

Marcela Domenová\*  
(Prešov)

## To Ethnic Situation and Immigration in Prešov Until the End of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century (Selected Issues)

**Abstract:** An article presenting the issues discussed in the reconstruction in Prešov (until the end of the sixteenth century). He draws attention to the presence – the influx of foreigners, the coexistence of many nationalities (Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Roma, Jews and others), but also Slovaks, presenting toponymy, references, the importance of ethnonyms, onomastics, etc. Particular attention was given to three nationalities – the dominant among Prešov residents – Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks, what found itself in its spatial space – topography, but also in denominational relations, i.e. in the connection of the so-called preachers of nationality as part of the Roman Catholic religion, and later also (after 1531) as part of the Protestant Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. The surveys made it possible to determine the nature of the newly adopted duties – their origin, activities and dealing in wine trade. An important condition for these problems are enterprises that keep tax / accounting accounts.

**Keywords:** Prešov, Middle Ages, Renesans, ethnic relations, Immigration, foreigners, burgesses, crafts

**Słowa kluczowe:** Preszów, średniowiecze, renesans, stosunki etniczne, cudzoziemcy, migracja ludności, mieszczanie, rzemiosła

The issue of development and ethnic situation in the Medieval and Early modern towns in Slovakia is still insufficiently researched. Although historians have already dealt with issue of settlement, especially with role of the German ethnic group, or in general, with impact of immigration on the development of locality and economy, relevant archival sources provide partial views on

---

\* Marcela Domenová, Inštitút histórie FF, Prešovská univerzita v Prešove, e-mail: [marcela.domenova@unipo.sk](mailto:marcela.domenova@unipo.sk)

a number of areas in the context of the internal and external migration research, presence of foreigners in the town and form of the burghers' community.

The valley of the Torysa, Sekčov and Topľa rivers had been continuously populated by native population of the Slavic-Slovak origin and become part of the Kingdom of Hungary during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Archaeological research proved settlements of the population (from the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> up to 12<sup>th</sup> century) east of the bank of the Torysa river. Inhabitants were employed in farming and pastoralism. It was a territory outside the early historical or medieval area of Prešov. At that time, the town of Prešov was a settlement – a village, and by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century it formed an integral part of the royal property of the Šariš castle (1299). Territory of Prešov was a property of the king. The favourable geographical position at the crossroad of military and trade routes positively influenced its development.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest settlement in the territory of Prešov in the Early historical period was probably a settlement of the Slovak origin. It was situated on the terrace, east of the Torysa river, on the place of a medieval street that is also nowadays called the Slovak street, which will be mentioned later. In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, there was the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the town council gave the church to the Carmelites. A monastery was built close to the church. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century the town of Prešov was a developed village with an independent parish (1248, it felt under the bishopric of Eger). In the oldest written records preserved, especially in the tax documents, this part of settlement is named the Slovak street or Slovak district (1411, *linea Sclavorum*, 1428, *Quartale Sclavorum*).<sup>2</sup> This provides an evidence of the permanent presence of original inhabitants. The Slovaks stayed to live here even after the arrival of the Magyars, as well as and the German immigrants – guests.<sup>3</sup>

When dealing with issue of the development of Prešov, important are foreign ethnic groups, of non-Slavic origin, which remained permanently in Prešov and played an important role not only in the Middle Ages. Further development of the locality was closely connected with a targeted and bigger wave of settlement when foreign and non-domestic population arrived. The evidence about presence of the Magyar population in the Šariš region, in the area of the Prešov basin, dated back to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century or eventually to the beginning of 12<sup>th</sup> century. The Magyars formed military and defensive groups.<sup>4</sup> They founded settlements, watched the border defence

<sup>1</sup> F. Uličný, 1990, s. 250; F. Uličný, 1965, s. 58–67, designates the territory as the Middle Šariš. F. Uličný, 1965, s. 63–65; F. Uličný, 1970, s. 12–13. To opinions on development of border area see F. Uličný, 2000, s. 35–37.

<sup>2</sup> F. Uličný, 1990, s. 251; M. Marek, 2003, s. 72; Historian refer to B. Iványi, 1914, s. 370. MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – LL, sign. 147.

<sup>3</sup> In this area of the town could live only the Slovaks what results from the name analysis. Therefore, it was an older name of the street/district and not later establishment – formation of a street by the inhabitants of the Slovak origin.

<sup>4</sup> The 11<sup>th</sup> century is suggested by F. Uličný. V. Rábik assumes the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. M. Marek points out the possibility of the later establishment of settlement, to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, what was associated with immigration of more numerous group

zones, the so-called provincial gates, roads and so on.<sup>5</sup> This was associated with process of integration of the Šariš region into the Kingdom of Hungary. In Prešov, the Magyars settled south-west of the old Slovak settlement or south of the future main square of the town. This was also reflected later in the medieval town – in urban exclusion. The written sources from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century give evidence of the Magyar street or Magyar district (1411, *linea Ungarorum*; 1428, *Quartale Hungarorum*).<sup>6</sup> The Magyar community increased not only in a natural way, by the increased birth-rate of population, but also by immigration of other individuals (families) to Prešov. The second Magyar community built a village with the Church of St. Ladislav south-west of then Prešov, namely behind the west bank of the Torysa river.<sup>7</sup>

German settlement could arise towards the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century or at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, shortly after the Tatar – Mongolian invasion (1241–1242), when all the old communication area in the valley of the Torysa river was significantly depopulated. Having lack of the own inhabitants King Béla IV placed emphasis on re-settlement by the people outside the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary. The presence of the Germans in Prešov in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (1247, *Theotonicus de Epuryes/Theutonicus de Epuries*) was linked with their activities relating to the expansion of the agricultural property, transfer of their borders and unauthorized seizure of part of the property close to the Sekčov river that belonged to the Cistercians. From the contents of the doc-

