CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Drahoslav Magdoško
Suburbs of Medieval Košice: Origin, Topography and Population ............................................... 8

Mária Fedorčáková
Episcopal Power and Authority in Communication with the City of Bardejov in the Late Middle Ages ...........42

Peter Fedorčák
Benedict Kišdy: Founding Father of the University of Košice .............................................................56

Mikuláš Jančura
Speed, Adventure, Politics: Leisure Motoring in Interwar Slovakia with Regard to the Activities of the Autoclub Košice ................................................................. 71

Martin Pekár – Patrícia Fogelová
Analysis of Power Interventions into Public Space as a Tool for Research into Cities in Non-Democratic Regimes (Sociological-Historical Approach) ........................................ 89

Peter Borza
Greek Catholics in Prague (1918–1950) .......................................................... 99

REVIEWS, CHRONICLE .............................................................. 113
Editorial note

Issue No. 2/2023 of the City and History journal has been prepared by its editors as an anniversary edition. It is dedicated to the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Department of History at the Faculty of Arts of the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice, which publishes the journal. It commemorates also the tenth anniversary of the publication of its first double issue, 1-2/2012, in February 2013.

For this issue, we have edited articles written by authors from the Department of History. These articles are based on texts previously published in the Slovak language. In addition to translation, they have undergone revision in order to meet the expected publication standard. The goal is to make our own research available and promote it to a wider range of readers of the journal.

The tenth anniversary of the journal is an opportune moment to express gratitude to all authors, reviewers, translators, proofreaders, editors, sponsors, current and former members of the editorial board and, especially, the readers for their cooperation, support and goodwill. It is with great enthusiasm that we look forward to your and our continued sharing of knowledge and ideas into the future.

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Articles
A particularly understudied topic concerning the medieval city of Košice in the Hungarian kingdom is the development and size of its suburbs. Only a few historians have dealt with this issue so far, as most of the research attention has focused on the walled area. In the course of the current preparatory work on the Historical Atlas of Košice, it has therefore become necessary to explore this issue much more comprehensively than hitherto. The author of this study re-identifies the location of individual suburban streets and adjacent religious buildings and defines their legal relationship to the city. Based on fragmentary tax registers, he also attempts to determine the number of taxpayers and inhabitants outside the city walls.

Keywords: Medieval city; Early modern city; Kingdom of Hungary; Košice; Urban topography; Urban population; Suburbs.

Introduction

Košice (present-day eastern Slovakia; Hun. Kassa, Ger. Kaschau) grew as a town in the second half of the thirteenth century, during the great wave of the founding of urban and rural communities in the Kingdom of Hungary. Before that, there existed a probably small settlement in the Košice cadaster, which did not belong to the category of early medieval military-administrative or ecclesiastical seats of the country. It has not yet been possible to prove the site of this pre-urban village with a church, which is mentioned in a single reference from 1230.¹ In the 1240s, King Belo IV settled German settlers in Košice, to whom he granted self-governing privileges. Košice was placed near the northern border of the kingdom, a factor that soon contributed to its successful urban development. The economic importance of the road that passed through Košice from Hungary to the Polish lands grew rapidly in those times. In the late Middle Ages,

¹ On the pre-urban history of Košice, the foundation of the town and its privileges: GYÖRFFY, Az Árpád-kori Magyarország, 44, 105; VARSIK, Osídlenie Košickej kotliny, s. 155–169, 185–204; ZSOLDOS, The path of Košice; MAGDOŠKO, Samospráva mesta Košice, 26–50. The historiography and knowledge about medieval Košice up to the beginning of the twenty-first century has been summarized in: SLEZÁKOVÁ – NÁDASKÁ, Košice. Archaeological findings: RUSNÁK, Košice v stredoveku.
Košice, as a free royal city, was one of the most significant and populous centres of trade and crafts in the Hungarian kingdom.\(^2\)

The city was surrounded by walls at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.\(^3\) Its population continued to grow, but not to such an extent that the walled area had to be enlarged again (up to 3,000 inhabitants of the inner town at the end of the fifteenth century). The same boundary between the fortified city and its suburbs existed until the demolition of the walls at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Late medieval Košice enjoyed a long period of peace, which was only disturbed by the siege of the Polish army in the winter of 1490/1491. The city withstood it. Most affected by the military campaign was the population, houses and other properties in the suburbs.\(^4\) Košice recovered from this damage, but broader economic factors led to a reduction in the city’s relevance in terms of international trade from the turn of the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period onwards. The political instability and military conflicts in early modern Hungary did not benefit the business of urban society either. However, Košice retained its leading economic and political position among the cities in the northeast of the country. After the Ottoman invasion of Hungary and consolidation of the Habsburg rule over the rest of the kingdom, Košice became an important city fortress and the seat of new royal administrative and military institutions in the second half of the sixteenth century.\(^5\)

Despite the significance of Košice within the urban network of the Carpathian Basin, some fundamental research problems concerning this city have remained unsolved for a long time. In other nearby cities, similar issues have already been investigated over the last half-century. A particularly understudied topic is the development and size of the suburbs of medieval Košice. Only a few historians have dealt with this issue so far, most of the attention having been focused on the walled city. In the course of the current preparatory work on the Historical Atlas of Košice, it has therefore become necessary to explore this issue much more comprehensively than hitherto. This has led to a reassessment of previous assumptions about the origins of Košice’s suburbs and to new findings about their topography and size, all of which are presented in this study.

**Primary sources, historiography and research issues**

There are several obstacles that have prevented a truly thorough understanding of the development of the former suburbs of Košice. The first factor is the fragmentary state of the medieval and early modern written sources, in which the suburban settlement may have been mentioned in more detail. There are only occasional brief references to cases involving the suburbanites in the municipal court books, which survive, with few interruptions, since the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Key historical sources, such as suburban tax registers, are widely scattered. We know part of the western suburban streets from the register of 1480. Several tax registers of other streets date from the early sixteenth century. Thus, there is only one medieval register that lists


\(^3\) On the development of the city walls from an archaeological point of view: GAŠAJ – ĎURIŠOVÁ, *Výsledky archeologického výskumu*. On the question of dating the first fortification: MAGDOŠKO, *Nehodnovernosť tradície*.


the entire city and its suburbs, from sometime between 1522 and 1524, which was unfortunately a period when Košice was struck by an epidemic. As a result, the census recorded a temporary decline in taxpayers. Other complete tax registers of the whole city and its suburbs have been sporadically preserved from the 1630s onwards.\textsuperscript{6}

The oldest maps of the surroundings of Košice date from the eighteenth century. More detailed maps of the city centre and suburbs come from the first half of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{8} It was a period of stable development of the city. In the earlier sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, nevertheless, there was a partial decline in the population of the suburbs, which can be attributed to both military and economic factors. In addition, in the last third of the sixteenth century, the city walls were rebuilt in the form of a massive Renaissance fortification, which was subsequently improved over time until the beginning of the eighteenth century. These construction works as well as the supposed reservation of open ground in front of the new bastions probably led to the destruction and relocation of the nearest suburban buildings, which process, however, was not frequently mentioned in contemporary documents. After all, only part of the names of medieval origin were recorded on modern maps.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{košice_map.png}
\caption{Košice according to the First Military Survey, 1782–1784}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{6} On the production of the city chancellery of medieval Košice: MAGDOŠKO, Samospráva mesta Košice, 13–16, 155–167.
\textsuperscript{7} HALAGA, Právny, územný a populačný vývoj, 39–57.
\textsuperscript{8} The oldest map is dated to 1720: Plan der Gegend Caschau von dem Dorf Czahanovic bis zu den Zusam[m] enflu[s] der Hernat und Tarza. This was followed by the First Military Survey of 1780s and the Second Military Survey of 1819. JANKÓ – PORUBSKÁ, Vojenské mapovanie na Slovensku, 35, 71. First half of the nineteenth century: Topographischer Plan der Königlichen Frey- und Hauptstadt in Ober-Ungarn und ehemaligen Grenzfestung Kaschau samt ihren Vorstädten (the so-called Chunert’s plan of Košice from 1807); Plan der königl. Freistadt Kaschau (the so-called Otto’s plan of Košice from the 1830s/1840s).
No relevant archaeological finds are available yet. The whole area of the former suburbs of Košice was rebuilt in the twentieth century without archaeological research. Archaeological excavations have been intensifying in the last two or three decades, but they have been concentrated in the area of the city centre, once surrounded by walls. Only in some places, close to the former medieval fortification, have a few outbuildings been found. No suburban church, nor even a single house, has yet been archaeologically uncovered.9

In the case of Košice, there has also been a long-standing lack of systematic historical research in which several scholars have participated in parallel. Thus, the suburbs have remained a little-studied topic on which only a few historians have commented. In his pioneering study of the economy and society of Košice at the end of the Middle Ages, Erik Fügedi was the first to try to calculate the population inside and outside the walls. In this respect, he did not work directly with archival sources, but with an older edition that made available selected tax registers without commentary. As a result, Erik Fügedi was mistaken. He considered the published register of part of the western suburban streets from 1480 to be an inventory of the entire suburban settlement. Therefore, the number of 246 taxpayers in the suburbs (converted to 1,171 residents)10 that he found is, in fact, incomplete.

During the second half of the twentieth century, it was mainly Ondrej R. Halaga who, in several of his monographs and numerous articles, dealt with the medieval history of Košice. He was the first to identify the sites of most of the suburban streets. However, even this historian did not avoid making a few mistakes. On the one hand, he did not realize that some suburban streets had been given more contemporary names alongside earlier ones, so he counted them twice. On the other hand, a few other streets were left out of his calculations. In his analysis of tax records, in many cases he did not distinguish between houses and farmsteads, or even between house owners and tenants or lodgers. He increased the data from the early sixteenth century a little due to the consequences of the siege of the city in 1490/1491, but without explaining his methodology, giving an estimated number of 567 houses and 726 taxpayers in the suburbs for the period around 1480. As he noted, there were more houses in the suburbs than in the inner city by the end of the Middle Ages. This ratio was reversed in the Early Modern Period, when the suburbs suffered more from military conflicts. It is suspicious that Ondrej R. Halaga applied a high coefficient of 5.15 inhabitants to each suburban taxpayer, derived from the conditions in the second half of the eighteenth century. This led him to declare there being nearly 3,800 inhabitants of the suburbs around 1480 (and almost 5,000 inhabitants in the inner city with 439 houses, according to his calculations).11 Apart from some distortions, it was mainly non-standardly chosen coefficients that led Halaga to the thesis of an enormous decline in the city’s population in the Early Modern Period, counting a loss of up to several thousand inhabitants. This calculation was not accepted by Slovak and Hungarian historiography, because it was obviously too high. However, no detailed correction has been made for the period at the end of the fifteenth century since then.

In his last monograph on the history of Košice, Halaga dealt with the question of the origin of suburban streets, too. He concluded that several of them were originally

9 RUSNÁK, Košice v stredoveku.
10 FÜGEDI, Kaschau, eine osteuropäische Handelsstadt, 187–188.
11 HALAGA, Právny, územný a populačný vývoj, 41–43, 53–56.
ordinary villages, related to the emerging city only economically. Eventually they became administratively controlled by the city, but the suburban settlements were said to have independently elected their own judges and priests up to the Early Modern Period.12

Two subsequent historians analysed the tax registers of Košice from the first half of the sixteenth century according to the modern methodology as in other European countries. In her research on the city’s demography, Miloslava Bodnárová distinguished coefficients for house owners and lodgers in the inner city. No exact coefficient could be identified for the suburbs. Due to the fragmentary nature of the suburban registers, she evaluated one of them in particular, from the years 1522–1524, which originated during the epidemic. Bodnárová considered, therefore, the then number of 444 houses and 45 farmsteads with about 1,712 inhabitants in the suburbs to be a minimum in the first half of the sixteenth century.13 Even Bodnárová did not notice the duplication of names of some suburban streets. Parallel to her research, György Granasztói comprehensively dealt with similar issues of Košice society in the middle of the sixteenth century. However, he examined in detail only the population of the inner city. According to his calculations, less than 2,500 members of the urban society lived inside the walls then. For the year 1480 Granasztói estimated the population of the inner city to be about 2,800 inhabitants and the population of the suburbs to be about 1,700.14

In recent years, it is the author of this study who has dealt with the issue of suburban church buildings, streets and the administration of the city in his several papers.15 One of the new fundamental findings is the fact that previous historians did not thoroughly know the system of medieval tax registers of Košice. For this reason, earlier works on the topography and settlement of suburban streets contained some ambiguities or errors. Given the fragmentary state of the tax registers, it seemed to historians that the streets outside the walls were recorded rather haphazardly, sometimes more of them, sometimes less. In reality, however, the suburbs were not recorded in one or two tax registers at the end of the Middle Ages, but in as many as four separate registers, each assigned to one of four stable and well-defined suburban sectors. This coincided with the system of keeping tax registers for the walled city, which was divided into four districts (quarters).16 The boundaries of the inner-city quarters extended beyond the walls, so that beyond each inner-city quarter there was one suburban quarter. For the purpose of the annual tax collection, a separate register was prepared for each quarter, so a total of eight registers for the entire city. Only a fraction of the once large number of these sources has thus survived. While the inner-city quarters of Košice were named numerically (I–IV), the tax registers of the suburban quarters were named according to the first, and usually also the largest, taxed street.17
Having this knowledge, it is possible to organize the fragmented tax registers now. Beyond the First Inner Quarter there lay suburban streets to the southwest of the city walls, which were recorded in the tax registers of 1511 and 1522: Hospital Street, Binder’s Village (Cooper Street), Rotten Street (St Leonard Street) and Knobloch’s Village (Garlic Street). For the western suburbs, placed beyond the Second Inner Quarter, the largest number of tax registers have survived, namely those of 1480, 1501, 1506, 1507, 1509 and 1522. These recorded Judge’s Village, St Leonard Land, St Leonard Hill (New Street), On the Moat (Small Gate Street) and Brick Street. Of the medieval tax registers of the streets in the northern (northeastern) suburbs, i.e. beyond the Third Inner Quarter, only the registers of 1504 and 1515 exist. There we find Čermeľ Street, New Street, St Ladislaus Street, Nicholas’ Street (Venice) and Platea fur is. The tax register of some of the years 1522–1524, which exceptionally recorded the entire city, contains entries for the southeastern suburban streets too: Ludmann’s Street and Small Hospital Street. These lay beyond the Fourth Inner Quarter. No other tax records of this last suburban quarter are known.\textsuperscript{18}

Now it is possible to proceed to more comprehensive research of the suburbs of medieval Košice. In the next part of the study I re-identify the location of individual suburban streets with adjacent religious buildings and define their legal relationship to the city. Based on fragmentary tax registers, I also attempt to determine the number of taxpayers and inhabitants outside the city walls.

\textbf{Natural morphology and road network around the city}

Before delving deeper into the issue of suburban streets, it is useful to briefly explain the natural conditions and roadways that influenced the development of settlement around the city walls. The cadaster of Košice has been located on the border between the plain (south) and the hills (west, north and east) that were mostly covered with vineyards and forests in the Late Middle Ages. It is crossed by the Hornád River, which slowed down and meandered here in the past, as recorded on maps from the turn of the eighteenth century. Thus, there was not much suitable space for a settlement in the Košice cadaster, either in the case of an early medieval village, the site of which is still unknown, or even more so in the case of the town, which has existed here from the mid-thirteenth century onwards. The core of the town was founded in the lower parts next to the river on a slight elevation, through which the Čermeľ (or Črmeľ) brook flowed. The river meanders, to which an embankment for mills was eventually added, preventing the emergence of a denser suburban settlement on the eastern side of the walls. Due to the morphology of the urban core, whose axis was formed by the main elongated street serving as the market square, the most space was left for the development of the suburbs on the western side, where their extent was limited by the stretching hill, and slightly less space was left on the southern and northern sides of the walls.

The main roads led into the city from the same three sides – south, west, and north – which corresponded to the three oldest city gates. The most significant road (\textit{magna via}) came here from the south, from the centre of the kingdom. From Košice it went to the north to the County of Šariš and further to Poland.\textsuperscript{19} Previous historiography did not emphasize that this road crossed the Hornád River just within the Košice cadaster.

\textsuperscript{18} Taxa 5–22 (inner city and suburbs).
\textsuperscript{19} On the main roads in the Košice cadaster: MAGDOŠKO, \textit{K vzniku a správe predmestí}, 594–596.
Local river crossings were therefore important here. North of the city there were fords. As can be seen on the First Military Survey of the 1780s, there were a number of roads leading to these fords, so they were still in use during that period. These fords had probably been used since the earliest times. The local name Three fords (Tri brody) has been preserved there to the present day. But a bridge had to be used to cross the river safely. According to the First Military Survey, the *magna via* was diverted to the river even below the city (outside the Lower Gate). The road crossed the Hornád on the only wooden bridge that then existed on the main course of the river in the Košice cadaster. There had been hardly any more bridges there in the Middle Ages.

The first known mention of a bridge on the Hornád River in the cadaster of Košice dates back to 1403. Noted is a new bridge, over which lay burgher vineyards (*vineam infra novum pontem ultra fluvium Harnad situatam*). In the eighteenth century, there were still vineyards on the slope in the eastern part of the city’s cadaster (below the village of Košická Nová Ves), so it is obvious that the oldest documented bridge stood in approximately the same place as at the time of the First Military Survey. At the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, therefore, there already existed roughly the same network of main roads in the cadaster as in the eighteenth century.

However, it is still possible to hypothesize that the *magna via* originally passed directly through the city. Such an assumption is supported by looking at the morphology of the city core with its widened main street. It might be assumed that the main street (market square) in question was founded on the most significant road leading through the cadaster. The second clue for such a hypothesis is the characterization of the bridge from 1403 as a “new” one. In the case of a simple building reconstruction, such a designation would not make proper sense. Rather, it is more likely that the previous bridge was located at a greater distance from the newer one. It is possible, therefore, that the bridge had originally stood to the north of the city, near the fords, and that it was moved downstream in the fourteenth century. As will be mentioned below, records from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries attest to a developed suburban settlement to the north and northeast of the walls, which may also have been related to the presence of locally important roads. It is remarkable that the location of the bridge east of the city walls took into account the already developed economic conditions in Košice in the late Middle Ages. There lay estates of the citizens (meadows, vineyards etc.) above the left bank of the Hornád at that time, to which efficient access from the city was necessary. From the neighbouring County of Zemplín there was another road coming here, the importance of which increased, as it can be assumed, with the growth of the city’s significance. The name “new bridge” may have been applied for some time before 1403.

Due to the natural conditions and the road network, the suburban settlement of Košice developed in three directions from the city walls – in the south of the city along the most important road (*magna via*), in the west of the city on the largest open space available for housing, and in the northeast of the city along the local roads leading to the Hornád River and the *magna via*.

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Origin and topography of the suburban streets

According to the oldest descriptions of the city boundaries from the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century, it was the city community that was always mentioned as the user of the city cadastre. Thus, there were no other settlements apart from the city within this territory, which would have had a kind of separate legal status. In a privilege from 1347, the king decreed that no real estate transactions could take place in Košice and its suburbs without the consent of the city council. This is the first known, albeit only general, mention of the local suburbs. However, it is clear from it that the suburbs was subject to the authority of the city.

Sporadic written reports about settlements just beyond the walls of medieval Košice can be found in the city’s pragmatic documents – in court books from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and in tax registers from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries onwards. The individual streets are listed below according to their order in the tax registers at the end of the medieval period.

Spitalgasse

This street lay in front of the city’s Lower Gate. The short-lived presence of the emperor’s citadel in this area at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries broke the continuity of the existence of this street, although the hospital itself and the church remained standing in the new fortress. After the citadel was demolished at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the street was restored. It was recorded on modern maps, certainly roughly in the area of the former medieval settlement.

In 1283 a hospital was mentioned in Košice for the first time. In its oldest phase of existence, Hospitallers were probably involved to some extent. After the thirteenth century, they were no longer mentioned here. In the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period it was the main city hospital with the adjacent Church of the Holy Spirit. Its estates were administered by the city council. As can be deduced from modern maps, the hospital was built on the most important road leading to the city. Even since its foundation, the hospital was probably standing at such a distance from the city that it did not have to be moved because of the expansion of the city fortification in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times.

The earliest record of the adjacent street is from 1394, in which a local farmstead of a prominent burgher is mentioned. There are entries about similar civil (property, financial) cases, occasionally also criminal cases, in other city court books. Hospital Street was characterized in the medieval municipal documents as a Gasse in German, or as a vicus, but more often as a platea in Latin texts. It was certainly one of the first suburban streets, and probably the oldest ever.

21 MAGDOŠKO, Samospráva mesta Košice, 36, 208.
22 A small (unpublished) archaeological study uncovered a medieval object in this area: RUSNÁK, Košice v stredoveku, 40.
23 OROSOVÁ – ZAŽOVÁ, Košická citadela, 41.
24 MAGDOŠKO, Kostoly a špitály na predmestiach Košíc, 18–24.
25 AICC, no. 565: “…arestavit allodium Knoll in vico hospitalis existens…”
Bindersdorf

Modern maps of Košice no longer record a settlement with such a name. The first mention of this street dates back to 1466, when a house owned by a burgher from the inner city stood there (in der gassen Bindersdorffel). The city court and tax documents then continued to refer to the settlement by its German name in the sense of a village, but since the very end of the Middle Ages it was more often referred to as a street.

The name of the settlement Bindersdorf or Binderdorf has been literally translated by Slovak and Hungarian historiography as Cooper Village or Street (Slov. Debnárská Ves/ulica, Hun. Bodnár utca). According to Ondrej R. Halaga, the name of this settlement was derived from the predominant occupation of the residents of the old local village, which the city eventually put under its administration. It is noteworthy, however, that its German name was usually written down with the possessive suffix "s". In cases where the name of a street in medieval Košice was undoubtedly derived from the activities of the people living there, the genitive plural was used. For instance, Butcher Street, placed in the walled area, was always recorded as Fleischergasse (Platea carnificum) in municipal documents. The letter "s" in the name of the suburban settlement was thus a possessive suffix of a personal name. Accordingly, the name Bindersdorf was not derived from the occupation of its inhabitants, but from the name of the owner of a particular property, probably a farmstead formerly existing there (as is evident in the case of another suburban street, mentioned below, called Richtersdorf). This person can even be identified in medieval written sources. In the 1380s, Peter Binder used to be a member of the Košice city council. Some immovable properties of this burgher or his son (with the same name) are mentioned in a court record from 1397 in relation with a debt to the merchant John Lublen. The most probable explanation is, therefore, that the foremost burgher Peter Binder owned a farmstead in the outskirts of Košice, after which the adjacent emerging settlement was named. This was formed here only at the end of the fourteenth century.

After the mid-sixteenth century, this street was not mentioned any more in the lists of the suburban judges. It did not disappear, however; it just shrank for a time: the street was recorded again in the tax register of 1635 (as Bodnar utca). Subsequently, from the second half of the seventeenth century to the present, the street of Žriedlova ulica has been mentioned in this area (Hun. Forrás utca). Thus, the medieval Binder’s Village was situated near or directly in the position of the latter street. Previous historiography has located this settlement in a slightly different place, on today’s Štúrova ulica, near the winter stadium.
Faulgasse (St.-Leonhard-Gasse)

One of the largest suburban streets, stretching beyond the western city gate (Rotten Gate). It was probably one of the oldest settlements under the walls. For the first time in 1401 a house is mentioned there (extra civitatem ante portam Fawlgas). Other references have also been made to this street in relation to the financial and property affairs of the local, or the inner-city population. In the first half of the fifteenth century this area was still called “in front of the Rotten Gate”. Soon the name Rotten Street came into use, i.e. the same name as for the street inside the walls. In the tax register of this part of the Košice suburbs from 1522, however, Rotten Street was no longer mentioned. St Leonard Street was recorded instead. It was the same settlement, as evidenced by comparing the taxpayer names of the two streets, as well as by the presence of the local St Leonard’s fraternity house. Since the 1520s, only the name St Leonard Street was permanently used here (as platea, Gasse, utca). This medieval street, formerly called Rotten Street, can therefore be located directly in front of the Rotten Gate, on the site of today’s Šrobárová and Floraľanská ulica. Since the eighteenth century it has been called Floraľanská Street.

The name St Leonard Street was prompted by the presence of a suburban church with a leprosarium. Both objects were mentioned here from the mid-fifteenth century. Their origin can be put at least half a century earlier, when leprosaria with chapels or churches of such dedication appeared in other nearby royal cities (Prešov, Bardejov), too. So it took some time for the dedication of the church to displace the original street name. Burghers of Košice remembered this suburban church and the poor in the nearby leprosarium (sichen) in their last wills. A will of 1476 appointed a local chaplain. From the end of the fifteenth century, the priest (plebanus) of St Leonard’s was mentioned explicitly several times, but there is no indication that the church became independent from the city parish. The church and the leprosarium with their assets were subject to the administration of the city council, which appointed an administrator (Kirchenvater, Verweser) from among its members for this purpose. While in the second half of the fifteenth century the object of this second Košice hospital was sometimes specified as a house for lepers, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century it was usually characterized generally as a poorhouse (domus pauperum). Perhaps such a terminological shift reflected a real functional change as leprosy receded in Europe at the turn of the Middle Ages.

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37 AICC, no. 4219.
38 Pur4 1489–1528, fol. 52r, 307r, 327r, 344v, 410r.
39 KEMÉNY, Lajos. Kassa város régi, 7: “…hawse vor dem Faulthor…”
43 Archaeological research at Šrobárová 57 once discovered a pottery kiln with late medieval pottery: PASTOR, Zpráva o archeologickom výskume; RUSNÁK, Košice v stredoveku, 40; LOKŠA, Katalóg ulíc mesta Košice, 82 (here is the supposed location of the medieval St Leonard Street on the site of today’s Tajovského ulica).
45 MAGDOŠKO, Kostolní otcovia, 104–105.
According to the tax registers of St Leonard Street from the 1520s, the hospital was the tenth house, while the priest of the respective church occupied the 21st house.\(^{46}\) The taxation apparently started at the city gate, so the hospital and St Leonard’s Church must have stood close to the city walls. This is confirmed by the fact that the Church of St Leonard was demolished in 1566 for the construction of a bastion.\(^{47}\) It is currently the only known written report that informs us about the destruction of a part of the suburban street as a result of the construction of the new city fortification in the Early Modern Period. Despite the silence of the written sources, however, similar demolition works along the walls may have taken place in other parts of the suburbs as well. After that, there is no record of the local hospital either, which was therefore also demolished due to new fortifications.

Figure 2: The western part of the suburbs according to the so-called Otto’s plan of Košice around 1841

\(^{46}\) Taxa 21 (year 1522). Taxa 22, p. 62: “...domus pauperum... domus plebani de sancto Leonardo, que est pauperum...” (years 1522–1524).

\(^{47}\) KEMÉNY, Magyarországi ágyú- és harangöntők, 219.
Knoblochsdorf

The next taxable settlement was Knoblochsdorf or Knoblochdorf, being mentioned until the seventeenth century. It was first documented in 1399, when a local resident failed to take the oath she was supposed to take before the city court. In the municipal documents this settlement was referred to as a Dorf, but from the end of the Middle Ages it was referred to as a Gasse, and more and more often also with a translated Hungarian name. In addition to the tax registers, other court book entries refer to this street as well.

The name Knoblochsdorf has usually been translated as Garlic Village in previous historiography. Ondrej R. Halaga concluded that it was a pre-urban village, which subsequently supplied the city with agricultural crops until it became an ordinary suburban street. However, a toponym related to such a crop is rare in this geographical area. Rather, an analogy with Binder’s Village is suggested. And indeed, in the 1380s, when Peter Binder was acting in the Košice city council, Michael Knobloch was his colleague, followed by Ladislaus Knobloch in the 1390s. Members of the Knobloch family are mentioned several times in the oldest preserved court book, from 1393–1405. They certainly maintained contacts with Cracow in (Little) Poland. Therefore, it can be assumed that this family owned a farmstead in the suburbs at the end of the fourteenth century, by which a new settlement called Knoblochsdorf grew.

Previous literature has situated Knoblochsdorf in the area of the current Žriedlova ulica. Nevertheless, the late medieval tax registers always recorded this settlement as the last street before the First Inner Quarter. In the seventeenth century this street already had common judges with Judge’s Street. The two streets therefore had to be adjacent. If we assume the continuity of this settlement up to modern times, from which detailed maps of the city and its surroundings come, it was probably located where the street of Kakas utca (now Škultétyho ulica) existed in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Richtersdorf

The nineteenth-century maps place Judge’s Street in area near today’s Vojenská ulica. The earliest references to this settlement indicate something more about the genesis of similar “Dörfer” in the suburbs of medieval Košice. According to a court record from 1398, the then Košice judge Leonard pledged his village (oblíga villob villam

48 AICC, 177, no. 3086: “...super quandam dominam zelierin in Knoblochsdoerff III fl or., quia non prestitit iuumentum ut assumpserat in iudicio prestare.” HALAGA, Počiatky Košíc, 129.
50 Pur4 1489–1528, fol. 333v, 357v.
51 HALAGA, Počiatky Košíc, 128–129.
52 MAGDOŠKO, Samospráva mesta Košice, 246.
53 At the end of the fourteenth century, the Cracow merchant Michael Knobloch demanded repayment of debts from several burghers of Košice: AICC, no. 2198, 2255, 2711. TEKE, Kassa külkereskedelme, 387.
54 HALAGA, Právny, územný a populačný vývoj, 22; LOKŠA, Katalóg ulíc mesta Košice, 91. Such a localization was also adopted by me in a previous paper: MAGDOŠKO, K vzniku a správe predmestí, 603, 616.
55 Re 5 (year 1607), Re 6 (1620’s–1640’s) and others.
56 LOKŠA, Katalóg ulíc mesta Košice, 96 presents the location of this medieval street on today’s Škultétyho or Magurská ulica.
suam) to the merchant John Lublen because of a debt of 242 florins.\footnote{AICC, no. 2235. HALAGA, Počiatky Košíc, 129.} The settlement was not specifically named, but this fact points to its existence in the city’s cadaster. In 1401, John Kulik of Cracow declared a lien on all the properties of the weaver Stanislaus, who used to live on the farmstead of the Košice judge (\textit{arrestavit omnia bona Stanisiai lanificis morantis in allodio iudiciis}).\footnote{AICC, no. 4377. HALAGA, Počiatky Košíc, 129.} A year later, an entry about the debt of Hannus of Judge’s Village was entered into the court register.\footnote{AICC, no. 4749: “Et super Hannus [in Richtersdorf III flor. XVI gs.].” HALAGA, Počiatky Košíc, 129.} It can be concluded that all three references were to the same settlement.\footnote{The sum of 242 florins owed in the case of Leonard’s advance was not exceptional. In 1394, a lien on Ladislaus Knoll’s farmstead and bakery was recorded due to his debt of 340 florins: AICC, no. 565.} Ondrej R. Halaga identified these reports with one locality, too.

In addition, Halaga assumed that Judge Leonard had once acquired a certain older village near Košice, after which its original name became extinct. But from whom outside the urban community could Leonard have bought a village so close to the city walls? Rather, it was his large farmstead that formed the nucleus of the local new settlement, and which led to its designation as a Dorf. It is clear from other reports about Judge’s Village that its inhabitants were subject to the jurisdiction of the city council.\footnote{Pur4 1489–1528, fol. 119v, 285r.}

The settlement was continuously called \textit{Richtersdorf} in the fifteenth century.\footnote{Mac1 1470–1477, fol. 19: “\textit{Richtersdoeffel}” (year 1471). Pur4 1489–1528, fol. 119v (year 1495). AMK, Supplementum H., sign. H III/2, pur 5 (hereinafter Pur5 1529–1580), fol. 70r (year 1534).} From the 1520s, records with the addition of “street” appeared.\footnote{Taxa 22: “\textit{Platea Byro wcza}”. Pur5 1529–1580, fol. 47v: “\textit{Richers gasz}” (year 1531).} In parallel, the older designation “village” persisted for the longest time among other such names of suburban settlements around Košice.

The naming of Judge’s Village is notable because of its derivation from an office rather than a personal name. One may consider whether it was not a property belonging to an influential burgher family, from which several Košice judges came.\footnote{Taxa 5. KEMÉNY, Kassa város régi, 33.} A more correct explanation, however, is that the settlement got its name as a result of the conditions that prevailed here at the end of the fourteenth century, when Leonard held the office of the city’s judge on several occasions.\footnote{Taxa 21.}

\textit{St. Leonhardsberg and Terra sancti Leonardi (Nova platea)}

These settlements followed immediately behind Judge’s Village, where the terrain rose. They are first documented by a tax register from 1480 (\textit{Therra sancti Leonardi, Auff Synt Leonhartberg}).\footnote{MAGDOŠKO, Samospráva mesta Košice, 246.} Tax registers from the early sixteenth century record St Leonard Land and New Street here (\textit{Neue Sacz, Nova platea}). In the 1520s only New Street is mentioned in this area.\footnote{Taxa 5. KEMÉNY, Kassa város régi, 33.} The two older settlements have thus disappeared or merged with the newer street. Such changes may have been prompted by damage during the
siege of the city in 1490/1491. Later in the modern times the name of New Street was changed, but the reasons are not yet known. All these streets lay somewhere in the area where the so-called Otto’s plan of Košice from the first half of the nineteenth century recorded Makay Corner (Máczka szugoly), Saddened Street (Szomoru utza) and where Floriánska Street (Sz. Florian utza) also extended at that time.

