now to the publication by Prof. Maciej Tomal and Anna Jakimyszyn (Institute of Jewish Studies, Jagiellonian University).

36 *Statut krakowskiej gminy żydowskiej...*, 60, 82, 84, XXXV, LIII, LV.

37 BIENIARZÓWNA, J. – MAŁECKI, J. M. *Dzieje Krakowa II: Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII*. Kraków 1984, 9.

38 *Statut krakowskiej gminy żydowskiej...*, 100, LXVIII.

39 *Statut krakowskiej gminy żydowskiej...*, 28-31, VII-XI.

40 *Ibidem*.

41 BAŁABAN, M. *Ustrój gminy żydowskiej...*, I, 1937, 82.

42 *Statut krakowskiej gminy żydowskiej...*, 19-28, I-VII.

and communal accounts as well as social monitoring and the everyday existence of the inhabitants of „the Jewish city“.⁴³

The second level constituted the members of the community commission. In the community of Kraków four committees acted: the judicial committee, the treasury committee, the welfare committee and the community public order committee. The first one consisted of judges – three in each of the colleges of judges, dealing with issues related to communal jurisdiction. The other committee dealing with treasury issues created valuers, whose responsibilities containing assessment of the income and assets of each resident, and to determination of the amount of taxes paid by him/her. The charity matters dealt with gabaims. Except for gabaims dealing with the poor, in the community of Kraków gabaims acted as managers of synagogues and beit-hamidrash. Their duties included monitoring the state and property of synagogue and supervision of the sale of all honors (e.g., a call for the Torah reading). However, kosher supervision, control over accuracy of weights and measures used, the purity and safety of the Jewish quarter belonged to memunim – members of the community public order committee.⁴⁴

The third, and also the lowest level in the group comprised the men who participated in brotherhoods and associations – in the number of several in the community of Kraków. Each of them, in particular the two oldest and largest – Talmud-Tora association and Chewra Kadisha – based their existence on separate legal regulations (statutes).⁴⁵

All officers, regardless of representation of the level of the community hierarchy of, were obliged to perform their duties diligently. Owing to the fact that Parnas of the month was responsible for all of them, upon taking this position on behalf of all officers he should have made the oath of proper fulfillment of the undertaken duties and acting in accordance with the provisions of the statute.⁴⁶

In order to meet the given tasks communal officials discussed all issues that emerged in the course of their work, as well as issues raised by residents during the held regularly meetings needed to be discussed by officials. Each of the meeting participant had an opportunity to express his opinion, because it was assumed that the decision needed to be taken with the approval of the public. At the same time in order to avoid impossibility of making a decision due to the absence of one of the members of the community board, it was accepted that in the event of departure each of the board member had to provide his point of view to his deputy, who would present it in a public forum. The final position of the solution emerged after listening to the views of all participants. Then, to give it legal effect, the taken decision was recorded in pinkasim.

Communal officers were elected to perform their duties for a year, in the elections took part all adults male members of the community who had the right to vote. Elections were always held in the spring and took place during the feast of Passover. They were carried out only in the „Jewish Quarter“, and had an indirect nature. In the first stage, each of the member of the living communal authorities showed one of the members of the community, nine of those men were elected and formed a group of pre-electors, who elected five men from all the inhabitants, and they elected the communal officers.⁴⁷

During the feast of Passover except for the election of officers, electors pointed the members of the second group of people working for the benefit of the community – the community officials. Some of them were also appointed differently – by the town council at its first meeting.⁴⁸

It has been already mentioned that communal officials is a group of people who perform their duties for remuneration of communal fund or as a proportion of the fees obtained from the result of their actions. Officials differed from the officers that were employed by the community on the basis of the contract.

43 Ibidem, 19-28, 35-42, I-VII, XIII-XIX.

44 Ibidem; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Kadmoniyot mi-pinkasot...*; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Dewarim atikim...*; SA Kraków, Acta judaica, III-1-11.

45 BAŁABAN, M. *Historja Żydów w Krakowie...*, 471-474.

46 *Statut krakowskiej gminy żydowskiej...*, 19-28, 35-42, I-VII, XIII-XIX.

47 Ibidem, 28-31, VII-XI.

48 Ibidem.

Communal officials, like the officers, created a hierarchical and diverse group. Among the top officials were the rabbi – the first, most important municipal official, leading prayers in the synagogue, the cantor – concerned with ritual slaughterers, the chairman of the Talmudic college known as the Head of the Yeshiva, as well as communal primary school teacher leading activities for children and young people from the community of Kraków. All the above mentioned needed to hold a vast religious knowledge in order to properly perform their duties. People holding knowledge of secular sciences (medical) belonged to the second group, among other doctors and communal midwives. Another group was created by people who performed their daily work in constant cooperation with the management of the community. They were communal beadles who performed all the work assigned to him by the members of the board, community writer who was required to protocol all decision-making authority and all communal contracts, accounts and documents, communal clerk who kept money, bills and contracts belonging to the community, and shtadlan representing the community and the communal authorities against non-Jews. The last group of communal officials contained janitors and guards of the gates of the Jewish town, public bath personnel, and jailers.⁴⁹

The presented division of officials, however, was not the only one. In fact, it sometimes happened that the person referred to with the same title did not have a single duty routine, the office of beadle is an example of this phenomenon. Not only communal beadles worked in the community of Kraków, but also beadles of synagogue and beadles of the Jewish courts. Furthermore, all beadles, regardless of where or with whom they worked, were divided into „higher“ or senior, more experienced, and thus have greater competences and „lower“ or junior beadles, with less experience.⁵⁰

Two main factors were crucial as far as belonging to a group of communal authorities in Kraków. The first was the financial status of the individual. The higher the property of a person, the more likely he would be a part of the community government. However, it was not the case of removing the poorer from power. Such system was in fact caused by other factors, namely, as it was already mentioned, some people working in the community did not receive remuneration for duties performance. As the entrusted tasks prevented from taking up paid work, their performance could only be by wealthy people. Moreover, working for the entire community was also very heavy burden, i.e. due to the fact that the members of the government should remit their own money to be used in a situation where the whole community was in a difficult financial position. Knowledge was the second criteria allowing to enter into the communal elite. It was not, however, a secular education, but of religious knowledge – the Torah and the Talmud, and the ability to use this knowledge for the benefit of the whole community. This requirement was related mainly to those who made decisions of a religious nature or passed on the knowledge to others (dajani, rabbi, ritual slaughterers, cantor and teacher).

Specific titulary characterized people entering the ranks of communal government. Both in the statute and records from communal pinkasim men acting as the legislature were defined with titles divided into three groups.⁵¹ The first one referred to tasks and functions performed in the community, the second group was of religious education. The third one contained honorary titles of a respectful person. Titles of each group were associated, for example, in relation to Kraków communal rabbis the following terms were used: „our teacher“, „wise man“, „outstanding“, „noble“, „Light of Diaspora“, „presiding judge“, „President of Yeshiva“, combining them in a long forms „our teacher, wise man, light of Diaspora, presiding judge“ or „our teacher, lord and master, the President of Yeshiva“. A number of accepted meanings were also broken, i.e. the title of „saint“ added after the names of those recognized as martyrs who sacrificed their lives for their faith. In the community of Kraków it was used in conjunction with the title „wise man“ in determining the persons acting as witnesses to confirm the accuracy of these decisions.⁵²

49 Ibidem; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Kadmoniyot mi-pinkasot...*; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Dewarim atikim...*; SA Kraków, Acta judaica, III-1-11.

50 SA Kraków, Acta judaica, III-1-11, 31 and next.

51 Ibidem; *Statut krakowskiej gminy...*, 47-50, XXIV-XXVII.

52 WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Kadmoniyot mi-pinkasot...*; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. *Dewarim atikim...*; SA Kraków, Acta judaica, III-1-11.

It was also observed that universal titles were used for the wealthiest and most influential members of the community, occupying positions in the structure of the government. One of those titles was „dignitary“. However, it happened that the title was attributed to people who could obtain it because of the affinity of the communal elite. Then it was not only the differentiator, but also emphasized the social status of the individual.

Records from each pinkasim allowed to make a list of office-holders and office functions in the community.⁵³ However, the point does not concern only the people who were at the highest level of power, but the list of all communal officials. It would be difficult to determine who, for example, served as beadles in synagogues in Kraków in 1796 only based on the preserved documents. This information is included in one of the records to the court pinkasim of the year 1796, where beadles of four synagogues in Kraków are mentioned by names: two Moses (one of the Old Synagogue, the second of the Isaac Synagogue), Menachem of New Synagogue (Rema), Gecel Segal Hurwic of the High Synagogue.⁵⁴

Records of the statute and pinkasim of the community of Kraków are so detailed that it is possible to identify the individual. In addition, owing to the fact that in many cases due to the fact that by people mentioned in the statute and in pinkasim the names of parents or spouses were given, there is a possibility to make the genealogical trees of Jewish families from the community of Kraków and determine the degree of relatedness between individuals. It is also possible to determine whether at the time of record the mentioned persons were still alive, because the deceased were used a form specific to the Jewish tombstone inscriptions, such as „of blessed memory“.⁵⁵

The presented Kraków community management system does not cover all of its aspects. On the other hand, it proves that the Jewish administration system was advanced and above all bureaucratic. It presents a wide range of rights and duties of officers and communal officials. Furthermore, it shows the rotation at different positions, dependencies between them, and what group of people wielded power. It is also an example of the way of community management, which was duplicated in other Jewish communities in Polish or Lithuanian lands.

The main conclusion arises in the analysis of the functioning of the community of Kraków, is that there was full control over the communal authorities and the existence of the institutions within the community. This is due to supervision of all areas of life centralized in the hands of a small group of officials and communal officials.

Despite many inconveniences arising from the operation of such organized community administration system, development a different model failed over the centuries. Lack of alternatives was the reason that quoted principles and arrangements concerning people governed in the community were valid to the late 18th century.

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53 It is impossible to reconstruct, year after year, a complete list of all persons occupying the position in the community.

54 SA Kraków, Acta judaica, III-1-11, 31.

55 Ibidem; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. Kadmoniyot mi-pinkasot...; WETTSTEIN, CH. N. Dewarim atikim...; See also: HOŃDO, L. Stary żydowski cmentarz w Krakowie. Historia cmentarza. Analiza hebrajskich inskrypcji. Kraków 2000.

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THE DECLINE OF THE KRAKÓW JEWISH COMMUNITY IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Adam Kaźmierczyk

At the end of the 15th century it was certain that the Kraków Jewish community was the most important community in the Crown of Poland. Whereas the Jewish community of Poznań was the largest, the community in Lwów the wealthiest, the Jewish kahal in Kraków definitely was the most influential. There is no doubt that the presence of royal court and many links between the community, the individuals, and the court were beneficiary not only economically but also politically. Despite the forced resettlement of Cracovian community at the end of the 15th century to the Kazimierz, a satellite town on the side of the river Vistula, the prominence of the community was preserved among the the Polish Jewry. The so-called expulsion was a rather constrained compromise from the viewpoint of the Jewish elders which solved the problem of 1485 when the so called agreement with the the Kraków magistrate practically made an almost entire Jewish commerce illegal.¹ Settling in the Kraków vicinity in a separate Jewish quarter which was put into a jurisdiction of another town, solved the problem of opposition from the Kraków burghers and allowed Jews to practice commerce and crafts without hindrance.² Of course their main area of economic activity, the market, was in Kraków which meant that the Kraków magistrates, merchants and artisans were trying very hard to stop any Jewish commerce in the city by all possible means.

The resettlement also created a very interesting situation as far as jurisdiction was concerned. In the Crown chancery's view it was still the same community of Jews of Kraków though it was located in the neighbourhood of the capital city. It was ruled by the jurisdiction of the king, then the jurisdiction of the Voivode of Kraków and locally by the city of Kraków. Nevertheless it was located in a town which was also royal but was under a different type of jurisdiction (*wielkorządcy* – administrator of royal estates which after the reform of the Polish treasury became part of the king's private income).³ This situation would have had some implications in the following years.

The next century was the golden age for the Jewish community in Kraków. Hardly anybody could disagree with Majer Bałaban's statement in his classical though perhaps lacrymose history of Jews in Kraków. As a doyen of historians of the the Polish Jewry he depicted it here in the period of economic, cultural, and spiritual growth.⁴ Despite some problems (for instance the immigration of a large group from Bohemia) Jewish kahal in Kraków flourished, not only as the most economically important community in the region (Little Poland) but as well centre of political and spiritual leadership in the whole state. The royal exactors of Jewish taxes in the Crown of Poland (Abraham Bohemus and

1 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa 1*. Ed. Piekosiński, F. Kraków 1879, 193. See: ZAREMSKA, H. *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*. Warszawa 2011, 208-209.

2 Such opinion is presented in the last chapter of Hanna Zaremska's book: ZAREMSKA, H. *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*. Warszawa 2011, 493-504.

3 Though Franciszek Leśniak in his book only cursorily treated that problem: LEŚNIAK, F. *Wielkorządcy krakowscy XVI – XVIII wieku : Gospodarze zamku wawelskiego i majątku wielkorządowego*. Kraków 1996, 252-253.

4 BAŁABAN, M. *Historja Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu 1304 – 1868*. Vol. I – II. Kraków 1931 – 1936.

Franczek) in the first half of 16th century were recruited from the ranks of the Cracovian Jewry.⁵ Also, the most influential rabbi in the 16th century Poland Moses Isserles, the author of *Mappa*, a commentary on the *Shulhan Arukh* codex of halahic customs and laws resided here.⁶

By contrast the situation of the Kraków community in the middle of the 18th century was completely different. It was still a relatively large community, but whereas the 16th century kahal overshadowed other small Jewish settlements in Little Poland, the 18th century Kraków was home to only a small minority of Jewish population in the region. And of course there were still a number of wealthy Jews in Kazimierz but the majority of its residents were rather poor. In the second half of the 17th century the Jewish city in Kazimierz was already in bad shape. Visiting French traveller Payen described it as: „przedsionek piekła, tak jest brudne, cuchnące, zarażone, ulice bez bruku, domy jednopiętrowe, wyglądające raczej na stajnie“ [an antechamber of hell, so dirty, stinking, infested, streets unpaved, one-floor houses, which looked like barns], while another French traveller Andree Thevet in the 16th century thought that Jews in Kazimierz lived in houses that were quiet fine.⁷

The community located in Kazimierz also lost its prominent position among the communities in the Kraków and the Sandomierz regions. Greatly revealing here are the letters written by Piotr Gordon, the deputy voivode to the voivode of Kraków Ksawery Branicki on behalf of the Kraków Jews. He supported the plea of the Kraków elders who were begging the voivode of Kraków to protect them against claims of other communities, such as Wodzisław, which demanded jurisdiction over Jews in villages just by the walls of the Kraków agglomeration. He asked Branicki to address a letter to the judges of the Crown Treasury Tribunal in Radom, requesting them to confirm the ruling passed by the Jewish assembly (Council of Four Lands) which pertained to the territorial competence of the Kazimierz kahal to include the Jews residing within two miles (Polish, e.g. just over 14 kilometres) of the town's walls.⁸ One year earlier the same deputy voivode asked Branicki to address a letter to the Crown elders extending his support for the kahal in the dispute about kahal jurisdiction of the town of Wieliczka.⁹ It was the last dependent community which was still under jurisdiction of the Kraków kahal. At least in the case of Wodzisław it was one of the major kahals in the Kraków voivodship whereas in the case of the elders from Wieliczka in Kazimierz, they were quarrelling with one of the smaller communities such as Wiśnicz. Gordon also supported the request that came from the Kraków elders concerning their tax allowance which were previously granted by the Jewish Crown elders on demand of the Crown Treasurer (but due to the intervention of the voivode).

Some can assume that this downfall of the Cracovian Jewry was caused but the general decline of the city. Of course nobody could discount that factor but I think that it had only secondary impact. There were other reasons for this situation. First of all there were other previously significant Jewish communities located in large royal cities that did not fare any better.¹⁰ The aforementioned communities of Lwów and Poznań lost their supremacy in Red Ruthenia and Great Poland respectively. Lwów had been surpassed firstly by Żółkiew then by Brody which became the largest Jewish community in Poland, while Poznań by Leszno. All of them were located in private towns.¹¹

It implies that we should seek elsewhere for the main reason why the Jewish community in Kraków lost its significance, especially for those causes which affected the internal structure of the Polish Jewry in the period between the end of the 15th Century and the middle of the 18th century. We

5 HORN, M. Jewish jurisdiction in Poland-Lithuania till 1548. In *Acta Poloniae Historica*, LXXVI, 1997, 5-17.

6 See also paper by Elchanan Reiner on Jacob Pollack who was universally recognized as the founder of the Jewish scholarship in Poland; REINER, E. Rabbi Ya'akov Pollack of Kraków : First and Foremost among Kraków's Scholars [in Hebrew]. In REINER, E. *Kroke-Kazimierz-Kraków. Studies in the History of Kraków Jewry*. Tel Aviv 2001, 43-68.

7 PIERADZKA, K. Kraków w relacjach cudzoziemców. In *Rocznik Krakowski*, XXVIII, 1937, 219.

8 *Sejm Czterech Ziem. Źródła*. Eds. Goldberg, J. – Kaźmierczyk, A. Warszawa 2011, 380-381.

9 *Ibidem*, 378.

10 More about this problem BAŁABAN, M. *Z zagadnień ustrojowych Żydostwa polskiego. Lwów a ziemstwo rusko-bracławskie w XVIII w.* Lwów 1932; TELLER, A. Radziwiłł, Rabinowicz, and the Rabbi of Świerz : The Magnate's Attitude to Jewish Regional Autonomy in 18th Century. In *Studies in the History of the Jews in Old Poland : In Honor of Jacob Goldberg*. Ed. Teller, A. Jerusalem 1998, 246-276.

11 It is a well-known fact which was recognized but previous generations of historians of the Polish Jewry, they made serious mistakes, though sometimes in only in details, as for instance Bernard Weinryb who claimed that Kraków lost its significance to Pinczów et Leszno [!]WEINRYB, B. *The Jews of Poland. A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 – 1800*. Philadelphia 1972, 120.

should point out that the legal situation of the Polish Jewry at the beginning of the period of the relevant interest was unique. Poland was the only state in Central and Eastern Europe where the king still had jurisdiction over Jews at the end of the 15th century. In other countries the process of passing jurisdiction over Jews to other subjects was well advanced. Only during the reign of Sigismund the Old the king was forced to resign the jurisdiction over Jews who lived in estates of the nobility (eventually in 1539).¹² Polish nobility encouraged more and more Jews to settle in their estates, especially in the eastern parts of the Commonwealth. In the case of Little Poland it meant that sometimes the landlords accepted Jews expelled from certain royal cities. Threatened by the Jewish economic competition, the burghers were trying every possible measure to remove them from royal towns, the Little Poland Jews were removed from all major royal towns by the beginning of the 17th century. For instance, the Jews who were expelled from Bochnia after they fell victim to the accusation of profaning the Holy Host, settled nearby in Wiśnicz.¹³ Till the middle of the 17th century the burghers of nearly all major royal cities located in the Kraków voivodeship managed to remove or eclipse Jewish settlements in their towns (privileges de non tolerandis Judaeis).¹⁴ It resulted in the growing numbers of Jews who lived in the estates of the nobility, sometimes in suburbs under the noblemen's jurisdiction (so called jurydyki). And landlords who tried to boost the economy of their estates usually granted more favourable privileges to their new Jewish settlers than those which were granted to the Jewish inhabitants of royal towns and cities.¹⁵ It resulted in the shift in the distribution of Jewish population in the whole state and of course in Little Poland as well. A study on Jewish settlements in the Kraków voivodeship has not been available but there is an assumption that situation could unfortunately be very similar to the other part of Little Poland, in the voivodeship of Sandomierz. According to the study by Jadwiga Muszyńska, from the middle of the 16th century to the end of the 18th. the percentage of towns in which the Jewish permanent settlements were noted grew from 31 % to 89 % which meant that Jews lived practically in all cities and towns of the region, with the exception of towns owned by the Church which were usually very small and in the state of utter decline.¹⁶

But until the middle of the 17th century this process didn't seriously affect the position of Jewish Kraków community. It was still the leading kahal in Little Poland and its members were among leaders of the Council of Four Lands. Chmielnicki's uprising and the following wars with Sweden and Muscovy changed the situation of the Jewry in the Commonwealth considerably. Some older communities were destroyed or severely weakened during the atrocities committed by troops of the fighting forces; other were impoverished by the contributions, taxes, and also by losing resources in the dwindling commerce. During the period of the reconstruction, the landlords tried to restore their estates as fast as possible. Jews were practically the only possible settlers in the majority of regions of the Commonwealth so especially magnates encouraged them to move to their towns and villages. People who were often more resourceful than others migrated from the older communities. Capital migrated as well. New centres were very often more dynamic than the older ones and members of the families from which Jewish secular and spiritual leaders were recruited started to move gradually into them despite precautions and measures taken by communities in royal cities.¹⁷ This was also the case

12 *Volumina Constitutionum I – II*. Eds. Uruszczak, W. – Grodziski, S. – Dwornicka, I. Warszawa 2000, 199: „*Qui nobiles in oppidis aut villis suis ludeos habent, per nos licet, ut soli ex eis fructus omnes et emolumenta percipiant, iusque illis arbitrato suo dicant. Verum ex quibus ludeis, nullum ad nos commodum pervenit, eos uti ludeorum iure non permittimus, per nos et antecessores nostros concessio, neque de iniuriis eorum referri ad nos volumus, ut ex quibus nullum sentimus commodum ii nullum etiam praesidium in nobis habeant collocatum*”. This enactment was result of royal concessions after so-called „hens war”, previously granted in 1537 for two years and declared as permanent in 1539; WYCZAŃSKI, A. *Postulaty poselskie 1538 roku. In Religie. Edukacja. Kultura Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Stanisławowi Litakowi*. Ed. Surdacki, M. Lublin 2002, 555-560.

13 WĘGRZYNEK, H. *Czarna Legenda Żydów. Procesy o rzekome mordy rytualne w dawnej Polsce*. Warszawa 1995, 69-72; TETER, M. *Sinners on Trial: Jews and Sacrilege after the Reformation*. Cambridge; London 2011, 158-175.

14 KIRYK, F. – LEŚNIAK, F. *Skupiska żydowskie w miastach małopolskich do końca XVI wieku*. In *Żydzi w Małopolsce: Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i życia społecznego*. Ed. Kiryk, F. Przemyśl 1991, 22.

15 GOLDBERG, J. *Introduction*. In *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth*. Jerusalem 1985; GOLDBERG, J. *O motywach nadawania przywilejów dla gmin żydowskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. In *Parlament, Prawo, Ludzie. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Juliuszowi Bardachowi w sześćdziesięciolecie pracy twórczej*. Eds. Stembrowicz, K. et al. Warszawa 1996, 74-78.

16 MUSZYŃSKA, J. *Żydzi w miastach województwa sandomierskiego i lubelskiego w XVIII wieku*. Kielce 1998, 184.

17 MICHAŁOWSKA-MYCIELSKA, A. *The Jewish community. Authority and social control in Poznań and Swarzędz 1650 – 1793*. Wrocław 2008, 195. For instance Council of Four Land dealt with the complaint of kahal of Poznań against one Avraham who left the city and settled elsewhere (in this case in Germany).

of the well-known formerly Cracovian Jewish family, the Landaus, whose more prominent members resided in Opatów and Tarnów in 18th century.¹⁸ They were looking for greater opportunities (many of them found new occupation as leaseholders of monopolies especially propinacy) but mostly because of the patronage offered by magnates and their officials.

There was a variety of consequences for the Polish Jewry when they resorted to the nobles for patronage. For the owner and his administration it was crucial to have all the subjects in his jurisdiction. In the case of Jews, who had been exempt from the jurisdiction of royal courts (apart from fiscal matters) as mentioned previously since 1539, the most important question to resolve was that of the dependence on Jewish courts. Landowners were keen not to have any townships lying within their domain subject to the jurisdiction of the kahals lying beyond their property.¹⁹ Landowners supported the process of gaining independence by smaller Jewish communities. Throughout the entire 18th century, attempts to prevent Jews from referring their cases to foreign jurisdictions, including – naturally – Jewish ones, can easily be traced.²⁰ Moreover own Jews were defended from alien Jewish courts, e.g. from the pronouncement of herem (i.e. Jewish anathema) against them.²¹ Similar situation occurred on higher levels of Jewish self-government (regional councils and Jewish waad). Although the official reason for summoning Jewish councils was the need to distribute the tax burden (poll tax) among particular lands and communities, their responsibilities actually included many areas of the economic, cultural and religious life. Far reaching interference of the magnates could even result in establishing a separate land (galil Hebr., ziemstwo, Polish). This was the case of Podole, where there is strong evidence of close cooperation between Stefan Humiecki, voivode of Podole, and the local Jewish community.²² Despite some attempts of kings this process could not be stopped.

In a universal of 1677, King John III Sobieski says that some Jews „... rebelliter wzbraniają się, zasłaniając się różnemi panów swoich, po których majątnościach domicilia mają, albo jakie arendy trzymają [...] protekcjami“ (... rebelliter attempt to avoid meeting their obligations using all sorts of protection offered by the landowners within whose estates; they reside and have their domicilia or own leasehold property...). The king ordered them to pay their back taxes and appealed to the nobility to stop protecting and supporting them.²³ On the other hand the independent district of ordynacja (landed property in infideicomis) of Zamość was created due to the privilege granted by king Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki though it should be noted that the estates were in possession of the king's mother Gryzelda at the time.²⁴

Throughout the 18th century, acting entirely in their own interests, magnates did not hesitate to support the members of the general body of the Jewish council who lived within the borders of their estates.²⁵ As a result, it was the Crown elders from the private estates, like Brody, Leszno, Opatów, Żółkiew, who played an increasingly significant role in the structures of the Council of the Four Lands.

A very similar process affected situation of the Kraków kahal across the Jewish communities of Little Poland. According to Majer Bałaban, at the beginning of the 17th century, practically all land elders were members of the Kraków community. Only in the second half of the 17th century the position of the Kraków Jews deteriorated significantly. At the time the daughter communities of Kraków carried litigations with their mother-community. The main cause of discord was the problem caused

18 BAŁABAN, M. *Historia Żydów w Krakowie I...*, 270-271, 274; HUNDERT, G. D. *The Jews in a Polish Private Town. The case of Opatów in the Eighteenth Century*. Baltimore – London 1992, 118-122; KATZ, D. *A Case Study in the formation of a super-rabbi: the early years of rabbi Ezekiel Landau 1713 – 1754*. [doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, 2004, 44-ff p. [cit. 2012-06-27]. Available in Internet: <<http://drum.lib.umd.edu/bitstream/1903/245/2/umi-umd-1353.pdf>>.

19 More on this subject in my book: KAŻMIERCZYK, A. *Żydzi w dobrach prywatnych. W świetle sądowniczej i administracyjnej praktyki dóbr magnackich w wiekach XVI – XVIII*. Kraków 2002, 135ff; HUNDERT, G. D. *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: Genealogy of Modernity*. Berkeley 2004, 100ff.

20 Arch. Państwowe (AP) Lublin, Sąd Komisarski 1, pp. 3-5, 11 VII 1653.

21 AP Poznań, Rawicz I/77.

22 *Sejm Czterech Ziem...*, 317-319. By setting apart part of the Ruthenia district and creating a separate Podole district, including Braclaw voivodeship, the actual tax burden of local Jewish people was reduced.

23 LESZCZYŃSKI, A. Uniwersał Jana III wydany 6 V 1677 r. Żydom Korony w sprawie płacenia podatków i posłuszeństwa władzom kahalnym. In *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 113, 1980, 86; *Sejm Czterech Ziem...*, 87-89.

24 LESZCZYŃSKI, A. *Sejm Żydów Korony 1623 – 1764*. Warszawa 1994, 73.

25 *Sejm Czterech Ziem...*, 329, 338.

by the increasing burden of debt which was generated by the community of Kraków. Jews from the region under the patronage of the landlords didn't want to participate in repaying debts of major kahal though quite a share of them were borrowed from nobility and Church institution for the benefit of all communities in Little Poland.²⁶ There were also other duties which caused excessive taxation of members of the Kraków Jewry. Besides the poll tax the Kraków kahal used to pay other special taxes and duties. For instance „szpilkowe“ (pin's tax) a special tax due to be paid to a queen²⁷, salaries for voivode, his deputy, Jewish judge [a Christian, usually nobleman who tried cases between Jews and Christians or by appeal of the Jewish courts of law) and many other duties.²⁸ There was even a special obligation at that time changed into pecuniary obligation for the benefit of the royal bestiaire.²⁹

As a result of those quarrels around 1670 an independent kahal ziemstwo (regional level of self-government) from Kraków was created and eventually the Kraków kahal existed in the structures of Jewish self-government as independent but with the similar rights as ziemstwo.³⁰ A Kraków elder tried earlier some kind of obstruction policy, probably avoiding the situation in which they would be forced to comply with an unfavourable condition for their community and they didn't attend sessions of the Council of Four Lands. Crown elders fined the Kraków community for not sending their representative to Lublin in 1666 r.³¹ It seems that opinion of Adam Teller didn't exactly depict the complicated situation of Jewish communities in big royal cities: „Very often the largest community in the region (such Poznań in Great Poland) did not take part in the council, preferring to run its own affairs without consulting the other communities in the region and to send its own delegates to the Council of the Four Lands“³² It was a rather enforced situation and last possible resort to defend its once prominent place among Jews in the region.

Later even the jurisdiction of the Kraków kahal over Jews who lived in the proximity of Kraków-Kazimierz came under questioning by other communities. The controversy had to be resolved by the Council of Four Lands in 1692. Apparently the problem of taxing Jews who lived in adjoining Kraków villages and townlets remained because the elders gathered at the Jarosław Assembly in 1717 decided that Jews living within two miles of Kraków should belong to the Kraków community, and not to the Kraków-Sandomierz province. Furthermore, they gave Kraków elders the right to enforce this resolution by any means.³³

But the process of losing power inside the Jewry of the region could not be contained. The economic activity of the Jews was of great importance for the magnates of the region: their role in the noblemen estates increased greatly by the Great Northern War (1700–1712). Magnates were interested in strengthening the position of their Jews by not defending rights of the Kraków kahal. Even voivodes, as we know from the Kujawy example, circumscribed the jurisdiction of the royal kahal which would have been dependent on them if benefited their own interest.³⁴ I think that the fact that during king

26 Very same situation happened in others parts of Commonwealth, Mordecai Nadav showed that smaller, formerly dependent communities (sub-kahas) were in hard quarrel with major communities of Pinsk over debts; NADAV, M. *Aspekty regionalnej autonomii Żydów polskich*. In *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Eds. Link-Lenczowski, A. – Polański, T. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1991, 77.

27 Though in 1717 Jews of Kraków were relieved from paying this tax for 6-years, apparently due to their catastrophic financial situation after Northern War, LEŚNIAK, F. *Wielkorządcy krakowscy...*, 141.

28 In second half of the 18th century salary of a voivode of Kraków was 8000 zlotys and 4000 additionally (akcydensy), usually fees for approbations; ZARUBIN, P. *Żydzi w aglomeracji Krakowa w czasach stanisławowskich. Przemiany prawne, gospodarcze i społeczne*. Kraków 2012, Aneks 3, 338-341.

29 In 1691 Wojciech Mazurkiewicz steward and notary of „wielkorządy (royal estates in Kraków)“ sued Jewish community in Kraków to the royal high appeal court for not paying customary pension and a special payment for keeping wild beasts at the castle; *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Żydów w księgach grodzkich dawnego województwa krakowskiego z lat 1674 – 1696. II Lata 1684 – 1696*. Ed. Kaźmierczyk, A. [Source Materials for the History of the Jews in the files of the courts of the Old Kraków's voievodship], Kraków 2009, 157.

30 LESZCZYŃSKI, A. *Sejm Żydów...*, 70, 89. In 1673 Crown Treasure issued a debenture bond addressed to „niewiernych Żydów starszych ziemskich osobliwie jednak w Krakowie mieszkających [infidel Jews land elders especially those living in Kraków]“. According to Majer Bałaban at least since 1691 kahal in Kraków appeared in records of treasury as independent from ziemstwo (land Kraków-Sandomierz) though Bałaban quoted documents which proved that such situation existed already in seventies of 17th century; BAŁABAN, M. *Historja Żydów w Krakowie I...*, 189, 191.

31 LESZCZYŃSKI, A. *Sejm Żydów...*, 111.

32 TELLER, A. *The Magnates's attitude...*, 249.

33 *Sejm Czterech Ziem...*, 214-215. Few years earlier Council of Four Lands passed a similar resolution which it seems were questioned by regional elders and especially community of Wodzisław.

34 Antoni Dąbowski voivode of Brześć Kujawski and heir of Lubraniec granted in 1747 a privilege to Jews of Lubraniec in which he confirmed their independence from kahal in Brześć. Apparently earlier the voivode assured that land elders issued in 1743 favourable for Lubraniec's Jews decree

John the Third's reign, the office of the voivode of Kraków was granted to the magnates from the eastern parts of the Commonwealth as well as the commanders (hetmans) of the Crown army speeded up the process of the waning significance exerted by the Jews in the region. Their deputies (podwojewodziowie) who were high ranking officers of the Crown army were not residing in Kraków.³⁵ So the officials who should have been more interested in defending the position of kahal in Kazimierz were not able or unwilling to do it, because for them it was just a benefit to their soldier's pay.

The fact that last chairman of the Council of Four Land from Kraków Zachariasz Mendel Kantorowicz who as elder of the community decided to leave Kraków (taking with himself kahal's registers!) and settled in Pińczów as a local rabbi³⁶ demonstrates the extent to which the Kraków kahal lost its significance among the Jewry in Little Poland. Pińczów was one of five major kahal's in the Kraków-Sandomierz land and traditionally records of the regional councils were kept by its elders. The attempt to invite Samson Wertheimer, a court Jew of Habsburgs, to the office of the Kraków rabbi probably might be perceived as the last effort to renovate the importance of the community.³⁷ Till the end of the 17th century, the rabbi of Kraków was a chief rabbi of the whole region. But in 1696 a first time breach between the region and the Kraków kahal occurred and as a result land elders chose the rabbi in Opatów as a chief land rabbi. Even more Jews of Kraków capitulated in 1700 and recognized Heshel land rabbi as a rabbi of Kraków.³⁸ Later similar situation when a land rabbi of Little Poland didn't reside in Kraków wasn't unusual.³⁹ From 1710 to 1731 the rabbi of Szydłów (another major kahal of Sandomierz-Kraków region) held this office. Only after his death Dawid Szmelka son of previous rabbi was elected to the post of the Kraków rabbi and a land rabbi. But due to the eruption of internal quarrels in Kraków as well in the whole of region he lost his office for some years.⁴⁰

Still little is known about real causes of a great turmoil which seized the Jews of the region but the conflict was probably sparked by a conversion of his brother, former rabbi of Szydłów during the session of the Council of Four Land in 1739.⁴¹ The opponents of the land rabbi tried to take advantage of Dawid Szmelka's problem and invited the son-of-law of Gdal Ickowicz, a great Jewish leaseholder from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and a protégée of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł and his mother Anna. During those years the community in Kraków was a battlefield for different factions. Despite the support of certain leading magnates in Poland, Joseph Jonas Theomim Fränkel could not secure his post. It seems that local Jews were just pawns in the hand of their majors – Jewish and Christians alike. A great example here was a letter written by Krzysztof Woroniec an agent of Hieronim Florian in which he assured Szmujło Ickowicz brother of Gdal, who was a cashier general of Anna and her son Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł, that Piotr Gordon a deputy voivode and official of Crown Treasury pacified opposition in Kraków.⁴²

Prolonged conflict definitely didn't bring positive impact on the Kraków Jewish community. Though Szmelka eventually was restored in the position of the land rabbi but till his death he lived outside Kraków. Despite the fact that two key positions from the point of Cracovian Jews were held

between them and community in Brześć Kujawski; DUMANOWSKI, J. Lubraniec w XVIII w. żydowskie miasteczko i stolica magnackich. In *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 203, 2003, 438-439.

35 FALNIOWSKA-GRADOWSKA, A. Podwojewodowie województwa krakowskiego w XVI do XVIII wieku. In *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny WSP w Krakowie*, z. 158, *Prace Historyczne*, XVI, 1993, 184-185; Eadem, EADEM. Sędziowie żydowscy w województwie krakowskim w XVI – XVIII wieku. In *Żydzi w Małopolsce: Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i życia społecznego*. Ed. Kiryk, F. Przemysł 1991, 37-47. Though the Author didn't take notice of this situation.