---

of the Magyars. In case of the town of Prešov, the exact date is open to suggestions. For further information regarding the presence of the Magyars in the Middle Ages see M. Marek, 2006, s. 43–46. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, in the neighbourhood of old Slavic villages, military and defensive groups of the Magyars formed 10 settlements – close to Drienov, Sol(Solivar), Prešov, Fintice, Raslavice, Veľký Slivník were established Chmeľovec, Kapušany, Medzianky, Ražňany or Podhorany. However, we should also mention gradual presence and land ownership of the Magyar nobility in the surrounding of Prešov. For more details about overall situation, also within the context of catholic religious orders see F. Uličný, 1965, s. 58–63; F. Uličný, 2000, *Vývoj uhorsko-poľského pohraničia v stredoveku*, „Historické štúdie“, 41, s. 41. Rábik mentions arrival of the Magyars in Prešov even in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries as well as later. He points out that there was a Magyar preacher in the town of Prešov. V. Rábik, 2006, *Nemecké osídlenie na území východného Slovenska v stredoveku (Šarišská župa a slovenské časti žúp Abovskej, Zemplínskej a Užskej)*, Bratislava, s. 53–54.

<sup>5</sup> The purpose for locating military and defence units was to guard, watch, provide military control over the given area, at roads, crossing places, „gates“ of the area inhabited by foreign and „irresponsible“ Slavic element, on communications and their crossroads. They were places of a strategic importance. M. Marek, 2006, s. 27, 44–46. For example locality of Kapušany, Tulčík, (Nižné) Raslavice, Fintice or Slivník. It relates to a gradual incorporation of the territory into the Kingdom of Hungary. About the Magyars settlements in Šariš see B. Varsík, 1964, s. 96–120; B. Varsík, 1977, s. 225–256. Uličný mentions gates and abatises in Šariš – Kapušany (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century), possible abatises between Pečovská Nová Ves and Červenica, between Demjata and Raslavice. About opinions on development of border area see F. Uličný, 2000, s. 43; F. Uličný, 1970, s. 5–13.

<sup>6</sup> According to F. Uličný, the Magyar settlement located at the southwest border of Prešov did not exist under a specific name in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It was most likely considered as a part of the locality. F. Uličný, 1990, s. 251.

<sup>7</sup> This settlement became the property of Prešov in 1411. MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – LL, sign. 111.

ument we can deduced that the Germans might have settled in Prešov even before 1247.<sup>8</sup> Other mentions of immigrants, the Germans – Saxons (Saxonum de Eperies) are as of 1248 (or earlier). King Béla IV granted the immigrants (“guests”) from Velký Šariš, Prešov and Sabinov various privileges; the Saxon “guests” from Prešov (Eperies) was given some land adjacent to their land possession.<sup>9</sup> This shows that the Saxons from Prešov (as well as Saxons from Velký Šariš and Sabinov) represented a more significant community. After 1299 Prešov began to develop as an urban settlement. King Andrew III granted collective privileges to Prešov, as well as to Velký Šariš and Sabinov, or to the communities of immigrants (hospites) settled in three given localities. The privileges applied also to other inhabitants of the towns.<sup>10</sup> The German, Saxony element settled west of the Slovak, the already mentioned older settlement, and north of the Magyar one. This group of inhabitants was of great importance for development of the locality. In the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period we can presume dominance of the Germans, even among the town elite.

The coexistence of these three settlement groups had significant and permanent impact on the shape, topography and three-ethnic character of the locality.<sup>11</sup> In the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period, Prešov was the biggest town in the Šariš county in term of a number of population, and the only town where in addition to the Slovaks and Germans lived also the numerous Magyar community. It was also reflected in the name of the town. The Slovak name of the settlement ceased to be used. The Magyar equivalent of the town name was used until 15<sup>th</sup> century. Later, the German “guests” accepted it, without any significant modification (in the written documents – Epuryes, Eperyes, Apprias, most often as Eperies, Eperjes, Epperies and others).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> F. Uličný, 1990, s. 250; R. Marsina (ed.), 1987, s. 193–194, č. 274++; F. Uličný, 1965, s. 65. According to Rábik, German immigrants entered the territory of the Šariš county in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. V. Rábik, 2006, s. 52–53. The size of land area is questioned also by for example V. Jankovič, 1975, s. 36–37. About charter from 1247 see F. Uličný, 1979, s. 87–99. Regarding the charter, Imrich Szentpétery did not question the authenticity of the charter, V. Chaloupecký considered it to be suspicious and according to B. Varsik it was a falsum. F. Uličný considered as a falsum only the description of boundaries of the land area stated in the charter. The latter is supported by various historians.

<sup>9</sup> L. Juck (ed.), 1984, s. 40, č. 16\*, č. 17\* (Year 1248 or earlier); R. Marsina (ed.), 1987, s. 201, 236, č. 287\*, 288\* (1248 or earlier), 338\* (1249). See also R. Marsina, 2010, s. 267–268.

<sup>10</sup> To Velký Šariš, Sabinov as well. Original has not preserved. MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – LL, sign. 2/a, 71. L. Juck (ed.), 1984, s. 82–83, č. 90 (1299); s. 85, č. 95 (1314); s. 103–104, č. 120, (1324); V. Sedlák (ed.), 1980, s. 522, č. 1232 (1314); F. Uličný, 2001a, s. 423; F. Uličný, 2010, s. 325–326. The Privilege referred to, or based on privileges given to the Saxon guests in Spiš (1271). As for analysis see: F. Uličný, 1981, s. 88–95. Privileges applied to immigrants as well as other residents. For new inhabitants – guests (hospites), rulers tried to create favourable conditions in order to make them feel home, so they would feel no need to return back. Therefore they were given various privileges and benefits. M. Marek, 2006, s. 60.

