

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE:
BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC

OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

VOLUME / BAND 2

ISSUE / HEFT 1



EAST CENTRAL EUROPE:
BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC

OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

VOLUME / BAND 2
ISSUE / HEFT 1

The University of Debrecen
Faculty of Humanities
Institute of History



2026

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC
OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

Published by / Herausgegeben von:

University of Debrecen

Issued by / Veröffentlicht von:

The University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities, Institute of History

Address / Adresse:

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

Editors-in-Chief / Herausgeber:

Attila Bárány, University of Debrecen, Hungary

László Pósán, University of Debrecen, Hungary

Editorial Board / Redaktionsbeirat:

Nicholas Coureas, Adelaide (Australia)

Roman Czaja, Toruń, (Poland)

Helmut Flachenecker, Würzburg, (Germany)

Dieter Heckmann, Werder, (Germany)

Jürgen Sarnowsky, Hamburg, (Germany)

Janusz Trupinda, Malbork, (Poland)

Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Lecce, (Italy)

All articles were reviewed through a double-blind peer review process / Alle Beiträge wurden in einem Double-Blind-Peer-Review-Verfahren begutachtet.

ISSN:

Print: 3058-0501

Available online at / Online verfügbar unter:

<https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/eastcentraleurope/index>

(Editorial support by University of Debrecen University and National Library / unterstützt durch Universitäts- und Nationalbibliothek der Universität Debrecen)

Contact / Kontakt:

lendulet.unideb@gmail.com

Journal Manager / Redaktionsmanager:

Ádám Novák

Proofreaders / Korrektorat:

János Sikora

Technical Editor / Technische Redaktion:

Sándor Ónadi

© The University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities, Memoria Hungariae Research Group

© Authors

2026

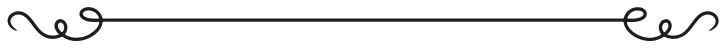
Contents / Inhalt

ARTICLES / ARTIKEL

- Gábor Barabás:** *The Turul and the White Eagles.
King Andrew II of Hungary and his Polish Relatives* 9
- László Pósn:** *The Role of Gifts in the Diplomatic Relations
between Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Teutonic Order*..... 37
- Csenge Tímár:** *Contributions to the Venetian-Hungarian Alliance
and Anti-Ottoman War of 1501–1503*..... 59
- László Szokola:** *The Ethnic and Social Background of the Military
in Szeben (Sibiu) and Brassó (Braşov) during the Second Half of
the Fifteenth and First Half of the Sixteenth Centuries* 73
- Dominik Tóth:** *The Wagenburg-warfare in the Army of King Matthias*. 93
- Bálint Vinkler:** *Further Additions to the Export of Wines from
the Upper Tisza Region (Mostly Tokaj-Hegyalja)
to Krakow (1586–1605)*..... 111
- Petra Košťálová:** *“Igni ferroque”. Shaping Early Modern Ukraine
History Through Lens of Armenian Sources*..... 217
- Gábor Pusztai:** *Arbeitnehmer der Niederländischen Ost-Indien
Kompanie (1602–1799) aus dem Königreich Ungarn*..... 237
- Róbert Kerepeszki – Roland Perényi:** *Beyond the Western Metropolis:
A Research Agenda for the Spatial History of Urban Crime
in Budapest throughout the “Long” Twentieth Century*..... 315

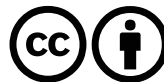
REVIEWS AND REPORTS / REZENSIONEN UND BERICHTE

- Emre Mirza Güney:** *The Relationship Between Central Europe and the Low Countries from the Middle Ages to the Present Day Conference*..... 331
- Zoltán Szolnoki:** *The III. Bálint Alajos International Conference* 335
- Adrienn Botha-Lőrincz:** *András, Sófalvi, Homoródszentmárton templomvára. Esettanulmány az erdélyi templomerődítések történetéhez (The church-fortress of Mártoniș. Case study on the history of church fortifications in Transylvania).* 339
- László Levente Kis:** *Dániel, Bihari, A Tatárjárás - Magyarország élet-halál harca (The Mongol Invasion: Hungary's Struggle for Survival)*..... 343



Articles / Artikel






GÁBOR BARABÁS, PhD, University of Pécs

H-7624 Pécs, Rókus str. 2. “M” building, 113.

barabas.gabor@pte.hu

 ORCID: 0000-0003-4786-970X



The Turul and the White Eagles King Andrew II of Hungary and his Polish Relatives*

ABSTRACT

The research of the relations between certain rulers, territories or peoples can be considered as one of the classic topics of historiography in general and of Medieval Studies as well. The history of Polish–Hungarian contacts in the Middle Ages is no exception, several scientific and popular works have dealt with the relations of the Piasts and Árpáds, and their respective realms. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize, that we can only speak indirectly about international relations concerning the High Middle Ages, the personal contacts of the rulers and the dynastic ties established between the ruling families are of great importance when studying the various elements of the relations.

This paper focuses on the analysis of certain episodes of the relations of the rulers of Poland and King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–1235) in the early thirteenth century. Family ties were of paramount importance in the case of the Hungarian king as well. This was particularly true given that during his reign matrimonial relations were reestablished between the Árpáds and the Piasts after a hiatus of nearly eighty years. In 1214, Andrew II made an agreement with the ruler of Cracow, Leszek the White, on the marriage of their children, Prince Coloman and Princess Salomea. However, the Hungarian king’s relations with Poland were not limited to the marriage of his second son. The relation between the brothers-in-law, Andrew II and Duke Henry I the Bearded of Silesia, or the case of Władysław Odonic of Greater Poland, and his hypothetical exile in Hungary are perhaps not among the most well-known episodes of this era, but they offer quite interesting details regarding the Polish-Hungarian relations.

Keywords: Poland, Hungary, Andrew II, genealogy, dynastic relations, dynastic policy, matrimony

Introduction

Historical research of Polish–Hungarian relations have a long history, with a series of scholarly works on the subject, this study is a short contribution to this topic. Its focus is on an important aspect of the relationship between

* Research for this study was supported by the János Bolyai Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (BO/00173/24) and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Pécs.

the Kingdom of Hungary and the Polish principalities, the family connections of the two dynasties in the early thirteenth century. The scope of the present paper does not allow for a detailed discussion of all aspects of Polish-Hungarian relations, such as every detail of military, ecclesiastical or social history, my aim is to analyse the family ties of King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–1235) to the Piast princes of Poland. Therefore, I intend to present a few, somewhat arbitrarily selected episodes, which are linked to the Polish relatives of Andrew II, and can be considered generally as not particularly well-known contacts. Nonetheless, it should be stressed right at the beginning that regarding the High Middle Ages, strictly speaking, we cannot speak of foreign affairs, the use of the notions of foreign policy or international relations would be misleading. The personal nature of power meant that relations between rulers and dynasties, dynastic policy were the decisive factor that also shaped the course of events. This latter contact, in addition to certain symbolic acts, could be forged mainly through creating family ties and marriages.

The Proverbial Mythical Birds

But before we turn our attention to the relevant family matters, we must first clarify the two terms in the title of this paper and how they are related to each other. The name “turul” does not need any special explanation for Hungarian readers or the scholars of Medieval Studies, it is the name of the legendary bird of the ruling dynasty, the Árpáds. The notion appeared at first in the work of the unidentified Hungarian chronicler, Anonymus who wrote his *gesta* probably at the beginning of the thirteenth century,¹ in the so-called dream scene of Emese, yet the name turul is missing from the text, the author merely used the word falcon regarding the dream.² According to the narrative of Simon of Kéza, the chronicler of the late thirteenth century, the *turul* served as the coat

¹ *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, vol. 1. Ed. Dunphy, R. Graeme. Leiden, 2010. 102.

² “Ugek, [...] qui duxit sibi uxorem in Dentumoger filiam Eunedubeliani ducis, nomine Emesu, de qua genuit filium, qui agnominatus est Almus. Sed ab eventu divino est nominatus Almus, quia matri eius pregnantis per sompnum apparuit divina visio in forma asturis, que quasi veniens eam gravidavit et innotuit ei, quod de utero eius egrederetur torrens et de lumbis eius regesgloriosi propagarentur, sed non in sua multiplicarentur terra” – *Anonymus and Master Roger*. Edited translated and annotated by Bak, János M. – Rady, Martin – Veszprémy, László. Budapest, 2010. 12–15.

of arms of the Huns, or Hungarians, from Attila to Grand Prince Géza.³ Nevertheless, I must emphasize that in this case I am using the symbol for the Árpáds merely for the sake of the bird analogy.

The notion of white eagle is equally self-explanatory, as it is still a central part of the coat of arms of Poland. The history of this symbol goes back to the story, which can be traced back to the so-called Chronicle of Greater Poland (*Kronika Wielkoposka*)⁴ from the late thirteenth, or, according to other opinions the fourteenth century,⁵ according to which the eldest of the three Slavic brothers, Lech, Czech and Rus, Lech, migrated north from Pannonia following a white eagle and at its nest founded Gniezno, the future archbishop's seat.⁶ Interestingly, according to the Chronicle of Greater Poland, the ancestral homeland of all Slavic peoples was Pannonia, hence Lech's journey from there, and according to this narrative even the Hungarians themselves were Slavs.⁷

³ *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, vol. I–II. Edendo operi praefuit Emericus Szentpétery, socii operis erant I. Balogh [et al.], Eds. Szovák, Kornél – Veszprémy, László. Budapest, 1999. I. [hereinafter *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*] 152. Simon de Kéza / Simon of Kéza: *Gesta Hungarorum / The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Eds. Veszprémy, László – Schaer, Frank. (Central European Medieval Texts, 1.) Budapest, 1999. 42–43.; *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*. Eds. Kristó Gyula – Engel Pál – Makk Ferenc. Budapest, 1994. [hereinafter *Korai Magyar*] 60, 693.

⁴ The 1555 chronicle of the Polish humanist Marcin Kromer, or Martinus Cromerus (*De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*) contains the complete story, while the Chronicle of Greater Poland contains only the nest motif. “alba aquila” – Cromer, Martinus, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*. Basel, 1555, 26. See *Gall Névtelen, A lengyel fejedelmek avagy hercegek krónikája és tettei*. Translated with an introduction and notes by Dániel Bagi. Budapest, 2007. 90. note nr. 38.

⁵ *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, vol. 1. 2010. 394.

⁶ “postquam autem Lech cum sua progenie memora latissima ubi regnum Poloniae constitit peragrasset, tandem veniens ad quendam locum amenissimum agris fertilissimum piscium et ferarum habundancia repletum tentoria sua fixit in eodem ibique primam habitationem pro sui et suorum conservacione edificare cupiens dixit: Nidificemus! Unde et locus ille usque ad Gnezna, id est nidificacio, appellatur” – *Chronica Poloniae maioris – Kronika Wielkopolska*. Ed. Kürbis, Brygida. (Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Series Nova, VIII.) Warszawa, 1970. [hereinafter *Chronica Poloniae maioris*] 7.

⁷ “Pannonia sit mater et origo omnium Sclauonicarum nacionum [...] Item de Hungaris qui et ipsi sunt Slawi [...]” *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 4, 7. See Grzesik, Ryszard, “Megjegyzések a középkori lengyel krónikákban és évkönyvekben említett magyarokról”, = *Századok* 136:1, 2002, 485–493, here 488.

However, it should be stressed, despite Simon of Kéza's mention of the ruling dynasty as the Turul-kindred,⁸ that there is no data which could confirm that the name was actually used in the royal family. From the thirteenth century onwards, the notion of the family of the holy kings ('beata stirps') is encountered in several instances,⁹ but in the following I will use the term Árpáadian dynasty, which has been taking root in scholarship and public consciousness since the eighteenth century.¹⁰ The same can be said of the first ruling family of Poland, the Piasts,¹¹ a name that was in use from the sixteenth century onwards.¹² In their case, the white eagle was verifiably present in the representation of the dynasty already in the early period, but applied to the family, it is a completely arbitrary association, which is only intended to strengthen the bird metaphor.

In my paper I will examine the family links between the two dynasties and their impact on their respective countries in the early thirteenth century. However, methodological issues must first be addressed in connection with this approach. As mentioned above, in medieval context, we need to be careful while researching relations between different political entities. The notions of modern diplomacy are of limited application to the period. The very concepts of foreign policy or international relations raise questions, especially as it is disputable whether, or rather to what extent we can even speak of states before the late Middle Ages at all.¹³ What is certain is that in the early and high Middle Ages, personal power and relations played a decisive role, and the contacts between rulers were therefore also decisive in the system of interactions between terri-

⁸ "capitaneis Arpad, filius Almi, [...] de genere Turul" – *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, I. 165.

⁹ Klaniczay, Gábor, *Holy rulers and blessed princesses: dynastic cults in medieval central Europe*. Cambridge, 2002. 228–232.; Korai Magyar, 1994. 60.

¹⁰ Korai Magyar, 1994. 60.

¹¹ The figure of Piast, the ploughman, later a wheelmaker, first appeared in the early twelfth century in the historical work of an unknown author, Gallus Anonymus entitled *The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*. The story has undergone many changes in later narrative. See Tapolcai László, "Piast alakjának változása a lengyel történeti hagyományban", = *Világtörténet* 30:2, 2008, 20–27.

¹² Hertel, Jacek, *Imiennictwo dynastii piastowskiej we wcześniejszym średniowieczu*. Warszawa, 1980. 30–31.

¹³ Sashalmi Endre, *Az emberi testtől az óraműig*. Second Edition. Pécs, 2021. 9–10.

tories. Therefore, one should speak instead of foreign policy rather of external relations in the period under study, i.e. the early thirteenth century.¹⁴

External Relations in High Middle Ages

The scope of this paper does not allow us to go into detail on all aspects of relations between medieval rulers, including conflicts and their management methods,¹⁵ so I will concentrate on the role and importance of marriages. However, a further concept, the so-called *amicitia*, literally friendship, in a broader sense alliance,¹⁶ cannot be omitted, since the kinship relations that developed could be the basis for it, but could also serve to strengthen it. Alliances may have been formed despite existing kinship ties, whether blood or acquired, even if considerations of ‘friend of a friend, enemy of an enemy’ (*amicus amicis, inimicus inimicis*) were more common.¹⁷ We must not forget, of course, that belonging to the same family was no guarantee of a balanced relationship at all, but internal, dynastic conflicts were so much a part of everyday life that, in some cases, staying out of them or even harmonious relations between powerful relatives were the exception rather than the rule. Not surprisingly, then, examples of family feuds abound in the history of both the Árpáds and the Piasts.¹⁸

Before we turn to the family-relations between the two dynasties, we must also touch on the issue of marriages. In particular, since the adoption and the consolidation of Christianity and the establishment of the church organisation in the two countries went on in roughly parallel way from the mid-

¹⁴ In using this term, I am following in the footsteps of Tamás Körmendi. Nevertheless, the use of terms of diplomacy does not seem to be entirely avoidable, as has been pointed out by authors of relevant Hungarian works in recent years and decades. See Makk Ferenc, *Magyar külpolitika (896–1196)*. Szeged, 1996. 5.; Báling Péter, *Az Árpád-ház hatalmi kapcsolatrendszerei. Rokonok, barátok és dinasztikus konfliktus Kelet-Közép-Európában a 11. században és a 12. század elején*. (Arpadiana, VII.) Budapest, 2021. 25–29.; Rudolf Veronika, *Közép-Európa a hosszú 13. században: Magyarország, Csehország és Ausztria hatalmi és dinasztikus kapcsolatai 1196 és 1310 között*. (Arpadiana, XV.) Budapest, 2023. 11.

¹⁵ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 54–61. and passim.

¹⁶ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 193–199.

¹⁷ See Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 203–204.

¹⁸ Bagi, Dániel, *The territorial divisions, power struggles, and dynastic historiography of the Árpáds of 11th- and early 12th-century Hungary, with comparative studies of the Piasts of Poland and the Přemysls of Bohemia*. (Arpadiana, II.) Budapest, 2020. 168–320.

dle of the tenth century.¹⁹ From the eleventh century onwards, the Christian norms of marriage²⁰ became key criteria for the right to the throne, most of all that of the legitimate birth, i.e. to be born of a Christian wedlock.²¹ However, it would be misleading to think that the adoption of Christianity would have immediately led to the consolidation of the new mentality, as the pagan revolts of the eleventh century in both the Polish and Hungarian cases testify to the opposite.²² In the case of the “Christianisation”²³ of marriage, too, it can be said that it was essentially completed by the twelfth century, by which time pagan customs, such as concubinage, polygamy, abduction of women, dismissal of wives and the prohibition of remarriage, had been fully enforced.²⁴

In the Piast family, at the turn of the millennium, the norms of Christian marriage had not yet become exclusive for Bolesław I the Brave (Chrobry) (992–1025) and his descendants,²⁵ but in the early twelfth century Bolesław III Wrymouth (1102–1138) had already invoked the illegitimate origin of his brother Zbigniew in their conflict. So did later the Hungarian rulers from the Álmos-lineage, who used the same argument in the case of the alleged son of King Coloman the Learned (1096–1116), Boris Kolomanovich.²⁶

¹⁹ Font Márta, *A keresztény nagyhatalmak vonzásában. Közép- és Kelet-Európa a 10–12. században*. Budapest, 2005. 87–129.; Koszta, László, “State Power and Ecclesiastical System in Eleventh Century Hungary”, In: Petrovics, István – Tóth, Sándor László – Congdon, Eleanor A. (eds.), *In my spirit and thought I remained a European of Hungarian origin”. Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik*. (Capitulum, VI.) Szeged, 2010. 67–78. Berend, Nora – Urbańczyk, Przemysław – Wiszewski, Przemysław, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c.900–c.1300*. New York, 2013. 118–137, 144–160.

²⁰ The regulations of Canon Law were still in motion in this period, e. g. regarding the prohibition of marriages between relatives, or the necessary free will of the parties. See Erdő Péter, “A házasság kánonjogi arculata a történelemben”, In: Erdő Péter, *Egyházjog a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest, 2001. 220–238, here 229–232.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 68.

²¹ Font, *A keresztény*, 2005. 150–152.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 63.; Berend – Urbańczyk – Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 2013. 161–165.

²² Font, *A keresztény*, 2005. 91–92.

²³ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 64.; Bagi, *The territorial divisions*, 2020. 181–182.

²⁴ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 73–74.

²⁵ See for instance the second wife of Mieszko I, Oda, who was a nun previously, or the detrudded wives of Bolesław I the Brave. Berend – Urbańczyk – Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 2013. 144.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 87–88, 90.

²⁶ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 67.

Without going into detail here about the development of canon law regarding the Christian marriage,²⁷ it should be pointed out that at the beginning of the thirteenth century the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 prohibited marriage between relatives of the fourth degree, while the free consent of the parties became obligatory later in the thirteenth century.²⁸ However, it was possible to turn to the Apostolic See for a dispensation from the kinship ties.²⁹ In the end, we should not forget that the principle of Canon Law regarding the indissolubility of marriage³⁰ was not always applied in practice in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, as the case of King Coloman the Learned clearly shows it, who sent away his second wife, Euphemia, daughter of the grand prince of Kiev, Vladimir Monomakh (1113–1125) because of adultery. The previously mentioned Boris (Kolomanovich) was the son of the princess.³¹

However, similar examples became increasingly rare during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but a later case, that of the Bohemian ruler Ottokar I (1198–1230), shows that it was still possible to dissolve a marriage at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1198, the new ruler of Bohemia had repudiated his first wife, Adele, the child of Otto II, Margrave of Meissen (1156–1190), and married Constance, daughter of King Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196). He did this with the approval of Bishop Daniel of Prague and on the basis of canon law arguments. In fact, Ottokar I wrote to Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) that he had not previously been aware of the existence of a fourth degree of kinship between him and Adele. The pontiff did not accept the argumentation and the new situation, the expulsion and the new marriage, and proceedings were brought against the bishop

²⁷ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 63–90.

²⁸ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 68–69.; Erdő, *A házasság*, 2001. 229–231.

²⁹ Erdő, *A házasság*, 2001. 232–233. In the case of Bolesław III Wrymouth, his court chronicler, Gallus Anonymus thought it important to point out that the Polish prince had received a papal dispensation from his third-degree relationship with his first wife Zbyslava. See Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 78–79.

³⁰ See Kozłowski, Wojciech, “The Dynastic Horizons of the Árpáds and Piasts, ca. 1150–1250”, = *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 15, 2009, 85–102, here 86.

³¹ Chapter 149 of the Fourteenth Century Chronicle Composition states that Coloman the Learned caught Euphemia in adultery and sent her home to Kiev, where she gave birth to his son Boris. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, I. 429. See Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 500–501.; Font, Márta, *The Kings of the House of Árpád and the Rurikid Princes: Cooperation and conflict in medieval Hungary and Kievan Rus’*. (Arpadiana VIII.) Budapest, 2021. 118–119.

of Prague, who had fulfilled the king's wish previously, but without any success, and the marriage with Constantia lasted.³²

With regard to the political role of marriages, Péter Báling, based on former research, has recently drawn attention again to the fact that political considerations were indeed of paramount importance in the context of the evolving marital relations, especially since in the spiritual sense, both brothers-in-law and godparents were considered to be close kinsmen.³³ However, as with all alliances, close relations, friendships were only valid in the lives of the parties concerned. In addition, the role of marriage in cultural transfer should not be overlooked, since spouses did not travel to their new homes alone, but usually with a smaller or larger entourage, which also could have an impact on the welcoming courts. The study of marital relations can therefore provide results not only from the point of view of political history but also from a social-history perspective.³⁴

Overview of the Piast-Árpáadian Family Relations until the End of the Twelfth Century

For the purposes of this paper, I cannot go into the whole history of Piast-Árpáadian relations, the beginnings of the contacts are full of problematic data that are not easy to interpret. The second wife of the Polish ruler Bolesław I the Brave was definitely of Hungarian origin, who is not known by name and is generally identified as the daughter of the Hungarian ruler, Prince Géza. She gave birth to their son Bezprym.³⁵ However, the claim that the mother of the first Hungarian king, St. Stephen (1000–1038), i.e. the wife of Grand Prince Géza, was a Polish princess, Adelheid, seems to be highly doubtful.³⁶ The idea that the son of the first Hungarian king, Prince Emeric,

³² Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 25–26. and *passim*.

³³ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 68.

³⁴ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 14.; Kozłowski, *The Dynastic Horizons*, 2009. 86–87.

³⁵ Kristó Gyula, "A magyarok és a lengyelek kapcsolatai a 10–12. században a források tükrében", = *Történelmi Szemle* 42, 2000, 1–18, here 5–6.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 87–89.; *Piastowie. Leksykon Biograficzny*. Ed. Szczur, Stanisław – Ożóg, Krzysztof. Kraków, 1999. [hereinafter *Piastowie*] 25.; Jasiński, Kazimierz, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*. Warszawa–Wrocław, 1993. 83, 85–86.

³⁶ Grzesik, Ryszard, "Adelheid, az állítólagos lengyel hercegnő a magyar trónon", *Aetas*, 10:3. 1995, 114–126.; Kristó, A magyarok, 2000. 7–9.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 94, 261–263.

married the daughter of the Polish ruler Mieszko II (1025–1034), which can be found in several Polish narrative sources, also belongs to the realm of fiction.³⁷ For the later period, the situation is much clearer thanks to the greater number of sources that have come down to us, as the case of King Béla I of Hungary clearly shows it. Having been forced to flee Hungary under the reign of St. Stephen in the 1030s, he found refuge in the court of the Polish ruler Mieszko II and married his daughter Richeza. She gave birth to their children, the future kings of Hungary, Géza I (1074–1077) and St. Ladislas I (1077–1095), and their younger brother Lampert.³⁸

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the strong alliance between King Coloman the Learned (1096–1116) and Bolesław III Wrymouth (Krzywousty) (1107–1138). Even though the Polish prince was related to Prince Álmos, the younger brother of Coloman the Learned,³⁹ eventually Bolesław III Wrymouth initiated negotiations with King Coloman the Learned, who, albeit with some hesitations, recognised the similarities in their situations, as the Polish prince was also fighting for power in Poland with his brother, Zbigniew.⁴⁰ From this point onwards, the two rulers began to cooperate. After Bolesław III drastically ended his own internal conflict by blinding his own brother, as a form of penance, he took part in a pilgrimage to Hungary in 1113.⁴¹ A lasting alliance was thus established between the two rulers, which also meant friendship in arms. This endured until the death of Coloman and the reign of his son, King Stephen II (1116–1131) persisting until 1127. In that year, the Hungarian ruler attacked the Polish borders in connection with his intervention in the internal conflicts of Kievan Rus.⁴²

³⁷ Kristó, *A magyarok*, 2000. 11.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 329–335.

³⁸ Kristó, *A magyarok*, 2000. 12.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 390–398.

³⁹ Álmos married Predslava Iziaslavna, a sister of Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavich of Kiev (1093–1113) in 1104, meanwhile Bolesław III had been married to Predslava's sister Zbyslava, probably since the previous year. See Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 518.; Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 104–105, 128.; Piastowie 78.; Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych*, 1993. 188–189.

⁴⁰ Dalewski, Zbigniew, *Ritual and Politics Writing the History of a Dynastic Conflict in Medieval Poland*. Leiden–Boston, 2008. 77–84.

⁴¹ Kristó, *A magyarok*, 2000. 15–16.; Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics*, 2008. 87, 100.; Bagi, *The territorial divisions*, 2020. 128–129.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 251.; Zupka, Dušan, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000–1301)*. Leiden–Boston, 2016. 156–161.

⁴² *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.* cap. 153, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, I, 434.; *Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Saec. xiv. The Illuminated Chronicle: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex.*

After the death of Stephen II, who passed away without a male heir in 1131,⁴³ the branch of Prince Álmos rose to power in the Kingdom of Hungary with the new king, Béla II the Blind (1131–1141). In this situation the Polish prince chose to support King Coloman's illegitimate son, Boris (Kolomanovich), against the new Hungarian ruler. This situation lasted until 1135, when Emperor Lothair III (1125/1133–1137) forced Bolesław III to acknowledge his submission at the imperial assembly in Merseburg, and consequently to withdraw his support from Boris Kolomanovich.⁴⁴ The reconciliation was sealed with the betrothals of Bolesław III's son, the future Mieszko III the Old and Elisabeth, probably daughter of Béla II, and possibly Bolesław's daughter, Judith and the future King Géza II (1141–1142). Whether we can indeed count with both betrothals, is questionable, yet it is beyond doubt, that the former was realised in the end.⁴⁵ As we will see later, this matrimony among the two dynasties was the last one for over eight decades.

In 1138, a major turning point in the history of the Polish Principality occurred, for after the death of Bolesław III Wrymouth, the era of the political fragmentation began.⁴⁶ In his “testament” or “last will”, the prince divided

Edited and translated by Bak, János M. – Veszprémy, László. (Central European Medieval Texts, 9.) Budapest–New York, 2018. 282–283.; Kristó, A magyarok, 2000. 15–16.; Font, The Kings, 2021. 131–133.; Dalewski, Ritual and Politics, 2008. 187.

⁴³ Kádár Tamás, “Saul herceg, Bors ispán és Iván úr. Megjegyzések, észrevételek a II. István király uralkodása vége körüli trónutódlási küzdelmek történetéhez”, = *Századok* 151, 2017, 787–808.

⁴⁴ Makk Ferenc, “Borisz, egy XII. századi trónkövetelő”, = *Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Supplementum 1987: Suppl. 6. Studia in honorem Aegonis Maróti sexagenarii*, 6, 1987, 61–65. 63–64.; Makk, Ferenc, *The Árpáds and the Comneni: Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th century*. Budapest, 1989. 31–33.; Makk, Magyar külpolitika, 1996. 170–171, 175–176.; Kristó, A magyarok, 2000. 15–16.; Piastowie 82.; Font, The Kings, 2021. 135–136.; Zupka, Ritual and Symbolic, 2016. 172–175.

⁴⁵ Barabás, Gábor, “From Conflict to Marriages. The Relations of the Piasts of Poland and the Árpáds of Hungary in the 1130s. Part 1.”, = *Konštantínove listy* 18, 2025. 30–38.; Piastowie 98, 107.; Jasiński, Rodowód pierwszych, 1993. 235–240, 255–256.; Wertner Mór, *Az Árpádok családi története*. Nagy-Becskerek, 1892. 303–306. 324–331.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 523. note 52.

⁴⁶ Berend – Urbańczyk – Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 2013. 174–175, 205–208.; For the system of relations between the Piast princes and its scientific interpretations see Pauk, Marcin R., “Language of Power and Communication in the Piast Dynasty: Toward a Reappraisal of Polish Political Culture of the 12th–13th Century”, In: Vercamer, Grischa – Zupka, Dušan (eds.), *Rulership in Medieval East Central Europe Power, Rituals and Legitimacy in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland*. Leiden – Boston, 2022. 178–197.

his territory among his sons, creating three major duchies, Lesser Poland, Greater Poland and Silesia. From the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, a number of smaller duchies emerged (Sandomierz [Sandomir], Kalisz, Mazovia, Kujavia, Opole, Glogów, Legnica, etc.), led by members of various branches of the Piast dynasty, which ruled almost entirely independently and often came into alliance or conflict with each other.⁴⁷

The period of fragmentation of the Polish principalities, in addition to the complication of internal, family relations, which became – to put it mildly – almost inextricably entangled, naturally left its mark on the Piasts' external relations as well. It is perhaps an oversimplification, but it is not too far from the truth to say that from the middle of the twelfth century there was a major change in the dynastic horizon of the Piasts. Members of the family at the head of the consolidating principalities naturally had to pay special attention to their relations with their relatives, so much so that in the second half of the thirteenth century the number of marriages between the branches of the dynasty – often disregarding the norms of Canon Law – was particularly significant.⁴⁸ In addition to this, the influence of the emperor and the marital relationships established with certain imperial princely families, including the Bohemian Přemyslids, are also noteworthy, as is the influence of the marriage contracts with the princes of Rus' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴⁹

King Andrew II and the Piast Rulers of Poland

As far as the Piasts' kinship with the Árpáds is concerned, after the aforementioned betrothals and marriage of the 1130s, which raised several problems of interpretation, there was a serious hiatus, and the first marital relation between the two dynasties had to wait until 1214, the betrothal and – possibly – later marriage of Prince Coloman, son of Andrew II, and Salomea, daughter of Leszek I the White (Biały) of Cracow.⁵⁰ This does not mean, however, that the two families were not once again related. Around 1200, but certainly before 1203, the younger son of King Béla III, Prince Andrew,

⁴⁷ Berend – Urbańczyk – Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 2013. 174–175.

⁴⁸ See Pauk, *Language of Power*, 2022. 195–196.

⁴⁹ Kozłowski, *The Dynastic Horizons*, 2009. 89–90.

⁵⁰ Font, Márta – Barabás, Gábor, *Coloman, King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia (1208–1241). Medieval Central Europe and Hungarian Power*. Leeds, 2019. 21–29.

who had repeatedly rebelled against his older brother, King Emeric,⁵¹ married Gertrude, daughter of Berthold VI, Count of Andechs, Margrave of Istria and Duke of Merania, a young woman, who later became notorious in Hungarian history.⁵² The marriage was advantageous for the future king Andrew II, as it brought him into kinship with a relatively recent imperial princely family.⁵³ More importantly for the purposes of this study, however, one of Gertrude's sisters, Hedvig, was betrothed to Henry I the Bearded (Brodaty) (1201–1238), a member of the Silesian Piasts, almost a decade earlier, probably between 1186 and 1190. Although it is not known when exactly the marriage took place,⁵⁴ it is certain though that Henry became the leader of the Silesian Duchy of Wrocław following the death of his father, Bolesław I the Tall (1173–1201) in 1201.⁵⁵

In the case of Hedvig, it is well documented that she maintained close ties with her family in her new home and with the Bishopric of Bamberg, which had strong ties to the Andechs family.⁵⁶ Although recent research has basically redrawn the picture depicted by earlier historiography that “Germans” would have flooded the Hungarian royal court thanks to Queen Gertrude,⁵⁷ it is undeniable that family ties played an important role in her case as well. As an example, one need only refer to the role of her brother, Berthold, who, in addition to becoming Archbishop of Kalocsa despite his young age, became the holder of a number of secular dignities in the Kingdom of Hungary.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Körmendi, Tamás, “The Struggle between King Emeric of Hungary and Duke Andrew in Dalmatia”, In. Komatina, Ivana (ed), *Stefan the First-Crowned and his Time*. Belgrade, 2020. 195–211.; Gál, Judit, *Dalmatia and the Exercise of Royal Authority in the Árpád-Era Kingdom of Hungary*. Budapest, 2020. 120–125. Zsoldos Attila, *Az Aranybulla királya*. Székesfehérvár, 2022. 17–37.

⁵² Korai Magyar, 1994. 234.; Rudolf, Közép-Európa, 2023. 31–32.; Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 33.

⁵³ It is also worth noting that Gertrude's sister, Agnes was the wife of King Philip II of France until her death in 1201. See Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 748.

⁵⁴ Zientara, Benedykt, *Heinrich der Bärtige und seine Zeit*. München, 2002. 106–108.

⁵⁵ Piastowie 375.; Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 110.

⁵⁶ Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 107.

⁵⁷ Körmendi Tamás, “A Gertrúd királyné elleni merénylet körülményei”, In. Majorossy Judit (ed.), *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára*. Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213–2013. Szentendre, 2014. 95–124, here 118.; Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 221–222.; Zsoldos, Attila, *The Golden Bull of Hungary*. (Arpadiana, IX.) Budapest, 2022. 128–130.

⁵⁸ Zsoldos Attila, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*. Budapest, 2011. 37, 43, 126, 142.; Kiss Gergely, “Meránia és Aquileia között. Berthold kalocsai érsek pályafutásának egyházkormányzati tanulságai”, In. Majorossy Judit (ed.), *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára*:

The brothers-in-law, Andrew II and Henry I the Bearded, were both involved in the struggle for the imperial throne that ensued after the death of Emperor Henry VI (1191–1197).⁵⁹ To begin with, it is worth noting that the royal siblings, King Emeric and Andrew II were also related to the Bohemian ruler Ottokar I, whose wife Constance, as mentioned above, was the daughter of King Béla III.⁶⁰ Accordingly, in 1204, the elder brother Emeric aided the Bohemian monarch with troops, Cumans hired as mercenaries, against the Hohenstaufen German King Philip of Swabia.⁶¹ Ottokar I later changed his position, and instead of the other pretender, Otto IV of the Welf family, made an alliance with Philip of Swabia. In 1208, the Hohenstaufen ruler prepared for a large-scale campaign, with Cumans hired as mercenaries sent by Andrew II among his troops. The king of Hungary sided with Philip because of his wife's family, since the Andechs dynasty had pledged their allegiance to him.⁶² Although the situation was very similar in the case of Henry I the Bearded because of his wife, Hedvig, the Silesian Piasts initially sided with Teobald (Diepold), the son of Ottokar I's cousin and rival, who presumably found refuge in Wrocław. Henry the Bearded thus remained neutral in the German interregnum, despite his family ties, until the reconciliation between Philip of Swabia and Ottokar II.⁶³

Before the planned campaign of 1208, however, the Hohenstauf ruler Philip of Swabia was assassinated in Bamberg, where he was attending the wedding of Otto VII, Duke of Merania, and his niece, Beatrix of Burgundy in June. Although the perpetrator, the Count Palatine of Bavaria, Otto VIII, was motivated by personal grievances, yet the location and their involvement in the wedding led to accusations against members of the Andechs family, an imperial ban was even imposed on Bishop Eckbert of Bamberg and Margrave Henry of Istria. The brothers fled to their sibling and their brother-in-law in the Kingdom of Hungary, and Andrew II attempted to

Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213–2013, Szentendre, 2014. 87–94.; Barabás, Gábor, “Von propositio bis consensus: Die Pápste, die ungarischen Könige und die kanonischen Wahlen in der ungarischen Kirche im 13. Jahrhundert”, = *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung / Journal of East Central European Studies* 70, 2021, 187–226, here 198–199.; Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 221–222.

⁵⁹ Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 2002. 150–157.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 43–46.

⁶⁰ Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 24–25, 29–30.

⁶¹ Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 425–426.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 36–37.

⁶² Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 426.

⁶³ Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 2002. 152–153.; *Piastowie 376*.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 28–29, 73.

reconcile with Otto IV and thereby settle the situation of his relatives.⁶⁴ It is to be underlined that one of the grievances that led to the assassination was linked to Henry I the Bearded, who, under pressure from Philip of Swabia, refused to allow Otto VIII to marry his daughter Gertrude.⁶⁵ In any case, it is noteworthy that the Meranian brothers did not choose the somewhat nearer Wrocław as their place of refuge, but the more distant Kingdom of Hungary, i.e. the court of Andrew II.⁶⁶

Regarding this situation we can therefore only speak of an indirect link. All in all, we do not have any source material at our disposal that would allow us to assume a close relationship between Henry I the Bearded and the Hungarian royal court. The assassination of Gertrude in 1213 certainly played a role in this situation, as her death marked the end of the brother-in-law relation.⁶⁷ However, the children of Andrew II, including the future king Béla IV (1235–1270) and Saint Elisabeth, were cousins of the Silesian princely family. In the case of the latter, it is noteworthy that, after her canonisation in 1235, her cult quickly spread in Silesia, as this kinship also increased the prestige of the local princely family.⁶⁸ It is also worth mentioning that the annals of the Cistercian abbey of Henryków (*Rocznik henrykowski*) give an accurate account of Elisabeth's death, and even provides the name of her father, King Andrew II.⁶⁹ As the father's name is not mentioned in Elisabeth's early legends, this may suggest that in Silesia there was interest not only in

⁶⁴ Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 426–427.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 43–46.; Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 2002. 168.

⁶⁵ Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 202. 154–155.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 44.

⁶⁶ Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 202. 156.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 45. See furthermore regarding the interpretation of the events in narrative sources of the Rus': Tolochko, Oleksiy P., "St. Elisabeth and St. Kunegund: Two Hungarian Saints in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle", In: Bagi, Dániel et al. (ed.), *Hungary and Hungarians in Central and East European Narrative Sources (10th–17th Centuries)*. Pécs, 2019. 91–105.; Maiorov, Alexander V. "The German King Philip of Swabia, Hungarian Queen Gertrude of Andechs-Merania, and St Elizabeth of Thuringia in Rus' Chronicles", = *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 69:2, 2021, 253–292, here: 258–272.

⁶⁷ See Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 2002. 222.

⁶⁸ Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 2002. 233, 322.; Klaniczay, *Holy rulers*, 2002. 202–204, 220–221.

⁶⁹ "Anno Domini 1231 obiit sancta Elizabeth, filia Andree regis Ungarie et uxor lantgravii Hassie" – *Rocznik henrykowski*. Ed. Bielowski, August. In: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* III. Lwów, 1878. 705–706, here 705.

Saint Elisabeth's life but in the genealogy of the Hungarian royal family as well.⁷⁰

In addition, the possible role of Andrew II has been raised in historiography in the case of a papal intervention linked to Henry I the Bearded. In fact, Pope Innocent III's charter issued in 1210 concerning the testament of Bolesław III Wrymouth and the line of succession to the throne of Cracow, i.e. the system of seniority,⁷¹ was favourable for the two eldest Piasts, Mieszko IV Tanglefoot (Płatonogi) of Opole (1202–1211) and his nephew Henry I the Bearded against the Duke of Cracow, Leszek I the White I. It has been speculated that Andrew II may have been behind the papal charter, in order to weaken the domestic position of his rival in the contest for Galicia and Volhynia.⁷² Although the hypothesis is not supported by sources, it is certainly worth considering.

The case of the Teutonic Knights is an even less direct link, but it is certainly worth mentioning. Andrew II invited the order into his kingdom, to the South-Eastern part of Transylvania, the so-called Burzenland in 1211, and drove them out by force of arms in 1225.⁷³ In the same year, Henry I the Bearded met with Conrad of Mazovia, who later invited the Teutonic knights to Poland. The Duke of Wrocław proposed to his kinsman the use of the military power of the Teutonic Order against the Prussians. According to Benedykt Zientara, Andrew II's former and Henry's current brothers-in-law, the Meranian siblings Eckbert and Berthold, the latter by then already be-

⁷⁰ Grzesik, Ryszard, "Obraz stosunków polsko-węgierskich w czasach piastowskich w rocznikach polskich", = *Studia Źródłoznawcze, Commentationes* 41, 2003, 1–18, here 9–10.

⁷¹ Die Register Innocenz' III. Bände I–XVI. Eds. Hageneder, Othmar et al. Graz et al., 1964–2024, XIII. 148–149. no. 82. See with further literature Barabás Gábor, "Barátból ellenség. Władysław opolei herceg és a Přemysl-Árpád konfliktus a 13. század második felében", = *Történelmi Szemle* 67, 2025, 1–30, here 2–3.

⁷² Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 162–163. For the struggle regarding Galicia and Volhynia see below and Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 160–202.

⁷³ Zimmermann, Harald: *Der Deutsche Orden in Siebenbürgen. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung. 2. durchgesehene Auflage.* (Studia Transylvanica, 26.) Köln–Weimar–Wien, 2011.; Hunyadi, Zsolt, "The Teutonic Order in Burzenland (1211–1225): New Reconsiderations", In: Houben, Hubert – Toomaspoeg, Kristjan (eds.), *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico: incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture.* (Acta Teutonica, 5.) Galatino, 2008. 151–170.; Pószán, László, *Hungary and the Teutonic Order in the Middle Ages.* (Arpadiana, VI.) Budapest, 2021. 27–108.

coming Patriarch of Aquileia,⁷⁴ played a key role in establishing the link between Konrad and the Order.⁷⁵

In addition to his Silesian brother-in-law, Andrew II was related to another Piast prince as well, though not very closely. As mentioned earlier, the former marriage between the Árpáds and the Polish princely family took place in the 1130s. In the case of Elisabeth, the wife of Mieszko III the Old (Stary) we cannot be sure whether she was the daughter of King Stephen II or his predecessor, Béla II, but we can certainly regard her as being of Árpád descent.⁷⁶ Their grandson was Władysław Odonic, Prince of Kalisz and later that of Greater Poland (1229–1234).⁷⁷ It would be rightful to ask the question, in what way such a distant relation could be interesting regarding Andrew II. To explain this, we must begin with the family situation of Odonic, who was the child of Odon, the first-born son of Mieszko III the Old and Elisabeth. However, Odon died in 1194, while Mieszko III was still alive. Odon's son was four years old at the time, so he came under the guardianship of his grandfather Mieszko and then of his uncle Władysław III Spindleshanks (Laskonogi) (1202–1229). From 1206 onwards, he tried to obtain his paternal inheritance from Spindleshanks, but it was not until 1216 that he succeeded in his endeavours. However, later he clashed with his former supporters, Henry I the Bearded and Leszek I the White, and suffered a severe defeat at the hands of his uncle Władysław Spindleshanks, who had meanwhile reconciled with the dukes of Wrocław and Cracow, leaving no option for Odonic but to go into exile.⁷⁸ And the first location of this expatriation was – perhaps travelling through the duchy of Casimir of Opole⁷⁹ – apparently the Kingdom of Hungary. At least according to the annals of the chapters of Poznań and Gniezno,⁸⁰ which information found its way into the Chronicle

⁷⁴ Eubel, Conrad, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevii sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta*, vol. I. Münster, 1913. 99.; Kiss, Meránia, 2014. 91.

⁷⁵ Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 222.

⁷⁶ See the references in footnote 45.

⁷⁷ *Piastowie 131–136*.

⁷⁸ *Piastowie 131–133*; Przybył, Maciej, *Władysław Laskonogi. Książę wielkopolski 1202–1231*. Poznań, 1998. 80–124.

⁷⁹ Pelczar, Sławomir, *Władysław Odonic. Książę Wielkopolski, wygnaniec i protektor Kościoła (ok. 1193–1239)*. Kraków, 2013, 175.

⁸⁰ “Item anno Domini 1217. Wlodizlaus obtinuit Kalis et foilium Odonis fugavit in Ungariam.” – *Annales Capituli Posnaniensis*. Ed. Perlbach, Max, In. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, vol. XXIX. Hannover, 1892, 431–469, here 439. It is worth noticing

of Greater Poland as well.⁸¹ As Benedykt Zientara has pointed out, there is no reason to doubt the credibility of the report,⁸² yet, we have no further account of contemporary sources on Odonic's stay in Hungary whatsoever. We can only assume that in the court of Andrew II the distant relative was

that the information is not included in the recent edition of the annals of the Chapter of Poznań (Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej 965–1309, In. *Annales Poloniae Maioris*. Ed. Kürbis, Brygida. (Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Series Nova, VI.) Warszawa, 1962. [hereinafter Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej] 21–78, here 24.). The annals of Gniezno mention this event by 1227. “Włodzislaus obtinuit Kalis et filium Odonis fugavit in Ungariam.” – Rocznik kapituły gnieźnieńskiej 1192–1247, In. *Annales Poloniae Maioris*. Ed. Kürbis, Brygida. (Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Series Nova, VI.) Warszawa, 1962. 1–20, here 3. For the interpretation of the data regarding Odonic see Körmendi Tamás, *Az 1196–1235 közötti magyar történelem nyugati elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája*. Budapest, 2019. 14, 184–187. Tamás Körmendi considers the data from the annals of Poznań to be the primary source. Interestingly, the annals of the Chapter of Poznań also mention a flight to Hungary in 1146 in connection with Władysław II the Exiled (1138–1146). “Wladislaus filius Boleslai dicti Crziwousti circa Poznan a fratribus fugit confusus Ungariam” – Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej, 23. Presumably, the author was here conflating two events, the exiles of the two Władysławs. See Grzesik, *Obraz stosunków*, 2003. 8. Cf. Kádár Tamás, “A külföldi uralkodóházak tagjai, a külhoni hűbéres fejedelmek, valamint az egyházi főméltóságok és a pápai legátusok tartózkodásai Magyarországon 1000–1205 között”, = *Történeti Tanulmányok* 26, 2018, 6–83, here: 55–56. The flight of Odonic is to be found in the Annals of Greater Poland, which is based on the data of the two aforementioned annals. Rocznik wielkopolski. Ed. Bielowski, August. In. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* III. Lwów, 1878. 1–42, here 7.

⁸¹ “Wladislaus patrums suus congregato exerictu ipsum de castro Kalisz fugientem usque in Hungariam profugavit. [...] Qui post aliquot annos reddiens Uszcze castrum Swantopelcone capitaneo Pomoranie sibi auxilium prebente anno Domini MCCXXIII subintravit ipso die Dionisii et sociorum eius.” – *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 80. The information can be read in Długosz's chronicle as well, yet, similarly to the work of Matthias Miechovius (Maciej Miechowita) by the year 1214. “[...] ad Andream Hungarie regem perveniens causis itineris expositis, humane amiceque ab illo exceptus, fatus et habitus est. [...] ab exilio Pannonico [...] reversus [...]” – *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Libri XII. Liber quintus, Liber sextus (1174–1240)*. [hereinafter *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales*] Varsaviae, 1973. 221, 238. See furthermore: Matthias Miechovius, in *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendendum ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCC*. Ed. Gombos, Albinus Franciscus, I–III. Budapest, 1937–1938. (reprint: Budapest, 2011), II. 1603. no. 3673. See Gładysz, Mikołaj, *The Forgotten Crusaders: Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Leiden–Boston, 2012. 166.; Körmendi, *Az 1196–1235*, 2019. 189–190.

⁸² Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 212.; Piastowie 132–133.; Kozłowski, Wojciech, *The Thirteenth-Century Inter-Lordly System. Lordly Identity and the Origins of the Angevin-Piast Dynastic Alliance*. Kiel, 2020. 155.

received with the respect due to him, if the king himself was present at all when Odonic arrived.

In 1217, Andrew II fulfilled the vow he had inherited from his father, Béla III, and set off for the Holy Land to take part in the Crusade.⁸³ The king of Hungary was supposed to be in Split by 25 July at the latest, according to his contract with the doge of Venice, but he arrived there only on 23 August, i.e. he could have left the centre of his realm, Székesfehérvár sometime in July or early August.⁸⁴ The sources do not give precise date for Odonic's journey, so we cannot be sure that he arrived at the royal court before Andrew II and his army left, as we can read in the *Annales seu Cronicae* of the fifteenth century Polish chronicler Jan Długosz.⁸⁵ However, the view that the Polish prince accompanied Andrew II to the Holy Land was long dominant in Polish medieval studies,⁸⁶ some even stated that he travelled to Hungary of his own accord to do so. This is supported by the document of Pope Honorius III of 9 February 1217, by which he placed Odonic and his territory under protection.⁸⁷

The idea that an unnamed Piast prince was to be found in the entourage of Andrew II,⁸⁸ is based on an alleged Hungarian royal charter dated to 1246.⁸⁹ Despite the obvious forgery of the charter, we do not necessarily have to reject the data it contains, and Polish medieval historiography treats

⁸³ Sweeney, James Ross, "Hungary in the Crusades, 1169–1218", = *The International History Review* 3, 1981, 467–481, here 478–481.; Veszprémy, László, "The Royal Árpád Dynasty of the Hungarian Kingdom Under the Spell of Jerusalem and the Holy Land (1000–1301)", = *Jerusalem HAJJ, Hungarian Academy in Jerusalem Journal* 1, 2026, 29–87, here 53–79.

⁸⁴ Veszprémy, The Royal, 2026. 62–63.

⁸⁵ See note 81.

⁸⁶ See recently Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 161–173.; Pelczar, Władysław Odonic, 2013. 173–181.

⁸⁷ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum Natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV*. I–II. Ed. Potthast, August. Berolini, 1874. [hereinafter *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*] nr. 5818, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia maximam partem nondum*, vol. I–IV. Ed. Theiner, Augustin. Romae, 1860–1864. [hereinafter *Vetera monumenta Poloniae*] I. 7, nr. XV. See Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 12. Cf. Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 168.

⁸⁸ "mare transivisset, in acie et sub vexillo ducis Poloniae" – *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus – Árpád-kori új okmánytár*, vol. I–XII. Ed. Wenzel Gusztáv. [hereinafter *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus*] Budapest, 1860–1873. VII. 207, nr. 136.

⁸⁹ *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, vol. I–II/1. Ed. Szentpétery, Emericus. Budapest, 1923–1943. [hereinafter *Reg. Arp.*] II/2–4. Manuscriptis Emericus Szentpétery adhibitis et completis critice digessit Iván Borsá. Budapest, 1961–1987, nr. 843.

the participation of a Piast ruler in the crusade as a fact.⁹⁰ However, since we have no other source for this other than the above mentioned charter, we are left to speculate on indirect links. In addition to Władysław Odonic, three other candidates have been proposed in historiography: Casimir of Opole, who also had Hungarian connections,⁹¹ Henry II the Pious (Pobożny) (1238–1241), son of Henry I the Bearded, therefore nephew of the Hungarian king and Casimir, the prince of Pomerania.⁹² In Polish medieval studies, the presumed involvement of the first two rulers, especially that of Odonic, gained recognition.⁹³ However, lately Mikołaj Gładysz has argued that, on the one hand, the papal charters issued to Odonic in 1217 and 1218 to protect him and the Church of St Paul of Kalisz,⁹⁴ rather support the possibility that the prince of Kalisz remained in Poland. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Władysław Spindleshanks actually came into possession of Kalisz as early as 1217.⁹⁵ Overall, Gładysz concludes that Odonic could not have been the Piast who was in the Holy Land with Andrew II, and that Casimir of Opole is the only plausible candidate.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, this statement was not accepted by everyone, recently Sławomir Pelczar in his monograph on Odonic rejected Gładysz's argumentation. After reviewing the results of earlier historiography, Pelczar clearly testifies the participation of Odonic in the crusade of Andrew II, using, among other things, the Polish duke's exile to Hungary as evidence for that.⁹⁷

Furthermore, it should be also taken into consideration that one of the Arabic sources reporting on the crusade of Andrew II mentions the military exploits of the Hungarian king's relative, his sister's son to be precise.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 161–163.

⁹¹ Regarding the wife of Casimir, Viola the possibility is to be mentioned, that she was a member of the Árpáadian dynasty. See Barabás, Gábor, "Prinz Koloman und Herzogin Viola von Oppeln. Beitrag zu einem historiographischen Disput", = *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 32, 2016, 1–24.

⁹² Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 163.

⁹³ See Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 166–170.; Pelczar, *Władysław Odonic*, 2013. 173–181.

⁹⁴ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, nr. 5818 and 5841, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae*, I. 7. nr. XV and 9. nr. XVIII.

⁹⁵ Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 166–169.

⁹⁶ Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 170–173.

⁹⁷ Pelczar, *Władysław Odonic*, 2013. 176–180.

⁹⁸ Major Balázs, "A magyar keresztesek arab szemmel", In: Laszlovszky József – Majorossy Judit – Zsengellér József (eds.), *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk. Lovagrendek és emlékeik*, Máriabesnyő–Gödöllő, 2006. 113–118, here 117.

If we accept this information, considering the possibility of the source does not provide an accurate degree of kinship, it could apply equally to Odonic and to Casimir of Opole, who may have had a wife of Hungarian origin.⁹⁹

Despite all this, we should not necessarily doubt Odonic's stay in Hungary, but it can be dated to the following year rather than to 1217. However, we can conclude that even if Andrew II did indeed receive his distant relative with the respect he deserved, as Długosz stated, we do not have any data on his subsequent stay. However, it has been suggested in the research that Odonic's marriage to Jadwiga, the mother of his children, may have taken place during the period of his exile. This, however, is based solely on the date of birth of his first-born son, the future ruler of Greater Poland, Przemysław I.¹⁰⁰ However, one thing seems certain based on the remaining Polish sources, Odonic reappeared in Polish politics in 1223, whether he was in Hungary until then or whether he was in the Empire and Bohemia afterwards, as many assume on the basis of Długosz, we cannot be sure.¹⁰¹ At last, it has to be mentioned regarding medieval Polish-Hungarian relations that the second son of Odonic, Bolesław the Pious married Yolanda, the daughter of King Béla IV of Hungary in 1256. Their second daughter, Jadwiga (Hedvig) became the wife of Władysław Lokietek, and their daughter, Elisabeth was married to king Charles I of Hungary (1308–1342).¹⁰²

As mentioned earlier, in addition to his brother-in-law and his distant cousin, Andrew II had much closer ties to another Polish ruler, even if their relationship had its ups and downs. In 1214, during the meeting in Szepes (Spiš), the Hungarian king came to an agreement with Prince Leszek of Cracow on the marriage of their children, Prince Coloman and Princess Salomea. Naturally, as in almost all similar cases, there were political motivations behind this new alliance. One cannot say that Andrew II consciously revived the Piast-Árpád marriage ties that had been dormant for decades. The marriage was clearly motivated by the Hungarian king's struggle for the Principality

⁹⁹ Horwat, Jerzy, *Książęta górnośląscy z dynastii Piastów. Uwagi i uzupełnienia genealogiczne*. Ruda Śląska, 2005. 25. See Barabás, Prinz Koloman, 2016. 14.

¹⁰⁰ Jasiński, Kazimierz, "Genealogia Piastów wielkopolskich. Potomstwo Władysława Odonica", = *Nasi Piastowie, Kronika Miasta Poznania* 63:2, 1995, 34–66, here 38.

¹⁰¹ Piastowie 133.

¹⁰² Piastowie 143, 147, 158, 211.

of Galicia and, more specifically, by his need to reach a compromise with his Polish rival, Leszek the White.¹⁰³

Andrew II had a very intense personal experience regarding the neighbouring principality of the Rus', Galicia, as he played a role in his father King Béla III's expansion plans in Galicia during his childhood in the 1180s.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the death of Roman Msitslavich, Prince of Galicia and Volhynia, in 1205 can be considered the starting point regarding the struggle over the principalities in early thirteenth century. The Rus'ian prince lost his life in the battle of Zawichost fought with the ruler of Cracow, Leszek the White,¹⁰⁵ after which event his widow, whose name is uncertain (Anna, Maria, Eufrosyne?),¹⁰⁶ attempted to retain her late husband's territory for her minor children, Daniel and Vasilko, and to exercise power on their behalf. However, this idea clearly contradicted the customary law of seniority that had developed in Rus'.¹⁰⁷

The widow turned to Andrew II for support against the rulers of the Rus', most notably Prince Rurik Rostislavich of Kiev, and their ally, Leszek the White, who wanted to take over the principalities.¹⁰⁸ As a result, the Hungarian ruler became increasingly involved in the struggle for Galicia–Volhynia. Without going into the details of the following events, it can be concluded based on the research of Márta Font, that Andrew II initially appeared as a supporter of Daniel and Vasilko, coming to terms with Leszek the White, then in 1207–1210 he reached a compromise with the Igoreviches of Chernigov, who had maternal ties to the rulers of the Principality of Galicia, and who were able to acquire the territory. Then, anew in agreement with Leszek the White, he supported Daniel again, placing him on the throne of Galicia with the support of a royal army. At the same time, the ruler of Cracow sought to place the younger Romanovich brother, Vasilko, on to Volhynia, which is why his troops took part in the Hungarian campaign. In 1211, however, with the sup-

¹⁰³ For the rivalry and King Andrew II's pursuit with further literature see Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 160–202.

¹⁰⁴ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 153–159.

¹⁰⁵ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 160.; Holly, Karol, "Princess Salomea and Hungarian – Polish Relations in the Period 1214–1241", = *Historický Časopis* 55:Supplement, 2007, 5–32, here 8.; Jędrzejewska, Patrycja, "Zapomniana księżna halicka?: Rola Salomei w kreowaniu relacji polsko-węgierskich i polsko-ruskich", = *Resovia Sacra* 28, 2021, 209–234, here: 208–211.

¹⁰⁶ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 160–162, 166–167.

¹⁰⁷ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 160–161.; Jędrzejewska, *Zapomniana księżna halicka*, 2021. 208–211.

¹⁰⁸ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 167–169.

port of Volhynia, Leszek attacked Galicia, which led to a Hungarian-Polish conflict.¹⁰⁹

After these events, in 1214 both the Hungarian and Polish rulers realized that they would have to come to a compromise in order to achieve their goals.¹¹⁰ This took place during a meeting between them, which was held in the Spiš-region, presumably at the Spiš Castle. The event is known only from the laconic account of the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle (GVC).¹¹¹

According to the narrative, Leszek was the initiator who, through his envoy, proposed the demarcation of their spheres of interest to Andrew II, which met with the latter's approval. The GVC clearly reports on a personal meeting, and if we accept this statement, it can be concluded that the choice of location had a symbolic meaning, in accordance with contemporary customs. The meeting took place on the territory of the Hungarian king, i.e., the party of higher rank, greater prestige and power.¹¹² At the same time, the territory of Spiš was directly neighbouring Lesser Poland, so in part, the choice of location can be interpreted as meeting the requirements of encounters between equal parties.¹¹³ Based on this, it is safe to say that Andrew II made a gesture toward Leszek with his choice of location.

The details of the meeting, which most likely took place in early autumn, and thus that of a symbolic communication between the two rulers, are unfortunately completely unknown, and we can only speculate about them. Was it Leszek, the lower-ranking party, who approached Andrew II, who was waiting for him on foot or on horseback? Was there kneeling, prostration, or the exchange of the kiss of peace?¹¹⁴ These and other similar questions cannot be answered at all. However, in light of the circumstances, most of all based on the location it can be reasonably assumed that it was Andrew II who was in a position of power to negotiate with his lower-ranking counterpart. However, he also needed to reach a compromise, which explains the afore-

¹⁰⁹ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 167–177.

¹¹⁰ Jędrzejewska, *Zapomniana księżna halicka*, 2021. 211–212.

¹¹¹ *The Galician–Volhynian Chronicle*. An annotated translation by Georg A. Perfecky. (Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 16.) München, 1973. 24. For the GVC see Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 63–75.

¹¹² Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic*, 2016. 143–144.

¹¹³ Even if, in the absence of a border river, this did not exactly result in a place between two countries. For the meetings of rulers with further literature see Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic*, 2016. 139–147.

¹¹⁴ See with further literature Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic*, 2016. 139–147.

mentioned location near the border and the outcome, namely the marriage between their children. Overall, the agreement may have been more favourable to Leszek, who also could hope that the betrothal of his daughter to a son of a king can strengthen his position among the Piast princes of Poland.¹¹⁵

Naturally, strengthening alliances through family ties can be considered a common practice, and spiritual kinship established through marriages of children was regarded as equivalent to blood kinship.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, it seems highly significant that, after nearly eight decades, the Hungarian ruler reestablished kinship ties between the royal family and the Piasts again.¹¹⁷ Of course, one must not forget the circumstances that changed in the meantime, namely the fragmentation of Poland,¹¹⁸ which means that the relationship between Andrew II and Leszek was completely different from their eleventh- and twelfth-century predecessors'.¹¹⁹ The Hungarian king was no longer facing a Piast king or prince of Poland, but rather several princes with their own territories, who were often in conflict with each other.

The GVC's report on the meeting of Spiš does not name the parties to be married, it does state merely that the son of Andrew II wedded Leszek's daughter. It is well known, though, that Salomea, the daughter of the Prince of Cracow, became the wife of Prince Coloman, the second son of the Hungarian king.¹²⁰ Although no other source besides the GVC reports on the meeting of Spiš, Salomea's marriage also appears in her *vita*¹²¹ and in Jan Długosz's aforementioned historical work,¹²² as well as in certain annals compiled in Lesser Poland, although mostly in connection with her death.¹²³

¹¹⁵ Holly, *Princess Salomea*, 2007. 10, 12–13.

¹¹⁶ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 68.

¹¹⁷ Andrew II referred to Leszek as his relative in his letter to Pope Innocent III “ad cognatum nostrum L. Ducem Polonie” – *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus*, VI. 374. nr. 227.; *Reg. Arp.* nr. 302.

¹¹⁸ See above.

¹¹⁹ For the relations in the 1130s see Barabás, *From Conflict*, 2025.

¹²⁰ Font – Barabás, *Coloman*, 2019. 21–23.

¹²¹ According to the legend it was Andrew II who asked Salomea for his son, and Leszek only agreed to it under duress. *Vita Sanctae Salomeae reginae Haliciensis*. Ed. Kętrzyński, Wojciech. In. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. IV. [hereinafter *Vita Sanctae Salomeae*] Lwów, 1884. 770–796, here 776–777.

¹²² Ioannis Długossii *Annales*, V–VI, 204–205.

¹²³ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, in. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica Series Nova, vol. V. Annales Cracovienses priores cum kalendario*. Ed. Kozłowska-Budkowa, Zofia. Warszawa, 1978. 19–105, here 99–100. Coloman is only referred to as king of Galicia in *Rocznik traski – Rocznik krakowski*. In. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica II*. Ed. Bielowski, August.

On the other hand, the marriage between Prince Coloman and the daughter of Leszek the White is missing from several contemporary narrative sources, such as the *Dzierwa Chronicle*¹²⁴ or the *Chronicle of Greater Poland*.¹²⁵ However, in the latter, dated nearly a century earlier than the actual date, we can read that the son of the Hungarian king, Coloman, married the daughter of Bolesław III the Wrymouth and received the territory of Spiš as a dowery.¹²⁶ The story itself raises suspicion, as Bolesław III's contemporary was Coloman the Learned, and his son, the future Stephen II, therefore, the account is certainly incorrect. As among others Ryszard Grzesik pointed out, the chronicle probably combined Prince Coloman's engagement to Salomea and the subsequent marriage with the case of Bolesław III's daughter, as indicated by the mention of Spiš and Galicia in the text.¹²⁷ It is worth taking a further look at Jan Długosz's work, as he reports the marriage of Coloman and Salomea, albeit by the year of 1208, and refers to the bride as the sister of Leszek the White.¹²⁸ Without delving into the methods of Długosz in detail, it should be noted that the chronicler does in fact mention a meeting between the Polish and Hungarian rulers in the Spiš-region, yet, according

Lwów, 1872. 826–861, here 840. Coloman is not mentioned in connection with Salomea in every annals written in Lesser Poland. E.g. *Rocznik małopolski*. Ed. Bielowski, August. In: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. III. Lwów, 1878. 135–202, here 170, 171.

¹²⁴ *Chronica Polonorum auctoris incerti dicti Dzierwa*. Ed. Pawłowski, Krzysztof (Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Nova Series, XV.) Kraków, 2013. 74–76.

¹²⁵ *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 79–80.

¹²⁶ “Iste Boleslaus filiam suam de Ruthena genitam Colomanno regis Ungarorum filio matrimonialiter copulavit. Cui nomine dotis castellianiam de Spis quoad viveret possidendam assignavit. Quem Colomanum una cum rege Ungarorum Halliciensibus in regem prefecerat ipsum coronari facientes. Cuius coronacione rex Boleslaus prout erat credulus per regem Ungarorum dolose circumventus castellianiam de Spiss [dedit] et loco eiusdem castellianiam Premisliensem nomine dotalicii filie sue recepit. Hec autem dolositas fecit origo dissensionum inter Polonos et Ungaros prout in sequentibus patebit. Et sic castellania de Spiss a Polonis alienata per Ungaros usque ad presens fraudulenter detenta occupatur” – *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 39. See Grzesik, *Megjegyzések*, 2002. 490.

¹²⁷ Grzesik, *Megjegyzések*, 2002. 490–491.; Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 136–137.

¹²⁸ “<et uxorem suam Salomeam in reginam> [...] Colomannus Salomeam virginem, sororem Lesthkonis ducis Cracoviensis, accipit in uxorem cum qua usque ad mortem celibem vitam ducens et sibi et consorti decus virginitatis servivit.” – Ioannis Dlugossii *Annales*, V–VI, 204. Coloman and his wife, Salomea are mentioned in other parts as well. Ioannis Dlugossii *Annales*, V–VI, 212, 285., Ioannis Dlugossii *Annales*, VII–VIII, 160. The mistake regarding the relation of Leszek and Salomea is quite surprising, since in another part of his chronicle Długosz states that she was the daughter of the prince of Cracow. Ioannis Dlugossii *Annales*, V–VI, 250. See Tolocho, St. Elisabeth, 2019. 105.

to him it was King Béla III, Andrew II's father, who met Prince Casimir II the Just of Cracow (1177–1194), the father of Leszek the White in order to make peace in 1193.¹²⁹ This statement, however, cannot be corroborated with other sources, but analysing the background of the information would exceed the scope of this study.

Turning back to the historical events, but without delving into the issues surrounding the young princess, Salomea's departure from Cracow and the date of the young couple's marriage,¹³⁰ it should be noted that, in addition to the demarcation of spheres of interest, as a result of the agreement between Andrew II and Leszek the White, Coloman, after a while alongside Salomea, became the representative of Hungarian rule in Galicia in the following years.¹³¹

However, keeping the focus of this study in mind, we must emphasize the fact that although Andrew II accepted the initiative from Leszek the White, who offered his firstborn child, Salomea, aged around four,¹³² for the matrimony which was meant to seal their alliance, the Hungarian king made the decision to wed her to Coloman, who was not his eldest son. The fact that the king did not choose his firstborn son, Prince Béla, clearly shows that the alliance was not so important to him that he would bind himself to the prince of Lesser Poland by using of his heir. However, we must not forget that in the previous year, 1213, Andrew II had to cope with the assassination of his wife, Queen Gertrude.¹³³ Meanwhile in 1214, his opposition within the realm of Hungary took action against the king and applied the traditional way of the Hungarian lay elite by supporting another member of the royal family. They forced Andrew II to let Béla to be crowned, i.e. to be recognized as heir to the throne,¹³⁴ which can be considered as quite a common practice in Hungary. It is not inconceivable that all this may have

¹²⁹ “Conveniunt deinde personaliter Bela Hungarie rex et Kazimirus Polonorum dux in Antiqua Villa, et omnibus offensis atque iniuriis hincindio remissis fedus dudum inter Hungarorum et Polonorum regna stabilitum iureiurando innovant, et amicitias comunes sincere et integre coli, et tam prosperos quam adversos successus vicissitudinaria relacione participare debere decernunt. Et eo federe icto muneribusque invicem datis discedunt.” – Ioannis Dlugossii Annales, V–VI, 154.

¹³⁰ Font – Barabás, Coloman, 2019. 31–36.; Holly, Princess Salomea, 2007. 15–23.

¹³¹ Font, The Kings, 2021. 155–165.

¹³² Holly, Princess Salomea, 2007. 11.; Font, The Kings, 2021. 159–161.

¹³³ Körmendi, A Gertrúd királyné, 2014.

¹³⁴ Zsoldos, Az Aranybulla, 2022. 222–226.; Zsoldos, Attila, “The Golden Bull of Andrew II”, In. Foronda, François – Genet, Jean-Philippe (eds.), *Des chartes aux constitutions. Autour*

prompted the Hungarian ruler not to involve Béla in dynastic politics at that time. In this regard, we may even consider that resolving the situation in Galicia was a pressing matter for Andrew due to internal tensions, which is why he may have agreed to what could be considered an unequal marriage. In addition to all this, it seems likely that Andrew II had plans for a marriage of higher rank than that of the Piast family for his firstborn son.

The fact that Andrew II arranged his children's marriages based on political merits, is not surprising at all. This is clearly evident by the fact that in the early 1220s, he ordered the repudiation of the wife of his firstborn son Béla, Maria Laskaris, after the death of her father, Theodore I Laskaris, Emperor of Nicaea (1205–1221). In the end, however, the king did not achieve his goal, as Béla resisted his father's will with papal support.¹³⁵ At the same time, we must not forget that, in addition to pragmatism, motives that could even be described as impulsive, arising from the immediate circumstances, also appear in the dynastic politics of the Hungarian king. This is particularly visible on the examples of the engagements made in 1218 on the way home from the Crusade, including Prince Béla's aforementioned marriage.¹³⁶

The wedlock of Coloman and Salomea proved to be lasting, unlike their "rule" in Galicia, as their stay there ended by 1221 at the latest.¹³⁷ Although their marriage remained childless,¹³⁸ Salomea's impact on the Hungarian royal court is tangible in her presumable role in creating another marriage between the Árpád and Piast families during the reign of Béla IV, namely between the future Prince Bolesław V the Chaste (1243–1279), the son of Leszek the White, hence the brother of Prince Coloman's wife, and Kinga, King Béla's eldest daughter.¹³⁹

Regarding the relations between Andrew II and Leszek the White after 1214, it can be concluded that the agreement of Spiš and the resulting kin-

de l'idée constitutionnelle en Europe (XIIe–XVIIe siècle). Paris–Rome, 2019. 57–80, here: 60–62, 76–77.

¹³⁵ Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 260–262.

¹³⁶ Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 260.; Veszprémy, *The Royal*, 2026. 70–72.

¹³⁷ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 190.

¹³⁸ According to the legend of Salomea, both preserved their virginity even after marriage. *Vita Sanctae Salomeae, 777–778*. See Holly, *Princess Salomea*, 2007. 30.

¹³⁹ For the marriage see Kozłowski, Wojciech, "The Marriage of Bolesław of the Piasts and Kinga of the Árpáds in 1239 in the Shadow of the Mongol Menace", In: Petrovics, István – Tóth, Sándor László – Congdon, Elanor A. (eds.), *"In my spirit and thought I remained a European of Hungarian origin" Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltan J. Kosztoľnyik*. Szeged, 2010. 79–100.; Holly, *Princess Salomea*, 2007. 29–30.

ship did not prevent later confrontations. Their planned cooperation soon fell apart, after Leszek failed to provide military assistance, Andrew II occupied the territories of Galicia that had previously been ceded to Leszek, while the prince of Cracow once again decided to support Daniel and Vasilko and established contact with Prince Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloy. However, his efforts were not crowned with success, so in 1219 he again approached Andrew II. However, in 1221, alongside the treaty between Andrew II and Mstislav regarding Galicia and the marriage of their children, Leszek also had to renounce Volhynia in favour of Daniel. Leszek the White approached Andrew II again in 1227, but the ruler of Cracow was assassinated on November 23, 1227, at a meeting of the Piast princes in Gaşawa,¹⁴⁰ the Hungarian king thus lost his former opponent and ally for good.

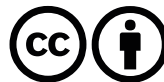
Concluding remarks

The main aim of this paper was to emphasize that one of the central elements of the research on Polish–Hungarian relations in the high Middle Ages is the kinship between the Piasts and the Árpáds. I cannot, of course, claim that this would be a novelty, as research on dynastic relations and genealogy has a long history. However, it is possible to say that a systematic analysis of the marriages and other connections between two dynasties will allow us to identify new elements in the history of the Kingdom of Hungary at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and its ruler Andrew II, which can enrich our knowledge of his realm, as well as of his external relations as well. Nevertheless, the same statement is quite valid for the “other side”, the Polish principalities and the Piast dynasty as well.

Nevertheless, I must underline that this study could not undertake a complete presentation of the Polish contacts of King Andrew II of Hungary, its focus being on certain, arbitrarily selected episodes, which, I have the – subjective – impression, are less known compared to other elements of his external relations. Hopefully, I have succeeded in pointing out, with regard to Henry the Bearded and Władysław Odonic that broadening the perspective of the investigation, considering “both sides”, may help to reconstruct and interpret the medieval contacts more accurately. The family tie created newly between the Árpáds and the Piasts, i.e. the marriage of Prince Coloman and

¹⁴⁰ Piastowie 187.


Princess Salomea and the alliance of their fathers are well known in historical research. The analysis of the elements of the meeting of Andrew II and his counterpart, Leszek the White, and the circumstances of their alliance can also provide additional information on the Polish contacts of the king of Hungary.



LÁSZLÓ PÓSÁN, PhD, University of Debrecen

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

posan.laszlo@arts.unideb.hu

 ORCID: 0000-0001-7309-0754



The Role of Gifts in the Diplomatic Relations between Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Teutonic Order

ABSTRACT

In the diplomatic relations between Sigismund of Luxembourg and the Teutonic Order, gifts of varying kinds and value played an important role, in line with contemporary European practice. Far more records survive concerning the gifts presented by the Order to the Hungarian and King of the Romans than those sent by Sigismund to the Grand Master. The Order's gifts often conveyed symbolic political messages; by contrast, no such function can be clearly identified in Sigismund's case. In its gift-giving practices, the Order also considered the potential political influence of wives and daughters at princely courts, and accordingly extended gifts to them. Given the Order's monastic and ecclesiastical character, such a practice on Sigismund's part is hardly conceivable. Particular attention should be paid to the Grand Master's most prestigious gifts, namely trained hunting falcons, highly esteemed across Europe. These were distributed according to the rank of the recipients and the significance of political relations, with the number of birds serving as an indicator of status.

Notably, the treasury accounts of the Grand Master record only one Hungarian gift deemed worthy of specific mention: Hungarian wine. Strikingly, the sources indicate that this "gift" was in fact purchased by the Order at considerable cost. As for other items Sigismund may have sent to Prussia, these can be inferred from the practices of other European rulers, typically consisting of objects compatible with the knights' monastic lifestyle or of religious relics.