36 BAŁABAN, M. *Żydzi w Krakowie...*, 242.

37 Ibidem, 238. See also BAŁABAN, M. Samson Wertheimer, bankier nadworny Leopold I i Augusta II, rabin-nominat krakowski. In BAŁABAN, M. *Studia Historyczne*. Warszawa 1926, 127-133.

38 BAŁABAN, M. *Żydzi w Krakowie II...*, 263.

39 Once again similar processes could be observed in other royal cities, for instance in Red Ruthenia an office of Land rabbi was divided.

40 Dawid was fined by commission appointed by Teodor Lubomirski voivode of Kraków. Internal quarrels among Jews of Kraków were not of course uncommon earlier as well, for instance in 1715 happened a riot of common Jews against elders (first of all against Mendel Kantorowicz); BAŁABAN, M. *Żydzi w Krakowie II...*, 241.

41 KAŻMIERCZYK, A. Konwersja, jichus i walka o władzę w ziemstwie krakowsko-sandomierskim w latach czterdziestych XVIII wieku. In *W poszukiwaniu religii doskonałej? Konwersja a Żydzi*. Ed. Jagodzińska, A. Wrocław 2012, 31-47.

42 AGAD, ARV 18023, 174, Krzysztof Woroniec do Szmujły Ickowicza, Kraków 17 I 1745; „Do JMP Gorduna listy oddałem i ten przede mną tak mówił, że ja bez żadnej wątpliwości rabina terażniejszego krakowskiego na jego funkcji utrzymuję, starszych krakowskich, którzy byli przeciwne odmieniłem a inszych ustalowałem”.

at the time by two magnates who were related and cooperated didn't help the kahal very much. The aforementioned Piotr Gordon who at that same time served as an official of the Crown Treasury (so subordinate of Grand Treasurer Karol Odrowąż Sedlnicki), a deputy voivode, and a Jewish judge (nominee of Branicki) had to ask on behalf of Jews of Kraków for protection against claims of other communities. Elders of the Kraków community tried as well legal procedures and sued the kahal in Wodzisław for not fulfilling resolutions of the previous decrees issued by the Crown elders in 1756. The charge pertained to the Wodzisław kahal violating the agreements of the Jewish assembly of 1717, and usurping jurisdiction over Jews residing in the Kraków area. The elders of Kazimierz had estimated the losses they had incurred due to the Wodzisław Jews at 10,000 zloty.⁴³ The intervention of Branicki was of no avail for the kahal in Kazimierz as it was not able to win its case. From the verdict of the treasury tribunal of Radom we can assume that the Jews of Kraków had to agree to the unfavourable agreement in 1758. Because the tribunal confirmed the resolution of the Jewish arbitration court which kept only those co-believers who lived in a distance of one Polish mile away from Kraków and Kazimierz under the jurisdiction of the Kraków Jews.⁴⁴ Though elders from Kraków didn't quit and they kept litigating their cause especially with the kahal in Wodzisław until the dissolution of the Jewish self-government.⁴⁵ As a matter of fact the issues of Jewish leaseholders of breweries and inns in the vicinity of Kraków were not solved till the end of Polish state (the Kraków kahal had litigation with Wodzisław but also with the communities in Chrzanów, Działoszyn, Książ and Olkusz).⁴⁶ These circumstances were a result of a long process during which the centre of power among the Jews in Little Poland had been shifted from a once leading community to the provincial towns, and as I have earlier mentioned this process wasn't unique to Kraków.⁴⁷

The changes in the Jewish demography as well as the king's resignation from jurisdiction over Jews in private estates and other changes in political system of the Polish Commonwealth affected the situation of the Kraków community and resulted in its loss of power in the state and among the Jewish population in Little Poland. Inability of the Commonwealth's political elites to reform the state and to form a modern administration especially the fiscal one created conditions in which the Jewish self-government could exist for such a long time. It was preserved till 1764 despite that the fact that since the second half of the 17th century it couldn't meet the obligations toward the state which secured that it was accepted by kings and treasurers.⁴⁸ There was an attempt for some reforms at the Diet of 1717⁴⁹ but they could change the system fundamentally. It seems that by submitting to the status quo after the Council of Four Lands in 1717 in alliance with the practice in which the marshal with scribes (wiernicy) came under stricter control of the Crown Treasurers expedited the process of diminishing the prominence of the Jewish communities in royal towns. In a situation when there were many different centres of power it was always those who as the clients of Crown Treasurer or the most powerful landlords were able to have the upper hand in the internal affairs of the Polish Jewry.

The long established symbiosis between the Polish magnates and the Jews weakened the position of practically all communities which were located in royal towns. The magnates' patronage and their economical policy (autarchy) resulted in a situation in which the communities located in smaller towns had advantage over the elder ones which were in royal cities (often their mother-communities). Jewish land elders self-assured by the patronage of their landlords were concerned mostly about preserving their own supremacy over all Jews in the region.

43 *Sejm Czterech Ziem...*, 379-380.

44 *Sejm Czterech Ziem...*, 158.

45 *Sejm Czterech Ziem...*, 389-391, 393-394; BAŁABAN, M. *Żydzi w Krakowie II...*, 260.

46 ZARUBIN, P. *Żydzi w aglomeracji...*, 347.

47 According to proceedings of regional council in Bóbrka (Red Ruthenia) in 1740 representatives of Lwów community to that meeting were nominated by land rabbi and Jewish Ruthenia marshal, who of course resided at the time in Żółkiew and later in Brody; *Sejm Czterech Ziem...*, 358.

48 At the beginning Crown elders just collect the tax and carried it to Treasury, but already in 17th century they mostly issued assignations to particular kahals and tax were collected by deputies of military units, *Sejm Czterech Ziem...*, 358.

49 *Volumina Legum VI*. Petersburg 1860, 290. Amount of poll-tax was established at 220.000 yearly and became an addition to hiberna paid to units of cavalry. As later practice showed general Jewish scribes were confirmed by Treasurers, and their main responsibility were preparing so-called dyspartymnt (general distribution of the tax among lands, districts and independent kahals). Later Treasurers issued assignations to units of Crown army.

When the first reforms were undertaken to restore order in the state the Jewish self-government was immediately abolished and certain issues created by the Jewish oligarchy disappeared as well.⁵⁰ It was not coincidental that after 1764 some formerly major communities rapidly started losing their significance among the Polish Jewry as for instance Opatów in Little Poland in which in the first half of the 18th century was the leading kahal (among others it manifested in „the Landau family which begun to dissociate itself from Opatów and move elsewhere“).⁵¹

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50 *Volumina Legum VII*. Petersburg 1860, 44-50.

51 HUNDERT, G. D. *The Jews in a Polish Private...*, 132.

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PROFESSOR MARCIN WADOWITA (1567 – 1641), AN EXAMPLE OF A BRILLIANT ACADEMIC CAREER IN OLD KRAKÓW

Tomasz Graff

The hero of this article spent his adult life in Poland under the rule of the House of Vasa. At that time, the capital city of Kraków was populated with approx. 20.000 inhabitants, or even 30.000, if one includes Kazimierz, Kleparz and the suburbs. Circa 1580, the bourgeoisie held more than 46 % of real property, while the clergy and the nobility had 35 % and 18 % respectively.¹ Kraków was then nearing the end of its peak glory, particularly as the centre of political life moved with the royal court to Warsaw. The Catholic and largely scholastic Kraków Academy was also past its flourishing days and was gradually changing from an international university to a local institution. It goes without saying that more than 90 % of the students were Poles, and these were dominated by representatives of the Małopolska cities and towns. Several per cent of students were Silesians, Moravians and Hungarians. There were also a few Slovaks. The majority of students came from the bourgeoisie. The sons of noblemen were few (about 20 – 30 %), but they were rather dominated by those from moderately wealthy and impoverished houses, although one could still meet a Koniecpolski, Szembek or Sobieski. The degree of master of liberal arts was achieved by a small percentage of students, and few decided to pursue their academic career further. This course was most rarely taken by the nobility, who, while dominating public life, usually had greater aspirations. The nobility did not consider an academic career as their dream achievement; because their family and political connections helped their representatives take up lucrative official and church positions. Therefore, an academic career became highly desirable mostly for plebeians. About 70 % of the teaching staff consisted of burghers, while the rest originated from the peasantry and impoverished nobility. The majority of professors did not come from Kraków but from provincial centres.² Thanks to the achievement of subsequent levels of promotion, they could count for the relatively wealthy church benefices, while some, particularly after gaining the most prestigious doctor of theology degree, managed to become members of the Kraków chapter or canons at the rich chapters of St. Anne's or St. Florian's Collegiate Churches.³ They practically could not hope to reach the bishops' positions, because, with few exceptions, these had been reserved since the 15th century exclusively for the nobility.⁴ The social advancement of professors can be measured by the privilege granted by Sigismund the Old in 1535 to ennoble the academics.⁵ In the tightly closed social system of the First Republic of Poland, where the formally functioning election monarchy vested political rights in members of the nobility and noble-born higher clergymen constituting about 1/10 of the society, the academic career, together with a career in the church, was one of the few slits through

1 BIERNARZ, J. – MALECKI, J. M. *Dzieje Krakowa 2: Kraków w wiekach XVI – XVIII*. Kraków 1984, 197, 200.

2 URBAN, W. *Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji (1549 – 1632)*. In *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364 – 1764*. Vol. I. Ed. Lepszy, K. Kraków 1964, 253-307.

3 *Studia z dziejów kościoła św. Anny w Krakowie*. Eds. Kliś, Z. – Węclawowicz, T. Kraków 2009; *Studia z dziejów kościoła św. Floriana w Krakowie*. Ed. Kliś, Z. Kraków 2007.

4 KRACIK, J. *Biskupi w Senacie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. In *Senat w Polsce. Dzieje i teraźniejszość*. Eds. Matwijowski, K. – Pietrzak, J. Warszawa 1993, 55.

5 *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis Studii Generalis Cracoviensis IV*. Eds. Pauli, Ż. – Piekosiński, F. Kraków 1884, 364.

which a representative of the peasantry or, more frequently, bourgeoisie could permeate the higher classes and change their life as well as social status.⁶

To those few belonged Marcin Wadowita, born in Wadowice, a small town (oppidum) on the Skawa River along the Małopolska-Silesia border located about 40 km from Kraków and populated by several hundred inhabitants. His home town appeared in history in the years 1325 – 1327 as a parish and town belonging to the Oświęcim duchy, which later became the fiefdom of the Bohemian Crown as a result of homage paid by the Piast Duke, Jan the Scholastic, in 1327.⁷ Since 1430, Wadowice enjoyed the Chełmno Law,⁸ and in 1445, it was incorporated in the newly established Zator duchy. Similarly to the Oświęcim duchy, in the 15th century, the Zator duchy was also the fiefdom of rulers from the Jagiellon Dynasty.⁹ Finally, in the years 1563 – 1564, both duchies were incorporated into Poland with the right of exclusive usage of Polish in this area.¹⁰ This happened several years before the birth of Marcin Wadowita.

One would be exaggerating only slightly if one stated that the career of Marcin Wadowita brought to mind the famous American dream: from bootblack to millionaire. He started as a swineherd and died as a renowned professor of theology, universally respected and relatively rich, whose fame reached even to the Holy See. Legend has it that his funeral was attended by the whole of Kraków, and he was remembered by the Poles at the time of national bondage. In 1829, Eustachy Marylski wrote about him: „In his time, he was famous as a learned philosopher and theologian. Everyone loved him for his chaste manners, and thus his demise filled all of Kraków with grief, and the inhabitants came in great numbers to offer him the last funeral service“.¹¹ Wadowita is frequently referred to in literature on the subject in annotations to other discourses, but researchers have not shown him any wider interest yet. There are but a few articles about him,¹² and no monograph has been written; thus, he is barely recognised by Polish researchers and practically unknown to foreigners.

Marcin Wadowita, also known as Kępa (Campius), was born as the son of the Wadowice councillor, Mateusz Kępa, probably circa 1570. The date of 1567 previously quoted by literature on the subject is purely hypothetical. On the basis of historical sources, we cannot determine anything other than the fact that the professor died on the 27th of January 1641 at the approximate age of 70-80. The epitaph mentioned that the academic had been about 80 at the time of death. On the other hand, the inscription in the 17th century portrait of the professor hanging in the Collegium Maius Hall states that he ended his life being 71 years old, but with the false date of the 7th of July 1658 (M. Martinus Campius Vadovius S. Theologiae Doctor et Professor Universitatis Crac[oviensis], Ecclesiae Collegiatae ad S. Florianum Prepositus, Virtute et Sapientia clarus. Obijt A.D. 1658. Die 7. Julij Etatis suae Anno Septuagesimo primo)¹³. Andrzej Komoniewski, the 18th century voivode of Żywiec, quoted correctly Wadowita's date of death and clearly stated that he had died as a 74-year-old, which leads one to 1567 as the date of his birth that is most frequently encountered in literature.¹⁴ At any rate, his father's

6 URUSZCZAK, W. Zasady ustrojowe Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. In *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, 60, 2008, 2, 125-156; MACISZEWSKI, J. *Szlachta polska i jej państwo*. Warszawa 1969; WYCZAŃSKI, A. *Polska Rzeczpospolita szlachecką*. Warszawa 1965.

7 Acta Camerae Apostolicae vol. I. Ed. Ptaśnik, J. In *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 1. Cracoviae 1913, 130, 139; *Lehns-und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens und seiner einzelnen Fürstentümer in Mittelalter II*. Eds. Grünhagen, C. – Markgraf, H. Leipzig 1883, 1, 577.

8 *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich II*. Eds. Kuraś, S. – Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, I. Wrocław 1963, 429.

9 PROKOP, K. R. *Księstwa oświęcimskie i zatorskie wobec Korony Polskiej w latach 1438 – 1513. Dzieje polityczne*. Kraków 2002.

10 *Volumina legum III*. Ed. Ohryzko, J. St. Petersburg; Warszawa 1859, 1952, 288.

11 MARYLSKI, E. *Wspomnienia zgonu zasłużonych w narodzie Polaków*. Warszawa 1829, 21; see also: KRZYŻANOWSKI, A. *Dawna Polska. Ze stanowiska jej udziału w dziejach postępującej ludzkości skreślona w jubileuszowym Mikołaja Kopernika roku 1843*. Warszawa 1844, 404.

12 BABIRARZ, G. Pisma teologiczne Marcina Wadowity. In *Wadowice – siedem wieków historii*. Ed. Graff, T. Kraków 2009, 91-102; GRAFF, T. Marcin Wadowita - wybacwa arianina Fausta Socyna: portret miłosiernego profesora w dobie srebrnego wieku. In *Miłosierdzie – teoria i praktyka życiowa*. Eds. Nowakowski, P. - Szymborski, W. Kraków 2009, 281-295; GRAFF, T. Intelktualiści w otoczeniu Marcina Wadowity. In *Wadowice – siedem wieków historii*. Kraków 2009, 67-90; GRAFF, T. Wadowiczanie w Krakowie. Kariera akademicka i kościelna Marcina Wadowity i jego poprzedników. In *Analecta Cracoviensia*, 43, 2011, 85-97; GRAFF, T. O zapomnianym wadowiczanie, nieznanym portrecie Marcina Wadowity i wadowickim pochówku księżniczki piastowskiej. In *Wadoviana*, 14, 2011, 189-201; PŁASZCZYCA, M. Wadowiczanie akademikiem. Marcin Campius, zwany Wadowitą (1567 – 1641), profesor Akademii Krakowskiej. In *Universitate Collegii Maioris Professor*, 11-15; STROJNY, A. Portret Marcina Wadowity (ok. 1567 – 1641). Przyczynek do biografii profesora. In *Wadoviana*, 2, 1998, 21-30; WANAT, B. J. Marcin (Campius) Wadowita (1567 – 1541). In *Złota Księga Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej*. Ed. Piech, S. Kraków 2000, 250-254; WANAT, B. J. Marcin Wadowita (1567-1641). In *Wadoviana*, 5, 2000, 92-99.

13 *Nowożytny portrety profesorów Akademii Krakowskiej w zbiorach Collegium Maius*. Ed. Jasińska, A. Kraków 2010, 150-158.

14 *Dziejopis Żywiecki Andrzeja Komoniewskiego*. Żywiec 2005, 175.

position must have helped the young man from Wadowice to enrol in studies and might have guaranteed the financial support of the town council at the time of university studies. This is also indicated by the fact that, thanks to the Wadowice mayor and town council, during his first years in Kraków, Wadowita received the altar benefice of St. Anne (and St. Nicholas) in Wadowice, which he gave up only in 1598.¹⁵ The income from this benefice made it easier for him to support himself in Kraków. Andrzej Komoniecki gave a different account of the early career of the young Wadowice inhabitant, which, if one believes it, sheds some light as to the real reasons of Wadowita's enrolment in studies in Kraków. According to the local historiographer, the father of the future academic told him to tend the swine, and when one of them escaped, he decided to flee to Kraków, fearing his father's wrath. In the original, this account goes as follows: „In his youth, the parents assigned [Wadowita] to work as a swineherd, and since a wolf took one hog from him, fearing his parents, he went to Kraków to study and studied so well that he achieved wisdom. He said about himself: *si non iste porcus, non esset Wadowita doctus* [Had it not been for a hog, Wadowita would not have become educated]. He was a man of coarse speech and manners, but also of high learning.“¹⁶ Komoniecki emphasised that Wadowita belonged to the best known inhabitants being born in his homeland. He stated that „Oświęcim was famous for the castle, Zator for sejmik (local parliament) and Kęty for Saint Cantius and marketplaces, while Wadowice can boast of the wise Wadowita and Żywiec of the vast country and illustrious tower.“¹⁷

Wadowita took the matriculation act in 1583 in the summer semester lasting from April to October. The Rector then was Jan of Wieliczka, professor of holy theology. According to *Album Studiosorum*, a total of 114 students, including Wadowita, enrolled in studies in this semester. The entry about Marcin ran as follows: *Martinus Matthaei de Wadowicze dioc. Cracoviensis gr. 3* which could be translated as: „Marcin, son of Mateusz of Wadowice, from the Kraków diocese, paid 3 groszy.“¹⁸ This indicates that Wadowita did not pay the whole enrolment fee of 8 groszy, which happened occasionally. The students that enrolled to the same semester as Wadowita usually paid 3 groszy, while only a few people paid the whole fee. Wadowita was only the sixth student from Wadowice, counting from the revival of Kraków Academy in 1400. Before Marcin's enrolment, the last student from Wadowice was Erazm, son of Mikołaj, who enrolled in the summer semester of 1533 at the time of Jakub of Arciszewo's rectorate, paying the entire enrolment fee, i.e. 8 grosz.¹⁹ It is worth noting that in the first 150 years after the Academy's revival, the leading urban centres of the Oświęcim and Zator duchies, i.e. Oświęcim, Zator, Kęty and Żywiec, delivered 29, 40, 24 and 11 students respectively to the Kraków University.²⁰

Wadowita spent the first years of his studies as a Franciscan seminarist, or at least he was confirmed as such in 1586.²¹ In the same year, King Stefan Batory died, and a year later, Kraków was besieged by the troops of Archduke Maximilian Habsburg and then witnessed the coronation celebrations for the new king, Sigismund III Vasa who was crowned by Primate Stanisław Karnkowski on the 27th of December. Wadowita most likely witnessed these events and must have seen the entrance of the young Swedish prince to the capital with his own eyes and admired a Kraków that was beautifully decorated for this occasion.²² The young Wadowita was undoubtedly formed by the intellectual climate of the capital. Szymon Starowolski was proud to write about Kraków at the time:

15 RAJMAN, J. Średniowieczne Wadowice na tle osadnictwa nad Skawą i Wieprzanką. In *Wadowice. Studia z dziejów miasta*. Ed. Nowakowski, A. Wadowice 1997, 51.

16 *Dziejopis Żywiecki...*, 175. See also: *Jagiellonian Library* (BJ) MS 3410, 157; BJ, MS 5944, 2, 191.

17 *Dziejopis Żywiecki...*, 6.

18 *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis, vol. III (1551 – 1606)*. Ed. Chmiel, A. Cracoviae 1904, 133.

19 *Metryka czyli album Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1509 – 1551*. Eds. Gąsiorowski, A. - Jurek, T. - Skierska, I. - Grzesik, R. Warszawa 2010, 181[1533e/005].

20 *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400 – 1508, 1-2*. Eds. Gąsiorowski, A. - Jurek, T. - Skierska, I. - Grzesik, R. Kraków 2004; *Metryka czyli album Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1509 – 1551*.

21 Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie, *Acta Officialia* 109, 625.

22 WISNER, H. *Zygmunt III Waza*. Wrocław 2006, 28-33.

„Perhaps someplace else professors had greater wealth, the students manifested their gratefulness more, their work was better recognised and the access to honours due to merits easier, but here the examples of piety and reverent life were more numerous, moderation and humility showed greater assiduity, the discipline was stricter and the poverty more cheerful, work on the education of the youth was more singular, the fruit of virtue and knowledge richer and fame greater. Not to cause envy, I would say that foreigners coming to us from a distance name Kraków as the centre of elegance, the house of science, the Academy of the Sarmatian World and the fair of learning.“²³

Marcin won his Magisterium Artium in 1590. Thus, he became the first student from Wadowice to complete studies with this degree.²⁴ From then on, his academic and church career made rapid progress. One could even say that he collected subsequent benefices. From 1597, he was a member of the chapter of St. Florian's Collegiate Church, where he performed the honourable function of provost. In 1603, he became the canon of St. Anne's Collegiate Church. His epitaph states that he was also the Opatowiec rector and cathedral preacher. As far as his academic career is concerned, after obtaining a master's degree, he became a lecturer in Collegium Minus and a lecturer in Włocławek. In addition, he started theological studies in Collegium Maius and acted as the senior of the Jurist College from 1598.²⁵ Two years later, he was accepted to perform the prestigious function of Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy.²⁶ In 1602, he received diaconate and presbyterate orders, and he took the examinations preceding the orders with Professor Jan Barski.²⁷ In 1603, he was a bachelor in theology, and a year later, he became known as professor of the Faculty of Theology.²⁸ His career gained momentum thanks to the protection of the Bishop of Kraków, Piotr Tylicki, who enabled Wadowita to go for further studies in Italy. He studied in Padua and Rome. The Register of the Padua Academy contains a reference about Master Martinus Campius Vadovius saying „contulit unum ung” with annotation in a different hand-writing: Post in Universitate Cracoviens. theologus Mortuus 1641 27 ianuarii.²⁹ His abilities are confirmed by the fact that he was to be honoured with preaching at the recollections in front of Pope Clement VIII, who, delighted and slightly amused by the behaviour of his guest from the distant Poland, supposedly shouted: In Vadovio eruditio angelica, vox diabolica et mores rusticani,³⁰ which can be translated as follows: „Wadowita has an angel's erudition, a devil's voice and a peasant's manners.“ Marcin finished his foreign education with a doctor's degree at the Jesuit Roman College, which gave him some problems after returning to his homeland with regard to its validation. It is generally known that at that time, the Kraków Academy was in conflict with the Jesuit Order, favoured by Sigismund III, because the Jesuit educational system threatened the monopoly of the old university. Therefore, the Kraków professors saw the Jesuits as competition that should be ruthlessly opposed. Wadowita perfectly adopted this attitude of the academics as his own and, together with his colleagues, frequently opposed the Jesuits. To this end, he travelled as the Academy's delegate, for example, to Poznań to protest against attempts to establish a Jesuit academy there and to Warsaw to take part in the Sejm. From that time comes a funny anecdote, according to which he was to shout resoundingly right into the ear of a Jesuit sitting in a church pew who did not notice his arrival: „Retreat Jesuit, here sits Wadowita!“³¹ In 1620, Stanisław Zakrzewski, regular canon and Jesuit defender, reproached him for his anti-Jesuit attitude, claiming that „your famous theologian, Father Wadowita, attended theological lessons with the Jesuits in Rome for two years.“³² Finally, the conflict between

23 STAROWOLSKI, Sz. *Pochwała Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego za cnotę, pobożność i naukę*. Kraków 1639; translated by LEWANDOWSKI, I. *Szymon Starowolski, Wybór Pism I*. Wrocław 1991, 353.

24 BJ, MS 252 (in 1590); MUCKOWSKI, J. *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate Studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*. Cracoviae 1849, 237-238.

25 GRAFF, T. *Marcin Wadowita - wybawca...*, 290; GRAFF, T. *Wadowiczanie w Krakowi...*, 292.

26 MUCZKOWSKI, J. *Statuta nec non liber...*, 255.

27 *Księgi egzaminów do święceń w diecezji krakowskiej z lat 1573 – 1614*. Ed. Pietrzyk, Z. Kraków 1991, 14-15, 48. See n. 3481 (Marcin Wadowita).

28 WANAT, B. J. *Marcin Wadowita...*, 93.

29 *Metryka Nacji Polskiej w Uniwersytecie Padewskim (1592 – 1745)*. In *Archiwum Nacji Polskiej w Uniwersytecie Padewskim, vol. I*. Eds. Barycz, H. – Targosz, K. Wrocław 1971, 416, 411.

30 BJ, MS 3410, 157. According to *Dziejopis Żywiecki Andrzeja Komonieckiego*. In *Vadovio ars angelica, vox diabolica, mores rusticani*, 176.

31 BJ, MS 5944, 192.

32 WANAT, B. J. *Marcin Wadowita...*, 93.

the Kraków professors and the Jesuits was settled at the Crown Sejm in 1633 in the presence of Marcin Wadowita. The sentence stated that „The Jesuit schools should be closed“, which obviously did not hinder the development of the Jesuit educational system throughout Poland.³³

As a well-known theologian, Wadowita was also famous for the fact that in 1608, one of his students was the future king, Władysław IV Vasa.³⁴ Other honours were vested in the professor over the following decades. In the years 1618 – 1636, he repeatedly acted as dean of the most prestigious Faculty of Theology, and in 1636, he was named the Deputy Chancellor of the university and the Chancellor of the Bishop's Curia for Bishop Jakub Zadzik.³⁵ Twenty printed academic works list him as chairing the discussion. Wadowita,³⁶ together with Adam of Opatów, is considered as the most distinguished theologian working at the Kraków university under the rule of the House of Vasa. We know of ten theological treatises of his authorship, which have been recently discussed by Father Grzegorz Babiarczyk:

1. *Quaestio de Incarnatione a Martino Campio Vadovio, Theologo ordinario publice in Alma Academia Cracoviensi, die 11 Decembris ad disputandum proposita ... Cracoviae, Anno Domini 1603.*

Title translation: „Question of the Mystery of Divine Incarnation“

2. *Quaestio de Christi merito a ... publice in Alma Academia Cracoviensi, die 1 Aprilis ad disputandum proposita..., Cracoviae, In Officina Jacobi Sibeneycher, Anno Domini 1604.*

Title translation: „Question of the Merits of the Christ“

3. *Quaestio de Divina voluntate et radice continentiae a ... publice in alma Academia Cracoviensi die ... Julii ad disputandum proposita ..., Cracoviae apud Viduam Jacobi Sibeneycher, Anno Domini 1608.*

Title translation: „Question of God's Will and the Basis for Moderation“

4. *Quaestio de hypostasi aeternae felicitatis primoque medio salutis, interno actu fidei a ... publice in alma Academia Cracoviensi ad disputandum proposita. Pro loco inter doctores S. Th. assequendo. Chronosticon doctorum quando Vadovius ornat (1616).*

Title translation: „Question of the Foundation of Eternal Happiness and the First Means of Salvation Being the Internal Act of Faith“ with an annotation placed on the overleaf: *Disputabitur In lectorio theologorum ... 16 martii – (the year was amended to 1617).*

5. *Quaestio de merito Christi... Cracoviae 1620.*

Title translation: „Question of the Merits of the Christ“

6. *Disputatio de evidentia misterii. Cracoviae 1622.*

Title translation: „Dispute on the Evidence of Mystery“

7. *Quaestio de divinissimo Ss. Eucharistiae Sacramento ..., Cracoviae 1626.*

Title translation: „Question of the Most Divine Sacrament of the Eucharist“

8. *Quaestio de invenienda, cognoscenda et discernenda vera Christi in terris Ecclesia a... Martino Campio Vadovio s. Theologiae doctore ac professore, nec non in alma Universitate Crac. procancelario et ad s. Florianum praeposito ..., Anno 1636 mense Januario, die hora 15, in lectorio DD. Theologorum.*

Title translation: „Question of Finding, Recognising and Distinguishing the True Church of Christ on Earth“

9. *Quaestio de visione beata ... proponenda ad” disputandum ab..., Cracoviae 1638 ex Officina Typogr. Francisci Caesarii.*

Title translation: „Question of the Joy-Bringing Vision of Saints in Heaven“

10. *Questio theologica de merito bonorum iusti operum ab... Martino Campio Vadovio s. Florianum praeposito, Almae Universitatis Cracviensis Vicecancellario, Sacrae Theologiae Facultatis Decano ... Anno Domini, 1638, mensis Decembris, die 13 hora 15, in lectorio DD. Theologorum.*

33 ZATĘSKI, S. *Jezuici w Polsce* vol. 2. Lwów 1901, 330.

34 BJ, MS 261(5 IX 1608).

35 *Nowożytny portrety profesorów...*, 154.

36 WYCZAWSKI, H. E. Wadowita Campius (Vadovius) Marcin (1567 – 1541). In *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich* vol. 4. Warszawa 1983, 375.

Title translation: „On the Merits of the Good through Just Deeds“³⁷

According to Father G. Babiarez, „the chronological presentation of selected works by Marcin Wadowita allows one to observe his intellectual development. As time went by, he addressed more and more difficult questions and headed from the interpretation of Catholic teachings to apology. He understood it as a service to truth and based his thought on a positive attitude towards his interlocutors. For this theologian, truth was existential and not purely intellectual. It was realised through existence in a specific direction and a certain way of addressing oneself. This is how he understood God as the highest truth that spreads through love [...]. The synthesis of truth and love is the person of Christ, and the identification of truth about Him is the absolute foundation for solving other theological issues. The above-mentioned dyad can be applied to the evaluation of earthly reality. In order to confirm their affinity with God, man has to take part in grace through cognition and conduct. This is manifested in individual deeds, formation of the Church and visions of the saved.“³⁸ It is worth emphasising that Wadowita dedicated his works to the influential members of the Church: Tyniec abbots, Mikołaj Mielecki and Stanisław Sułowski, as well as the Archbishop of Gniezno, Wawrzyniec Gembicki. Wadowita ended most of his works with the following annotation: To the glory of God, benefit of the Church and fame of the Academy.³⁹

The hero of this article frequently appeared in the preserved records of the Rector's Court. For instance, he complained about the offensive words of Master Franciszek Bogucki.⁴⁰ There are also some references to the books borrowed by him from the Collegium Maius library.⁴¹ In St. Florian's Collegiate Church, he was known as a living library. A treasury inventory can be found there, as well as files on the chapter of St. Florian's Collegiate Church dated at the time of his provostry.⁴² He liked to mock the honours paid to him by other people. One day, hearing some courteous words spoken by his host, he supposedly said, pointing to his professor's outfit: Thank you, Mr. Velvet: here's some for you and not Wadowita.⁴³ He was friends with Professor Tomasz Eustachy Swinarski, a lawyer, who earned his Master of Arts degree with Wadowita in 1590. In the preserved collection of copies of letters by Swinarski, one can find those written to Wadowita. The friends corresponded for several dozen years, or at least in the period from 1590 to 1635. The collection contains many previously unknown details from the life of the Academy and the Kraków intellectual milieu, as well as Swinarski's personal affairs and request for prayer.⁴⁴ What is interesting is that Swinarski rejoices over the new titles achieved by Wadowita. For instance, one can observe this in 1590 when he calls him Master of Arts for the first time⁴⁵ or when he first refers to Marcin as the provost of St. Florian in 1628.⁴⁶ Another point of interest is the extended titles of Wadowita used in one of the last letters from Swinarski dated on the 31st of March 1634: Admodum Rndō Dno Martino Campio Vadovio S. Th. D. Et. Professori apud Diuum Florianum Clepar. preposito etc. collego et amico antiquissimo.⁴⁷ Undoubtedly, Marcin Wadowita's position caused that it was worth soliciting his favour. This was done, for example, by Franciszek Zygmunt Gdowski, Carmelite and university professor, who dedicated a poem in his 1621 work entitled: *Theoremata Theologica, de Scientia Dei. Ex prima parte Angelici Doctoris deprompta* to the academic, calling Marcin his preceptor and guardian. One can also see here the alleged coat of arms of Wadowita, featuring three hills with a star dominating above them.⁴⁸

In the last part of this article, we would like to point to the events in the life of this Catholic theologian that depict him as a man open and merciful towards the advocates of reformation. It is well

37 BABIARZ, G. *Pisma teologiczne Marcina Wadowity...*, 94-96.

38 Ibidem, 102.

39 Ibidem, 91-92.

40 Jagiellonian University Archives (AUJ), MS 18, 195.

41 BJ, MS 242, 53.

42 AUJ, MS 172, 174.

43 BJ, MS 5944, 192.

44 BJ, MS 2501, 398.

45 BJ, MS 2501, 129-130, 132-133, 177-178.

46 BJ, MS 2501, 5067.

47 BJ, MS 2501, 6015-6019.

48 GDOWSKI, F. S. *Theoremata Theologica, de Scientia Dei. Ex prima parte Angelici Doctoris deprompta*. Cracoviae MDCXXI (1621).

known that in 1591, it was Wadowita who dared to discuss the works of the Transylvanian reformer Johannes Honter within the walls of the conservative Kraków university. He also stood up for the Calvinist goldsmiths who were falsely accused by Jakub Szczygielski.⁴⁹ Professor Wadowita's most famous appearance defending a heretic involved saving the life of Fausto Sozzini, an Arian, who fled to Poland fearing the Italian inquisition.⁵⁰ In 1594, the servants of Kasper Wiernek forced Sozzini to kneel on a Kraków street and rubbed mud in his face for making their lord's father abandon Catholicism.⁵¹ Four years later, Sozzini was at death's door. Students dragged the old man from his bed at the time of his illness and led him through the streets of Kraków, putting a sword to his neck and burning his books. They threatened that if he did not revoke his views, he would be burnt at the stake. It is said that Sozzini answered bravely: „I shall not revoke what I have been, am and will be thanks to the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and you do what God permits you.“ The whole situation would most likely have ended with the drowning of the Arian theologian in the nearby Vistula River had it not been for the intervention of Marcin Wadowita and other academics. Wadowita offered him his own room and gave him the keys. Finally, under the cover of a storm that scattered the students, Sozzini managed to escape to Igołomia.⁵² There is a beautiful letter in which he thanked Marcin for saving his life. At the same time, the Arian defended his views and condemned those who treated him so violently and, additionally, burned his priceless manuscripts. He called them slanderers and fools. He was amazed that they would not listen to his arguments. In the end, he addressed the professor with these words: „May you always be certain that I will remember how much I owe you and them and, wherever I can, I will most happily preach and testify to this with my word and deed. Be well, most excellent man, and love me as your friend.“⁵³ This letter is not the only trace of Wadowita's contacts with Sozzini. It is known that they were discussing theological issues personally or by letters. For instance, they deliberated on a fragment of the Book of Genesis (3:15). In his letter to Mateusz Radecki, Sozzini wondered why Wadowita did not agree with his views, since he explained them repeatedly to him and others.⁵⁴ It seems that, on the one hand, Marcin Wadowita opposed the injustice suffered by the representatives of reformation in Poland, but, on the other hand, he was a professor of theology at the Kraków university, guarded the Catholic dogmas, which hugely irritated Sozzini. In any case, while carefully reading the above-mentioned theological treatises by Wadowita, one can see that he decisively condemned reformation and strongly criticised the views of such people as John Calvin (*De merito bonorum, Conclusio II, corollaria 3*).

To end our discussion, we should look at Marcin Wadowita's will, prepared a few days before his death, which took place on the 27th of January 1641.⁵⁵

Wadowita left the townhouse in Mikołajska Street to the Kraków Carmelites from Piasek. Other books presented by the Kraków professors to the Carmelites included Marcin's donation.⁵⁶ The monks remembered Wadowita's merits to the convent, which is today testified to by the professor's portrait hanging in the cloister of this monastery with the surrounding inscription: *M. Martinus Campius Vadovius S. Th. D. Praepositus S. Floria[ni] Studiorum Fundator in hoc Caenobio.*⁵⁷ Another donation made by Wadowita was 8,000 florins assigned for various pious foundations, charities and funeral purposes. He also cared for young people from his hometown of Wadowice and assigned 3,000 zlotys for a scholarship fund for studying youth related to him. Should it happen in the future that there

49 AUJ, MS 18, 561.

50 SZCZUCKI, L. *Humaniści, heretycy, inkwizytorzy. Studia z dziejów kultury XVI i XVII w...* Kraków 2006, 175-187.

51 *Faust Socyn, Listy vol. 2.* Ed. Chmaj, L. Warszawa 1959, 155.