<sup>11</sup> Outcomes are determined by the non-performed coherent archaeological research of the locality, especially of the town centre.

<sup>12</sup> Further about name of locality and etymology O. R. Halaga, 1965, s. 165–186. Summarization: M. Domenová, *Prešov*, [w:] J. Lukačka, M. Štefánik, Martin et al., 2010, *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku*, Bratislava, s. 331.

The national structure of burghers and inhabitants during the 16<sup>th</sup> century is reflected in the organization and members of the Prešov parish. The existence of three ethnic groups living in Prešov is proved by the presence and activity of national preachers, reflecting major language groups of town population. We can provide proof that town council kept the Slovak (1498),<sup>13</sup> Magyar (1454, 1464, 1479)<sup>14</sup> and German preacher (1454, 1498).<sup>15</sup> In the Middle Ages, town population was homogeneous in terms of confession, i.e. inhabitants were the Roman Catholics. In 1630s, Lutheran form of Reformation was accepted. The Evangelical congregation in Prešov was established in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the Evangelical church of Augsburg Confession was the only one that carried out its activity in Prešov until 1671<sup>16</sup>. The Church congregation was organized in accordance with the ethnic composition of population based on the national principle – we mean the Germans, Magyars and Slovaks. Each nationality had its own church overseen by administrators, overseers (*vitricus*), so for example, towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, there were two overseers for the German parish church (Church of St. Nicholas), two for the Magyar church (Church of the Holy Trinity) and one for the Slovak church (Church of Our Lady/ Špitálsky – “Hospital” church).<sup>17</sup> Parish priest, preachers, and chaplains were paid by the town. Their placement within the framework of the town expenses, the amount of their annual salaries, benefits, (fuel) wood for heating indicate a hierarchy of the clergy in the following order – parish priest, German, Hungarian and Slovak preacher, and it also refers to the national situation and number of evangelical believers in the congregation.<sup>18</sup> The German believers formed the dominant part of the congregation even towards the end of the century. German preachers also performed duties of the priests.

Information about the activity of Jews and other confessions in the written sources is missing. Questionable, but not excluded, can be an exceptional, short-term and targeted presence of the Jewish population, individuals, such as traders.<sup>19</sup> It is, however, evident that the Jews did not live permanently in

<sup>13</sup> It is the first written record, but this does not exclude earlier activity of the preacher. ŠA PO, MMPO – LL, sign. 626; F. Uličný, 1965, s. 98; F. Uličný, 1984, s. 158–159.

<sup>14</sup> The year 1454 was pointed out by V. Rábik, 2006 (2), s. 54 or V. Rábik, 2006 (1), s. 141; MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – LL, sign. 278, 340, 368, 438, 678, 678/a, 798.

<sup>15</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – LL, sign. 278, 626; F. Uličný, 1984, s. 153–162.

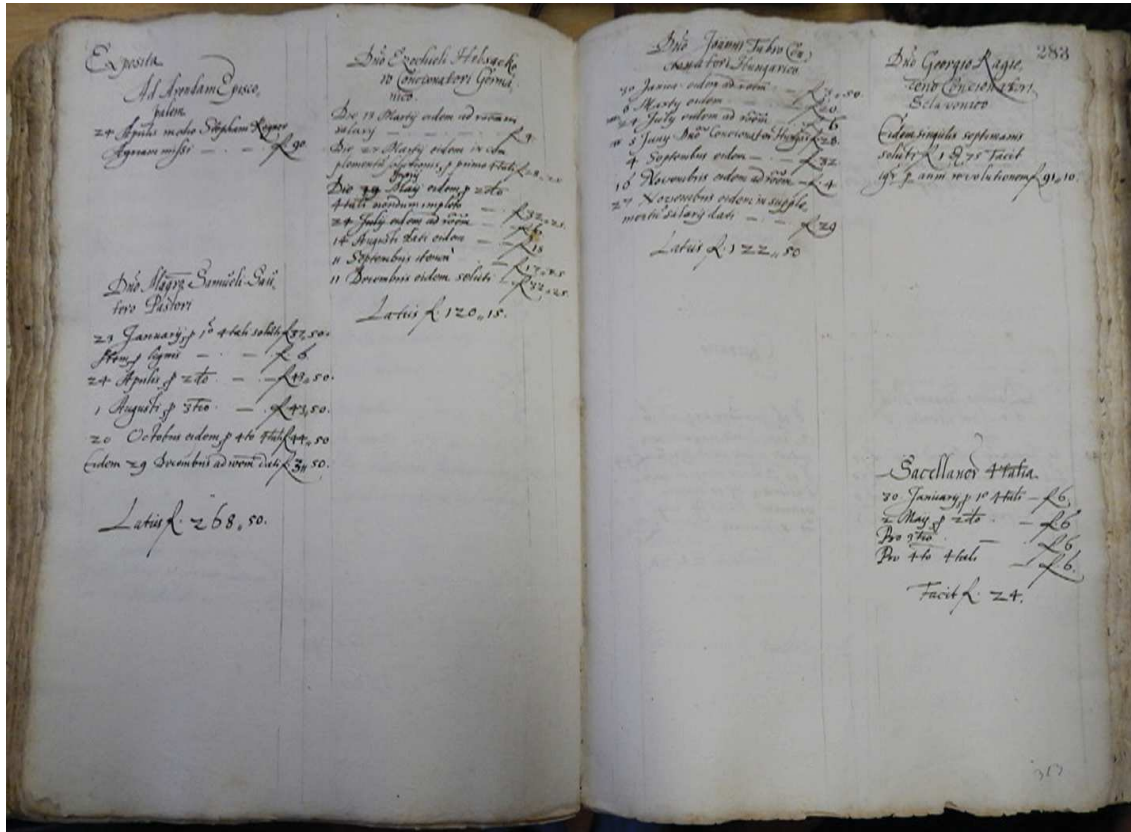
<sup>16</sup> Historians date beginnings of Protestant Reformation back to 1531 and connect them with preacher Anton and priest Bartolomej Bogner. For establishing a structure of evangelical church, the Synod of Prešov in 1546 had a significant role, election of first senior; in 1549 a confession called *Confessio Pentapolitana* was accepted. See: M. Bodnárová, 2009, s. 128–144.