Keywords: Teutonic Order, diplomacy, Sigismund of Luxemburg, gift, fifteenth century,

Introduction

In medieval Europe, various gifts played an important role in the diplomatic relations between rulers and princes, which, as a means of symbolic communication, expressed goodwill, respect, and appreciation. They strengthened political relations and alliances, or in certain cases tried to encourage the recipients to take specific political or military steps. In addition, the gifts were intended to promote and facilitate the principal tasks of international relations in the medieval sense: conflict management, the development of trust,

and cooperation. Gifts were generally in line with the rank and social status of the recipients, but when they were intended to persuade or encourage the recipients to take a concrete and tangible action, gifts were generally over-represented compared to the customs and unwritten courtesies of the time. In diplomatic relations, gifts – which were to be reciprocated with a similar value or order of magnitude – were to be given publicly, in the context of appropriate ceremonies and rituals, so that their message and symbolic content would be known as widely as possible. In these ceremonies and ceremonial bestowals, it was never the actual monetary value of the gift that was considered to be the most important, but its specificity, uniqueness, or even its quantity, symbolic content, as well as the method and ritual of the gift-giving that expressed respect and appreciation towards the recipient.¹

In most cases, we learn about the fact of gift-giving in the Middle Ages from the various account books, but particularly unusual, spectacular and extraordinary gifts were usually also mentioned in the chronicles. For example, according to the *Annales regni Francorum*, Caliph Harun al-Rashid presented a live elephant to Emperor Charlemagne in 802 as a gift, which lived for ten years in the imperial court in Aachen.² However, this was preceded by lively diplomatic relations between the Franks and the Muslims even before the reign of Charles.³ The elephant was such an exotic gift that nobody but the emperor possessed in Christian Europe. The exotic wildlife park

¹ Davis, Natalie Zenon, *Die schenkende Gesellschaft. Zur Kultur der französischen Renaissance*. München, 2022.; Schwedler, Gerald, *Herrschartreffen des Spätmittelalters. Formen – Rituale – Wirkungen*. (Mittelalter-Forschungen, 21.) Ostfildern, 2008. 380.; Schwedler, Gerald, “Rituale Diplomatie. Die Persönliche beziehungen Sigismunds von Luxemburg zu Benachbarten Königen und den Herrschern des Balkans”, In: Hruza, Karel – Kaar, Alexandra (eds.), *Kaiser Sigismund zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen (1368–1437)*. (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters, Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, 31.) Wien–Köln–Weimar, 2012. 411–427.; Schwedler, Gerald, “Diplomatische Geschenke unter Königen im Spätmittelalter. Freundschaft und Gabentausch zwischen politischer Praxis und der schriftlichen Norm der Fürstenspiegelliteratur”, In: Grünbart, Michael (ed.), *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft. Gabentausch und Netzwerkpflege im europäischen Mittelalter. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums Münster, 19–20. November 2009*. Berlin, 2011. 145–186.

² *Annales regni Francorum – Die Reichsannalen*. In: *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, Erster Teil. Ed. Rau Reinhold. (Ausgewählte Quellen zur Geschichte des des Mittelalters, 5.) Darmstadt, 1955. 78.

³ Fletcher, Richard, *Ein Elefant für Karl den Großen. Christen und Muslime im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt, 2005. 59.; Schlicht, Alfred, *Die Araber und Europa. 2000 Jahre gemeinsamer Geschichte*. Stuttgart, 2008. 56.

of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, which followed Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine royal traditions, symbolised the same authority and power that was greater than that of anyone else. In this wildlife park, animals hitherto almost unknown in the Christian West were kept, including lions, leopards, cheetahs, camels, elephants, and monkeys.⁴ Of all the remarkable, unusual, and unique gifts, the one from the ruler of Egypt and Damascus in 1232 was undoubtedly the most surprising and extraordinary. Several chroniclers have recorded that Sultan al-Kamil sent a truly special, very expensive tent as a gift to the most powerful ruler of Christendom, Emperor Frederick II, which was worth more than 20,000 silver marks. This tent was a real planetarium with an elaborate mechanical structure, where a meticulous mechanical clock and moving mechanism on the inner surface of the dome-shaped tent showed the movement of the celestial bodies. The extraordinary gift of the Sultan, which attracted much attention and interest, pleased Frederick, and he even put it on public display in a solemn ceremony in the town of Venosa in southern Italy.⁵ In addition to the uniqueness of the planetarium tent, the value of the gift was significantly enhanced by the fact that it was perfectly suited to the personal interest and curiosity of the emperor.⁶ According to the chronicle of Ulrich von Richental, in 1417 a gift from the Polish King Władysław II Jagiełło to the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg also attracted much attention. He gave a bison to Sigismund that came from Lithuania and cost 400 Hungarian gold florins to transport to the Council of Constance.⁷ This was also reported by the Procurator General of the Teutonic Order in a letter to the Grand Master written on 9 February 1417 (*Ouch wisset, das der konig von Polen hat eynen wesant gesant her dem romisschen konige, und der*

⁴ Houben, Hubert, *Kaiser Friedrich II. (1194–1250). Herrscher, Mensch und Mythos*. Stuttgart, 2008. 130.

⁵ *Conradus de Fabaria. Continuatio casuum Sancti Galli*. Ed. Pertz, Georg Heinrich. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Sangallensium, II.) Hannover, 1829. 163–183. 178.; Lohrmann, Dietrich, “Das Himmelszelt des Sultan al-Kamil von 1232 für Kaiser Friedrich II”, = *Historische Zeitschrift* 294, 2012, 297–327. 297, 300.

⁶ On the scientific interests of Emperor Frederick II, see e.g. Abulafia, David, *Friedrich II. von Hohenstauffern. Herrscher zwischen den Kulturen*. München, 1988. 273–283.; Horst, Eberhard, *Friedrich II. der Staufer. Kaiser – Feldherr – Dichter*. München, 1990. 167–169, 183–200.; Houben, Kaiser Friedrich II, 2008. 145–148.

⁷ *Ulrich Richental. Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils 1414–1418*. Ed. Buck, Thomas Martin (Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen, 41.) Ostfildern, 2010. [hereinafter Richental] 84–85.

ist gestern hergebracht).⁸ Richental believed that Sigismund also appreciated the value and rarity of the animal, which is why he presented it to the King of England,⁹ however, this seems unlikely. For Sigismund of Luxemburg, who was also King of Hungary, the bison could not have been an unknown animal. It undoubtedly attracted a lot of attention in Germany and Western Europe because of its size and shape, yet, it was still hunted regularly in Hungary in the fifteenth century.¹⁰ The fact that the Procurator General of the Order considered it important to report on the gift of the Polish King was not simply a routine notification on the events and developments related to the largest ecclesiastical and secular forum in Europe at the time,¹¹ but showed that the leadership of the Teutonic Order was paying special attention to the actions, political steps and ambitions of Sigismund of Luxemburg. This distinguished attention, however, did not only emerge at the Council of Constance, but had a history of more than two decades, and was closely related with the fact that both the Teutonic Order and Sigismund had always counted on the other as a potential ally.¹² Over the course of their decades-long relationship, they maintained an intense diplomatic interaction and, in accordance with medieval practice and the chivalric courtly code of conduct, each side offered gifts to the other to show their respect and appreciation for the other and to win the other's support for their own positions and plans.

⁸ *Die Berichte der Generalprokuratoren des Deutschen Ordens an der Kurie, Bd. II, Peter von Wormditt (1403–1419)*. Ed. Koeppen, Hans. (Veröffentlichungen der niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung, 13.) Göttingen, 1960. Nr. 197.; *Regesta Imperii XI. Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds (1410–1437)*, Bd. 1. Ed. Böhmen, Johann Friedrich. Innsbruck, 1896. Nr. 2064a.; Homann, Mats, “Der Blick des Deutschen Ordens auf das Konstanzer Konzil. Die Briefe des Generalprokurators Peter von Wormditt und des Hochmeisters Michael Küchmeister”, In: Flachenecker, Helmut (ed.), *Der Deutsche Orden auf dem Konstanzer Konzil. Pläne – Strategien – Erwartungen*. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 84.) Ilmtal-Weinstraße, 2020. 55–88. 58.

⁹ Richental 85.

¹⁰ Gulyás László Szabolcs, “Levéltári bölény-vadászat. Az európai bölény (Bison bonasus) a középkori Magyar Királyságban az írott források tükrében”, = *Történeti tanulmányok* 25, 2017, 99–125. 114.; Kovács Zsolt, “A magyar bölény históriája”, = *Állatvilág* 2, 2015, 3–7. 5.; Kovács István, “Vadászatok a középkori Pilis-erdő területén”, = *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online* 2020. 2–9. 7.

¹¹ Engels, Odilo, “Der Reichsgedanke auf dem Konstanzer Konzil”, = *Historisches Jahrbuch* 86, 1966, 80–106. 70

¹² Pósán László, “Zsigmond és a Német Lovagrend”, = *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 111, 1998, 630–656. 630–631.

Following the classification by Arnd Reitemeier, there were three main types of embassies in the Middle Ages, according to their authority and rank: the actual negotiating delegation, the representative delegation, which had the right to ceremoniously sign treaties and agreements concluding the preparatory negotiations, and finally the embassy that did not conduct actual negotiations, but represented only the size, authority and power of the sending party.¹³ A typical example of the latter was the delegation that accompanied the French Princess Isabella to England in 1396.¹⁴ In all three cases, the size of the delegations reflected the power and authority of the sending party and, in the case of the envoys with actual negotiating capacity, it also showed that the delegates had both broad authority and negotiating skills. Such envoys, who were authorised to represent the sending party in full, were usually high-ranking ecclesiastical or secular dignitaries.¹⁵ In June 1415, for example, a French ambassiad negotiating a possible peace treaty with King Henry V of England crossed the Channel with five ships.¹⁶ The English monarch even invited the French ambassadors to a ceremonial feast, showing how much he appreciated them.¹⁷ In the same year, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order sent two Prussian merchants as envoys to England, for which he apologised, claiming that the Order was in a difficult situation, both militarily and financially, and therefore could not send more prestigious emissaries.¹⁸ In the Middle Ages as well, the arrival of a diplomatic delegation was preceded by a long preparatory process. At first, they tried to bring political positions closer together by exchanging letters and sending heralds, but even at this stage of the negotiations they tried to win the goodwill of the other side by sending gifts. According to the sources, there was an intensive diplomatic exchange between Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Teutonic Order almost continuously, with couriers and envoys coming and going regularly from

¹³ Reitemeier, Arnd, *Außenpolitik im Spätmittelalter. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Reich und England 1377–1422*. (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, 45.) London, 1999. 345–347.

¹⁴ Saul, Richard II., 229–230, 457.

¹⁵ Reitemeier, *Außenpolitik*, 1999. 166.

¹⁶ Uo. 154.

¹⁷ Reitemeier, Arnd, “Diplomatischer Alltag im Spätmittelalter. Gesandte in den englischen Beziehungen zu Frankreich und zur Hanse”, In: Schwinges, Rainer Christoph – Wriedt, Klaus (eds.), *Gesandtschaft- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*. (Vorträge und Forschungen, 60.) Stuttgart, 2003. 135–167. 154.

¹⁸ *Die Reccesse und andere Akten der Hansetage von 1256–1430*. Hansereccesse. I. Abt. Bd. 3, 6. Ed. Koppmann, Karl. Leipzig, 1875, 1889. [hereinafter HR I] Bd. 6. Nr. 194.

Prussia to Hungary, and vice versa.¹⁹ Essentially, these letters and lesser envoys with limited negotiating power prepared the ground for substantive negotiations, which led to agreements and the dispatch of prestigious delegations.

In accordance with the medieval practice of diplomatic relations, both the Teutonic Order and Sigismund of Luxemburg gave gifts to one another. There are far more records of the gifts the Grand Master gave to the Hungarian and Holy Roman ruler than those of Sigismund. In 1397, prior to the meeting between the King of Hungary and the King of Poland, the Teutonic Order presented Sigismund of Luxemburg with an expensive, painted, double-winged altar. The Treasury of the Order paid 121 marks to the Prussian master Johann, who made the altarpieces.²⁰ The religious gift of the Grand Master carried a clear political message: the unquestionable authority of the Catholic Church, its guiding role for all Christian sovereigns, and with it emphasized the importance of the commitment of the Teutonic Order to the Catholic faith, their devout service to the Church, their constant struggle against the enemies of Christianity, and their priority over secular political interests.²¹ The gift of the Grand Master meant that commitment to the Order (that is the Catholic faith) was more important than anything else. Despite the fact that the King of Hungary king was about to lead a crusade against the Turks, the newly converted Władysław II Jagiełło was not considered a true Christian by the Teutonic Order and they tried to dissuade the Hungarian king from abandoning his anti-Polish stance and reconcile with the Polish king. However, in order to ensure the success of the great crusade against the Turks, the Hungarian monarch sought to settle his relations with the Polish royal couple, and, for the benefit of all Christendom, also urged the Grand Master and the Teutonic Order to make peace with Władysław II Jagiełło.²² The two-winged altar made in Prussia in 1397 was therefore more than a valuable work of art, it was an indispensable object of worship, it car-

¹⁹ *Das Marienburger Treßlerbuch der Jahre 1399–1409*. Ed. Joachim, Erich. Königsberg, 1896. [hereinafter MTB] 19, 37, 67, 77, 125, 146, 205, 221, 341, 344, 355, 368, 383, 386, 387, 423, 424, 467, 470, 478, 488, 491, 531, 536, 537, 538, 541, 561, 586, 598.

²⁰ Arszynski, Marian, “Der Deutsche Orden als Bauherr und Kunstmäzen”, = *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica* 3, 1985, 145–162. 161.

²¹ Domasłowski, Jerzy, “Die gotische Malerei im Dienste des Deutschen Ordens”, = *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica* 3, 1985, 169–184.; Raczkowski, Janusz, *Gotik im Ordensland. Architektur, Sculptur und Malerei*. Toruń, 2002.

²² *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, Bd. IV, VI. Ed. Voigt, Johannes. Königsberg, 1853, 1861. Bd. VI. Nr. 45.; *Johann von Posilge, Chronik des Landes Preussen*. In. *Scriptores rerum prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischer Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, Bd. III.

ried a concrete political message, and emphasized the position of the military order as expressed in letters or through envoys. It did not achieve its goal, however, as on 14 July 1397 the Hungarian and Polish kings met in person in Spišská Nová Ves and concluded a surprisingly long peace treaty for 16 years.²³ Besides the painted winged altar, the Order gave valuable objects of artistic craftsmanship to Sigismund as gifts on other occasions as well. For example, according to the *Marienburger Treßlerbuch*, a record of the revenues and expenditures of the Grand Masters' Treasury, on 12 February 1408 the Treasurer (*Treßler, thesaurarius*) paid 5.5 marks to a goldsmith named Werner to make two gold-plated drinking chalices made of buffalo horns, decorated with fine goldsmith's work, which were to be presented to the King of Hungary (*item 5½ m vor 2 wesenthorner zu vorgolden und reyne zuzumachen Werner dem goltsmede, die dem herren koninge von Ungern gesant worden*).²⁴ Needless to say, the Teutonic Order often presented other European sovereigns as well with gifts of fine metalwork and objects made of precious metals. In 1399, for example, the treasury of the Grand Master paid 4 marks to a goldsmith in Elbląg to have a waist belt made of silver plates coated with gold, because the Grand Master wanted to present it to the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas (*item 4 m. eyne goltsmede zum Elbinge, der dem meister silberynne koppe hatte obirgoldet, dil herzog Wytowdt gegeben werden*).²⁵ In 1404, the Order presented 30 heraldically painted shields to the Lithuanian Prince Švitrigaila.²⁶ In 1410, two painters from Elbląg, Johann Wilden and Johann Dreseler, together received 18.5 marks for painting 59 shields.²⁷ When the Grand Master and the King of Poland met in person in the town of Toruń, Jagiełło was present-

Eds. Hirsch, Theodor, – Toeppen, Max – Strehlke, Ernst. Leipzig, 1866. [hereinafter SRP III.] 214.

²³ Gašiorowski, Antonim, *Itinerarium Króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386–1434*. Warszawa, 1972. 40.; Hoensch, Jörg K, "König / Kaiser Sigismund, der Deutsche Orden und Polen-Litauen", = *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 46, 1997, 1–44. 9.; Schwedler, Herrschertreffen, 2008. 336, 455.

²⁴ MTB 467.; Bökönyi Sándor, "Zwei Trinkbecher aus Wisenthörnern", = *Folia Archaeologica* 12, 1960, 273–280. 275.; Woźniak, Michał, "Die Goldschmiedekunst in Preussen im Dienste des Ordens, der Kirche und der Städte", In. Wenta, Jarosław – Hartmann, Sieglinde – Vollmann-Profe, Gisela (eds.), *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat in Preussen. Leben und Nachleben*. (Sacra Bella Septentrionalia, I.) Toruń, 2008. 125–130. 129.

²⁵ MTB 8.

²⁶ MTB 318.

²⁷ Schmid, Bernhard, "Maler und Bildhauer in Preußen zur Ordenszeit", *Altpreußische Forschungen* 2, 1925, 39–51. 47.

ed with two expensive, gold-plated, gem-encrusted drinking chalices, just as Sigismund of Luxemburg had been presented with before.²⁸ The Teutonic Order often presented foreign nobles and knights fighting under its banner with a silver or gold cup, also made by the goldsmiths of Prussian towns.²⁹

In medieval gift-giving practice, weapons, armour and various military equipment were often featured, which demonstrated to the general public the personal fighting merits, valour and chivalry of the recipient, which was a central element of courtly and chivalric values. Such gifts, even though they were expensive, were not considered special or particularly remarkable because of their everyday – one might say constant – use, but they nevertheless expressed the personal appreciation of the bestower. These gifts were among the items that could be given to any nobleman at almost any time, and were essentially objects of obligatory courtesy. According to a record dated 8 June 1399, the Grand Master sent 2 ornamented crests worth 3 marks 4 scots as a gift to the King of Hungary (*zwey gehenge zu zwen helm, die der meister konige Segemunds sandte*).³⁰ In the case of weapons, military equipment and harnesses, it was usually their decoration and material that expressed the rank and social status of the recipients. If they were intended for rulers or princes, they were essentially gifts of decorative weapons or other equipment intended for ceremonial occasions or representations. In 1415, for example, King Ferdinand I of Aragon presented Sigismund of Luxemburg, who was visiting his country, with 3 horses and with them expensive harnesses embellished with gold and precious stones, as well as a sword decorated with 2 rubies on the hilt.³¹ Even though the Teutonic Order was a monastic community, it followed the same practice when sending gifts to secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries. In 1408, for example, they presented the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas with a gold-plated armour and a gold-plated dagger.³² In 1411, the Grand Master presented the Bishop of Würzburg, who was one of the imperial ecclesiastical dignitaries, with a precious stone, an emerald.³³ Among the expenditure items in the *Treßlerbuch*, there were frequent commissions

²⁸ MTB 354.

²⁹ MTB 160.

³⁰ MTB 12.

³¹ *Alvar García de Santa María, Crónica del rey Don Juan el Segundo*. In: *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, 2. Ed. Rosell, Cayetano. (Biblioteca de autores españoles, 86.) Madrid, 1877. 366.

³² MTB 53.

³³ *Regesta Historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198–1525*. Pars I: Index Tabularii Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum. Regesten zum Ordensbriefarchiv. [hereinafter

from the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order to goldsmiths in Prussia to produce various objects to be given as gifts. In 1399, for example, a goldsmith named Johann made the following gifts worth nearly 100 marks: silver-plated amber carvings, including one depicting five angels (these were inserted into the boards of small wooden table-tops), silver-plated tables, and rosaries made of amber.³⁴ In 1400, a goldsmith named Hannus produced the gold rim of a chalice.³⁵ The goldsmiths of the Order often made ornate stirrups as small gifts.³⁶ Not only goldsmiths were involved in the production of diplomatic giftware in Prussia, but tailors as well. In 1402, for example, the Grand Master sent a small pouch worth 1 mark as a gift to the Lithuanian Prince Švitrigaila, which was made of expensive cloth and decorated with gold threads.³⁷

In its gift-giving practices, the Teutonic Order did not ignore the potential political influence of women when it sent gifts to the wives and daughters of certain princes and rulers. In 1402, for example, the Grand Master sent 5 marks worth of red and blue coloured baizes to Vilnius, because he was informed that the noble Lithuanian noblewomen liked to dress in clothes made of such fabrics.³⁸ According to a letter dated 16 February 1428, the Order sent wine to the Queen of Denmark.³⁹ The King and Queen of Hungary received a very special gift in the spring of 1429: the Grand Master informed Sigismund that he and his wife had been admitted to the circle of patrons (*confrater*) of the Order.⁴⁰ In addition to the honour, this also meant that regular masses would be held in the convents of the Order for the spiritual well-being of the sponsors and their families. According to the practice of the Order of the Knights, it was usually after some major donation that one was admitted to the ranks of *confraters*.⁴¹ The fact that the Teutonic Order, under the command of Nicolaus von Redewitz, took possession of castles and estates

Regesta I.] Vol. 1: 1198–1454, Vol. 3: 1511–1525. Eds. Joachim, Erich – Hubatsch, Walther. Göttingen, 1965, 1973. Vol. 1. Nr. 1545.

³⁴ MTB 38.

³⁵ MTB 67.

³⁶ MTB 81, 157.

³⁷ MTB 157.

³⁸ MTB 154.

³⁹ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung, Historisches Staatsarchiv, Deutschordensbriefarchiv [hereinafter OBA] Nr. 4903.

⁴⁰ OBA Nr. 5096, 5251.

⁴¹ Arnold, Udo, “Brüder, Schwestern, Familiaren – Wandlungen in 825 Jahren”, In: Arnold, Udo – Bernhard, Buber (eds.), *Peregrinantes peregrinantibus. 825 Jahre Deutscher Orden, 150 Jahre Ehrenritter, 50 Jahre Familiarenstatut*. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des

along the Lower Danube, ceded to them by the monarch of Hungary, must have played a major role in the granting of the honorary title to Sigismund and his wife.⁴² In 1516, Margravine Elisabeth of Brandenburg received small puppies, lapdogs as a gifts from the Order.⁴³

Gifts from the Order often included tents that were equally useful during campaigns or longer hunts. Their value was mainly in their material, a dense woven tent canvas that did not get wet and offered protection against rain. For example, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, was presented with a tent by the Grand Master at the end of the summer of 1395.⁴⁴ However, the knights never presented Sigismund of Luxemburg with a tent. As to what the reason for this might have been, we can only speculate. Perhaps they thought that, unlike weapons and military equipment, which were more personal gifts, a military tent, used mainly during campaigns, could be interpreted as an immediate and open invitation for the recipient to go to war. Giving a present to a monarch with such content would have gone beyond the boundaries of politeness. The Duke of Burgundy, however, was not a sovereign monarch, but only the first peer of France as the youngest son of King John II, who, under Charles VI, who was unfit to rule, fought for power against his brother, Louis of Orléans.⁴⁵ There is no evidence in the Order's sources that the Grand Master gave horses, dogs or even clothes to the Hungarian monarch, although he often sent such gifts to other princes or their wives and family members.⁴⁶ In 1402, for example, he gave the Lithuanian prince Švidrigaila a horse worth 8 marks,⁴⁷ which was merely a routine gift, as the price only meant a simple mount. In May 1401, for example, the Order paid 28 marks for 4 horses, i.e. 7 marks per horse.⁴⁸ In 1406 the Grand Master also gave a horse worth

Deutschen Ordens, 80.) Ilmtal-Weinstraße, 2020. 1–20. 4.; Hunyadi Zsolt – Pósán László, *Krisztus katonái. A középkori lovagrendek*. Debrecen, 2011. 17–18.

⁴² Pósán, László, “Nicolaus von Redewitz – ein Diplomat und Informant des Deutschen Ordens am Hof von Sigismund von Luxemburg”, = *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica* 26, 2021, 109–137. 123.

⁴³ Regesta I. Vol. 3. Nr. 21088.

⁴⁴ Paravicini, Werner, “Beziehungspflege im Wettbewerb der Deutsche Orden im 14. Jahrhundert”, *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica* 25, 2020, 137–154. 139.

⁴⁵ Paravicini, Werner, *Merész Károly (Életek és korok)*. Budapest, 1989. 8–11.

⁴⁶ Paravicini, *Beziehungspflege*, 2020. 145.

⁴⁷ MTB 154.

⁴⁸ MTB 117.

8 marks to a doctor named Johann.⁴⁹ The value of large war horses that were used in heavy cavalry warfare, was much higher, around 15–25 marks.⁵⁰

In the late Middle Ages, trained birds of prey, especially hunting falcons, were the most popular and particularly valuable gifts, which were most worthy of a sovereign. Falcons, buzzards, and hawks were more distinguished and honourable than any other bird. Their capture, education and training required much more patience, time and skill than the training of horses or dogs, therefore they were much more expensive.⁵¹ The Teutonic Order not only occasionally, but regularly presented falcons and hunting birds. Year after year, they sent to many secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries hunting birds and refined, elaborate cages, thick leather gloves or small hats to cover the eyes of the birds, which were required for the keeping of these animals. This gift-giving practice, which was intended to ensure the widespread recognition and appreciation of the Teutonic Order throughout Europe, may have started in the 1350s. The sporadic surviving letters of the Grand Masters, which report of such consignments, the thanking letters from the recipients, or the travel and transport vouchers issued to the falconers of the Order all suggest this. In 1354, Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode decreed that trained hunting birds, which are the most noble gifts in diplomatic relations, could only be presented by the respective Grand Master, the head of the Teutonic Order.⁵² At the same time, it can also be concluded that some officials of the Order had already been giving away birds occasionally. After 1354, falcons became an important part of the diplomatic practice of the Teutonic Order.⁵³ Gift falcons were registered in the *Treßlerbuch* from 1399 to 1409. This did not mean, however, that the Order stopped presenting hunting birds after 1409. On 2 January 1426 the Elector Palatine of the Rhine thanked the Grand Master in a letter for the falcons he had received as a gift,⁵⁴ and so did King Władysław II Jagiełło at the end of March,⁵⁵ the Archbishop of Mainz on 3 January

⁴⁹ MTB 378.

⁵⁰ MTB 107, 386, 390.

⁵¹ Eberl, Anna Lena, “Die Bedeutung der Falkenjagd für das Hofleben im Mittelalter”, = *Historia scibere* 7, 2015, 223–236. 228.

⁵² Perlbach, Max (ed.), *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*. Halle, 1890. 154.

⁵³ Knabe, Gustavgeorg, “Preußische Falken im Dienst der Politik des Deutschen Ordens”, = *Preußenland* 7, 1969, 17–21.

⁵⁴ OBA Nr. 4535.

⁵⁵ OBA Nr. 4562.

1427,⁵⁶ and the Duke of Guelders and Juliers did the same two weeks later.⁵⁷ At the end of 1427 Frederick of Saxony,⁵⁸ in January 1428 Albert, Duke of Austria,⁵⁹ and then Adolf, Duke of Juliers thanked the hunting birds they received.⁶⁰ According to the letters dated early 1429 the Teutonic Order sent falcons to the Prince Elector of Saxony,⁶¹ and the Archbishops of Mainz⁶² and Magdeburg.⁶³ In 1430 the Duke of Austria,⁶⁴ the King of Poland,⁶⁵ the Count of Katzenelnbogen,⁶⁶ and in 1431 the Count Palatine of the Rhine⁶⁷ and the Imperial Chamberlain Konrad Weinsberg (aloyal supporter of Sigismund) received birds as gifts from the Grand Master.⁶⁸ The practice of gifting falcons for diplomatic purposes was traced in written sources by Werner Paravicini until 1431,⁶⁹ but numerous documents testify that it did not cease even after that date. On 5 February 1433, for example, Albert V, Duke of Austria wrote a letter of appreciation on this subject to Marienburg (Malbork).⁷⁰ A letter dated eighty years afterwards proves that the gifting of hunting birds was still part of the diplomacy of the Order. On 15 December 1513 the Bishop of Bamberg thanked the Grand Master for the falcons.⁷¹ On 4 December 1515 Frederick III, Elector of Saxony did so.⁷² The Prince of Saxony received falcons the following year as well,⁷³ and so did the Archbishop of Cologne.⁷⁴ The Order sent hunting birds to the other two ecclesiastical electors, the Archbishops

⁵⁶ OBA Nr. 4688.

⁵⁷ OBA Nr. 4695.

⁵⁸ OBA Nr. 4857.

⁵⁹ OBA Nr. 4877.

⁶⁰ OBA Nr. 4887.

⁶¹ OBA Nr. 5029.

⁶² OBA Nr. 5030.

⁶³ OBA Nr. 5235.

⁶⁴ OBA Nr. 5266.

⁶⁵ OBA Nr. 5375.

⁶⁶ OBA Nr. 5532.

⁶⁷ OBA Nr. 5564.

⁶⁸ OBA Nr. 5566.

⁶⁹ Paravicini, *Beziehungspflege*, 2020. 147.; Militzer, *Jagd*, 1997. 325–363

⁷⁰ OBA Nr. 6346.

⁷¹ *Regesta I. Vol. 3. Nr. 19941.*

⁷² *Regesta I. Vol. 3. Nr. 20646.*

⁷³ *Regesta I. Vol. 3. Nr. 21114.*

⁷⁴ *Regesta I. Vol. 3. Nr. 21153.*

of Mainz⁷⁵ and Trier⁷⁶ in 1517. But the fact that after the secularization of the Prussian domains of the Teutonic Order in 1525, the Prussian princes also often gave falcons as gifts further confirms that the Order used this proven diplomatic tool throughout the fifteenth century.⁷⁷ The type and number of hunting birds given as a gift were always determined by the Grand Master's diplomacy based on the rank of the princes and dignitaries to be gifted, as well as the importance of the political relations of the Knights with the recipient.⁷⁸ Rarer and more expensive birds, or consignments consisting of a larger number of falcons were usually given to particularly esteemed, prestigious and powerful personages. The Grand Master usually presented 14–18 falcons to Holy Roman Emperors and Popes, 12 to the Roman King, and 6 to 10 birds to other monarchs – depending on how important they were to the foreign political interests of the Order. Dukes, margraves, landgraves, viscounts or archbishops received 4–6 falcons.⁷⁹ According to a register from 1397, the Order sent 10 falcons to the King Sigismund of Luxemburg, and 4 to a chief supporter of his, the Voivode of Transylvania, Stibor of Stiboricz, as many as were usually sent to an imperial prince.⁸⁰ In 1399, the Grand Master sent two hunting bird cages as a gift to the Hungarian king, for which the chief treasurer paid a total of 11 marks.⁸¹ In the same year, King Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia, also being Holy Roman Emperor at the time, only received one cage, which cost 4 marks, i.e. it was cheaper than the cage sent to Sigismund. (*11 m. deme konige zu Ungern uf zwu kassen, item 4 m. uf eyne case ken Behemen deme Romyschen konyge*).⁸² This striking distinction was certainly linked to the fact that in the spring of 1399 the electors of the Empire turned against Wenceslaus, which led to his dethronement on 20 August 1399 and

⁷⁵ Regesta I. Vol. 3. Nr. 21198.

⁷⁶ Regesta I. Vol. 3. Nr. 21208.

⁷⁷ Heckmann, Dieter, "Preußische Jagdfalken als Grandmesser für die Außenwirkung europäischer Höfe des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", = *Preußenland* 37, 1999, 39–62.

⁷⁸ Heckmann, Jagdfalken, 1999. 39–62.; Militzer, Klaus, "Jagd und Deutscher Orden", In: Paravicini, Werner (ed.), *Jagd und höfische Kultur im Mittelalter*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 135.) Göttingen, 1997. 325–363.

⁷⁹ Kumerloeve, Hans, "Über Beizvogelgeschenke des Deutschen Ritterordens an weltliche und geistliche Fürsten im Dienste der Ordenspolitik (14./16. Jahrhundert)", = *Veröffentlichungen des Naturwissenschaftlichen Vereins zu Osnabrück* 28, 1957, 72–80. 76–77.

⁸⁰ Borbás, Benjámín, "Falcons in Service of the Teutonic Order at the Turn of the Fourteenth–Fifteenth Century", = *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 26, 2020, 133–149. 139.

⁸¹ MTB 37.

⁸² MTB 37.

the election of Ruprecht, the Count Palatine of the Rhine as the new ruler.⁸³ In the light of these developments, the Teutonic Order could not hope for much support from Wenceslas, but after the disaster at Nicopolis, Sigismund wanted to use the armed forces of the Order to defend the southern borders of his country, and offered to donate Burzenland to the Knights if they moved to Hungary, from where they had been expelled by King Andrew II in 1225.⁸⁴ At the same time, when the Luxemburg brothers received bird cages as gifts from the Order, the Grand Master sent falcons and hounds used for falconry to the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas.⁸⁵ The person and policies of Vytautas were of considerable value to the Teutonic Order at this time, as he sought greater Lithuanian independence within the Polish–Lithuanian union, and for that he was looking for an ally in Prussia as well. In 1398, to prove his good intentions, he renounced the Lithuanian province of Samogitia (Žemaitija), wedged between the Prussian and Livonian territories of the Order.⁸⁶ In 1400, the Grand Master sent not cages but 6 falcons to the Hungarian king (but this was still less than the 10 sent in 1397).⁸⁷ In 1403 two servants of the Teutonic Order took falcons to Bohemia and Hungary, but their number was not recorded this time.⁸⁸ In 1406 Sigismund again received a cage from the Grand Master, but this alone cost as much as the two ones he had received in 1399, i.e. it must have been of a more superb workmanship and made of much more expensive material.⁸⁹ In 1408 the Grand Master's falconer took falcons to several princely and imperial courts, including Buda, and another cage worth 11 marks (*Peter felkener of falcken uszutragen als Ungern (...) 1 kase 11 m.*).⁹⁰ The following year, prior to the impending war between the Teutonic Order and Poland,⁹¹ the Grand Master again sent falcons to the ruler of Hungary.⁹²

⁸³ Pósán László, *Németország a középkorban*. Debrecen, 2003. 277.

⁸⁴ CDP Bd. VI. Nr. 49.; Pósán, Nicolaus von Redewitz, 2021. 114

⁸⁵ MTB 35.

⁸⁶ Weise, Erich (ed.), *Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen in Preußen im 15. Jahrhundert, 1398–1467*, Bd. I. Marburg, 1966. Nr. 2.

⁸⁷ MTB 77.

⁸⁸ MTB 224.

⁸⁹ MTB 383.

⁹⁰ MTB 506.

⁹¹ Kuczyński, Stefan Maria, *Wielka wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim w latach 1409–1411*. Warszawa, 1966.; Pósán László, "A Német Lovagrend és a lengyel–litván állam közötti 'nagy háború' (1409–1411)", = *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 124, 2011, 3–30.

⁹² MTB 586.

The Order's gifts were mostly delivered to Sigismund by couriers, but it also happened that the presents were handed over on the occasion of an official visit of the Teutonic embassy to Hungary. According to the *Treßlerbuch*, in 1398, the Commander of Radzyń Chełmiński was the emissary to Hungary.⁹³ The Treasury provided 20 marks for the travel expenses. In the following years, the main political relations between Sigismund and the Teutonic Order were based on the correspondence between the King and the Grand Master. The next high-ranking Teutonic envoy to Buda was a Prussian secular landowner, Gotschalk Hitfeld, who, to cover the cost of travel befitting his rank and office, received from the Treasurer-General on 6 August 1409 an allowance of 120 golden florins, worth – according to the *Treßlerbuch* – 62 Prussian marks and 2 scots.⁹⁴ After the attempts to settle the diplomatic dispute in June and July 1409 failed, Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen declared war on Poland on 9 August.⁹⁵ Thus, Gotschalk Hitfeld arrived in Hungary as an envoy who was trying to win the support of the Hungarian king as an ally and supporter of a knightly order at war. In the same year, shortly after the return of Hitfeld to Prussia, at the end of September, Grand Master Michael Kuchmeister sent another envoy to Buda, the Voigt of Samogitia. For his expenses he received nearly as much money as the previous envoy, 100 golden florins. The difference was only due to the fact that Kuchmeister was a warrior monk, so he had to follow the regulations for both his diet and accommodation during his travels.⁹⁶ It seems that not even this embassy did bring the result the Grand Master had hoped for, because at the end of October, the commander of Elbląg, Werner von Tettingen and of Toruń, Albrecht von Schwarzburg were dispatched to Sigismund of Luxemburg. The treasury of the Grand Master allocated 1,400 gold florins for the expenses of this diplomatic mission, an amount substantially larger than previous ones.⁹⁷ It is possible that the two former envoys, Gotschalk Hitfeld and Michael Kuchmeister, prepared the meeting of this more prestigious ambassador of the Order. The prestige of this mission in late autumn and, at the same time the esteem and respect shown to the sending party, the Teutonic Order,

⁹³ MTB 19.

⁹⁴ MTB 561.

⁹⁵ Nowak, Zenon Hubert, "Akt rozpoczynający 'Wielką wojnę'. List wypowiedni w mistrza Ulryka von Jungingen z 6 sierpnia 1409 roku", = *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 20, 1976, 79–85.

⁹⁶ MTB 561.

⁹⁷ MTB 561.

was expressed by the fact that, according to a letter dated 27 November 1409, Sigismund invited the commanders of Elbląg and Toruń to the baptism of his daughter.⁹⁸ Following the so-called “Great War” of 1409–1411, between 1411 and 1420, when both the Teutonic Order and the Polish–Lithuanian state relied on the Emperor and the ecumenical council to arbitrate in pending disputes, the Grand Master sent envoys of high rank with the right to negotiate with Sigismund on six occasions. The largest delegation was the one that was dispatched to Buda in May 1412, consisting of 18 people, including such illustrious figures as Archbishop Johann von Wallenrode of Riga, Marshal Michael Kűchmeister, Werner von Tettingen, Master of the Hospital and Commander of Elbląg, Master Drapier (Traperarius) Friedrich von Welden, Eberhard von Wallenfals, Commander of Toruń, and Johann Abezier, Provost of Warmia. Three of the five senior officers of the Teutonic Order after the Grand Master (Grand Commander, that is, the head of the commanderies, Treasurer General, Master of the Hospital, Marshal, and Master Drapier) were members of the delegation. These five top officials, together with the Commanders of Toruń and Danzig, and the Grand Master formed the most important political governing body of the Teutonic state, the so-called “Petty Council”.⁹⁹ Of the two heads of commanderies, the one from Toruń was also a member of the 1412 delegation to Hungary. The other five delegations to Sigismund were much smaller and consisted of fewer high-ranking officials.¹⁰⁰

In the diplomatic relations between Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Teutonic Order, the King of Hungary also sent gifts to the Grand Master. He also used these to express his appreciation and respect for the crusaders, and convince them to support his own political plans and ambitions. However, we have far less information about what gifts the Hungarian king gave the Grand Master than vice versa. The Teutonic accounts, the *Treßlerbuch*, mostly only recorded the amount of money that was spent on the supplies of the Hungarian couriers and envoys who were dispatched to Prussia, while no account of the gifts was kept at the court of Sigismund. At the beginning of 1400, the knights paid 16 scots for the accommodation and meals of the envoy of Sigismund.¹⁰¹ In March 1405, the provision cost of a knight of the King of Hungary, who was an envoy to Malbork, was

⁹⁸ Regesta I. Vol. 1. Nr. 1175.

⁹⁹ Sarnowsky, Jürgen, *Der Deutsche Orden*. München, 2007. 56.

¹⁰⁰ Flemmig, Stephan, “Die Beziehungen des Deutschen Ordens zum Reich vom Thorner Frieden bis zum Tag von Breslau”, = *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica* 19, 2012, 7–42. 29–30.

¹⁰¹ MTB 67.

9 vierdungs.¹⁰² On 21 June 1405 the treasury of the Grand Master paid 1 mark 8 scots to a citizen of Malbork who had given lodging and board to the envoy of Sigismund.¹⁰³ When more prestigious Hungarian embassies were sent to the court of the Grand Master, the cost of their accommodation was much higher. For example, a Hungarian mission in the autumn of 1405 cost the Order 250 marks.¹⁰⁴

Among the entries in the *Treßlerbuch*, there was only one Hungarian gift that the knights considered worthy of mention: wine. On 11 April 1407 the treasurer-general paid 16 marks to the carriers who transported the wine to Malbork the King of Hungary presented to the Grand Master.¹⁰⁵ A similar entry can be found regarding 15 April 1408.¹⁰⁶ Wine was a generally common gift in the Middle Ages, therefore, it was not outspoken in most of the cases.¹⁰⁷ However, the fact that Hungarian wine was still considered important to be mentioned in the Order's records suggests that it was a rare wine of very high quality. Medieval people were not yet able to control and manage the micro-organisms in containers and cellars, nor the fermentation process and the biochemical changes in the wine, hence wine failure was very common. Due to inadequate storage, handling and transport, the wine may have started to ferment again, become vinegary or suffer from various wine diseases. The most frequent problem was acidic aftertaste. The wine turned vinegary relatively quickly because the bacteria in it, especially the *Acetobacter aceti*, needed only oxygen to proliferate rapidly. Acetic acid is the result of the metabolism of this bacterium, and in the Middle Ages it was not yet possible to prevent the acidification of wine. The process of acidification could have been reduced at most by low storage temperature, higher alcohol content or higher storage volume (in the latter case, the wine was in contact with air over a smaller surface area compared to its mass), because all three conditions slowed down the bacterial growth. The treatment of barrels with sulphur dioxide, sulphurisation, which killed micro-organisms and prevented spoilage caused by oxidation, thus keeping the wine fresh for longer, was only introduced in the early modern period.¹⁰⁸ During the Middle Ages,

¹⁰² MTB 341.

¹⁰³ MTB 355.

¹⁰⁴ MTB 368.

¹⁰⁵ MTB 423.

¹⁰⁶ MTB 478.

¹⁰⁷ Schwendler, *Diplomatische*, 2011. 161.

¹⁰⁸ Johnson, Hugh, *A bor története*. Budapest, 2005. 67–68.

the only way to transport wine over long distances without significant loss of quality was to transport wine with a relatively high alcohol content, which meant that it could be kept for longer. Based on its quality and alcohol content, the Hungarian wine presented to the Grand Master by Sigismund of Luxemburg must have been one that could be transported far from its production area (some 1,000 kilometres away) without any significant damage or deterioration in quality. In medieval Hungary, the wine produced in Syrmia was of the best quality. Sources agree that the best and most expensive wines were considered to be those from Syrmia.¹⁰⁹ Already in the 1288 Esztergom customs list, this wine was the most valuable: its customs duty was twice as high as that of other wines.¹¹⁰ In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Italian humanist Galeotto Marzio wrote of the Syrmian wine that it was “so sweet that it is difficult to find anything like it in the whole world”.¹¹¹ A poem from the beginning of the sixteenth century compared Syrmian wine to nectar.¹¹² The wine from Syrmia was sweet with a high residual sugar content, mainly fructose. (Because the glucose in grapes ferments more quickly.) This was due to the fact that, as in the later Tokaj-Hegyalja wine region, Syrmia also benefited from the natural noble rot caused by the noble mould resulting from the infection of the fungus *Botrytis cinerea*. Three basic conditions have to be fulfilled for the noble rot to occur: undamaged grapes at the time of ripening for the fungal infection, i.e. late summer, early autumn, with adequate moisture (rain, fog), which is followed by a prolonged dry and still warm period. In the Mediterranean this was out of the question, mainly due to the lack of humidity and moisture at the end of summer, but in Syrmia the proximity of the Danube and Sava rivers ensured the appropriate humidity, and its geographical location the necessary temperature and microclimate. In the Middle Ages, this natural noble rot gave the wines of Syrmia their special character.¹¹³ The sweet wine of medieval Syrmia was similar to that

¹⁰⁹ Marton Szabolcs, “A szerémi szőlők édes nedűje – középkori boraink királya”, = *Élet és tudomány* 72, 2017, 905–907. 7.

¹¹⁰ Solymosi László, “Szőlőművelés Magyarországon a középkorban. A honfoglalástól a 14. századig”, = *História* 20, 1998, 17–20.

¹¹¹ Galeotto Marzio, *Mátyás királynak kiváló, bölcs, tréfás mondásairól és tetteiről szóló könyv*. Trans. Tibor Kardos. Budapest, 1979. 38.

¹¹² Klaniczay Tibor (ed.), *Janus Pannonius. Magyarországi humanisták*. Budapest, 1982. 224.

¹¹³ Csoma Zsigmond, “Történeti-ökológiai és történeti-néprajzi gondolatok a magyarországi középkori francia-vallon szőlő- és borkultúráról”, = *Studia Caroliensia* 7, 2006, 389–400.

of today's Tokaj-Hegyalja, and the sugar content may have been even higher, because the Syrmia wine region was 3 degrees south of Tokaj and received 200 hours more sunshine per year than the Hegyalja one. Due to the higher sugar content of the grapes grown in Syrmia, the alcohol content of the wines made from them was also higher. As a result, wines from here had a longer shelf life and could be transported further than other wines. Wines produced further north had a lower alcohol content and therefore retained their quality for a shorter period. The wines from Syrmia were transported in large barrels of almost 300 litres to reduce the acidification process. (Later, in the early modern period, Tokaj wines were stored in barrels only about half the size of those from Syrmia, so that they could be transported more easily, but by then the barrels were already sulphurised.)¹¹⁴ The Hungarian wine presented by Sigismund to the Teutonic Order on several occasions was therefore certainly from Syrmia, because they were able to transport these over long distances (on carts, or on rivers) while preserving their quality. In Prussia they got to discover this wine, and as they all seem to have liked it, since later on they bought some as well. In the 1420s, Hungarian (i.e. Syrmian) wine was already among the goods of the merchants of Toruń.¹¹⁵ The records of the city of Bardejov testify that its merchants delivered Hungarian wine to the Teutonic Order twice in 1436, in two months' time (*item pro vinis propinatis dominis de Prussia; item pro vinis quae propinaverunt dominis de Prussia*).¹¹⁶

As to what else Sigismund might have given the Grand Master in the course of diplomatic relations, apart from the wine from the 'Seremna', we can perhaps deduce from the gifts that other European monarchs sent to the Teutonic Order when they sent couriers or envoys to Prussia. In the majority of cases, these were objects compatible with the monastic lifestyle of the knights or various relics linked to their religious vocation. For example, in the first third of the thirteenth century, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II gave a very special relic, a piece of the Holy Cross to Grand Master Hermann von Salza.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Bogdán, István, *Magyarországi ür-, térfogat-, súly- és darabmértékek 1874-ig*. Budapest, 1991. 182.; Komoróczy, György, *Borkivitelünk észak felé*. Kassa, 1944. 247.

¹¹⁵ Halaga, Ondrej R, "Kaufleute und Handelsgüter der Hanse im Karpatengebiet", = *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 85, 1967, 59–84. 78.

¹¹⁶ *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei*. Ed. Fejérpataky László. Budapest, 1885. 365, 367.

¹¹⁷ *Petri de Dusburg, Chronica terrae Prussiae*. In. *Scriptores rerum prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischer Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*. Hg. Hirsch,

Another piece was brought to Malbork in 1374 as a gift from King Charles V of France.¹¹⁸ The following year the French king sent a golden cross to the Grand Master.¹¹⁹ In 1383 his successor, Charles VI gave another relatively larger piece of the Cross to the Order (*eyn gros stucke von dem heyligin cruce*).¹²⁰ The Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV presented St. Catherine relics to the Grand Master.¹²¹ According to the Order's records between 1394 and 1439 in addition to the pieces of the Cross of Christ, relics of St. Agnes, St. Euphemia, St. Elizabeth, St. Catherine and St. Anthony were brought to Malbork, most of them as gifts from secular princes and ecclesiastical dignitaries.¹²² As early as 1344 James, Bishop of Samland promised forgiveness for 40 days to all those who made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Malbork.¹²³ In 1358 this was confirmed by Pope Innocent VI, who also proclaimed 40 days of forgiveness for those who made a pilgrimage to Malbork.¹²⁴ In 1389 Pope Urban VI decreed that the Order could only show the relics kept at the seat of the Grand Master every five years to the believers, and, pilgrims did not receive only 40 days' forgiveness, but full absolution.¹²⁵ In 1400 Anna, the consort of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas also made a pilgrimage to Malbork.¹²⁶ When the mother of King Louis I of Hungary, Elizabeth visited Rome in 1344, gave liturgical textiles, expensive chasubles, and objects made by goldsmiths (gold chalices decorated with precious stones and pearls) as gifts.¹²⁷ It is certain that Sigismund of Luxemburg also sent similar gifts to the Teutonic Order.

Members of the Teutonic Order, as brethren, were forbidden to play games of chance (dice, cards) because they were associated with sin. In France, as

Theodor – Toeppen, Max – Strahlke, Ernst. Leipzig, 1861. 53.

¹¹⁸ Zacharias, Rainer, "Die Reliquienwallfahrt zur Hochmeisterresidenz Marienburg", = *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 50, 2002, 11–35. 18.

¹¹⁹ Paravicini, Werner, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Teil 1. (Beihefte der Francia, 17/1.) Sigmaringen, 1989. 267.

¹²⁰ HR I. Bd. 3. 139.

¹²¹ Paravicini, *Preussenreisen*, 1989. 305.

¹²² MÄB 122–135

¹²³ *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. III/3. Ed. Koeppen, Hans. Marburg, 1958. Nr. 697.

¹²⁴ Voigt, Johannes, *Geschichte Marienburg, der Stadt und Haupthauses des Deutschen Ritterordens in Preußen*. Königsberg, 1824. 536–537.

¹²⁵ CDP Bd. IV. Nr. 57.

¹²⁶ SRP III. 376–379.

¹²⁷ Śnieżyńska-Stolot, Ewa, "Tanulmányok Erzsébet királynő mecénási tevékenységéről. (Liturgiai textíliák és paramentumok)", = *Ars Hungarica* 7, 1979, 23–31. 16.

early as the thirteenth century, King Louis IX issued a decree banning dice playing, drinking and prostitution, all of which he considered to be sinful activities.¹²⁸ Pier Paolo Vergerio, who studied at the University of Padua, then served as a secretary at the papal court, attended the Council of Constance as well as served Sigismund, wrote in his *De ingennis moribus et liberalibus studiis* (On noble morals and artes liberales) published in 1404 that games of chance were unworthy of noble men.¹²⁹ Chess, however, presupposed a certain level of knowledge, logical ability and intellectual level, which at the same time was linked to social status, and was therefore considered a worthy occupation for men and women alike in the chivalric and courtly society, and it was even allowed for clergymen. In Rievaulx Abbey, for example, monks were playing chess as early as the twelfth century. Chess was associated with moral values and linked to various chivalric and Christian virtues. Around 1300, a Dominican monk from Genoa, Jacobus de Cessolis, wrote a treatise on this subject entitled *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium sive super luda sacchorum*.¹³⁰ The chess pieces also symbolised the society of the time, as there were kings, queens, royal officials (the bishops), knights, and the rook or tower shape symbolised the cities.¹³¹ However, chess was a valuable, expensive game, each piece of which had to be carved out or cast in metal, making it a worthy gift at any time. In 1335, when the kings of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland met in Visegrád, Hungary, the Hungarian ruler Charles Robert gave King John of Bohemia 50 silver pots, 2 expensive belts, 2 saddles, 2 quivers, a dagger richly decorated with precious stones worth 200 marks and a magnificent chessboard with accompanying pieces.¹³² For the members of the Teutonic Order, as brethren, gambling was not only dishonourable but also forbidden, yet, at the same time they were allowed to play chess. In 1400,

¹²⁸ Jean de Joinville, *Szent Lajos élete és bölcs mondásai*. Ed. Csernus Sándor. (A középkori francia történeti irodalom remekei, 2.) Budapest, 2015. 152, 244, 325.

¹²⁹ Orosz Gábor (ed.), *Az európai középkor, reneszánsz és a 16. század neveléstörténete. Prohászka Lajos egyetemi előadásaiból*. (Pallas Debrecina, 16.) Debrecen, 2004. 118.

¹³⁰ Jönsson, Maren, “Von tugendhaften Königinnen und neugierigen Ehefrauen. Weibliche Genderentwürfe in deutsch- und schwedischsprachigen Schachzabelbüchern”, In. Ferm, Olle – Honemann, Volker (eds.), *Chess and Allegory in the Middle Ages*. Stockholm, 2005. 217–279. 224.

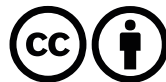
¹³¹ Plessow, Oliver, “Kulturelle Angleichung und Werteuniversalismus in den Schachzabelbüchern des Mittelalters”, In. Ferm, Olle – Honemann, Volker (eds.), *Chess and Allegory in the Middle Ages*. Stockholm, 2005. 57–97. 62

¹³² Thuróczy János, *Magyarok krónikája*. Eds. Benda Gyula – Bertényi Iván – Póty János. (Milleneumi magyar történelem. Források) Budapest, 2001. 170.

for example, Queen Margaret, the ruler of the Kalmar Union, which united the Scandinavian countries in a personal union, sent a chess set as a gift to the Grand Master.¹³³ Of course, money could be won or lost not only on dice or cards, but even on chess, if the players were betting, but not as much as in gambling. According to the entries in the Treßlerbuch, the Grand Master often played chess, and played for money with Western dignitaries and noblemen who almost constantly came to Prussia for longer or shorter periods, and sometimes he even lost small sums of money.¹³⁴

¹³³ CDP Bd. VI. Nr. 100.


¹³⁴ MTB 499, 507, 508, 514.



CSENGE TÍMÁR, PhD student, Univeristy of Debrecen

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

tmrcsenge@gmail.com

 ORCID: 0009-0005-2582-3673



Contributions to the Venetian-Hungarian Alliance and Anti-Ottoman War of 1501–1503

ABSTRACT

In my research, I examine the diplomatic relations between Venice and the Kingdom of Hungary during the Jagiellonian era. Through Venetian narrative sources, my study presents the anti-Ottoman war of 1501–1503, a period during which both parties were engaged in conflict against the Sultan. In my work, I devote particular attention to the writings of Girolamo Priuli, a diarist who is less known to the international scientific community. Hailing from a merchant family and working as a banker, Priuli was a member of the Venetian Great Council (Maggior Consiglio), which allowed him to receive first-hand information regarding the news influencing the state's foreign policy. In his diaries, he made detailed and relatively accurate entries that contain a wealth of information concerning the Kingdom of Hungary. His eight-volume diary covers the period between 1494 and 1512, an exceptionally active era for both countries.

In this study, I intend to present the diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Hungary and Venice through the accounts of Priuli and the well-known Marin Sanudo from 1500–1503. In this context, I will address the financial subsidies provided by the Republic to Vladislaus II for the maintenance of troops, as well as how the Venetians evaluated these Hungarian military operations. To this end, I will utilize source fragments that have hitherto escaped the attention of historical scholarship.

Keywords: Republic of Venice, Jagiellonian era, diplomatic history, Anti-Ottoman wars, Girolamo Priuli

Introduction

The events of the anti-Ottoman war taking place between 1501 and 1503 have already been thoroughly explored by both Hungarian and international historiography.¹ These accounts have presented in detail the course of military operations, the objectives and strategies of the belligerents, as well as the back-

¹ For its most recent summary, see: Pálosfalvi, Tamás, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*. Leiden–Boston, 2018. See also: Fisher, Sydney Nettleton, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey, 1481–1512*. Urbana, 1948.

ground and functioning of the political and military alliance established between the Republic of Venice and the Kingdom of Hungary. Consequently, the aim of the present study is not to refute or rewrite these well-founded interpretations, but to include in the investigation narrative sources that have hitherto escaped the attention of Hungarian historical scholarship. These contributions may shed new light on our current knowledge, making their understanding indispensable for researchers of the period. My primary source base is the diary of Girolamo Priuli, which is lesser known even in international literature, though I also make use of the widely known diary of Marin Sanudo.

The manuscript of Girolamo Priuli has heretofore escaped the attention of historical scholarship, despite contributing numerous additions to our understanding of the era. The Venetian author was active as a merchant and banker during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. His diary, written between 1494 and 1512,² contains a multitude of entries that provide valuable insights into contemporary public opinion, as well as Venetian-Hungarian relations and the perception of the events of the war. The source is particularly significant because it records events from a personal perspective, often independently of official ambassadorial reports, thereby offering a more nuanced picture of the political and social context of the period.

The Background of the Venetian-Hungarian Alliance

The turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was an extremely turbulent period in the life of Venice, defined primarily by the Italian Wars and the threat posed by the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, in April 1499, the city-state entered into an alliance with King Louis XII of France and Pope Alexander VI,³ into which they attempted to involve the Kingdom of

² The critical editions of the first, second, and fourth volumes were published between 1912 and 1941: *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli*, a cura di Arturo Segre e Roberto Cessi, Città di Castello–Bologna, 1912–1941, 1, 2, 4 vol. In. *Rerum Italicarum scriptores. Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento*, ordinata da L.A. Muratori, nuova edizione riveduta, ampliata e corretta con la direzione di Giosué Carducci – Vittorio Fiorini – Pietro Fedele, Città di Castello, [poi] Bologna, 1900–1975. Vol 24. [hereinafter Priuli I., Priuli II. or Priuli IV.] Critical editions of the last four volumes have not been produced to date; these can be consulted at the Biblioteca del Museo Correr under the shelf mark Cod. Cic. 3784.

³ Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 300.

Hungary as well, since it was the only Christian power capable of opening a new land front against the Ottoman Empire. However, the process of establishing the alliance was far from simple, as can be learned from Priuli's diary. On the one hand, Vladislaus II requested the annulment of his marriage to Beatrice of Aragon in exchange for joining the alliance, as they had produced no heir.⁴ On the other hand, Venice's dire financial situation further complicated the commencement of cooperation with the Kingdom of Hungary, as the maritime expansion of the Ottoman Empire significantly curtailed the city-state's trade. The loss of Lepanto in 1499, followed by that of Modon and Coron in 1500, signified the fall of three strategically important distribution centers. In this regard, Priuli noted that the *poveri* Venetian fathers were in a very dire predicament, as they received no assistance from the Christian world, and moreover, their own forces were insufficient against the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, they genuinely feared that they might lose all their maritime possessions.⁵ At the same time, it is important to note that allying with the *Serenissima* became important for Vladislaus II as well, given that the Turks were attacking not only the maritime territories of the Republic but also its inland – Dalmatian – territories, which bordered Hungary.⁶ Based on Priuli's account regarding this, we learn that various reports arrived from Hungary, such as that 16,000 Turkish cavalry had assembled in Bosnia in the direction of the province of Friuli; which, if true, would pose a serious threat. Therefore, the Venetian fathers made such preparations in that region as their means permitted.⁷

Venice's constant military expenditures, particularly the maintenance and development of the fleet, almost completely exhausted the city-state's treas-

⁴ “Questo Re d’Ongaria con ogni studio tentava che Il Sommo Pontifice, dovesse disfar Le sui nozze, perche non havea fioli legitimi (...)” BMN Cod. It. VII. 130. fol. 375.; Nemes Gábor, “Pietro Isvalies bíboros veszprémi püspök”, In: Karlinszky Balázs – Varga Tibor László (eds.), *Folyamatosság és változás. Egyházszervezet és hitélet a veszprémi püspökség területén a 16–17. században*. Veszprém, 2018. 9–46. 10–11.

⁵ The listed ports were considered important stations for Levantine trade; here, galley crews could rest and resupply with fresh water and food. Furthermore, one must not overlook their strategic position regarding the defense of the city-state, for thanks to their geographical location, they served the defense of the Adriatic Sea and thus, Venice itself. For this latter reason, Modon and Coron were also referred to as the two eyes of the Republic. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations*, 1948. 70–77.; Priuli II. 53.

⁶ Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 300.

⁷ Priuli II. 49.

ury,⁸ and thus many opposed the alliance to be concluded with the Kingdom of Hungary and the payment of the associated annual subsidy of 100,000 ducats.⁹ Consequently, the debate continued for four days in the Senate, an event recorded by both Sanudo and Priuli.¹⁰ Reading the two diaries together, a picture emerges that presents in detail with what difficulty a consensus was reached regarding the accord between the two countries, as well as the reasons that stood behind their arguments. Upon comparing the two texts, the differing positions of the authors become immediately apparent. While Priuli, the merchant and banker, is present as an external observer acting as an analyst, concentrating on the arguments and causal relationships, Sanudo, who himself participated in the decision-making – “I, Marin Sanudo, (...) of the *savi ai ordeni*, was appointed to write a letter to our envoys in Hungary to conclude the agreement regarding the 100,000 ducats,”¹¹ – records the internal dynamics of the political process, the course of the voting, and the personal roles played.

The starting point of the negotiations, namely the resentment of the Hungarian King, Vladislaus II, is outlined in greater detail by Priuli, in which he sheds light on the political pressure that urged the decision. He highlights that the Hungarian King was “very vexed with the Italian powers”, as they

⁸ Jászay Magda, *Velence és Magyarország. Egy szomszédság küzdelmes története*. Budapest, 1990. 194. In this regard, it must be noted that in early 1501, Sultan Bayezid II offered peace to Venice, as alongside his war in the Mediterranean, he already foresaw an impending attack from the direction of Hungary, and a rebellion had also begun in Anatolia. However, the Republic rejected the Turkish initiative, as at that time it enjoyed the support of several European monarchs – the Pope, and the French, Spanish, and Portuguese kings – and the conclusion of the alliance with the Hungarians was becoming increasingly tangible. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations*, 1948. 78.

⁹ We know from the diary of Marin Sanudo of the report by Sebastiano Giustinian and Vettore Soranzo, according to which the Hungarians were only willing to negotiate further on the condition that they receive at least this amount. *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, a cura di Rinaldo Fulin. Venezia, 1880. 3 vol. [hereinafter Sanudo III.] 566–567.

¹⁰ The reason for this diverging perspective is most likely that while Sanudo maintained his diary on a daily basis, Priuli recorded events spanning multiple days under the entry of a single day, often doing so several days later. Consequently, he interpreted Venice’s diplomatic actions retrospectively, which may have caused certain decisions to appear in a different light in his account. Priuli dates his entry to July 29, 1500, when the assembly likely began, and discusses the Senate deliberation and voting in a single paragraph. Sanudo discusses the events over several days, between August 1 and 3, 1500, in multiple installments. I have retained the names mentioned by Sanudo in their original form as they appear in the text edition.

¹¹ Sanudo III. 573–574.

“fed him only with words”, but did not send the money. Priuli understands the Hungarian standpoint: the King felt that “they are mocking him and holding his crown in low esteem.”¹² In contrast, Sanudo starts *in medias res* with the listing of the names and ranks of the decision-makers, as well as the presentation of the specific proposals of the deliberations.¹³

Regarding the content of the debates, the two sources complement each other excellently. Priuli groups the arguments thematically. As a banker, he emphasizes the economic rationality of the opposing camp, according to which “from 100,000 ducats (...) a massive naval fleet could be equipped”, and moreover, this money “would return to the Venetian subjects”, whereas the aid given to the Hungarians would be lost. Priuli also recalls the historical experience, according to which in the time of King Matthias, the money sent to Hungary “brought little, or indeed no benefit.”¹⁴ Sanudo, by contrast, links these same concerns to specific persons. We learn from him that “*Sier* Lunardo Loredan, Procurator, spoke against (the alliance)”, who explicitly stated: “we will only spend our money and achieve nothing.”¹⁵ While Priuli describes principles, Sanudo records the political skirmishing; “*Sier* Piero Duodo (...) spoke so poorly that he almost drove the water to our mill”, and indeed, he even captures the Doge’s uncertainty and departure.¹⁶

Regarding the arguments in favor of the alliance, Priuli highlights the strategic advantage: if the Hungarians attack, the Sultan “will be forced to divide his soul and his thoughts in two”, as he would be forced into a two-front war. He believes the agreement would be to the “honor” of the Republic, yet he considers it a costly and unnecessary expense.¹⁷ Sanudo focuses on the technical details here as well. He lists those supporting the conclusion of the alliance, “*Sier* Domenego Bollani, Councillor (...) and *Sier* Polo Pixani, Knight”, then presents the specific motion: “Venice should conclude the general alliance and give 100,000 ducats.” He does the same with those opposing the alliance, as well as with those who intend to bring into existence a larger-scale alliance including Western Christian monarchs. For Sanudo, the debate thus appears not on an abstract plane, but as a maneuvering between the various “opinions”.¹⁸

¹² Priuli II. 22.

¹³ Sanudo III. 573.

¹⁴ Priuli II. 22.

¹⁵ Sanudo III. 573–574.

¹⁶ Sanudo III. 576–577.

¹⁷ Priuli II. 22–23.

¹⁸ Sanudo III. 576–577, 580.

The atmosphere of the two descriptions becomes most divergent at the conclusion. Priuli, the external observer, conveys the intensity of the debates, noting that “the Venetian senators sweated through many shirts” during the four-day deliberation. Finally, he records the result factually: “a decision and resolution was made that they will conclude this alliance.”¹⁹ Sanudo, however, describes the night of the voting with meticulous precision. We sense the fatigue and tension: “since it was already late (...) the matter was postponed to the next day.” And at the final decision, the voting taking place “by torchlight”, which occurred “in the first hour of the night”, practically comes alive before our eyes. Finally, he reports the voting ratios exactly: “97 for the postponement, 103 for our opinion”.²⁰

The comparison of the two sources sheds light on how history is written on different levels. Priuli provides the answer to the “why”: we understand from it how the compulsion to face “two powers” and the threat of the Hungarian King drove Venice to pay. Sanudo, on the other hand, presents the “how”:²¹ thanks to his account, it is fascinating to discover that the alliance with the Kingdom of Hungary hung by a mere thread. It was in debates stretching into the night under “strict secrecy” where the personal convictions and oratorical skills of the Procurators and Sages ultimately decided the fate of the one hundred thousand ducats to be sent to Hungary.

The most significant obstacle was presented not by the voting of the monetary sum – as one might expect – but rather by the form of the alliance. For in early 1501, Venice enjoyed the support of several European states,²² and thus they wished to enter into an alliance against the Turk together with them, rather than exclusively with Vladislaus II. However, since this was not feasible, as they were compelled to act quickly²³ and the Hungarian King was also pressing them,²⁴ they ultimately contented themselves with an alliance involving “only” the Hungarians and the Pope. Although it is revealed in Priuli’s text that they

¹⁹ Priuli II. 23.

²⁰ Sanudo III. 580–581.

²¹ Sanudo was in favor of the agreement, for only those on his side spoke *sapientissime*; therefore, the endeavor to reach a solution is palpable in his interpretation.

²² See footnote 9.

²³ Following the rejection of the peace offer, Bayezid II initiated a massive naval expansion, during which 400 ships were built, including 200 light galleys and 50 heavy galleys. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations*, 1948. 78–79.

²⁴ See footnote 10.

reserved the possibility for the King of France and other monarchs²⁵ to join the alliance against the *infideles Turchi* as well.²⁶

The Hungarian monarch began military preparations before the establishment of the alliance concluded in May 1501;²⁷ indeed, he even launched a minor raid against the Turks before the disbursement of the promised aid had taken place. On March 26, 1501, Priuli noted that the Hungarians set out on a plundering expedition into Bosnia with 800 horsemen, but the Sultan repelled them.²⁸ Vladislaus II most certainly launched smaller attacks against the Ottoman Empire in order to convince the mistrustful Serenissima. With this, he achieved his goal, for under the terms of the alliance, Venice gave 100,000 ducats annually to the Hungarian party for the war against the Turk.²⁹ Following the disbursement of the first 33,000 ducats, in June, Vladislaus II dismissed the Turkish envoy from Buda.³⁰ Sanudo documents the entry into the alliance objectively and also publishes the full text of the proclamation of the League in his diary.³¹ In contrast to him, Priuli commemorates the agreement in a more representative tone that showcases the greatness and wealth of the city, highlighting that the news was received in Venice with celebrations

²⁵ They wanted to involve John Albert I, King of Poland, in the League as well, but he had just concluded a four-year truce with the Sultan at this time. Vladislaus II held out the prospect of persuading his brother to break the agreement, but ultimately this did not happen. Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 303.

²⁶ Priuli II. 137.

²⁷ Fisher, *The Foreign Relations*, 1948. 70–73.

²⁸ Priuli II. 117.

²⁹ Under the terms of the agreement, the alliance was to last until the end of the Turkish war, and neither party could conclude a separate peace with the Ottoman Empire. The Pope provided 40,000 ducats annually, while Venice provided 100,000 ducats of support to Hungary so that Vladislaus II would march against the Turk with his army; however, should the Turks invade Friuli or Dalmatia, the Hungarian army was obliged to assist Venice. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations*, 1948. 79.

³⁰ Priuli II. 147.; The Hungarian King's reasoning was that too great a pressure was being placed upon him from the Christian powers and that he had to behave as a true Christian towards the infidels. From this, it is also clearly visible that Vladislaus II wished to downplay his own role in order to avoid a more serious conflict with the Ottoman Empire, as we shall see later on. Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 305.; To this, it must be added that Vladislaus II personally bade farewell to the envoy and provided him with gifts as well. Kosáry Domokos, *Magyar külpolitika Mohács előtt*. Budapest, 1978. 91.

³¹ *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, a cura di Nicolò Barozzi, Venezia, 1880, 4 vol. [hereinafter Sanudo IV.] 40–42.

lasting three days, fireworks were organized, and the alliance was celebrated with other joyful events, in accordance with custom.³²

Raids without a Strategic Objective

At the Diet held in May 1501, the Hungarian military leadership appointed four commanders to lead the campaign against the Turk: Palatine Péter Geréb and John Corvinus, Ban of Croatia, against Bosnia; and Péter Szentgyörgyi, Voivode of Transylvania, and Józsa Somi, Count of Temes, against Serbia.³³ Among them, the army of the latter was considered significant: according to sources, it consisted of 10,000 horsemen, 6,000 infantry, 1,200 wagons, and 32 cannons, which would have been sufficient even for a large-scale campaign. Nevertheless, the army lacked a clear strategic objective: it did not besiege fortresses, nor did it attempt to defeat the Turkish forces stationed in the Balkans; its activity was limited to raids.³⁴ Hungarian historical scholarship has so far found no explanation for Somi's restrained military action; however, Priuli's diary may serve with important insights for understanding this.

The raids began in the autumn of 1501; Józsa Somi ravaged the lands up to the border of Albania with his light cavalry and acquired significant spoils.³⁵ Following this, he marched to the vicinity of Smederevo (Szendrő), where he organized the defense of the retreat, during which he also repelled the Turkish troops. Meanwhile, Sultan Bayezid mobilized his Bosnian army to head towards Friuli, which indeed invaded the territories of Venice and Hungary: based on Priuli's diary, Vladislaus II made preparations to launch a war against the Turkish Sultan, for the Turks had invaded Hungarian territories. During the raids, they carried off many people and animals, for which every Hungarian lord wishes to take revenge. For this reason, it was judged in Venice that within a short time, the Hungarian King would be ready to

³² Priuli II. 137.; Huge celebrations were organized in Buda as well in connection with the birth of the League: a procession was held, a mosque was built in which "Mohamed's chest" was placed, which was spectacularly set on fire and burned, and furthermore, wine flowed from a huge fountain. *Le lettere di Tommaso Danieri dall'Ungheria (1501–1503). Edizione critica e commento.* Ed. Ferrazzi, Elena. Milano, 2020–2021. 69–70.

³³ C. Tóth Norbert, "Az 1501. évi tolnai országgyűlés. Adatok a királyi adminisztráció működéséhez", = *Századok* 143, 2009, 1455–1481. 1457.

³⁴ Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 306.

³⁵ Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 306.

finally launch a war against the Turkish Sultan.³⁶ Against the Turks, it was John Corvinus who took up the fight; although few sources regarding this have survived, Priuli confirms the information that Sanudo also preserved in his diary.³⁷

In addition to all this, we must highlight the fact that the oft-mentioned Venetian fathers were by no means satisfied with these border skirmishes. Initially, Priuli wrote of the Hungarian attacks in a hopeful tone, stating that the Hungarian army had begun to attack the territory of the Turkish Sultan and had set fire to two villages. In this connection, he notes that although this damage might appear slight compared to the desired results, this action on the part of the Hungarians was nevertheless better than any other measure.³⁸ Later, he noted on several occasions that in the opinion of many, the military maneuvers of the Hungarians were considered insufficient, which he phrased as follows: “there was more news that the Hungarian King was against the Turk than actual result.”³⁹ According to Priuli, the Venetian fathers desired that the Hungarians inflict greater damage upon the Turks.⁴⁰ Therefore, they welcomed the news of the Turkish counter-attacks, because they hoped that the two parties would thus fight each other with even greater determination.⁴¹

The objective of the Hungarian military leadership was presumably two-fold: on the one hand, to demonstrate military action favorable to Venice in order to secure further financial support, and on the other, to avoid a provocation that could have entailed a large-scale Turkish attack. The explanation for these observations is to be found in the military reorganization carried out between 1498 and 1500. With the death of Matthias in 1490, the well-functioning mercenary army dissolved, replaced by a reorganized militia of the portals (*telekkatonaság*) and a banderial army established by the end of the fifteenth

³⁶ Priuli II. 159.

³⁷ Priuli II. 183.; Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 307–308.

³⁸ Priuli II. 170.

³⁹ Priuli II. 180.

⁴⁰ Priuli II. 183. This Venetian perspective must be supplemented by the fact that the unwritten rule of warfare between the Turks and the Hungarians was that the monarchs did not personally take the field, for that would have signified the commencement of a total war. Consequently, only raids took place, as Vladislaus II could not risk a large-scale campaign – despite the Venetians’ desire – for that would have meant the ruin of his country. Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 313–314.

⁴¹ Priuli II. 185.

century.⁴² Although the Hungarian army recruited in this manner, numbering approximately 30,000 troops, appears sufficiently strong⁴³ – which would suggest that the indignation and dissatisfaction of the Venetians was justified, as they were aware of the combat value of the raised army – it cannot be expected of a freshly reorganized army to be seriously capable of engaging a seasoned and well-trained Ottoman army.⁴⁴ However, based on Priuli's accounts, it is clearly evident that despite all this, this costly friendship was worthwhile for Venice. For the Hungarian raids relieved the pressure exerted by the Ottoman Empire on Venice, thus placing the city-state in an economically more favorable position than if it had been forced to contend with the Sultan alone at sea.

The Turkish Counter-Strike and the Road to Peace

In response to the Hungarian raids, the Turks launched a major offensive, during which they captured important crossings and territories. In the territories of Hungary lying towards Bosnia, they occupied several villages and fortresses, carried off 4,000 people, and furthermore plundered many animals, thus returning home with significant spoils.⁴⁵ With the date of May 20, 1502, letters arrived from Hungary revealing that some Turks had occupied a few important crossings and places, and then laid siege to Jajce, which possessed great significance. Vladislaus II could no longer leave this unanswered; therefore, he took the necessary measures, as he greatly feared that they would lose the city.⁴⁶ Thus, the culmination of the campaign was the siege of the strategically important fortress of Jajce during the summer.