The previous historiography has suggested that the suburban Church of St Leonard existed on the hill named after it. However, as explained above, the church in question must have stood closer to the walls on Rotten Street. The names St Leonard Hill and St Leonard Land were probably derived from the local estates of the named church. It is noteworthy that after the disappearance of the names of these streets at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the name of the suburban Rotten Street was changed to St Leonard Street. This can only be explained by the fact that the aforementioned church stood on it.

**Auf dem Graben (Platea Kiskapu)**

At the end of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, this street was named after the moat, so it lay just outside the walls. The newer name Small Gate Street (Platea Kyskapw) from the 1520s makes its location a little more precise. There was a small pedestrian gate in the middle of the western section of the walls. Later on, this street was not mentioned any more. It was probably flattened as a result of the building of the new fortification in the last third of the sixteenth century.

**Sichelsdorf (Ziegelgasse)**

According to the nineteenth-century maps, Brick Street was situated on what is now Magurská and Zádielská ulica. Originally it had a different name. From the year 1400 onwards, it was mentioned several times as Zichelsdorff or Sichelsdorf in the first municipal court book in connection with the debts of the local inhabitants, or, conversely, with their claims. But later, since the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was recorded in the city court and tax documents as Czigelgasz. The name change was pointed out by Ondrej R. Halaga, who was using the name Sickle Village for the earlier period, and later Brick Street. He derived the initial name of the settlement from the local production of sickles. According to Halaga, it was a kind of linguistic interaction in the late medieval German-Slovak environment of Košice that caused the change of the original name of the settlement. But such an interpretation seems to be unconvincing.

There are numerous records of brickmakers (czigler) in the court book from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, so the name Sichelsdorf could not really have been derived from brickmaking at that time. However, the naming of the settlement

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68 HALAGA, Územný a populáčný vývoj, 22–23.
69 Taxa 5, 18. KEMÉNY, Közterületi régészet, 35.
70 Taxa 22.
71 GAŠAJ – ĎURIŠOVÁ, Výsledky archeologického výskumu, 43.
74 HALAGA, Počiatky Košíc, 221.
75 AICC, 447 (Index).
is again a case of a composition with a singular noun. A more likely explanation is that, as in the case of all the “villages” (Dorf, villa) examined so far, it was the name of the owner of the estate with a farmstead there. Since we do not know any mention of such a Košice citizen, however, we cannot reject another, now unknown, reason for the given street name.

The change of the street name to Ziegelgasse at the end of the fifteenth century may have been caused by a distortion of the original name by Košice’s citizens after some time, or by the local production of bricks (town accounts from the mid-sixteenth century mention a brickworks, but a map from 1720 records Zugelhütten in a different spot, up on the hill above the western suburbs). Anyway, the initial naming of the street lost its meaning over time.

Čermeľ

This street stretched directly out from the Upper Gate, in the southern part of what is now Komenského ulica, where modern maps have also recorded it. Its name came from the stream that flowed through the local suburb as well as further through the main square of the city. Čermeľ is the most frequently mentioned suburban settlement in the oldest city court book (mentions from 1399 onwards). This indicates a significant size of the local population. As in the case of other suburban streets, such court records were related to debt obligations of the local inhabitants or properties. Medieval Košice notaries usually referred to the given settlement by its one-word name, never as a village, and rarely as a street or vicus. Due to its location just beyond one of the three oldest gates, this settlement must have been established in the first phase of the formation of the suburbs of Košice.

Platea nova

According to the tax registers of the northern suburban quarter from 1504 and 1515, one part (side) of Čermeľ had been taxed first, followed by New Street, and finally the remaining part of Čermeľ was taxed. So New Street met at some point with Čermeľ Street, from which it was probably formerly separated. The tax register of the 1520s did not mention New Street, but it was consistently recorded in other early modern registers. In the course of time its name had to have been changed, because New Street was no longer marked there on the maps from the nineteenth century. It is not yet clear which of the subsequent or current streets it can be identified with. It may have been on the site of today’s Garbiarská ulica.

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76 MAGDOŠKO, Samospráva mesta Košice, 199.

77 Plan der Gegend Caschau von dem Dorf Czahanovce bis zu den Zusam[m]enfl us[s] der Hernat und Tarcza.


80 Taxa 16, 20, 22.

81 Taxa 35 and others.
This settlement is first documented in the tax register of the northern suburbs from 1504. The name of the street, however, refers to the local church, which is mentioned in written sources a century earlier. St Ladislaus Street was consistently specified in city documents from the sixteenth century as *platea, Gasse.* The municipal court noted some local properties and residents.

A city charter from 1408 mentions the Chapel of St Ladislaus at the Upper Mill (oebirstin moel bye senthe Lazla Capelle gelegin an dem Wassere daz man dy kunra nennet). The mill in question stood on Mill Embankment (named, in the Middle Ages, after the river as Hornád, Ger. Konrad) outside the northeastern corner of the walls. It is noteworthy that the chapel was not related to any hospital and did not stand directly outside the Upper Gate, which made its function and location different from those of the other two suburban churches (directly outside the Lower and Rotten Gates). The deviation certainly took into account certain circumstances of the time. It is also worth mentioning here that the site and dedication of the church, which existed in the pre-urban village of Košice, still remains unknown. The Chapel of St Ladislaus could therefore be a candidate for this unidentified church, which may have survived for a time in the suburbs of the founded city. But it seems unlikely that the St Ladislaus Chapel had such old origins. In such a case, its parish function would probably have persisted and it would have been characterized as a church from the first reports.

In 1482, the vicar of Eger’s bishopric authorized the establishment and consecration of a cemetery near this building, already referred to as the Church of St Ladislaus. His decision was preceded by some unspecified dispute in Košice. Such a conflict could have arisen between the city’s parish priest and the local priest or the population for whom the chapel (church) served. It is significant that, according to the wording of this deed, even after the consecration of the cemetery, the rights of the parish priest of the inner-city Church of St Elizabeth, which is explicitly mentioned as a parish church, were not to be violated. The chapel was thus subject to the city parish. It can therefore be rather assumed that it was built as a suburban chapel, perhaps in the second half of the fourteenth century, when the suburbs of Košice were expanding and when the cult of St Ladislaus was supported by the Angevin royal dynasty. It may have served the residents of the suburbs from the beginning. After the consecration of the cemetery, it was always explicitly mentioned as the Church of St Ladislaus (ecclesia, Kirche), which had a priest (plebanus) living on the street in question. There are no reports of its secular administrators. However, it was the city council that in 1533, at the time of the coming Reformation, sold several vineyards of the Church of St Ladislaus.

Reports about this church disappear after the middle of the sixteenth century. The reasons for its demise may have been similar to those of St Leonard’s in the western suburbs, which was demolished to extend the fortifications.

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83 Pur4 1489–1528, fol. 190v, 264r, 269v, 365r, 378r, 421r.
85 MAGDOŠKO, Kostoly a špitály, 28–30; MAGDOŠKO, Kostolní otcovia, 105–106; KEMÉNY, Kassa város régí, 99.
It is not clear from written records on which side of the embankment the Church of St Ladislaus stood. Ondrej R. Halaga placed it on the right bank, close to the walls. St Ladislaus Street certainly extended on the left bank, east of the Upper Mill, where the nineteenth-century maps locate it. The street and the church probably formed a compact settlement unit. In the tax registers from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the house of the local priest was listed as the first in the respective street, so the church stood at the very beginning of the order of houses. Therefore, it is more likely that the Church of St Ladislaus was placed on the left side of Mill Embankment. The so-called Chunert’s plan of Košice from 1807 recorded a suburban square on this side of the embankment, next to Upper Mill with a bridge, on which there was a kind of undeveloped small elevation. According to the military maps that described the city fortifications in detail in the eighteenth century, there was no fortification element here. Therefore, it is possible that a church with a cemetery once stood on this site. This location, and the origin of the Chapel (Church) of St Ladislaus in general, must one day be verified by archaeological research. Thus, in the case of the above-mentioned site, the church did not hinder the construction of the early modern fortification, but was placed close to the walls, which would explain the reason for its demolition.

Maps from the first half of the nineteenth century record St Ladislaus Street further east of the walls. At that time, only the extreme part of the former medieval street was probably so called. Originally, the street in question likely started at Mill Embankment, where Slov. Záhradnícká ulica / Hun. Kertész utza (today’s Masarykova ulica) was recorded in the nineteenth century. As on maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, probably also in the Middle Ages, local roads branched off from St Ladislaus Street – one heading north to the ford, the other heading south to the bridge. The Chapel, later Church, of St Ladislaus thus stood on an important local road and at the same time roughly in the centre of the northern suburb, which may be an explanation for its unusual position to the side of the Upper Gate.

86 HALAGA, Právny, územný a populačný vývoj, 22–23. I also adopted such a localization in a previous paper: MAGDOŠKO, K vzniku a správe predmestí, 607, 616.

87 There were houses next to the chapel as early as the end of the fourteenth century. In 1383, the Košice burgher John, brother of the abbot of the Benedictine monastery in nearby Krásna, bought a house (curia) in the suburbs of Košice from a widow: AMK, Schwartzenbachiana, no. 9. The suburban tax register of 1515 records an abbot’s house (domus abatis) next to the house of the priest from St Ladislaus: Taxa 20. Despite being made more than a century apart it is likely that the two reports refer to the same house.
Platea furis

This small street is mentioned only in the tax registers of 1515 and 1522–1524 (Lat. Platea furis, Hun. Fyer wcza); otherwise there are no other reports about it. Although its Latin name can easily be translated (fur = a thief), the origin of such a naming remains unclear. Street names in medieval Košice derived from characteristics of local inhabitants were usually formed in the plural (Fleischergasse/Platea carnificum, Windischegasse/Platea Sclavorum in the inner city; Venetiae/Platea Venetiarum in the suburbs). There is currently nothing to suggest that this could have been related to executions. The place for beheading, for instance, was near a city gate, probably in the southern suburb.

The exact site of Thief Street is unknown, but it was probably an extension of St Ladislaus Street. Perhaps it lay at the very edge of the northern suburbs, in a place known in the first half of the nineteenth century as Cabbage Street. Ondrej R. Halaga has already placed it approximately in that area.

88 Taxa 16, 20, 22.
89 PAPÁČ, Maleficz, 74–82.
90 HALAGA, Počiatky Košic, 121.
Niclosdorf (Venetiae)

The first reports about Nicholaus’ Village (Niclosdorf, villa Nicolai) come from the oldest court book (from 1396) and refer to judicial (both civil and criminal) matters of the local inhabitants dealt with by the city council. Then, similar reports are absent for a century. The only other medieval report can be found in the tax register of 1515, which mentions Platea sancti Nicolai.

Ondrej R. Halaga made a sweeping assumption based on this last known record. In the inner town there was a Franciscan monastery with the Church of St Nicholaus (the present Seminary Church of St Anthony of Padua) from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Halaga, however, assumed that this church was preserved from the early medieval village of Košice, such that the Franciscans would not have built it, but only have taken it over. In his opinion, Nicholaus’ Village was a remnant of a pre-urban settlement that once extended up to this church.

The dedication of St Nicholaus was truly atypical among the Franciscan churches in medieval Hungary. But all currently known historical, architectural and archaeological findings date the construction of this church to the end of the fourteenth century, when it is mentioned for the first time in written sources. As presented above, the origins of those suburban settlements in Košice, which were characterized as villages in the Middle Ages, most probably date back to the farmsteads of some of the wealthier burghers. On the contrary, settlements named after the dedication of local churches were always referred to as streets in municipal documents (platea, Gasse). In their names the word “saint” was never omitted (St Ladislaus Street, St Leonard Street, but also St Leonard Hill, etc.). The single occurrence of the name “St Nicholaus Street” is therefore suspect. It may have appeared because of a distorted opinion of Košice’s citizens at the end of the Middle Ages, when the origin of the street name from a personal name was already forgotten. The use of a first (family) personal name for a street name is otherwise an oddity compared to the “villages” mentioned above. However, a municipal court record from 1398 mentions another such case, villa Clementis, which has not reappeared since then.

The previous historiography has situated the settlement named as Venice, mentioned for the first time in 1463 (domum in suburbio huius civitatis in Venecias), somewhere in the vicinity of Nicholaus’ Village. Later on, Venice was recorded in the tax registers of the years 1515 and 1522–1524 (Platea Venetiarum, Platea Weneze). Halaga linked its existence to the Italian population that may have settled here sometime...
after the construction of the first walls.\(^9\) A Venice also existed in the town of Oradea,\(^9\) and even a village in the County of Šariš was thus named.\(^1\) In fact, persons of Italian or broader Romanesque origin were mentioned several times in medieval Košice.\(^2\) The origin of this Košice toponym is, however, better explained by a parallel from the nearby city of Prešov. Its southern suburb outside the walls was usually called Fossatum (after the moat) in late medieval writings, but in 1433 the term Venice was exceptionally used for it.\(^3\) Both Venices, in Prešov and Košice, were therefore not related to the ethnicity of the population at the time of the foundation of the streets, but to the these settlements being situated near watercourses, which was the natural environment that prompted the establishment of their specific name.

The taxes of Venice in Košice (Platea Venetiarum) were recorded at the end of the register of 1504 without any mention of Nicholas’ Village.\(^4\) At the end of another surviving tax register of the northern suburbs from 1515, Nicholas’ Street without Venice is noticed in the same place. Yet, despite more than a decade separating the two registers, several names of taxpayers of the two localities match.\(^5\) Nicholas’ Street and Venice were thus the same (small) settlement with two variants of the name, the latter of which was more recent.

It is noteworthy that the tax register of 1522–1524 does not mention either of the two variants of the name of this street. Instead, a small Platea Thyma wcza was registered in the relevant suburban area (Hun. Timár utca; Eng. Tanner Street). It was probably the third name of this settlement, where a few tanners were actually registered in the 1520s. There are only a few other mentions of this street from the sixteenth century. As there were not many taxpayers living there, the street did not have its own judges. But a detailed tax register from 1635 recorded taxpayers on St Ladislaus Street together with Tanner Street (Szent Laszlo utca az Gerber učzaval).\(^6\) The two streets were thus adjacent. The name of Tanner Street has survived to the present day, but it is possible that it does not correspond to the location of the medieval Nicholas’ Street (Venice) and the early modern Tanner Street. Currently, Tanner Street lies on the right side of the former Mill Embankment. It can be assumed, however, that the medieval street with the names listed above was situated mainly on the left side of the Mill Embankment, next to St Ladislaus Street (today’s Tyršovo nábrežie).\(^7\) The First Military Survey recorded there several watercourses flowing between the Hornád River and the aforementioned embankment.

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\(^9\) HALAGA, Le grand commerce, 16.
\(^9\) GYÖRFFY, Az Árpád-kori Magyarország, 687, 691.
\(^1\) ULIČNÝ, Dejiny osídlenia Šariša, 352.
\(^2\) MAREK, Cudzie etniká, 444–446.
\(^3\) DOMENOVÁ, Daňové písomnosti, 228, footnote no. 43.
\(^4\) Taxa 16.
\(^5\) Taxa 16: “Koltor Emrich... Yokob Posthmon... Andres Gerber... Barthusch Gerber...” Taxa 20: “Coltor Emerich... Possman Jocub... Andres Gerber... Bartha Gerbel...”
\(^6\) Taxa 65.
\(^7\) Nicholas’ Street and Venice have been located somewhere on the left side of Mill Embankment even by previous historiography: HALAGA, Počiatky Košic, 121; LOKŠA, Katalóg ulíc mesta Košice, 95.
Ludmannsdorf

All the streets lying south of the walls were demolished for the construction of the citadel in the 1670s. After the destruction of the citadel at the beginning of the eighteenth century, settlement soon resumed. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Great Ludmann Street and Small Ludmann Street existed southeast of the city centre. The former lay on the northern section of today’s Jantárová ulica, the latter roughly in the area of today’s Palárikova ulica and part of Jantárová ulica. Ludmanská ulica still exists today, but it lies a little to the west of the two streets called Ludmann’s in the nineteenth century.

The first reports about Ludmann’s Village are contained in the oldest court book, starting in 1394. They concern debts of persons from this settlement, but more often local properties (houses) owned by the burghers from the walled city. Similar reports come from other municipal court books from the end of the Middle Ages. Until the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the city notaries characterized the settlement as a village (villa Ludmani, Ludmansdorf), but since then mostly as a street (platea, Gasse).

According to Ondrej R. Halaga, Ludmannsdorf could have been an old village, which eventually joined the city’s cadaster. The name “Ludmann” was given by Halaga in relation with an alleged local church, built on the initiative of the city, whose dedication replaced the original name of the village. However, there is no evidence of a church on this street in the Middle Ages or the Early Modern Period. A more correct explanation of this naming would be, thus, that Ludmann’s Village was preceded by a farmstead belonging to a Košice burgher with this name, although we do not know about the person in question from city documents.

108 Plan der königl. Freistadt Kaschau (so called Ottov plán mesta Košice).
112 HALAGA, Počiatky Košíc, 129.
113 Only in the nearby mining town of Smolník was a burgher Ludmann mentioned, in 1375: FEJÉR, Codex diplomaticus Hungariae, 80, no. XXIX.
Kleine Spitalgasse (Kleine Gasse)

This street is first documented at the turn of the 1470s and 1480s (Clein spitel gas). Among the surviving medieval tax registers, only one has recorded it, namely that of 1522–1524, which was exceptionally drawn up for the whole city with its suburbs. This street was listed there as the last taxable unit (Kysch hospital hycza). It was also known as the Small Street in medieval as well as in early modern times.

When describing the medieval outskirts of Košice, it is common in historiography to apply a geographical perspective on the southern, western and northern suburbs. Ondrej R. Halaga therefore concluded that Small Hospital Street was the last settlement north of the walls. At the same time, he assumed that another “small” hospital stood there. Nevertheless, this view also needs to be corrected. In the Middle Ages, the suburban streets of Košice were divided into four quarters for tax purposes. In view of

114 MAGDOŠKO, Kostoly a špitály, 29–30.
115 Macč 1517–1529, fol. 5v, 12v.
116 HALAGA, Počiatky Košíc, 120–125.
this fact, the last streets recorded in the tax register of the 1520s were those existing beyond the Fourth Inner Quarter, i.e., to the southeast of the walls. Thus, Small Hospital Street extended from Lower Gate, next to Hospital Street, compared to which it was smaller. The two streets belonged to different taxing quarters, so they were recorded separately in the tax records. This is confirmed by the lists of suburban judges, according to which *Gros und Kleinspitalgaß* had common judges from the end of the sixteenth century.\(^{117}\) These streets therefore had to be adjacent.

After the demolition of the citadel outside the Lower Gate at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the local suburban settlement was restored, but nineteenth-century maps no longer record the toponym Small Hospital Street or Small Street here.

**Population**

After arranging the sequence of tax registers and identifying the streets outside the walls of Košice at the end of the Middle Ages, it is possible to proceed to the enumeration of selected numerical data now. Given the scope of this study, only one major issue will be addressed here, namely the number of houses and taxpayers. It is worth remembering that the fragmented state of the written sources only makes it possible to recognise a single moment in the life of the city, not even for all its quarters at the same time. We thus lose knowledge of a continuous development that was certainly dynamic and changeable as a result of migration processes.\(^{118}\) All this limits the explanatory value of static data from Košice.

The tax register of 1522–1524, which is the only one of the surviving medieval registers to record the entire city, contains a considerably lower number of taxpayers than was the case before that date. Compared to the situation at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the number of taxpayers in individual suburban districts dropped by at least about 13–23%, mostly in the south of the city. Several houses were listed as untaxed because of the epidemic, which was probably the cause of the temporary loss of taxpayers. And perhaps it was the exceptional situation that prompted the city community to prepare this register in unusual manner for all city quarters together. The register of the 1520s also differs in the system of taxation.\(^{119}\)

The following table therefore summarizes the data from the scattered registers from the early sixteenth century. They date from the stable period of the city’s development after the siege of 1490/1491. The payments listed were probably compiled according to the uniform tax system applied at the end of the Middle Ages. Registers of this kind are missing for one (the fourth) suburban quarter. As a result, the city-wide register of the 1520s was used for this case, from which the number of taxpayers was increased by 20%. It was the smallest suburban quarter, consisting of only two streets, so such a correction does not have a major impact on the overall statistical result.

\(^{117}\) Re 3 (year 1600). Re 4 (year 1602). Re 5: “Spital vnd Klein gassen” (year 1607) and others.

\(^{118}\) NODL, *Sociální aspekty*.

\(^{119}\) MAGDOŠKO, *Samospráva mesta Košice*, 183.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quarter</th>
<th>Street</th>
<th>Houses</th>
<th>Farmsteads</th>
<th>House owners</th>
<th>Tenants and lodgers</th>
<th>All taxpayers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. (1511)</td>
<td>Spitalgasse</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bindersdorf</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Faulgasse</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Knoblochsgasse</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>143</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. (1509)</td>
<td>Richtersdorfel</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terra s. Leonardi</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neue Satz</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auf dem Graben</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ziegelgasse</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>181</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. (1504)</td>
<td>Czirmel</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nova platea</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Platea s. Ladislai</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Platea Venetiarium</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>119</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. (1522–1524)</td>
<td>Platea Ludmani</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kysch hospitul u.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c. 1510)</td>
<td>+20%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Houses and taxpayers in the suburban streets, c. 1510

120 Taxa 19.
121 In future research into the tax registers of Košice and other towns, particularly for the walled area, it may also be useful to distinguish between tenants and lodgers: MUSÍLEK, Majitelé – nájemci – podnájemníci.
122 Taxa 18.
123 Taxa 16.
124 Taxa 22.
The vast majority of suburban taxpayers (90%) occupied their own houses. It is reasonably assumed in historiography that suburban houses were only wooden at that time. Written sources do not specify their building material. Tenants and lodgers were present in the suburbs in small numbers (10%), both in houses and farmsteads owned by inner-city burgurers, and sporadically also in the houses of suburban residents. Most farmsteads, however, did not have taxpayers. The contemporary farmsteads were thus usually small holdings, which could be looked after by paid workers or servants belonging to the burgher’s household. Almost half of the farmsteads (19) were placed in the area south of the city (from Ludmann’s Street to Binder’s Street).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suburbs, 1504–1511</th>
<th>Houses</th>
<th>Farmsteads</th>
<th>House owners</th>
<th>Tenants and lodgers</th>
<th>All taxpayers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>525</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: All houses and taxpayers in the suburbs, c. 1510

Miloslava Bodnárová stated that suburban taxpayers belonged to the lower layer of the urban society in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. There were a small number of artisans who were engaged only in basic crafts. The upper and middle layers of townspeople were concentrated in the walled city. According to György Granasztói’s findings, the suburban population did not have rights of fully-fledged citizens at that time.

Unfortunately, there are currently no known coefficients that would be useful specifically for calculating the suburban population of Košice at the end of the Middle Ages. Such we know only for the inner city in the 1550s. In the case of the nearby city of Bardejov, Alžbeta Gácsová calculated for the suburbs at the end of the Middle Ages a coefficient of 4.88 for house owners and a coefficient of 2 for lodgers. Unlike Košice, the suburbs of Bardejov, which had a relatively small urban core, were home to a part of the middle layer of townspeople. It is therefore possible that there was a slightly lower number of persons (coefficient) per house owner under the walls of Košice at that time. Around 1510, about 2,500–2,600 people could have lived in the suburbs of Košice together with the residents of the adjacent churches and hospitals.

The earliest tax registers of Košice, mainly concerning the inner city, come from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, so the aforementioned historians tried to calculate the city population at least around 1480 as the earliest date for which any statistically usable sources have been preserved. Ondrej R. Halaga pointed out that the siege of the town in 1490/1491 caused a temporary decline in the suburban population, after which the number of houses in some places returned to its previous state only around 1520, just before the decline resumed. The only data for the period before

125 HALAGA, Právny, územný a populačný vývoj, 42.
126 BODNÁROVÁ, Remeselná výroba, 115–116.
127 GRANASZTÓI, A városi élet, 12–14, 23, 171, 289.
128 BODNÁROVÁ, Zásady výpočtu obyvatelstva, 14 (with a coefficient of 5.07 per house owner and 3.03 per tenant or a lodger). GRANASZTÓI, A városi élet kereté, 279 (with a coefficient of 5.4 per house owner as a main resident and 2.6 per tenant or a lodger as a resident).
129 GÁCSOVÁ, Spoločenská štruktúra mesta Bardejova, 45.
the sixteenth century survived from the second suburban quarter, lying west of the city walls, for which a register from 1480 still exists. Coincidentally, it was the largest housing quarter outside the city walls and was home to a third of all suburban taxpayers at the end of the Middle Ages. With caution, therefore, discernible changes in the local population may also point to similar processes taking place in other suburbs at the time. Moreover, there is no indication that the tax system in Košice changed between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. These data can be, thus, compared with each other. 130

### Table 5: Houses and taxpayers in the second suburban quarter in 1480

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street</th>
<th>Houses</th>
<th>Farmsteads</th>
<th>House owners</th>
<th>Tenants and lodgers</th>
<th>All taxpayers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richtersdorfel</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terra s. Leonardi</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Leonartberg</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auf dem Graben</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziegelgasse</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>203</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were 17% more taxpayers recorded in this suburban quarter in 1480 than in 1509. The difference was due to the higher number of tenants and lodgers, who made up a quarter of the taxpayers there at the end of the fifteenth century, compared to only 7% at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It can be assumed that in the same period there was a slight decrease in the number of taxpayers in other suburban districts as well, especially in the category of tenants and lodgers.

### Table 6: Taxpayers in the suburbs with a hypothetical fitting for c. 1480

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suburbs, c. 1510</th>
<th>Houses</th>
<th>Farmsteads</th>
<th>House owners</th>
<th>Tenants and lodgers</th>
<th>All taxpayers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suburbs, c 1480 (+17%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of course, the above calculation is hypothetical, since in reality there hardly occurred the same changes in the settlement pattern of each suburban quarter. Nevertheless, it is evident that around 1480 the suburbs of Košice had more taxpayers than at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The number of inhabitants can be tentatively estimated at around 2,800–2,900.

Even from the Early Modern Period, the tax registers of Košice have been preserved only very sporadically. They show a decrease in the number of taxpayers compared to

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130 On the issue of the analysis of tax registers and the necessity of knowledge of the tax system on the example of the city of Brno, taking into account Czech and German historiography: ČECHURA, Srovnání berních knih.
131 Taxa 5.
the ratios at the end of the Middle Ages. However, caution is needed in their assessment. As a result of increasing military conflicts (especially between the mid-seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century) and, of course, occasional epidemics, which were not absent even in the Middle Ages, there were significant short-term fluctuations in the number of taxpayers. Moreover, no historian has yet thoroughly assessed whether all the working poor in early modern Košice were taxed as they were at the end of the Middle Ages.

For the rest of the sixteenth century a single register of suburban taxes from 1561 is known, but only for the settlements north of the walls (Čermeľ Street, New Street and St Ladislaus Street). Two former medieval streets (Nicholaus’ Street and Platea furis) are no longer mentioned there, but Brick Street from the neighbouring suburban quarter had already been added. In the meantime, the tax districts of the suburban streets had changed such that these streets were now collectively referred to as the Upper Suburbs (Ober forstath). Compared to the ratios around 1510, the register of 1561 records a 40% drop in taxpayers. This was a temporary phenomenon. From the 1630s, when Košice was in a phase of stable development, some registers of the entire city with its suburbs have been preserved. This detailed source seems suitable for comparisons with an earlier period, but it deserves once more thorough analysis in this respect. According to Ondrej R. Halaga, 477 taxpayers were registered under the city walls at that time. This was c. 15% less than around 1510 and c. 30% less than around 1480. The first statistically accurate register, of 1762, recorded 288 houses and 1,415 inhabitants in the suburbs.

Conclusions
Research on the suburbs of Košice is limited by several circumstances (the fragmentary nature of written sources, the existence of thorough maps of the city only from the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the current absence of archaeological research). It was the historian Ondrej R. Halaga who did a lot of meritorious work for the knowledge of the history of medieval Košice; however, the actual research deviates from his views on the issue of suburbs. Now a fundamentally different interpretation of the origins and administration system of the streets under the city walls has been put forward.

The development of the medieval suburbs of Košice is still only roughly known, but it could be divided into three phases. The existence of the oldest settlements can be assumed directly outside the city gates: Hospital Street beyond Lower Gate, where a hospital with a church had been built already in the second half of the thirteenth century, Čermeľ Street near Upper Gate and another settlement outside Rotten Gate, which was called Rotten Street. These can be regarded as the first phase of the formation of the suburbs of Košice. Their names, which in some cases became permanently established later, referred to nearby city buildings (a hospital, a gate, later local churches) or to a water stream. All the settlements mentioned used to be referred to as streets, or rarely, in the identical sense, as vicus, in municipal documents.

132 Taxa 35.
133 HALAGA, Právny, územný a populačný vývoj, 55. Ondrej R. Halaga dated this taxation to 1632. However, only the tax register of the inner city is known from that year. Detailed tax registers of the suburbs have been preserved from 1635: Taxa 65.
134 HALAGA, Právny, územný a populačný vývoj, 56.
The gradual development of the oldest suburban streets was followed by another phase of increase in the inhabited area beyond the city walls in the second half of the fourteenth century. At that time a considerable number of inhabitants lived on farmsteads of the leading Košice burghers, which is why they began to be called villages. Such were Ludmann’s Village to the south of the walls and Nicholas’ Village in the northern suburbs. In the last quarter of the fourteenth century, several similar settlements were established beyond the western city walls: Binder’s, Knobloch’s, Judge’s and probably also Sichel’s Village. There could have existed even more similar farmstead-villages in the vicinity of the walled city at that time, which subsequently merged with other nearby settlements or disappeared. For instance, there is a rare mention of Clemens’ Village (villa Clementis) from 1398. Next to the farmsteads, additional population gradually settled, as a result of which they became classic suburban streets. Almost until the end of the Middle Ages, however, they continued to be referred to as villages (Dorf, villa), which differed from settlements with other origins (platea, vicus, Gasse). This distinction began to be erased in the city documents at the beginning of the sixteenth century, since the former “villages” were more and more often, until permanently, recorded as streets. Over time, the knowledge about the origin of the naming of villages from personal names was lost, as a result of which some nomenclature changes also occurred: Sichelsdorf / Ziegelgasse, Nicholas’ Village or Venice / (rarely) St Nicholas Street. The literal translation of names into different languages was eventually also practiced: Knoblochsdorf / Fokhagyma utca, Bindersdorf / Bodnár utca. These newer (translated) names with the term street can continue to be used in historiography to describe the early modern, or overall development of Košice’s suburbs. But for medieval period, it is more appropriate to prefer primary names (Knobloch’s Village or Street, etc.).

All ten settlements mentioned above lasted until the beginning of the early modern period. Up to half of them probably originated from farmsteads. Two churches and one other hospital (leprosarium) were built on the older streets near the gates on the western and northern sides up to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The fifteenth century can be considered the third phase of the growth of the suburbs of Košice. The trend from the second phase continued, as only one new street was founded outside Lower Gate and two or three other streets outside Upper Gate, but up to three or four new streets arose in the western suburbs then. None of the newer settlements were characterized as a “village”, but always as a “street” (or as a “hill”, etc.). Their names were based on local contexts (Small Hospital Street, St Leonard Land, New Street, etc.).

From the point of view of secular administration, the suburban population and suburban properties were subject to the jurisdiction of the city council. In this respect, the court records have the same meaning throughout the late Middle Ages, from the time of the first court book from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries onwards. Tax registers, which have been preserved since the end of the fifteenth century, testify to a common system of taxation for the urban and suburban population.

135 Leonard, Peter Binder and Michael Knobloch are not mentioned in the city council in the 1370s, but only from the 1380s. MAGDOŠKO, Samospráva mesta Košice, 246.