<sup>17</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – K, inv. č. 2670. Similarly on the probe F. Uličný, 1984, s. 158–159.

<sup>18</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – K, inv. č. 2667, 2670.

<sup>19</sup> Foreign merchants could carry out trading activity in Prešov only during annual fairs. The Articles of the guild of Prešov merchants from 1617 (include also confirmation of the Articles from 1582) prohibited the Jews from freely trading, except fairs; the Jews were not allowed to settle in the town and become a member of the guild. The Scots and Poles were the only foreigners who could freely carry out trading activity in Prešov. T. Tandlich, s. 65–66. The Jews could trade at another time, however, they had to be holders of a special permit. M. Suchý, s. 148–149.

the town in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. This was possible only since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. From the given period there is no evidence of permanent residents of the Wallachian and Ruthenian origin, or members of Orthodox Church living in Prešov.<sup>20</sup>



Picture 1. Sample of town expenditures on preachers from the year 1593

In addition to the internal migration, there were also residents of other ethnic groups in Prešov that should be mentioned. The oldest reference to the Roma (Czygan, Cygan) dates back to the period considered. In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary references are sporadic, occurring mainly in the tax books associated with individuals (1428, 1433–1436).<sup>21</sup> It may be assumed that the written names were not aimed to express ethnicity of a person, but rather a nickname, perhaps a noun, descriptive designation of appearance or personality feature.<sup>22</sup> Much information about presence of the Roma, identifying them as Cziganen, Cigan (1547–1549), dates back to the mid–16<sup>th</sup> century, and namely outside the walls of the town – in the Upper suburb, where a numerous group probably (temporarily) settled. As a result, in this part of the suburb was formed a separate street, registered in the tax books (1550) as the New

<sup>20</sup> About the presence of inhabitants of the Wallachian and Ruthenian origin in Eastern Slovakia and Šariš region in the Middle Ages see: F. Uličný, 1990, s. 470; V. Rábik, 2005, s. 217–242.

<sup>21</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – LL, sign. 147, 159.

<sup>22</sup> By deductions M. Marek, 2006, s. 258. In the work, the author points out earlier records.

Egyptian Street (Noua Aegyptus Neugas, Aegyptus Noua, Noua Aegypta and other).<sup>23</sup> During the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Roma travelled around the Šaris county, forming temporary settlements.<sup>24</sup>

However, it is important to note that the evidence about the presence of members of the Slavic nations in Prešov or of the Czech and Polish origin dates back to the Middle Ages. The proof of presence of the Czech ethnic group in the Eastern Slovakia is furnished even in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, in the context of the Hussite expeditions, “little brethren” movement, as well as in connection with John Jiskra of Brandýs being in the service of Queen Elizabeth of Luxembourg (the commander in chief, count of Šariš county), who stayed in the Šariš castle and Prešov.<sup>25</sup> The presence of the Poles can be also proved in connection with the development of the Hungarian-Polish frontier, political and military situation associated with the struggle for the Hungarian crown, Polish campaigns to the territory of the present-day Slovakia and so on. The Carmelites, the only religious order the presence of which is recorded in the medieval Prešov came from Poland. By the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century they fell under the jurisdiction of the Polish Provincial, later the Provincial of the Upper German and Hungarian province with a seat in Vienna.<sup>26</sup>

The proof of presence of other nationalities is rare, such as Italians – a builder, master Peter Italus who supervised the construction of the town school (1519–1521).<sup>27</sup>

As demonstrated, migration of people, immigration contributed to the composition of the Prešov burghers since the Middle Ages. The origin of town inhabitants can be also deduced from the name forms, such as (first) name, historical nickname, particle, ethnicity-related name forms, but mainly from the gradually formed surnames in the preserved documents from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The names referred to the origin of persons, place-residence, country from which they could immigrate. They were especially aimed to exactly identify a person. In the sources we can see names expressing linguistic otherness, ethnicity or country of origin. In the probe of the year 1428 (the oldest tax book)<sup>28</sup> it can be stated that, in the category of names relating to the country of origin, the localities from the Spiš or Šariš regions prevail, but we also find a connection to the Poles (Polak – in the Magyar district), or evidence of connection in the form of first name (Pawel, Cocoth). There are also names in the German and Magyar form, indicating a language group, but also the Slovak

<sup>23</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – K, inv. č. 2679. Similarly M. Suchý, 1965, s. 109–111.

<sup>24</sup> Similarly F. Uličný, 1990, s. 471.

<sup>25</sup> There is also the record from 1453 about accepting no immigrants, Czechs (Behem) as town residents for defence and other purposes. King Ladislav V recommended burghers to contact the town of Košice with a request for town defence. MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – LL, sign. 273; M. Marek, 2013, s. 18; A. Gácsová, 1977, s. 187–216.

<sup>26</sup> F. Uličný, 1970, s. 253–262; F. Uličný, 1965, s. 103.

<sup>27</sup> B. Iványi, 1911, s. 16.

