

ARTICLES

Vovin, Alexei A.:

Veche and the terms "All Pskov" and "Pskov Men":
The Russian Medieval City Assembly
as a Communal Structure 6

Kádas, István:

Communication between the Towns and the County Authority:
The Free Royal Towns and Šariš County at the Beginning
of the 16th Century 29

Pelc, Martin:

Football Stadiums and the Production of Space
in Czech Cities until 1939..... 43

Horizons

Kaminská, Ľubomíra:

Prehistory of Košice – settlement in the Neolithic 62

Pikulski, Piotr:

Digital Monument Reconstruction in Architectural Studies:
Synthesis of Research on the Previously Unknown Form
of the Palace in Łobzów (Cracow) from the Period
of the Rule of John III Sobieski 97

REVIEWS 111

ARTICLES

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Veche and the terms “All Pskov” and “Pskov Men”: The Russian Medieval City Assembly as a Communal Structure

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The article focuses on the collective political institution, the *veche*, of the Russian medieval city of Pskov. The author argues that the horizontal political ties within that city prevailed over the vertical ones in the period before its subjugation to the Muscovite State in 1510. Pskov is put into a broad comparative perspective which results in the conclusion by the author that the development of Pskov in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries very closely resembled that kind of urban synoecism which was practiced by Western European communes in their early stage of development (eleventh–twelfth centuries). It means, first, that the Russian Middle Ages repeated in some important features that which had occurred in Western Europe, and, second, that it happened not due to a borrowing of political institutions (as was the case with many East European countries) but independently because of similar conditions arising, albeit after a two-century delay.

Keywords: Russian Medieval City. Pskov. Urban Commune. West and East Middle Ages. Medieval City Assembly. *Veche*. Horizontal Ties within a Medieval Society.

Introduction

The word *veche* appeared in the chronicles in the pre-Mongolian period and obviously referred to a political assembly in some Old Rus' cities. "Making" their *veches*, the inhabitants of Kiev, Novgorod etc invited or expelled princes, and declared war and peace. As the source data remains very scarce, we know little of how it really functioned, besides the undoubted fact that its nature was very archaic (no vote counting, and not even an idea of majority is found in the sources). After the Mongol invasion the *veche* disappears from the political life of most Russian cities with the two key exceptions of Novgorod and Pskov, where the phenomenon seems to have developed and even prospered further.

At first glance, the reason seems evident: because the Mongols never reached the remote area in the north-west of Russia where Novgorod and Pskov are situated. The fate of this region had contrasted deeply with that of the rest of the Old Russian lands where the Mongols had razed to the ground more than 90% of cities and killed or enslaved their populations. So, north-western cities were able to continue the pre-Mongol urban political culture with *veche* traditions as a key feature. The restored cities in the north-east and south-west of the old Russian lands (which had become the main scene of the invasion) were re-settled by "new" inhabitants who were alien to the urban traditions of the previous period and who were consequently subjugated to strong princely powers. So, we should take into consideration that there was a pre-Mongol *veche* as a phenomenon well spread among most of the old Russian cities and a post-Mongol one which is known mostly (with few exceptions) in Novgorod and

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Pskov. The latter was probably a result of the further development of the former but they cannot be studied together as a single form of institution remaining untouched over the course of four centuries.¹

On the one hand, there is a strong tendency in Old Rus' studies to consider veche-cities (Novgorod and Pskov) a specifically Russian medieval urban form. On the other hand, those scholars who focused on the Western- and Central European medieval city as a complex phenomenon have usually seen the latter's limits within the borders of Latin Europe. In this article, I will challenge these tendencies, exploring the nature of medieval Pskov's power system through its key political institution – the city assembly – and placing the Pskov data in a wider comparative context of medieval urban life. In the article co-authored with M. Krom I provided an analysis of the previous historiography as well as the general contribution to the problem.² That article, however, focuses mostly on the theoretical issues while the comparison itself was just outlined. Here I intend to fill that gap and go further with the comparison, making it more practical at the source level. Doing so, I will be taking into consideration the main conclusion of the aforementioned article: Pskov in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries was very close in its development not to the contemporary Western cities, but to the early communes of the Latin world, i.e. to the cities of the period when the communes had just appeared and were making their very first steps (late eleventh–twelfth centuries). Moreover, the greatest similarities seem to be found between the Russian veche-cities and early communes of northern and central Italy.

One of the historiographical debates always accompanying the study of the socio-political life of Novgorod and Pskov is the problem of the elitist or egalitarian nature of power in these cities prior to their inclusion in the Muscovite state (1478 and 1510, respectively). As a rule, to the fore in this conversation has been the discussion of veche and, specifically, how broad or narrow was the contingent of its participants and what its prerogatives were.³ However, at least in the case of Pskov, such an approach

1 This has not always been taken into consideration by previous scholars. Since the nineteenth century there has been a strong tendency in Old Rus' historiography to study the pre-Mongol society as a complex phenomenon without special attention being paid to local or temporal diversity. For example, in the contemporary historiography on veche problematic there are such research as that one of I. Y. Froyanov who believed that old Russian veche was not but a direct analogous of Old Greek polices assemblies in which every free man, i.e. a city-state citizen, could participate regardless of whether he lived inside the city walls or in the countryside (see: FROYANOV, *Drevnyaya Rus*. FROYANOV – DVORNICHENKO, *Goroda gosudarstva*). That point of view, however, is based on a primordial theoretical frame, rather than on a reliable source analysis (for more critics of I. Froyanov and A. Dvornichenko's theory see: LUKIN, *Novgorodskoye veche*, 402–428, 461–518. VOVIN, *Gorodskaja kommuna srednevekovogo Pskova*, 251–263).

2 VOVIN – KROM, *The City of Pskov*, 313–330.

3 There are two main points of view on the Novgorod veche in the modern historiography: 1) That of Valentin L. Yanin (and his school) who believed that the veche was a very elitist institution with few participants, all of whom were totally under the control of the Novgorod aristocracy – boyards. Yanin made this suggestion on the basis of a source description of Novgorod veche according to which Novgorodians "were sitting on the veche". Taking into consideration that "siting" character of the veche and the place where it gathered, the scholar calculated that approximately just 300 people could take part in it. According to Yanin, that number correlated with the number of boyards and a few of their dependants participating in the assemblies, with most Novgorod city-dwellers excluded from the political institution. See: YANIN, *Problemy socialnoy organizatsii*, 50; for more general views of V. L. Yanin see: YANIN, *Novgorodskie posadniki*. 2) That of Pavel Lukin who, challenging Yanin's argumentation, argued that the Novgorod veche had a much more egalitarian character. Lukin demonstrated, on the basis of Hanseatic sources on Novgorod, that the participants of an assembly were staying and not sitting, while the Old Russian verb "to sit" meant not a certain position but was a synonymous of the verb "to be". In that case, the square where the veche gathered could host several thousands of people, i.e. the

(dealing with just the *veche*) does not appear to be fruitful. The notion of *veche* appears in Pskov sources (both in narratives and in documents) comparatively lately: from the middle of the fifteenth century. Besides, the word *veche* is never used in the sources as a grammatical subject of a sentence, but always indicates a place or a manner of action.⁴ I believe that by stepping outside of the *veche* problem per se, we can take a fresh look at the problem of the extent of the participation of non-privileged Pskov inhabitants in the administration of Pskov and its land. In order to do so, we have to discuss two key notions recurring in the Pskov sources: "all Pskov" and "men of Pskov".

The comparative mirror I will use to reflect the Pskov *veche* (however it was named in the sources) is the city assembly of the early medieval communes in the Latin West, however a specific assembly is named in the sources, which was the only institution all of them shared regardless of the country, language etc. That was probably the key political institution of any early communal city. It was called the *conventus populi*, *contio*, *arreglo* or *parlamentum* in the communal sources of Latin Europe. Such governing consisted of adult male city inhabitants and elected the first magistrates. It was there that the *coniuratio* occurred.⁵ They were the primary institutions of power in the commune and possessed judicial authority. Such an assembly functioned wherever a commune appeared: in England,⁶ in Germany,⁷ in Dalmatia⁸ and in Italy,⁹ including Venice,¹⁰ which is usually considered a particular commune case due to the Byzantine influence there. An assembly usually gathered on a central square in front of a cathedral when summoned by the latter's bell toll (exactly as the Pskovians did). A city assembly was a kind of directly democratic institution, but nevertheless a primitive one. There was no vote counting but just an acclamation of the main political decisions made by a vociferation.¹¹ Generally speaking, we know little about Western city assemblies either. Exactly as in the case of the *veche*, the *conventus populi* is mentioned many times in the sources but never described (just several descriptions of comparatively late gatherings came to us). The city assembly had played a very prominent role in the early communal cities but declined in the second communal period when a new city patriciate took the cities under control creating a new governing body: a city council. The latter has never appeared in Pskov, but at the very end of the Pskov independence in the late fifteenth century the new city oligarchy was attempting to limit the *veche*'s power.¹²

In fact, before the 1980s the historiography had never focused on the assemblies due to an "elitist" paradigm in which special attention had been paid to the city patriciate. It changed when a new approach appeared, in which the research focus shifted from the urban elites and the consuls (who belonged to these elites) to the problems of joint action, deliberation and political decision-making in city assemblies.

assembly could consist of all *pater familias* of Novgorod including the commoners. For Lukin's argumentation see: LUKIN, *Novgorodskoye veche v XIII – XV vv.*, 20–24.

4 For more details on *veche* in Pskov sources see: VOVIN, *Gorodskaja kommuna srednevekovogo Pskova*, 75–82.

5 For more details on medieval assemblies see: VOVIN, *Gorodskaja kommuna srednevekovogo Pskova*, 346–367.

6 REYNOLDS, *Kingdoms and communities*, 155–214.

7 ISENMANN, *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter*, 181–192.

8 CARTER, *Dubrovnik (Ragusa)*, 50–52.

9 TANZINI, *A consiglio*, 4–32.

10 CRACCO, *Societa' e stato*, 28–48.

11 BERENGO, *L'Europa delle citta'*, 178–179.

12 VOVIN, *Gorodskaja kommuna srednevekovogo Pskova*, 160–227.

In the twenty-first century, this particular area of research has become one of the main ones. So, in 2003, the almanac of “Le genre humain” came out under the heading “Qui veut prendre la parole?”¹³ and his main topic was the problem of discussion and decision-making by collective institutions at different times and in different cultures. At the same time, the central place in the volume was occupied by the theme of Italian assemblies of the early commune period. In 2014, the first monograph was published entirely devoted to the early communal assembly and its further transformations.¹⁴

So, the research focus has recently shifted from the urban elites to the horizontal ties of the communal society, from socio-economic issues to socio-political. That shift required changes in the researcher attitude to the sources. Most of the documents that have come down to us from the eleventh–twelfth centuries are related to land ownership and have been preserved thanks to the monastery archives. We should argue, however, that it happened not because the private land acts predominated by themselves in the Middle Ages, in comparison with other types of documents, but only due to the best preservation being that of church archives. Ignoring this fact, we run the risk of making the Middle Ages seem even more agrarian and even more churchly than they actually were, as Arnold Ash noted.¹⁵ However, the private land acts are mostly unsuitable for the researching of the socio-political structure. Since the relatively few preserved public acts of the eleventh–twelfth centuries are insufficient, researchers should pay more attention to the narrative sources. In that case, the historian faces the task of correlating the conceptual apparatuses of narrative and documentary sources, which often differ. So, for example, the question arose of whether it is necessary to equate *iudices* of documents with chronicle *capitanei*, *milites* with *cives maiores*, and *pedites* with *cives minores* etc. So, the research problems faced by scholars focusing on the early Western commune and Pskov¹⁶ are very similar. First of all, there is the problem of a lack of documentary sources with a relative abundance of narrative ones and, accordingly, the problem of correlating their data.

The terms “all Pskov” and “Pskov men” and their Latin world analogues

The notions above are synonyms. It is easy to observe this on the basis of both narrative and documentary sources. They often alternate even within one and the same document. Thus, for example, we read in the treaty of Pskov with the Livonian order of 1417: “our government, the Posadnik¹⁷ of Pskov and all Pskov sent us ... not to help ... against us, the Pskov men”.¹⁸ In the Pskov 1477 letter to Tsar Ivan Vasil’evich we find the following words: “we, the posadniks of Pskov, and the ex-posadniks, and the sons of posadniks, and noblemen, and merchants, and commoners, all Pskov, bow

13 DETIENNE, *Le genre humain*.

14 TANZINI, *A consiglio*.

15 ESCH, *Überlieferungs-Chance*, 529–570.

16 In the Pskov case, the main body of documents that have come down to us is also private by nature and basically survived as a part of collections whose origin is connected with the Church.

17 The word “posadnik” is etymologically derived from the verb “posadit” (to seat, to put, to place). Originally, “posadnik” was a prince lieutenant “placed” in a city in his stead. Later, when the princely power in Pskov declined, “posadnik” became an independent city magistrate (mayor). Later the word was used also to designate members of a powerful social group (patricians). To emphasize the difference between these two meanings of the notion a new adjective “stepennyoy Posadnik” appeared that referred just to a Posadnik-in-office, i.e., a Mayor. For more details on this evolution see: VOVIN, *Gorodskaja kommuna srednevekovogo Pskova*, 160–227.

18 VALK, *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova* [hereafter GVNPN], 318.

deeply to the Great Prince Ivan Vasil'evich, the Tsar of all Russia ... freewill people, all Pskov bow deeply".¹⁹

One can see from this last example that "freewill people" are the "all Pskov". The former is a definition frequently occurring in the *Pskov Chronicles* starting from the second half of the fifteenth century. As a rule, it was used in the *First Pskov Chronicle* description of Pskov's relationship with Moscow princes: "[great prince] being concerned about his patrimony, Pskov men, the freewill people".²⁰ In that fragment "freewill people" refers to "Pskov men" and not to "all Pskov". At the same time "Pskov men" are called a "patrimony of a Great Prince". Therefore, because the "patrimony" as a land cannot be equated with people, then in the fragment above "Pskov men" are used in the meaning "all Pskov". Consequently, "all Pskov" was not but a synonym for "Pskov men"; both of them could mean a territory as well as a political people that ruled there.

A parallel reading of the *First* and the *Second Pskov Chronicles* provides the evidence for the fact that "men of Pskov" is used synonymously with "all Pskov".

Table 1: References to wall constructions in the *1st* and *2nd Pskov Chronicles* respectively

| <i>1st Pskov Chronicle</i> | <i>2nd Pskov Chronicle</i> |
|---|---|
| Prince Grigorii Eostaf'evich and Posadnik Zakharija and all men of Pskov started [to build] a new wall ²¹ | Prince Grigorii Ostaf'evich and Posadnik Zakharija and all Pskov laid the foundation to a wall ²² |

Therefore, "all Pskov" and "(all) men of Pskov" are synonyms. Certainly, it is possible to note peculiarities in the usage of one or another term depending on the nature of a given source. While in the chronicles they are used 50/50, in the official Pskov documents the first variant "all Pskov" is more dominant. This probably indicates that it was slightly more official.

I would like to direct the attention of my readers to another idea that was mentioned in passing in another article of mine: the analysis of the formulae of Pskov official documents could possibly raise the curtain on the evolution of the Pskov socio-political structure.²³ A similar analysis has been already adopted by Yurii Alekseev, who has been analysing the social differentiation in Pskov during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁴ Let us review these documents in chronological order.

The treaty of Pskov with Rīga (fourteenth century) starts with the words: "From Posadnik Sidor and from Raguil, and from all Heads of hundred men, and from all Pskov men".²⁵

In the land purchase document of Prince Skirgailo (1370s or 1380s) we read: "From Posadnik Yurii, from all Heads of hundred men, and from all Pskov men".²⁶

19 Ibidem, 324.

20 NASONOV, *Pskovskie letopisi*. Vol. I. [hereafter *Pskov Chronicles I*], 58.

21 *Pskov Chronicles I*, 26

22 NASONOV, *Pskovskie letopisi*. Vol. II. [hereafter *Pskov Chronicles II*], 30.

23 VOVIN, *K voprosu o knjazheskoj vlasti v Pskove*, 103–114.

24 ALEXEEV, *Chernye liudi*, 242–274.

25 GVNP, 317.

26 MARASINOVA, *Novye Pskovskije Gramoty* [hereafter – NPG], 46.

In the treaty of Pskov with the Livonian order (1417) it is said: "Dar umme heft unsere herschaft uns utgesandt, de borgermeister von Pleskow und alle Plekowe" (we were sent by our masters, the Posadnik of Pskov and all Pskov men).²⁷

The Pskov letter to Revel (1418–1419) starts with the paragraph: "From Prince Fedor Oleksandrovich and from Posadnik of Pskov Mikola Pavlovich, and from all Posadniks of Pskov, and all the heads of hundred men, and from all Pskov".²⁸

In the treaty of Great Prince Kazimir with Pskov (1440) we find: "from all Pskov".²⁹

In the Pskov letter to Rīga (1462–1463) there is: "From Pskov Prince Ivan Aleksandrovich and from Posadnik-in-office Maksim Larionovich and from all Posadniks of Pskov, and from noblemen of Pskov, and from merchants, and from all Pskov".³⁰

In the Pskov letter to Ivan III (1477) we find: "Pskov Posadniks-in-office and ex-Posadniks-in-office, and sons of Posadniks (Patricians), and noblemen, and merchants, and zhit'i lidi (well-off people)³¹ and all Pskov".³²

In the treaty of Pskov with King Kazimir (1480) there is: "This was done by Vasilii Val'evich, the Prince of Pskov and all Posadniks (Patricians) and all Lord Pskov".³³

The Pskov charter to Kolyvan' (1486) contains the passage: "From Iaroslav Vasil'evich, the Prince of Pskov, and from all Posadniks-in-office and from all Pskov...".³⁴

The treaty of Pskov with the Livonian order (1503) has the following: "Von dem fursten von Pleskaw Dimitre Volodimerewitz, von den borgermeistern to Pleskaw de oversten, von olden borgermeistern, und von alle grote Pleskaw" (from Dmitrii Vasil'evich, the Prince of Pskov, from Posadniks-in-office, from ex-Posadniks-in-office, and from all Great Pskov).³⁵

On the basis of these examples, we can see clearly the evolution of the formula of Pskov official documents. While in the second part of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries it included posadniks, heads of hundred men and Pskov men, in the following period it becomes more complex. First, there is the addition of a prince (for the first time in treaty with Kolyvan' 1418–1419), and consequently some other social groups of the present Pskov commune start to be included. The terms connected with posadnik become more complex: we see the appearance of "Posadniks-in-office", "ex-Posadniks-in-office", and "children of Posadniks".³⁶ The general direction of the formula's development is quite clear: from the simple to the complex. We can observe striking chronological parallels between the appearance of certain notions in the official document formulae and the first utilization of the same words in the chronicles. Thus, for example, "well-off men" are referred to in both documents³⁷ and chronicles³⁸ for the

27 GVNP, 318.

28 VALK, *Novye gramoty*, 234.

29 GVNP, 321.

30 GVNP, 323.

31 "well-off people" were the highest strata of free commoners.

32 GVNP, 324.

33 GVNP, 325.

34 SOKOLOVSKY – BELEZKY, *Pskovskaya gramota*, p. 140.

35 GVNP, 331.

36 VOVIN, *Gorodskaja kommuna srednevekovogo Pskova*, 160–227.

37 GVNP, 324.

38 *Pskov Chronicle II*, 204.

first time in the 1470s, while “Posadniks-in-office” appear in the official documents from the beginning of the 1460s in charters,³⁹ and in the chronicles from 1436.⁴⁰ Given the miniscule number of official acts (only one within this time span), and the peculiarities of chronicles as a form of writing in Russia, the difference of twenty years does not seem to be significant. Data from chronicles and official documents complement each other, providing us with a picture of the evolution of Pskov’s societal structure and its political institutes that was reflected in the change of the formulae of Pskov official documents and of the “formulae of power” utilized in the chronicles.⁴¹

It is important to note that the only part of these formulae that was never omitted was the expression “all Pskov”. The texts of Pskov official documents are especially significant in this respect. Thus, for example, the treaty of Pskov with the Livonian order (1417),⁴² where the formula “our government, the Posadnik of Pskov, and all Pskov” is used repeatedly, also contains the short formula “all Pskov”. The Magister of the Livonian order was invited to sign the peace treaty with “all Pskov”, and not just with its Posadnik.⁴³ The same situation can be observed in the treaty of Prince of Pskov Vasilii Vasil’evich with King Kazimir of Poland (1480).⁴⁴ Its title contains the broad formula “Pskov Posadniks and all Pskov”, and below there is an even broader formula: “Posadniks of Pskov, and ex-Posadniks, and sons of Posadniks, and noblemen, and Heads of hundred men, and merchants, and zhit’i liudi (well-off people), and all Pskov make the low bow”.⁴⁵ However, further below in the text, it is claimed that the Magister of the Livonian order is guilty in his doings with Pskov. Therefore, it is exactly “all Pskov”, “Pskovians”, who are the main representatives of the administrative power, and not a prince of Pskov or its posadniks. Both the Livonian order and the Polish king conclude the peace treaty with “all Pskov” and not with a prince of Pskov or its posadniks, who are not mentioned in these texts separately. They are the representatives of Pskov and ambassadors of Pskov’s will. A prince of Pskov and its posadniks are included in the broad formulae that demonstrate the power structure in the city, but they are not its rulers, who might conclude a treaty.