136 AICC, no. 2507. HALAGA, Počiatky Košíc, s. 129 (He derived the name of this settlement from the dedication of an unknown, later disappeared church). The personal name Clemens first appeared in Košice in 1382 (Hench Clemench). RÁBIK, Nemecké osídlenie, 227, footnote 121.
The names of tax collectors in suburban quarters were usually listed at the beginning of these registers. In all cases, they were citizens of the inner city, primarily members of the city council or the outer council, that is, not representatives of the suburbs. From the perspective of preserved written references, there is no observable difference between the administrative status of suburban "streets" and "villages". The location of such large farmsteads in close proximity to the city was probably the reason why their independent administrative development did not occur. It can be assumed that the farmsteads changed private owners over time and other houses were built near them. A specific group of leading burghers, who once used such estates for their economic activities, has probably also disappeared. In the fifteenth century, these suburban "villages" were already ordinary suburban streets, fully subject to the city council.

Sporadically from 1518 and more frequently from the 1560s, the city notaries entered the names of the elected judges of the large suburban streets (Dy vorstetter Rychter) in the city books, to whom the remaining, smaller streets were also subject. In the years 1518 and 1520, the judges of 11 streets (out of a total of around 15 streets) were appointed. It was usually two men living in the assigned street. Their election took place in January, soon after the election of the new city council.137 No other circumstances are known. But nothing confirms an older assumption, according to which these suburban judges were elected by the local population, as a relic of the former separate legal status of those villages.138 Considering the findings mentioned above, and also the parallels with other Hungarian cities, for instance Buda, it is reasonable to assume that it was the city judge and the city council who elected suburban judges in medieval Košice. The number of two such men for each entrusted suburban street was the same as the usual number of councillors, who were annually elected to the posts of city officials, that is, administrators of city property at that time – for villages outside the city’s cadaster, wage payments, mills, scales, etc.139 The posts of Košice’s suburban judges were therefore a regular part of the structure of the city administration. As can be assumed, these men exercised lower judicial powers delegated to them by the city judge and the city council. As a result of such empowerment, as well as due to the significantly smaller property of the suburban population compared to that of the inner city, only a few cases concerning persons residing outside the walls came before the city council, and thus into the city’s court books. In such court cases, one of the parties was often a person from the inner city.140

Suburban judges likely dealt with judicial and administrative tasks in entrusted streets. The division of the suburbs into four quarters was, as it seems, only for tax purposes. Due to the large city core, a compact dense street network did not emerge around the walls, instead of which there were scattered streets that only met in some places. There are no reports of any kind of fortification of the suburbs in the Middle Ages.

137 Mac4 1517–1529, fol. 5v, 12v (years 1518 and 1520): Hospital Street, Binder’s Street, St Leonard Street, Knobloch’s Street, Judge’s Street, Brick Street, Čermeľ, New Street, St Ladislaus Street, Ludmann’s Street and Small Street. HALAGA, Archív mesta Košíc, 12.
138 HALAGA, Archív mesta Košíc, 12; HALAGA, Právny, územný a populačný vývoj, 24.
139 MAGDOŠKO, Samospráva mesta Košíc, 189–196.
140 At that time, there were suburban judges in the nearest royal city of Prešov, too. According to a reference from 1555, these officials had the authority to decide disputes over debts of up to three florins, and could arrest offenders or impose fines on them. SZEGHYOVÁ, Úradníci a zamestnanci, 77.
In the late Middle Ages, one church or chapel stood not far from each of the three most important city gates. In front of Lower Gate was the Church of The Holy Spirit with the main city hospital, in front of the western Rotten Gate was the Church of St Leonard with leprosarium, and east of Upper Gate was the Church of St Ladislaus. Although there were permanent posts of priests in these churches at the end of the Middle Ages, they all remained part of a single city parish. There is no mention of any kind of territorial limitation of the scope of such suburban churches. The assets of these churches and hospitals were subject to the supervision of the city council. Two of these churches (and also the leprosarium) were demolished due to the construction of a new fortification in the early modern period, which probably also affected the nearest suburban houses in a similar way.

In the case of medieval Košice, thus, the written sources refer to suburbs that were formed only after the foundation of the city. One day perhaps archaeology will find out more about the origins of the streets beyond the former city walls. Further research into early modern writings could also contribute to the knowledge of the development of those settlements and to a more precise localization of some of them.

The inhabitants of the suburbs of Košice belonged to a lower property category. Around 1510, there were c. 570 taxpayers, which together with the staff of churches and hospitals may have formed a population of c. 2,500–2,600 persons. Before that, in the fifteenth century, the suburbs of Košice had slightly more residents. Around 1480, there were c. 670 taxpayers, which may have been part of a population of around 2,800–2,900 people. The number of inhabitants of the inner city was similar at that time. In the 1630s, c. 30% fewer taxpayers were registered in the suburbs than around 1480. Meanwhile, the number of inhabitants outside the city walls decreased, but not to such a dramatic extent as part of the older historiography assumed.\footnote{In the walled city with a more stable pattern of house building, there was a level of urban population decrease even slightly less than in the suburbs. In addition, there was accomodated a royal garrison in the inner-city burgher’s houses in those times, which had not been present here in the Middle Ages, and which was not subject to the city tax. On demographic development in the sixteenth century: BODNÁROVÁ, Zásady výpočtu obyvatelstva; GRANASZTÓI, A városi élet keretei.} For a more precise calculation of the demographic development in the suburbs of Košice in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, it would be necessary to apply more adequate coefficients and to examine early modern written sources more thoroughly.
Figure 5: Suburban streets of Košice at the end of the Middle Ages (roads and watercourses according to the First Military Survey from 1782—1784)
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Maps

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This study deals with communications between the town of Bardejov and bishops in the Middle Ages. The author examines how the ecclesiastical power and authority of the bishops was demonstrated in their communications with the royal city of Bardejov. The bishops’ power toward medieval towns in the Kingdom of Hungary was primarily manifested in the tithes and exemptions granted in the rights of archdeacons. In the case of Bardejov, there can be found some areas where the power of bishops of Eger (frequently represented by episcopal vicars) was demonstrated. First of all, the episcopal tithe collection caused permanent disputes between the parish priest, town representatives and the bishop. The author describes how the problems were solved and the machinery of episcopal powers in these cases. Another area of communication and the manifestation of episcopal authority was that of judicial cases between burghers, which were occasionally brought before ecclesiastical court contrary to town law. A further, greatly significant manifestation of episcopal power in the area of the city was that of ecclesiastical rituals and symbolic communication. The study mentions various examples of episcopal presence in the consecration of churches, chapels, altars and liturgical dress.

Keywords: Middle Ages; Bishops; Episcopal power and authority; Communication; Medieval city; Bardejov.

Introduction

“In virtute sancte obedientie et sub Excommunicationis pena firmiter precipiendo mandamus.”

This phrase, commonly used in the charters of ecclesiastical dignitaries, can be found in the letter of the bishop of Eger, Ladislaus of Hédervár, dated 1449, in which the bishop calls upon the city of Bardejov to fulfil its duty to pay the tithe. Despite the stylistic formula he used, behind the call for holy obedience and the warning of ecclesiastical punishment lies the real power of the bishop as the highest dignitary of the medieval Catholic Church. This power derives from the rite of the consecration and, according to the Church Fathers, was defined as the administration of the spiritual (\textit{in rebus})
spiritualibus) and temporal (in rebus temporalibus) goods.\textsuperscript{3} According to the Decretum Gratiani, the bishop’s potestas concerns authority, teaching, witness, protection and judgement.\textsuperscript{4}

It was not only the representation of power in an ecclesiastical sphere that characterised the role of the bishop in medieval society. The bishop was one of the political actors who ruled the state, which was reflected in his involvement in politics, administration and diplomacy, as we know from the Kingdom of Hungary and other European states.\textsuperscript{5}

The connection between episcopal power and the urban environment can be traced back to the process of Christianization, in relation to the establishment of the episcopal seats.\textsuperscript{6} In East Central Europe, secular power was an important element in the process of establishing diocesan seats, which resulted in the duality of power as a common feature of the cathedral cities.\textsuperscript{7} In the thirteenth century, when social and economic changes took place in the Kingdom of Hungary, the Árpádian kings shifted the focus of their interest to the establishment of merchant towns.\textsuperscript{8} Nevertheless, the cities in which an episcopal see resided strengthened their urban character, with some peculiarities regarding the legal status of their inhabitants and the development of urban literacy.\textsuperscript{9}

Apart from those cathedral cities with direct interaction between the bishop and the urban environment since the thirteenth century we can follow the communication between the bishop and the royal cities, which reveals the area of operation of the bishop’s power. The main issue in the communication of the developing urban communities with the bishop was the exemption from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon and the payment of a tithe.\textsuperscript{10} In the late Middle Ages, sources allow us to examine the manifestation of the bishop’s power at other levels – in his personal presence in the city, in the consecration of altars and chapels, in the confirmation of lay religious confraternities and their privileges, or in the form of symbolic communication with city delegates. Clearly, the variety of these relationships and interactions could not be captured in their full breadth and complexity by written sources. The essential component of such sources, however, is the area of written and symbolic communication that served to manifest episcopal power and authority.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{3} MELIŠ, Moc a nitrianski biskupi, 105.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{6} SZENDE, Narrating a location, 580.
\textsuperscript{7} SZENDE, From Model to Rival?
\textsuperscript{8} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{9} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{10} In 1248 Bishop Lampert and King Béla IV reached an agreement on the exchange of tithes from selected parishes for estates in the Heves county. This exchange included the parishes of Veľký Šariš, Prešov and Sabinov. In 1262 the bishop of Eger released the parish of Veľký Šariš from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon (together with other parishes belonging to Šariš Castle). In 1211, Archbishop John of Esztergom donated the revenues of the Church of St Nicholas in Trnava to the Chapter in Esztergom. ŠOTNÍK, Zakladacia listina fary v Ponikách, 39, 41; MAGDOŠKO, Cirkevnosprávny vývoj stredovekých Košíc, 26; RÁBIK, Trnavské príjmy Ostrihomskej kapituly, 26.
\textsuperscript{11} KALOUS, Biskupské a legátské rituály a ceremonie, 317–367. Published works on communication in the Middle Ages: HLAVAČKOVÁ, Od symbolu k slovu; ZUPKA, Communication in a Town, 1–33; ZUPKA, Rituály a symbolická komunikácia, 141–168; LUKAČKA – ŠTEFÁNIK, Podoby stretnutí, 11–16.
The manifestation of the bishop’s power and authority in relation to the royal city of Bardejov, as reflected in written sources, is the subject of this case study. It is important to note that some of the episcopal powers were delegated to his deputy (vicar), with whom the city communicated in some cases. Another authority that entered into the relationship between the city and the bishop was the monarch as the supreme patron of the Hungarian Church. The city appealed to him, especially in cases of the violation of its rights by ecclesiastical dignitaries. The town community was represented by its secular representatives – the town judge, the senators and the notary – and, in ecclesiastical matters, by the parish priest, who communicated with the episcopal curia and, in exceptional cases, with the bishop himself.

Urban patronage in Bardejov and the bishop of Eger

The territory on which the settlement of Bardejov was founded belonged to the diocese of Eger. The oldest town documents relate to the emancipation of the Bardejov town community and the establishment of its rights. In the ecclesiastical sphere, the rights of the royal cities were formed within the framework of patronage law. Among the most important privileges belonged the free election of a parish priest by the local parishioners, free tithes, exemption from the powers of the archdeacon and the granting of judicial powers to the local parish priest. Not all towns possessed these rights to the same extent, and they may not have been recorded. The earliest privileges of the Bardejov community, dating from 1320, contain only provisions on the transfer of tithes. There is no mention of the right to choose a parish priest. The charter of 1320 does not even mention any exemption from the archdeacon’s powers. We can agree with the opinion of Ferdinand Uličný that the choice of the parish priest was left to the king.

An important milestone in the development of local self-government in Bardejov was the privilege of free election of the town judge, granted by King Louis the Great in 1376. According to it, the law of Košice and Buda became the norm for the city also in the area of patronage over the church. The city of Košice had the right to choose its own parish priest, free tithing and exemption from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon probably before 1249. It seems that Bardejov began to exercise its right to choose a parish priest only after 1376. However, the ruler Sigismund of Luxembourg intervened significantly. In 1391 he appointed his own chaplain to the vacant post left by the death of the Bardejov parish priest, with the promise that after his departure the Bardejov

12 The Eger diocese was founded by King Stephen, probably in 1009. Within the bisporic, probably in the twelfth century, archdeaconries were established, which are documented in written sources from the second half of the thirteenth century – the archdeaconries of Abov-Novohrad, Zemplín and Uh. The Abov-Novohrad archdeaconry was further subdivided into vice-archdeaconries. One of them was established in the border area as “districtus Gepel” with its centre in Bardejov. The earliest mention of it dates back to the fourteenth century. In later times it was called Bardejov vice-archidiaconate. The office of the vice-archdeacon was held not only by the parish priest of Bardejov, but also by the parish priests of the surrounding villages – Kobyly, Richvald and Gaboltov. ULIČNÝ, Dejiny Slovenska v 11.–13. storočí, 34; ULIČNÝ, Začiatky a vývoj kresťanstva, 37; HUDÁČEK, Bardejov, 90; MAREK, Viceracidiakoni a ich pôsobenie, 83; ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 410.
13 RÁBIK – FRIDRICHOVÁ, Patronátné právo mestsých sídlísk, 92.
14 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 17.
16 ŠA, PO, AB, MMB, sign. 27.
17 MAGDOŠKO, Cirkevnosprávny vývoj stredovekých Košíc, 24; RÁBIK – FRIDRICHOVÁ, Patronátné právo mestsých sídlísk, 89–90.
parishioners would be able to freely elect their own parish priest. The facts described above were related to the competences of the bishop of Eger. When filling the lower benefices, the right to propose a candidate (presentatio) was in the hands of the patron, while other acts (proclamatio, investitura and introductio) were in the hands of the bishop or his deputies. The document in question states that it was the monarch himself (not the city) who presented his chaplain for the vacant post in the parish of Bardejov to the appropriate ordinarius (duximus presentandum). There is no doubt that in the following period the free choice of the parish priest belonged entirely to the town community. Although the sources do not mention it explicitly, we assume that the participation of the parishioners in the selection of the parish priest was gradually replaced by his selection by the city council. This is indirectly evidenced by a letter of the Bardejov clergyman George, who, after the death of the parish priest Christian, wrote to the Bardejov city council that he wished to apply for the vacant post of parish priest in the city parish. The city council of Bardejov exercised its right of patronage in 1494, when it presented the new parish priest John Menlen to the vicar of Eger for the vacant post after the death of the former parish priest and asked the vicar to introduce the new priest to the parish.

**Communication between the city and the bishop regarding the tithe**

When examining the written communication between the city of Bardejov and the bishop of Eger, the topic of tithes dominates. This is not surprising, as the tithe was one of the most important episcopal revenues. From the point of view of the city and its administration, the church tithe was an important tax obligation, the fulfilment of which required the cooperation of several parts of the city administration. The earliest mention of tithing in Bardejov can be found in the above-mentioned charter of King Charles I from 1320. It states that the tithes from grain should be divided into two equal parts while still in the field, one of which belonged to the local priest and the other to the monarch. According to some scholars, the half tithe to the monarch was an exceptional provision, but it is more appropriate to state that the monarch

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18 “quomodo vos pridem defuncto plebano vestro unum exmedio vestri vigore libertatum vestrarum de communi consensu parrochianorum prefate ecclesie, in vestrum concorditer ellegissetis plebanum”. ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 30. The method of election by common consent of the parishioners refers to the Buda town law, according to which the parish priest was elected by the town council, but all members of the parish had to agree to the election. MAGDOŠKO, Cirkevnosprávny vývoj stredovekých Košíc, 24.

19 MELIŠ, Cirkevné výsady miest a mestečiek, 31.

20 HRDINA, Jak klerik k beneficiu prišiel, 348.

21 ŠA PO AB, MMB, sign. 30.

22 ŠA PO AB, MMB, sign. 1569.

23 ŠA PO AB, MMB, sign. 3161.

24 GLEJK, Práva a povinnosti uhorských biskupov, 89–90; ŠOTNÍK, Hospodárske a majetkovoprávne vzťahy, 48–55; MÚCSKA, Uhorsko a cirkevné reformy, 102–104; OSLANSKÝ, Význam cirkevných desiatkov, 861–869; KUŠÍK, Cirkevný desiatok, 462–468.


26 ŠA PO AB, MMB, sign. 17.

27 “quod decime ipsorum frugum equaliter in agris divise, una pars media plebano ipsorum cedat, alia media parte nobis remanente”. JUCK, Výsady miest a mestečiek, 94. This was the “German way” of tithing, where the
did not act beyond his rights in this case either, since he was the owner of the right to the tithe along with the bishop, and the adjustment or exemption from the tithe obligation was in his hands after agreeing on the compensation of such revenues with the respective diocesan bishop. The practice of giving half of the tithe to the sovereign probably ceased during the fourteenth century; there is no record of it in fifteenth-century documents.

The church tithe was made up of decimae maiores, which represented the production of grain, and decimae minores (minutae), which represented animal production (sheep, goats, rams, geese, pigs, chickens and bees). It could be paid in money (in pecuniiis) or in kind (in specie). While the payment of the tithe to the local priest was also regulated by mutual agreement in the city statutes, the city had no power to legislate on the conditions under which the tithe was to be handed over to the bishop. Although in the late Middle Ages there was a well-established method of paying the tithe in money, the mutual communication between the city and the bishop shows that the method of paying the tithe was often adapted to the current economic and financial conditions of the bishopric or the city. The recipient of the tithe was the bishop or the persons and institutions to whom he leased the tithe (arendatio). The leasing of the tithe or parts of it (e.g. grain) was a common practice, and even the original lessees often leased it to others. The tenants of the tithe were nobles (often familiars of the bishop), religious persons or institutions, or the city itself. A deed (litterae arendatoriae) was drawn up for this transaction with references in the account book.

How was the power of the bishop demonstrated in different situations? One way was the return of the city’s tithe to the city itself. In August 1425, Bishop Peter of Rožanovce (de Rozgon) issued a charter to the representatives of the city of Bardejov, in which he leased the city a tithe from the current harvest of grain, threshed grain and bees for 200 gold florins. The tithe lessees were a kind of intermediary in the flow of goods and finances between the city and the episcopal curia. If the tithe production was destined for a noble tenant, the bishop would have informed the city at the beginning of the agricultural season. Thus, in April 1447, Bishop Ladislau of Hérdervár informed the parish priests of the cities of Prešov and Bardejov that he had given the tithes of these cities to his familiar Nicholas of Torysa (de Tarcza), and ordered the aforementioned priests to hand over the tithes to him at the appointed time and without any inconvenience.

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28 ULIČNÝ, K dejinám Bardejova v 13. a 14. storočí, 33; RÁBIK – FRIDRICHOVÁ, Patronátne právo mestských sídlisk, 93; MELIŠ, Cirkevné výsadby miest a mestečiek, 40–41.

29 ŠOTNÍK, Hospodárske a majetkovoprávne vzťahy, 50.

30 Ibidem.

31 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 313; sign. 1989.

32 Between 1502 and 1508, the town gave the bishop of Eger a total of 76 gold florins in two payments during the year. ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1694, fol. 179v.

33 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1694, fol. 179v.

34 “Quod nos universas decimas frugum Bladorum et Apium ... universitati hospitum et civium de eodem oppido Bartfa pro ducentis florenis ... locavimus in arendam”. ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 143.

35 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 484.
The lease of the tithe to nobility gave rise to situations with potential to escalate into protracted disputes between all parties involved. In 1448, the city of Bardejov had a dispute with the nobleman Ladislaus of Šebeš, in which the bishop of Eger intervened in favour of the citizens.\(^\text{36}\) Already during the pontificate of his predecessor, Simon of Rozhanovce granted the aforementioned Ladislaus of Šebeš the tithes of bees and grain from the city of Bardejov. However, Bishop Simon eventually leased it to the noblemen of the Cudar family, who in turn leased it to the city of Bardejov for 50 florins, which was confirmed by a document.\(^\text{37}\) However, Ladislaus of Šebeš took his claim against the city to the court of the vicar of Eger. As a result, Bishop Ladislaus of Hédervár issued a charter to the vicar, explaining the situation with the aforementioned tithes and ordering him not to summon the citizens of Bardejov to court over the matter.\(^\text{38}\)

The power and authority of the bishop over the tithe was also manifested in the threat and imposition of ecclesiastical penalties. In 1449, Bishop Ladislaus of Hédervár ordered the tithes of the town of Bardejov to the nobleman Albert Farkas of Hasság. The episcopal document urged the local priest to “the virtue of holy obedience” and ordered the citizens of Bardejov to hand over the tithes under penalty of excommunication.\(^\text{39}\) The threat of ecclesiastical punishment in the case of non-compliance with the tithe obligation was not a stylistic exercise. The bishop’s letter mentions the defiance and rebellion that accompanied resistance to his orders. This resistance was expressed not only by the citizens, but in some cases also by the parish priest.\(^\text{40}\) The involvement of parish priests in tithing disputes is mentioned in many documents. King Sigismund’s deed of 1402 refers to the then deceased parish priest Laurence who intervened in a dispute with the nobleman Andrew of Budimir over the tithes of the city of Bardejov.\(^\text{41}\)

Before 1429, there was another dispute between the parish priest Michael and the bishop of Eger over the transfer of the tithe. In this case, the threat of the ecclesiastical punishment, which was imposed on the entire town community, was realized.\(^\text{42}\) In both cases, the town community appealed to the sovereign, who intervened in the communication between the city and the bishop. This form of communication between ruler, city and bishop also reflects the degree of involvement of individual rulers in the management of ecclesiastical affairs in the cities. In this respect, Sigismund of Luxembourg made extensive use of his patronage rights over the local church in Bardejov.\(^\text{43}\) A few years later, in 1468, King Matthias Corvinus dealt with a complaint by the representatives of the city about a renewed demand for the payment of the tithes

\(^\text{36}\) ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 517.
\(^\text{37}\) ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 517.
\(^\text{38}\) ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 517.
\(^\text{39}\) ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 547.
\(^\text{40}\) ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 547.
\(^\text{41}\) ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 43.
\(^\text{42}\) ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 203.
\(^\text{43}\) Not only was there interference in the freedom of choice of the parish priest in Bardejov, but also involvement in a tithe dispute with the nobleman Andrew of Budimir in 1402. The monarch intervened in favour of the citizens of Bardejov and warned Andrew to stop causing trouble for the town community. A similar situation occurred in 1429. King Sigismund, on his way to visit the king of Poland, wrote a letter to Peter, the bishop of Eger, asking him to postpone all disputes between him, the townspeople and the parish priest Michael until he returned to Hungary. At the same time, he asked the bishop to lift the interdict imposed on the citizens of Bardejov. ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 43, sign. 203.
once paid to the bishop of Eger. The monarch issued a letter to the administrators of the Eger diocese’s revenues – Provost Lucas and the lector of the Eger chapter – instructing them not to make any attempt to recover the tithes already paid to them. At the end of the Middle Ages, disputes over the tithe became less frequent, as the representatives of the city apparently came to an agreement with the bishop of Eger on the payment of the tithe in cash. This assumption is confirmed by the regular payments of a stable sum of money in the account books of the city.

**Communicating with the bishop in legal matters**

Another area in which episcopal power and authority was manifested was the judiciary. The bishop was the judge of the clergy, and, in certain matters, of the laity. Among the powers of the bishop was the imposition of ecclesiastical penalties in a ritualized form. We have already mentioned the imposition of an interdict on the citizens before 1429. The accounts of the city show various situations related to the episcopal jurisdiction. In 1428 the town paid 200 denarii for a journey to Eger for an interdict. The granting of an interdict and its subsequent revocation can also be found in 1443. The city’s accounts state that “for the reconciliation” the city paid 40 florins to the suffragan. Some light is shed on this dispute by a draft of a notarial deed by the city’s notary George Stock, who writes down the appeal of the Bardejov parish priest Christian to the archbishop of Esztergom in the matter of tithes of 1441 and 1442. Unfortunately, the broader context of the dispute is missing.

In the administration of justice, the bishop was often represented by his vicar. The Bardejov city archives contain correspondence between the vicar of the bishop of Eger and the parish priest of Bardejov in his function as vice-archdeacon. The latter took part in legal proceedings and dealt with various cases involving the laity. A number of documents and mandates have been preserved from Nicholas, the vicar of the bishop of Eger, who held this office in the 1420s. One of the cases he dealt with was a case of violence between the inhabitants of the villages Dubovica and Lipany, in which Gertrude, the widow of a certain Menczlin of Lipany, summoned the persons from Dubovica named in the deed to the court of the vice-archdeacon of Torysa in 1418. The course and reconstruction of the dispute is secondary to our topic, but the essential point is that this dispute was settled before several courts, including the court of the bishop of Eger, represented by his vicar, who issued a number of documents in this matter. These documents from the various hearings were handed over to the parish priest of Bardejov in his function as vice-archdeacon, which means that he took part in the hearings before the ecclesiastical court in virtue of his office.

A clash of powers between the bishop of Eger and the municipal court occurred in 1439 in the dispute of Catherine, a burgess from Bardejov, and the burgher Caspar

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44 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1733.
45 GLEJTEK, Práva a povinnosti uhorských biskupov, 93.
46 KALOUS, Biskupské a legátské rituály, 336; GLEJTEK, Práva a povinnosti uhorských biskupov, s. 93.
47 FEJÉRPATAKY, Magyarországi városok, 267.
48 Ibidem, 585.
49 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 724.
50 LABANC, Počiatky úradu biskupského vikára, 191–206.
51 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 81; RÁBIK, Nemecké osidlenie, 87–88.
52 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 109, sign. 111, sign. 117, sign. 119.
the Small.53 The case was first heard by the city council, which made a final decision.54 However, Catherine appealed to the ecclesiastical court, which sparked a dispute between the city council and the vicar of the bishop of Eger. The town considered the referral of the dispute to the ecclesiastical court to be an infringement of its powers and therefore, referring to the charter of King Sigismund of Luxembourg and its confirmation by King Albrecht of Habsburg, first asked Nicholas, the vicar of Eger, and later the Eger chapter to stop the court proceedings.55 In the letter in question, the town judge and the town council announced that they would bring the case before the monarch again if, despite their disagreement, the vicar decided the dispute.56 As a result of the city council’s complaint, the vicar postponed the dispute and in the following months the case continued under the jurisdiction of the new vicar, James.57 Due to the unwillingness of one of the parties to appear before the ecclesiastical court, the hearing was postponed until after the election of the new bishop of Eger, Dionysius of Szécs, who, through his vicar, decided that the case had no relation to the ecclesiastical court and therefore delegated it back to the city council.58

**Symbolic communication between the city and the bishop**

The mutual communication between the city and the bishop had, among other things, its symbolic level. Contemporaries reflected on the spiritual dimension of the episcopate and its spiritual and liturgical competences. These were manifested in rituals, sacramental and liturgical acts, gestures and symbols.59 Among the most significant acts were the consecration of the bishop himself, the consecration of priests, the blessing and consecration of persons and things, the consecration of the cornerstone of a church building, and the consecration of a new church, this last example a ritual of particular importance for urban communities.60 Sacred rituals were combined with secular ceremonies, as the consecration of a church was followed by a feast.61 In connection with the presence of the bishop in the city, the ceremony of the bishop’s solemn entry into the city should also be considered a welcoming ritual in the manner of the adventus regis.62 Other sacred rituals included the celebration of a mass by the bishop and solemn processions. One of the acts reserved to the bishops was the consecration. In the urban environment, the consecration of things and objects such as the church, the altar, the cemetery or liturgical utensils was the most common ritual.63

Although in the case of symbolic communication we assume a whole range of acts, rituals and ceremonies, in reality the sources of urban provenance are pragmatic in their focus and poor in references to this area. Mostly we find references to the presence of

53 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 347.
54 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 347.
55 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 347.
56 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 347.
57 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 348, sign. 350, sign. 351, sign. 352.
58 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 350, sign. 351, sign. 352.
59 KALOUS, Biskupské a legátské rituály, 320–323.
60 KALOUS, Biskupské a legátské rituály, 330–331.
61 ZUPKA, Rituály a symbolická komunikácia, 97.
62 KALOUS, Biskupské a legátské rituály, 331.
63 OLEJNÍK, Otázka liturgických kompetencií, 237.
the bishop in the city and to the acts performed in the city accounts. Of this type is the information on the consecration of the Augustinian monastery (or church), carried out in 1432 by the suffragan of the bishop of Eger. It is clear that the rite of consecration applies to all the churches in the city and its suburbs. The centre of the spiritual and liturgical life of the city was the parish church St Egidius. Unfortunately, no records of its consecration have survived. During the Middle Ages, the church was the scene of architectural changes, including the construction of chapels and altars, financed by the city or the citizens. There are surviving records of sacred and liturgical acts performed in the parish church by bishops. In 1458, the city paid a suffragan for the consecration of the altar and chapel. It was probably the altar of St Barbara, originally placed in the chapel of St Catherine, completed in 1458, which served the Brotherhood of St Barbara, documented in later times. A consecration and the presence of a suffragan also occurred in Bardejov in 1512. A record in the city accounts mentions the consecration of a chapel in the monastery and an altar in the choir by Bishop Achacio. In the case of the monastery chapel, the record probably refers to the Chapel of the Holy Cross, the reconstruction of which began between 1504 and 1505 and was probably completed in the mentioned year.

Another case of communication between the urban community and the bishop, which took place in the sacred space as well as in the written form, was the spiritual life of lay brotherhoods. In the medieval city of Bardejov there were several lay brotherhoods – the brotherhoods of Corpus Christi, St Barbara and St Nicholas and the confraternity of Our Lady of the Snows. The oldest mentioned confraternity was the Corpus Christi brotherhood, which was active in the city before 1440; in 1449 the Confraternity of the Mother of Mercy was founded. According to the established Hungarian practice, the city confraternities were confirmed by the bishop, sometimes by the papal legate and exceptionally by the pope. The bishop played an important role in the spiritual life of the confraternity members in issuing the confirmation document or consecrating the altar of the patron saint. All these milestones can be seen when exploring the history of the confraternity of the Mother of Mercy in Bardejov.

The confraternity was founded in 1449 by the parish priest Christian and the priests of neighbouring villages, all of whom belonged to the same ecclesiastical district (vicearchidiaconatus) of Bardejov. This fact could bring the fraternity close to the priestly fraternities, but in its character, it was an urban lay fraternity. The confirmation of the foundation of the confraternity and its statutes, together with the indulgences granted

64 FEJÉR PATAKY, Magyarországi városok, 306; HUṬKA, Augustiniáni, 166.
65 In the Middle Ages, the following churches were documented in Bardejov: the parochial Church of St Egidius, the Church of St John the Baptist of the Augustinian Order, the hospital churches of St Leonard and the Holy Spirit and the as yet unlocated Church of the Virgin Mary outside the suburbs. The latter is mentioned as a newly founded church in 1501. ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 3627.
66 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1660, fol. 6v.
67 SROKA, Średniowieczny Bardiów, 183. ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1683, fol. 188r.
68 "Item Suffraganeo achacio de consecratione Capelle in Monasterio, et altari in choro". ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1700, fol. 33r.
69 HUṬKA, Augustiniáni, 169.
70 JANKOVIČ, Neskorý feudalizmus, 123; SROKA, Średniowieczny Bardiów, 173.
71 SROKA, Średniowieczny Bardiów, 173.
72 KUBINYI, Vallásos társulatok, 123–134.
by the bishop of Eger, Ladislaus of Hédervár, was issued in 1449. The document deals mainly with spiritual matters concerning the spiritual and liturgical practice of the members of the fraternity and the indulgences granted to them, but lacks other information about the fraternity. As far as indulgences are concerned, the fraternity of the Mother of Mercy is known for the number of charters in which not only bishops, but also John of Capistrano, or Roman cardinals granted spiritual benefits to its members. The foundation and confirmation were connected with the consecration of the altar of St Anna (also called the altar of the Virgin Mary or the small altar of the Virgin Mary), which belonged to the fraternity of the Mother of Mercy. In 1485, Bishop Bernard visited the city and consecrated the altar, which had previously been rebuilt, a sign of the fraternity’s importance in the city.

It was not only the bishop of Eger who was mentioned in the city records in connection with the blessing ritual. In 1504, the city donated linen in the value of one gold florin to "the lord suffragan of St Martin’s hill [...] for the consecration of liturgical vestments and for the honour of the city". In this case we are not dealing with the clergyman in the function of the Provost of Spiš, although the range of their ecclesiastical competencies was at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectable and close to the episcopal ones. But in the matter of the ritual of consecration their powers were not sufficient and were limited only to the benediction. In order to explain the entry in the town’s account book, it is necessary to consider the fact that the archbishop Thomas Bakócz appointed the Dominican John de Meliche, OP, who was occasionally present in the Spiš provostry after 1502, as a suffragan for the rite of consecration. It is quite possible that the citizens of Bardejov took advantage of his presence in nearby Spiš and asked him to perform the aforementioned consecration of the liturgical vestments.