52 *Ibidem*, vol. 1, 316-318.

53 *Ibidem*, vol. 2, 207-214.

54 *Ibidem*, 263.

55 AUJ, pap. 4161, 4162-4165, 4166, 4283, 4285, 4287-4289, 4291; MS 115, 90; MS A I 15, 364; MS 162, *Regestrum pro borcana seu eleemesyna Vadoviana ad 1684 ad a. 1780*; MS 246, 98-103; State Archive in Cracow, *Castrensia Cracoviensia*, 253, 462; BJ, MS 3316, 260-263; MS 5944, vol. 2, 192-193; The Priory of Carmelite Friars in Cracow, Na Piasku. The Archive of the Province and Priory and the Library - Akta Klasztoru OO. Karmelitów „Na Piasku” in Cracow (AKKr), 646/237, 211-213; MICHAŁEWICZ, J. - MICHAŁEWICZOWA, M. *Liber beneficiorum et benefactorum Universitatis Iagellonicae in saeculis XV-XVIII*, t. 1. Kraków 1999, 377-378, 689, 691.

56 SUŁECKI, S. Profesorskie dary na rzecz biblioteki karmelitów na Piasku w Krakowie. *In Alma Mater*, 87-88, 2006 - 2007, 24-25.

57 GRAFF, T. *Wadowiczanie w Krakowie...*, 294-296.

were none, the support was to be granted simply to the other young inhabitants of Wadowice, and if these were missing, then to other young people from Poland. The patronage rights of this foundation belonged to Collegium Maius of the Kraków university, and the administrator was to be selected from the group of academics by the chapter of St. Florian's Collegiate Church. The scholarship book of this foundation for the years 1684 – 1780, the so-called Borcana Vadoviana, and the 1724 paper code with annotation about the professor's foundation have been preserved to the present day.⁵⁸ He also founded a hospital and a school in Wadowice. Furthermore, he provided for the organisation and support of the church choir in St. Florian's Collegiate Church, assigning 3,000 zlotys to this end.

Unfortunately, the epitaph plaque in St. Florian's Church in Kraków, where he was buried, did not survive, but we can learn its contents from the 17th century work by Szymon Starowolski entitled: *Monumenta Sarmatarum*:

M. Martinus Campius Vadovius Sacrae Theologiae Doctor ac Professor, Istius Ecclesiae Praepositus. In Ecclesia Cathedrali Cracovien. D. N. B. V. M. Festivatum Concionator, Academiae Cracoviensis Procancellarius, Parochus Opatovecensis, Philosophus et Theologus insignis. Candore amabilis, Magnorum in Ecclesia et Academia virorum Praeceptor. Bonorum ingeniorum promotor, Professionibus philosophica et theologica ultra 50 annos gloriose functus. Foundationibus pro Ministris istius Ecclesiae et pauperibus studiosis ex suo demenso relictis, ab hac moralitate cum magna praeparatione emigravit Anno Domini 1641. Die Ianuarij 28. Suae aetatis circiter octuagesimo. Hic in Domino quiescit.⁵⁹

The figure of this theologian undoubtedly needs extensive research in the context of his relations with the university milieu, the Kraków Church milieu and his hometown. What also needs to be further examined is Wadowita's public activity in defence of the Academy in its dispute with the Jesuits, as well as many other aspects of his life, such as his activity as a cathedral preacher. Wadowita is an example of one of the most distinguished professors of the Kraków Academy under the rule of the House of Vasa, whose diverse biography stills holds many secrets and undiscovered areas for historians.

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58 AUJ, MS 162; MS 115 (vol.3), 90.

59 STAROWOLSKI, S. *Monumenta Sarmatarum viam universae carnis ingressorum*. Cracoviae 1655, 175.

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SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE DOMINICAN STUDIUM GENERALE IN KRAKÓW (16TH – 18TH CENTURIES). RESEARCH STATUS AND PROSPECTS ¹

Wiktor Szymborski

The text below presents a short description of selected key sources stored in the Archives of the Polish Dominican Province in Kraków relevant to the history of the Kraków studium generale in the modern era. To this end, the issue of research status will be indicated first, and comments about the most important sources will be presented later in the text. The paper will close with a list of research stipulations related to the suggested subject of research on the Dominican studium generale. The chronological framework of this analysis was narrowed down to the period from the 16th to the 17th century. While the first caesura clearly stems from the status of research on this subject, the adoption of the year 1700 as the end of the discussed period results from the establishment of another studium generale of the Order in the Polish Dominican Province in Warsaw.²

Research on monastic circles enjoys constant interest on the part of scientists: the issues related to economy, settlement, intellectual culture and history of education are analysed, and a particularly valuable contribution involves materials from the conferences organised under the auspices of Prof. dr hab. Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz and Prof. dr hab. Marek Derwich. The works of Jerzy Flaga³ and Henryk Gapski⁴ on the Kraków monastic circles are also worth noting. On the other hand, one can note a considerable drop in researchers' interest in the history of the Dominican monastery in the modern era, as they tend to discuss the issue of the location and early history of this Order.⁵ This tendency

1 I would like to express my thanks to Father Tomasz Gałuszka OP for his valuable help and Father Marek Miławicki OP and Father Ireneusz Wysokiński for help with regard to the collections of the Dominican Archive in Kraków.

2 ŚWIETOCHOWSKI, R. Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów. In *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce II : Od odrodzenia do oświecenia, cz. 2 teologia neoscholastyczna i jej rozwój w akademiach i szkołach zakonnych*. Ed. Rechowicz, M. Lublin 1975, 252.

3 FLAGA, J. *Formacja i kształcenie duchowieństwa zakonnego w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII i XVIII wieku*. Lublin 1998; FLAGA, J. Uczyność zakonów w II połowie XVIII wieku. In *Christianitas et cultura Europae. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Jerzego Kłoczowskiego*. Eds. Gapski, H. Lublin 1998, 265 ff; FLAGA, J. Ankieta zakonna nuncjusza G. Garampiego z lat 1773/74 jako podstawa źródłowa do badań nad studiami zakonnymi i ich organizacją. In *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 36, 1989, 4, 35-44; FLAGA, J. Formacja kandydatów do zakonów w XVII i XVIII wieku. In *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 38, 1990, 2, 79-117; FLAGA, J. Z problematyki formacji intelektualnej kandydatów do zakonów w XVIII wieku. Organizacja i funkcjonowanie studiów retoryki. In *Zeszyty Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, 35, 1992, 1-2 (137-138), 62-84; FLAGA, J. Z problematyki funkcjonowania studiów zakonnych w XVII i XVIII w. In *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 39-40, 1991 – 1992, 2, 81-96; FLAGA, J. Organizacja zakonnych studiów filozoficzno-teologicznych w XVII i XVIII w. In *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 42, 1994, 2, 97-122; FLAGA, J. Sposób powoływania lektorów w studiach zakonnych w XVII i XVIII wieku oraz przysługujące im przywileje. In *Roczniki Teologiczne*, 42, 1995, 4, 43-63.

4 GAPSKI, H. Profesi dominikańscy konwentu krakowskiego w latach 1509 – 1650 (Na podstawie księgi profesji). In *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222 – 1972*. Ed. Kłoczowski, J. Warszawa 1975, 647-686; GAPSKI, H. *Rekrutacja do zakonów męskich w Polsce w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku na przykładzie krakowskiego ośrodka zakonnego*. Lublin 1987; GAPSKI, H. *Klasztory krakowskie w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII w. Analiza przestrzenna środowisk zakonnych*. Lublin 1993.

5 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Wspólnoty zakonne w średniowiecznej Polsce*. Lublin 2010; see also works of: SPIEŻ, J. A. Badania nad przeszłością dominikanów w średniowiecznej Polsce. Próba bilansu. In *Dzieje dominikanów w Polsce XIII – XVIII wiek. Historiografia i warsztat badawczy historyka*. Eds. Gapski, H. – Kłoczowski, J. – Spież, J. A. Lublin 2006, 27-51; GAPSKI, H. Badania nad przeszłością dominikanów w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Próba bilansu. In *Dzieje dominikanów w Polsce XIII – XVIII wiek. Historiografia i warsztat badawczy historyka*. Eds. Gapski, H. – Kłoczowski, J. – Spież, J. A. Lublin 2006, 53-69; KRUPA, P. Wykształcenie filozoficzne dominikanów polskich w XVIII stuleciu: „Theses ex universa philosophia” Ludwika de Mathy OP (1753). In *Dominikanie Gdańsk-Polska-Europa*. Eds. Dekański, D. – Gołębniak, A. – Grubka, M. Gdańsk; Pelplin 2003, 90; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Zakonnicy dominikańscy 1772 – 1971/2*. Lublin 1973, 77-82; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Rozwój dominikanów w państwie polsko-litewskim w XVII – XVIII wieku*

can also be observed in the research conducted on the history of the monastic system of education.⁶ The functioning of the Kraków studium generale in the Middle Ages was the subject of many valuable studies by Krzysztof Kaczmarek⁷, Maciej Zdanek⁸, Jerzy Kłoczowski⁹, Paweł Kielar OP¹⁰, Jerzy B. Korolec¹¹ and Waclaw Bucichowski¹², to name only the most noteworthy. The same applies to researchers from Western Europe, who focus on the early history of the Order.¹³

So far, the modern history of the studium has not been subject to any broad analysis: the greatest attention was paid to it by Robert Świętochowski OP¹⁴, and there are some references to it in the course of preparation of synthetic papers on the education of the clergy in the Republic of Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries. As far as works discussing the issues related to monastic circles are concerned, one can observe a clear domination of publications depicting their early history¹⁵. A query about literature dedicated to the Dominican Order indicates that researchers focused their attention on the studies undertaken in the modern era by the Dominicans at universities (studies published

19. Lublin 1971, 70-76; GÓRSKI, K. *Dzieje życia wewnętrznego dominikanów polskich w XVI – XVIII wieku (problematyka i źródła)*. Lublin 1972, 76-84; ŚWIETOCHOWSKI, R. *Źródła do dziejów nowożytnych Zakonu Kaznodziejów w Polsce*. Lublin 1970, 84-91; KIELAR, P. *Dominikanie śląscy w okresie reformacji*. Lublin 1970, 91-99; STOLARSKI, P. *Friars on the Frontier. Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594 – 1648*. Burlington 2010, 217-251.

6 KACZMAREK, K. Wokół historiograficznych sporów o początki dominikańskiego studium generalnego w Krakowie. In *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 16, 2010, 13-24; TUREK, J. Regens krakowski Jan z Soboru Pizańskiego w świetle dwóch traktatów Jana Falkenberga. In *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 16, 2010, 43-57; KACZMAREK, K. Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce. Stan i kierunki badań – głos w dyskusji. In *Dzieje dominikanów w Polsce XIII – XVIII wiek. Historiografia i warsztat badawczy historyka*. Eds. Gapski, H. – Kłoczowski, J. – Spież, J. A. Lublin 2006, 139-147; SPIEŻ, J. A. *Badania nad przeszłością dominikanów...*, 43-45; STOPKA, K. Szkoła zakonna w Polsce średniowiecznej jako problem badawczy. In *Klasztor w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*. Eds. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, A. – Derwich, M. Opole 1995, 52-54; ZAJCHOWSKA, A. Czy w dominikańskim Studium Generale w Krakowie urządzano otrzęsiny? *Collatio de beanis* w rękopisie LXV6 z Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie. In *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 16, 2010, 59-75.

7 KACZMAREK, K. *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza*. Poznań 2005; KACZMAREK, K. Od studenta do magistra. Jak długo trwały studia polskich dominikanów w XV wieku? In *Biuletyn Historii Wychowania* 1997, 1-2 (5-6), 10-21; KACZMAREK, K. Jeszcze o lektorach i studentach w średniowiecznej prowincji polskich dominikanów oraz ich szkołach w Krakowie i we Lwowie. In *Nasza Przeszłość*, 88, 1997, 59-89; KACZMAREK, K. Głos w dyskusji nad początkami studium generalnego dominikanów w Krakowie. In *Nasza Przeszłość*, 91, 1999, 77-100; KACZMAREK, K. Nekrolog Dominikanów Poznańskich. In *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 43, 2005, 125-128.

8 ZDANEK, M. *Szkoły i studia dominikanów krakowskich w średniowieczu*. Warszawa 2005; ZDANEK, M. Regensi dominikańskiego studium generalnego w Krakowie do 1596 r. In *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 16, 2010, 77-124.

9 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 231-335.

10 KIELAR, P. *Studia nad kulturą szkolną i intelektualną dominikanów prowincji polskiej w średniowieczu*. In *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222 – 1972*. Ed. Kłoczowski, J. Warszawa 1975, 271-517; KIELAR, P. Organizacja szkolnictwa dominikańskiego w XIV w. In *Studia philosophiae christianae. Półrocznik Akademii Teologii Katolickiej Wydział Filozofii Chrześcijańskiej*, 5, 1969, 1, 304-318.

11 KOROLEC, J. B. Studia nad szkolnictwem dominikańskim w Polsce. In *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222 – 1972*. I. Ed. Kłoczowski, J. Warszawa 1975, 517-543; KOROLEC, J. B. Lista lektorów dominikańskich prowincji polskiej w XIII – XIV wieku. In *Materiały i studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej*, II, 1962, 196-213; KOROLEC, J. B. Lista lektorów i szkół dominikańskich w Polsce XV w. In *Materiały i studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej*, IV, 1965, 276-334; KOROLEC, J. B. Struktura organizacyjna szkół dominikańskich. In *Materiały i studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej*, IX, 1968, 3-25; KOROLEC, J. B. Wstęp do badań nad życiem umysłowym dominikanów wrocławskich. In *Materiały i studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej*, VIII, XIX, 1974, 126-159; KOROLEC, J. B. Studium generale dominikanów klasztoru Świętej Trójcy w Krakowie. In *Dominikanie w środkowej Europie w XIII – XV wieku*. Eds. Kłoczowski, J. – Spież, J. A. Poznań 2002, 173-186.

12 BUCICHOWSKI, W. Lista lektorów dominikańskich prowincji polskiej od erygowana prowincji (1225) do roku 1525. In *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, VI-VII, 1997, 45-233.

13 MULCHAHEY, M. *“First the Bow is Bent in Study...”: Dominican Education before 1350*. Toronto 1998; *Studio e Studi: Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo : Atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale Assisi, 11-13 ottobre 2001*. Spoleto 2002; *Praedicatores/Doctores Lo Studium generale dei fratri Predicatori nella cultura bolognese tra il’200 e il’300 (39)*. Ed. R. Lambertini. Firenze 2008; BOYLE, L. E. Notes on the Education of the „Fratres communes” in the Dominican Order in the Thirteenth Century. In *Xenia medii aevi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli*. Eds. Creyten, R. – Künzle, P. Roma 1978, 249-267; HINNEBUSCH, W. A. *The History of the Dominican Order. Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*. Vol. 2. New York 1973; KACZMAREK, K. *Szkoły i studia polskich...*, 37-39.

14 ŚWIETOCHOWSKI, R. *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, 211-287; ŚWIETOCHOWSKI, R. – CHRUSZCZEWSKI, A. Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos: 1520 – 1800. In *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222 – 1972*. II. Ed. Kłoczowski, J. Warszawa 1975, 467-572; see also works on dominican prosopography written by Father ŚWIETOCHOWSKI, R. *Słownik biograficzny OO. Dominikanów w Polsce A-Z*. Kraków 1979, mszps w zbiorach Biblioteki dominikańskiej w Krakowie; see also KACZMAREK, K. *Szkoły i studia polskich...*, 45; MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus”. Regensi studium generalnego polskiej prowincji dominikanów w XVII w. In *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 16, 2010, 127-130; KACZMAREK, K. *Szkoły i studia polskich...*, 39-50; GAPSKI, H. *Badania nad przeszłością dominikanów...*, 61-62; OŻOG, K. Uwagi o potrzebach i perspektywach w zakresie badań nad dziejami dominikanów prowincji polskiej w średniowieczu ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ich kultury intelektualnej i duchowej. In *Dzieje dominikanów w Polsce XIII – XVIII wiek. Historiografia i warsztat badawczy historyka*. Eds. Gapski, H. – Kłoczowski, J. – Spież, J. A. Lublin 2006, 111; and further; WADOWSKI, J. A. *Kościół lubelskie na podstawie źródeł archiwalnych*. Kraków 1907, 283-293; JARSZEWSKI, S. *Dominikańscy przeorzy konwentu św. Stanisława B. M. w Lublinie 1582 – 1660*. Lublin 2001, 113-121.

15 See works written by A. Wróblewski published in „Przegląd Tomistyczny”; WRÓBLEWSKIEGO, A. Personel nauczycielski szkół dominikańskich prowincji litewskiej na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku. In *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 1, 1984, 335-365; WRÓBLEWSKIEGO, A. Nauczanie w średnich szkołach dominikańskich na Litwie na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku. In *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 3, 1987, 343-370.

in the „Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum“¹⁶, „Archivo Dominicano“¹⁷ and „Mémoire Dominicaine. Histoire-Documents-Vie dominicaine“¹⁸) and not on the depiction of monastic education or the prosopography of that period.¹⁹

A review of sources about the Kraków studium should start with printed publications, and key manuscript sources will be presented further in the text. The most important sources published in print include the records of general chapters.²⁰ On their basis, one can prepare a characteristic view of the educational system and the changes it was subject to, for example, at the beginning of the 14th and 15th centuries or later due to the actions of Sisto Fabri.²¹ Most importantly, the records of the chapters contain data about the number of masters or bachelors nominated for individual provinces, as well as assignation of lecturers and students to studiums generale.²² A reading of the records of general chapters will enable us to follow the nominations to the highest offices of the Kraków studium, i.e. regents and heads of the studium, as well as chief lecturers. However, it is worth remembering that a general chapter could resign from this right and transfer those competences to the provincial.²³ Thanks to the information included in the chapter records, it is possible to find the names of friars sent from individual provinces to further studies abroad.²⁴

The records of the Polish Province chapters are of equal importance, and the records published in print by Father Fabian Madura provide plenty of valuable information.²⁵ The collections of the library of the Kraków convent include typescripts of subsequent volumes of this publication with sub-

16 DE MEYER A. Fratres Praedicatorum in Universitate Lovaniensi. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 4, 1934, 271-278; VALLARO, S. I Domenicani in un documento antico dell'Università di Torino. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 6, 1936, 39-98; LÖHR, G. M. Die älteste Theologische Promotionsordnung der Kölner Universität. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 9, 1939, 214-222; LÖHR, G. M. Breslauer Dominikaner des 15. Jahrhunderts auf auswärtigen Hochschulen. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 13, 1943, 162-178; LÖHR, G. M. Die Dominikaner an der Universität Heidelberg. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 21, 1951, 272-293; LÖHR, G. M. Die Dominikane an der Ostdeutschen Universitäten Wittenberg, Frankfurt-Oder, Rostock und Greifswald. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 22, 1952, 294-316; LÖHR, G. M. Die Dominikaner an den Universitäten Erfurt und Mainz. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 23, 1953, 236-274; MERCIER, C. – TORAVEL, J. Les Dominicains du Collège Général Saint-Jacques à Paris de 1759 à 1790. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 40, 1970, 375-397; CREYTENS, R. Il registro dei maestri degli studenti dello studio domenicano di Bologna (1576 – 1604). In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 46, 1976, 25-114; O'CARROLL, M. The Educational organisation of the Dominicans in England and Wales 1221-1348: a multidisciplinary approach. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 50, 1980, 23-62; AIRAGHI, L. Studenti e professori di S. Eustorgio in Milano dalle origini del convento alla meta del XV secolo. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 54, 1984, 355-380; ZUTSHI, P. – OMBRES, R. The Dominicans in Cambridge 1238 – 1538. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 60, 1990, 313-373; VANDECASTEELE, M. A scholarly book collection claimed by the dominicans of Ghent (Flanders) in 1349. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 78, 2008, 31-49.

17 RODRIGUEZ-CRUZ, A. M. Dominicos en la Universidad de Salamanca. In *Archivo Dominicano*, 5, 1984, 91-118; RODRIGUEZ-CRUZ, A. M. Dominicos en la Universidad de Salamanca (I-2). In *Archivo Dominicano*, 6, 1985, 5-22; RODRIGUEZ-CRUZ, A. M. Dominicos en la Universidad de Salamanca (I-3). In *Archivo Dominicano*, 7, 1987, 49-58; MELCÓN, A. – BEUCHOT, M. Presencia Dominicana en la Universidad de México. In *Archivo Dominicano*, 10, 1989, 81-138; SÁNCHEZ, A. O. Las tercias de Valcuevo La Universidad de Salamanca y el Convento de San Esteban de poder a poder. In *Archivo Dominicano*, 21, 2000, 237-258; PALOMO IGLESIAS, C. Los Dominicos y su labor universitaria en Plesencia. Convento de San Vicente Ferrer. In *Archivo Dominicano*, 25, 2004, 20-35; RODRIGUEZ-CRUZ, A. M. Dominicos en la Universidad de Salamanca (I-4). In *Archivo Dominicano*, 127-136.

18 *Mémoire Dominicaine. Histoire-Documents-Vie dominicaine*, 3, 1993; Écoles et collèges; FARGE, J. K. Les Dominicains et la faculté de théologie de Paris. In *Mémoire Dominicaine. Histoire-Documents-Vie dominicaine*, 12, 1998, 1, 21-39; MULCHAHEY, M. Mémoire Dominicaine. Histoire-Documents-Vie dominicaine. In *Praedicatorum/Doctores Lo Studium generale dei fratri Predicatori nella cultura bolognese tra il'200 e il'300*, 38, 2008, 17-31.

19 *The English Dominican Province (1221 – 1921)*. London 1921; ANSTRUTHER, G. *A Hundred Homeless years, English Dominicans 1558 – 1658*. London 1958; LEVESQUE, J. d. *Les Frères Prêcheurs de Lyon, Notre Dame de Confort 1218 – 1789*. Lyon 1978; FENNING, H. *The Irish Dominican Province, 1698 – 1797*. Dublin 1990; FLYNN, T. S. *The Irish Dominicans 1536 – 1641*. Dublin 1993; ROSS, A. *Scottish Blackfriars in the seventeenth century*. Glasgow 1972.

20 *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum. Vol. IV ab anno 1501 usque ad annum 1553*. Ed. Frühwirth, A. Romae 1901; *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, vol. V ab anno 1558 usque ad annum 1603*. Ed. Frühwirth, A. Romae 1901; *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, vol. VI ab anno 1601 usque ad annum 1628*. Ed. Frühwirth, A. Romae 1902; *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, vol. VII ab anno 1629 usque ad annum 1656*. Ed. Frühwirth, A. Romae 1902; *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, vol. VIII ab anno 1670 usque ad annum 1721*. Ed. Frühwirth, A. Romae 1903.

21 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Kapituły Polskiej Prowincji Dominikańskiej w XVII wieku. In KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 431; and further; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Zakon dominikański i początki wyższego szkolnictwa na ziemiach polskich. In KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 237; KRUPA, P. *Wykształcenie filozoficzne...*, 91-92; see also STOPKA, K. *Szkoła zakonna...*, 56.

22 KACZMAREK, K. *Konwent dominikanów wrocławskich w późnym średniowieczu*. Poznań – Wrocław 2008, 154-155; KACZMAREK, K. *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza...*, 21-22.

23 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Studium generalne dominikanów w Krakowie w XV wieku. In KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 254-255; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Studia w polskiej prowincji...*, 265; and further; KACZMAREK, K. *Jeszcze o lektorach...*, 77, 79, 80.

24 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Zakon dominikański i początki...*, 246; see also BUKAŁA, M. Dominikanie wrocławscy jako studenci i wykładowcy studiów generalnych prowincji angielskiej w pierwszej połowie XV w. In *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, 55, 2000, 4, 557-558.

25 *Acta Capitulum Provinciae Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 1, 1225 – 1600. Ed. Madura, F. Roma 1972; SPIEŻ, J. A. *Badania nad przeszłością dominikanów...*, 31; in relation to this topic see also KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Klasztor dominikański w Lublinie w prowincji polskiej w XV – XVI stuleciu. In *Religie, edukacja, kultura. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Stanisławowi Litakowi*. Ed. Surdacki, M. Lublin 2002, 26-27; GAPSKI, H. *Badania nad przeszłością dominikanów...*, 56; ŚWIETOCHOWSKI, R. *Źródła do dziejów nowożytnych Zakonu Kaznodziejów...*, 86.

sequent chapter records that were compiled over the years by Father Madura.²⁶ In terms of research on the social composition of the studium generale, the entries in the above-mentioned records are of great importance, as they allow us to prepare a list of people nominated to various offices. As shown by the example of the preparation of the regents' catalogue, it is also possible to correct the fundamental manuscript source for the history of the studium generale, i.e. Liber studii. The weight and significance of the important source of chapter records are most emphatically manifested in the studies of Jerzy Kłoczowski, who, thanks to a careful reading of those records, formulated valuable conclusions about the organisation of studies in the Province, the care for increasing the level of education in the Kraków studium and the nominations of individual teachers.²⁷

As far as prosopographic studies are concerned, a reading of the province chapter records is of first-rate significance.²⁸ Their contents include information about the provincial and four definitors, and they also contained lists of Masters and, frequently, lists of Bachelors and general preachers.²⁹ Therefore, their analysis helps one to follow the changes taking place at individual offices, which enables the preparation of a description of the career of individual friars. The petitions entered in the chapter records also cannot be underestimated. They contain the lists of friars suggested for assuming scientific degrees with frequent detailed substantiation of their achievements and enumeration of completed studies. This section of the chapter records was gradually expanded to include, for example, petitions addressed to monastic authorities for the permission to print a book.³⁰ These records essentially complete a picture of the development of culture and science in the convent.

While discussing the sources for the history of the studium generale, one cannot obviously omit the key important documents of Dominican historiography³¹, i.e. the works of Abraham Bzowski and Michał Siejkowski. The findings of Father Sadok Barącz also did not lose their topicality.³²

The most vital part of manuscript sources for the history of the studium generale is stored in the Archives of the Polish Dominican Province in Kraków. Among these, particular attention should be paid to the manuscript entitled Liber Studii Generalis cracoviensis.³³ The entries of this manuscript are dated between 1519 and 1842.³⁴ However, one should remember that it was written in the 18th century, so the entries from this period are most reliable. Earlier entries come from notes whose origin cannot be clearly determined. For this reason, the codicological analysis of the codex continues to be a strong research stipulation.

The above-mentioned stipulation for the verification of entries in Liber studii can be executed thanks to the existence of a number of further sources supplementing the knowledge of the convent's functioning. The suggested prosopographic studies must include the book of professions.³⁵ The entry

26 *Acta Capitulum Provinciae Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum* (2) 1603 – 1700. Ed. Madura, F. mszps sygn 33429; *Supplementum ex Registris litterarum magistrorum et procuratorum generalium OP* (3) 1608 – 1701. Ed. Madura, F.

27 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Prowincja w wiekach średnich. In KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 22-23; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Zakon dominikański i początki...*, 238; KACZMAREK, K. *Konwent dominikanów wrocławskich...*, 173 and further; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Studia w polskiej prowincji dominikańskiej za prowincjalatu Jakuba z Bydgoszczy. In KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 263; further; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Kształcenie w polskiej prowincji dominikańskiej w początkach XVI wieku*. In KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 280 and further; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Wielki zakon XVII-wiecznej Rzeczypospolitej u progu swego rozwoju. Dominikanie polscy w świetle wizytacji generalnej z lat 1617 – 1619*. In KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 373-374.

28 KACZMAREK, K. *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza...*, 17-23; MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus...*”, 128-129.

29 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Kapituły Polskiej Prowincji Dominikańskiej w czasach saskich (1697 – 1772/1773)*. In KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 443; KACZMAREK, K. *Konwent dominikanów wrocławskich...*, 82-83.

30 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Kapituły Polskiej Prowincji Dominikańskiej w czasach saskich...*, 443-444.

31 GAPSKI, H. *Dominikanie w Lublinie. Zarys historyograficzny*. In *Dominikanie w Lublinie. Studia z dziejów i kultury*. Ed. Gapski, H. Lublin 2006, 9-12.

32 BARĄCZ, S. *Rys dziejów Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego w Polsce II*. Lwów 1861; Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie, Pr 35, *Catalogus Patrum et Fratrum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum in Polonia, Russia et Magno Ducatu Lithvaniae Mortuorum*, conscriptus per Fr. Sadocum Barącz, 1887.

33 MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus...*”, 128; ŚWIETOCHOWSKI, R. *Źródła do dziejów nowożytnych Zakonu Kaznodziejów...*, 89.

34 Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie, kr. 20.

35 In relation to the book of professions see GAPSKI, H. *Profesi dominikańscy...*, 648 and further; GAPSKI, H. *Rekrutacja do zakonów męskich w Polsce...*, 10-11; GAPSKI, H. *Klasztory krakowskie w końcu XVI...*, 12-13; SHEVCHENKO, T. *Rusini w zakonie dominikańskim (koniec XVI – 1 połowa XVII*

form in the manuscript by Walerian Litwanides³⁶, marked with the sign: ADK, Kr 9, noted the first and last name and exact date of submitted profession in a year-month-day system. The following columns stated the Order's superiors, as well as general, provincial and house superiors, while the last column contained the name of the Master of the novitiate.³⁷ The source value of this book is even greater thanks to the many annotations placed by the names of friars, often later in clear handwriting. They supplement the information about friars, as their contents include entries characterising their participation in important events in the life of the convent, offices and functions held in the monastery. The book of professions fully deserves in-depth studies and careful palaeographic analysis of individual handwritten entries. Such research shall help to determine how many friars made their entry by their own hands, who made entry to the book apart from the Master of the novitiate, what was the key according to which information about the friars was added later and if such a key existed at all.³⁸

The verification of the reliability of entries in *Liber studii* will also be possible thanks to a reading of the province council books³⁹ and the Kraków monastery council books.⁴⁰ The references about approvals of individual offices and nominations will enable works on the compilation of lists of friars involved in the studium's activities. Available lists of friars⁴¹ or obituaries perform⁴² a similar function. It is also advisable to go back to the preserved monastery collections of copies.⁴³ The testing of documents shall considerably complete the picture provided by formulated lists.

This rough review of key sources for a history of the Kraków studium generale ends with the reference to a certain category of manuscripts of non-Dominican provenience, i.e. books of ordination. They are extremely useful in the stipulated research, because they contain the following entries: date and place of ordination, name of the bishop performing ordination, first and last name of the friar with their affinity to monastic community and, sometimes, the name of the ordained's father. The lists of ordained friars offer a highly useful source for research on monastic prosopography, because, as is indicated by the works of Jan Szczepaniak, not only did they give the name of the parent monastery of a given friar, but also the name of the convent where a given person was transferred in the period between the ordination levels.⁴⁴

The reading of the above-mentioned sources can tempt one to formulate the programme of further studies on the studium generale. The most serious research stipulation was outlined by the eminent living Polish researcher of the history of mendicant orders, Jerzy Kłoczowski, and goes as follows: Comprehensive analysis of Dominican communities, people making up their composition, origin, formation, „paths“ within the Order, etc. still remains a primary research challenge.⁴⁵

wieku). In *Dominikanie na ziemiach polskich w epoce nowożytnej*. Eds. Markiewicz, A. – Miławicki, M. Kraków 2009, 170-191; see also THOMAS, A. H. La profession religieuse des dominicains. Formule, cérémonies, histoire. In *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 39, 1969, 5-52.

36 Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie, kr. 9, D.O.M. *Catalogus Fratrum Profitentium in Conventu SSmae Trinitatis O.P. ab Anno Domini 1509 Cura R. P. F. Erasmi Coniussovii S. T. M. Prioris Cracoviensis Renovatus 1656*; ŚWIETECHOWSKI, R. Litwanides (Litus, Litwinkowicz, Adryanowic mylnie Andrzejowicz) Bartłomiej, imie zakonne Walerian. In *Polski słownik biograficzny*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk 1972, 487-488.

37 Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie, kr 9; GAPSKI, H. *Profesi dominikańscy...*, 650.

38 GAPSKI, H. *Rekrutacja do zakonów męskich w Polsce...*, 148-149; GAPSKI, H. *Profesi dominikańscy...*, 651-653, 672-673.

39 Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie, PP. 37, 155, 38; MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus...*”, 129.

40 Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie, Kr 10, Kr 11; MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus...*”, 129.

41 ŚWIETECHOWSKI, R. *Źródła do dziejów nowożytnych Zakonu Kaznodziejów...*, 88-89; MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus...*”, 128.

42 ŚWIETECHOWSKI, R. *Źródła do dziejów nowożytnych Zakonu Kaznodziejów...*, 87-88; KACZMAREK, K. *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza...*, 24, 44.

43 Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie, kr 1; kr 2; kr 3; kr 4; MÜLLER, W. Kopiarusze konwentów dominikańskich w Archiwum OO. Dominikanów w Krakowie. In *Sprawozdania z czynności wydawniczej i posiadzeń naukowych oraz Kronika Towarzystwa Naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego* 1961, 11, 98-101. (za okres od 1. 1. 1960 do 31. 12. 1960).

44 SZCZEPANIAK, J. Dominikanie w XVII-wiecznych krakowskich wykazach święceń. In *Historicus Polonus-Hugarus. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Ojcu Józefowi Puciłowskiemu OP w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Eds. Gałuszka, T. – Attila, P. – Miławicki, M. – Zágohidi Czigány, B. Kraków 2010, 591-639.

45 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Jak badać historię dominikanów w Polsce przedrozbiorowej? Trochę uwag i obserwacji co do znaczenia i programu przyszłych badań oraz ich miejsca w historiografii polskiej. In *Dzieje dominikanów w Polsce XIII – XVIII wiek. Historiografia i warsztat badawczy historyka*. Eds. Gapski, H. – Kłoczowski, J. – Spiech, J. A. Lublin 2006, 17; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Prowincja w wiekach średnich. In KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 19; and further.

While attempting to meet this stipulation, I would like to point to the necessity to review the following issues related to the history of the Kraków studium generale. According to the author, the analysis of issues listed below with the use of the prosopographic method⁴⁶ shall, at least partially, help to execute the extremely broad programme of research on the Order of Preachers in the modern era, as outlined by Jerzy Kłoczowski. For the purposes of the deliberations presented below, the author adopts the following scheme of discussion of stipulations related to:

1. Personal composition,
2. Intellectual culture,
3. Legal issues related to monastic education,
4. Relations between the university in Kraków and the Dominican studium,
5. The friars' activity in church and public life.

The vital task of researchers on this subject is undoubtedly the compilation of the list of all friars involved in the functioning of the studium generale. The first steps in this direction have already been made, as we have a complete catalogue of regents heading the studium. Adopting a similar research questionnaire, it is imperative to prepare a list of studium bachelors, student masters and bachelor presenters of theology. It is worth noting that the so-called Liber studii includes such lists kept most frequently from the end of the 16th century to the 18th century. Those lists were kept fairly accurately, although they should be verified, because – similarly to the regents' catalogue – the quoted dates often did not comply with other Dominican sources.

Only after the compilation of such catalogues will it be possible to conduct other works related to the comprehensive overview of the issue of monastic careers. It is worthwhile to attempt the preparation of a list of all students entering studies at the Kraków monastery.⁴⁷ The execution of the above-mentioned assumptions should enable the preparation of an extensive „list of Dominican officials“. Along with the catalogue of Dominican monasteries, as stipulated by Dariusz Dekanski and Rafał Witkowski⁴⁸, this would considerably fill in the gap in research on the social composition of Dominican monasteries.