Article 108 of the Pskov Judicial Charter states:⁴⁶ “If [in the present,] original [Pskov Judicial] Charter some matter is missing, then the posadniks are to refer the matter to Lord Pskov at a veche and write that case [into the Pskov Judicial Charter]. If in the future some provision in this Charter will not be to the liking of Lord Pskov, then it is free to remove that provision from this Charter”,⁴⁷ which established the accountability of

39 GVNP, 323.

40 *Pskov Chronicle I*, 43.

41 For more details see: VOVIN, *K voprosu o knjazheskoj vlasti v Pskove*, 103–114.

42 GVNP, 318.

43 GVNP, 318–319.

44 *Ibidem*, 325–326.

45 *Ibidem*, 326.

46 Pskov Judicial Charter is the only statute-like law code of Medieval Rus’ which came to us (there was also Novgorod Judicial Charter, but only its relatively small fragment survived). PJC articles refer to different parts of Pskov urban life, it describes political, social, civil and criminal issues all together. PJC is cited on basis of its existing English translation (slightly edited by me because of the translation obvious defects): KAISER, *Pskov Judicial Charter* [Hereafter PJC], 87–105.

47 PJC, 103–104.

posadniks to “Lord Pskov”, and not to the veche, as Kolosova suggested.⁴⁸ This is quite apparent from the expression “will not be to the liking of Lord Pskov”, while the veche is mentioned only as the necessary procedure of legitimization. This demonstrates that it was exactly “all Pskov” that was perceived by Pskovians and their contemporaries as the collective representative of power.

Certainly, we have to differentiate the purely symbolic power bearers from the real ones. Would it be possible to state that Pskovians could take any decisions independently of princes and posadniks? I believe that it is possible to provide a positive answer to this question. In the *Pskov Chronicles* we find a description of the military expedition to Livonia led by Princes Ivan and Ostafii and Posadnik Vododets. When the Pskovians were returning with their loot, they were overtaken by a “great German chase”, and they had to take their stand. In the first engagement, Posadnik Koroman and Onton, the son of Posadnik Il’ia, and “many other Pskov men” were killed. Nevertheless, according to the chronicle, the Pskovians emerged victorious in spite of their losses. At the very beginning of the battle someone called “Ruda, the priest of the church of Saints Boris and Gleb, the grandson of Loshak”, abandoned his horse, weapons, and armour, and ran away from the battlefield. When he reached Pskov, he reported that Germans had killed “all men of Pskov and all men of Izborsk”. The Pskovians were at first going to send a messenger to Novgorod asking for help, but then “not believing the priest’s words, did not let him to go to Novgorod, but sent Iakov Domashinich to Izborsk to obtain information about the Pskovians”.⁴⁹ This means that the Pskovians could make such an important decision independently while the princes and posadniks (one of them had perished, the others were with the militia engaged in the battle) were not present in Pskov.

Similar occasions are frequently described in the *Pskov Chronicles*. For example, one more episode (1509–1510) is recorded in “The Tale of the Fall of Pskov”. According to the *Pskov Chronicles*, the Pskovians sent an embassy to Novgorod, where the great prince was at that time. The composition of the embassy is defined as: “nine Posadniks and Heads of merchants of all ranks”.⁵⁰ Besides, even before that, the Pskov posadniks Iurii and Leontii had been to the great prince in Novgorod with mutual charges. However, Vasilii III did not deliver his judgement and demanded that the plaintiffs wait until Christmas in Novgorod.⁵¹ Upon arriving at the palace of the great prince, the “Posadniks and noblemen and Heads of merchants were led inside, but the junior people were left standing in the yard”. Then Moscow noblemen took custody of those inside the palace, and juniors were distributed for homestays with Novgorodians. When the news reached Pskov, Pskovians gathered for a veche. First of all, they complained that the “Posadniks and noblemen and all the best people are now held by him”.⁵² Probably, all or most of the Pskov elite members had been taken at this moment as prisoners by Vasilii III. Nevertheless, Pskovians gathered the veche and decided to send to the great prince one more ambassador: Head of hundred men, levstafii. The Pskovians left this embassy underrepresented in sending just the head of hundred men to the great prince, if it is to be compared with previous embassies, which had always

48 KOLOSOVA, *A posadnikom dolozhit'*, 89–92.

49 *Pskov Chronicles I*, 12, 20.

50 *Pskov Chronicles I*, 93.

51 *Ibidem*.

52 *Ibidem*.

included several *posadniki*. But this choice was probably dictated by the absence of other more appropriate candidates, because all “the best people” were already held captive. Consequently, it can be seen that political decisions could be taken without the participation of *posadniki* and other magistrates.

At first glance, these “all Pskov” or “all Pskov men” had nothing in common with Latin-world communal realities where the notion *Communitas* or *Commune* served to describe the political people of a city. This, by the way, led L. Steindorf to state that Novgorod cannot be considered a kind of communal city due to the lack of the word “commune” in its sources.⁵³ In the article of 2017, M. Krom and I have already challenged that kind of approach, arguing that the absence of the notion itself should be explained by the linguistic specifics of Old Rus', while the commune-like institution could be hidden behind other notions, such as “All Pskov” or “Pskov men”.⁵⁴ However, I dare to state that even in the case of Western cities the notion “commune” appears in the sources just after the institution itself appeared and not before.

If we take, for instance, the *Annales Pisani*, we will see that, from 1098 the notion *populus Pisanus* commenced to be used, and that date can hardly be considered accidental. Between 1088 and 1092 Archbishop Diabert of Pisa resolved a conflict between the warring families of *milites* by setting the maximum allowed height of private towers. For the first time, it was the *populus pisanus* (understood in the context of the document as a collective community of city residents) which guaranteed and witnessed the resolution. The archbishop made the decision in the commune *colloquio civitatis*, i.e. at the general meeting of the city. This event is known in historiography as *Lodo delle torri* (Decision on the Towers), and the act in which it is recorded was the first document which mentioned a collective community of townspeople who were making a decision at a city assembly.⁵⁵

The use of the concept of *populus pisanus*, however, was not stable; in parallel, in the same text of the *Annales Pisani*, the expressions *pisani*, *homines pisani* (if we translate it from Latin it will be fully analogous to “Pskov men”), *cives pisani* and *universus pisanus* are used synonymously.⁵⁶ In the same way, there is no uniformity in the Pskov sources: to designate the inhabitants of the city, the concepts of “all Pskov”, “men of Pskov”, “Pskov” and later “Lord (Great) Pskov” are used.

The appearance of such concepts as *populus pisanus* (*universus pisanus*) and “all Pskov”, respectively, in the Pisa and Pskov texts is symptomatic. Even the periodic use of such concepts in the singular to designate a total of people shows that such a crop begins to be perceived as a politically and/or legally separate single body, a commune. *Populus pisanus*, “all Pskov” and their synonyms are used in the description of strictly defined situations, the analysis of which makes it possible to understand the functional content of the notions.

Populus pisanus occurs primarily in two contexts. The first is any military action by Pisa. The very first use of this concept in the *Annales Pisani* is associated with the dispatch of the fleet to the shores of the Holy Land during the First Crusade.⁵⁷ Further, such word usage in the text occurs more than once; for example: “Pisanus populus urbem

53 STEINDORFF, *Pravilno li schitat' Novgorod communoj?*, 228–241.

54 VOVIN – KROM, *The City of Pskov*, 313–330.

55 TANZINI, *A consiglio*, 3–10.

56 *Annales Pisani*, 8–9.

57 *Annales Pisani*, 7.

fortissimam cepit". Here, obviously, the *populus pisanus* is the army that is fighting. The use of the notion *populus* in the meaning of an army takes us back to the period of the Roman archaic period, when *populus* was one of the designations for the Roman city militia. Thus, one should not see in the word usage of *populus* any reference to the traditions of the political culture of late republican or imperial Rome with its ideals of civic virtues, understood exclusively in the socio-political, but not military, sense. On the contrary, we are dealing with a very archaic meaning of the word, revived due to the similarity of situations (early communal Pisa and early republican Rome), when the political people of the city and its military forces were the same.

The second context for the use of the expressions "all Pskov" and *populus pisanus* is in the making of peace or taking of an oath. So, under 1158, the Pisa chronicle says: "Comes Ildebrandinus iuravit fidelitatem universo populo pisano" (the count Ildebrandinus swore allegiance to the Pisan people),⁵⁸ and earlier, when describing the conclusion of peace between the Pope and Pisa, the following expression is used: "pace perpetua cum populo Pisano" (a perpetual peace with the Pisan people).⁵⁹ Thus, the expression *populus pisanus* describes the bearer of supreme power in Pisa and its subordinate lands.

This use of the concept of *populus* or its synonyms can be considered neither a specifically Pisa phenomenon nor characteristic only of narrative sources. Consider the example of the preamble to the Statute of the City of Piacenza, in comparison with the preamble of the Pskov Judicial Charter.

Table 2: Preambles of the Statute of Piacenza and PJC

| Statute of Piacenza | Pskov Judicial Charter |
|---|--|
| Et hoc statutum est a populo Placentino et in communi concione per sacramentum firmare fecerunt (This was decided by the people of Piacenza and they made [them] confirm it with an oath made in general assembly) ⁶⁰ | That charter was copied out of the charter of Grand Prince Alexander and the charter of Prince Konstantine and from various other additions to Pskov Law and [it is issued] with the blessing of our fathers, the priests of five cathedrals [in Pskov] and the hieromonks and deacons and priests and the entire clergy of God by all Pskov at veche ⁶¹ |

Thus, we see two main functions of *populus*. This is the townspeople with supreme power, approving the code of laws at the assembly, and at the same time the militia, consisting of these same townspeople, who go to war in case of danger. In Italy, to distinguish between situations of peace and war, a different bell signal was used during the convocation of the city assembly: a single chime for the people to gather in the assembly without weapons to resolve peaceful issues, such as the election of consuls, the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, the sending of an embassy or the passing of a law; but a twice-ringing of the bell for adult male citizens, who

58 Ibidem, 25.

59 Ibidem, 13.

60 SOLMI, *Le leggi piu' antiche*, 56.

61 PJC, 87.

were actually members of the commune, to come to the square with weapons, ready to march.⁶²

Such a dual character of the early commune, as we assume, corresponds to the Pskov realities. We do not know the different signals of the veche bell for different occasions, although the fact that the veche always gathered at the ringing of the bell is undoubted. The very manner of the convening of a city assembly by means of a bell in these cases and in other medieval communes outside Italy testifies in favour of the thesis that the origins of the city assembly and communes in general are closely related to Christianity.⁶³

The early communal period was characterized by conceptual instability. The political community of the townspeople is denoted as *populus*, *universus*, *cives* or simply a word denoting the inhabitants of a given city, such as "Pisans" or "Genoese", sometimes supplemented with some definition. Local variants appear, characteristic of one particular city, such as the Genoese *Compagna*. And from this array of terms, denoting much the same as one another, it would only be later that the Latin terms of *commune* or *communitas* would be settled upon as a norm. As we have already noted above, the word *populus* was the first term that came to designate the political community of the townspeople in the *Annales Pisani*. The word *commune* is found in the sources later, and initially as an adjective, and not as a noun: "Fuit sententia lecta et data in vigilia Assumptionis Sancte Marie per Consules Pisanos et Lucenses, in comuni parlamento Pisanorum, et in comuni parlamento Lucensium" (This decision was made and given by the consules of both Pisa and Lucca at the general assembly of Lucca on the eve of the Assumption of St Mary).⁶⁴ This passage describes the events of the second half of the twelfth century, and here *comuni* (Abl. S. Neutr.) is used as an adjective consistent with *parlamento*. If it was a noun, the phrase would be "*in comunis* (Gen. S.) *parlamento Pisanorum*". In the same way as the adjective, *comuni* is used in the preamble of the 1135 Statute of Piacenza already cited above: in *comuni concio*. In *Annales Pisani*, the first use of *commune* as a noun occurs in the 1165 news as part of the construction *pro Comuni Pisane*.

The above examples illustrate the importance of the political phenomenon of the city assembly in the life of communal cities. The conceptual apparatus of the early communal city is especially complex here. In different cities, this assembly was designated variously as *parlamentum*, *concio* (*contio*), *arango*, *conventus* and *placitum*. Moreover, even within the framework of one city, as the study of Jean-Pierre Delumo showed, in one source it could vary in the twelfth century each year. The researcher also made very valuable comments about the time of the assembly and the stages of its development. So, the most ancient city assemblies have been known to us since the proto-communal period – the ninth to the first half of the eleventh centuries. A terminological harmony is again not observed here. Sometimes it is *placitum*, sometimes *parlamentum*, sometimes *in presentia populi*, and twice in the acts of Arezzo of the first half of the eleventh century, the assembly, apparently, was hidden behind completely unusual expressions: *infinita multitudo aliorum hominum* and *aliorumque plurimum quorum nomina meminere non possumus*. At the same time, it can hardly be doubted that we are facing an assembly. Chronologically, between these two cases, the

62 TANZINI, *A consiglio*, 6–10.

63 MICHAUD-QUANTIN, *Universitas*.

64 *Annales Pisani*, 18.

assembly itself is also mentioned: *placitum in civitate Aretina abuerunt*. Such ancient assemblies, according to J.-P. Delumeau, were in all respects different from the later assemblies of communal times since, in fact, the presence of the people served only to legitimize the decisions already taken by the lord who gathered the assembly. That is, the assemblies of the proto-communal period did not yet participate in decision-making, but the townspeople got experience at them to gather in the presence of the authorities, and the assembly itself embarked on the path of transformation from a fictitious political body into a real one.⁶⁵

L. Tanzini strongly disagreed with the genetic relationship of the communal assembly with the pre-communal one; in Tanzini's opinion the assembly of the communal period was an absolutely new, urban phenomenon, reflecting a new political reality and having no connection with previous assemblies, in the urban nature of which one cannot be completely sure.⁶⁶ This dispute is very similar to that regarding the aforementioned pre-Mongol *veche* of Old Rus'. Meanwhile, disorder, irregularity, instability and, most importantly, the absence of subjectivity as magistrates express their will all point to the pre-Mongol *veche* having much in common with the assemblies of Italian cities on the eve of the era of the early commune.

In the early communal cities of Lombardy, the assembly is denoted by the word *arrego*, probably of Germanic origin, associated with the concept of "army". As shown above, the city assembly itself was often a meeting place for armed members of the city commune, ready to go to war. In the cities of Lombardy, German influence was much stronger than in central Italy, where there were significantly fewer Lombards. In Tuscany and Umbria, terms of Latin origin predominated: *concio*, *parlamentum*, *placitum* and *universus*, which, as Pierre-Michaud Quantin showed, were borrowed from the language of the Church.⁶⁷ In general, the connection between the city assembly and church life was manifested not only at the language level. In historiography, the idea was expressed that the source of such assemblies were parish meetings in the square in front of the central cathedral of the diocese. As Marino Berengo noted, "the church was a place where people came and discussed common affairs and interests arising from living together in the city ... [the church] has for a long time served as a haven for secular institutions".⁶⁸ There are, however, some exceptions. First, such assemblies also appeared in cities which were not diocesan centres, for example, in Venice (and Pskov). Second, quite often the place for such meetings was not originally the square in front of the cathedral, but another place, and this depended on the nature of the episcopal powers. So, for example, if in Milan the bishop at the beginning of the communal period, that is, in the eleventh century, was at the same time the signor of the city, then in Pisa the situation was different. Signor of the latter until his expulsion in 1153 was the Viscount of Pisa, vassal of the Tuscan marquis. Accordingly, the original place where the city assemblies of Pisa met was in *curia marchionis*.⁶⁹ Similarly, in Novgorod, the place of *veche* meetings was not only the square in front of the Cathedral of St Sophia, but also the Yaroslav courtyard (the former prince's palace), which obviously preserved, as in the case of *curia marchionis* in Pisa, the meaning of

65 DELUMEAU, *De l'assemblée precomunale*, 213–228.

66 TANZINI, *A consiglio*, 10–14.

67 MICHAUD-QUANTIN, *Universitas*, 11–59.

68 BERENGO, *L'Europa delle città*, 171.

69 ROSSETTI, *Entre Pise et Milan*, 229–242.

a “place of power”, even if no prince or marquis really lived there. In most cases, and Pskov is no exception here, city assemblies gathered on the square in front of the main cathedral or, less often, inside it. The choice of the location depended on reasons connected to the particular urban morphology. Not all cities had enough space for city assemblies, and it happened that due to the lack of the necessary space within the city, sometimes assemblies were held outside the city walls.

The problem of lack of space for all citizens was one of the factors that subsequently led to the crisis of direct democracy characteristic of the early commune. In the thirteenth century the city assemblies of Italian cities were replaced by city councils, elected for a fixed term. A *parlamentum*, as an assembly of all the townspeople, by its very nature was little capable of solving pressing issues. It could deal only with the most important ones, such as issues of war and peace, elections etc. At the same time, the council, being a rather representative body, could meet regularly to resolve problems of varying degrees of significance. Moreover, the assembly, precisely because of its large size, was incapable of working out any positive programme. It could only approve or reject proposed solutions. At the same time, the council, as a body much narrower in composition, could participate in the discussion and amendment of certain proposals made by the magistrates. The principles of co-optation into the council were different, but a prerequisite for being the *consigliere* of a city was the holding of citizenship. The emergence of the institution of citizenship, like the emergence of councils, marks the end of the early commune, where there were either no clear rules regarding the right to participate in the political life of the city at all, or rules were inconsistently enforced. In the early communal era, the main criterion for participation in decision-making was the presence of a home in the city. In this Pskov also looks like a typical early communal city. There was no institution of citizenship here, and belonging to the “Pskov men” is determined by living inside the city walls.⁷⁰

In Pskov the council did not appear by the end of the era of independence, although problems associated with the excessive cumbersomeness of the *veche* had already arisen after the construction of the wall in 1465.⁷¹ The Pskov *veche* bore the obvious features of an early communal assembly: the participation of all townspeople without distinction between citizens and mere residents, an assembly in a symbolic “place of power” at the signal of a bell, and two hypostases – peaceful and military. The most important feature of the early communal assembly – the procedure for the making of decisions at it – was also characteristic of Pskov. In general, we know little about how the early communal Italian assembly functioned. We know most about this from the critics of the communes. In this vein, there is a judgment by Boncompagno da Signa, a specialist in Latin rhetoric of the early thirteenth century, who sharply criticized assembly practices. For him, as a person who devoted his life to the study of Roman law and Roman rhetoric, the practice of urban assemblies seemed unacceptable: too much shouting, chaos and too much freedom.⁷²

So, by the thirteenth century in Italy, assemblies had mostly disappeared. The powers of the remaining assemblies were kept to a minimum. There were, however, exceptions. Thus, in Florence, the city assembly continued to function until the capture of the city by Medici in the sixteenth century. One case has preserved for us a description of such

70 VOVIN, *Gorodskaja kommuna srednevekovogo Pskova*, 155–158.

71 Ibidem, 157–158.

72 BONCOMPAGNO da SIGNA, *Rhetorica Novissima*, 249–297.

a city meeting at the end of the era of independence, made by the Venetian diplomat Marco Foscarelli, who was indignant and surprised at the rude and archaic customs of the Florentines: "Almost every sneeze in the affairs of the government of Florence should be decided at the assembly. When they get together, the leaders of the factions block the streets with the help of armed men and only let through those who belong to their faction or who are completely rude, uncouth and stupid. And their henchmen, when necessary, immediately begin to shout 'yes, yes', so these fools repeat after them".⁷³

This later testimony is extremely valuable, despite its tendentiousness. We see that even in a later era, the city assembly in Florence did not utilize such mechanisms as voting and counting. Decisions were taken by the shouting of the crowd, either supporting or rejecting any decision. So, the city assembly of the Italian commune differed little from the Pskov veche of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, which also lacked such mechanisms, and there is reason to believe that decisions were made in a similar way to that described by Marco Foscarelli.

Court of assembly

As we tried to show in the previous section, the Pskov veche (often hidden behind the notion "all Pskov") and Latin world communal assemblies shared most of the specific features. There is also one very important formation which needs to be considered separately: that is assembly courts, i.e. courts formed on and by a city assembly.

The problematization of veche courts has a long history that is connected to the interpretation of the third article of the PJC: "Posadnik ... [must swear that] neither at court at veche (city assembly) will be condemned a man without an [appropriate] investigation".⁷⁴ The interpretation of this article of the PJC is controversial. Engelmann understood this as "neither at court nor at veche".⁷⁵ He observed here a contradiction with the following article four: "And the prince and mayor do not conduct a court at veche; they are to conduct court at the prince's residence";⁷⁶ which, in his opinion, prohibited courts at veche per se. On this basis this scholar came to the conclusion that these two articles were written at different times.⁷⁷ Cherepnin and Yakovlev interpreted this passage rather as "at the court of veche", providing the cases of veche courts known to us from chronicles as supportive evidence for their point of view.⁷⁸ Alekseev argued that the formulation of article three of the PJC concluded the text of the pledge of a posadnik on the occasion of his assumption of his position.⁷⁹ While he did not provide any specific comments to this passage, he further interpreted the beginning of article four as a general prohibition of veche courts and expressed his doubts in their existence.⁸⁰ I am inclined to agree with the theory of Cherepnin and Yakovlev, because such an interpretation is in better agreement with the legal regulation of article four that says: "And the prince and mayor do not conduct a court

73 *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, 74–76.