One specific form of symbolic communication was through a gift, which could have several meanings. Gifts were an obvious part of the city’s communication with the ruler, his wife or court dignitaries. They were used to gain and retain favour, to establish communication and contact, or to ensure loyalty and allegiance. It is therefore not unusual for prelates to be among dignitaries to whom the city gave gifts. In 1510, the representatives of the Bardejov town community presented the bishop of Pécs and the bishop of Vác with two fish, each worth two gold florins. The price itself indicates that these were rare fish, probably salmon. It was not a random gift from the city, but...
part of a diplomatic mission to the monarch’s court, where the town envoys presented several gifts. Fish were among them as it was the time of Lent.

Other high-quality products from Bardejov were beer and linen. Both goods were in demand on the market and therefore became the subject of donations. In 1426, the city of Bardejov sent a barrel of beer to Bishop Peter of Rozhanovce. We have already mentioned a piece of linen given to the suffragan, who consecrated the liturgical vestments. The linen was also a frequent gift to the vicar, to whom the city gave it in 1513, when the city’s envoys visited the episcopal seat. In 1505, the city presented the bishop of Oradea with a silver-plated chalice. This was at the time of the confirmation of Bardejov’s toll privileges, as is emphasized by the accounting records. This gift can therefore be interpreted as an expression of gratitude for the bishop’s diplomatic work on behalf of the city. Communication with the archbishop of Krakow is also recorded from this period, which took place through messengers, but there is no mention of the gifts given. On the other hand, the bishop of Przemyśl received two spoons in 1505 and half a barrel of wine in 1506. It is also worth mentioning a letter written by Bishop Ladislaus of Hédervár in 1458, in which he writes to the city of Bardejov about a cabinet for the storage of items from the chapel and asks that it be transported to Eger without damage. The restoration of the cabinet was connected with the work of the city craftsmen, from whom several dignitaries ordered wooden products. This reference to the work of Bardejov craftsmen indicates the activity of a workshop that operated in Bardejov in the 1450s and by which the late Gothic fragments of the choir stalls in the Church of St Egidius were made. At the same time, this workshop was connected with the workshop in Košice, which produced works for the bishop of Eger during his stay in the city of Košice, when he took part in a military campaign against John Jiskra and Czech mercenaries called bratríci.

Conclusion

Communication between the city of Bardejov and the bishop took several forms in the Middle Ages. Each of them created a space for the manifestation of episcopal power and authority. These attributes in relation to the city were most evident in the fulfillment of the tithe obligation, when in some situations ecclesiastical punishment was invoked. Concrete examples demonstrate that the bishop’s judicial powers also extended, through his deputy, the vicar, to the disciplining of lay people in the city.

82 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1700, fol. 39r.
83 HLAVAČKOVÁ, Ryby a pôstna tradícia, 447–460.
84 FEJÉRPATAKY, Magyarországi városok, 213.
85 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1694, fol. 68r.
86 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1700, fol. 115v–116r.
87 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1694, fol. 95v.
88 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1694, fol. 95v.
89 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1694, fol. 96r; fol. 123r.
90 ŠA PO, AB, MMB, sign. 1023.
91 GÁCSOVÁ, Spoločenská štruktúra Bardejova, 129.
92 BADAČ, Medzi umením a remeslom, 340–341.
93 Ibidem, 342.
A separate area in which episcopal power and authority was manifested was in the rituals and ceremonies performed in urban settings. The town accounts show that the bishops (or suffragans) made relatively frequent appearances in the urban environment; the consecration of church buildings, altars or other liturgical objects provided an opportunity for the personal presence of the prelate in the town. Not only the rituals and ceremonies, but also the offering of valuable gifts reflected the attitude of the townspeople towards the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries and established mutual relations not only with episcopal offices, but also in the personal sphere.

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Benedict Kišdy (Kisdy, Kisdi, Kischdy), bishop of Eger and an important figure in the recatholicization of north-eastern Hungary, is one of the most important figures in the history of Košice in the early modern period. Kišdy’s most memorable activity was the founding of the University of Košice, which had a long-term impact on the cultural and intellectual development of the city beyond the first intention of its founder, i.e. recatholicization. The present study analyses the place of Kišdy in historiography from the time of the Jesuits and the possibilities of using the biographical method in the case of Benedict Kišdy. An important role in Kišdy’s life was played by his attitude towards Peter Pázmaň, Jesuits and Franciscans. The theoretical question of Kišdy’s place among the most important personalities in the history of Košice is raised, which is partly answered by the still vivid commemoration and places of remembrance connected with Kišdy.

Keywords: Benedict Kišdy; Košice; Biography; Recatholicization; Diocese of Eger; Seventeenth century.

Introduction

The Jesuits were the pioneers of research on the (early modern) history of Košice. In the first third of the eighteenth century, they developed the initial framework for documenting the history of Košice. These works merge the historical concept with a geographical or topographical view, resembling modern travel guides in content. They consist of two main parts: first the origins of the city and second its description through the most important buildings and their history. In the historiography of Košice, the narrative approach replaced the previous method in the nineteenth century. This approach presents the city’s history in a chronological manner. There is a tradition of specific schemes (chronicles of Košice history) in the historiography of Košice. These schemes have been rewritten and expanded over time, but still form the basic framework of the early modern history of Košice as presented in the historiography of Košice. Bishop Benedikt Kišdy (as written in Slovak, also appearing as Kisdy in Hungarian, Kisdi in Latin and Kischdy in German), who founded the University of Košice in 1657, holds a significant place in the history of Košice due to his contributions.¹


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¹ Magyar Nemzeti Levélkér, Országos Levélkér (hereinafter MNL, OL), fund Magyar Kamara Archívuma, E152, Acta Jesuitica (hereinafter AJ), Regestrata (hereinafter Reg.), fascikel (hereinafter fasc.) 1, folia (hereinafter f.) 15.
The Jesuit historiography

The history of Košice is chronicled chronologically, based on the significant events of the seventeenth century. This includes the Betlen (Bethlen) uprising, the martyrdom of three Catholic priests in 1619, Betlen’s marriage to Catherine of Brandenburg in 1626, the execution of Peter Čásar (Császár) in 1632, and the military-political activity of Juraj Rákoci (Rákóczi) in the 1640s. The period between 1648 and 1660 in the history of Košice was dominated by the recatholicization efforts of Benedict Kišdy. Subsequently, the chronicle of Košice’s history records the events of the 1670s, which were marked by violent recatholicization and the construction of Leopold’s citadel in the southern suburbs of Košice. In the 1680s, Košice was occupied by the Kuruts under Imrich Tőköli’s leadership.

The historiography of Košice began with the Jesuits, who had a particular interest in emphasizing the significance of Benedict Kišdy for the city’s history. Later, individuals from Košice’s intellectual centre, represented by the Royal or Law Academy, Kišdy’s university’s successor, continued to develop the history of Košice. In the traditional scheme or basic concept of writing about the history of Košice in the seventeenth century, it is therefore natural that the university and Benedict Kišdy should be mentioned at the same time. It is worth noting that this scheme persisted even after the establishment of Czechoslovakia, as evidenced by the guidebooks on the history of Košice from the interwar period. Furthermore, it remained unchanged during the communist period of Slovak historiography. During this period, a new synthesis of Košice history with a new ideological interpretation could have displaced it from this scheme, or a completely new scheme oriented towards the economy, social differences and the consequences of political changes on the population could have been created. However, Ondrej Halaga (1956) did just the opposite and emphasized once again the importance the importance of Benedikt Kišdy in the history of Košice and the University of Košice. As a result, Kišdy is now considered one of the prominent figures in Košice’s modern history surveys, thanks to this tradition dating back to the early eighteenth century. Kišdy’s involvement with Košice extended beyond the university and only came to a chronological end with it. Activities related to the seminary, convent, Chapter of Eger, Jesuits and Franciscans preceded it. Benedict Kišdy served as the bishop of Jager for a relatively brief period of twelve years in Upper Hungary.

The study of the early modern history of Košice dates back to the eighteenth century, when the first modern historical work on the history of Košice was written.² Apart from its relevance to our topic, the short work by the Jesuit John Babtist Trsťanský (Tersztyánszky) on the old and new Košice (Cassovia vetus ac nova) from 1732 provides the fundamental framework for the (early modern) history of Košice. This work has been expanded and restructured in subsequent works based on it. In his writing on the recent history of Košice, Trštanský relied heavily on older works that focused on the history and topography of Hungary. These works briefly described the history of cities through their most important buildings, with the exception of an introductory section devoted to the very beginnings of the city. Trsztanský added factual information to each section, but dedicated the most space to the history of the Jesuits’ activities in the city. The author solely mentions Kišdy² and neglects to give attention to the university. The focus is on the missionary and pastoral activities of the Jesuits, which

² TERSZTYÁNSKY, Cassovia vetus, ac nova.
³ Ibidem, 111.
may suggest the priorities of the first Society of Jesus. It is possible that the relationship to the founder of the university was not as essential to pastoral ministry as the already existing college founded and funded by King Ferdinand III. However, the monarch and the Jesuits are not extensively discussed in this scholarly work, except for the martyrs of 1619. The limited attention given to Kišdy is a result of the chosen conception and aim. John Akai published his work shortly after Trstanský (1743). Since it was devoted to the history of the Jesuits in Košice until 1640, Kišdy did not appear in it.

During the eighteenth century, no monographic work on the history of Košice was published, but in a brief overview of the topography of Hungary and the Hungarian counties from 1718 (i.e. before Trstanský), the Jesuit Michael Bombardi mentioned the university and its foundation by Benedict Kišdy, along with other religious buildings. Additional information on the history of Košice was provided by the Jesuit Ladislav Turóci (Turóczi), who studied in Košice and was also a professor for some time. In 1729, a work on the history of Hungary and its individual counties was published. The university and other pedagogical and formative institutes in Košice, run by the Jesuits, were mentioned briefly. However, there was a note about the foundation of the university by Benedict Kišdy. Despite Kišdy’s merits for the foundation of the university, the Jesuits did not elaborate on his activities or personality in the above-mentioned works. Matej Bel then drew on the works of Bombardi and Turóci in describing the Hungarian counties, both in the conception of the manuscript on Abov county (1731) and in the informative survey of the Hungarian counties (1779), in which he mentioned the university among the most important institutions in the city, but without mentioning its founder. Similarly, in the geographic-historical lexicon of Hungary published in 1786 by Ján Mateja Korabinský, the author of the entry on Košice referred to Kišdy. In the late 1760s, Nicholas Schmitth published the third volume of the great history of the bishops of Eger. Benedict Kišdy was presented here not in the context of the history of Košice, but of the bishopric. For the first time, he was given more space in the form of a chapter devoted to his ecclesiastical career. Schmitth published transcriptions of documents related to his activities, including the purchase of a house for the Košice seminary.

The modern historiography
During the next century of Košice’s history, two important works on the city’s past were written. However, factual information about Kišdy was not expanded until the end of the nineteenth century. Research on the history of Košice was interrupted after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus and only resumed at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. In the Chronicle of Košice (1860), John Plath, a professor at
the Royal Academy in Košice, mentions Kišdy at the moment of the foundation of the university.\textsuperscript{12} as does Jozef Tutkó in the Chronicle of the History of Košice published a year later.\textsuperscript{13} The team led by Sam Borovszky expanded the factual information on Kišdy through their work on Abov county, adding details on the foundation of the university and other institutions, including Kišdy’s role in the initiative.\textsuperscript{14} During the late nineteenth century, when histories of Hungarian gymnasia were commonly written, Professor Robert Farkas of the Košice Premonstratensian gymnasion produced a fundamental work on the history of the University of Košice (1895), in which, in addition to Kišdy’s merits in founding the university, he devoted considerable space to Kišdy’s life and activities before the “Eger period”.\textsuperscript{15} In the following year, the fifth volume of a monumental encyclopaedia on important personalities in Hungarian cultural history was published, including a short but comprehensive entry on Kišdy.\textsuperscript{16}

During the first half of the twentieth century, Vojtech Wick was a leading historian of Košice, especially in the field of ecclesiastical history, and he presented Kišdy in several of his works.\textsuperscript{17} In 1956, on the occasion of the tercentenary of the founding of the University of Košice, Ondrej Halaga published a study on its history. He briefly summarized Kišdy’s founding activity in Košice.\textsuperscript{18} During the period of creating syntheses and encyclopaedias of Slovak history and its personalities, Kišdy was included in the third volume of the \textit{Slovak Biographical Dictionary}\textsuperscript{19} by the staff of Matica Slovenská. The source used for this entry was Szinney’s lexicon. Subsequently, Kišdy is only mentioned in shorter articles dedicated to the university, the Hungarian-Latin Catholic songbook \textit{Cantus Catholici}, Baroque art, or the work \textit{Hungarian Simplicissimus} in Hungarian historiography and public writing.\textsuperscript{20} The interest in both the university and Kišdy was revived in this country after 1989, on the 340th anniversary of the university’s foundation. Kišdy’s biography was presented by Peter Sedlák in a volume published on this occasion.\textsuperscript{21} Although there was no special contribution on Kišdy in the two collections published ten years later, his name was naturally mentioned in most of the contributions.\textsuperscript{22} The history of the University of Košice and theological education there has long been the subject of Cyril Hišem, and it was in this context that he presented his findings on Kišdy.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{12} PLATH, \textit{Kaschauer Chronik}, 135.
\textsuperscript{13} TUTKÓ, \textit{Szabad királyi Kassa}, 146–147.
\textsuperscript{14} BOROVSZKY, \textit{Abauj-Torna vármegye és Kassa}.
\textsuperscript{15} FARKAS, \textit{A kassai kath. főgymnasium története}, 30–31.
\textsuperscript{16} SZINNYEI, \textit{Magyar írók élete és munkái}.
\textsuperscript{18} HALAGA, \textit{Z dejín Košicek university}, 526.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Slovenský biografičný slovník}, 85–86.
\textsuperscript{21} SEDLÁK, \textit{Život a dielo biskupa Benedikta Kišdyho}, 20–25.
\textsuperscript{22} HIŠEM – ELIÁŠ – FEDORKOVÁ, 350. výročie Košickej university; MARINČAK, Potvrdenie jezuitskej košickej univerzity.
\textsuperscript{23} HIŠEM, Teologické vzdělávání a výchova v Košiciach, 22–23; HIŠEM, Teologické vzdělávání na Košickej univerzite.
The aim of this article is not to expand the factual base as it is presented in Schmitth’s monograph on the Eger bishops in the eighteenth century and most recently summarized in the above-mentioned article by Sedlák, but to outline the possibilities of research and to highlight some aspects connected with Kišdy’s life and activity. A brief analysis of selected works on the history of Košice proves the validity of including Kišdy among the personalities of Košice’s history. Kišdy had a great influence on the ecclesiastical history of Košice and Upper Hungary, with whose territory his activities were connected at the height of his activity. In historiography, too, Kišdy is mentioned mainly in the history of Košice and the Eger diocese, with the exception of the hymnal Cantus Catholici, and only marginally in the history of Szécsény (Sečany) and the Novohrad region. The importance of Kišdy’s personality naturally requires a monographic elaboration, as he has so far only received attention in the form of short chapters. The present article falls somewhere in between in terms of scope and elaboration – I would like to develop the short biography into several thematic headings, which would be completed by a monograph at some point in the future.

Not only the beginnings of Košice’s historiography, but also the beginnings of historiography itself are connected with personalities. History was described on the basis of its actions, and personalities were presented as its main actors. This oldest method of historiography has experienced its retreats and returns over the years, only to find its application again in more recent times. Meanwhile, in the conflict between the determinants – being the determiner and/or the determinant of history – a balance has been struck that has made it possible to see their impact on history with a sober perspective. Within the development of biography and the biographical method itself, several methods have been developed that corresponded to the concept of cultural history of the Annales school. Within this framework, individuals without much influence on history, but with preserved archival material, were also given space, which made it possible to reconstruct their lives as typical or atypical representatives of their social and professional group. Another great methodological contribution was the collective biography, which, despite the shortcomings of the statistical method in historical research (especially early history), have brought inspiring procedures and results to the knowledge of past society.

The biography and the application of the biographical method in the case of Benedict Kišdy

If we move to the environment of Košice (and Upper Hungary), we find that the application of the biographical method has its limits and sequence. If we consider the writing of history as a human construction (although history itself, in its elementary nature, rather resembles a natural landscape), it is impossible to ignore the foundations and the sequence of certain processes. Writing about the personalities in a city, without an elaborated history of the city itself, is like drawing a figure on a white canvas. The person/personality remains in a vacuum, without confrontation with its environment. A biography in such a case is not useless, it is just incomplete. Kišdy’s greatest influence on the history of Košice is connected with the recatholicization of the city in the

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24 SUGÁR, Az egri püspökök története; HORVÁTH, Az egri egyházmegye rövid története, 5.
25 LAUKOVÁ, Cantus Catholici v interpretácii, 21–22, 28.
27 FEDORČÁK, Biografia a biografi cká metóda, 29.
religious sphere and with the founding of the university in the cultural sphere. However, neither the history of the city in the seventeenth century nor its ecclesiastical and religious history for this period has been compiled, and Kišdy’s activity is only a part of it. Thus, research on individual topics precedes the development of larger syntheses on the history of Košice. Perhaps this inductive progression from the parts to the whole, forced by circumstances, will, after the whole has been completed, allow a return to the lower level of personalities and then to the even lower level of the little-known or unknown inhabitants of Košice who made their history (their own and the history of the city), such that the reconstruction of their work and life will take place in an already more familiar world of Košice history.

The authors of the historical works on the history of Košice mentioned at the beginning of this article automatically included Kišdy among the important personalities of Košice. In this context, it is appropriate to pause to define this category. Who is a personality and how can we define the meaning of personality in the context of the (Košice) regional history? For the history of Košice in the early modern period and especially in the seventeenth century, we encounter two problems. The influence of personalities on the (local) history (of Košice) was not only positive (in the eyes of contemporary society or contemporaries) or not positive at all. Moreover, almost none of the personalities of Košice history came from Košice or, with a few exceptions, spent more than a relatively short time in Košice. Nevertheless, we are talking about Košice personalities because, from the point of view of historiography, they significantly influenced the history of Košice. Nevertheless, the inclusion of individuals among the Košice personalities is more intuitive than systematic. For example, we do not include the Hungarian rulers, although their decisions and policies significantly influenced the life of the town. Even Peter Pázmáň (Pázmany, Pázmanus), who was active in Košice for a short time (in total spending more time in Košice than Kišdy or the leaders of the anti-Habsburg uprisings), is not traditionally included among the personalities of Košice. This is probably because his activities in the city did not have such a significant impact on the history of Košice. However, although he did not directly influence the micro-history of Košice, his involvement in the Hungarian political and ecclesiastical scene indirectly brought about important changes in the history of Košice, both in the short and long term.

Other common features of the seventeenth-century Košice personalities include the fact that they were also personalities on the Hungarian scale, and their activity was mainly connected with political (politico-military) and religious conflicts (an exception being the poet Jan Bocatius, though he, as a representative of the city, was also involved in a conflict with the imperial court).

The selection of important personalities of the seventeenth century in Košice, and continuing up to 1711, consists of a list of names that is perhaps richer in well-known names than in other centuries: John Bocatius, Barbiano de Belgiojoso, Stephen Bočkaj (Bocskai), Peter Alvinci (Alvinczi), Gabriel Betlen (Bethlen), the three martyrs of Košice, Juraj Rákoci (Ráköcsi), Benedict Kišdy, Imrich Tököli and Francis II Rákoci. They appear in this order in all publications on the history of Košice, starting with the earliest ones, such as Terstanský’s Cassovia vetus ac nova. In the historiography, the reason or, as in the iconography of hagiography, the attribute for which these persons are Košice personalities is always given, and they never stand out separately without

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28 ÖRY, Péter Pázmán in Kaschau, 73–102.
being directly connected to their work. For example, in the case of the leaders of the uprising it is the military events, and in the case of Kišdy it is the university. In addition to these most prominent personalities, there are many others, such as Francis Vešeléní (Wesselényi), Peter Pázmáň, Žofia Bátoriová (Báthory), who financed the construction of the Jesuit church and whose funds were probably used to build the Košice citadel, and Zuzana Balážová (Balassa), thanks to whom the noblemen’s convent was built.

The basic elements of short biographical texts on personalities have long had a similar, almost encyclopaedic structure. Typical are the prologue and the epilogue, between which is the core or active period, filled with the most significant activities of the personality under study. The prologue describes the conditions into which the personality under study was born and grew up. The religious and political views of their immediate environment, which they were automatically expected to adopt, are traced. As with many personalities, the period of Kišdy’s study is a turning point. It is the time when the first personality changes take place, when one forms one’s own attitudes, establishes contacts, develops new emotional bonds and, depending on one’s luck or diligence, is directed towards a career. At the same time, it is the first period for which we have a little more information than for childhood. This is usually followed by a brief account of the career up to the highest office or rank, where the person under study usually did most of the historically recorded important work. The conclusion is usually brief and tells of the person’s twilight period of inactivity, when either health or political circumstances forced them out of the social arena. A brief account of the death is usually the last part of the biography, unless it is followed by a brief summary of the person’s importance to history and possibly a more detailed discussion of some part of the work to which the biographical text was only an introduction. Typical of this type of biography is a decidedly positive or even heroic portrayal of the individual.

The form of such a text in the case of Kišdy might be as follows: Benedict Kišdy was born in 1598 or 1599 in the town of Szécsény in the county of Novohrad. He probably came from a middle-class background. He studied at the Jesuit gymnasium in Trnava and theology in Vienna and Rome. He was ordained a priest in 1622 and became the chaplain of the archbishop of Esztergom, Peter Pázmáň. Later he was a parish priest in Podunajské Biskupice and Šaľa. He was appointed canon of the chapters of Bratislava (1626) and Esztergom (1629) and in 1629 archdeacon of Hont. From 1631 he was prepost of Svätý Jur, from 1636 (according to another source 1638) prepost of Hatvany and...
from 1642 grand prepost of Esztergom. The new archbishop of Esztergom, Imrich Lossy, appointed him vicar general. In 1644 he was appointed and consecrated bishop of Srieg, in 1646 bishop of Oradea, prepost of Bratislava and royal counsellor. These bishoprics were occupied by the Turks. In 1648 he was appointed bishop of Eger and count of the counties of Heves and Solnok. He died on 22 June 1660 in Jasov and was buried in Košice in the Franciscan church that served the Eger chapter. The most significant part of his activity belongs to the “Eger” period. He managed to transfer the Eger chapter to Košice before 1649. In 1649 he founded and materially provided a seminary in Košice. The Latin-Hungarian Catholic hymnal Cantus Catholici was published with his support in 1651. In 1657 he founded a university, which was confirmed by Leopold I in August 1660, two months after Kišdy’s death.

Previous biographies of Benedict Kišdy have followed the traditional chronological principle. They were shorter texts, ranging in length from a chapter in a monograph to articles and encyclopaedic entries. In this way, Kišdy’s biography has been reconstructed, but there has not yet been room for a greater development of his biography and thus for a more comprehensive use of the biographical method, which is not exhausted by a basic treatment of biography, just as the inclusion of dates and events is not yet history. The biographical method requires that the personality be anchored in relationships and connections with its historical environment. These explain and help the modern researcher to understand the actions and behaviour of the individual.

Kišdy’s career and recatholicizing activities

In the case of Benedict Kišdy, in addition to the basic biographical sketch, we can trace a number of other themes, such as the social background from which he came. Military, ecclesiastical and administrative careers allowed the middle and lower classes to climb the social ladder quickly. Kišdy (and even Pázmaň) did not come from a distinguished family, but he was chosen for a high ecclesiastical post because of his education and abilities. The question of social origin, the course of the ecclesiastical career, the age reached at the time of episcopal appointment, and the comparison with the development up to 1526, before and after the actual application of the decisions of the Council of Trent (the beginning of the seventeenth century), create space for a comparative and collective biography, in which data on individual bishops would enter. In comparison, both Kišdy’s career and his recatholicizing activities would gain their contemporary social dimension (context). Peter Pázmaň may also be a certain model for the further development of the biographical method. It was Pázmaň who was the most important, even the determining element in Kišdy’s life. This was due to the fact that Pázmaň entrusted him with important functions in the Archdiocese of

35 The decision was issued by King Ferdinand III in 1644. MNL, OL, fund Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár – Libri regii, A 57, volume 9, pp. 609–610.
37 MNL, OL, fund Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár – Libri regii, A 57, volume 9, p. 712.
38 MNL, OL, fund Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár – Libri regii, A 57, volume 9, p. 689.
40 SEDLÁK, Život a dielo biskupa Benedikta Kišdyho, 20–21.
Esztergom at a relatively young age, but also because Pázmáň was his inspiration. In terms of history and historiography, Kišdy stands in his shadow. A comparative biography, especially with Peter Pázmáň, would be very interesting precisely because of the many similarities. Kišdy, like Pázmáň, was fond of popular missions at a time when he was not yet a bishop. The way in which the pastoral ministry was carried out was modern in the context of the guidelines of the Council of Trent, as was the emphasis on education itself or on supporting the education of clergy and laity – through schools, catechesis and the press.

In connection with Kišdy’s origins, it would be necessary to analyse his writings and try to sketch his national profile. In this respect, I will only mention that his name is spelled differently in different languages, literature and archival documents, but he preferred Hungarian in his correspondence and also the Hungarian way of writing his name. In historiography, however, we can find an attempt to prove his Slovak origin by referring to the originally Slovak environment of the small town of Szécsény in Novohrad, from which he came. In order to create a complete personality profile, it would be advisable to deepen this issue with the help of genealogical research and documents of local provenance.

Another interesting aspect is the political sphere. Kišdy appeared briefly in the diplomatic service of the court and also in the political arena of the Hungarian Diet. Only a few years after Benedict Kišdy’s death, an uprising was being prepared in the territory of Upper Hungary, i.e. in the territory of the Eger diocese, in which the archbishop of Esztergom, Juraj Lipaj, the captain of Košice, František Vešeléni, and František Rákoci were to play a leading role. Regardless of this fact, it would certainly be useful to draw up a “political profile” of Benedict Kišdy, including his attitude to the Habsburgs. In the political sphere, the Hungarian Catholic elite of the time did not share the same views as the royal court. The assertiveness of the so-called national party in Hungarian politics during this period can be observed in several ways, including in the ecclesiastical sphere. For example, even among the Jesuits in Hungary in the 1650s there were tendencies towards greater independence from the Austrian province.

The success of recatholicization as Benedict Kišdy’s main and most important activity depended directly and indirectly on his political activity and his contacts with political leaders at the provincial and regional levels. Kišdy was one of the main figures of recatholicization in Hungary. Like Pázmáň, Kišdy made direct contact with Protestant families in order to convert them and the serf population. In this respect, this activity was quite successful, but it would also be useful for the knowledge of the history of recatholicization if Kišdy’s activity were treated in as much detail as possible.

45 SEDLÁK, Život a dielo biskupa Benedikta Kišdyho, 20.
46 FEDORČÁK, Jesuit Mission in Košice, 55.
47 MNL, OL, fund Szepesi Kamarai Levéltár, E 244, Szepesi Kamara Regisztraturája, Minutae, pp. 38, 82, 84–85.
48 RIDOVICS, „Az emberi váltságnak kúcsa”, 202.
As already mentioned, Kišdy was not active in Upper Hungary until his appointment as bishop of Eger, but on his arrival he acted quickly and energetically to speed up the recatholicization of the area. As a new person in the area, he had to establish contact or cooperation with as many influential people as possible.

Apart from the nobility, relations with the Košice magistrate were also important. From the point of view of the history of Košice, which became the place of his fundraising activities, it is good to point out the hospitable attitude of the magistrate, which could and did have various causes and should not be overestimated. It was mainly the pressure of the state authorities, the imperial court, the Hungarian Diet and the Hungarian, mainly Calvinist, nobility that forced the city’s leaders to make religious concessions to Catholics and Calvinists at that time. In any case, Kišdy’s contacts and cooperation with the magistrate were successful and, as far as can be reconstructed from the documents, free of conflict.49

In the case of recatholicization itself, the question is how to measure its success and, at the same time, estimate as accurately as possible the share of individual personalities. One could describe the instruments and follow the changes that led to further changes (the conversion of a nobleman and the subsequent recatholicization of a parish, or the building of a seminary and the subsequent qualitative and quantitative improvement in pastoral care). In this regard, the appropriate choice of more effective instruments should be appreciated. Of these, the establishment of a seminary,50 the foundation of a noblemen’s convent and the publication of the hymnal Cantus Catholici probably had the greatest impact on promoting recatholicization. Kišdy proved in many ways to be a good observer and copyist of Pázmaň’s work, which, moreover, had been successfully applied for several decades. It can therefore be said that what Peter Pázmaň was for Hungary and Hungarian Catholics, Benedict Kišdy was for Upper Hungary and Košice.

**Kišdy, Jesuits and Franciscans**

Although Kišdy supported the Jesuits, their settlement in Košice and the establishment of the college were relatively independent of Kišdy’s activities. Kišdy initiated the foundation of the university51 to educate seminarians (and laymen) mainly from the nobility and bourgeoisie. It was the Košice seminary that was to be the most important part of the recatholicization, for despite the popular missions of the Jesuits and Franciscans, the conversion of the landowners would not have been successful without suitable diocesan priests to carry out pastoral work in the parishes. However, the pace of change was not dramatic. Although the establishment of the seminary in Košice clearly contributed to the recatholicization of the Eger diocese, in 1699 there were 119 diocesan priests in the diocese (with the exception of one county) and 15 monks who assisted in the pastoral work in the parishes. In 1700 there were 213 Catholic and 844 Protestant and Orthodox churches in the diocese in ten counties (excluding two). The seminary in Košice was insufficient and in 1700 a seminary was founded in Jágrí.52 They were united in 1760.53

52 MIHALIK, Felekezeti konfliktusok, 123.
53 SZECSKÓ, Bozsik Pál, 303.
While in the Slovak and especially in the Košice area, emphasis is placed on the establishment of the university and other pedagogical and educational institutions in Košice, for the history of Hungarian (and especially Catholic) culture (and the Hungarian language), Kišdy’s support for the publication of the first Latin-Hungarian Catholic hymnal *Cantus Catholici* in Trnava in 1651 is of equal, if not greater, importance.54 Its author was the Jesuit Benedect Szőllösi (Szöllösi, Szöllösi), as was the Latin-Slovak hymnal published four years later (1655) in Levoča. The Slovak Cancionale was not a translation of the Hungarian one, but as far as the textual part was concerned, they had 57 songs in common.55 Szőllösi, who was of Slovak origin, was a priest among the Slovak believers in Košice in 1651, when the Hungarian Cancionale was published.56 Szőllösi came into contact with Kišdy at this time at the latest, from whom he received the hymnal imprimatur and to whom Szőllösi dedicated the Latin dedication.57 Kišdy’s approval initially led some historians to believe that the songbook was printed in Levoča. Szőllösi may have obtained an imprimatur for the Slovakian hymnal from the archbishop of Esztergom, Juraj Lipaj, partly because the Hungarian hymnal was successful and well received in church circles.58 In order for the hymnal to be accepted and associated with the Catholic hierarchy, Szőllösi did not put his name or any other name on the frontispiece of either hymnal, but only the name of the ecclesiastical authority that approved the hymnal. In addition, the name was emphasized by its size.59 The Latin-Hungarian *Cantus Catholici* was published a second time in Košice in 1674 and again in Trnava in 1703.60

Kišdy’s relationship with the Franciscans is a special chapter. Although the Jesuits had a great influence on his intellectual formation and he worked with them in Košice, it is his contacts with the Franciscans and their spiritual heritage that appear several times in his life. It was probably the Franciscans who had great influence on him in his childhood.61 At that time, around 1610, they resumed their activities in Szécsény, where there was an abandoned medieval Franciscan monastery. Although Kišdy spent most of his life outside the Novohrad region, he maintained contact with the Franciscans in Szécsény.62 The Franciscans also sent him to the church school in Trnava.63 This fact and this assumption shed new light on Kišdy’s preference for the abandoned Franciscan church in Košice, where he placed the Eger chapter.64 He had the main altar built in the church in 1657 (not the present side altar, which now bears his episcopal coat of arms)65 and wished to be buried in the crypt of the church under the main altar, which

54 HAUSEL, Szécsényben született, 25–26; RIDOVICS, „Az emberi váltásnak kúcsa”, 202; SZILASI, „...Magyar Országnak általmazójának…”, 349.
57 SZÓLLÖSI, *Cantus Catholici*, (Dedicatio).
58 RUŠČIN, *Cantus catholici*, 45.
59 Ibidem, 46.
60 SZINNYEI, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*.
61 HAUSEL, Szécsényben született, 24.
63 HAUSEL, Szécsényben született, 24.
64 GALLA, *Ferences misszionáriusok Magyarországon*, 188.
65 RIDOVICS, „Az emberi váltásnak kúcsa”, 202.
he was. Francis II Rákoci, the leader of the last anti-Habsburg uprising, also came to pray before this main altar, which Kišdy had financed during his stay in Košice in 1707, from the captain’s house, which stands approximately opposite the church. In addition to the main altar, Kišdy also commissioned a pulpit in 1657. In 1654, Kišdy, together with other political and ecclesiastical leaders of Hungary, contributed to a collection for the Franciscan buildings in Győr.