⁴² Kubinyi András, *Nándorfehérvártól Mohácsig. A Mátyás- és a Jagelló-kor hadtörténete*. Budapest, 2007. 218–219.

⁴³ B. Szabó János, “A Magyar Királyság hadszervezete és hadserege (1490–1529)”, In. B. Szabó, János – Fodor, Pál (eds.), *Új korszak határán. Az európai államok hadügye és hadseregei a mohácsi csata korában*. Budapest, 2022. 149–174. 156.

⁴⁴ Furthermore, the fundamental numerical superiority, as well as the mobilizing power and logistics of the Ottoman Empire, against which not only the Hungarian but any other European army would have stood no chance, must be highlighted. Fodor Pál, “Az Oszmán Birodalom hadszervezete és serege (1500–1530)”, In. B. Szabó János – Fodor Pál (eds.), *Új korszak határán. Az európai államok hadügye és hadseregei a mohácsi csata korában*. Budapest, 2022. 93–118. 99–117.

⁴⁵ Priuli II. 198.

⁴⁶ Priuli II. 208.

The success of the Turks was aided by several factors; on the one hand, during the winter, they had destroyed the fortress of Levács, which protected Jajce from the north.⁴⁷ On the other hand, a significant part of the Hungarian army had been disbanded during the winter, its reorganization had not yet taken place by the early summer period, and moreover, the treasury was unable to ensure the supply of the fortress's defenders. János Tárcai was appointed to lead the Hungarian relief army, who was only able to repel the Turkish advance – led by the son of Skender Pasha – with great difficulty. The enemy troops attempted to lure their pursuers into a trap with a feigned retreat, so that they could subject them to cannon fire; however, the Hungarians turned back in time, luring the Ottoman cavalry after them. As a result, it was ultimately the Turkish attackers who came under the fire of their own cannons.⁴⁸

Although Sanudo and Priuli reported on the same events, it is worth consulting both sources to obtain a complete picture of the events. Both sources recount that the Hungarian relief army successfully broke through the siege ring maintained by Skender Pasha's son at Jajce, inflicting casualties of approximately 400–500 men upon the Turks and capturing their commanders. The fundamental difference lies in their focus: whereas Sanudo emphasizes the logistical details of the military operation⁴⁹ – such as the date (July 2) and the successful delivery of food supplies – Priuli highlights the diplomatic resonance of the event, the celebrations in Venice, and the moral significance of the victory.⁵⁰

Despite the enthusiasm of the Venetians, the siege of Jajce and its supply problems highlighted the fact that the Kingdom of Hungary no longer possessed sufficient resources and motivation⁵¹ to continue the struggle. Meanwhile, Venice also had to face the fact that the maintenance of its arsenal and the support of the wars in Hungary, alongside other expenses, had exhausted the city's treasury; moreover, the citizens could not be burdened with further taxes. Ultimately, the cessation of hostilities became important for the Sultan as well, as he was struggling with an increasing number of internal

⁴⁷ Thallóczy Lajos, *Jajca (bánság, vár és város) története 1450–1527*. Budapest, 1915. CLXXV.

⁴⁸ Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 316.

⁴⁹ Sanudo IV. 283–284.

⁵⁰ Priuli II. 216.

⁵¹ In the autumn of 1502, Vladislaus II had already contacted Bayezid II, as a result of which a preliminary truce agreement was reached between the two countries as early as November. Kosáry, *Magyar külpolitika*, 1978. 92.

problems that demanded a swift solution in the interest of preserving the unity of the empire.⁵² Consequently, by the second half of the year, the desire to conclude peace had arisen among all three belligerent parties.

The Conclusion of Peace

The conclusion of peace did not proceed smoothly, for although the Venetian envoy Zaccaria de' Freschi had already arrived in Istanbul in December 1502,⁵³ the Hungarian envoy, Márton Czobor, reached the city only in March 1503.⁵⁴ Consequently, although de' Freschi proposed postponing the negotiations until the arrival of the Hungarian envoy, this proved unfeasible. The reality of the situation was that Bayezid wished to negotiate separately with his two enemies and therefore strove to isolate them from one another.⁵⁵ For this reason, the city-state immediately contacted Vladislaus II through its envoys to conclude a defensive agreement for the duration of the peace. This was signed at the end of January 1503, stipulating that the two countries were obliged to come to each other's aid in the event of a potential attack. Furthermore, during the peace, Venice was to disburse 30,000 ducats annually in three instalments for the maintenance of the Hungarian border fortresses; however, this sum would automatically increase to 100,000 should war break out.⁵⁶

The text of the Ottoman-Venetian peace was drafted before the end of the year; however, serious disputes arose concerning the maritime conquests. Both parties made substantial demands regarding the territories,⁵⁷ and furthermore, the Turks also demanded a significant sum of money for themselves. Venice recognized and realized that prolonged bargaining would not facilitate the conclusion of peace. Regarding the delay in concluding the peace, Priuli expresses himself very emotionally:

⁵² Fisher, *The Foreign Relations*, 1948. 81–82.

⁵³ Fisher, *The Foreign Relations*, 1948. 83.

⁵⁴ Kosáry, *Magyar külpolitika*, 1978. 93.

⁵⁵ Fisher, *The Foreign Relations*, 1948. 83.

⁵⁶ Jászay, *Velence és Magyarország*, 1990. 199–200.

⁵⁷ Both the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice insisted on the island of Santa Maura (today: Lefkada), the reason for which is to be found in its excellent geographical location. For its control signified a maritime gateway towards Albania and the Peloponnese; thus, whoever possessed the island could exercise control over the region's commercial and naval routes. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations*, 1948. 82–84.

“the failure to conclude this peace now came very unfavorably for the State of Venice, so that this poor city, so worn down, might finally breathe a little, and no longer have to live in war, amidst trials and unbearable expenses. For truly, sometimes it is much better to possess less territory in peace than to hold many possessions but be constantly at war.”⁵⁸

For this reason, the Venetians made enormous concessions to the Sultan; among other things, they returned the recently recaptured island of Santa Maura, as well as the 14,000 ducats found in the fortress.⁵⁹ As a result, on May 20, 1503, the Doge also ratified the peace, which the Sultan had already signed in March.⁶⁰ The agreement between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire proceeded much more smoothly. Under its terms, all border raids were ceased and trade could continue; moreover, they succeeded in including the Pope and several European monarchs in the peace treaty. Finally, on August 20, 1503, the seven-year Turkish–Hungarian truce was also concluded.⁶¹

Conclusion

The Venetian–Hungarian alliance of 1501–1503 serves as a prime example of the extent to which the late medieval balance of power was shaped by alliance systems between Christian states and the subsequent dissolution thereof. Initially, the cooperation between the two countries held significant potential for containing the Mediterranean expansion of the Ottoman Empire. However, the inconsistency of joint action – particularly the caution perceived on the part of Vladislaus II – undermined the effectiveness of the alliance, which, against the Ottoman army, had qualified as a vain hope from the very outset. While Hungary essentially maintained its status quo, Venice suffered severe losses, forfeiting several key ports, and was permanently displaced from the Eastern Mediterranean region. In contrast, the Ottoman Empire consolidated its position as a naval power, which contributed to the success of its subsequent conquests. Thus, the conclusion of the conflict signified not

⁵⁸ Priuli II. 263.

⁵⁹ Priuli II. 249.

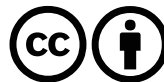
⁶⁰ Fisher, *The Foreign Relations*, 1948. 84–85.

⁶¹ Kosáry, *Magyar külpolitika*, 1978. 93.

merely the end of a regional war, but also an epochal turning point in the realignment of Ottoman-European power relations.

In addition to all this, it can be established that Priuli's diary does not necessarily provide new data; however, it complements and adds nuance to our existing knowledge. Nevertheless, as we have seen in connection with the conclusion of the Venetian–Hungarian alliance, although historical scholarship has long been familiar with Sanudo's diary – see the Hungarian references in the collection of Gusztáv Wenzel⁶² – researchers of the period may still discover numerous valuable sources within the original text editions.


⁶² *Marino Sanuto Világkrónikájának Magyarországot illető tudósításai I–II.* Ed. Wenzel Gusztáv. Budapest, 1869–1877.



LÁSZLÓ SZOKOLA, PhD, Eötvös Loránd University

H-1088 Budapest, Múzeum krt. 6–8.

szokola.laszlo@btk.elte.hu

 ORCID: 0000-0001-5690-6192



The Ethnic and Social Background of the Military in Szeben (Sibiu) and Brassó (Braşov) during the Second Half of the Fifteenth and First Half of the Sixteenth Centuries

ABSTRACT

Transylvania was one of the most highly militarized regions of the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary. This study examines the military organization of two Transylvanian Saxon towns, Szeben and Brassó, as well as the ethnic and social composition of their urban military forces in the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. The findings indicate that the two towns employed different mobilization systems. Most soldiers were recruited from the local Saxon population, though Szekler and Wallachian individuals were also present. In both towns, a significant proportion of the soldiers were originally craftsmen.

Keywords: social history, military history, Saxon towns, ethnic, soldiers

Introduction

During the late Middle Ages, Transylvania was considered one of the most militarized regions within the Kingdom of Hungary. Some estimates suggest that the population of 500,000 living here could mobilize up to 50,000 soldiers. In practice, however, such a large force was never assembled in one place, mainly because of the limited logistical capacity and the mobilization system of the era. Moreover, the deployment of this army beyond Transylvania was highly restricted.¹

In terms of social background, the military forces that could be mobilized in Transylvania came primarily from three “ethnic groups” (“nation”), each

¹ Kubinyi András, “Hadszervezet a késő középkori Magyarországon”, In. Kubinyi András, *Nándorfehérvártól Mohácsig. A Mátyás- és a Jagelló-kor hadtörténete*. Budapest, 2007. 199–215. 201.; B. Szabó, János, “The Military Organization and Army of the Kingdom of Hungary (1490–1526)”, In. B. Szabó, János – Fodor, Pál (eds.), *On the Verge of a New Era. The Armies of Europe at the Time of the Battle of Mohács*. Budapest, 2021. 147–171. 152.

with distinct legal statuses during the Middle Ages: the Hungarians (nobility), the Szeklers, and the Saxons.² This study will focus on one of these groups, namely the ethnic and social background of the soldiers recruited from the Saxon towns of Transylvania. Due to space limitations and the availability of sources, the analysis will concentrate on the towns of Brassó (Rom. Braşov, Ger. Kronstadt) and Szeben (Rom. Sibiu, Ger. Hermannstadt).

Until recently, the study of military forces in late medieval Transylvanian Saxon towns was regarded as a peripheral topic. This has changed considerably in recent years. For the late Middle Ages, the studies of Liviu Cîmpeanu are particularly noteworthy,³ especially his English-language publication of 2022, which offers an excellent overview of the organization of the Transylvanian Saxon military.⁴ For the early modern period, the works of Florin Nicolae Ardelean, Zsuzsanna Cziráki and Csaba Izsán deserve particular attention.⁵

The present examination focuses on the latter half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century.⁶ Sources for the Saxon towns become

² B. Szabó, *The Military Organization*, 2021. 159.

³ Cîmpeanu, Liviu, “Written Rules and Privileges. Fiscal and Military Obligations of the Transylvanian Saxons in the Middle Ages”, In. Rady, Martyn – Simon, Alexandru (eds.), *Government and Law in Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia*. London, 2013. 37–42.; Cîmpeanu, Liviu, “Organizarea militară a Braşovului până la sfârşitul secolului al XV-lea”, In. Ciobanu, Vasile – Iacob, Dan Dumitru (eds.), *Studii de istorie a oraşelor. In honorem Paul Niedermaier*. Bucureşti–Brăila, 2017. 336–359.; Cîmpeanu, Liviu, “Organizarea militară a oraşelor săseşti în Evul Mediu. Studiu de caz: Sighişoara”, = *Alt-Schaessburg. Istorie. Patrimoniul* 12, 2019, 61–69.; Cîmpeanu, Liviu, “Obligaţii militare şi ordine de mobilizare a oraşelor săseşti din Transilvania la sfârşitul Evului Mediu”, = *Historia Urbana* 27, 2019, 123–144.

⁴ Cîmpeanu, Liviu, “‘Ad Retinendam Coronam’. Military Organization at the Transylvanian Border in the Late Middle Ages”, In. Ardelean, Florin Nicolae et al. (eds.), *From Medieval Frontiers to Early Modern Borders in Central and South-Eastern Europe*. Berlin, 2022. 141–174.

⁵ Without claiming to be exhaustive: Ardelean, Florin Nicolae, “‘Pecunia nervus belli’. The Saxon University in Transylvania and its Contribution to the Military Campaign of 1566–1567”, In. Iusztin, Zoltan (ed.), *Politics and Society in the Central and South-Eastern Europe (13th–16th centuries)*. Cluj-Napoca, 2019. 215–222.; Cziráki Zsuzsanna, “Brassói és barcasági katonák Bethlen Gábor hadseregében”, = *Belvedere Meridionale* 22:3–4, 2010, 88–99.; Izsán, Csaba, “Between Soldier and Guard: The Roles of the Town Mercenaries in the Late Sixteenth- Early Seventeenth Century Cluj (Klausenburg/Kolozsvár), Sighişoara (Schässburg/Segesvár) and Braşov (Kronstadt/Brassó)”, In. Ardelean, Florin Nicolae et al. (eds.), *From Medieval Frontiers to Early Modern Borders in Central and South-Eastern Europe*. Berlin, 2022. 191–206.

⁶ For the general framework of the research, see: Szokola, László, “The Role of the Urban Military in the Military Organization of the Late Medieval Kingdom of Hungary”, In.

sufficiently abundant only in the later fifteenth century, making it possible to investigate questions of social and ethnic background. Extending the analysis to the mid- sixteenth century is justified for two reasons. First, by that time the ethnic composition of the town's military forces had shifted significantly, with Hungarian soldiers playing a much greater role and thereby breaking with earlier patterns.⁷ Second, in this same period the separate Principality of Transylvania emerged, whose military organization differed markedly from that of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁸

The study draws primarily on correspondence, account books, and mercenary registers preserved in the archives of Brassó and Szeben, complemented by scattered sources elsewhere. The focus is on the ethnic and social background of the military units deployed outside the towns, while issues of urban self-defense will not be examined in detail. I drew conclusions about the soldiers' ethnic backgrounds and original professions from their surnames. This method is often used in research related to medieval society, but its reliability is questionable. The main reason for these doubts is that it is difficult to determine if a surname describes a particular characteristic of the person or was inherited from their father. In my opinion, this method can be misleading when examining the ethnic and social background of individuals, but it is suitable for describing general social phenomena and changes.⁹

In the first part of the study, I will outline the framework of military service in Transylvanian towns as it can be reconstructed from their privileges.

Bárány, Attila (ed.), *Mercenaries and Crusaders*. Debrecen, 2024. 397–410. 397–399.

⁷ Izsán, *Between Soldier and Guard*, 2022. 197–198. The author gives examples of the problem of determining ethnicity based on names.

⁸ However, its basic characteristics originated in the Middle Ages. For more details, see: Ardelean, Florin Nicolae, “War, Innovations and Cultural Transfers in East-Central Europe: The Army of Transylvania in the Age of Transition from Voivodeship to Principality (Second Half of the 16th Century)”, = *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies* 7, 2024, 17–38.; Cîmpeanu, Liviu, “The Transylvanian-Saxon University at War. Trabanten in John Sigismund Szapolyai's Campaigns at the North-Western Borders of Transylvania (1561–1567)”, = *Acta Musei Napocensis. Historica* 58:2, 2021, 11–28.

⁹ For more details, see: Szokola, László, “Foot Mercenaries from Hungarian Towns in Foreign Armies – Contributions to the Issue of Mercenary Potential in Late Medieval Hungary”, = *Acta Mediaevalia. Series Nova* 2025, 162–165.

The military service of the Transylvanian towns in light of their privileges

The first significant document relating to this subject is the privilege granted in 1224, known as the *Andreanum*. In addition to other provisions, this charter established the military obligations of the Saxons in the Szeben (Sibiu) region. Among the privileges regulating military service in thirteenth century Hungary, the *Andreanum* can be classified as one of those that required a precisely defined number of soldiers not from a single town, but from a wider territorial unit.¹⁰ According to the charter, the Saxons were required to provide five hundred soldiers for internal campaigns, and one hundred for external campaigns if the ruler himself was leading the army. In the event that one of the king's commanders led the army outside the country, they had to send fifty soldiers.¹¹ In the fifteenth century, the provisions of this charter were extended to other Saxon districts, although this was not the only model that can be observed in Transylvania.

We see a completely different approach to sending troops in Kolozsvár (Rom. Cluj, Ger. Klausenburg), which, although not a Saxon town, originally had a significant Saxon population.¹² According to the privileges granted to the town ca. 1272, the local populace was required to provide one soldier for every sixty households (*mansio*).¹³ Then, according to a privilege granted by King Sigismund in 1405, the town was required to pay two hundred florins instead of participating in the eastern campaigns (*versus partes orientales*).¹⁴ Subsequently, as Elek Jakab has previously observed, there were no orders regarding the dispatch of soldiers from Kolozsvár.¹⁵ This would, in principle, confirm that the aforementioned privileges had indeed been enforced. However, we have a letter from King Matthias, dated 1484, which states that the seven and two Transylvanian Saxon seats (administrative units),

¹⁰ For an analysis of the military aspects of early Hungarian town privileges, see: Szende Katalin, "Sub nostro vexillo regali. Katonaállítási kötelezettség a középkori magyar városi és hospes-kiváltságlevelekben", In: Kincses Katalin Mária (ed.), *Hadi és más nevezetes történetek. Tanulmányok Veszprémy László tiszteletére*. Budapest, 2018. 542–551.

¹¹ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. I–VII. Zimmermann, Franz et al. (eds.) Hermannstadt–Bukarest, 1892–1991. [hereinafter *Urk. Sieb.*] I. Nr. 53.

¹² Makkai László, *Társadalom és nemzetiség a középkori Kolozsváron*. Kolozsvár, 1943.

¹³ Szende, *Katonaállítási kötelezettség*, 2018. 544, 550.

¹⁴ *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez*, vol. I. Ed. Jakab Elek. Buda, 1870. [hereinafter *Kolozsvár*] Nr. 74.

¹⁵ Jakab Elek, *Kolozsvár története*, vol. I. Buda, 1870. 479–480.

along with Kolozsvár, were ordered to provide two hundred horsemen to fight against the Ottoman sultan's attacking army.¹⁶ This contradiction is partially resolved by king Wladislaus II in a letter dated December 7, 1493. In this order, the voivode and vice-voivode were instructed to reinstate the former privilege of the people of Kolozsvár regarding military service. According to this privilege, the inhabitants of Kolozsvár were obliged to provide a maximum of 52 horsemen for the army. The voivode and vice-voivode were prohibited from violating this privilege or calling the people to arms individually, except in the event of an attack by the sultan himself on Transylvania. In this particular instance, the inhabitants of Kolozsvár would be under the obligation to serve on an individual basis, with the exception of those who were to remain behind for the purpose of guarding the town.¹⁷ By the reign of John I, a modification was made to the privilege regarding the dispatch of horsemen, with the number being increased to two hundred.¹⁸

Another change that can be traced through various privileges is apparent relating to the Transylvanian Saxon town of Brassó. The earliest document mentioning the military obligations of Brassó (and the Barcaság [Rom. Țara Bârsei, Ger. Burzenland] district) dates from March 28, 1353. According to the document, King Louis I confirmed the town's ancient privilege, which stipulated that if the king led a personal military campaign to the west, the town had to send fifty well-armed soldiers. If the campaign was to the east, the population was required to serve as cavalry or infantry.¹⁹ This privilege was confirmed by King Matthias in November 1467.²⁰ He also confirmed the privileges granted by the Andreanum in 1486, extending the military obligations contained therein to the Saxons of the Szeben region and other Saxon districts, including Brassó and Barcaság.²¹ Contrary to what is stated in the Andreanum regarding the deployment of soldiers, a letter addressed to István Bátori, voivode of Transylvania, in 1488 reveals that the ruler had previously exempted Brassó and Barcaság from participating in western wars, and therefore only allowed their mobilization to the territories of Transylvania,

¹⁶ Urk. Sieb. VII. Nr. 4559.

¹⁷ Kolozsvár. Nr. 187.

¹⁸ Flóra Ágnes, "Kolozsvár és a központi hatalom kapcsolata a Mohács utáni évtizedekben", = *Urbs. Magyar Várostörténeti Évkönyv* 8, 2013, 38. The king sent the prohibitive order related to this in 1531.

¹⁹ Urk. Sieb. II. Nr. 677.

²⁰ Urk. Sieb. VI. Nr. 3654.

²¹ *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon. Oklevéltár*, vol. XII. Ed. Teleki József. Pest, 1857. Nr. 729.

Wallachia, Moldavia, and the Ottoman Empire.²² Another significant privilege is revealed through a prohibition issued by King Louis II in 1508, which stipulated that the Transylvanian voivode could mobilize the Saxon troops only subsequent to the mobilization of the nobles and the Szeklers, based on the ancient rights of the Saxons.²³ Among our sources, there are orders stating that in several cases the Saxons were mobilized together with the nobles and/or the Szeklers.²⁴ Furthermore, among the accounts of Szeben, we find an entry stating that the town sent an envoy to the voivode of Transylvania to prevent the mobilization of Saxon troops before the nobles.²⁵ Nevertheless, it is challenging to substantiate the claim that this privilege was consistently adhered to (specifically due to the prohibition and the aforementioned envoy).²⁶

It can be clearly seen from all this that in Transylvania, as in other areas of the Kingdom of Hungary, the regulation of military service of towns began in the thirteenth century. Based on the privileges granted to them,

²² Urk. Sieb. Nr. 4772.

²³ Brassó's copy: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Budapest [hereinafter MNL OL], Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [hereinafter DF], 247108. Szeben's copy: *Székelly oklevéltár*. I–VII. Eds. Szabó Károly – Szádeczky Lajos. Kolozsvár, 1872–1898. [hereinafter Székely oklt.] I. Nr. 128. Beszterce's (Rom. Bistrița, Ger. Bistritz) copy: MNL OL DF 247513.

²⁴ One example is a letter dated May 20, 1523, from Lénárd Barlabási, vice-voivode of Transylvania: MNL OL DF 246153. Another good example is the letter dated January 29, 1503, from Péter Szentgyörgyi and Bazini, voivode of Transylvania: MNL OL DF 245936. In 1514, the Transylvanian voivode mobilized the nobility of Belső-Szolnok and Brassó at the same time: Neumann Tibor, "Bulgária–Erdély–Temesvár: Szapolyai János és a parasztháború", In. Tóth Norbert C. – Neumann Tibor (eds.), *Keresztesekből lázadók: Tanulmányok 1514 Magyarországról*. Budapest, 2015. 103–154. 121.

²⁵ *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt und der sächsischen Nation*. I. Hermannstadt, 1880. [hereinafter Hermannstadt] 520.

²⁶ It may be surmised that this abstention from military service engendered a negative perception of the Saxon military among contemporaries. For instance, in a letter written in 1526 to King Louis II requesting assistance, János Szapolyai, voivode of Transylvania, stated that only Saxons were riflemen in Transylvania, but that they were not naturally inclined to remain on the battlefield, nor did they really hold out in their towns: "Pixidarii etiam non inveniuntur, nisi inter Saxones. Saxones vero talis sunt naturae, quod non in campo, imo etiam vix in civitatibus perseverabunt." *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára I. Levelek és oklevelek (1458–1526)*. Ed. Neumann Tibor. Budapest, 2012. [hereinafter Szapolyai oklt.] Nr. 613. Antal Verancsics shared a similar opinion, emphasizing in his description of Transylvania that the Saxons fought on foot and easily retreated in open fields, which is why they preferred to pay money to avoid military service. However, he acknowledged their perseverance in defending towns. *Verancsics Antal M. Kir. helytartó, esztergomi érsek összes munkái*, I. Ed. Szalay László. Pest, 1857. 147–148.

they had to fulfill this duty by providing a predetermined number of soldiers or according to the number of households. Furthermore, in the case of Transylvanian towns, over time the obligation to go to war per capita is also encountered. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that it is not possible to draw far-reaching conclusions based solely on an examination of privileges. This will become even more obvious when compared with the following. The underlying reasons for this phenomenon are not apparent and may be varied. One such issue is the lack of written documentation about the most recent changes. The other possibility is that the surviving letters of privilege either formalized an existing practice or conveyed an expectation that was not aligned with the economic performance of the given settlement (or its inhabitants). Moreover, it is imperative to consider instances where an individual's decision supersedes an established right. For instance, consider the letter written in 1514 by János Szapolyai, voivode of Transylvania, to Brassó. In this letter, he requested soldiers beyond the privileges granted to the town in order to suppress the so-called Dózsa uprising.²⁷ Consequently, let us examine the practice of military recruitment in individual towns, as well as the ethnic and social background of the military.

The social and ethnic background of the soldiers of Brassó

The archives of Brassó (or, more precisely, the town's account books) contain a mercenary register from 1539 and two lists of the town's so-called "darabonts" from the relevant period. I will explain the difference between the two terms in more detail below. First, however, let us examine the social and ethnic backgrounds of mercenaries.

The list of mercenaries written in 1539 contains 63 names, but there are 67 soldiers on it, as a note next to the captain's name states that he had four servants ("mit 4 knechten"). Of the 63 names, 50 are of Saxon-German origin and 13 are of Szekler-Hungarian origin, with a further 9 bearing the name

²⁷ "Et cum huiusmodi pericula statum publicum harum partium concernere dinoscuntur, requirimus vos et nichilominus regia in persona sub nota infidelitatis firmissime committimus, quatenus habita presentium notitia et non pensatis in presentiarum vestris libertatum prerogativis sine omni dilatione equites IIIIc, pedites vero similiter IIIIc ordinare illosque bene ordinatos festinantissime movere et presertim infra diem dominicum prescriptum post festum Sancte Trinitatis [June 18] erga nos ad opidum Enyed debeatis et teneamini, secus, in quantum saluti patrie et proprie providere cupitis, nullatenus facturi." Szapolyai oklt. Nr. 391.

of some kind of craft. This indicates that 14% of the military can be considered to be of a craftsman background. It therefore appears that, although Saxons constituted the majority of the town's mercenaries, a significant number of other ethnic groups were also present within the military of the town.²⁸

As we will see from the lists analyzed below, the Hungarian and Szekler soldiers in the ranks of the Brassó military came partly from the local Szeklers and the inhabitants of Töröcsvár (Rom. Bran, Ger. Türzdorf) estate, partly from the Hungarian population,²⁹ and partly from units recruited in Szeklerland. The latter is confirmed by entries in the account book of Brassó from 1521³⁰ and 1533,³¹ according to which the town council sent its men on a recruitment expedition to the Szeklerland. Furthermore, according to the entry from 1533, they already had a pre-compiled *registrum* of soldiers to be recruited. The hiring of the Szeklers (and, incidentally, the inhabitants of Barcaság) as mercenaries is also confirmed by a letter dated October 18, 1501, from Péter Szentgyörgyi and Bazini, voivode of Transylvania. According to this document, he orders the recruitment of six hundred or at least five hundred light cavalymen from among the soldiers of Brassó or Szeklerland.³²

Another significant ethnic group in the military is the Romanians. A letter dated December 22, 1480, from István Bátori, voivode of Transylvania, refers to the existence of soldiers from Wallachia, in which he ordered Brassó to hire 110 horsemen from among the men of the deceased voivode of Wallachia for two florins each.³³ However, in a letter dated March 9, 1481, he only mentions the recruitment of Vlachs and does not specifically mention the Wallachians,³⁴ but it is likely that he is referring to them here as well, since on 31 March

²⁸ This is also mentioned in a letter dated August 14, 1479, from István Bátori, voivode of Transylvania, in which he orders the councilors of the town of Brassó to keep mercenaries from other nations in their service and to pay them two florins in wages: "Item stipendiariis vestris qui sunt ex alienis natio(nibus) et partibus singulos duos florenos dare velitis et eo(sdem) dimittere non debeatis" Urk. Sieb. VII. Nr. 4315.

²⁹ The names Szegedi (of Szeged), Kolozsvári (of Kolozsvár), and Hunyadi (of Hunyad), for example, refer to the presence of Hungarians.

³⁰ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen. Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt*, vol. I. Rechnungen aus 1503–1526., Vol II. Rechnungen aus 1526–1540., Vol. III. Rechnungen aus 1541–1550. Kronstadt, 1886–1896. [hereinafter Kronstadt] I. 352.

³¹ Kronstadt II. 326.

³² Székely oklt. I. Nr. 220.

³³ Urk. Sieb. VII. Nr. 4378.

³⁴ Urk. Sieb. VII. Nr. 4392.

he again ordered the recruitment of three hundred horsemen from among the Wallachians for the town.³⁵

In addition to the mercenaries provided by the Saxon towns, their associated settlements also sent soldiers. Regarding the relationship between settlements and a given town, we can distinguish two categories. In the case of Saxon towns, Szeben, Brassó and Beszterce were not “only” towns, but also leaders of the associated Saxon districts. As we will see with Brassó and Szeben, this meant they could use the military forces of their territories in addition to their own. Another group of settlements were those owned by the town as landlord, so it had to provide troops from these estates accordingly.

In 1454, King Ladislaus V ordered Vidombák (Rom. Ghimbav, Ger. Weidenbach), Barcaszentpéter (Ro. Sânpetru, Ger. Petersburg), Botfalu (Rom. Bod, Ger. Brenndorf) and Szászhermány (Rom. Härman, Ger. Honigberg) to participate in the fortification works of Brassó and in the defense of the town.³⁶ In 1500, King Wladislaus II confirmed that Törösvár and its estates, as well as the villages of Barcaújfalu (Rom. Satu Nou, Ger. Neudorf), Vledény (Rom. Vlădeni, Ger. Wladen), Szúnyogszék (Rom. Dumbrăvița, Ger. Schnakendorf), Zernest (Rom. Zărnești, Ger. Zernescht) and Ótohán (Rom. Tohanu Vechi, Ger. Alttachen) belonging to Brassó and were subject to the same taxation and military service as the town.³⁷

Two lists of soldiers provide substantiation for the joint military service of the settlements with the town. One of them has no date. However, based on the information it contains, the editors of the source publication placed its date of origin between 1500 and 1510.³⁸ The other list is from 1540.³⁹ A common feature of both sources is that they provide the names of the soldiers belonging to each unit. The scribes who wrote the lists also noted the soldiers’ places of origin, which were located either in the Barcaság region or on the private estates of Brassó.⁴⁰ The first record is particularly noteworthy, as it organizes the soldiers from the town of Brassó according to their urban quarter. In total, it contains 208 individual names. Of the 64 people, eight came from Catharina, eleven from Corpus Christi, eight from Petri,

³⁵ Urk. Sieb. VII. Nr. 4405.

³⁶ Urk. Sieb. V. Nr. 2907.

³⁷ Urk. Sieb. VIII. Nr. 6045. Törösvár was taken in pledge by Brassó in 1498: Nussbächer, Gernot, “Brassó és a Barcaság közigazgatása a korájkor küszöbén”, = *Aetas* 26:2, 2011, 174.

³⁸ Kronstadt III. 3–5.

³⁹ Kronstadt III. 79–80.

⁴⁰ Nussbächer, Brassó és a Barcaság, 2011. 176–177.

and thirty-seven from Portica.⁴¹ The latter deserves special attention because it included the suburb of Bolonya (Rom. Blumăna, Ger. Blumenau), which had a Hungarian majority, and therefore had a significant Szekler-Hungarian population.⁴² Of the 64 soldiers, 55 can be considered of Szekler-Hungarian ethnicity (for instance: *Rab Ianos, Fabian Ianos, Szekell Tomas*), while the rest are Saxons (for instance: *Jacob Mitwescherr, Dik Merten*). Soldiers' surnames also include names of other ethnic groups, such as Croatian (*Horwat*). However, based on the form of their first names and the Hungarian order of surnames and first names,⁴³ it is highly likely that these soldiers had already been Magyarized. There are 144 people from settlements belonging to Brassó on the list, 117 of whom have Szekler-Hungarian names (e.g., *Balint Ianos, Tomas Ianos, Weres Istwann*), while the remaining 27 have Saxon names (e.g., *Clemens Tong, Celle Merten*). This ethnic distribution therefore suggests that the Saxon population, which was obliged to serve in the military, often sent Szekler-Hungarian soldiers in their place. However, as we will see below, this was not a widespread phenomenon.

Of the settlements belonging to Brassó, the market towns (*oppida*) sent the following number of soldiers:

Name of settlement	Number of soldiers
Barcarozsnyó (Rom. Râșnov, Ger. Rosenau)	7
Feketehalom (Rom. Codlea, Ger. Zeiden)	6
Földvár (Rom. Feldioara, Ger. Marienburg)	4
Prázsmár (Rom. Prejmer, Ger. Tartlau)	9

Table 1: Number of soldiers provided by market towns in Barcaság
(list dated between 1500 and 1510)

⁴¹ For the society of the Portica quarter, see: Granasztói György, "Társadalmi tagozódás Brassóban a 15. század végén", = *Századok* 106, 1972, 350–399.

⁴² Nussbächer, Brassó és a Barcaság, 2011. 176. The different quarters had parts in both the town center and the suburbs.

⁴³ In most European languages, personal names are ordered as first name followed by surname, whereas in Hungarian the order is reversed, with the surname preceding the first name.

Compared to them, the number of soldiers sent by the villages of Barcaság was as follows:

Name of settlement	Number of soldiers
Keresztényfalva (Rom. Cristian, Ger. Neustadt)	4
Höltövény (Rom. Hălchiu, Ger. Heldsdorf)	5
Szász)veresmart (Rom. Rotbav, Ger. Rothbach)	1
Szászmagyarós (Rom. Măieruş, Ger. Nußbach)	3
Vidombák (Rom. Ghimbav, Ger. Weidenbach)	4
Barcaszentpéter (Rom. Sânpetru, Ger. Petersberg)	4
Botfalu (Rom. Brod, Ger. Brenndorf)	5
Szászhermány (Rom. Hărman, Ger. Honigberg)	3

Table 2: Number of soldiers provided by villages in Barcaság
(list dated between 1500 and 1510)

The table below shows soldiers coming from estates owned directly by Brassó or through Töröcsvár:

Name of settlement	Number of soldiers
Csernátfalu (Rom. Cernatu, Ger. Zernendorf)	6
Hosszúfalu (Rom. Satu-Lung, Ger. Langendorf)	21
Apáca (Rom. Apaşa, Ger. Geist)	11
Krizba (Rom. Crizbav, Ger. Krebsbach)	12
Bácsfalu (Rom. Baciú, Ger. Basendorf)	5
Türkös (Rom. Turcheş, Ger. Türckesdorf)	11
Tatrang (Rom. Tărlungeni, Ger. Tatrangen)	12
Pürkerec (Rom. Purcăreni, Ger. Pürkeressen)	9
Zajzon (Rom. Zizin, Ger. Zaisendorf)	8

Table 3: Number of soldiers provided by the estates of Brassó
(list dated between 1500 and 1510)

Clearly, the market towns of Barcaság sent more soldiers than the villages. However, even more people came from Brassó's own villages, even though they were "only" villages. The list also includes several names referring to crafts, such as: mason (*Maurerr*), shield maker (*Pays Iarto*), bow maker (*Jy Iarto*), weaver (*Takach*), blacksmith (*Koach, Kowach*). The number of people with names referring to or associated with such crafts is counted at 14, which rep-

resents approximately 10% of the entire unit. A similar, yet in many ways different, picture emerges when analyzing the list from 1540. The similarity is primarily evident in the fact that the second half of the register also lists the soldiers dispatched by the various villages and market towns belonging to Brassó by settlement. Although the first half of the list seems to be an unrelated record, reviewing the names suggests that town soldiers are included in addition to soldiers sent by the other settlements. Among those listed are individuals who appear as deceased in the second half of the list. Therefore, the first half of the register was probably created before one hundred infantrymen were dispatched to Fogaraschland (Țara Făgărașului) on the order of King John in 1540, and the second half was created after their return to Brassó.⁴⁴ A total of forty-three (or, more precisely, forty-six, including the deceased) individuals can be connected to the settlements belonging to Brassó, all of whom had Saxon-German names. The unit has a total of 97 members, including soldiers from Brassó. Of the soldiers from Brassó, 26 have Szekler-Hungarian names and 25 have Saxon-German ones. Furthermore, there are 18 names referring to crafts among them, accounting for 19% of the total. In terms of the soldiers' places of origin, the composition of the military in market towns was as follows:

Name of settlement	Number of soldiers
Barcarozsnyó	4
Feketehalom	4
Földvár	4
Prázsmár	4 (seven names are listed due to three dead soldiers)

Table 4: Number of soldiers provided by market towns in Barcaság (1540)

The villages sent the following numbers of soldiers:

Name of settlement	Number of soldiers
Keresztényfalva	3
Vidombák	3
Höltövény	3
Botfalu	3

⁴⁴ Arhivele Naționale ale României, Serviciul Județean Brașov, Colecția de documente Fronius Volumul I.: Nr. 262.

Barcaszentpéter	3
Szászhermány	4
Szászveresmart	3
Szászmagyarós	3

Table 5: Number of soldiers provided by the villages of Barcaság (1540)

In addition to them, two soldiers arrived from Töröcsvár

Another very vivid example of the military role of these settlements is a record from 1528, according to which Brassó paid for various firearms, bullets, saltpeter, sulfur, and other materials, as well as money to cover the army commanders' expenses and other costs.⁴⁵ However, what is important for us at present from this record is that, in addition to the wages of the town's 74 mercenaries, it also lists the number of armed men provided by the settlements of the Barcaság district:

Name of settlement	Number of soldiers
Feketehalom	14
Földvár	12
Szászhermány	11
Vidombák	11
Keresztényfalva	9
Barcaszentpéter	9
Botfalu	9
(Szász)volkány (Rom. Vulcan, Ger. Wolkendorf)	4
Szászveresmart	4
Höltövény	9
Szászmagyarós	4

Table 6: Number of soldiers from settlements in Barcaság listed in the 1528

In addition to this, individual settlements sent out soldiers, horses, carts and tools (such as shovels, hoes and pickaxes), as well as other personnel, in varying quantities.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Kronstadt II. 124–125.

⁴⁶ Kronstadt II. 124–125.

In my opinion, as indicated by the titles of the lists from 1540 and those dating from between 1500 and 1510, soldiers originally from the Barcaság district and the estates of Brassó could have been called *darabonts*. Although *darabont* is a more general term attested in other sources, in Brassó it was presumably used to distinguish soldiers provided by various settlements from mercenaries hired by Brassó using tax revenues. This distinction may be explained by the fact that these settlements were obliged to provide troops on the basis of the privileges mentioned above. However, based on recent research, if my theory is correct, this distinction had disappeared by the seventeenth century.⁴⁷

Nonetheless, the phenomenon described above has not disappeared completely, as can be seen from the article written by Pál Mátyás and Sándor Vogel.⁴⁸ In it, the authors list several data from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which show that the residents of Apáca (Rom. Apața, Ger. Geist), which was owned by Brassó (via Töröcsvár), can be found among the ranks of Brassó's *darabonts*. Some of them temporarily gained privileged status and became freemen, exempting them from tenant peasant (there is no trace of this privilege at the beginning of the sixteenth century).⁴⁹

The social and ethnic background of the military forces of Szeben

Compared to the town described above, the ties between Szeben and the military of the Seven Seats belonging to it were different. A significant number of soldiers recruited by Szeben were constantly employed by the town and performed various tasks. For instance, the town council dispatched horsemen and foot soldiers on multiple occasions to confront the Vlach bandits in the region. We know of such troops being sent out in 1495 (14 mercenaries), 1496 (6 mercenaries), and 1506 (40 riflemen).⁵⁰ According to the accounts, in addition to taking action against criminals, these soldiers performed

⁴⁷ Izsán, *Between Soldier and Guard*, 2022. 193. For more information on the Transylvanian *darabonts* in various services, see: Ardelean, Florin Nicolae, "The Guardsman (Drabant/Darabont) during the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century", In: Ardelean, Florin Nicolae et al. (eds.), *From Medieval Frontiers to Early Modern Borders in Central and South-Eastern Europe*. Berlin, 2022. 175–190.

⁴⁸ Mátyás Pál – Vogel Sándor, "Társadalom és művelődés a XVII. századi Apácán", = *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum* 21, 1985, 84–86.

⁴⁹ Kronstadt II. 3–9.

⁵⁰ Hermannstadt 462.

the duties of policemen, couriers, and armed guards.⁵¹ However, the number of military units deployed in the event of war was also low. For instance, the town sent only 34 soldiers to King Matthias's Moldavian campaign in 1467.⁵²

According to numerous sources, Szeben also mobilized the Seven Seats. Therefore, the deployed army may have consisted of Szeben's small forces and troops from the Saxon seats. Such a mobilization is documented in the account book of the town on September 6⁵³ and December 31,⁵⁴ 1507. In a letter sent by Szeben to the seat of Nagysink on January 7, 1471, the town requested cavalry and infantry soldiers per capita to fight against the Ottomans.⁵⁵

Among the orders concerning the mobilization of the Saxons, there are several that include commands for the mobilization of various Saxon seats.⁵⁶ Of course, these letters must be interpreted as meaning that the town of Szeben forwarded the orders of the king or some official performing military duties to the Seven Seats, less frequently to the Two Seats, and even to Brassó and Beszterce (Rom. Bistrița, Ger. Bistritz). However, what I would like to draw attention to here is that, unlike the development in Brassó, in Szeben it seems that during the period in question, it was not the size of the town army that swelled with the call to arms of the military of the seats, but rather that smaller and heterogeneous units (cavalry, infantry, artillery) were added to the independent units of the other seats.⁵⁷ This statement is reinforced by the list of military exemptions that the ruler granted to various Saxon settlements:

⁵¹ Coulter, Matthew John, "Political Communication Practices of the Transylvanian Saxon Towns, c. 1467–1526", (PhD diss. University of Cambridge, 2023). 192–201.; Hermannstadt 468, 474–475, 530–532, 545. I would like to thank Matthew John Coulter for making his manuscript available to me.

⁵² Hermannstadt 9.

⁵³ Hermannstadt 471.

⁵⁴ Hermannstadt 471.

⁵⁵ Urk. Sieb. VI. Nr. 3843.

⁵⁶ For examples, see: Szokola, Urban Military, 2024. 402–409.

⁵⁷ Unlike those of Brassó and Barcaság, we know nothing about the military obligations of the non-privileged estates belonging to the Seven Seats. For more information on these estates, see: Draskóczy István, "Az erdélyi Szászföld demográfiai helyzete a 16. század elején", = *Erdélyi Múzeum* 61:1–2, 1999, 1–30. 5, 30.

Settlement	Date	Exemption
Szentágota (<i>oppidum</i>) (Rom. Agnita, Ger. Agnetheln)	November 19, 1466. (Urk. Sieb. VI. Nr. 3507.)	The market town was permitted to retain half of its army to defend its own fortifications.
Berehalom (<i>oppidum</i>) (Rom. Biertan, Ger. BIRTHÄLM)	September 29, 1468. (Urk. Sieb. VI. Nr. 3649.)	The market town was permitted to retain one-third of its army to defend the fortified church.
Ecel (<i>villa</i>) (Rom. Ațel, Ger. Hetzeldorf)	March 10, 1471. (Urk. Sieb. VI. Nr. 3846.)	The village can permanently retain one-third of its own army to defend the fortified church.
Nagysink (<i>oppidum</i>) (Rom. Cincu, Ger. Großschenk)	August 11, 1474. (Urk. Sieb. VII. Nr. 4014.) March 8, 1492. (Urk. Sieb. VIII. Nr. 5234.) November 28, 1516. (MNL OL DF 292137.)	The market town was permitted to retain half of its army to defend the town's castle (<i>castrum</i>).
Medgyes (<i>civitas</i>) (Rom. Mediaș, Ger. Mediasch)	January 9, 1477. (Urk. Sieb. VII. Nr. 4164.)	The town only has to send 32 people to war; it can retain the rest.
Szászkézd (<i>oppidum</i>) (Rom. Saschiz, Ger. Keisd)	October 26, 1470. (Urk. Sieb. VI. Nr. 3825.) June 23, 1493. (Urk. Sieb. VIII. Nr. 5378.) April 12, 1496. (Urk. Sieb. VIII. Nr. 5655.)	The town was not called to arms against the Ottomans due to the construction of the church dedicated to St. Stephen, and in 1470 it received this concession for its own defense.
Újváros (<i>villa</i>) (Rom. Noiștat, Ger. Neustadt)	January 17, 1494. (Urk. Sieb. VIII. Nr. 5451A.)	The village was permitted to retain half of its army to defend its own fortifications and the surrounding settlements during the Ottoman attack.

Table 7: Military exemptions granted by the ruler to Saxon settlements

Based on Liviu Cîmpeanu's research, it appears that even in later centuries, the Saxon seats continued to rely on the local population to form the basis of their army, although it was possible to buy one's way out of personal military service. As a result, we are informed that, even in 1600, certain marauding mercenaries killed eight hundred conscripted peasants in the seat of Nagysink.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Cîmpeanu, *Military Organization*, 2022. 149. For the mobilization of Saxon seats, see also: *ibid.* 146–156.

We encounter difficulties in conducting an ethnic and social analysis of the soldiers of Szezen, as there are few records of mercenaries hired by the town, and entire troops were rarely recorded. A list that is useful from our point of view, for example, must be compiled from several entries within the town accounts. In 1496, the town sent out soldiers to search for certain criminals, but the scribe only recorded the names of a few of them, namely: Mihály Nagy, Márton Tatár (= Martin Tatar, but his Tatar origin is unlikely based on the recorded name form), Bálint Székely (Székely = Szekler), Márton Székely, Tamás Cseh (Thomas Czech, but his Czech origin is unlikely based on the recorded name form), *Hussor Vlicsch*, *Paulus Wyroch*, Márton Székely, Péter Székely.⁵⁹ The following year, *Paulus Wyroch*, *Jeirg Ystwan*, János Márton, and a certain Horvát appear in the accounts as mercenaries, in addition to those already mentioned.⁶⁰

The situation is similar in the case of the records concerning the payment of horsemen serving the town at various times in 1506. At that time, according to the customs of the era, the leaders of the units were listed with their horses. In other words, the horsemen belonging to the leader were listed with him. However, it is difficult to determine the number of horses (and therefore riders) because the number assigned to each person changed several times based on different records. In terms of the names of the horsemen, a significant proportion of them appear in Latinized form. Among the other horsemen, we find some with Hungarian surnames, such as Bagdi *Johannes*, Török (= Turkish) *Ladislaus*, Enyedi (= of Enyed) *Michael*, Kopasz (= Bald) *Michael*, and Matheus. In this case, first names are not given in Hungarian form, but first names and surnames follow each other in Hungarian order. In addition to Latinized and Hungarian names, we also find a German name (*Johannes Vatter*) among the entries.⁶¹

A list from 1508, among the entries in the town accounts, is particularly noteworthy. It includes riflemen, the personnel who transported them, and two cannon masters.⁶² What makes this list unusual is that, similarly to the horsemen mentioned above, not all of the riflemen are named, only those who presumably received the pay on behalf of their comrades. They were probably also the corporals of the troop, as we can surmise from the fact that

⁵⁹ Hermannstadt 221. 236–237.

⁶⁰ Hermannstadt 239.

⁶¹ Hermannstadt 443–444, 480–482.

⁶² Hermannstadt 500–501.

the writer of the list separated the 59 riflemen into smaller groups of no more than seven people. Of the 35 people listed by name, ten were likely Saxon by ethnicity. However, there are a significant number of Latinized names (13 people), as well as one Szekler and one Serb. In terms of place of origin, the list includes people from Brassó, Temesvár (Timișoara), Maros, Torda, and even Nyitra (Nitra), as well as one person with the surname Burger. The number of soldiers with surnames referring to their profession is also significant (10 people):

Profession	Surname	Number of persons
Goldsmith	Aurifex, Aurifaber	3
Tailor	Sartor	1
Barber	Barbitonsor	1
Carpenter	Carpentarius	1
Miller	Molitor	2
Saddle maker	Sellator	1
Sieve maker	Rittermacher (=Reytermacher see also: Hermannstadt 644.)	1

Table 8: The original profession of the foot soldiers of Szeben based on their surnames (1508)

Among the names, there are two designations referring to education (*Scolaris*, *Literatus*), and it is worth mentioning that Paulus Wyroch, mentioned above, appears on the list as the only horseman with two horses (i.e., not as a rifleman on this occasion). The only thing we know about the role of the troops is that they were sent to Wallachia after the death of Radu IV the Great, voivode of Wallachia.⁶³

In 1524, sources from Szeben mention soldiers named Ambrus Szász, Kelemen Szászvárosi, and Kelemen Kis.⁶⁴ The following year, Ambrus Nagy appears in the town accounts.⁶⁵ Among the horsemen, a certain *Ioannes Olah*, possibly of Romanian origin, also appears.⁶⁶ In the records, we also encounter a horseman named *Joannes Nemeth*, whose name, written in Hungarian form

⁶³ Gündisch, Gustav, "Siebenbürgen in Türkenabwehr 1395–1526", In: Gündisch, Gustav, *Aus Geschichte und Kultur der Siebenbürger Sachsen. Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Berichte*. Köln–Wien, 1987. 37–64. 61.

⁶⁴ MNL OL DF 286803. 64v.

⁶⁵ MNL OL DF 286803. 89.

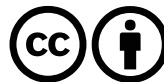
⁶⁶ MNL OL DF 286803. 41r.

in a predominantly German environment, leaves some uncertainty as to his origin.⁶⁷ In the case of Szeben, we can say that the proportion of those with Hungarian names was high primarily among the cavalry, while the number of Germans (Saxons) among the infantry was significant.

Conclusion

As we have seen above, the method of raising troops in Transylvanian towns cannot be reconstructed solely on the basis of the charters granted to them, as actual practice may have been influenced by the town's capabilities and the requests of the king or one of his officials (primarily the voivode of Transylvania). Based on the practice that was implemented, the town of Brassó could mobilize troops in two ways: 1) it recruited soldiers 2) in addition to the soldiers provided by the town quarters, it requested soldiers from the Barcaság district and from the town's own estates, which it organized into a single unit. The soldiers mobilized in the latter manner were originally responsible for defense, and it is likely that the name *darabont*, which appears in the sources, originally referred to them. In contrast, the town of Szeben followed a different method of mobilizing soldiers. The town itself fielded only a small but mixed force, to which it assigned the troops of the Seven Seats. However, the soldiers of the seats functioned as independent units, as we learn from the exemptions granted to individual settlements. The military forces provided by the two towns were primarily of Saxon-German origin, so they were mostly recruited from the local population. However, the Szeklers and the Hungarians also played an outstanding role in the military as mercenaries. In addition to these mercenaries, towns, primarily Brassó, occasionally hired soldiers from the Wallachian region. A significant proportion of the soldiers in both towns were originally craftsmen or engaged in other professions. It may also be noted that certain craftsmen possessed skills that were particularly valuable for the production of military equipment and the construction of fortifications (e.g. shield makers, carpenters).


⁶⁷ MNL OL DF 286803. 41r.



DOMINIK TÓTH, PhD, Institute and Museum of Military History

H-1087 Budapest, Kerepesi út 29/b

roth.dominik@mail.militaria.hu

 ORCID: 0000-0002-5593-5730



The *Wagenburg*-warfare in the Army of King Matthias

ABSTRACT

This article re-examines the adoption of Hussite *Wagenburg*-warfare in the army of King Matthias of Hungary. While Hungarian historiography traditionally assumes the transfer of both war wagons and their associated tactical system, this study argues that only the device, not the method, was adopted. By analysing key engagements from the eras of John Hunyadi and Matthias – including the Battle of Varna (1444), Kosovo Polje (1448), Baia (1467), and the Breslau campaign (1474) – it demonstrates that wagon forts consistently played a secondary, primarily defensive role. Rather than functioning as an integrated tactical framework, they served as mobile fortifications. The presence of experienced mercenary commanders further suggests that this limited adoption cannot be explained by a lack of technical knowledge.

Keywords: Hussites, *Wagenburg*-warfare, Kingdom of Hungary, John Hunyadi, Matthias Corvinus

Introduction

According to the conviction living in the Hungarian scientific literature, during the reign of King Matthias (1458–1490), the Hungarian army adapted the war wagons (the device) developed by the Hussite rebels with the manner of setting up and fighting with wagon forts (the method). However, I put forward a hypothesis that the *device* was indeed adapted, but the *method* was not!

The main purpose of that article is to try to prove the statement above. The so-called *Wagenburg*-warfare will be described briefly, then its adoption will be analysed by the Hungarian army in the era of Mathias' father, John Hunyadi. The reason is to provide a basis for comparison through three of his battles fought against the Ottoman forces. In the following part, the adoption of the discussed warfare will be examined in the era of Matthias. In the closing part of that work, the mercenary captains will be discussed, who were present in Upper Hungary in the second half of the fifteenth century and who were presumably familiar with the disputed warfare.

The *Wagenburg*-warfare

During the examined period, significant differences emerged between the various methods of using wagon forts. The first was a practice that had existed throughout Europe and Asia since ancient times, which involved placing the transport vehicles accompanying the army around the military camp as a mobile wooden palisade.

Another, more advanced version of the wagon fort had existed on the battlefields of Central and Eastern Europe since the classic phase of the Hussite Wars (1419–1434/36). This practice took specific form among the rebels, and it was much more than a simple reinforced military camp. It functioned not only as a mobile fortress combined with fire- and other long-range weapons, that its users were able to relocate within a short period of time, but as an organisational framework, too. The name of the method in the modern scientific literature is: *Wagenburg-warfare* or *tactics* – derived from the German name of wagon fort (= *Wagenburg*).

The two most important criteria of choosing a campsite were the defensibility and sufficient water for both people and horses, even if they were only staying for a few days. The wagons were set up in a “wheel upon wheel” (*kolo na kolo*) manner, which meant tying the left front wheel of the vehicle behind to the right rear wheel of the one in front. The security provided by the wagon wall was further enhanced by ditches and earth ramparts erected around the camp. The firearms of the time were integrated into the defensive system.¹ The rebels were able to concentrate a large number of long-range weapons in a short section, which provided enough firepower to stop the attack of the enemy’s heavy cavalry. This element played a key role in the tactics employed by the Hussites.²

Defence was an initial part of the *Wagenburg* tactics. The defenders slowed down or halted the enemy’s attack with crossbows and firearms. Those who

¹ Kudrnáč, Jaroslav, “Vojenský tábor z doby husitských válek v Klučově”, = *Památky Archeologické* 64:1, 1973, 105–142. 126. About the estimated firepower see: Tóth Dominik, “A huszita harci szekér”, = *Haditechnika* 58:4, 2024, 59–63. 63.

² See more about the method of setting up a wagon fortress: B. Szabó János, “A huszita hadviselés hatása és adaptációja Kelet-Közép-Európában”, In: Bárány Attila – Pósnán László (eds.), “*Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris.*” *Tanulmányok a konstanzi zsinat 600. évfordulója alkalmából.* Debrecen, 2014. 435–436. 432–441. Újabbán: Turcsányi Károly – Tóth Dominik, “A huszita harci szekerek harci tulajdonságainak értelmezése, a szekérvár mobilitásának vizsgálata”, = *Katonai Logisztika* 31:1–2, 2023, 221–235. 226–228.

still managed to get close to the wagon fort were incapacitated with polearms. In favourable cases, the battle formation of the attackers broke down, and panic began to prevail. The walls of the wagon fort were opened on the sides, and, if possible, attacks were launched against the enemy lines from both sides. At this point, the small number of cavalymen among the rebels played the leading role. By this time, the enemy's morale had been broken, and they tried to flee, leaving "only" the task of scattering the fleeing troops.

The fundamental difference between the Hussite and the general wagon fort was that the *Wagenburg* played a significant part in combat. This required vehicles converted for military use according to certain criteria. The product of this process was the Hussite war wagon, a device equipped with firearms, converted and equipped for military purposes, which was used as part of a wagon fortress for defensive purposes, or to provide support on the battlefield. Of course, the armies did not deploy them individually, but as part of a wagon wall/column consisting of several hundred vehicles.³

The *Wagenburg*-warfare in the Army of the Hungarian Kingdom – The Era of John Hunyadi

The use of Hussite mercenaries and the adaptation of their war wagons and wagon fortresses in the Hungarian army during the reign of János Hunyadi has long been a fact in secondary literature.⁴ Widely known that from the 1440s onwards, as voevode of Transylvania, he sought to exploit the advantages offered by these devices in his battles against the Ottoman troops. In this chapter, the answer is sought to the following question: whether war wagons and the wagon forts were used in the same way as the Hussites had done earlier.

³ Durdík, Jan, *Husitské vojenství*. Praha, 1954. 141–142.

⁴ For example: Tóth Zoltán, "A huszita eredetű szekérvár", = *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 17:1, 1916, 265–311.; Tóth Zoltán, "A huszita szekérvár a magyar hadviselésben", = *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 19:1–2, 1918, 1–32., 159–185.; Jefferson, John, *The Holy Wars of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad: The Ottoman-Christian Conflict from 1438–1444*. Leiden–Boston, 2012. 206–208.; B. Szabó, *A huszita hadviselés*, 2014. 432–441.; Pálosfalvi Tamás, *From Nicopolis to Mohács. A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389–1526*. Leiden–Boston. 2018. 48–49.; Todika, Raul-Alexandru, "A few considerations concerning the presence of Hussite-style war wagons as part of John Hunyadi's army", = *Acta Musei Napocensis* 56:2, 2019, 9–25.

Battle at Ialomița River, 1442.

The clash that took place on the Ialomița River in September 1442 was the first battle in which a detailed description has been preserved of the use of Hussite war wagons as part of the Hungarian Kingdom's army. Şehabeddin, the beylerbey of Rumelia, had two main objectives in the area: to avenge Hunyadi's earlier victory over Mezid Bey and the execution of the Ottoman governor installed as a ruler of Wallachia,⁵ and then to lead a punitive expedition into southern Transylvania. John Hunyadi had already approached Şehabeddin's troops in Wallachia, but did not attack at the first opportunity. Remained in the step of the Ottoman army and waited for the right moment.

According to the description of Antonio Bonfini, the battle itself started early morning. The beylerbey wanted to win with his reserved forces, but Hunyadi waited for that very moment:

“(...) he allows them to be suppressed for a while, then he gives the order to advance the group of war wagons, and he instructs the drivers to surround all the Turks unnoticed, and then he takes up the fight with renewed strength. The scramble flares up, and although the Turks have suffered tremendous damage everywhere, they hold out thanks to their vast numbers. However, when they notice that the wagons⁶ have surrounded them on the right wing, and they shoot them from behind with flame arrows and catapults, they become uncertain, slow down, and because they are afraid of their backs, they stop fighting at the front.”⁷

After the collapse of the wing, panic spread throughout the entire Ottoman army. They abandoned the battlefield, so the clash ended with a Hungarian victory. According to the latter part of the source, the voevode's troops were only able to encircle the right wing of the Ottomans with their wagons, but no other details are revealed, neither about the vehicles nor about the exact location of the forces on the field.

⁵ Cîmpeanu, Liviu, “Relațiile lui Iancu de Hunedoara cu Țara Românească și Moldova, 1442–1456. O reevaluare (I)”, = *Analele Putnei* 15:2, 2019, 7–20. I would like to thank the reviewer for drawing my attention to this article.

⁶ „Qui a curribus pugnabant (...) hostes circumvallent”. *Antonius de Bonfinis: Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*. Főgel József – Iványi Béla – Juhász László – Pirnát Antal – Kulcsár Margit – Kulcsár Péter. I–IV. Lipcse–Budapest, 1936–1976. [hereinafter *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*] III. 124.

⁷ *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* III. 124.

It should be noted that the reality of the relevant part of the chronicle is questioned by several circumstances.⁸ Bonfini liked to borrow motifs from contemporary and older authors. A good example of this is the passage about horses frightened by the smell of camels in connection with the Battle of Varna,⁹ which can also be found in Herodotus.¹⁰ The credibility of the source passage also seems to be undermined by two another fact. Firstly, a similar passage appears in the Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica*. In Chapter 47, within the description of the preferred fighting method of the *Orebites*, the motif of a column of moving wagons encircling the enemy is presented.¹¹ Secondly, there is no evidence in the Hungarian context for using war wagons in any battle or clash where this manoeuvre would have been repeated.

Battle of Varna, 1444.

Encouraged by the success of the Long Campaign (1443–1444), Christian forces led by King Vladislaus I, John Hunyadi, and Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini marched against the Ottoman Empire again in 1444. Their goal was presumably to capture Edirne and end Ottoman rule over the Balkan Peninsula.

The opposing sides fought a battle near Varna on the 30 November. The clash began in the morning with an Ottoman attack against the Christian right wing. The fight lasted all day without any significant results,¹² but by the afternoon, it seemed that the Ottomans' strength had weakened, so Ulászló decided to attack the sultan's camp.¹³ The action failed, and the entire entourage was lost along with the king. The Christian army was essentially left without a leader, and it was no longer possible to organise the ranks of the army,

⁸ Székely Ottokár, "Hunyadi János első török hadjáratai (1441–1444)", = *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 20–22, 1919–1921, 1–64, 22. Pálosfalvi, From Nicopolis, 2018. 103.

⁹ *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* III. 151.

¹⁰ Herodotus, *The Histories*. Transl. Holland, Tom, New York, 2013. 69.

¹¹ „Ubi congregi tempus visum, aurigae qui cornua ducerent, ad imperatoris signum, comprehensa sensim, qua voluerunt, hostium parte, ordines quadrigarum contrahere, intercepti hostes, quibus sui sub venire non possentm partim gladio a peditatu, partim missilibus ab his, qui errant in carris, viris, ac mulieribus necari.” Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica*. In. *Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei postea Pii II. papae Historia Bohemica*. Supt. Sustermann, Johann Melchior. Helmstadt, 1699. 72. In my previous article this part of the cited source was inaccurately connected to the battle of Lipany. Tóth Dominik, “Szekerek és tűzfegyverek. Szekérvár-harcmodor Hunyadi János seregében”, = *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 137:4, 2024, 881–902. 893.

¹² Jefferson, *The Holy Wars*, 2012. 460–468.

¹³ Jefferson, *The Holy Wars*, 2012. 466. Pálosfalvi, From Nicopolis, 2018. 139.

which was scattered over a large area. Many, including Hunyadi, pursued the fleeing Ottoman left wing, while others fled themselves.¹⁴ The survivors who remained at the scene retreated to the wagon fort, which had formed a closed formation. Many more fugitives returned during the night, but it soon became clear that the king had fallen and that they would hear no news about Hunyadi. In the morning, the Ottoman troops approached in battle formation, and when they saw that there was no significant defence, they stormed and captured the camp.¹⁵

The sources are unclear about the *Wagenburg*, so there are two interpretations in the literature regarding its use. According to older works, the camp was set up behind the army on the right wing, in a traditional closed formation, as was indeed discussed in the council of war prior to the battle.¹⁶ However, according to a newer idea associated with John Jefferson, this formation was set up only in the evening, after the battle, while during the day they were lined up behind the army as a second line. This was perhaps to protect the forces from a possible attack from behind, and also to provide cover if necessary.¹⁷ If the latter scenario had come to pass, it would have resembled the tactics employed by the Flemish infantry against the French heavy cavalry at Mons-en-Pévèle in 1304. “They protected the back of their long battle array with their wagons. The carts were securely fastened together, and one wheel of each was removed. There were narrow passages left between the ranks of waggons, and soldiers guarded the waggons.”¹⁸

Battle of Kosovo Polje, 1448.

In 1448, John Hunyadi organised another large-scale campaign against the Ottoman Empire. He and his troops advanced deep into the Balkan Peninsula and finally fought a battle against the Ottoman forces on the 18 October at Kosovo Polje, near the Sitnica River.

The battle proceeded similarly to the one at Varna. Hunyadi unsuccessfully attacked the centre of the Sultan’s army, and the assault collapsed. The cavalry

¹⁴ Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 140.

¹⁵ Jefferson, *The Holy Wars*, 2012. 466. Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 140.

¹⁶ Rónai Horváth Jenő, “A várnai csata (2nd part)”, = *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 1:1, 1888, 268–305. 294. Bánlaky József, *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme* (10th part, I.). Budapest, 1936. Appendix 6a.

¹⁷ Jefferson, *The Holy Wars*, 2012. 460.

¹⁸ Verbruggen, Jan Frans, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge, 1998. 198.

slowly withdrew from the battlefield and fled, leaving behind the wagon fort and its defenders as well. Although Hungarian literature traditionally estimates the length of the battle at 2–3 days, Tamás Pálosfalvi concluded that the decisive battle essentially took place on the 18 October and ended with the victory of the Ottoman side.¹⁹ His opinion seems to be supported by a contemporary ambassadorial report found and published by Henrik Marczali in the French National Library in Paris, which also indicated the 18 October as the date of the battle.²⁰

The *Wagenburg* had only a supporting role, although contemporary descriptions reveal more details than in the previous cases. John Hunyadi set up camp behind the Hungarian army, then “(...) reinforced the guard with wagons (*curribus munitiobusque*) and machines.”²¹ There is no information about the movement of the vehicles on the battlefield during the fight, but it seems plausible that the infantrymen assigned to them “(...) were well equipped with *canons and coulevres*, (thus) they were able to cause enormous damage to the Turks.”²² A lesser-known fact is that John Hunyadi continued to make use of the wagons after the battle: “The next day, before sunrise, the White Knight (resp. Hunyadi) woke up the members of his artillery and set off with their carts until they arrived in Belgrade.”²³

	Long-range weapons	Cavalry-support	<i>Wagenburg</i> fallen	How?	<i>Wagenburg</i> -tactics
<i>Várna (1444)</i>	Y	Y	Y	Famish/ successful infantry attack	N
<i>Rigómező (1448)</i>	Y	Y	Y	Famish/ successful infantry attack	N

Table 1: Battles fought by the army of the Kingdom of Hungary using Hussite *Wagenburg* under János Hunyadi.

¹⁹ Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 2018. 162.

²⁰ [Marczali Henrik], “A rigómezei csata leírása. Közlemények a párisi nemzeti könyvtárból”, = *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 2:11, 1877, 89–92. 90.

²¹ *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* III. 162.

²² Marczali, *A rigómezei csata*, 1877. 90.

²³ Marczali, *A rigómezei csata*, 1877. 91.

The table above shows that the Hussite war wagons and wagon forts at Varna and Kosovo Polje, Hunyadi intended to have only a secondary role. In both cases, these devices were used to cover the rear of the battle line, and only after the primary battle plan had failed, did the defence rely on the wagon fort.

The explanation for this phenomenon could be the traditional warfare based on cavalry (and at that time, almost exclusively the cavalry). It is also conceivable that on the days of the two battles, there were not enough war wagons available with the necessary number of trained crews.²⁴

The *Wagenburg*-warfare in the Army of the Hungarian Kingdom – The Era of King Matthias

Battle of Baia, 1467

Following the suppression of the Transylvanian uprising of 1467, King Matthias led an army against Stephen III, Voevode of Moldavia. The aim was to secure the loyalty of Voevode Stephen and to capture Suceava. The latter was unsuccessful; on the night of 15 December 1467, approximately 30 km south of the city, he fought a battle with the voevode's troops at Baia. The battle ended with a close victory of the Hungarian army, and the voivode himself was captured, too.

There are no reliable data on the number and inner structure of troops on either side. It is certain that Matthias' forces hardly reached ten thousand; Stephen's forces had the upper hand with more than ten thousand men.²⁵ The core of the army that invaded Moldavia consisted of a few banderia of the barons and the mercenaries of the former Hussite commander Jan Jiskra z Brandýsa. They were joined by Székely hussars and infantrymen, units from Brassó (German Kronstadt, today: Braşov) and Barcaság (German Burzenland, today: Țara Bârsei) and troops from Máramaros, Beszterce, and Radna (today: Maramureş, Bistriţa and Rodna).²⁶

²⁴ Contemporary sources connected to military preparations suggest that there was an intention to use these weapons. Tóth, *Szekerek és tüzfegyverek*, 2024. 895–896.

²⁵ Szokola László, "Mátyás király 1467. évi moldvai hadjárata", = *Orpheus Noster* 8:1, 2016, 29–43. 34–35. On the number of participants see also: Antoche, Emanuel-Constantin, "L'expédition du roi Mathias Corvin en Moldavie, 1467", = *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire* 83, 2003, 133–166. 139–140.

²⁶ Antoche, *L'expédition*, 2003. 139–140. Szokola, *Mátyás király*, 2016. 33–34.

According to Bonfini, Matthias learned of the Moldavians' impending attack from a traveller, thus allowing him to prepare for battle.²⁷ During the time available, Baia was unsuitable for the construction of regular defensive structures due to the layout of the settlement. The only exception was the centre, where the market square and the church were located. Two paved streets converged here, surrounding the buildings. There were some stone houses in the centre, but most of the buildings were made of wood, and even the town's defences consisted of a poorly constructed wooden palisade. This was complemented by a swamp to the north and dense forest everywhere else.²⁸ Jan Długosz, a contemporary Polish chronicler, mentioned that the Hungarian defence consisted of ramparts, walls and wagons (*vallis, fossatis atque quadrigis*).²⁹

The Hungarian military command was set up in the market square, while the hussars were assigned to four points in the town and the Szekler infantry to the roads. The town's defences were reinforced with a wall of wagons, which housed a significant portion of Jiskra's mercenaries. During the night, Voivode Stephen attacked Matthias' troops from three directions. The Székely troops were put to flight and retreated to the market square. The attackers set fire to the wooden buildings and then advanced to the town centre, where fierce hand-to-hand combat ensued. At this point, there was a betrayal on the Moldavian side, presumably by boyars supporting Peter III Aaron, who sabotaged the attack on the northern positions. Matthias took advantage of this pause and launched a successful counterattack: the better-equipped Hungarian infantry gained the upper hand over the Moldavians, and in the end, the king's forces became victorious. Whether the victory was Pyrrhic is another question.³⁰

There is only a low amount of reliable information about the role played by the wagon fort in battle, as narrative sources reveal little. For example, Bonfini wrote nothing about the wagons nor the defence of the settlement. Długosz mentioned it, but briefly: Matthias, concerned about an enemy's sudden attack, surrounded the town with ramparts, walls, and wagons.³¹ Narrative

²⁷ *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* IV. 16.

²⁸ Antoche, *L'expédition*, 2003. 149–151. Szokola, *Mátyás király*, 2016. 35–36.

²⁹ *Ioannis Longini Canonici Cracouiens[is] Historiae Polonicae*. Liber XII. Tomus III. Sign. 1576 V a Rkps. p. 516. Online: <https://dlibra.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/17724/edition/17463/content> (Accessed on 13th of October, 2025.) [hereinafter *Historiae Polonicae*]

³⁰ Antoche: *L'expédition*, 2003. 149–151. Szokola: *Mátyás király*, 2016. 35–36.

³¹ "...Rex (...) devenisset et vallis, fossatis, atque quadrigis oppidum cirruptionem enim hostilem verebatur." *Historiae Polonicae*, 516.

sources of Moldavian origin, such as the *Letopisețul Anonim al Moldovei* (*Anonymous Annals of Moldavia*), the *Letopisețul de la Putna Nr. 1-2. (First and Second Annals of Putna)*, or the *Cronica Moldo-Polona (Moldavo-Polonian Chronicle)*, contain only a brief description of the ominous night, without providing any details about the clash at the settlement.³² So, although it seems that he reinforced the city's defences with a wall of wagons where necessary, the *Wagenburg* did not appear in its classic role here either.

The Breslau Campaign, 1474

In the autumn of 1474, King Casimir IV of Poland and King Władysław II of Bohemia organised a campaign to capture Breslau (today: Wrocław, Poland) in Silesia. The Hungarian army of Matthias was heavily outnumbered by the Czech-Polish forces, which had approximately eight times more soldiers. Yet in the first days of November, the aggressors were those who asked for peace from the besieged side.

Casimir's and Władysław's goal was to recapture Silesia, which had previously fallen into the hands of Matthias. According to the preliminary plan, they would have arrived at the battlefield from two directions to force a decisive battle. Their army was about eight times larger than the forces of Matthias.³³ The Hungarian king, therefore, concentrated on defending towns and castles and resorted to a scorched earth policy. His men collected or destroyed food supplies everywhere, and even the inhabitants of villages were forced to move to the cities.³⁴ He himself settled in one of the suburbs of Breslau, called Svätý Mořic and prepared for defence.³⁵ His goal was to weaken the Czech-Polish forces through constant harassment and raids, and to break them up if

³² *Letopisețul Anonim al Moldovei*. In. *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV–XVI*. Publ. Bogdan, Ion. București, 1959. [hereinafter *Cronicile slavo-române*] 1–23. *Letopisețul de la Putna Nr. 1*. In. *Cronicile* 41–52. *Letopisețul de la Putna Nr. 2*. In. *Cronicile...* 53–66. *Cronica Moldo-Polona*. In. *Cronicile...* 164–187. Only certain events are highlighted such as Voevode Stephen's night attack or King Matthias' injury. *Cronicile*, 16, 49, 62, 169.

³³ Despite the favourable number of sources, it is difficult to give exact numbers. Jenő Gyalókey wrote about 60,000 Polish, 20,000 Czech soldiers. According to Frankenberger, the Polish force counted 16,000 men. The consensus of the Hungarian historians regarding the forces of Matthias is about 8–10,000 mercenaries. Gyalókey Jenő, "A boroszlói hadjárat 1474-ben", = *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 41:1, 1940, 1–19. 18. Frankenberger, Otakar, *Husitské válečnictví po Lipanech*. Praha, 1960. 124–126. *Magyarország hadtörténete I. A kezdetektől 1526-ig*. Ed. Veszprémy László. Budapest, 2017. 294.

³⁴ Pálosfalvi, From Nicopolis, 2018. 239.

³⁵ *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* IV. 50. Veszprémy, Magyarország, 2017. 294.

possible. He was right to expect this, as he was aware that although the attackers had a considerable advantage in numbers, the vast majority of their forces consisted of poorly equipped and ineptly led noble rebels. For this reason, they were much less effective in battle than Matthias' mercenary troops. For the latter, staying in the camp was not a necessity but a way of life.