74 PJC, 88.

75 ENGELMAN, *Systematicheskoe izlozhenije*, 43.

76 PJC, 88.

77 ENGELMAN, *Systematicheskoe izlozhenije*, 43.

78 CHEREPNIN – YAKOVLEV, *Pskovskaja Sudnaja Gramota (Novyi perevod i komentarii)*, 263–297.

79 ALEXEEV, *Pskovskaja Sudnaja Gramota. Text*, 58.

80 *Ibidem*, 59.

at veche”.⁸¹ This article only literally prohibits a *posadnik* and a prince from conducting court procedures at veche, but there is no evidence that it prohibited such a court in general or barred a *posadnik* from participation in such a court as a private person, rather than as a magistrate. Consequently, the opinion of Alekseev, who believed that article four prohibits the veche court, does not seem to be sufficiently justified. This opinion also contradicts the legal regulation outlined in article 108, which asserts the right of Pskovians to change the contents of the PJC and establishes the accountability of a *posadnik* to “Lord Pskov”.⁸²

Let me review the cases of veche courts known to us from the chronicles that follow the latest possible dating of the PJC (1467) that was argued to prohibit such a practice. The first such case is a note in the *First Pskov Chronicle* about the execution of *Posadnik Gavriil* in 1483: “*Posadnik Gavriil* was killed, and he was killed by all Pskov at veche”.⁸³ The formula “by all Pskov at veche” that is included in the neutral report of the chronicle emphasizes the legitimacy of the execution, while in the *Second Pskov Chronicle* the execution of *Gavriil* is mentioned in passing without the addition of the formula “by all Pskov at veche”.⁸⁴ It is not so important whether the execution of *Gavriil* was indeed legitimate, or was a spontaneous lynching. However, it is important that the author or the person who ordered the compilation of *First Pskov Chronicle* probably understood that an execution “by all Pskov at veche” would be legitimate, but that without this formula the report “*Posadnik Gavriil* was killed” would look like an illegitimate lynching.

A description of another case of a veche court is found in the *First Pskov Chronicle* report for the year 1509, when “they caught Sexton Ivan from the Church of the Trinity, who was stealing money from coffers, and before being caught he managed to get 400 rubles, and Pskovians tortured him by whipping at veche, and he admitted his guilt. Then Pskovians put him in the dungeons, and in the same year on the day of the Trinity in the first week after the fast, they burned him at the stake at the Great River”.⁸⁵ This case clearly cannot be qualified as a lynching. The court investigation accompanied by torture was conducted at veche. After the admission of guilt by the accused he was taken into custody, and the execution occurred later.

There is a similar case, in which neither “all Pskov”, nor the veche are mentioned directly, but in which the same punishment leads us to presume that this was another occasion of a veche court. There was a fire in the Pskov citadel, which is described in more detail: “*Chiukhno* was the arsonist who went in secretly, and he was sent by Germans, who promised to him many gifts. With the help of the Holy Trinity he was caught in the Pskov citadel, and he was burned at the stake on 12 April”.⁸⁶ The mentioning of the date and the whole structure of the sentence makes me think that the execution was not immediate, but sometime after the event, as in the case of the execution of *Sexton Ivan*.

What do these all cases of veche courts discussed above have in common? They all involve court investigations of the gravest crimes punishable by death according

81 PJC, 88.

82 PJC, 103–104.

83 *Pskov Chronicles I*, 84.

84 *Pskov Chronicles II*, 65.

85 *Pskov Chronicles I*, 92.

86 *Pskov Chronicles I*, 82.

to article seven of the PJC: "And execute [the following]: a person who steals in Pskov [or just its citadel],⁸⁷ the horse thief; the traitor; and the arsonist".⁸⁸

The crime of Posadnik Gavriil was treason, but in the sense of the internal, and not of the external politics. It involved an attempt on the political organization of Pskov. He, together with Prince Iaroslav, "composed a new charter and put it in the coffer at the Prince's Residence ... and Pskov did not know about that".⁸⁹ This served as a catalyst for the first known social conflict in Pskov. The falsification by the highest magistrates of a charter, and possibly not just a charter as was surmised by Cherepnin, but the "Pskov law code" itself,⁹⁰ was certainly perceived as treason by Pskovians, Sexton Ivan of the Trinity Cathedral (in Pskov citadel) stole from it, and an unknown "Chiuxno" (a person from a finno-ugrian ethnic minority) committed arson, and they all paid with their lives according to the legal definition found in article seven of the PJC. In the first two cases they were judged by a veche court, and in the third one probably, too. We are unaware of any cases of death penalty by the judgement of the court of magistrates, that is the court consisting of a prince and posadnik and the heads of hundred men. This means that the right to deliver the death sentence solely belonged to the assembly of city inhabitants, and not to magistrates. That is, grave crimes remained in the jurisdiction "of all Pskov", and not in the jurisdiction of the court of princes and posadniks "in the Prince's Palace".

The opening articles of the PJC must be understood not as the interdiction of veche courts, but as a differentiation between the jurisdictions of the veche and of magistrates consisting of princes and posadniks. This bipartite structure of judicial power is well illustrated by a chronicle entry of in the *First Pskov Chronicle* from 1495 regarding the refusal of priests to supply "one mounted warrior from ten ploughs"⁹¹ from church lands. The priests were supporting their refusal by the church law of Nomokanon, but their response did not satisfy the posadniks and Pskovians and they "started to press the priests very much, and went many times to the Prince's Palace and to the veche and again went to the veche and wanted to shame the priests by whipping".⁹² The "Prince's Palace" is not mentioned here accidentally. The PJC defines the place of a prince's court as "in the Prince's Palace".⁹³ In the same way, a charter of 1483 describes the legal complaint "in the Prince's Palace".⁹⁴ Consequently, going "to the Prince's Palace and to the veche and again to the veche" can probably be understood as going back and forth to different judicial institutions, which can be explained by the lack of the exact differentiation between the respective prerogatives. This lack of differentiation was due, in the first place, to the nature of "Pskov poshlina" (Pskov

87 The translation in Laws of Rus, "the person who steals in the [town] fortress, the horse thief...", does not seem to be reliable; therefore, I slightly modified it.

88 PJC, 88.

89 *Pskov Chronicles I*, 92.

90 CHEREPNIN, *Russkije feodalnye archivny*, 408–436.

91 The old Russian notion "plough" meant not only an agricultural instrument, but also a quantity of land (which could be treated with only one plough).

92 *Pskov Chronicles I*, 81.

93 PJC, 87–88.

94 GVNP, 326.

written law code),⁹⁵ which consisted of norms of customary law that had no strict judicial definition.

I think that there may be several explanations for the lack of direct references to veche courts in the PJC. First, as I mentioned before, the initial articles do not prohibit veche courts, but introduce the differentiation between jurisdictions. It is possible to make a further and a more precise argument. The phrase "Judges or an archbishop's lieutenant are not to [re]try the prince's trial"⁹⁶ represents a protective attitude towards the prince's court. Namely, it means that such an overruling had happened in the past, but from now on it was prohibited. Moreover, in the first article, "These [are the subjects litigated in the] prince's court" can be understood in the same way: a prince's court is introduced, and its place "in the Prince's Palace" and the conditions of its conduct "with a *posadnik*" are formalized. The concrete crimes that are in its jurisdiction are listed, and accordingly judges as representatives of Pskovians are prohibited to interfere in its conduct. Certainly, all the facts mentioned above do not mean that a prince's court did not exist before that. The conduct of a court was one of the prerogatives of princely power in Rus'; however, keeping in mind the ease of the expulsion of princes by Pskovians, we can hardly doubt that the assembly of Pskovians could easily overrule its judicial decisions.

Second, the veche court exactly as "veche court" in the PJC might simply have been left unmentioned. The very term "veche" was alien to Pskov, and was probably borrowed from Novgorod only in the fifteenth century. The word veche was practically used only in its locative form or as a *modus operandi*.⁹⁷ Therefore, the notion "veche court" could not yet appear.

Third, it is useful to remind of the hypothesis of Cherepnin regarding the nature of extant manuscripts of the PJC.⁹⁸ He suggested that the Voroncov manuscript⁹⁹ of the PJC is not the Pskov *poshlina* (Pskov written law code) itself, but a version thereof edited in Moscow. Therefore, it may mean that the manuscript is not complete. A Moscow editor might preserve only certain articles of the Pskov *poshlina* for certain reasons and omit others. Thus, it cannot be excluded that in the archetype of the Voroncov manuscript there was an article ("This is in the jurisdiction of all Pskov") preceding the article about crimes punished by death, which, as we have seen, were in the jurisdiction of this court.

Therefore, I come to the conclusion that in the Pskov of the second half of the fifteenth century there were two secular judicial institutions (besides them there

95 "Pskov *poshlina*" is no longer extant although it is mentioned several times in the *Pskov Chronicles* and documents. The only text which is probably an abbreviated Moscow redaction of "Pskov *poshlina*" is the PJC, but this text is apparently incomplete. The idea that "poshlina" meant Pskov written law code derives directly from the word usage in the PJC itself. "This charter was written down from the charter of Prince Alexander, from that of Prince Konstantine and from all additions of Pskov *poshlinas*". I guess that is a direct testimony that here "*poshlinas*" (plural) are the written texts the PJC was based on. We see the same context in the *Pskov Chronicles* when "poshlina" was given to a prince during his intronization ceremony: "[they] gave to him a prince *poshlina* and he kissed the cross to Pskov men in all Pskov *poshlina*" (*Pskov Chronicles I*, 48). In that example, of course, one can argue that the first usage tells about "prince taxes" not the text, but the second usage makes that understanding difficult. Another description of that procedure, however, is more clear: "kissed the cross on veche according to *poshlina* charter" (*Pskov Chronicles I*, 81). Here, obviously, "poshlina charter" is not but a written text containing Pskov laws.

96 PJC, 87.

97 VOVIN, *Datirovka zhalovannoj gramoty*, 75–82.

98 CHEREPNIN, *Russkije feodalnye archivy*, 408–436.

99 The most complete copy of two which survived.

was also the court of the archbishop’s lieutenant): a magistrate’s court that included a prince, *posadniks* and heads of hundred men; and the court of Pskov, which on the basis of the historiographical tradition, but not the verbal usage in the sources, can be called a “veche court”. The latter was in charge of the most serious crimes against Pskov, those that were punishable by death. This is a very important point. It turns out that a Pskovian could be sentenced to the death penalty only by all Pskov, but not by the court of a prince, *posadniks* and heads of hundred men.

Like the Pskov *veche*, Italian assemblies could be in charge of trials for the most important crimes. As in Pskov, it happened infrequently and, in any case, the sources have not preserved many examples of such courts, but the few that have come down to us are emblematic. One of the fragments of *First Pskov Chronicle* (the case of the trial and execution of the Trinity sexton in Pskov in 1509) is compared below with the story from the *Florentine New Chronicle* by Giovanni Villani.

Table 3: Comparison of the trials at assembly in Florence and Pskov

| Florence 1258 (Villani, Nuova Cronaca, VII, LXV) | Pskov 1509 (P1) |
|--|---|
| <p>And then the following September, the people of Florence ordered the capture of the Abbot of Valembroza, who came from the noble family of the Beccheria lords of Pavia in Lombardy, accusing him of plotting treason for the Gibbelins who had been expelled from Florence. And [the people of Florence] tortured him to confess, and on the square of St Appolinarius, at the cry of the people, they villainously chopped off his head, despite his noble birth and priestly dignity. (E poi del mese di settembre prossimo del detto anno il popolo di Firenze fece pigliare l’abate di Valembrosa, il quale era gentile uomo de’ signori di Beccheria di Pavia in Lombardia, essendoli apposto che a petizione de’ Ghibellini usciti di Firenze trattava tradiment, e quello per martiro gli fece confessare, e scelleratamente nella piazza di Santo Appolinare gli feciono a grido di popolo tagliare il capo, non guardando a sua dignità, né a ordine sacro)¹⁰⁰</p> | <p>they caught Sexton Ivan from the Church of the Trinity, who was stealing money from coffers, and before being caught he managed to get 400 rubles, and Pskovians tortured him by whipping at <i>veche</i>, and he admitted his guilt. Then Pskovians put him in the dungeons, and in the same year on the day of the Trinity in the first week after the fast, they burned him at the stake at the Great River¹⁰¹</p> |

The court procedure in the two cases coincides literally to the smallest detail. The accused, of a grave crime (in one case of treason, in the other of theft) in a specific protected area (in the citadel), was tortured on the square in front of the city assembly. The torture-investigation was initiated by the “political people” – *popolo* (the form in *volgare*, corresponding to the Latin *populus*). The expressions “Pskovians tortured him by whipping at the *veche*, and he admitted his guilt” and “[*popolo di Firenze*] *per martiro gli fece confessare*” ([the people of Florence] tortured him to confess) could hardly be perceived as an indication that Pskovians or Florentines directly participated in the execution; rather, it is about the fact that it was done with their consent. The latter, in

100 *Nuova Cronaca*, 293.

101 *Pskov Chronicles I*, 92.

addition, is directly mentioned in the Florentine text describing the later execution – *a grido del popolo* (at the cry of the people). Apparently, this is the phenomenon the vulgarity of which Marco Foscarelli was so indignant at in the sixteenth century. Probably, the shout of “*Si, si*” (yes, yes), which was an acclamation, was the usual way of approving decisions at the *veche* in Pskov and in Novgorod. In other cases of the *veche* court known from Pskov sources, there is also an indication of the consent of the Pskovians to execution. The “political people” of Pskov and Florence could act as a kind of jury, making decisions on the most important criminal cases. The story from the *First Pskov Chronicle* does not contain any assessments of what happened, while the Florentine chronicler was at least sympathetic to the executed abbot (this is evidenced by the adverb *scelleramente* – villainously), but did not deny the legality of the execution “at the cry of the people”. We see from the above examples that we are not talking about a lynching, as P. V. Lukin characterized the *veche* court, but about a certain procedure, which implies inquest (torture), and then the approval of the sentence by the city assembly.

The city assembly court is known in many regions of Europe where communes existed, and can even be considered one of its features. In pre-Norman England, all free men in a city could take part in a *bourgemoot* trial. However, on the continent, we know of a trial involving all residents of the city. Later, in the era of legal changes in the twelfth–thirteenth centuries, such a collective court was replaced by special judicial bodies, also of a collegial nature, but at the same time consisting of a limited number of members, called *scabini* in Italy, *Schoffen* in Germany, and in France *echevins*. However, the collective court of the community did not disappear immediately: it gradually faded away.¹⁰² At the same time, nowhere, perhaps, did it acquire such a stable and institutionalized character nor last as long as in some Italian communes and in Pskov.

The collective *veche* court in Pskov has been known to us only since the fifteenth century (note that the example of the court of the “Florentine people” being examined chronologically already goes beyond the framework of the “early commune”). However, the mention of such a court in the Pskov chronicles (1483, 1496, 1509) was preceded chronologically by its indirect delimitation in the PSG (1397–no later than 1462), which indicates that it had existed before. The primary form of the court in Pskov was the court of the Pskovians, and not that of the special judicial body the *gospoda* (literally “lords”) which consisted of the Pskov prince, *possadnik*-in-office and some other magistrate. The idea that only a gathering of fellow citizens, but not a judicial body, could take a life, testifies to the high development of horizontal relations within society in both Pskov and the Western commune.

Conclusion

The Pskov (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries) and early Latin world (late eleventh–early thirteenth centuries) communes shared their key features: a city assembly, constituted of male adult townspeople not yet divided into “citizens” and “inhabitants”. That kind of assembly which was in effect the commune itself (but which due to terminological instability would be named in varying ways) possessed the supreme power in a city: it elected (in its own way, of course) the city magistrates, dealt with issues of war and peace, and provided a court for the most serious criminal cases. One can ask whether such similarities were a result of Pskov’s borrowing of the communal structure from its

¹⁰² REYNOLDS, *Kingdoms and communities*, 51–64.

trading partners, as E. Ennen once suggested,¹⁰³ many of whom (like the Livonian cities) actually were communes. The answer is, however, negative for some significant reasons.

First, as was shown in my other article co-authored with M. Krom, the commune in Pskov rose due to social and economic conditions which had much in common with those that appeared in Western Europe after the decline of the Carolingian Empire. Thus, the Pskov development was natural per se, and as sometimes (but not necessarily) happens, the similar conditions gave birth to similar phenomena. If Pskov had borrowed some of the political structures from its neighbours, the former would have had some traits of contemporary Livonian cities and would not have looked so like an Italian city of a couple of centuries before.

Second, the mechanism of a possible adaptation of political structures remains unclear in the case of Pskov. Of course, one cannot doubt that in the Middle Ages the Catholic lands of Eastern Europe and Scandinavia borrowed communal structures from various German law "families", mostly from the Magdeburg Rights and Lübeck Law. The same happened with several Croatian cities, which adopted the Venice political system. All these institutional transfers, however, occurred within the borders of Catholic Europe, which was united by the religion and the common lingua franca, Latin, the two of which provided a channel for transfers of any kind. How a similar adaptation could happen in non-Latin and Orthodox Pskov remains a matter of doubt.

Third, (and this seems to me a much more important argument) we can see no traces of such borrowing on a linguistic level. All Pskov political and social notions have a clear Slavic origin.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, all but one¹⁰⁵ of the Pskov institutions differed so deeply from the Livonian ones that they could never be considered adaptations from the latter: for example, the Pskov term "posadniks" has little in common with the Livonian *Ratmann*, *Bürgermeister* etc. But even here the diversity is paradoxically a sign of similarity. In developing the single institutions on its own, Pskov was very similar to the Latin world communes in its vector of development and key features (city assembly, law codification, local patriotism etc). The institutions (with the exception of *veche*) were original, as they were in all parts of Europe compared to each other. In other terms, the institutions differed, but the general content remained similar.

Another paradox is that the idea of the communal nature of Pskov (and Novgorod) could be more interesting for "European" medievalists than for Russian ones. The latter just perceive it mainly as an old-new page in the almost two-centuries-long historiographical debates over the nature of Russian culture (in the nineteenth century continued by the Slavophiles who believed in Russian *Sonderweg* vs Westernizers who argued for their following in Europe's footsteps; the dispute is still going on). These debates, however, appear to have garnered little interest from European medievalists who, nevertheless, I dare to suppose, could be interested in another implication.

103 ENNEN, *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalter*, 182–191.

104 Of course, as L. Steindorf argued, a local word could be chosen as a translation of foreign adopted institution as it happened in case of *opkina* (Slavic translation for Latin *Communitas*) in Dubrovnik (STEINDORFF, *Pravilno li schitat' Novgorod communoj?*, 228–241). Moreover, there is another well-known example of that kind – German *Gemeinde* for the same Latin notion. In case of such translation, however, a new notion should share the old one content. That is not obviously the Pskov case.

105 The only exception is Pskov *veche* which was really very close to *conventus populi*. Even in its case, however, it is obvious that it could not be adopted from Livonian cities (which lived according to Lübeck law), where city assembly in the period had already lost all its real power, converting in nothing, but ritual annual gathering for acclamation of new council members. Comparing to the latter Pskov *veche* was much more archaic, powerful and unpredictable.

If a Russian medieval city developed as a commune two centuries later than in the Latin world, then a feudal-like system (land for military service) appeared in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries and serfdom in the 1500s, before early parliaments prospered in the seventeenth century, could it mean that Russia repeated, independently, many of the European experiments after several-centuries delay, reinventing, but not copying them. If so, Russian history (before Peter the Great’s modernization) could serve as an interesting reference point, a peculiar mirror, in which various European phenomena (some of which aforementioned) are better seen through their later Russian reflections.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------|--|
| AP | Annales Pisani |
| GVNP | Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova (The Charters of Great Novgorod and Pskov) |
| NPG | Novye Pskovskije Gramoty (New Charters of Pskov) |
| PJC | Pskov Judicial Charter |

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Communication between the Towns and the County Authority: The Free Royal Towns and Šariš County at the Beginning of the 16th Century

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In this paper, I focus on the channels of communication between the free royal towns of Šariš and the county authority at the beginning of the 16th century. In this period, the towns of Bardejov and Prešov became feudal landowners in the county and, as a result, they had to develop a close relationship with the county nobility. Alongside the official documents of the county authority, the noble judges also often wrote letters to the towns, in which they often mixed official and private matters. There were also verbal lines of communication; the noble community of Šariš county frequently sent emissaries to the town, and these elected envoys were often chosen from the former or acting noble judges who lived in the villages neighbouring the towns. This had the added advantage, for the towns, that they could draw upon the legal experience of these former officeholders. Both Bardejov and Prešov employed former noble judges as town lawyers.