Remembering Benedict Kišdy

Benedict Kišdy’s funeral was also included in the famous work Hungarian Simplicissimus (1683). Daniel Georg Speer, in chapter 29, in an episode related to Eger, describes the transport from Jasov, where Kišdy died on 22 June 1660, and the placing of his coffin in the crypt of the Franciscan church a short time later. Speer does not mention him by name, but only as bishop of Eger.

Benedict Kišdy is also present in Košice through the place of his memory. In 1665 the Jesuits who were in charge of the seminary named it Kisidianum (Seminarium S. Ladislai Kisdianum). Later, one of the streets of Košice was named after him. In the Hungarian period of Košice (Kisdy Benedek utca) it was today’s Mojmírova street, and today the street running through the courtyard of the residential complex at the corner of Komenský and Tomášikova streets is named after him.

Conclusion

There are other interesting points in Benedict Kišdy’s biography that will hopefully be filled in by extensive future research. The aim of this article was primarily to lay the theoretical foundations, which could undoubtedly be further developed methodologically, in order to facilitate the direction of much-needed scholarly research on this important figure in the history of Košice. The article outlined how the biographical method has been used so far in the case of Benedict Kišdy and what possibilities there are for its use. The personality of Benedict Kišdy can be used mainly to describe the history of recatholicization, the history of the Eger bishopric or the history of the University of Košice through his actions. However, the interest in this personality should neither begin nor end with the interest in these “larger themes”. These themes are also the way through which previous researchers have almost invariably reached Kišdy. Starting from the opposite side or perspective, we would begin with his own characterization, move on to his interaction with his environment, and come back to trace the changes brought about by this interaction and how he dealt with the experience of different roles in different periods of his life. This approach would imply a focus on the person. In conceptions of the history of Košice, Kišdy has long had his own place, along with boundaries of interest that he has not yet left. At the same time, Košice has shaped and continues to shape the space in which the memory of him, his place in historical memory, has been created. At the same time, it was here

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66 Ibidem.
67 Ibidem.
68 DUCHOŇ, František II. Rákoci a jeho Košice, 54.
69 RIDOVICS, „Az emberi váltásagnak kúcsa”, 202.
70 NÉMETH, Adalékok a szentferencrendiek, 100.
72 RIDOVICS, „Az emberi váltásagnak kúcsa”, 202.
that his profile in the history of recatholicization and the history of education was created. This has allowed us to trace the formation of this historical memory and the construction of Kišdy as a Catholic hero of recatholicization. The hero is always a social construction, and the creation or birth of the hero is a process in which historiography plays an important role.

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The text concentrates on the interpretation of “free time” during the initial years of the twentieth century, and the role of motor vehicles as a “means of its consumption” within leisure activities is significant. However, the use of cars and motorcycles in leisure time was strictly determined by the specific economic and cultural conditions of interwar Czechoslovakia, particularly in the territory of Slovakia. Socio-economic barriers limited such activities to the upper and, in the case of motorcycles, middle classes. At the same time, leisure motoring was strongly linked with a novel form of tourism that was highly organized in interwar Czechoslovakia (particularly in Slovakia). Within this context, the association emerges as a recreational entity, fostering distinct connections and a collective identity. However, the process was significantly influenced by the politicization of organised free-time activities. Examining the role of cars and motorcycles in leisure activities during the researched period, the analysis will consider the definitions of free time and how these vehicles were utilized in their social and cultural context, specifically through the example of the activities of the Autoclub Košice. The presented text draws on previously published studies and the author’s monograph, as well as recent works and additional sources. Positioning this within the context of the historical-sociological discourse on leisure activities alongside the “consumption” of goods and experiences offers novel insights into the functioning of motoring associations in Slovakia, particularly in Košice. The Autoclub Košice is identified as a prominent organization that significantly impacted the local rise of motor tourism, sports and general recreational tourism in the observed period.

Keywords: Leisure time; Motoring; Car clubs; Motor tourism; 1. Czechoslovakia; Slovakia; Košice.

Leisure, things, and consumable experiences
When attempting to define the concept of “leisure time”, a range of issues that highlight its complicated and fragmented nature become apparent. The aim of this section is to elucidate these issues and raise pertinent questions in relation to the topic under investigation. It is primarily observed that a definitive and unanimously accepted definition of leisure time remains elusive. This is mainly due to variations in the approaches taken by various scientific disciplines that examine or integrate leisure into their systems of inquiry. Sociology, pedagogy, applied ethics, philosophy, cultural

The text was originally published in the collective monograph “Motoring as a Means of Leisure” in the second volume of the series “Czech Century of Motorism”: JANČURA, Mikuláš. Rýchlosť, dobrodružstvo, politika: Voľnočasová automobilita na Slovensku so zreteľom na pôsobenie Autoklubu Košice. In: ZOUHAROVÁ DYKOVÁ, Sylvie – FRICOVÁ, Jana (eds). České století motorismu II. Motorismus jako prostředek volného času. Brno: Technické muzeum v Brně, 2020, pp. 67–84. The provided text relies on previously published studies and the author’s monograph. The presented text is partially supplemented with knowledge from the issue, published in more recent works, as well as knowledge drawn from additional sources.

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studies, economics, and history all study leisure with their own research frameworks, resulting in distinct definitions. Despite the difficulty in defining the issue universally, it presents the potential for a multi-perspective consideration and the identification of shared intersections, of which there are several. To align with this text’s objective, we will use sociological definitions with reference to the cultural-historical and economic-historical specifics of the subject under examination. Within sociology, there exist more than ten definitions of leisure, which are shaped by diverse sociological-philosophical standpoints and the distinct levels of relations studied in the research environments of Europe and America.1 In light of the concept of leisure in the first half of the twentieth century, two prevalent approaches or definitions can be embraced: the residual and normative approaches. The residual approach pertains to leisure time defined as non-work time or time “freed from work”,2 which “remains after the fulfilment of work and non-work obligations related, for example, to the necessity of maintaining one’s biophysiological or family system”.3 The normative can be seen as a natural part of the residual and is related to “a certain semantic property of leisure, such as the subjectively free choice of an activity, its immediate non-utilitarianism, the generation of a certain type of positive experience”.4

However, we must consider the conflict between passive and active leisure as well as the complex idea of “freedom”. Additionally, we must address the misconception of leisure being leftover time after work. In the first chapter of Histories of Leisure, Rudy Koschar explains that leisure can also be viewed as “opportunity” or “time that passes before it is too late”. He also notes that during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, leisure was considered as a preliminary activity before work. This differs from the current understanding and definition. Although reflections on leisure and its use can be traced back to antiquity,5 its modern meaning can be based on the key concept of “work” and the concept of the “creation” of leisure by the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of capitalism.

The partition of time into work and leisure, resulting from the rise of industrial production, is a vital aspect. However, deeper investigation is required to uncover its true origins, which presents another contentious issue that must be highlighted. According to Milan Hlavačka, the gradual implementation of Greenwich Mean Time served as an essential prerequisite for the development of leisure as a fundamental aspect of social structure. He utilizes Émile Durkheim’s concept of “social time” as the fundamental structure through which a civilized society arranges its actions.6 According to Hlavačka, social time becomes an instrument of social integration and “the most important social institution, a means of orientation in society, its regulator and disciplinarian”.7

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3 PETRUSEK – MAŘÍKOVÁ – VODÁKOVÁ, Velký sociologický slovník, 156.


5 NEŠPOR, Sociologická encyklopedie.

6 HLAVAČKA, Fenomén času ve zrychlené době, 14.

7 HLAVAČKA, Fenomén času ve zrychlené době, 15.
Leisure time can be viewed as a product of the integration of social time, its structured nature, the advent of factory production and factors including contemporary transportation systems, communication technologies and the emergence of modern consumerism. Please note that this model cannot be generalized to the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is primarily associated with the urban environment and specific social classes, as emphasized by Hlavačka. Nevertheless, these boundaries began to dissolve gradually under the influence of modernization and contemporary cultural and social trends. For instance, such tendencies are more evident in the interwar period.

Milan Hlavačka’s concept of time and leisure correlates to some extent with the American economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen’s definition of time and leisure. In his sociology of leisure at the end of the nineteenth century, he defined leisure as the “non-productive consumption of time”. In this context, a clear contrast was made between production and “non-production” as undesirable economic phenomena. Additionally, emphasis was placed on the distinct meanings of the term “spending” as a representation of consumption. Veblen’s definition of leisure reflects the advent of industrial society and the interdependence of leisure with the economic value of the social division of labour. Additionally, it presupposes leisure as a commodity that is to be consumed. This notion is a significantly enriching factor. From an economic standpoint of industrial society, the definition of leisure implies that a range of products and services must fill the leisure time. Veblen not only analysed the social impact of machines and mechanized labour, but also highlighted the economic connection between leisure and the consumption of goods. At the same time, he anticipated the interplay between leisure and material culture and the intricate transformations that would unfold, encompassing both the economic and socio-cultural spheres.

Leisure thus became a complex process resulting in an experience, better expressed as a “consumable experience”, mediated using things. This trend has been greatly accelerated by the emergence of large-scale distribution systems such as convenience stores and large department stores, especially in Western Europe and the USA.

While the assortment of the mixed-goods stores tended to focus on food and daily necessities for the lower classes, the assortment and sales policy of the large department stores was clearly aimed at the upper classes, but also at the newly emerging middle class, which was expanding rapidly, especially in the metropolitan areas.

As Timothy Dallen notes: “The intensification of industrialisation in the nineteenth century created more wealth for more people and social groups. [...] With wealth came changes in consumption patterns. It began to play a more central role in people’s lives, allowing them to define themselves in relation to their surroundings.”

The unambiguous indicator was quality materials. Traditional social and economic mirrors of status, for example expensive clothing, jewellery, superior household furnishings and high-quality food and beverages, signify self-definition. However, the demarcation’s motivations, methods and ontological aspects are unclear. Additionally, there is symbolic value in the consumed items, and more importantly, those displayed

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10 PAQUET, *The Urge to Splurge*, 61.
to society. Thorstein Veblen, quoted earlier, noted the issue of the external presentation of consumption in a particular social setting.

Contemporary authors also stress the fact that “the consumption of various goods is often based more on their social meaning than on their practical use”. This applies to the consumerism which emerged in the late eighteenth century and became even more prevalent during the first half of the twentieth century.

However, several other factors are relevant to the phenomenon of leisure. The active leisure trend has led to the development of a range of new products that have swiftly gained the attention of contemporary consumers from the middle and upper classes. This trend has fostered a modern lifestyle centred primarily on movement and experiential activities. It expressed the dynamization of daily life, wherein various products were perceived as instruments by which to attain or mediate experiences at individual or group levels. The means included individual will and purchasing power.

Products such as tennis rackets, gym equipment, hiking gear, specialized clothing, bicycles, motorbikes, and cars became the catalysts for an intricate web of contemporary meanings. What united them all was a common emotionality, whether shared or individual, that was primarily expressed through desire. Modern advertising played a pivotal role in hastening this process, as it relinquished its solely informative function during the period under examination. Given the contemporary formulation of modern regulations within the mass media environment, it could not solely inform about a product’s existence. Instead, it became central to create a yearning for a product and the experience it can offer, rather than simply fulfilling a need. This aligns with current approaches that distinguish symbolic consumption. The authors suggest involving oneself in an experience associated with a particular activity, to both participate and "consume". It is important to note that the presence and possession of a particular product is a prerequisite for the experience within the realm of symbolic consumption. This therefore largely shapes the correlation between leisure, its encounter, and tangible objects as a medium for its consumption. In relation to this, cars and motorcycles held a distinct position starting from the 1890s.

The thrill of automobility

The rise of active leisure reflected the growing dynamism of daily life, with physical activity and personal experience at its core. Tourism emerged as a distinct form of leisure, marking a new social phenomenon of the era. While professional definitions of tourism abound, a similar problem arises from varying interpretive frameworks across scientific fields, paralleling the complexity of defining "leisure".

The definition provided by Marián Gúčik is acceptable to a certain degree. He defined it as “a set of activities aimed at satisfying the needs related to travel and stay of people outside their permanent residence and usually in their free time. Their purpose is rest, learning, health, amusement and entertainment, cultural and sporting enjoyment, business trips, i.e. to obtain a comprehensive experience”. However, when defining tourism, it is essential to consider its historical framework and conditionality. Against a backdrop of cultural and social transformations, alongside the introduction of modern modes of transport, including railways, transcontinental

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12 DALLEN, Shoping Tourism, 4.
13 TUNGATE, Adland, 11–14.
14 GÚČIK, Cestovný ruch, 22.
shipping and modern communication, tourism became more than just the technical bridging of distance.\textsuperscript{15} In the abovementioned study, Milan Hlavačka identified four historical stages in the evolution of travel and tourism. During the initial phase, characterized as the mid-nineteenth century, road or spatial mobility was restricted to specific purposes, including political power actions, education, business, or religion. The second phase, starting from the mid-1800s, saw the gradual emergence of tourism, prompted by the need for dynamization and technological advancements in communication and transport. This affected the means of transportation and infrastructure, adhered more to the legal and economic framework, and became an integral part of the economic and social structures. However, it is necessary to consider the social status or lifestyle of travellers and differentiate their motivations from those of labour migrants. The third phase, which Hlavačka introduces with the onset of holiday travel, is linked to the definition of work and leisure time and their use,\textsuperscript{16} which is the focus of the present text. In contrast to purposeful mobility, the metaphysical benefits of travel came to the fore, as expressed by the desire for leisurely exploration. This gradually intensified in the inter-war period, foreshadowing the trend towards mass tourism.\textsuperscript{17} The fourth stage of the evolution is the era of modern tourism. Hlavačka highlights that this phase is primarily a post-war occurrence and a result of travel democratization and the substantial industrialization of the sector.\textsuperscript{18}

It is necessary to revisit the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when railway transport established a comprehensive and systematized order over transport structures and mobility at ground level. Mobility was defined with a fixed boundary by mechanization, tracks, and maps, resulting in a strictly organized and collective character. The gradual introduction of cars and motorcycles, however, shattered these barriers and introduced a significant element of individualism into transportation. Auto-mobility as “individualized movement” or the “bearer of a new psycho-mental social quality” has taken on new connotations, primarily associated with speed, adventure and a modern lifestyle based on success, modern tastes and, ultimately, the ownership and control of a modern machine.\textsuperscript{19}

The car has also served as a reflection of social position, particularly in the European context. This was especially true in the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and interwar Czechoslovakia. As a cultural and social phenomenon, the car garnered advertising and fashion-industry attention with relative promptness during the interwar period,\textsuperscript{20} and it has even influenced the arts,\textsuperscript{21} establishing itself as a sort of “trendsetter”. At the same time, the ownership of a car or a motorbike is a special means

\begin{enumerate}
\item Hlavačka, Mobilita, 11.
\item Hlavačka, Mobilita, 13–14.
\item Jančura, Kultúrne aspekty, 62.
\item Hlavačka, Mobilita, 14.
\item Sachs, For love of the Automobile, 6.
\item A whole range of clothing for motorists has gradually emerged on the market, from protective clothing to protect the driver and crew from the weather, dust and wind in open cars, or motorcycle clothing, to clothing as a “fashion accessory” that became an “accessory” or an expressive element of the motoring image after the gradual closure of car bodies. See for example: Votolato, Transport design, 75–76; Horčǐˇs – Krížek, Zámek s vůní benzínu, 121–131; Zákóvá, První říčy za volantem.
\item In the early days of motoring, cars and motorcycles became a common motif, for example, in the creative work of the Futurists. In the inter-war period, they were also the subject of good literature and, of course, films. Šalanda – Šemberk, České století motorismu I.
\end{enumerate}
of self-expression and an object of desire. Advertising, particularly visual advertising, during the inter-war period aimed to highlight the contemporary associations of cars and motorcycles. Visual advertising archetypes consistently featured several key motifs: the vehicles’ technical prowess, the bodywork’s beauty compared to the female body, and driving as an exploration and symbolic “mastery” of the landscape.

On this basis, the automobile also came relatively quickly into the crosshairs of the social sciences, which already in the inter-war period defined the automobile as a “stereotyped source of mental excitement” or as a “bearer of metropolitan values”, but also took a critical stance towards it, especially in connection with tendencies towards fetishization techniques in everyday life and with consumption itself.

In terms of leisure, it can be said that cars and motorcycles were inextricably linked to it in the early days, as they were primarily used for sport. According to Wolfgang Sachs: “The driver was first and foremost a sportsman, dedicated to technology, and racing made the automobile the theme of the day”. Independent movement through the countryside was an integral component of motor sport, leading to a distinct form of personalised motor tourism. However, questions arise regarding the identity of the drivers, including both racers and leisure motor tourists, during the period under study.

In the American context, the introduction of mass-produced, affordable vehicles like the Ford Model T made motoring a relatively dynamic aspect of daily life for a broad spectrum of people, even prior to the onset of World War I. On the contrary, across the European continent, excluding the United Kingdom and France, there has been a persistent emphasis on exclusivity. The cost of purchasing a car, coupled with high running expenses, and an unfavourable legal system, led to significant socio-economic restrictions that limited ownership to the upper and middle classes, particularly in the case of motorcycles. This trend persisted in Europe until the early 1930s.

From emotions to politicisation: The case of leisure motoring in Slovakia about the activities of the Košice Automobile Club

In the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, motoring and its recreational derivatives were primarily associated with the aristocracy as the economically strongest class. According to Miloš Hořejš and Jiří Křížek, in this context “the usual stereotype of the nobility as a conservative, closed society melts away and the image of a technically progressive layer of investors and patrons who kept up with the latest technological events in the world emerges”. Although this statement cannot be fully generalized, it must be said that the aristocracy played a significant role in the development of motoring in the country and can rightly be regarded as a major driving force in this process. This was also reflected in the relatively dynamic establishment of motoring associations, which brought together car and motorcycle owners and enthusiasts interested in the developing

22 DANT – MARTIN, By Car, 143.
25 JÜNGER, Perfektnost techniky.
26 SACHS, For love of the Automobile, 6
27 SEILER, Republic of Drivers.
28 HOŘEJŠ – KŘÍŽEK, Žámek s vůní benzínu, 11.
motor industry. The establishment and development of their activities copied the general development of motoring, and their portfolio of activities included, among other things, the development of motor sport, closely linked to motor tourism, which was cultivated as a leisure activity. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the first automobile clubs were founded in 1898 (the Austrian Automobile Club in Vienna) and 1900 (the Kyrályi Automobile Club in Budapest).

This trend was relatively flexible on the territory of the Czech lands, where several automobile clubs were founded before the First World War, and most of them lasted until the interwar period in Czechoslovakia. In the case of Slovakia, the cultivation and development of motoring also dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century and is closely linked to the aristocracy, which also used cars for leisure activities in connection with tourism and sport. In this context, noble families such as Andrássy, Zichy Windischgrätz, Csáky, Lónyay, Senney or Wieland can be mentioned.

Motorized tourism and sport in Slovakia only became more dynamic in the 1920s and ’30s. The inter-war period also saw a significant increase in the availability of leisure time in Slovakia, as well as the liberalization of cultural and social life. On this basis, for example, there was a relatively dynamic development of various associations and interest groups that also dealt with motoring. At the same time, however, it should be noted that although the automobile “philosophically” broke through the barriers created by the railways, in the inter-war period in Slovakia it remained stuck in bounds of a mainly economic nature. The prices of cars, their running costs, problematic legislation, and the state of the roads were not very favourable for the development of motoring in Slovakia.

Finally, services for drivers, hotels and restaurants in Slovakia lagged the Czech countries in terms of quantity and quality, which to a large extent limited the more significant development of car tourism.

Leisure use of cars and motorcycles remained a rather “elitist” activity that did not reach mass dimensions throughout the period under review, despite various factors and measures that had a relatively positive impact not only on the statistical increase of

29 It is possible to mention, e.g., the Czech Automobile Club (1904); Nordböhmischer Automobilklub (1905); Nordwestböhmischer Automobil-Club (1906); Mährisch – Schläsischer Automobil-Club (1906); West Bohemian Automobile Club in Pilsen (1908); Automobile Club für Mittelböhmern (1909); Automobilclub zu Gablonz a. N. (1913); Egerländer Automobil-Club (1913) or Nordböhmischer Kraftfahrerbund (1913). TODT, Almanach československého autoprůmyslu, 16; RUDIK, Automobil Klub für Mittelböhmen, 215. HOŘEJŠ – KRÍŽEK, Zámek s vůní benzinu, 133.

30 JANČURA – HROMULÁKOVÁ, Automobilizmus a šľachtica na Slovensku, 53.
31 JANČURA, Osobný automobilizmus na Slovensku; SABOL, Dejiny dopravy na Slovensku; SABOL – ĎURČO – HALLON, Automobilizmus na Slovensku.
32 Regarding services for drivers, see for example: SABOL, Služby motoristom, 141–152; JANČURA, Rozvoj sektoru služeb pro motoristy, 299–314. Regarding hotel and restaurant services in Slovakia, it can be said that the majority of ‘standard’ accommodation facilities in Slovakia, located outside larger cities, were not even connected to basic engineering networks such as electricity, water, or sewerage during the monitoring period, which is mainly true for the areas of eastern Slovakia. In addition, the inspections carried out during the updating of the statistics on hotels and restaurants revealed many other quality deficiencies, either at the level of the technical side of operations or at the level of the formal management of hotels and restaurants. Štátny archív Košice (hereinafter ŠA-KŠ), fund Košická župa 1923–1927 (hereinafter KŽ 1923–1927), box 525, Hotelová štatistika; ŠA-KŠ, fund Okresný úrad Košice 1923–1939 (hereinafter OÚ KE 1923–1939), box 486, Cudzinecký a turistický ruch, obhliadka hostincov; ŠTEMBERK, Fenomén cestovního ruchu, 98–105.
motor vehicles in Slovakia, but also on the overall development of motoring, especially from the second half of the 1920s.  

In addition, leisure automobility was strongly linked to the activities of motoring organizations, thus relativizing the “individuality” associated with it. At the same time, space was opened for its considerable politicization. Individual driving without the auspices of a car club was possible, but subject to various restrictions, which were partially compensated for by the motorist’s membership of the relevant car club. For example, they could obtain the necessary government permits or, for example, member discounts at petrol pumps, service stations or even hotels, if they were contracted by the respective car club.  

At the national level, car tourism was mainly “patronized” by the Automobile Club of the Czechoslovak Republic (AKRČS), which issued documents and permits, as well as yearbooks, car maps and Baedekers. It also provided motorists with information on traffic problems, road conditions, accommodation, and places of interest. The Czechoslovak Tourist Club (KČST) was also part of this trend. It helped motorists to discover the natural beauties of the country by publishing maps, brochures, and guides, but also by marking out tourist routes and adapting forest roads so that they could be reached by car.

Regarding the activities of the AKRČS, it is necessary to mention that, in addition to motor tourism, it also covered motor sports. In Slovakia, motoring organizations began to emerge in the first half of the 1920s, initially reflecting more the “enthusiasm” and shared emotion of owning a car than its practical use. The first automobile club, the Club of Slovak Motorists, was founded in Bratislava at the end of 1920. This was at a time when private motoring was still subject to Government Decree No. 258/1919 Coll., which is to say, to a strict licensing system and a ban on the free sale of petrol, which officially ended in March 1921. This largely supports Tim Dallen’s point above about the socially conditioned meaning of the consumption of things and the notional triumph of their symbolic value over the practical. After the law was partly relaxed, the club started fulfilling its tourist role as well. At the beginning it was only about small club trips in the surroundings of Bratislava and Záhorie, but in a relatively short time it started to organize events across the whole territory of Slovakia with a distinct sport tourism character. The Slovak Motor Club, established in 1924 in Bratislava, played a vital role in the advancement of motoring tourism in 1920s Slovakia. Its Star Tours to the High Tatras in 1930 and 1931 served as a promotional campaign to attract tourists to visit Slovakia as an enticing travel destination.

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33 Since the mid-1920s, cars have also become more affordable in Slovakia. The consolidation of economic conditions and the beginning of the economic boom, which partly increased real incomes and purchasing power, played their part. However, the abolition of the luxury tax, the relaxation of customs policy and the start of rationalised production had a direct impact on the availability of cars, which was reflected in a drop in prices, in some cases by as much as 50%. The emergence of modern forms of business, such as car services or the development of car sales, also played a role. JANČURA, Osobný automobilizmus, 45.

34 SABOL, Počiatky mototuristiky, 132–133; JANČURA, S veselou mysľou do diaľky, 271.

35 ŠTEMBERK, Fenomén cestovního ruchu, 140.

36 ŠTEMBERK, Automobilista v zajetí reality, 86–87.

37 For example, the 930-kilometre Reliability Ride through Slovakia from 15 to 19 August 1923 was the first major event to be organized exclusively under its own flag. According to the magazine Auto-Moto-Zpravodaj: “This first major project of the Slovak Automobile Club can be considered a great success and fulfils its promotional purpose honourably.” [Note: English translation by the author.] Na slovenské soutěži spolehlivosti. In: Auto-Moto-Zpravodaj, 1923, vol. 1, no. 9, pp. 2–3.
destination. The promotion of motor tourism in Slovakia was also undertaken by the League of Czechoslovak Motorists, the second largest motor club with nationwide reach. A notable publication in this regard is the two-part Baedeker “On Moravia, Slovakia and Sub Carpathian Rus”, featured in the Auto-Moto-Zpravodaj magazine. Alongside showcasing the natural beauty and attractions of the land, the series also provided a comprehensive overview of the road conditions, and options for gastronomic and hotel services.

However, some critics argue that the condition of the roads and lower-quality services contributed to the adventurous nature of motor tourism in Slovakia. Towards the end of the 1920s, there was a notable growth in general and motor tourism in Slovakia, particularly in the eastern region. In addition to the High Tatra, areas such as Spiš, Šariš, Gember, Abov and Zemplín gradually became popular with motoring tourists. It is worth noting that Košice, being the largest city in terms of population and economic significance in eastern Slovakia, played a crucial role.

After the political upheavals of 1918–1919, Košice established itself as a vital economic hub and a dynamic and culturally rich city. The liberalization of cultural life led to the emergence of numerous interest groups and organizations in Košice, with a diverse range of objectives, including those related to tourism. Urban transport in Košice has been developing since 1890, with the departure station of the Košice–Bohumín Railway playing a particular role in boosting tourism in the region.

From the late nineteenth century, suburban areas for leisure and relaxation started to become more significant, including the Wood Park of Bankov, the Čermeľ Valley, and Herľany, with its captivating mineral geyser. The proximity to public transportation enabled these areas to be frequently visited by the residents of Košice, primarily on weekends and holidays. These localities offered a diverse selection of dining and lodging options, which extended throughout the city centre.

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38 “The purpose of this racing method is to evaluate both the reliability of the vehicle and the driver’s skill. Additionally, it holds significant importance for the tourism industry. During the journey, the driver requests information about the areas they pass through en route to the destination, which is chosen based on its relevance to tourism and promoting foreign trade.” [Note: English translation by the author.] Národní archiv Praha (hereinafter NA Praha), fund Ministerstvo veřejních prací (hereinafter MVP), box 1031, doložka k spisu č. 14-654/4/61690/1929, Zpráva o proponovaném závodu s cílem ve Vysokých Tatrách.


40 An unnamed Czech motorist, e.g., expressed almost melodramatically about the roads in eastern Slovakia that: “Challenging driving conditions are prevalent on the roads of Slovakia, particularly in the east. Road users drive as they please and there is a degree of lawlessness. Furthermore, there is considerable risk due to the Hungarian law allowing wagons to be driven by loose colts under two years old.” Note on the condition of the road in the vicinity of Trebišov (eastern Slovakia): “As can be seen [from the publication of the photo: author’s note], it is not possible to drive the machine on the road without endangering life.” [Note: English translation by the author.] Poměry na Slovenských silnicích. In: Auto-Moto-Zpravodaj, 1928, vol. 6, no. 47, p. 2. From the latter half of the 1930s, we documented several grievances from motoring tourists regarding the vague depiction of hotel service charges or their unjustifiable sum. ŠA-KE, fund OÚ KE 1923–1939, box 510, Autoklub, stážnosti na hotelové ceny.

41 FICERI, Košice v slovenskej historiografi, 191; HROMULÁKOVÁ, Metodologické východiská Business History, 70–83.

42 See e.g. JARINKOVIČ – KÁRPÁTY – DULOVÍČ, Košice 1918–1938.

43 TATRANSKÝ, Storočie košických električiek 1913–2013.

44 ŠIMKO, Košicko-bohumínska železnica.

45 KUŠNÍROVÁ, Košické dostavenička.
At the start of the twentieth century, cars emerged in Košice, primarily owned by nobility. Count Géza Andrássy, a member of the Betliar family branch, notably supported the advancement of motoring among the nobility in eastern Slovakia during that time. The vehicle that he possessed became the inaugural automobile in Košice. Its ownership was noted in the Kaschauer Zeitung newspaper dated 9 October 1900, specifically in an article titled "Das erste Automobil in Kaschau". It was probably a De-Dion Bouton car. Before the First World War, Košice played an important role in motoring. From 1910, Košice and Bratislava were the only places in the territory of present-day Slovakia where it was possible to register a car. Until then, only Budapest had this competence in the whole of Hungary. The automobile in Košice started slowly, but from the very beginning it was technically reflected in the context of local motor tourism. This is evidenced, for example, by photographs of the Bankov Hotel and the recreational area of the Čermeľ Valley from the beginning of the twentieth century, where roads were relatively flexible to be accessible by car.

However, it was not until the inter-war period that motoring in Košice became more dynamic. On a mass scale, it was stimulated by the gradual growth of bus transport, which was significantly undersized because of the First World War. The development of car sales and services for motorists became an important indicator of individual motoring. Until the mid-1930s, Košice was represented by authorized Tatra, Praga, Škoda, Brno "Z" and Wikov dealerships. One of the larger joint-stock companies specializing in the import of foreign cars was the Automobilia company, which had a representative office in Košice. The servicing of motor vehicles in Košice was carried out either by authorized workshops, as in the case of Škoda, or by various smaller commercial enterprises or large "car repair shops", including, for example, Auto-motor-garage. For the sake of interest, it is worth mentioning that the average price of the services offered, e.g. car washing, ranged from CZK 5 to CZK 20, depending on the size of the car. The monthly fee for parking in a garage ranged from CZK 150 to CZK 400.

In the case of petrol stations, several companies were represented, including Apollo, Bratři Zigmundovi, Naftaspol and Tatranafta. Foreign companies included Vacuum oil, Standard oil, Shell, Vesta, and Anglo-Persian. Among the foreign networks, Vacuum oil had the densest presence in Slovakia. In Košice, the company Juhokarpatská had the most petrol pumps.
The Košice Automobile Club became an important driving force of motor tourism in Košice. It came into being through an organizational link with the older Motoclub, whose activity in Košice is documented as far back as 1925. However, the Motoclub did not have a wider membership base; it only brought together motorcyclists and their activities, but their activities were not generally known in Slovakia. The Autoclub Košice was founded in 1927. From the outset, the membership base demonstrated a dynamic increase. This was caused, on the one hand, by the development of motoring in relatively freer conditions on a national scale during that period, and on the other hand, by the club's large membership of motorcyclists. It was not one of the most prestigious motoring organizations, unlike the Slovak Motorists' Club, and was specifically targeted towards members of the middle class. This highlighted the liberalization and common passion for owning cars and motorcycles. Finally, this development further solidified the united identity of the members under the label "motorists", irrespective of whether they drove cars or motorcycles. The absence of an association formed on ethnic grounds was also a noteworthy factor.

The Vestník autoklubu Košice club magazine has been published since 1933 and is bilingual in Slovak and Hungarian. It follows the Hungarian Magazine Auto és Sport and the Czech Motor-touring, in which it previously published its reports.

However, it is worth noting that in the socio-economic context of the eastern Slovak regions at the time, joining this type of club was indicative of a higher social status among its members. This is supported by the lavish social events held primarily at the Schalkház hotel, one of the most luxurious in Košice.

The auto club’s long-standing chairman was the lawyer JUDr. Jozef Farkas. Other members of the club included builder Hugo Barkány, psychiatrist and sociologist Dr. Jaroslav Stuchlík, and priest Mikuláš Lexmann. Lexmann was the first Czechoslovak pilot-priest and served as the club’s vice-president after its reorganization in 1932. Autoklub Košice was the sole representative of organized motoring in eastern Slovakia in terms of territorial coverage. Furthermore, his undertakings encompassed the areas of Gemerské, Spišské, Šarišské and Zemplínske, in addition to Košice and its environs.