In the fall of 1474, there was no battle fought between the two sides. A series of low-intensity clashes took place across a theatre of war covering approximately 45,000 km², concentrated along the attackers' routes of advance.³⁶ On the 26 September, Casimir reached the border of Silesia at Krappitz (today: Krapkowice, Poland) and began his march towards Oppeln (today: Opole, Poland). After several unsuccessful sieges and lost battles, the Polish king reached Ohlau (today: Oława, Poland) around the 24 October via Oppeln, Brieg, and Schwanowitz (today: Brzeg, Zwanowice, Poland), where the Polish forces were joined by the equally battered Czech troops. At this point, they were about 25 km from Breslau, but the army's strength had further diminished. Due to the faltering supply situation, both horses and men were weakened, and an epidemic broke out.³⁷

Based on spies' reports, Matthias expected a direct attack around 27–28 October, but it never happened. After changing campsites several times, the attacking forces completely disintegrated and headed home, while Casimir and Władysław were forced to sue for peace. The truce was finally signed on 8 December.

It is very difficult to examine the role of the wagon fort in the context of the Breslau campaign. Although King Matthias set up his headquarters in a *Wagenburg* built around the aforementioned suburb,³⁸ it still functioned as a 'traditional' military camp. As for the Polish, Czech, and Hungarian wagon fortresses moving around other areas of Silesia, since they did not take part in the decisive battle, their role can be assessed at most as mobile fortifications covering the armies.³⁹

³⁶ For further reading about the military operations see: Tóth Zoltán, *Mátyás király idegen zsoldosserege*. Budapest, 1925. 163–174. Frankenberger, Husitské, 1960. 122–127.

³⁷ Frankenberger, Husitské, 1960. 123–124. Veszprémy, Magyarország, 2017. 294.

³⁸ Tóth, Mátyás király, 1925. 167.

³⁹ About the possibilities and advantages of use of the wagon fortresses on open field in the second half of fifteenth century, see: Beňa, Samuel, "Jedna udalosť, dva naratívy: stredoveká bitka pri Thomaswaldau (Tomaszów Bolesławiecki) z roku 1488 v československej a maďarskej historiografii" = *Historie a vojenství* 70:2, 2021, 4–19.

	Long-range weapons	Cavalry- support	<i>Wagenburg</i> fallen	How?	<i>Wagenburg</i> - tactics
<i>Baia (1467)</i>	Y	Y	N	X	N
<i>Breslau (1474)</i>	Y	Y	N	X	N

Table 2: Battles fought by the army of the Kingdom of Hungary using Hussite *Wagenburg* under King Matthias.

It can be concluded that both at Baia and during the Breslau campaign, the *Wagenburg* served “only” as a mobile fortress. Therefore, this method of use can hardly be considered an adaptation of the Hussite method.

The Representatives of the ‘Know-How’

From the 1440s until the end of the century, dozens of mercenary leaders were present in the northern areas of the country, who, due to their past, were familiar with the nature of *Wagenburg*-warfare.⁴⁰ Their “operations” sometimes took place in collaboration with the royal court, sometimes in opposition to it. During the sixty years in question, which includes the entire reign of King Matthias, the commanders who appeared here can be divided into several groups.⁴¹ Some of them came at the king’s call. These include, for example, Jan Čapek ze Sán, who appeared under Vladislaus I, a veteran of

⁴⁰ About the difficulties, proposed new methods, and their first results regarding the military history of the Upper Parts in the second half of the fifteenth century see: Novák Ádám, “Opportunities and challenges in researching the political and military history of the Upper Regions”, In. Bárány Attila (ed.), *Mercenaries and Crusaders*. Debrecen, 2024. 301–315.

⁴¹ There is a group of mercenary captains serving under Matthias who had no proven Hussite affiliations, but may have been familiar with *Wagenburg*-warfare thanks to their military experience gained during the king’s Bohemian wars. As an example, see two members of Podmanicki family: László and Balázs. Véber Zoltán, “Podmanicki László (podmanini, besztercei, brumowai)”, In. *Életrajzi lexikon* (draft). Véber Zoltán, “Podmanicki Balázs (podmanini, hliniki)”, In. *Életrajzi lexikon* (draft).

the Hussite Wars⁴² and a participant in the Long Campaign of 1443–1444,⁴³ traces of whom can also be found in Hungarian contemporary sources.⁴⁴ Some of the vehicles he used had to be made locally, in Brassó, according to the instructions of John Hunyadi, based on the guidance of an unnamed Czech craftsman.⁴⁵

At the invitation of the ruler arrived to the kingdom Václav “Vlček” z Čenova, as well. He joined King Vladislaus II’s company from the service of the Poděbrad family. Václav is the author of the following military science writing: *Naučení o šikování jízdních, pěších i vozů* (‘Instruction on the Arrangement of Cavalry, Infantry, and Wagons’).⁴⁶ According to one of the last biographical details, King Louis II appointed him in 1521, despite his age of 80(!), to lead the army organised to relieve the besieged Belgrade.⁴⁷

The Polack Lenard Gnoiński (Gnojeński) served the king for a long time alongside his brother Lampert. It was Lenard who arrived at the military camp in Mohács with 1,500 Polish mercenaries, and, as is well known, he proposed the construction and use of the wagon fort during the battle.⁴⁸

The next group consisted of mercenary captains who opposed the royal court and were themselves familiar with the discussed warfare.⁴⁹ Their pres-

⁴² Dolejší, Josef – Křížek, Leonid, *Husité. Vrchol válečného umění v Čechách*. Praha, 2009. 110–111.; Cermanová, Pavlína – Novotný, Robert – Soukup, Pavel (eds.), *Husitské století*. Praha, 2014. 49.

⁴³ See the letter of Cardinal Guliano Cesarini written on 23 June, 1443. to Frederick Habsburg, in which he discussed a salary of *Chapchonis et suorum pedestriorum. Materialien zur österreichischen Geschichte*. Ed. Chmel, Josef. (Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken, 2.) Wien, 1837. 114. Further reading: Pálosfalvi, From Nicopolis, 2018. 111.; Shirogov, Vladimir, *War on the Eve of Nations: Conflicts and Militaries in Eastern Europe, 1450–1500*. New York–London, 2021. 38–39. For a summary of the presence of Hussite mercenaries in János Hunyadi’s army, see: Todika, A few considerations, 2019. 9–25.

⁴⁴ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Budapest [hereinafter MNL OL], Diplomataikai Fényképgyűjtemény [hereinafter DF], 13694.; DF 102828.

⁴⁵ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Band V. Ed. Gündisch, Gustav. Köln, 1975. 2461.

⁴⁶ “Naučení o šikování jízdních, pěší i vozů”, In: Svejkovský, František (ed.), *Staročeské vojenské řády*. Praha, 1952. 43–53.

⁴⁷ Tresp, Uwe, *Söldner aus Böhmen*. Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich, 2004. 108–109.; Pálosfalvi, From Nicopolis, 2018. 390.; Beňa, Samuel, “Naučení o šikování jízdních, pěších i vozů z pera českého rytiera Václava Vlčka z Čenova (cca 1440 – 1500) ako vzácny prameň pre skúmanie taktiky jazdeckých oddielov na sklonku stredoeurópskeho stredoveku”, = *Vojenská história* 24:3, 2020, 19–32. 20–21,

⁴⁸ B. Szabó János, *Mohács. Régi kérdések – új válaszok*. Budapest, 2015. 24–25.

⁴⁹ This part of the question requires further examination.

ence is often confirmed in a peculiar way by their activities in issuing charts. There is almost no reliable historical information available about Blažek z Borotína, who occupied Nagyszombat (today: Trnava, Slovakia) in 1432.⁵⁰ Although he had no connection to the Hungarian royal court, this did not prevent him from referring to himself as an *assessor* in Nagyszombat and a *resident* in Veszele (today: Oravské Veselé, Slovakia) in the following years.⁵¹

Jan Jiskra z Brandýsa (in Hungarian: Brandeisi Giskra János) appeared in the Hungarian Kingdom during the period of civil war following the death of Albert of Habsburg in 1441, serving Queen Elizabeth and her infant son, Ladislaus V. On 28 January 1442, Elizabeth appointed him captain of the mining towns and Zólyom (today: Zvolen, Slovakia). This gave him a power base that he only gave up after reaching an agreement with Matthias.⁵² Several of his mercenary captains were also given official positions. Jan Talafús z Ostrova, for example, appears in the documents as captain of Rihνό (today: Richnava, Slovakia),⁵³ and Petr Aksamit as “captain-general” (*supremus capitaneus*).⁵⁴ A certain Mikuláš Brcal appears as captain of Szepes,⁵⁵ and Jindřich Šmikúský ze Žďáru appears once as captain of Győr.⁵⁶

In the northern part of the kingdom, there were present figures who had no connection to Jiskra, or at least none that could be proven. Ján z Olešnice, presumably of Polish origin, appears in domestic documents as captain of Lubló (1453)⁵⁷ (today: Stará Ľubovňa, Slovakia) and captain of Podolín, Lubló, and Szepes (1453)⁵⁸ (today: Podolín, Spiš). A declaration of war in the Polish

⁵⁰ Pál Tóth-Szabó referred to him as captain of Árva. Tóth-Szabó Pál, *A cseh-huszita mozgalmak és uralom története Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1917. 113. According to recent research, even his Czech origins are not entirely certain. Lysý, Miroslav, *Husitská revolúcia a Uhorsko*. Bratislava, 2016. 105.

⁵¹ MNL OL DF 240918.; MNL OL Diplomatiikai Levéltár [hereinafter DL] 43999.

⁵² Pálosfalvi, From Nicopolis, 2018. 203. About the detailed operations of the discussed mercenary captain see: Pálosfalvi Tamás, “Jan Jiskra és a felvidéki városok”, In: Dangl, Vojtech – Varga J., János (eds.): *Hadsereg, város, társadalom a 15. századtól 1918-ig*. Bratislava/Pozsony, 2002. 31–41.

⁵³ For example, MNL OL DF 213268., DF 213982., DF 271369., DF 271394., DF 213465.

⁵⁴ MNL OL DL 44793.

⁵⁵ MNL OL DF 271388., DF 271402.

⁵⁶ MNL OL DF 287176., DF 241827.

⁵⁷ *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára*. 1319–1526. Ed. Iványi Béla, Budapest, 1910. [hereinafter Bártfa] Nr. 683. MNL OL DF 213379.

⁵⁸ Bártfa, nr. 687. MNL OL DF 213383.

language sent to the town of Bártfa⁵⁹ (today: Bardejov, Slovakia) indicates his opposition to the royal court in Buda. A certain Gyurko Jano appears in a document dated the 1 February, 1453, in Pozsony (today: Bratislava, Slovakia) in connection with Hrussó castle (today: Hrušov, Slovakia). Kelemen of Kistapolcsány purchased the discussed fortress from him at the request of the counties of Nyitra and Bars.⁶⁰ In the summer of 1456, he reappeared once again in the context of Bars County and György Simonyi, the *vicecomes* of the mentioned county.⁶¹

Gyurko is not the only one about whom little information is available. Jan Kerka z Brzezan appears in only one document⁶² issued in Nagyszombat in 1460. The situation is similar to Mikuláš z Camberku, mentioned in a single document⁶³ issued at the same time and place, and Jakub Kopitko, who appeared in a source from 1453.⁶⁴

There are also individuals who continued their careers in the service of Matthias after their days as robbers. On March 18, 1458, the king ordered the town council of Bártfa to:

“(...) allow Herthwythowycz Barthus (Bartoš z Hertvitovíc) and Magyar Balázs, who had been sent to exterminate the robbers, to enter their town with their army and to provide them with food at a reasonable price.”⁶⁵

In July 1460, Bartoš and the aforementioned Mikuláš Brcal wrote a letter to the people of Bártfa from Kassa (today: Košice, Slovakia) stating that the king had given them the thirtieth customs (*tricesima*), so it should be passed on to their people.⁶⁶ The scepticism of the town councillors seemed understandable: three years later, on September 16, 1463, in a letter written in Késmárk, István Szapolyai, captain of the Upper Parts,

⁵⁹ Kniezsa, Štefan (red.), *Stredoveké české listiny = Középkori cseh oklevelek*. (Magyarországi szláv nyelvemlékek 1.) Budapest, 1952. Nr. 3. MNL OL DL 44660.

⁶⁰ Tóth-Szabó, A cseh-huszita, 1917. nr. XLIX., MNL OL DL 14613.

⁶¹ MNL OL DL 15093

⁶² Kniezsa, Stredoveké, 1952. nr. 5.

⁶³ Kniezsa, Stredoveké, 1952. nr. 5.

⁶⁴ Kniezsa, Stredoveké, 1952. nr. 3.

⁶⁵ Source of citation: Bártfa, nr. 1000.

⁶⁶ Bártfa, nr. 1219. MNL OL DF 213913.

“(…) informs the people of Bártfa about the hostile intentions of Péter Komorovszki, (Peter Komorowský) Barthos Hertwitowicz, (Bartoš z Hertvitovíc) and other mercenary captains; they should be ready for war and send two councillors to the negotiations to be held in Lőcse (today: Levoča, Slovakia) on this matter.”⁶⁷

A person named Rucsko (*Ruczki, Ruszko*) appears in a document declaring war on Bártfa in the winter of 1453.⁶⁸ This may be simply a coincidence, given the considerable time gap, but in 1480 he appears twice in Pozsony as one of Matthias' men, and on one occasion even as the king's "wagon fortress master" (*Wagenpurgmaister*).⁶⁹

After the agreement concluded with Matthias in May 1462, the former Hussite mercenaries were incorporated into the king's standing army. For this reason, the preservation of knowledge of the *Wagenburg tactics* in Hungary was theoretically guaranteed. As this has been thoroughly discussed in both domestic and international literature, I do not wish to deal with this period, especially since I have already discussed the two battles in which the wagon fort played a significant role.

The discussed method was not forgotten, even after the falling apart of the "Black Army", thanks to the mercenary commanders brought into the country by Kings Vladislaus II and Louis II. The third category is made up of those who arrived in the country in the service of Prince John Albert, the future king of Poland, during his invasion of the upper parts of Hungary in 1491. Their names were often preserved in the mercenary contracts they signed. On the 3rd of September, 1491, the prince's army grew by several hundred men. Jan Zalyczky, near Krosno (today: Poland), entered the service of the prince with three hundred foot soldiers.⁷⁰ At the same place and at the same time, Mikolas Lyacheta,⁷¹ Waczlaw de Kyschnya, and Jan Jurziczky⁷² joined with their entire entourage, as did Pyotr z Chodza.⁷³ A week later, still in Krosno, Matzej Jankowsky joined with fifty footsoldiers,⁷⁴ and four days

⁶⁷ Source of citation: Tóth-Szabó, A cseh-huszita, 1917. nr. LXXXVII.

⁶⁸ Bártfa, nr. 686.; Kniezsa, Stredoveké, 1952. nr. 3., MNL OL DL 44660.

⁶⁹ Teleki, József, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon. Oklevéltár XII*. Pest. 1853. nr. DCXLI. and DCXLVI., MNL OL DF 270432., DF 240644.

⁷⁰ Bártfa, nr. 2953. MNL OL DF 215728.

⁷¹ Bártfa, nr. 2954. MNL OL DF 215727.

⁷² Bártfa, nr. 2956. MNL OL DF 215724.

⁷³ Bártfa, nr. 2957. MNL OL DF 215725.

⁷⁴ Bártfa, nr. 2960. MNL OL DF 215731.

later, at the camp near Sztropkó, (today: Stropkov, Slovakia) Petr Safranecz Spiesskovsky and Jan Roznowsky joined with more than three dozen companions,⁷⁵ as well as Stanislaw Safranecz with forty men.⁷⁶

It is worth paying special attention to a certain Peter Kmytha. He appears in the service of John Albert a year earlier in 1490, as a member of the prince's army until at least November 26, 1491.⁷⁷ Based on the sources, it seems that he had already been in the country earlier, as he served as captain of Lubló and Podolin between 1476 and 1480, as captain of Szepes in 1484, and alternately as captain of Lubló and Sącz (today: Stary Sącz, Poland), Podolin, Lubló and Sącz, or Szepes and Sącz.⁷⁸ The year 1490 – that is, the period of John Albert's activity in Upper Hungary – is the exception, when he appears only as captain of Szepes.⁷⁹ Between 1502 and 1505, he continued to “correspond” with the town councils of Bártfa and Kassa, and a new title appears: palatine of Krakow and marshal of Poland.⁸⁰ Further research is needed to prove that this is one and the same person, but given that Václav “Vlček” was still entrusted with an army at the age of 80, a three-decade military career cannot be unimaginable.

The list of mercenaries residing in the Hungarian Kingdom in the fifteenth century could be expanded further. I believe it is already clear from this that the lack of adaptation of the *Wagenburg tactic* was not due to a lack of skilled professionals.

Summary

The main purpose of this article was to demonstrate that although the Hungarian army during the reign of King Matthias (1458–1490) adopted the Hussite war wagons, it did not adopt the so-called *Wagenburg tactic*.

In the era of John Hunyadi, as seen at the Battles of Varna (1444) and Kosovo Polje (1448), the Hussite war wagons and wagon forts played only

⁷⁵ Bártfa, nr. 2962. MNL OL DF 215732.

⁷⁶ Bártfa, nr. 2961. MNL OL DF 215734.

⁷⁷ Bártfa, nr. 2895. MNL OL DF 215668., nr. 2942. DF 215714., nr. 2977. DF 215750., nr. 2994. DF 215766.

⁷⁸ MNL OL DF 215350., DF 215375., DF 215379., DF 215432., DF 215477., DF 215825.

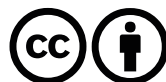
⁷⁹ MNL OL DF 215537.

⁸⁰ MNL OL DF 216550., DF 216593., DF 271550., DF 216659., DF 270874., DF 216728., DF 270875., DF 216742.

a secondary role (see Table 1). In both cases, these structures were used to protect the rear of the battle line, and only after the primary battle plan had failed was the defence based on the wagon fort.

About two decades later, King Matthias fought two major battles in which the Wagenburg – according to traditional opinion – played a significant role: the Battle of Baia (1467) and the Breslau Campaign (1474). It can be concluded, however, that in both cases the fortresses served merely as mobile defensive positions.


Therefore, what can be observed in the aforementioned battles can hardly be considered an adaptation of the Hussite method. In the final part of the article, 28 mercenary captains are listed whose presence can be detected in the northern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary between 1432 and 1526, although this list can be further expanded. Further research is needed to determine the reason for this phenomenon, but it is certain that the lack of available professional (ex-Hussite) mercenaries cannot be the cause.



BÁLINT VINKLER, Phd, Vachott Sándor Municipal Library, Exhibition Space and Museum Collection

H-3200 Gyöngyös, Fő tér 10.

vinklerb@gmail.com

 ORCID: 0009-0001-3938-5011



Further Additions to the Export of Wines from the Upper Tisza Region (Mostly Tokaj-Hegyalja) to Krakow (1586–1605)

ABSTRACT

During the early modern period in Poland, wine was quite fashionable among both the nobility and the common people, despite the unsuitable climatic conditions for domestic production. Wine had to be imported from abroad. Sources indicate that wine from Hungary, Austria, the Rhine region, Bohemia, Moravia, Romania, Spain, and France, as well as Greek Malvasia, Dalmatian Rivoli, and Venetian Muscat, was already being imported here in the Middle Ages. However, the Polish wine market was almost entirely dominated by Hungarian wines. While the primary sources on the history of the wine trade – the national customs and tax records – were destroyed in both Hungary and Poland; secondary municipal sources survived, and it is in Kraków that they are found in the greatest abundance. These are still accessible today and are excellent for research purposes. Based on customs, wine tax, and cellar records from Kraków, this study examines the wines from the Upper Tisza region (primarily Tokaj-Hegyalja) that generated the highest volume of trade, specifically covering the twenty-year period between 1586 and 1605.

Keywords: Tokaj, wine, Krakow, wine trade, sixteenth century, seventeenth century

In his monograph entitled “Borkivitelünk észak felé” (Our Wine Exports to the North), published in 1944, György Komoróczy provides a set of data on the exact quantities of wine transported from Hungary to Poland.¹ He reports on how many barrels and, in each barrel, how many litres of wine were transported across the Hungarian-Polish border for nearly every year of a 250-year period from 1519 to 1768. As for the sources he used, he only refers to them in general terms. All we know is that he worked mainly from Polish sources,

¹ Komoróczy György, *Borkivitelünk észak felé*. Kassa, 1944. 248–253.

mentioning, among other things, an archival reference from which we can conclude that he was familiar with the customs logs of the city of Kraków.

We also had the opportunity to examine these customs records in recent years, namely those from the period between 1589 and 1605. Comparing the original source from Kraków with Komoróczy's data, we came to the conclusion that Komoróczy, although he refers to it, did not use the source. These reports refer only to one city, Kraków, and reveal that much more Hungarian wine was imported to Kraków than Komoróczy estimates for the whole of Poland. This fact is unfortunate because Komoróczy's series of data was adopted and is considered reliable by historical scholarship, and can also be found in the second volume of the *Historical Chronology of Hungary*, edited by Kálmán Benda and published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.²

Komoróczy not only gives a smaller number of barrels, but also a smaller quantity in terms of the contents of the barrels. He considers a Hungarian export barrel to be 151.2 litres,³ although, based on the Kraków cellar records and tax registers, it was equivalent to 5 Sopron *akó* during the period in question.⁴ Since we know that the Sopron *akó* holds around 70–72 litres,⁵ the Hungarian barrel (*vas Hungaricum/pótkufek węgierski*) corresponds to approximately 352.5 litres during this period. With regard to Kraków, we already published the export volumes of wines from Tokaj-Hegyalja, Sopron, and Pozsonyszentgyörgy (Svätý Jur) for the 12 years between 1589 and 1600 in the columns of the *Agrártörténeti Szemle*.⁶ And on the pages of the *Soproni Szemle*, there is also information about the trade of wines from Sopron covering a period extended by eight years: the 20 years between 1586 and 1605.⁷ This 8-year extension has also been completed regarding wines from the Upper Tisza region (mostly Tokaj-Hegyalja), and we are pleased to

² Benda Kálmán (ed.), *Magyarország Történeti Kronológiája II. 1526–1848*. Budapest, 1982.

³ Komoróczy, *Borkivitelünk*, 1944. 247.

⁴ When registering Sopron wine, the measured quantity is always given converted into Hungarian barrels: “*wino eydemurskie 5 wiadro (= 5 Sopron akó) facit vas Hungaricum I*”.

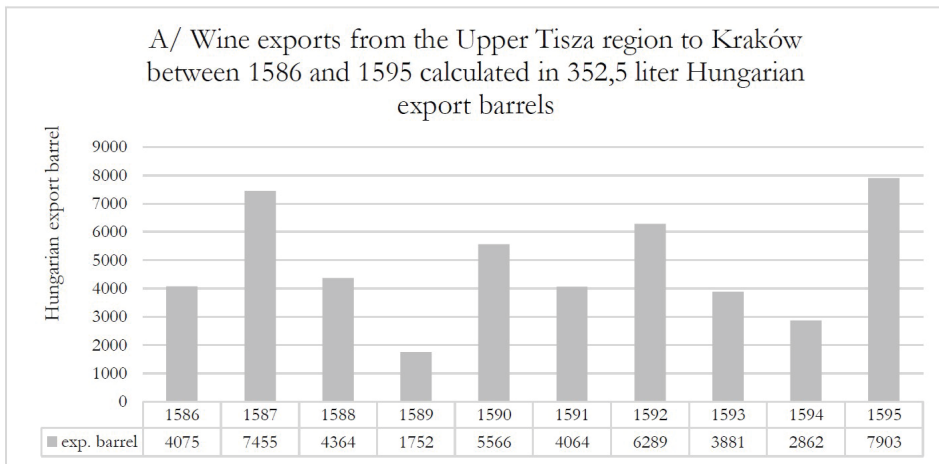
⁵ Bogdán István, *Magyarországi ür-, térfogat- súly és darabmértékek 1874-ig*. Budapest, 1984. 149–150.

⁶ Vinkler Bálint, “Krakkói borkivitelünk a 16. század végén (1589–1600)”, = *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 55:1–4, 2014, 1–40.

⁷ Vinkler Bálint, “Soproni borok forgalmának alakulása Krakkóban a 16. és 17. század fordulóján (1586–1605)”, *Soproni Szemle* 69:1, 2015, 41–56. See also Vinkler Bálint, “Soproni borok Krakkóban a 16. és 17. század fordulóján (1586–1605). Szállítási útvonalak és a kereskedelem személyi háttere”, *Soproni Szemle* 70:1, 2016, 5–42.

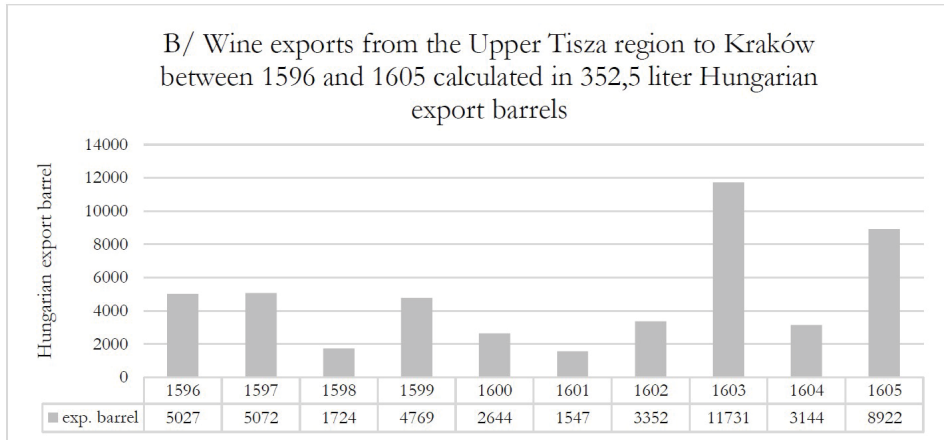
present the results together with the geographical and prosopographic details of the trade.

There are three economic records from the period under discussion that refer to the sale of wine.⁸ We compared the entries of all three sources from 1597 and concluded that the actual turnover was higher than what could be inferred from either set of records alone. Incidentally, duty-free shipments are not always recorded in the customs log, tax-free items may be missing from the wine tax list, and cellar records do not provide information about items not stored in Kraków. The actual turnover can therefore be reconstructed most accurately by comparing all items in the three sources and also identifying any omissions in each of the lists. This means that we must also add to the actual turnover those items that appear in only one or two lists. As this is an extremely time-consuming task, we previously only carried out the comparison for wines from the Upper Tisza region for the year 1597.⁹ However, the comparative analysis of the remaining 19 years has now been completed, meaning that we can now publish the data series that most closely approximates the actual sales figures. This is shown in Diagram 1 A and B.



⁸ These are 1: the Kraków city customs registers (= Regestra thelonie civitatis Cracoviensis) Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie Archiwum Akt Dawnych Miasta Krakowa. rękopisy. (hereinafter: AADMKr. rkps.) 2115–2121. 2: the Kraków wine tax records in the municipal ledgers (= Regestra perceptorum et distributorum proventuum civitatis Cracoviensis) AADMKr. rkps. 1655–1677. 3: the Kraków wine cellar records (= Wydawanie win z piwnic. Nigra Signa) AADMKr. rkps. 2344.

⁹ Vinkler, *Krakkói borkivitelünk*, 2014. 17–29.



Adding up the quantities shown in the data table in Diagram 1, we find that over the twenty years between 1586 and 1605, a total of 27,246 barrels, or 96,042 hectolitres of wine arrived in Krakow from the Upper Tisza region (mostly from the Tokaj-Hegyalja region). This is an impressive amount even by today's standards, equivalent to around 200 modern food tanker truckloads. The twenty-year average was 1,362.3 barrels (4,802.1 hl) per year, with actual turnover varying greatly from year to year: the lowest volume was shipped in 1601 (439 barrels) and the highest in 1603 (3,328 barrels). This extreme fluctuation can be explained by the variable harvest yields in Hungary, as evidenced by the examination of the tithe registers from the Tokaj-Hegyalja region that survived from the same period.¹⁰ Our wine exports to Krakow from the Upper Tisza region, and within that mainly from Tokaj-Hegyalja, appear to be dependent on the harvest results. The higher the grape yield, the higher our wine exports were.

The value of wines

Not only the volume of wine sales, but also their value is worth determining. This is a much more difficult task than simply reconstructing the quantity, as the price of wines from the Upper Tisza region depended on many factors. As we will see, there was a significant difference in the quality of the wines,

¹⁰ [Acsády Ignác], "A Hegyalja bortermése 1591–1596-ig", *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* 2, 1895, 135–136. Cf. Vinkler, *Krakkói borkivitelünk*, 2014. 37–38.

but even within the same quality category, there was a large price difference depending on whether the wine was young or old. After all, young wine was much cheaper than old wine. What's more, the wines had both a wholesale price and a retail price. We are now content with determining the wholesale price in Kraków. Below are some examples of wholesale (per barrel) prices for "Hungarian" wines:

- The city of Kraków honored the envoys returning from the 1590 Diet with a wine gift. On 17 November, the city purchased an entire barrel of "Hungarian" wine for this purpose from a merchant named Babiczka, who sold a **barrel of "Hungarian" wine for 70 Polish złotys**.¹¹
- On 22 June 1592, the municipal wine inspection committee visited the cellar of Martin Urbankowicz, city councilor and wine measurer. They found three barrels of old and three barrels of young "**Hungarian**" wine. **They valued the old barrels at 50 Polish złotys and the young ones at 36 Polish złotys**.¹²
- On 24 April 1597, a committee sent by the council visited the cellar of the late wine measurer Johannes Merkel, where, among other things, they found 23 barrels of "Hungarian" wine. **Ten barrels of "Hungarian" wine were valued at 50, and 13 barrels at 45 Polish złotys each**.¹³
- On 27 March 1598, they assessed the wines in the other cellar of the aforementioned deceased Johannes Merkel. Two types of "**Hungarian**" wine were found here: **the better-quality ones were valued at 36, while the poorer quality ones were valued at 30 Polish złotys** per barrel.¹⁴
- However, there were also some particularly expensive wines. From the diary of Jerzy Tymowski, a merchant from Nowy Sącz, we know of wines that cost 100 Hungarian thalers per barrel. In 1615, he purchased 24 barrels of expensive wine from a man named István Peregrin in Tarca (now Torysa, Slovakia). At that time, 100 Hungarian thalers were equal to 100 Hungarian chamber forints, which in turn were equiva-

¹¹ See the expenditure section of the 1590 city accounts under the heading "Vinum dono datum": AADMKr. rkps 1657. p. 199.

¹² AADMKr. rkps. 453. p. 235.

¹³ AADMKr. rkps. 454. p. 614.

¹⁴ AADMKr. rkps. 455. p. 66.

lent to **111.1 Polish złotys**.¹⁵ And this price did not include the cost of transport, taxes, and customs duties to Kraków. Perhaps we are not mistaken in considering these expensive wines to be *aszú* wines, which require a great deal of work to produce and were certainly already being made at that time.¹⁶

If we exclude the expensive *aszú* wines, the sources indicate that, depending on the quality and vintage, a barrel of “Hungarian” wine cost between 30 and 70 Polish złotys in Kraków. When calculating the value of wines, we therefore use the arithmetic mean of these figures, i.e. 50 forints per barrel, as a basis. This is the amount by which we multiply the above-mentioned quantity of wines from the Upper Tisza region. The results are summarized in Table 1, where the amounts are given in both Polish złotys and Hungarian chamber forints (i.e., Hungarian thalers).

Year	Polish złotys (Polski Złoty)	Hungarian chamber forints (=Hungarian thaler)
1586	57800	52020
1587	105750	95175
1588	61900	55710
1589	24850	22365
1590	78950	71055
1591	57650	51885
1592	89200	80280
1593	53600	48240

¹⁵ The conversion rate between the Hungarian chamber forint and the Polish forint is given by Jerzy Tymowski himself in another part of his diary: “Za wino przychodziło 180 talarów węgierskich = 200 złp. meaning “The wine cost 180 Hungarian thalers, which is 200 Polish złotys.” 1 Hungarian thaler (which was equivalent to one Hungarian chamber forint at the time) was therefore exactly 0.9 Polish złotys. The diary of Jerzy Tymowski was published by: Sygański, Jan, *Analekta sandeckie do XVI. i XVII. wieku. Z planem miasta*. Lwów, 1905. See also: https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Analekta_sandeckie/Dyaryusz_Jerzego_Tymowskiego (Accessed on 20. August 2024).

¹⁶ *Aszú* is only rarely mentioned in written sources from the second half of the sixteenth century – in the Garay family’s property division from 1571 see: Zelenák István, “A Tokaji aszú készítésének történelmi körülményei (16–17. század)”, In: Frisnyák Sándor – Gál András (eds.), *Szerencs, Tokaj-Hegyalja kapuja*. Szerencs–Nyíregyháza, 2003. 177–193. See also Balázs Szikszai Fabricius’ dictionary fragment: Balassa Iván, “A szőlőművelés és borkezelés változása a XVI–XVII. században Tokaj-Hegyalján”, *Agrártörténeti Szemle*, 15:1, 1973, 1–12. However, the sometimes extremely high wine prices suggest that *aszú* wine may have already been commercially traded during the period we examined.

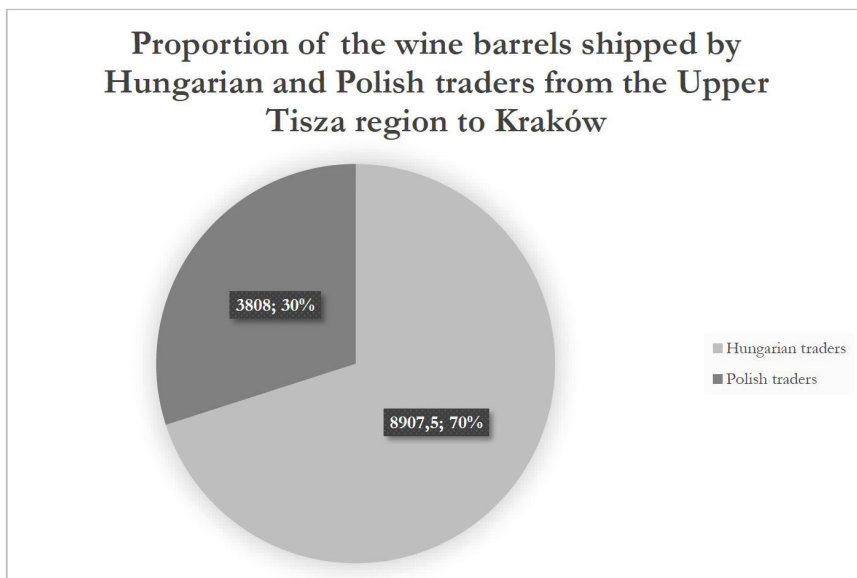
Year	Polish złotys (Polski Złoty)	Hungarian chamber forints (=Hungarian thaler)
1594	40600	36540
1595	112100	100890
1596	71300	64170
1597	71950	64755
1598	24450	22005
1599	67650	60885
1600	37500	33750
1601	21950	19755
1602	47550	42795
1603	166400	149760
1604	44600	40140
1605	126550	113895
Total	1362300	1226070

Who transported wine from the Upper Tisza region (mainly from Tokaj-Hegyalja) to Kraków, and from where?

Those years from which customs records survived¹⁷ often reveal where the wine came from and who owned it when it arrived in Kraków. This can be determined in the case of less than half of the wines from the Upper Tisza region, precisely 12,805 barrels. Nevertheless, this quantity is a sufficiently representative sample to draw conclusions about the place of residence and ethnic composition of merchants and carriers.

As clearly shown in Diagram 2, of the 12,805 barrels of identifiable origin, 9,084 were brought directly from Hungary to Kraków by Hungarian merchants (these are dutiable items in Kraków), and 3,721 were brought from Poland by Polish merchants (these are duty-free). Seventy percent of commercial capital can therefore be linked to Hungarian merchants, meaning that long-distance trade was largely controlled by Hungarians.

¹⁷ 1589, 1591, 1593-1595, 1597, 1599, 1600-1605.



The dominance of Hungarian traders is even more apparent when we look at where Polish traders shipped from. It is because they only transported from Polish locations near the border, mostly wine storage facilities, and not from Hungary. Polish merchants did not go to Hungary to purchase wine because Polish law prohibited them from buying horses and wine in Hungary. At the same time, for those Hungarians who did not want to travel to Kraków or even further with their wine, the laws designated official storage sites on the Polish side of the border where they could leave their wine. Such storage sites were located in the following settlements: Nowy Targ, Nowy Sącz, Grybów, Biecz, Rymanów, Żmigród, Krosno, Dukla, Jaśliska, Lesko, Sambor, and Stryj.¹⁸ The warehouses were operated by Hungarian merchant colonies. At the turn of the century, György Kerekes discovered documents relating to two such Hungarian trading communities, from which we can conclude that Hungarian merchants lived here according to their own customs and traditions that they brought with them from Košice.¹⁹

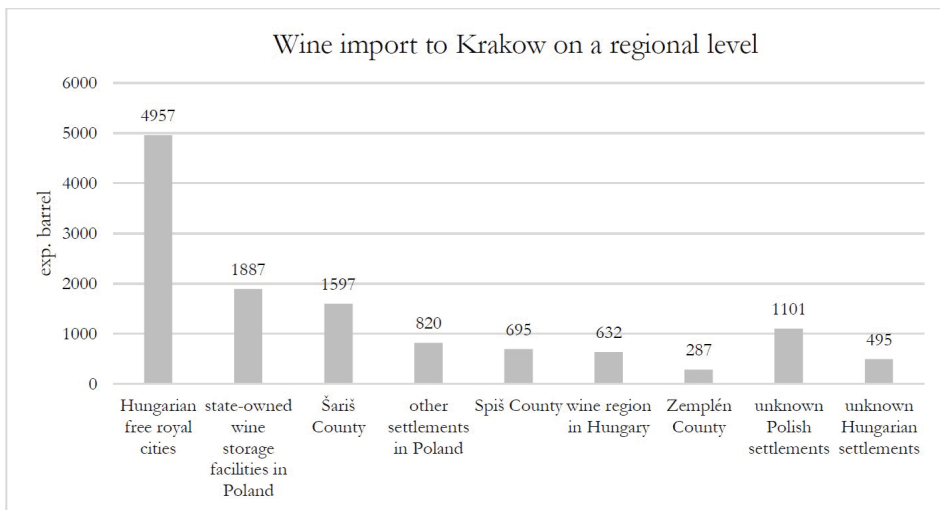
It is worth examining shipments that can be traced and linked to merchants in terms of their distribution across regions and settlements.

¹⁸ Grodziski, Stanisław – Dwornicka, Irena – Uruszczak, Waclaw (Prepared for printing), *Volumina Constitutionum Tom. II. (1550–1609) Volumen 1. (1550–1585)*. Warszawa, 2005. 414–415, 424.

¹⁹ Kerekes György, “Két magyar borkereskedőtelep Lengyelországban a XVII. században”, *Magyar Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* 8, 1901, 181–184.

As we can see in Diagram 3, at the regional level, most of the wine was delivered to Kraków by merchants from the Hungarian free royal cities (Košice, Bardejov, Prešov, Levoča, Kežmarok, and Sabinov), with 4,957 barrels, accounting for 40% of the total. This is followed by the amount from the aforementioned state-owned wine storage facilities in Poland, with 1,887 barrels and a 15% share. The proportion of other settlements in Šariš County is also considerable. Wine also arrives from the regions of Spiš, Zemplén, and even Borsod, but none from Humenné in Zemplén County, where, according to records from 1637–1641, the highest thirtieth was paid on wine exported to Poland.²⁰

The category “other Polish locations” also includes places located far north of Kraków: Warsaw, Łowicz, Piotrków, Toruń, Kazimierz Dolny! This is by no means a mistake: according to customs records, between 1602 and 1604, wines not only from the Upper Tisza region but also from Sopron were brought to Kraków from the north. Perhaps this was due to the fact that it was possible to sell off stocks with the greatest profit here, and even such a long detour with wine seemed worthwhile.



Sales figures varied considerably at the level of cities and settlements. In terms of the breakdown by municipality, most of the wine, almost 20% of the quantity examined, was handled by a single city, Košice, with a total volume of 2,452 barrels. This is followed by Bardejov, but less than half as much wine comes

²⁰ [Tagányi Károly], “Borkivitelünk Lengyelországba 1637–41-ig”, *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle* 5, 1898, 113–116.

from there. Among the Polish deposit towns, Krosno is worth mentioning, as it appears to have had very lively trade relations with Kraków. A significant amount also arrived directly from Tokaj-Hegyalja: 282 barrels from Sárospatak and 202 barrels from Gönc.

It is also worth projecting the places of residence of merchants and coachmen onto a map, together with the road network of the time.²¹ We marked Hungarian thirtieth sites with black triangles, Polish wine storage houses with grey dots, and the residences of coachmen and merchants with small circles. Most of the settlements are located around Bardejov; there are about twenty of them, almost all of which are neighbors. What they have in common is that they are located roughly halfway between Tokaj-Hegyalja and Kraków. These settlements are primarily small villages, which means that the villagers also got involved in performing the logistical tasks related to wine trading. It is clear that most of the transport took place along the shortest route, the Košice-Prešov-Bardejov-Grybów line, which may have been important because horse-drawn caravans could not travel more than 30-40 kilometers a day, meaning that any detour could add days to the transport time and increase costs. Comparatively, the route that turns off from Prešov towards Lipany and approaches Kraków via Plaveč-Nowy Sącz seems to be another viable alternative. It is particularly remarkable that wine from the Upper Tisza region, transported in “Hungarian” barrels, was also taken to Kraków via the Pozsonyszentgyörgy wine route, through northwestern Hungary and Árva County. It is therefore no coincidence that state-owned wine storage facilities were also established in Nowy Targ and Jordanów, specifically for wines from the Upper Tisza region. Coachmen and merchants are listed from the following settlements in Orava County: Lokca, Zemianska Dedina, Trstena, and Veličná.

²¹ We based our reconstruction of the contemporary road network in Poland on the following works: Wyrozumska, Bożena, *Lustracja dróg Województwa Krakowskiego z roku 1570*. (Materiały Komisji Nauk Historycznych, 21). Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1971. 214.; Wyrozumska, Bożena, *Drogi w ziemi krakowskiej do końca XVI. wieku*. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1977.; Jabłonowski, Aleksander, *Atlas historyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Epoka z przelomu wieku XVI-go na XVII-sty. dział II. Ziemie Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*. Warszawa-Wien, 1889-1904.; Rutkowski, Henryk (ed.), *Atlas Historyczny Polski. Województwo Krakowskie w drugiej połowie XVI. wieku I-II*. Warszawa, 2008.

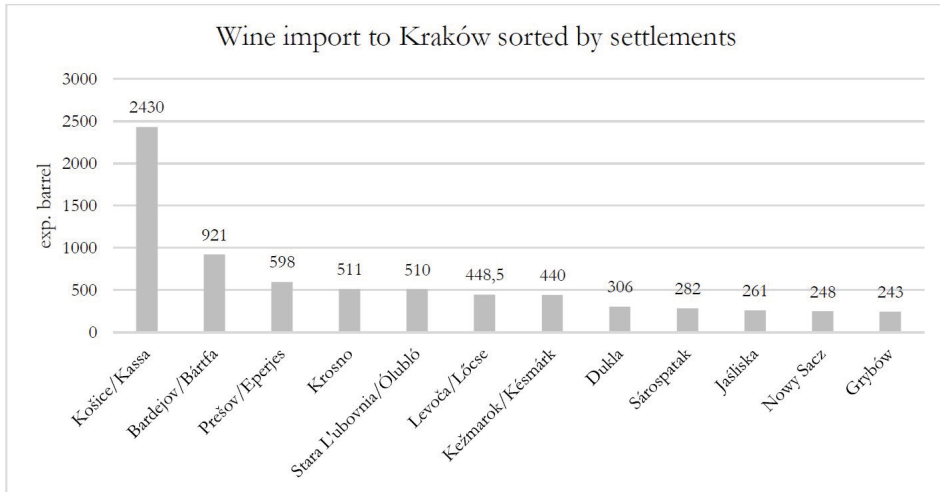


Table 3 lists those persons not residing in Kraków who brought wine to or took wine out of Kraków, either transporting their own or that of others. Approximately 847 names were filtered out and identified. Their position in the table is determined by the volume of wine they shipped, with the largest distributors appearing at the top of the table. If we look at the first 12 names, we find four merchants from Košice and two from Bardejov. Most of the wine was transported by Mihály Diák from Košice between 1591 and 1605. He completed 26 turns and alone contributed nearly 4 percent of the localizable 12,805 barrels: 496.5 barrels. In addition to citizens and peasant transporters, aristocrats and well-known nobles also appear: for example, we meet Simon Forgách (189th on the list), who sent wine from his estate in Hertník to Kraków, and Gergely Bornemissza (257th on the list) with his shipment of 21 barrels that he sent from Bartošovce, which he received from the ruler after the battle of Eger, and we also find Sebestyén Thököly (287th name), who sent wine from Kežmarok.

Data on merchants and carriers transporting wine from the Upper Tisza region to Kraków

Legend							
imp: merchant who brought wine	carr: carrier	A: first year of shipment					
exp: took his own wine out of Kraków	tr. out: transports wine out of Kraków	B: last year of shipment					
C: number of shipments	D: quantity of shipment in barrels (352,5 l)						
	name	place of residence	aspect	A	B	C	D
1	Michael Diák	Košice/Kassa	imp	1591	1605	26	496,5
2	Stanislaus Swietlik	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1586	1603	28	293
3	Nicolaus Szabó	Košice/Kassa	imp	1593	1597	18	291
4	Andreas Piethko	Stara L'ubovnia/Ólubló	imp & carr	1595	1600	14	226
5	Gregorius ?	Šiba/ Szekcsőalja	carr	1591	1605	8	205
6	Georgius Tymowski	Grybów	imp	1603	1604	10	183
7	Christopherus Lang	Lőcse/Levoča	imp	1591	1603	14	173
8	Felix Soltis/Woith	Zlaté/ Aranyataka	imp & carr	1589	1595	11	173
9	Georgius Volgeroth	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1594	1605	10	169
10	Volfgangus Pesner	Košice/Kassa	imp	1592	1598	9	160

11	Paulus Tarczy	Košice/Kassa	imp	1603	1603	6	151
12	Michael Piethko	Hniezdne/Gnézda	imp & carr	1589	1600	17	147,5
13	Stanislaus Hańczowski	Hańczowa	imp & carr	1592	1604	5	130
14	Mathias Szerbak	Lóscse/Levoča	imp & carr	1593	1603	9	129,5
15	Johannes Baptista Revezla	Nowy Sącz	imp	1586	1589	14	127,5
16	Georgius Mikusz	?	imp & carr	1602	1603	2	127
17	Casparus ?	Šiba/ Szekcsőaljja	imp & carr	1593	1595	6	125
18	Valentinus Diák	Košice/Kassa	imp	1595	1597	4	125
19	Stanislaus Krawcz	Dukla	imp & carr	1593	1604	7	122
20	Nicolaus Zadway	Košice/Kassa	imp	1604	1604	2	116,5
21	Georgius Szabó	?	imp	1587	1600	2	113
22	Georgius Kedziczki	Kendice/ Kende	imp	1586	1600	6	112
23	Michael Kiełbasa	Zlaté/ Aranypataka	imp & carr	1593	1600	5	112
24	Johannes Chodorowicz	Krosno	imp	1599	1605	8	111
25	Georgius ?	Pršov/Eperjes	imp & carr	1600	1601	3	109
26	Georgius Diák	Pršov/Eperjes	imp	1592	1599	3	104
27	Michael Kisz	Sárospatak	imp & carr	1603	1603	2	104
28	Michael Kyelemuszy	Dvorianky/ Szécsudvar	imp	1594	1595	4	103

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

29	Martinus Luptak	Podolinec/Podolin	imp & carr	1589	1603	12	102
30	Nicolaus Pagasz	?	imp & carr	1602	1602	1	102
31	Christopherus Woytek	?	imp & carr	1602	1602	1	100
32	Philippus ?	Šabinov/Kiszeben	imp & carr	1595	1597	4	96
33	Georgius Kalay	Sárospatak	imp	1597	1597	4	94
34	Stephanus Túri	Košice/Kassa	imp	1593	1597	5	92,5
35	Andreas ?	Rymanów	imp	1605	1605	1	92
36	Jacobus Forszay	Stara Ľubovnia/Óľubľó	imp	1600	1601	2	92
37	Mathias Kundry	Januszkowice	imp & carr	1597	1605	10	90
38	Stanislaus Zelazko	Nowy Sącz	imp & carr	1593	1595	6	90
39	Martinus ?	Bardejov/Bártfa	carr	1595	1595	1	88
40	Georgius Bozicz	Prešov/Eperjes	imp & carr	1597	1604	3	88
41	Sebastianus Guzmithl & ux	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1589	1605	5	88
42	Franciscus Loyluka	?	imp	1603	1603	1	88
43	Johannes Misla	Kobyly/ Lófalu	imp & carr	1600	1602	3	83
44	Gregorius Bonyasz	Tolesva	imp	1595	1595	1	80
45	Perrus Ladiskowicz Hungarus nobilis	?	imp	1600	1603	3	80
46	Melchiorus Reyner	Košice/Kassa	imp	1605	1605	1	75

47	Daniel Gierz	Lőcse/Levoča	imp	1591	1605	6	74
48	Baladius Krzyzanowski	Piotrków	imp & exp	1589	1603	4	73
49	? Plezbenia	Košice/Kassa	imp & carr	1602	1605	3	73
50	Jonas Spreycz	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1591	1597	5	73
51	Mathias Diák	Košice/Kassa	imp	1593	1593	3	72
52	Johannes Kielbasa	Zlaté/Aranyputaka	carr	1591	1595	3	71
53	Petrus ?	Bracovec/ Berettő	imp	1603	1603	3	70
54	Michael Mesti Varga	Košice/Kassa	imp	1595	1595	2	70
55	Casparus Szeki	Abaujszántó	imp	1599	1599	1	70
56	Johannes Kusz	Šarišské Jastrabie/ Felsőkányá	carr	1594	1599	3	69
57	Gregorius Prak	Krosno	imp & carr	1603	1605	6	69
58	Martinius Piethko	Stara Ľubovnia/Ólubló	imp & carr	1591	1605	5	67
59	Georgius Banay	Košice/Kassa	imp	1603	1603	3	66
60	Simon Januszka	Krosno	imp & carr	1599	1603	3	66
61	Stanislaus Juczowski	?	imp	1601	1601	1	64
62	Christopherus Szoltisz	Sveržov/ Ferzso	imp & carr	1601	1603	3	62
63	Georgius Swietlik	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp & carr	1597	1600	4	60
64	? Lesznyowicz	Popielawy (ŁDZ)	imp	1593	1593	1	59

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

65	Valentinus Berger	Bardejov/Bárfa	imp	1594	1597	4	57
66	Martinus Debay	Dubovica/ Tarcadobó	imp	1595	1595	1	57
67	Mathias Gomba	Dubovica/ Tarcadobó	imp	1595	1595	1	57
68	Mathias Gorny	?	imp & carr	1605	1605	2	56
69	Georgius Lucas	Osikov/ Oszikó	carr	1601	1601	2	56
70	Josephus ?	Osikov/ Oszikó	imp	1602	1602	1	55
71	Vojtachus Buiak	?	imp & carr & tr. out	1595	1603	7	55
72	Vojtachus Kaczmarz	Pisarzowice	imp	1602	1603	2	55
73	Johannes ?	Sárospatak	imp	1603	1603	1	54
74	Johannes Karczma	?	carr	1603	1603	1	54
75	Petrus Piotruska	Sárospatak	imp	1603	1603	1	54
76	Georgius Kwokaczka	?	imp & carr	1603	1604	2	53
77	Hyachintus ?	Wróblík	imp	1603	1603	1	52
78	Johannes ?	Dubovica/ Tarcadobó	carr	1600	1600	1	52
79	Paulus ?	Kolossó	carr	1589	1593	2	52
80	Franciscus Gallus Italus	?	imp	1592	1592	1	52
81	Johannes Georgius	Besztercebánya	imp	1595	1595	1	52
82	Michael Szabó	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1591	1603	3	52

83	Nicolaus Zaborny	?	carr	1595	1595	1	52
84	Mathias Durowek	Grybów	carr	1603	1603	2	51
85	Simon Somodi Diak	Červenica pri Sabinove/ Vörössalma	imp	1590	1595	6	50
86	Petrus Ozorom	Gönc	imp	1605	1605	2	49
87	Bartholomeus Rygiel	?	imp	1603	1603	1	49
88	Johannes Klein	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1603	1604	4	48
89	Johannes ?	Janovce/ Bércalja	imp & carr	1593	1600	3	47
90	Jacobus Swider	Nowy Sącz	imp	1603	1603	1	47
91	Andreas Barscz	?	imp	1586	1603	8	46
92	Michael Barber	Gönc	imp	1586	1589	5	46
93	Albertus Gąsiorowski	Opoczno	imp & carr & exp	1603	1605	2	46
94	Georgius Kusnierz	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1600	1603	3	46
95	Martinus Pasqualis Italus	?	imp	1592	1592	1	46
96	Albertus Karmanski	?	imp	1603	1603	1	45,5
97	Sebastianus Momoth	?	imp	1593	1603	3	45,5
98	Georgius Szalaszko	?	carr	1603	1603	1	45,5
99	Basileus ?	Šarišské Jastrabie/ Felsőkánya	imp & carr	1594	1597	2	45
100	Mathias ?	Osikov/ Oszikó	carr	1597	1597	1	45

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

101	Paulus Diák	Gönc	imp	1593	1593	2	45
102	Georgius Brzozowicki	Lipany/ Héthárs	imp & carr	1597	1601	3	44
103	Georgius Magyer	?	imp	1603	1603	1	44
104	Adamus Maslo	Lipany/ Héthárs	imp & carr	1591	1595	4	43,5
105	Francisci uxor Kapi	Kapuşany/Kapi	imp	1594	1604	3	43
106	Martinus Mirek	Iwla	imp & carr	1593	1595	3	43
107	Johannes ?	Besko	imp	1600	1603	2	42
108	Johannes Diák ?	?	imp	1587	1597	3	42
109	Kilianus Gal	Hniezdne/Gnézda	carr	1595	1595	2	42
110	Georgius Dest	Krosno	imp	1603	1605	6	41
111	Johannes Fararz/Garad/Jaracz?	Suchodól (Krosno)	imp	1593	1595	3	41
112	Kilianus Gruska	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp & carr	1591	1597	4	41
113	Johannes Kula	?	imp & carr & tr. out	1592	1603	5	41
114	Johannes Nyktiel	?	imp	1603	1603	1	41
115	Paulus Terceni	?	imp	1599	1603	2	41
116	Andreas ?	Osikov/ Oszikó	imp	1603	1603	1	40
117	Georgius Flamer	?	imp	1605	1605	1	40
118	Johannes Golembia	Biecz	imp	1603	1603	2	40

119	Stephanus Szakmary	Košice/Kassa	imp	1603	1603	1	40
120	Andreas Dubovicki	Dubovica/ Tarcadobó	imp	1602	1603	2	39,5
121	Christopherus ?	Bardejovská Nová Ves/ Bárfaujfalu	carr	1605	1605	1	39
122	Stephanus Horváth	?	imp	1605	1605	1	39
123	Melchiorus Krezler	Bardejov/Bárfa	imp	1597	1597	2	38,5
124	Michael Bakosz	?	imp	1602	1602	1	38
125	Stephanus Koloszyri	Sárospatak	imp	1603	1603	1	38
126	Benedictus Lasli	?	carr	1603	1603	1	38
127	Christopherus Wizner	Kézmarok/Késmárk	imp	1595	1597	2	38
128	Valentinus Wrona	Bobowa	imp	1604	1605	3	38
129	Andreas Fris	Toruń	exp	1600	1600	2	37
130	Balasiun Hungarus	Červenica pri Sabinove/ Vörösalma	imp	1592	1593	5	37
131	Balthasarus Kubala	?	tr. out	1600	1600	1	37
132	Georgius Plaweczki	Plaveč/Palocsa	imp	1594	1595	3	37
133	Leonardus Stok	Šabinov/Kisszeben	imp	1595	1595	2	37
134	Mathias ?	Malcov/Malcó	carr	1604	1604	1	36
135	Andreas Diák	Gönc	imp	1587	1592	2	36
136	Michael Dlotko	?	imp & carr	1600	1603	2	36

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

137	Jacobus Kamary	Košice/Kassa	imp	1595	1595	1	36
138	Georgius Kowal	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1594	1603	7	36
139	Demetrius Sanra	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1593	1594	2	36
140	Bartholomeus Wärchol	?	carr	1603	1603	1	36
141	Adamus ?	Hertník/ Hertnek	imp & carr	1597	1597	2	35
142	Michael ?	Šiba/ Szekcsőalja	carr	1589	1591	2	35
143	? Benasz	Lipany/ Héthárs	carr	1597	1597	2	35
144	Thomas ?	Bardejov/Bártfa	carr	1597	1597	1	34,5
145	Andreas ?	Kurov/ Kuró	imp	1603	1603	1	34
146	Balthasarus Feledi	Stara L'ubovnia/Ólubló	imp & carr	1591	1597	6	34
147	Johannes Lonszlik	Jasliska	imp & exp	1594	1603	3	34
148	Johannes ?	Kežmarok/Késmárk	carr	1595	1595	1	33
149	Zacharias ?	Richvald /Erdővágás	imp	1599	1599	1	33
150	Stanislaus Bakalarz	?	imp	1603	1603	1	33
151	Benedictus Domeza	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1595	1595	1	33
152	Laurentius Groff	Lőcse/Levoča	imp	1593	1593	2	33
153	Jacobus Kasza	?	carr	1594	1594	1	33
154	Johannes ?	Hertník/ Hertnek	imp	1603	1603	1	32

155	Marcus ?	Bartošovec/ Bartosfalva	imp & carr	1595	1597	3	32
156	Nicolaus ?	Granč/ Garancs (Spiš County)	imp	1593	1593	1	32
157	Valentinus ?	Richvald/Erdővágás	carr	1594	1597	2	32
158	Jacobus ? Barbitonsor	Stradom	imp	1602	1605	9	32
159	Georgius Budosz	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1595	1595	1	32
160	Johannes Czetsisz	?	imp	1602	1602	1	32
161	Casparus Gierloch	Lőcse/Levoča	imp	1595	1595	2	32
162	Michael Gromowski	Plaveč/Palocsa	imp & carr	1595	1595	2	32
163	Alexander Iliaszowicz	?	imp	1605	1605	1	32
164	Mathias Kinel	Klimkówka	imp & carr & tr. out	1600	1603	2	32
165	Thomas Nag	?	imp	1600	1600	1	32
166	? Szoltisz	Tarnów	imp	1603	1603	1	32
167	Bartholomeus Iwanczik	?	carr	1605	1605	1	31
168	Johannes Madaras	?	imp	1603	1603	1	31
169	Martinus Zaroszy de Preszow	Prešov/Eperjes	imp & carr	1592	1603	2	31
170	Martinus ?	Gönc	imp	1602	1605	2	30
171	Lucas Kasovicki	Kašov/ Kásó	carr	1597	1597	1	30
172	? Lipa	Šabinov/Kisszeben	carr	1593	1593	2	30

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

173	Stanislaus Mucha	Grybów	imp & carr	1602	1603	2	30
174	Benedictus Myses	Stara L'ubovnia/Ólubló	imp & carr	1591	1597	3	30
175	Simon Prusz	?	imp	1593	1597	2	30
176	Johannes Szécsi	Košice/Kassa	imp	1603	1603	2	30
177	Gregorius Zlothnik	Miskolc	imp	1600	1600	1	30
178	Laurentius?	Bartošovce/ Bartosfalva	carr	1603	1603	1	29
179	? Kocpza Maloczinski	Malatin (Orava) or Malatínec (Liptov)?	imp	1605	1605	1	29
180	Carolus Kopo	Košice/Kassa	imp	1602	1602	1	29
181	Davidus Miler	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp & carr	1600	1603	3	29
182	Johannes Polczer	Bartošovce/ Bartosfalva	carr	1593	1593	1	29
183	Johannes Schwarz	?	carr	1597	1597	2	29
184	Martinus Szécsi	?	imp	1603	1603	1	29
185	Christopherus Ambrozy	Kéžmarok/Késmárk	imp & carr	1604	1604	1	28
186	Jacobus Diák	Vranov nad Toplou/Varannó	imp	1605	1605	1	28
187	Thomas Dylacz	Jašíska	imp & carr	1594	1602	2	28
188	Lucas Dzyurka	Osikov/ Oszikó	carr	1594	1594	1	28
189	Simon Forgách	Hertník/ Hertnek	imp	1593	1593	2	28
190	Teophilus Fos	?	tr. out	1605	1605	1	28

191	Sigismundus Lenczowski	?	imp	1597	1602	2	28
192	Johannes Monoki	?	imp	1587	1587	1	28
193	Johannes Rak	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp & carr	1595	1600	2	28
194	Valentinus Slowak	?	imp	1603	1603	1	28
195	Michael Szegedi	Grybów	carr	1602	1602	1	28
196	Bartholomeus Terch	?	carr	1603	1603	1	28
197	Stanislaus Zablotny	Nowy Sącz	imp & carr	1597	1597	2	28
198	Petrus ?	Šarišské Sokolovec/ Tótselymes	imp & carr	1595	1595	2	27
199	Johannes Chlod	?	imp	1603	1603	1	27
200	Sebastianus Dal	Grybów	carr	1594	1594	1	27
201	Christopherus Kowal	Kapušany/Kapi	imp	1595	1595	1	27
202	Paulus Kozik	?	carr	1595	1595	1	27
203	Casparus Roth & ux Agnieska	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1597	1603	6	27
204	Mathias Szaffran	Bobowa	imp & carr	1604	1605	2	27
205	Alexander ?	Petrová	carr	1603	1603	1	26
206	Stanislaus Buiakowicz	Wojnicz	imp	1599	1603	3	26
207	Valentinus Diák	?	imp	1586	1592	2	26
208	Jacobus Slaha	?	imp	1603	1603	1	26

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

209	Martinus Szoltisz	Zlaté/ Aranypataka	imp & carr	1597	1599	3	26
210	Andreas Zwoley	Jakubova Vol'a/ Jakabföldre	imp	1603	1603	1	26
211	Martinus ?	Šabinov/Kisseben	imp	1597	1597	2	25
212	Stephanus ?	Vranov nad Toplou/Váranó	imp	1602	1603	2	25
213	Georgius Kecskeméti	?	imp	1605	1605	1	25
214	Stanislaus Linka nobilis	?	imp	1601	1601	1	25
215	Johannes Luka	Košice/Kassa	imp	1594	1597	3	25
216	Vojtachus Nadziejwany	?	imp	1603	1603	1	25
217	Benedictus ?	Nížná Olšava/Alsóolva	imp	1603	1603	1	24
218	Johannes ?	Osikov/ Oszikó	carr	1595	1595	1	24
219	Michael ?	Fričovec/ Frics	imp	1603	1603	1	24
220	Urbanus ?	Richvald/Erdővágás	imp	1602	1602	1	24
221	Henricus Fris C Torun	Torun	exp	1600	1600	1	24
222	Paulus Gąsiorek	?	imp	1605	1605	1	24
223	Thomas Gospodarz	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1602	1602	1	24
224	Johannes Grelik	?	tr. out	1600	1600	1	24
225	Stanislaus Gruszaldo	Krosno	imp	1600	1600	3	24
226	Franciscus Horvát	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1595	1595	1	24

227	? Hritz	Jasliska	imp	1603	1603	1	24
228	Vojtachus Krepsal	Bardejov/Báirtfa	imp	1593	1597	4	24
229	Michael Molnár	Bardejov/Báirtfa	imp	1589	1589	2	24
230	Johannes Nagy	Košice/Kassa	imp	1589	1589	1	24
231	Vojtachus Pas	?	imp	1604	1604	2	24
232	Martinus Przepiorka	?	imp & carr	1589	1589	1	24
233	a bártfai tanács és a bíró	Bardejov/Báirtfa	imp	1594	1594	2	24
234	Mathias Rodan	Košice/Kassa	imp	1605	1605	1	24
235	Josephus Sczibala	?	imp	1605	1605	1	24
236	Gregorius Skala	?	imp	1604	1604	1	24
237	? Tartari	Košice/Kassa	imp	1602	1602	1	24
238	Valentinus ?	Igló	carr	1592	1592	1	23
239	Stanislaus Borowski	Spišska Stará Ves/ Szepesófalu	carr	1599	1599	1	23
240	Stephanus Budaczy/Badazy	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1602	1603	2	23
241	Stephanus ?	Debrecen	imp	1591	1591	1	23
242	Perrus Diák	Košice/Kassa	imp	1599	1599	1	23
243	Thomas Szegedi	Košice/Kassa	imp	1597	1597	2	23
244	Thomas Czaczo	Stara L'ubovnia/Ólubló	imp	1595	1599	3	22,5

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

245	Matheus ?	Janczarowice	imp	1603	1603	1	22
246	Mathias ?	Kolossó	imp	1603	1603	1	22
247	Michael ?	Łosie	carr	1595	1603	2	22
248	Martinus Morway	Košice/Kassa	imp	1605	1605	2	22
249	Thomas Pzozonka	Bitecz	imp	1597	1603	5	22
250	Sebastianus Rybarz	?	exp & tr. out	1597	1605	2	22
251	Johannes Trycziatnik	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1603	1603	1	22
252	Adamus Vranski	?	imp	1603	1603	1	22
253	Jacobus Wilezek	Richwald/Erdővágás	carr	1591	1591	2	22
254	Mathias Badion	?	imp	1591	1592	2	21,5
255	Friderichus Swaiczzer	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1591	1591	2	21,5
256	Perrus ?	Janovce/ Bércalja	carr	1603	1603	1	21
257	Georgius Bornemissza	Bartošovce/ Bartosfalva	imp	1595	1595	1	21
258	Nicolaus Clementius	?	carr	1593	1594	2	21
259	Albertus Gieb	Tokaj	imp	1603	1603	1	21
260	Johannes Krausz	Stara Lubovnia/Ólubló	imp	1595	1598	2	21
261	Andreas Kurnis	?	imp	1597	1597	1	21
262	Thomas Liptak	?	imp	1604	1604	1	21

263	Johannes Sinnay	?	imp	1603	1603	1603	1	21
264	Emericus ?	Košice/Kassa	imp	1605	1605	1605	2	20
265	Georgius ?	Bardejov/Báirtfa	imp	1595	1595	1595	1	20
266	Michael ?	Šarišské Jastrabie/ Felsőkánya	carr	1603	1603	1603	1	20
267	? Bariczka	Nowy Sącz	imp & carr	1589	1589	1589	2	20
268	Nicolaus Czapla	Biecz	imp	1603	1603	1603	1	20
269	Ladislauš Czepezanyski	Kišovce/Lándzsásótfalu	imp & carr	1589	1589	1589	1	20
270	Stanislaus Czetnar	Krosno	imp	1595	1595	1602	3	20
271	Gregorius Joseph	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1603	1603	1603	1	20
272	Balasius Kasza (Michael Kelemiszy szolgája)	Hungary (unknown settlement)	imp	1595	1595	1595	1	20
273	Johannes Kozlik	Biecz	imp	1595	1595	1595	1	20
274	Mathias Kral	?	carr	1595	1595	1595	1	20
275	Thomas Krowart	?	imp	1600	1600	1600	1	20
276	Stephanus Porubski	Oravska Poruba/ Poruba	imp	1594	1594	1594	2	20
277	Gregorius Szoltisz	Sveržov/Ferzso	imp & carr	1594	1594	1595	2	20
278	Sebastianus Tekeli	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1589	1589	1593	2	20
279	Andreas Troiani	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1601	1601	1601	1	20
280	Gregorius Zlothnik	Košice/Kassa	imp	1597	1597	1597	1	20

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

281	Alexander ?	Łosie	imp	1602	1602	1	19
282	Benedictus ?	Zlate/Aranypataka	carr	1594	1594	1	19
283	Hieremias ?	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1595	1595	1	19
284	Mathias ?	Bochnia	carr	1603	1603	1	19
285	? Bartosowski	Bartošovce/ Bartosfalva	carr	1593	1593	1	19
286	Christopherus Branszwik	?	imp	1603	1603	1	19
287	Franciscus Decimato	?	imp	1604	1604	1	19
288	Georgius Giebultowski	Gabolto/Galbató	carr	1595	1595	1	19
289	Simon Herko	Stara Lubovnia/Ólubló	imp	1594	1597	4	19
290	Jacobus Kramarz	Jędrzejów	tr. out	1593	1594	5	19
291	Vojtachus Kudarda	?	imp	1602	1602	1	19
292	Andreas Menke	Krosno	imp	1593	1593	5	19
293	Benedictus Plaszc	?	imp	1603	1603	1	19
294	Johannes Potrasz	Kurima	imp	1594	1594	1	19
295	Franciscus Salay	Lócese/Levoča	imp	1593	1593	2	19
296	Petrus Teckiesz	?	imp	1603	1603	1	19
297	Jacobus Twarog	Stara Lubovnia/Ólubló	imp	1603	1605	3	19
298	Paulus Bauda	Košice/Kassa	imp	1593	1593	1	18,5

299	Johannes ?	Bardejovská Nová Ves/ Bárfülfalu	carr	1597	1597	1	18
300	Emericus Diák	Sárospatak	imp	1597	1597	1	18
301	Casparus Jallowy	?	imp	1603	1603	1	18
302	Martinus Kazimierski	Nowy Sącz	imp	1592	1592	2	18
303	Thobias Kusnierz	Bardejov/Bárfa	imp	1595	1595	1	18
304	Stanislaus Pączosza	?	imp	1595	1595	2	18
305	Martinus Schwarz	Körmöcbánya	imp	1592	1592	1	18
306	? Stecz	?	carr	1603	1603	1	18
307	? Szoltisz	Sulin	carr	1595	1595	1	18
308	Jacobus ?	Swiniary	carr	1595	1595	1	17
309	Mathias ?	Sárospatak	imp	1597	1597	1	17
310	Perrus ?	Gönc	imp	1595	1595	1	17
311	Andreas Bartosowicz	Nowe Miasto	exp	1600	1603	2	17
312	Christopherus Chwalibogowski (Morski faktora)	?	imp	1594	1594	2	17
313	Andreas Czekan	?	imp	1603	1603	1	17
314	Adamus Gorajski	?	imp	1603	1603	1	17
315	Thomas Haur	Varsó	imp	1603	1603	4	17

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

316	Demetrius Jelen	Jasliska	imp	1597	1604	2	17
317	Johannes Kiesel	?	imp	1603	1603	1	17
318	Christopherus Kotliczki	Wieliczka	imp	1594	1594	4	17
319	Christopherus Triczetnik	Lőcse/Levoča	imp	1593	1595	2	17
320	Michael Varga	Košice/Kassa	imp	1594	1594	1	17
321	? Wloch	Hungary (unknown settlement)	imp	1592	1592	1	17
322	Thomas Twarok	?	carr	1605	1605	1	16,5
323	Georgius ?	Šabinov/Kisszeben	imp	1593	1593	1	16
324	Christopherus ?	Terna/ Ternye	imp	1586	1586	1	16
325	Jacobus Friczovicz	Fričovce/ Frics	carr	1597	1597	1	16
326	Clementius Kopik	?	imp	1603	1603	1	16
327	Paulus Kromer	Lőcse/Levoča	imp	1593	1597	3	16
328	Franciscus Makra	Dubovica/ Tarcadobó	imp	1595	1595	1	16
329	Paulus Nagy	Kapušany/Kapi	imp	1604	1604	1	16
330	Stanislaus Pudlowski	Krosno	imp	1604	1604	2	16
331	Lucas Rymar	?	imp	1605	1605	1	16
332	Thobias Sabinovski	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1595	1595	1	16
333	Andreas Smarkulik	?	imp	1603	1603	1	16

334	Laurentius Sworcz	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1603	1603	1	16
335	Regina Komoczinska	Wislice	exp	1593	1593	2	15
336	Johannes?	Lőcse/Levoča	carr	1595	1595	1	15
337	Valentinus?	Gorlice	imp	1595	1595	1	15
338	Mathias ? (Kapi Ferenéné szolgája)	Kapušany/Kapi	carr	1604	1604	1	15
339	Vojtachus Brodki	Grybów	imp	1605	1605	1	15
340	Martinus Dziulik	?	imp	1605	1605	1	15
341	Vojtachus Friczowski	Fričovce/ Frics	carr	1605	1605	1	15
342	Sobieslaus Gasiorek	?	imp	1595	1595	1	15
343	Stephanus Golup	Košice/Kassa	imp	1597	1597	1	15
344	Franciscus Mezei	Košice/Kassa	imp	1603	1603	2	15
345	Gregorius Miscolcze	?	imp	1587	1587	1	15
346	Nicolaus Myeczelski	?	exp	1603	1603	1	15
347	Michael Orzesko	?	imp	1603	1603	1	15
348	Georgius Pysny	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1603	1603	1	15
349	Franciscus Scotus & ux Sophia	Piotrków	exp	1586	1593	3	15
350	Stephanus Suta	Košice/Kassa	imp	1593	1593	2	15
351	Albertus Czarny	Podolinec/Podolin	imp & carr	1593	1603	2	14

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

352	Melchiorus Cziekán	?	carr	1593	1593	1	14
353	Casparus de Kobelino	Łowicz	exp	1595	1597	2	14
354	Josephus Koza	Hertník/ Hertnek	carr	1602	1602	1	14
355	Johannes Mikolajczyk	Jasńska	imp	1595	1595	2	14
356	Johannes Okregliczki	?	imp	1603	1603	1	14
357	Martinus Pisarz	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1603	1603	1	14
358	Mathias Słaga	Nowy Sącz	imp	1597	1597	1	14
359	Mathias Smalowa	?	carr	1605	1605	1	14
360	Michael Szabó	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1602	1602	1	14
361	Johannes Szakowicz	Ciężkowice	imp & exp	1603	1603	2	14
362	Martinus Szegedi	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1605	1605	1	14
363	Johannes Trinday	Orava county (unknown settlement)	imp	1592	1592	1	14
364	Thomas Wilk	?	imp	1602	1602	1	14
365	Nicolaus Woytrak	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1598	1598	1	14
366	Vojtachus Ziarno	?	imp & carr	1602	1603	2	14
367	Hedwiga Złothniczka	Piotrków	exp	1602	1603	2	13
368	Laurentius ?	Prešov/Eperjes	carr	1591	1591	1	13
369	Mathias ?	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1591	1591	1	13