<sup>28</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – LL, sign. 147. For example, at the first names, occupational names (fixed, hereditary), and namely in various language equivalents, even with grammatical variations (variability), that was connected with the activity and way of recording of a notarius.

ethnic group (Toth). In the younger tax documents, there was designation of the Czech (Czech), Pole (Polak), Slovak (Thott, Windish) – i.e. immigrants of other Slavic nationalities. For example surnames of the proper tax payers in the years 1526 and 1527 and also 1544 and 1545 provide the evidence of the name-types of Slovak (Thot, Zlowak), Pole (Polack / Polak, Polya, Polonik) Sile (Szyles / Siles), but also Magyar, Nemett, Olaz, Lipsky, Sibenburger a Thalya<sup>29</sup>, that means from several regions of the Kingdom of Hungary.

The relevant archival documents, the source to monitor development of the burghers' community and national structure, are registers of the newly-accepted burghers, or in case of Prešov, the records of such type between 1523 and 1536 and "Register of the newly-accepted members of the town" (*Matricula sev receptaculum civitate donatorum*) from the years 1536 (1537!) to 1676 that we consider to be incomplete.<sup>30</sup> Documents provide evidence of keeping open contacts of town of Prešov with abroad, social and economic ties, trade as well as cultural and linguistic level of town inhabitants. By the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century, origin of burghers was recorded on an irregular basis; it can be documented in about 36% (including cases when the natives of Prešov were involved) of records. Among the newly-accepted burghers, people from the area of Poland, Silesia and Lesser Poland prevailed. We can assume that they were not directly the Polish settlers, but people from the existing German communities.<sup>31</sup> Since the end of the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, we can especially state, within the framework of migration movements, the localities from the present-day Poland, (Dukla, Głogów, Gorzyna, Iwonicz-Zdrój, Krosno, Legnica, Oświęcim, Paczków, Wrocław, Zawada) or the Lesser Poland (Gorlice, Ołpiny, Tuchów) and Silesia (Dzierżoniów, Jordanów Śląski, Opole, Świdnica, Tuchów, Wilków Wielki, Żarnowiec). From the current point of view, localities are situated in Poland or Germany (Pulsnitz).<sup>32</sup>

In the context of the research, localities from the present-day Hungary were identified (Debrecen, Esztergom, Göncz, Heice, Kaniža,<sup>33</sup> Pest, Putnok, Regéc, Szeged, Székesfehérvár, Szikszó), Germany – Bavaria, Thuringia, Saxony and other (Bad Urach, Düsseldorf, Nürnberg, Scheinfeld, Schwarzburg, Weimar), Transylvania – Romania (Cluj-Napoca), Croatia (Varazdin), Austria (Vienna, even from the present-day district of Ottakring, Reichental) and Ukraine (Sambor).<sup>34</sup> As far as the names are concerned, there are also ethnicity-related name forms, attribute, such as Polonus (or from where? – de Polonia) Hungarus, Silesius, Transylvanus (without specifying a country of origin). Then national composition cannot be exactly (or in percentage) calculated.

<sup>29</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – K, inv. č. 2675, 2679.

<sup>30</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – K, ŠA PO, sign. 2678, 2118.

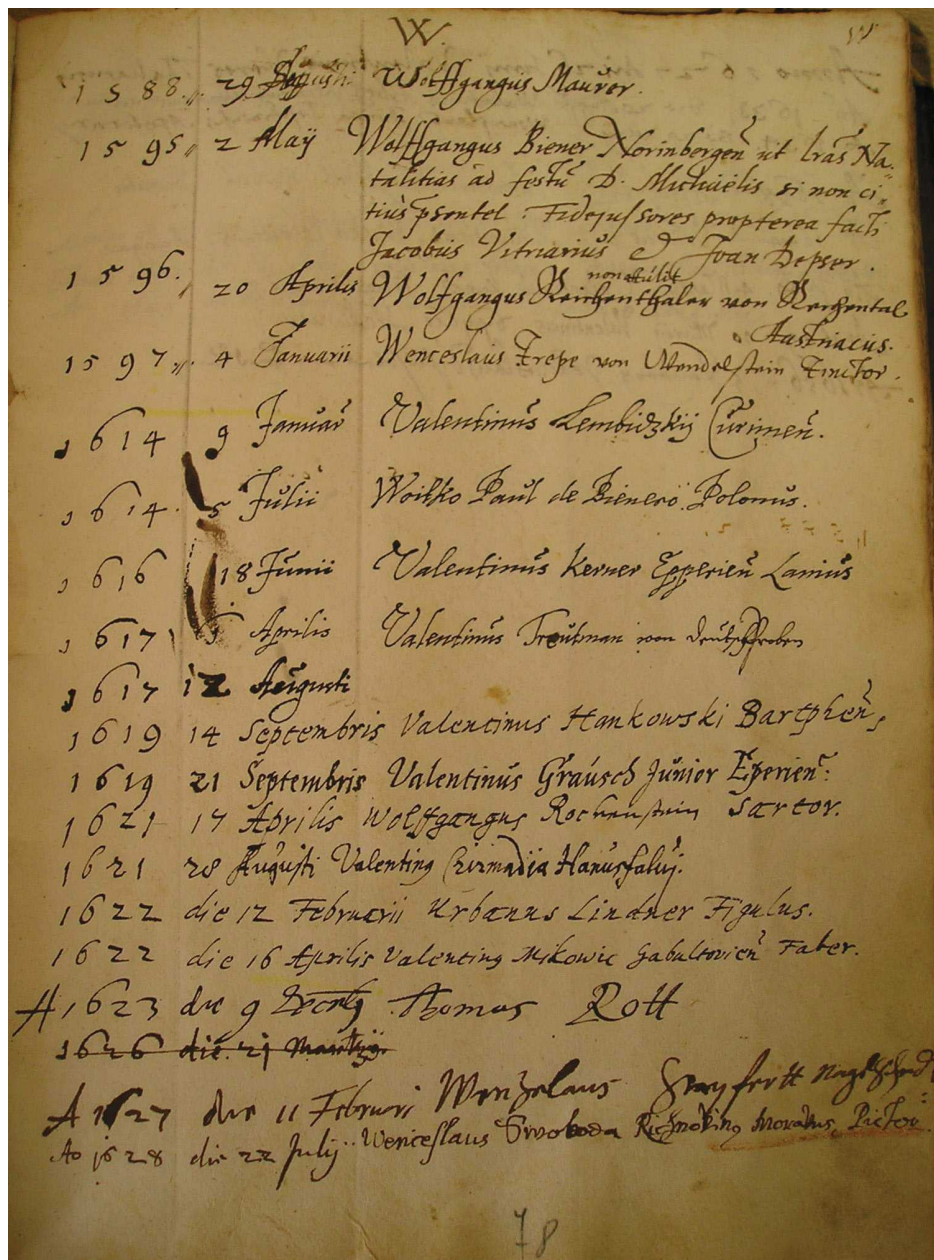
<sup>31</sup> Similarly M. Marek, 2013, s. 16.