Keywords: Bardejov. Prešov. Šariš County. Beginning of the 16th Century. Noble Society. County Authority. Communication.

Introduction

In the Late Middle Ages, it was a common phenomenon in Central Europe for towns to acquire lands and become landlords.¹ After this happened, the town's elite the town communities had to fit in with other members of landed society. In Šariš (Sáros) county, the town of Bardejov (Bártfa) built up a huge province of its own villages, while Prešov (Eperjes) tried to do the same by acquiring pledges.² As members of landed society, the representatives of the free royal towns frequently visited the county seat (*sedes iudiciaria, sedria*) or the residences of viscounts (*vicecomes*) or noble judges (*judices nobilium*). In addition, at the beginning of the 16th century, the institute of the county also changed as its role and authority broadened. New offices were born (county treasurer, county captain), while traditional offices gained more prestige and the administration of the county became more professional. It was not only the authority that changed, but the community of the county as well, leading to the development of a new, municipal type of county.³ In a recent monograph, I examined the office of noble judge and the society of the lesser nobility in Šariš county. I found interesting data on the various official, business and private relationships between the towns and

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1 MILLER, *Urban Societies*, 211–212.

2 MAKSAY, *Magyarország birtokviszonyai II*, 626–627. KÁDAS, *Kölcsönös haszon*, 338–349. Cf. the dominion of Košice: ULIČNÝ, *Feudálne majetky*. HALAGA, *Dominium mesta Košíc*.

3 TRINGLI, *Megyék*, 514–517. KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 82–88, 210–214.

the members of the county authority.⁴ In the present paper, I focus on the types and channels of communication between the royal towns and the county at the beginning of the 16th century.

The towns and the county authority

As landlords of the county, the royal towns had to maintain frequent contact with the county authority. The county usually had no right to sit in judgement over the burghers of the free royal towns. However, land disputes between the towns and the nobility, especially when a noble caused damage to a town or its citizens, indisputably fell under the jurisdiction of the county authority. In these cases, the noble judges might carry out their investigations in the field or summon the accused noble to the court. In addition, Article 38 of the Act of 1498 granted the county authority the right to compel landowner towns and burghers to stand trial before the *comes* (the head of the county, appointed by the king), if they attacked a fellow landlord.⁵ The representatives of the towns also often visited the *sedria* to ask for official documents relating to their agreements with the nobles. In addition, the county also played an important role in matters such as trade roads, tolls and customs, so the representatives of the towns often had to travel to the county's *congregation* or *sedria* when problems arose, for example, when an overzealous toll-keeper was impeding merchants on the trade routes.⁶ There were also a large number of lawsuits between the towns and the nobility regarding peasants who had moved or escaped to the towns or their lands. Pursuant from Article 16 of the Act of 1504, it was the noble judges' duty to grant licences to peasants who moved and to investigate cases involving escaped serfs.⁷

The account books of the town of Prešov have preserved important data about the costs of the county administration's services. When a noble judge had to travel in order to undertake work on behalf of the town community – for instance, to summon its adversaries to court or carry out field investigations – the town paid him a set amount, depending on the distances involved.⁸ The noble judges often earned money for other unspecified tasks and sometimes received tips (*bibales*) as well. In 1499, Prešov paid 25 denarii to the noble judge Sigismund Enyickei for his services and later gave him other fees and tips too.⁹ Other noble judges, such as Ladislav Ásgúti, Valentin Kakas and Emeric Ternyei also received money from the town: Kakas and Ásgúti for summoning the adversaries of Prešov to the *sedria*, and Ternyei probably for interrogating witnesses.¹⁰ Andrew Borsvai also earned money for his work on behalf of the town, but unfortunately, the sources rarely specified the nature of his services. We do know that in 1523, he

4 KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*.

5 BANYÓ – RADY – BAK, *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae IV*, 114–115.

6 Cf. WEISZ, *A város a megyében*, 43–56.

7 BANYÓ – RADY – BAK, *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae IV*, 168–169.

8 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatic Photocopy Collection] (hereinafter DF) 282 535 (photos 529, 739, 741, 745, 753, 777, 779, 841, 919). Štátny Archív v Prešove – Pobočka Prešov, Magistrát Prešov, Úradné knihy [State Archive of Prešov, Branch of Prešov, Magistrate of Prešov, Official Books] (hereinafter ŠAPPP Knihy), sign. 2663. 70, 76, 174, 176, 179, 181, 188, 389, 482, 510.

9 DF 282 535 (photos 469, 527, 541, 611).

10 DF 282 535 (photos 737, 753, 777).

received 40 denarii for his efforts.¹¹ On occasion, the town of Prešov entrusted more than one noble judge to carry out a single task: for example, in 1502, the town council paid 72 denarii to three office-holders, while in 1504 several noble judges questioned some witnesses in Malý Šariš (Kissáros) at the request of the town.¹² There were more expensive tasks as well: in 1517 the town council paid 1 florin 25 denarii to a noble judge for an unspecified job.¹³ After the battle of Mohács, noble judge Caspar Lipolt also earned 1 florin for his efforts.¹⁴ In these years, other noble judges also appeared in the town books: Francis Kellemesi, Francis Lipolt and Valentin Csuda.¹⁵ Besides the fees and tips, the burghers sometimes paid the noble judges in meat, while in 1539 the town invited an office-holder to a feast to thank him for his efforts in a lawsuit against Andrew Benyó.¹⁶ Anthony Gyármán, the county notary, also earned money from the town, mostly for writing and certifying charters.¹⁷

The account books of the town of Bardejov preserved similar information, including details from the 15th century as well. Besides the costs of fieldwork, the town sometimes gave the noble judges money for clothes and boots;¹⁸ once the town gave 8 ell of Czech cloth to a noble judge, probably to an office-holder who had hosted a lawyer from Bardejov in Veľký Šariš (Nagysáros).¹⁹

Aside from ordinary land disputes, there were other important matters handled by the *sedria* which related to the free royal towns. For instance, in the middle of the 15th century, when Bardejov and Prešov were fighting over the right to carry out linen-bleaching, Nicholas, a judge from Prešov, captured Paul, a lawyer from Bardejov, at the *sedria* and put him in the stocks, most likely with the approval of the county authority.²⁰ Later, the county nobility denied a noble title to the aforementioned Paul, a gesture which also would have favoured Prešov.²¹ This relationship between Prešov and the *sedria* remained strong well into the later Middle Ages, and when the members of the county authority were interrogated about the role of the town's burghers in the riot of 1514, the authority took the part of the burghers.²²

The Diets (parliamentary assemblies) between 1498 and 1500 brought a new element to this relationship by establishing a county treasury. The county authority already played an essential role in royal taxation, in that the tax-collectors were accompanied by noble judges who helped them on the ground and punished those who tried to avoid paying.²³ The peasants who lived in the villages belonging to the

11 DF 282 538 (photos 143, 151, 223, 233).

12 DF 282 535 (photos 739, 943).

13 DF 282 538 (photos 139, 719).

14 ŠAPPP Knihy, sign. 2663. 79.

15 ŠAPPP Knihy, sign. 2663. 61, 79, 101, 194, 393, 482.

16 ŠAPPP Knihy, sign. 2663. 176, 179, 577.

17 DF 282 538 (photos 131, 149, 157, 193, 225, 607).

18 FEJÉRPATAKY, *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei*, 210, 224, 227–228, 237–239, 266, 291, 306–307, 309, 316, 346, 351, 359, 368, 394. DF 213 627 (photo 35).

19 FEJÉRPATAKY, *Magyarországi városok régi számadáskönyvei*, 267, 271.

20 Štátny Archív v Prešove – Pracovisko Bardejov, Magistrát mesta Bardejov, Listy [State Archive of Prešov, Bardejov Branch, Magistrate of the Town of Bardejov, Charters] (hereinafter ŠAPPB MMB) 505.

21 DF 228 713.

22 IVÁNYI, *Eperjes II.*, Nr. 1146.

23 HOLUB, *Zala megye*, 281, 294–295.

free royal towns could not refuse to pay either the ordinary nor the extraordinary taxes to the royal treasury.

Article 18 of the Act of 1498 established troops for the counties. Although the Act did not mention the payment of soldiers, in practice, half of most landholders' royal tax went to the county treasury and the county authority had to recruit mercenaries from this money.²⁴ In the last years of the 15th century, a dispute arose between the royal towns and the northeastern counties of the kingdom regarding this new tax.²⁵ After the Diet of 1498, King Wladislaw II exempted the villages of the royal towns from this tax, but the counties protested. The envoys of Abov (Abaúj) and Šariš counties, and possibly of Spiš (Szepes) as well, informed the king that the towns possessed a large number of pledges in this region, therefore they ought to pay taxes from these villages.²⁶ The dispute ended in 1500, when the Diet declared that only the donated lands of towns were exempted from the county tax and the pledges and the purchased estates remained taxable.²⁷ In this way, the county authority gained the right to tax some of the lands of the towns, which meant a further inevitable connection between the towns and the county administration.

Written and verbal communications

Fortunately, there are many documents in the towns' archives which were issued by the county authority. There are two main types of charter found in these archives. The first is a standard, formal charter; such documents were sealed with the sigil of the *vicecomes* and the official seals of the noble judges.²⁸ The topics of these charters are quite similar to those covered in the documents which were issued regarding the noble landlords. Among them are reports from investigations, certifications of pledges and payments, and decisions about postponing litigations. The other type of charter is more interesting, namely those documents which were written by a sole member of the authority: the *vicecomes*, *sub-vicecomes*, notary or one of the noble judges. These were private, or rather semi-private, letters. For example, the notary Anthony Gyármán wrote to the council of Bardejov that his house had burned down and asked help from the town for its rebuilding and renovation.²⁹ In another example, the (*sub*-) *vicecomes* Lawrence Gombos sent a letter to the town regarding taxation, specifically the extraordinary royal tax of the villages of Bardejov.³⁰

The most significant group of letters was issued by the noble judge Emeric Terneyei, who was elected to the post of noble judge in 1502 and held this office for 20 years.³¹ He had a very strong relationship with Bardejov: his inherited land in Tarnov (Tarnó) was neighboured by villages that belonged to the town.³² More than 30 missives from

24 BANYÓ – RADY – BAK, *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae IV*, 98–99. KUBINYI, *Politika és honvédelem*, 219–220.

25 KÁDAS, *Város, falu, megye*, 62–66.

26 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatic Archive] (hereinafter) DL 70 333.

27 IVÁNYI, *Eperjes II.*, 313–314.

28 KÁDAS, *Cum sigillo nostro*, 641–645.

29 DF 217 457. DF 217 497.

30 DF 216 770.

31 KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 306–308.

32 ENGEL, *Magyarország a középkor végén*.

Ternyei have survived, most of them written in the period when he held the office of noble judge. The main topic of the letters was taxation. However, they were usually sealed with one of his private seals, not the official one.³³ His letters tended to be laconic, but they are essential sources for official and semi-official communications between the town and the county. The letters dealt with the county's own tax as well as the royal taxes. Ternyei often urged the council to pay the taxes of its villages, but he also provided information about deadlines and the methodology behind the levy.³⁴ He sometimes asked the town not to pay their taxes into the hands of the tax-collector, but send it to the *sedria* or give it to his retainer (*familiaris*) instead. He also promised to help reduce their taxes.³⁵ He sometimes shared news, for example, the royal palatine's arrival date in the county or information about the agreement of the barons in Buda.³⁶ In addition, when he travelled to Buda on his own business, he offered to represent the town council's legal cases as well.³⁷ He also acted as a host: in 1522, the delegates of the royal towns had a meeting in his house in Terňa (Ternye).³⁸

In 1522, Ternyei resigned his long-held office in the county authority and went into the service of Lady Sarah, the widow of John Tárcai, who appointed him to Castellan of Zborov (Makovica). With his new position, the topics of his letters changed, as he focused on matters between the town and the dominion of Zborov.³⁹ However, the noble judges that came after him followed his footsteps and communicated with the town of Bardejov in written form. Some of his successors, such as John Usz and Francis Lipolt, also wrote letters to urge the town to pay its taxes,⁴⁰ while Caspar NADFŐI informed Bardejov about the following *sedria* in his letter.⁴¹

As well as the county authority, the community of the county nobility, the so-called *universitas*, also sent letters to the royal towns. Historian István Tringli has pointed out that the increasing role of the nobility was one of the essential elements in how the county was changing towards the end of the Middle Ages.⁴² The nobility elected envoys to the Diet and appointed most of the office-holders of the county and oversaw their work. For example, in 1500, when the county tax levy ended, the *universitas* elected two nobles to revise the accounts of the county's own tax-collectors.⁴³ The *universitas* also had an essential role in communications between the nobility and the towns, either writing letters or sending envoys to the town to deliver messages verbally. The oldest letter from the *universitas* of Šariš was issued in 1457 on the behalf of Prešov. In this letter, the noble community of the county asked King Ladislaus V. to allow the town to engage in linen-bleaching.⁴⁴

33 Cf. ŠAPPB MMB 3625, 4017.

34 DF 216 860. DF 217 608. DF 216 909. DF 216 919. DF 217 326. DF 217 888. ŠAPPB MMB 5034.

35 DF 217 516. DF 217 688. DF 217 805.

36 IVÁNYI, *Bártfa II.*, Nr. 4255, 4606, 4695, 4902.

37 IVÁNYI, *Bártfa II.*, Nr. 4342.

38 DF 217 939.

39 IVÁNYI, *Bártfa II.*, Nr. 5190, 5223, 5274, 5335, 5487–5488, 5516, 5526.

40 ŠAPPB MMB 6180. DEMJÁN – GUITMAN, *Ez a level*, 76.

41 DEMJÁN – GUITMAN, *Ez a level*, 113–115, 126, 167, 192.

42 TRINGLI, *Megyék*, 514–515

43 DL 47 107.

44 IVÁNYI, *Eperjes I.*, 174.

Two letters, which were sent by the *universitas* to Bardejov in 1530, contain unique information regarding the salary of the county's notary. According to these letters, there was a custom that the villages of Bardejov paid a tax (1 denarius per plot) for the honorarium of the county's notary.⁴⁵ The noble judges also received similar payments from the town. According to these letters, Bardejov owed 40 denarii to the noble judge Francis Kellemesi, from Kľušov (Klusó) and Lukavica villages.⁴⁶ In this year, Stanislaw Bertóti, the Castellán of Šariš (Sáros), also sent a letter to the town regarding the salary of a noble judge, John Usz. His honorarium was also paid from a special tax, known as the *pecuniae scultetis*.⁴⁷ Its name refers to the *scultetus*, the person responsible for collecting money in the villages of Bardejov and giving it to the county office-holders. This tax was first mentioned in one of the letters of Emeric Ternyei, in 1519.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, the nobility more often used verbal channels, and in these cases only the cover letters remain, which only mention the fact that an envoy was sent and the name of the emissary. Of course, communications between the towns and the counties operated through unofficial channels as well. The towns not only picked up information from the letters and envoys of the *universitas*, but could ask the officeholders personally as well. There is only limited information about these non-official verbal lines of communication, but it seems that Prešov sometimes relied on the neighbouring noble judges for this purpose. Many of these office-holders possessed small estates in nearby villages, such as Šalgovik (Salgó), Haniska (Enyicke), Teriakovce (Terjékfalva), Kendice (Kende) and Ľubotice (Kellemes) – villages in which the town council or burghers also acquired lands.⁴⁹ The burghers of Prešov could easily ask their office-holding neighbours for the latest news of the county. For example, in 1519, the noble judge Michael Terjék informed the town about a new lawsuit regarding a road in Kendice, while in 1522 the town's magistrate relied on noble judge Andrew (Borsvai) Salgói for information about the date of the *sedria*.⁵⁰

Emissaries of the county

One of the most important duty of the *universitas* was to elect envoys for the Diet. However, the noble community often elected representatives for other matters too. The tax accounts of Nógrád county (1505–1508) show that the county's treasurer paid the travel costs of the county's envoys when on official business to the king, barons or other counties.⁵¹ The noble community of Šariš also sent envoys to the barons,⁵² and they delegated emissaries to the free royal towns as well. The messages they delivered were verbal and most of the cover letters only name the emissary who delivered it, referring to the messengers as "our brothers" (*fratres nostri*). A letter sent to Košice (Kassa) in 1527 regarding the military defence of the town is a fortunate exception. This charter not only names the county's two emissaries, Francis and Sebastian Lipolt,

45 ŠAPPB MMB 6405, 6463.

46 ŠAPPB MMB 6405.

47 "solthys pyncz" – ŠAPPB MMB 6371.

48 DF 217 805.

49 Cf. KÁDAS, *Kölcsönös haszon*, 339–343. DOMENOVÁ, *Prešov*, 332.

50 IVÁNYI, *Bártfa II.*, 4889, 5158.

51 NAGY, *Magyarország pénzügyi történetéhez*, 236.

52 In 1507 the county sent Thomas Sebesi to Stephen Rozgonyi; ten years later, they chose Ladislav Farkas and Nicholas Asszúvölgyi to travel to Emeric Perényi. DL 25 474. DF 229 561.

but declares that the community elected them from among themselves to the legation. To deliver a message to the town council was only one part of an emissary's role; they also had to visit Turňa (Torna) Castle, accompanied by the envoy of Košice.⁵³

Who were these county emissaries? In 1520, the county community entrusted Michael Raszlavicaí and Simon Kálnási to represent the wishes of the entire nobility of Bardejov. Both envoys were active noble judges at this time. The *universitas* also sent office-holders (noble judges Francis Kellemesi and Andrew Borsvai) to Košice in 1527 and 1528.⁵⁴ Borsvai also represented the county nobility in Prešov in 1532; it is possible he still held the office of noble judge in this year.⁵⁵ However, these assignments were not part of the official duties of a noble judge, and other people were also elected to the role of emissary. For example, the community chose Emeric Ternyei to represent the county in Bardejov in 1522, just after he had left office as a noble judge.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, he accepted the same duty in 1525 as well.⁵⁷ George Kendi, who lost his office after he was accused of murdering Anthony Fülpösi in 1518, also represented the county community in Košice in 1527 and 1528.⁵⁸ Other emissaries, such as Andrew Hedri and Francis Lipolt, were also former or future noble judges,⁵⁹ while the former *vicecomes* John Varjú also often travelled to Bardejov to represent the county nobility.⁶⁰ In addition, Ladislav Farkas, a former captain of the county troops, and Martin Bertóti were also sent to Košice as emissaries of the nobility.⁶¹ Both of them were also elected as envoys to one of the Diets and Farkas was later appointed *comes* of the county, while Bertóti became a *vicecomes* in the 1540s.⁶²

The county community usually sent one or two envoys to the towns. During the election process, it is likely that the assembled nobles took into consideration the location of the emissary's residence and its distance from the town, because the envoys who were sent to Prešov or Košice (e.g. Andrew Borsvai, George Kendi, Ladislaus Farkas and Francis Kellemesi) lived in the south part of the county, while the emissaries who travelled to Bardejov came from the valley of the River Topľa (Tapoly) or from nearby villages along the trade route to Poland (Simon Kálnási, John Varjú, Emeric Ternyei, Michael and Blaise Raszlavicaí⁶³). In 1527, the county community sent four nobles to

53 Archív Mesta Košice [City Archive of Košice], Collectio Schwartzenbachiana (hereinafter AMK Schwartz.) 1212.

54 DF 217 874. AMK Schwartz. 1210, 1364. Cf. KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 308–309.

55 ŠAPPP Magistrát Prešov, Listy [Magistrate of Prešov, Charters] (hereinafter MP), sign. 1968. Cf. KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 309.

56 DF 218 100. Cf. KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 308.

57 DF 218 294.

58 AMK Schwartz. 1211, 1364.

59 AMK Schwartz. 1212, 1434. Cf. KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 307–310.

60 ŠAPPB MMB 5713, 5733, 5917, 6202, 6316. Cf. C. TÓTH et al. *Magyarország világi archontológiája II*, 205.

61 AMK Schwartz. 1432, 1434.

62 C. TÓTH et al. *Magyarország világi archontológiája II*, 517. FRAKNÓI, *Magyar országgyűlési emlékek I*. 129. ŠAPPP, Fond Farkaš (Farkas) zo Záborského, inv. č. 164. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [Hungarian National Archives] (hereinafter MNL OL), P 53 Berzeviczy család kakaslomnici ága [The Kakaslomnic Branch of the Berzeviczy family], 1.1543. Nr. 1.; 1545. Nr. 3.

63 ŠAPPB MMB 5713.