370	Vojtachus ?	Krosno	imp	1593	1597	2	13
371	Petrus Gwiazdy	Kalisz	exp	1597	1597	1	13
372	Antonius Halpeth	Stara Lubovnia/Ólubló	imp	1594	1595	3	13
373	? Hriczko	?	carr	1597	1597	1	13
374	Georgius Kenth	Košice/Kassa	imp	1587	1587	1	13
375	Georgius Kowal	Hertník/ Hertnek	imp	1593	1604	3	13
376	Mathias Miesz	?	tr. out	1589	1600	3	13
377	Paulus Nagy	Košice/Kassa	imp	1597	1597	1	13
378	Andreas Pienthka	Lőese/Levoča	imp	1586	1586	1	13
379	Adamus Przado	Brzezín	tr. out	1597	1597	1	13
380	Sebastianus Scirba	?	tr. out	1593	1593	1	13
381	Georgius Skarasz (a sztarosza szolgája)	?	carr	1593	1593	1	13
382	Martinus Swierosz	?	imp	1602	1602	1	13
383	Georgius Szalnicki	?	carr	1602	1602	1	13
384	Mathias Zachacz	Nizná Olšava/Alsóolsva	imp & carr	1597	1603	2	13
385	Stephanus et Valentinus ?	Szepes vm.	imp	1593	1593	1	12
386	Isabella Siczekowa	Wieliczka	exp	1603	1604	5	12
387	?	Biecz	imp	1605	1605	1	12

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

388	Leonardus ?	Kružlov/Kőrelep	carr	1595	1595	1	12
389	Martinus ?	Gabolto/Galbató	carr	1604	1604	1	12
390	Mathias ?	Červenica pri Sabinove/ Vörösalma	imp	1595	1595	1	12
391	Mathias ?	Forbasy/ Poprádfalu	carr	1603	1603	1	12
392	Stephanus ?	Spiš county (unknown settlement)	imp	1593	1593	1	12
393	Thomas ?	Kombornia	imp	1597	1597	1	12
394	Thomas ?	Tokaj	imp	1604	1604	1	12
395	Vojtachus Albier	?	carr	1605	1605	1	12
396	Georgius Bizquol	?	imp	1597	1597	1	12
397	Sebastianus Broskwín	Kéžmarok/Késmárk	imp	1603	1603	1	12
398	Valentinus Bucla	?	imp	1603	1603	1	12
399	Perrus Buda	Hungary (unknown settlement)	imp	1586	1586	1	12
400	Perrus Czarnkowski (Poznani alkamarás)	Poznań	exp	1595	1595	1	12
401	Stanislaus Czarny	?	carr	1595	1595	1	12
402	Casparus Denies	Abatújszántó	imp	1605	1605	1	12
403	Valentinus Diák	Gönc	imp	1593	1593	1	12
404	Benedictus Freiek	Dukla	imp	1593	1593	1	12

405	Petrus Hamrosz	?	imp	1603	1603	1	12
406	Johannes Herczyk	?	carr	1597	1597	1	12
407	Balasius Iwanisz	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1595	1595	1	12
408	Franciscus Kopezek	?	imp	1603	1603	1	12
409	Vojtachus Mira	?	imp	1603	1603	1	12
410	Andreas Polak	?	carr	1591	1591	1	12
411	? Rozman	?	imp	1600	1600	1	12
412	? Rozna	?	imp	1594	1594	1	12
413	Jacobus Slovak	?	carr	1592	1592	1	12
414	Vojtachus Suwarth	?	imp	1597	1597	1	12
415	Michael Zydkowski	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1604	1604	1	12
416	Johannes Zyto	Wolbórz	tr. out	1595	1592	1	12
417	Josephus ?	Dębowice	carr	1600	1600	1	11
418	Lazarus ?	Mikulášová/ Mildősvölgye	carr	1591	1591	1	11
419	Stanislaus Blazek	?	carr	1603	1603	1	11
420	Bartholomeus Dilinzek	?	imp	1605	1605	1	11
421	Georgius Diák	Košice/Kassa	imp	1595	1595	1	11
422	Stanislaus Dubasz	Nowy Targ	imp	1603	1603	2	11

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

423	Albertus Gandolfy	Nowy Sącz	imp	1603	1603	1	11
424	Georgius Kempka	?	imp	1591	1591	1	11
425	Georgius Luptak	Podolinec/Podolin	imp & carr	1597	1599	2	11
426	Stanislaus Materna	?	imp	1603	1603	1	11
427	Stanislaus Skora	?	imp	1604	1604	1	11
428	Georgius Szikszai	?	imp	1586	1586	1	11
429	Stanislaus Tarczala	Grybów	imp	1593	1602	2	11
430	Simon Zlothnik	Dukla	imp	1600	1600	1	11
431	Johannes Czarny	Stara Lubovnia/Ólubló	imp	1594	1600	3	10,5
432	? Bradniczkiej staroscina	?	exp	1597	1597	1	10
433	Basileus ?	Wysowa	carr	1603	1603	1	10
434	Nicolaus ?	Osikov/ Oszikó	carr	1604	1604	1	10
435	Paulus Bielanski	?	carr	1603	1603	1	10
436	Johannes Domeza	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1597	1597	1	10
437	Laurentius Hail	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1604	1604	1	10
438	Lodovicus Hermes	Gdańsk	exp	1597	1597	1	10
439	? Kaczmarz	Osikov/ Oszikó	imp	1604	1604	1	10
440	Simon Kalduczka	Olkusz	exp & tr. out	1593	1594	3	10

441	Lucas Koth	Spíška Stará Ves/ Szepesófalú	imp	1603	1603	1	10
442	Bartholomeus Kranig	Varsó	imp	1603	1603	1	10
443	Johannes Lazarik	?	tr. out	1597	1597	1	10
444	Nicolaus Lypniczki	?	imp	1603	1603	1	10
445	Perrus Maier	Varsó	imp	1592	1592	1	10
446	Andreas Myrzaga	Spíš county (unknown settlement)	carr	1600	1600	1	10
447	Mathias Nutarza/Mitarza	?	carr	1593	1593	1	10
448	Michael Salay	?	imp	1594	1594	1	10
449	Valentinus Szuka	?	tr. out	1600	1600	1	10
450	Mathias Simanowski	Łowicz	tr. out	1597	1597	1	10
451	Paulus Stachnik	?	tr. out	1599	1599	1	10
452	? Pacz	Dukla	imp	1594	1594	1	9,5
453	Johannes?	Chortmanice	carr	1592	1592	1	9
454	Johannes?	Muszyna	imp	1600	1600	1	9
455	Lucas?	Kyjów	imp	1595	1595	1	9
456	Michael?	Kapušany/Kapi	imp	1597	1597	1	9
457	Michael?	Podolinec/Podolin	carr	1594	1594	1	9
458	Stephanus?	Košice/Kassa	imp	1593	1593	1	9

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

459	Gregorius ?	?	carr	1602	1602	1	9
460	Martinus ? (grybówi vámos)	Grybów	imp	1595	1595	2	9
461	Rainoldus Bewke	Toruń	exp	1595	1595	1	9
462	Franciscus Diák	Košice/Kassa	imp	1593	1593	1	9
463	Lucas Diák ?	?	imp	1597	1597	1	9
464	Nicolaus Dindo	Piotrków	tr. out	1597	1597	1	9
465	Johannes Dzedzinski	Zemianska Dedina/ Nemesdedina	imp	1601	1601	1	9
466	Johannes Groff	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1602	1602	1	9
467	Thomas Grosz	Orava county (unknown settlement)	imp	1592	1592	1	9
468	? Hadvany	Ónod	imp	1593	1593	1	9
469	Leonardus Hoffman	Košice/Kassa	imp	1595	1595	1	9
470	Georgius Horvát ?	?	imp	1591	1591	2	9
471	Martinus Hudak	Krosno	imp & carr	1593	1597	2	9
472	Nicolaus Iwan	?	tr. out	1601	1601	1	9
473	Andreas Jacub	?	carr	1595	1595	1	9
474	Martinus Ogonek	Czeladź	tr. out	1593	1593	1	9
475	Vojtachus Ogonek	Varsó	tr. out	1595,4	1595,4	1	9
476	Ladislaus Orba	?	carr	1599	1599	1	9

477	Sebastianus Piaszkowy	?	carr	1600	1600	1	9
478	Johannes Polak	?	carr	1597	1597	1	9
479	Bartholomeus Rabrocški & ux Anna	Nowy Sącz	imp	1595	1595	2	9
480	Martinus Rakuczy	?	imp	1605	1605	1	9
481	Casparus Rigel	?	imp	1593	1593	1	9
482	? Tomala	Krosno	imp	1597	1597	1	9
483	Jacobus Varga	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1597	1597	1	9
484	Mathias Zagorski	Žimigród	imp	1592	1595	3	9
485	Martinus Zaremba	Bełżyce	carr	1602	1602	1	9
486	Stanislaus Bogurodzica	?	imp & carr	1595	1595	2	8,5
487	Jacobus Kraiczi	Oravska Poruba/ Poruba	imp	1592	1592	1	8,5
488	Thomas Uchrin	Brezno	imp	1605	1605	1	8,5
489	Benedictus ?	Spišské Hrhov/ Görgő	imp	1593	1593	1	8
490	Gregorius ?	Wieszowa	tr. out	1603	1603	1	8
491	Lucas ?	Jaślika	imp	1605	1605	1	8
492	Stanislaus ?	Białobrzegi (Krosno)	imp	1593	1593	1	8
493	Stanislaus ?	Jędrzejów	carr & tr. out	1594	1603	2	8
494	Thomas ?	Prešov/Eperjes	carr	1593	1593	1	8

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

495	Thomas ?	Vranov nad Topľou/Varannó	imp	1595	1595	1	8
496	Valentinus ?	Plavec/Palocsa	imp	1595	1595	1	8
497	Valentinus ?	Rzędków	tr. out	1597	1597	1	8
498	Vincentius ?	Bochnia	tr. out	1593	1593	1	8
499	Nicolaus ?	Łukowe	imp	1603	1603	1	8
500	Andreas Balczar	Dvorce	tr. out	1595	1595	1	8
501	Gregorius Diák	Košice/Kassa	imp	1597	1597	1	8
502	Mathias Dimitro	Košice/Kassa	imp	1592	1592	1	8
503	Michael Gasparit	?	carr	1595	1595	1	8
504	Stanilaus Grzebienik	?	exp	1589	1589	1	8
505	Petrus Hopporsoron	?	imp	1591	1591	1	8
506	Josephus Kemlicz	Bodzentyń	exp	1594	1594	3	8
507	Jacobus Kempka	?	tr. out	1599	1599	1	8
508	Petrus Klosz	Varsó	imp	1602	1603	2	8
509	Nicolaus Koczanowski	?	exp	1597	1597	1	8
510	Johannes Komroczi	Komárom/ Komaróc	imp	1592	1592	1	8
511	Casparus Kórnives	?	imp	1589	1589	1	8
512	Laurentius Lonsczik	Jaśliska	imp	1594	1594	1	8

513	Gregorius Nayma	?	imp	1603	1603	1	8
514	Johannes Paluch	?	imp	1603	1603	1	8
515	Johannes Petro	?	imp	1599	1599	1	8
516	Johannes Rakosz	Bracovce/ Berettó	imp	1605	1605	1	8
517	Gregorius Renor	?	imp	1602	1602	1	8
518	Perrus Skorupski	?	imp	1603	1603	1	8
519	Georgius Slovan	Banská Bystrica/ Besztercebánya	imp	1595	1595	1	8
520	Vojtachus Smolka	Košice/Kassa	imp	1597	1597	1	8
521	Mathias Szejkara	?	tr. out	1604	1604	1	8
522	Stanislaus Szengliar	?	imp	1603	1603	1	8
523	Stanislaus Suচেy	?	imp	1604	1604	1	8
524	Sebastianus Suчы	Krosno	imp	1603	1603	1	8
525	Vojtachus Szudak	?	imp	1603	1603	1	8
526	Adamus Tuczik	?	imp	1604	1604	1	8
527	Johannes Woloszin	?	carr	1603	1603	1	8
528	Johannes Zestrebski	Šarišské Jastrabie/ Felsőkányá	carr	1597	1597	1	8
529	Alexander ?	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1595	1595	1	7
530	Andreas ?	Czablów	imp	1605	1605	1	7

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

531	Friderichus ?	Košice/Kassa	imp	1589	1589	1	7
532	Adamus Barscz	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1591	1591	1	7
533	Perrus Darmopich	?	imp	1593	1593	1	7
534	Albertus Dzierdzinski	Zemianska Dedina/ Nemesdedina	imp	1599	1599	1	7
535	Vojtachus Gnath	Kazimierz Dolny	imp	1594	1594	1	7
536	? Grochoth	Wieliczka	imp	1593	1593	1	7
537	? Haslo/Laslo	?	imp	1601	1601	1	7
538	Leonardus Hoffman	Gdańsk	exp	1597	1597	2	7
539	Vojtachus Jedliczki	Miechów	exp	1604	1605	2	7
540	Davidus Kaler	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1605	1605	2	7
541	Jacobus Knichartz	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1595	1595	1	7
542	Christopherus Komarowski	Komárov/ Komaróc	imp	1591	1591	1	7
543	Johannes Martin	Siewierz	imp	1603	1603	1	7
544	Georgius Pasiuth	?	imp	1600	1600	1	7
545	Johannes Philipowicz	?	carr	1591	1591	1	7
546	Valentinus Podgorny	Biecz	imp	1593	1593	1	7
547	Damianus Polski	Stara L'ubovnia/Ólubló	imp	1600	1600	1	7
548	Vojtachus Sledz	?	tr. out	1600	1600	1	7

549	Sebastianus Synta	?	imp	1597	1597	1	7
550	Franciscus Szabó	?	imp	1597	1597	1	7
551	Theophilus Tworeczki	?	imp	1602	1602	1	7
552	Stanislaus Wojtak	Gorlice	imp	1605	1605	1	7
553	Adamus ?	Bardejov/Bárfa	carr	1591	1591	1	6,5
554	Vojtachus Pogoda/Bogorowski	Piotrków	exp	1595	1597	2	6,5
555	Vojtachus Tymowski	Gorlice	imp	1593	1593	1	6,5
556	Casparus ?	Bóbrka	imp	1597	1597	1	6
557	Clementius ?	Stara L.ubovnia/Ólubló	carr	1595	1595	1	6
558	Daniel ?	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1600	1600	1	6
559	Johannes ?	Šabinov/Kisszeben	imp	1595	1595	1	6
560	Lazarus ?	Snakov/ Szánkó	carr	1595	1595	1	6
561	Mathias ?	Liptov county (unknown settlement)	imp	1593	1593	1	6
562	Petrus ?	Siba/ Szekesőalja	imp & carr	1595	1595	1	6
563	Petrus ?	Uście	carr	1602	1602	1	6
564	Simon ?	Červené Kláštor/ Lechnic	carr	1599	1599	1	6
565	Vojtachus ?	Pilzno	imp	1594	1594	1	6
566	Valentinus ? (Karvat szolgája)	?	carr	1591	1591	1	6

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

567	Paulus Alancze	Płock	exp	1605	1605	1	6
568	Petrus Bednarz	Košice/Kassa	imp	1595	1595	1	6
569	Johannes Bedzinski	Tymowa	imp	1597	1597	1	6
570	Vojtachus Borman?	?	imp	1593	1593	1	6
571	Simon Chilka	?	imp	1602	1602	1	6
572	Thomas Czisz	?	imp	1599	1599	1	6
573	Gregorius Diring	?	imp	1597	1597	1	6
574	Martinus Dzierzega	Wieliczka	exp	1603	1603	1	6
575	Valentinus Empel	(Tarnowskie?) Góry	exp	1605	1605	1	6
576	Andreas ?	Krosno	carr	1593	1593	1	6
577	Johannes ?	Franksztyn	imp	1599	1599	1	6
578	Mathias Gaiek	Piątków	tr. out	1597	1597	1	6
579	? Galath	Hungary (unknown settlement)	imp	1604	1604	1	6
580	Thomas Gehelner	Lócsce/Levoča	imp	1593	1593	1	6
581	Balthasarus Gize	Varsó	imp	1602	1602	1	6
582	Martinus Grzesko	?	imp	1592	1592	1	6
583	Martinus Iwko	Barcice	imp	1597	1597	1	6
584	Georgius Iwrth	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1595	1595	1	6

585	Andreas Jendraszowicz	Bobowa	imp	1605	1605	1	6
586	Andreas Kiy	Nowy Sącz	carr	1603	1603	1	6
587	Clementius Klasztorek	Jędrzejów	tr. out	1593	1593	1	6
588	Valentinus Klukoszowski	Nowy Targ	imp	1603	1603	1	6
589	Jacobus Knurowski	Knurow	imp & exp	1600	1600	1	6
590	Gregorius Koczasdek	Wolbrom	exp	1593	1593	1	6
591	Johannes Koczasdek	Wolbrom	exp	1593	1593	1	6
592	Mathias Kohut	Trstena	imp	1592	1592	1	6
593	Stanislaus Komos	Varsó	exp	1597	1597	1	6
594	Mathias Koszurek	Kleparz	imp & tr. out	1594	1594	2	6
595	Petrus Kuczkowicz	?	imp	1603	1603	1	6
596	Johannes Kutiak	Żarnów	tr. out	1597	1600	2	6
597	? Pelczina	Nowy Sącz	imp	1603	1603	1	6
598	Stanislaus Pikowski	Secemin	imp	1603	1603	1	6
599	Stanislaus Przemian	?	tr. out	1599	1599	1	6
600	Johannes Purlemus/Purlennis	Bardejov/Bártfa	imp	1595	1595	1	6
601	Petrus Reznar	?	imp	1600	1600	1	6
602	Johannes Rimer	Lipany/ Héthárs	imp	1594	1594	1	6

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

603	Andreas Smigmator Hungarus	Stradom	exp	1601	1601	1	6
604	Lucas Sulik	Podgórze	imp	1597	1597	1	6
605	Georgius Tadi	?	imp	1599	1599	1	6
606	Martinus Valisowski	?	imp	1595	1595	1	6
607	Jacobus Wayda	Nowy Targ	imp	1603	1603	1	6
608	Mathias Worek	?	tr. out	1603	1603	1	6
609	Johannes Zidlar	?	carr	1591	1591	1	6
610	Mirolavius ?	Podolinec/Podolin	imp	1597	1597	1	5,5
611	Gregorius Popielarz	?	carr	1589	1589	1	5,5
612	Anna Janikowa	Koszyce (PL)	exp	1594	1597	3	5
613	Chodorowa ?	Biecz	imp	1586	1586	1	5
614	Clementius ?	Hniedzne/Gnézda	imp & carr	1591	1592	2	5
615	Simon ?	Lokca	imp	1594	1594	1	5
616	Andreas Baszalczyk	Łowicz	carr	1602	1602	1	5
617	Andreas Bochenski	?	imp & tr. out	1603	1603	2	5
618	Albertus Boguczki	Kleparz	exp	1593	1593	1	5
619	Andreas Choday	?	tr. out	1604	1604	1	5
620	? Drozd	Krzeczów	imp	1600	1600	1	5

621	Georgius Duda	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1592	1592	1	5
622	Justus Forstes	Gdańsk	exp	1595	1603	3	5
623	Stanislaus Golian (Miechów írnoka)	Miechów	exp	1595	1597	4	5
624	Thomas Henk	Gliwice	exp	1597	1597	1	5
625	Simon Kleskowicz	?	imp	1605	1605	1	5
626	? Kotarski	Wieliczka	exp	1594	1594	1	5
627	Stanislaus Kowaczka	?	imp	1604	1604	1	5
628	Mathias Krasieński	Krosno	imp	1593	1593	1	5
629	Felix Krezel	Kazimierz	imp	1605	1605	1	5
630	Jacobus Kriza	?	imp	1602	1602	1	5
631	Michael Kulesa	Stradom	carr	1597	1597	1	5
632	Mathias Kurtlik	Białaczów	imp	1603	1603	1	5
633	Stephanus Morawski	Nowy Sącz	imp	1589	1592	2	5
634	? Pilznoi starosta	Pilzno	imp	1597	1597	1	5
635	Samuel Pokal & ux	Olkusz	exp	1595	1595	3	5
636	? Princepsowa	Stradom	exp	1597	1597	1	5
637	Jacobus Roze	Łowicz	imp	1602	1602	1	5
638	Lucas Urbankowicz	?	carr	1591	1591	1	5

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

639	Balastus Wilezek	?	tr. out	1594	1594	1	5
640	Paulus Woyna	?	imp	1603	1603	1	5
641	? Berkowa	Olkusz	exp	1604	1604	1	4
642	? proboszcz Staniaticzki	Staniatki	imp	1603	1603	1	4
643	Christopherus ?	Prešov/Eperjes	imp	1597	1597	1	4
644	Georgius ?	Siba/ Szekcsőalja	tr. out	1594	1594	1	4
645	Mathias ?	Szadek	tr. out	1589	1589	1	4
646	Nicolaus ?	Jędrzejów	tr. out	1594	1594	1	4
647	Philippus ?	Dukla	imp	1605	1605	1	4
648	Simon Abraczik	?	imp	1603	1603	1	4
649	Stanislaus Amenda	Olkusz	exp	1603	1603	1	4
650	Michael Bancz	Wroclaw	exp	1605	1605	1	4
651	Jacobus Baran	?	tr. out	1601	1601	1	4
652	Johannes Baran	?	tr. out	1603	1603	1	4
653	Andreas Conrath	Nowy Sącz	imp	1594	1595	2	4
654	Christopherus Czarniecki (Chęcini kapitány)	Chęciny	imp	1592	1592	1	4
655	Johannes Czarnkowski	?	exp	1597	1597	1	4
656	Laurentius Czerpniczek	?	carr	1603	1603	1	4

657	Mathias Czichi	Olkusz	tr. out	1594	1594	1	4
658	Josephus Czyk	Przedborz	exp	1597	1597	1	4
659	Laurentius Fuglier	?	imp	1602	1602	1	4
660	Adamus Funek	?	carr	1603	1603	1	4
661	Jaroslavius Gorraczki	Wieliczka	exp	1594	1594	1	4
662	Bartholomeus Goryczka	?	carr	1605	1605	1	4
663	Hieremias Gunowski	Łowicz	exp	1603	1604	2	4
664	Petrus Hipner	Krosno	imp	1604	1604	1	4
665	Michael Klimkowski	Klimkówka	carr	1603	1603	1	4
666	Johannes Krzizik	?	imp	1591	1591	1	4
667	? Lakomy	Łowicz	tr. out	1600	1600	1	4
668	Stanislaus Michalik	Krosno	carr	1593	1593	1	4
669	Albertus Mileski (Kilemasz szolgája)	?	carr	1595	1595	1	4
670	Jacobus Mista	?	tr. out	1597	1597	1	4
671	Mathias Olexi	?	imp	1604	1604	1	4
672	Fabianus Pemecki	?	exp	1604	1604	1	4
673	Johannes Polawinski	Nowy Sącz	imp	1604	1604	1	4
674	Greta Polyak	?	carr	1589	1589	1	4

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

675	Nicolaus Prostek	Jarosław	tr. out	1589	1589	1	4
676	Stanislaus Rimer	Bochnia	exp	1601	1601	1	4
677	Valentinus Saito/bo?	?	imp	1595	1595	1	4
678	Stanislaus Sczechowi (Bieczy polgár)	Uście	imp	1603	1603	1	4
679	? Stachno	Jędrzejów	tr. out	1594	1594	1	4
680	Michael Stanek	?	carr	1591	1591	1	4
681	? Szczeminski	Secemin	imp	1597	1597	1	4
682	Stanislaus Szokolek	?	carr	1602	1602	1	4
683	? Szoltisz	Blasérów? (somewhere in Hungary)	imp	1597	1597	1	4
684	Johannes Szoltisz	?	imp	1604	1604	1	4
685	Johannes Tauman	Préšov/Eperjes	imp	1595	1595	1	4
686	Andreas Thomaszowski	Nowy Targ	imp	1603	1603	1	4
687	Casparus Turdy	?	imp	1597	1597	1	4
688	Johannes Wargaczki	Wolbórz	tr. out	1604	1604	1	4
689	Johannes Wolf	Lőcse/Levoča	imp	1605	1605	1	4
690	Christopherus Wsolek	Rawa Mazowiecka	tr. out	1599	1599	2	4
691	Benedictus Zapartowicz	Lipnica Murowana	carr	1603	1603	1	4
692	Martinus Zarzecki	Wolbórz	exp	1595	1595	1	4

693	Samuel Zid	Lesko	imp	1603	1603	1	4
694	Johannes Zigmanth	?	imp	1592	1592	1	4
695	Sigismundus Zwolinski	Łowicz	exp	1594	1605	2	4
696	Wiktoria Baczańska	?	exp	1600	1600	1	3
697	Jacobus ?	Białobrzegi (Krosno)	imp	1597	1597	1	3
698	Johannes ?	Dmosin	imp	1594	1594	1	3
699	Johannes ?	Vranov nad Topľou/Varannó	imp	1602	1602	1	3
700	Michael ?	Sárospatak	imp	1593	1593	1	3
701	Nicolaus ?	Czajowice	tr. out	1597	1600	2	3
702	Paulus ?	Kežmarok/Késmárk	imp	1593	1593	1	3
703	Paulus Zlydzien	?	tr. out	1597	1597	1	3
704	Simon Zlydzien	?	tr. out	1604	1604	1	3
705	Vojtachus ?	Tarnów	tr. out	1597	1597	1	3
706	Valentinus ? (frnok)	Lipnica Murowana	exp	1594	1594	2	3
707	Georgius aurificus	Nyírbátor	imp	1593	1593	1	3
708	Johannes Bohner	Gdańsk	exp	1597	1597	2	3
709	Johannes Bucefal	Łowicz	tr. out	1594	1594	1	3
710	Martinus Czarny	?	imp	1595	1595	1	3

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

711	Christopherus Czebulka	Gliwice	imp	1602	1602	1	3
712	Johannes Diak	Debrecen	imp	1593	1593	1	3
713	Vojtachus Durkowicz	Proszowice	exp	1597	1597	1	3
714	Lucas Giel/Czielniowski (Makowecki szolgája)	?	carr	1593	1593	1	3
715	Stanislaus Halaska	?	imp	1597	1597	1	3
716	? Hartlib	Poznań	exp	1597	1597	1	3
717	Baladius Jedlinski	Nowy Sącz	imp	1605	1605	1	3
718	Thomas Kadas	Stara L'ubovnia/Ólubló	imp	1593	1593	1	3
719	Johannes Koszal	Bodzientyn	tr. out	1603	1603	1	3
720	Jacobus Kruz	?	imp	1603	1603	1	3
721	Johannes Laczko	Jędrzejów	exp	1604	1604	1	3
722	Michael Liptak	?	imp	1603	1603	1	3
723	Nicolaus Magier	?	carr	1602	1602	1	3
724	Mathias Mazur	?	tr. out	1597	1597	1	3
725	Georgius Mních	Łowicz	tr. out	1594	1594	1	3
726	Adamus Nogay	Jędrzejów	tr. out	1595	1595	1	3
727	Jacobus Preklo	?	imp	1600	1600	1	3
728	Albertus Potistan	Poznań	exp	1595	1597	2	3

729	Marcinowa Powrozniczka	?	exp	1600	1600	1	3
730	Stanislaus Prokonik	?	imp	1592	1592	1	3
731	Paulus Radek	?	tr. out	1603	1603	1	3
732	Vojtachus Rola	Rawa Mazowiecka	tr. out	1604	1604	1	3
733	Mathias Slovak	Olkusz	exp	1595	1595	2	3
734	Stephanus Stephanowicz	Piotrków	exp	1594	1594	1	3
735	Vojtachus Swinka	?	imp	1597	1597	1	3
736	Stanislaus Synowicz	Krosno	imp	1593	1593	1	3
737	Nicolaus Sziskor	?	imp	1597	1597	1	3
738	Adamus Szoltis	?	carr	1593	1593	1	3
739	Alexander Szopa	Łowicz	tr. out	1595	1595	1	3
740	Mathias Tebisz/Tabasz	?	imp	1595	1595	1	3
741	? Tereveczi	?	imp	1593	1593	1	3
742	Martinius Trebski	?	carr	1595	1595	1	3
743	Johannes Wachel	?	tr. out	1600	1600	1	3
744	Johannes Wczislo	Łowicz	tr. out	1603	1603	1	3
745	Johannes Witowski	?	imp	1604	1604	1	3
746	Adamus Zych	?	imp & carr	1602	1602	1	3

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

747	Simon Zyto	Stara L'ubovnia/Oľubló	imp	1597	1597	1	3
748	Catharina Woithkowska	Wieliczka	exp	1589	1589	1	2
749	Georgius ?	Zlarc'/Aranyptaka	imp	1597	1597	1	2
750	Jacobus ?	Warka	tr. out	1597	1597	1	2
751	Josephus ?	Fričovce/ Frics	imp	1601	1601	1	2
752	Michael ?	Wieliczka	exp	1603	1603	1	2
753	Paulus Orzeski	Orzeski	imp	1595	1595	1	2
754	Vilhelmus ?	Bardejov/Bárfa	imp	1595	1595	1	2
755	Petrus ? Pisarz skarbowy	?	imp	1595	1595	1	2
756	Marianus ? apothecary	Varsó	exp	1595	1595	1	2
757	? Belesko	Terňa/Ternye	imp	1593	1593	1	2
758	Georgius Bolek	Pinczów	exp	1589	1589	1	2
759	Daniel Bolner	Gdańsk	exp	1603	1603	1	2
760	Martinus Chechelski	Bochnia	carr	1601	1601	1	2
761	a krosnoi tanács	Krosno	imp	1595	1595	1	2
762	Petrus Furmankowicz	Łowicz	exp	1595	1595	1	2
763	Lucas Gebultowski	Gaboltoy/Galbató	imp	1594	1594	1	2
764	Andreas Goly	Hungary (unknown settlement)	imp	1600	1600	1	2

765	Justus Haler	Olkusz	exp	1594	1595	2	2
766	Sebastianus Henzel	Krosno	imp	1595	1595	1	2
767	Thomas Junhaus	?	imp	1600	1600	1	2
768	? Kaczmarz	Czajowice	tr. out	1595	1595	1	2
769	Johannes Kmita de Wola (Krakkó vajdasági írnok)	?	imp & exp	1586	1586	1	2
770	Jacobus Koszanka	?	tr. out	1605	1605	1	2
771	Stanislaus Kotalka	?	tr. out	1600	1600	1	2
772	Jacobus Krakowczyk	Wolbórz	exp	1595	1595	1	2
773	Stanislaus Krakowka	?	tr. out	1594	1594	1	2
774	Johannes Kuszczik	Rawa Mazowiecka	exp	1603	1603	1	2
775	Laurentius Lezien	Toruń	imp	1604	1604	1	2
776	? Maiera	Varsó	exp	1595	1595	1	2
777	Andreas Makulik	?	imp	1594	1594	1	2
778	Johannes Malarz	Bochnia	imp & exp	1601	1601	1	2
779	Jaroslavius Michniowicz	Świętnica	tr. out	1595	1595	1	2
780	Sebastianus Noga	Morawica	carr	1589	1589	1	2
781	Georgius Nyzelek	Grybów	imp	1597	1597	1	2
782	? Ostroga	Krzeczów	imp	1597	1597	1	2

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

783	Christopherus Pardigal	?	tr. out	1595	1595	1	2
784	Laurentius Piawka	?	tr. out	1599	1599	1	2
785	Michael Piringer	?	exp	1603	1603	1	2
786	? Pissarz Bochenski	Bochnia	imp	1600	1600	1	2
787	Mathias Pluziczka	?	exp	1605	1605	1	2
788	Valentinus Polemski	Šabinov/Kisszeben	imp	1593	1593	1	2
789	Casparus Przewłoczki	Bochnia	exp	1594	1594	1	2
790	Johannes Puyowski	Jędrzejów	exp	1589	1589	2	2
791	Casparus Reznar	?	imp	1589	1589	1	2
792	Georgius Rzeznik	Stara Lubovnia/Ólubló	imp	1604	1604	1	2
793	Lodovicus Schothob	Spiš (13 towns)	imp	1605	1605	1	2
794	Samuel Serentkowicz	Kazimierz	imp	1605	1605	1	2
795	Simon Simonowicz	Biecz	imp	1589	1589	1	2
796	Georgius Sosz	Hungary (unknown settlement)	imp & carr	1589	1589	2	2
797	Andreas Swietlik	Stara Lubovnia/Ólubló	imp	1597	1597	1	2
798	Paulus Szarer	Veličná/ Nagyfalu	imp	1605	1605	1	2
799	Johannes Szobkowicz	Czestochówka	exp	1603	1603	1	2
800	Mathias Tetla	Poznań	tr. out	1597	1597	1	2

801	? Wantarz	Jędrzejów	exp	1597	1597	1	2
802	Stanislaus Wiczorek	Rawa Mazowiecka	tr. out	1597	1597	1	2
803	Laurentius Wieszko	Łowicz	tr. out	1594	1594	1	2
804	Stanislaus Wróbel	Wolbórz	tr. out	1597	1597	1	2
805	Sebastianus Wrona	?	imp	1603	1603	1	2
806	Jacobus Zamka	?	tr. out	1594	1594	1	2
807	Regina Wiethna	Lipnica Murowana	imp & exp	1597	1597	2	1,5
808	Michael Namaister	?	exp	1589	1589	1	1,5
809	Adamus Rik	Pilzno	imp	1595	1595	1	1,5
810	Andreas Ziga	Piotrków	tr. out	1589	1589	1	1,5
811	Jakubowa Andriszowa Kochowa	Wielun	exp	1597	1597	1	1
812	Anna Piekarska	Miechów	exp	1589	1589	1	1
813	Kamilla Stanisławowa Mieszcza	?	exp	1589	1589	1	1
814	Georgius ?	Stara L'ubovnia/Ólubió	imp	1597	1597	1	1
815	Nicolaus ?	Minsk	tr. out	1600	1600	1	1
816	Johannes Bodinski	?	tr. out	1603	1603	1	1
817	? Bulety	Pinczów	exp	1597	1597	1	1
818	Paulus Czubakowski	Rawa Mazowiecka	tr. out	1597	1597	1	1

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

819	Vojtachus Czywyakolka	Proszowice	exp	1597	1597	1	1
820	Casparus Felner	?	tr. out	1597	1597	1	1
821	Georgius Gluch	?	tr. out	1605	1605	1	1
822	Andreas Goski C Gedan	Gdańsk	exp	1605	1605	1	1
823	Vojtachus Grendka	?	tr. out	1597	1597	1	1
824	Johannes Haze	Brezovička/Hámbor	imp	1594	1594	1	1
825	Adamus Kalmarcza	?	imp	1597	1597	1	1
826	Bartholomeus Kasa	Olkusz	tr. out	1594	1594	1	1
827	Christopherus Kielek	Warta	exp	1605	1605	1	1
828	Lucas Kmosek	Skrzynno	exp	1602	1602	1	1
829	Johannes Kowal	Skierniewice	tr. out	1595	1595	1	1
830	Stanislaus Mączka	Biecz	imp	1600	1600	1	1
831	Casparus Minczartz	Olkusz	exp	1600	1600	1	1
832	Stanislaus Mydlarz	Opoczno	exp	1597	1597	1	1
833	Antonius Nowomiejski	Nowe Miasto	tr. out	1604	1604	1	1
834	Vojtachus Ozimek	?	tr. out	1604	1604	1	1
835	Simon Pczanowski	Skierniewice	tr. out	1597	1597	1	1
836	Mathias Rola	Łowicz	tr. out	1594	1594	1	1

837	Johannes Sarffenberg	?	imp	1589	1589	1	1
838	Augustinus Serwatka	?	tr. out	1601	1601	1	1
839	? Swiechul	Jędrzejów	exp	1595	1595	1	1
840	Bartholomeus Szarfenberger	Skalmierz	exp	1603	1603	1	1
841	Johannes Wálczyk	Będków	tr. out	1589	1589	1	1
842	Stanislaus Wasz	?	tr. out	1594	1594	1	1
843	Andreas Wichman	Toruń	exp	1604	1604	1	1
844	Severinus Woith	Skawina	exp	1604	1604	1	1
845	Mathias Zarisza	Šariš county	imp	1602	1602	1	1
846	Vojtachus Zazemblo	Łowicz	tr. out	1597	1597	1	1
847	Nicolaus Rakrzowski	Kazimierz	exp	1604	1604	1	0,5

Who bought the wine in Kraków?

Although wine trading always played a significant role in Kraków, it could not be institutionalized in the same way as, for example, the salt or cloth trade, or even beer brewing. We have no knowledge of a wine merchants' or wine measurers' guild in Kraków, nor are we aware of any privileges or monopolies that would have allowed only a certain body to trade or measure wine on the basis of some regulations.²² Anyone could trade wine in large quantities; only retail was subject to regulations, and it was tied to the status of being a citizen of Kraków.²³ Thus, wine was something everyone did as a side business alongside their regular profession. Even if some people focused exclusively on this. In the absence of a regulatory body, order in the wine trade was maintained through the joint efforts of the state, individual voivodes, and towns, which issued laws, decrees, and regulations (adapted to the situation at hand and therefore subject to change from time to time).

Since the wine cellar books and tax registers for the entire 20-year period we examined have been preserved, we are able to provide a complete list of those who purchased, ordered, or transported wine out of the city of Kraków. Their names and achievements are listed in Table 4. The recently published sixteenth–seventeenth century Kraków quarter books,²⁴ civil registers,²⁵ lists of officials²⁶ and address books²⁷ enabled us to determine the ori-

²² Invoking the disorder in the wine trade, the voivode of Kraków issued a decree in 1595 stipulating that anyone wishing to trade in wine must give up all previous activities – trade or craftsmanship – and engage solely in the wine trade, however, city records show that this decree did not bring about any change in previous practice. See: AADMKr. rkps. 1512. p. 96.

²³ We can only draw indirect conclusions based on a court case. Among other things, the city council fines Christopherus Zagorski, a resident of Kraków, 30 marks for selling wine without holding citizenship rights in Kraków. AADMKr. rkps. 451. p. 610.

²⁴ Jelonek, Krystyna – Litewka, Aleksander – Walczy, Łukasz (eds.), *Księga Wiertelnicza Krakowska Tom. II–IV*. (Fontes Cracovienses, 6–8). Kraków, 1998–2000.

²⁵ Kielbicka, Aniela – Wojas, Zbigniew (eds.), *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1507–1572*. = *Libri Juris Civilis Cracoviensis 1507–1572*. (Fontes Cracovienses 1). Kraków, 1993. See also Kielbicka, Aniela – Wojas, Zbigniew (eds.), *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1573–1611*. = *Libri Juris Civilis Cracoviensis 1573–1611*. (Fontes Cracovienses, 2). Kraków, 1994.

²⁶ Noga, Zdzisław, *Urzednicy miejscy Krakowa II. 1500–1794*. Kraków, 2008. See also: Gąsiorowski, Anton (ed.), *Urzednicy Województwa Krakowskiego XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*. Kórnik, 1990.

²⁷ Follprecht, Kamilla – Noga, Zdzisław, “Kraków w 1598 R.,” In: Rutkowski, Henryk (ed.), *Atlas Historyczny Polski. Województwo Krakowskie w drugiej połowie XVI. wieku Część*

gin, administrative role, address, and real estate holdings of most individuals in Kraków. We also included these data in the table, which allows for further investigation and analysis.

II. Komentarz Indeksy. Warszawa, 2008. 151–202.

List of individuals from Kraków who imported and purchased wine from the Upper Tisza region

Legend:

<i>E</i> = Year of first shipment <i>U</i> = Year of last shipment	<i>A</i> = payed wine tax		<i>B</i> = cellaring		<i>I</i> = imported wine		<i>Ex</i> = Transported wine from Kraków		
	<i>M</i> = quantity of wine in Hungarian barrel (352 l)				<i>Sz</i> = number of shipments		<i>D</i> = has a wine cellar in Kraków		
<i>JMP</i> = Jegó Mośc Pan (Honourable Sir, Baron)									
<i>name</i>	<i>supplier quality</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>U</i>	<i>Sz</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>occupation</i>	<i>office</i>	<i>originated from here to Kraków</i>	<i>RG</i> = Rynek Główny <i>real estate in Kraków</i>
1	Julius Baldi & ux Justina	1586	1604	116	1682	merchant		Florence (Italy)	Św. Jana 7A; Św. Anny 4
2	Johannes Kalay	1594	1598	23	399	goldsmith		Nyírbátor	Szczepański 6A-B
3	Petrus Ruthkowski	1586	1605	19	370				
4	Jacobus Gastgeb	1586	1595	45	348				
5	Martinus Fihauer	1586	1603	27	336	merchant	councilor of Kraków		RG 28; RG 34C; RG 36; Floriańska 36
6	Donatus Knipper	1587	1605	47	310,5	goldsmith		Vilnius (Lithuania)	Grodzka 40B
7	Mauritius Giller	1592	1605	36	283				
8	Johannes Swieczicki & ux	1590	1603	72	275	tailor		Plóczki (Silesia)	Wiślna 6A
9	Julius della Pace	1586	1605	24	272	merchant	councilor of Kraków	Florence (Italy)	RG 4; Szewska 21; Szewska 19

10	Petrus Pauzet	A, B, I	1602	1603	7	264	tailor	Saint-Julien (near Dijon in France)	Św. Jana 6C
11	Thomas Zerolinski	A, B, I	1599	1605	20	257			
12	Stanislaus Bonikowski	A, B, I,	1586	1605	25	252	apothecary		RG-31B
13	Melchiorus Tilis	A, B, Ex	1593	1600	13	248	merchant	Waldenberg/ Wałbrzych	
14	Georgius Schulz	A, B	1586	1598	21	239	merchant	Bernstadt/ Biertów (Silesia)	Sławkowska 3A
15	Alexander Gallus & ux	A, B, I	1586	1604	20	235	physician	Bielawy	Floriańska 16
16	Leonardus Gutteter	A, B	1591	1605	54	222	merchant	Culmbach (Germany)	
17	Stanislaus Niemczowicz	I, A, B, Ex	1593	1605	37	219	merchant	Krosno	
18	Dominicus de Blens	A, B	1588	1596	5	217	merchant	Italy	Św. Mikołaja 8
19	Gregorius Sinnay	A, B, I	1593	1605	29	214			
20	Jacobus Ludwig & ux	A, B, I, Ex	1586	1603	32	213		court juror	RG-36A
21	Vilhelmus Forbesz	A, B, I	1591	1605	10	206	merchant		
22	Virtus Seltenreich	A, B	1587	1605	40	205		Stuttgart	Sławkowska 8
23	Sigismund Waza III. KJM	I, B, Ex	1592	1603	4	204		king of Poland	
24	Nicolaus Smolka & ux	A, B, I	1588	1601	33	196		Płoczeki (Sziléczia)	
25	Benedictus Kecskeméti	I, A, B	1597	1605	26	195	goldsmith	Debrecen	

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

26	Barbara Felixowa	A, B	1586	1593	35	192					
27	Johannes Merkel & ux Catharina	A, B	1594	1603	19	191			Pulsnitz (Germany)		
28	Stanislaus Chrzanowski & ux	A, B, I	1597	1605	16	190					
29	Valentinus Rimer	A, B, I	1586	1605	15	189	merchant	councilor of Kraków	Krosno		Grodzka 18A
30	Paulus Hippolit	A, B, Ex	1600	1605	16	188			Pisa (Italy)		
31	Casparus Chodowicz & ux	A, B	1586	1605	23	179		councilor of Kraków			Św. Jana 8
32	Laurentius Jurzicz	A, B, D	1586	1589	15	173,5					
33	Thomas Dixon Scotus & ux	A, B, I	1590	1605	22	172,5					
34	Casparus Schubert & ux Anna	A, B	1594	1605	22	172	tailor		Miedzyrzecze		RG 27A (pod baranami)
35	Franciscus Telani	A, B, I, Ex	1602	1605	9	172			Zamość		
36	Erasmus Hippolit	A, B, I	1599	1605	12	166	merchant				
37	Franciscus Ryłski JMP	I, B	1597	1603	5	164		supervisor of royal estates			
38	Hieronimus Jedwath	A, B, I, N	1599	1605	23	164		Kraków juror			Sienna 8C
39	Stanislaus Brimer	A, B, I, D, Ex	1591	1597	27	163	merchant		Swidnice		
40	Stephanus Pesti	I, A, B	1600	1605	5	163	goldsmith				
41	Jacobus Niderland	A, B	1595	1605	21	160	musician				Golebia 16A

42	Johannes Grudzinski JMP	I, B	1602	1603	9	159		royal councillor, castellan of Santok and Naklo		
43	Sigismundus Gonzaga Myszkowski JMP	I, A, B	1595	1602	6	153		crown marshal, wojniczi castellan, starost of Grodek, Solec and Wislica		
44	Bartholomeus Szembek	A, B, I	1586	1597	22	153		Kraków juror		
45	Petrus Gluchowski	A, B, I	1592	1605	12	149				
46	Petrus Lang & ux	A, B	1586	1592	16	149				
47	Johannes Hedlowski	A, B	1587	1597	18	141,5	merchant		Banska Bystrica/Besztercebánya	Floriańska 10
48	Georgius Franczkowicz	A, B, I, Ex	1586	1602	19	140			Cieszyn	
49	Casparus Trusard & ux Catharina	A, B, N	1586	1595	18	139	merchant		Clusone (Olaszo.)	Św. Anny 4
50	Lucas Bochorozcki alias Niedzwiedz	A, B, I	1592	1605	29	138,5	goldsmith		Vilnius (Lithuania)	Poselska 19A
51	Nicolaus Kowalski	A, B	1602	1605	14	131	grocer		Sronsko	
52	Bernardus Maciejowski JMX	I	1586	1602	4	129		bishop of Luck then Kraków		
53	Johannes Lopatowicz	I, A, B	1587	1600	17	127	wine measurer	councilor of Kraków	Rivne/Równne (Ukr.)	Św. Jana 13A

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

54	Jacobus Maliczki	A, B	1590	1605	33	127	tailor			Rzeczyca	Grodzka 26 vagy 30
55	Sebastianus Maierowicz	I, A, B, D	1590	1597	12	124	merchant			Krosno	
56	Laurentius Romanowski	A, B, I	1595	1605	17	124					Grodzka 13B
57	Gregorius Tribel	A, B, I	1587	1598	18	123					
58	Hieronimus Orlemes	A, B,	1586	1591	8	120,5					
59	Daniel Bielski	A, B, I	1590	1603	14	119	furrer				
60	Vojtachus Okurowski	I	1603	1605	4	117					
61	Christina Hallebergerowa	A, B	1590	1597	11	116					
62	Nicolaus Wisenberg & ux Magdalena	I, A, B, Ex	1586	1603	22	115,5				Freistadt	RG 46
63	Gregorius Benedict	A, B, I	1599	1605	9	113	goldsmith			Tîrgu Mures Marosvásárhely (Transylvania)	
64	Sebastianus Boduchowicz	A, B	1590	1605	29	113	tailor			Skrzydlno	Bracka 6A
65	Johannes Tarnowski JMP	I, A, B	1593	1603	8	106				archbishop, chancellor	
66	Gregorius Blank	A, B	1590	1591	2	104	goldsmith			Levier (Bourgogne)	Grodzka 15A vagy 13C
67	Georgius Lotter	A, B, I	1599	1605	9	103	merchant				
68	Johannes Walski barbitonsor & ux	A, B	1592	1605	33	102,5	barber				

69	Andreas Fischer	A, B, I	1589	1599	12	102	merchant	Bolesław (Silesia)	
70	Nicolaus Zebrzydowski JMP	I, B, Ex	1589	1603	9	101		voivode of Lublin then Kraków	
71	Johannes Kaczizki sartor	A, B	1586	1603	11	101	tailor	Kraków juror	Szpitalna 20-22A
72	Johannes Gora & ux Barbara	A, B, I	1586	1599	25	100		councilor of Kraków; and syndicus	Bracka 11B
73	Martinus Swiechowicz	A, B, I	1601	1605	6	98	merchant	Kleparz	Szczepańska 2
74	Sophia Kropidłowa	A, B	1586	1603	25	95			
75	Nicolaus Wolski nobilis	A, B, I, Ex	1590	1597	8	94,5		starost of Krzepice	
76	Sophia Andrzejowa Bierthultowska	A, B, I	1592	1598	15	94			
77	Franciscus Maisner	A, B	1591	1603	9	92,5	wine measurer		Senacka 6
78	Johannes Hoffman	A, B, Ex	1595	1604	20	92	merchant	Gdańsk	
79	Hieremias Hoffman	A, B	1589	1596	22	91		Lwówek Śląski	
80	Sigismundus Alancze	A, B	1586	1605	14	90	apothecary		Św. Jana 12; RG 11
81	Christophorus Hercz & ux	A, B	1592	1605	18	89	merchant	Nürnberg	
82	Johannes Jelen	A, B	1592	1601	5	88	furrier	Buczek	Floriańska 5.
83	Johannes Lang	A, B, I	1597	1605	10	88		Nürnberg	Mały Rynek 1B

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

84	Adamus Benwicz sartor & ux	A, B	1596	1600	14	85	tailor			Trachenberg/ Żmigród	Ślawkowska 32B; Szczepańska 2
85	Stanislaus Zelaskowicz	A, B	1590	1597	16	84,5	reseller			Lutomirsko	
86	Johannes Gorzisowski	A, B, I, D	1590	1599	15	80,5	innkeeper				Św. Anny 3
87	Margaretha/ Elisabetha Lifritowa	A, B	1589	1593	11	80					
88	Stanislaus Chodowicz	A, B	1605	1605	3	79	passementerie maker				Św. Jana 8.
89	Gerhardus Lizbon	A, B, I	1595	1598	5	78	passementerie maker			Maastricht	
90	Albertus Kin	A, B, I	1586	1605	8	77	merchant				Szczepańska 11
91	Johannes Wengrzynek painter	B	1605	1605	1	77					
92	Servatius Brikner	A, B	1586	1597	15	75					
93	Stanislaus Bieleczki	I, A	1599	1603	6	73,5					
94	Julius Maingott	A, B, I, Ex	1587	1603	17	73	tailor			Caen (Normandie)	
95	Andreas Netinger & ux Magdalena	A, B, I	1591	1605	10	71	merchant, tailor				Floriańska 23
96	Stanislaus Chrosliczki	A, B	1602	1605	17	70					Plac Szczepański 1B
97	Lodovicus Biffi	A, B, I	1595	1599	13	69	merchant			Venice (Italy)	RG 24
98	Stanislaus Pudelko & ux Hedwig	A, B	1590	1603	15	69	furrier				Grodzka 18A; Św. Mikołaja 11

99	Josephus Pilisz salicida	A, B, I	1592	1605	9	68	salt merchant			Slawkowska 17A
100	Mathias Heffner	A, B, I	1593	1598	4	65	merchant		Banská Bystrica/ Besztercebánya	
101	Jacobus Klisz junior	A, B	1586	1596	8	65	merchant	Kraków juror		Św. Anny 7; RG 30B; Gołębia 14
102	Stanislaus Paczoska	A, B, I	1588	1603	10	65	merchant	Kraków juror		Grodzka 2B
103	Thomas Kamienczyk	A, B	1592	1595	12	64	organist			
104	Leo Sapieha JMP	I, Ex	1593	1601	2	63		Chancellor of Lithuania		
105	?	I, B	1603	1603	2	63	capitaneus KJM			
106	Joachimus Cziepielowski	A, B, I	1597	1605	11	63	cloth merchant			Szpitalna 10A; RG 43; Floriańska 15
107	Stanislaus Karasiowicz	A, B, I	1599	1605	8	63				
108	Bartholomeus Kecher & ux	A, B, D	1590	1595	16	63				
109	Lodovicus Hippolit & ux Sophia	A, B, I	1587	1597	11	62,5	cloth merchant			
110	Georgius Radziwill JMX	I, A, D , Ex	1595	1599	5	62		Bishop of Kraków		
111	Mathias Dirda	A, B	1586	1593	13	61,5	baker			Floriańska 28B
112	Valentinus Czegielka & ux	A, B	1587	1597	11	61	butcher		Wielun	Szpitalna 15B

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

113	Lodovicus Kromer	A, B	1603	1605	8	61		city scribe, councilor of Kraków		RG 23; Golebia 6
114	Johannes Spigler	A, B	1586	1595	16	61		councilor of Kraków		
115	Susanna Wiąkowska	A, B, I	1602	1605	5	60				
116	Albertus Koczanowski	A, B, I, Ex	1592	1603	13	59	merchant	city juror of Kleparz	Kleparz	Ślawkowska 19.
117	Stanislaus Grocholowski	I, B	1602	1605	5	57	playing card painter			Szczepańska (?) páratlan oldal
118	Johannes Barbitonsor	A, B	1592	1597	17	56				
119	Johannes Gelnert	A, B	1598	1600	8	56	white leatherer			
120	Johannes Suchocicz	A, B, Ex	1586	1590	12	55,5	tailor			
121	Johannes Awini	A, B	1602	1603	7	54				
122	Paulus Celary	A, B	1586	1599	9	54		councilor of Kraków		RG 19
123	Jacobus Hoffman	A, B	1589	1603	12	53	merchant		Wrocław	
124	Jacobus Stanuszowski	A, B, I	1598	1603	9	52			Kobyłany	
125	Gregorius Jaslicz		1602	1602	1	50				
126	Sophia Gorziszowska	A, B, I	1592	1604	6	49				
127	Valentinus Powszinski & ux Anna	A, B, Ex, D	1586	1601	9	49	goldsmith			Św. Tomasz 4; Grodzka 48

128	Stanislaus Radomieski	A, B, I	1603	1605	6	49	tailor		Łuków (now Ukr.)	
129	Simon Siedmiraczki	A, B, I	1590	1605	9	49	inkeeper			Św. Mikołaja 5A
130	Casparus Tribel	I, B, Ex	1591	1597	6	48				
131	Daniel Wierzbietha & ux Barbara	A, B, I	1603	1605	6	48				Sławkowska 7
132	Andreas Czichon	A, B	1586	1588	12	46,5	tailor			
133	Lucas della Pace	A, B, I/D ?	1586	1603	8	46	merchant		Florence (Italy)	RG 14
134	Balthasarus Gerstman	A, B	1586	1590	6	46				Św. Mikołaja 4.
135	Stanislaus Szembek	A, B, Ex	1587	1600	8	46		councilor of Kraków		RG 5.
136	Petrus Tenczynski JMP	I, B	1601	1603	3	45				
137	Petrus Gargas sartor	A, B,	1592	1605	7	44	tailor		Nowy Sącz	
138	Sigismundus Wezikowski	A, B, I	1603	1603	3	44				
139	Bartholomeus Herbst	A, B	1587	1587	2	43				
140	Stanislaus Hippolit	A, B	1600	1605	4	43	cloth merchant			
141	Barbara Chabowska	A, B, I,	1586	1599	5	42				
142	? Brzezinski	I, B	1587	1597	3	42	priest Cantor/ Canonic Crac			
143	Marcus Malinowski	A, B, I	1603	1604	5	42				Św. Tomasza 26-28 és 31B

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

144	Martinus Urbankowicz nobilis	A, B	1586	1593	6	42		councilor of Kraków		Św. Mikołaja 6; Floriańska 53A
145	? Kuczowski JMP	I	1594	1602	3	41				
146	Paulus Szydłowski JMP	B	1599	1599	2	41		castellan of Kraków		
147	Martinus Haas	A, B	1586	1593	10	41			Lwów/Lemberg (Ukr.)	Św. Jana 20A
148	Stanislaus Węgrzynek & ux	A, B	1589	1603	5	41	capitaneus pretoris Crac hetman Ratusza			Ślawkowska 11A
149	Johannes Wodyński JMP & ux	A, I, Ex	1597	1599	3	40		castellan of Podlasie		
150	Gregorius Jasiowicz	A, B, I	1588	1605	6	40	butcher		Pilzno	
151	Erasmus/Paulus Dembki JMX	I	1593	1600	2	39		dean of Kraków		
152	Casparus Furmankowicz	A, B, I	1605	1605	3	39	merchant		Skierniewice	
153	Johannes Rozycz & ux Sophia	A, B	1596	1605	8	39	barber		Wieliczka	Św. Anny 9
154	Jacobus Wolowczyk	A, B	1601	1605	10	39				
155	Stanislaus Morski JMP	I	1594	1595	6	38		tax collector of Kraków Voivodeship		
156	Michael Amende	A, B	1596	1598	8	38				
157	Sebastianus Montelup nobilis	A, B, I	1592	1597	6	38	merchant		Florence (Italy)	RG 7

158	Martinus Slosarz & ux	A, B	1586	1599	6	38						
159	Johannes Zeman	A, B	1586	1605	11	38	apothecary				Slavkov u Brna (Morava)	Floriańska 3
160	Stanislaus Pitlowicz	A, B	1603	1605	6	37	baker				Klecko	
161	Jacobus Sulikowski	A, B, I	1595	1597	3	37						
162	Albertus Walders	A, B	1592	1604	6	37	goldsmith				Maastricht	
163	Martinus Zalewski	A, B, N	1602	1605	4	37	tailor				Brzezcin	
164	Mathias Dietrich	A, B	1590	1590	7	36,5	merchant				Camencz (?)	
165	Paulus Czerny JMP	I	1605	1605	1	36						
166	Franciscus Kapi & ux	I	1604	1604	1	36						
167	Stanislaus Koszycki organist	A, B	1603	1605	11	36						
168	Johannes Litwinek & ux	D, A, B	1586	1592	6	36	painter					Grodzka 25
169	Stephanus Bawman	A, B	1586	1595	9	35,5	royal trumpeteer					Św. Marka; Sławkowska 6A
170	? Marszalek Koronny JMP	I	1600	1600	2	35						
171	? Szydłowski JMX	I	1602	1603	2	35					canon of Kraków	
172	Claudius Antert	A, B	1595	1599	5	35	tailor				Paris	
173	Volfgangus Moshamer	A, B	1595	1596	9	35						
174	? Sipowski	I	1597	1602	2	35	cantor					

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

175	Lodovicus Wierzbieth	I, Ex	1589	1605	2	34				Olkusz	
176	Sophia/Anna Węgrzyczka	A, B, Ex	1596	1596	2	33				Warsaw	
177	Catharina Tomaszowa Bemowa	A, B	1596	1597	7	33					Św. Anny 7; RG. 30B
178	Jacobus Klisz	A, B	1587	1588	3	33		Kraków juror			
179	Michael Nenke	A, B	1587	1595	9	33	merchant			Kamienec Wrocławski	
180	Daniel Zaydlicz	A, B	1586	1595	9	33	merchant			Lwów/Lemberg (Ukr)	
181	Johannes Branicki	I, B	1599	1599	1	33		starost of Niepolomice			
182	Valentinus Frianski	A, B, I	1589	1594	9	32					
183	Jacobus Klisz	A, B	1591	1592	5	32	merchant		councilor of Kraków		Św. Anny 7; RG. 30B
184	Venceslaus Polikowski	A	1592	1603	2	32					
185	Alexander Szadekapny	I	1604	1605	2	32					
186	Sebastianus Szmigiel	A, B, I	1602	1603	4	32	confectioner			Wrocław	
187	Martinus Kownaczki	A, B	1603	1604	2	31					
188	Johannes Kral alias Limbaitisz	A, B	1587	1605	7	31	merchant				Św. Jana 13C
189	Lodovicus Skalski	A, B	1592	1597	9	31					Śląkowska 3A és C;

190	Nicolaus Zalasowski	A, B	1597	1599	5	31			Kraków juror then councilor		
191	Johannes Firliej JMP	I	1595	1595	1	30			Royal crown treasurer		
192	Erasmus Czeczotka Tłokiński & ux	A, B, D	1586	1605	6	30			councilor of Kraków		Św. Tomasza 37; Wislna 1A
193	Severinus Falencki	A, B	1587	1589	6	30					
194	Johannes Nonart & ux	A, B, I	1586	1605	5	30		merchant	court juror		Św. Jana 5
195	Andreas Oporowski organist & ux	A, B	1595	1600	5	30		organist			
196	Antonius Rohl	A	1605	1605	1	30					
197	? Szczepanowski	I, B	1600	1601	2	30			Nowe Miasto Korczin bírąja		Grodzka 50.
198	Mathias Szafranek	A, B	1587	1590	3	30					
199	Nicolaus Firliej JMP	I, Ex	1597	1601	3	29			voivode of Kraków		
200	Sophia Labeczka	A, B	1592	1603	6	29					
201	Volfgangus Bajer	A, B	1587	1596	3	29					
202	Bernardus Barchan	A, B	1586	1587	2	29		barber		Płóczki (Silesia)	
203	Nicolaus Dugit	A, B	1602	1604	5	29		tailor		Neumark	
204	Friderichus Bertolt	Ex	1605	1605	1	28					
205	Martinus Przybyło	A, B	1591	1594	8	28		tailor			Wislna 8C
206	Johannes Rap	A, B	1587	1596	8	28		merchant	court juror		Ślawkowska 2; Szczepańska 1

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

207	Johannes Siekinge	A, B	1591	1592	2	28	merchant		Lwówek Śląski	RG 30C; Grodzka 38A
208	Simon Zegrzeczki & ux	B	1590	1605	11	28	goldsmith		Sieradz	
209	Petrus Myszkowski z Mirowa JMP	I	1600	1600	2	27		voivode of Rawa, castellan of Lublin		
210	Ambrosius Jaslikowski	A, B	1586	1592	4	27	furrer			Grodzka 42
211	Johannes Mirzeiowski	A, B, Ex	1593	1597	8	27			Różan	
212	Alexander Ravasinus	A, B, I	1602	1603	5	27				
213	Adamus Zaslona	A, B, I, Ex	1603	1605	4	27	merchant		Andrzejów	
214	Johannes Raszowski	B	1601	1601	1	26				
215	Martinus Domaszowski JMP	I	1604	1605	2	25,5			Stara Lubovnia/ Ólubló	
216	Martinus Fox Glowno	A, B	1586	1587	3	25	Physician of the King			Św. Jana 20A- B
217	Jacobus Klement	A, B	1603	1605	3	25			Wrocław	
218	Johannes Leszczynski	A, B	1587	1603	9	25				Szewska 17
219	Vincenitus Liskowicz	A, B	1586	1587	3	25				Grodzka 9B
220	Severinus Pernus	A, B	1592	1596	5	25				
221	Josephus Schubert	A, B	1599	1605	10	25	merchant		Lwówek Śląski	
222	Jacobus Stecz	A, B	1590	1596	6	25			Kleparz	

223	Jacobus Kwokatka	I	1601	1601	1601	1	24					
224	Stanislaus Lubomirski JMP	I	1601	1601	1601	1	24		starost of Sącz			
225	Georgius Ardent	A, B	1590	1591	1591	4	24	tailor		S. Martini el Argine Mantova (Italy)		
226	Jacobus Dromonth	I	1602	1602	1602	1	24	merchant		Sterlin		
227	Petrus Horvát & ux	I, A, B	1601	1605	1605	6	24					
228	Johannes Lucchini	I, A, D	1586	1587	1587	3	24					
229	Philippus Maisner	B	1591	1591	1591	1	24					
230	Johannes Szowicz	A, B	1605	1605	1605	3	24	innkeeper				Św. Mikołaja 13
231	Jacobus de Fratricz	A, B, I	1597	1597	1597	2	24	royal musketeer				
232	Johannes Gliwicz	A, B	1586	1591	1591	5	23					
233	Johannes Pipan	A, B, I	1586	1599	1599	11	23	apothecary	court juror			Bracka 11A; RG 13B
234	Johannes Wolf(owicz)	A, B	1588	1592	1592	9	22,5	butcher				Szpitalna (páratlan oldal)
235	Christophorus Gostkowicz	A, B, D	1587	1590	1590	2	22		castle court lawyer			
236	Gregorius Habicht & ux	A, B	1595	1596	1596	4	22					Glogów
237	Joachimus Leman	A, B	1593	1595	1595	5	22	merchant				Boleslawiec/ Bunzlau
238	Nicolaus Pernus	A, B, D	1590	1593	1593	6	22					

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

239	Christopherus Jasiński JMP	I, A, Ex	1595	1597	2	21		castellan of Kraków		
240	? marszałek curiae regiae/nadworny JMP (1604 koronny Nicolaus Wolski litewski Piotr Wieszolowski	I	1604	1604	1	21				
241	Johannes Myszkowski z Mirowa JMP	B	1603	1603	1	21				RG 9
242	Michael Bem zegarmistrz & ux Catharina	A, B	1599	1604	6	20				
243	Albertus Boczkowski & ux Sophia	A, B	1590	1595	6	20	innkeeper		Piątek	Grocza 4
244	Petrus Devinialis	A, B	1603	1605	2	20				
245	Stanislaus Graber/Grob	A, B	1605	1605	1	20				
246	Volfgangus Klein	B	1603	1603	1	20	merchant	councilor of Kraków		Karmelicka (?)
247	Christopherus Lasiczki	A, B	1592	1600	3	20			Warsaw	
248	Johannes Schilling	B	1591	1597	2	20		city scribe		Bracka 12C
249	Lucas Szink	A, B	1586	1587	2	20			Scotland	
250	Richardus Uber & ux	A, B	1586	1605	6	20			Portugal	
251	Martinus Waczlawowicz	A, B, Ex	1597	1605	4	20	shear	councilor of Kraków		

252	Marekowa Krzywokolska	A, B	1593	1593	2	19						
253	Dorothea Michalowiczowa	A	1586	1586	1	19						
254	Hieronimae Zutterowa	A	1603	1603	4	19						
255	Franciscus Czorn	A, B, D	1586	1600	4	19	merchant				Szczepańska 11 Sławkowska 19.	
256	Albertus Koczczicz	A, B	1592	1593	4	19						
257	Mathias Losinowski	A, B	1586	1589	3	19					Sędziszów	
258	Stanislaus Sliżak	A, B	1586	1593	5	19	baker				Szpitalna 28	
259	Antonius Franczkowicz	A, B	1596	1603	3	18,5						
260	Demetrius Chalecki JMP	I	1595	1595	1	18					Lithuanian treasurer	
261	Procopius Sienyawski JMP	I	1595	1595	1	18					crown marshal	
262	Paulus Piszczki	I, A, B	1603	1605	6	18					Kozminek	
263	Gregorius Skrobkowicz iuris utrisque physician	A	1605	1605	4	18					councilor of Kraków	Grodzka 23
264	Johannes Walkanowski	A, B	1603	1603	2	18						
265	Franciscus Wesselényi JMP	D	1590	1592	2	18						Szewska 5B; RG 34A és B
266	Stanislaus Krasinski JMX	I, A, Ex	1594	1598	3	17,5					royal secretary, archdeacon of Kraków and Łowicz	

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

267	Severinus Glacz & ux Magdalena	A, B	1587	1592	3	17	furrer			Grodzka 4; Kanonicza 2
268	Sigismundus Gutterer	B, N	1586	1591	5	17				
269	Adamus Bodgowski nobil	I	1603	1603	1	17				
270	Albertus Padniewski JMP	I	1600	1603	1	16		castellan of Oświęcim		
271	Janowa Sophia Goreczka	A, B	1595	1605	2	16				
272	Mauritius Bardella Italus	A, B	1605	1605	2	16			Chiavenna (Italy)	
273	Balasius Bistrziczki & ux Jadwiga	A, B	1586	1588	4	16			Milicz	
274	Balthasarus Brozi	I, A	1602	1602	1	16	swordsmith			Grodzka 30; Grodzka 18A
275	Andreas Glinski	A, B	1586	1593	5	16			Glowno	Św. Anny 5
276	Albertus Gorziszowski	A, B	1587	1595	6	16	furrer			Szpitalna 7C; Grodzka 7 (házrész)
277	Jacobus Jaworski	I	1603	1603	1	16				
278	Sebastianus Lifel	A, B	1592	1594	5	16	pouch maker			
279	Petrus Michoniewicz	A, B	1603	1603	3	16				
280	Stephanus Miller	A, B	1600	1603	2	16	merchant		Worbach (Germany)	
281	Johannes Moszczynski & ux Barbara	Ex, A, B, I	1586	1594	5	16			Brzeziny	
282	Johannes Pusch	A, B	1587	1588	4	16	merchant	Kraków juror	Kluczbork	

283	Andreas Kirsius	I	1597	1597	1	15	physician		Italy	
284	Nicolaus Buccella JMP	I, Ex	1596	1604	2	15	Personal physician of the king			
285	? Stadniczki JMP	B	1602	1602	1	15				
286	Andreas Jagosicz	B	1588	1590	1	15				
287	Johannes Dworski	A, B	1590	1595	5	15	merchant			
288	Martinus Miaczynski nobilis	A, B	1599	1599	1	15	apothecary	Kraków juror		Grodzka 39A
289	Stanislaus Piesek	A, B	1590	1590	4	15	salt merchant			Szczepańska (?) páratlan oldal; Floriańska 30
290	Petrus Włodarz	A, B, I	1593	1590	3	15	tailor		Chodów	Grodzka 38B
291	Adamus Osieczki	A	1587	1587	1	14				
292	Christopherus Tornai	B	1587	1587	1	14				
293	Johannes Plaza JMP	A	1593	1595	2	14		starost of Łubaczow		
294	? Czianowska	B	1603	1603	3	14				
295	Dawidowa Magdalena Rotermelowa	A, B, D	1586	1587	3	14				
296	Luszenska Krzywokolska	B	1596	1596	1	14				
297	Albertus et Stephanus Diviti	A	1590	1593	2	14	bookbinder		London	
298	Felix Jaworkowski	A, B	1595	1596	5	14	tailor		Iliza	Wislna (?)