The analysis of lists of friars involved in the history of the studium generale's functioning will not be complete without consideration given to a vital aspect of their involvement in the life of the province and the monastery.⁴⁹ This will prove the theses put forward, for example, by Jerzy Kłoczowski, who analysed the 16th century chapter records and compositions of definitors, with regard to the influence of completed education on the further life and career of a friar.⁵⁰ In this way, such research will partially meet the stipulation formulated by Henryk Gapski: On the other hand, one feels the lack of research about persons holding important monastic functions of provincials and priors, as well as the broader phenomena of power formation, both in a formal and informal aspect...⁵¹

Another point that should be considered when discussing monastic careers is the issue of studies undertaken outside of the province's limits. Following the findings of Jerzy Kłoczowski about the first quarter of the 16th century, one should examine whether persons who were sent for further studies completed not only particular studies, but could also boast of a considerable teaching and preaching

46 ZDANEK, M. *Regensi dominikańskiego...*, 79; MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus...*”, 127; POBÓG-LENARTOWICZ, A. Stan i perspektywy badań nad dominikanami w Polsce (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska). In *Dzieje dominikanów w Polsce XIII – XVIII wiek. Historiografia i warsztat badawczy historyka*. Eds. Gapski, H. – Kłoczowski, J. – Spież, J. A. Lublin 2006, 72; KACZMAREK, K. *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce...*, 145.

47 ZDANEK, M. *Szkoły i studia dominikanów...*, 166 ; and further; KACZMAREK, K. *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza*. Poznań 2005; MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus...*”, 127.

48 DEKANSKI, D. Kilka uwag o dominikanach na Pomorzu Gdańskim i w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach okresu średniowiecza z uwzględnieniem propozycji badań i ich koordynacji. In *Dzieje dominikanów w Polsce XIII – XVIII wiek. Historiografia i warsztat badawczy historyka*. Eds. Gapski, H. – Kłoczowski, J. – Spież, J. A. Lublin 2006, 99.

49 MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus...*”, 151; and further.

50 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Kształcenie w polskiej prowincji dominikańskiej w początkach XVI wieku. In KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 280; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Wielki zakon XVII-wiecznej Rzeczypospolitej...*, 379-380; KACZMAREK, K. *Konwent dominikanów wrocławskich...*, 102-103; KACZMAREK, K. *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza...*, 131-134; ZDANEK, M. *Regensi dominikańskiego...*, 85; STOPKA, K. *Szkoła zakonna...*, 58-59.

51 GAPSKI, H. *Badania nad przeszłością dominikanów...*, 60.

career.⁵² The depiction of these issues will help to examine the phenomenon of extraordinary mobility of the friars within the province at the time.

A comprehensive overview of the teaching staff in the Kraków monastery will help to verify many hypotheses that can be found in historiography. An in-depth analysis of the monastic careers of the Kraków masters shall confirm or dismiss the words of Father Damian Fonseca, who, while visiting the province in 1619, stated that this monastery had educated nearly all eminent Dominicans in Poland, and it was there that heresy and reformed denominations were fought most fervently.⁵³ On this occasion, it may be possible to determine the importance of the dispute between other convents and Kraków's Holy Trinity for the internal life of the province. Considering the fact that it even reached the sessions of the general chapter in Rome in 1608 and 1612⁵⁴, it seems only justified to assume that this dispute was rather important, but there are no clear findings on this subject.

Having made preliminary findings about the personal composition of the Kraków convent, it will be possible to attempt a summary of the intellectual output of the teaching staff. It is worth noting here the opinion of Waław Bucichowski, who states that The determination of a possibly complete list of Dominicans of the Polish province with university education in philosophy and theology is indispensable for any further research on the intellectual culture of Polish Dominicans in the Middle Ages.⁵⁵ A stipulation concerning the broadest possible research on the intellectual culture of the friars has been put forward for years by Jerzy Kłoczowski.⁵⁶ Recently, a programme of research on the Dominican library and manuscripts used in the course of monastic education has been formulated by Krzysztof Ożóg.⁵⁷ A reading of the chapter records provides plenty of information about the recommendation for usage of new textbooks while teaching individual subjects, and so they should be confronted with preserved old prints and manuscript collections. However, one should take into account the destruction of the library collections of the Kraków convent.

There is also a need to review library book collections in search of Dominican manuscripts.⁵⁸ An analysis of the friars' literary⁵⁹ output will explain a number of issues related to the functioning of the studium, such as favouring or opposing designs for the establishment of the next studium generale in the province and polemics about the creation of new provinces.⁶⁰ To this end, it is necessary to list all printed works by friars associated with the Kraków centre. The necessity of examining account books in order to find works omitted by Estreicher's Bibliography was indicated more than 37 years ago by Father Robert Świątochowski.⁶¹ The compilation of such a catalogue shall complete the picture of the friars' activity, for example, in the field of their involvement in the contemporary religious life of the province and the order. A comprehensive overview of the literary output of friars, particularly including all panegyrics and ephemeral prints, will help to outline the circle of the Order's donators.⁶²

52 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Kształcenie w polskiej prowincji dominikańskiej...*, 284; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Studia w polskiej prowincji dominikańskiej...*, 266-269; ZONENBERG, G. *Ślązacy z polskiej prowincji dominikańskiej na studiach w Wiedniu w XV i na początku XVI wieku*. In *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 43, 2005, 113; KUBICKI, R. *Przeorzy konwentu gdańskiego od początków XIV w. do 1525. Przyczynek do badań nad składem osobowym konwentów kontraty pruskiej dominikanów w średniowieczu*. In *Dominikanie Gdańsk-Polska-Europa*. Eds. Dekański, D. – Gołębniak, A. – Grubka, M. Gdańsk; Pelplin 2003, 201-202.

53 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Wielki zakon XVII-wiecznej Rzeczypospolitej...*, 378; STOLARSKI, P. *Friars on the Frontier...*, 54; and further; ŚWIETCZOWSKI, R. – CHRUSZCZEWSKI, A. *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, 467-572.

54 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Wielki zakon XVII-wiecznej Rzeczypospolitej...*, 381-382.

55 BUCICHOWSKI, W. *Lista lektorów dominikańskich...*, 45; FLAGA, J. *Uczoność zakonów...*, 265.

56 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Jak badać historię dominikanów...*, 18-19.

57 OŻÓG, K. *Uwagi o potrzebach i perspektywach...*, 106-111; STOPKA, K. *Szkoła zakonna...*, 57-58.

58 ZAWADZKA, K. *Ze źródeł i stanu badań dotyczących dawnych klasztornych bibliotek dominikanów w polskich prowincjach*. In *Nasza Przeszość*, 39, 1973, 213-228; PIETRZKIEWICZ, I. *Biblioteki mendykantów krakowskich w okresie średniowiecza – stan i perspektywy badań*. In *Mendykanci w średniowiecznym Krakowie*. Eds. Ożóg, K. – Gałuszka, T. – Zajchowska, A. Kraków 2008, 139; and further; ŚWIETCZOWSKI, R. *Biblioteka OO. Dominikanów w Krakowie*. In *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 33, 1976, 299-311; GAŁUSZKA, T. *W przededniu powstania Studium Generale. Nowe badania nad czternastowiecznym zachowanym księgozbiorem dominikanów krakowskich*. In *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 16, 2001, 25-42.

59 GRACZYK, W. *XVI-wieczni uczeni dominikańscy pochodzący z Mościsk i ich wkład w rozwój teologii polskiej*. In *Święty Jacek i dziedzictwo dominikańskie*. Eds. Mateja, E. – Pobóg-Lenartowicz, A. Opole 2008, 199-201; GÓRSKI, K. *Dzieje życia wewnętrznego dominikanów...*, 82.

60 ŚWIETCZOWSKI, R. *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, 226.

61 *Ibidem*, 218-219.

62 *Ibidem*, 223.

Another class of research stipulations addresses all legal issues concerning modern Dominican education. As indicated by Maciej Zdanek with regard to the regent's office⁶³, the reading of the chapter records will help to determine the competences, scope of duties and transformations of individual offices. It is worth emphasising that so far this subject was integrally discussed only by Father Robert Świętochowski.⁶⁴ The compilation of the above-mentioned lists will enable the determination of the possible specific nature of monastic studies in the Kraków studium generale. The preliminary comments of Father Świętochowski characterised the so-called balance law and the later alternative law applied in the studium in the Holy Trinity convent⁶⁵, which decided, among other things, about the significant role of Kraków. It is also worth stressing the urgent need to present the privileges comprising Corpus privilegiorum Studii Bononiensis, as they were granted to the studium generale in all provinces. Therefore, they also applied to the Kraków centre. Despite the efforts made by general inspectors, such as Damian a Fonseca, Jan Spina and Augustine de Imola, for the unification of laws and privileges granted to provinces, some of them had privileges specific only to them. The so-called custom laws are mentioned in the records of provincial chapters.⁶⁶

The picture of functioning of the Kraków studium generale would not be complete if one omitted the next two groups of issues. The first one includes issues related to the relations between the monastic school and the Kraków university. When combined with the reading of university sources, the analysis of the lists of friars may enable the clarification of aspects related to the recruitment of candidates to the Order of Preachers.⁶⁷ It is worth remembering that these petitions might be incomplete due to the partial destruction of university records. The problem of Dominican recruitment will fit the broad scope of considerations about the role and meaning of monasteries in city communities, as well as the functioning of the so-called monastic districts.⁶⁸

Special attention should be given to the history of academic brotherhood founded in 1621 in the monastery of the Order of Preachers.⁶⁹ They belong to the broader trend of university and Dominican relations dating back to the 1450s. They are also an interesting premise for research on the relations between the Dominicans and the Jesuits in the period when the university fiercely opposed the Society of Jesus. A reading of preserved records of the rosary brotherhood and monastery council books will help to fully appreciate the relations between the university and the brotherhood and explain why the brotherhood was soon moved to the Church of Discalced Carmelites.⁷⁰

In addition, the relations between the Dominican studium generale and the university belong to the discussion of the friars' activity in the broadly understood church and public life. It is only fitting to look more closely at the careers of Dominican friars and their relations with the church hierarchy. Such studies were conducted with reference to the Middle Ages and the role of auxiliary bishops or Dominican inquisitors.⁷¹ As far as the relation between friars and regular clergy is concerned, it is

63 ZDANEK, M. *Regensi dominikańskiego...*, 79-86, 104; ŚWIETOCHOWSKI, R. *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, 214, 215; MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus...*”, 136-137.

64 ŚWIETOCHOWSKI, R. *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, 213-230.

65 *Ibidem*, 226-227; MIŁAWICKI, M. – SZYMBORSKI, W. „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus...*”, 131-132, 142.

66 ŚWIETOCHOWSKI, R. *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, 226-227.

67 KACZMAREK, K. Rekrutacja do zakonu dominikanów wśród studentów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w XV wieku. In *Mendykanci w średniowiecznym Krakowie*. Eds. Ożóg, K. – Gałuszka, T. – Zajchowska, A. Kraków 2008, 181-197; ZDANEK, M. *Szkoły i studia dominikanów...*, 122-146, 180-184; KACZMAREK, K. *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza...*, 86, 350; KACZMAREK, K. *Konwent dominikanów wrocławskich...*; see also GAPSKI, H. *Rekrutacja do zakonów męskich w Polsce...*, 16.

68 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Okręgi klasztorne w Polskiej Prowincji Dominikańskiej w średniowieczu. In *KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 181; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Zaplecze społeczne polskich dominikanów, ich pozycja w Kościele, państwie i społeczeństwie. In *KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 219; GAPSKI, H. *Rekrutacja do zakonów męskich w Polsce II...*, 65.

69 MUCZKOWSKI, J. *Bractwa Jezuickie i akademickie w Krakowie*. dodatek B. Kraków 1845, 92-93; compare BARYCZ, H. *Historia szkół nowodworskich od założenia do reformy H. Kołłątaja*. Kraków 1988, 121; URBAN, W. Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontreformacji (1549 – 1632). In *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364 – 1764*. I. Ed. Lepczyński, K. Kraków 1964, 279; GUMOL, K. Oratorium Św. Różańca Akademii Krakowskiej czyli Akademickie Bractwo Różańcowe u ojców dominikanów. In *Rocznik Teologiczny Śląska Opolskiego*, 1, 1968, 168 and further; GUMOL, K. Duszpasterstwo Akademickie na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w latach 1400 – 1795. In *Zeszyty Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, VII, 1964, 2 (26), 56, 62; STOLARSKI, P. *Friars on the Frontier...*, 33-37.

70 MUCZKOWSKI, J. *Bractwa Jezuickie...*, 15 and further.

71 KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Zaplecze społeczne polskich Dominikanów, ich pozycja w Kościele, państwie i społeczeństwie. In *KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*. Poznań 2008, 227-228; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Zakon dominikański*

worth noting, for example, the issues of defending Dominican rights and privileges, such as exemption.⁷² One cannot also forget about the role played by the Order of Preachers in public life, for example, as royal confessors.⁷³

To end this short list of research stipulations, one should once more emphasise another aspect completing the historical picture of the studium generale. While compiling its history, one should consider the material status of the Kraków convent. As indicated by the preliminary findings of Maciej Zdanek and Jerzy Kłoczowski, the economic situation of the monastery and the period of development, expansion and fall of the studium were closely interrelated.⁷⁴ This stipulation is strictly connected with the issue of the functioning of Dominican districts.⁷⁵

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i początki..., 243; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. *Kształcenie w polskiej prowincji dominikańskiej...*, 283; KŁOCZOWSKI, J. Dominikanie w środkowo-wschodniej Europie i ich kultura intelektualna oraz pastoralna w wiekach średnich. In *Dominikanie w środkowej Europie w XIII – XV wieku.* Eds. Kłoczowski, J. – Spież, J. A. Poznań 2002, 163; KACZMAREK, K. Wykształcenie średniowiecznych inkwizytorów dominikańskich z ziem polskich. In *Inkwizycja papieska w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej.* Ed. Kras, P. Kraków 2010, 197-219; ZDANEK, M. Inkwizytorzy dominikańscy w diecezji krakowskiej w średniowieczu. In *Inkwizycja papieska w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej.* Ed. Kras, P. Kraków 2010, 219-235; KRAS, P. Działalność inkwizycyjna dominikanów krakowskich w średniowieczu. In *Mendykanci w średniowiecznym Krakowie.* Eds. Ożóg, K. – Gałuszka, T. – Zajchowska, A. Kraków 2008, 383-407; KRAS, P. Dominican Inquisitors in Mediaeval Poland. In *Praedicatores, Inquisitores - I. The Dominicans and the Mediaeval Inquisition. Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition. Rome, 23-25 February 2002.* Ed. Hoyer, W. Roma 2004, 249-310.

72 ŚWIETECHOWSKI, R. *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, 221.

73 GŁUCH, G. Dominikańscy spowiednicy i kaznodzieje Jagiellonów. In *Dominikanie w środkowej Europie w XIII – XV wieku.* Eds. Kłoczowski, J. – Spież, J. A. Poznań 2002, 239-258; BORKOWSKA, U. Królewscy spowiednicy. In *Ludzie – kościół – wierzenia. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa Europy Środkowej (średniowiecze – wczesna epoka nowożytna).* Eds. Iwańczka, W. – Kuczyński, S. K. Warszawa 2001, 173-194.

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TESTAMENT INVOCATIONS AS A MANIFESTATION OF THE RELIGIOSITY OF KRAKÓW BURGHERS IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

Marcin Gadocha

In recent years, Polish historiography has observed huge interest in last will deeds, which serve as excellent sources for research on the life of communities in different epochs. Testaments may be useful in research on genealogy, biographies, relations within a family, Old-Polish customs, mentality (particularly the attitude towards death), legal issues (not only related to inheritance), economic arrangements, theatre of everyday life (birth, wedding, death, funeral and issues related to the education of children), broadly understood material culture, foundation and charity activities and religiosity of society of that time.¹

Last will deeds were drafted by the representatives of nearly all groups of Old-Polish society: magnates, nobility, clergymen, burghers, peasants and followers of the Roman-Catholic and Evangelical religions.²

In the Christian Europe of the 12th century, there appeared the custom of drafting a new kind of testament. The last will deed ceased to only be a document meeting the norms of private law, whose only purpose was to transfer one's property. It became a primarily religious act, a kind of contract concluded between an ordinary mortal and God with the agency of the Church. As stated by Jacques Le Goff, on the one hand, the testament was one's „pass to heaven”³, as it ensured the possession of eternal property, but the bonuses were paid in the form of legacies, and, on the other hand, it was a „safe conduct on earth”, because it sanctioned and justified the usage of property gained during one's earthly life.⁴ By the end of the 18th century, Polish and European testaments were deeds of a largely religious nature.⁵

1 Complete and accurate list of possibilities for what can be used in traditional Polish wills is in: *Cui contingit nasci, restat mori. Wybór testamentów staropolskich z województwa sandomierskiego*. Eds. Lubczyński, M. – Pielas, J. – Suchojad, H. Warszawa 2005.

2 DOBROWOLSKI, K. *Włościańskie rozporządzenia ostatniej woli na Podhalu w XVII i XVIII wieku*. Kraków 1933; BORKOWSKA, M. *Dekret w niebieskim ferowany parlamencie. Wybór testamentów z XVII – XVIII wieku*. Kraków 1984; *Testamenty ewangelików reformowanych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*. Warszawa 1992; *Testamenty szlachty krakowskiej XVII – XVIII w.: wybór tekstów źródłowych z lat 1650 – 1799*. Eds. Falniowska-Gradowska, A. Kraków 1997; *Testamenty mieszczan wojnickich 1599 – 1809*. Wojnicz 1997; WIŚLICZ, T. *Zarobić na duszne zbawienie. Religijność chłopów małopolskich od połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku*. Warszawa 2001; GŁÓWKA, J. *Testamenty mieszczan kieleckich z końca XVIII w. zwierciadłem epoki w świetle księgi Rady Miejskiej Kielc 1789 – 1792*. In *Wesela, chrzciny pogrzeby w XVI – XVIII wieku. Kultura życia i śmierci*. Ed. Suchojada, H. Warszawa 2001, 323-332; *Testamenty Jana, Tomasza i Jana „Sobiepana” Zamoyskich*. Ed. Kaczorowski, W. Opole 2007; *Testamenty szlacheckie z ksiąg grodzkich wielkopolskich z lat 1631 – 1655*. Poznań; Wrocław 2008; POPIOŁEK, B. *Woli mojej ostatniej testament ten... Testamenty staropolskie jako źródło do historii mentalności XVII i XVIII wieku*. Kraków 2009; WRÓBEL, E. E. „*Kościółowi mojemu jako najukochańszej oblubienicy mojej*”. *Wybór testamentów duchownych małopolskich z XVII wieku*. Kraków 2010; JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK, K. *Testamenty i inwentarze pośmiertne z ksiąg miejskich województwa sandomierskiego (XVI – XVIII)*. Kielce 2010; *Testamenty księży Lubartowiczów-Sanguszków. Wybór tekstów źródłowych z lat 1750 – 1876*. Eds. Marszalska, J. M. – Graczyk, W. Kraków 2011; *Dług śmiertelności wypłacić potrzeba. Wybór testamentów mieszczan krakowskich z XVII – XVIII wieku*. Ed. Danowska, E. Kraków 2011; BOBOWSKI, B. *Kultura materialna mieszczan Świdnicy i rycerstwa weichbildu świdnickiego w świetle testamentów (od I połowy XIV do końca I ćwierci XIX wieku)*. Zielona Góra 2011; *Testamenty szlacheckie z ksiąg grodzkich wielkopolskich z lat 1657 – 1680*. Wrocław 2011.

3 LE GOFF, J. *Kultura średniowiecznej Europy*. Warszawa 1970, 190.

4 ARIÈS, P. *Człowiek i śmierć*. Warszawa 2011, 197.

5 ROK, B. *Zagadnienie śmierci w kulturze Rzeczypospolitej czasów saskich*. Wrocław 1991, 67.

The guidebooks on „ars bene moriendi” of that time commanded one to prepare them in the state of „God’s grace”, because if they were drafted in the state of sin, then such a regulation would not earn „eternal life”.⁶ Starting as early as the middle of the 18th century, one could notice changes in the nature of testaments drafted in Western Europe. The pious clauses and clauses about the division of inheritance started to be of equal importance.⁷ Property distribution became more important than charity and pious provisions. A testament turned into an act of caution drafted in the face of expected and not sudden death.⁸

The testament of the Old-Polish epoch was a one-sided regulation stating, in a form provided for by law, one’s heirs in the event of the testator’s death. As an instrument regulating inheritance issues, it performed a significant social function. The testator could manage only those items that belonged to them. According to Przemysław Dąbkowski, such formulation gave rise to the problem of „when the item had to belong to the testator: at the time of drafting the will, at the time of death or at the time of opening the will”.⁹ This was regulated only by one of the constitutions of the 16th of March 1775, adopted at the Extraordinary Warsaw Sejm, which stated that the testator could manage items they did not possess at the time of drafting the testament if they purchased and possessed them at the time of death.¹⁰

The Jesuit Jan Morawski claimed that at the end of the 17th century, pious people could draft two kinds of testaments. The first one decided about earthly property, while the other referred to the „possessions of one’s soul”.¹¹ But in practice, the two kinds of testaments were combined.¹²

A person drafting their last will was aware of the fact that it would be heard and, most importantly, would contain what they said, and this did not often happen in their mediocre life. The last will deed served as evidence that, saying goodbye to their earthly life, a person left an orderly and organised world according to their own choice. They could then die in peace, certain of the value of their achievements.¹³

Last will deeds were drafted in the form of a notary instrument: they could be issued privately or by the authorities of a given city, e.g. a council or a jury or combined city authorities. At the heirs’ or executors’ request, a relevant body authenticated the last will deed, entering it to the jury, council and even *voit* records.¹⁴ The city chancellery in Kraków kept separate testament records.¹⁵ Old-Polish testaments had a fairly uniform set layout and sequence of successive points. In Polish literature on the subject, the issue of the testament form was described, for example, by Leszek Tymiakin,¹⁶ Sister Małgorzata Borkowska,¹⁷ Urszula Sowina,¹⁸ Bożena Żmigrodzka¹⁹ and Bożena Popiołek.²⁰ It was comprised of several basic parts.

Outline of a sample testament form:

- Devotional invocation,
- Titling,

6 MORAWSKI, J. *Droga przed Bogiem śmierć świętych abo dysposycya na śmierć dobra, nauka S. Theologii, i pobożnemi z Pisma Świętego, i z Oyców SS mianowicie Świętego Augustina affektami [...]*. Poznań 1698, 47.

7 Wyrażało się to też m. in. skróceniem lub całkowitym pominięciem kwestii religijnych. W ślad za tym zmieniała się też inwokacja. Coraz częściej pojawiał się wyłącznie znak krzyża w miejsce rozbudowanej niegdyś tytulatury, see in: POPIOŁEK, B. *Woli mojej ostatnie...*, 34.

8 ARIËS, P. *Człowiek...*, 196.

9 DĄBKOWSKI, P. *Prawo prywatne II*. Lwów 1911, 76-77; *Cui contingit...*, 8.

10 „Akt osobny zawierający wszystko, co do handlu obydwóch Państw kontraktujących stosować się może”. *Volumina Legum VIII*. Petersburg 1860, (artykuł XII) 45-46, (artykuł VII) 57.

11 MORAWSKI, J. *Droga przed Bogiem...*, 46.

12 JAKSON, W. Człowiek wobec śmierci w XVII – XVIII w. Poradniki dobrego umierania. In *Bibliotekarz Lubelski*, 38, 1993, 24.

13 HUSZAŁ, G. Przygotowanie do śmierci w XVII. In *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 31, 1983, 2, 123.

14 BARTOSZEWICZ, A. *Piśmienność mieszczańska w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*. Warszawa 2012, 251-252.

15 WYROZUMSKA, B. *Kancelaria średniowiecznego Krakowa*. Kraków 1995, 92-93; Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (APKr., The State Archive in Krakow), AMK, 772-784.

16 TYMIAKIN, L. O formułach w XVII-wiecznym testamencie przemyskim. In *Rocznik Przemyski*, 29, 1990, 141-145.

17 BORKOWSKA, M. *Dekret w niebieskim...*, 11-17.

18 SOWINA, U. Najstarsze testamety mieszczańskie z początku XVI w. Analiza źródłoznawcz. In *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 40, 1992, 1, 3.

19 ŻMIGRODZKA, B. *Testament jako gatunek tekstu*. Katowice 1997.

20 POPIOŁEK, B. *Woli mojej...*, 31-32.

- Promulgation,
- Arenga,
- Funeral instructions,
- Management of property held,
- Farewell to the family,
- Nomination of executors,
- Witness testimonies with signatures,
- Date and place of drafting,
- Signature of the testator.²¹

Old-Polish guidebooks presented ready samples of last will deeds. A fragment of one sample spiritual testament is presented below:

„In the presence and in the name of the omniscient Holy Trinity, the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, in the presence of the Holy Virgin Mary and the entire Celestial Court, being of sound body and mind and in control of my wits, I, the undersigned, voluntarily draft this testament and state that this is my last and unchanged will, which I do not wish to alter with any contrary deed, but in every moment of my future life and at the time of my last breath, I wish to renew and confirm it, as I do now, for the last moment of life renew and confirm [...]”.²²

It has to be noted that not only professional city scribes or public notaries used the ready samples while drafting testaments.²³ As indicated by Agnieszka Bartoszewicz, it is highly probable that a burgher who drafted the testament himself or ordered this task to a scribe could also have a sample document, e.g. last will deeds drafted by his relatives, and this would indicate the possession of private archives. When examining the chancellery of the town of Kurowo, after the analysis of 166 testaments from the end of the 17th century and the entire 18th century.²⁴ Janusz Łosowski noticed that 102 documents had identical contents. The testament protocol form usually consisted of 8 clauses. It was first used by one of the scribes (Andrzej Kordowski), and later it was taken up by other city scribes.²⁵ According to Piotr Borek, a testament had its own poetics, which gradual changed in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the Baroque period, the decisions of the Council of Trent increased the importance of prayer formulas that could, of course, be found earlier though usually in the form of a very short confession of faith. In the 17th century, they constituted the basic part of the last will deed. It is most likely associated with the „sacralisation” of actions related to managing material property as the necessary condition of a „good death“. The command of reconciliation with earthly affairs and treatment of material objects as „vanity” was promoted by theological writings, poetry and paintings. These ideas deeply permeated the common awareness and became visible, for example, in extended initial fragments of testaments.²⁶ In my paper, I will focus on devotional invocations included in testaments to emphasise the particular importance of their words. This was included in last will deeds to testify to the religious nature of the testament as a prayer and examination of conscience.²⁷ The invocation’s place in the form was not regular, but it was usually written at the beginning of the last will deed. Sometimes it was preceded by the sign of the Cross or date. It was written in Polish, less frequently in

21 Ibidem

22 MORAWSKI, J. *Droga przed Bogiem...*, 52.

23 This was, among others. in Przemyśl; compare to: KROCHMAL, J. Przemyskie testamenty staropolskie. In *Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny*, VI, 1989, 137.

24 BARTOSZEWICZ, A. Testament jako źródło do badań nad piśmiennością mieszczańską w późnym średniowieczu. In *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, LIX, 2011, 3-4, 298.

25 ŁOSOWSKI, J. Dokument i księga wpisów w społecznościach małych miast okresu staropolskiego. Problem funkcji, w: *Kultura piśmienna średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych. Problemy i konteksty badawcze*. In *Res Historica* 1998, 3, 154.

26 BOREK, P. O kompozycji XVII-wiecznych testamentów mieszczan przemyskich. In *Rocznik Przemyski*, XIV, 2008, 3, 58.

27 SOWINA, U. *Najstarsze testamenty...*, 7.

Latin (either the entire testament was drafted in this language²⁸ or the invocation itself) or, rarely, in German (but only when the deed itself was also drafted in this language²⁹).

This short prayer formula could be attributed various functions. It can be interpreted as reference to the sacrum sphere acting as a short manner of statement of the author's religious adherence, and, with regard to the text itself, as emphasis of its importance and seriousness. It can also manifest that both the text and the action executed by its agency are undertaken in the presence of God and in the name of God. The meta-textual initial prayer formula also serves as a kind of magical incantation to enhance the illocutionary power of the following act of bequest and guarantee the enforcement of the testator's decisions included in the text and the eternal memory of them. This is particularly clearly stressed in the form of the extended formula, although in the previously quoted incipits, one can also discern similar meanings that were not stated explicitly (unless one assumes the constant realisation of the meaning of Amen, i.e. „so be it”).³⁰

The testators addressed God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, patron saints and angels. Devotional invocation could be of great importance to the person drafting their testament. This turned the last will into a spiritual testament. The reference to God or patron saints was to help the testators at the time of death, but also to ensure additional legal protection of the testament and which allowed the author to hope that the Lord's care should guarantee its inviolability and compliance of the heirs' actions with the testator's wishes.³¹

For the purposes of the paper, I used a group of 297 selected manuscript testaments of Kraków burghers from the 17th and 18th centuries that can be found mostly in the city records.³² I examined testaments by women and men, both married and widowed, who adhered to various professions, such as councillors, jurors, freelancers, merchants and craftsmen, e.g. brewers, bakers, butchers, bricklayers, card makers and fustian makers. The examined testaments opened with various invocations. I will present some of the most popular invocations with source examples below. It is worth noting that the analysed group also included testaments without invocations or ones opening only with the sign of the Cross.³³

One can distinguish several kinds of invocations:

Invocations to the Holy Trinity:

Simple:

Dorota Bełza, widow: „W imię Trójcy przenaświętszej. Amen.”³⁴ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity. Amen.”)

Adam Nagoth, Kraków councillor: „W imię P[ana] Boga a Ojca, Syna, Ducha Świętego.”³⁵ („In the name of the Lord, the Son and the Holy Spirit.”)

Jerzy Bombek: „W imię Ojca i Syna i Ducha Świętego. Amen.”³⁶ („In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.”)

Extended:

Jan Sinkler, merchant: „W imieniu Boga Ojca i Syna i Ducha Świętego Pana Boga w Trójcy Świętej jedyne go, który niech będzie wspomóżenie moje pomoc i ratunek.”³⁷ („In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit of our Lord, One in Trinity, let Him be my succour, help and rescue.”)

28 For example the will of Kazimierza Tauter, Kraków councillor, of 1715, Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN w Krakowie (BPAN/PAU w Krakowie), rkps 428, 293.

29 For example the will of Antoni Kromer 12 March 1779, APKr., AMK 783, 353.

30 ŻMIGRODZKA, B. *Testament jak...*, 73-74.

31 POPIOŁEK, B. *Woli mojej...*, 34.

32 Of course, these are not all the regulations last will of the period.

33 BPAN/PAU w Krakowie, rkps 428, 273. The will of Jadwiga Madternia 28 July 1701.

34 APKr., AMK 773, 60. The will 27 February 1619.

35 APKr., AMK 772, 729. The will 13 September 1621.

36 CC. REL. 125 B, 3207. The will 29 June 1698.

37 APKr., AMK 781, 1. The will 14 April 1711.

Józef Bartłomiej Gherardini: „W imię Trójcy Przenajświętszej, Ojca i Syna i Ducha Świętego trzech w prawdzie Ojca, lecz jednego samego Boga”.³⁸ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, those three in the Father’s truth, but one and the same God“.)

Franciszka primo voto Skorcińska Jaraczowska: „W imię Boga Wszchemogącego, który mnie stworzył, w imię Syna Bożego, który mnie odkupił krwią swoją przenajświętszą, w imię Ducha Świętego, który mnie oświecił łaską swoją najświętszą”.³⁹ („In the name of God Almighty, who created me, in the name of God’s Son, who redeemed me with His most sacred blood, in the name of the Holy Spirit, who enlightened me with His most holy grace“.)

Antoni Wróblewski, city sub-delegate: „W imię Ojca i Syna i ducha Świętego Amen”. („In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen“.) „W Imię Trójcy Przenajświętszej nigdy nierozdzielnej, która jest troista w Bóstwie jednaka, niechże będzie cześć i chwała teraz i na wieki, wieków. Amen”.⁴⁰ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity that is never separate, consists of three but is one in divinity, may They be worshipped and glorified forever and ever. Amen“.)

In Latin:

Jakub Czimmerman, Kraków councillor: „In nomine Patris et Fili et Spiritus Sancti”.⁴¹ Amen“.

Invocations to the Lord:

In Polish:

Wincenty Łyskowicz: „W imię Pana Boga Wszchemogącego”.⁴² („In the name of God Almighty“.)

Michał Biling, merchant: „Niech będzie pochwalone Imię Stwórcy Boga Najwyższego”.⁴³ („Praised be the name of God, the Most High Creator“.)

In Latin:

Jan Cyrus, Kraków councillor: „In nomine Domini. Amen”.⁴⁴

Stanisław Rabb, Kraków councillor: „Deus in nomine tuo”.⁴⁵

Invocations to Jesus Christ:

In Polish:

Barbara Cezara, Kraków printer, widow: „W imię Pańskie. Amen”.⁴⁶ („In the name of the Lord. Amen“.)

Kasper Knorowski: „W imię Pana i zbawiciela naszego Jezusa Chrystusa, w którego rękach i mocy wszystkie momenta życia śmiertelnego a osobliwie godzina śmierci jest złożona...”.⁴⁷ („In the name of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, in whose hands and power rest all the moments of our mortal life and, singularly, the hour of our death...“.)

Helena Nieśniewska, widow: „Niech będzie pochwalony Pan nasz Jezus Chrystus teraz zawsze i na wieków. Amen”.⁴⁸ („Praised be Our Lord, Jesus Christ, now and forever and ever. Amen“.)

In Latin:

Anna Jabłońska, wife of Wojciech, Kraków pedlar: „In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen”.⁴⁹

Michał Brudziński, scribe to Kraków governors: „Laudetur Jesus Christus”.⁵⁰

Invocations to patron saints:

Teresa Kleczeńska, widow: „(Jezus, Maria) Józef”.⁵¹ ((Jesus, Mary) Joseph“.)

38 APKr., AMK 781, 253. The will 17 May 1735.

39 APKr., AMK 782, 273. The will 20 February 1776.

40 APKr., AMK 782, 447. The will 1 June 1781.

41 APKr., AMK 772, 105. The will 13 October 1614.

42 APKr., AMK 772, 673. The will 12 January 1604.

43 APKr., AMK 781, 561. The will 20 June 1755.

44 APKr., AMK 773, 51. The will 27 February 1625.

45 APKr., AMK 773, 75. The will June 1630.

46 APKr., AMK 773, 200. The will 23 December 1665.

47 APKr., AMK 781, 703. The will 14 April 1760.

48 APKr., AMK 781, 347. The will 15 February 1740.

49 BPAN/PAU w Krakowie, rkps 428, 163. The will 23 May 1620.

50 APKr., AMK 781, 317. The will July 1735.

51 APKr., AMK 781, 133. The will 19 January 1721.

Mixed invocations:

Anna Janusowicowa, widow of Councillor Stanisław: „W imię Trójcy przenaświętszej Ojca, syna i Ducha Św. pod opiekę świętych patronów moich Dominika, Franciszka, Stanisława, Jacka, Józefa, Jana Chrzyciela i Ewangelisty [nieczytelny wyraz] i wielu innych świętych pańskich osobliwie przez najświętszą Bogarodnicę grzeszników orędowniczkę i Anioła Pańskiego stróża mego”.⁵² („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, to the care of my patron saints: Dominic, Francis, Stanislaus, Hyacinth, Joseph, John the Baptist and Evangelist [illegible word] and many other saints of the Lord, and particularly to the Most Holy Mother of God, the sinners' intercessor and my Guardian Angel“.)

Jan Zaleski, Kraków councillor: „Jezus, Maria, Józef“. („Jesus, Mary, Joseph“.) „W imię Trójcy przenaświętszej. Jedyne i Wiecznego Boga”.⁵³ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, the One and Only Eternal God“.)

Jan Chrystie: „W imię Ojca i Syna i ducha Świętego Amen. Niech będzie pochwalony C[hrystus] J[ezus]”.⁵⁴ („In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. Praised be J[esus] C[hrist]“.)

Cecylia Jaworska, widow: „W imię Trójcy przenaświętszej i najświętszej Panny Marii Niepokalanie poczętej. Amen”.⁵⁵ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity and Our Virgin Mary of Immaculate Conception. Amen“.)

Katarzyna primo voto Molecka, secundo voto Wiśkowska: „W imię Trójcy Przenaświętszej Ojca, Syna i Ducha Świętego. Amen. Laudetur Jesus Christus in secula Seculorum”.⁵⁶ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. Laudetur Jesus Christus in secula Seculorum.”)