<sup>32</sup> Very often there is no country of origin given stated at the names; for example Gašpar Guttler – originally from Lubomierz in Silesia received the burgher status in 1547, what was not recorded (28 January 1547 Casparus Gytler).

<sup>33</sup> It may also be Kaniza in Slovenia

<sup>34</sup> In the source, written as „de Nowa Sambor Pellio ex Russia.“





Picture2. Sample from the register of the newly-accepted burghers

The same applies to national proportion and subsequent composition of the burghers of Prešov by the surname. The outcomes would be misleading.

Important economic activities carried out by the inhabitants were craft production and trade that created conditions for involvement of the town in the local and long-distance trade, as already pointed out by Š. Kazimír and M. Suchý. Prešov became one of the important centres of transit, long – distance trade (e.g. 1537, 1538 – the storage right) in the north-south direction, fairs held in the town were of an international nature.<sup>35</sup> The social and economic situation as well as status and character of the locality made the town more

<sup>35</sup> In particular, connecting Poland and Transylvania was crucial. Š. Kazimír, 1979, s. 172–176, 181. Prešov represented a trade centre for purchase and sale of goods, place for performing

interesting in terms of migration. It can be assumed that the newly-accepted burghers came also from the areas affected by the Reformation movement in course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Register of the newly-accepted members of the burghers' community in Prešov (1537 to 1676) is a valuable source also for the second type of records, not only in connection with the occupation of the newly-accepted burgher (about 24%). It refers to the activity of burghers in the context of trade in wine or literally acquisition of the right to trade in wine, which made about 8.5% of the records. This proves the increased interest of burghers in these activities on the one hand, and the fact that the town tried to regulate them on the other hand. In the years 1559 and 1600, the number of burghers involved was about 61.<sup>36</sup> They were goldsmith, skinner, saddler, butcher, tanner, potter, tailor, girdler, rope-maker and armor producer (although such records were rare). In one case, it is specifically mentioned a trading activity carried out together with a wife.<sup>37</sup> Burghers were not only from Prešov, but also from e.g. Poprad, Sabinov, Krupina, Ukraine, but more often from Poland, Silesia.

We can provide a sample of some of them (Table 1). The right to carry out trading activity could not be granted at the moment when being accepted as a burgher of the Prešov town. In majority of cases, notes were not dated, other were entered after a gap from 1 to 36 years, in case of the Poles, Silesians – were not dated or within the time frame from 2 to 11 years.

Table 1. Sample of records regarding the trade in wine at the newly-accepted members of the townspeople<sup>38</sup>

Date of acceptance	Name	Craft, livelihood	Origin/	Trading in vine
(13 April) 1585	Caspar Witwer	N	Silesius	=? erased
8 May 1594	Albertus Meltzer	N	Polonus ex villa Olpinij	=?
25 June 1594	Jacobus Zichalias Warga	N	De Zawada, Polonus	=?
3 October 1598	Matthias Maczisko	N	Polonus	1609
14 Noember 1592	Casparus Winckler	N	Silesius, de Jordansmühl	?=
5 August 1600	Cristophorus Hiller	Cataphractycus	Silesius	11 January 1602

big loans and payments for the area between south Germany and Russia, area between Lower Danube and Baltic Sea.

<sup>36</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – K, sig. 2118. Older historical literature gives overall 50 burghers receiving the permission to trade in wine between the years 1559 and 1600 and 50 burghers being given such right in the years 1601–1633. M. Suchý, 1965, s. 147. The residents living on the outskirts of the town were excluded from trading activity. M. Bodnárová, 2015, s. 14, 17.

<sup>37</sup> Year 1586: Pavol Somody – Hungarus (cum uxore causa negotiationis vinorum susceptus).

<sup>38</sup> Explanatory notes: ? – note is not dated; =? – note is not dated, may be the date of being accepted as a burgher; N – occupation not stated.

However, they are not the only burghers of such origin that carried out trading activity. Among the newly-accepted members of the townspeople were also merchants (*mercator*) originally from Levoča (1598) or Poland. Some of them, though not being recorded in the register, were pointed out by, for example, the Polish historians.<sup>39</sup>

The multicultural and multinational character of the town was maintained also in the following period. For comparison, in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century craftsmen moved to Prešov from the Šaris and Spiš region (e.g. Veľký Šariš, Bardejov, Sabinov, Kežmarok, Levoča, Spišské Vlachy, Spišské Podhradie) as well as from Košice, Banská Bystrica, Trenčín, Žilina and Zvolen. Among the burghers in Prešov were also admitted foreigners from Poland, Transylvania, Austria, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia and Germany.<sup>40</sup>