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

299	Johannes Kluczowski & ux Ursula	A, B	1587	1592	4	14	salt merchant			Szpitalna 15C; Sławkowska 25B
300	Andreas Lichowski	A, B, Ex	1593	1603	2	14				Sienna 8B
301	Johannes Lichowski	Ex	1603	1604	3	14				
302	Stanislaus Postrzygacz	A	1603	1603	1	14				
303	Franciscus Sartor	A, B	1592	1593	3	14				
304	? Torzinski JMP	I	1602	1603	2	13				
305	Hieronimae Zalasowska	A, B	1602	1603	2	13				
306	Jacobus BaNa	A	1596	1597	2	13	grocer		Groningen	
307	Casparus Bedonski & ux	A, B	1595	1603	3	13	barber			
308	Daniel Chroberski & ux Elisabetha	A, I	1593	1605	3	13		councilor of Kraków		
309	Casparus Czelner	A	1605	1605	1	13	pouch maker		Toruń	
310	Bernardus Gallerato	A, B, I, Ex	1590	1599	4	13	merchant		Gallerato (Italy)	Grodzka 2A
311	Lucas Gutteter	A, B	1587	1591	4	13	merchant			Św. Anny 5.
312	Johannes Kurowski Cornecista	A, B	1599	1603	6	13				
313	Martinus Proowski	A, B	1603	1604	3	13	painter			
314	Jacobus Rozanka nobilis	A, B	1599	1600	2	13		kauzydyk ?		
315	Martinus Luteslawski	I	1594	1594	1	13		judge of Łęczyce		

316	? Tenczynski JMP	I	1603	1603	1603	1	12					
317	? Suchaczowski JMP	A	1587	1587	1587	1	12					
318	Wacławowa Krawczowa	A, B	1591	1592	1592	4	12					Grodzka 15A/B?
319	Sebastianus Kownaczki	A	1587	1587	1587	1	12	furrier				Plac Wszystkich Świętych 10B
320	Johannes Ostrog	I	1597	1603	1603	2	12	bookbinder			Piotrków	
321	Casparus Rezler	A, B	1592	1597	1597	4	12		councilor of Kraków			
322	Christopherus Sławikowski	B	1588	1588	1588	1	12	soap maker				Św. Jana 10
323	Christopherus Wesolowski	B	1589	1589	1589	1	12	soap maker				
324	Franciscus Stali	I	1604	1604	1604	1	11					
325	Johannes Kostka JMP	A	1587	1587	1587	1	11					
326	Lucas Koscielni JMP	I	1595	1595	1595	1	11		bishop of Poznań			
327	Nicolaus Alancze & ux	A, B	1587	1604	1604	5	11					RG 11
328	Nicolaus Czebrowski aromatarius	A, B	1592	1592	1592	2	11	apothecary				Grodzka 36
329	Johannes Kozirozicz sartor	A, B	1603	1604	1604	2	11	tailor			Balice	
330	Jacobus Lagre	A, B	1592	1592	1596	4	11	tailor			Tourcoing (France)	

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

331	Casparus Miedzichod/Rezler	A, B	1586	1587	3	11					
332	Josephus Wengrynek Hungarus	A, B	1590	1590	3	11					
333	Stanislaus Zawaczki Picus philosophie medicinaeque physician	A, B	1586	1591	4	11		councilor of Kraków, syndic		Kleparz	Jagiellonska 12
334	Johannes Heincz	A, B	1605	1605	3	10,5	red leatherer			Pirszyn (Silesia)	Floriańska 4
335	Sigismundus Dembinski JMP	I	1603	1603	1	10					
336	Laurentius Gembicki JMX	I, Ex	1597	1603	2	10		Secretary General of the Crown			
337	Paulus Wolucki JMX	I	1602	1602	1	10		bishop of Kamieniec			
338	Michael Atelmaier	A	1605	1605	1	10	merchant			Innsbruck	
339	Martinus Heremita	A, B	1603	1604	3	10	reseller			Czudec	
340	Jacobus Horth	A, B	1602	1604	3	10	barber			Geppersdorf	Plac Dominikański 2C
341	Bartholomeus Kamien	B	1588	1589	2	10				Kleparz	
342	Conradus Miller	A, B	1603	1603	1	10	grocer			Pfortsheim (Germany)	
343	Jacobus Mixta	A, B	1587	1587	1	10		quartermaster			
344	Johannes Morawczyk	A, B	1597	1598	4	10	tailor			Ciechanów	

345	Casparus Rotermel	B	1590	1590	2	10	merchant			Floriańska 8
346	Johannes Waxman	A, B	1587	1595	5	10	merchant	councilor of Kraków		RG 21
347	Georgius Wiczekowicz	A, B, I	1600	1600	2	10				
348	Stanislaus Zurkowicz	A, B	1592	1592	3	10	reseller		Mstów	
349	Johannes Zurkowicz	I	1600	1600	1	10				
350	? Cigler	I	1594	1594	1	9				
351	Simon Zamlin?	I	1605	1605	1	9				
352	Johannes Baptista Pelegrin	B, Ex	1601	1602	2	9	royal servant			
353	Georgius Bydermann	A	1605	1605	1	9				
354	Bartholomeus Feter & ux	B	1586	1587	2	9	goldsmith			
355	Valerianus Gutteter	A, B	1590	1605	4	9		Kraków juror		Szpitalna 6
356	Casparus Gutteter	A, B	1587	1596	4	9		councilor of Kraków		RG 12B
357	Bartholomeus Krodner	A	1605	1605	3	9				
358	Jacobus Martens	B	1591	1591	3	9	painter		Antwerpen	
359	Valerianus Montelup	A	1587	1587	1	9				RG 7
360	Johannes Moshamer	A, B	1595	1595	2	9				Wislna 6B
361	Stanislaus Nicz	A, B	1586	1587	2	9	inkeeper			Szewska 27

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

362	Gregorius Pipan	A, B	1604	1605	2	9			councilor of Kraków		
363	Johannes Roszocha	A, Ex	1603	1603	1	9					
364	Albertus Suchoczki	A, B	1603	1603	3	9	swordsmith				Grodzka 30
365	Stanislaus Szoltisek	A, B	1597	1597	1	9					Św. Jana 3B
366	Simon Winarski	A	1605	1605	1	9	reseller				
367	Stanislaus Wolfram	A, B, I	1597	1598	3	9					
368	Felix Zabrzski & ux	A, B	1599	1605	2	9	tailor				
369	Laurentius Justimonti nobilis	A, B	1587	1592	2	8,5				Italy	Jagellonska 9
370	? Czieslinski	I	1595	1595	1	8				Wielkopolska	
371	? Fasczesowski	I	1593	1593	1	8					
372	? Dobroczecki JMX		1603	1603	1	8					
373	Alexandrowa Sophia	A, B	1605	1605	1	8					
374	Mathisiowa Rekawina	A	1605	1605	1	8					
375	Lodovicus Aichler	A, B	1590	1590	1	8					
376	Valentinus Berthold	A	1592	1592	1	8					
377	Mathias Blonski	A	1605	1605	2	8	tailor			Niegardów	
378	Andreas Celary	A, B	1592	1604	3	8	merchant		councilor of Kraków	Milano (Italy)	RG 19; 27B
379	Laurentius Czeszkowicz	A, B	1586	1587	2	8	tailor				Poselska 9B

380	Albertus Dirda	A, B	1603	1603	1603	3	8	baker			Florianska 28B
381	Johannes Gomolka	A, B	1587	1587	1587	1	8	painter			
382	Bartholomeus Kalstin	A	1605	1605	1605	1	8	reseller		Kleparz	
383	Paulus Kostan	A, B	1599	1599	1599	1	8				
384	Laurentius Kromer	B	1604	1604	1604	1	8				
385	Johannes Krzyzanowski	A	1587	1587	1587	1	8				
386	Casparus Miedzochod	A	1587	1587	1587	1	8				
387	Johannes Baptista Mora	A, B	1599	1599	1599	1	8	merchant		Piuro (Italy)	
388	Andreas Rindak	A, B	1596	1596	1596	1	8	reseller		Zator	
389	Alexander Rodecki	B	1589	1589	1589	1	8			Turobin	
390	Venceslaus Slaweczki	A, B	1604	1604	1604	1	8	merchant, cartwright, innkeeper		Ujazd (Silesia)	Szewska 20B
391	Andreas Sulik	A, B	1587	1587	1587	1	8			Galowice (Silesia)	
392	Erasmus Taniel	A, B	1587	1587	1587	1	8				
393	Sebastianus Wileczkowski	A, B	1600	1600	1600	1	8	reseller		Uniejów	Szewska 11
394	? Gladysz nob.	B	1603	1603	1603	1	8				
395	Adamowa Ewa Blaszkowiczowa	A, B	1592	1592	1592	1	7,5				
396	Georgius Mniszech JMP	I	1605	1605	1605	1	7		voivode of Sandomierz		

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

397	Abrahamus Ronenberg	A	1587	1604	2	7	apothecary	Kraków juror, then councilor		RG 8
398	Anna Mularka	A	1586	1586	1	7				
399	Stanislaus Byrkowicz	A	1605	1605	1	7				
400	Jacobus Cziniowicz	A	1605	1605	1	7	merchant		Kleparz	Szewska 5A
401	Stanislaus Fischer	A	1586	1586	2	7				
402	Ulrichus Frisch	A, B	1603	1603	2	7	tailor			
403	Johannes Keszy	A	1587	1587	1	7				
404	Georgius Maisner	B	1588	1588	2	7	tailor			Poselska 14
405	Georgius Swieczicki	A, B	1599	1599	1	7				Wislna 6A
406	Stanislaus Zalasowski	A	1599	1599	1	7				
407	Folthinowa Hoffmanowa	A, B	1586	1591	3	6,5				
408	Georgina Elisabetha Schillingowa	B	1586	1591	3	6,5				
409	Johannes Krzeczky	I	1593	1593	1	6				
410	? castellanus Siradien JMP Sieradz	A	1586	1586	1	6				
411	? Chrzanowski JMP	I	1605	1605	1	6				
412	Paulus Krol	I	1603	1603	1	6				

413	? woiewidzic Kaliski JMP	I	1590	1590	1	6				
414	Przeclaw Niewiarowski máltai lovag JMX	A	1598	1598	1	6				
415	Casparowa Postrziganecze	A, B	1590	1591	2	6				
416	Johannes Baliczki	A, B	1590	1590	2	6	furrer			
417	Petrus Bozeiowski	A, B	1586	1586	2	6	furrer			
418	Melchiorus Chodowicz	I, A	1602	1603	2	6	furrer			
419	Hippolitus Echlar	I	1595	1595	1	6				
420	Stanislaus Friser	A, D	1586	1586	2	6				
421	Johannes Gelazin	A, B	1603	1604	3	6				
422	Johannes Glowaczki	B	1590	1590	1	6	inkeeper		Sieradz	Slawkowska 32B
423	Stanislaus Grosz	A, B	1587	1591	2	6				
424	Melchiorus Hepner	A, B	1603	1603	2	6	barber			
425	Albertus Jablonski	A, B	1602	1602	1	6			Piekary	
426	Stanislaus Kaczizki	B	1587	1587	1	6	furrer			RG 18
427	Balthasarus Kara	A, B	1599	1599	2	6				Św. Anny 15
428	Johannes Korba	A, B, I	1602	1602	1	6			Warsaw	
429	Andreas Korzeniewski	A, B	1603	1603	1	6			Lwów/Lemberg	

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

430	Johannes Kotlarz & ux	B, A	1589	1590	3	6				
431	Paulus Krzywokolski	A, B	1586	1587	3	6				
432	Casparus Mayek	I	1597	1597	1	6	reseller		Kleparz	
433	Stanislaus Piechota	B	1588	1588	1	6				
434	Nicolaus Rimer	A, B	1586	1586	1	6				
435	Johannes Salczinger	A, B	1603	1603	1	6	merchant		Lauffen (near Salzburg)	
436	Friderichus Smalcz	B	1593	1593	1	6		Kraków juror		RG 41B
437	Stanislaus Stephanowicz	A, B, Ex	1600	1603	2	6	merchant		Pińczów	
438	Martinus Swietlik	A	1587	1587	1	6				
439	Melchiorus Wolodkowicz	A	1593	1593	1	6				
440	Stanislaus Zambecius	A, B	1605	1605	2	6				
441	Albertus Zywiecki nobilis	A	1597	1597	2	6	merchant			
442	?	I	1600	1600	1	6		starost of Lelów	Lelów	
443	Andreas Barankowicz & ux	A, B	1586	1604	3	5,5			Wislice	
444	Christophorus Schilling	A, B	1590	1597	4	5,5				RG 41A
445	Bogdanus Lesniowicz	I	1593	1593	1	5				
446	Adamus Timonski	A	1592	1592	1	5				

447	? Ligęza JMP	I	1600	1600	1600	1	5				
448	? Waier JMP	Ex	1604	1604	1604	1	5				
449	Georgius Zamoyiski JMX	I	1603	1603	1603	1	5	bishop of Chelm			
450	Margaretha/ Elisabetha Kryznanowska	A, B	1592	1597	1597	2	5				
451	Stanislawowa Zellerowa	A, B	1599	1599	1599	1	5				
452	Antonius Byczkowicz	A	1592	1592	1592	1	5				
453	Paulus Chelstowski	A	1605	1605	1605	1	5	court juror	Gąbin		
454	Andreas Fogelveder	B	1587	1587	1587	1	5	court juror			
455	Mathias Henisch	A	1605	1605	1605	2	5				
456	Johannes Komorowski	A	1586	1586	1586	1	5				
457	Johannes Kremerowicz	A, B	1596	1596	1596	1	5	merchant	Wielkopolska		
458	Mathias Lipski & ux	A, B	1588	1595	1595	2	5	tailor			
459	Simon Maszerek	A, B	1603	1603	1603	2	5	printer			
460	Martinus Schulz	A, B, I, Ex	1593	1594	1594	2	5		Lwów/Lemberg		
461	Johannes Szmuszowski	A	1603	1603	1603	2	5	juror of Kazimierz	Kazimierz		
462	Martinus Peczi	A, B	1587	1587	1587	1	4,5	cobbler			
463	? Koczotek	B	1602	1602	1602	1	4				

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

464	Angelus Lery	A	1603	1603	1	4				
465	? Maxille	I	1605	1605	1	4				
466	Johannes Horvát	I	1603	1603	1	4		servant of the Forgách family		
467	? Marschalek litewski JMP	B	1603	1603	1	4				
468	? Wąpowski JMP	Ex	1601	1601	1	4				
469	Josephowa Dorothea Warszawska	A, B	1603	1603	2	4				
470	Janowa Baptyszczina Fontaninowa	I, A	1605	1605	1	4				
471	Thomaszowa Liberzina	A, B	1603	1603	1	4				
472	Simonowa Radziczka	A, B	1605	1605	1	4				
473	Casparowa Siedliczka	A, B	1593	1593	1	4				
474	Casparus Arcon	A, B	1602	1602	1	4	stonemason			
475	Christophorus Braniczki	A, B	1603	1603	1	4				
476	Martinus Brozi	A, B	1587	1587	1	4				
477	Paulus Bruzik	A, B	1603	1603	1	4	furrier			
478	Johannes Bytomski	A, B	1604	1604	1	4				
479	Andreas Corvus	A, B	1587	1587	1	4				Św. Tomasza 8A

480	Paulus Cunctum	B	1591	1591	1	4	painter			
481	Petrus Czichon	A, B	1596	1596	1	4	tailor		Brzeznica	
482	Johannes Daicz	A	1587	1587	1	4			Vitznau (Switzerland)	Szpitalna 7C
483	Jacobus Devini	A, B	1603	1603	1	4				
484	Daniel Fleming	A, B	1603	1603	1	4			Gdańsk	
485	Thomas Hungarus	A	1592	1592	1	4				
486	Martinus Kolakowski	A, B	1605	1605	2	4	royal trumpeteer			Sienna 8A
487	Johannes Kotliczki	B	1604	1604	1	4				
488	Johannes Krosner	A, B	1587	1592	2	4	cobbler			Plac Wszystkich Świętych 9B
489	Andreas Lania	A, B	1587	1587	2	4				Plac Szczepański 1A
490	Michael Lery	B	1603	1603	1	4			Florence	
491	Johannes Liskowicz	A, B	1602	1602	1	4	furrier			
492	Johannes Maliczki	A	1605	1605	1	4				
493	Georgius Maszkowski	A, B	1586	1586	1	4			councilor of Kraków	Św. Tomasz 4.
494	Paulus Mayk	A	1596	1596	1	4				
495	Andreas Philipowicz	A, B	1599	1599	1	4	merchant			Wojnicz
496	Georgius Bekowiczki	A, B	1605	1605	1	4				
497	Michael Piotrowski	A, B	1586	1586	1	4				

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

498	Martinus Postrzigacz	I	1594	1594	2	4				
499	Johannes Radomieski	A, B	1603	1603	1	4				
500	Johannes Rindet	A, B, I	1597	1599	2	4	tailor		Barcin	
501	Johannes Schubert	A, B	1597	1597	1	4				
502	Thomas Slawek	B	1587	1591	2	4		councilor of Kraków		Sławkowska 6B
503	Thomas Smussowicz	A	1605	1605	1	4	locksmith		Szydłowiec	
504	Laurentius Strainer	A, B	1603	1604	2	4	merchant		Wrocław	
505	Nicolaus Szembek	A, B	1603	1603	1	4				
506	Christopherus Szoltiszek	A, B	1587	1587	1	4				
507	Nicolaus Topiczowski	A, B	1603	1605	2	4	tailor		civitas Bransko (?)	
508	Leonardus Zenoffin	A, B	1590	1590	1	4	cobbler		Lecce (Italy)	
509	Nicolaus Wykinski nobilis	I	1599	1599	1	4				
510	? Sremski JMP & ux	I, Ex	1595	1600	1	3,5				
511	Andreas Buski	A	1587	1587	1	3				
512	? Soderman	I	1592	1592	1	3				
513	Jaroslavius Dembinski JMP	Ex	1597	1597	1	3				
514	Christopherus Dzierzka JMP	Ex	1603	1603	1	3				

515	? Kolaczki JMP	I	1602	1602	1	3				
516	? Koryczinski JMP	A	1599	1599	1	3				
517	Michael Maleczkowski JMP	I	1589	1589	1	3		superintendent of royal estates		
518	? Sobieski JMP	B	1604	1604	1	3				
519	? Szafragan JMP	I	1603	1603	1	3				
520	Laurentius Goslicki JMX	Ex	1595	1595	1	3		bishop of Przemysł		
521	Johannes Makowiczki JMX	I	1593	1593	1	3		scribe of the treasury		
522	Lucia Casperkowa	A, B	1592	1592	1	3				
523	Felicia Koszłowa	B	1590	1590	1	3				
524	Andreasowa Anna Kernszotkowa	A, B	1592	1592	1	3				
525	Antoniusz Blanz	A, B	1597	1597	1	3	goldsmith		Levier (Bourgogne)	
526	Jacobus Bobrowski	A	1605	1605	2	3				
527	Johannes Broniczki JMP	A	1587	1587	1	3	royal master huntsman	castellan of Biecz		
528	Petrus Chrosliczki	A, B	1598	1598	1	3				Szczepański 1B
529	Jacobus Cimerman	A, B	1590	1592	2	3	merchant	Kraków juror then councilor of Kraków	Neumarkt/ Środa Śląska	RG 24B
530	Johannes Cyrus	A, B	1596	1596	1	3	furrier, cons crac			Św. Jana 15C
531	Johannes Czielesta	A	1595	1595	1	3	reseller		Łowicz	Szpitalna 20/22B

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

532	Stanislaus Gładzinski	A	1605	1605	1	3			Pultovia	
533	Stanislaus Graiowski	A	1605	1605	1	3				
534	Seraphinus Grob	A, B	1603	1603	1	3	patricius Kasimiriensis		Kazimierz	
535	Stanislaus Jalbrzikowski	A	1595	1595	1	3	barhent weaver			
536	Mathias Jaszczurkowicz	A, B	1593	1603	2	3	furrer			
537	Stanislaus Jaszczurkowicz	A, B	1593	1593	1	3				
538	Venceslaus Kardinal	A, B	1590	1590	1	3	reseller		Czestochowa	
539	Albertus Klaudi	I	1597	1597	1	3				
540	Mathias Koscienski	A, B	1592	1592	1	3				
541	Johannes Krupka	A, B	1592	1599	2	3	pouch maker			
542	Christopherus Lasiczki	B	1589	1589	1	3	soap maker			Slawkowska 9.
543	Johannes Latosz	B	1586	1586	1	3	physician			Szewska 11.
544	Johannes Morawski	A	1605	1605	1	3	tailor		Ciechanów	
545	Laurentius Naglar	A	1587	1587	1	3				Grodzka 13C
546	Nicolaus Pan	Ex	1604	1604	1	3	reseller		Bruxelles	
547	Johannes Pieniężel JMP	A	1593	1593	1	3		royal tax collector		Bracka 15.
548	Stanislaus Płiteczki serrificus	A	1587	1587	1	3	locksmith			Grodzka 9B; Grodzka 13AB

549	Sebastianus Porembski	A, B	1587	1587	1	3				
550	Jacobus Prenczina	A	1605	1605	1	3				Golebia 18B; Grodzka 33
551	Franciscus Radota	A, B, D	1587	1587	2	3	merchant			Sławkowska 3B
552	Christophorus Romer	A, B	1587	1587	3	3		councilor of Kraków		
553	Thomas Rudger	A	1590	1590	1	3				
554	Petrus Smilowski	A	1592	1592	1	3	knifemaker		Smielów?	
555	Johannes Szmukierz	A, B	1599	1601	2	3				
556	Johannes Szoltisek	B	1588	1591	2	3				
557	Sebastianus Wesolowski	A, B	1587	1587	1	3	barber			
558	Johannes Zerolinski	B	1604	1604	1	3				
559	Albertus Zminda & ux	A, B	1590	1593	2	3	tailor		Rydzyna near Leszno	
560	Mathias Zychowicz	A, B	1593	1593	1	3	furrer		Koszycki	
561	?	Ex	1597	1597	1	3		starost of Rawa		
562	Sebastianus Cirus	B	1587	1597	2	2,5		court juror		Floriańska 12
563	? Boyanowski	Ex	1597	1597	1	2				
564	? Goslawski	I	1595	1595	1	2				
565	? Hubisz	I	1592	1592	1	2				
566	Stanislaus Koza	I	1591	1591	1	2				

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

567	Laurentius Lencz/ Tencz?	I	1592	1592	1	2					
568	Felix Szmukierz	I	1601	1601	1	2					
569	? Wielopolski JMP	B	1601	1601	1	2					
570	Matheus Maciejowski JMP	I	1603	1603	1	2					
571	Nicolaus Palczowski JMP	I	1603	1603	1	2					
572	Stanislaus Gomolinski JMX	I	1604	1604	1	2		bishop of Łuck			
573	Petrus Tylicki JMX	I	1604	1604	1	2		crown chancellor			
574	Anna Niemczowa	A	1587	1587	1	2					
575	Janowa Szlusarka	A, B	1593	1593	1	2					
576	Franciscus ?	D	1586	1586	1	2					
577	Casparus Bogdalik	I	1601	1601	1	2	grocer		Uście		RG 4
578	Erasmus Cipsar	A, B	1594	1594	1	2					
579	Johannes Cornecista	A, B	1599	1599	1	2					
580	Paulus Czarny	A, B	1587	1587	1	2					Szewska 9B
581	Petrus Digawski aurifex	A, B	1604	1604	1	2	goldsmith		Opoczno		
582	Stanislaus Długosz	A, B	1587	1587	1	2					
583	Gregorius Drewniany	A	1586	1586	1	2					
584	Casparus Dżiszcz/ Dżieża	A, B	1587	1587	1	2					

585	Franciscus Gora	A	1599	1599	1	2					
586	Andreas Goraj	A, B	1603	1603	1	2			Tuchów		
587	Venceslaus Gregłowicz	A	1605	1605	1	2					
588	Nicolaus Grosz	B	1591	1591	1	2					
589	Erasmus Gutowski	A, B	1592	1592	1	2	furrer		Pułtusk		Floriańska 5
590	Sebastianus Kencz	A	1586	1586	1	2			Nürnberg		
591	Jacobus Kornafel & ux	A, B	1605	1605	1	2					
592	Casparus Kircz	A, B	1604	1604	1	2					
593	Thomas Lang	A	1587	1587	1	2					
594	Simon Murri (francia)	A	1605	1605	1	2	tailor				Grodzka 4B
595	Adamus Nagoth	A, B	1599	1599	2	2	furrer	councilor of Kraków	Oświęcim		
596	Friderichus Paczek & ux	B	1591	1591	2	2					
597	Casparus Pawuk	A, B	1599	1599	1	2					
598	Johannes Petrus Polak	B	1586	1586	1	2					
599	Johannes Przekupni	B	1605	1605	1	2					
600	Sigismundus Rosolek alias Gendzicz	B	1587	1587	1	2					Floriańska 55A; Sw. Jana 11B
601	Bartholomeus Schulz	B	1587	1587	1	2				Legnica/Lignitz (Silesia)	

618	Jakubowa Krenzelkowa	A, B	1597	1597	1	1					
619	Casparowa Latnisczina	A, B	1593	1593	1	1					
620	? Maxulina	A	1604	1604	1	1					
621	Dorotha Niczowa	I	1604	1604	1	1					
622	Malcherowa Anna Rezlerowa	A, B	1601	1601	1	1					
623	Anna Treca	A	1593	1593	1	1					
624	Simon ? aptekarz	D	1586	1586	1	1					
625	Laurentius Ardenti	A, B	1587	1587	1	1	merchant		St. Martin (Italy)		Floriańska 49
626	Stanislaus Bednarz	A	1587	1587	1	1	inkeeper				
627	Adamus Beruka	A	1605	1605	1	1					
628	Andreas Biniol	A, B	1600	1600	1	1			Mantova (Italy)		
629	Johannes Buczaczi	A	1586	1586	1	1					
630	Casparus Chmeler	A, B	1598	1598	1	1					
631	Urbanus Friser	A, B	1586	1586	1	1		court juror			
632	Sigmundus Garbarz	I	1605	1605	1	1					
633	Christopherus Gerarth	A, B	1599	1599	1	1	merchant		Saeffelen (Germany)		
634	Johannes Gerzynski Canonic Crac Reverendus	A	1592	1592	1	1					

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE EXPORT OF WINES FROM THE UPPER TISZA REGION

635	Augustinus Gutreter	I	1600	1600	1	1	1	1				RG 17
636	Johannes Halicz	A	1587	1587	1	1	1	1				Floriańska 31
637	Balthasarus Hegel	Ex	1594	1594	1	1	1	1				
638	Stanislaus Jeleniowicz	A	1595	1595	1	1	1	1				
639	Johannes Kirschner	B	1586	1586	1	1	1	1				
640	Johannes Mazurek	A	1587	1587	1	1	1	1			Szczodrkowice	Grodzka 8
641	Hieronimus Mazze	A, B	1592	1592	1	1	1	1			Venice (Italy)	
642	Johannes Miechowski	Ex	1593	1593	1	1	1	1				
643	Valerianus Pernus	B	1587	1587	1	1	1	1				Floriańska 11
644	Samuel Piaskowski	A	1604	1604	1	1	1	1				Mały Rynek 4A
645	Jacobus Schab	A	1592	1592	1	1	1	1			Lübben (Germany)	
646	Melchiorus Schulz	A, B	1595	1595	1	1	1	1			Sibiu/ Nagyszeben (Transylvania)	
647	Erasmus Strusz nobilis	A, B	1586	1586	1	1	1	1				Św. Jana 9
648	Petrus Wlosek	I	1605	1605	1	1	1	1				
649	Christophorus Zagorski	A, B	1587	1587	1	1	1	1				Grodzka 41

Table 5 shows that the most significant importer of wines from the Upper Tisza region to Kraków was Julio Baldi from Florence (1st name), who, together with his wife, imported 1,682 barrels of wine during the 20 years in question. The second largest importer was Johannes Kalay, or János Kállai, a goldsmith from Nyírbátor, who, with his total output of 399 barrels, did not even reach a quarter of Baldi's turnover. It is also worth examining which social strata in Kraków were most closely associated with the trade in "Hungarian" wines from the Upper Tisza region. In 238 cases, we know the civil profession of the wine importer in question. This is shown in Table 6.

		barrel	%
wholesaler	69	6259	47,86
tailor	36	1686	12,89
goldsmith	14	1552	11,86
apothecary	7	436	3,33
furrier	19	394,5	3,01
grocer	15	308	2,35
physician	4	293	2,24
wine measurer	2	219,5	1,68
barber	8	203,5	1,55
innkeeper	7	189,5	1,45
cloth merchant	3	168,5	1,3
musician	1	160	1,22
passementerie maker	2	157	1,20
royal servant	6	138,5	1,06
baker	4	125,5	0,96
butcher	3	123,5	0,94
salt merchant	3	97	0,74
organist	2	94	0,72
painter	5	70	0,53
tanner	4	69,5	0,53
playing card painter	1	57	0,44
cantor	1	35	0,27
confectioner	1	32	0,24

pouch maker	3	32	0,24
bookbinder	3	31	0,24
soap maker	3	27	0,21
swordsmith	2	25	0,19
shear	1	20	0,15
cobbler	3	12,5	0,10
locksmith	3	9	0,07
stonemason	1	4	0,03
barchent weaver	1	3	0,02
knifemaker	1	3	0,02

Table 6 clearly shows that most of the wine was purchased by wholesalers, tailors, and goldsmiths belonging to the socio-economic elite. Also belonging to their social class were cloth and salt merchants, who collectively accounted for 73% of wine sales. Representatives of middle-class professions (two dozen craft trades) share the remaining 27%. The dominance of wholesalers is significant, as 69 of them were involved in importing “Hungarian” wine from the Upper Tisza region. There are 36 tailors, while this number does not even reach 20 in other professions. We established that wines from Sopron played a more important role in the lives of the artisan middle class in Kraków,²⁸ while the import of wines from the Upper Tisza region was more prominent among the nobility and patricians. This “elitist” tendency applies not only to citizens but also to the nobility: together with the king, 72 noblemen purchased a total of 2,020.5 barrels of Tokaj wine, with the king himself (23rd on the list) purchasing the largest quantity, a total of 204 barrels. The above also confirms the widespread saying that “Tokaji is the king of wines and the wine of kings.”

Conclusion and outlook

Based on three archival sources from Kraków covering the 20 years between 1586 and 1605, we reconstructed the export of wines from the Upper Tisza region (mainly Tokaj-Hegyalja) to Kraków, transported in 352.5-litre Hungarian barrels. We discussed quantity, price, and the role of Hungarian and Polish

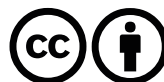
²⁸ Vinkler, Soproni borok, 2016. 41–42.

wine merchants and transporters. We projected the trade routes onto a map, marking the locations of customs offices in Hungary and wine warehouses in Poland, as well as the places of residence of merchants and carriers. However, our work does not end here, as sources from Kraków provide information not only on wines transported in Hungarian barrels, but also on other wines arriving via different routes (from Sopron, Svätý Jur, Moravia, Austria, Malvasia, the Canary Islands, etc.). The investigations must be extended to cover these as well, and our current findings must be evaluated in conjunction with them. We have already completed the examination of the wines from Sopron.

However, it is not only possible to expand the scope of the investigation in terms of product composition, but also to extend the period. Once we have researched all wine varieties from the 20 years under review, we can begin examining the periods before and after this using similar methods. Before 1586, only the city wine tax (*ducillaria vinorum*) records survived, but after 1605, another source is also available, namely the Kraków customs logs. As regards domestic research on Kraków sources, a publication was already published on the period prior to the one we examined. In 2018, Attila Tózsza-Rigó published data based on wine tax (*ducillaria vinorum*) records found in the Kraków city accounts, specifically from the period between 1567 and 1585, corresponding to the period we examined.²⁹ He arrived at similar conclusions to ours: based on the annual wine tax revenue, he also estimates that the actual wine trade was much higher than what Komoróczy's figures suggest. He also found a detailed wine tax list from 1584, which also indicated the dominance of wines from the Upper Tisza region and other parts of Hungary in Kraków.

However, the Kraków customs records that survived from 1589 onwards report not only on wines, but also on the trade in all goods available on the free market. Among other things, Hungarian copper exports and our cloth imports from Kraków can also be examined. It can therefore be concluded that the archives of Kraków still offer rich possibilities for research into early modern trade history.


²⁹ Tózsza-Rigó Attila, "A Magyar Királyság északi irányú borkereskedelme a 16. század második felében", In: Pószán László – Tózsza-Rigó Attila (eds.), "*Vina bibant homines, animantia cetera fontes*" *Tanulmányok a magyar bor történetéből*. Debrecen, 2018. 38–50.



PETRA KOŠŤÁLOVÁ, PhD, Charles University

CZ-116 38 Prague 1, nám. Jana Palacha 1/2.

petra.kostalova@ff.cuni.cz

 ORCID: 0000-0001-8044-5103



“Igri ferroque” Shaping Early Modern Ukraine History Through Lens of Armenian Sources

ABSTRACT

Early Modern Era historical sources, dating back to sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are crucial for understanding the dynamics of narrative changes between the late Middle Ages and Enlightenment period. Perceived through various lens, they determine (by means of interpretation of myths and symbols) our perception of history till today. This paper could be understood as an attempt to narrate history in a variety of ways inextricably linked to continuous present. The article based on textual analysis of Early Modern Armenian chronicles and colophons originating from Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) should help us to better understand the multifaceted phenomenon of “Orient” and “Europe” constructions, especially the concept of frontier Orientalism as well as *antemurale* myth. Analysed sources offer a glimpse into interpretive “reading” the history of Black Sea region and neighbouring areas from multiple perspectives – through lens of Armenian chroniclers.

Keywords: Armenia, Diaspora, chronicles, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, seventeenth century

Introduction

The article deals with the specificity of sixteenth–seventeenth century Armenian sources originating from “border” regions of Black Sea and their significance within the frame of Central-European *histoire polyphonique*. From the methodology point of view, the accent will be placed on specificity of past-present entangled memories,¹ global microhistory approach (as de-

¹ Smith, Anthony D., *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford, 1999. 15. Azoulay, Ariella Aïsha, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism*. London, 2019.

finied by S. Aslanian).² This approach was originally based on *Annales* school of history interpretations and further developed by Italian school of *micro-historia*, by textual analysis of primary sources as well as the “mirror reading” technique focused on history of mentalities and emotions. Besides polyphonic history, the acentric approach of vast and intertwined Black Sea region from the point of view of Armenian historical sources should be highlighted, as well as interpretive history approach. This approach consists in “translating” history through (till yet unedited and understudied) sources containing data from interpersonal to inter-communal relations as well as first-person narratives with certain degree of personal touch.³

We will discuss the notion of border identity, contested cultural spaces, hybrid identities, competing identities, elusive border, captive narratives, so-called frontier Orientalism imagery as well as its evolution in time and space. Phenomena such as borders, construction of diasporic identity and its preservation, its relationship to the past, etc., have clear connotations even in the present day. Analysed texts help us to better understand the vulnerability of religious minorities of that period as well as limits of community resilience and various ways how to maintain their identity. These texts – each of them considered unique testimony and firsthand eyewitness of the past – also reflect the great paradigm shift of seventeenth century, which has strongly affected many nationalist narratives, ethnic myth constructions etc.

The emphasis placed on the textual analysis of this type of sources enables the perception of an individual story in its social, historical and cultural context, trying to reveal the meta-cognitive paradigm built on the network of micro-stories. Thus, tracing the reception of Armenian Diaspora sources from late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could give us an insight into the history of mentalities and emotions in *longue durée*. Specific position within Europe and its proximity to the Black Sea and Balkans have predestined Central Europe to be a kind of borderland or “threshold” area. According to historian A. Gingrich’s thesis, a particular type of so-called frontier Orientalism developed here as a basis serving for the emergence of various stereotypi-

² Aslanian, Sebouh, “Life Lived Across Continents: The Global Microhistory of an Armenian Agent of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* 1666–1688”, = *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 73:1, 2018, 19–54. Berg, Maxine, “Global Microhistory of the Local and the Global”, = *Journal of Early Modern History* 27:1–2, 2023, 1–5.

³ Contin, Benedetta, “Ascetics, Missionaries, Lovers: Interconfessional Confrontation and Interaction in Seventeenth Century Ottoman Armenian Eyewitness Narratives”, = *Scrinium* 21:1, 2025, 244–273.

cal images.⁴ Thus, Black Sea region could be understood as a network node, underlined by its geostrategic position, history and culture. It requires very specific approach regarding the widely known category of the Orient and its shifting borders as defined by E. Said.⁵

Regarding Armenian sources from this region, their significant role should be stressed – especially because they are not usually considered to represent a common knowledge of seventeenth century master narratives or metanarratives. On the one hand, classical *antemurale christianitatis* myth is accentuated here, emphasizing particularly the role of Polish *szlachta* (winged hussars). On the other hand, unusually shifting borders between distinct categories (Us and Them) could be discussed in these types of ego-documents, as they strongly affected Central-European nation-building narratives as well as ethnic myth constructions. Moreover, detailed textual analysis reveals the significance of all types of historical sources as cultural artifacts – even non-elite, “low”, popular literature or orally transmitted tradition could be comparable in meaning with “high literature” and should be “read” (as N. Zemon Davis stated).⁶ Minor chroniclers and scribes also appear here as guardians of historical collective memory: “May my work bring you great wisdom.”⁷

Methodology: Interpretive History and Minor Chronicles

Textual analysis is based on Armenian historical sources from today’s western Ukraine, northern Romania and eastern Poland territories. Armenian chroniclers usually refer to metanarrative of seventeenth century, evoking “bitter times full of sorrow” (*dar, vstašat žamanak* in Armenian). Within subsequent interpretation of “God’s Chosen People” destiny, these “dark times” have es-

⁴ Gingrich, Andre, “La frontière proche: analyses structurales des mythes orientalistes”, = *Diogenè: Hommage à Claude Lévi-Strauss* 238:2, 2012, 77–87.

⁵ Said, Edward, “Orientalism Reconsidered”, In: Sullivan, Earl – Ismael, Jacqueline (eds.), *The Contemporary Study of the Arab World*. Edmonton, 1991. 36. Said, Edward, *L’orientalisme: L’Orient crée par l’occident*. Paris, 1980. 13–15.

⁶ Zemon Davis, Natalie, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. Redwood City, 1975.

⁷ Anasyan, Hakob Sedraki (ed.), *Hovhannes Kamenac’i: Patmu’iin paterazmin Xot’inu* [Hovhannes of Kamianets: The History of Khotyn War]. Yerevan, 1964. [hereinafter Hovhannes of Kamianets: The History of Khotyn War] 70. For transliteration of Armenian language, Hübschmann-Meillet transliteration system from 1913 is used (for more details, see Alpi, Federico – Meyer, Robin – Tinti, Irene – Zakarian, David, *Armenia Through the Lens of Time*. Leiden, 2022.)

pecially touched Armenian people persecuted “through centuries” by disasters (*atets*) and destroyed by “iron and fire” (*srov u hrov*). The Armenian expression “srov u hrov” is probably a direct reflection of the Latin *igni ferroque*, later popularized by Henryk Sienkiewicz’s historical novel entitled *Ogniem i mieczem* (With Fire and Sword). This idiom could be translated as “scorched earth” within the connotation of an immediate threat, omnipresent fear and stress caused by the outbreak of conflict as well as increased suffering of the civilian population. Armenian chronicles of these “dark times” are written in Early Modern Era Armenian language (Nor-Nakhichevan dialect)⁸ or Armeno-Kipchak language (armeno-coumane langue in French).⁹ The discourse analysis will be dealing especially with minor chronicles and colophons from Lviv (Simeon of Poland), chronicles from Kamianets Podilskyi (Oksent and Hovhannes of Kamianets) and Crimean Kaffa (Khatchatur of Kaffa/ Xaç’atur Łimec i).¹⁰

Historical accounts written in Armenian language by Simeon Lehač’i (Simeon of Poland) in twenties and thirties of seventeenth century depict Ottoman campaigns against *Rzeczpospolita* during the reign of Sultan Osman II. Genç (battle of Khotyn) and Sultan Murad IV., Crimean and Budjak Tatar incursions on Polish and Ukrainian countryside as well as the role of Polish magnates, Cossack hetmans etc. War memories of Oksent and Hovhannes of Kamianets written in Armeno-Kipchak include detailed description of Moldavian Magnate wars, battle of Cecora and battle of Khotyn, *lieu de mémoire* of Polish *szlachta* and a place of similar importance as the successful defence of Vienna against the Turks (1683)¹¹. On the background

⁸ Dachkévych, Yaroslav, “Matériaux pour l’histoire des colonies arméniennes en Ukraine, se trouvant dans les bibliothèques de Cracovie et de Wrocław”, = *Revue des études arméniennes* 7:1, 1970, 451–470.

⁹ North-Western Kipchak branch of Turkish, while Tatar dialects are mostly preserved in oral form and Turkish Kipchak language (Black Sea variant) in written form.

¹⁰ Akinean, Nerses (ed.), *Simeon dpri Lehač’ioc’ Ulegručiin, taregručiin ev jišatakarakn’*. Vienna. 1936. [hereinafter Simeon of Poland, Travel Accounts]. Hovhannes of Kamianets, The History of Khotyn War. Kchatchatur of Kaffa, In. Hakobyan, Vazgen (ed.), *Manr žamanakagrutjunner XIII.–XVIII daveri*. Yerevan, 1951. 205–236.

¹¹ Vasáry, István, “Armeno-Kipchak Parts from the Kamenets Chronicle”, = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22, 1969, 139–189. Schütz, Edmond, “An Armeno-Kipchak Print from Lvov”, = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 13:1–2, 1961. 123–130. Schütz, Edmond, “Armeno-Kipchak Texts from Lvov (A.D. 1618)”, = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15:1–3, 1962, 291–309. Schütz, Edmond, “An Armenian-Kiptchak Chronicle on the Polish-Turkish Wars”, = *Revue des études arméniennes*

of war clash between Ottoman forces and *Rzeczpospolita* armies near Khotyn fortress on the right bank of the Dniester River, the myth of *antemurale christianitatis* was reinterpreted and further “updated”. Armenian accounts will be compared with contemporary Polish chronicles from battle of Khotyn.¹²

Armenian Sources from Ukraine and Poland during “Great Flight” Period

“It is my constant duty to write, being a mediator of thoughts and a witness to our hearts, as well as a witness to the sacred oath we have taken. For whatever a man may be, death is his companion.”¹³

As stated before, Armenian historical sources from Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth could offer the reader unique insight into the everyday life of Armenian Diaspora in cities as Lviv/Lemberg, Kamianets Podilskyi, Zamość or today’s Ivano-Frankivsk.¹⁴ These sources are numerous, including not only manuscript and printed versions of historical accounts, but also various official and non-official documents as testaments, prenuptial agreements, scribal complaints, merchant contracts and others.¹⁵ The high level of personal touch in these primary documents (especially in minor chronicles, colophons, travelogues and merchant books narrated in form of first-person account) allows us to have more open understanding of mentality of that time, feelings of people, their fears and hopes.

Armenian chronicles and colophons together with glosses in the margins describe especially the position of Polish Armenians (*Lebahayers*), once

5, 1968, 455–457. Schütz, Edmond, *Armeno-Turcica: Selected Studies*. (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, 164.) Bloomington, 1998. 12–420.

¹² Żegota, Pauli, *Pamiętniki o wyprawie chocimskiej 1621 Jana hrabi z Ostroroga, Prokopa Zbigniewskiego, Stanisława Lubomirskiego i Jakóba Sobieskiego*. Krakow, 1853.

¹³ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 79–80.

¹⁴ For more details, see: Barącz, Sadok W. F., *Żywoty sławnych Ormian w Polsce*. Lviv, 1856. Stopka, Krzysztof, *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej*. Kraków, 2000. Wasyl, Franciszek, *Armenians in Old Poland and Austrian Galicia*. Leiden, 2021.

¹⁵ Dachkévytch, Yaroslav, “L’établissement des Arméniens en Ukraine”, = *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 5, 1968, 329–366. Dachkévytch, Yaroslav, “Matériaux pour l’histoire des colonies arméniennes en Ukraine, se trouvant dans les bibliothèques de Cracovie et de Wrocław”, = *Revue des études arméniennes* 7:1, 1970, 451–470. Dachkévytch, Yaroslav, “Les Arméniens à Kiev”, = *Revue des études arméniennes* 10, 1973–1974, 306–358.

one of the most influent Armenian diasporic communities living within the frame of Poland-Lithuania urban centres (today's western Ukraine, eastern Poland, parts of Moldova, Romania, Lithuania). Historical sources are depicting *Lebahayers'* struggle for ancient privileges and their collaboration (as well as competition) with other minorities (Jewish, Greek) and majority (mostly Polish, German).¹⁶ These sources, analysed through careful and multi-level mirror reading, create a colourful mosaic composed of single stories full of miracles, voluntary and forced religious conversions, appearance of werewolves, ecstatic behaviour cases, lists of criminal sentences, witch trials etc. Despite descriptive character of chroniclers' texts, all significant meta-stories of that period are highlighted:¹⁷ f. ex. Armenians fighting side by side with *Rzeczpospolita* according to *antemurale* myth, mass conversion of Apostolic Armenians to Catholicism (corresponding with the renewal of Ruthenian Orthodoxy and with formation of Ukrainian nationhood) and gradual disappearance and dissolution of Armenian identity as well as the adoption of Latin and Polish language.¹⁸

Textual analysis of historical sources corresponding to 'Thirty Years' War, Russian *Smuta* and Ottoman "Great Flight" period (as described in Ottoman historiography) reveals codified *loci communes*. They are focusing on community resilience and on the other hand on its vulnerability; they narrate stories of their extreme fragility as well as about permeability of their borders (geographical, linguistic, ethnic, religious etc.). At the center of this symbolic construction oscillating between omnipresent threat and identity maintenance stands a myth of *antemurale*, which will be discussed in more detail in the next subchapter. Within the context of seventeenth century and so-called Little Ice Age period, "dark times" were symbolically portrayed as the period of extremely harsh winters, poor harvests, recurring famines and epidemics, resulting in a relatively dramatic decline in the rural population and mass migration to cities.¹⁹ Along with the decline of irrigation systems and

¹⁶ Nadel-Golobič, Eleonora, "Armenians and Jews in medieval Lviv: Their role in oriental trade, 1400–1600", = *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 20, 1979, 345–388.

¹⁷ Especially with regard to meta-chronicle of 17th century as the Chronicle of Arakel of Tabriz. Xanlaryan, Levon (ed.), *Arak'el Davriječ'i: Girik' Patmut'eanc'*. Yerevan, 1990.

¹⁸ Nagy, Kornél, *The Church-Union of the Armenians in Transylvania (1685–1715)*. Göttingen, 2021.

¹⁹ Blom, Phillip, *Nature's Mutiny: How the Little Ice Age Transformed the West and Shaped the Present*. New York, 2019. Fagan, Brian, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History 1300–1850*. New York, 2002.

the gradual conversion of agricultural land into pasture, rural exodus led to the depopulation of the countryside and further decline of arable land, as well as significantly lower tax revenues. Hand in hand with precarious position of displaced farmers came a decline in their social status, the emergence of so-called second serfdom as well as a decline in the value of human life in general. Paradoxically, growing demand for grain comes at a time when the exodus of rural populations is further exacerbated by recurring epidemics and crop failures. We can observe here a causal link between climate change and societal collapse (a theory which goes far beyond the period of ancient civilizations).²⁰

“Scorched earth” implies here the depopulation of large parts of Central and Eastern Anatolia; this migration flow is known as the Great Flight (*büyük kaçgün* in Ottoman Turkish).²¹ The massive influx of immigrants from the heart of historical Armenia (known as *Yergir*) was caused not only by deterioration of their everyday life because of climate changes during Little Ice Age, but also by series of social uprisings (*djelâli* rebellions) and the scorched earth policy pursued by the Ottoman sultans and Persian shahs.²² Thus, these “dark times” or “bitter times full of sorrow” reflect the historical experience of forced deportations (*sürgüns*), forced conversions, *djelâli* revolts and mass rural exodus. Accompanied by large waves of refugees, “dark times” had a strong impact on Armenian localities situated in the hearth of *hayoc’ ašxarh* (Armenian land), provoking a “flight” especially towards Constantinople, Crimea and cities of Poland-Lithuania. Armenian exiles (*panduxts*) arriving in Kaffa/Theodosia, Constantinople/Bolis, Lviv/Lemberg, Kamianets or New Julfa (in the suburbs of present-day Isfahan) formed several *galtōjaks* (centres of exile); some of which were to become centres of *Zart’onk’* (Enlightenment) in the future. Due to mass migrations, Armenian terms *ekac’i* (newcomers) and *tetac’i* (natives) acquired their specific meaning within the context of historical demographic studies. Both communities living within the frame of diasporic space witnessed significant transformations during “dark times” period (as conversion to Catholicism, reaction to the shift in the direction of caravan routes and their subsequent decline, quasi-forced departure from second homeland,

²⁰ Weiss, Harvey, *Megadrought and Collapse: From Early Agriculture to Angkor*. Oxford, 2017. 7.

²¹ Kunt I., Metin, *The Sultan’s Servants. The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government 1550–1650*. New York, 1983. 14.

²² White, Sam, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge, 2011. 223.

longing for lost homeland, *Ani topos*,²³ exile as a curse etc.). Through invisible art of memory²⁴ and by means of evoking symbols and myths brought from ancestral homeland, Armenian Diaspora authors largely contributed to multifaceted Black Sea history-writing, using *antemurale* as a shield against fall into oblivion and loss of honour.

Antemurale Narrative: Defense of Borders of Christianity

“God and all the saints were on their side and the Poles prepared for battle with great hope and faith.”²⁵

The Early Modern Era and gradual emergence of “pre-national” states after Thirty Years’ War did not in the least diminish the importance of religious “demarcation line” between Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Lutheranism in *Rzeczpospolita*, or (more visibly) between Christianity and Islam. Although extended permeability, even porosity of religious borders in Central Europe and Black Sea region should be taken into account²⁶ (together with easy and fast conversions to Islam, existence of sworn brotherhood between Christians and Muslims etc.), confessional identity as well as the experience of interreligious encounters have still represented one of key aspects of community belonging. Within the context of confessional identity, the myth called *antemurale christianitatis* was coined to represent a real barrier or gap between categories of Believers and Unbelievers. Together with frontier Orientalism imagery, it gave rise to a specific form of meta-story that further contributed to the emergence of national narratives codes (as Sarmatian myth, Kresy-borderlands myth etc.).

Antemurale christianitatis means literally (translated from Latin) the “bulwark of Christianity”,²⁷ thus the last line of defence against non-Christians

²³ Narrative about the origin of Armenian Diaspora from a city named Ani, destroyed because of the sins of its inhabitants, more details in: Kovács, Bálint, *Changing Communities – Changing Identities – Armenians in the Carpathian Basin from the 17th up to the 20th Centur.* Collegium Carpathicum, online conference. 2021. Kovács, Bálint – Pál, Emese (eds.), *Far Away from Mount Ararat: Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin.* Budapest, 2013.

²⁴ Yates, Frances Amelia, *Art of Memory.* New York, 2013.

²⁵ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 10.

²⁶ Bracewell, Wendy – Drace-Francis, Alex, *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East-European Travel Writing.* Budapest, 2008. 51.

²⁷ Pilat, Liviu – Cristea, Ovidiu, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom.* Leiden, 2017. 18.

(in this case, in the sense of Ottoman Turks). *Antemurale* or “behind the walls of Christianity” could be interpreted also as the last outpost of European civilization (in Said’s words, the last outpost of Occident). The term *antemurale* was coined already in Middle Ages (in the case of kingdom of Hungary)²⁸ and later re-used for Croatia and Polish-Lithuania.²⁹ Polish language describes *murus* (wall) also as bulwark, fence, watchtower or bastion.³⁰ The core of the myth is based on idea that members of Polish nobility risk their own lives to defend the Christianity against category of Unbelievers, Pagans and Barbarians. The victory should be on Polish side, as they are fighting “in the name of God”. In Polish language *przedmurze chrześcijaństwa*, this myth creates the wall not only against “Turks and Tatars”, but also against Orthodoxy, Protestantism or “soft version” of Western European Catholicism perceived as spoiled and *a priori* non-belligerent. As old *Rzeczpospolita* motto states: *Si Deus nobiscum quis contra nos*, translated from Latin: “If God is with us, then who is against us?” Fighting in the sense of God’s victory over the enemies of faith became the basis of the Polish myth of *antemurale*.

“And as the Polish king said: This battle is not being fought against us or against mortals, but against the invincible power of God. The Sultan has become puffed up with pride like a wineskin, he has begun to slander and speak against the living God and the Holy Cross, and he even calls himself the ruler of heavens! For this, God will crush him, as well as all his blood, and will deprive him of his goods.”

Thus, the Poles praised God and the holy Cross, put their trust in them, and their courage grew: “Behold, the day of salvation has come, today many will look towards death and sacrifice themselves for the holy faith,” writes Armenian chronicler Simeon of Poland in his colophon dating from mid-twenties of seventeenth century.³¹ Simeon uses here the word *martiros* (in Armenian մարտիրոս), borrowed from Greek (μάρτυρας). It means a martyr, witness of the religious truth (in the sense of orthodoxy). Armenian language knows also term *nahatak*, նահաճակ and verb նահաճակել, to become a mar-

²⁸ Tańkowski, Piotr, “Hungary and Poland: Two Antemurales in the Late Fifteenth Century”, = *Renaissance and Reformation* 46:2, 2023, 9–34.

²⁹ Berend, Nora, “Défense de la chrétienté et naissance d’une identité”, = *Annales. Histoire Sciences sociales* 5, 2003, 1009–1027.

³⁰ Davies, Norman, *A God’s Playground: History of Poland*, vol. I. Oxford, 2005. 125.

³¹ “Sultan Osman campaign against Poland” entitled colophon by Simeon of Poland. Simeon of Poland, *Travel Accounts*, 356–368.

tyr, or word *vka*, վկա (witness of the truth). As *nor vka*, new martyrs, were primarily referred Armenian martyrs for the faith, who refused to convert to Islam during seventeenth century and were subsequently martyred, executed. Martyrs are, however, *a priori* invincible. In chroniclers' accounts, the whole army fighting within the frame of *antemurale* is considered invincible too: "The [Rzeczpospolita] army was vast and innumerable, covering the face of the earth and the steppe. The men of his people are of pure iron and fire."³²

Antemurale myth is of course inseparably linked with the notion of border. Within *Rzeczpospolita* context, it consists of idealized depiction of eastern margins of empire called *Kresy* (probably originating from German *Kreis*, *Landkreis*). The narrative of *antemurale* is embedded with nostalgia for the eastern *Rzeczpospolita* provinces, forming during seventeenth century the *Rzeczpospolita* defence line against external threat. *Kresy* line built against "the danger from steppes" includes localities in today's Lithuania, Belarus or western Ukraine. As we can see, the border region is perceived within *antemurale* myth in a purely positive light (completely unlike in the case of Czech perception of the Sudetenland as an uprooted periphery populated by losers rather than heroes). *Kresy* becomes also contested landscape *par excellence*; as they become the object of intersecting and often conflicting vectors of collective memory, featuring in various national narratives (Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Belarus, Galician, Ruthenian or Yidish).³³ Within this context, the war (together with omnipresent fear of a sudden outbreak of conflict in borderlands) appears to be a formative experience of life. Central-European imagery concerning Borderlands was oscillating between idyllic image (home of heroes, fatherland of poets etc.) and imminent catastrophe and danger, emphasizing – in Polish view – the *Rzeczpospolita* superiority, appropriation of territory as well as the aspect of "naturally claimed" territory. Heroic figures fighting for their land could be understood as martyrs, symbolically falling "at

³² Simeon of Poland, *Travel Accounts*, 358. Full version in Czech translation, Košťálová, Petra (ed.), *Putování: Šimon Polský*. Prague, 2016. 339–346.

³³ Zarycki, Tomas, *Ideologies of Eastness in Central and Eastern Europe*. Milton Park, 2014. Savchenko, Andrew, *Belarus: A Perpetual Borderland*. Leiden, 2009. 102.

the ramparts” for the salvation of others.³⁴ However, from actual Ukrainian point of view, *Kresy* are perceived through lens of colonizing discourse.³⁵

Antemurale narrative is usually built of several parts, which form together a characteristic narrative arc, following a typical pattern of “key stages”. The first part (introduction, exposition) starts with the narrative of unjustified aggression of invaders *vis-à-vis* defenders of borderlands. Invaders come always in superior numbers; they arrive suddenly and well-armed, behaving as “barbarians.” They could be represented – and often within the *antemurale* myth are – by “Turks and Tatars”; generalized category of frontier Orientalism enemy and transferable term, which oscillated starting from Huns, Avars through Muslims in Crusader period to late Crusade Ottoman Turks.³⁶

According to Hovhannes, Armenian chronicler from Kamianets city, Ottoman Sultan Osman II. used in his letter to Polish king Sigismund III. Vasa such expressions as following:

“So be prepared I strike at you. I will burn the land in which you live with fire, I will make ruins of your churches, and I will cut down your famous wooden crosses all over the land, I will put a slave yoke on your priests, and I will take everyone from your army into captivity, just as my people did to the Christian nations before”.³⁷

The imagery is based on negative image of Ottoman Turks, inspired by general “fear of Turk” (*Türkefurcht* in German) widely spread in seventeenth century Central Europe.³⁸ This fear has been instrumentalized not only during sixteenth or seventeenth centuries (reaching its symbolical peak in 1683 siege of Vienna),³⁹ but it finds its strong reflection even today (especially in right-

³⁴ Kolstø, Pål, “Antemurale Thinking as Historical Myth and Ethnic Boundary Mechanism”, In. Berezhnaya, Liliya – Hein-Kircher, Heidi (eds.), *Rampart Nations: Bulwark Myths of East European Multiconfessional Societies in the Age of Nationalism*. New York, 2019. 347–373.

³⁵ Bakula, Bogusław, “Colonial and Postcolonial Aspects of Polish Borderlands Studies: An Outline”, = *Teksty Drugie* 1, 2014, 96–123.

³⁶ Sanchez-Mazas, Margareta – Licata, Laurent, *L'autre: regards psychosociaux*. Grenoble, 2004. 180. Sénac, Philippe, *L'Occident médiéval face à l'islam (l'image de l'autre)*. Paris, 2000. 149.

³⁷ Hovhannes of Kamianets, The History of Khotyn War, 39.

³⁸ Berman, Nina, *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practises*. Ann Arbor, 2011. 71.

³⁹ Theilig, Stephan, “The Change of Imagining the Ottomans in the Context of the Turkish Wars from the 16th–18th Century”, = *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 83, 2011, 61–68.

wing populist circles).⁴⁰ Frontier Orientalist concept works with the core idea of imminent and increasing danger depending on permanent geographical proximity of the Enemy figure (personified in the form of Ottoman Turk).⁴¹ Thus, the fragility of the border between *Rzeczpospolita* and Ottoman vassal tributary states as Moldavia and Wallachia – even accentuated by impossibility of fortification in the steppe zone, where the only natural geographical border is formed by the flows of large rivers – contributed to the emergence of a stereotypical image of an omnipresent aggressive enemy, attacking and invading the Borderlands. Moreover, the very act of mapping reveals the practice of impeding threat and enemy-making, while referring to the steppes as a vast “empty and silent” landscape.⁴² For example on seventeenth century map of Guillaume de Beauplan, the region concerned in our sources was called *Petite Tartarie/Little Tartaria* – somewhat in the style of the medieval *hic sunt leones* or *hic sunt dracones*, emphasizing the unknown, unexplored, different, potentially dangerous.⁴³ Wandering term of *Tartaria* and Tatars evokes the stereotypical image of wild, uncontrollable enemy as a metaphor of Chaos and Anti-Civilization.

Central-European imagery usually includes two main types of Turk image; an elite image (accentuating “Oriental luxury” through *grand seigneur Turc* image)⁴⁴ and a kind of folk or popular image based on local historical experiences.⁴⁵ These images are oscillating between obvious fascination and openly displayed fear, between certain domestication and exoticizing techniques on the other hand.⁴⁶ Popular images were based on anti-Turkish pamphlets and secular broadside ballads telling stories about “abducting Turks”, their “cruelty” etc.⁴⁷ Due to *antemurale* narrative, the elite image

⁴⁰ Fodor, Pál (ed). *The Battle for Central Europe: The Siege of Szigetvár and the Death of Süleyman Magnificent and Nicholas Zrínyi*. Leiden, 2019. 220–221.

⁴¹ Gingrich, Andre, “The Nearby Frontier: Structural Analysis of Myths of Orientalism”, = *Diogenes* 60:2, 2015, 60–66.

⁴² Harley, J. B., “Deconstructing the Map”, = *Cartographica* 26:2, 1989, 1–20.

⁴³ Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan, *La Description d’Ukraine*. Rouen, 1660.

⁴⁴ Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *Ambassades et Voyages en Turquie et Amasie de m. Busbecquis*. Paris, 1646. 276–277.

⁴⁵ Jezernik, Božidar, *Imagining the “Turk”*. Cambridge, 2009. 150.

⁴⁶ Grajter, Małgorzata, *The Orient in Music: Music of the Orient*. Cambridge, 2018. 10. Wolff, Larry, *The Singing Turk: Ottoman Power and Operatic Emotions on the European Stage from the Siege of Vienna to the Age of Napoleon*. Bloomington, 2016.

⁴⁷ Křížová, Markéta – Malečková, Jitka (eds.), *Central Europe and the Non-European World in the Long 19th Century*. Berlin, 2022. 201. Malečková, Jitka, “The Turk” in the Czech

of Turk can in some cases even approach the construction of *noble adversary*, whom it is an honour to face in open combat. Nevertheless, the accentuated dominance of “wild troops” and “attacking hordes” could be used as an explanation of so-called Sarmatian theory (Sarmatism), postulating the exclusive mission of the Polish nobility derived from Polish Catholicism, from *antemurale* (the concept of defending the faith) and, last but not least, from the perception of specific steppe heritage characterised by freedom-loving, combativeness, belligerence, military valours and self-sacrifice, summarized by words of Jan Sobieski after siege of Vienna: *Venimus, Vidimus, Deus vicit*.⁴⁸

The second point of the narrative consists in Polish response to Ottoman threat, described as self-defence against an unprovoked attack, thus in the sense of very peaceful reaction (but persistent and resolute) together with careful preparation of weapons as well as trust in God: “Thus the Poles praised God and the Holy Cross, placed their trust in them, and their courage grew: Behold, the day of salvation has come, today many will look towards death and sacrifice themselves for the holy faith!”, let us remember emotions expressed by Simeon of Poland in one of his preserved colophons dealing with Sultan Osman II war campaign against Poland in 1621.⁴⁹

Armenian chroniclers emphasize the invincible power of an army on whose side God stands – at least from their point of view. They highlight the role of iconic Polish elite troops known as winged hussars: “The Poles inspired fear and terror in the army of the infidels, for they were clad in shining sky-blue and iron. Their steel armour stood firm before them like an unshakable mountain or the walls of a fortress, inspiring wonder, fear, and awe”,⁵⁰ writes Hovhannes of Kamianets, while Simeon of Poland asks: “[Poles] were all in iron [...] Who can stand against them?”⁵¹

Besides the accent on the role of Polish knights and their glorification, Armenian texts frequently mention an important role of Cossack regiments (unlike contemporary Polish sources), even though they admit that Cossacks were difficult to manage (as they were governed too autonomously).

Imagination (1870–1923). Leiden, 2020. 68.

⁴⁸ Paraphrase of Caesar: *Veni, vidi, vici*; Trojanowska, Tamara et al. *Being Poland: A New History of Polish Literature and Culture*. Toronto, 2018. 4. Pasięka, Agnieszka – Rodak, Paweł, *Rethinking Modern Polish Identities: Transnational Encounters*. New York, 2023. 264.

⁴⁹ Simeon of Poland, *Travel Accounts*, 358.

⁵⁰ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 54–55.

⁵¹ Simeon of Poland, *Travel Accounts*, 375–376.

ly by elected *hetmans*). The dispute between Borodavka and Konashevych-Sahaidachny serves here as an example to illustrate this point. Without regard to the certain unpredictability and uncontrollability of the Cossack forces (which is, after all, a result of the liminality of the steppe region itself), Armenian sources usually attribute success in the war not only to the Polish elite, but also to the Cossacks.

The *antemurale* narrative further graduates by description of decisive battle ultimately interpreted as God's victory on the side of Christians. The culmination of the story is dramatically portrayed as the final confrontation between Believers and Unbelievers at the very moment when the side "chosen by God" is almost defeated (because of the obvious superiority of enemy). According to Hovhannes of Kamianets, the whole Polish-Lithuanian country turns to God, asking Him (by means of supplications, regular worship, church services, songs etc.) to help:

"They ordered holy masses to be celebrated throughout the country of Poles. They forbade all to sing aloud and to make music, to play on lutes and drums, to sing songs, to perform juggling arts, until the wrath of God had passed over the earth [...] They called for help and begged for mercy, and there were so many of them that throughout the night and throughout the day listened only the sound of bells, cries and noises, pleading songs, prayers and supplications, services and masses; the light of lanterns did not cease."⁵²

Within the frame of Armenian historical sources, to fight on the right side means to fulfill *uxt* (ուխտ in Armenian), God's sacred duty, sacred vow, translated also as Covenant.⁵³ *Uxt* as "solemn oath of the clergy and people to defend their religion"⁵⁴ is (within seventeenth century context) understood as a fight against Islam in the defense of Apostolic Christianity. Here, on the borders of *Rzeczpospolita*, the narrative of *antemurale* is reflecting a joint Armenian-Polish-Ukrainian-German-Lithuanian effort to defend all of Christendom (on behalf of the rest of Europe).

⁵² Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 46.

⁵³ Garsoïan, Nina, *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion and Society*. New York, 1998. 39. Dédéyan, Gérard (ed.), *Histoire du peuple arménien*. Toulouse, 2007. 414.

⁵⁴ Thomson, Robert W., *History of the Armenians by Agat'angeghos*. New York, 1976. 56.

“See what strength, what courage, what victories [our ancestors] won over numerous enemies, against a foreign or familiar enemy such as Crusaders or Swedes, against Saracens and a nation of archers! Thus, they obtained forever indelible names on the seal of their wills, which shine bright with an immortal memory until our days. Therefore, you, sons and loved ones, follow now this great line of men and warriors and do not fear superiority of pagans, for they are like a drop in the sea, they are not even a tongue in the balance before the eyes of the Lord. None of the mortals will flee from His power, and he who does so will not be chosen before the judgment of the Lord, especially not the one who has broken the holy oath, the *uxt*, and who failed to live up to his honour. Because the Lord through the sultan’s pride and arrogancy will do the opposite, he will give the grace and humility to the true believers [...] Fortified by manly valour, driven by the desire to fight, [*Rzeczpospolita* soldiers] went to war. They took their terrible weapons, dressed their shining armour of steel, adorned their steeds with golden harnesses, and took splendid expensive carriages, variegated robes of the best fabrics. They looked like the flowers of the blooming spring, until the eyes of the spectators passed over all the splendour.”⁵⁵

In these previous lines, Hovhannes of Kamianets evokes the traditional *an-temurale* distinction between Us category and Them (as religious enemies or enemies of Civilization, as f. ex. thirteenth century Teutonic Order, Mongols or seventeenth century Swedes or Ottoman Turks).

The clash itself is illustrated by visualization of scenes taken from the Old Testament. “Unbelievers” (represented by category of Saracens, Ishmaelites, Hagarenes, pagans, unbelievers, infidels) are described as “incalculable”, “countless”, “immeasurable huge”; the mere sight of them inspires the fear and horror. They are depicted in totally “barbarian form” – they represent the opposite of the category of Civilization: naked, disheveled, loudly shouting incomprehensible words. They seem invincible and chroniclers carefully form their narrative in order to dramatize and escalate the story: “The next day the infidels gathered in immense numbers: horsemen of all sorts of nations, some of them with naked bodies, others disheveled like women, Arabs who had come from Babylon and Egypt, shouting in terrible voices: “lu lu lu”, horrible to look at and with impudence written on their faces. They all rushed forward and struck at the head of the Polish army, where

⁵⁵ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 43, 45–46.

our little *hetman* was standing.”⁵⁶ The Polish army stands here as one united line facing the “wild raging mobs of barbarians”.⁵⁷ The unity of Civilization (Europe) stands here in direct opposition to anti-Civilization category perceived through prism of Orient construction.⁵⁸ Let us to quote once again from Hovhannes of Kamianets chronicle: “Then the [true] believers in their entire number strengthened themselves, bowed their heads, crossed themselves with the sign of the cross, calling the name of Christ for help. They all repeated it three times, as is the custom of Christians, and attacked in one line with great force the huge and innumerable army of the Ishmaelites. They passed to the other side like lightning splitting a bush, until their spears had no one to bite into. And when the spears were exhausted, they became holy spears, *getards*, and the Polish knights began to slash with their double-edged swords, and others shot from their crossbows, until flames flashed and everything burned, until the earth shook as if it were lifeless. The battlefield was so full of fighters that those who fought could not even see their friends.”⁵⁹ The emphasised role of winged hussars and their holy lances (in Armenian *getard*) piercing the enemy could be symbolically interpreted within the frame of the whole country involved in the battle, perceived as sacred land, that carries on its shoulders the responsibility for the entire fate of Christendom. During the battle, this land finds itself just a stone’s throw from defeat, threatened “by fire and sword.”

As already stated, Armenian chronicles generally support the Polish point of view, the “elite” narrative of the Polish nobility. However, as opposed to Polish chronicles of the time,⁶⁰ Armenian authors emphasize and even praise the role of Zaporozhian Cossacks as allies of the Polish king (let’s not forget that it concerns a period preceding Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s uprising). The Cossacks are responsible for defeating the main attack of the Muslim army led by the pasha of Buda. “Unbeliever *pasha* Karakash ordered the trumpets and all the marching instruments to be sounded. At mealtime, they began to shout with all their might: “Allah, Allah” and all together, they rushed upon the Christians, threatening them with all the strength of their arms.”⁶¹

⁵⁶ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 50.

⁵⁷ Lorenzi-Cioldi, Fabio, *Les représentations des groupes dominants et dominés*. Grenoble, 2002. 97.

⁵⁸ Said, Edward, *L’orientalisme: L’Orient crée par l’occident*. Paris, 1980. 15.

⁵⁹ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 52.

⁶⁰ Żegota, *Pamiętniki o wyprawie chocimskiej*, 1853.

⁶¹ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 57–58.

The role of music as one of “sounds of war” was crucial in the atmosphere of fear of the approaching conflict. Ottoman army came as: “Storm or a flock of jays thundered in the air”.⁶² Sonic landscape was formed (among others) also by *mehter* music, based on wind instruments and percussions, and performed mostly as military marching songs. Seventeenth century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi writes about “royal kettle drums” carried by camels during Ottoman war campaigns towards North.⁶³

“Now I feel weak as I recount what I had heard, that terrible and terrifying scene, especially the thunder and roar of fiery missiles, the rumble of cannons and guns, the flashes of swords and sabers drawn from their scabbards, the trampling and neighing of horses seized with fear, until the whole plain has trembled, until the mountains trembled.”⁶⁴

The music managed to evoke both: an immense fear of the approaching danger and (on the other hand) an enormous relief at the victory of one’s own side. Thus, it served as a mediator of hopes and fears of that time, mirroring the atmosphere of the moment:

“On Friday, great joy broke out among the entire Christian army. All soldiers and commanders rejoiced. They began firing cannons and guns and sounding trumpets, other instruments and drums, shouting so loudly that the *Tajik* [Ottoman] army was amazed at how terribly the mountains and rocks shook with the joyful cries of the Christians.”⁶⁵

Conclusion: Armenian Chronicles “in-between” West and East

“It is necessary to know that the destruction of the unbelievers was done not only by sword and weapons, but that the invisible right hand of God also fell upon them every day, punishing and destroying them.”⁶⁶

Textual analysis of abovementioned Armenian sources provides a scope for understanding the turbulent period of Thirty Years’ War, Ottoman

⁶² Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 42.

⁶³ Çelebi, Evliya, *Narrative of Travels in Europe Asia and Africa in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, 2012. 128.

⁶⁴ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 58.

⁶⁵ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 68.

⁶⁶ Hovhannes of Kamianets, *The History of Khotyn War*, 12.

campaigns against *Rzeczpospolita* (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) as well as later Swedish interventions in Central-European regions, known as Second Northern Wars. This time frame widely corresponds with *Smuta* period in Russia and with *Büyük kaçgün*/Great Flight period in Ottoman Empire; underlined by iconic battles of Thirty Years' War, Moldavian and Ottoman wars (Çeçora, Khotyn) or Swedish (Kirchholm). More generally, these “dark times” “full of sorrow, sadness, anger, anxiety (even rage)” (as mentioned by contemporaries) could be understood in close connection with seventeenth century climate changes, epidemics, increasing frequency of slave raids, half-destruction of community village life because of plundering, looting, scorched earth policy, bad harvest periods etc. All these factors – especially the *leitmotiv* of the omnipresent war threat and infidel/heretic/unbeliever image construction – represented a serious challenge within the frame of everyday life conditions of people living in endangered areas or in their proximity. Neverending story of subsequent waves of violence transformed the demographic landscape in such a great extent, that during the second half of seventeenth century, Central-European population has been reaching approximately less than two thirds of estimated number of former inhabitants.

Armenian chronicles and colophons from Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) territory could give the reader an insight into the everyday life of Armenian communities in cities as Lviv/Lemberg, Kamianets Podilskyi, Suceava, Tchernivtsi, Kutu, Zamość, Ivano-Frankivsk/Stanisławów, Luck, Lublin, Yarosław, Yazlovets or Brody. Armenian merchant Diaspora members, mostly believers of Apostolic Church, lived in their own quarters according to autonomous status given by Polish kings.⁶⁷ As stated before, these north-western Armenian *lieux de mémoire* represent (above all) a contested area with “difficult heritage” burden till today. During seventeenth century, some of these locations represented the moveable and fluid border between Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Habsburg Austria and principalities of Moldova, Wallachia and Transylvania (as vassal states under the Ottoman influence). At the end of nineteenth century, regions known as Bukovina, Galicia, Podolie or Bessarabia (with their overlapping borders) were perceived through lens of national revival movements as key factors of new emerging states and their further consolidation.

Armenian community living in the territory of *Rzeczpospolita* (known as *Lebahayer*, Polish Armenians) has become both, the subject and object

⁶⁷ Oleş, Marian, *The Armenian Law in the Polish Kingdom 1356–1519*. Rome, 1966. 156.

of constructed as well as re-interpreted stereotypical images. One of these constructions is the established myth known as *antemurale christianitatis*, based on the perception of God’s Chosen People defending the borderlands of Christianity. *Antemurale* is inextricably linked with Sarmatian theory, one of unifying narrative themes of Polish National Revival. Armenians living in Polish cities in their segregated quarters, neighbours of Polish, German burghers and the main rivals of Jewish merchants (as well as of a few Greeks) strongly encouraged Polish discourse of *antemurale* but – unlike other contemporary sources and especially later Polish myth-makers – they also emphasized the role of Ukrainian Cossacks. Thus, some significant meta-narratives of seventeenth century became more apparent, stripped of sediments of ethno-romantic idealization (*albeit* not free from any distortion or bias).

Moreover, mirror reading and detailed analysis of sources reveals interesting data concerning religious encounters of that period: the ambivalent position of half-Christians (so called *kes-kes* or *kesuakes* in Armenian) considered to be newly converted “renegades”, the status of sworn brothers (across all religious categories), the process of glorification of new martyrs as well as difficult maintenance of confessional identity.⁶⁸ Besides lamentations over the destiny of God’s Chosen People, Armenian narrative also depicts the Diaspora space as an indelible bond between the new host country and ancient homeland (*Ani topos*). Both localities (interconnected through network of *galtōjaks*, centres of Diaspora) are described as sacred places, both are depicted as “destroyed by fire and sword” – nevertheless, both can “rise from the ashes”. Together with diaries of Jan from Ostrorog, Prokop Zbigniewski, Stanisław Lubomirsky or Jakób Sobiesky written in Polish language,⁶⁹ Armenian and Armeno-Kipchak chronicles help to shape historical narrative of 300-year-old “struggle” defending European Christian culture on the very borders of Europe against “unbelievers”.

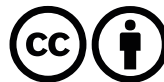
Seventeenth century Armenian historical sources were mostly written by men of church; therefore, the emphasis on destroyed monasteries, stolen liturgical objects, books that were taken captive and eventually ransomed (as captive people). Nevertheless, scorched earth narrative is determined not only by destruction and omnipresent fear, but it could also be understood as a place

⁶⁸ F. ex. Armenian Apostolic Church, the Archbishopric in Lviv, executive power of religious leaders (council of elders), liturgical role of Classical Armenian (*grabar*) and its contacts with Armeno-Kipchak and Polish (as vernacular languages) etc.

⁶⁹ Żegota, Pamiętniki o wyprawie chocimskiej, 1853.

of encounters, mobilities, dialogues and symbolically overlapping borders full of identity transformations, negotiations as well as exchanges. The historical experience of fear while living on borders, whether on the part of newcomers or locals, could be seen an integral part of the anthropology of mentalities and emotions. It could be concluded that sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries generally emphasise “cultural keywords” (as discussed by A. Wierzbicka)⁷⁰ such as loss, nostalgia, homesickness, exile, mourning and lamentation, and accentuate concepts as Diaspora mobility and spatial liminality. Narrated from the perspective of intimate history written by authors who belonged to long-term endangered communities, becoming extremely vulnerable *vis-à-vis* climate changes, natural catastrophes, wars etc. and expecting the worst (even God’s wrath and punishment) – their testimonies contribute to polyphonic and acentric history of intertwined Black Sea region.


⁷⁰ Wierzbicka, Anna, *Understanding Cultures Through Their Key Words*. Oxford, 1997. 15.



GÁBOR PUSZTAI, PhD, University of Debrecen

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

gpusztai@unideb.hu

 ORCID: 0000-0001-6350-1564



Arbeitnehmer der Niederländischen Ost-Indien Kompanie (1602–1799) aus dem Königreich Ungarn

ABSTRACT

The Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), a colossal enterprise for its time, employed a vast number of workers. The problem, however, was that two-thirds of the people died either during the journey or shortly after arriving in Asia. Scurvy, starvation, shipwrecks, clashes with the indigenous population, or with rival Spanish or Portuguese competitors were the usual causes of the high mortality rate. The loss of life on the outward journey alone was 15–20%. Upon arrival in Java, tropical diseases – particularly the dreaded malaria, typhus and dysentery – awaited the survivors. The VOC therefore constantly needed a fresh supply of a significant number of people to replace the workers who had died. Even in the seventeenth century, the Netherlands was a small country with a population of just 1.5 million. In the seventeenth century, the VOC had approximately 30,000 employees, of whom around 25,000 were in Asia. It soon became clear that, with such a small population, the Netherlands could not meet the VOC's long-term staffing requirements. The labour shortage forced the directors of the trading company to recruit workers not only in the Netherlands but also abroad. In this article, I examine VOC workers from the Kingdom of Hungary. From the preliminary inventory, we can therefore conclude that they mostly (87%) held the lowest-ranking positions in the Dutch company and served for an average of six years. Just under 21% of the Hungarians survived the tropical adventure, and only 17% were able to return to Europe. It must be noted that most of them were assigned to lower-ranking positions. They had no formal education, so they were confined to poorly paid jobs (sailor, soldier). They were largely left to fend for themselves, and their mortality rate was much higher than that of the average VOC employee.