Košice: John Varjú, Ladislav Farkas, Andrew Borsvai and Thomas Sebesi. This list is imposing: it seems they had to discuss an important matter with the town.⁶⁴

In the city archive of Košice there are similar documents regarding the envoys of Abov county, which helps us to contextualize these observations. I could not find any active noble judges among the envoys of Abov from the first three decades of the 16th century, and during this period only one former noble judge, Andrew Kékedi, was chosen for this duty.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, some of the emissaries came from the same families (Mindszenti, Fügödi, Szőledi, Borsvai) as the noble judges.⁶⁶ However, in this period the county sent its *vicecomes* to Košice twice. The first legation may have discussed more important matters, suggested by the fact that in 1518, *vicecomes* John Bárcai was accompanied by representatives of the noble elite, such as Francis Semsei and Balthasar Kornis, alongside Peter Borsvai, while in 1529 the two companions of *vicecomes* Nichlas Németi were lesser nobles, namely Benedict Fügödi and Andrew Kékedi.⁶⁷

Noble lawyers of the towns

Šariš county usually sent lesser nobles, especially former office-holders, to the royal towns as emissaries of the noble community. On the other hand, the representatives of the towns also often visited the county seat and the residences of office-holders. Depending on the importance of the lawsuit, judges, jurors or notaries sometimes travelled to the *sedria*, but it was much easier to send a lawyer. In the medieval Hungarian Kingdom not just the nobles, but burghers, clerics and even peasants could be lawyers and almost everybody could represent their landlord or relative at the court.⁶⁸ However, by the late Middle Ages there were also professional lawyers, who had a wide range of clients. The historian András Kubinyi observed this type of career in the case of the Kékedi family of Abov county, suggesting that the three Kékedis may have run a family legal business.⁶⁹ There is reason to assume that the three Ternyeis (Emeric, George and Nicodemus) ran a similar operation in Šariš county.

In the city archive of Prešov is a charter from 1444 and another from 1498, stating that the town hired lawyers in front of the county authority. In 1498, the town employed seven lawyers: four of them (Emeric Ternyei, Michael Terjék, Peter Usz and Benedict Nyomárkai) held the office of noble judge before or after this assignment, while another lawyer, Nicodemus Ternyei, was the *provisor* of Castle Šariš.⁷⁰ It seems that Prešov only began hiring county office-holders in the late Middle Ages – at least, when the town chose lawyers in 1444, the people named were burghers from Prešov and Veľký Šariš and a peasant from Malý Šariš.⁷¹ However, a list of various lawyers has been preserved from 1482 which mentions burghers, clerics and nobles among those employed as lawyers.⁷²

64 AMK Schwartz. 1209.

65 AMK Schwartz. 1431. Cf. C. TÓTH et al. *Magyarország világi archontológiája II*, 25.

66 DF 271 169. AMK Schwartz. 1362, 1363, 1431.

67 DF 271 636. AMK Schwartz. 1431.

68 KUBINYI, *Írástudás*, 189, 193.

69 KUBINYI, *Írástudás*, 193.

70 DF 229 128. DL 75 105. KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 305–308. – The provisor administrated the revenues of the castle and the estates.

71 DF 228 676.

72 DF 228 955.

Bardejov had already tried to make use of a noble lawyer in the mid-15th century. However, the county nobility declared that even though Paul, the town's lawyer, had married a noblewoman, he did not deserve to be granted the privileges of nobility because he had been living with his wife in the town as a burgher.⁷³ In the Jagellonian period, Bardejov also hired former or future noble judges as town lawyers, for instance Emeric Ternyei and Lawrence Gombos in 1510 and Andrew Borsvai and Michael Raszlavicai in 1523.⁷⁴ Another former noble judge, Sigismund Enyickei, represented Košice on the *sedria* of Šariš county,⁷⁵ while Andrew Kékedi, a former noble judge of Abov county, did the same job at the court of Abov.⁷⁶ His relative, Peter Kékedi, worked for Prešov.⁷⁷ In addition, George Ternyei, the cousin of the aforementioned Emeric, was employed by Prešov, Bardejov, Sabinov (Kisszeben) and Košice as well.⁷⁸ The burghers also hired these nobles in connection with their private matters.⁷⁹

The towns either made a one-year contract (*conventio*) with a lawyer or hired him for a special assignment. For example, Nicholas Aszúvölgyi made a contact with Prešov in 1515, in return for which he was given 20 florins for one year, which the town paid in quarterly instalments.⁸⁰ In the same year, the town also employed George Ternyei for 4 florins.⁸¹ George earned 2 florins in 1524 and the same in 1525, and in the first year he received an extra florin to cover his costs.⁸² Emeric Ternyei earned only 1 florin in 1498, while Andrew Borsvai received 2 florins 8 denarii in 1511.⁸³ It is probable they were hired for special assignments. In 1510, Emeric and the *provisor* of a vineyard in Tállya received a bolt of cloth from Bardejov worth 1.5 florins. This most likely represented Emeric's salary for his work as a lawyer.⁸⁴ His colleague in the county office, Lawrence Gombos, earned 50 denarii as a legal representative of Bardejov.⁸⁵

It was in the town's interest to hire a noble lawyer who knew the laws and commons of the landed society. Of course, the best solution was a former noble judge, who would have acquired the necessary legal knowledge, knew the workings of the county administration first-hand, and had local prestige and trust. A lawyer of this kind would bring an advantage on the county court and help the town win its lawsuits. On the other hand, the towns could pay a fair wage to the lesser nobles as well. When the town had to discuss other matters with the county authority, the council could delegate one of its members as an envoy. The judge or jurors could also deal with lawsuits when necessary, but noble lawyers had better knowledge of the local commons.

73 DF 228 713.

74 DF 217 017. DF 218 160.

75 DF 229 647. DF 229 648.

76 DF 271 571. DF 269 507. DF 269 452. DF 269 486.

77 DF 282 538 (photos 743, 759).

78 DF 229 540. DF 229 608. DF 229 672. DF 229 689. DF 229 742. DF 218 160.

79 DF 215 899. IVÁNYI, *Bártfa I.*, Nr. 3214. DF 215 974. DL 75 320. MNL OL, P 346 Kapivári Kapy család [The Kapy family of Kapušany], 1. 1534. Nr. 1

80 DF 282 538 (photos 585, 669, 759).

81 DF 282 538 (photos 575, 615).

82 DF 282 538 (photos 327, 331, 479).

83 DF 282 535 (photos 227, 431).

84 DF 217 017.

85 DF 217 000 (photos 127–129).

Prešov employed a special lawyer for the county court.⁸⁶ Valentin Tordai (Valentin Kozma) held this post between 1498 and 1506.⁸⁷ Tordai was a perfect choice for this job, because he was a burgher of the town and, at the same time, a noble of the county. The fortune of the Tordai family was established by his father, Andrew Tordai, who was a juror in Prešov and a Castellan of Emeric Szapolyai.⁸⁸ Andrew Tordai was a merchant and a financier who provided loans to the nobles and traded cattle to Poland.⁸⁹ Valentin Tordai inherited a noble title from his mother and also married a noblewoman, Barbara Enyickei.⁹⁰ He lived in Prešov, in the Hungarian quarter of the town. He frequently served his town as a lawyer, but took on other duties as well. He received a salary and other payment in kind (clothes, grain and even a brewery) from the town council, and when he travelled to the *sedria* or to other towns and villages, Prešov paid the costs of the journey.⁹¹ He often visited the *sedria*, where he represented Prešov on the court or asked permission for peasants to move to the town.⁹² When the town council asked a noble judge to carry out investigations in the field or to summon the adversaries of the town, Tordai often accompanied him.⁹³

Valentin Tordai was a member of the same "county intelligentsia" as Emeric Ternyei, was a member of the Enyickei family and his maternal grandfather, Ladislaus Flórián, had also held the office of noble judge in his time.⁹⁴ Unsurprisingly, the Tordais established familial relationships with the two most widely employed noble judges of this period as well, when Valentin's son, Michael Tordai, married Potenciana, daughter of Andrew Borsvai.⁹⁵

The Borsvai-Ternyei clique

It is worth taking a closer look at the career and relationships of these often-mentioned noble judges, Andrew Borsvai and Emeric Ternyei. Borsvai was a newcomer to Šariš county, having originally come from Abov. Although he possessed estates in his homeland, he began a new life in Šariš as a noble retainer of Stephen Máriási, Castellan of Castle Šariš and *vicecomes* of the county.⁹⁶ He probably received a few serf plots in Šalgovik from his *dominus* and he married Margaret Kálnási, daughter of a former noble judge, John Kálnási, and sister of Simon Kálnási, a future office-holder.⁹⁷ In 1503, Borsvai was elected to the office of a noble judge for the first time, and he held this office until 1509. In 1512 or 1513, the county re-elected him.⁹⁸ In the meantime, he acted

86 KUBINYI, *Írásbeliség*, 197, 207–208.

87 DF 282 535. DF 229 226. DF 229 299. The name Kozma probably related to his maternal heritage. KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 257.

88 IVÁNYI, *Eperjes I.*, Nr. 537. DF 228 907. DF 213 112.

89 IVÁNYI, *Bártfa I.*, Nr. 2976, 3072. DF 229 080. DF 229 024. IVÁNYI, *Eperjes II.*, Nr. 663, 716, 740, 741, 759, 760.

90 DF 229 258. DF 229 259.

91 DOMENOVÁ, *A polgári háztartások*, 126.

92 DF 282 535 (photos 547, 553, 609, 611, 713, 755, 757, 991, 1049).

93 DF 282 535 (photos 739, 745, 777, 841, 1051).

94 DF 229 258. DF 229 259. KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 301–302.

95 DF 229 687.

96 IVÁNYI, *A márkusfalvi Máriássy I.*, Nr. 268.

97 DL 75 324. Cf. KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 126–128.

98 DL 104 791. ŠAPPB MMB 4385.

as lawyer for Prešov.⁹⁹ He subsequently began a second stint as a noble judge which lasted to 1518, when – together with his colleague George Kendi and other nobles – he was accused of the murder of Anthony Fülpösi.¹⁰⁰ It appears that King Luis II later granted mercy to Borsvai and Kendi, and the record suggests that the local prestige of the noble judges was not lessened by the accusations.¹⁰¹ The new county authority had already asked for Borsvai's help in 1519, and in 1522, the nobility of Šariš once again elected him to the office of noble judge.¹⁰² One year later he was asked to act as arbiter in a dispute among the Kapis, an elite local family.¹⁰³ Borsvai held the office for the third time from 1522 to 1534 and in this period he was often asked to be an arbiter in private cases.¹⁰⁴

He had a fruitful relationship with the towns, especially with Prešov. This relationship might have helped him to pay the blood-money of the murdered Anthony Fülpösi. He also played a role in the town's pledge policy. Thanks to this relationship, Borsvai was not only able to pay his debts, but gained extra money which he used to buy Malý Šariš for 25 florins as his pledge.¹⁰⁵ In 1542, the council of Prešov hired Borsvai for the last time. The town paid generously for the services of the now elderly gentleman, who not only represented it in the local court but also travelled to Bratislava (Pozsony) in its interest.¹⁰⁶ He died while in the service of Prešov in 1543, and the town council paid the costs of his funeral.¹⁰⁷ It appears that his son, Francis Borsvai, may have died before his father; the town paid Andrew's remaining salary to his five daughters.¹⁰⁸ One of them, Veronica, married Andrew's colleague, Emeric Ternyei.¹⁰⁹

Emeric Ternyei also had excellent relationship with the towns, especially with Bardejov. Unlike Andrew, he came from an ancient and noble Šariš county family which stemmed from the Tekele genus. Many members of the extended Ternyei family had held the office of noble judge since 1336.¹¹⁰ For instance, Emeric's father, Gregory Ternyei, was also an office-holder in his time.¹¹¹ Emeric's uncle, Thomas Ternyei, married Margaret Lang, a burgher from Levoča (Lőcse). Their daughters, Anne and Sophie, also married burghers and lived in Levoča,¹¹² while their brother, the aforementioned George Ternyei, chose the noble life. George eventually became *vicecomes* in Šariš, and he was elected to the *comes sedis decem lanceatorum* in Spiš county and an envoy to the Diet of 1505.¹¹³ Emeric and George had a close relationship; the two cousins often

99 DF 229 410. DF 229 412.

100 DL 57 921.

101 KÁDAS, *Egy gyilkosság ára*.

102 DL 57 925. DF 218 063.

103 DL 64 570.

104 KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 222.

105 MNL OL, P 608 Sóvári Soós család [The Soós family of Sóvár], 1529. Nr. 1.

106 ŠAPPP Knihy, sign. 2663. 426, 429.

107 ŠAPPP Knihy, sign. 2663. 537.

108 DF 262 739. ŠAPPP Knihy, sign. 2663. 537.

109 ŠAPPP Knihy, sign. 2663. 537. MNL OL, P 13 Balpataky család [The Balpataky family] I. Nr. 70a, 75a.

110 KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 115–119.

111 KÁDAS, *A megye emberei*, 304–305.

112 DL 75 106.

113 C. TÓTH et al. *Magyarország világi archontológiája II*, 204, 265, 514.

acquired lands together. They were donated the lands of the extinct Salgói families in 1516, and they obtained the estates of the extinct Malomfalvi Komlósi family in 1524.¹¹⁴ The cousins also jointly acquired Petrovce (Pétervágás), which was pledged to them by Nicholas Kapi.¹¹⁵

Emeric TERNYEI held the office of noble judge from 1502 to 1522. He also worked as a lawyer, hired by both Bardejov and Prešov.¹¹⁶ He resigned from the county office in 1522, when Lady Sarah, the widow of John Tárcai, appointed him Castellan of Zborov.¹¹⁷ A few years later, when he left this position, he turned to advocacy again. In 1537, he wrote a letter to Prešov about his salary.¹¹⁸ The town books from 1538–1540 also mention Emeric as the town's lawyer. He received an impressive salary for his job, earning 2 florins monthly.¹¹⁹ In addition, when his son, Benedict, went into battle, the town gave Emeric money to buy a shield and a helmet for him.¹²⁰ His other son, Paul, followed in his father's footsteps as a lawyer of Prešov. Father and son served together for few years and the town honoured their work not only with a salary, but with money for cloth and beverages as well.¹²¹

Conclusion

In the beginning of the 16th century, the relationship between the towns and the county authority of Šariš became closer. As the towns acquired lands and became part of the landed society, they had to keep up with the county administration. From the archival record, we know that the towns had land disputes with the nobles and also that they had to pay taxes to the royal and the county treasury. The towns established a close relationship with the members of the county authority, especially with the noble judges. The noble judges personally delivered fresh news to the towns and also sent letters. These letters contained a mix of official and the private matters, and it is possible that there was a similar mixture in the verbal messages delivered by the county's emissaries. In Šariš county, these elected envoys often were chosen from the former or acting members of the county authority who had already established close relationship with the towns. At the same time, the towns also often enlisted these former noble judges as their lawyers and legal representatives. The former noble judges had a great deal of legal experience and could win cases for the towns against nobles in the local courts. These former noble judges also could hope to receive a fair salary from the towns, which they could use to gain more lands and pledges or to pay their debts. Both Andrew Borsvai and Emeric Thernyei, the two most extensively employed noble judges (according to archival records) ended their careers and their lives as the lawyers of Prešov. Neither of them were wealthy nobles, but they had an impressive amount of legal experience, high local prestige and a very strong relationship with the towns.

114 IVÁNYI, *Eperjes II.*, 451–452. DL 64 599.

115 DL 57 959.

116 DF 229 128. DF 217 017.

117 IVÁNYI, *Bártfa II.*, Nr. 5190, 5223, 5335.

118 ŠAPPP MP, sign. 2714.

119 ŠAPPP Knihy, sign. 2663. 36, 141, 232.

120 ŠAPPP Knihy, sign. 2663. 36.

121 ŠAPPP Knihy, sign. 2663. 141, 232, 328. ŠAPPP MP, sign. 3050, 3100.

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 MNL OL, P 53 Berzeviczy család kakaslomnici ága [The Branch of Veľká Lomnica of the
 Berzeviczy family]
 MNL OL, P 346 Kapivári Kapy család [P 346, The Kapy family of Kapušany]
 MNL OL, P 608 Sóvári Soós család [The Soós family of Solivar]
 MNL OL P 13 Balpataky család [P 13, The Balpataky family]
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 (hereinafter ŠAPPP) Fond Farkaš (Farkas) zo Záborského
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Football Stadiums and the Production of Space in Czech Cities until 1939*

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Sport has become a significant part of our lives in the modern era and sporting sites contribute considerably to the image and texture of modern cities. Regarding the popularity of sport, especially football, the stadium has become an important modern space where specific kinds of social interaction take place. Despite the fact modern stadiums had their pre-modern models, they have been transformed substantially, so that we can talk of new urban spaces. This paper shows how football pitches gradually turned into stadiums, using the example of the Czech lands. The choice is by no means autotelic: interwar Czechoslovakia had one of the most successful football teams on the continent.

Keywords: Stadium. Football. Czechoslovakia. Czech Lands.

Introduction

A “football field” (be it a field for soccer or American football) has become an almost semi-official unit of area over the past century. We use it instead of the official measures when we want to describe how large some place is. According to some tourist guides, the Great Pyramid in Egypt covers an area as large as ten football fields, an antique Roman Circus maximus was as big as five football fields and some mediaeval domes are as big as a football field... The image of a football pitch is so common that we use it almost subconsciously to evoke more abstract terms. It is just one of many examples of how sport has become a significant part of our lives in the modern era.

This paper tracks how sporting sites, especially the aforementioned football fields and stadiums,¹ were transformed in Czech cities, above all Prague, in the period up until 1939. If we are to analyse the problem theoretically, sport should be handled as a form of physical, competitive play.² Ontologically – according to the phenomenologist Eugen Fink – play takes place in its own inner time (e.g. 90 minutes in the case of association football) and space (the size of the football pitch). Fink also argues that it is not merely the players who may take part in play: a *community of play* unites those who play and those who watch or otherwise participate.³ This can be applied to sporting events, too. In the case of football (prior to the introduction of live broadcasting), the community of play was defined and shaped exclusively by the stadium. Regarding the popularity of sport, especially football, the stadium became an important *modern*

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1 Compare for example FLOWER, *Sport and Architecture*. INGLIS, *The Football Grounds of Europe*. INGLIS, *The Football Grounds of Great Britain*. INGLIS, *Sigthlines*. FISCHER, *German Football Stadiums*.

2 CAILLOIS, *Man, Play and Games*, passim

3 FINK, *Oasis of Happiness*, 23, 25, 27.

space⁴ where specific kinds of social interaction take place.⁵ Despite the fact modern stadiums followed their pre-modern models, they were transformed substantially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such that we can talk of a novelty in the urban space. This paper shows how football pitches were gradually transformed into stadiums, using the example of the Czech lands. The choice is by no means autotelic: inter-war Czechoslovakia was one of the most successful football sides on the continent, alongside Italy, Austria or Hungary. The Czechoslovak national team was the runner-up at the second FIFA World Cup (1934) and its most prominent clubs, SK Slavia Prague and AC Sparta Prague, won the Mitropa Cup, one of the top events of the time, three times within the span of thirteen years (1927, 1935, 1938).

This study is not intended to give an account of the architectural treatment of the stadium as a form. It rather aims at revealing how the stadium developed as a semi-public zone with its own rules, inner structuring and components that further influenced spectators' perceptions, i.e. how, according to Henri Lefebvre's concept, space "was produced". His concept of the "production of space" is used, encompassing the triad of 1) spatial practices (lived practices in a stadium), 2) the representation of space (abstract or conceptual forms of space, conceptualization of space) and 3) representational space (the experience of space through media).⁶ The study follows the means by which the stadium was singled out from the public space and how players and spectators were progressively divided. I shall also pay attention to the emergence of the first stands, which were perceived as the turning point from a football pitch to a football stadium. Socially, the division of the stands into sectors was of great importance. The sophistication of the spectacle grew and the perception thereof changed as new equipment and devices were installed such as stadium clocks, loudspeakers or floodlights. The establishment of the football stadium as an issue worthy of public discussion was accompanied by a more systematic, expert approach to their (re)building. While the first stadiums developed organically by adding further elements to early football fields, in the interwar period, architects began to approach the stadium as a whole and intended to design it according to the latest expert knowledge from lawn to roof. Simultaneously, provisional wooden constructions started to be replaced by materials for "eternity", such as bricks, stones and, above all concrete, iron and steel.

Football grounds prior to 1914

Football according to the rules of England's Football Association (soccer) was probably introduced in the Czech or Bohemian lands (Bohemia, Moravia, Austrian Silesia) in the second half of the 1880s. The first permanent clubs played the game from the first half of the 1890s. The foremost centre of the game was Prague, which could even compete with the Empire's capitals, Vienna and Budapest. Early football in Central Europe used non-sport areas at first. There were only a few large, undeveloped plots within the city limits and almost no agriculturally unused land in the surrounds. In many cities, only army exercise areas could afford an area of flat ground large enough to serve as a football pitch. Such was the case of the Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin and

4 LEO, *Das Stadion*. RANDL, *Das Fußballstadion*.

5 BALE, *Sport, Space, and the City*. BALE, *Landscapes of Modern sport*. BALE – MOEN, *The Stadium and the City*. TERRET – HECK, *Sport and Urban Space in Europe*. FRANK – STEETS, *Stadium Worlds*. RIESS, *City Games*. HOLZMEISTER, *A brief history of soccer stadiums in Brazil*.