The newly-accepted burghers were, at the official level, welcomed by the representatives of the town council, i.e. self-governing authority under the conditions laid down. At present we cannot reconstruct form of oath – promise that was a part of then acceptance process, although it is mentioned by B. Iványi when describing the unpreserved (lost) Prešov *Summy legum Raimundi*. It provided the text in German, Latin, Hungarian and Slovak versions.<sup>41</sup>

Information about national issues, level of national tolerance in the area of crafts activity is provided by the guilds, guild articles – conditions stated herein, and language in which were written. From the Middle Ages and for the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the guild articles are written in German. It is known that membership in a guild was also conditioned by the nationality. For example, the Articles of the guild of skippers in Prešov (1451) contained the condition of German nationality, although the exception was expressly permitted.<sup>42</sup>

The need for higher and better education, which means existence and availability of universities also supported the migration. In Prešov, rectors of the town school or teachers were educated men, graduates of universities, such as Krakow, Wittenberg, often of foreign origin (i.e. from Silesia/ Germany, Poland, Transylvania/ Romania). Similarly, the requirement for quality education was associated with representatives of elites, representatives of intelligence (notary) and clergy (priest, preacher). Students from Prešov studied at foreign universities. At university enrolment, origin of students was also recorded (place of residence, father's name) and possibly the church's diocesan bishopric (Krakow).<sup>43</sup> As regards students studying in the given period, in ex-

<sup>39</sup> For example Albert Meltzer (1594, *Polonus ex villa Olpinij*), Krištof Melczer (1573, *Polonus*). Compare: F. Kiryk, 2000, s. 13; F. Leśniak, 2000, s. 65.

<sup>40</sup> M. Marečková, 1984, s. 144. These foreigners were in particular weavers, cloth makers, then dressmakers, coopers, goldsmiths, butcher and locksmith.

<sup>41</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – LL, sign. 455. The form of oath is not recorded elsewhere in the fund. It was recorded for a new mayor, notary or sworn alderman. MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – K, sign. 113/I.

<sup>42</sup> The condition was omitted and was not given in the younger version of the guild articles (e.g. from 1616). F. Uličný, 1965, s. 69; Š. Sabol, 1943, s. 77.

<sup>43</sup> For example Diocese of Eger (dioc. *Agriensis*) applied to the Krakow example. A. Chmiel (ed.), 1887–1892; K. Schrauf (ed.), 1893.

ceptional cases there is a record about the country of origin – Ex Hungaria (at Wittenberg), and later there are Latin ethnonym recording the ethnicity of students such as Hungarian/ Hungarian (Uhor, Magyarn) or Pannonius (Panón, at Vienna, Padua, Jena, Kráľovec, Leipzig, Tübingen and Wittebnerg).<sup>44</sup> In the given period and context, the sufficient standpoint cannot be provided about nationality or ethnicity, and any deductions could be distortive.

The perception of ethnicity and any attempts to characterize it are challenging in the given period. It can be assumed that in the Medieval and Early Modern locality, where three ethnicities lived in the relatively tolerant, peaceful and fair cohabitation, national intolerance (as understood nowadays) did not exist. There were not the ethnicity-based conflicts or disputes; they had rather economic background, based on the property-related interests, and so on.<sup>45</sup> At the multi-ethnic localities arises a question of the nature of urban elites, representation in the town council. The basic criterion for becoming a “town patriciate”, a member of the town council was richness and social status. Mayor, sworn aldermen and notary swore an oath before taking up their duties. It is also noteworthy that the text of the oath was then written in the German language (turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries), to this points out the only preserved written record.<sup>46</sup>

In the Early Modern Period, social development became even more complicated, much diversity of the population and its movement is observed. In addition to state events and processes (political situation, including internal political struggles, wars, Turkish danger and invasions), crucial was social and religious development, especially spread of Protestant Reformation that affected the overall confessional situation of the locality. The nobility gradually moved to the town. The given factors became a reflection of the retrospective perception and evaluation of the urban society and its population.

Trl. Mgr. Lucia Marcinková

## Historical sources and literature

### Souerces

*Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis. Tomus I. – II, fascicuuis I–II*, ed. Adam Chmiel, Cracoviae, 1887–1892.

*Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae: Tom. 2, inde ab a. 1235 usque ad a. 1260*, ed. Richard Marsina. Bratislava, 1987.

*Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára (Archivum liberae regiaeque civitatis Eperjes.) 1245–1526. [I. rész]*, ed. Iványi Béla, Szeged 1931.

<sup>44</sup> P. Horváth, 1967, s. 162–170. In case of Vienna University, in the 17th century, students from Prešov are also recorded as Ungarus or Slavus. L. Szögi, 2012, s. 215–216, 270, 293, 312, 315, 317, 323–324. The latest note about the issue was made by F. Uličný, 2016, s. 498. For students from Slovakia studying in Vienna was used term Sclauus (Slovak).

<sup>45</sup> Compare: M. Marek, 2006, s. 16.

<sup>46</sup> MV SR, ŠA PO, MMPO – K, sign. 113/1; I. Béla (ed.), 1931, s. 69–70.

*Magyarországi Tanulók Külföldön. III. Regestum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis. A Krakói Magyar Tanulók – Háza Lakóinak Jegyzéke (1493–1558)*, ed. Károly Schrauf. Budapest, 1893.

MV SR, Štátny archív Prešov (ŠA PO), fond: Magistrát mesta Prešov (MMPO).

*Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae. Tomus 1*, ed. Vincent Sedlák, Bratislava 1980.

*Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku: 1238 – 1350, Zv. 1*, ed. Lubomír Juck, Bratislava 1984.

## Literature

Bodnárová M., 2009, *Dejiny Evanjelického a. v. zboru v Prešove v 16. storočí*, [w:] „*Nezameniteľné je dedičstvo otcov...*“ ed. Peter Kónya, Prešov, s. 128–144.