Keywords: Dutch East India Company, Kingdom of Hungary, Employees, Colonisation, Migration

Einführung

Die Niederländische Ost-Indien Kompanie (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie = VOC) wurde 1602 gegründet und gehörte zum stärksten und reichsten Handelsgesellschaften des 17. Jahrhunderts. Wenn man den Wert

der niederländischen Handelsgesellschaft in heutige Währung umrechnet, kommt man auf 10,15 Milliarden US-Dollar aus. Es ist höher als der heutige Wert von den außerordentlich erfolgreichen Unternehmen Apple (3,15 Milliarden), Microsoft (3,79 Milliarden), Tesla (1,06 Milliarden) und Meta (1,77 Milliarden) zusammen.¹

Dieses, für die Zeit gigantische Unternehmen hatte zahlreiche Arbeitnehmer. Das Problem war aber, das zwei Drittel der Leute starben schon unterwegs oder kurz nach ihrer Ankunft in Asien.² Skorbut, Hunger, Schiffsbruch, Kämpfe mit Eingeborenen oder mit der feindlichen spanischen oder portugiesischen Konkurrenz waren die üblichen Ursachen für die hohe Todesrate. Der Menschenverlust betrug schon auf der Hinreise 15–20%.³ Auf Java angekommen warteten tropische Krankheiten, vor allem die gefürchtete Malaria, Typhus und Dysenterie auf den Überlebenden. Ein frisch aus Europa angekommene Kaufmann hatte in Asien eine Lebenserwartung von nur drei Jahre.⁴ Die VOC brauchte also konstant einen Nachschub von einer großen Anzahl der Menschen wegen der verstorbenen Arbeitnehmer. Die Niederlande waren auch im 17. Jahrhundert ein kleines Land, aber im Gegensatz zu heutiger Bevölkerungszahl (18 Millionen) hatte das Land am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts nur 1,5 Millionen Einwohner.⁵ Die VOC hatte im 17. Jahrhundert ca. 30,000 Werknehmer, wovon ungefähr 25,000 in Asien.⁶ Es war schnell deutlich, dass die Niederlande mit dieser geringen Bevölkerungszahl den Personalbedarf der VOC auf dem langen Termin nicht befriedigen konnte.⁷ Unter den niederländischen Seeleuten und andere

¹ Lu, Marcus, “Historie’s Bigges Compagnies, vs. The Magnificent Seven”, = *Visualcapitalist.com* Veröffentlicht am 31. Juli 2025. <https://www.visualcapitalist.com/historys-biggest-companies-vs-the-magnificent-seven/> (Zugriff am 25. März 2026.)

² Goor, J. van, *De Nederlandse Koloniën: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Expansie (1600–1975)*. Den Haag, 1994. 102.; Dash, Mike, *De ondergang van de Batavia: Het ware verhaal*. Amsterdam, 2005. 43.

³ Gelder, Roelof van, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur: Duitsers in dienst van de VOC*. Nijmegen, 1997. 42.

⁴ Dash, *De ondergang*, 2005. 43.

⁵ Anders, Folkert, “De lange Gouden Eeuw (1570–1700)”. = *Geschiedenis.nl* Veröffentlicht am 5 Januar 2011. <https://geschiedenis.nl/nieuws/artikel/3337/de-lange-gouden-eeuw-1570-1700> (Zugriff am 25. März 2026.)

⁶ Kuipers, Jan J.B., “De VOC, de eerste multinational ter wereld”, = *Historiek.net* Veröffentlicht am 20. März 2026. <https://historiek.net/het-grote-verhaal-van-de-voc/44345/> (Zugriff am 25. März 2026.)

⁷ Bozay Réka, “Eine „kleine“ Grossmacht im frühneuzeitlichen Europa – Die Niederlande zwischen 1579–1713”, In. Bárány Attila – Matikainen, Satu (Hgs.), *Small Nations ont he*

Arbeitnehmer war die VOC gerade wegen der hohen Todesrate kein beliebter Arbeitgeber. Es war einfach zu riskant bei der VOC Dienst zu nehmen. Die meisten Arbeitnehmer, die es taten, waren von der zwingenden Not, Geldgier oder Abenteuerlust getrieben.⁸ Sie waren meistens Analphabeten, Verbrecher, der Abschaum der niederländischen Gesellschaft.⁹ Der Personalmangel hat die Leiter der Handelsgesellschaft dazu gezwungen, Arbeitnehmer nicht nur in den Niederlanden, sondern auch im Ausland anzuwerben.

Ausländer in Dienst der VOC

In den zwei Jahrhunderten, in denen die Kompanie existierte, fuhren insgesamt zirka eine Million Menschen nach Asien.¹⁰ Im 17. Jahrhundert bedeutete dies ungefähr 4.000 Leute pro Jahr.¹¹ Am Anfang des Jahrhunderts dienten nur 9% aller Seeleute in Holland bei der VOC, aber am Ende des Jahrhunderts waren es schon 18%.¹² Was die Soldaten betrifft, war das Verhältnis ähnlich: Im 17. Jahrhundert dienten 16% aller Soldaten der Niederlande bei der Niederländische Ost-Indien Kompanie, aber im 18. Jahrhundert waren es schon 33%.¹³ Aber die Kompanie breitete ihre Macht in Asien und Afrika von Jahr zu Jahr immer mehr aus und das bedeutete, dass sie immer mehr Personal brauchte. Im 18. Jahrhundert fuhren schon 7 000 Leute pro Jahr aus den Sieben Vereinten Provinzen Richtung Ost-Asien.¹⁴

Die Zahl der Ausländer stieg mit den Jahren. 1770 war bereits 80% der Soldaten und 50% aller Seeleute der VOC aus dem Ausland angeworben.¹⁵ Das ausländische Personal kam vor allem aus den umliegenden Ländern, wie dem Deutschen Reich, Dänemark, Schweden, Frankreich, Flandern,

Borderlines of Great Powers. Debrecen–Jyväskylä, 2013. 65–79.

⁸ Jacobs, Els M., *Varen om peper en thee: Korte geschiedenis van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie.* Amsterdam, 1991. 38.

⁹ Wennekes, Wim, *Gouden Handel. De eerste Nederlanders overzee en wat ze daar haalden.* Amsterdam, 2008. 140.

¹⁰ Van Gelder, Roelof, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur. Duitsers in dienst van de VOC (1600–1800).* Nijmegen, 1997. 41.

¹¹ Van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur*, 1997. 41.

¹² Gaastra, Femme S., *De geschiedenis van de VOC.* Zutphen, 1991. 81.

¹³ Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, 1991. 81.

¹⁴ Van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur*, 1997. 41.

¹⁵ Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, 1991. 81.

aber auch aus fernerer Gebieten, wie Polen, der Schweiz und Ungarn.¹⁶ Die Niederländische Ost-Indien Kompanie hatte aber das Problem, dass die ausländischen Arbeitnehmer, die wegen den höheren Löhnen massenweise in die Republik kamen,¹⁷ die Kompanie am liebsten gemieden hätten. Die VOC hatte keinen guten Ruf. Die Bezahlung war schlecht, die Arbeit hart, die Reise gefährlich. Für die meisten Arbeitnehmer war der Dienst bei der VOC ein Notsprung ins Ungewisse, die allerletzte Möglichkeit, wenn nichts anders übrigblieb.¹⁸ Deshalb hat man vor allem im 18. Jahrhundert versucht, Seeleute und Soldaten aus dem Ausland mit Gewalt oder mit Betrug anzuwerben. Dazu nahm die Gesellschaft professionelle Werber in Dienst. Sie waren die so genannten „Seelenhändler.“ Die Seelenhändler [Zielverkopers] wurden auf Deutsch auch „Menschenfänger“, „Menschen-Verderber“, „Spitzbuben“ oder „privilegierte Schurken“ genannt.¹⁹ Sie waren meistens Wirte in einem Gasthaus oder Kneipe (oft waren sie Frauen) und nebenbei waren sie Arbeitervermittler für die Ost-Indien Kompanie, die West-Indien Kompanie oder für die Admiralität.²⁰ Ausländische, arbeitssuchende Reisenden wurden scheinbar wohlwollend empfangen und durften reichlich essen und trinken. Wenn ihr Geld alle war, war das am Anfang auch kein Problem. In diesem Fall bekamen sie alles auf Kredit. Nach ein paar Tagen, wenn sie eine größere Schuld aufgebaut haben, kam der Umschwung. Um die Schulden bezahlen zu können, wurden die Opfer der Seelenhändler gezwungen, einen Vertrag mit der VOC zu unterzeichnen. Ab dann mussten die Seelenhändler aufpassen, dass ihre Investition, die zukünftigen Arbeitnehmer der VOC aus dem Ausland, kein Reißaus nahm. Deshalb wurden die armen Leute oft vom Wirt

¹⁶ Die Forschung beschäftigt sich erst vor Kurzem mit den Arbeitnehmern der VOC aus Mittel- und Ost-Europa. Über die polnischen und ungarischen VOC-Arbeitnehmer siehe: Chabrowski, Igor Iwo – Królikowska-Jedlińska, Natalia, (Hgs.): *Early Modern Overseas Careers: East-Central Europeans as Jesuit Missionaries and Dutch East India Employees*. Amsterdam, 2025.; Kempen, Michiel van, *Het andere postkoloniale oog: Onbekende kanten van de Nederlandse (post)koloniale cultuur en literatuur*. Hilversum, 2020.; Bárány Attila – Pusztai Gábor (Hrsg.), *Diplomata írók – író diplomaták*. Debrecen, 2018.; Bozzay Réka (Hrsg.), *Történetek a mélyföldről: Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata a kora újkorban*. Debrecen, 2014.; Pusztai Gábor – Bozzay Réka (Hgs.), *Debrecentől Amszterdamig. Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata*. Debrecen, 2010.

¹⁷ Van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur*, 1997. 58.

¹⁸ Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, 1991. 88.

¹⁹ Van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur*, 1997. 140.

²⁰ Michel Ketelaars, *Compagnies dochters: Vrouwen en de VOC (1602–1795)*. Amsterdam, 2014. 62.

eingesperrt und im Keller oder auf dem Dachboden regelrecht gefangen gehalten. Die Verpflegung war ab dann schlecht, die Hygiene miserabel. Die unterernährte, von Läusen und Flöhen, oft auch von Geschlechtskrankheiten gequälten Männer wurden nach einigen Wochen vom Seelenhändler zur Musterung ins Ost-Indienhaus gebracht und hofften, dass die oft sehr jungen Ausländer, meistens ohne Ausbildung, genommen würden. In diesem Fall bekamen die Seelenhändler ein Kopfgeld.²¹ Wie die Seelenhändler praktisch arbeiteten, beschreibt ein ungarischer Arbeitnehmer der VOC, András Ilka, alias Andreas Jelleke, aus der Literatur besser bekannt als András Jelky in einem kurzen Biografie aus dem Jahr 1779 mit dem Titel *Geschichte des Herrn Andreas Jelky, eines gebohrnen Ungars, welcher nach ausgestandenen vielen unglücklichen Zufällen, Schiffbrüchen, Sklaverey und Lebensgefahren unter den Wilden, endlich zu Batavia zu ansehnlichen Ehrenstellen gelangen ist*. Das Buch ist beim Herausgeber Johan Georg Weingand in Wien erschienen und wurde in dem Jahr noch zweimal aufgelegt. Es wurde in 19. Jahrhundert zu einem Jugendroman verarbeitet und war noch im 20. Jahrhundert eine populäre Lektüre in Ungarn.²²

Jelky war nicht der einzige Ungar in Dienst der VOC. Nach einer Forschungsarbeit in der digitalisierten Datenbank vom *Nationaal Archief* in Den Haag habe ich insgesamt 128 Personen gefunden, die Ungarn als ihren Herkunftsort angegeben haben.²³

²¹ Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts war das Kopfgeld 3 Gulden. Van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur*, 1997. 43.

²² Siehe darüber: Pusztai Gábor, “A Hungarian Employee of the VOC: The Adventures of András Jelky”, In. Chabrowski – Królikowska-Jedlińska: *Early Modern Overseas Careers*, 2025. 97–116.; Pusztai Gábor. “Wilde avonturen op papier: De gefantaseerde reizen van András Jelky”, In. Flor-Góreczka, Agnieszka – Křížová, Kateřina (Hgs.), *Plurima sub falso tegmine vera latent*. Lublin, 2022. 141–153.; Pusztai Gábor, “Een reis naar Suriname? De gefantaseerde avonturen van András Jelky”, In. Kempen, Michiel van (Hrsg.), *Het andere postkoloniale oog. Onbekende kanten van de Nederlandse (post)koloniale cultuur en literatuur*. Hilversum, 2020. 69–79.; Pusztai Gábor, “Onze man in Nagasaki. De gefantaseerde diplomatieke dienst van András Jelky in Japan”, = *Acta Neerlandica* 15, 2019, 49–82.; Pusztai, Gábor, “A nem létező Jelky András: Fikció és valóság a világjáró bajai szabólegény történetéből”, = *Alföld* 65:1, 2014, 72–85.; Pusztai Gábor, “Bajától Batáviáig. Jelky András a Holland Kelet-indiai Társaság szolgálatában”, In. Bozzay: *Történetek a mélyföldről*, 2014. 524–576.

²³ In einer früheren Publikation haben wir einen Großteil dieser Namen bereits veröffentlicht. Die Liste im Anhang ist eine erweiterte und verbesserte Version. Siehe dazu: Pusztai Gábor – Tszelszky, Kees, “In dienst van de VOC in Tropisch avontuur“, = *Acta Neerlandica* 12, 2016, 25–108.

Arbeitnehmer der Niederländischen Ost-Indien Kompanie aus dem Königreich Ungarn

Die Arbeitnehmer der Niederländischen Ost-Indien Kompanie sind verhältnismäßig gut dokumentiert und erhalten geblieben. Auf den Lohnlisten, auf den sogenannten „Monsterrollen“ wurden alle Arbeitnehmer registriert. Ein Schreiber hat Namen, Herkunftsort, Beruf, wofür man angenommen wurde und natürlich das ausgezahlte Geld aufgeschrieben. Weiter wurden noch das Datum der Abreise und der Name des Schiffes registriert, womit der neuste Bedienstete der Niederländischen Ost-Indien Kompanie Richtung Asien abfuhr. Ein besonders wichtiger Teil der Registrierung war die Festlegung der finanziellen Daten. Auf den Lohnlisten wurde aufgeschrieben, ob dem neuen Arbeitnehmer ein Vorschuss auf seinen Lohn ausbezahlt wurde und ob er einen „Maandbrief“ oder einen „Transportbrief“ hatte.

„Maandbrief“ [Monatsbrief] war ein Mittel womit der Arbeitnehmer seinen zurückgebliebenen Familienangehörigen (Frau, Kinder, Eltern usw.) unterstützen konnte. Ein Teil von seinem Lohn konnte er seinem Angehörigen zukommen lassen und das Geld konnten die Unterstützten pro Monat im Büro der Niederländischen Ost-Indien Kompanie ausgezahlt bekommen.²⁴

Der „Transportbrief“ oder „Schuldbrief“ war eigentlich eine Schulderklärung, die der Seelenhändler bekam, nachdem der Arbeitnehmer von der VOC angenommen wurde. Die Schulden, die der Arbeitnehmer beim Seelenhändler gemacht hat, waren meistens höher als der Vorschuss auf seinem Lohn, den er bei Unterzeichnung des Vertrags bekommen hatte. Der Vorschuss betrug meistens 14–22 Gulden, was aber seine Schulden und die Kosten nicht deckte. Der Seelenhändler hat nämlich auch die Seemannskiste der neuen Arbeitnehmer bezahlt, worin sich Kleider, Tabak, eine Flasche Weinbrand, Nähzeug und eine Decke befanden.²⁵ Ein Transportbrief war also eine Erklärung, dass der Gläubiger (z.B. der Seelenhändler) einen rechtmäßigen Anspruch auf einen Teil des (noch nicht ausbezahlten) Lohns hatte. Der Eigentümer des Transportbriefes (z.B. der Seelenhändler) konnte einmal im Jahr im Büro der VOC ein Teil des Lohnes abholen, wenn aus Batavia Bericht kam, dass der Angestellte noch im Leben und tatsächlich in Dienst war.

²⁴ Van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur*, 1997. 158.

²⁵ Ketelaars, *Compagnies dochters*, 2014, 71.

Auf den Lohnlisten der VOC waren weiter angegeben, was mit dem Arbeitnehmer in Dienst passiert war. Ob er nach Dienstende nach Europa zurückgekehrt war, ob er frühzeitig aus dem Dienst getreten war, verschollen oder, was oft vorkam, unterwegs oder in Asien gestorben war.

Herkunftsort

Unter Herkunftsort findet man bei deutschen, niederländischen oder skandinavischen Arbeitnehmern auf den Lohnlisten Städte oder Provinzandeutungen, wie Antwerpen, Leeuwarden, Keulen (Köln), Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Neurenburg (Nürnberg), Osnabrugge (Osnabrück), Lijpsigh (Leipzig) oder Bergen in Noorwegen, Pruijsen (Preußen), Canton Bern, Holsteijn (Holstein), Sacxen (Sachsen) usw. Bei den ungarischen Arbeitnehmern wurden meistens eine Landandeutung (Ungarn) und daneben eventuell noch eine Ortschaft angegeben. Schon bei Landandeutung gibt es neben dem offiziellen „Hongarije“ (Ungarn) zahlreiche Variationen: Hongarijen, Hognie, Hanga, Hongen, Hongeren, Hongraat, Hongaart, Hong raien, Hongarein, Hongaris, Hongarein, Hongarien, Hongarijn, Hongarijp, Hungarije, Hungarijen, Ungarien, Ongarien, Ongaar, Ongaer, Ongarie, Ongario, Ongarijen, Ongareijen, sogar Magijare [magyar]. Der Herkunftsort der Arbeitnehmer ist, genauso wie die Personenamen, manchmal sehr eindeutig und leicht zu identifizieren. Jan Alexander kam z.B. aus „Tordo in hongarien“ womit man sehr wahrscheinlich Torda (Turda, Thorenburg/Torembrich) in Siebenbürgen gemeint wurde. Andries Daniel Croon kam aus „Belgrado uijt hongeren“ also aus Belgrad. Nicolaas Freek kam aus „Raab in hongarijn“ also aus der ungarischen Stadt Győr/Raab/Ráb. Neben diesen verhältnismäßig leicht zu lösen Fällen gibt es auch kompliziertere Ortsangaben, wo man schon ein wenig Kreativität braucht, um dahinter zu kommen, was der niederländische Schreiber im 17.–18. Jahrhundert wohl gehört haben mag. Joseph Crommene aus „Edenborg in hongeren“ ist ursprünglich höchstwahrscheinlich aus Sopron/Ödenburg/Šopron gekommen. Es ist anzunehmen, dass um den einigermaßen verdrehten deutschen Namen der Stadt geht, aber ganz sicher können wir nicht sein. Johannes Meijer hat als Herkunftsort „Stolveijsenbrug in hongarijen“ angegeben, was höchstwahrscheinlich nach dem deutschen Namen von Székesfehérvár/Stuhlweißenburg verweist.

Es gibt aber auch reichlich Ortsangaben, die völlig undeutbar sind. Der ungarische Arbeitnehmer hat entweder absichtlich eine nicht existierende Stadt angegeben, oder (was wahrscheinlicher ist) der niederländische Schreiber hat

die mündliche Mitteilung des Arbeitnehmers aus dem Königreich Ungarn nicht gut verstanden und hat die fremd klingenden Worte versucht nach dem Gehör auf Papier zu bringen. Bei Jurriaan Danskij ist „Seveuele in hongarie“ als Herkunftsort notiert. Genauso undeutlich ist der Ort „Pasi in hongarijen“ wo der Soldat Joseph Ertel herkam, oder „Koop in hongarijn“ wo Joseph Fox heimisch war. Ladislaus Kisch kam aus „Jungus in hong raien“ aber welche Ortschaft damit gemeint wurde, ist nicht nachvollziehbar.

Namen

Die Arbeitnehmer der VOC hatten meistens keine Papiere oder Dokumenten bei sich und waren oft Analphabeten. Wenn jemand in Dienst genommen wurde, dann wurde sein Name vom Schreiber der Kompanie nach Gehör notiert. Das sorgte natürlich für Schwierigkeiten, vor allem, wenn der neue Arbeitnehmer aus einem Land kam, dessen Sprache für den Schreiber ungewöhnlich war. Missverständnisse entstanden regelmäßig. In der Zeit der VOC gab es noch keine einheitliche Rechtschreibung in den Niederlanden und das machte die Sache noch komplizierter. Man kann sich vorstellen, dass der niederländische Sekretär einen polnischen, tschechischen, ungarischen oder schwedischen Namen nicht ohne weiteres, korrekt notieren konnte. Man braucht schon ein bisschen Geduld und Kreativität, wenn man die Namen auf den Monsterrollen entziffern und auch noch rekonstruieren möchte. Einige Beispiele folgen hierunter.²⁶ Paulus Borosnijdi Nagij ist am 19. Dezember 1780 in Dienst getreten und fuhr mit dem Schiff *Vriendschap* [Freundschaft] von Texel nach Asien.²⁷ Sein Vorname ist Paulus, also eine lateinische Form von Paul, auf Ungarisch Pál. Sein doppelter Familienname ist auf der „Monsterrol“ nicht korrekt wiedergeben. Im Niederländischen schrieb man ein *y* oft als eine Kombination von *i* und *j*. Der Mann hieß also in Wirklichkeit Pál Borosnyai Nagy. Er kam aus Siebenbürgen/Erdély/Transsylvanien, aus der Stadt Nagyenyed/Strassburg am Mierisch/Aiud und war der Sohn des Lehrers vom örtlichen Reformierten Kollegiums Zsigmond Borosnyai Nagy (1737–1774).²⁸ Er ging in seiner Geburtsstadt zur Schule, später studierte er Medizin in Wien und in Utrecht, wo er 1780 ein Diplom erworben hat. Er schrieb seine Doktorarbeit mit dem Titel *Tentamen*

²⁶ Eine detaillierte Liste mit Archivnummern kann man im Anhang finden.

²⁷ Einzelheiten zur Reise 4388.2 von Texel nach Batavia. <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/das/detailVoyage/95439> (Zugriff am 25. März 2026.)

²⁸ Für die Information danke ich Dr. Előd Ósz aus Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.

practicum inaug. de dysenteria, [Praktisches einführendes Versuch über die Dysenterie] (Trajecti ad Rh., 1780.) die in Utrecht in dem Jahr erschien als Borosnyai sein Arbeitsvertrag bei der Kompanie unterzeichnete. Was ihm dazu bewogen hatte bei der Niederländischen Ost-Indien Kompanie in Dienst zu treten, wissen wir nicht. Vielleicht kam er in finanzielle Schwierigkeiten, vielleicht musste er wegen einem Skandal das Land verlassen, aber es kann auch sein, dass er, von Abenteuerlust und Neugier getrieben, in die unbekannte Fremde reiste. Dass er sich während seines Studiums mit einer der gefährlichsten tropischen Krankheiten, die Dysenterie befasste, lässt darauf schließen, dass seine Reise nach Asien kein plötzlicher Einfall, sondern eine geplante, gut vorbereitete Entscheidung gewesen sein musste. Er diente 11 Jahre lang der Niederländischen Ost-Indien Kompanie als Arzt und starb in Asien.

Matthijs Comlodie wurde am 24. September 1774 als Soldat in Dienst genommen und fuhr mit dem Schiff *Delfshaven* nach Asien. Dieser Ungar hieß wahrscheinlich in der Wirklichkeit Mátyás Komlódi. Der Vorname wurde auf niederländische Weise als Matthijs geschrieben, was eine Variante des ungarischen Mátyás (Matthias) ist. Der Nachname wurde deutlich nach Gehör niedergeschrieben.

Samuel Dioschkij unterzeichnete seinen Vertrag am 6. April 1754 und diente 5 Jahre lang der Kompanie als Soldat. Seinen Vornamen können wir leicht raten: Samuel ist Sámuel auf Ungarisch. Sein Familienname ist wahrscheinlich Diósy oder Diósi. Beide Formen sind möglich. Es gibt auch ähnlich leichte Fälle, wo man den Namen ohne Weiteres erraten kann: Joseph Farkas ist József Farkas, Michiel Gaal ist Mihály Gál, Samuel Kies ist Sámuel Kis, Ladislaus Kisch ist László Kis, Michiel Molenaar ist Mihály Molnár, Andreas Pek ist András Pék, Joseph Tackas ist wahrscheinlich József Takács, Johannes Tokaij ist János Tokaji.

Die meisten Arbeitnehmer aber, die das Königreich Ungarn als Herkunftsland angegeben hatten, hatten keineswegs ungarisch klingenden Namen. Es gibt sehr viele Deutsche Namen, wie z.B. Matthijs Breijer aus „Cassou in ongaries“, also aus Kaschau/Kassa/Kosice, Johan Jürgen Ernst aus „Comorra in hongarijen“, der als „Adelborst“ also als Seekadett am 25. Oktober 1735 angestellt wurde, Stephanus Esser aus „Grootmardaijn in hongarijen“, also aus Grosswardein/ Nagyvárad/Oradea, wer war als Soldat am 21. April 1749 angestellt.

Es gab auch viele Arbeitnehmer mit dem Herkunftsort Ungarn die einen (süd-)slawische Namen hatten. Joseph Blosewits aus „Ongarie“ also

Ungarn, wurde am 8. Januar 1749 als Soldat angenommen, Johan von Brasewits aus „Presburg in Hongarijen“ Preßburg/Pozsony/Bratislava trat am 15. November 1765 in Dienst als Kanonier, Stanislaus Filankwits aus „Hongarijen“ war am 21. Oktober 1751 als Soldat in Dienst getreten.

Neben ungarischen, deutschen und slawischen Namen sind Namen in den Lohnlisten zu finden, die für den Schreiber der VOC eine wahrscheinlich zu große Herausforderung waren. Die Namen von diesen Arbeitnehmern sind undeutbar: Johannes Anjal, Josph Crommene, Nicolaas Croute, Martin de Erdurosa, Jan Hamo, Johan Jirck, Anthonij Jurgie, Lucas Perras, Jurgen Penspolskee, Tierilo Photioff und Johan Roedersho um nur einige Beispiele zu nennen.

Manchmal konnte der Schreiber einfach die Geduld nicht aufbringen um die fremd klingenden, ungewöhnlichen Namen sich noch einmal anzuhören und registrierte den neuen Arbeitnehmer unter einen völlig fremden, wahrscheinlich vom Schreiber ausgedachten Namen. So erging es wahrscheinlich bei Johannis Ongaar (Ungar) aus „Hongarijen“, bei Matthijs Oranje (Orange), oder Johannes Bamboes (Bambus). Manchmal hörte der Schreiber mit dem Notieren schon beim Vornamen auf, und der Familienname wurde überhaupt nicht mehr auf der Lohnliste aufgeschrieben: Jan Alexander, Joseph Christiaan, Johan Hendrik, Paulus Andries Luis, oder Zacharias Philip.

Bei einem ungarischen Arbeitnehmer in niederländischen Dienst wissen wir es aber ganz genau, dass sich hinter dem registrierten Namen Andreas Jelleke ursprünglich András Anzelm Nepomuk Ilka, ein Schneidergeselle aus der südungarischen Stadt Baja verborgen hielt. Der Familienname Ilka muss für den Schreiber völlig fremd gewesen sein, und deshalb assoziierte er auf einen für ihn wohlbekannten friesischen Vornamen, auf Jelle. Jelleke ist eine Koseform von Jelle und das kam dem Schreiber bekannt vor, also dies hat er notiert. Den ersten Vornamen (András) hat er (in seiner deutschen Form) behalten, die anderen einfach weggelassen. So wurde aus dem ungarischen Schneidergesellen András Anselm Nepomuk Ilka, der Arbeitnehmer der VOC, Andreas Jelleke und später in der Literatur András Jelky.²⁹

Berufe

In den ungefähr zweihundert Jahren des Bestehens der VOC fuhren auf den Schiffen vor allem Soldaten und Matrosen nach Asien. Sie bildeten die große Masse der Arbeitnehmer, sie waren am niedrigsten im Rang und sie starben am

²⁹ Puzstai, *Bajától Batáviáig*, 2014. 524–577.

schnellsten. Daneben reisten auch Handwerker (vor allem Waffenschmiede, Fassbinder, Schiffzimmerleute, Schmiede, Segelmacher, usw.) und andere höher geschultes Personal wie Ärzte, Barbieri, Offiziere, Marineoffiziere und Kaufleute mit. Die letzten beiden (der Kapitän des Schiffes [Schipper] und der Hauptkaufmann [Opperkoopman], ernannt von der Leiter der VOC) waren die Befehlshaber auf dem Schiff. Juristen, Prediger und ihre Familienangehörigen fuhren als Passagiere mit.

Unter den ausländischen Arbeitnehmern finden wir relativ wenige Leute mit einer guten Ausbildung. Die meisten waren entweder Matrosen oder Soldaten. Bei den Soldaten waren die meisten natürlich im niedrigsten Rang [soldaat]. Einige Unteroffiziere und Seeoffiziere in Ausbildung, Seekadetten [adelborst] waren die Befehlshaber der Soldaten am Bord. Neben einigen Handwerkern findet man noch ein paar Ärzte oder (See) Offiziere, aber die ganz hohen Positionen waren den Niederländern vorbehalten. Im Allgemeinen kann man behaupten, dass die Faustregel gehandhabt wurde: je höher der Rang, desto mehr Niederländer, je niedriger die Position, desto mehr Ausländer.³⁰ Auch am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, als die Soldaten der VOC über 80% aus Ausländer bestanden, waren die Offiziere für mehr als 75% Niederländer.³¹

Was die ungarischen Arbeitnehmer angeht, können wir feststellen, dass ihre überwiegende Mehrheit die niedrigsten Ränge bekleidet hatte. Das heißt, sie gehörten zu den Matrosen oder den Soldaten. Von den 128 Ungarn waren 94 Soldaten niedrigsten Ranges, also Gefreiten [soldaat] und 19 Seeleute (12 Matrosen, 4 Kanoniermatrosen [Bosschieter], 1 Trommler [Tamboer], 1 Jungmatrose [jongmatroos], 1 Hilfsmatrose [hooploper]). Das bedeutet, dass 113 von den 128 Arbeitnehmern (88%) in den allerniedrigsten Rängen arbeitete. Ihre Zahl bei den Unteroffizieren war deutlich geringer. Es gab 1 Feldwebel [sergeant], 1 Kanonier, 4 Korporale, 1 Militärpolizist oder Provost [provoost] und 4 Seeoffiziere in Ausbildung [adelborst], also insgesamt 11 Leute (8,5%). Unter den Handwerkern findet man auch nur drei Ungarn (2,3%): 1 Unterschiffszimmermann [onderscheepstimmerman], 1 Fassbinder [leggemaker] und 1 Büchsenmacher [roerslotmaker]. Bei dem medizinischen Personal habe ich nur zwei Namen gefunden (1,7%): einen Arzt [tweede meester] und einen Oberfeldscher [opperchirurgijn]. Bei einem Arbeitnehmer war kein Beruf eingetragen. Unter den höheren Offizieren, Marineoffizieren

³⁰ Van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur*, 1997. 56.

³¹ Van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur*, 1997. 56.

(Kapitän, Steuermann, Untersteuermann, Dritter Offizier usw.), oder im Schiffsrat findet man keine Arbeitnehmer aus dem Königreich Ungarn. Was die Unteroffiziere betrifft, findet man auch bei höheren Rängen wie Oberbootsmann [hoogbootsman], Kellermeister [bottelier] oder Konstabler keine Arbeitnehmer aus Ungarn.

Man kann also feststellen, dass die meisten auf der Liste bei der Niederländischen Ost-Indien Kompanie auf der untersten Stufe des Dienstgrades standen. Unter ihnen gab es nur 4% Qualifizierte Arbeitnehmer mit einer guten Ausbildung (Handwerker oder Arzt), und nur 8,5% hatte einen Unteroffiziersrang. Wenn man aber die Überlebenschancen dieser Leute betrachtet, ist das Bild noch viel düsterer.

Die Arbeitnehmer der Niederländischen Ost-Indien Kompanie konnten, wie oben bereits erwähnt, nicht auf ein langes Leben rechnen. Im Durchschnitt kehrte von drei Leuten nur einer lebend nach Europa zurück.³² Von den 128 Ungarn waren nur 22 nach Europa zurückgekehrt (17%). 5 Leute (4%) waren in Dienst der Kompanie in Süd-Afrika (am Kap) ausgestiegen, einer wurde Freibürger, 13 vermisst (10%), zwei desertiert, einer wurde wegen Arbeitsunfähigkeit, einer wegen seinem Alter entlassen und das Schicksal von 6 Leuten (4,5%) ist ungewiss. Der Rest, 79 Leute (61,7%) war noch unterwegs, oder in Asien gestorben. Man kann nur von den zurückgekehrten (17%) und von denen die im Dienst der VOC in Süd-Afrika geblieben waren (4%) beziehungsweise von dem einen Freibürger annehmen, dass sie im Leben geblieben sind. Es waren also knappe 21%, die überlebte. Diese Zahl bleibt weit hinter den durchschnittlichen 33%. Was war die Ursache davon? An Bord waren die meisten Matrosen und Soldaten aufeinander angewiesen. Wenn man ein soziales Netzwerk am Bord hatte, dann hatte man bessere Überlebenschancen. Man konnte unterwegs erkranken, man konnte einen Unfall haben, verletzt werden und das bedeutete, dass man auf andere Leute angewiesen war, die pflegen, versorgen oder beschützen konnten. Das soziale Netzwerk am Bord entstand meistens aufgrund von gemeinsamer Sprache, Herkunftsort oder Nationalität. Landsleute haben einander in Not meistens geholfen. Ungarn waren in der Regel so selten, dass es pro Schiff nur einer einziger nach Asien fuhr. Wenn er erkrankte oder in Probleme kam, gab es niemanden, der ihm helfen wollte. Er war also alleingelassen und damit waren seine Chancen zum Überleben äußerst gering. Auf diese Weise starb wahrscheinlich der Soldat Joseph Blosewits, der am 8 Januar 1749 mit

³² Jacobs, Varen om peper en thee, 1991. 47.

dem Schiff *Sparenrijk* ausgefahren war und bereits nach vier Monaten am Bord des Schiffes umkam. Johannes Wel war am 22. November 1746 als Soldat mit dem Schiff *Leiden* nach Asien abgereist, aber starb schon nach zwei Monaten (am 30. Januar 1747) an Bord. Es gab Leute, die schon nach kurzer Zeit genug von Dienst hatten und bei der ersten Gelegenheit desertierten. Der Soldat Michiel Milder war bereits nach zwei Wochen an der Küste von England vom Schiff *Overschie* geflohen [weggelopen].

Es gab aber auch zähe Burschen, die Jahrzehntelang bei der Kompanie ausharrten. Poppe Janko diente 27 Jahre (1749–1776), Hans Wellesig aus „Rignits in Hongarien“ 32 Jahre (1713–1745) für die VOC. Adam Bollenschan war als Soldat am 31. Dezember 1749 angeworben und starb nach fast 38 (!) Jahren treuen Dienst, am 9. August 1787 in Asien.

Schluss

Nach diesem vorläufigen Inventar der Arbeitnehmer der VOC aus dem Königreich Ungarn können wir also feststellen, dass sie in der niederländischen Kompanie meistens (für 87%) die niedrigsten Positionen bekleidet haben und im Durchschnitt 6 Jahre dienten. Nur knapp 21% der Ungarn überlebte das tropische Abenteuer und nur 17% konnte nach Europa zurückkehren. Außer der Lebensgeschichte von Andreas Jelleke alias András Anselm Nepomuk Ilka, alias András Jelky, wissen wir von keinem einzigen Bediensteten aus Ungarn, wie es ihm in niederländischen Dienst erging. Jelleke machte auf Java Karriere und kehrte nach 22 Jahren als ein reicher Mann in sein Vaterland zurück. In Ungarn wohnte er noch fünf Jahre in Buda, wo er heiratete, und aus der Ehe entstand auch ein Sohn. 1783 starb Jelleke an Tuberkulose. Er war aber eine Ausnahme. Die meisten hatten nicht das Glück, heimkehren zu dürfen, und schon gar wohlhabend. Die meisten, so müsste man konstatieren, bekamen die niedrigeren Positionen. Sie hatten keine Ausbildung, also hatten nur schlecht bezahlte Berufe (Matrose, Soldat). Sie waren meisten auf sich selbst angewiesen, und ihre Todesrate war viel höher als die der durchschnittliche Arbeitnehmer der VOC.

Anhang

Liste der VOC-Arbeitnehmer, wo als Herkunftsort das Königreich Ungarn oder eine erkennbare Ortschaft innerhalb des Königreichs Ungarn angegeben wurde. (Zum Beispiel: Raab = Győr, Ofen = Buda, Pesth = Pest) Die Liste wurde aufgrund der digitalen Database des Nationaal Archiefs in Den Haag zusammengestellt: <http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/>. Wenn die Herkunftsort unsicher war, habe ich es mit einem * markiert.

A)

1.

Vorname	Jan
Familienname	Alexander
Herkunft	Tordo in hongarien
Dienstanfang	10-04-1763
Dienststellung	„Bosschierter“
Erklärung	erfahrener Matrose, der auch Kanonen bediente
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Erfprins
Dienstende	00-00-1764
Ort des Dienstendes	Radermacher
Ursache des Dienstendes	Schiff gesunken
Erklärung zum Dienstende	Dies wird nur dann angegeben, wenn das Schiff gesunken war und die Mitfahrenden ertrunken waren.
Bemerkung	Asien
Schiff auf der Rückreise	RADERMACHER
Kammer Rurückreise	Zeeland
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	1764-01-25
Bemerkung zu Rückreise	Verschollen zwischen Batavia und Kap der Guten Hoffnung.
Schuldbrief	Ja
Mandbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14021, Folio: 105
Dienstdauer	8 Monate

2.

Vorname	Diglesse
Familienname	Andries
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Datum Dienstanfang	08-05-1763
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Nijenborg

Dienstende	21-04-1765
Ort des Dienstendes	Nijenborg
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Mandbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14475, Folio: 209
Dienstdauer	2 Jahre

3.

Vorname	Frans
Familiename	Angase
Herkunft	Cossort in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	25-12-1719
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Rijnstein
Dienstende	00-00-1733
Ort des Dienstendes	Schuitwijk
Ursache des Dienstendes	zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff auf der Rückreise	SCHUITWIJK
Kammer der Rückreise	Zeeland
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	30-12-1732
Datum Ankunft beim Kap der Guten Hoffnung	1733-03-07
Datum Abfahrt von Kap der Guten Hoffnung	1733-03-18
Datum Ankunft Rückreise	22-07-1733
Schuldbrief	Ja
Mandbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12798, Folio: 122
Dienstdauer	14 Jahre

4.

Vorname	Johannes
Familiename	Anjal
Herkunft	Ongarie
Dienstanfang	08-01-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Elswoud
Dienstende	30-09-1750
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja

Mandbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6235, Folio: 314
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 9 Monate

B)

5.

Vorname	Peeter
Familienname	Bakkers
Herkunft	Magijare
Dienstanfang	26-03-1760
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Renswoude
Dienstende	18-09-1764
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Mandbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6389, Folio: 154
Dienstdauer	4 Jahre und 6 Monate

6.

*Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Bamboes
Herkunft	Tis parijs in hong.r
Dienstanfang	09-07-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Huis ter Duine
Dienstende	29-08-1750
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Mandbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14759, Folio: 156
Dienstdauer	13 Monate

7.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Blosewits
Herkunft	Ongarie
Dienstanfang	08-01-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat

Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Sparenrijk
Dienstende	21-05-1749
Ort des Dienstendes	Sparenrijk
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Mandbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6232, Folio: 238
Dienstdauer	4 Monate

8.

Vorname	Adam
Familienname	Bollenschan
Herkunft	Honganie
Dienstanfang	31-12-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Amstelveen
Dienstende	09-08-1787
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6240, Folio: 306
Dienstdauer	37 Jahre

9.

Vorname	Jan
Familienname	Bonishartus
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	13-05-1697
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Schellag
Ort des Dienstendes	Unbekannt
Ursache des Dienstendes	Nicht eingetragen
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12237, Folio: 1

10.

Vorname	Paulus
Patronym	Nagij
Familienname	Borosnijdi

Herkunft	Huijed in sevenbergen
Dienstanfang	19-12-1780
Dienststellung	Arzt (Tweede meester)
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Vriendschap
Dienstende	18-10-1791
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14508, Folio: 25
Dienstdauer	11 Jahre

11.

Vorname	Johan
Namenszusatz	van
Familienname	Brasewits
Herkunft	Presburg in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	15-11-1765
Dienststellung	Kanonier
befahren mit dem Schiff	Vredestein
Dienstende	20-12-1766
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14246, Folio: 55
Dienstdauer	13 Monate

12.

Vorname	Frans
Familienname	Braunsdorpe
Herkunft	Piesburge in hongareij
Dienstanfang	19-04-1783
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Rotterdams Welvaren
Dienstende	27-04-1784
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Nein
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14277, Folio: 281
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr

13.

Vorname	Matthijs
Familienname	Breijer
Herkunft	Cassou in ongaries
Dienstanfang	07-01-1709
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Hoedekenskerke
Dienstende	31-08-1717
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Letzte Erwähnung („Laatste vermelding“)
Erklärung zum Dienstende	Wenn es keine deutliche Ursache für das Dienstende gibt, wird dieser Ausdruck verwendet. Meistens ist das Soldbuch bei der Person auch nicht abgeschlossen, die Rechnung ist noch offen.
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12726, Folio: 220
Dienstdauer	8 Jahre und 8 Monate

14.

Vorname	Joseph
Namenszusatz	de
Familienname	Bruijn
Herkunft	Hungarije
Dienstanfang	20-04-1753
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Baarzande
Dienstende	01-11-1764
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14000, Folio: 115
Dienstdauer	11 Jahre und 6 Monate

15.

Vorname	Floriaen
Familienname	Bub
Herkunft	Hongarien
Dienstanfang	01-06-1691
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	SCHELDE

Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen auf dem Schiff	Nederland
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen im Namen der Kammer	Rotterdam
Dienstende	15-01-1692
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kamer Rotterdam
Erklärung zum Dienstende	Im Auftrag der Kammer Rotterdam am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 5387, Folio: 301
Dienstdauer	6 Monate

C)

16.

Vorname	Stephanus
Familienname	Chamottie
Herkunft	Hongarien
Dienstanfang	10-04-1763
Dienststellung	Soldat
Uitleg over functie	Militair
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Erfprins
Dienstende	31-01-1764
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14021, Folio: 278
Dienstdauer	9 Monate

17.

Vorname	Johan
Patronym	Michiel
Familienname	Chowan
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	09-04-1773

Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Hoolwerf
Dienstende	00-00-1786
Ort des Dienstendes	Voorschoten
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	VOORSCHOTEN
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	11-12-1785
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	23-03-1786
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	21-08-1786
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14041, Folio: 194
Dienstdauer	13 Jahre

18.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Christiaan
Herkunft	Ongario
Dienstanfang	17-05-1744
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Leeuwerik
Dienstende	00-00-1753
Ort des Dienstendes	Giessenburg
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	GIESSENBURG
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	15-11-1752
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	25-01-1753
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	06-03-1753
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	22-05-1753
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6163, Folio: 194
Dienstdauer	9 Jahre

19.

Vorname	Jacob
Familienname	Claase
Herkunft	Oud hongarije
Dienstanfang	02-10-1769
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Vrouwe Elisabeth
Dienstende	28-10-1780
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14253, Folio: 218
Dienstdauer	11 Jahre

20.

Vorname	Andries
Familienname	Coolenban
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	03-05-1724
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	LAND VAN BELOFTEN
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen auf dem Schiff	Meerhuizen
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen im Namen der Kammer	Enkhuizen
Dienstende	17-03-1725
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kammer Enkhuizen
Uitleg over reden einde dienstverband	Opgestapt aan de Kaap, in dienst van kamer Enkhuizen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 5823, Folio: 169

Vorname	Andries
Familienname	Colenban
Herkunft	Ongarijen
Dienstanfang	15-06-1724

Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Land van Beloften
Dienstende	29-11-1726
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14699, Folio: 135
Dienstdauer	2 Jahre und 5 Monate

21.

Vorname	Matthijs
Familienname	Comlodie
Herkunft	Hongarijn
Dienstanfang	27-09-1774
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Delfshaven
Dienstende	00-00-1783
Ort des Dienstendes	Beekvliet
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	BEEKVLIET
Kammer der Rückreise	Zeeland
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	12-11-1780
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	1781-02-06
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	1781-03-03
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	1781-06-08
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14044, Folio: 226

Vorname	Matthijs
Familienname	Comlodie
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	01-06-1783
Dienststellung	Korporal
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Ouwerkerk
Dienstende	27-11-1788

Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Nein
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13243, Folio: 274
Dienstdauer	14 Jahre und 5 Monate

22.

Vorname	Frans
Familienname	Cortziers
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	21-06-1759
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	,s-Gravezande
Dienstende	28-05-1767
Ort des Dienstendes	Noord Nieuwland
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Bemerkung	Arbeitsunfähig
Schiff der Rückreise	NOORD NIEUWLAND
Kammer der Rückreise	Hoorn
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	07-11-1766
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	25-01-1767
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	11-02-1767
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	25-05-1767
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14013, Folio: 191
Dienstdauer	8 Jahre

23.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Crommene
Herkunft	Edenborg in hongeren
Dienstanfang	04-07-1751
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Hercules
Dienstende	27-01-1756

Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13051, Folio: 188
Dienstdauer	4 Jahre und 6 Monate

24.

Vorname	Andries
Patronym	Daniel
Familienname	Croon
Herkunft	Belgrado uijt hongeren
Dienstanfang	09-01-1747
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Vlissingen
Ort des Dienstendes	Unbekannt
Ursache des Dienstendes	Nicht eingetragen
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12276, Folio: 1

25.

Vorname	Nicolaas
Familienname	Croute
Herkunft	Ongarie
Dienstanfang	08-01-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Sparenrijk
Dienstende	00-00-1752
Ort des Dienstendes	Amstelveen
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	AMSTELVEEN
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	30-11-1751
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	24-03-1752
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	16-04-1752
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	07-07-1752

Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6232, Folio: 239
Dienstdauer	3 Jahre

D)

26.

Vorname	Jurriaan
Familienname	Danskij
Herkunft	Sevenele in hongarie
Dienstanfang	22-03-1747
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Baarzande
Dienstende	09-12-1758
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13025, Folio: 187
Dienstdauer	11 Jahre und 9 Monate

27.

Vorname	Jan
Patronym	Christiaan
Familienname	Dientjes
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	20-06-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Wapen van Hoorn
Dienstende	12-08-1751
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14445, Folio: 197
Dienstdauer	2 Jahre und 2 Monate

28.

Vorname	Samuel
Familienname	Dioschkij

Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	06-04-1754
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Naarstigheid
Dienstende	12-02-1759
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14003, Folio: 207
Dienstdauer	4 Jahre und 10 Monate

E)

29.

Vorname	Matthijs
Familienname	Eerlijk
Herkunft	Hongarien
Dienstanfang	05-08-1780
Dienststellung	Unterschiffszimmermann (Onder(scheeps)timmerman)
Erklärung	Helfer des Oberschiffszimmermanns
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Zilveren Leeuw
Dienstende	00-00-1786
Ort des Dienstendes	Stavenisse
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	STAVENISSE
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	13-02-1786
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	23-04-1786
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	11-05-1786
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	21-08-1786
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14056, Folio: 32
Dienstdauer	6 Jahre

30.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Eggman
Herkunft	Ofen
Dienstanfang	08-08-1791
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Huisduinen
Ort des Dienstendes	Unbekannt
Ursache des Dienstendes	Nicht eingetragen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Ununklarlich
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12340, Folio: 1

31.

Vorname	Johan
Patronym	Philip
Familienname	Eijsenhoet
Herkunft	Hongen
Dienstanfang	14-09-1791
Dienststellung	Leichtmatrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Geertruida en Petronella
Dienstende	07-09-1800
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6818, Folio: 191
Dienstdauer	9 Jahre

32.

Vorname	Jean
Familienname	Ekman
Herkunft	Ofen in hanga
Dienstanfang	15-08-1791
Dienststellung	Füsilier
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	HUISDUINEN
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen	auf dem Schiff Jonkvrouwe Sibilla Anthoinetta
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	im Namen der KammerAmsterdam

Dienstende	12-03-1792
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kammer Zeeland
Erklärung	Im Dienst der Kammer Zeeland am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen
Bemerkung	Regiment Württemberg
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6821, Folio: 224

33.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Emmes
Herkunft	Hongraat
Dienstanfang	25-09-1771
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Prinses van Oranje
Dienstende	00-00-1778
Ort des Dienstendes	Mercur
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	MERCUUR
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	21-11-1777
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	24-01-1778
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	04-03-1778
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	05-06-1778
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6558, Folio: 333
Dienstdauer	7 Jahre

34.

Vorname	Martin
Namenszusatz	de
Familienname	Erdurosa
Herkunft	Ongareijen
Dienstanfang	09-10-1739

Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Scheijbeek
Dienstende	19-07-1756
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6099, Folio: 238
Dienstdauer	16 Jahre und 10 Monate

35.

Vorname	Johan
Patronym	Jurgen
Familienname	Ernst
Herkunft	Comorra in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	25-10-1735
Dienststellung	Seekadett (Adelborst)
Erklärung	Dienstgrad von einem Seeoffizier in Ausbildung
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Knappenhof
Dienstende	00-00-1745
Ort des Dienstendes	Ouwerkerk
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	OUWERKERK
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	05-11-1744
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	06-02-1745
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	16-04-1745
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	24-08-1745
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14180, Folio: 151
Dienstdauer	10 Jahre

36.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Ertel
Herkunft	Pasi in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	06-03-1754

Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Wildrijck
Dienstende	30-06-1758
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Vermist
Erklärung	Beim Apell nicht anwesend. Im Schiffssoldbuchen auch öfter als 'absent' vermeldet.
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14221, Folio: 270
Dienstdauer	4 Jahre und 4 Monate

37.

Vorname	Stephanus
Familienname	Esser
Herkunft	Grootmardajjn in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	21-04-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Voorzichtigheid
Dienstende	01-09-1750
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14210, Folio: 219
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 5 Monate

F)

38.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Farkas
Herkunft	Westburg in hongareijen
Dienstanfang	08-09-1790
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	GERECHTIGHEID
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen auf dem Schiff	Zwaan
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja

Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen im Namen der Kammer	Rotterdam
Dienstende	28-05-1791
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kamer Rotterdam
Erklärung zum Dienstende	Im Auftrag der Kammer Rotterdam ausgestiegen am Kap der Guten Hoffnung
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13285, Folio: 279

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Farkas
Herkunft	Westburg in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	16-06-1790
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Gerechtigheid
Dienstende	21-10-1791
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Letzte Erwähnung (Laatste vermelding)
Erklärung zum Dienstende	Wenn es keine deutliche Ursache für das Dienstende gibt, wird dieser Ausdruck verwendet. Meistens ist das Soldbuch bei der Person auch nicht abgeschlossen, die Rechnung ist noch offen.
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14291, Folio: 119
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 1 Monat

39.

Vorname	Stanislaus
Familienname	Filankwits
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	21-10-1751
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Bevalligheid
Dienstende	00-00-1757
Ort des Dienstendes	Vrijburg
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	VRIJBURG
Kammer der Rückreise	Zeeland
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	12-12-1757

Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	05-04-1758
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	26-04-1758
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	08-09-1758
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13997, Folio: 277
Dienstdauer	6 Jahre

40.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Fox
Herkunft	Koop in hongarijn
Dienstanfang	17-02-1772
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Huis te Krooswijk
Dienstende	18-10-1773
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14256, Folio: 273
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 8 Monate

41.

Vorname	Nicolaas
Familienname	Freek
Herkunft	Raab in hongarijn
Dienstanfang	08-05-1764
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	IJsselmonde
Dienstende	25-06-1765
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14243, Folio: 249
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 1 Monat

42.

Vorname	Carolus
Familienname	Friedberge
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	05-10-1752
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Delft
Dienstende	31-08-1755
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13999, Folio: 216
Dienstdauer	2 Jahre und 10 Monate

G)

43.

Vorname	Michiel
Familienname	Gaal
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	14-04-1736
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Kasteel van Woerden
Dienstende	12-06-1737
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13960, Folio: 207
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 2 Monate

44.

Vorname	Geurt
Familienname	Gabrij
Herkunft	Hongarije
Dienstanfang	18-08-1748
Dienststellung	Fassbinder, Böttcher (Leggermaker)
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Westhoven
Dienstende	27-11-1748
Ort des Dienstendes	Westhoven

Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13987, Folio: 43
Dienstdauer	3 Monate

45.

Vorname	Johannes
Patronym	Thomas
Familienname	Geusner
Herkunft	Comorx in hongarije
Dienstanfang	26-04-1731
Dienststellung	Büchsenmacher (Roerslotenmaker)
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Krooswijk
Dienstende	19-07-1739
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14169, Folio: 37
Dienstdauer	8 Jahre und 3 Monate

H)

46.

Vorname	Donatius
Familienname	Hammesa
Herkunft	Buda
Dienstanfang	07-01-1694
Dienststellung	Seekadett (Adelborst)
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Spare
Dienstende	00-00-1701
Ort des Dienstendes	Drie kronen
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	DRIE KRONEN
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	1700-10-26
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	11-01-1701

Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	31-01-1701
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	21-05-1701
Schuldbrief	Nein
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 5408, Folio: 65

Vorname	Donatius
Familienname	Hammasa
Herkunft	Buda
Dienstanfang	21-12-1701
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Drie Kronen
Dienstende	00-00-1702
Ort des Dienstendes	Drie Kronen
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Bemerkung	Zurück nach Texel
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 5505, Folio: 199

Vorname	Donatius
Familienname	Hamminga
Herkunft	Buda
Dienstanfang	12-01-1704
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Geelvink
Dienstende	03-05-1715
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 5531, Folio: 95
Dienstdauer	19 Jahre und 4 Monate

47.

Vorname	Jan
Familienname	Hamo
Herkunft	Breme in hongariee

Dienstanfang	06-11-1744
Dienststellung	Soldat
Uitleg over functie	Militair
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Huis te Persijn
Dienstende	28-02-1753
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14199, Folio: 213
Dienstdauer	9 Jahre und 4 Monate

48.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Hartel
Herkunft	Wees in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	18-04-1750
Dienststellung	„Bosschieter“
Erklärung	erfahrener Matrose, der auch Kanonen bediente
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Oostkapelle
Dienstende	30-11-1758
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14213, Folio: 99
Dienstdauer	8 Jahre und 7 Monate

49.

*Vorname	Ludwich
Familienname	Heijtrig
Herkunft	Honge
Dienstanfang	05-08-1787
Dienststellung	Leichtmatrose (Hooploper)
Erklärung	Helfer der Matrosen
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Oud Haarlem
Dienstende	18-05-1788
Ort des Dienstendes	Kap der Guten Hoffnung
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein

Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13268, Folio: 146
Dienstdauer	9 Monate

50.

Vorname	Johan
Familienname	Hendrik
Herkunft	Ongarijen
Dienstanfang	16-09-1724
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	LAND VAN BELOFTEN
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen auf dem Schiff	Loenderveen
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen im Namen der Kammer	Enkhuizen
Dienstende	31-05-1725
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kamer Enkhuizen
Erklärung bei Ursache	
Dienstende	Im Auftrag der Kammer Enkhuizen am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14386, Folio: 167

Vorname	Johan
Familienname	Hendrik
Herkunft	Ongarijen
Dienstanfang	15-06-1724
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Land van Beloften
Dienstende	00-00-1735
Ort des Dienstendes	Lage polder
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	LAGE POLDER
Kammer der Rückreise	Enkhuizen
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	07-10-1734
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	01-01-1735

Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	03-03-1735
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	06-07-1735
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14699, Folio: 134
Dienstdauer	11 Jahre

51.

Vorname	Jacob
Familienname	Hendriksz
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	07-04-1739
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Delfland
Dienstende	00-00-1749
Ort des Dienstendes	Naarstigheid
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	NAARSTIGHEID
Kammer der Rückreise	Zeeland
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	05-02-1749
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	01-05-1749
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreisekaap	18-05-1749
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	12-09-1749
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13967, Folio: 96
Vorname	Jacob
Familienname	Hendriks
Herkunft	Hongarien
Dienstanfang	23-11-1749
Dienststellung	„Bosschieter“
Erklärung	Erfarener Matrose, der auch eine Kanone bediente
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Vosmaar
Dienstende	00-00-1751
Ort des Dienstendes	Vosmaar

Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	VOSMAAR
Kammer der Rückreise	Rotterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	07-09-1750
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	01-12-1750
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreisekaap	02-02-1751
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	10-05-1751
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13041, Folio: 55

Vorname	Jacob
Familienname	Hendriks
Herkunft	Hongaarijen
Dienstanfang	21-10-1751
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Bevalligheid
Dienstende	25-11-1752
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13997, Folio: 253
Dienstdauer	13 Jahre und 1 Monat

52.

Vorname	Matthijs
Familienname	Herkowits
Herkunft	Eijdenstadt in hongarien
Dienstanfang	09-06-1735
Dienststellung	Seekadett (Adelborst)
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Langewijk
Dienstende	25-01-1743
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein

Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14729, Folio: 135
Dienstdauer	7 Jahre und 7 Monate

53.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Hermans
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	22-05-1750
Dienststellung	Korporal
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Oosthuizen
Dienstende	24-09-1751
Ort des Dienstendes	Oosthuizen
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14449, Folio: 177
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 4 Monate

54.

Vorname	Francis
Familienname	Hernaath
Herkunft	Ofen en hognie
Dienstanfang	15-08-1791
Dienststellung	Füsilier
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	HUISDUINEN
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen	auf dem Schiff Jonkvrouwe Sibilla Anthoinetta
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	im Auftrag der Kammer Amsterdam
Dienstende	12-03-1792
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kammer Zeeland
Erklärung	Im Auftrag der Kammer Zeeland am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen
Bemerkung	Regiment Würtenberg
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6821, Folio: 225
Dienstdauer	7 Monate

55.

Vorname	Johan
Patronym	Michiel
Familienname	Herold
Herkunft	Fitser in hongarije
Dienstanfang	12-10-1783
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Blejjenburg
Dienstende	07-07-1785
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14278, Folio: 253

Vorname	Johan
Patronym	Michiel
Familienname	Herold
Herkunft	Sitseren hongarije
Dienstanfang	12-10-1783
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	BLEIJENBURG
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen auf dem Schiff	Gouverneur-Generaal de Clerck
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	
im Auftrag der Kammer	Rotterdam
Dienstende	06-05-1784
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kammer Rotterdam
Erklärung	Im Auftrag der Kammer Rotterdam am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13241, Folio: 376
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 3 Monate

56.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Hertsman

Herkunft	Edenborg in hongarijn
Dienstanfang	15-09-1775
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	HUIS TE KROOSWIJK
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen auf dem Schiff	Groenendaal
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen im Namen der Kammer	Rotterdam
Dienstende	14-04-1776
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kammer Rotterdam
Erklärung zu Ursache	
Dienstende	Im Auftrag der Kammer Rotterdam am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6618, Folio: 252

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Hertsman
Herkunft	Eedenborg in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	25-08-1775
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Huis te Krooswijk
Dienstende	15-04-1796
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14265, Folio: 284
Dienstdauer	20 Jahre und 8 Monate

57.

Vorname	Joseph
Patronym	Carel
Familienname	Hoetmeijer
Herkunft	Krullendaal uijt hongarijn
Dienstanfang	24-10-1756

Dienststellung	Korporal
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	ROTTERDAM
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen auf dem Schiff	Oudkarspel
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen im Namen der Kammer	Rotterdam
Dienstende	08-06-1757
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kammer Rotterdam
Erklärung zu Ursache	
Dienstende	Im Auftrag der Kammer Rotterdam am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13085, Folio: 322
Dienstdauer	8 Monate

58.

*Vorname	Jan
Familiennamen	Hongarie
Herkunft	Bottien
Dienstanfang	25-09-1771
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Westfriesland
Dienstende	00-00-1773
Ort des Dienstendes	Botland
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	BOTLAND
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	04-11-1772
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	06-01-1773
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	04-02-1773
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	07-06-1773
Schuldbrief	Ja

Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6563, Folio: 54

Vorname	Jan
Familienname	Hongarie
Herkunft	Bolie
Dienstanfang	07-12-1773
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Bredenhof
Dienstende	07-08-1776
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14495, Folio: 103
Dienstdauer	2 Jahre und 8 Monate

J)

59.

Vorname	Poppe
Familienname	Janko
Herkunft	Sevenbergen in hongarien
Dienstanfang	11-03-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Gustaaf Willem
Dienstende	23-04-1776
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13036, Folio: 285
Dienstdauer	27 Jahre und 1 Monat

60.

Vorname	Pieter
Familienname	Jansz
Herkunft	Hongarije
Dienstanfang	28-10-1747
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Rust en Werk
Dienstende	09-04-1748

Ort des Dienstendes	Rust en Werk
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13986, Folio: 113
Dienstdauer	6 Monate

61.

Vorname	Joris
Familienname	Jansz
Herkunft	Ongarien
Dienstanfang	17-11-1703
Dienststellung	Bosschieter
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Hazelnoot
Dienstende	00-00-1706
Ort des Dienstendes	Hazelnoot
Ursache des Dienstendes	Schiff ist gesunken
Bemerkung	Atlantischer Ozean
Schiff der Rückreise	HAZELNOOT
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	02-04-1706
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	06-06-1706
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	05-07-1706
Bemerkung	Der HAZELNOOT ist auf dem Mittelmeer gesunken
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 5493, Folio: 11
Dienstdauer	3 Jahre

62.

Vorname	Andreas
Familienname	Jelleke
Herkunft	Ongaer bij de stad baja
Dienstanfang	18-10-1755
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Blijdorp
Dienstende	00-00-1776
Ort des Dienstendes	Popkensburg

Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	POPKENSBURG
Kammer der Rückreise	Zeeland
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	25-10-1776
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	31-12-1776
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	07-03-1777
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	18-06-1777
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14225, Folio: 235
Dienstdauer	21 Jahre

63.

Vorname	Elie
Familienname	Jetses
Herkunft	Hongarijp
Dienstanfang	27-01-1761
Dienststellung	Profos (Provoost)
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Stralen
Dienstende	26-02-1762
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14785, Folio: 28
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 1 Monat

64.

Vorname	Johan
Familienname	Jirck
Herkunft	Ongareijen
Dienstanfang	12-07-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Uitleg over functie	Militair
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Zuiderburg
Dienstende	18-05-1751
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien

Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6243, Folio: 251
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 10 Monate

65.

Vorname	Anthonij
Familienname	Jurgie
Herkunft	Hongarein
Dienstanfang	29-01-1761
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Hoop
Dienstende	15-04-1765
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14016, Folio: 217
Dienstdauer	4 Jahre und 3 Monate

K)

66.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Kaufman
Herkunft	Tochajj in hongarum
Dienstanfang	15-02-1746
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Getrouwigheid
Dienstende	00-00-1747
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Vermisst
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14437, Folio: 174

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Kaufman
Herkunft	Tokajj in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	01-06-1746

Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	GETROUWIGHEID
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen auf dem Schiff	Ouwerkerk
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen im Namen der Kammer	Hoorn
Dienstende	28-02-1747
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kamer Hoorn
Erklärung Ursache	
Dienstende	Im Auftrag der Kammer Hoorn am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6196, Folio: 215
Dienstdauer	8 Monate

67.

Vorname	Hannes
Familienname	Kebel
Herkunft	Ortnaijhaus in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	02-05-1765
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Blijdorp
Dienstende	14-04-1769
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14245, Folio: 180
Dienstdauer	4 Jahre

68.

Vorname	Samuel
Familienname	Kies
Herkunft	Ongarie
Dienstanfang	08-01-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat

Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Huis te Manpad
Dienstende	19-04-1755
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6239, Folio: 216
Dienstdauer	6 Jahre und 3 Monate

69.

Vorname	Josep
Patronym	Carel
Familienname	Kinterman
Herkunft	Ofen
Dienstanfang	10-12-1768
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Zon
Dienstende	00-00-1774
Ort des Dienstendes	Hoolwerf
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	HOOLWERF
Kammer der Rückreise	Enkhuizen
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	21-01-1774
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	1774-04-18
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	1774-05-04
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	1774-08-25
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6513, Folio: 129
Dienstdauer	6 Jahre

70.

Vorname	Ladislaus
Familienname	Kisch
Herkunft	Jungus in hong raien
Dienstanfang	22-03-1746
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Patmos

Dienstende	22-05-1746
Ort des Dienstendes	Patmos
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13021, Folio: 267
Dienstdauer	2 Monate

71.

Vorname	Joseph
Familiename	Koet
Herkunft	Hongarinen
Dienstanfang	31-12-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Kievitsheuvel
Dienstende	31-08-1754
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Vermisst
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6258, Folio: 263
Dienstdauer	4 Jahre und 8 Monate

72.

Vorname	Hieronijmus
Familiename	Kraus
Herkunft	Peek in hongarien
Dienstanfang	25-10-1786
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Canton
Dienstende	06-12-1792
Ort des Dienstendes	Vrouwe Maria Kornelia
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schiff der Rückreise	VROUWE MARIA KORNELIA
Kammer der Rückreise	Enkhuizen
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	27-11-1792
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	27-02-1793
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	01-04-1793

Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	27-07-1793
Schuldbrief	Werbeoffizier (Werffofficier)
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14282, Folio: 269
Dienstdauer	6 Jahre und 2 Monate

L)

73.

Vorname	Andrieas
Familienname	Lank
Herkunft	Belgrado in hongarij
Dienstanfang	15-06-1763
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Huis ten Donk
Dienstende	00-00-1768
Ort des Dienstendes	Noord-Beveland
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	NOORD-BEVELAND
Kammer der Rückreise	Zeeland
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	02-02-1768
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	16-04-1768
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	03-05-1768
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	27-08-1768
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14240, Folio: 277

Vorname	Andries
Familienname	Lank
Herkunft	Belgrand in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	03-06-1763
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	HUIS TEN DONK
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen auf dem Schiff	Giessenburg

Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen im Namen der Kammer	Rotterdam
Dienstende	03-01-1764
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kammer Rotterdam
Erklärung bei Ursache	
Dienstende	Im Auftrag der Kammer Rotterdam am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6426, Folio: 514
Dienstdauer	5 Jahre

74.

Vorname	Johannes
Familiennamen	Laso
Herkunft	Hongereijde
Dienstanfang	20-01-1745
Dienststellung	Tambour (Tamboer)
Erklärung	Als Trommler gab man den Zeichen zur Wachablösung
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Schonauwen
Dienstende	03-12-1745
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13010, Folio: 136
Dienstdauer	11 Monate

75.

Vorname	Ignatius
Patronym	Ermens
Familiennamen	Leder
Herkunft	Angen in hongarije
Dienstanfang	10-08-1748
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Standvastigheid
Dienstende	00-00-1754
Ort des Dienstendes	Akerendam
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert

Schiff der Rückreise	AKERENDAM
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	15-11-1753
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	14-01-1754
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	03-02-1754
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	14-05-1754
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14208, Folio: 221
Dienstdauer	6 Jahre

76.

Vorname	Paulus
Patronym	Andries
Familienname	Louis
Herkunft	Hongarijn
Dienstanfang	29-12-1765
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Huis Om
Dienstende	31-08-1766
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6459, Folio: 280
Dienstdauer	8 Monate

77.

Vorname	Andries
Familienname	Lucasz
Herkunft	Erlagh in ongarien
Dienstanfang	09-05-1706
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Haringtuin
Dienstende	24-08-1715
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†

Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Ja
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14652, Folio: 144
Dienstdauer	9 Jahre und 3 Monate

M)

78.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Maeijer
Herkunft	Hongeren
Dienstanfang	27-05-1748
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Zeelandia
Dienstende	00-00-1754
Ort des Dienstendes	Akerendam
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	AKERENDAM
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	15-11-1753
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	14-01-1754
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	03-02-1754
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	04-05-1754
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13029, Folio: 223
Dienstdauer	6 Jahre

79.

Vorname	Johan
Familienname	Maijer
Herkunft	Pest in ungarien
Dienstanfang	22-12-1794
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Zorg
Ort des Dienstendes	Unbekannt
Ursache des Dienstendes	Nicht eingetragen

Schuldbrief	Nein
Monatsbrief	Ja
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12321, Folio: 1

80.

Vorname	Michiel
Familienname	Marrits
Herkunft	Ongarin
Dienstanfang	26-12-1784
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Avenhorn
Dienstende	00-00-1789
Ort des Dienstendes	Zaanstroom
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	ZAA NSTROOM
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	17-11-1789
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	17-02-1790
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	21-03-1790
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	19-07-1790
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14512, Folio: 118
Dienstdauer	5 Jahre

81.

Vorname	Christiaan
Familienname	Meijer
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	18-08-1748
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Westhoven
Dienstende	09-05-1749
Ort des Dienstendes	Westhoven
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein

Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13987, Folio: 193
Dienstdauer	9 Monate

82.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Meijer
Herkunft	Stolveijsenbrug in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	26-04-1763
Dienststellung	„Bosschieter“
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Rotterdam
Dienstende	10-01-1766
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Vermisst
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14241, Folio: 73
Dienstdauer	2 Jahre und 10 Monate

83.

Vorname	Jacobus
Familienname	Meijnhart
Herkunft	Hongarije
Dienstanfang	28-07-1747
Dienststellung	Oberfeldscher (Opperchirurgijn)
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Naarstigheid
Dienstende	01-10-1748
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13985, Folio: 24
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 3 Monate

84.

Vorname	Jurk
Familienname	Michel
Herkunft	Hoeven in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	14-05-1758
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Welgelegen
Dienstende	19-10-1758

Ort des Dienstendes	Kap der Guten Hoffnung
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14780, Folio: 172
Dienstdauer	5 Monate

85.

Vorname	Michiel
Familienname	Milder
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	07-01-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Overschie
Dienstende	21-01-1749
Ort des Dienstendes	England
Ursache des Dienstendes	desertiert
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13988, Folio: 270
Dienstdauer	2 Wochen

86.

Vorname	Anthon
Familienname	Miller
Herkunft	Hungarien
Dienstanfang	05-12-1771
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Pauw
Dienstende	28-01-1772
Ort des Dienstendes	Pauw
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14038, Folio: 216
Dienstdauer	7 Wochen

87.

Vorname	Andries
Familienname	Moenits
Herkunft	Nieuwhuijse in hongeren
Dienstanfang	20-01-1710
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Raadhuis van Middelburg
Dienstende	18-11-1731
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12733, Folio: 31
Dienstdauer	21 Jahre und 10 Monate

88.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Mok
Herkunft	Strijer in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	19-05-1747
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Schakenbos
Dienstende	29-05-1750
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14206, Folio: 128
Dienstdauer	3 Jahre

89.

Vorname	Michiel
Familienname	Molenaar
Herkunft	Ongarie
Dienstanfang	07-02-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Spanderswoud
Dienstende	13-11-1749
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja

Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6234, Folio: 190
Dienstdauer	9 Monate

N)

90.

Vorname	Hans
Patronym	Jurgen
Familienname	Nibel
Herkunft	Hongarije
Dienstanfang	11-11-1746
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Overschie
Dienstende	31-08-1749
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Letzte Erwähnung („Laatste vermelding“)
Erklärung zum Dienstende	Wenn es keine deutliche Ursache für das Dienstende gibt, wird dieser Ausdruck verwendet. Meistens ist das Soldbuch bei der Person auch
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13983, Folio: 213
Dienstdauer	2 Jahre und 10 Monate

91.

Vorname	Jurgen
Familienname	Noordorp
Herkunft	Tokaij
Dienstanfang	03-10-1752
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Wimmenum
Dienstende	31-08-1764
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Letzte Erwähnung („Laatste vermelding“)
Erklärung zum Dienstende	Wenn es keine deutliche Ursache für das Dienstende gibt, wird dieser Ausdruck verwendet. Meistens ist das Soldbuch bei der Person auch nicht abgeschlossen, die Rechnung ist noch offen.
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6299, Folio: 317
Dienstdauer	11 Jahre und 11 Monate

O)

92.

Vorname	Johannis
Familienname	Ongaar
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	09-07-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Deunisveld
Dienstende	25-10-1753
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13991, Folio: 217
Dienstdauer	4 Jhare und 3 Monate

93.

Vorname	Matthijs
Familienname	Oranje
Herkunft	Hongareij
Dienstanfang	18-10-1750
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Slot van Kapelle
Dienstende	02-05-1751
Ort des Dienstendes	Slot van Kapelle
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6270, Folio: 303
Dienstdauer	7 Monate

P)

94.

Vorname	Lucas
Familienname	Parras
Herkunft	Meeren bij ongarien
Dienstanfang	20-02-1706
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Donau

Dienstende	00-00-1714
Ort des Dienstendes	Hoedekenskerke
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	HOEDEKENSKERKE
Kammer der Rückreise	Zeeland
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	28-11-1713
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	05-02-1714
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	10-04-1714
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	18-08-1714
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12714, Folio: 205
Dienstdauer	8 Jahre

95.

Vorname	Francis
Familienname	Pater
Herkunft	Hongaart
Dienstanfang	24-10-1752
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Kattendijke
Dienstende	27-12-1752
Ort des Dienstendes	Kattendijke
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13059, Folio: 184
Dienstdauer	2 Monate

96.

Vorname	Andreas
Familienname	Pek
Herkunft	Ongarijen uit etenburgh
Dienstanfang	01-01-1719
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Rijssel
Dienstende	31-08-1742

Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Letzte Erwähnung („Laatste vermelding“)
Erklärung zum Dienstende	Wenn es keine deutliche Ursache für das Dienstende gibt, wird dieser Ausdruck verwendet. Meistens ist das Soldbuch bei der Person auch nicht abgeschlossen, die Rechnung ist noch offen.
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14685, Folio: 213
Dienstdauer	22 Jahre und 9 Monate

97.

Vorname	Jurgen
Familienname	Penspolskee
Herkunft	Ongaar
Dienstanfang	15-01-1793
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Enkhuizer Maagd
Dienstende	02-05-1793
Ort des Dienstendes	Kap der Guten Hoffnung
Ursache des Dienstendes	Letzte Erwähnung („Laatste vermelding“)
Erklärung zum Dienstende	Wenn es keine deutliche Ursache für das Dienstende gibt, wird dieser Ausdruck verwendet. Meistens ist das Soldbuch bei der Person auch nicht abgeschlossen, die Rechnung ist noch offen.
Schuldbrief	Werbeoffizier (Werfofficier)
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14841, Folio: 305
Dienstdauer	4 Monate

98.

Vorname	Zacharias
Familienname	Philip
Herkunft	Semuis in hongarien
Dienstanfang	27-09-1774
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Delfshaven
Dienstende	00-00-1786
Ort des Dienstendes	Slot ter Hoge
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	SLOT TER HOGE
Kammer der Rückreise	Zeeland
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	26-02-1786

Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	19-05-1786
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	08-07-1786
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	10-12-1786
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14044, Folio: 206
Dienstdauer	12 Jahre

99.