Wojciech Mysłowski: „W Imię Przenaświętszej i nierozdzielnej Trójcy, Ojca, Syna i Ducha Świętego. Amen. Niech będzie cześć i chwała Temu, który jest w osobach Trojaki w Bóstwie Jednaki teraz i na wieki wieków Amen. Przy protekcji Najświętszej Panny Marii Matki Boskiej Niepokalanie Poczętej i świętych Patronów moich, których w życiu moim wzywałem tudzież przy asystencji Ś[więtego]. Anioła Stróża mego zaczynam testamentową dyspozycję”⁵⁷ („In the name of the Most Holy and Inseparable Trinity of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. Worship and praised be Him who is in Persons Three but One in Divinity now and forever and ever. Amen. With the protection of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God of Immaculate Conception, and my patron saints, whom I have called upon in my life, and with the assistance of my Guardian Angel, I hereby open my testament instructions”.)

What could lie behind the choice of certain invocations, and could they act as a sign of pioussness? Some invocations included in the examined last will deeds presented their authors as deeply believing Christians, full of religious zeal. Therefore, it must have been a conscious choice. These invocations could become quite extensive and frequently present⁵⁸ great literary value. As rightly noticed by Andrzej Karpiński, it needs to be remembered that the invocation itself does not help to determine the frequency of pious practices and intensity of individual experiences.⁵⁹ But whenever „rich invocations” appeared, one can observe more religious considerations and more pious bequests to churches or brotherhoods further in the text.

In other cases, it cannot be excluded that the choice followed certain customs or ready expressions from the form provided by the testament scribe.⁶⁰ The majority of analysed testaments strongly

52 BPAN/PAU w Krakowie, rkps 428, 187. The will 27 May 1652.

53 Ibidem, 243. The will 6 September 1693.

54 Ibidem, 343. The will 1 June 1740.

55 APKr., AMK 781, 627. The will 29 July 1757.

56 APKr., AMK 782, 3. The will 21 December 1761.

57 Ibidem, 93. The will 30 March 1765.

58 Invocation devotional passages were sometimes form of prayer or religious phrases. They are, so text will be placed in another text, and as such, therefore, perform a metalinguistic functions, see in: JAWOR, G. Stałe formuły w testamentach polskich. In *Rozprawy Komisji Językowej* 12. Wrocław 1981, 222.

59 KARPIŃSKI, A. *Kobieta w mieście polskim w drugiej połowie XVI i XVII wieku*. Warszawa 1995, 248.

60 For comparison, I present Catholic population invocations of Przemyśl: „W imię Trójce Ś[więtej], Ojca i Syna i Ducha Ś[więtego]” („In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit”), „W imię Świętej Trójce, jedyne Pana Boga. Amen” („In the name of the Holy Trinity, the One God.

emphasised the conviction about the unity and indivisibility of God arising from the dogma on the Holy Trinity.⁶¹ Most testaments opened with this exact invocation (143 testaments). Another popular invocation was the reference to Jesus Christ or Our Lord with „Praised be ...” (107 testaments). The figure of the Mother of God rarely appeared in the invocation itself. Overall, the Marian cult in Baroque religiosity occupied a vital position (this could be confirmed by references to the Mother of God later in the examined testaments). Thus, in 1713 Henryk Antoni Stefani wrote: „My soul that I received from God, I hereby return to His most sacred wounds and Our Virgin Mary”.⁶² In 1714, Katarzyna Puczkowa, a merchant’s wife, called on the „Mother of my Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception, with my humble prayers”,⁶³ while in 1731, Katarzyna Bystrowska wrote in her testament: „To Mary, Our Lady and my particular benefactress, and my very first patroness after Our Lord”.⁶⁴ This was one of the key aspects of religiosity of society of that time. The reality following the Council of Trent observed a great transformation of the Marian cult. At times of threat, society considered it as a feeling of safety and guarantee of eschatological and existential hopes coming true. The Blessed Virgin Mary was begged for her assistance with so-called social needs, triumph in religious wars and fights against the faithless and rescue from elementary disasters, and personal affairs were often remembered. For this reason, we can speak of the cult of the Mother of God, the Procuress, the Guardian and the Intercessor.⁶⁵

This article is only an introduction and is to present a narrow section of research on the piousness of the burghers of 17th and 18th century Kraków. It is a kind of prelude to broader studies on the subject within the above-stated timeline. Already at this stage of research, one can observe certain regularities. The testaments with extensive devotional invocations were usually characterised by longer provisions of a religious nature later in the text, e.g. in formulas closing the testaments with various advice and life teachings addressed to the testator’s family. Therefore, it can be said that devotional invocations serve as a manifestation of the religiosity of burghers of that time. But this issue requires further analysis. In the 17th and 18th centuries, invocations were dominated by a call on the „Holy Trinity” in the various forms that I have presented above. Since the 1730s, the “Praised be...” formula prevailed. The invocations addressed to Jesus, Mary and Joseph were used mostly by women. The examined group of testaments did not include any invocations addressed to patrons of the Kingdom of Poland (saints: Adalbert, Bishop Stanislaus, Wenceslaus and Florian) or Saint Barbara⁶⁶, who appeared in the testaments of Kraków nobility compiled, for example, by Alicja Falniowska-Gradowska⁶⁷).

Amen”), „W imię Trójce Przenajświętszej, Ojca, Syna i Ducha Świętego. Amen” (In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Amen”), (BOREK, P. *O kompozycji XVII-wiecznych...*, 59) and the townspeople from the Sandomierz.: W imię Ojca i Syna i Ducha Świętego. Amen” („In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit”), „In nomine Domini. Amen”, In nomine Sanctissimae et Individuae Trinitatis” (JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK, K. *Testamenty i inwentarze...*, 32. You will notice very strong similarities to the invocation of the wills of Kraków.

61 POPIOŁEK, B. *Woli mojej...*, 35.

62 APKr., AMK 781, 11.

63 Ibidem, 19.

64 Ibidem, 231.

65 WITKOWSKA, A. *Sancti Miracula Peregrinationes*. Lublin 2009, 376-377.

66 See in: SCHENK, K. W. Kult świętych w Polsce. Zarys historyczn. In *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 13, 1966, 4, 85-89.

67 This does not mean that such invocations did not appear in the testaments of the Cracow burghers. This subject requires further research as well, as it also seems that testators had specific reasons for including particular patron saints in their invocations. Saints reminded the people of that time that death was indeed a gate leading to heaven. The purpose of earthly life was, above all, to deserve eternal life in the kingdom of God. The dying needed someone to help them in this final journey. Saints were to make this task easier. In the post-Tridentine period, the worship of patron saints was very widespread, they were perceived as intermediaries between people and God. Baroque guides to good death offered a choice of executors of the last will. Nevertheless, the main pleading was for a good death. Its first patron was the Mother of God, then St. Michael the Archangel, St. John the Baptist, St. Joseph, St. Barbara, the Guardian Angel, and each person’s patron saint. Therefore, after an invocation to the Holy Trinity, these invocations were the most common. Furthermore, the patron saints were executors of the last will and guardians of the testator’s soul at the moment of their death. St. Michael, commander of the heavenly army and victor over the dragon of hell, was a protector and defender against devil invasion at the moment of death, the aforementioned Guardian Angel was a guide to heaven, St. Joseph was to help with “na przypomnienie i wzbudzenie pobożnych affektów do Pana Jezusa i Najświętszej Panny” (“evoking and inspiring pious affection towards Jesus Christ and the Holy Virgin”). St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier were patrons of „dyspozycji do skonania” (“the instructions for dying”). St. Madeleine’s role was to ensure „na opatrzenie sakramentu pokuty i prawdziwej skruchy za grzechy” (“the observance of the sacrament of penance and true repentance for the sins”). St. Barbara was responsible for „na opatrzenie najświętszego sakramentu, jakowiatyku” (“ensuring the holy sacrament as well as the viaticum”). (Viaticum is the Eucharist administered to a person ending their earthly existence and preparing for passing on to eternal life). Blessed Stanislaus Kostka and Blessed Aloysius were to assist in the Holy Communion, while St. Lawrence was protector against the fires of purgatory. See in: MORAWSKI, J. *Droga przed Bogiem...*, 61.

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CHIEF JUDGES AND URBAN ELITE OF MISKOLC IN THE TURKISH ERA (1550 – 1700)

Éva Gyulai

In the history of the Hungarian Kingdom, the period lasting from the mid 16th to the late 17th century is a separate era, also called Early Modern Age or Turkish Era. It is a special period in the history of Miskolc, too, as the market town of the medieval Diósgyőr royal dominium went into the possession of pledge holder aristocrat families, who leased the estates belonging to the Diósgyőr castle from the king or the Chamber as the economic institution representing the monarch for one and a half centuries. The monarch put royal dominions in pledge because during the Turkish wars, it was difficult for the Chamber to manage them while the amount of pledge received for the dominions could be used to pay and maintain the army and border castles. Miskolc got new landlords and also paid taxes to the Turks from the 1540s as the town became part of the Habsburg-Turkish rule, belonging to a double taxation area on the perimeter of the territory under Turkish rule. Town inhabitants paid state taxes to the monarch of Hungary, church tithes (to the bishop) for their production of wine and crop, gave the same together with other services set forth in their serf deeds to their landlord, the owners of Diósgyőr castle and paid tax to the Turks in a lump sum, including both services owed to the landlord and state tax as Miskolc was a *has* or *hassa* estate, that is, it belonged to the sultan's private property. The fact that Miskolc became the dominion of the Turkish sultan and was not divided up to reward soldiers and especially officers prove the economic importance of the town. Miskolc's economy strengthened in the 15th century, and its development continued in the second half of the 16th century despite the Turkish taxation.¹

However, the self-administration of the town preserved its medieval character, and similarly to free royal cities, the inhabitants of the market town regarded the members of their community to be citizens although they had the legal status of serfs. Approximately 4,000 – 5,000 inhabitants of the town were free to elect the town council and the chief judge as the head of it. It was a new phenomenon, however, that while in the Middle Ages, the town kept no permanent records although it used seals, and both the chief judge and the council issued deeds with their own seals, in 1565, they started to enter the most important issues affecting the town and its inhabitants into the Book of Town (Town's Protocols), which was kept from this time on without interruptions up to mid 19th century.²

The chief judge and the 12 members of the town council, the consuls or senators were elected by the citizens of Miskolc around St George's Day (24 April), at the beginning of spring. The senators were, however, often appointed by the chief judge himself. Due to the Turkish wars, the general existential insecurity, and the large number and variety of grave problems, the position of the chief judge was not at all as popular as one would think. In the second half of the 17th century, it was rejected by several people but the town set forth in a legal statute that whoever rejected the position should pay a

1 GYULAI, É. Gazdálkodás, termelés és árucsera a kora újkori Miskolcon. In *Miskolc története Vol. II. 1526 – 1702*. Ed. Szakály, F. Miskolc 1998, 175-357.

2 Miskolc város tanácsülési jegyzőkönyvei I. (1569 – 1600). In *Miskolc város történetének dokumentumai I.* Eds. Tóth, P. – Csorba, C. Miskolc 1990.

fine. This, however, did not deter those who did not wish to accept the appointment. Because of this, at late 17th century, those who did not want to undertake to lead the town were threatened with a loss of property. However, town administration required permanent officials. It already had a notary public as early as in the Middle Ages. In the 16th and 17th centuries, economic officials like the treasurer and the 'town governor' (*hospes oppidi*), the top controller of the economic management of the town gained an increasingly greater importance. In the 17th century, the latter had its own office with professional accounting and the recording of returns and expenditures. Another new position was that of the interpreter as at the beginning of the Early Modern Age, there was a great demand for language knowledge when the town had negotiations with different legal authorities (Turkish officials in Erlau (Hungarian: Eger), the often foreign commanders of the border castles in Szendrő or Ónod in Borsod county, German commanders and officials in the Chamber and in the military headquarters in Kaschau (Kassa/Košice).

In the 16th century, chief judges emerged from among the serf citizens of the town. No nobleman could hold this position, which means that similarly to the Middle Ages, the population of Miskolc basically consisted of market town serfs, whose legal status was determined by the taxable inner tenement (*intravillanum*) and exteriorities related to farming (*extravillanum*). Stephen Pap was chief judge of Miskolc from 1576 to 1580, that is, he was annually re-elected for 4 years. In 1582, however, he became a nobleman, whose grant of arms was, in fact, also preserved, but as a nobleman, he was no longer elected to be chief judge.³

Stephen Pap was ennobled and was given a coat of arms in 1582. The figure of the beneficiary of the donation himself can be seen in the emblem of the letter patent of nobility preserved in the historical archives of Borsod county of in the Archives of Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén County (BAZML): the depicted person is bald, he is wearing a black overcoat according to the Spanish fashion of the Viennese court, and what is more important, he is holding a curved Hungarian saber in his right hand and probably a human head in his left hand. The crest of the helmet displays a straight sword with a human head pulled on it. The miniature made of Stephen Pap chief judge of Miskolc was painted at the Pressburg (Hungarian: Pozsony, today: Bratislava, Slovakia) chancery of Holy Emperor and King Rudolph II (I) of Habsburg but in all probability, according to the supplicant's instructions, which means that the freshly ennobled chief judge regarded fighting as his most important and characteristic activity. Perhaps he himself had actually killed one of the Turkish enemies. It should not be forgotten that the beneficiary of the coat of arms and nobility was chief judge in a town that was regarded as their own property by the Turks from the mid 1540s and paid tax to them but was also regarded a subject of the Habsburg monarch. This duality was typical all through the one-and-a-half-century long Turkish era.⁴

The shift in religion of the town inhabitants also contributed to the strengthening of self-government. From the 1560s, Miskolc citizens were followers of the Reformation as the whole population was converted, with the medieval Gothic church becoming the place and centre of the Calvinist worship. In this era, it was common that the elected leadership of local Protestant denominations was interconnected with the town council in power relations, jurisdiction and personally, too, thus further increasing the power of the town leadership.

In the second half of the 16th century, Reformation spread very quickly in North Eastern Hungary. In the 1570s, the population of market towns was mainly Protestant but the new religion could not set up such a hierarchy or episcopacy as the Catholic Church did in the Middle Ages. Local Protestant churches were in many respects independent and therefore they had greater sovereignty, enhancing their power over their congregations. In feudal society, administrative and judicial authority was not separated. As the Hungarian name of the chief judge (*főbíró*) indicated he also had to pass judgments in different issues, assisted by jurors, that is, by sworn elected judges. Similarly, church leadership also had jurisdiction over the congregation. The Reformed (Calvinist) cleric or pastor of Miskolc judged

3 TÓTH, P. A város igazgatása. In *Miskolc története Vol. II. 1526 – 1702*. Ed. Szakály, F. Miskolc 1998, 377-404.

4 Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár (BAZML) Miskolc, XV.3.50.



Fig. 1. Chief Judge Stephanus Pap, 1580 on his armorial bearing (BAZML XV.3.50. Photo: Tamás Bodnár-BAZML©)



Fig. 2. Bell Tower built in 1554 (Photo: E. Gyulai)



Fig. 3. Application of Laurentius Jakus-Kis, 1563 (MOL NRA 723/50. Photo: MOL©)



Fig. 4. Vice-comes Andreas Aszalay, 1682. Oil, canvas (DIV KGY Inv. No 55.538. Photo: G. Kulcsár)

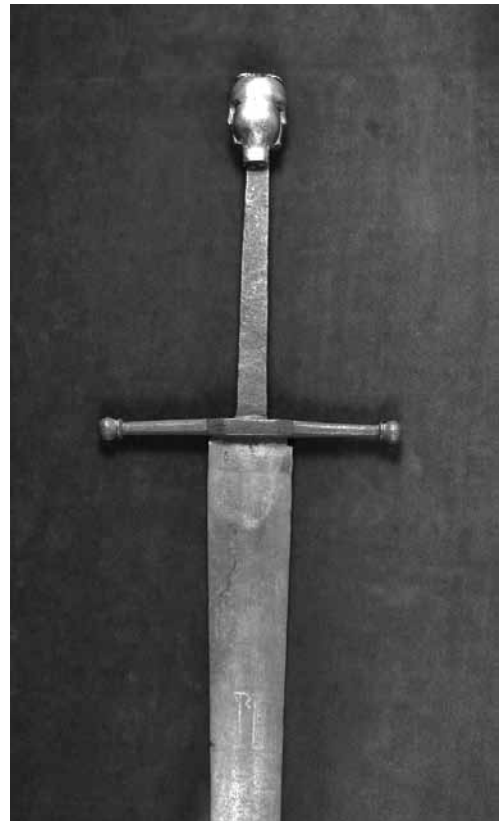


Fig. 5. Executioner's sword of Miskolc, late 17th century (HOM. Photo: G. Kulcsár)

church issues together with the members of the consistory. The guilty person often had to do penance in the black chair set up in the converted medieval Gothic church, named Avas. Urban and church authorities of town Miskolc were often interwoven in jurisdiction, too.

No Turks lived in the town during the Turkish Era, They were only present in Turkish centres as Erlau (Eger). However, they had their own judge in town. In spite of this, the integrity of town leadership remained strong, in many cases verging on the practice of free royal boroughs. It is true, however, that free royal boroughs were only subject to the king while Miskolc as a market town, the property of a landlord, was dependent on the legal authority of the landlord. This legal status was adopted by the Turks, who also treated the inhabitants of Miskolc as serfs.⁵

In the Turkish era, the council and the judge had an enhanced role as war conditions became permanent in the Hungarian Kingdom. In 1596, the Turkish army occupied the castle of Erlau/Eger, which was located near both Diósgyőr and Miskolc, and then became the military and economic centre of the Ottomans in the region, the centre of the vilayet of Eger or Eğri Eyalet (Ottoman Turkish: Eyâlet-i Egir). From this time on, the delegation of Miskolc inhabitants took the annual tax due to the Turks which amounted to several thousand Hungarian florins to Eger (Erlau). After the occupation of Eger, the Turks also occupied two smaller castles situated near the castle of Diósgyőr and Miskolc but Diósgyőr remained part of the Hungarian Kingdom. It is true that it was by no means such an important military fortress as the other royal border castles of the region, controlled from the military headquarters in Kaschau (Kassa or Košice), Szendrő, Ónod (Borsod county), Tokaj (Zemplén county), Putnok (Gömör/Gemer county), and the more remote fortress of Szatmár (Satu Mare, Romania). Although Turks were 'natural enemies' of Christians, the inhabitants of Miskolc and the other settlements of the region were not only threatened by the Turks but also by the soldiers of the border castles, not to mention the dangers of the feudal strife in the 17th century. This was because Hungarian noblemen opposing the Habsburgs maintained their own armies and these irregular troops known as 'kuruc' often demanded food and money from the Hungarian population.

It was a new task of town leadership to ensure the safety of the town. Therefore, in 1556, a separate bell tower was built at the town's expense next to the church to replace the collapsed Gothic tower of the Old Town's medieval parish church Avas, burnt down by the Turks. It was more like a fortress than a thin bell tower and it has been the symbol of town integrity ever since. From this time on, citizens kept their valuables here. The town had to be protected from Turkish and Hungarian marauders. Therefore, in the 17th century, at the expense of the inhabitants, the council arranged for the inhabited part of the town to be surrounded with a board-fence, that is, a wall consisting of stamped earth and a wicker-woven fence with the purpose to enhance safety. Naturally, the fence surrounding the town could not perform the function of the strong walls of free royal boroughs and was not even similar to them although it also had gates in it where the highways reached the town. The parts of the town leading to the inner city of Miskolc are still called 'gates', preserving the memory of the special market town defense zone, set up in the Turkish era.

In the Middle Ages, there was no town hall in Miskolc. The council had its meetings in the chief judge's residence, where the chest containing the seal, letters patent and other valuables of the town were also kept. It reveals the enhanced importance of self-administration and the chief judge's office that in 1550, the monarch donated a plot of land to the town, having suffered a lot from the devastation of the Turks in 1544. Gradually, this plot of land, located in the old town, became the administrative centre. In the 17th century, a simple town hall was built on it, and this way, the chief judge and town administration got their permanent seat in Miskolc, too. There has been a town hall on this plot ever since. In the town hall, the chief judge and town leadership held their meetings but during the 16th and 17th centuries, the institution of a special type of 'rally' (contemporary Hungarian expression: a város állatása) was also known in Miskolc. In important issues and in emergency cases, the chief

5 SZENDREI, J. Miskolcz város története 1000 – 1800. Vol. III. In *Miskolcz város története és egyetemes helyirata I – V*. Miskolc; Budapest 1904, 1886 – 1911.

judge called the inhabitants of the town together, usually around the medieval Gothic church. In these meetings, the chief judge, the leadership of the town and the inhabitants discussed important issues directly, eye-to-eye.⁶

In the second half of the 16th century, in the first decades of the Turkish era, the elite of the market town of Miskolc had a special character. On the one hand, it consisted of serf citizens that were from rich serf-burgen owning tenements; craftsmen and a small number of merchants. On the other hand, there was also an 'outsider' noble group in the town, attached to the castle and dominium of Diósgyőr. Miskolc serfs could primarily become rich and start climbing up the social ladder due to their wine, produced on the town's 15 hills planted with vines as wine was the best sellable commodity in the era. Although vineyards were also subject to tithes which had to be paid to both the church and the landlord for the vintage, Miskolc inhabitants eagerly offered the remainder for sale either themselves or by selling it to wine merchants. Rich people in Miskolc often had several vineyards as vineyards were independent from the villeinage, their ownership being more like bourgeois property as they could be sold and bought freely. The buying and selling of vineyards was conducted before the town council. The transactions were entered in town records (Town's Book), which further enhanced the power of urban leadership. As early as the second half of the 16th century, the serf-citizen town elite took the first steps in the social rise as rich Miskolc wine-producing citizens, craftsmen, merchants as well as the servants (servitores) of the lords of Diósgyőr castle applied to the monarch for the coat-of-armed nobility.⁷ Laurentius Jakus-Kis, who was a citizen of Kaschau (Kassa/Košice) and Miskolc at the same time, possessed a house and vineyards in Miskolc, and also got involved in the flourishing cattle trade of the era, which was the reason why he requested an ox-head in his coat-of-arms from the monarch.⁸

In the second half of the 16th century, the elite did not exclusively mean noblemen in the market town of Miskolc but all those who managed to get into the leading bodies of the town and the Protestant church. A great majority of these people were rich serf citizens, who knew that in feudal society, they could only achieve real social rise with privileges they would gain by getting into the class of noblemen. In the 16th century, hardly any noblemen in the town lived there. In the 1563 survey, 17 units of land held by noblemen were recorded in the Old and 4 in the New Town, whose owners were mostly officials of the Diósgyőr dominium. One of them, Ambrosius Miskolci was a land steward and a castellan (castellanus), who had his wife and little son buried in the Avas church. Their tombstone can still be seen there today. The father of the famous poet Bálint Balassi, chief mining commissioner Johannes Balassa, belonging to the military and political elite of the country, also owned a house in the town. In fact, as he fell into disgrace with the Habsburg court for some time, he fled to his estates in Poland, and lived in the castle of Kamieniec (Odrzykoń, Poland) with his family for years. Between 1540 and 1559, his brother, Sigismund Balassa was a pledge holder owner of both the castle and the dominium.⁹

The officials and officers of Diósgyőr castle as well as the relatives of the owners of the castle and dominium often acquired real estates in the town in order to be able to produce wine and sell it in the pub set up in their mansion, that is, in their house possessing the privileges of noblemen although their places of residence were elsewhere. Thus, they were not an integral part of urban society, either, as their intravillum generally possessed the privileges of noblemen and therefore, it was tax-free so they sneaked out of bearing the burdens of the town. Town leadership and the thin noble elite mainly had conflicts concerning the issue of wine sales because noblemen often sold their wines as pursuant to the contract between the dominium and the market town in which this right was exercisable only by the town inhabitants.

The 15-years war, which started in 1593, was the most devastating period of the Turkish wars. The contemporaries called it a 'long war', dividing the Turkish era into two parts both in the history of

6 GYULAI, É. Miskolc topográfija a XVI – XVII. században. In *Miskolc története Vol. II. 1526 – 1702*. Ed. Szakály, F. Miskolc 1998, 89-174.

7 GYULAI, É. Nemesek és városi közösség Miskolcon a 16. Században. In *Archivum. A Heves Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve*, 15, 1998, 5-26.

8 KIRST, J. – DOBROSSY, I. *Košice – Miskolc : common centuries in a region / Kaschau – Miskolc : gemeinsame Jahrhunderte in einer Region*. Košice; Miskolc 2001.

9 GYULAI, É. A miskolci Avasi templom 16. századi sírkövei. In *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve*, XXXII, 1994, 185-206.

the Hungarian Kingdom and the market town of Miskolc. In the 17th century, there were significant changes in the town's society and elite. The pledge holder families of the castle and the dominium were eager to exempt their Miskolc serfs from services. Such liberalisations were not made without consideration, of course. This way, Miskolc citizens were becoming increasingly free to manage their pieces of plough-land and especially their vineyards, their legal status also getting farther and farther from that of serfs. More and more of them applied for nobility, and due to the Turkish wars, a lot of noble families also moved into the town from the countryside. Gradually, Miskolc acquired a nobility of 'its own', including families rising into the aristocracy in the 18th century like the families Dóry and Szepessy. The Aszalays were also typical representatives of ambitious noble families in Miskolc. At the beginning of the 17th century, the family had its residence in Szendrő, a settlement having one of the most important border castles in Upper Hungary with soldiers of the emperor. However, in the middle of the century, the family already lived in Miskolc, and in the 1680s, Andreas Aszalay was a sub-prefect (vice-comes) of the Borsod county who married a lady from the prestigious Dóry family. The economic basis of these freshly ennobled families was provided by their agricultural estates, wine production, trade of agrarian products and military service in border castles.

An important scene of the representation of the noble elite, possessing a house in the market or the main street of the town and dominions in several settlements of the region, was the Protestant church of medieval origin. The best seats in the church were given to elite families by church consistory, which donated these seats as a favor and reward, and the families handed them down to their descendants.

In the non-noble elite of the town, the number of craftsmen increased in the 17th century. Several new guilds were established in Miskolc, including the guild of locksmiths and gunmakers. In Miskolc, the first guilds, the associations of tailors and butchers only appeared at the end of the Middle Ages but with regard to the fact that there was no significant handicraft industry anywhere else in the region, the market town became the centre of guild industry in the Borsod county in the 16th and 17th centuries. The practice of a trade often enhanced the social status of masters. Kelemen Mészáros (= Butcher) served as chief judge of Miskolc for several terms at the end of the 16th century. As serf citizens, tradesmen often had a plot of land in the town, to which extravillanum also belonged. What is more, they also had vineyards. The guild was a privileged association with its own regulations, enforcing its rights with the effective help of town leadership. Especially, practicing a trade outside a guild was prosecuted. At the request of guilds, the chief judge or his agent could enter the residence of the tradesman practising his trade outside a guild to confiscate his products and tools. Several guild masters were ennobled, for example, the Hers, a butcher family, as well as the Hesel-Lakatos (Lakatos = Locksmith) family, whose members were locksmiths.

The appearance of noblemen in the Miskolc elite and their growing prestige resulted in the fact that from the middle of the 17th century, only noblemen, what is more, landowners filled the position of the chief judge of the market town of Miskolc. Sigismund Balla-Boldisár was a typical representative of this new generation of chief judges at the end of the 17th century, owning several properties and manors in the town. He has become even richer due to his marriage strategy as he married the daughter of a rich merchant of Rimaszombat (today: Rimavská Sobota, Slovakia). The Boldisárs also became related to the abovementioned Dóry family. This was how the noble elite of the former serf market town became stronger in the 17th century.¹⁰

The urban elite generally lived in stone houses in the main street but Miskolc was by far not as urban as free royal boroughs. In the 17th century, it possessed no storeyed house. In spite of this, in the 17th century, Miskolc became an increasingly attractive place of settlement as its non-noble inhabitants also had a quite free legal status, and its populous markets, fairs, guilds, Protestant school and its fence set up as a town wall enhanced its function as a regional centre. As a centre, Miskolc required ever

10 GYULAI, É. Gazdálkodás, termelés és árucsera a kora újkori Miskolcon. In *Miskolc története Vol. II. 1526 – 1702*. Ed. Szakály, F. Miskolc 1998, 175-357.

more sophisticated controlling work from its leaders so that the chief judge, the senators and the paid officials had a more important role with enhanced competencies both outwards and inwards.

The power of the town's self-government that at the end of the era, in 1698, was evident when the town court sentenced its chief judge, Michael Kondai-Kis (Michael Small from Kondó) to beheading for his riotous way of life. He was executed in the main square of the town by an executioner's sword that we still have.

The right of execution or the punishment of capital crimes with death dates back to the Middle Ages. The monarch, at the same time the landlord, donated the right to Miskolc to deprive of life a criminal caught within its bounds who committed a capital crime. However, earlier it was inconceivable that the urban elite would unite against the first man of the town and sentences him. The sentencing and execution of the chief judge indicates that the new challenges and functions of the Turkish era elevated town leadership and the pressure group to the level of a developed self-government.

Abbreviations

HOM = Herman Ottó Múzeum [Herman Otto Museum], Miskolc, Hungary

BAZML = Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár [Archives of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County], Miskolc, Hungary

MOL = Magyar Országos Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives], Budapest, Hungary

DIV = Dobó István Vármúzeum [Dobó István Castle Museum], Eger, Hungary

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NEW INSTITUTIONS IN THE 18TH CENTURY MISKOLC (COUNTY ADMINISTRATION, ROMAN CATHOLIC PARISH CHURCH, MINORITE ORDER, ROYAL DOMINION AND HUNGARIAN CHAMBER)

Éva Gyulai

At the end of the Turkish era, there were immense changes in the society, administration and functions of Miskolc, too. In addition to the new political structure emerging in the Hungarian Kingdom, the basis of these changes was created by the special social changes taking place in the 17th century town. In the Turkish era, a good number of Miskolc citizens having the legal status of serfs were exempted from the services by their landlords, the pledge holder aristocratic families of the Diósgyőr castle and dominium. Thus, a liberated serf status (libertine) was created, much freer than the former one. In addition, at the beginning of the 18th century, the economic administration of the Habsburg monarch, the Hungarian Chamber recovered the dominium, including the market town of Miskolc, from the pledge holder lessees, and made it royal property or the so called crown dominium again.

This new situation made it possible for the market town of Miskolc to redeem itself from its dependence from landowners in exchange for an enormous sum paid to the state treasury. With the support of the town leadership, the inhabitants of Miskolc took loans and redeemed themselves in that way. This redemption freed the town and its inhabitants for 50 years, up to 1755, and even if only for half a century, Miskolc became similar to free royal boroughs. Redemption was a new legal institution, and as such, perhaps the most important in the Early modern age history of the town, for which no new urban institution had to be established as the town hall had already been in the main square of Miskolc for a century and a half. It requires further research to investigate how the citizens of Miskolc used their freedom which lasted for half a century, or whether it was „worth“ taking out the 41,000 florins loan, which required great sacrifice to pay back. In any case, the quantum, that is, the part of the amount of credit and its interest levied upon the inhabitants of the town subject to the real estate of the individual or the family, irrespective of their noble or commoner legal status, was definitely a new legal institution. In this way, real estate in Miskolc, whether it was owned by a nobleman or a serf (whether intravillanum, situated within town boundaries, or extravillanum, that is, plough-land or plots of land outside the town), the vineyards and wine cellars did not only form the basis of economics or subsistence but also linked Miskolc citizens to the freedom and legal status of their town and the preservation of the latter. This developed a kind of sense of urban identity in the citizens of Miskolc. At the same time, quantum and levied tax were proportionate to property, which, under feudal conditions, when pursuant to the laws of the country, noblemen paid no taxes, meant that in Miskolc, a special type of modern proportionate sharing of taxation prevailed albeit for only half a century.

Redemption, the taking out of the loan and the determination of quantum made it necessary to compile the first land register in Miskolc after the committee set up by the town examined the possessory relations of Miskolc citizens. Free royal cities already had a permanently kept land register in the Middle Ages but in Miskolc, it was only in 1702 that the first cadastral land register was compiled

with the title *Kötelkönyv* ('Book of ropes'). Although the cadastral land register was considered to be a genuinely new institution in the town, and in 1793, the landlord, the Hungarian Chamber had another huge new land register compiled of the town in Latin (*Liber fundualis*), which the citizens of Miskolc caused to be translated into Hungarian. These 18th century land registers remained static surveys reflecting conditions at a given point in time. Modern cadastral survey was only introduced in Miskolc and elsewhere in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century. The compilation of the land register and the collection of quantum extended the authority of town leadership, enhancing their power.¹

Town privileges were reinforced by the fact that at the end of the 17th century, in addition to the already existing two national fairs, Miskolc won the right to hold two more nationwide fairs, thus having one lasting several days and occupying the greater part of the town for several days in every season (Juliana's day: 16 February, Ascension Day: 10 days before Easter, Lukas' day: 18 October, Samuel's day: 6 August). Miskolc fairs and markets were famous for being busy and frequented but with regard to the townscape, they made Miskolc more similar to a village than to an elegant city. As a matter of fact, it was the great bustle and the liveliness that strangers and travellers arriving in Miskolc noticed while the low houses, the unpaved streets, the poor quarters populated by serfs, the floods caused by the River Szinva and the brook named Pece and the mud often had a depressing impression on them. Miskolc was rather famous for its wine, bread and the delicious meat fried in market tents and not so much for its elegant buildings or clean streets as in many respects, it was village-like.

At the end of the century, the management of Miskolc tried to get free royal city rights, for this there was a completely new institution introduced to the already existing chief judge's charge and to the elected town council, i. e. the so called provost or spokesman, with German word *Vormünder*, who was representative of the external council, whose members were not elected. The *Vormünder's* Hungarian name was *polgármester* that is burgomaster, and the same system had been used for example in free royal city of Kaschau (Hungarian: *Kassa*, today: *Košice*, Slovakia). Despite the efforts, Miskolc had never won these rights.

In the late 17th and early 18th century, the management of the city had acquired estates in the region of Miskolc, mainly fields and meadows, but also included 50 serfs' (mainly cotters') possessions, so in the first half of the century, during the redemption era, the city which had a serf status before, became a landlord having even serfs in its possession. From town money, the leadership of the town bought grazing grounds in nearby *Ládháza-puszta* (*Ládháza Desert*) together with serfs. Town community already had real property of its own, *intravillanum* and pieces of land suitable for cultivation outside the town, vineyards and even a mill in the 16th and 17th centuries. The town retained its farmstead even in the 18th century. In addition, the landless serfs living in the poor quarters of the town were also considered to be subjects of the town and had to pay rent for their tiny houses. But the plots of land, the homestead and the serfs were all in the territory of the town, the inhabitants of Miskolc earlier had only possessed vineyards in the neighbouring village of *Hejőcsaba*. The town had the same relationship with the inhabitants of *Ládháza* as any other landlord. It entered into a contract with the serfs here, mainly with landless ones, and allowed them to elect the village mayor. In minor issues, serfs even had the right to set up a court of first instance of their own. However, major issues were decided by the court of the landlord, the community of Miskolc.²

Really new features in 18th century Miskolc were the permanent stores, especially the Greek store as inhabitants had only been able to do shopping in the weekly or nationwide fairs or in the houses and workshops of craftsmen earlier. It was a medieval topographical feature of the town that its city centre had just one long main road, which was an advantage in the establishment of stores as they were easily accessible on the two sides of the main road, also functioning as the market-place. While shops represented a novelty in the economy of the town in the 18th century, the lessees and keepers of the shops introduced a new social group into the town, that of strangers. Earlier, the inhabitants

1 TÓTH, P. *A miskolci Kötelkönyv (Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén Megyei Levéltári Füzetek, 22)*. Miskolc, 1986.

2 SERESNÉ SZEGŐFI, A. *Városgazdálkodás. In Miskolc története Vol. III. 1702 – 1847*. Ed. Faragó, T. Miskolc 2000, 395-42.

and society of Miskolc were Hungarian by character. From the Middle Ages, there naturally appeared strangers in the town but they did not form a coherent social group. The first such group was that of merchants from the Balkans who were called Greeks on account of their Greek orthodox religion, and liturgics and partly native languages. They appeared in Miskolc in the 18th century, established an independent legal institution or company called *compania*, as well as their own Greek orthodox denomination, first with a meeting-house, then with a church. The Jews, appearing a little later, at the beginning of the 18th century, formed their community in a similar way. It is true, however, that their community was religion-based and not occupation-based. They were represented by their religious leaders before town jurisdiction.

The strangers settling in the town in the early 18th century³ enriched the townscape not only with their shops, churches and other religious institutions (e.g. a Jewish bath) but their graveyards also appeared as new institutions. Until the end of the 17th century, the town only had two Protestant (Calvinist) graveyards. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Catholics established a new Catholic graveyard around and near the new parish church, then the Greeks and the Jews got permission to establish their own graveyards, too.