6 LEFEBVRE, *Production of Space*, passim. See also FLOWERS, *Stadiums*.

of grounds in many other capital and provincial cities. In Prague, Letná (in German, Belvedere) – which sometimes had been used as an exercise or parade area in the past, too – became the home of the three foremost clubs: Deutscher Fußballclub Prague (DFC), SK Slavia Prague and AC Sparta Prague. Until the 1940s, it probably represented a globally unique vicinity of football rivals and, retrospectively, perfect comparative material for urban historians. In the 1890s, football had also been played on the Kaiserwiese (Císařská louka) – a large meadow on the Moldau (Vltava) – and in the Hôtel des Invalides' (Invalidovna) park.⁷

Since the football grounds had not been surrounded by any barrier yet, they were initially part of the urban public space. They were even moved from one match to another: the press informed for instance that the football pitch would find itself "10–15 minutes further up the river, between the 'Red Garden' and the distillery, this time" before the match between Prague's (Eisclub) Regatta⁸ and Germania Berlin in March 1894.⁹ They were turned into a semi-public zone to which entrance tickets were demanded for admission as soon as they began to be enclosed.¹⁰ The first club to do so was the above mentioned leading side of early football in Prague, Regatta. The motivation was not economic, contrary to what one might expect. Regatta was a high-class club supported by well-to-do Prague Germans, often Jewish. The collecting of entrance fees was seen by them as a form of social exclusion and regulation. The construction of a wooden fence around Regatta's Kaiserwiese pitch in the autumn of 1896 was thus interpreted from a moral point of view: "to strip the dear mob (*süßen Mob*) of the opportunity to disturb the play".¹¹ The same applies to the enclosure of the new DFC Letná football ground that the club had acquired 1897, having previously played at Císařská louka, too. The press argued that "as soon as the D. F. C. sporting ground is completed [i.e. including the wooden fence], the criminal acts of the not very kind mob are going to come to a halt".¹² A year later, the socially exclusive DFC increased the height of the fence in order to prevent the lower strata spectators from shouting "obnoxious cries" while watching the game from upon various objects they had brought with them.¹³ When Slavia, a Czech but also socially exclusive football club, opened its new football ground on Letná Plain in 1901, it lacked the wooden enclosure used by Regatta or DFC. Unlike its German neighbour, Slavia had only a wire mesh fence built, so large canvases bearing advertisements had to be put on it before each match. When the wind was too strong, this was not possible and most spectators would then watch the game from behind the fence.¹⁴ The trend to surround football grounds with a wooden barrier, however, soon became universal, marking the end of the osmotic spectatorship of the early years.

7 On the early history of football in Prague, see for example ZWICKER, *Allerlei Pioniere*. KUŽEL, *Společensko-ekonomické proměny*.

8 Vereinigter Eis- und Ruderclub Regatta, since July 1896 Vereinigter Ruderclub und Fussballclub Regatta. Archiv hlavního města Prahy, Magistrát hlavního města Prahy II., Spolkový katastr, k. 584.

9 Dr. R. [ROSENBAUM], *Fußballwettspiele*, 4.

10 See for example BALE, *Stadien*.

11 *Prager Tagblatt*, 24. 10. 1896, no. 293, 6.

12 *Fußballwettspiele*, *Prager Tagblatt*, 26. 3. 1897, no. 85, 4.

13 *Deutscher Fußballclub gegen Akademischen Sportclub 6:2*, *Prager Tagblatt*, 25. 4. 1898, no. 114, 3.

14 OLSEN [pseud.], *Nové hřiště Slavie*, column 352. R-r [REISNER], *Sportovním týdnem*, column 75.

The first ever football match of an Austro-Hungarian team against a British side was played by SK Slavia Prague and Oxford University AFC on 28 March 1899. From then on, matches against British teams became fixed events in the calendar and the financial demands on clubs grew. New facilities had to be built too, in order to meet the requirements of the guests. As a result, even exclusive clubs could not cope without drawing entrance fees from lower strata spectators. Still, the "audience" of Slavia matches around 1900 was described as "Prague's best families". To keep the upper and lower classes apart, divided sectors had been introduced. The new Slavia playing field had two entrances, the first one to the more expensive, the second one to the cheaper stands. Social exclusion was replaced by social segregation.

Slavia also built its first proper clubhouse in 1901. Apart from the facilities for the players and a club room, the timbered pavilion offered eleven boxes on the first floor. Almost simultaneously, a half-timbered clubhouse was built on the adjacent DFC football ground. These buildings gave the well-to-do spectators the first opportunity to watch the game "from above", foreshadowing the modern terraced stands that appeared in Prague after World War I. The press announced that: "To see a match from there is going to be breath-taking".¹⁵ Most spectators had to settle for stands of heaped soil that granted the rear rows a sufficient view. In the imperial capital Vienna for instance, the stadium Hohe Warte used the hillside as natural stands. The relatively flat grounds of Letná Plain did not enable this though. The stands had to be heaped artificially. In front of them, there was usually a number of chairs for women and club members. Other spectators had to stand behind a simple wooden handrail, a "barrier", that became a synecdochic term for spectators. "To play for the barriers" meant "to play showily but ineffectively" in Czech.

Until 1918, there were no real football stadiums in the Czech lands. Even the term "stadium" was reserved almost exclusively for Olympic sporting sites. Most of the sports architecture in Bohemia used the so-called Swiss style prior to 1918, i.e. wooden constructions with carved decorations. Some Czech architects were inspired by the Olympic stadiums in London (1908) and Stockholm (1912) though and planned the first "stone stadium" in Prague. Even before the Olympic Games in London, Czech Neo-Renaissance architect Jan Koula drafted a solid multi-purpose stadium on Prague's Letná (1907) but there was not enough financial support for his idea.¹⁶

The existing football grounds afforded a sufficient capacity for the stagnating attendance figures of the first decade of the twentieth century: between 1901 and 1910, the popularity of football grew but the most attractive matches against British teams were too repetitive and lacked the competitive rivalry to draw larger masses. The London side Corinthian FC, that promoted association football around the world, set a new spectator record against Slavia with approximately 6,000 persons in 1904.¹⁷ When English league winners Manchester United played against Slavia on 10 May 1908, 5,800 spectators came.¹⁸ Another new record was set on 14 May 1911 at a match between Slavia and Aberdeen FC when 6,500–7,000 people watched.¹⁹ The situation changed dramatically between 1912 and 1914 when spectator numbers doubled.

15 OLSEN [pseud.], *Nové hřiště Slavia*, column 368.

16 ŠVÁCHA, *Demokratizace sportu*, 54, 58.

17 *Národní listy*, 10. 4. 1904, no. 100, 13.

18 *Národní listy*, 12. 5. 1908, no. 131, [5].

19 Aberdeen F. C., *Národní listy*, 16. 5. 1911, no. 134, 5.

Sparta were able to upset the previously unquestionable hegemony of Slavia by then, making their derby matches more attractive. On 2 June 1912, their encounter was attended by an unprecedented crowd of 10–12,000 people.²⁰ Their last match before the outbreak of World War I drew even more spectators – 14,000, with thousands more prevented from entering the stands by the police. The capacity of the football grounds had reached their limits by that time. Shortly afterwards, Sparta announced their intention to build a stadium for 20–30,000 spectators.²¹ A new football ground with an increased capacity was opened in 1917.

From football ground to stadium

Though some architects, as shown above, had dealt with the idea of stadium construction before 1914, the topic was accepted by the experts as a legitimate problem to be solved systematically in Czechoslovakia after World War I. A signal of a new approach to sporting sites was given by the Czech architect Karel Polívka who published a paper entitled “Stadiums” in the *Czechoslovak Architects’ Journal* (*Časopis československých architektů*) in 1924. He not only introduced the topic to the professional community but also anticipated “stadiums for eternity”, built of solid materials instead of wood. Among the examples to be followed, he mentioned the Olympic stadiums in Stockholm and Anvers, but also a number of American stadiums (Yankee Stadium in New York City and Franklin Field in Philadelphia).²² Jaromír Krejcar was inspired by the Pittsburgh stadium when drafting a stadium for Letná Plain in Prague.²³ Olympic stadiums continued to influence the architects in the 1930s (with the Olympiastadion in Berlin to the fore).

Indeed, there was a stadium built of concrete and iron in Prague in 1922. The large multi-purpose stadium – generally called Trotting Stadium – existed for only eight years before it was torn down as oversized, uneconomical and unnecessary in 1930. The Women’s World Games in 1930 turned out to be its swan song. It found itself between the Sparta and Slavia grounds on Letná Plain. Its proportions, however, made it utterly unsuitable for the most popular sport – football.²⁴ For this reason even international matches were mostly played in the Sparta stadium, which then offered the greatest capacity. Another giant stadium, even larger than Trotting Stadium, was built for the mass gymnastic “feasts” (*slety*) on Strahov Hill. With massive financial support from the state and the city council, Sokol (Falcon) and other gymnastic organizations were given one of the largest stadiums of the world. Its construction of concrete and iron was not completed until World War II broke out. The megalomaniac project triggered a new period of specific Czechoslovak rivalry between sporting organizations and the Sokol movement. The Czechoslovak Sports Community, an umbrella organization of most of the sporting fields, claimed the state should also build a multi-purpose sports site to outweigh the support of the mass gymnastic feasts. There was even a large-scale demonstration in which various sports associations marched through Prague on 18 September 1927 demanding a “national stadium” be built. Long discussion was

20 Slavný den české kopané, *Národní listy*, 3. 6. 1912, no. 151, 3. Zápas Sparta – Slavia, *Sport a hry*, 5. 6. 1912, no. 24 (541), 276.

21 *Sport 2*, 15. 4. 1914, no. 8, 2, 13.

22 POLÍVKA, *Stadiony*.

23 KREJCAR, *Zachraňte Letnou pro sport*.

24 ŽENATÝ, Všesportovní stadion v Praze, *Stavitel 4*, 1922–1923, Technická a konstruktivistická hlídka, 5–6.

triggered as to whether such projects should be realized by the state. Some called it the Olympic complex while Czechoslovakia planned to apply to be the host of the Olympic Games of 1932. A compromise was eventually found. The state promised to build a multi-purpose stadium (suitable for football) near the Strahov *Sletový stadion*. It was eventually opened in 1935 and will be mentioned below.²⁵ A number of experts, among them many architects, joined the lengthy discussions provoked by this manifestation.

Since the mass gymnastic movement looked back at a longer tradition and could be utilized by state propaganda more effectively than competitive and commercialized sports such as football (in 1925, professionalism was introduced in Czechoslovak football), the clubs had to rely on themselves for most of the period. There was one more obstacle for all three of the most important clubs in Prague: Letná Plain, where their football grounds found themselves, was a municipal or later state property. The clubs owned their "stadiums" but not the plots underneath them. Thus they were reluctant to invest any larger amounts of money. As the press put it in 1930: "The city council would not allow it anyway."²⁶ So the stadiums grew organically, various components being added in different styles over the years, resulting in an aesthetically not very pleasant whole. The above-mentioned architect Karel Polívka expressed himself openly regarding the most modern (!) football stadium in Prague – the Sparta stadium – in 1937: "as a whole, it is a deterrent example of an unsystematic adaptation in regulatory, infrastructural, operational and aesthetic sense".²⁷ The site was nicknamed, somewhat sarcastically, the Stonehenge of Letná due to the similarity of its entrance pylons to the famous prehistoric monument.

During the interwar period, the Czechoslovak state planned to build an ensemble of representative buildings housing various ministries and the republic's parliament on Letná Plain. They were intended to represent the new Czechoslovak republic as a democratic, modern, economically potent and ambitious state. The plan was, however, overblown and only a fragment of it was realized. Nevertheless, the Sword of Damocles was hanging, over the Slavia and DFC grounds especially, over the two decades of the first Czechoslovak Republic.²⁸ Meanwhile, minor or provincial clubs acquired modern, medium-scale stadiums that were drafted and functioned as a whole. Pardubice in particular, a host city of the first great State Exhibition of Physical Culture and Sport in 1931,²⁹ boasted a modern multi-purpose stadium in the up-to-date "white functionalistic" style (designed by Karel Řepa). AFK Vršovice (i.e. Bohemians, Alois Vejvoda) got a new stadium in 1932,³⁰ and various other clubs followed in 1938–1940.³¹

The stands: towards a "perfect view"

Until 1918, football grounds in Bohemia lacked the terraced stands that are perceived generally as a signature feature of a football stadium. The boom of football

25 PELC, *Národní stadion*; See the chapter "Stadion jako téma a problem" in PELC, *Sport a česká společnost*, 79–92.

26 Opojným triumfem nad mistry Itálie získala A. C. Sparta nejen postup do Středoevropského poháru, *Pondělní list*, 13. 10. 1930, no. 285, 6.

27 ŠVÁCHA, *Sport v Československé republice*, 118.

28 See for instance KREJCAR, *Zachraňte Letnou pro sport*.

29 *Oficiální katalog*.

30 *Pestrý týden*, 7, 9. 4. 1932, no. 15, 17.

31 For an interesting comparison see MÜLLNER, *Wiener Stadion*.

spectatorship shortly before 1914 showed they were no longer dispensable if all visitors were to enjoy a satisfactory view of the pitch. After 1918, sport became not only popular, but was hailed as an epitome of the new "free and democratic" order of the post-war world. After four years of suffering and misery, the demand for entertainment grew. On 7 November 1920, the match between Sparta and DFC was watched by a record-breaking crowd of 20,000 visitors, and a year later, on 18 September 1921, the match between Sparta and the Austrian championship winners Rapid Vienna drew an even greater 25–28,000 spectators. The press reported that a stadium for 50,000 spectators would soon be needed.³² In 1930, the maximum attendance exceeded 30,000 spectators (AC Sparta Prague vs AS Ambrosiana, i.e. Inter Milan).³³

To comply with this growing demand for football, the first wooden terraced stands were built just after 1918. The short time needed to complete them shows just how simple some of these constructions were. Some of them were put together in a hurry before an upcoming important match, such as the new stands of the Slavia stadium (before the derby match against Sparta) which took only a week to build in March 1919.³⁴ But it was Sparta that opened the first real terraced stands meeting up-to-date standards in 1921. They were mostly referred to as "giant" or "overwhelming" stands by the time of their completion.³⁵ They were covered by a roof, granting a hitherto unexperienced comfort to Prague football visitors. Their city rivals Slavia also built new wooden stands in 1921.³⁶ Apart from "stands" or "terraces", the word (*kryté*) *plaky*, i.e. terraces covered by a lower shelter roof, was also used in Czech. The golden age of wooden stands in Czechoslovakia lasted until the mid-1930s when further modernization turned out to be inevitable.

The days of the wooden stands seemed to be numbered in 1934 when a series of incidents occurred. First, the main stands at Sparta Stadium burnt down completely on 10 April 1934 wrecking not only material but also symbolic damage, the club's archive also having been destroyed in the conflagration.³⁷ On 2 December 1934, part of the wooden stands at Slavia Stadium collapsed under the stamping feet of the spectators before the autumn season's climactic match between Slavia and Brno's SK Židenice, causing over a hundred injuries and the death of one football fan.³⁸ An inspection at the neighbouring DFC stadium subsequently resulted in the closing of its stands.³⁹ Spectator sport in Prague was struck badly and both Sparta and Slavia had to consider either a thorough reconstruction of their "stadiums" or the construction of new ones. While Sparta decided to build new main stands in 1934, Slavia, who were still striving for a long-lasting lease of the plots underneath their football ground from the state, organized an architectural tender for a new stadium for at least 50,000 spectators

32 Sparta poráží Rapid 4-1, *Sportsman*, 21. 9. 1921, no. 135, 1. AC Sparta vítězí nad DFC. 4-1 (2-0), *Sportsman*, 11. 11. 1920, no. 86, 1.

33 Opojným triumfem nad mistry Itálie získala A. C. Sparta nejen postup do Středoevropského poháru, *Pondělní list*, 13. 10. 1930, no. 285, 6.

34 Slavia – Sparta 3-2 (0-1), *Sportsman*, 2. 4. 1919, no. 2, 1.

35 Dánové v Praze, *Čas*, 29. 3. 1921, no. 70, 2. Boj o mistrovství republiky, *Večer*, 18. 6. 1921, no. 136, 4.

36 S. K. Slavia v r. 1921, *Národní listy*, 19. 2. 1922, no. 50, 10.

37 See for example the retrospective Tribuna AC Sparta symbolem živelné síly a rozmachu sportu, *Polední list*, 10. 12. 1936, no. 344, 8.

38 See for example Der Tod eines Fußballfanatikers, *Prager Tagblatt*, 4. 12. 1934, no. 284, 4.

39 Důsledky neštěstí na Slavii, *Polední list*, 14. 12. 1934, no. 346, 8.

in 1935. Some sources claimed that the new stadium was going to be designed for 70,000 spectators.⁴⁰

Unlike the simple wooden constructions of the early 1920s, the new solid terraced stands at Sparta Stadium took two years to complete (1935–1936, designed by the trio Nedvěď, Bauer and Hudec) and swallowed over 2 million crowns (the estimated cost of the entire Slavia Stadium was Kč 6.5 million in 1936).⁴¹ Interestingly, the main stand at Sparta serves as the VIP-sector to this day, showing that the long-term plans of stadium construction in the second half of the 1930s were by no means mere daydreams. In Czechoslovakia, the new Sparta stand was unprecedented in both size and technical complexity. First of all, it offered 25 rows of seats plus 28 numbered boxes at the front. Wooden benches were replaced by individual seats. Football spectatorship was becoming an activity enjoyed while sitting instead of standing, lending it a more theatrical, civilized flavour.

The relatively steep stands and, above all, the 1:2 ratio between the terraces' height and depth (i.e. 40 x 80 cm) ensured a satisfactory view for all spectators. The upper rows found themselves at a height equivalent to a four-floor building, granting a brand-new form of experience for many, as the press revealed. The whole was covered by a somewhat overlapping corrugated iron roof, providing welcome shelter from the rain. Simultaneously, this did not hinder the view of the any of the pitch, since only four subtle riveted pillars supported it, as opposed to ten in the case of the old wooden stands. If the old wooden stands worked as a frame for a landscape scene, the view from the new stand resembled rather a panoramic painting, an all-encompassing view with seemingly no boundaries. It also offered a higher level of services: the interior was divided into a restaurant and club section. Nevertheless, most of the spectators had to stand on the old terraces. Sometimes they sat at a reasonable height on the edges of the wooden terraces to be able to see the game.

At the end of the period, between 1938 and 1940, two company sports clubs had modern functionalistic stands built in the province that could compete with the one at Sparta stadium: the first one being the ASO Olomouc stadium (designed by Bohumír Čermák), the second – a multi-purpose venue – the stadium of the Vítkovice Ironworks (designed by Jaroslav Kincl, Lev Krča and Stanislav Tobek), both in Central or North Moravia.⁴² In 1935, the Masaryk stadium on Strahov Hill, the national sports stadium, was finished after long years of discussions and plans, near the giant Sletový Stadion.⁴³ It was not only an answer to the above-mentioned debates but also a means of state representation, hence the naming of the whole Strahov complex after President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. It was due to be opened with a reprise of the previous year's World Cup final matchup of Czechoslovakia vs Italy on 27 October 1935 (a day before the anniversary of the Czechoslovak state) to emphasize the role the state played in the support of sports. The plans were changed after Sparta reached the Mitropa Cup finals somewhat unexpectedly, having relegated Juventus Turin in the semi-finals in an additional third play-off match on neutral ground. The final return match against Ferencvárosi TC thus became the first to be played at the new, not quite finished

40 Sty-, Slavia obohatí náš sport velkolepým stadionem! *Nedělní list*, 14. 11. 1937, no. 316, 14.

41 Tribuna AC Sparta symbolem živelné síly a rozmachu sportu, *Polední list*, 10. 12. 1936, no. 344, 8. *Nedělní list* 14. 11. 1937, no. 316, 14.

42 ŠVÁCHA, *Demokratizace sportu*, 118.

43 BALCÁREK – KOPP, *Masarykův státní stadion na Strahově*, 109–121.

stadium on 15 September 1935.⁴⁴ It immediately broke the attendance record, the stadium boasting a capacity of 45,000 people. The final was watched, however, by an estimated crowd of 55–62,000 spectators.

The press blamed the state for the stadium being too small for the fans' demands upon its completion.⁴⁵ The architects, young functionalists Ferdinand Balcárek and Karel Kopp who had taken over the Strahov Stadiums' construction after Alois Dryák's death in 1932, experimented with a roof construction without any supporting columns. They strengthened the roof's ribbing and the consoles so that nothing hindered the spectators' view.⁴⁶ This was, however, not technically possible on a greater scale, so only a minor part of the stands was roofed (13%, i.e. 5,954 plus the "VIP" boxes). This – alongside other problems (visibility, the exposed and windy location of the stadium, poor administration of the stadium allowing the capacity to be surpassed during important matches) – led to a paradoxical situation: although Czechoslovakia finally had a national stadium, some international matches were still played at the somewhat smaller but better suited and located Sparta Stadium.