It was swiftly integrated into the national structures of organized motoring tourism and sports. Besides establishing formal relations with Bratislava clubs, the author acquired membership in the Prague Motor-touring club, granting him the privilege
of publishing in the periodical – *Motor-touring*. The practical activities of car clubs, related to sports and motor tourism, commenced exclusively once the legislation was relaxed in 1921. This period, from the perspective of historical phases, can be constrained to 1921–1933 and recognized as the second phase. This period is marked by the individualization of clubs, the promotion of their brands, and their gradual convergence due to the emerging and subsequently culminating economic depression.62

During this period, Autoclub Košice gained attention through various activities. These include providing reliable rides to the High Tatras and back from 1928 to 1930, as well as organizing speed races up the Košice–Košické Oľsany mountain track and races on the flat track in Barca near Košice, which were held since 1931.63 The winter motoring event, known as Motoskijöring,64 was particularly notable. It resonated not only with motorists but also with the non-motorized public. During this period, Autoklub Košice largely followed the patterns set by motoring organizations in the Czech Republic and western Slovakia. However, it also illustrates the significant increase in the popularity of cars and motorcycles for leisure activities, even in the poor regions of the republic. The races up the hill and at the Košice speedway had significant resonance due to the emotions of experiencing speed and adventure. These events were not just for the active club members, but also for the public, making motorsports a popular passive leisure activity.

However, it is important to acknowledge that the development of leisure tourism involves the participation of “non-motorized” tourist associations, including organizations such as a branch of the Club of Czechoslovak Tourists or the predominantly worker-based cycling association Svornost.65

The trend of developing motor tourism in Slovakia persisted in the following period, largely marked by the economic crisis. An important organizational step occurred when Autoclub Košice joined the AKRČS Cartel, which by 1930 had united 32 auto clubs in Czechoslovakia, boasting a membership of 16,099.66 The AKRČS cartel served as a robust platform for cooperation, communication, and mutual relations within the national context. Membership in the Kartel was a significant bonding element for car clubs in Slovakia, whose relations were mostly focused on individual club prestige until

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63 Trips to the High Tatras have become increasingly popular, as demonstrated by the first years of this competition. The Autoklub Košice announced its second automobile and motorcycle reliability competition on 20 June 1929, which took place on 30–31 June 1929. According to a proposal sanctioned by AKRČ’s sports commission and the international organization RIMS (Regulations international des manifestations sportives), the 382-kilometre track was bifurcated into two sections. The initial leg of the journey took us from Košice and comprised stops in Rožňava, Tornaľa, Rimavská Sobota, Tisovec, Poprad before arriving at Tatranská Lomnica. The next part of the journey was from Tatranská Lomnica with stops in Veľká Lomnica, Kežmarok, Spišský Štvrtok, Levoča and Spišské Podhradie, ending in Prešov and finally returning to Košice. The Barca Speedway stands as the initial Slovakian official racing circuit. The renowned Košice Speedway has been an annual occurrence for the Autoklub Košice since 1931, garnering recognition beyond the East Slovakian automobile community. *Autó és sport* journal stated: "This outlines the advancements in Eastern Slovakian motoring, driving ahead despite the unfavourable economic climate." [Note: Translation to English by author.] SZABÓ, *Zabudnuté volanty*, 59. JANČURA, *Počiatky motoristického športu*, 61.
64 Motoskijöring presents a modernized form of the traditional Scandinavian sport where dogs or horses pull skiers. Here, a powerful motorbike substitutes the pulling prowess of animals. First held in February 1929 by Autoklub Košice, this competition garnered a favourable response from the audience. Since then, it has evolved into a routine event, continuing since the 1930s.
65 ŠA-KE, fund Úradné knihy, Evidencia spolkov podľa okresov.
the early 1930s. In the early 1930s, Slovak associations, such as Autoklub Košice, were crucial in the restructuring of the Kartel due to the discontent of non-Prague clubs with the centralizing policies of the Prague management.

The Kartel management oversaw organized motoring events in Czechoslovakia and represented Czechoslovak motorists domestically and internationally. According to Jan Králík, AKRČS was “objectively the strongest and felt called to play the first violin”.

The dissatisfaction of smaller clubs led to the organization of a meeting for non-Prague clubs in Brno in December 1931. Autoklub Košice played a significant role in initiating this meeting. The Auto-Moto-Zpravodaj magazine provided a response:

At the Brno gathering of non-Prague auto clubs, objections regarding the leadership of the auto club cartel became more prominent and significant. Recently, complaints about the mistreatment of drivers and motorcyclists have been so severe that clubs outside of Prague, particularly, cannot stay passive, lest they forfeit their right to persist.

The events were mainly related to sports and tourism and were held under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Automobile Association (ČSAZ), a new organization, created in 1931 and which also included Autoklub Košice.

A notable media event, under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Automobile Association, took place in 1932 – the Reliability Ride in Slovakia, also referred to as the Slovak Eighth. It served as an important catalyst for the strained relations between the clubs during the crisis. From the perspective of promoting motor tourism, the two-stage route spanning 1,015 kilometres was of significance. The course was strategically designed to enable drivers to explore not only the High Tatras but also the lesser-explored natural beauty of Slovakia. This aspect was also highlighted by the Reliability Ride across Czechoslovakia and the 24-hour long-distance ride through Slovakia in 1933.

However, the downside of the establishment of ČSAZ was the strained relationships with AKRČS representatives. The economic crisis had a significant impact on the operation of motorcycle clubs at this time. Primarily evidenced by a decline in membership, clubs were also attempting to respond adequately to state measures aimed at mitigating the crisis’s effects on motoring. The global economic crisis
impacted the nature of motor tourism. Even as a leisure activity, it became significantly economized, politicized and ideologicalized during this period.

Against this background, a more extensive reorganization of Autoclub Košice took place. In 1933, the Autoklub Košice presidency resigned its membership of ČSAZ, resulting in the club’s independence. As reported by the club’s general meeting:

In 1932, our committee made the decision for our club to withdraw from the group of car clubs at that time. We had hoped that this move would secure a brighter future for Czechoslovak and East Slovak motoring. However, we were disappointed to find that these hopes, which were anticipated during the founding of ČAS (ČSAZ, author’s note), did not materialize. As a result, our club was required to leave the organization at the end of 1933. Our organization has achieved independence from both ČAS and AKRČS.

From the late 1930s, prominent members of motoring organizations in western Slovakia began considering creating a central, exclusively Slovak motoring organization to set themselves apart from Czech influence. In the context of the developing political situation, the military and security aspects of utilizing cars and motorcycles had become increasingly significant in the realm of recreational motor tourism.

The Košice car club kept its distance from the event and resumed cooperation with the AKRČS, serving as its “Eastern Slovakian branch” and temporarily assuming control of the territory of Subcarpathian Rus under its organizational management.

On this basis, they participated actively, for instance, in the Small Agreement Competition during the autumn of 1937. This sports and tourism event had a significant politically motivated character at the time.

According to the Prague headquarters, “The AKRČS wants to manifest with this international sports enterprise for the best friendly relations of Small Agreement countries in the field of sports and motoring.”

A total of 160 vehicles, mostly with two-person crews, set off from Prague and travelled through Brno, Bratislava, Košice, Užhorod, Cluj and Bucharest, before reaching their destination in Belgrade. The section of the journey between Bratislava and Košice, the area in Košice, and the stages through Subcarpathian Rus were organized by Autoclub Košice. The event’s political significance is highlighted by the honorary patronage of Edvard Beneš, Carol II and Prince Pavlo.

According to Jan Tuček: “The Autoclub of the Czechoslovak Republic organized the largest motoring event in cooperation with the royal autoclubs of Romania and Yugoslavia. The purpose of the event was to showcase the unity of all three allied states and their armies. The focus of the event was on motoring, including military abilities.”
In western Slovakia, motor tourism was increasingly succumbing to political and ideological pressures despite the allure of events like the 500-km City Race in Bratislava and the Piešťany Golden Ribbon Elegance Competition, which attracted participants from the Czech Republic and abroad.

Centralist tendencies in western Slovakia reached their peak in early 1939 with the establishment of the Slovak Auto Club, which was already under the control of HSĽS (Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party) functionaries.77 A program was established with the purpose of unifying motoring organizations in Slovakia. In addition, after the establishment of the Slovak State, membership became compulsory for all motor vehicle owners, under the possibility of facing sanctions; this ensured complete state control over motoring.78

The available sources on the activities of Autoklub Košice during this period are somewhat limited. However, it can be inferred from the context that leisure motor tourism in Košice was no longer warranted following the Vienna Arbitration. It is highly probable that Autoklub Košice ceased to exist, and the assets and membership of its branches located outside of the arbitration territory were transferred to the Slovak Autoklub.

**Conclusion**

The proliferation of active leisure trends mirrors the dynamism of modern life. Part of this process also involved the presence of tangible items that occupied leisure time or served as a means of its digestion. Cars and motorcycles held a special position, reflecting emotional connotations linked to excitement stemming from speed and independent movement outside of the fixed paths dictated by charts or railway tracks. This trend was not overlooked by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy or the subsequent Czechoslovakia. Additionally, it evolved under the unique economic conditions of Slovakia. Motorized tourism in Czechoslovakia, and particularly in Slovakia, maintained an exclusive status during the monitored period and was primarily organized. This led to the rise of motoring associations because of the liberalization of cultural life and modern collective identities. This, however, also created the opportunity for strong politicization, which was most evident in the latter half of the 1930s. The Autoklub Košice research exemplifies and confirms the frameworks previously outlined. Their actions largely mirrored the trends established by motor organizations in Czech and West Slovakia. Additionally, it reflects the increasing trend towards modern forms of leisure activities, as well as the rise of car and motorcycle utilization in poor regions of the republic. However, as a pre-existing organization within the national framework, it was also susceptible to political and ideological pressures imposed on associations, particularly during the latter half of the 1930s.

77 JANČURA, Osobný automobilizmus, 86.
78 SABOL – ŎURCO – HALLON, Automobilizmus na Slovensku, 121–123.
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According to the prominent sociologist Henri Lefebvre, space is an instrument of power. Every state regime strives to use space for social control through various interventions. While in democratic regimes the use of public space is the result of by majority-accepted interventions, in non-democratic regimes these are power interventions usually based on ideological starting points, not generally accepted by society. On the contrary, interventions into public space are becoming one of the tools for implementing state ideology into the consciousness of society. In their research on public space, German sociologists Walter Siebel and Jan Wehrheim defined its four basic dimensions – legal, functional, social and material-symbolic. Interdisciplinary sociological-historical research of interventions into each of these dimensions seems to be a suitable analytical tool in understanding the relationship between public space and the state regime, the conclusions of which allow a detailed understanding of the nature of individual non-democratic (authoritarian or totalitarian) regimes typical for twentieth-century Europe, as well as transnational ideological connections. In the article we introduce our interdisciplinary socio-historical approach on the example of the authoritarian para-fascist regime of the Slovak state (1939–1945).

Keywords: Public space; Non-democratic regimes; Twentieth century; Research approach.

During the twentieth century, the world experienced significant urbanization, manifested not only in the increase in the number of cities, but also in the redefinition of their meaning for society. While in 1900, around 15 percent of the world’s population lived in cities, with a total of 12 cities with more than one million inhabitants, in 2018 there were 467 cities with more than one million inhabitants and 33 cities surpassed the 10 million population threshold. Globally, more people have lived in cities than in rural areas since 2011.1 In Slovakia, a process of urbanization was taking place over the past century, albeit with less intensity than in most European countries. In the interwar period, the population of Slovakia lived predominantly in the countryside, dominated by villages with a population of 500–1,000 inhabitants. Towns generally had fewer than 10,000 inhabitants. Only the towns of Prešov, Komárno, Trnava, Nové Zámky and Nitra had more than 20,000 inhabitants in 1930. Košice and Bratislava

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1 See: The World’s Cities in 2018.
crossed the 70,000 and 120,000 thresholds respectively. The cities, although in the case of Slovakia mostly smaller in terms of population, were natural centres of socio-political, economic and cultural events, which significantly multiplied their importance.

There is also no doubt that the last century was marked by the struggle of democracy against authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, based on communism or fascism and their ideological and political derivatives. The socio-political development on the territory of Slovakia today was influenced by such regimes during more than five decades of the twentieth century. Due to the support of the aggressive foreign policy of Nazi Germany and as a result of the persistent internal political crisis of Czechoslovak parliamentary democracy, marked, among other things, by a long-standing resignation to a mutually acceptable solution to the position of Slovaks and Czechs in a common state, the Hlinka Slovak People’s Party (HSĽS) seized power in Slovakia in October 1938. This party had its roots in the political Catholicism of the late nineteenth century. In the interwar period, its Christian-Catholic roots and their characteristic social programmatic foundations were gradually complemented, even overwhelmed, by nationalist and anti-Semitic political views, which naturally caused a significant part of the functionaries and members of the People’s Party to sympathize with fascist Italy or Nazi Germany. After the break-up of Czechoslovakia and the declaration of the Slovak State on 14 March 1939, the HSĽS consolidated the established state regime and its power. The representatives of the ruling regime used all available instruments to implement the ideological premises of the new statehood into society, and thus to achieve its real, imagined or forced acceptance by the country’s population. They therefore attempted to control the public and the private life of every individual. After taking power, the authoritarian regime installed by the People’s Party perceived the city as the epicentre of unwanted liberalism, individualism and materialism in worldview terms, yet it could not deny the real significance of cities. Starting immediately after the autumn of 1938, steps were implemented at the central and local level that were to be directed not only towards the seizure and consolidation of power in the sphere of the (self-) administration of the cities, but also towards their overall functional transformation in accordance with the ideological and world-view premises of the regime.

In our research over the past few years, we have been analysing and interpreting various aspects of authoritarianism, including its relationship to public space and the instrumentalization of public space on the example of the para-fascist Slovak state, 1939–1945. Resulting from these efforts was a brief 2021 publication titled Disciplinované mesto (Disciplined City). In the book, we presented our own approach to public-space research based on close links between history and sociology.

Theoretical background

In considering the nature of the regime that ruled Slovakia between 1938 and 1945, Zuzana Tokárová’s work Slovenský štát: Režim medzi teóriou a politickou praxou (The Slovak State: The Regime between Theory and Political Practice, 2016) served as a basic starting point. In it, the author analysed the regime in terms of its characteristics and manifestations. Based on the results of her analysis, she classified the regime in the classical political science typology of Juan J. Linz. According to Tokárová, the People’s Party Regime:

2 FOGELOVÁ – PEKÁR, Disciplinované mesto, 198.
cannot be understood as explicitly totalitarian, although it did exhibit markedly anti-democratic features, even with steadily deepening totalitarian tendencies. In many ways, the regime corresponded to the key characteristics of authoritarianism, whether in terms of limited political pluralism, leading ideology or political mobilization.\(^3\)

In her conclusions, the author drew attention to the fact that the quoted definition of the character of the regime was confirmed, among others, by heterogeneity in the political elite with lesser representation of professional politicians, by imperfect state ideology, and by present but lower political mobilization of the masses as compared to in totalitarian regimes, which is to say, by factors with a significant potential for operating in the public space. Hence, it was evident that for a better understanding of the People’s Party regime it proved significant to examine the urban public space, as it is a place in which the regime is capable of not only passively manifesting itself externally, but also a place that the regime, through various tools, actively used to influence the population, for example, in order to inculcate its ideological assumptions in society. The People’s Party regime did not possess a sophisticated ideology, but it is possible to state that it saw its foundations in three pillars: Christian-Catholic, national and social, all three of which it tried to present externally.

The dynamics of social conflict in the time of the Slovak state’s existence, based on the above-mentioned pillars, had their root at the end of the nineteenth century, when, in the words of the Slovak historian A. Hruboň, the People’s Party’s cultural code was being formed. An image of the enemy began to emerge, which in the conditions of interwar Czechoslovakia was represented by political rivals and opinion opponents of the People’s Party. The events of the late 1930s acted as a catalyst, especially for the younger, more radical generation of party members, and brought about a growing sympathy for fascism among a part of the HSSLS membership, manifested rhetorically and, after the seizure of power, also in actions.\(^4\) The above-mentioned observation is important from the point of view of a comprehensive interpretation of the People’s Party regime and its classification not only within the typology of undemocratic regimes, as Tokárová presented, but also in the analysis of its relation to fascism. In this respect, it is now clear that the regime’s interventions were neither accidental, nor forced, nor exclusively based on an outside model.

A possible premise for pondering how the People’s Party regime manifested itself externally in public space and how these manifestations can be interpreted, or what they reveal about the character of the regime, is the understanding of space in the theory of the French thinker Henri Lefebvre.\(^5\) Building on Marxist philosophy, Lefebvre characterized, very simplistically summarized, (urban) space as a social product that primarily reflects social relations, and which is constituted not only by physical but also by imaginary social boundaries. As Ceri Watkins writes:

\(^3\) TOKÁROVÁ, Slovenský štát, 236.

\(^4\) In detail: HRUBOŇ, Prečo slovenská historiografia a spoločnosť.

\(^5\) Lefebvre stands as a good choice for this paper because, besides his complexity and obvious content consonance, he was also a thinker who already reflected the contemporary reality of the 1940s. Moreover, he was a neo-Marxist, so he worked with the same premises of thought that the non-democratic regimes of the twentieth century operated with – in a negative or positive meaning.
The epistemological foundation of Lefebvre’s theory is his positing of a spatial triad, which utilises three considerations of space, in order to make lucid the complexities of everyday life. He suggests that space is fundamental to our lived experience of the world, and that every experience is comprised of three interrelated aspects of space: representations of space (conceived space), spatial practices (perceived space), and spaces of representation (lived space).

According to Lefebvre, space is an instrument of power. It is the site of conflict between creators and users, resulting in the state’s or ruling regime’s attempt to use space for social control through centrally adopted and hierarchically applied power measures.

Lefebvre’s works are strongly theoretical and extremely complex in scope. For practical historical research and a better grasp of a more narrowly defined topic in the form of the interventions of the People’s Party regime in the public space in the three selected cities, it is therefore necessary to reach for a more effective means, that is, one of the theoretical bases, or analytical tools at a meso-level, reflecting broader political theories in relation to the regime, and broader sociological theories in relation to space.

**Public space and its dimensions**

Nowadays, public space is perceived on two basic levels – physical and socio-cultural – and in their mutual interaction. There are many definitions of public space. Most of them have a common overlap in that they perceive public space as multidimensional, normative and reflective of the relationship between the private and public spheres. Roughly simplified, a public space is one to which people normally have free access, is generally regulated by a public institution in accordance with valid norms accepted by the majority, and has a non-private character, such that people who do not know each other meet there.

The main specific instrument of our research was the analysis of four dimensions of public space. They were formulated by sociologists Walter Siebel and Jan Wehrheim. They sought the essence of urban public space in the dichotomy between the private and public spheres, and therefore focused their interest on the research of specific features – dimensions characterizing urban public space in contrast to the private sphere. Although the way of life in the city (urbanity) and the public space itself were investigated in a context different from the topic of this paper, the universality of the defined dimensions and their compatibility with the aforementioned premises make them a suitable analytical tool for finding answers to questions about the instrumentalization and intervention of the People’s Party regime into the public space.

Siebel and Wehrheim divide the specificity of public versus private space into the following four dimensions (specific features):

1. Legal dimension – public space is governed by public law, which also defines the power to determine who can use public space and for what purposes.
2. Functional dimension – the public space of the city is, in terms of its function, intended to be a place for the implementation of commerce and the exercise of

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politics (as opposed to the private sphere, which is dominated by, for example, the production, education or leisure function).

3. Social dimension – public space is a “scene” (as opposed to “backstage”), a place of stylized, reserved behaviour and anonymity.

4. Material-symbolic dimension – public space is also defined by a number of architectural and urban elements that signal its accessibility or exclusivity. Through their appearance, materials and symbols, they emphasize or clarify the legal, functional and social distinction of public space from the private sphere. Siebel and Wehrheim add that the relationship between urban public space and the private sphere is not static, but continuously evolving, which is also reflected in the changes of the four dimensions, or their meaning, their relative proportion or the blurring of the boundaries between them. Changes in this relationship are linked to legislative interventions, which are, of course, most pronounced during regime changes. Moreover, the non-democratic regime, in its inherent desire to control both society and the individual comprehensively, attempts to eliminate the boundaries between the public and private spheres in a targeted manner, which is served by interventions in both the private sphere and the various dimensions of public space.

a) The legal dimension of public space

In examining the interventions of the People’s Party regime into the most dominant legal dimension of public space, our attention has been focused on: 1. what steps – at the central or local municipal level – were taken by regime representatives to secure their legal authority to regulate both access to and use of public space, and 2. how this authority was exercised. In this context, legal and historical analysis of contemporary legislation and its changes from the point of view of its form as well as content is not sufficient. Research has also focused on the actors of the changes under scrutiny. In the legal and historical analysis, and interpretation of regulations, the fact applies that today’s conception of public space and civil rights was formed only after the Second World War, so the regulations from the turn of the 1930s and 1940s cannot meet the qualitative and content parameters that are considered the standard today, whether in the sphere of public space or civil rights. The starting point for the research on actors, mainly studied at the local urban level, was the theory of elites. A more detailed characterization of it, based on the classical works of Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto and Robert Michels, can be found in a recently published study of one of us:

Under the narrower label of urban political elite we understand a relatively small cohesive social group whose members share common values and interests. In the hands of its members, political authority is concentrated, enabling them to influence the course and future direction of local socio-political development following their own interests. Members of the urban political elite hold the highest positions in the municipal government. They have executive or regulatory competences within their political space and therefore actively

8 SIEBEL – WEHRHEIM, Öffentlichkeit und Privatheit, 4.
9 SIEBEL – WEHRHEIM, Öffentlichkeit und Privatheit, 4–5.
10 Public space policies are, of course, common in all regimes. In non-democratic regimes, however, they do not conform to the will or opinion of the majority. As such, they are not the product of social consensus, but the expedient actions of the ruling regime.
participate in or are very close to political decision-making on major issues of social development (not only political, but also economic, cultural, etc.). They monopolise their position. Opposite to the urban political elite stands a large mass of politically passive people – the inhabitants of the city, who are more or less eliminated from the decision-making process, and are directed and controlled by the elite.  

**b) The functional dimension of public space**

In terms of the analysis and interpretation of the People’s Party regime interventions in the functional dimension of public space, the aforementioned interest of non-democratic regimes to control the life of society and individuals comprehensively – i.e. not only to enforce the state ideology and the “correct” worldview in the public sphere, but also to penetrate and control the private sphere – comes to the fore. Siebel and Wehrheim cite as one of the characteristics of the public sphere that it is a site for the implementation of politics. By exploiting interventions in the functional dimension, the People’s Party regime attempted to shift the boundary between the public and the private so as to implant politics in various ways in places where it had not belonged before. A typical instrument of intervention in the functional dimension was, following the example of Nazi Germany, the process of subordinating the entire life of society to a single political line, which took place in Slovakia under the leadership of the HSĽS, although not as consistently as in the Third Reich itself. Following the regime’s interventions, schools, cultural institutions, associations, religious life etc., became places where politics and the political mobilization of the citizens were exercised. For example, the schools, in accordance with the state ideology, were imprinted with a national and Christian character (they came under the influence of the church, coeducation was abolished, a revision of textbooks was carried out etc.), and manifested in them were anti-Jewish policy (exclusion of Jews from higher education) and subordination to Germany (compulsory German language). Another instrument was the promotion of social housing, through which, during the existence of the People’s Party regime, the politics reached households directly. In political discourse, in contrast to during the interwar period, family policies defended from the point of view of nationalism and anti-Semitism, often articulated along Nazi arguments, prevailed over the general socio-political and pro-population aspects of social housing support.

**c) The social dimension of public space**

Also, when examining the social dimension of public space, it was appropriate to consider some specific theoretical starting points that would allow for a better understanding and explanation of the meaning and consequences of the regime’s interventions in it. The characteristics of the social dimension are based on the idea that social behaviour is to some extent a “performance” and that different social relations can be considered as “roles”. This idea emerged more prominently in sociology in the 1940s and developed in the 1970s into the form of performance studies, which now allow for the analysis and interpretation of all aspects of human behaviour, including, for example, performance in everyday life or political rituals in public space, tracing not only the “performance” itself but also its relation to the social,

11 PEKÁR, Replacement of Municipal Political Elite, 94–96.
political and cultural context. As Philip Auslander pointed out, performance studies were strongly influenced by Lefebvre’s works on everyday life. In relation to urban public space, if people’s behaviour in it is the playing of a “role”, then the public space itself is a site of “theatrical performance”, a place where “actors and spectators” meet, intentionally or accidentally, a place through which they experience social reality and ascribe meanings to it.

Powerful social actors understand either intuitively or practically the relevance of this dimension of public space and operate on it. They become, again in the terminology of theatre, the “scriptwriters” and “directors” of a performance taking place in public space. This was no different during the existence of the People’s Party regime, which constantly tried to cultivate the impression of its own legitimacy and mass support through staged political mobilization during various ritualized celebrations of holidays, commemorations of anniversaries etc. However, these legitimizing and mobilizing actions were ultimately not equally accessible to all, as the regime clearly defined excluded groups of the population. Inextricably linked to the streets and squares of towns and cities in Slovakia during the existence of the People’s Party regime is the tragedy of Slovak Jews. They were first excluded from them, then concentrated there before deportations and, finally, moved through them to the death transports. The above scenes have been preserved mostly in the form of sad memories of Holocaust victims. In times of ongoing war, especially during the passage of the battlefront, the streets became a battlefield.

The correlation between the social dimension of public space and non-democratic regimes is confirmed by recent comparative research on two key totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century. Among the consequences of power interventions in social structures constructed, inter alia, through the social dimension of public space is the identification of an individual with the state project, which is accompanied precisely by the weakening, devaluation and even destruction of existing social relations. This represents an interest, an objective and a typical feature of undemocratic regimes.

\[ \text{d) The material-symbolic dimension of public space} \]

The material-symbolic dimension of public space consists of an extremely varied range of signs that are directly – in their material form or in their conveyed meaning – an instrument of communication. Non-democratic regimes use interventions in this dimension, especially in architecture and urban planning, to redefine the meaning of public space in order to implement their own ideological premises in society and, specifically in the conditions of the non-democratic regimes of the first half of the twentieth century, to fascinate the population with ideas of a great (national) past and a bright future. They are trying to demonstrate their own strength alongside this. Massive interventions in the material-symbolic dimension in the analysed period generally followed immediately after the rise of a regime, supported by funds allocated

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12 JOVIČEVIĆ – VUJANOVIĆ, Úvod do performatívnych štúdií, 9.
13 These are in particular the three-volume work Critique de la vie quotidienne I – III (Paris: L’Arche, 1947, 1961 and 1981). Everyday life was defined by Lefebvre, in simplified terms, as the intersection of illusion and truth, power and powerlessness. See: AUSLANDER, Theory for Performance Studies, 123–127.
14 BOYER, The City of Collective Memory, 74. Meanings and roles are predetermined, among other things, by the arrangement of public space (i.e. its material-symbolic dimension – see below).
15 In detail: FITZPATRICK – LÜDTKE, Energizing the Everyday, 266–301.
through state interventionism and central planning, and were popularly interpreted as a tool for economic growth.\textsuperscript{16} The American art historian Barbara Miller Lane has formulated three basic sources from which Nazi interventions in architecture and urban planning stemmed, and which were also present, usually to a lesser degree, in other non-democratic regimes, including the People’s Party regime. These are: 1. ideological motivation, 2. political propaganda, and 3. actual construction activities.\textsuperscript{17} However, when considering the material-symbolic dimension of public space, especially its architectural and urbanistic features, it is essential to understand the socio-political context of the interventions in them, because only in such a complexity can the communicated ideological content be understood and interpreted.\textsuperscript{18} Therefore, the object of interest in the analysis of the interventions of the People’s Party regime will be not only architectural projects or urban plans, but also ideologically and propagandistically motivated interventions in the form of the renaming of streets, demolishing or unveiling of monuments etc., by which the People’s Party regime aimed at shaping historical memory and cultivating collective identity according to its own merits. Following the Italian model, the propaganda-motivated interventions also included sanitary measures, the improvement of transport infrastructure and the aestheticization of cities, presented to the public as a manifestation of the regime’s building power.

When contemplating the material-symbolic dimension, there is an important intersection with the approaches of urban semiotics, which, according to Svend Erik Larsen, examines both the signs produced in the city and the specific processes that create the cultural profile of the city. These processes include three sign systems: 1. the built environment, 2. patterns of social interaction, and 3. means of communication. There are two methodological approaches as to their research. The first is the structural analysis of sign systems, which leads to the description of the signs present in the city at a specific time and then to the comparison of different places or time periods. The second approach is a phenomenological analysis, emphasizing the subject’s perception of signs.\textsuperscript{19} All the aforementioned starting points and approaches of urban semiotics have been, to a greater or lesser extent, instrumental in the analyses in our book, because, to paraphrase Umberto Eco’s ideas, seeing the material (architectural) signs of a public space from a semiotic perspective helps in better understanding or even revealing its new functions, and therefore cannot be bypassed.\textsuperscript{20}

\textbf{Interaction}

The People’s Party regime, as already mentioned, by its worldview and ideological nature operated with the concept of nation. From the nineteenth century onwards, the nation represented one of the most important collectivities with which the existence of a collective (national) identity was associated. Part of the collective identity is always a link to the past. The current state of knowledge about the relationship between

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} HAGEN – OSTERGREN, Building Nazi Germany, 4–5.
\item \textsuperscript{17} HAGEN – OSTERGREN, Building Nazi Germany, 6. For details see: MILLER LANE, Architektur und Politik in Deutschland 1918–1945, 142 ff. The original English edition was published in the USA in 1968.
\item \textsuperscript{18} On this, see in detail the inspiring chapter “The Nature of Communicative Space” in VESELY, Architecture in the age of divided representation.
\item \textsuperscript{19} BOUISSAC, Encyclopedia of Semiotics, 624–625.
\item \textsuperscript{20} ECO, Function and Sign, 57.
\end{itemize}
collective memory and national identity has been summarized by Kubišová. The author’s overview study shows a number of important postulates that must be kept in mind when considering the nature and motivation of the regime’s interventions in the public space. It is true of collective memory that it is not unchanging. Its three forms – communicative, cultural and political memory – can be actively shaped. This was done by the People’s Party regime, among others, through individual official “remembering” of regime representatives (e.g. Hlinka) at the level of communicative memory; through symbolic codifications in the form of traditions, rituals (e.g. greeting with bread and salt, the use of costumes) at the level of cultural memory; and also through commemorative festivals, mobilizing national narratives, monuments etc. at the level of political memory. As Kubišová points out, these three types of memory are part of the collective identity, in the examined case the national identity, which they create. National identity is based on cultural sources, their interpretation and updating. Cultural sources include, for example, myths of ancestry and origin, sacred homeland, mission, destiny and sacrifice. As we will show on various examples, such myths were a fixed part of everyday political reality or interventions in public space in Slovakia after the rise of the People’s Party regime in the autumn of 1938.

Conclusion
Through the search for intersections between sociology and history and through the application to one specific case, we have attempted to define a new socio-historical approach to the study of public space under the conditions of a non-democratic regime. The basis of our approach is the identification, analysis and interpretation of power interventions in four different dimensions of public space. At the same time, our approach can be very productively combined with other approaches or concepts, as we have briefly shown in the example of collective identity. We are convinced that the use of this approach can not only capture the dynamics of changes at the physical and socio-cultural levels of public space, but also provide a deeper understanding of the nature of the non-democratic regime under study.

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21 In detail: KUBIŠOVÁ, Kolektivní paměť a národní identita, 82–111.


Before the establishment of Czechoslovakia, a small community of Greek Catholics lived in Prague. Mostly they were soldiers, but after the First World War, Greek Catholic believers from the east of the republic began to move to the new metropolis and their numbers grew both in the city and in the Czech lands. Belonging to a religious denomination motivated them to associate and form a Greek Catholic parish as an official branch of the church. The small community added to the colourful mosaic of the religious and cultural life of the town. This study examines the efforts to formalize the parish and presents the involvement of local church members in religious, cultural and charitable areas. The positive development taking place between 1918 and 1938 was disrupted by political changes in the Central European area. The consequences of the rise of Nazism and Communism, which marked the lives of both priests and individual believers, are illustrated through the example of a small community. Their fates are intertwined with those of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Greek Catholic Church.

Keywords: Prague; Greek Catholic Church; Prešov eparchy; The Roman Catholic Archbishopric of Prague; Nazism; Communism.