Vorname	Tierilo
Familienname	Photioff
Herkunft	Hongarie
Dienstanfang	05-10-1751
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Kievitsheugel
Dienstende	00-00-1755
Ort des Dienstendes	Sloterdijk
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	SLOTERDIJK
Kammer der Rückreise	Amsterdam
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	17-11-1754
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	31-01-1755
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	17-02-1755
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	31-05-1755
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6274, Folio: 264
Dienstdauer	4 Jahre

100.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Pols
Herkunft	Hongerijn

Dienstanfang	18-04-1750
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Gouverneur-generaal
Dienstende	04-09-1751
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13993, Folio: 237
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 5 Monate

101.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Popera
Herkunft	Oudsmaren in hongarije
Dienstanfang	19-04-1757
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Vrouwe Elisabeth
Dienstende	30-01-1758
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14228, Folio: 179
Dienstdauer	9 Monate

102.

Vorname	Elias
Familienname	Poppewits
Herkunft	Ongarie
Dienstanfang	21-11-1748
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Polanen
Dienstende	24-03-1752
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6231, Folio: 163
Dienstdauer	3 Jahre und 4 Monate

103.

Vorname	Simon
Familienname	Poppowits
Herkunft	Nijhaus in hongarije
Dienstanfang	06-04-1775
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Jonge Hellingman
Dienstende	01-09-1778
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14266, Folio: 215
Dienstdauer	3 Jahre und 5 Monate

104.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Potsser
Herkunft	Honganie
Dienstanfang	29-10-1747
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	FORTUIN
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung umgestiegen auf dem Schiff	Vosmaar
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen	Ja
Am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen im Namen der Kammer	Amsterdam
Dienstende	13-10-1748
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Kammer Amsterdam
Erklärung bei Ursache	
Dienstende	Im Auftrag der Kammer Amsterdam am Kap der Guten Hoffnung ausgestiegen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13026, Folio: 214

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Potsjer

Herkunft	Hongaris
Dienstanfang	27-10-1747
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Fortuin
Dienstende	11-04-1751
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6213, Folio: 109
Dienstdauer	3 Jahre und 6 Monate

R)

105.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Reijs
Herkunft	When in hongarije
Dienstanfang	10-08-1748
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Standvastigheid
Dienstende	13-07-1749
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14208, Folio: 222
Dienstdauer	11 Monate

106.

Vorname	Johan
Familienname	Roedersho
Herkunft	Debberten in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	26-04-1763
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Rotterdam
Dienstende	00-00-1775
Ort des Dienstendes	Bredenhof
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	BREDENHOF
Kammer der Rückreise	Hoorn

Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	27-10-1774
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	10-01-1775
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	24-01-1775
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	24-04-1775
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14241, Folio: 255
Dienstdauer	12 Jahre

107.

Vorname	Johan
Patronym	Nicolaas
Familienname	Ronder
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	05-07-1746
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Sijbekarspel
Dienstende	00-00-1748
Ort des Dienstendes	Osdorp
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schiff der Rückreise	OSDORP
Kammer der Rückreise	Enkhuizen
Datum Abfahrt Rückreise	24-01-1749
Datum Aankunft am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	01-05-1749
Datum Abfahrt am Kaap der Guten Hoffnung auf Rückreise	18-05-1749
Datum Aankunft auf Rückreise	17-09-1749
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14439, Folio: 121
Dienstdauer	2 Jahre

S)

108.

Vorname	Gotlieb
Familiennamen	Sabo
Herkunft	Presburgh
Dienstanfang	01-10-1768
Dienststellung	Leichtmatrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Vreeburg
Dienstende	06-01-1769
Ort des Dienstendes	St. Jago
Ursache des Dienstendes	desertiert (weggelopen)
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6512, Folio: 125
Dienstdauer	3 Monate

109.

Vorname	Jan
Patronym	Barent
Familiennamen	Schult
Herkunft	Ofen
Dienstanfang	02-11-1723
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Stadwijk
Dienstende	24-11-1736
Ort des Dienstendes	Kap der Guten Hoffnung
Ursache des Dienstendes	Arbeitsunfähig
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 5814, Folio: 239
Dienstdauer	13 Jahre

110.

Vorname	Ignatius
Patronym	Leopoldus
Familiennamen	Seuranij
Herkunft	Presburg in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	19-11-1750
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Noord Nieuwland
Dienstende	31-08-1753

Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Vermisst
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14214, Folio: 191
Dienstdauer	2 Jahre und 9 Monate

111.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Sjendeli
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	21-10-1751
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Bevalligheid
Dienstende	06-10-1754
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13997, Folio: 269
Dienstdauer	3 Jahre

112.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Sindelic
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	23-07-1763
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Gouverneur-generaal
Dienstende	30-07-1774
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14022, Folio: 252
Dienstdauer	11 Jahre

113.

Vorname	Jurgen
Familienname	Smit
Herkunft	Hongarije

Dienstanfang	25-03-1749
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Wildrijck
Dienstende	31-08-1752
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Vermisst
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 13989, Folio: 244
Dienstdauer	3 Jahre und 5 Monate

114.

Vorname	Johan
Patronym	Jansz:
Familienname	Snijder
Herkunft	Chetschemeijt in hongarije
Dienstanfang	24-07-1752
Dienststellung	Soldat
Uitleg over functie	Militair
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Witsburg
Dienstende	16-03-1777
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14219, Folio: 255
Dienstdauer	24 Jahre und 8 Monate

115.

Vorname	Jurien
Familienname	Soubach
Herkunft	Hongarije
Dienstanfang	07-06-1690
Dienststellung	(Unbekannt)
Erklärung	Im Schiffsoldbuch wird der Beruf nicht erwähnt
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Honselaarsdijk
Ort des Dienstendes	Unbekannt
Ursache des Dienstendes	Nicht eingetragen
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12234, Folio: 1

116.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Sentack
Herkunft	Pesth
Dienstanfang	1792-02-20
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Schelde
Ort des Dienstendes	Unbekannt
Ursache des Dienstendes	Nicht eingetragen
Schuldbrief	Ununklarlich
Monatsbrief	Ununklarlich
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12331, Folio: 1

117.

Vorname	Michiel
Familienname	Stern
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	26-04-1763
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Rotterdam
Dienstende	05-12-1763
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14241, Folio: 263
Dienstdauer	8 Monate

118.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Stokker
Herkunft	Viskerke in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	18-08-1778
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Bleijenburg
Dienstende	09-05-1779
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14272, Folio: 188
Deinstdauer	9 Monate

T)

119.

Vorname	Joseph
Familienname	Tackas
Herkunft	Wertburg in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	16-06-1790
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Gerechtigheid
Dienstende	31-08-1791
Ort des Dienstendes	Kap der Guten Hoffnung
Ursache des Dienstendes	Lezte Erwähnung („Laatste vermelding“)
Erklärung zum Dienstende	Wenn es keine deutliche Ursache für das Dienstende gibt, wird dieser Ausdruck verwendet. Meistens ist das Soldbuch bei der Person auch nicht abgeschlossen, die Rechnung ist noch offen.
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14291, Folio: 119
Dienstdauer	1 Jahr und 2 Monate

120.

Vorname	Paul
Patronym	Louis
Familienname	Thibault
Herkunft	Akitzo in hongarijn
Dienstanfang	15-11-1764
Dienststellung	Vizefeldwebel (Sergeant)
Erklärungp	Unteroffizier der meistens der Befehlhaber der Soldaten am Bord war
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Vredenhof
Dienstende	22-03-1789
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6453, Folio: 206
Dienstdauer	24 Jahre und 4 Monate

121.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Tokaij
Herkunft	Ongarien

Dienstanfang	23-10-1753
Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Giessenburg
Dienstende	10-06-1754
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6311, Folio: 274
Dienstdauer	8 Monate

V)

122.

Vorname	Hans
Patronym	Jurge
Familienname	Vonk
Herkunft	Gestel in in hongarien
Dienstanfang	09-01-1761
Dienststellung	Schiffskorporal (Scheepskorporaal)
Erklärung	der Schiffskorporal war an Bord für Waffen und Munition verantwortlich
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Rotterdam
Dienstende	31-03-1769
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Freibürger
Erklärung	Wenn VOC-Arbeitnehmer sich in Kapstadt niederlassen wollten, und sie bekamen das Erlaubnis aus dem VOC-Dienst zu treten, wurden sie Freibürger von Kapstadt. Das wurde von VOC auch stimuliert weil es in Süd-Afrika zu wenig Kolonisten gab.
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14235, Folio: 37
Dienstdauer	8 Jahre und 3 Monate

123.

Vorname	Stephanus
Familienname	Vort
Herkunft	Vuget in hongarijen
Dienstanfang	04-10-1758
Dienststellung	Soldat

Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Huis ten Donk
Dienstende	09-02-1772
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14231, Folio: 288
Dienstdauer	13 Jahre und 4 Monate

W)

124.

Vorname	Andries
Familienname	Waijwoode
Herkunft	Hongarijen
Dienstanfang	15-06-1724
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Land van Beloften
Dienstende	09-02-1736
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14699, Folio: 67
Dienstdauer	11 Jahre und 8 Monate

125.

Vorname	Johannes
Familienname	Wel
Herkunft	Ongarie
Dienstanfang	22-11-1746
In Dienst als	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Leiden
Dienstende	30-01-1747
Ort des Dienstendes	Leiden
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 6198, Folio: 21
Dienstdauer	2 Monate

126.

Vorname	Hans
Familienname	Wellesig
Herkunft	Rignits in hongarien
Dienstanfang	07-03-1713
Dienststellung	Seekadette (Adelborst)
Erklärung	Dienstgrad von einem Seeoffizier in Ausbildung
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Berbices
Dienstende	30-06-1745
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	Ouderdom
Erklärung	Der Arbeitnehmer bekommt eine Rente ('rustgage') oder zieht zum Beispiel in einem Armenhaus ein
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 12750, Folio: 209
Dienstdauer	32 Jahre und 4 Monate

127.

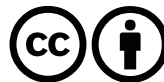
Vorname	Abraham
Namenszusatz	de
Familienname	Wit
Herkunft	Hongarije
Dienstanfang	19-10-1778
Dienststellung	Matrose
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Buitenleven
Dienstende	00-00-1780
Ort des Dienstendes	Venus
Ursache des Dienstendes	Zurückgekehrt in die Niederlande und abgemustert
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 14052, Folio: 67
Dienstdauer	2 Jahre

Z)

128.

*Vorname	Tobias
Familienname	Zeegen
Herkunft	Edenburg in hong
Dienstanfang	02-01-1718


Dienststellung	Soldat
Ausgelaufen mit dem Schiff	Groenswaard
Dienstende	02-11-1729
Ort des Dienstendes	Asien
Ursache des Dienstendes	†
Schuldbrief	Ja
Monatsbrief	Nein
Quelle	Zugangnr.: 1.04.02, Inventarnr.: 5714, Folio: 185
Dienstsdauer	11 Jahre und 10 Monate



RÓBERT KEREPESZKI, PhD, University of Debrecen

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.


kerepeszki.robort@arts.unideb.hu

 ORCID: 0000-0003-0894-3356

ROLAND PERÉNYI, PhD, Budapest History Museum – Kiscell Museum

H-1037 Budapest, Kiscelli u. 108.

perenyi.roland@kiscellimuzeum.hu

 ORCID: 0009-0001-2172-963X



Beyond the Western Metropolis: A Research Agenda for the Spatial History of Urban Crime in Budapest throughout the “Long” Twentieth Century

ABSTRACT

This paper outlines a comprehensive research agenda for the spatial and social history of urban crime in Budapest from the city’s unification (1873) to the end of the communist regime (1989). While historical criminology has extensively analyzed the metropolises of Western Europe and North America, the distinct urbanization trajectories and spatial dynamics of deviance in East-Central Europe remain largely underexplored. Moving beyond traditional political and state-centric narratives, this study proposes a robust theoretical and methodological framework to investigate the localized realities of both the organized “underworld” and everyday criminality. Central to this agenda is a four-factor localization model that systematically analyzes the crime scene, the residence and origin of offenders, and the spatial attachments of victims. By integrating quantitative official records with qualitative egodocuments and media representations, the proposed framework captures the lived experience of urban space. Furthermore, it highlights how macro-historical crises fundamentally reshaped the geography of metropolitan crime.

Keywords: social history, spatial history, historical criminology, urban crime, Budapest, twentieth century

* The paper has been implemented with the support provided by Project no. 152871, the Ministry of Culture and Innovation of Hungary from the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, financed under the ADVANCED_25 funding scheme.

Introduction

The dynamics and spatial patterns of urban crime are of profound social and historical significance. While the social history of deviance has gained considerable traction in recent decades, interrogating this phenomenon offers far more than a mere catalog of transgressions; it provides a crucial vantage point into broader structural transformations and the everyday realities of urban life. This paper proposes a comprehensive, interdisciplinary research agenda for exploring crime in the Hungarian capital, Budapest, from the city's unification (1873) to the collapse of the communist regime (1989). By defining this expansive temporal framework, we deliberately move beyond the traditional, politically driven periodizations of public history to capture the long-term continuities and ruptures in the criminal landscape of the “long” twentieth century. A broader perspective also offers the opportunity to examine the transformation of the social context of deviance over regime changes in Hungarian history. This is also significant because, while the period from the end of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of World War II – despite the political transformations and short upheavals of the revolutions in 1918/1919 – can be considered a more or less uniform era from the perspective of the history of deviance, the communist period can be seen as a phase of significant change in terms of both law enforcement and justice as well as the social background of crime.

The primary motivation for our research stems from a persistent historiographical imbalance. In general, it can be said that historically, studies in urban history and the history of crime have predominantly focused on the major metropolises of Western Europe and North America.¹ To move beyond the Western metropolis, it is imperative to examine East-Central European cities, which experienced markedly different, often phase-delayed trajectories of modernization and urbanization. Positioned at the crossroads of “East” and “West,” Budapest underwent an explosive growth, acting as a regional catalyst for social and cultural change. Applying social-historical methodologies – particularly those informed by the spatial turn² – to this specific Central European context promises novel insights that can significantly chal-

¹ Knepper, Paul, *Writing the History of Crime*. New York, 2016. 115–144.; Monkkonen, Eric, “A Disorderly People? Urban Order in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century American”, = *Journal of American History* 68, 1981, 539–559.

² Bavaj, Riccardo – Lawson, Konrad – Struck, Bernhard (eds.), *Doing Spatial History*. London–New York, 2022. – For the reception of spatial turn in Hungary see Gyáni Gábor,

lenge and refine established paradigms of nineteenth- and twentieth-century crime history.

Approaching the socio-historical trends of crime in such a complex urban environment demands a multifaceted methodological framework – one that seamlessly integrates quantitative and qualitative approaches, discourse analysis, microhistory, and the critical insights of the spatial turn. Crucially, this article is designed as a concept paper that introduces the intellectual and methodological framework of a newly established research group. Rather than presenting finalized empirical findings, it serves as a programmatic statement setting forth a rigorous research agenda to investigate how crime is localized within the urban fabric. By examining the persistent geographies of the local “underworld”³ alongside fluctuations in everyday criminality, this agenda underscores the necessity of treating the spatial characteristics of crime not merely as a passive backdrop, but as a central, dynamic analytical category.

To articulate this concept, the present study is structured as follows. The subsequent section provides the historiographical context, reviewing the current state of the art and identifying critical gaps in East-Central European crime history. Following this, we outline our theoretical framework, which focuses on the spatial patterns of both everyday and organized crime.⁴ We then pro-

“Térbeli fordulat és várostörténet”, In. *Budapest túl jón és rosszon. A nagyvárosi múlt mint tapasztalat*. Budapest, 2008. 9–21.

³ For the historical concept and operating “mechanism” of criminal “underworld” see Knepper, *Writing the History of Crime*, 2016. 124–129.; Evans, Richard J., *Tales from the German Underworld. Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven–London, 1998.; Shore, Heather, “A Brief History of the Underworld and Organized Crime, c. 1750–1950”, In. Knepper, Paul – Johansen, Anja (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Crime and Criminal Justice*. Oxford, 2016. 170–191.; Kalifa, Dominique, *Vice, Crime, and Poverty. How the Western Imagination Invented the Underworld*. New York, 2013.; Goeschel, Christian, “The Criminal Underworld in Weimar and Nazi Berlin”, = *History Workshop Journal* 75, 2013, 58–80.

⁴ In this paper, “everyday crime” refers to the spectrum of common offenses that ordinary city dwellers were most likely to encounter, either as victims or perpetrators. In contrast, “organized crime” – while historically and statistically less prevalent in Budapest – constitutes a structured form of deviance operated by a well-defined criminal subculture. Despite its lower actual frequency, this organized underworld consistently commanded a disproportionate share of public and media attention throughout the twentieth century. For the history of organized crime see Fijnaut, Cyrille, “Searching for Organized Crime in History”, In. Paoli, Letizia (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime*. Oxford, 2014. 53–95.; Knepper, Paul, *International Crime in the 20th Century. The League of Nations Era, 1919–1939*. New York, 2011. 33–56.

pose a robust methodological approach for mapping the urban underworld and analyzing the localities of deviance. Finally, we formulate a specific set of research questions destined to guide our forthcoming empirical investigations, concluding with reflections on the broader scholarly implications of this spatial-historical endeavor.

Historiographical Context

The historical study of crime has long served as a crucial lens through which broader social structures, power dynamics, and cultural norms are examined.⁵ Methodologically, there are two basic approaches within the historical research on crime. The first to appear around the 1960s was the social history of crime, law enforcement and criminal justice – pioneered by scholars such as Michel Foucault, Erik Monkkonen, Howard Zehr or Eric Hobsbawm – relied heavily on social scientific methods, focusing primarily on statistical, comparative and discursive analysis to trace long-term structural patterns and changes in criminality.⁶ Subsequently, influenced by the cultural turn, a second paradigm emerged that prioritized the qualitative, microhistorical analysis of specific, well-documented cases. Pioneering works in microhistory demonstrated that investigating instances of deviance and norm-breaking provides unparalleled access to the mentalities of ordinary people who otherwise left little trace in official records. Scholars such as Carlo Ginzburg and Natalie Zemon Davis illustrated how the meticulous reconstruction of individual criminal cases, transgressions, and marginal lives could illuminate the complex belief systems and social realities of the past. Together, these foundational approaches proved that crime is not merely an anomaly, but a deeply embedded social phenomenon that defines the boundaries of acceptable behavior and community cohesion.⁷

⁵ For the detailed historiographical overview see Knepper, *Writing the History of Crime*, 2016.; Lawrence, Paul, “The Historiography of Crime and Criminal Justice”, In. Knepper – Johansen, *The Oxford Handbook*, 2016. 17–37.

⁶ E.g. Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Paris, 1975.; Monkkonen, Eric H., *The Dangerous Class: Crime and Poverty in Columbus, Ohio, 1860–1885*. Cambridge–London, 1975.; Zehr, Howard, *Crime and the Development of Modern Society: Patterns of Criminality in Nineteenth Century Germany and France*. London, 1976.; Hobsbawm, Eric, *Bandits*. New York, 1969.

⁷ Ginzburg, Carlo, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*. Baltimore–London, 1989.; Davies, Natalie Zemon, *The Return of Martin Guerre*. Cambridge–London, 1983.;

Building upon these early socio-historical foundations, the more recent, interdisciplinary field of historical criminology has systematically bridged the gap between historical methodology and criminological theory. This approach shifts the focus from isolated, sensational cases to the long-term, structural analysis of deviance, law enforcement, and state-building. By examining the shifting definitions of illegality and the professionalization of policing across centuries, historical criminology has revealed how modernization, industrialization, and shifting political regimes fundamentally altered both the nature of crime and the institutional responses to it. Rather than viewing crime as a static phenomenon, this paradigm emphasizes the evolving relationship between the offender, the state, and the public.⁸

A vital methodological advancement within this field has been the incorporation of “spatial turn,” which underscores the profound differences between rural and urban manifestations of crime and emphasizes the importance of space as a structuring and organizing principle. The rapid urbanization of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries created new spatial dynamics of deviance, where anonymity, overcrowding, and specialized economic zones fostered distinct criminal subcultures. A pioneering example of mapping these urban realities is Charles Booth’s poverty map of London, which systematically correlated socio-economic status, living conditions, and perceived criminality across the metropolis.⁹ This early visualization of urban distress laid the groundwork for modern spatial history, demonstrating that crime is inextricably linked to the physical and social geography of the city, and that certain neighborhoods inevitably acquire “dangerous” or “sinful” reputations in the public consciousness.¹⁰

Magnússon, Sigurður Gylfi – Sziójártó M., István, *What is Microhistory? Theory and practice*. London–New York, 2013.

⁸ Churchill, David – Yeomans, Henry – Channing, Iain, *Historical Criminology*. New York, 2021.; Godfrey, Barry, “Future Perspectives on Crime History as ‘Connected History’”, = *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies* 21:2, 2017, 41–49; Lawrence, Paul, “Historical Criminology and the Explanatory Power of the Past”, = *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 19:4, 2019, 493–511.

⁹ Booth, Charles, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, vol. I–II. London, 1892–1902. – Booth’s poverty maps, supplemented by numerous other sources, have been digitized and made accessible by the London School of Economics and Political Science: <https://booth.lse.ac.uk/map> (accessed February 27, 2026).

¹⁰ Topalov, Christian, “The City as terra incognita: Charles Booth’s Poverty Survey and the People of London, 1886–1891”, = *Planning Perspectives* 8:4, 1993, 395–425.; Gibson-Brydon, Thomas R. C., *The Moral Mapping of Victorian and Edwardian London. Charles Booth*,

In Hungarian historiography, the integration of these international trends occurred with a noticeable delay. Traditional domestic historical research has historically prioritized political history, and when it did address the twentieth century, the focus was overwhelmingly on crimes against the state and the activities of the political police under successive authoritarian regimes.¹¹ While the social history of early modern deviance (such as banditry and witchcraft)¹² has produced significant scholarly output, the organized underworld and everyday urban criminality of the modern era have received considerably less attention. Consequently, the complex methodologies of historical criminology and spatial history have yet to be systematically applied to the Hungarian context in a comprehensive, century-spanning framework.

This historiographical gap is particularly evident in the case of Budapest. While the capital's explosive growth into an Austro-Hungarian metropolis after the unification of the cities Buda, Pest and Óbuda in 1873 has been extensively analyzed by prominent social historians focusing on assimilation, housing, and everyday middle-class life, the spatial history of its underworld remains largely uncharted.¹³ The localization of urban crime, the continuity of “sinful” districts, and the specific socio-spatial disruptions caused by crises are critical missing pieces. By addressing these blind spots, our research

Christian Charity, and the Poor-but-Respectable. Montreal–Kingston, 2016.; Vaughan, Laura, *Mapping Society. The Spatial Dimensions of Social Cartography*. London, 2018. 168–204.

¹¹ E.g. Kovács Tamás (ed.), *Rendőrségi célkeresztben a szélsőjobb. Dr. Sombor-Schweinitzer József feljegyzése a szélsőjobboldali mozgalmakról, 1932–1943*. Budapest, 2009.; Müller Rolf, *Politikai rendőrség a Rákosi-korszakban*. Budapest, 2012.; Varga Krisztián, *Ellenség a baloldalon – Politikai rendőrség a Horthy-korszakban*. Budapest, 2015. – From the recent literature see Tabajdi Gábor, “Political Police in Hungary (1945–1990): A Brief Overview”, In. Germuska Pál – Rigó Róbert (eds.), *NEB Yearbook 2025*. Budapest, 2025. 321–334.

¹² E.g. Klaniczay, Gábor – Pócs, Éva (eds.), *Witchcraft and Demonology in Hungary and Transylvania*. Houndmills in Basingstoke, 2017.; Sz. Kristóf, Ildikó, “Witch-Hunting in Early Modern Hungary”, In. Levack, Brian P. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*. Oxford, 2013. 334–355.; Németh, Ildikó, “Using Archival Records to Discover Hidden Histories: A Case Study of a Witchcraft Trial in Sopron, 1630”, In. Pócs, Éva – Hesz, Ágnes (eds.), *Present and Past in the Study of Religion and Magic*. Budapest, 2019. 33–45.; Brandl, Gergely, “Towards a Comparative Study of Polish and Hungarian Witchcraft Persecutions: Historiographical and Legal Perspectives”, = *Rocznik Filozoficzny Ignatianum* 31:4, 2025, 365–382.

¹³ Gyáni, Gábor, “Uses and Misuses of Public Space in Budapest: 1873–1914”, In. Bender, Thomas – Schorske, Carl E. (eds.), *Budapest and New York. Studies in Metropolitan Transformation: 1870–1930*. New York, 1994. 85–99.; Nemes, Robert, *The Once and Future Budapest*. DeKalb, 2005.

agenda aims to position Budapest not merely as a passive recipient of Western urbanization trends, but as a primary site for examining the complex, spatialized realities of twentieth century metropolitan crime in East-Central Europe.

Nevertheless, it would be misleading to suggest a complete void in the domestic literature regarding the spatiality of modern urban crime. Recent historical and sociological scholarship has begun to address specific fragments of this complex reality. For instance, notable thematic inquiries have explored the profound impact of the World Wars on both the volume and the spatial reconfiguration of metropolitan crime, highlighting how global conflicts disrupted local social orders.¹⁴ Similarly, the evolution of urban police surveillance has received valuable scholarly attention, particularly concerning the institutionalization of spatial control methods – most notably the systematic use of police raids targeting specific marginalized groups and neighborhoods.¹⁵ Furthermore, various case studies have touched upon the social perception of distinctly “sinful” urban spaces, mapping the contested geographies of notorious public parks, entertainment districts, and specific public squares.¹⁶ However, while these important thematic studies provide essential building blocks, they have predominantly remained isolated inquiries. What is still fundamentally lacking is a comprehensive, long-term synthesis that integrates these disparate elements – post-war disruptions, law enforcement spatial tactics, and the mental mapping of deviant spaces – into a unified historical and spatial framework.

¹⁴ E.g. Kerepeszki, Róbert, “Deviance in Budapest before and after the ‘Great War’. Major Tendencies and General Features”, In. Barta, Róbert – Kerepeszki, Róbert – Kania, Krzysztof (eds.), *Trianon 1920–2020. Some Aspects of the Hungarian Peace Treaty of 1920*. Debrecen, 2021. 87–99.

¹⁵ Perényi, Roland, “Urban Places, Criminal Spaces: Police and Crime in Fin de Siècle Budapest”, = *Hungarian Historical Review* 1:1–2, 2012, 134–165.; Molnár János, “Razziák a fővárosban. A Gazdasági Rendőrség tevékenysége 1945–1948 között”, = *Múltunk* 55:4, 2010, 46–64.; Kerepeszki Róbert, “Éjjeli őrzés: Nagyvárosi ‘alvilág’ és a rendőri razziák Budapesten a 20. század első évtizedeiben”, = *Történeti Tanulmányok* 32, 2024, 133–165.

¹⁶ Perényi Roland, “A bűnös Népliget: Kriminalitás, (homo)szexualitás és öngyilkosság a főváros legnagyobb közparkjában 1896–1945”, = *Urbs: Magyar Városthéneti Évkönyv* 13, 2019, 147–170.; Perényi Roland, “Az utca diskurzusa: Budapest bűnözése és a városi tér (1873–1941)”, In. Kövér György – Somorjai Szabolcs – Kiss Zsuzsanna – Koloh Gábor (eds.), *Hogyan lett Budapest a nemzet fővárosa? Tanulmányok Budapest 150. és a Társadalom és Gazdaságtörténeti Doktori Program 30. születésnapjára*. Budapest, 2023. 459–486.; Kurimay, Anita, *Queer Budapest 1873–1961*. Chicago, 2020.

Theoretical Framework: The Spatial Aspects of Everyday Urban Crime

At the core of this research agenda lies the recognition that metropolitan crime inherently follows distinct spatial patterns. Drawing upon the foundational socio-criminological insights associated with the “Chicago School,” this framework posits that the physical and social geography of the city is inextricably linked to the organization and manifestation of deviant behavior. In the context of modern Budapest, certain localities – such as the working-class neighborhoods of Angyalföld, the bustling market areas of Józsefváros, or the public expanse of the public park Népliget – historically acquired enduring negative connotations in the minds of both the public and the authorities. These spatial patterns are deeply intertwined with the operations of an urban underworld, a “parallel society” where cooperation among various criminal actors (e.g., thieves, fences, forgers, and prostitutes) materializes. Historically and sociologically, the spatial continuity of this organized underworld in East-Central Europe remains largely unexplored, presenting a critical avenue for new research.

Crucially, however, a comprehensive spatial history of urban crime must extend beyond the confines of organized networks to encompass the broader spectrum of “everyday” criminality. This is particularly vital during periods of acute social disruption, such as wars and economic crises, when traditional normative frameworks collapse. The aftermath of major global conflicts generated unique spatial and social tensions, perhaps most visibly in the black market activities, violent crimes, thefts the profound reintegration challenges and resulting deviance among World Wars’ veterans returning to the urban environment.¹⁷ During such post-war periods, social groups that might not otherwise engage in criminal acts under “normalized” conditions often resorted to illicit behaviors, fundamentally reshaping the geography of everyday ur-

¹⁷ Emsley, Clive, “Violent Crime in England in 1919. Post-War Anxieties and Press Narratives”, = *Continuity and Change* 23:1, 2008, 173–195.; Emsley, Clive, “Future Themes and Research Agendas on Crime and Police in Wartime”, = *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies* 21:2, 2017, 78–82.; Gartner, Rosemary – Kennedy, Liam, “War and Postwar Violence”, = *Crime and Justice* 47, 2018, 1–67.; Roodhouse, Mark, *Black Market Britain 1939–1955*. Oxford, 2013.; Geroulanos, Stefanos, “An Army of Shadows. Black Markets, Adaptation, and Social Transparency in Postwar France”, = *The Journal of Modern History* 88:1, 2016, 60–95.; Mouré, Kenneth, *Marché Noir. The Economy of Survival in Second World War France*. Cambridge, 2023.

ban crime.¹⁸ Analyzing these transitional periods is essential for understanding how macro-level historical traumas manifest in micro-level urban transgressions.

To maintain analytical clarity and focus squarely on the social history of the city, this theoretical framework deliberately excludes offenses categorized as “crimes against the state” (such as those defined by Act III of 1921 or Act VII of 1946 in Hungary). The legal definitions of these acts were entirely contingent upon the ideological foundations of successive political regimes, rendering their spatial and social characteristics fundamentally different from ordinary urban crime. Furthermore, the investigation of political offenses and state security apparatuses has already been exhaustively covered by traditional domestic historiography, shifting the focus away from the everyday social realities of the metropolis.¹⁹

Finally, the spatial aspect of crime cannot be understood solely through the physical location of offenses; it is equally a cultural construct. Therefore, this framework conceptualizes a tripartite model of urban crime consisting of the physical metropolis, the mass media as a mediating agent, and broader cultural influences.²⁰ The modern printed press, alongside emerging cultural products like films, pulp fiction, and the phenomenon of “Americanization,”²¹ played an indispensable role in making specific crime trends and locations salient. It is through the continuous representation, dissemination, and occasional sensationalization of crime by these mediating agents that physical urban spaces are transformed into the clearly demarcated “sinful” or “dangerous” districts that populate the public’s historical “mental” map.²²

¹⁸ Emsley, Clive, “Crime and Policing in Wartime”. In. Knepper – Johansen, *The Oxford Handbook*, 2016. 519–536.

¹⁹ On the Act III of 1921 and the Act VII of 1946 see Drócsa Izabella, *Politikusok a vádlottak padján. A két világháború közötti rendtörvények dogmatikai elemzése és bírói gyakorlata*. Budapest, 2023. 109–313.; Horváth Attila, “Az 1946. évi VII. tc. a demokratikus államrend és a köztársaság védelméről”, = *Pro Publico Bona* 6:1, 2018, 94–109.

²⁰ Wood, John Carter, “Crime News and the Press”. In. Knepper – Johansen, *The Oxford Handbook*, 2016. 301–319.

²¹ Sipos Balázs, *“Amerika, ezeremeletes mennyország.” Amerika és az amerikanizmus a Horthy-kori nyilvánosságban*. Budapest, 2023.

²² Nichols Jr., Woodrow W., “Mental Maps, Social Characteristics, and Criminal Mobility”, In. Georges-Abeyie, Daniel E. – Harries, Keith D. (eds.), *Crime: A Spatial Perspective*. New York, 1980. 156–166.

Methodological Approach: Sources and Localities

To systematically investigate the complex social and spatial realities of urban crime in Budapest, this research agenda advocates for a mixed-methods approach that integrates the quantitative tools of the social sciences with the qualitative, interpretive methods of cultural history and spatial turn. At the heart of this methodology is the pressing need to conceptualize exactly what the “locality of crime” entails in a historical context. Rather than treating location as a mere backdrop, we propose a rigorous, four-factor analytical model of localization to deconstruct the spatiality of metropolitan deviance.

The first factor is the location of the offense. Drawing upon criminological spatial analysis, this involves examining the factors that demarcated the perpetrators’ “space of operation.” By mapping these locations, researchers can interrogate the movement patterns of offenders and their spatial decision-making processes – distinguishing, for instance, between meticulously planned offenses and haphazard crimes of opportunity. This also allows for the correlation of the crime scene with specific demographic variables, such as age, gender, and ethnicity. The second factor is the residence of the perpetrators, which shifts the focus from the public sphere of the crime to the domestic geography of the criminal. The third factor addresses the origin of the criminals. In a rapidly urbanizing metropolis like Budapest, analyzing long-term trends in offenders’ origins reveals critical insights into migration patterns, highlighting the extent to which perpetrators were deeply rooted locals versus newly arrived migrants struggling with urban integration. Finally, the fourth factor focuses on the spatial attachments of the victims (their residence, origin, and daily trajectories). By treating victims as active historical agents rather than passive sufferers, this victimological lens examines how the everyday routines and spatial presence of individuals either mitigated or amplified their risk of victimization in the metropolitan space.

Operationalizing this four-factor model requires an exceptionally diverse and meticulously cross-referenced source base. The foundation of this empirical research relies on extensive archival and official records, primarily held at the Budapest City Archives and the Hungarian National Archives. These include police, judicial, prosecution, and prison records, alongside contemporary institutional statistics. Prisoner registers and address lists are particularly invaluable for reconstructing the second and third factors of our spatial model (residence and origin). Although a part of the archival sources related to this period fell victim to World War II and subsequent scrapping, some important

conclusions can still be drawn based on the surviving police and court records. In addition to archival documents, one of the most significant sources on this topic is the annual report of the Budapest police chief, known as the Blue Book, which was published every year from the 1890s until 1921, with a few exceptions. All this is complemented by the analysis of the abundance of police literature and law enforcement periodicals published in the twentieth century.²³ Among the latter, *Magyar Rendőr* (Hungarian Policeman) is particularly interesting because the magazine, launched in 1933, survived World War II and continued to exist until the change of regime. Particularly interesting for the research of socialist era deviance are educational films produced by the police, as well as popular books of the Kádár era presenting famous criminal cases²⁴ – marking a revival of the genre of the pitaval –, and finally the television program entitled *Kékfény* (Blue Light).

However, to move beyond rigid institutional perspectives and capture the lived experience of crime, official law enforcement records must be supplemented with a broad spectrum of personal narratives. We apply an expansive definition of the term “egodocument” – one that encompasses not only traditional autobiographies, diaries, and memoirs, but also the “involuntary” or compulsory self-characterizations extracted during police interrogations, court testimonies, and medical-psychiatric evaluations.²⁵ Within this diverse corpus, the published recollections of contemporary detectives and police officers hold particular theoretical significance. Far from being mere chronologies of daily routines, these police egodocuments actively constructed a professional self-image and articulated the officers’ perceived mission to protect respectable society from urban deviance.²⁶ Furthermore, by translating personal law

²³ Some examples, see Vécsey Leó (ed.), *A 40 éves budapesti detektívtestület jubiláris albuma*. Budapest, 1926.; Turcsányi Gyula (ed.), *A modern bűnözés*, vol. I–II. Budapest, 1929.; Borbély Zoltán – Kapy Rezső (eds.), *A 60 éves magyar rendőrség 1881–1941*. Budapest, 1942.; Nemes Sándor, *Gyakorlati nyomozás*. Budapest, 1944.

²⁴ Pintér István – Szabó László, *A század nevezetes bűnügyei. A modern magyar pitaval*. Budapest, 1964.; Szabó László, *Bűnügyi múzeum*. Budapest, 1964.; Pintér István, *Rendnek muszáj lenni...* Budapest, 1974.

²⁵ Summerfield, Penny, *Histories of the Self. Personal Narratives and Historical Practice*. London–New York, 2019. 79. – On the egodocuments in general, see Mascuch, Michael – Dekker, Rudolf – Baggerman, Arianne, “Egodocuments and History: A Short Account of the Longue Durée”, = *The Historian* 78:1, 2016, 11–56.

²⁶ Some Hungarian examples to the published police egodocuments, see Gellért Ede, *Budapest bűnözői. Egy pesti detektív naplójából*. Budapest, 1925.; Hetényi Imre, *Amikor a rend őre voltam*. Budapest, 1942.; Szathmáry Róbert, *A detektív munkája*. Budapest, 1926.

enforcement experiences into accessible narratives, these works disseminated practical criminological knowledge that profoundly influenced contemporary legislation, the press, and broader public discourse.²⁷ At the same time, the ego-documents of offenders are equally indispensable for reconstructing individual criminal “career paths” and understanding the profound psychological and socialization factors that drove individuals toward deviance.²⁸ Finally, integrating local residents’ impressions and oral histories provides crucial insight into how ordinary citizens navigated, perceived, and actively labeled certain urban spaces as “dangerous.”

The third pillar of our source methodology encompasses the press, media, and cultural ephemera. The mass media played a decisive role in the discursive construction of the urban underworld. Our approach involves the critical content and discourse analysis of contemporary police periodicals, daily and weekly newspapers, criminal reportage, and the immensely popular pulp fiction of the twentieth century.²⁹ These sources not only reflect the cultural anxieties surrounding urbanization but also reveal the informal channels of information dissemination – such as gossip, rumors, and the networks of police informers – that fundamentally shaped law enforcement practices and public spatial awareness. Finally, this textual corpus is enriched by visual and spatial sources, including historical district maps and archival photography, which anchor the narrative data into the physical reality of the historical cityscape. By synthesizing these diverse types of sources, the four-factor localization model can effectively trace the continuities, ruptures, and spatial configurations of Budapest’s criminal history across the “long” twentieth century.

²⁷ For relevant historical literature employing methodologies and approaches applicable to the Hungarian context, see Clapson, Mark – Emsley, Clive, “Street, Beat, and Respectability: The Culture and Self-image of the Late Victorian and Edwardian Urban Policeman”, In: Knafka, Louis A. (ed.), *Policing and War in Europe*, vol. 16. London, 2002. 107–132.; Lawrence, Paul, “Images of Poverty and Crime. Police Memoirs in England and France at the End of the Nineteenth Century”, = *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies* 4:1, 2000, 63–82.; Shpayer-Makov, Haia, “Explaining the Rise and Success of Detective Memoirs in Britain”, In: Emsley, Clive – Shpayer-Makov, Haia (eds.), *Police Detectives in History, 1750–1950*. London–New York, 2006. 103–134; Saunders, Samuel. “‘To Pry Unnecessarily into Other Men’s Secrets.’ Crime Writing, Private Spaces and the Mid-Victorian Police Memoir”, = *Law, Crime and History* 8:1, 2018, 76–90.

²⁸ For an analysis of a rare surviving memoir written by a criminal, see Gilfoyle, Timothy, *A Pickpocket’s Tale. The Underworld of Nineteenth-Century New York*. New York–London, 2006.

²⁹ A good example for this method is Fritzsche, Peter, *Reading Berlin 1900*. Cambridge, 1996.

Building upon the proposed theoretical and methodological framework, this research agenda is structured around several core empirical inquiries that seek to unpack the spatial history of crime in Budapest. First and foremost, the research must empirically locate those specific parts of the Hungarian capital that were consistently branded as “criminal districts” by both the police and the public throughout the “long” twentieth century. A fundamental task is to interrogate whether these spatial configurations remained constant or underwent significant rearrangement across successive historical periods. This involves rigorously verifying qualitative cultural perceptions against quantitative statistical sources, acknowledging and navigating the inherent methodological challenges of historical crime statistics.³⁰

Secondly, the agenda emphasizes the intersectionality of urban deviance. Future research must examine how the spatiality of crime correlates with specific demographic variables, such as gender, ethnicity, age, and social status – particularly in relation to highly localized phenomena like prostitution or various forms of juvenile delinquency. To humanize these macro-level spatial trends, it is imperative to trace the individual life paths and “criminal careers” of offenders, analyzing the extent to which their personal trajectories were inexorably tied to the specificities of their local urban environments.

Thirdly, the focus must shift to the institutional and cultural actors that actively shaped urban space. Research must identify how law enforcement agencies adapted their spatial tactics – such as the distribution of police stations, patrol routes, and targeted raids – to monitor these relevant districts.³¹ Concurrently, it is crucial to analyze how the print media, alongside informal networks of contacts and information flow, contributed to the discursive localization of crime. Finally, this agenda advocates for placing Budapest within a robust comparative framework. By comparing the dynamics of the Hungarian capital with crime

³⁰ Walliss, John, “Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics? Nineteenth Century Crime Statistics for England and Wales as a Historical Source”, = *History Compass* 10:8, 2012, 574–583.; Knepper, Writing the History of Crime, 2016. 31–57.

³¹ E. g. Storch, Robert D., “The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England, 1850–1880”, = *Journal of Social History* 9, 1976, 481–509.; Von Hoffmann, Alexander, “An officer of the neighborhood: a Boston patrolman on the beat in 1895”, = *Journal of Social History* 26, 1992, 309–330.; Lindenberger, Thomas, *Straßenpolitik. Zur Sozialgeschichte der öffentlichen Ordnung in Berlin 1900 bis 1914*. Bonn, 1995.; Croll, Andy, “Street Disorder, Surveillance and Shame: Regulating Behaviour in the Public Spaces of the late Victorian British Town”, = *Social History* 24, 1999, 250–268.; Thale, Christopher, “The informal World of Police Patrol. New York City in the Early Twentieth Century”, = *Journal of Urban History* 33:2, 2007, 183–216.

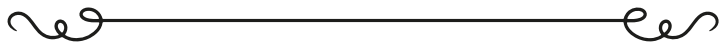
trends in other European metropolises (such as Vienna or Berlin), historians can determine whether the “mental maps” of sinful neighborhoods were constructed using universal urban mechanisms, or if they reveal distinct, localized Central European specificities.

Conclusion

The study of metropolitan criminal trends requires navigating a complex matrix of socio-economic structures, political upheavals, and cultural transformations. By proposing a comprehensive spatial history of crime in Budapest from 1873 to 1989, this paper outlines a framework that moves significantly beyond traditional, Western-centric paradigms of urban deviance. Integrating the quantitative tools of historical criminology with the qualitative insights of the spatial turn, this research agenda offers a vital contribution to the social history of East-Central Europe. It demonstrates that cities situated at the crossroads of the “West” and the “East” were not merely passive recipients of modernization, but rather dynamic laboratories of profound urban and social change.

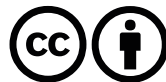
At the methodological core of this endeavor is the rigorous application of a four-factor localization model. This approach effectively bridges the persistent historiographical gap between structural, macro-level analyses and the micro-level, lived experiences of historical actors. By synthesizing institutional records with the subjective narratives found in egodocuments and the discursive constructions of the contemporary mass media, this framework inspires new interdisciplinary pathways. It enables researchers to comprehensively map both the physical topography of everyday transgressions and the culturally constructed, “imagined” underworlds that so deeply permeated public anxiety.

Ultimately, investigating the criminal history of the Hungarian capital provides far more than a localized case study. It offers a critical, long-term lens through which the international academic community can re-examine the intricate, spatialized relationship between rapid urbanization, severe social trauma – such as the reintegration challenges following global conflicts – and everyday deviance. By unearthing the hidden geographies of the marginalized, the deviant, and the vulnerable, this research agenda challenges us to rethink the very nature of the modern metropolis. It suggests that to truly comprehend the evolution of the twentieth-century city, we must look beyond its grand avenues and political milestones, and venture into the shadows of its localized, “sinful” spaces.



Reviews and Reports /
Rezensionen und Berichte






EMRE MIRZA GÜNEY, PhD student, Univeristy of Debrecen

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

emremirza3@gmail.com

 ORCID: 0009-0005-1531-375X



The Relationship Between Central Europe and the Low Countries from the Middle Ages to the Present Day-Conference (University of Debrecen, Debrecen, Hungary, 06–07 Marc 2026)

The conference entitled “*The Relationship Between Central Europe and the Low Countries from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*” was held on 6–7 March 2026 at the Sándor Karácsony Hall of the University of Debrecen. The event was organised by the Faculty of Humanities and the Research Group for Dutch–Hungarian Connections. It brought together scholars examining the historical interactions between Central Europe and the Low Countries from the medieval period to the present, with particular attention to key figures, events, and forms of exchange shaping both regions. The primary aim of the conference was to explore patterns of continuity, change, and interaction within these relationships.

By focusing on two geographically distinct yet historically interconnected regions, the conference highlighted the dynamic nature of cross-regional contacts over the *longue durée*. These interactions were approached from multiple perspectives, including sociocultural, scientific, and political contexts. The papers collectively demonstrated that exchanges between the two regions played a significant role in shaping their respective historical trajectories, while also opening new avenues for scholarly interpretation.

Scientific and intellectual exchange formed a prominent theme throughout the conference. In this regard, Ádám Szabó’s paper, “*A Humanist’s Perspective: Nicasius Ellebodius on the Low Countries and Hungary*,” examined the figure of Nicasius Ellebodius as a key agent of intellectual transfer between the two regions. Ellebodius’s work on classical authors—including Aristotle, Sallust, Aristophanes, and Herodotus—was presented as an important contribution to early modern scholarship through textual emendation and philological

analysis. His extensive travels across Vienna, Italy, and Hungary further facilitated the circulation of ideas, while his surviving correspondence provides valuable insight into contemporary scholarly networks. Szabó's contribution is particularly noteworthy for foregrounding Ellebodius's connections to Hungary, thereby enriching an area that has received comparatively limited attention in modern historiography.

A similarly valuable perspective on intellectual exchange was offered in Áron Orbán's paper, "*Savaria and Szombathely in the Eyes of a Flemish Naturalist-Humanist: Carolus Clusius's Town Description from 1585.*" The presentation focused on Carolus Clusius, whose activities in Central Europe extended beyond his well-known botanical work. Orbán examined Clusius's collection of inscriptions in western Hungary, particularly in Szombathely, situating this material within the broader transmission of antiquarian knowledge to Western Europe. While Clusius has been widely studied in connection with his botanical research, Orbán's approach highlights a less explored dimension of his intellectual activity, thereby contributing to a more nuanced understanding of early modern knowledge exchange.

Cultural interaction was frequently framed within a religious context. Marco de Leeuw van Weenen's paper, "*References to Jan Łaski in the Major Works of Abraham Kuyper,*" explored the influence of the Polish reformer Jan Łaski on the Dutch theologian Abraham Kuyper. Focusing on Kuyper's 1859 essay comparing John Calvin and Łaski, as well as his later writings, the presentation analysed the extent to which Kuyper engaged with and acknowledged Łaski's theological ideas. The paper demonstrated how intellectual traditions originating in Central Europe continued to shape Dutch theological discourse well into the nineteenth century, underscoring the long-term interconnectedness of these regions.

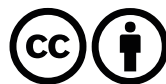
Linguistic interaction between Hungary and the Netherlands was addressed in Roland Nagy's paper, "*How the Dutch Spoke of the Hungarians and the Hungarians of the Dutch: Linguistic Reflections on Hungarian–Dutch Ethnonyms.*" By examining phonological and semantic correspondences, Nagy demonstrated that cultural exchange extended beyond elite intellectual circles into everyday language use. His analysis highlighted the mutual reflection of ethnonyms in Dutch and Hungarian, thereby reinforcing the argument that cross-regional interaction operated on multiple social levels.

Military and political connections were also explored. László Pószán's paper, "*Niederländer in den Türkenkriegen,*" examined soldiers from the Low Countries

who participated in campaigns against the Ottomans in Hungary. Similarly, Zoltán Péter Bagi's presentation, "*From Flanders to the Kingdom of Hungary: Walloon Mercenaries in the Ottoman Wars (1591–1606)*," focused on the role of mercenary forces in these conflicts. Both contributions demonstrated that the involvement of Flemish and Walloon soldiers constituted an important dimension of political and military interaction, which also entailed religious and cultural exchange. Although primarily grounded in military history, these papers offered valuable insights into the broader patterns of interregional connectivity.

Taken together, the presentations illustrated the wide range of interactions linking Central Europe and the Low Countries from the Middle Ages to the present. These connections were shaped by diverse factors, including political circumstances, intellectual networks, and cultural exchange. While certain periods – such as the Ottoman wars – were characterised by intensified interaction driven by external pressures, other forms of contact, including linguistic exchange, developed more gradually over time.


By examining historical processes through the lens of individual actors, intellectual traditions, and specific case studies, the conference made a meaningful contribution to ongoing scholarly discussions. It not only enriched existing research but also encouraged further reflection on the complex and multifaceted relationships between these two regions of Europe.



ZOLTÁN SZOLNOKI, PhD, Móra Ferenc Museum

H-6720 Szeged, Roosevelt tér 1–3.

szolnokiz.mfm@gmail.com

 ORCID: 0000-0001-7670-466X



The III. Bálint Alajos International Conference (Móra Ferenc Museum, Szeged, Hungary, 01–03 December 2025)

The Third Bálint Alajos International Conference was held at the Móra Ferenc Museum in Szeged between 1 and 3 December 2025. The aim of the conference is to provide a forum for scholars working with museum collections to present their latest research findings. The organisers seek to enhance the international profile of the event and to strengthen professional networks, particularly with colleagues from Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Poland; accordingly, the working languages of the conference were Hungarian and English.

The programme clearly demonstrated the increasingly interdisciplinary nature of work in public collections in recent years, extending beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries. Nearly fifty speakers presented their research across twelve thematic sections, including history, ethnography, anthropology, art history, museum pedagogy, sociology, literary studies, numismatics, archaeology, andragogy, conservation, and aesthetics. This diversity reflects the recommendations of the International Council of Museums and its *Dictionary of Museology*, which emphasises the importance of interdisciplinary cooperation. Within the historical disciplines, medieval studies were particularly well represented, alongside the continued prominence of Migration Period archaeology.

Among the individual contributions, Csaba Farkas delivered a lecture on the Cumans of the queen, while Szilvia Sass discussed the characteristics of the so-called *pomesztye* system. Richárd Szántó examined the question of Avar survival in the Carpathian Basin on the basis of narrative sources. The present author contributed a paper on the local history of silk production, tracing its development from medieval antecedents to the distinctive features of nineteenth-century Szeged. Gergő Tóth explored key figures in sixteenth-century Anglo-Russian diplomacy.

A number of presentations addressed ongoing archaeological work connected to the construction of the BYD car factory. Lectures by Sztankovánszki and Pópitay highlighted significant findings from Avar-period graves uncovered at the site, including the interpretation of cutlery among the grave goods. Bede presented the results of excavations in Makó, complemented by a second lecture by Sztankovánszki. Tamás Szebenyi adopted a broader perspective in outlining new approaches to the study of Sarmatian–Roman relations.

Moving further back in time, Orsolya Gyurka introduced the audience to Bronze Age Szeged, while Simon and Király presented anthropological research on trepanation practices in the Carpathian Basin. The historical panels also covered later periods in considerable breadth. Zsolt Felletár discussed the early phases of national industrial development, focusing on so-called proto-factories. Other contributions included the multi-generational history of a lime business (Ferenc Bernátsky), the evolution of traditional female social roles (Dorina Dobos), the colonial army of King Leopold II of Belgium (Adrián Joshua Janssens), and the Congregation of Mary in Szeged (Csaba Zoltán Vágfalvi). Kitti Radnai and Hajnalka Forgách presented topics from library history, while Zsolt Giczi examined a lesser-known chapter in the history of Freemasonry. Tamara Szalkai analysed Hungarian press coverage of the First World War pilot Manfred von Richthofen. István Tóth discussed a distinctive category of artefact through his presentation on historic bowling tables in Szeged. Two further papers focused on the nearby town of Makó: Géza Forgó examined local healthcare between 1944 and 1950, while Ádám Zeitler analysed urban development plans.

Twentieth-century history also featured prominently. Ferenc Gábor Kiss spoke about the victims of the Second World War in Madocsa, László Gál addressed the early development of the Ópusztaszer National Heritage Park, and Gábor Vincze discussed gendarmes who changed allegiance. István Tóth Jr. examined the fate of Slovak historical figures imprisoned in Szeged State Prison. Márk Rácz analysed documents produced by the Marxism–Leninism sections of former student competitions.

Several contributions addressed questions of identity and cultural heritage. Luca Veronika Kovács explored the community identity of the Croatian minority, while Anna Indira Hajnács examined attempts to revive ancient steppe musical traditions. Lukáš Perný and Ladislav Skrak presented on the Slovak reception of Victor Vasarely and the potential for related exhi-

bitions. Anita Hegedűs highlighted research into the museum-going habits of university students.

A substantial number of papers focused on material culture and museum practice. Tiszai and Glässerné discussed restoration techniques for modern icon paintings, while Anikó Veronika Vukov analysed the history of soap-making and its representation in museum collections. Zoltán Vona examined the burial customs of a particular social group known as the “vákáncsosok”. Other contributions addressed significant objects associated with life-cycle rituals, such as wedding shawls from Csorna. Kata Hári introduced twentieth-century abstract art, while Erika Nikoletta Nagy and Bálint Veretics discussed contemporary art experience and gender-neutral fashion, respectively.

Questions concerning the future of museums and their social responsibility also attracted considerable attention. Liliána Benyó-Vattay examined educational opportunities within public collections, while Anikó Kovács-Krassói presented her experiences at an open-air museum in Sweden. A further presentation explored the history of hirudotherapy in Hungary.

Cultural-historical perspectives were also well represented. Róbert Újszászi discussed the medal art of Ferenc Csúcs, while Gergely Takács explored research opportunities in documenting Szeged’s musical subcultures. László Mód examined the history and material legacy of the phylloxera epidemic on its 150th anniversary. András Imre-Horváth presented approaches to the museum curation of contemporary manuscripts. Additional topics included the election of cantors (Orsolya Gyöngyössi), the legacy of Ferenc Móra (Tamás Bíró Balogh), the medical career of Géza Csáth (Katalin Szabó), and Hungarian representations of the Dutch East Indies in the twentieth century (Dávid Király).

The opening and closing remarks of the conference emphasised the importance of historical sources and the responsibility of museum professionals. While modern technological developments, including artificial intelligence, provide valuable tools, they may also create an illusion of certainty. It is therefore the responsibility of museum specialists to provide reliable, source-based knowledge capable of guiding audiences in an age of rapidly expanding digital access.


Overall, the conference, named after the former director of the Szeged museum, Bálint Alajos, once again proved to be a successful and well-attended forum for research in the field of public collections.



ADRIENN BOTHA-LŐRINCZ, PhD student, Univeristy of Debrecen

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

bothalorinczadrienn@gmail.com

 ORCID: 0009-0002-4081-8846



András, Sófalvi, Homoródszentmárton templomvára.
Esettanulmány az erdélyi templomerődítések
történetéhez (The church-fortress of Mărtiniș. Case study
on the history of church fortifications in Transylvania).
Cluj-Napoca, Transylvanian Museum Society, 2025.
ISBN 978-606-739-292-0.

As the author observes in the introduction, “historical Transylvania is the homeland of church fortresses.” In Székely Land and Saxon Transylvania, this distinctive form of communal self-defence became widespread during the Middle Ages and the early modern period in response to both external threats and internal conflicts. A considerable number of these fortified churches have survived, in varying states of preservation, and continue to attract scholarly attention owing to their imposing architectural presence. Although several comprehensive studies have been published in recent decades, relatively few have approached the subject through detailed archaeological case studies of individual sites. Moreover, the integration of a broader European perspective with a systematic analysis of church fortifications within the Kingdom of Hungary remains comparatively rare in international scholarship. András Sófalvi’s monograph seeks to address this gap.

András Sófalvi – an archaeologist, historian, and museologist based in Odorheiu Secuiesc – was born on 22 August 1973. He is currently a staff member of the Haáz Rezső Museum and serves as an associate lecturer at Babeş–Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. He completed his studies at Eötvös Loránd University in 2000, majoring in archaeology and history, and was awarded his PhD in 2012 with a dissertation entitled *The Border Defence and Self-Defence of the Székelys from the Middle Ages to the Age of the Principality: Castles and Other Defensive Structures in the Settlement History of Udvarhelyszék*. His research interests centre on the medieval and early modern history

of Székely Land and Transylvanian fortification systems, including church fortresses, cave fortifications, and linear earthworks. He has published extensively in both scholarly and popular formats and is a regular participant in international conferences.

Sófalvi's engagement with church fortifications dates back to his early career, notably to the excavation at Balatonszárszó in 1999, where the remains of a late medieval church precinct revealed a distinctive architectural layout. A later defining phase in his career was his leadership of the archaeological investigation of the church-fortress at Mărtiniș between 2011 and 2014. The present volume is thus the result of many years of sustained research, or, as the author himself remarks, "this book was born out of pivotal professional experiences and insights."

As indicated by its title, the monograph presents the results of the archaeological investigation of the church-fortress at Mărtiniș, complemented by an interdisciplinary methodological approach. At the same time, the site serves as a case study through which broader questions of medieval and early modern church fortification are explored within both regional and European contexts, highlighting parallels and local particularities.

The bilingual (Hungarian–English) volume, published in 2025 by the Transylvanian Museum Society, is clearly structured and reader-friendly. It comprises 163 pages and is organised into seven main chapters, in addition to an introduction and a concluding section. Broadly speaking, the book falls into two parts. The first section (Chapters I.1–I.3) offers thematic overviews and comparative case studies, focusing on Western and Central Europe as well as selected Mediterranean regions, before turning to the church fortifications of the Kingdom of Hungary and the current state of research in Székely Land. The second section (Chapters II.1–II.4) is devoted to the church-fortress at Mărtiniș, including its architectural development, written sources, and archaeological investigation.

The volume concludes with a section entitled "Concluding Thoughts on the Research of the Mărtiniș Church-Fortress" (pp. 139–143), followed by an appendix containing key documentary sources (pp. 144–148), a bibliography (pp. 149–154), and an index of place names (pp. 155–163). The author employs an in-text citation system throughout, which facilitates continuous reading and avoids the fragmentation often caused by extensive footnoting.

The introductory chapters establish the conceptual and terminological framework of the study. In the "Preamble," Sófalvi reflects on the intellectual

background of the work, while the “Introduction” provides a more systematic discussion of the phenomenon of fortified churches and the terminological challenges associated with the field.

Chapter I.1 surveys regions in which rural church fortifications were particularly widespread. The author guides the reader through East Franconia, where the so-called *Gadenburg* type developed, before turning to the Thiérache region on the Franco-Belgian border, where approximately one hundred churches were fortified in the absence of urban defences. Further examples are drawn from northern Italy, especially Friuli, where fortifications known as *centa* or *cortina* are documented, as well as from Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, and South Slavic regions, where such structures are collectively referred to as *tabor*.

Chapter I.2 examines church fortifications within the Kingdom of Hungary, including the Great Hungarian Plain, Transdanubia, and the northern regions of the kingdom. Particular attention is devoted to the fortified churches of Transylvanian Saxon settlements, which are among the best-known examples in Europe and continue to define the architectural character of these communities.

Chapter I.3 focuses on Székely Land, discussing both general defensive strategies and the specific conditions that led local communities to fortify their churches. As current research suggests, these fortifications developed from pre-existing ecclesiastical structures. The chapter also analyses defensive elements in detail and highlights the case of Dârjiu, where the transformation of the defensive system anticipates aspects of the Italian bastion system.

The subsequent chapters turn to the site of Mărtiniş itself. Chapter II.1 outlines the origins of the medieval church, which – based on archaeological finds and documentary evidence – can be dated to the late thirteenth century. This Romanesque structure represents the earliest phase in the development of the later church-fortress.

Chapter II.2 reconstructs the historical circumstances surrounding the fortification process, drawing primarily on written sources. These indicate that military conflicts in the Homoród region during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including Ottoman incursions, played a decisive role in the construction of defensive elements such as the Gothic gate tower and the enclosing wall. The sources also reveal tensions between the mother church and its affiliated communities, which complicated the process of fortification.

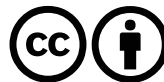
Chapter II.3 examines seventeenth-century documentation relating to the operation of the church-fortress. These sources suggest that internal disputes delayed construction, contributing to the gradual institutional separation of daughter churches. Nevertheless, a privilege charter of 1636 indicates that the fortifications had been completed by that time.

Chapter II.4 presents the results of the archaeological investigations carried out between 2011 and 2014. The excavation focused on key defensive elements – towers, gates, and enclosure walls – as well as the remains of the medieval church. In addition, two stone buildings with cellars were identified, possibly serving multiple functions, including residential, storage, and educational purposes. Significant finds, particularly stove tiles and ceramics, were also recovered. The chapter demonstrates the value of interdisciplinary approaches, incorporating dendrochronology and geophysical survey alongside traditional archaeological methods.

The volume is not only strong in terms of content but also notable for its visual and material presentation. The hardcover edition features a carefully designed cover by Elemér Könczey, combining clarity with symbolic richness. The front cover displays a reconstruction drawing by János Gyöngyössi, while the back cover presents a collage reflecting the diverse sources employed in the study, from written documents to archaeological evidence.

The interior layout is equally impressive, with high-quality illustrations, including photographs, maps, reconstruction drawings, and tables. A QR code provides access to additional documentation of the excavation, further enhancing the usability of the volume.


In conclusion, Sófalvi's monograph represents a significant contribution to the study of church fortifications. By combining detailed archaeological analysis with a broad comparative framework, it offers both depth and contextual richness. At the same time, the clarity of presentation ensures that the volume is accessible not only to specialists but also to a wider readership interested in the history of fortified ecclesiastical architecture.



LÁSZLÓ LEVENTE KIS, MA student, Univeristy of Debrecen

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

seriouslevike02@gmail.com

 ORCID: 0009-0008-0501-3659.



Dániel, Bihari, *A Tatárjárás - Magyarország élet-halál harca* (The Mongol Invasion: Hungary's Struggle for Survival) Budapest, Mandiner Kiadó, 2025.

ISBN 978-963-341-306-7

Nearly eight centuries ago, the Kingdom of Hungary experienced the most devastating catastrophe in its history up to that point, when the Mongol Empire – the largest contiguous land empire ever to have existed – invaded the Carpathian Basin from multiple directions, defeated the royal army, and laid waste to a substantial portion of the country. In Hungarian historical discourse, the defeat at Muhi is regarded as commensurate with the tragedies of the Treaty of Trianon and the Battle of Mohács (it is even alluded to in the national anthem), and consequently a wide range of questions, assumptions, and misconceptions continue to surround it. Did King Béla IV of Hungary lose the Battle of Muhi because of the intrigues of rebellious barons? Did the Hungarian army effectively condemn itself by constructing a wagon fort? Did the Mongol forces withdraw so unexpectedly from Hungary due to the death of Great Khan Ögedei Khan?

Published under the auspices of the news portal 24.hu, the interview volume *The Mongol Invasion: Hungary's Struggle for Survival* provides thorough and scholarly answers to these recurring questions. The journalist Dániel Bihari has reworked a series of interviews conducted with members of the research group *The Mongol Invasion of Hungary and the Eurasian Context of the Mongol Conquest* (2018–2024), as well as with independent scholars, into a cohesive volume. The volume was prepared with the editorial collaboration of archaeologist József Laszlovszky (Central European University) and the historian Balázs Nagy (Eötvös Loránd University), and is supplemented with excerpts from the scholarly literature and primary sources, as well as more than 150 colour illustrations, maps, and figures.

The volume is divided into five major units, organised according to a loosely chronological principle. In the first part, the reader traverses a broad spatial and temporal horizon, from the emergence of the Mongol Empire to the defeat at Muhi. Through the account of the historian János B. Szabó (Budapesti Történeti Múzeum), we are introduced to the Mongols' great western campaign (1236–1242), during which they swept across the Rus' principalities, which – owing to the lack of coordinated defence – fell one after another. The invasion of Hungary thus constituted merely the final phase of this campaign.

The historian Attila Bárány (University of Debrecen) acquaints us with the diplomatic efforts of King Béla IV of Hungary, emphasising that the absence of Western assistance was not due to any failure on the Hungarian side. The king dispatched numerous high-ranking envoys to the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor, yet these missions proved unsuccessful, as Pope Gregory IX and Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, were at that time engaged in warfare against one another in Italy. Consequently, the Hungarians were compelled to confront alone the most advanced and disciplined military force of the age. Among the Mongols, as the archaeologist Gergely Csiky (HUN-REN) explains, men were trained in riding and archery from early childhood, and regularly took part in large-scale hunting exercises known as encirclement hunts. As he explains: "... scouts first surveyed the game population of a given area, after which the army assembled and formed a circle spanning tens or even hundreds of kilometres in circumference, enclosing it. As the circle gradually contracted, the hunt itself was initiated by the khan, and upon its conclusion, feasts lasting several days were held."

Contemporary accounts, seemingly employing literary exaggeration, described the devastation of the country in terms that historians long approached with scepticism. In recent decades, however, archaeological excavations conducted along the routes of motorway construction across the Great Hungarian Plain have brought to light striking new evidence, prompting a reassessment of this earlier scepticism. In the volume, József Laszlovszky and Balázs Nagy recount the excavation of a destroyed Árpád-period dwelling near Cegléd, in which the remains of a family were discovered under harrowing circumstances:

"A mother who hid her two children, aged approximately ten to twelve, inside the oven, then attempted to squeeze in beside them herself. [...] She may have hoped that by concealing themselves within the oven they could survive the attack unnoticed by the Mongol warriors, but only the upper part

of her body could fit inside. Thus mother and children lay side by side for eight hundred years, after the Mongols set the house alight above them, and all three perished there.”

Archaeological evidence has also been found for determined resistance on the part of villages in the Great Hungarian Plain. Near the present-day settlement of Szank, in the Kiskunság region, the remains of a destroyed Árpád-period church reveal that the inhabitants of several villages constructed improvised earthworks around it. They chose to fight – and the conquerors put all of them to death.

The second unit addresses Hungary’s year-long, desperate struggle, during which the king was rescued from the battlefield through the coordinated and self-sacrificing efforts of his subjects, enabling him to organise resistance from Zagreb. The reader learns that the well-structured defence of Transdanubia posed a formidable challenge to the Mongols, who were only able to cross the Danube owing to the exceptionally severe winter of 1241–1242, when the river froze over.

The historian Dorottya Uhrin (Eötvös Loránd University) challenges the widespread assumption that Batu Khan abandoned Hungary in March 1242 upon receiving news of the death of Great Khan Ögedei Khan, allegedly in order to participate in the election of a new khan as a leading candidate. First, Batu’s claim to the supreme title was far from secure, owing to the uncertain lineage of his father. Moreover, Ögedei died on 11 December 1241, and, as Uhrin explains, “... even if a courier had been dispatched at dawn on the day following the Great Khan’s death, it would only have been theoretically possible for him to have reached Transdanubia by 31 March. This is, however, unlikely, since court intrigues may have concealed the news of the Great Khan’s death for days. The assembly to elect a new khan could only have been convened in 1243–1244.” According to the emerging scholarly consensus, therefore, Batu did not abandon the conquest of Hungary on account of the Great Khan’s death.

The third and fourth thematic units address the short- and medium-term consequences of the invasion. The contributions repeatedly emphasise the exceptional statesmanship of King Béla IV of Hungary, an assessment grounded in his thorough reconsideration of earlier policies in the aftermath of the Mongol incursion. During the remaining twenty-eight years of his reign, he consistently focused on preparing the kingdom for a potential future invasion.

In Chapter 27, József Laszlovszky and Balázs Nagy draw attention to the particularly valuable insights that may be gained from the excavation of a village destroyed during the invasion. Under normal circumstances, the remains of contemporary dwellings yield relatively few valuable artefacts, as their inhabitants would typically carry such possessions with them to a new home. In situations, however, where flight was more urgent than the preservation of valuables, houses were destroyed and preserved in a state closely reflecting their everyday use, thereby offering a uniquely rich source of information for researchers.

The final section provides an overview of the memory of the Mongol invasion. The Mongolist and historian Ágnes Birtalan (Eötvös Loránd University) argues that the invasion produced a form of cultural post-traumatic stress within Hungarian society, the effects of which endured for centuries, preserving the memory both of the great invasion itself and of subsequent incursions. One of the most widely known elements of popular legend is the characterisation of the “Tatars” as “dog-headed.” The depiction of a dangerous enemy as monstrous is, of course, readily understandable, particularly in light of the Mongols’ unusually brutal conduct towards conquered populations. Birtalan, however, adds a further dimension to this explanation, suggesting that the association of the Mongols with dogs may also derive from their spoken language: “(...) like Hungarian, Mongolian places stress on the first syllable of the word – indeed, in several dialects even more strongly so. To an untrained ear, Mongolian speech could indeed have resembled the barking or yelping of dogs.”

The research group has presented its new findings in specialist journals such as *Hadtörténeti Közlemények*, as well as in university lectures, yet it has also sought to engage the widest possible audience in scholarly discourse. The interview series published by 24.hu may be interpreted in this light, attracting a substantial readership on a weekly and monthly basis. In response to this considerable public interest, the award-winning science journalist Dániel Bihari compiled the 28 popular-science articles into a single volume.

Fortunately, a number of contemporary narrative sources on the Mongol invasion of Hungary have survived, including works by Thomas of Split and Rogerius, which the author cites extensively from the 2003 volume *Tatárjárás*, edited by Balázs Nagy, itself a rich collection of translated sources. One of the principal strengths of the book lies in its incorporation of further materials, such as *The Secret History of the Mongols*, the reports

of the Dominican friar Friar Julian, the canonisation proceedings of Margaret of Hungary, and the charters of King Béla IV of Hungary.

Short italicised passages at the beginning and end of each chapter provide cohesion, offering summaries or posing questions that are addressed in subsequent sections. This reader-friendly approach is further reflected in the rich and colourful visual material – images, maps, and explanatory diagrams – as well as in the fluent, accessible prose and engaging chapter titles, all of which encourage sustained reading. Although the interval between the preparation of individual articles and the involvement of thirteen experts occasionally results in the repetition of certain pieces of information, this is justified from a narrative perspective; indeed, such reiteration may serve to reinforce the reader's retention of the material.

Throughout, the volume repeatedly emphasises the heroic struggle of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary against the invaders, as well as the suffering they were compelled to endure. At the same time, it avoids exaggeration: the scale of destruction is differentiated regionally, and the limits of Hungarian resistance are clearly delineated, bearing in mind that the most formidable and extensive military power of the age had descended upon the country. In this way, the book constructs a balanced narrative in which Hungarians are not merely passive victims of the Mongol invasion but active and, at times, effective agents in their own defence, while the Mongols themselves are not depicted as an irresistible force of nature, but rather as an army confronted with difficulties and, not infrequently, uncertainty.

This interpretative balance renders the volume both engaging and intellectually stimulating. *The Mongol Invasion: Hungary's Struggle for Survival*, a work of scholarly popularisation, may well fall on fertile ground, as Hungarian historical films and television series have experienced something of a renaissance in recent years, accompanied by the growing popularity of history-themed podcasts featuring expert contributors across social media platforms. The interested reader is thus presented with a carefully edited, accessible, yet nuanced account of the Mongol invasion.

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

Aims and Scope

The East Central Europe: Between the Baltic and the Adriatic (ECE) is a peer-reviewed academic journal published by the Institute of History at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Debrecen. As its title suggests, the journal focuses on the history of Central Europe, covering the region between the Baltic and Adriatic Seas. This region was for centuries a crossroads and meeting point where diverse ethnic groups, religions, traditions, and political entities interacted in unique ways. In addition to studies directly examining the history of the region, the editors welcome methodologically and/or theoretically relevant contributions for the analysis of historical processes.

The journal seeks to create an interdisciplinary platform to facilitate dialogue and disseminate new research on the region, whose findings are often limited in international scholarship due to language barriers and the influence of national narratives. To support this goal, ECE is an open-access journal, published at least once annually, available in both print and online formats.

Zielsetzung

Ostmitteleuropa: Zwischen Ostsee und Adria (ECE) ist eine begutachtete wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, die vom Historischen Institut der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Debrecen herausgegeben wird. Wie der Titel schon andeutet, konzentriert sich die Zeitschrift auf die Geschichte Mitteleuropas, insbesondere auf das Gebiet zwischen Ostsee und Adria. Diese Region war über Jahrhunderte ein Schnittpunkt und Begegnungsraum, in dem unterschiedliche ethnische Gruppen, Religionen, Traditionen und politische Einheiten auf einzigartige Weise interagierten. Neben Studien, die Geschichte der Region direkt untersuchen, erwarten die Herausgeber methodisch und/oder theoretisch relevante Beiträge zur Analyse historischer Prozesse.

Die Zeitschrift möchte eine interdisziplinäre Plattform schaffen, um den Dialog zu fördern und neue Forschungsergebnisse über die Region zu verbreiten, deren Ergebnisse aufgrund von Sprachbarrieren und der Prägung durch nationale Narrative international nur begrenzt bekannt sind. Zur Unterstützung dieses Ziels ist ECE eine Open-Access-Zeitschrift, die mindestens einmal jährlich erscheint und sowohl in gedruckter als auch in digitaler Form verfügbar ist.

Impressum

Publisher / Verlag: The University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities Institute of History

Responsible Publisher / Verantwortlicher Herausgeber: The dean of the faculty / Der Dekan der Fakultät

Responsible Editors / Verantwortliche Redakteurs: Attila Bárány, László Pószán

ISSN 3058-0501

Printed in Hungary by / Gedruckt in Ungarn von Printart Kft.

Editorial Office / Redaktionsbüro

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1, Magyarország

e-mail: lendulet.unideb@gmail.com

Homepage: <https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/eastcentraleurope/index>

Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0).

Front cover / Titelbild:

Hartmann Schedel, *Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi*, Nürnberg, 1493. (Schedelsche Weltchronik/Nürnberger Chronik/Chronicon mundi)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 287. (<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00034024>)

Prussia, fol. 288v. / Dalmatia, fol. 268r.

Supported by / Gefördert durch:

University of Debrecen Thematic Excellence Programme “The Role and Image of Hungary in Medieval Europe Research Group”

HUN-REN-DE “Research Group Military History of Medieval Hungary and Central Europe”

Humaniora programme of the University of Debrecen

ISSN 3058-0501



9

773058

050006