After the Turkish wars, the strengthening of the Catholic church in the form of recatholisation played an important role in the reorganization of the Hungarian Kingdom so after the almost 150 years' predominance of the Reformed Church, a Roman Catholic parish was re-established in Miskolc at the end of the 17th century. In the 1720s, a Catholic church was also built. The topographical features of the church well reveal its late foundation as the medieval Gothic church in the middle of the town remained in the possession of the Reformed whereas the Catholic Church was built in the place of the medieval hospital and cottars' quarter, at the edge of the town. The patron of the parish was the monarch, represented by the *Diósgyőr* dominium as the landowner. Until the end of the 18th century, the number of Catholics increased steadily although Calvinist (Reformed) dominance prevailed throughout the Early modern age.⁴

The gaining ground of Catholicism was reinforced by the settlement of the Minorite order in Miskolc. In the Middle Ages, there were no religious orders in the town but only Benedictine and Pauline monasteries in the surroundings, possessing mills, noble estates and taverns in the town. Thus, the Minorite order, appearing in the 1720s, was the first religious order, which built an impressive Baroque monastery and a church with two towers in the place of the parish church of the medieval New Town, having been destroyed in 1544. The Minorites also maintained an elementary school so in addition to spiritual care and Catholic conversion, Catholic education appeared as a new feature of town life. The crypt of the Minorite church became the burial place for the Catholic elite of Miskolc and of the neighbouring countryside, where the families converted to Catholicism and rising into the aristocracy also buried their dead in the second half of the 18th century.⁵

The settlement of the Miskolc Minorites was due to provost Didacus Kelemen, who died in Miskolc in 1744, and whose person, activities and sanctity won him special respect even in his life. Not much later, his corpse, buried in the crypt of the Minorite church, became a place of pilgrimage. What is more, even the process of his beatification started though it has not been completed up to the present day. The cult of Didacus Kelemen put Miskolc on the map of Catholic piety in the 18th century so that pilgrims started arriving in the town, the population of which had almost exclusively consisted of Protestants, and which had had no other religious entity just the Reformed church half a century before. The processions and street spectacles of the Minorites and the Catholic parish also represented a novelty. For these, participants and 'tourists' or spectators also arrived in Miskolc from the region. As a matter of fact, the jurisdiction and the officials of the *Diósgyőr* royal dominion made the Corpus

3 GYULAI, É. Lengyelek Miskolcon a 18. század végén. In *Studia Miskolcinsensia*, III, 1999, 76-83.

4 GYULAI, É. Topográfia és városkép. In *Miskolc története Vol. III. 1702 – 1847*. Ed. Faragó, T. Miskolc 2000, 57-150.

5 GYULAI, É. A minoriták öröksége Miskolcon. In *Miskolci Keresztény Szemle*, VI, 2010, 2, 57-68.

Christi procession obligatory for the Protestant members of the guilds, as well, which caused a lot of disagreement and tension.⁶

In 1755, the market town of Miskolc lost its freedom again with its non-noble inhabitants sinking back into the status of serfs again although they were much freer than the inhabitants of serf villages. The town returned to the administration of the Diósgyőr royal dominium falling under royal property law so both the Hungarian Chamber as the economic organization of royal administration and the institutions of direct dominium administration appeared in the town. The dominium had its centre in the neighbouring market town of Diósgyőr laying directly under the medieval castle.

Only the offices related to the administration of the town were established in Miskolc, and the establishments and facilities of the economic and business activities of the dominium appeared. The following dominium officials had their houses and offices in Miskolc: prefect as chief economic official, dominium prosecutor (lawyer), provisor, dominium steward, market supervisor and overseer. The four custom-houses or custom-stalls, put up on the roads leading into Miskolc, should also be mentioned here. These offices controlled the economic activities of the dominium, here namely in many enterprises and plants in the town. Such were the three inns: a one-storey building at the edge of the market-place, a two-storey building in Piac (= Market) Street and a two-storey inn at the edge of the town, the four pubs, the brewery, the slaughterhouse and several butcher's shops, two corn-mills in the town, a fulling mill and a tanning mill at the edge, as well as a wood-yard and a cartwright's workshop. These dominium enterprises brought huge revenues for the treasury in the populous market town. Catholic elementary schools together with the flats for teachers and choir-masters also counted among dominium institutions. Miskolc also had a secondary school but it was maintained by the Reformed Church.⁷

The institutions of the Hungarian Chamber meant a novelty not only through their official operation but provided important features for the town with their buildings, too. The buildings of the dominium were made by the engineers and master builders of the Hungarian Chamber in Baroque style with the use of modern technologies so these buildings served as a model for the population and community of the town in their construction activities. Thus, the dominium was a decisive factor not only in the economic life of the town but also formed townscape and the taste of the citizens.

In Miskolc, the first guilds were established in the early 16th century, in the Middle Ages. Then, in the 17th century, several crafts established new guilds but handicraft industry had its golden age in the 18th century. In the Hungarian Kingdom, the 18th century was the second flourishing period for the guilds. This was the time when Miskolc became a regional handicraft centre. At this time, the guilds got their privileges, that is, the operational license and their regulations almost exclusively from the monarch but as they were also market town associations, they were accountable to two legal authorities, the dominium and town leadership. They were supervised by both authorities. The dominium even appointed a separate inspector to check up on them but the town also ordered their products and services, and furthermore, it had a say in their self-government, as well. The guilds did not only appear in the markets and fairs with their products but they also sold their products from their workshops. It was, however, a novelty of the 18th century that they set up permanent stalls in Miskolc with the permission of the town. These were simple wooden structures, half way between storehouse and real shop, and became a characteristic feature of Miskolc streets.

The increase and strengthening of the central functions of the town are indicated by the fact that in the 18th century, Miskolc became the permanent seat of the Borsod county. In the Middle Ages and in the Turkish era, the general assemblies of the institution of the noble universitas (community) i. e. county were held in different places with the documents, seal and valuables being kept by the sub-prefect himself. In the period of the 18th century political consolidation, the county needed a permanent seat, which was found in its most populous market town and most dynamically developing

6 Isten szolgája P. Kelemen Didák O.F.M. *Conv. levelei 1714 – 1743*. Ed. Rákos, B. R. Roma 1979.

7 DOBROSSY, I. – IGLÓI, G. Koronauradalmi épületek Miskolcon a 19. század elején, 1-2. In *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve*, 20, 24, 1982, 1985, 77-98, 137-164.

centre, Miskolc. Its position near Diósgyőr, the centre of the former royal dominium may also have contributed to the selection of Miskolc as seat. The storeyed county hall was built around 1730. It was described by the renowned scholar of the era, Mathias Bél as an elegant and beautiful building. The county hall was built on the combined area of three units of land held in villeinage, opposite the town hall in the centre. The county assemblies attracted the noblemen of the county to the town so there was an elegant crowd in Miskolc on these occasions. In addition to the offices and the assembly hall, the building also housed the county prison and even a Catholic chapel. The county hall served as a model for the architecture of the noble elite, and thus in Miskolc, where there was no storeyed house in the 17th century, several palaces were built for local noble and aristocratic families in the 18th century.⁸

Although the building of the Miskolc County Hall, housing the general assembly and the offices of the county council even now, was rebuilt several times in the 19th century, its architectural form and partly its exterior preserved a lot of the former Baroque building. In fact, the construction of the roads and bridges around the town was also the responsibility of the county so the county set an example (and provided jobs) for Miskolc's inhabitants with traffic-related construction, too.

The new institutions and buildings of the second half of the century were related to the churches and religions newly appearing in the 18th century. By the end of the century, the Greek merchants from the Balkans settling in Miskolc had their church built in late Baroque style only with one but very high tower, which became a landmark and sight in the town. Next to the church, a storeyed Greek school was also erected. At the end of the 18th century, Lutherans also built a new stone church instead of the old wooden one. For the Jews, only a meeting-house was built as yet but they were allowed to establish a ritual bath on the small channel tapping the River Szinva. In addition to the new religious groups and churches, the institutional system of the Reformed Church was also extended as the medieval Gothic church proved to be too small for the community at the end of the 18th century (by which time, as a matter of fact, there had been a demographic explosion in the town). So, at the very end of the 18th century, the second Reformed church was built in the area of the medieval new town. Although Lutherans settled in the town relatively late, at the beginning of the 19th century, their school attracted Slovak and German speaking Lutherans from the northern counties, as well, because in addition to education, it was also important to learn the Hungarian language, and Miskolc had remained a town with a large majority Hungarian population.

With its changes and several new social, possessory, religious, urban and other institutions in the 18th century, Miskolc participated in the early modernization of the Hungarian Kingdom. At the same time, it possessed several specific institutions and innovations that were altogether characteristic of this market town only. Thanks to this, it deserves the attention of historians both in itself and in comparison with other Hungarian and Central European towns and cities.

Abbreviations

BAZML = Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén Megyei Levéltár [Archives of Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén County], Miskolc, Hungary

OSZK = Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [National Széchényi Library], Budapest, Hungary

AG OFMConv = Frati Minori Conventuali, L'Archivio generale, Roma

8 GYULAI, É. Bor és kenyér I–II. Miskolc–toposok az újkori országismereti irodalomban : Miskolc toposok az újkori utazási és honismereti irodalomban. In *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve*, XLIII–XLIV, 2004 – 2005, 355–385, 189–220.

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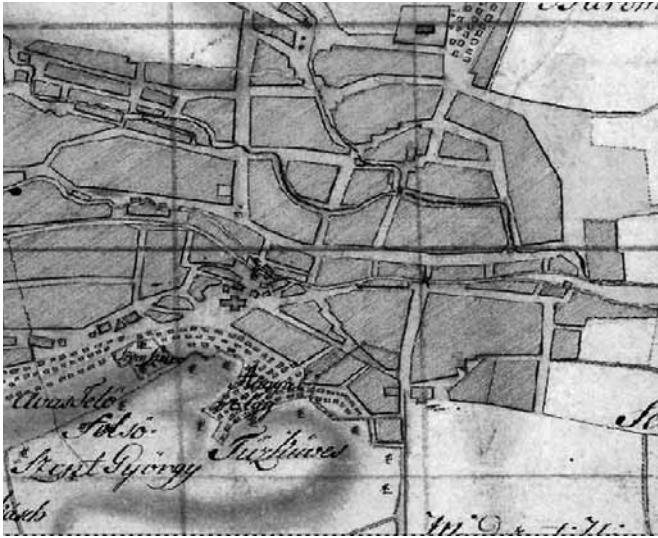


Fig. 1. Map of Miskolc, around 1770 (OSZK©TK 2047©)



Fig 2. Didacus Kelemen, engraving, late 18th century (AG OFMConv©, after Rákos, 1979)

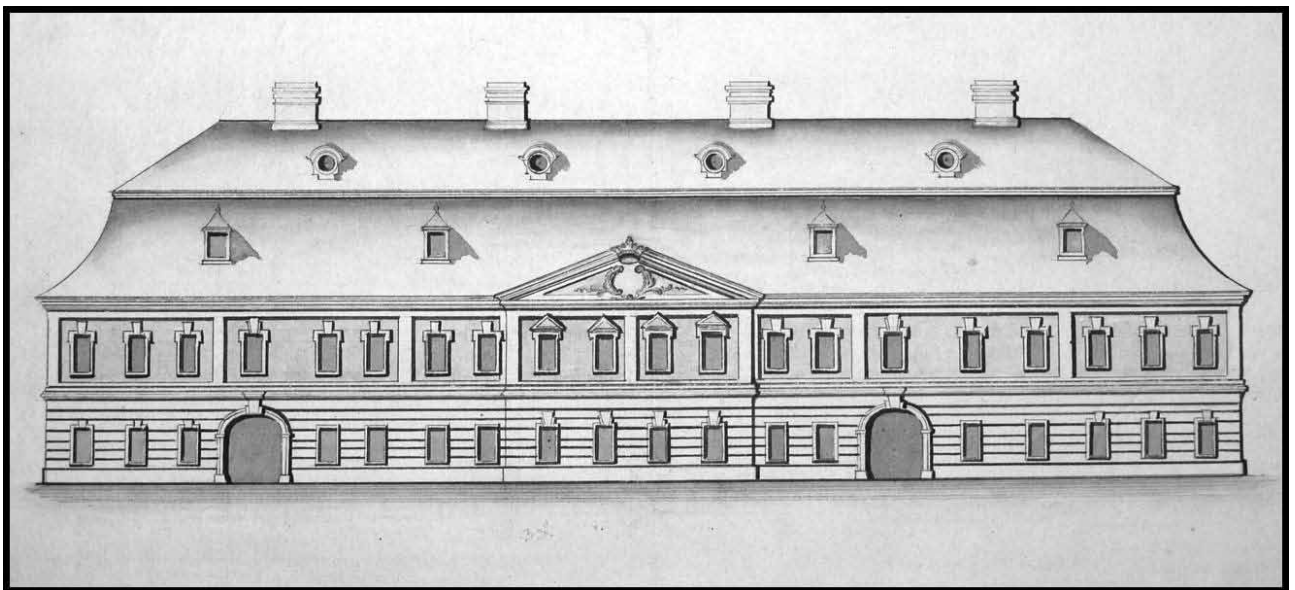


Fig 3. Delineation of the County Hall, 1795. BAZML IV-501/e. 859/1795 (Photo: BAZML©)



Fig 4. View of Miskolc on a guild's certificate, 1825. (Private collection of György Barna©)

OPAVA AS A PART OF THE MEDIEVAL COMMUNICATION NETWORK

Petr Chlebec

Roads are the oldest, human-made relicts throughout the country that draw our attention up to the present day. Since primeval times, roads have been exploited by groups of hunters. With later progress of society, pilgrims, soldiers, businessmen, messengers and people at the edge of the society, e. g. beggars and robbers, appeared on the tracks. They had sacral, political, strategic, economic and communicational function and were connecting several points in the country and therefore stabilized the economic and political situation. Compared to other artificially created objects, roads retained their appearance over long centuries. For that reason, it is possible to retrace some of the main roads from primeval ages until the Middle Ages. One of these was the Amber Trail, which connected northern and southern part of Europe. It began at the Baltic area and crossed Poland, Silesia, Moravia, Austria and finished in Italy.

Small territory on the border of Moravia and Silesia, Holaric province, prospered from the proximity of that road. The land was first mentioned back in the 9th century in a publication called Bavarian geographer. This relatively small territory was settled by a mysterious tribe of Holaric. They lived in an open landscape without bigger natural barriers, which did not amplify their power to strike. On the western side, a natural rampart was created by large woods on foot of the Jeseníky mountains, and in the east, beyond the wet area of Odra river, the Beskydy mountains formed another barrier. Natural conditions were suitable for year-round travelling over the hillocks of even altitude. Travellers did not have to climb the high hills, or wade through streams and wet areas.¹ It was known by the tribe of Holaric, which built their fortresses on these roads, for example Chotěbuz-Podobora, Ostrava-Koblov (hill Landek), and Hradec upon the Moravice river.² The latest kept its function of a supporting point on the road to Moravian city of Olomouc, that is why Boleslav II. Emprise tried to seize the fortress in 1060.

In the following years, armies used this road during a conflict between Bohemia and Poland, which plundered a territory in the northern Moravia (around the city of Olomouc) and Raciborz and Koźle. No evidence of military actions was found on the roads, because an archaeological research was not yet carried out in the road network of Moravia and Silesia frontier. Individual points of contact were studied, however, such as fortress near Kylešovice, where military equipment, rider and horse gear,³ was found, especially horseshoes are typical representative of the archaeological finds on the road.

Both states have attempted to resolve the volatile situation diplomatically, but the breakthrough came only after the death of Boleslav Wry-mouthed in the year 1138, which left the Polish state weakened. We can say, nevertheless, that up to the 2nd half of 12th century, the Polish state had a predomi-

1 ČAPSKÝ, M. Hospodářský obraz Moravsko-Slezského pomezí v době vlády Jana Lucemburského. In MAJER, D. et al. *Král, který léta : Moravsko-slezské pomezí v kontextu středoevropského prostoru doby Jana Lucemburského*. Ostrava 2011, 301; CENDELÍN, D. Postavení Uherského Brodu na rané středověké dopravní síti ve světle objevů relikvů zaniklých dopravních tras. In *Historická geografie*, 35, 2009, 1, 59-94.

2 KOUŘIL, P. – PRIX, D. – WIHODA, M. *Hrady českého slezka*. Brno 2000, 402-403.

3 KOUŘIL, P. – PRIX, D. – WIHODA, M. *Hrady...*, 402-403.

nant influence over the province of Holasice, as the previously mentioned fortress in Kylešovice and the silver hoard from Opava-Komárov, which are of Polish origin, suggest.⁴ In 1155, a deed by pope Hadrian IV mentions the Holasice province as a castellany of Wrocław bishopric. Forty years later, on 26th December 1195, however, duke Vladimír of Olomouc issued another deed in Opava. Holasice province had to come under the sovereignty of the Czech state sometime in the 2nd half of 12th century⁵ and thus completed the military events of the early medieval states which weakened commercial potential of the Moravia-Silesia border.

It does not mean that the road was not used during the years of war, as indicated in the deed by Otto, duke of Olomouc, for monastery in Hradisko by Olomouc from the 3rd February 1078, which refers to a duty collected in Hradec upon the Moravice river and then the deed of Czech king Vladislav I. as of 16th June 1160 repeating the previous regulation.⁶ It is not possible to talk about an economic growth in the region of the time, because there was no significant point which would attract business coming from Głubczyce to Olomouc or further to the south to Hungary. The city of Opava became such a point, as was established on the right bank of the river Opava at the beginning of 13th century. The city was established on a site of an older settlement with a tavern near the ford. The first written record comes from the year 1224. This deed by Přemysl I. Otakar included a mile law restricted to taverns and an exemption from customs duties for the wine exported to Poland through Głubczyce.⁷ The king attempted to include the new city to the network of long-distance roads, so it would fill the empty space between Moravia and Silesia. The fame of Opava was reflected in the 1st half of the 13th century, when the name of province of Opava began to spread and completely overshadowed the older Holasice province.

Incorporation of the territory did not mean only economic and political growth of the region, but also a division of the zone of control into three parts, Cieszyn, Opava and Otmuchów province, because the Wrocław bishopric was involved in the colonization effort on the north part of the Holasice province. In the 13th century, they managed to transform their domain with the centre at Otmuchów castle into the principality exempt from the sovereignty of Wrocław dukes. Later, the administration of principality transferred to the town Nysa, which was established at the beginning of 13th century.⁸ Nysa has grown very quickly like Opava, because it was situated on a business road between east and west adjoining to the Jeseník road going through Bruntál and finishing in Olomouc. The road was defended on the border by castle Edelštejn near Zlaté Hory.

During the 13th century, Opava became the main market centre of the region. To the west of the city the road led to the mining centres in Jeseníky mountains. Horní Benešov was one of them – it received urban rights from Margrave Přemysl, and later king Přemysl II. Otakar in 1253.⁹ Mile law was also restricted only to taverns,¹⁰ and therefore can be assumed, that this town was a transit shelter connected with mining activities. Horní Benešov started building the character of a mining town in 1271, when it got the mining rights. An influence of Opava's citizens was in this town from the start of the existence of the settlement, but it developed fully in 1340, when the town was acquired by a Duke of Opava. Some other mining centres in this region were the following: Bruntál,¹¹ which was founded before 1223,¹² and Zlaté Hory, with castles Edelštejn, Koberštejn, Drakov, Quinburg and Freudenštejn

4 KOUŘIL, P. – PRIX, D. – WIHODA, M. *Hrady...*, 412.

5 BAKALA, J. Holasické pomezí v 11. a 12. století. In *Časopis Slezského muzea, Série B, Vědy historické, Acta Musei Silesiae*, 13, 1964, 105-117. The author connects to the discussion between L. Peřich and M. Vach.

6 BAKALA, J. *Holasické pomezí...*, 106.

7 BAKALA, J. Nástup emfyteutické kolonizace a její úloha při stabilizaci feudální společnosti v českých zemích. In *Časopis Slezského muzea, Série B, Vědy historické, Acta Musei Silesiae*, 33, 1983, 97-104.

8 ČAPSKÝ, M. *Hospodářský obraz...*, 301. Although the list of location is unknown, we can assume that the city was founded before the year 1223, when we know Nysa's reeve. In the year 1245 the city acted as a „civitas“.

9 BAKALA, J. Počátky těžby kovů v Nížkém Jeseníku a vznik Horního Benešova. In *Časopis Slezského muzea, Série B, Vědy historické, Acta Musei Silesiae*, 21, 1972, 161-179. Author assumes the creation of the city on the green turf, because the city got the privilege in the year 1271.

10 BAKALA, J. Monopolizace tržních vztahů a milové právo v městech severní Moravy a Opavska do počátku 15. století. In *Časopis Slezského muzea, Série B, Vědy historické, Acta Musei Silesiae*, 22, 1973, 114-133.

11 ČAPSKÝ, M. *Hospodářský obraz...*, 312. Besides the mentioned customs in Hradec and Głubczyce existed one customs in Bruntál in the 13th cent.

12 Locational deed of town is recorded in the location deed of the town Uničov from the year 1223.

nearby patrolling the road between Nysa and Bruntál, because this part of region suffered from robber barons because of its remoteness.¹³

Krnov, adjacent to the nearby castle Cvilín (Schellenburg), filled the space between Jeseníky and the city of Opava. Business character of the road passing through Krnov, Albrechtice and Prudník, which was established during the third quarter of the 13th century,¹⁴ was confirmed by the deed of 1316 giving the annual market to the town Krnov. In another direction, the road continued to Hlučín and Moravská Ostrava, which followed the border line in the region and partly taken over the role of the castle Landek. This road was not so significant because of a changing riverbed of Ostravice river and wet area along the Odra river,¹⁵ that is why the most of the merchants from Opava travelled to the south through the towns Odry and Fulnek and finished in Běloutín. The road branched from there further to Olomouc and to the north to the Novojicinsko, where was another toll station,¹⁶ through Příborsko and in the area of Frýdek-Místek it crossed the Ostravice river.

The major importance of Opava was its function as a traditional communication connecting the towns of Silesia and Moravia. This road went from Olomouc through Běloutín, Fulnek, Odry, Opava and Glubczyce, where the merchants were able to continue on the Hohe Strasse, which connected Wrocław with Krakow. From Wrocław, it was possible to travel to the market in the Baltics or to the east to Görlitz. From Opava to the south, the track went through Uherské Hradiště and continued to Hungary, from where lead for silver mining was imported.¹⁷ The town Opava tried to monopolize the business on the road, as is apparent in the privilege from 1224, which severely restricted construction of new taverns and even orders to demolish the older tavern, which could thus divert merchants from the town.¹⁸ Nevertheless another road existed next to the main road. The track went out of the Opava gate through Litultovice, Moravský Beroun Šternberk and ended in Olomouc. In the 14th century it was known as publica strata ducis Opawie.

Although the main road through Opava served continuously for mercantile purposes, it was used for military campaigns too, but this time, offenders had to clash with a network of towns, among which Opava was one of the strategically most important points. The city was surrounded by a moat already in 1224 and at an early time complemented by walls with several gates.¹⁹

Sovereigns and lately landlords did not forget about the economic importance of the city and about the revenues, which they generated. For this reason, they were trying to patronize it, but also to control. The initial business plan of citizens was wine and beer selling as already seen in the mile law, but the city was still not focused enough on primary production and failed to meet the demand for these beverages, and therefore they were imported into the city. It can be assumed, that the supply of beer was not as difficult to maintain as wine, which became a popular commodity, as the privilege of the statutory warehouse from the King Wenceslas II from 1296 showed.²⁰ The citizens, who created their capital in wine trade, tried to protect their business by privileges, which meant a number of duties to their landlord.²¹ The owners of the houses with wine law appeared in later years in the ranks of the patricianship. The importance of taverns and other town houses with the wine law did not base

13 KOUŘIL, P. – PRIX, D. – WIHODA, M. *Hrady...*, 71. After the death of King Přemysl II. Otakar Mikuláš the duke of Opava gave in the year 1281 the castle Edelštejn to the pledge of Wrocław's bishops for losses made by raids by Ota from Linava and his brothers, owners of the castle.

14 ČAPSKÝ, M. *Hospodářský obraz...*, 302.

15 *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, V, 1850, 73, 72-74. About situation on the rivers Odra and Ostravice is written in the adjustment between Olomouc bishopric and Cieszyn dukes from the year 1296: „...quod fluuius idem Ostrauia, qui deberet metas Polonie et Morauię distinguere, non perpetuo cursu per unam via ducitur, sed fluctuans aliquando, antiquum loch sui transitus deserens, inuenit nouum cursum.“

16 ČAPSKÝ, M. *Hospodářský obraz...*, 302. Jan Lucemburský give the payment from the toll to the town in the year 1313.

17 SOMER, T. Význam olova pro český stát ve 13. století. In *Časopis Slezského zemského muzea, Série B, Vědy historické*, 59, 2010, 2, 113-125.

18 BAKALA, J. *Monopolizace tržních vztahů...*, 114-133

19 PRIX, D. Opava vrcholného středověku. In MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. et al. *Opava*. Praha 2006, 83. We know three gates in the year 1253.

20 *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, V, 1850, 56, 56. „quod in ipsa civitate Opavia plumbi, vini, pannorum, salis et aliarum omnium medium.“

21 BAKALA, J. Příspěvek o vývoji měšťanského patriciátu v Opavě. In *Časopis Slezského muzea, Série B, Vědy historické, Acta Musei Silesiae*. Opava 1974, 20-37. In 1494 there is the first-mention of the houses with the wine law, which was derived from the older privileges. Obligations of owners with certain property and with the wine law are written in the deed of Opava's Duke Zikmund Jagiello, later King of Poland, from the 2nd May 1505. WIHODA, M. Opava first century. In MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. et al. *Opava*. Praha 2006, 53. In the year 1260 Přemysl II. Otakar gived the tithe from taverns to Opava's citizens.

on the attractiveness of this trade with those commodities,²² but at a social environment, which was created in a certain place between certain people.²³

In a document from 1296 other commodities like cloth, which became the dominant commercial commodity in the Middle Ages were mentioned.²⁴ Communication, going through the border of the Moravian-Silesian and connecting to the Hohe Strasse, was a solid base of prosperity for Nysa, Opava, and Raciborz. For comparison we can note, that in Wrocław there were 40 stuffs with cloth, in Opava 26, in Raciborz 24 – 26 and in Nysa 24. One of the most famous merchants, John from Opava, probably built his fortune in doing business with cloth. He was one of the Wrocław patricians and had contacts in Bruges, Ghent and Ypres, from where he brought the cloth. The career path of the Opava's citizens led up to the north to Krakow or Nysa and the most attractive was Wrocław, because it opened up the way to the markets in western and northern Europe.²⁵

Another outstanding article passing through the gates of the city was lead, which probably did not originate in domestic production, but in Malopolsko (Olkusz) or Upper Silesia (Slavkov and about the 14th century in Bytom). Because of its weight it had to be transported on vehicles to Uherské Hradiště, which is mentioned in the deed by King Přemysl II Otakar in 1271.²⁶ Such heavy load needed good quality and stable roads, which were probably maintained by citizens.²⁷ Modernization also affected Opava – a new wooden bridge was built in place of an old ford behind the Ratiboř gate in the 13th century and was later rebuilt in stone in the third and fourth decades of the 14th century. Bohumil Sobotík supposes that there were actually two separate bridges, according to the names in the register ad pontes civitatis Opaviae. The second bridge should be situated somewhere behind Jaktář gate, where foreign citizens from Nysa, Szybowic, Prudnik and Głubczyce paid bridge tolls, as is written in urbarium of the city Opava from the year 1594. We do not know where exactly it was situated as historical and archaeological sources stay quiet on that point.²⁸

Finally, we are brought by the trade route to Oświęcim, where the main warehouse with salt was situated. In 1368, Kazimír the Great summed up the salt trade rules, which applied probably in older times. Foreign merchants had to drive off into the salt warehouse in Krakow and only the citizens from the selected cities with some tradition of visiting the salt mine were allowed to go to Wieliczka and Bochnia. Żary, Raciborz, Głubczyce and Opava were among these cities.²⁹

Thanks to the north-south junction, which started in one point by Uherské Hradiště and continued along the slopes of the Moravian Gate, through Fulnek, Odry, Opava to Głubczyce, Opava's citizens could visit the European markets, where they could pursue ample career paths. Their efforts were facilitated by legal provision and provided by a sovereign or landlord who tried to eliminate all kinds of economic and political barriers to increase their potential profits. Opava was roped into the customs war between the Polish and Czech states in the 14th century.³⁰

Other groups of travelers passing through Opava are difficult to find and to distinguish their purpose of the journey clearly in written or archaeological sources. In the material sources the trace of extraordinary group was found which constituted a small fraction of the mobilities and pilgrims. In the cultural layer on the courtyard of town house on the Ostrožná street, archaeologists found a pilgrim badge of lead with Virgin Mary and Jesus on the throne portrayed on it. It is possible to date

22 BAKALA, J. *Monopolizace tržních vztahů...*, 117. It is not possible to exchange the function of market and tavern.

23 LINDENAU, K. „Bürger und gastwirth allhier“. Gastlichkeit an der via regia am Beispiel Görlitz. In *Menschen unterwegs. Die via regia und ihre Akteure*. Dresden 2011, 82-89.

24 GOLIŃSKI, M. *Podstawy gospodarcze mieszczaństwa wrocławskiego w XIII. wieku*. Wrocław 1991, 165. In the 13th cent. was dominant business with cloth in Europe.

25 About the Opava's citizens in foreign cities. PRIX, D. *Opava vrcholného...*, 78-79; *Wrocławskie księgi szosu z lat 1370-1404*. Hrsg. Goliński, M. Wrocław 2008, 137, 158, 181, 187, 231; ČAPSKÝ, M. *Hospodářský obraz...*, 305.

26 ČECHOVÁ, V. *Geneze středověké Opavy a tržní sítě na Opavsku do konce 13. století*. Ostrava 1970, 88. „quod currus eorum plumbum, deferentes in Brod circa metas Ungarie“; SOMER, T. *Význam olova...*, 113-125.

27 PRIX, D. *Opava vrcholného...*, s. 77. The 2nd May 1505 confirmed Zikmund Jagiello rights associated with the maintenance of bridges.

28 SOBOTÍK, B. *Opavský rejstřík mostného z roku 1349 (dokončení)*. In *Časopis Slezského muzea, Série B, Vědy historické, Acta Musei Silesiae*, 7, 1963, 30-38, 79-90.

29 ČAPSKÝ, M. *Hospodářský obraz...*, 304.

30 MYŚLIWIKSI, G. *Wrocław w przestrzeni gospodarczej Europy (XIII-XV piek). Centrum czy periferie?* Wrocław 2009, 288-324.

it to the 13th century. The place of its origin was situated in Aachen, out of where the pilgrims usually travelled through Prague or through Wrocław.³¹

The last group consists of the messengers, who carried news, information and innovation. From the random entry in the Wrocław city book we know, that in 1367, Opava's town clock broke down. This was the first mechanical clocks in the country, and two prominent citizens of Opava had to be sent to Wrocław, Heynlin Scribe and Hanman Gardener, to negotiate a contract for repair. A year later, they returned with master Swelbelin, who liked the city, and settled down with his son John. In the 1380s, John moved to work to Banská Bystrica.³² Although the time was already close to the mechanical clock in Flanders, it cannot be assumed, that the same progress was made in the 14th century on the Moravia-Silesia border. Opava's citizens perceived their clock as a symbol of luxury and economic prosperity, which could demonstrate their privileged position in the region.³³

Thanks to the achievements of military stability and social progress which influenced new legal standards on the Moravia-Silesia border, the city of Opava could be established. The city quickly became one of market centers of Europe. Due to its location it was never an extremely attractive environment to the European merchants, but it would be a mistake to think that the city was not able to reach outside of its region. Opava's citizens turned out to be ambitious people, who purposefully used all their advantages to progress in the economic and political fields, which often meant fostering contact with the landlord. The most important aspect of their growth was the main road, which connected them with the outside world, from where the goods and innovation flowed to the city. Of course the connection with the world posed risk from certain wandering armies. The roads used for spiritual cleansing (pilgrims) created a new group of people, who lived from it (such as innkeepers, merchants).

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31 KOUŘIL, P. Život v raně středověkém městě ve světle archeologie. In MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. et al. *Opava*. Praha 2006, 41.

32 PRIX, D. *Opava vrcholného...*, 79, 95.

33 About mechanical clock: ČAPSKÝ, M. Opava v pozdním středověku. In MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. et al. *Opava*. Praha 2006, 96-98.

- ČECHOVÁ, V. *Geneze středověké Opavy a tržní sítě na Opavsku do konce 13. století*. Ostrava 1970.
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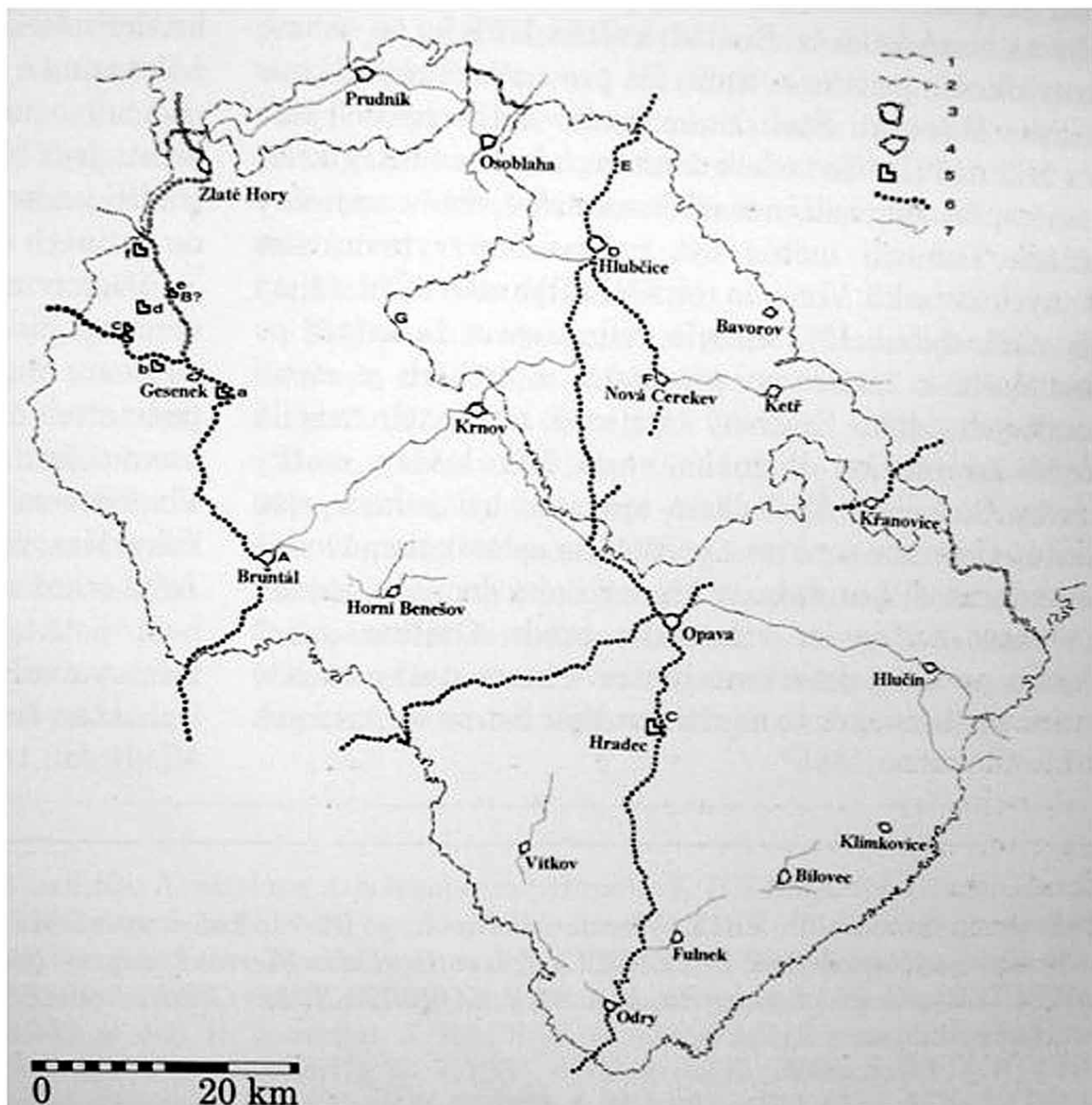


Fig. 1. Opava province in the 14th century

OPAVIAN SUBURBIA FROM 14TH TO 16TH CENTURY. A DYNAMICALLY DEVELOPING TERRITORY OR A CHANGELESS STATE?