Before the First World War, the capital of the Czechoslovak Republic was a classic provincial Central European city with a predominantly Czech population. A significant minority consisted of Germans and Jews who belonged to the most prosperous citizens of Prague. After the creation of Czechoslovakia, the initial euphoria was replaced by the reality of the post-war crisis, multiplied by the pandemic of the so-called Spanish flu. There was a lack of food and high prices and interest; unemployment, poverty and a lack of housing; and backward infrastructure – and these were just some of the many problems of the new metropolis. Their gradual solution and the systematic building of a new Prague identity as the centre of Czechoslovakia and the heart of Europe also led to an increase in the population from 676,657 people in 1921 to around one million in 1938.¹

Before the creation of Czechoslovakia, a small community of Greek Catholics lived in Prague. They were mainly soldiers, but after the First World War, Greek Catholic believers from the east of the republic began to move to the new metropolis, and their number grew in the territory of the city as well as in the Czech lands more broadly. They mainly numbered workers and unpropertied peasants, coming to Prague in search

¹ SOUKUPOVÁ, Transformace identit, 93–98.
of work and livelihoods, but also included civil servants, university students, the already-mentioned soldiers, apprentices of various trades, domestic helpers and sick people spread out across various hospitals in the city. Their total number in the city itself had increased to 1,206 persons by 1921. They formed a marginal minority in the capital, but the support of the Roman Catholic Church (395,119 persons) opened up space for them to associate and build an active community.\(^2\) The Church of St John of Nepomuk at Skalka became a place of meeting and religious life for them. Believers of Ukrainian nationality mostly came here. Military chaplain Michal Kuškievič performed the religious services. The Holy See established a mission for emigrants from Russia in Prague with the vision of contributing to the unification of the Orthodox and Catholic churches. The priests Gleb Verchovskii, then Trofim Semjacci and finally Teodor Strotmann worked in the service of the mission. Their services were mainly used by Ruthenian Greek Catholics\(^3\) from the territory of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia. In 1923, the Prague Archbishopric gave them the Church of St Cross at Na Příkopě. Both places were officially administered by the Roman Catholic Church, and according to further developments, the two communities connected the Greek Catholics. Since they were not official parishes, register records had to be kept in the registers of existing Roman Catholic parishes. Baptisms of Ukrainian Greek Catholics from the Church of St Ján Nepomuk were registered in the register of the parish office at the Holy Trinity in Prague – Podskalí, and baptisms from the church of St Cross in the register of the parish office near St Jiříček in Prague II.\(^4\)

The Greek Catholics formed a small community of two different traditions. The Ukrainian one was based on the Brest-Litovsk Union (1596) and belonging to the Ukrainian nationality played a key role in it. On the other hand, the second group consisted of ethnically mixed Greek Catholics, whose origin was based on the Union of Uzhgorod (1646). Ukrainians had been more present in the city for a longer time, and the community of Greek Catholics from the territory of the Prešov and Mukachevo eparchy began actively only after the situation in Czechoslovakia had stabilized and then the community became dominant. The fact that the two communities later merged into one did not mean that their different characteristics disappeared. They persisted, but nevertheless sought to establish an official parish with the right to keep registers and own a church, living quarters and an office for a priest. They were significantly helped by the Apostolate of St Cyril and Methodius represented by Prof. František Pěchuška. The need for and importance of establishing a parish grew with the increasing number of believers in Prague and in the Czech lands. In 1921, 9,264 people joined the Greek Catholic Church in this area, and in 1930, their number rose to 12,149 believers.\(^5\) The low social status of Greek Catholics created a potential threat of their leaning towards the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the loss of Greek Catholic identity. This was one of the most serious motives for the bishops and the intellectual elite of the Greek Catholic Church trying to establish a parish. At the same time, the Apostolate of St Cyril and Methodius financially supported Greek Catholics thanks to voluntary

\(^2\) Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921, 86.
\(^3\) Rutheni – the term encompassing Greek Catholics of various nationalities (Ruthenians, Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles) from the territory of former Hungary.
\(^4\) Národní archív (hereinafter NA) Praha, fund Arcibiskupství Pražské IV Řeckokatolický Praha, Brno.
\(^5\) Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 15. února 1921, 84; Sčítání lidu v republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930, 51.
donors and covered the costs of operating the church and the living of the priest until the official establishment of the parish in 1933.\textsuperscript{6}

The initiative to establish a Greek Catholic parish came from Greek Catholics in Prague and was directly supported by both Greek Catholic eparchies in Czechoslovakia as well as the Prague Archbishopric. Official requests were sent out in 1926. In March, Prešov administrator Dionýz Njarady submitted a request for the systematization of the parish in Prague to the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment in Prague. At the same time, the Archbishop of Prague submitted to the Holy See application no. 2355/8, III/1926 for the establishment of a Greek Catholic parish for Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia in Prague. Jurisdictionally, it should have belonged to the Bishopric of Prešov, as the nearest Greek Catholic bishopric in Czechoslovakia. The Congregation for the Eastern Churches agreed to this solution on 26 April 1926\textsuperscript{7}.

However, the parish was not officially established due to problems with the Church of St Cross. The solution was found a few years later, thanks to the decision of the Archbishop of Prague, František Kordáč, who on 12 February 1931 donated the Church of St Kliment on Karlová Street for use in perpetuity. In its vicinity, through further negotiations, it was possible to obtain from the administration of state buildings premises for the accommodation of a priest and the parish office in Klementín. After that, nothing stood in the way of a parish for Greek Catholics being established in Prague. The Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment decided on 16 December 1933 under number 146.315/33-6/1 to systematize the Greek Catholic parish in Prague. Based on this official act, all Greek Catholics in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia belonged to the Prague Greek Catholic parish not only before the Church, but also before the state. The parish received the right to keep registers in September 1934. Simultaneously, the ministry issued state approval to change the boundaries of the Prešov eparchy and extend it to the territory subject to the parish in Prague. This meant that in addition to most of the territory of Slovakia, Greek Catholics in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia also came under the administration of the Eparchy of Prešov.\textsuperscript{8} The jurisdiction of the Eparchy of Prešov over this territory was officially confirmed by the Congregation for Eastern Churches and the parish was entrusted to the care of Bishop Pavel Gojdič. From September 1934, the Prague parish received the right to keep registers, which were valid even before the state. The first pastor of the newly created parish was Vasiľ Hopko, active in Prague since 1929; he was ceremonially inaugurated by Ján Kokinčák, Gojdič’s delegated director of the bishop’s office.\textsuperscript{9}

**Religious and cultural life of the parish before 1938**

The mission for Greek Catholics at both the churches of St John of Nepomuk and St Cross was later narrowed down to only one place in the Church of St Cross. However, its mentality and traditions were alien to the majority representation of believers from eastern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia. For this reason, they asked to send “their priest”. Bishop Dionýz Njarady sent Emil Mydlík from Košice to Prague in 1926. Njarady entrusted him with continuing the organization of the Prague parish, but Mydlík had to

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\textsuperscript{6} Archív Gréckokatolíckeho arcibiskupstva Prešov (hereinafter AGAP), fund Bežná agenda (hereinafter BA), 1928, sign. 2000.

\textsuperscript{7} AGAP, fund Prezidiálne spisy (hereinafter PS), 1931, sign. 13.

\textsuperscript{8} AGAP, fund BA, 1939, sign. 1226; NA Praha, fund Arcibiskupství Pražské IV Řeckokatolíci Praha, Brno.

\textsuperscript{9} BORZA, Blahoslavený Vasiľ Hopko, 41–42.
struggle with unforeseen problems and trials right from the beginning. He persisted in the pastoral work until 1929, when he was succeeded by the new priest, Vasiľ Hopko, who finally achieved the establishment of the parish.\(^{10}\)

The spiritual and cultural life of the officially created parish developed on several levels. In addition to liturgical life in the temple of St Kliment, under the leadership of Hopko, associations whose activities focused on specific groups of the population successfully participated in the life of the parish. Hopko’s approach to the faithful was innovative in several respects. This was probably due to the fact that he started his doctoral studies at the Faculty of Theology of Charles University. He especially dealt with moral and pastoral theology. During his studies, he became friends with his pastoral theology teacher Jozef Beran, later Archbishop of Prague. Jozef Beran used to come to the Greek Catholic parish for cultural events and religious services led by Hopko.\(^{11}\)

He founded the Association of Greek Catholic Youth so that young people would not lose themselves morally and nationally. He reported on the work of the association to Bishop Gojdič on 24 December 1934 as follows:

> What is our success so far? Although not great, but always such that it is a religious success. If possible, they participate in the Divine Liturgy. After all, it is difficult for many, because the masters do not allow them. More often, they come to evening prayers. When there were no youth, there was no one at the Sunday evening prayers, but now there are always up to 20–30 young people. At least around the Pascha holidays, the boys, living in terrible atheistic conditions, go to confession. Every Sunday they gather to listen to religious lessons from the undersigned priest (the current chairman). They minister in the church, and the priest always has a young force at hand, which he can use, here when carrying flags in the procession, there as assistant organizers at soirées. True, more religious spirit is needed, but in today’s conditions this is difficult to achieve. On the other hand, it is also good that they hear God’s word and that it remains in them somehow.\(^{12}\)

He founded the Greek Catholic Youth Association in 1933 as part of the Catholic Youth Association, but entrusted its leadership to Štefan Rosoch. In 1934, it was personally led by Hopko, then from 1936 Ivan Bilák became the chairman, followed by Michal Varičin, and then Andrej Novák from 1938 until the ban on activity in 1940. The formal restoration took place after the end of the Second World War in 1946, but in reality the association did not operate due to a lack of members in the parish, until it was finally abolished by the communist regime in 1950.\(^{13}\)

When observing the activities and organizing the association, Gojdič was interested in the involvement of lay people who could participate to a significant extent in the life of the parish. The association uniting the youth organized joint nature walks, rehearsals for theatre performances (2–3 theatre performances per year) and Christian dance entertainment, as well as lectures on law, medicine and the like, which were

\(^{10}\) Zastavenie nad históriou, 2–3; POTAŠ, Dar lásky, 103.

\(^{11}\) AGAP, fund PS, 1947, sign. 32.

\(^{12}\) AGAP, fund BA, 1934, sign. 5149.

\(^{13}\) Archív hlavního města (hereinafter AHM) Praha, fund MHMP II. – Spolkový kataster, sign. SK XXII/2062.
prepared by students in the respective fields. When it was founded, Hopko had in mind the spiritual well-being of young Greek Catholics and wanted to prevent their mass leaning towards communist organizations, which were trying to use the economic crisis to win over poor youth to their side.\textsuperscript{14}

The oldest association operating in the territory of the parish was the Association of St Basil the Great to support the establishment and maintenance of the Greek Catholic parish in Prague, which was established in 1930 with Vasil’ Hopko becoming its chairman. Members of the committee, who were prominent Greek Catholics living in Prague, participated in the management of the association. In addition to Hopko, the committee consisted of the architect Petr Fleňko, Vasil’ Bora, MUC. Štefan Antalovský, Dr Ivan Párkányi, Dr Jaroslav Bojčuk, Ivan Holub, Pavel Koflanovič, Štefan Stankaninec, Štefan Roman and Ing. Roman Karatnický. They wanted to achieve the creation of the parish with the help of conversations with state and church authorities, member contributions, donations and state support. The statute of the company was confirmed by Bishop Gojdič on 24 April 1930 in Prešov and on 12 August 1930 by the Land Office in Prague.\textsuperscript{15}

The activity of the association was mainly focused on achieving the establishment of a parish, but the members of the association helped in organizing various charitable events aimed at poor Greek Catholics, both during the tenures of Hopko and his successor Ján Čisárik, until the breakup of Czechoslovakia, when the activities of the associations were terminated in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.\textsuperscript{16}

In the 1930s, Prague became a place where residents of the eastern part of Czechoslovakia stayed only temporarily on their way to work abroad. To support these emigrants, the Society of St Rafael was established, whose spiritual father was Hopko. Members of the association helped emigrants to arrange visas and other necessary things for their travels. The emigrants mostly went to Argentina, Canada and the USA for work, and some members of the association accompanied them to the destination of their journey, where they served as interpreters. In this way, new parishes were also created far from the native region. Hopko went to the emigration station in Libni every Saturday and administered the sacraments to them. Since Hungarians, Slovaks and Ruthenians were among the emigrants, he preached alternately in all three languages. Through the Society of St Rafael, he maintained contacts with believers even after their resettlement abroad.\textsuperscript{17} As part of the association, he visited Czech and Slovak emigrants in France (Bordeaux) and had missions for Czechs in Volhynia (Luck, Dubno, Rovno, Zdolbunow, Sienskewiczewka, etc.) and also for Czechs and Slovaks in Yugoslavia.\textsuperscript{18}

He showed his charitable feelings by organizing charity evenings and lunches for the poor. Every year on 6 January, he prepared a Christmas dinner for approximately one hundred poor Greek Catholics of Ruthenian and Slovak nationality. At Easter, he organized a lunch for a similar number of poor people. Initially, Bishop Gojdič helped finance these activities, but later Hopko also applied for the support of state authorities.\textsuperscript{19} When the Ministry of Social Welfare secured premises for beggars, he

\textsuperscript{14} AGAP, fund BA, 1934, sign. 5149.
\textsuperscript{15} AHM Praha, fund MHMP II. – Spolkový kataster, sign. I/90.
\textsuperscript{17} Preosviaščenyj Vladyka, 7.
\textsuperscript{18} AGAP, without sign., Vlastný životopis napisaný biskupom Hopkom O3. 4. 1945.
\textsuperscript{19} NA Praha, fund PP 1931–1940, box 783, sign. 42/H-55/5.
arranged access to them so that they could fulfill their Christian obligations. Thanks to his benevolence, many homeless people received free tickets for lunch and overnight stays. He helped a large number of the poor to find work in the city, and thus a livelihood. He also carefully attended to the spiritual needs of the faithful, whom he visited personally as needed and thus built mutual relations towards the faithful as well as between them, thus succeeding in creating a functioning parish community.20

In 1938, the Prague parish priest Ján Čísárik, also the chairman of the Association of St Basil the Great, in a request for financial assistance from the mayor of Prague, stated that in previous years, through financial donations, the parish had been able to organize a generous Christmas dinner for the poorest parishioners and distribute gifts to over three hundred people. This involved warm clothes and shoes. On a similar scale, the association organized an Easter lunch.21

Echoes of Hopko’s work in Prague were also heard in Slovakia in the report of a police agent from Prague, who described the activities of the first parish priest:

He was known here as a great benefactor and in his generosity gave small sums of money to everyone who came to him for some kind of support. So it happened that he had many such beggar believers and gave them a lot of his salary, so that his mother, who takes a pension from her husband, also a Greek Catholic priest, sometimes had to support him from her own money. He enjoyed a very good reputation here, and nothing is known about any of his public political activities, nor was it found that he worked for the independence of Subcarpathian Rus and the territory of eastern Slovakia, namely that he promoted efforts in the local association of Greek Catholic youth.22

Hopko excelled in charity work and devoted himself to the youth, in whom the communists were intensely interested. He sought their national awareness, but not chauvinism, which he was an enemy of. It was precisely because of Ukrainian nationalism that in 1934 he asked for a chaplain of Ukrainian nationality and at the same time offered his position, if it would be for the benefit of the faithful.23 On this topic, he had previously published an article named “The Faith and Nationality” in the magazine Dušpastýr, where he described chauvinism and nationalism as the main enemies of Christian love and mutual understanding between Greek Catholics.24

The crisis in 1938 and the Greek Catholics in the protectorate

In 1936, Ján Čísárik became Vasiľ Hopko’s successor. Before being appointed to Prague, he worked in the village of Jarabina in eastern Slovakia. Acceptance of the decree meant that he and his family fundamentally changed their way of life. Farming and animal husbandry was also a source of security for the priest and his family in the village parish. Therefore, before leaving for Prague, he had to sell off livestock, crops and agricultural tools, thereby giving up the farm he had worked hard to build. It was certainly not easy, and the autumn crisis in Czechoslovakia hit Čísárik and his family
all the more seriously when, after two years of working in Prague, he had to deal with new conditions in the society.25

After his arrival in Prague, he continued the activities of his predecessor and supported associational and charitable activities. From 1937, he also had Chaplain Juraj Böör at his disposal. The situation changed in the fall of 1938, when the chaplain left Prague for Uzhgorod in Hungary on 12 November, shortly after the Vienna Arbitration.26 Čisárik remained alone in the parish and saw the solution in the eventual arrival of the Czech Redemptorist, Greek Catholic František Nekula from Michalovce. However, the provincial of the Redemptorists did not agree with this. From November to Christmas, the beneficent Dominican Mikuláš Lexman was in the parish, but he too had to leave Prague and went to Hungary. In the course of the following months, many Greek Catholic believers from the territory of ceded Hungary had to leave Prague, and their number multiplied in March 1939. The personnel issue of the auxiliary priest remained unresolved, and in 1939, the parish priest of Prague, who was domiciled in Slovakia, found himself in a difficult situation. On 20 March, he informed the Bishop of Prešov about his position and the state of the parish. According to him, due to the breakup of the republic and the creation of the Slovak state, as well as the loss of Subcarpathian Rus, the view of the Czechs on the Greek Catholics changed. Ukrainian Greek Catholics, despite the difficult situation, still did not accept Čisárik as their clergyman. At the same time, in Prague, he perceived hatred towards everything that came from Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus. He served the Sunday service in an empty church. In view of that, he was worried about the existence of the parish and about his future. One of his requests to the bishop was that, after returning to Slovakia, he could join a parish in the city, since he had left the difficultly built agricultural background in Jarabina.27

The situation of the Prague parish worsened day by day. On 24 March, Čisárik wrote from Prague about the departure of other compatriots and young people and also about the difficult state of two grammar schools, namely the Ukrainian Grammar School and the Russian Grammar School, where the youth from Eastern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia studied.28 Bishop Gojdič tried to preserve the parish, so he maintained intensive contact with the Prague parish priest. He asked him to stay in place and wait for a new disposition for Slovakia. He immediately answered his letters and tried to find a solution with the Archbishop of Prague. In one of them, he expected the parish to be empty until the day when he would confer the sacrament of priesthood on Jakub Hradil, a fifth-year student of the Theological Academy in Prešov, who was born in Moravia and had a home affiliation in the protectorate. For the given time, Bishop Gojdič approached Alfonzo Mitnacht, an Augustinian living in Prague, who knew the Eastern rite and was willing to take over the administration of the parish.29

After leaving Prague, Ján Čisárik was first supposed to administer the parish of Medzilaborce, where he helped for a short time during May and June, but since the situation there was extremely difficult, he accepted assignment to the parish of Ďurďoš.30 Vasiľ Lár, who emigrated from the occupied Subcarpathian Russia, where

25 AGAP, fund BA, no. 455, 1939, sign. 500-1096.
26 AGAP, fund BA, no. 455, 1939, sign. 1-499.
27 AGAP, fund BA, no. 455, 1939, sign. 500-1096.
28 AGAP, fund BA, no. 455, 1939, sign. 500-1096.
29 NA Praha, fund Arcibiskupství Pražské IV Řeckokatolíci Praha, Brno.
30 BABJAK, Zostali verní, 51.
he worked as the director of the Greek Catholic teacher’s institute in Sevľuš, took over the administration of the parish in Prague from 1 June. Despite his lack of citizenship, the regional office only accepted his appointment on 28 November, with the condition that the issue of citizenship remained open. Finally, Vasiľ Lár was granted citizenship of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia on 30 April 1942. \(^{31}\) From 1 August 1939, the novice priest Jakub Hradil worked with him in Prague as a chaplain. Thus, the parish was staffed again. \(^{32}\)

In addition to personnel changes in the place of parish priest and chaplain, the consequences of the crisis in 1938 and the breakup of Czechoslovakia were manifested in several areas of the religious, cultural and economic life of the parish. Already at Christmas, which the parish celebrated according to the Julian calendar in January 1939, the annual common charity dinner for the poor did not take place. The Society of St Basil the Great, who provided this charity event, addressed various donors, but the members of the association decided to buy warm shoes or necessary things for the poorest from the donations received. The main reason was the fear of a possible scandal that could be caused by nationalists, since the parish dinner was attended by believers of several nationalities. Therefore, it was more acceptable that one dinner was organized by the Ukrainian Assembly for Ukrainians and another by the Youth Association for Greek Catholics. According to his own words, the Prague parish priest preferred to attend two dinners rather than be responsible for any provocations at one, organized by the parish for all. \(^{33}\)

Another consequence of the new state legal arrangement in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was the abolition of associations operating on parish land. Rich cultural and educational activities came to a complete halt. The life of the parish was reduced to only religious ceremonies and services in the Church of St Clement. The Society of St Basil the Great to support the parish ceased to exist on 30 June 1939, according to government decree no. 97 dated 31 March 1939. \(^{34}\) The termination also affected the Association of Greek Catholic Youth. They tried to reactivate it in 1940, but were unsuccessful, and on 9 May 1940, the termination of its activity was confirmed by the Police Headquarters in Prague. The property of the associations was liquidated in accordance with the regulation in question, but in reality the associations owned only a minimum of funds, which at the same time testifies to the poverty of its members as well as to the usefulness of the associations for the life of the parish. \(^{35}\) The Greek Catholic youth proved its viability when it renewed the activities of the association after the end of the war, but due to the lack of members, the renewal was only formal. The communist regime established in Czechoslovakia after 1948 put an ultimate end to the union work. \(^{36}\)

The breakup of Czechoslovakia also disrupted the financing in motion of the parish. The intermediate link in the relationship between the parish and the state was the Bishopric of Prešov, but after the dissolution of the common state, the Archbishopric

\(^{31}\) Schematismus venerabilis cleri graeci (1944), p. 142; NA Praha, fund Arcibiskupství Pražské IV Řeckokatolíci Praha, Brno.

\(^{32}\) AGAP, fund BA, no. 455, year 1939, sign. 1-499.

\(^{33}\) AGAP, fund BA, no. 455, year 1939, sign. 1-499.

\(^{34}\) AHM Praha, fund MHMP II. – Spolkový kataster, sign. I/90.

\(^{35}\) AHM Praha, fund MHMP II. – Spolkový kataster, sign. XXII/2062.

\(^{36}\) AHM Praha, fund MHMP II. – Spolkový kataster, sign. XXII/2062.
of Prague took over this role. It was about congrual (salary) matters, but also regular financial support to maintain the parish. Support was sent annually by the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment in the amount of 8,000 crowns. The parish did not receive this financial subsidy in 1939, but thanks to the Prague Archbishopric, it was possible to resume the sending of support in the same amount from 1940. This improved the economic situation somewhat and the parish could develop its religious activities in a limited mode.³⁷

The arrival of the new parish priest Vasiľ Lár in Prague from occupied Subcarpathian Russia documents another consequence of the events after the breakup of the republic, which was the voluntary or involuntary transfer of the inhabitants of the former Czechoslovakia. The move affected the life of the Greek Catholic Church and also had an impact on the parish in Prague. Among the prominent refugees from the territory of Subcarpathian Russia was the Greek Catholic priest Augustín Vološin, the chairman of the autonomous government of Carpathian Ukraine and its president for several days. He came to Prague in 1939 along with others via Romania, and thanks to the favour of the Nazis he was able to settle in the protectorate. He lived in Prague as a private person and worked as a professor of pedagogy and psychology at the Ukrainian Free University financed by the resources of the Prague Gestapo. He was its last rector in 1944 and 1945.³⁸ Naturally, he was not indifferent to the Greek Catholic parish; on the contrary, he showed his priestly affiliation. He belonged to the personalities of political life who stood at its birth. In the 1920s, he was a member of the National Assembly and was personally involved in the establishment of parishes. Despite the political activity on the territory of Carpathian Ukraine, with which Bishop Alexander Stojka did not completely identify, Vološin remained loyal to the bishop. This is also evidenced by his request to the bishop. In it, he informed the bishop about his presence in Prague and asked for the possibility of setting up a chapel in his apartment. He justified it by the great distance from the temple, at the same time requesting the issue of a celebret. The bishop agreed and they remained in written contact in the following period as well.³⁹

In addition, Vološin regularly financially supported the parish in Prague. In the income statement for the year 1941, we can see his financial contributions worth 500 crowns, which he donated to the parish in January, March and July. The financial donation provided by him significantly helped the parish in a difficult situation when its income decreased due to the departure of the faithful.⁴⁰ Despite the danger, Vološin remained in Prague until the arrival of the Red Army. On 15 May 1945, he was arrested by SMERŠ members and deported to Moscow. There he was brutally interrogated and imprisoned in the NKVD prison in Lefortovo. He died on 19 July 1945 as a result of ill treatment.⁴¹

During the period of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the Greek Catholic parish in Prague was focused on maintaining the basic elements of religious life. Based on the available archival sources and the literature published so far, the state authorities paid only the necessary attention to it and more or less did not interfere in the life of the parish, except for the already mentioned facts, which resulted from the observance of general regulations and laws issued in the protectorate. On the other
hand, on the example of the fate of priests working in the parish, believers and financial affairs, we can observe the concrete consequences of geopolitical changes in Central Europe as well as the negative growth of nationalism. Observing these consequences in the micro-space of the parish provides valuable material on the behaviour of both individuals and society in times of crisis. The end of World War II and the restoration of the Czechoslovak Republic brought new hope for the Greek Catholic parish in Prague. Jakub Hradil took over the administration of the parish in 1944 until 30 November 1945, when the Bishop of Prešov, Gojdič, entrusted the parish to the Order of St Basil the Great, while Pankratij Pavel Hučko OSBM became the administrator of the parish and Jakub Hradil became the first parish priest of the newly established parish in Brno.\footnote{Schematismus venerabilis cleri dioecesis Fragopolitanaeaeu (1948), pp. 146–147; POTAŠ, Dar lásky, 104–105.}

In the restored Czechoslovakia
The Greek Catholic Church was in a difficult material and personnel situation in the restored Czechoslovakia. One hundred out of 241 parishes recorded the loss of believers’ lives, destroyed, damaged or looted churches, parish buildings or residents’ houses or the destruction of movable property. The murders of civilians took place in the Greek Catholic villages of Tokajík and Telgárt.\footnote{Schematismus venerabilis cleri dioecesis Fragopolitanaeaeu (1948); BORZA, Dejiny Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi, 136.} The aforementioned losses, but especially the open resistance of the bishop, priests and believers to the regime of the Slovak state, as well as the participation of believers in the anti-fascist resistance, brought the Greek Catholic Church a positive image among the population and the political representation of the restored Czechoslovakia. However, the picture soon changed from positive to negative, and an external factor played an important role in this, as relations between the Soviet Union and the Vatican became more strained.\footnote{HALAGIDA, Między Moskwą, Warszawą i Watykanem, 121–126} In 1946, the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia was removed from the Serbian Patriarchate and subordinated to the Moscow Patriarchate. In the following year, members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (hereinafter UPA) tried to move through the territory of Czechoslovakia, and since there were many Greek Catholics among them, the communists took advantage of this and identified the Greek Catholics with the people of Bandera. The accusation became part of a targeted discrediting campaign against the Church, and the disgraced Greek Catholic Church was not entitled to continue its activities. In a short time, its connection with the Orthodox Church was planned according to the model implemented in the Soviet Union.\footnote{PEŠEK – BARNOVSKÝ, Pod kuratelov moci, 14, 20; MANDZÁK – BORZA, Obvinenie zo spolupráce s UPA, 153–154.}

Greek Catholics in Prague witnessed the first attack of the State Security (hereinafter ŠtB) against their church. On 13 March 1947, the ŠtB conducted a house search at the Greek Catholic parish in Prague. It confiscated suspicious correspondence and arrested the parish priest Basilian Pankratij Pavel Hučko, who allegedly, in cooperation with other people, had produced false personal documents for refugees, who had then remained to work in Czechoslovakia or participated in the transfer of refugees to the West. The investigation suddenly extended to Bishop Gojdič and the Superior of the Basilians, Štefan Sebastián Sabol, who unsuccessfully intervened in favour of the Prague priest. Warned by a judge of the Supreme Court in Prague, he emigrated to Rome and later worked in the USA. Abroad, he published a book about the tragedy of the Greek Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, where he also described in detail the course of the search
of the rectory, sacristy and church. He drew attention to the planting of leaflets and a cyclostyle machine by the ŠtB, thus pointing out the manipulation with the aim of proving a fabricated accusation. He saw the activity of the Soviet authorities behind the whole action, since during the effort to release Hučko, he received a reply that the Soviet ambassador Valeríán Alexandrovič Zorin insisted on his arrest.46

On 18 December 1948, Pankratij Pavol Hučko was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Newspapers reported on the Bandera trial and associated Bishop Gojdič with the Bandera people. The discrediting campaign was in full swing and despite the effort, the bishop’s opinion was not published in the newspaper. In it, the bishop explained the situation, and from its content we can also see what was going on among the Greek Catholics in Prague after the Second World War. Similarly to in 1918, but now several times greater in number, many Greek Catholics from the east of the republic and from the territories of the former Galicia (Halič) and Poland came to the city and to the territory of the Czech lands. The reason was the behaviour of the Red Army and the annexation of Subcarpathian Russia and western Ukraine with the city of Lviv to the Soviet Union. Greek Catholic clergy with their families, monks and nuns, and others among the faithful found themselves in Prague. After registering, several were placed as parish priests or worked in the health sector, but many continued their journey to the West after a stay of several months. For priests and monks, Bishop Gojdič secured permits for clerical service in his territory and granted powers to confess and administer other sacraments. For practical reasons, so that they would not have to travel across the whole republic from Prague to Prešov, he entrusted the Prague parish priest with issuing the relevant permits on official forms, which he signed and confirmed in advance. Authorized clergy could work among the faithful, who were in large numbers in Prague and its surroundings.47

According to church records, 68,400 Greek Catholics lived in the parishes of Prague and Brno in 1948,48 covering the territory of Bohemia and Moravia, but as of 1 March 1950, 32,865 believers were officially registered in the population census.49 The decrease could have been caused by emigration and also by the fear caused by the communist anti-church campaign. The arrest of the priest Pankratij Pavel Hučko did not paralyze the parish, but it certainly did disrupt the consolidation process after the restoration of Czechoslovakia. The situation was very difficult. Shortly after his arrest, Basilian Emanuel Michal Hlaváč took charge of the parish, who led it to the violent liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia and shortly after its restoration in 1968–1969, when Ivan Ljavinec took his place.

Conclusion

After the creation of Czechoslovakia, Prague formed an environment where Greek Catholics from eastern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia came to improve their lives. From a small community consisting of believers of two traditions, a viable community supported by the Roman Catholic Archbishopric of Prague was created. The Archbishop of Prague donated the Church of St Kliment in the centre of Prague, and in Klementin the parish could rent a parish apartment with an office from Charles University. Both

46 SABOL, Holhota hrekokatoličeskoj cerkvi, 48, 87–95.
47 AGAP, fund PS, no. 82, year 1949, sign. 5.
49 BORZA, Na pomedi Východu a Západu, 51.
the church and the parish apartment became places of community building and this was reflected in the rich religious, social and cultural life. Theatre shows and lectures organized by students, as well as Christmas and Easter charity dinners for three hundred or more poor people, became well-known. The diverse ecclesiastical life of the Greek Catholics was disrupted by the political crisis of the fall of 1938. It affected their lives and significantly limited the activities of the parish community.

After the breakup of Czechoslovakia, the activity of the parish in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was initially characterized by the solving of personnel and economic problems. Similarly to in the founding, the Roman Catholic Archbishopric of Prague played an important role, as it ensured the contact of the parish with state authorities. After the staffing of the parish priest and chaplain was resolved, the activity of the parish was considerably narrowed down compared to in the previous period. Association activity ceased and charitable work was reduced to a minimum. The life of the parish was concentrated only in the religious area. Despite the restrictive measures in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the spiritual administration of the Greek Catholics developed to such an extent that after the end of the Second World War and the increase in the number of immigrated believers, another parish was founded in Brno at the end of 1945.

The positive atmosphere of society towards the Greek Catholic Church changed sharply under the influence of the Soviet Union and the anti-church policy of the incoming communist regime. Greek Catholics in Prague witnessed the first attack against their church when the ŠtB searched the parish premises, arrested the priest and accused him of collaborating with the people of Bandera. In the coming period, the accusation was generalized to Greek Catholics and used in an anti-church campaign, which resulted in the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in 1950.

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Reviews
In this book, the author deals with a rarely researched topic; but what can be expected from him if, as a school boy — according to his own admission — he wanted to browse Villard de Honnecourt’s portfolio? And later in life, after earning an MSc degree in architecture and engineering with a postgraduate specialization in the preservation of built heritage, he began to work on his doctoral dissertation, which he successfully defended in 2017 with summa cum laude honours. In his doctoral work, Zoltán Bereczki dealt with the technical aspects of late-fifteenth-century church tower construction. He tried to reveal aspects of the operation of the construction workshop, which architectural historians do not deal with much, because when the building is completed, the auxiliary structures — scaffolding, lifting machines, ladders — are dismantled and only very few traces of them remain on the building, and those can only be found by those who already know approximately what to look for and where to look (as becomes clear later in the volume).