The media often compared the new national stadium in Prague to the Praterstadion in Vienna built between 1928/9 and 1931, with a few exceptions in favour of the Austrian arena.⁴⁷ The comparison to Vienna is quite significant and should be commented on more precisely. If we are to refer to the specific development and particularities of football stadiums in Prague, Vienna serves as the perfect measure. Vienna was not only geographically close to Prague. It also looked back at a long period of common history of football prior to 1918 and shared numerous personal, economic, cultural and competitive interconnections from 1918 to 1938. Only Hungary (Budapest) could boast nearly such intensive football relations to Czechoslovakia. Austria and Hungary were, for instance, the most frequent opponents of the Czechoslovak football national team – both playing 17 international matches against Czechoslovakia between 1925 and 1938, in contrast with a mere three matches against neighbours Germany and Poland, and two against Romania.⁴⁸ There was also a high number of player transfers between these countries, the trio accepting professionalism in football at almost the same time in the mid-1920s. The relations between Prague and Vienna were even tighter in popular culture. This was partly due to the hundreds of thousands of Czechs living in Vienna (Czechoslovak internationals Josef Bican and Rudolf Vytlačil were born in Vienna or Schwechat), the common Cisleithanian tradition and German language usage in both cities (in Prague as the second language after Czech).

There were, however, significant differences, too. Why, for instance, was it that the rather fledgling economy of post-World War I Austria was able to finance the construction of the giant Praterstadion (today's Ernst-Happel-Stadion) between 1928/9 and 1931, whereas the relatively stable and prosperous Czechoslovakia came up with its national stadium as late as 1935? The leftist municipal administration of Vienna of

44 Středoevropský pohár, Sparta a Praha zajímají celý svět, *Polední list*, 13. 9. 1935, no. 254, 8.

45 PELC, *Národní stadion*, 84.

46 Another example of this technical solution was Václav Slavík's competition winning draft for the Slavia stadium in 1937. *Stavba* 13, 1936–1937, 101. See also ŠVÁCHA, *Demokratizace sportu*, 116.

47 PELC, *Národní stadion*, 84. MÜLLNER, *Wiener Stadion*.

48 This context was presented by the author at the international symposium *Demokratická monarchie, nedemokratická republika? Kontinuity a zlomy mezi monarchií a republikou ve střední Evropě* organized in Olomouc on 12 April 2018 by the Permanent conference of Czech and Austrian historians on common cultural heritage. The presentation should appear in the conference proceedings under the title PELC, *Fotbal jako faktor*.

1918 till 1934 was the key to that discrepancy. The so-called Red Vienna social project encompassed not only public housing but also social and health services, including sports.⁴⁹ The rather centrist (partly right-wing) municipal council of Prague was not able to realize its support of sport effectively and often handed the initiative over to the clubs or the state. The Strahov national stadium was built by the state, partly to balance out the financial backing of the Sokol gymnastic movement. This double-track national stadium construction in Czechoslovakia – split between the Sokol gymnastics and the broader sports movement – did not work effectively enough. The outcome was not satisfactory: the overall design and the shallowly raked stands of the Masaryk sports stadium could not match the compactness and steep terraces of the Praterstadion, which granted a better view of the pitch.

If we compare the stadiums of the football clubs in Vienna and Prague, the main difference is not to be seen in their architecture: rather utilitarian solutions were still used in both capitals, wood prevailed as the building material, parts of the stands took advantage of the natural terrain's relief (such as at the Hohe Warte) or just used heaped soil. Major differences resulted though from the relative sizes of the two cities and the locations of their most popular sporting sites. The urbanistic problems of a stadium, for instance transport connections with the rest of the city, were dealt with differently. Vienna had ca 1.9 million inhabitants in the 1930s, Prague ca 900,000. While the Letná plain stadiums of Sparta, Slavia and DFC could be seen as a part of the wider city centre, not further than 1.5 km from the Old Town Square, the Praterstadion, the Hohe Warte or even the Rapid Vienna stadium were situated 4, 5 or 10 km respectively from the Stephansplatz.

The fans both in Prague and Vienna preferred to travel to games by tram.⁵⁰ Some sources suggest that Viennese spectators used bicycles more frequently,⁵¹ perhaps thanks to the longer distance to the stadium and the rather flat terrain of Vienna. Prague's Letná plain was strategically better located – moreover, the most popular clubs, Sparta and Slavia, plus the city's best German team DFC Prag, had their stadium there. This enabled the visiting of three top matches in one day. Urbanists were, however, worried by a considerable problem for decades: the precipitous slope of the Letná hill represented an intricate obstacle for modern traffic to and from the historic city centre. That is why there was a funicular in operation between 1891 and 1922, which was substituted by an escalator between 1926 and 1935. Regular traffic thereof was started significantly on the occasion of the derby match between Sparta and Slavia on Sunday 21 March 1926. Masses of fans used it frequently, as is shown in the – perhaps very first on the continent – feature film about football fans, *Muži v offsidu* (1931) based on the eponymous novel by Karel Poláček published in the same year.⁵² This ground-breaking literary work containing some brilliant observations on the inter-war fan culture is still sadly ignored by most Anglophone authors.⁵³

49 WEIHMANN, *Das Rote Wien*, 194. MARSCHIK, *Bewegte Körper*, passim.

50 See for instance HORÁK – MADERTHNER, *Mehr als ein Spiel*, passim.

51 There has not been any photographic evidence found of massive bicycle usage by football fans as it is documented for Vienna. See for instance the photograph of parked bicycles on 6 May 1936 during the match Austria – England. Fotobanka ČTK, ID no. F202006091649201.

52 POLÁČEK, *Muži v offsidu*. The film *Muži v offsidu* was directed by Svatopluk Innemann.

53 Most recently, see MCGOWAN, *Football in Fiction*.

The immense growth of spectator numbers brought about not only the need for larger stands but also for a rational “logistics of the masses”⁵⁴ and a comprehensive system of orientation therein. The main goals were the fluent arrival and departure of the crowds, their overview of the whole field and easy orientation in the stands. Traditionally, the various locations on the stadiums were referred to as: II. place for standing (the cheapest); I. place for standing, seated places, boxes and seats along the sideline (most expensive). At some matches, the seats along the sideline (in front of the wire netting fence) had to be removed due to complaints from the rivals: this was for instance demanded by Juventus Turin for the second round match of the Mitropa Cup against SK Kladno, a minor club in Central Bohemia in 1938.⁵⁵ In contrast to that, 2,000 extra seats along the sideline were allowed for the final match between Slavia and Ferencvárosi TC that year.⁵⁶ Children, however, were mostly allowed to sit right behind the sidelines at most of the matches.

The rows of the terraces could be numbered long before but no exact place could be reserved individually until seated stands were introduced. Around 1935, as the stands grew bigger, old forms of orientation were not sufficient any more. For the Mitropa Cup final between Slavia and Ferencvárosi TC in 1938, Masaryk National Stadium was also divided into sectors of different colours that corresponded with the colours of the entrance tickets. This method was also used at least by some of the drafts for the new Slavia stadium 1936.⁵⁷ More “intuitive” means of orientation were used for the seated stands, too. The new terraces with 3,000 seats at Sparta stadium were divided by the aisles into three sectors, each of which bore one of the club’s colours (blue, red, yellow). Apart from this, each seat could, of course, be defined precisely now as a coordinate combining the numbers of the horizontal and vertical rows.⁵⁸

The barriers: safety first

After football attendances gained mass dimensions in the interwar period, more sophisticated barriers between the players and the spectators had to be invented to prevent the spectators from walking onto the pitch. The play community became progressively divided, though “friendly invasions” of spectators onto the field after the match were tolerated. The fans used to carry the winning team on their shoulders after important wins. The traditional wooden banisters were gradually replaced by plank fences with the upper part made of wire mesh, sometimes with barbed wire on top. In the 1930s, the structures dividing the space inside the stadiums became even more complex. In front of some wooden stands, such as the provisional terraces at Sparta Stadium, there was a double fence in front with a space for the organizers, the police and the services.

From the mid-1930s, concrete barriers came into use. A low concrete wall with wire fencing enclosed the new Masaryk National Stadium in 1935. During the Mitropa Cup final on 13 September 1936 between AC Sparta Prague and FK Austria Vienna, the organizers once again allowed the stadium’s capacity to be exceeded by 15,000

54 BECKER, *Logistik der Massen*.

55 Chybná taktika Kladna příčinou porážky v Turíně, *Polední list*, 11. 7. 1938, no. 190, 8.

56 2000 nových sedadel na Slavia – Ferencváros! *Polední list*, 31. 8. 1938, no. 241, 6.

57 O. F., Referát Slavia – Ferencváros upřímně od plic, *Moravská orlice*, 6. 9. 1938, no. 206, 6; SK Slavia si postaví na Letné nové hřiště, *STAR* 10, 1936, no. 13 (523), 9.

58 Spartánská tribuna pod střechou, *Expres*, 15. 1. 1936, no. 1, 6.

spectators. The stands were literally bursting at the seams and part of the wall collapsed, one year after its completion. The architects argued concrete should wear better than wood but the barrier proved too thin for the unexpected crowds. The mistrust in the new stadium led the Czechoslovak Football Association to transfer the upcoming international match against Germany from Strahov to Sparta Stadium. To divide the large stands, thus disabling dangerous movements of the standing crowds within the stands, wooden "breakwater" barriers were designed after the incident.⁵⁹

In front of the new stands at Sparta Stadium, a fence of thin iron bars that did not affect visibility from the terraces was built. In the late 1930s, new forms of separation of the stands were employed. Deep concrete ditches, 1–1.5 meters lower than the football field, surrounded the pitch. They were primarily intended as drainage, but secondarily they separated the spectators from the players. This function was emphasized by a fence that was an integral part of the ditch, firstly to prevent accidental falls and secondly to put another obstacle in the way to the pitch. This solution was used by Jaroslav Kincl, Lev Krča and Stanislav Tobek at Vítkovice Ironworks Stadium⁶⁰ and by Jaroslav Hlaváč and Daniel Knotek in their draft of the municipal stadium in Náchod (1941).⁶¹

Stadium clocks, loudspeakers, floodlights: a complex experience

The spectators' perception of a football match was becoming more and more complex and faceted during the interwar period. Some stadiums were equipped with loudspeakers that announced important information on the match as well as organizational matters, adding to the "soundscape" of the stadium. Efficient sound systems appeared in Czech stadiums around 1930. They were also used for the official greetings before the matches, and before the international match between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia of September 1934 their national anthems were played over the loudspeakers of the Slavia stadium instead of using the usual live brass band. During the half-time of some important matches, commercials were played as well.⁶² When there was another simultaneous sporting event, they were also used to inform the spectators of the other score or outcome. During the motorcycle speedway Grand Prix at Strahov Stadium in Prague, for instance, "the giant loudspeakers" were said to announce the score of the parallel Mitropa Cup final of Ferencvárosi TC vs Sparta being played in Budapest.⁶³ As Barbara Keys put it, sport spectatorship was not only "oculocentric": it encompassed other senses too, with hearing playing a very important role in the emotional experience of the fans.⁶⁴

Large clocks were placed at Czechoslovak stadiums in order to enhance the spectators' orientation in time in the 1920s. Sporting events (as a form of play) take place not only in the concentrated space that is the actual topic of this paper but also in a concentrated time. A specific *production of time* should therefore be mentioned in

59 Správní sbor Masarykova stadionu přislíbil úpravu hlediště, *Polední list*, 16. 9. 1936, no. 259, 8.

60 KINCL – KRČA – TOBEK, *Sportovní stadion Vítkovických železáren v Moravské Ostravě-Vítkovicích*, 84. ŠVÁCHA, *Demokratizace sportu*, 118.

61 HLAVÁČ – KNOTEK, *Soutěžný návrh stadionu pro město Náchod*, 203.

62 Zdařilá odvěta za Zagreb, *Pondělní list*, 3. 9. 1934, no. 245, 6. Postup Sparty do finále ohrožen, *Polední list*, 18. 9. 1931, no. 260, 6.

63 Pražští footballisté v neděli na IV. velkou plochou dráhu, *Polední list*, 7. 9. 1935, no. 248, 8.

64 KEYS, *Senses and Emotions in the History of Sport*, 21–38. See also GAFFNEY – BALE, *Sensing the Stadium*.

short, too. If we look at the triad of football fields at Letná Plain (Sparta, Slavia, DFC), they could use the nearby water tower's clock as the reference point when necessary until house construction in the late 1930s overshadowed it. This was, however, a rather coincidental and provisional means of time control. Moreover, it did not provide for orientation within the span of the 45-minute football half.

Time was becoming a public commodity in Czechoslovak football stadiums around 1925. Slavia installed a "giant Omega clock" in its stadium before the start of the spring season as a surprise for its fans in March 1926. The Swiss brand was perhaps the most commonly used one in Czechoslovak football stadiums in the interwar period. The neighbouring Sparta stadium acquired its iconic Omega clock with the "slender proportions"⁶⁵ of its pedestal in 1929, though a pair of smaller Zenith clocks (another Swiss brand, one for the time of day, the other for the minutes of the half) can be seen in older photographs from the second half of the 1920s. A standard stadium clock had a 45-minute dial, with only a minute hand, to mark the passage of play. In the 1930s, even provincial clubs acquired such stadium clocks. The national stadium at Strahov is another that offered two large parallel clocks, one for the minutes of the half, one for the time of day.

The time dimension and the rhythm of life at the football stadiums was fundamentally transformed by the introduction of floodlights, too, just as public lighting had created evening life in modern cities in the nineteenth century.⁶⁶ For long decades, football had depended on sunlight. In the early days, a lot of matches had to be left unfinished due to nightfall. A sufficient and even illumination of the field was technologically problematic until the 1930s. This is why the football bustle had quietened down naturally with dusk. DFC Prag installed electric lighting at its sporting field as early as 1909 to enable – among other things – "the finishing of football matches at dusk".⁶⁷ Apparently, no real floodlit matches after nightfall were planned. Some provincial clubs had electric lights installed at their stadiums after 1918 but their use for entire football matches still remains questionable.⁶⁸

When fully-fledged floodlights were introduced in Czechoslovakia in 1935, they brought a new kind of experience to the spectators that resembled a theatre performance more than sport at first. The football field flooded by white light was described as a "fairy-tale view of the glistening lawn" by early observers. At the highest level, floodlight had its premiere at the new Masaryk National Stadium on 10 October 1935. As mentioned above, the sporting site was opened before its completion to enable more spectators to watch the Mitropa Cup finals between Sparta and Ferencvárosi TC than the Sparta Stadium could admit. This meant that some of the planned components, including the floodlights, were installed by 15 September 1935. Four 30-meter-high steel poles were built in the corners of the stadium, each of which carried 20 high-performance spotlights (85 centimetres in diameter, each weighing 42 kilograms, produced by the Moravia-based company Wagner a spol. Olomouc – Postřelmov).

The first match under floodlight was organized especially for this occasion. The Czechoslovak and Hungarian top-flight league winners of the previous season, SK Slavia Prague and Újpesti FC, were booked. Only 10–12,000 spectators watched the

65 Zajímavá momentka ze zápasu Sparta – U. T. E., *Národní listy*, 19. 8. 1929, no. 188, 4.

66 SCHIVELBUSCH, *Lichtblicke*.

67 *Intimní Praha*, 1, 23. 12. 1909, no. 33, 14.

68 Nová sokolovna v Litovli, *Lidové noviny*, 13. 1. 1935, no. 22, 6.

game, mainly because the match was played on a working day (a Thursday). Technically, however, the event, that started off a long tradition of “evening matches” lasting until today, was a success.⁶⁹ It showed that one need not wait until the weekend to organize an international match. Stadiums of the important clubs in Czechoslovakia acquired floodlighting mostly long after 1945, though Josef Kříž’s drafts for the new Slavia stadium of 1936, for instance, counted on its implementation, too.⁷⁰ This was not realized though, as Slavia, persecuted by the communist regime, had to leave Letná Plain after the coup of 1948.

Conclusions

Though severely criticized by many, Masaryk National Stadium was exceptional in the context of Czechoslovak sports sites in that it heralded the new, yet short-lived period, interrupted by the Nazi occupation and World War II. It was built with a clear urbanistic idea, as a part of a complex national sporting site. It was also by far the largest football stadium in Prague, offering technical novelties such as efficient floodlights and other advantages. Unlike Sparta Stadium, it was built from scratch, it grew not organically and did not look so aesthetically erratic and thrown together. On the other hand, it was used for various other sporting events apart from football, too, such as the Archery World Championship of 1936, the European Motorcycle Speedway Championship of 1937 and the Gymnastics World Championship of 1938. With football not having domination, it was mostly treated with a cool distance by the fans and sometimes even the officials. Also, its gently raked stands did not match the steep terraces of the rival Praterstadion in Vienna, which granted a better view of the pitch.

The drafts of the Slavia Stadium of 1936 show that the trends of the Masaryk National Stadium were becoming general. Stadiums were now understood not only as a technical and architectonic challenge but also as an active means of urbanization. The production of space both inside and out was solved with growing sophistication. Questions of fluent public and individual transportation of the masses to and from the stadium or arrival and departure to and from the stands were submitted to expert analyses in the technical or psychological aspects.⁷¹ Some architecture magazines published special issues dedicated to sport and physical culture, such as *Stavba* (Construction) in 1936/1937.⁷² Unlike the unregulated stadiums of the earlier era, the new sporting sites of the late 1930s were to be surrounded by parks and elaborate pathway systems. Kříž’s draft for Slavia Stadium, which was one of the four proposals that received the highest praise in the architecture competition, was even submitted under the telling motto “Park adaptation” (*Sadová úprava*), while the other authors used rather sporty emblematics (Jan Zázvorka’s “6:0”, Václav Slavík’s “Three Circles” – “*Tři kruhy*”, Ferdinand Balcárek and Karel Kopp’s “123”).⁷³ Though today’s art historians are impressed by Slavík’s draft the most,⁷⁴ Slavia allegedly bought Kříž’s project. According to Kříž, the stadium should have had the form of a giant oval, with roofed stands for

69 Slavia výborně reprezentovala náš football v boji s mistrem Maďarska, *Polední list*, 11. 10. 1935, no. 281, 8.

70 SK. Slavia si postaví na Letné nové hřiště, *STAR*, 10. 1936, no. 13 (523), 9.

71 PELC, *Sport a česká společnost*.

72 *Stavba* 13, 1936–1937, no. 6.

73 Výsledek soutěže na stavbu stadionu Slavia v Praze, *Národní osvobození*, 13. 3. 1936, no. 62, 6. Slavia obohatí náš sport velkolepým stadionem! *Nedělní list*, 14. 11. 1937, no. 316, 14.

74 ŠVÁCHA, *Demokratizace sportu*, 116.

8,000 spectators on one of its long sides. Kříž's project planned for a restaurant on the ground floor and a café on the first floor, too. Furthermore, no future stadium should lack its own parking lots for the growing number of motorized fans.

The increasing scientification of stadiums can also be illustrated by the way even grass as the playing surface had become a topic of a scholarly study by 1939. The Russian immigrant to Prague Vasilij Vukolov of the National Agriculture Research Institute published a paper entitled "Prague's decorative and playground lawns" in 1939 in which he judged – among others – the quality of the lawns at Sparta and Masaryk National Stadiums.⁷⁵ He compared the density, structure and colour of the turf. Not surprisingly he chose the two stadiums that appeared most frequently in this study. These were the two, partly rival, stadiums where the most important matches were played and the most innovations were to be seen.

Translated by Sean Mark Miller, MA

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⁷⁵ VUKOLOV, *Pražské okrasné a hřiškové trávníky*.

- Slovenský denník, 1937
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HORIZONS

HORIZONS

Prehistory of Košice – settlement in the Neolithic*

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This article presents the results of archaeological excavations at the sites Košice-Galgovec I-III and Červený rak on the southeastern edge of Košice in 1997–2001 indicated several stages of settlement and their dating. AMS ¹⁴C dates for the Tiszadob group were 6260±35 BP, 5330–5140 calBC; for the early stage of the Bükk culture they were 6310±40-35 BP, 5285±42 calBC. Assessment of residential, farming and settlement features was carried out, and numerous remains of pottery and lithic industry were classified with regard to contemporary sites in the Košická kotlina basin and in northeastern Hungary. The researchers evaluated the settlement in the microregion of Košice from the beginning of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture – the Proto-Linear stage – to the Barca III group and the Tiszadob group and the subsequent settlement during the Bükk culture period.

Keywords: Košice. Middle Neolithic. Settlement. Eastern Linear Pottery Culture. Bükk Culture.

We usually obtain new archaeological relics during earthworks of various kinds, when archaeological contexts and finds are discovered; however, such sites can also be damaged or even destroyed. Thus, it is important to monitor the preparatory works at building sites and try to save as many archaeological features with great historical value as possible. In the last 25 years, several large construction projects have been carried out at the southeastern edge of Košice. Several new sites associated with Neolithic as well as Bronze Age cultures were discovered and investigated during those construction works. The archaeological relics obtained from them serve as a basis for observing the spread of Neolithic civilization in the Košická kotlina basin and the south of Eastern Slovakia.

History of research on the Neolithic settlement in Košice

Sherds and lithic industry suggesting a possible Neolithic settlement were sporadically found on the left-bank terrace of Myslavský potok stream. The space from Košice to Šaca as far as Košice-Barca is divided into two areas on maps. In the western part, the smaller site of Červený rak is situated; the larger eastern part, reaching as far as Košice-Barca, is indicated as the site of Galgovec.