Viktor Pohanka

In the 1930s Rudolf Fitz in his unpublished dissertation about the beginnings of Opava arrived at the conclusion, that one of the most important cities of the Moravian-Silesian border has not arisen by a single act of foundation but through a gradual development. Utilizing the contemporary methodical innovations in the analysis of Stable cadastre,¹ this German archivist identified land conditions and primary historical sources of the so called primary settlement core (*Vorsiedlung*), which according to his opinion has concentrated in the area of the both subsequently delimited main squares.² Although this disciple of Theodor Mayer (influenced by Adolf Zycha's research results) turned his attention to the area behind the latter city walls as well, it was the part of the urban zone he identified as the oldest layer of the Opavian settlement.³ Retrospectively orientated study into the conditions of the Opavian suburbs has allowed Fitz to state, that an apogee of the observed areas came in the course of the 16th century when the territories in the vicinity of the city underwent a radical transformation as a result of a lively building.⁴ In place of the former city pastures in front of the Jaktář gate a regular housing grouped on the both sides of the main streets emerged. For this reason a new sawmill, a mill house and a water line had to be built much further from the city gates.⁵ The limited space in the immediate proximity of the city called for a construction work also in more remote parts of the suburbs. With regard to that the city council watched all demesnes nearby which were still beyond its influence with suspicion. Efforts for gaining control of these areas by the town councillors arouse inquiries about the changes in their property rights during the late medieval period, which were in other respects precisely what Fitz's analysis of the structure and power of the individual peripheral settlements observed only marginally.

However the main ownership layout of Opava's adjacent areas was stated already at the time of its location, when the municipality gained a vast corpus of lands on the north-west outskirts of the city. Axis of this area has been represented by the land route coming out from the Jaktář gate and connecting the city with Krnov and Hlubčice. The Jaktář gate as along with two other Opava's gates were documented for the first time during the Polish-Ruthenian siege as early as 1253. As far back as in the 13th century was in front of the aforementioned gate formed a suburb predominantly comprised of small-sized fields submitted to the city jurisdiction.⁶ The area north-east and east of the city remained

1 NODL, M. Německá medievalistika v českých zemích a studium sociálních a hospodářských dějin. In *Německá medievalistika v českých zemích do roku 1945*. Praha 1004, 21-65.

2 By his results Fitz testified the ideas of STUMPF, G. Die Entwicklung des Stadtbildes von Troppau. In *Die Heimat-Blätter zur Vertiefung des Heimatsgefühles*. Vol. 1. 1923, 43-45.

3 Zemský archiv in Opava (ZA Opava), Rudolf Fitz, inv. n. 202, cart. 6 a 7, sign. 10, 202-203. The thesis is called Die Entstehung der ehemaligen schlesischen Landeshauptstadt Troppau. By his results Fitz corrected the Zycha's ideas about the oldest opavian settlement which should be situated in front of the city fortification.

4 ZA Opava, Rudolf Fitz, inv. n. 202, cart. 6 a 7, sign. 10, 172-177.

5 Státní okresní archiv v Opavě (SOA Opava), Archiv města Opavy (AMO), inv. n. 219, sign. IBb 9, fol. 101r-v.

6 PRIX, D. Opava vrcholného středověku. In MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. et al. *Opava. Historie, Kultura, Lidé*. Praha 2006, 57-95.

contrarily mostly in the ruler's hands. Suburban life had been developing particularly on both sides of the route passing through the Ratiboř gate and leading further to Upper Silesia and Minor Poland.

Local burghers owned only pasture land (*so-called Gansov*) which stretched on both sides of the river Opava and was located on the west of the aforementioned land route. Proprietary situation was over time further complicated by the estates of nobility and Church rarely supplemented by those subjected to the city law.⁷ The municipality was the holder of some pastures in the smallest of the Opava's suburbs of so-called the Hradec suburb similarly to the Ratiboř gate case. Also the settlement to the south of the city was predominantly filled with minor homesteads. However in the course of the 14th century the formation of the so-called Schneller Farmstead was created due to the secondary concentration of these homesteads. For decades thereafter it represented a dominant compound of the whole area, because of its vast affiliated estates stretching from Hradecká gate to the fields belonging to the village Kylešovice.⁸ We have got the evidence supporting the municipal ownership of Schneller farmstead for almost a century as early as 1427, whereas the area in the south-western part of the suburb belonging to the Order of the German Knights was beyond the control of the city council. Corpus of these estates had become not only the centre of the Opavian commandery, but also a site for the parish church of Virgin Mary who held the patronage over the Order.⁹ This ownership layout of the estates in the vicinity of Opava preserved its validity also in the course of the 14th century. From the topographic viewpoint, the situation in the suburbs underwent relatively significant changes (emerging of farmsteads and some farm buildings in front of the Jaktář gate, erection of the church dedicated to Saint Catherine and the Saint cross chapel before the Ratiboř gate and others),¹⁰ but from the proprietary perspective no important transfers took place there. When Duke Přemek moved closer to the city environment as he built his modest residence in the eastern tip of the urban area, he contributed to the stabilization of the ownership in observed areas. Even though as early as the second half of the 13th century Opava had exacted from Mikuláš I. the privilege in which this illegitimate child of Přemysl Otakar II. had pledged not to build his own castle within the town, now Přemysl managed to put fears of the town councillors to rest. Despite the fact that the residence had been built outside the city walls on the ruler's lands, it made use of the city fortifications by blending into them. Besides, the residence was separated from the city by an additional moat. The ruler's estates located in front of the Ratiboř gate were used for the provision of the ruler's court. This fact might have been perceived positively by the city council. At least parts of these estates were intended for an Opavian reeve (the closest co-operator of the ruler in the city) who had been becoming increasingly extraneous element in the city organism. It's this redirection of resources towards the castle that caused the weakening of his formerly strong position in the city administration. In a very short time the reeve was drawn into the municipal apparatus as one of its ordinary elements and his former functions were taken over by the burgomaster whose appointment was fully in the hands of the council.¹¹ The estates lying to the east of the route leading to Ratiboř extending on the both sides of the river up to the confluence of Opava and Moravice were hereby attached to the ruler's residence. And thus this domain also included villages located outside of the suburbs Kylešovice (on the right bank of the river) and Kateřinky (on the opposite bank of the river).¹²

Researchers dedicated their attention to this domain as far back as the end of the 19th century when Vincenc Prasek formulated a thesis about the conditions in Kateřinky area and its gradually dwindling ruler's estates. The part of the domain on the left bank of the river was administrated from the so-called Small Farmstead with adjacent fields located just in the Kateřinky area. In the

7 PRÍX, D. *Opava vrcholného středověku...*, 80-86.

8 According to the 15th century account the court has been situated „...za židovsků zahradů mezi dvěma cestama, totiž mezi vrchní cestů s jedné až po silnici, kteráž na Hradec vede a mezi těma dvěma cestama s strany druhé až dolův po samý veliký rybník...“, comp. ZA Opava, Josef Zúkal, inv. n. 181, not numbered.

9 PRÍX, D. Počátky a rozvoj ve 13. století. In MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. et al. *Opava. Historie, Kultura, Lidé*. Praha 2006, 339-348.

10 PRÍX, D. *Počátky a rozvoj...*, 69-86.

11 ČAPSKÝ, M. *Vévoda Přemek Opavský (1366 – 1433). Ve službách posledních Lucemburků*. Brno 2005, 115; ČAPSKÝ, M. *Opava v pozdním středověku*. In MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. et al. *Opava. Historie, Kultura, Lidé*. Praha 2006, 98-101.

12 Further delimited „the borders“ of the chamber estates POHANKA, V. *Proměny zeměpanské domény v prostoru středověkého Ratibořského předměstí města Opavy*. In *Slezský sborník*, 109, 2011, 1-2, 9-25.

late medieval period, diversely large estates had been separated from this farmstead which was ceded by the Opavian rulers to their servants or the Church institutions. That's the reason why Prasek could state that „*the history of Kateřinky should show us how the ruler's demesne had been dwindling from time to time*“ and pointed out that as a consequence of this, eight manorial lords later existed in Kateřinky.¹³ Stanislav Drkal in his study describing the history of the Opavian castle adhered to the Prasek's fundamentally justified statement.¹⁴ He however extended the aforementioned thesis on the whole ruler's possession. In the spirit of contemporary historiography Drkal didn't hesitate to declare the whole process as a *collapse of the financial administration and plundering by the feudal nobility and the city Opava* at the expense of the ruler's revenues.¹⁵ (Correct) thesis about the dwindling ruler's estates (logically) hasn't eluded Martin Čapský either since he anticipated that the crumbling of the suburban estates was related with the crumbling of the whole ruler's demesne. Division of a demesne which affected the Opavian Premyslids already in the 14th century (afterwards also in the following century) significantly limited their economic potential and further complicated *generous manner*, which ranked among the most important ruler's virtues.¹⁶ For this reason arguably Čapský concluded that at the end of the 15th century „*ruler's demesne [in the Ratiboř suburb – authors comment] was reduced to the castle and the small enclaves in direct possession, and that the latter possession holders... must have been putting together one up to two tracts of fields and some local homesteads to properly reward loyalty of their noble supporters*“.¹⁷ If we neglect the fact, that Prasek formulated his thesis for the completely different corpus of lands, it is possible to deny this view of the diminishing ruler's demesne by also considering Rudolf Fitz's conclusions. Nevertheless it's prudent to put the mentioned concept to a test.

A mere fleeting look into the preserved historical sources actually indicates its plausibility. During the reign of the Opavian Premyslids there was some farmland in front of the Ratiboř gate that was donated to a few of the ruler's subjects and Church institutions. Hans Kuncz obtained a garden¹⁸ and burgher Hanko gained a farmstead with two tracts,¹⁹ his favourite Knights Hospitaller presented Duke Mikuláš with a farmstead in Kylešovice and later added lands of the size of four tracts,²⁰ whereas some smallholders passed over to the Dominican order,²¹ and finally Opavian Franciscan nuns extended their possessions to include a farmstead with some fields.²² This trend even intensified at the end of the 15th century when the Opavian territory was ruled by the dukes of foreign origin (Podiebrads, Korvins). At that time the castle scribe Jiří was awarded half of a deserted tract for his services;²³ castle burgrave Hansel obtained a garden²⁴ from Duke Jan Korvín and Jindřich Donát from Velká Poloma acquired some land to set up a garden from the same Duke.²⁵ He rewarded the services of Albrecht Kavan z Dědibab even more magnanimously when he acquired a prospering Manorial mill with associated lands.²⁶ Burgher Gabriel received a suburban garden from Vladislav II.²⁷ and huntsman Štěpán obtained a part of a deserted land in Kylešovice.²⁸ Also the Opavian Minorites didn't go empty-handed

13 ZA Opava, Vincenc Prasek, inv. n. 834, cart. 9, fol. 33r. Similar ideas outlined: PRASEK, V. Svobodný dům někdy hrabat Vlčkův v Opavě. In *Program c. k. českého vyššího gymnasia v Opavě* V. 1888, 4.

14 Further in text will be for the opavian residence used inconsequent concepts castle, chateau. To both of the concepts: MACEK, J. Hrad a zámek. Studie historicko-sémantická. In *Český časopis historický*, 90, 1992, 1, 1-16.

15 DRKAL, S. Historie opavského zámku. In *Opava – Sborník k 10. výročí osvobození města*. Ostrava 1956, 134-164.

16 IWANČZAK, W. *Po stopách rytířských příběhů. Rytířský ideál v českém písemnictví 14. století*, Praha 2001, 50-87.

17 ČAPSKÝ, M. *Opava...*, 103.

18 SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 218, sign. IBb 19, fol. 33v.

19 PRIIX, D. *Opava...*, 92.

20 KOPETZKY, F. *Regesten zur Geschichte des Herzogthums Troppau (1061 – 1464)*. Wien 1871, 74. no 264; estates presented: DRKAL, S. Opavská komenda maltézských rytířů po třicetileté válce (1650 – 1660). Příspěvek k hospodářským dějinám velkostatku. In *Slezský sborník*, 52, 1954, 12, 368.

21 KOPETZKY, F. *Regesteen...*, 178-179.

22 FOLTÝN, D. *Encyklopedie moravských a slezských klášterů*. Praha 2005.

23 SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 218, sign. IBb 19, fol. 95r-96v.

24 SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 219, sign. IBb 9, fol. 39v-40r.

25 PRASEK, V. *Svobodný dům...*, 5.

26 SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 219, sign. IBb 9, fol. 40v-41r.

27 SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 218, sign. IBb 19, fol. 102r-103v.

28 SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 218, sign. IBb 19, fol. 110v-111r.

after they acquired a farmstead with a half of a tract²⁹ another deserted tract was given to the Dominican order at the very end of the 15th century.³⁰

If we recapitulate this tedious enumeration, we can state that the ruler's demesne in front of Ratiboř gate in the late Middle Ages was indeed reduced by the whole line of estates. But if we pay closer attention to the quality and extent of these donations, we can observe that the estates rarely exceeded an area of a garden or half of a tract. These small grounds certainly didn't have any serious impact on the economical performance of the ruler's demesne especially when some of these devolved back on Opavian dukes as an escheat. Yet at the outset of the 16th century the ruler still held all the essential farmsteads firmly in his hands. That is valid for both the Small Farmstead, which was however reduced in the previous period by some farmland and up to this moment unmentioned Great Farmstead. This was located in the vicinity of the castle and administrated all the right-bank estates including these in Kylešovice. Numerous donations to Opavian monasteries present a specific problem. As the rulers held patronage over all Opavian convents, we can't consider the aforementioned donations as being definitely lost in respect to the ruler's demesne. In spite of a formal renunciation, the presenting person wasn't losing all the proprietary rights towards the given possession.³¹ Duke Přemek, who didn't hesitate reward his courtier Mikuláš Bulač in 1407 with a homestead in Kylešovice, which had been given earlier by his father to Opavian Hospitallers serves as a good example. The Knights were thereafter compensated for their willingness by the perpetual pay for the ruler's subjects in Kylešovice.³² That implies that the estates of the Church institutions constituted rather specific component of the landlord domain. If we look on the whole process in that perspective, the picture of a rather stable domain deliberately diminishing only by small-sized estates appears before us. The process of disintegration of the ruler's demesne accelerated after seizing control of the Opavian land by the royal dynasty of Jagellonians at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. The reason was simple. Distant duchy in Budín served to the residing rulers only as a marginal source of income. That gradually cleared the way for donations of formerly untouchable parts of the demesne.³³ Duke Zikmund, younger brother of the Czech and Hungarian king Vladislav II., bestowed to his courtier Albrecht Sobek ze Sulejova of the Opavian county several gardens in Kateřinky and Kylešovská street.³⁴ The Duke behaved even more generously to Václav Olšanský z Olšan. At the beginning of the 16th century his real estate was exempt from taxes to the ruler's Treasury and furthermore allowed him to brew beer and take wood for his own needs from the forests around Hradec nad Moravicí. At the same time Duke handed over a half of a tract separated from Small Farmstead and even large-sized meadow stretching from Great Farmstead to the river Opava to his courtier Schneller's Farmstead, which had passed to the ruler's demesne not long ago by an escheat.³⁵ Once unthinkable manifestation of generosity therefore represented for the ruler's demesne loss of the parts of estates in Kateřinky, predominant building of the Hradecké suburb and division of estates belonging to Small Farmstead, which however proved to be extraordinary. Great Farmstead as opposed to Small Farmstead actually didn't become a victim of decline. On the contrary, it was documented on cadastre maps still in the 19th century. Although it resulted in a substantial reduction of the ruler's demesne, talking about its total collapse in the course of the 16th would be highly overstated.

29 PRÍX, D. Počátky a rozvoj minoritského kláštera v Opavě ve středověku. In *Opava. Sborník k dějinám města 1*. Opava 1998, 57.

30 ZA Opava, František Tiller, inv. n. 6, fol. 115r-119v.

31 BOROVSKEÝ, T. *Kláštéry, panovník a zakladatelé na středověké Moravě*. Brno 2005, 11-19; BOROVSKEÝ, T. Formy a funkce klášterního patronátu v době posledních Přemyslovců. In *Kościół w monarchiach Przemysławów i Piastów. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Gniezno 21–24 września 2006 roku*. Poznań 2009, 275-284; the same illustrated on the example of knights orders: JAN, L. Ivanovice na Hané, Orlovice a johanitský řád. Příspěvek k poznání struktury a ekonomiky rytířských duchovních řádů do konce 15. století. In *Časopis Matice moravské*, 61, 1992, 2, 225.

32 ČAPSKÝ, M. *Vévoda...*, 99.

33 Of course it played the role of prestige and the level on the hierarchically arranged social ladder. Because of it, the donations from the king had to be more generous than in the previous years. On the art of proper donation here mainly NEJEDLÝ, M. *Fortuny kolo vrtkavé. Lásky, moc a společnost ve středověku*. Praha 2003, 75.

34 To that thing INDRA, B. Opavská papírna. In *Opava - Sborník k 10. výročí osvobození města*. Ostrava 1956, 165-190. The role of Sobek on the court of Sigismund KOZÁK, P. Dvorská společnost hlohovského a opavského vévody Zikmunda Jagellonského. In *Dvory a rezidence ve středověku. Vol. II. Skladba a kultura dvorské společnosti*. Praha 2008, 257-284.

35 ZA Opava, František Tiller, inv. n. 7, fol. 210v-213r.

From the beginning of the 15th century part of the Ratibořské suburb was utilized by Opavian rulers for the construction of a pond network. Along with his pond, Duke Přemek inundated a part of estates belonging to the reeve in Kylešovice and Duke Viktorín who established one more pond in the neighbourhood acted similarly also.³⁶ These large-sized ponds were connected to smaller ponds spreading out on the right bank of river Opava. Even in the first half of the 16th century, when revenues from formerly very lucrative business were past their prime, we can still document eight ponds.³⁷ Inundation of insufficiently fertile grounds in areas liable to flooding represented their most efficient utilization at that time, because until then they had served only as pastures.³⁸ From the mid-16th century a lively construction activity in suburbs developed to increase the demand for building plots and so the portion of ponds had been drained to give way to a new settlement which was naturally subjected to the ruler's sovereignty.³⁹ Even though we can, thanks to the vast corpus of primary historical sources, accept the thesis about the gradually dwindling ruler's estates, we are compelled to definitely disprove its possible degradation into the collapse of the ruler's revenues, as it once Stanislav Drkal stated completely unsuitably. Ruler's estates in the course of the 16th and the 17th century were constantly occupying significant areas in the suburbs. This statement is leading us therefore back to the original question. To what extent did the impossibility of seizing control of the ruler's demesne, which was taking up most of the space in Opavian outskirts, reflect in the efforts of the city council to subjugate remaining extraneous enclaves in the vicinity of Opava? The pressure for homogenization of the city society and for seizing the control of the city space, which recently Jaroslav Miller⁴⁰ highlighted in this publication, led the councillors to an assault on the local Jewish community settled inside the Opavian urban area near the Jaktař gate. Jews actually represented one of the ruler's prerogatives which is why they were directly subjugated to the ruler and therefore exempted from the obligation to „suffer with the city“. ⁴¹ Although in the course of the 15th century Silesia experienced a wave of anti-Jewish pogroms, there is no evidence that the Opavian Jews suffered the same fate. It was probably caused by the fact that Mikuláš I. (13th century) had renounced a part of his revenues coming from Jews in favour of the Opavian councillors. Only at the very end of the 15th century, so at the time of Opavian economic recession the councillors began to watch spitefully on the fixed annual payments which were obliged to be paid by the Jewish community. These payments were independent of inflation and current financial needs of the rulers, therefore Jews in comparison to the city were carrying increasingly less burden of the ruler's debts. That is apparently the reason for the anti-Jewish lobby which succeeded on the court of Duke Jan Korvín when he permitted his subjects to expel the Jews out of the city at the turn of the 15th and the 16th century. The councillors received ruler's permission at the time when Opavian land came under the spotlight of Vladislav II. Jagellonian who was trying to provide for his younger brother Zikmund through certain Silesian principalities. Korvín who had lost his main political auspices after the death of his father Matyáš, settled with the exchange of remote Silesian lands for secure estates in Slavonia.⁴² The Opavian land fell into hands of Vladislav who shortly after that commanded the council to re-settle the expelled Jews in the city. And so the councillors had to wait for the definitive success of their efforts until 1522 when Vladislav's son Ludvík gave consent to the expulsion of Opavian Jewish community from the city.⁴³

36 ZA Opava, Slezský stavovský archiv, inv. n. 12; SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 218, sign. IBb 19, fol. 106r.

37 ZA Opava, Hejtmanský úřad knížectví opavsko-krnovského v Opavě 1507 – 1784, inv. n. 46, cart. 2.

38 ZA Opava, Rudolf Fitz, inv. n. 202, cart. 6, sign. 10,196-197.

39 This fact supports the Urbare of the former landlord domain, which shows from fol. 99r that suburban places which are obligated pay to opavian chateau. ZA Opava, Velkostatek Opava-zámek, inv. n. 2. The new settlement described in your retrospective probe Fitz, P., ZA Opava, Rudolf Fitz, inv. n. 202, cart. 6, sign. 10, 172-177.

40 On the motivation for such action MILLER, J. *Uzavřená společnost a její nepřítelé. Město středovýchodní Evropy (1500 – 1700)*. Praha 2007.

41 LE GOFF, J. – SCHMITT, J. *Encyklopedie středověku*. Praha 2002.

Appurtenance of Jews to the landlord domain too JAN, L. *Václav II. a struktury panovnické moci*. Brno 2006, 38-50. To the opavian community SPYRA, J. *Żydzi w Opawie (do 1848 r.)*. In *Opava. Sborník k dějinám města 2*. Opava 2000, 15-17.

42 KOZÁK, P. *Zástavní pán nebo "freyer Fürst"?* Několik poznámek k opavské vládě Zikmunda Jagellonského. In *Confinia Silesiae. K životnímu jubileu Rudolfa Žáčka*. Opava 2008, 87-97.

43 ČAPSKÝ, M. *Opava...*, 117-118; SPYRA, J. *Żydzi...*, 15-17.

In the 1520s, the endeavours to subjugate extraneous territories in Opava's surroundings intersected with the spreading of the Reformation thoughts, which triggered intensification of pressure on the Church possessions frequently occupying fine land close to the city walls. But at first this convenient opportunity allowed the council to definitely take over the parish church and estates of the Order of German Knights. Secularization of the Baltic order state in 1525 complicated already difficult situation of the heavily indebted Knights even more. Opavian knight commander Georg Fink solved this grave situation in his own way. He converted to Lutheranism, got married to a daughter of a local burgomaster and handed over the administration of the order property and three villages designated for the provision of Opavian presbytery to the city council.⁴⁴ Even king Ferdinand I. himself, who was a supporter of Catholicism, could not do anything substantial with the newly developing situation in 1542 he realistically confirmed the city patronage of the parish church. He merely insisted that the council designate only persons properly approved by the bishop of Olomouc.⁴⁵ The council's assault against the property of Dominican order, which held grounds located in front of the Jaktář gate, was greatly facilitated too. In 1542 the whole community of the monastery was annihilated by an outbreak of a plague. The city council therefore confiscated the empty compound together with its archive and estates. Once prospering monastery ended up in decay because the Bohemian Order province hadn't had enough personal reserves available. Dominicans were eventually saved after the fusion with a much stronger Polish Order province in 1556. Only then the brothers were capable to begin a struggle for restitution of their property. The councillors were however constantly ignoring their demands and what's more they even neglected recurring emperor's appeals for rectification. Dominicans succeeded to regain a part of the estates and the monastery archive as late as in 1569. At the very end of the 16th century, prior Felix z Vilna achieved thorough revision of the dispute, as he had managed to win an entire row of trials leading to restitution of majority of the former monastery estates. In the first place convent regained an important farmstead in front of the Jaktář gate with attached pastures and estates. The farmstead then remained in the ownership of Dominicans till the abolishment of the Order at the end of the 18th century.⁴⁶ The knight commander Jiří Lesota ze Stéblova took the opposite approach to the combatant Dominican prior's. He rather agreed to co-operation with the councillors, which was a decision that saved Knights of Malta from the repeated disputes with the city. Apart from the aforementioned estates in front of the Ratiboř gate, which the Order kept also in the 17th century, Hospitallers possessed the Muchov Farmstead in front of the Jaktář gate, which during the time came under the spotlight of the councillors. The record about the fact that „*all the right and justice...on that farmstead...was awarded before by His Majesty the King*“ to commander knight serves as proof of the Order's rightful possession.⁴⁷ In spite of this the commander knight made concessions to the city council and sold the farmstead to the city in 1555 for 300 florins. The compliance of Jiří Lesota was rewarded by the council which renounced its rights to the altar in the church of St John's in favour of Hospitallers.⁴⁸ Councillors confirmed the interest in Muchov Farmstead as they made it the greatest farmstead in their holding.⁴⁹ Superiority of the city over a long period was felt also by the Minorites who settled in front of Ratiboř gate by Duke Vilém in the half of the 15th century. Poverty which should had been a main attribute of the monastery truly accompanied this convent from the beginning of the 16th century. On that account the city could make use of its economic potential and consecutively bought up the large-sized monastery grounds. In 1563, the kvardian had ceded a major part of the monastery garden which then became a settlement in the so-called New Street with 36 houses to the councillors.⁵⁰ Five years later kvardian Martin decided to sell also „*a part of the monastery garden by the same church*

44 But the city council villages Křížovou, Smíchov a Mikolajovice sold already in year 1561 to Albrecht of Fulštejn, SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 218, sign. IBb 19, fol. 72v-73v.

45 PRIX, D. Pozdně gotická obnova města. In MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. et al. *Opava. Historie, Kultura, Lidé*. Praha 2006, 397-399.

46 FOLTÝN, D. *Encyklopedie...*, 538-540.

47 SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 218, sign. IBb 19, fol. 60r-63r.

48 Ibidem.

49 MATĚJEK, F. Městské a zámecké panství opavské koncem 16. a v prvé polovině 17. století. In *Slezský sborník*, 63, 1965, 3, 347-351.

50 ZA Opava, Rudolf Fitz, inv. n. 202, cart. 6, sign. 10, 173.

and by the street closer to the city gate called *Ratibořská*“ to the municipality „*knowing the common good of this city so well*“. The councillors intended to build a graveyard on the gained grounds, the kvardian obtained 150 florins, which had to be used for a reconstruction of the dilapidated monastery.⁵¹ Nevertheless the monks definitely forsook the poor monastery a few years later and the councillors then built a new hospital in its place.⁵² At least from the 1540s, the strong pressure of the city council step by step genuinely unified the legal conditions outside of the Opavian gates. However the compound of the former Přemyslid castle was still avoiding any possible interference from the city, which was increasingly uncomfortable especially with regard to the proximity of the city. As far back as in 1515 the castle, which had served only as an administration centre for the suburban estates, was pledged by the Vladislav Jagiello for the first time. Prince of Teschin Kazimír of the Upper Silesia county who in the time of the growing Turkish danger decided to move from the insufficiently defendable Teschin to a more fortified Opava became a new holder of the compound became.⁵³ Other pledge holder Jiří Cetrys z Kynšperka also considered the compound as his own residence, however from the half of the 16th the holders were attracted primarily to the compact suburban demesne. Although the King's domain originally bestowed the compound on the Opavian nobles, they didn't have enough funds at their disposal and so they transferred former Přemyslid residence to persons who constantly caused problems to the councillors. Shortly after that the city council got into an argument with Jan Plankar over beer brewing. The councillors were addressing similar problems also with Ojír z Fulštejna, who not only brewed beer but also claimed judicial rights for the suburban areas, which had already been given to the councillors by Duke Viktorín Poděbradský.⁵⁴ Disputes emerged also over the sovereignty of some estates. Fulštejn was trying to pull certain suburban areas under his jurisdiction, although they had been registered in the city books. We cannot either exclude the possibility of its illegal alienation by the municipality.⁵⁵ These everyday arguments finally resulted in a seemingly uncomplicated solution. In 1562 the councillors took the castle into their holding for 20 thousand florins for 20 years.⁵⁶ Not even this step fully stopped the competitors as it has been proved by František Matějek.⁵⁷ Besides, the whole project later proved to be a lossmaker because the municipality raised the necessary money by taking out a loan with interests which had made this venture even more expensive.⁵⁸ In 1562, it seemed that the unification of urban and suburban areas under the authority of the city council was completed. Of course the estates registered in the city books remained beyond its competence, but the verdict of the King Ferdinand did not lead to the coerced inclusion of the persons liable to city taxes under the provincial jurisdiction.⁵⁹ The councillors seized control of the significant part of the church demesnes on the outskirts of Opava and also dictated how the former ruler's demesne was run. It shows that the specific position of Opava as a residence city resulted in a very stable proprietary situation in the surroundings. From a topographic perspective the Opavian suburban settlement until the end of the 16th century experienced three intense transformations⁶⁰ while the proprietary situation remained almost changeless.

Property shifts started to come to an end by a symbolical unification of former ruler's demesne only from the beginning of the 16th century. Although we can expect profound changes⁶¹ from the outskirts of a significant city in Opava's case the perspective is certainly of great importance.

51 SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 219, sign. IbB 9, fol. 106v-107v.

52 ZUKAL, J. *Paměti Opavské. Črty kulturní a místopisné*. Opava 1992, 29-36.

53 ČAPSKÝ, M. „...okna sklenná, ale některá kolečka od povětří vybita...“ : Reflexe rozpadu zeměpanské rezidenční sítě na pozdně středověkém Opavsku. In *Korunní země v dějinách českého státu. Vol. III. Rezidence a správní sídla v zemích České koruny ve 14. – 17. století*. Praha 2007, 199-206.

54 DRKAL, S. *Historie...*, 136-140.

55 Already at the beginning of the 16th century hetmans of Opavian duchy repeatedly complained that burghers carried some possession under the authority of city council by registering their possession to the city books, although they ever before belong to the landlord domain, viz ČAPSKÝ, M. „...okna sklenná, ale některá kolečka...“, 192.

56 DRKAL, S. *Historie...*, 138-139.

57 MATĚJEK, F. *Městské a zámecké panství...*, 344-359.

58 DRKAL, S. *Historie...*, 138-140.

59 SOA Opava, AMO, inv. n. 218, sign. IbB 19, fol. 49v-50v.

60 A masterful describe of topographical transitions of opavian suburban proposed PRÍX, D. *Opava...*, 81-87.

61 HOFFMANN, F. *Středověké město v Čechách a na Moravě*. Praha 2008, 192-198.

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FAMILY STRATEGIES OF OPAVIAN BURGHER ELITES IN THE PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION

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There is no doubt that family strategies of the members of particular social classes belong to very interesting topics whose clarification may contribute to revealing (or at least partial revealing) of the mental world of the participants, which due to the lack of sources mainly of private character (written, iconographic, and for the latest period oral), usually remain completely hidden. In this respect, especially the aristocratic society of the modern period¹ remains in the focus of the interest of the Czech historiography, nevertheless the study of other societies is beginning gradually.

In the following study, we will attempt to briefly summarize the basic theses concerning the issues of the family strategies of the members of burgher elites of the town of Opava. It concerns the findings resulting from the ongoing research concerning the topic „Women in the Silesian burgher society of the Baroque period“.² The study does not claim to express conclusions and synthetic evaluation of the topic. It should rather be perceived as the initial contribution for more intense research not only of the burghers of Opava, but of the society in the towns of Silesia and the lands of the Bohemian Crown in the early modern period.

Concerning Opava, not only in the Middle Ages but also in the observed modern period, the research of the issue is limited by the torso character of the surviving diplomatic sources and by the complete absence of the narrative and private sources (town chronicles, family chronicles, diaries, and correspondence). We have only fragments of written sources of town administration (administration and court books, land registration, marriage contracts, heritage records),³ of church administration (registers),⁴ of written sources of country provenance (land tables, personal data of heraldic burghers of the principality of Opava)⁵ and of central administration of the Czech lands, respectively of Habsburg monarchy (nobilitation records) at our disposal.⁶

When we take the family strategies of any of the social classes or of a group of inhabitants into consideration, it is necessary to define the areas of activities that may be characterised this way and that should be observed. The initial ideas about their composition may change in the course of research based on the detected facts, eventually with regard to the condition of the information sources and their information power.

In the given phase of the research, all the intentional steps, actions and activities that would point to the improvement or strengthening of the position of an individual and his family in private,

1 The newest overview of the studies BŮŽEK, V. et al. *Společnost českých zemí v raném novověku : Struktury, identity, konflikty*. Praha 2010; compare also: *Člověk českého raného novověku*. Eds. Bůžek, V. – Král, P. Praha 2007. Here also literature. Family strategies, especially those concerning nobility, are also dealt with in studies devoted mainly to modern period from the end of the 18th century. See: ŠVAŘÍČKOVÁ SLABÁKOVÁ, R. *Rodinné strategie šlechty : Mensdorffové-Pouilly v 19. století*. Praha 2007.

2 The presented study is related to the project of The Grant Agency of the Czech Republic No P405/10/0897.

3 The records are deposited mainly in Státní okresní archiv in Opava, fund Archiv města Opavy.

4 Zemský archiv Opava (ZA Opava), Sběrka matrik of former Northern Moravian region.

5 ZA Opava, funds Slezský stavovský archiv, Hejtmanský úřad knížectví opavsko-krnovského and others.

6 Národní archiv in Praha (NA Praha), funds Česká dvorská kancelář, Česká dvorská komora, Salbuchy and others.

professional and public areas are regarded to be family strategies of the burghers of Opava in the given period. Also all the intentional activities aimed at the ensuring (improvement) of the position of his descendants in the town, respectively country society are regarded to be family strategies.

With regard to the chronological specification, the study is defined by the period of „religious transformation“, namely by the period of transformation of the burgher society of Opava into strictly Catholic society. This process may be positioned approximately into the period between 1630 and 1660 with necessary overlapping both sides. At the same time, it is also the period closely preceded by political and administrative transformation of Opava (and the principality of Opava) when the transformation of cultural and social milieu began in connection with a wide public effect of the Jesuit college as it commenced its activities.

Firstly, let us characterize Opava in the given period in the context of its development. Opava had the status of the royal, respectively ducal town (depending on whether the duchy of Opava, to which it belonged, was immediately in the hands of the ruler or of the feudal duke). Opava was one of the oldest towns on the Moravian-Silesian borderline. The first mention dates back to 1195, town privileges were received between 1213 and 1220. Since 1318, Opava was the metropolis of an independent duchy belonging to the Czech state. Since the Middle ages Opava featured a high extent of administration and court independence, it was an important economic (trade and production) centre of the wider region. Opava kept contacts with Silesian Wrocław, Polish Kraków, Moravian Olomouc, and naturally Prague – the capital of the Czech state.

Opava gradually established itself as an important centre of religious life. Since the middle of the 16th century, the importance of Lutherans was increasing in Opava as well as in other Central European cities. From the point of view of religion, the burgher society was highly diversified – although at the end of the 16th century the majority was comprised of Lutherans, yet Catholics retained certain economic and political positions. The turn of the 16th and 17th century in Opava could be characterized by the religious unrest in which the bishop of Olomouc (Opava region belonged to his diocese) and also the rules were involved – in the year 1604 imperial anathema was declared over the city. Only the edition of Rudolf's religious imperial charter in 1608 eased the situation.

The turn of 1613/1614 is connected with fundamental political changes: the duchy of Opava, as a part of Silesia, was granted into the feudal possession of the family of Lichtenstein (their property bonds retained until 1945). Until that time Opava region held a somewhat indifferent position between Moravia and Silesia. Nobility insisted on keeping the bonds with Moravian (especially the law) system. Nevertheless, bonds with Silesia were more beneficial for Opava.

After the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the internal social conditions (and not only these) repeatedly escalated especially under the external stimuli. In 1621 the city was plundered by the armies of anti-Habsburg opposition, and in 1626 – 1627 the city was occupied by the Danish Army. That brought new hopes for the possibility to keep certain religious freedom for Lutherans. On the contrary, the intervention of the army under the command of Albrecht Wallenstein and the victory of the Imperial troops brought the beginning of (or the continuation of the so far underwhelming) re-Catholicisation and basically also of certain restructuring of power of the burgher society. An important role in this process was played by the executory commission established to punish the nobility and burghers supporting the anti-Habsburg side in 1629. The majority of inhabitants submitted to the necessity to convert under the threat of strict punishments. When loyalty and obedience were promised, the inhabitants were granted the so called general pardon by the emperor in 1630.