Bodnárová M., 2015, *Obchod Prešova v stredoveku*, “*Annales historici Presovienses*”, 15(1), s. 14, 17.

Domenová M., 2010, *Prešov*, [w:] *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku*, ed. J. Lukačka, M. Štefánik a kol., Bratislava, s. 331.

Gácsová A., 1977, *Boje Mateja I. proti Jánovi Jiskrovi z Brandýsa a bratříkom v r. 1458–1467*, “*Historický časopis*” 25 (20), s. 187–216.

Halaga O.R., 1965, *Meno mesta Prešova vo svetle jazykových a historických súvislostí*, “*Jazykovedný časopis*”, 16, 1965, č. 2, s. 165–186.

Horváth, P., 1967, *Študenti zo Slovenska na krakovskej univerzite v 15. a v prvej polovici 16. storočia*, [in:] *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku 15.–16. storočí*. Bratislava, s. 162–170.

Iványi B., 1911, *Eperjes szabadkir. városiskolaügye a középkórban*, Budapest.

Idem, 1914, *Das deutschum der Stadt Eperjes Im Mittelalter*, “*Südostdeutsche Forschungen*”, 5, s. 370.

Jankovič V., 1975, *Osídlenie a vznik mesta*, [w:] *Dejiny Bardejova*, Bardejov, s. 36–37.

Kazimír Š., 1979, *Základné rysy obchodu Prešova v 16.–17. storočí*, “*Nové obzory*” 19, s. 172–176, 181.

Kiryk F., 2000, *Zwiazki handlowe i kulturalne miast Małopolskich ze Słowacją w XV i XVI stuleciu*, “*Historické štúdie*”, 41, s. 13.

Leśniak F., 2000, *Wymiana towarowa między miastami polskiego Podkarpacia a północno-węgierskimi (wschodnio-słowackimi) w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII stulecia*. “*Historické štúdie*” 41, s. 65.

Marečková M., 1984, *Národnostná štruktúra bardejovských a prešovských remeselníkov v prvej polovici 17. storočia*, “*Historica Carpatica*” 15, s. 144.

Marek M., 2006, *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku*, Martin.

Idem, 2003, *Slovanské etnonymá v toponymii stredovekého Uhorska*, “*Studia historica Tyrnaviensia*” III, s. 72.

Idem, 2013, *Vplyv prisťahovalectva na etnické pomery stredovekých miest na Slovensku*, “*Mesto a dejiny*” 2(1), s. 16–18.

Marsina R., 2010, *Najstaršia fáza vývoja výsadných miest na Slovensku*, “*Historické štúdie*” 46, s. 267–268.

Rábik V., 2005, *Rusíni a valašské obyvatelstvo na východnom Slovensku*, “*Historický časopis*” 53(2), s. 217–242.

- Idem, 2006a, *Národnostní kňazi (kazatelia) v živote stredovekých miest na Slovensku*, "Studia historica Tyrnaviensia" VI, s. 141.
- Idem, 2006b, *Nemecké osídlenie na území východného Slovenska v stredoveku (Šarišská župa a slovenské časti žúp Abovskej, Zemplínskej a Užskej)*, Bratislava.
- Sabol Š., 1943, *Prešov v minulosti a dnes*, Bratislava.
- Suchý M., 1965, *Hospodársky vývoj Prešova; Topograficko-demografický obraz mesta*, [in:] *Dejiny Prešova I*. Ed. Imrich Sedlák, Košice, s. 109–111, 147–149.
- Szögi L., 2012, *Adattár*, [in:] *Sárosmegyei diákok az európai egyetemeken 1387–1918* ed. L. Szögi P. Kónya, Budapest–Prešov, s. 215–324.
- Tandlich T., 1997, *Artikuly obchodných cechov v slobodných kráľovských mestách Košice, Prešov a Levoča*, "Slovenská archivistika" 32(1), s. 65–66.
- Uličný F., 1965, *Majetkové pomery a osídlenie Šariša v 13. storočí; Prešov – slovenská osada a nemeckí kolonisti; Hospodársky vývin Prešova. Národnostné pomery, cirkevné pomery*, [in:] *Dejiny Prešova I*, ed. Imrich Sedlák, Košice, s. 58–103.
- Idem, 1970, *Včlenenie Šariša do uhorského štátu*, "Nové obzory" 12, s. 5–13.
- Idem, 1970a, *Poľské vojenské vpády na Slovensko v druhej polovici 15. storočia*, "Historické štúdie" 15, s. 253–262.
- Idem, 1979, *Listina Bela IV. z roku 1247 o majetkoch bardejovských cistercitov*, "Slovenská archivistika" 1, s. 87–99.
- Idem, 1981, *Výsady spišských miest z roku 1271*, "Slovenská archivistika" 16(1), s. 88–95.
- Idem, 1984, *K výskumu národnostnej štruktúry stredovekých miest na Slovensku*, [in:] *Národnostný vývoj miest na Slovensku do r. 1918*, Zost. Richard Marsina, Martin, 1984, s. 153–162.
- Idem, 1990, *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša*, Košice.
- Idem, 2000, *Vývoj uhorsko-poľského pohraničia v stredoveku*, "Historické štúdie" 41, s. 35–43.
- Idem, 2001, *Výsadnosť mešťanov od 13. storočia*, "Historický časopis" 49(3), s. 423.
- Idem, 2010, *Pôvod a vývoj miest na Slovensku od 9. do 14. storočia*, "Historické štúdie", 46, s. 325–326.
- Idem, 2016, *Latinské etnonymá Slovákov v stredoveku a novoveku: Sclavi, Panoni, Slavi*, "Historický časopis", 64(3), s. 498.
- Varsik B., 1964, *Osídlenie Košickej kotliny I*, Košice.
- Idem, 1977, *Osídlenie Košickej kotliny III*, Košice.