The doctoral work, however, witnessed a shift of topic during the research. The author had originally planned to explore the portfolio of master builder Hans Hammer of Strasbourg (a remarkable collection of whose drawings and notes is kept by the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel, Germany), since so far only a small amount of literature has dealt with it. The Strasbourg master’s work, however, diverted the author’s attention to the subject of the unrealized south tower of Strasbourg Cathedral, and thus, researching the construction secrets of other medieval church towers, he turned his research work back to the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary: the Franciscan stone towers of Bratislava and Sopron and the circumstances of their construction were also included in the doctoral work. And so, in addition to the Hammer portfolio, the other main topic of the dissertation became medieval church tower construction — and Bereczki now presents the results of this research in detail in this book. During his research, in addition to exploring original sources and literature, and making 3D models, he also visited several construction workshops where traditional medieval methods are still in use today, in order to compare the results of his research with practice.

In the chapter entitled “Outline of the development of Gothic church towers: Technical difficulties of tower construction”, we get a terminological introduction to the topic: an overview of the architectural history of the Gothic towers. The author dates the golden age of Gothic church towers to the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, when the tower as a structural work becomes an integral part of Christian churches. (It is interesting to observe that towers were not built for ancient temples — previously the tower had only performed a guarding and protective function, and was not an accessory of a religious building.) In Italian territory, the first separate towers appear next to churches as early as in the sixth century: the campaniles. But north of the Alps, the author considers stair towers to be the predecessors of church towers. We take a small trip with the author to the churches of Western Europe, where the earliest stair towers were built (Germany: Aachen, Hildesheim, Gernrode, Speyer; France: Normandy and the Benedictine churches). In France, at the end of the twelfth century, the forerunners of Gothic (St Denis and Laon) already indicate the future style, especially the western towers of Laon Cathedral with its baldachin structures carved from stone and flanked by pinnacles (towers also drawn by Villard). In European culture, however, the church tower is not only an observation point “from which one can see far away”, but also an object that can be seen “from far away” and from where the ringing of bells can be heard from afar, emphasizes Bereczki. The southern tower of the cathedral of Chartres was built in the middle of the twelfth century, and Gothic church towers thereafter generally adopt this form: lower levels with a square

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plan, upper levels with an octagonal plan, topped by a high spire. And again, we are making a study of form development with the author about the symbolism conveyed from Carolingian reliquaries and French lanterns of the death through Gothic tower-shaped sacrament houses to the church towers. And when, in the early fourteenth century along the Rhine, instead of the solid covering the towers the first openwork stone spires appeared, both Cologne and Freiburg claimed precedence: the former’s original medieval design was preserved, only to remain unbuilt, while the latter saw the construction of the first such Gothic stone lace. The author discusses the western facade of Strasbourg Cathedral: the south tower, built in several stages, became the tallest building in medieval Europe in 1439 (at 142 meters – ahead of the 137-meter–high south tower of the Stephanskirche in Vienna, completed in 1433), and the literature has also elaborated its history. After a short comparison, the author states: “the time of the Gothic towers ended with the fifteenth century” – the preserved plans from the end of the century were not realised during the Gothic period. And here we return to the beginning of the tower biography: “the Gothic tower is a building element that has no antique predecessor”. With this tour, we accompany the author in his research endeavour to unravel the methods and auxiliary structures employed in the construction of the mentioned tower giants, particularly when the tower structure surpassed the height of the roof structure of the connecting nave. Special attention is paid to the appropriate geometry of stone towers – the stone masonry is an excellent load-bearing structure as long as it has only vertical loads – but since the stone spire has tension and dynamic load too, several steel elements and clips were used here, and the joints were filled with lead; the author states that these procedures essentially “anticipate reinforced concrete from a structural perspective”.

The next part, entitled “Reconstruction of a construction site from the late fifteenth century based on graphic and material sources” deals with the unrealized north tower of the Stephanskirche in Vienna, emphasizing that the book does not show “how this particular tower was built”, but uses contemporary sources to discover “how such a tower could have been built”. The author, while supplementing his text with numerous illustrations, notes that there are several technical works featuring a comparable series of informative illustrations addressing the construction of the Brunelleschi dome in Florence, south of the Alps. This is evidently linked to the survival of a contemporary collection of drawings depicting Brunelleschi’s machines. And so, in the words of the author, the series of illustrations in this volume “is the northern counterpart of the drawings showing the construction of the dome, since the construction of the large Gothic towers required similar engineering preparedness and performance”.

The following section, entitled “Presentation of the sources used”, lists the sources based on which the progress of the construction can be most accurately reconstructed: in an ideal situation, plans of the tower to be built, structural drawings of the machines to be used, and drawings of the scaffolding would be required. Thousands of Gothic architectural drawings have survived in various collections, they are accessible, and most of them have been published several times in scientific publications. Medieval machine drawings were also published, but these were usually not made for construction, but followed military objectives, and researchers very rarely dealt with construction machines. From this point of view, the portfolio of the Strasbourg master builder Hans Hammer is very valuable, including as it does many machine drawings. In 1992, the entire portfolio was published in the journal of Strasbourg Cathedral; so far, however, only two master’s theses have dealt with the drawings, and these have not been published, which is why it is useful to browse through Hammer’s drawings and compare them with the known data of the north tower in Vienna, which was being built at the same time. Unfortunately, in the absence of drawings of medieval scaffolding, only the visual arts can convey additional source material for the small number of surviving medieval scaffolding structures. However, the author emphasizes that although the earliest technical drawings for tower scaffolding only date back to the nineteenth century – these primarily helping in the construction of the neo-Gothic towers – since the construction of a neo-Gothic tower itself was made using the Gothic architectural form and technology, it can be assumed that the nineteenth

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2 Available online at: http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/114-1-extrav&distype=thumbs
century construction machines and scaffolding may also have resembled those of the Middle Ages to a certain extent.

The section entitled “The plans of the north tower in Vienna” briefly explains the Gothic construction and reconstruction history of the Stephanskirche, mentioning also its elevation to the episcopal seat of Vienna, which also had a stimulating effect on the construction of the north tower. Here, the author provides an explanation of late Gothic architectural drawings in general, and agrees with other researchers that “these drawings can be considered the forerunners of modern architectural representation”. With the exception of dimensioning, the majority of medieval drawings also meet today’s requirements – the floor plans and elevations were also made with orthogonal projection and, where necessary, precisely constructed abbreviations were also used. The scale of the drawings does not yet use today’s decimal units, so the scale of the drawings is based on the twelve number system – and today’s researcher must also take into account the shrinkage of the parchment. The level of detail of the elevation drawings is related to their scale, and the profiles in the detail drawings are probably at the scale of 1:1, so these can be considered as production plans of the stone carving templates. Consistency can be observed in the different but related drawings of a building – the drawings are on the same scale and can be compared. Gothic drawings are also characterized by the method wherein different levels are drawn on top of each other on the same page (anticipating today’s digital design layers?). If the planned work was to be connected to an existing building, survey drawings were also made – such can also be identified in the collection of Viennese plans (Hans Koef’s catalogue – 1969, most recently Johann Josef Böker’s catalogue – 2005). Of these, 18 drawings can be associated with the north tower of the Stephanskirche, but the volume only deals with the following six drawings, three depicting the entire tower and three showing facades:

From the collection of the Akademie der Bildenden Künste:
• 16.872v: ground plan of the north tower, work plan by Laurenz Spenning, dated around 1470;
• 17.061: elevation drawing of the north tower dated around 1465, signed by Hans Zierholt of Brünn (Brno, CZ).

From the collection of the Wien Museum Karlsplatz:
• 105.062: a mid–19th-century copy of Spenning’s elevation drawing No. 17.061, with the master mark of Hans Zierholt;
• 105.063: ground plan of the tower dated around 1465, Laurenz Spenning design, early design phase, probably the earliest version;
• 105.064: completed and refined version of the above drawing, with Georg Hauser’s master mark – probably an updated copy by Hauser around 1516;
• 105.067: elevation drawing of the tower, dated around 1465, by Laurenz Spenning.

In the chapter “Hans Hammer’s machines” the author deals in detail with Hans Hammer’s activities and biographical data, and the surviving 29 pages from his original 34-page portfolio. In this, Hammer, who was the master builder of Strasbourg Cathedral in two periods, made various drawings: fictitious sketches, sketches related to specific buildings, detailed architectural plans and drawings of the construction machines and instruments related to the construction. According to the literature, Hammer’s biography and works can be compiled relatively well. The years recorded on the drawing sheets provide the dating of the collection: the earliest is 1476, the latest is 1507. Bereczki provides a detailed description of the contents of the pages, emphasizing: that both the text and the drawings are the works of a well-known personality, whose executed works are also known; that the drawings of machines, ladders and instruments belong to the rarer, so-called workshop drawings; and that the portfolio has

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survived almost in its entirety, missing only five sheets. And there is an interesting aspect that the author draws attention to: if we compare Villard de Honnecourt’s sketchbook with the slightly later portfolio of Hans Hammer, the importance of the latter is highlighted by the fact that, according to the currently accepted position of the research, Villard was a layman, while Hammer was an experienced master builder.

“Hans Hammer and the Kingdom of Hungary” – it is clear from the note text next to the drawings in the portfolio that Hammer returned to Strasbourg from Hungary in 1481. And since we also find a Hungarian–German glossary at the end of the portfolio, it was obviously a longer visit, and we can only regret that we don’t know any other sources about his stay. Previously, the Hungarian literature believed that Hammer’s journey was in Transdanubia; according to another researcher, the master came at the invitation of the king, therefore St Elizabeth’s Church in Košice would offer itself as a location, and several foreign scholars deal with this assumption. According to the latest research, the building parts previously attributed to Hammer in Košice were already ready at the time of his trip to Hungary. Bereczki found only one drawing in the folder in which a reference to the Košice church can possibly be found: a double spiral staircase, the like of which existed in Europe during Hammer’s time only in Košice. Hammer paid a lot of attention to stairs. Approximately 30 percent of his architectural drawings depict stairs, and he made a drawing of the staircase of Peter Parler in Prague: one of the prototypes of the double staircase in Košice.

As Bereczki guides the reader through Hammer’s drawings in detail, mentioning the views of earlier researchers (with rich footnotes), he comes to the conclusion that Hans Hammer was already interested in complex stair structures even before he was the master builder of Strasbourg Cathedral: it can be assumed that the already existing stairs of the northern tower spire in Strasbourg may have served as inspiration. The author believes that Hammer really wanted to finish the uncompleted south tower, and he supports this assumption with several drawings that further develop the motif of the spiral staircases of the north spire, as well as the survey drawing of the north tower. Particularly interesting is Bereczki’s observation that if the Gothic north tower spire had not been built and its eight complicated spiral staircases winding around its edges were only known from a drawing, we would surely consider it only a fictitious drawing, which, looking at it from today’s eyes, “would be impossible to realise with the technology of that time”. A similar thought crossed my mind when the double spiral staircase of Košice Cathedral was being renovated: if today’s reinforced concrete technology were used to design and then realize the double spiral staircase – a task that a small group of stonemasons experimented with in the first quarter of the fifteenth century – modern engineers would face a daunting challenge, due to the slender, pillar-supported, tracery-like openwork structure of its three sides (the fourth being the buttress to which it was built). If Hammer really visited Košice, then he could have already walked on this staircase, and the mirror-like reel doubling could have caught his attention.

The portfolio includes a total of 19 machine drawings, one of which also has a written commentary. It presents two main groups of lifting devices: frame cranes and cantilever cranes, and machines that do not belong to either main group can also be grouped separately. Ladders form the fourth group of machine drawings. Hammer outlined eight different types of frame cranes, all with winch drives and block-and-tackle systems, some with ratchet backstops. These hoists could primarily lift heavier loads, larger stone elements or bells. Eight drawings of cantilever cranes show a crane column on wheels or standing on scaffolding, and in both cases the crane column can be rotated. The angle of the boom can be adjusted in most cases, and the drive is usually a lever winch, but in one of the drawings there is also a treadwheel. Machine drawings were not made to scale and were not proportional drawings – detailed drawing of important elements was more important than proportional dimensions. The cantilever cranes obviously transported smaller loads and were used for the precise placement of finished stone elements, and they could be quickly installed on the scaffolding or moved further. Among the special machines, there is a lifting machine with a double flywheel, a one-man lifter that can be attached to a column, and a chicken griller machine with metal gears which obviously caught Hammer’s attention here (in his other drawings the gears are made of wood). In addition to the
machine drawings, there is also a series of different drawings of clever hooked ladders: rigid ladders and rope or belt ladders, often in a modular system. According to the author, it is likely that Hammer was already acquainted with numerous military manuscripts at that time, and it is possible that he outlined from these – hence the more extensive commentary on the drawings of the levelling instruments. We do not find such remarks on machine drawings, which he presumably knew better.

The excursion titled “The drawings of Hans Hammer in the context of fifteenth century machine representations” is interesting: it provides an overview of the history of technical drawings, including Italian precedents and their spread north of the Alps. According to the literature, several aspects play an important role in the development of technical drawings: technical drawings were formed in circumstances where traditional workshops were replaced by a complex system of cooperation, responsibility and instructions, with several different specialist groups with their own leaders belonging to a leading master – cathedral construction paved the way in this regard, shipbuilding and mining then following similarly. The use of drawings was also promoted by newer forms of spreading knowledge, when the path of personal wandering and gaining experience was no longer enough to advance more complex technologies. Bereczki also examines Hammer’s portfolio from the aforementioned points of view, and researches in detail the differences between drawings of building elements and machine drawings, with a small detour to the presentational drawing collections of military technology of the time. Comparing the work of the Strasbourg master with a Weimar manuscript volume of several hundred pages, he came to the conclusion that the author of the Weimar drawings knew Hammer’s drawings – and copied from them. Hammer’s machine drawings are easy to understand and interpret precisely because the master’s goal was to understand their operation, not the accurate and proportional technical representation. It is not possible to know which of the machines Hammer designed (according to Bereczki, one seems to be certain), which he intended to use during his work, or which he only observed and drew. The structure of the machines follows mostly the so-called German school, but we also find an Italian solution among them – according to the literature, it is possible that Hammer could have studied Italian military technical manuscripts in the library of King Matthias I during his trip to Hungary.

In the “Scaffolding” chapter, the author deals with centre scaffolds (i.e. “formwork” in order to comply with the planned form of the building) and work scaffolds, which serve the work – noting that the Gothic spire is a structure where the same scaffold fulfilled both functions. Since we don’t know any medieval scaffolding plans, information about contemporary scaffolding structures is to be found almost solely in the visual arts, and a catalogue of such works, on which we can find depictions of construction work, has been compiled at the University of Cologne. According to them, in the Middle Ages, scaffolding was only used for work, materials not being stored upon it: we know of cantilever scaffolding and of scaffolding standing on legs or standing on trestles, and the workers mainly moved between two work levels on a ladder, less often on a ramp. The construction of a higher scaffold also included braces. The scaffolding holes are often still preserved in the facade walls – in the case of cantilevered scaffolding, the beams were built into the wall, and the ends of the crossbars of the scaffolding standing on legs were attached to the wall. In order to get closer to the scaffolding of the past, Bereczki carefully examines technical drawings from somewhat later: a drawing of the scaffolding built in 1601 to repair the lantern of the cathedral in Florence, a drawing of the 21-storey wooden scaffolding made in 1838 for the demolition and reconstruction of the spire of the Stephanskirche in Vienna (which was made after the construction of the scaffold), a drawing from France from the middle of the fifteenth century, and the scaffold drawing in Viollet-le-Duc’s dictionary. In the next chapter, the focus shifts to scaffolds and scaffold components that have survived to this day in their original locations, inside church towers, primarily with the function of bell stand: Freiburg (DE) – Glockenstuhl; Salisbury Cathedral (UK) – “a unique medieval metal, timber and stone structure that survived inside the crossing tower”; and another one, of which only a drawing is left, Vienna – the former bell stand of the south tower of the Stephanskirche. Smaller construction scaffolds, or at least their traces, can be found in the spires of other churches as well: an imprint of a former scaffold from the fourteenth century in the simple stone spire of
the Church of St Matthäus in Murau (AT); remnants of a scaffold in the southwest spire of St Stephen’s Church in Vienna; a fourteenth century timber structure in the northern tower of Saint Martin’s Church in Spišská Kapitula; a functionless wooden structure reaching out to the walls in the northern tower of the Church of St Elizabeth in Košice, and beam nests in the interior of the stone spire of the former Franciscan church in Sopron.

After thorough preparation, in the third chapter of his book Bereczki guides us step by step – using the example of the north tower in Vienna – through “The stages of a tower construction”. Based on the previously discussed medieval tower drawings, he creates an accurate and detailed 3D computer model of the structure, in the next stage he constructs also in 3D the possible scaffold structure, and finally “places the appropriate machines in the appropriate places on the scaffold”, based on Hammer’s portfolio. Scaffolding with columns is placed on the lower square shaped levels, attached to the outer side of the walls to be built. For the bell level, a scaffold is used that remains in place – originally a working scaffold, later developed into a bell frame. An internal scaffold is constructed for the octagonal level, specifically designed for the construction of the subsidiary giant pinnacles. For the construction of the spire, an internal centre scaffold is developed, along with a gallery scaffold around the spire for the subsidiary pinnacles, while an external scaffold is used at the top.

He also uses data from several contemporary drawings for the crane frame and crane drive chosen as a model for the first stage, since there are very few traces of auxiliary structures in the built parts of the tower today. Hammer’s machine drawings were supplemented by the author with the bracings of the medieval Cologne crane, demolished in the nineteenth century – the construction of each wall section can be read according to the height of the crane, and the author also provides a detailed explanation. The heavier stones and the rubble stone used in the core of the walls were obviously lifted with the larger crane, and the carved, smaller stone elements were probably placed using several smaller lifting cranes. The second stage is the free-standing square tower body: the outer wall has a square plan, but the inner one has already changed to an octagon, so the model uses the Freiburg solution (previously a construction scaffolding, a belfry later being built in), on which Hammer’s heavy load-carrying frame crane could be used, since heavier loads are possible on the bell stands, and thus stone material storage as well. The smaller carved stones could again be placed with the rotating smaller cantilever cranes. Wall sections built with decorative stone elements between the buttresses could also be built from a cantilever-gallery multi-level scaffold, and the model also uses this on both sides for the tracery gables, where the wall plane jumps out and back. In the window openings, the model uses beams covered with built-in boards. For the third section – the free-standing octagonal tower storey – the scaffold was made according to Viollet-le-Duc’s drawing, slightly modified to be suitable for assembling the giant pinnacles, but it could also be used in the octagonal bell storey. On top of this section’s stand the largest Hammer tower crane was positioned – the only one with tread wheels. Inside, the heavy frame crane that served the previous levels is still in use, again supplemented by several cantilever cranes. The fourth stage is the openwork stone spire – the construction of this is shown in the model in two parts: first, the lower part of the spire and the forest of pinnacles around it are built, and then the upper level of the spire. Inside the spire, the centre scaffold temporarily supports the stones to be placed on the edges of the spire, and the detailed articulated scaffold for the construction of the pinnacles was made in the gallery around the spire – the nineteenth century scaffolding used for the repair of the southern tower in Vienna served as a model for this. The stones can be lifted to the top of the pinnacles by a smaller, rotating Hammer crane. Above this level, the top of the spire can only be built from the outside – in Salisbury, a change between the inner and outer scaffold can also be observed. The model for the external scaffold here is again the Viennese nineteenth-century drawing, and a Hammer frame crane was placed on top of it. The text is supplemented by many drawings and reproductions, showing in which stages and with the help of which auxiliary structures a medieval church tower with a stone spire could have been built.

As I have been interested in medieval church architecture for years, I have studied numerous studies, books and buildings. Nevertheless, I came to the clear realization that this book is a “gap-filler” for me, as it uncovers a wealth of new data and perspectives. I recommend
it to every professional dealing with monuments, building researchers, researchers of medieval architecture and enthusiasts of medieval churches alike – and I caution them not to skip the detailed technical descriptions, as they will likely revisit them later...

And after the reader has followed Bereczki through the phases of his research, gaining insight into lesser-known areas of architectural history, and has perused the extensive footnotes and bibliography, at the end comes further reward – a link to where one can interactively explore every detail of the 3D model, now familiar after reading the publication: https://zbereczki.github.io/gothic-construction/

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The professional seminar Economic and Social Aspects of Czech-Slovak Relations was held as part of the regular meetings of the Commission of Czech-Slovak Historians, at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ostrava in Ostrava, on 11 October 2023. The partner institutions in organizing the event were the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and the University of Ostrava in Ostrava. The main goal of the conference was to bring together selected examples from the economic and social history of the Czech lands, Slovakia and Czechoslovakia in the period from 1867 to the present. It was aimed, against this background, to discuss their character, scope and dynamics, which gained importance in the observed period and significantly contributed to the discourse on the organization of Czech–Slovak relations. When selecting the presentations, the emphasis was placed both on contributions conveying the current state of research and on the results of current research in the given field. Six lecturers actively participated in the seminar and their presentations were divided by chronology, from the end of the nineteenth century to the 1990s.

The first block was opened by Mgr. Lukáš Patera from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ostrava in Ostrava. The paper “Export networks of iron ore exports from the Spiš-Gemer mining area to Central European ironworks in the years 1867–1914” was focused on the regional and supra-regional importance of the metallurgical industry in Slovakia. In addition to the industrial segment itself, the author paid attention to its anchoring in the broader context of a series of industrial laws, which were gradually implemented within the framework of the Hungarian economic policy as a stimulus for the starting of industrialization. At the same time, they foreshadowed the onset of the so-called “greenhouse economy”, which as a result of its protectionism, to a large extent reduced, for example, the competitiveness of enterprises. In addition to metallurgical production and the balance of export quotas and volume, Lukáš Patera’s contribution also touched on the transport infrastructure, primarily the Košice–Bohumín railway and its connections, which, as a key transport artery, significantly magnified the economic importance of several cities lying on its line.

Significant intersections between economic and cultural history were presented in the presentation of Mgr. Mikuláš Jančura, PhD. from the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Pavel Jozef Šafárik University in Košice. His paper, entitled “The role and function of representations in the tourism industry and their influence on the formation of Czech-Slovak relations in the interwar period. Outline of theoretical starting points”, opened up the issue of tourism in interwar Czechoslovakia. He paid particular attention to the importance of representations and their possible influence on the formation of Czech–Slovak relations in the observed period. He set out the basic theoretical starting points and formulated research questions for the first phase of ongoing research on the issue. Central was the concept of mobility of things, used mainly by German and Anglo-American historiography and historical sociology of tourism. He presented the concept against the background of the leisure definition of tourism, targeting the mobility of things (including visual representation) as an example of the cultural construction of the “identity” of a place. One of the key questions was what the “Czechoslovakness” of Czechoslovakia was as presented when creating the image of Czechoslovakia as a tourist destination. It was also relevant to formulate the question of how, in terms of content, individual parts of the republic were presented to each other. The represented content offered an insight into the effort to “find” a balance between avant-garde and tradition, primarily through visual representations of urban and rural environments.

After the presentations of both papers, a general discussion was opened and a short break followed.

The second block was opened by PhDr. Pavel Dufek, PhD. from the University of Economics in Prague, with the paper “Infrastructure construction in Slovakia in the 1930s: A tool for overcoming the economic crisis, a means of defense, support for industrialization?” The starting
point of the contribution was the characteristics of industry in Slovakia in the 1920s and the relationship with the Czech lands. The author highlighted the mutual disproportion, but also competitiveness and the non-negligible factor of transport accessibility as special points that had significant political influence in the Czech-Slovak region during the observed period. In the case of infrastructural constructions, the author touched not only on the functioning of industrial giants and their influence on Slovakia, but also on transport infrastructure and electrification. The main issue of the contribution was the functionality of these buildings in the social context, but also, for example, on the military-strategic level. The contribution emphasized the social level mainly in connection with the effects of the economic crisis. In this context, the author interpreted these buildings as a compensation tool for the increase in unemployment. He also touched upon the problematic issue of project financing, which had been dynamic in Slovakia’s favour since 1933, once again affecting the nature of Czech–Slovak relations, especially in the case of South Bohemian regions with weaker industrialization. The paper relativizes the historical stereotype developed by predominantly nationalistic Slovak historiography about the targeted “dismantling” of industry in Slovakia.

The period of existence of the Slovak State was presented by prof. Peter Mičko, PhD. from the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica. The paper, entitled “Slovak workforce in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in the years 1939–1945” emphasized the social level of the problem of unemployment in Slovakia and its compensatory tools in the context of the operation of authoritarian regimes in Slovakia and the Czech lands. The starting point of the contribution was unemployment in Slovakia as one of the more deeply rooted social problems that persisted even after the creation of the Slovak state. The author described the range of compensatory tools, such as the construction and concentration of industry or the construction of transport infrastructure. Central was the research example of the departure of workers for work in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The paper emphasized several levels. The first was the aforementioned unemployment compensation by job creation. At the same time, the level of economic demands of Nazi Germany, amplified by the outbreak of the Second World War, was strongly present. However, the author drew attention to the need to distinguish between regular and forced labour and presented the Protectorate as a space for labour in the context of the economic needs of Nazi Germany and the nature of the relationship between its individual “vassals”. As a result, the control over many matters was concentrated at the centre of the protectorate respectively organizational mechanisms for hiring workers, cross-border travel and returns, organization of social security and health care and, last but not least, financial transfers of salaries, subject to Slovakia’s economic relations with Germany.

Both papers were followed by a general discussion followed by a break for lunch. The last block approximated the economic aspects of the socialist regime, with an overlap into the post-revolutionary period, the beginning of the 1990s. In the last block, two papers were presented, focused on specific issues of social relations between workers and the contemporary elite and transformative economic processes after 1989, using the example of a specific company and its internal structure.

The block was opened by PhDr. Jakub Šlouf, PhD. from the National Archives Prague and the Institute for Research on Totalitarian Regimes Prague, with the paper “Workers’ antagonism towards elites as an important driver of Czechoslovak history (1945–1989)”. The starting point of the paper, focused on social history with a strong influence on politics, was the “national cleansing” after 1945 and the definition of moral criteria of guilt in relation to Nazi Germany (and the Protectorate). The transfer of these criteria to the period after 1948 is relevant, and against the background of changed state legal conditions, the author presents the breakdown of established hierarchies, the definition of oneself in relation to the capitalism of the first Czechoslovak Republic, the definition of the relationship of subordinates, or workers, to the factory itself and, last but not least, the re-defining of the relationship of subordinates to the newly created industrial elites. On this basis, the author identifies the authentic anti-elitism of the workers and the significant role of propaganda in this process, in the context of the class radicalization of the system after 1948. At the same time, the author pointed out the
paradoxical nature of this anti-elitism in the worker–supervisor relationship. The paradoxical nature of anti-elitism was shown, for example, during the social crisis and the resulting strike wave in the summer of 1948. According to the author, the conflict was purposefully politicized by the Communist Party, also from the point of view of the workers as the basic propagandist pillar of the system. The reaction was to prosecute the managers and not the workers. During the 1950s, the repression was also turned inside the party. Criticism focused on the adoption of a “bourgeois” way of life by the new elites and the adoption of capitalist management methods. Against this background, the author approached the internal conflict between so-called “anarchic socialism” and the state socialism. Criticism of the system came from the ranks of “anarchist” positions. The author traced this antagonism in a timeline to the 1960s, when there was a turn within the working class itself, within which a certain kind of democratization took place. This is demonstrated at the level of the relationship with the elite, through the election of working company councils in 1968–1969, which marked a significant turn compared to the end of the 1940s.

The block and at the same time the conference was concluded by Mgr. Vítězslav Sommer, Ph.D. from the Institute for Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, with the contribution “Production geography of the Svit footwear concern in late socialism and in the economic transformation after 1989”. The central line of the paper was de-industrialization from the beginning of the 1990s on the example of the Svit company in Zlín in the context of the post-socialist economy. In particular, the author focused on the analysis of the geographical distribution of the company under the influence of the transformation process of the 1980s and 1990s. As a starting point, he defined the term “production geography” as the physical distribution of capital within the selected enterprise. In the contribution, he also followed the transformation of the regional economic structure in the city of Zlín, using the example of the Svit company, which functioned as a centralized large-scale production entity, copying the original infrastructure of the Baťa company. In the context of Czech–Slovak relations, the author also presented the expansion of the production network with centralized management. He put forward the socialist model of subcontracting, which led to several problems, such as increasing costs and making production more expensive. Technical problems, competition between companies and disruptions in logistics were also shown to be associated. He identified 1989 as a significant milestone, which led to the destabilization of corporate structures. Although decentralization was a priority for more efficient functioning, its side effects were fragmentation and financial problems, which intensified the results of the company’s privatization. The paper can primarily be viewed through the lens of the centrally controlled economy and its transformation processes from the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. Against this background, however, the example of the Svit Zlín company is also relevant in connection with urban history, as it has the economic structure of a regional company, with a concentration in the city, with nationwide reach. The production geography itself actively affected the physical space of the city of Zlín and, last but not least, its socio-economic structure.

Both papers were followed by a general discussion. A discussion reflecting on the overall success and progress of the event concluded proceedings.

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MEETING OF YOUNG HISTORIANS XIII: POWER IN THE HISTORY OF HUMAN SOCIETY

The Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik in Košice organizes an annual scientific conference of PhD students with international participation under the name of the Meeting of Young Historians. The thirteenth edition took place on 24 October 2023 and was devoted to the theme “Power in the History of Human Society”.

The central theme of the scientific event was the phenomenon of power as a constant that has been present in human society since its beginning and is an inherent part of human existence. The participants managed to highlight and analyse this issue across different historical epochs, from the Middle Ages to the period of normalization in Czechoslovakia. The conference was co-organised – as usual – by the State Archive in Košice and the Slovak Historical Society at the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

The meeting of young historians was officially opened by the Head of the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik, prof. PaedDr. Martin Pekár, PhD., and the Director of the State Archives in Košice, Richard Pavlovič, PhD., who welcomed the guarantors of the individual sessions, participants and spectators.

Nine participants from Slovakia and the Czech Republic presented their papers. The conference was divided into three blocks – according to the historical periods on which the papers were focused. Each block included a discussion in which PhD students received professional questions, insights and constructive criticism from academics.

Experts from the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague, the Institute of Memory of the Nation, the Department of Legal History and Legal Comparative Studies of the Faculty of Law of Comenius University in Bratislava and the “home” Department of History in Košice were the chairs of the sessions.

In the first session, devoted to power in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, four papers were presented: on the urban patriciate in Kutná Hora, on the administration of estates by Judith Balassa, on the manorial–subaltern relations in the context of the history of the Radvanszky family, and finally on the role of the university grand master in the monopolization of education during the First French Empire. A paper on political power as a tool for the creation of the political elite in the Rožňava region opened the second block – on the history of power in the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic and the Slovak state. This was followed by papers on the political power of the Czechoslovak National Democracy in the interwar period and the crisis of railway transport in the southern territory of Slovakia after 1938. The period of communism in Czechoslovakia was the subject of the last two papers: on the activities and disappearance of Catholic associations in Košice after 1948 and on judicial rehabilitation in eastern Slovakia between 1968 and 1971.

The conference contributed not only to the enrichment of the scientific knowledge of the participating PhD students, but also deepened the international exchange of experience. The festive conclusion of the event was an informal gathering of the participants over a glass of wine, during which they made new acquaintances and enriched each other with further knowledge of history.

Despite the fact that the conference took place during consultation week, several students were present among the audience - alongside colleagues from the archives and other institutions. The organisers and participants of the conference now have two tasks remaining: incorporating the comments from the testimonials and discussion into their studies and then compiling the conference proceedings.

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On 10 November 2023 in the Platón building at the University of Pavol Jozef Šafárik took place the opening of an exhibition on military cemeteries from World War One in the region of northeastern Slovakia. The author of the exhibition, PaedDr. ThLic. Anton Liška, PhD. is an expert advisor of the Regional Monument Office in Prešov. Anton Liška briefly explained the history of the origin and repairs of the hundreds of military cemeteries in northeastern Slovakia. Their guarantor, doc. ThDr. Peter Borza, PhD. opened the exposition and pointed out the significance of remembrance of both the victims of World War One and the horrors that conflicts bring. The exhibition included several photographs of cemeteries, their blueprints and information about their developers. They were built both during World War One and the First Czechoslovak Republic. It gave a picture of the locations of the known military cemeteries and those that have not yet been found, but about the existence of which we know from archival documents. The presentation is also dedicated to the topic of monument protection, their evidence and conditions for their repair and upkeep. The event was also visited by journalists from national television (RTVS). After the opening followed a small gathering. The exhibition will be available at the building of the Faculty of Arts for students and visitors until 15 December 2023.