A new unrest, probably even more fundamentally influencing the inner conditions and relations of individual burghers and families, affected Opava in the spring of 1634 when the rebellion of Wallenstein's supporters broke in town and some burghers were involved in it. After its suppression accompanied even with capital punishment, the town was affected severely by penalties and army accommodation. The last glimmer of hope for the non-Catholics of Opava appeared in 1642 when the

town was occupied by Swedes but it was just a short episode. Re-Catholisation was confirmed and the absolutisation tendencies of the state authorities began to assert themselves more potently.⁷

The burgher society of Opava bore similar features as the societies of comparable Central European localities. Burghers were considered inhabitants who enjoyed full political, legal and economic rights. Their basis was formed by those settled in the inner city (owners of privileged/unprivileged houses). Non-settled town inhabitants, if awarded burgher right, were also classed here. This refers to people „beneficial to the town“ (specialised craftsmen, merchants, and members of intelligentsia – doctors, lawyers, clerks). Inhabitants settled in the outskirts featured lower extent of rights (especially the political ones). The other inhabitants were divided into several groups, i.e. economically independent people without formally declared town privileges (Czech „podruh“), people with certain economic privileges (possibility to take positions in some craftsman guilds), non-settled economically dependent people (journeymen, servants, workers), or the so called people „on the edge“, and other hard- to-define individuals.

As far as the burgher elites in the given period are considered, burghers with the highest extent of the social prestige and political rights (the possibility to sit in the Municipal council and become burgomaster, to sit in court consortium, to hold the post of Vogt, etc.) definitely belonged to this group. They shaped the public life of the locality, its cultural nouveau, and everyday life in a fundamental manner. In the given period, it was a relatively small group, formed by the estimated 25 burghers and their families (out of circa 300 settled burgher families and the total number of 500 – 600 settled families). The elites may be understood in the sense of old settled burgher families with exceptional (and based on tradition) status of their members in the preceding generations in political, intellectual, and professional areas with no regard to their current property situation and religious-political background (especially in the period of tense events of the Thirty Years' War). Elites may also be understood in the economic/business and administrative/intellectual sense. In the present state of knowledge, it is not possible to define the role of religion, respectively of religious roots more precisely (as we deal with the re-Catholised society), for the period understanding of personal and family exceptionality in the social world of Opava. We do not really bear in mind the formal accessibility of administration offices but rather the extent of acceptance when forming private relations and family networks.

As has already been indicated, we have to understand family strategies as the activities aimed towards maintaining and strengthening private and public positions of an individual and his closest family. It is understandable that the effort to secure and increase the property, mainly the immovable one, was primary. Although the antiquity and the credit of the family, if need be supported by respectable deeds of the ancestors and contemporaries, were good contributions for cementing the position among the burgher elites, but they would hardly be sufficient on their own. The property basis played a significant role in the evaluation of the individual significance.

Historically, the turning points such as the monitored decades (war events, re-Catholisation) created preconditions for essential restructuring of real estate even in the conditions of the town of Opava. Consequently, this later enabled the social rise of newcomers to the towns including the possibility to rank among the burgher society and its elites as well as the transfer of individuals between the social classes.

In the area of property, the members (and prospective members) of the elites of Opava struggled for consolidation of the family position most frequently by purchasing town houses with a propination right, namely the more valuable and more profitable ones (through tapping beer and wine) for themselves. At the same time further (even several) houses were purchased and these were intended either for children or were acquired for the purpose of speculation in future.⁸ The wealthiest burgh-

7 To the history of the town in the given period most recently MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. et al. *Opava. Historie, Kultura, Lidé*. Praha 2006, 159-177, here also further literature.

8 ZUKAL, J. Das Stadtgebiet von Troppau am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts. In *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte Österreichisch-Schlesien*, 6, 1905, 1, 12-13; *Beiträge zur Häuser- und Bürgerchronik des Oberringes von Troppau, Separatabdruck aus dem Jahresberichte der k. k. Troppau 1898*.

ers invested into purchasing suburban farmyards/folvarks or specific businesses, for example mills.⁹ Somewhat aside the interest of the burghers of Opava the purchase of „table“/aristocratic homesteads remained, perhaps due to financial demands, perhaps as the result of the absence of offer. Although there were heraldic burghers among the members of the elites in Opava in the given period who could take part in the trade with table homesteads, in contrast to some other comparable towns we do not encounter such phenomenon here. Burghers (so far we have one case documented) did no more than rent the table homestead.¹⁰

Nobilitations became a popular means to confirm the social rise. Traditionally the old settled Catholic families in Opava remained mostly outside this process in the given period. Presumably, as well as on other occasions and at other places, „loyalty is not awarded“ was usually valid. Although exceptions existed, they were awarded for exceptional deeds, for example performance of loyalty to emperor with risking one's life.¹¹

More often we meet the enjoyment of coat of arms and nobiliary particle with the new coming state or landlord officials who settled in Opava and reached social career very quickly. It is rather interesting that some of them boasted about the coat of arms and nobility particle without having the necessary documents at their disposal and even, as showed during the formal settling of the application for nobilitation, really without the formal award. It will probably remain a mystery whether this was caused because they were cheaters and imposters to some extent, or whether they did it only „bona fidae“.¹² The most obvious way to identify the family strategies is in the frame of so-called transitional rituals. Perhaps the most important role among them belonged to marriages and choice of marital partners whether they concerned the member of the elites himself, or his children or his siblings. Social, property and professional viewpoints, or their „mix“ played an important role when choosing the possible husbands and wives.

The present (yet partial) studies indicate that the newly establishing members of the elites of Opava in the given period, which means grooms with the place of origin „elsewhere“ (immigrants), took the programme choice of brides from old resident families „with roots“, ideally pro-Habsburg engaged. Their children then got married to partners regardless of the fact whether their families had deeper roots in Opava. Their current social and political status and property conditions were more important. Heraldic burghers kept the tendency to establish mutual family relations. What will deserve attention in the future is, among the others, the clarification of the importance of religion of burghers and women burghers (not only the elites) actively behaving in the marriage market in the monitored period of transformation and prior to re-Catholisation period. Also the role of the professional profile of the marrying ones, respectively the male members of their families deserves attention.¹³

As far as the other transitional rituals are considered, probably the least information is provided by documents about births, respectively about christening of the burgher families descendants regardless of their social origin. Broadly speaking, considering Opava, we have only the registry records giving evidence about godfathers and godmothers at our disposal.¹⁴ Research in this direction is only in its beginning. So far, we can only state that there were always two people, a man and a woman, regardless of the child's gender. In relation with the elites, it seems that we can accept the following initial premises. When at least one of the parents (usually the father) was an immigrant, the godfather as well as the godmother were the members of the old settled families, socially equal but not always equal in property and political status. On the other hand, parents from the traditional Opava's families chose godfathers and godmothers regardless of their place of origin but they preferred people socially equal

9 ZUKAL, J. O svobodných dvorech a mlýnech kylešovských. In *Věstník Matice opavské*, 20, 1912, 16.

10 KORBELÁŘOVÁ, I. Dominačtí z Karlsbrunnu. K osudům a životnímu stylu slezských erbovních měšťanů barokní doby. In *Acta historica Silesianae Opaviensis*, 4, 2011, 51-75.

11 NA Praha, Česká dvorská kancelář, IVD1, 463, 494; ZA Opava, Inheritance fund of J. Zukal, 221, 224, 240 and others.

12 NA Praha, Česká dvorská kancelář, IVD1, 752; NA Praha, Salbuchy, 101; ZUKAL, J. *Paměti opavské neboli: Črty kulturní a místopisné*. Opava 1992, 40-42.

13 Marriage registers for Opava have survived since 1626, nevertheless the records are very brief and they usually do not give neither social, nor professional or local origin of the married ones for the beginning decade. ZA Opava, Sbíрка matrik of former Northern Moravian region, Opl8.

14 Catholic christening registers are available from 1627. ZA Opava, Sbíрка matrik of former Northern Moravian region, Opl1, Opl2.

or of a higher status. The issue in the question remains the religious consequences (Catholics, converts based on belief, formal converts with latent tendency to return to the original religion in the case of suitable social milieu).

The burghers of Opava paid great attention to the next transitional ritual, i.e. the funeral. If we can judge from the fragments of the documents, the funeral ceremonies for the deceased members of the social elites of Opava were very expensive with ceremonies of complicated scenarios. Imitating the festivities of nobility including the conducts of the closest bereaved and co-burghers is evident.¹⁵ The most prominent burghers and their wives chose the main churches of Opava as the place of the eternal rest. The most honourable, the most expensive and – in contemporary terminology – somewhat snobbish was burying in the decanal church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary (directly in the cathedral or in its chapels, not in the cemetery) and in the churches of the most important monastic orders, mainly in the church of the Holy Spirit belonging to Friars Minors Conventual.¹⁶

The fundamental viewpoint, when considering and realising the family strategies, was the protection of the social status of the descendants. We have already mentioned the enlargement of the family estates with the aim to secure not only the oldest heir but also the other sons and daughters. In this connection, we cannot ignore a whole range of related consequences. Not only this was a way to increase their value on the marriage market fundamentally (regardless the gender and succession among the children) but it was also a possibility to open the way to more prestigious role of women in the burgher society. Women-widows, who kept properties inherited from their parents, could handle them in many cases more freely than in common cases when they married into houses with movable dowry. They could also keep the right of independent economic activities in adulthood of their sons, respectively children (mother and daughter of Achzenit).

A part of the fundamental parent strategy was a specific allocation of the property among children when dealing with the property settlement of the heirs through the testament or through the record of the property into the municipal market register.¹⁷ With regard to the absence of written records of testamentary and inheritance nature from the given period, it cannot be stated whether some generally respected rules (such as the priority right of the oldest son) existed in this respect. We do not have in mind the numerically expressed value of the shares, there we can suppose equality or adequacy, but rather the preferences when handing over the only house, trade connected with property, etc. within the family.

When dealing with these initial considerations, we should note that completely in accordance with so-called old demographic regime probably further supported by specific conditions of war and post-war decades, despite the high birth rate only a part of born children lived to the adulthood. Even among the elites of Opava there are documented cases when out of the several children only a few verifiably lived to claim the inheritance settlement, or sometimes even no one.

Another family strategy is connected with the above, namely aiming the children, or rather sons, at a particular profession. They either apprenticed and then took the trade or craftsman business over, or pursued higher education. Also due to the lack of information sources no dedicated researches have been conducted in this area. It seems that the members of elites – at least in the monitored period of transformation when the society of Opava was rearranging in a principal way – handed over their professions especially when they were involved in socially highly appreciated and at the same time

15 Death registers are available only for the period after 1665. Information giving evidence of special equipment of mourners etc is very expressive, though only fragmentary. ZA Opava, Sbirka matrik of former Northern Moravian region, Op112; ZA Opava, Hejtmanský úřad knížectví opavsko-krnovského, 327, kat. 54.

16 Also Karl, Prince of Liechtenstein should have been buried in the church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary after his death in 1627, however as Opava was occupied by the Danish Army he was buried in Vranov u Brna. He is commemorated by late-Baroque epitaph by Johann Georg Lehner from 1765. The church of the Holy Spirit was a burial place of the Přemyslids of Opava. To burgher funerals ZA Opava, Sbirka matrik of former Northern Moravian region, Op112.

17 We have in mind the inheritance of children, not of widows, respectively of widowers. Their claims were usually given by the marriage agreement, respectively by town privileges and statutes. Opava was a town constituted on Northern Germany law but no later than from the 17th century it was under the influence of Koldin's code of law.

profitable branches.¹⁸ Perhaps – but this is only a speculation – a common profession might have been handed over to younger sons.

The oldest sons (but more than once even their younger brothers) of the most prominent families of Opava were increasingly more often sent to study. This practice was intensified not only by the overall increase of interest in culture and education in the Baroque period but especially by two more particular aspects. Most importantly a Jesuit gymnasium was established already in the 1620s in connection with re-Catholisation similarly as in many other Silesian towns.¹⁹ Hence, the boys of Opava did not have to leave for Olomouc or other further places like in the period before the battle of White Mountain.

Moreover, the study at the Jesuits was considered by burgher (undoubtedly a bit snobby) elites to be the sign of social status. Thanks to it a way to further university education – basic bachelor and then especially law education – opened for young men. Its graduation became a prerequisite for a good employment in appreciated (and sometimes even highly profitable) offices – landlord or state ones. The positions of various customs collectors, employees of board of customs, or others were especially popular. It is rather understandable that the performance of these professions was often connected with the first and second generations of immigrants, eager pro-Habsburg oriented Catholics. If a newly settled inhabitant of Opava and consequently a member of the burgher elite originally found employment in the army service, it became a family tradition.

In connection with the education of children as a form of family strategy, it is necessary to mention that many burgher families took care to cultivate and expand knowledge in girls beyond the skills of common housewives. We can suppose this tendency when we take into consideration incomplete information about the life stories of the women burghers of Opava, especially in the families of husbands and fathers associating with the intellectual milieu (including the office one). The education of girls was usually carried only at home (we do not have references about a school for girls in Opava from that time) but it was conducted at a rather high quality and it was widely sought. Parents' models probably played their role in it. As wives and especially then as widows, some women proved successful in business, looked after their property and even enlarged it as the members of the elites of Opava indicated.

We would surely find many other activities that might be evaluated as family strategies from a certain angle. In Opava around the middle of the 17th century, which means in the period that is in the centre of our interest, some of them are documented, others can be anticipated or supposed, and yet with others we miss the reference.²⁰

Expansion of the family memory spread especially among the nobility if it took the form of written (chronicle or genealogy) or iconographic (portrait) pieces of work, special furniture or funeral architecture belong to the group of first named. We know that the nobilitated burghers acquired representative kitchenware and tableware provided with coat of arms, they decorated the interiors of the drawing rooms in their houses with spectacular symbols. We can also add building of family archives with documents ensuring their exceptional status; these are mentioned, not only in Opava, in inheritance records.²¹ In spite of the absence of the Baroque evidence, it is indisputable that churches and cemeteries in Opava were decorated by many epitaphs and tombstones reminding of the lives and actions of important burghers.²²

18 We abstract from the realisation of the propination rights, i.e. the right to brew and tap beer, and to tap wine. In the monitored period, particularly the first of the given rights was presumably carried out (at least by the biggest brewers) by putting-out system and centralisation of production in one brewery.

19 In the overview of Silesian Jesuit colleges for example ČORNEJOVÁ, I. Rekatolizace ve Slezsku v 17. a na počátku 18. století (na příkladu jezuitského řádu). In *Slezsko - země Koruny české. Historie a kultura 1300-1740*. Eds. Dáňová, H. – Klípa, J. - Stolárová, L. Praha 2008, 60-76.

20 Some such activities are indicated especially in the relation to the nobility milieu in BŮŽEK, V. et al. *Společnost českých zemí...*, 275-295.

21 KORBELÁŘOVÁ, I. *Dominačtí z Karlsbrunnu...*, 51-75.

22 The losses are results of devastating disasters (the fire in 1689 destroyed, among others, also the interior of the parish church), of closing of cemeteries in Josephin period as well as of war events of the modern period. Only torsos of several renaissance epitaphs in the church of Virgim Mary survived.

In connection with the marriage policy of the burghers of Opava, a more detailed probing research concerning so called *mésalliance* marriages realised between the members of burgher and nobility societies, their reasons and social consequences would be worthy of attention. The basic input has been made,²³ yet the fact whether the sources in this respect are sufficient cannot be evaluated yet.

Activities connected for example with the study stays of burgher sons, or alternatively with their educational tours, and bonds and contacts established there remain unknown, if they existed at all. We can only speculate about the motivating factors of various individual and family bonds between „neighbours“, about forms of private family contacts and many other activities resulting from the collective and of course also from individual mentality of the incoming Baroque period.

If we think about the early-modern period burgher society, including its elites, it is necessary to take into consideration one more fact: the family of that period was a community significantly different from the contemporary one. It included not only blood-relatives of two and even three generations (parents, children, grandparents) living under one roof but basically all the members of the household including servants, domestic staff, and craftsman youth. Hence, building of interpersonal bonds, private and public ones, not only inside the burgher society, i.e. basically on the horizontal level, but also on the vertical level, i.e. across the social classes if they met on the level of family everyday life, should be included into family strategies.

There is no other way than state that in the area of the research of family strategies of burgher elites in Opava (and not only in Opava), respectively of the whole society, historiography stands on its very threshold, moreover limited by an irreplaceable loss of sources and by the fragmentation of the surviving information sources.

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23 The list of marriages of this character based on the analysis of the registers of Opava was published by STIBOR, J. Nerovné sňatky na Těšínsku. In *Slezsko v dějinách českého státu*. Ed. Borák, M. Opava 1998, 230-231. Just singularities are registered here for the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, in some cases the classification as *mésalliance* marriages seems to be problematic (heraldic burghers).

THE POSITION OF OPAVA IN THE CONTEXT OF SILESIAN CITIES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Rudolf Žáček

The density of the town network in Silesia in the first half of the 18th century somewhat lagged behind the Czech Lands and Moravia.¹ The share of the town population made up only a bit over 17 % of the total population in Silesia at the time,² which was less than in Bohemia and in Moravia.³ The Kingdom of Bohemia had approximately 450 towns then, the towns were situated 115 square kilometres in the diameter on average and the extent of urbanisation was approximately 25 – 30 %.⁴ Moravia had about 240 towns they were a mere 97 square kilometres in diameter apart and the extent of the urbanisation was estimated at 21 – 25 %. In Silesia where about 165 towns were situated, there was one town per every 227 square kilometres on average. In the given case, the extent of urbanisation is estimated at 17 – 18 %.⁵

In the observed period, Silesian towns represented a group of localities varying in their size, character, importance and functions. Two thirds of the total number of towns were situated in Lower Silesia, approximately one third in the Upper Silesian region. The prevailing part was comprised of medium and small towns, and townlets. According to the register from 1726, there were 44 towns with the number of houses lower than 100 in Silesia, and 78 towns had between 100 and 250 houses. Altogether 26 towns had between 250 – 500 houses, 12 had between 500 – 1000 houses and only one – Wrocław,⁶ had more than 1000 houses. Out of the total 62 towns in Upper Silesia, 25 were in the category of towns with the number of houses up to 100 and 28 had between 100 and 250 houses. Only eight towns had more than 250 houses and only Opava documented over 500 houses.⁷ Wrocław, where an estimated number of 30 – 50 thousand people lived at the time,⁸ was informally regarded as the capital of Silesia. In the second half of the 15th century, after king Matthias Corvinus proceeded with building the bases of the central Silesian administration, the key position of Wrocław in Silesia

1 Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Kataster karoliński; Zemský archiv Opava, Karolinský katastr, continuously; ORZECZOWSKI, K. *Indykacja dominiów, poddanych i miast Śląska według „pierwszej rewizji” z 1726 roku. Materiały do statystyczno-geograficznego opisu Śląska z pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku*. Wrocław 1995. (here 161 localities in tables, other 2 in texts).

2 ŽÁČEK, R. Ekonomický a sociální vývoj. In *Dějiny Českého Slezska 1740 – 2000. I*. Opava 2003, 78; Historia Śląska, I/III, 13; Śląsk w końcu XVIII wieku; Janczak, J. – Ładogórski, T. *Atlas historyczny Polski I/II*. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków; Gdańsk 1976, 50-52, 105-110.

3 MAUR, E. Urbanizace Čech v raném novověku. In *Historická demografie*, 25, 2001, 5-64; FIALOVÁ, L. *Dějiny obyvatelstva*. Praha 1996, 127.

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5 The total area of Silesia prior to its division in 1742 was 37 480 square kilometres.

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6 In the study, the contemporary names of town localities in the language of the country/state they belong to are used.

7 MALECZYNSKI, K. *Historia Śląska do roku 1763, cześć III. od końca XVII w. A do roku 1963*. Wrocław 1963, 189.

8 Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Akta miasta Wrocławia, 310, 2132; SCHILLING, H. Die Stadt in der frühen Neuzeit. In *Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte*. Oldenbourg 1993, 4, 7; KORBELÁŘOVÁ, I. K velikosti měst Opavského knížectví v 1. polovině 18. století. In *Slezský sborník*, 90, 1992, 153-170; BUŠKO, C. – GOLIŇSKI, M. – KACZMAREK, M. – ZIĄTKOWSKI, L. *Historia Wrocławia I*. Wrocław 2001, 246.

became official. It was the seat of the sovereign bodies, the supreme office and the Silesian chamber as well as of the newly established institutions of economic and bank nature.

The centres of Silesian principalities, whose number climbed to fifteen in the Baroque period, belonged to important Silesian cities. Ten of them were situated in Lower Silesia (Wrocław, Legnica, Świdnica, Głogów, Jawor, Brzeg, Ziębice, Olesznica, Wolow and Żagań) and five in Upper Silesia (Opole, Bytom, Cieszyn, Racibórz and Opava). Until the beginning of the 17th century the Upper Silesian Opava belonged to Moravia, which was confirmed also by the affiliation of the principality of Opava (Opava-Krnov) with the authorities of the Olomouc diocese.⁹ The towns of provincial importance prevailed completely. Most prominent of them were the centres of so-called „vikpildas“, the seats of the estate administration bodies with regional scope of authority. As early as the 13th century, they developed on the level of lower territorial administrative districts (vikpilda/Weichbilde) which were denoted also as regions in Upper Silesia. Although the seats of the regions did not have a formal statute, the fact that regional councils and administrative boards met there increased their prestige. In Silesia in the early modern period, 44 regional towns existed that were not concurrently the seats of principalities, out of them 32 were situated in Lower Silesia.¹⁰ These included relatively large towns, among others rapidly growing centres of textile production such as Lower Silesian Zielona Góra and just a bit smaller Jelenia Góra (both towns already had more than 750 houses) as well as quite small localities with several tens of houses such as Upper Silesian Strzelce Opolskie (76) or Sławęcice (60 houses) and even one village.¹¹

Certain private towns that in the consequence of the development especially of the textile production became the centres of areas characterised by quick or even rapid development were a new phenomenon among Silesian towns. For example, the Lower Silesian Kowary was found in connection with ore mining and processing; in 1513 it became a city. After the ore depletion the inhabitants started to concentrate on linen and they exported the products to Hamburg, Spain, Italy and overseas.¹² Apart from the already mentioned Zielona Góra and Jelenia Góra, also for example Upper Silesian Bilsko belonged to similar localities. This situation always concerned an extensively developing settlement adapted to social composition of inhabitants and to the demand for cheap accommodation. Only small original historical centres kept a town character.¹³ The majority of the remaining Silesian towns were predominantly quite small localities. The smallest towns included Upper Silesian Opavice (31 houses), Nová Cerekev (37 houses) and Dolní Benešov (38 houses). A considerable uncertainty about the town character of the locality had to be caused for example by the name of the Lower Silesian townlet Psie Pole itself.

So much for a brief overview about the general characteristics of the town network in Silesia in the first half of the 18th century. When we attempt to determine the position of Opava among the Silesian towns of that time, it is necessary to set a few basic criteria that enable the comparison and setting the position of Opava with regard to the extant sources. These criteria undoubtedly include its size expressed mainly by the number of houses in the town and its suburbs, the role of the town in the defence system of Silesia, the extent of tax burden, the role of the town in the area of political and church administration and the potential residential function or the educational institutions situated in a given town. A significant role in the evaluation of the importance of the town is undoubtedly played also by traditions which tie in with its history.

When we attempt to evaluate the position of Opava in the structure of Silesian towns of corresponding importance, we have to start from its perception in a wider context of Moravian,

9 Unlike Moravia, Upper Silesia is considered a transitional region between the Western and Eastern Europe. ŠMERDA, M. Slezsko - země na rozhraní kultur a regionů. In *Slezská společnost v období pozdního baroka a nástupu osvícenství (na příkladu Těšínska)*. Eds. Korbelařová, I. – Šmerda, M. - Žáček, R. Opava 2002, 10-40.

10 KORBELÁŘOVÁ, I. K územně správnímu členění Slezska před rokem 1740. In *Slezský sborník*, 100, 2002, 61-81, 135-148.

11 KORBELÁŘOVÁ, I. *K velikosti měst...*, 165-168.

12 KAPALCZYŃSKI, W. *Kowary*. Wrocław 1993, 13, 20-28.

13 KORBELÁŘOVÁ, I. *Města na Těšínsku v 18. století*. Český Těšín 2005, 106.

Bohemian but also Silesian history.¹⁴ Opava was established during the first wave of town settlement and it featured town privileges already in the first half of the 13th century. It was a free royal town in that time which (among others) meant that its inhabitants were endowed with a range of important political rights. Before the middle of the 14th century, after the Duchy of Opava was established, Opava lost its statute of the royal town. Nevertheless, after the castle of Opava was built, Opava became the seat of the representatives of the secundo-geniture Přemyslid dynasty – the Dukes of Opava. Even after the extinction of the Přemyslids of Opava, the town retained its position of the political and administrative centre of the principality and it became the possession of many important personalities connected with Bohemian as well as Silesian history. We can mention, among others, the Bohemian king George of Poděbrady and his son Victor, John Corvinius – the son of the Hungarian king Matthias, the Duke of Cieszyn Casimir – a long time supreme Landeshauptmann („land captain“) of Silesia, or the Prince of Liechtenstein Karl – the vice-regent of Bohemia in the service of the Emperor Ferdinand II. The aforementioned indisputably shows that Opava has to be primarily compared with the group of those Silesian towns that have the position of the principality centres and comprise the most significant localities of the Silesian town network. The only exception might be Wrocław, which came in the unrivalled first position with a wide margin in all of the given criteria. Due to its exceptional position, Wrocławis usually left aside from the more detailed process of comparison.

Originally, all the principality towns had a residential function. But many of them gradually lost this function in connection with the extinction of the Dukes of the Piast and Přemyslid dynasties. In the case of the largest towns, such as Legnica, Nysa, Brzeg, Cieszyn, and others, their position was so strong that it outlasted even the termination of their residential function. A certain exception was Krnov, where the loss of the residential town position had an impact on the decrease of its prestige and the town did not exceed the importance of a narrower region any more.¹⁵ Out of all the principality towns, only Olesznice kept its residential character (it was the seat of the Württemberg family from 1647). Nysa remained the seat of the feudal principality administration (from the 13th century the bishops of Wrocław), and gradually other towns gained this function, i.e. Opava (from 1613 the Liechtenstein family), Cieszyn (from 1722 the Lothringen family), Żagań (from 1646 the Lobkowitz family) and Ziębice (from 1654 the Auersperg family). Although most of the princes did not reside in these towns immediately, the castles of princes, later usually rebuilt into palaces, remained the seats of administration and often also of the estates offices of the principality.

The Silesian evangelic society naturally preferred the Protestant schools. Hence, the elite knight academy established in 1708 in Legnica which was intended exclusively for the students of noble birth could have been a certain counterpart to the Jesuit university in Wrocław established by Leopold I in 1702.¹⁶ The knight academy in Legnica that was accessible to the noble youth of Catholic as well as Protestant origin soon gained a very good reputation. Before 1740 more than 400 highborn young men graduated from this Academy, out of them about one fifth were of foreign origin. Considering the protestant schools of the gymnasium type, for example the humanist gymnasium in Brzeg belonged to universally appreciated ones and it was regarded as one of the best in Silesia. At the beginning of the 18th century, Cieszyn reinforced its position among the towns with educational institutions. In a certain connection with the foundation of the so-called gracious church built as the consequence of the Altranstädt Treaty between the Emperor Joseph I and the Swedish king Carl XII, besides an older Jesuit gymnasium also a Protestant gymnasium was established there.

In the given context, it can be stated that with respect to the possibility to provide higher education, Opava was a part of a wider group of the most important Silesian towns where a gymnasium existed (often in connection with the Jesuit college). At the same time, gymnasium in Opava together with a similar school in Nysa belonged to the oldest in the country. In Upper Silesia, the already mentioned Cieszyn somewhat outstripped the position of Opava as it then featured two educational institutions

14 MÜLLER, K. - ŽÁČEK, R et al. *Opava. Historie. Kultura. Lidé*. Opava 2006.

15 BLUCHA, V. *Historie města Krnova*. Krnov 1969.

16 CONRADTS, N. *Gründung und Bedeutung der Ritterakademie Liegnitz in habsburgischer Zeit 1708 – 1740*. Hofheim 2009, 269-290.

of the given type (Catholic and Evangelic). It is difficult to compare the position of Opava from the point of view of the church administration as the town remained to be a part of the Olomouc diocese, whose administration was organised differently from the administration of the Wrocław diocese. The significance of Opava as the seat of a church institution or rather its church political character increased, although only for a short time, by the fact that Opava became the seat of Papal nunciature for Poland for the period of several years.¹⁷

In different historical periods, most of the Silesian centres of principalities belonged to a more or less important town fortresses. From the time of its establishment Opava was also considered to be a fortress important for the defence of the country. It was predetermined for this role by its position on an important route to Silesia that belonged then to Piast Poland. First written record of the Opava fortification date back to the first half of the 13th century.¹⁸ A certain sense of safety provided by the town fortification enabled the burghers of Opava to attempt to ignore the anti-reformation actions of the bishops of Olomouc and even of the Emperor Rudolf II. Habsburg from the beginning of the 17th century.

Even after the Thirty Years' War Opava belonged to the most important Silesian fortresses defending the entrance into Silesia from the Polish side and then mainly from Hungary. After a certain hesitation within the reduction of the numbers of the Imperial Army immediately after the Thirty Years' War,¹⁹ Opava was relied on in the plans of the country defence, which mirrored in the dislocation of the military units and supplies. The reduced garrisons of the Imperial Army in Silesia should have been deployed in Głogów, Namysłów, Oława, Legnica and Brzeg, others then in Świdnica and Nysa, and finally also in Opava, Krnov and Głubczyce.²⁰ Opava's fortified position was reinforced by the fact that at the time of the Swedish-Polish conflict in the 1650s the army supplies were gathered there.²¹ Under the influence of the increasing danger of the Turkish attack, the obsolescent fortification of Opava was rebuilt into a then relatively modern Baroque fortress. Opava fulfilled the fortification role together with Głogów, Brzeg, Namyslow, Nysa and others until the Silesian wars between Maria Theresa and Frederick II, the King of Prussia.

The last to review is the position of Opava among the Silesian towns with respect to its economic importance. Opava kept its position of an important centre of business, especially the regional and non-regional, with a certain decline of its role in long-distance business in the eastern direction, which dominated until the Thirty Years' War. The absence of the enterprises of the manufacture type which was typical especially for the towns of Lower Silesia was a sign of the progressive development delay of the proto-industrial production. Their formation can be connected only to the period after the division of Silesia. On the other side, it is obvious that the size of the towns which was usually expressed by the number of houses, or as the case may be by the imposing architecture of the urban house building was a serious indicator of the economic position in the area. It can be stated that in the first half of the 18th century the number of 581 houses placed Opava with more than 500 houses among the ten largest localities in Silesia.²² In terms of size, Opava occupied the eighth position while the second and third positions were taken by the new proto-industrial centres featuring primarily simple buildings of rather rural character that were situated mainly on the outskirts. Regarding the traditional historical towns, Opava was exceeded in size by Wrocław with 2133 houses and also by Nysa which was fourth in line (699 houses), and then Legnica (643), Świdnice (638) and Brzeg (593). Opava was followed by Cieszyn

17 KOPIEC, J. Opava schronieniem papieskich nunciuszy w Polsce w latach 1705 – 1709. In *Polská papežská nunciatura v Opavě*. Ed. Jirásek, Z. Opava 2009, 7-15.

18 MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. *Opava...*, 45-46.

19 In 1655, even the cancellation of Opava as a country fortress and the demolition of the walls were considered. Nevertheless, later this intention was abandoned MÜLLER, K. – ŽÁČEK, R. *Opava...*, 183.

20 KLAWITTER, W. *Geschichte der schlesischen Festungen in vorpreussischer Zeit*. Breslau 1941, 163.

21 REZEK, A. *Dejiny Čech a Moravy nové doby, kniha první Od míru Westfalského až do smrti císaře Ferdinanda III. (1648 – 1657)*. Praha 1982; REZEK, A. *Dejiny Čech a Moravy nové doby, kniha druhá, Vladaření císaře a krále Leopolda I.* Praha 1892, 476.

22 All the data regarding the size of the towns in the stude (if not given otherwise) refer to the years 1723 – 1725 when extensive visitations connected with the preparation of the Karolin cadastre were carried out in the towns. In more detail KORBELÁŘOVÁ, I. *K velikosti měst...*, 153-170.

(539), Głogów (520) and Jawor (501).²³ Only two of the relatively large metropolises of the principality were situated in Upper Silesia on the very borderline with Moravia. These were the eighth Opava and the tenth Cieszyn.²⁴ The smaller centres of the principality with less than 400 houses included apart from Opole also Żagań (387 houses), Olesznica (330) and Ziębice (290). Wolow that comprised mere 183 houses was the smallest of the metropolises. Hence, in terms of size it can be stated that regarding the total number of houses Opava occupied the eighth position, yet by the number of houses inside the walls it was the tenth position. Opava was definitely the largest town in Upper Silesia, ahead of Cieszyn and Raciborz. At the same time Opava belonged also to the towns with the most impressive architecture with respect to the quality of housebuilding as the complete 40 % of the buildings were already then comprised by the brick houses while in Opole it was only 34 % and in Cieszyn only 14 %.

The evaluation of Opava's position within the scope of the Silesian economy in the monitored period would request a special extensive study for which there is not enough source data with verifiable information power. Still, there is no doubt that after Wrocław the leading positions in terms of importance would start to be taken by the already mentioned proto-industrial centres of the textile areas (Jelenia Góra, Zielona Góra, Kowary, and probably also Bielsko, etc.) Most of the other towns did not usually substantially exceed the boundaries of the traditional, mostly craft production. What can be compared without greater problems is the importance of Opava in terms of the tax revenue provided to the then Habsburg state. Among the comparable Silesian towns, Opava was ranked disproportionately higher than it would correspond for example with the number of houses, i.e. to its size. With the obligation to pay 55 000 thalers, Opava found itself already in the fourth position after Wrocław, Głogów and Nysa. Considering the Lower Silesian metropolises, Wrocław was followed by Głogów (indiction in the amount of 77 thousand thalers),²⁵ and then Nysa (73 thousand). Lower than Opava, Świdnica (45 thousand), Żagań and Legnica (43.5 thousand each), Jawor (38.8 thousand), and then Brzeg (21.6 thousand but it occupied only the 15th position), Olesznica (16.4 thousand/16th position), Ziębice (14.2 thousand/18th position) and Wolow (7.6 thousand/circa 30th position) were ranked. Considering the taxable sources regarding the towns located in Upper Silesia, areas situated on the Moravian-Silesian borderlands were the most economically efficient, namely the already mentioned Opava (55 thousand), Cieszyn (21.9 thousand), Krnov (18.7 thousand), Racibórz (14.2 thousand) and Opole (9.3 thousand).

According to the account of most of the monitored sources, Opava belongs to the ten most important Silesian towns. It belonged to the system of the most significant Baroque Silesian fortresses. With respect to the number of houses, Opava was the eighth largest town in Silesia and the largest one in Upper Silesia. The amount of the ordered tax put Opava on the fourth place among the Silesian towns. Together with most of the other comparable localities, it remained an economic centre of regional importance. After the establishment of the Jesuit gymnasium in the 20s of the 17th century, Opava found itself among the first Silesian towns enabling this type of education. Moreover, the representation of monastic institutions in Opava was significant. The position of Opava in the system of Catholic Church was confirmed also by the temporary relocation of the Papal nunciature for Poland in the beginning of the 18th century. After the division of Silesia between Prussia and the Habsburg monarchy in 1742, Opava justifiably gained the position of the capital city of so-called Austrian Silesia.

23 KORBELÁŘOVÁ, I. – ŽÁČEK, R. Slezsko v církevních statistikách olomoucké diecéze (arcidiecéze) z 2. pol. 18. – 1. pol. 19. století. In *Časopis Slezského zemského muzea*, 44-45, 1995-1996, 21-214; KORBELÁŘOVÁ, I. *Města na Těšínsku...*, 83; GROSCHE, W. *Schlesisches Städtebuch*. Stuttgart 1995, 212-215, 384-387.

24 KORBELÁŘOVÁ, I. *Města na Těšínsku...*, 281-283.

25 Individual taxes were calculated from the indiction after the percentage quota was determined on a yearly basis once it had been approved by the general Silesian Council. The sums have been rounded up.

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