In 1966, Barca III group relics were found at the Košice-Barca-Svetlá III site on the right-bank terrace of the Myslavský potok stream¹ and west of it relics of the Tiszadob group and Bükk culture were found.² The oldest Neolithic monuments were studied in

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1 BÁNESZ – LICHARDUS, *Nové nálezy lineárnej keramiky v Barci*, 291–300.

2 BÁNESZ, *Praveké jamy z Barce-Svetlej III.*, 324–325.

1980 at the Košice-Červený rak site. They belonged to the initial phase of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture, known as the Proto-Linear phase.³

Later, in 1997, when road I/50 from Košice-Červený rak to VSS Košice was relocated, traces of intense settlement of the Galgovec site by the Eastern Linear Pottery and Bükk cultures were discovered in three places.⁴

North of the finds at Galgovec I site, three Neolithic features and seven Bronze Age features were uncovered in 2000, during the construction of the PEMA company.⁵ During the construction of the OPTIMA I shopping centre in 2001, 17 Bükk features were studied at the site of Červený rak.⁶ Furthermore, M. Novák uncovered six features of the Tiszadob group in the western part of the Galgovec I site.⁷ When a NAY shop was being built north of Galgovec I, an obsidian core for Bükk blades was found.⁸ Another Tiszadob settlement was investigated northwest of Galgovec I, approximately 800 m away, during the construction of the Kaufland Shopping Centre (Medzi cestami od Moldavy site) in 2002.⁹ Later, two new sites with signs of Neolithic settlement were discovered on the right bank of the Myslavský potok stream, on new building sites near the road leading to the airport.¹⁰

Palaeolithic and Mesolithic settlements

The prehistoric settlement of Košice is concentrated in its southeastern part along the Myslavský Potok stream. The Neolithic settlement was preceded by settlements in the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic eras. Relics of the oldest settlement, in form of chipped lithic industry and remains of tent-like Palaeolithic dwellings, were found on the right-bank terrace. They belonged to anatomically modern humans from the Upper Palaeolithic Aurignacian culture, from the period before 34,000–28,000 BC.¹¹ As these areas developed further, Gravettian hunter-gatherers from the period 28,000–20,000 BP appeared as well.¹² Chipped lithic industry, including geometrically shaped tools made of obsidian, found in the nearby site of Košice-Barca I are Mesolithic.¹³

Advance of the Neolithic civilization

In the Early Neolithic, the Neolithic civilization proceeded from the North Balkans to the Carpathian Basin. Around 5600–5500 BC, the Linear Pottery culture was grown out of the Starčevo culture in Transdanubia and southwestern Slovakia.¹⁴ In the southern

3 KAMINSKÁ, *Archeologický výskum v Košiciach-Barci*, 129–131. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 58.

4 KAMINSKÁ, *Záchranný výskum na preložke cesty v Košiciach*, 93–94.

5 KAMINSKÁ, *Záchranné výskumy v Košiciach*, 96–97.

6 KAMINSKÁ – NOVÁK, *Sídliskové nálezy bukovohorskej kultúry*, 82–83.

7 BÉREŠ – NOVÁK, *Záchranný výskum na polohe Košice-Galgovec*, 35.

8 BÉREŠ – NOVÁK, *Nález obsidiánového jadra z Košíc*, 34.

9 HORVÁTHOVÁ, *Záchranný výskum v Košiciach*, 55–56.

10 P. TAJKOV, oral information. LUŠTÍKOVÁ, *Záchranný výskum v Barci*, 162.

11 BÁNESZ, *Barca bei Košice*.

12 BÁNESZ, *Paleolitické sídliskové objekty*, 285–295.

13 PROŠEK, *Mesolitická obsidiánová industrie*, 145–148, 193.

14 KALICZ – MAKKAY, *Probleme des frühen Neolithikums*, 77–92. PAVÚK, *Ältere Linearkeramik in der Slowakei*, 7–87. PAVÚK, *Zur relativen Chronologie*, 135–149. BÁNFFY, *The 6th Millennium BC Boundary*. BÁNFFY, *The northern and western frontier*, 15–22. OROSS, *Architecture of the Linearbandkeramik settlement*, 63. OROSS –

Tisza River basin and Transylvania, the Körös culture developed contemporaneously with the Starčevo culture. The Körös culture arrived in the central Tisza River basin in the period between 5850 and 5650 BC. The transfer of the Körös culture northwards along the Tisza River is associated with the use of obsidian resources in the Tokaj region.¹⁵ In further development in the territory of Alföld (the Great Hungarian Plain), the Szatmár group evolved from the late Körös culture and the Méhtelek group.¹⁶

The Szatmár group also represents the initial phase of the Alföld (Eastern) Linear Pottery culture.¹⁷ Dating of the Szatmár group and the earliest phase of the Alföld Linear Pottery culture falls within the span of 5620–5470 BC.¹⁸ In Hungary, the Middle Neolithic starts with the Szatmár group.¹⁹

The beginnings of the Neolithic in Eastern Slovakia are also associated with the Szatmár group. The bearers of this culture arrived in the Košická kotlina basin along the Hornád River valley,²⁰ and came to the Východoslovenská nížina lowland along the Tisza and Bodrog River valleys.²¹ In Hungary, the development of the Alföld Linear Pottery culture (called the Eastern Linear Pottery culture in Eastern Slovakia)²² is divided into four phases, contemporary with the groups in Eastern Slovakia.²³ The period in which the Linear Pottery culture existed in Hungary has been specified to 5600/5500–5100/5000 BC.²⁴

As they developed, individual groups of the Linear Pottery culture split into independent regional groups in Eastern Slovakia,²⁵ similar to the mode of development observed in northeastern Hungary.

The Kopčany group in the Východoslovenská nížina lowland corresponds with the second stage of the Linear Pottery culture in the Košická kotlina basin (the group Barca III). The third stage is analogous with the Tiszadob group in the Košická kotlina basin and the Raškovce group in the Východoslovenská nížina lowland. The Slovak groups differed from each other in terms of pottery decoration. In the Košická kotlina basin,

BÁNFFY, *Three successive waves of Neolithisation*, 179. KALICZ, *Méhtelek*. PAVÚK – FARKAŠ, *Beitrag zur Gliederung*, 213–236.

15 KACZANOWSKA – KOZŁOWSKI, *The Körös and the early Eastern Linear Culture*, 9–37. KALICZ, *Méhtelek*, 39. RACZKY et al. *Ecological barrier*, 159.

16 KALICZ, *Méhtelek*.

17 KALICZ – MAKKAY, *Die Linienbandkeramik*, 22. RACZKY, *Chronological Framework*, 234. DOMBORÓCZKI, *Report on the excavation*, 157. KALICZ – KOÓS, *Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás. Újkőkori telep*, 33. KALICZ – KOÓS, *Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás. A neolitikus Szatmár-csoport*, 85. KACZANOWSKA et al. *Conclusions*, 245. WHITTLE et al. *3. Hungary*, 51.

18 DOMBORÓCZKI – RACZKY, *Excavations at Ibrány-Nagyerdő*, 215.

19 DOMBORÓCZKI, *Radiocarbon data*, 27–28. DOMBORÓCZKI – RACZKY, *Excavations at Ibrány-Nagyerdő*, 210. KALICZ – KOÓS, *Mezőkővesd-Mocsolyás*, 82. RACZKY – ANDERS, *Neolithic enclosures*, 273.

20 CSENGERI, *Az alföldi vonaldíszes kerámia kulturája*, 41–67. CSENGERI, *A short report on the research*, 329–336.

21 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 33–34. KOZŁOWSKI, *The Early Linear Pottery Culture*. KOZŁOWSKI – NOWAK – VIŽDAL, *Early farmers of the Eastern Slovak Lowland*.

22 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*.

23 RACZKY, *Chronological Framework*. RACZKY – ANDERS, *The internal relations*, 155–182. RACZKY – ANDERS, *Settlement history*, 31–50. STROBEL, *Ein Beitrag zur Gliederung*, 9–98.

24 DOMBORÓCZKI, *A Körös-kultúra északi elterjedési határának problematikája*, 10.

25 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 36. KAMINSKÁ, *Košice-Galgovec*.

engraved ornamentation was used. In the Východoslovenská nížina lowland, pottery was decorated with black paint. However, the motifs were very similar.²⁶

Stages II and III of the Linear Pottery culture in Hungary have been dated to 5285–5056 BC and stage IV dated to 5293–5068 BC.²⁷ In Hungary, the Bükk culture is considered to be the last stage IV of the Alföld Linear Pottery culture, following directly from the Tiszadob group.²⁸ Between the end of the Tiszadob group and the beginning of the Bükk culture in Hungary, a transitional stage between the Tiszadob group and Bükk culture has been identified. It is characterized by a change in the proportion of pottery decorated with the Tiszadob group and Bükk culture ornamentation.²⁹ Dating of the transitional stage obtained from several grave finds falls within the period between 5320 and 5030 BC.³⁰ At the same time, this marks the beginning of the Bükk decorative style³¹ or the Bükk culture. In Eastern Slovakia, the Bükk culture is considered an independent culture genetically associated with the Tiszadob group and, in its initial stage, probably partly contemporary with it.³²

The Neolithic settlement in Košice

Settling of the Košická kotlina basin is associated with the advance of the Linear Pottery culture in the beginning of the Middle Neolithic. It is obvious from the character of the finds that the first farmers arrived in the Košická kotlina basin from northeastern Hungary along the Hornád River valley. Relics from first Neolithic farmers in the territory of Košice were concentrated on the left-bank terrace of the Myslavský potok stream, Červený rak and Galgovec sites in particular. They belonged to the Eastern Linear Pottery culture and the following Bükk culture (Figure 1). During the excavations in 1997 and 2000, they were discovered in separate features. Besides, features with various numbers of pottery from both cultures – the Tiszadob group prevailed – were uncovered. The pottery material from these features was classified in the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional stage and the typical shapes were assessed together with the Tiszadob group pottery.

The Eastern Linear Pottery culture

Development of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture is divided into several stages and groups: Proto-Linear stage, Barca III group and the Tiszadob group. The following transitional stage is on the interface of the occurring Bükk culture under influence of the Tiszadob culture.

The Proto-Linear stage

26 VIZDAL, *Zemlín v mladšej dobe kamennej*. ŠIŠKA, *Abdeckung von Siedlungen*, 3–15, 101–104. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*. KOZŁOWSKI, *The Early*. VIZDAL, *Pottery finds*, 43–141. KOZŁOWSKI – NOWAK – VIZDAL, *Early farmers*. KAMINSKÁ, *Košice-Galgovec*.

27 RACZKY – ANDERS, *The internal relations*. RACZKY – ANDERS, *Settlement*. RACZKY – ANDERS, *Neolithic*, 280, Figure 9.

28 KALICZ – MAKKAY, *Die Linienbandkeramik*, 93–110, Table 2.

29 CSENGERI, *Late groups*, 502.

30 CSENGERI, *Settlements*, 230, Tab. I. CSENGERI, *Late groups*, 505. RACZKY – ANDERS, *Neolithic*, 280.

31 CSENGERI, *Settlements*, 230.

32 LICHARDUS, *Studien zur Bükker Kultur*. ŠIŠKA, *Die Bükker Kultur*, 245–292. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 131, 138. ŠIŠKA, *Dokument o spoločnosti mladšej doby kamennej*. RACZKY, *Chronological*. HREHA – ŠIŠKA, *Bukovohorská kultúra*.

The oldest finds of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture belong to the Proto-Linear pottery stage. They were studied in 1980 at the site of Košice-Červený rak.³³ The origin of the culture with the eastern linear stage, its oldest part, is associated with influence of the Szatmár group from northeastern Hungary.³⁴ Two features were investigated during the excavations in 1980: an oven and a refuse pit containing mostly sherds from several thick-walled vessels, probably storage jars.³⁵ One of the storage jars has been restored. It is 108 cm tall. Its slightly conical neck is divided from the egg-shaped belly by two horizontal plastic bandes with finger indentations. The jar's body is decorated with two rows of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs made from plastic bandes with finger impressions and round bosses with finger impressions (Figure 2). The symbols of bull and man (orant) suggests the ritual relevance of bulls in the transitional period from the Körös culture to the Linear Pottery culture.³⁶ In the Körös culture, people or animals – goats or sheep – were depicted.³⁷ After the settlement had moved northwards, to the Great Hungarian Plain, Neolithic people arrived in areas with altered ecological conditions and were forced to switch to breeding cattle and pig.³⁸ Adaptation to these new natural conditions caused changes in nutritional strategies, which were also reflected in abstract thinking. In the period of transition from the Körös culture to the Alföld Linear Pottery culture (Szatmár group), people started to fashion figurines of cattle and so-called "sacred horns",³⁹ as documented at the sites of the Szatmár group in Füzesabony-Gubakút⁴⁰ and in Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás.⁴¹ Reliefs of bull heads and human figures decorating a storage jar of the Proto-Linear stage from the site of Košice-Červený rak have been associated, by Šiška,⁴² with the Körös culture or the Szatmár group. The settlement at Košice-Červený rak was the northernmost site of the expanding early stage of the Linear Pottery culture.⁴³

Besides pottery, lithic tools were also discovered. Most of them have been identified as blade lithic industry, chipped mainly from limnosilicites and obsidian. As for polished tools, only a small trapezoidal axe is represented.⁴⁴ AMS dating of the Proto-Linear stage from Košice-Červený rak to 5540–5410 BC⁴⁵ is in accordance with the dating of the Linear Pottery in Hungary and the oldest finds of pottery at the Východoslovenská nížina lowland.⁴⁶

33 KAMINSKÁ, *Archeologický výskum*. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 58–61.

34 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 59, 114. KAMINSKÁ – KACZANOWSKA – KOZŁOWSKI, *Košice-Červený rak*, 83–91. CSENGERI, *Az alföldi*. CSENGERI, *A short report*. KALICZ – KOÓS, *Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás*, 86, 87.

35 KAMINSKÁ, *Archeologický výskum*. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 58–61. KAMINSKÁ – KACZANOWSKA – KOZŁOWSKI, *Košice-Červený rak*, Figures 4–6.

36 KAMINSKÁ – KACZANOWSKA – KOZŁOWSKI, *Košice-Červený rak*, 85–87, Figures 7; 8.

37 KUTZIÁN, *A Körös-kultúra*, 75–78, Tables XX: 1a, 1b, 3; XXII: 2; XLII: 1, 3.

38 RACZKY et al. *Ecological barrier*, 148.

39 KALICZ – RACZKY, *Siedlung der Körös-Kultur*, 13–24.

40 DOMBORÓCZKI, *Füzesabony-Gubakút*, 19–27.

41 KALICZ – KOÓS, *Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás*. KALICZ – KOÓS, *Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás*, Figures 21–23.

42 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 114.

43 KAMINSKÁ – KACZANOWSKA – KOZŁOWSKI, *Košice-Červený rak*, 90.

44 Ibidem, 86, 87, Figure 12.

45 Ibidem, 88.

46 NOWAK, *Absolute chronology and plant exploitation*, 215–234.

Barca III group

The early stage of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture in the Košická kotlina basin was dominated by the Barca III group.⁴⁷ Important finds have come from the following sites: Košice-Barca III,⁴⁸ Košice-Barca-Svetlá III,⁴⁹ Košice-Barca-Gyilkos,⁵⁰ Košice-Šaca,⁵¹ as well as the wider surroundings of Blažice,⁵² Čečejevce,⁵³ Valalíky-Všechsvätých⁵⁴ and Ždaňa.⁵⁵ Barca III pottery is mainly medium-thick and thick-walled. Typical shapes include pedestalled bowls, conical and rounded bowls, spouted vessels, colanders, barrel-shaped pots and storage jars. The surface of vessels was typically decorated with wide grooves creating linear patterns, ellipses and lobular motifs, meanders and chevron tapes. Vessels with a surface coating of black paint with engraved decoration were less common.⁵⁶ Only one dating from charcoals is available – from feature 4/79 in Čečejevce with result 6180±30 BP, 5135±54 BC,⁵⁷ which does not correspond with its chronological classification. The Barca III group was contemporary with the Kopčany group in the Východoslovenská nížina lowland. For the Kopčany group, data from Moravany suggests 5400–5300 BC⁵⁸ and from Zemplínske Kopčany (Bln-1785), 6420±60 BP,⁵⁹ 5401±56 BC. We assume the chronological interval for the Barca III group was identical. Comparing these sites with ¹⁴C datings from northeastern Hungary and Eastern Slovakia, the Barca III group, together with the Kopčany group, can be classified into sites dated to the period 5400–5300 BC.⁶⁰ At the site of 1 Polgár-Ferenci-hát, the dating for corresponding connected stages of Linear Pottery II-III is also 5285–5056 BC.⁶¹

Tiszadob group

The Tiszadob group is the younger and more developed stage of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture. The excavations between 1997 and 2002 revealed only a few pottery finds belonging to the Tiszadob group from Košice. A rescue excavation was carried in 1997 out during the relocation of the I/50 road from the crossroads at Červený rak to Košice-Barca.⁶² Along the route of the bypass, in the Galgovec site, three concentrations of finds in the west-east direction, designated as sites Galgovec I, II and III, were studied (Figure 1). Seventeen features were uncovered altogether; seven of them belonged to

47 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 62.

48 HÁJEK, *Chronológia východoslovenského neolitu*, 13. HÁJEK, *Nová skupina páskové keramiky*, 3–9, 33–36.

49 BÁNESZ – LICHARDUS, *Nové nálezy lineárnej keramiky v Barci*.

50 BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA, *Nálezy z prieskumu na východnom Slovensku*, 65–81.

51 NOVOTNÝ, *Slovensko v mladšej dobe kamennej*, 16, Table VIII: 1.

52 PÁSTOR, *Blažice, Bohdanovce i Hranična*, 87–95.

53 ŠIŠKA, *Neolitické a halštatsko-laténske sídlisko*, 204–207.

54 NOVOTNÝ, *Sídlisko s alföldskou lineárnou keramikou*, 3–8.

55 BÉREŠ, *Záchranný výskum neolitického a včasnostredovekého sídliska*, 33.

56 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 62–67.

57 STADLER et al. *Status of the Austrian Science Fund Project*.

58 NOWAK, *Absolute chronology*, 227.

59 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 67, 125.

60 HORVÁTH – HERTELENDI, *Contribution to the ¹⁴C based absolute chronology*, 118.

61 RACZKY – ANDERS, *Settlement history*.

62 KAMINSKÁ, *Záchranný výskum*.

the Tiszadob group, one to the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional phase and three to the Bükk culture. Six features dated from the Bronze Age. In 2000, during the construction of the PEMA plant at the site of Galgovec I, two features from the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional stage were studied. Younger settlements on the studied territory are represented by seven features of the Bronze Age Piliny culture.⁶³ For a more complex picture of the Neolithic settlement on the terraces of the Myslavský potok stream, we have added features from excavations at Košice-Galgovec and Košice-Červený rak in 2001 to the features studied in 1997 and 2000.

Dating of the Tiszadob group in Košice-Galgovec III falls within 5300–5210 and 5170–5140 BC. Dating of the Tiszadob group finds at the settlement in Šarišské Michaľany falls within the period of 5230–5016 BC.⁶⁴ The Raškovce group in the Východoslovenská nížina lowland was contemporary with the Tiszadob group and is similarly dated to 5350/5300–5250/5150 BC.⁶⁵

Dating of the Hungarian sites associated with the Late Alföld Linear Pottery culture, i. e. the Tiszadob group or ALP IV, corresponds with dating of Slovak sites of the Tiszadob and Raškovce groups. The site of Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás has been dated to 5234–5034 BC;⁶⁶ in Polgár-Ferenci-hát, the ALP IV stage was dated to 5293–5068 BC;⁶⁷ and at the site of Tiszaszőlös-Domaháza-puszta, it is 5200–5100 BC.⁶⁸ Dating of the site at Polgár-Piócási-dűlő, which contains a mixed Tiszadob-Bükk horizon, suggests 5297–5068 BC.⁶⁹

The demise of the Tiszadob and Raškovce groups overlaps the beginning of the Bükk culture. It is evidenced by terrain contexts as well as the analysis of finds at many sites in Slovakia and Hungary.⁷⁰ For cases where the archaeological record contains both Tiszadob pottery and Bükk culture pottery, P. Csengeri⁷¹ has suggested the term “Tiszadob-Bükk transitional stage”. Dating of this transitional stage was obtained from the site of Garadna-Elkerülő út. (site 2) from grave S20: 5303 calBC–5057 calBC and grave S191: 5296 calBC–5046 calBC.⁷² Finds from Grave 22 correspond with the dating of the site to the initial stage of the Bükk culture at Sajószentpéter-Kövecses,⁷³ i.e. 5214 calBC–5068 calBC.⁷⁴ These finds could mark the beginning of the Bükk decorative

63 KAMINSKÁ, *Záchranné výskumy*.

64 STADLER et al. *Status of the Austrian Science Fund Project*, 47.

65 NOWAK, *Absolute chronology*, 227.

66 KALICZ – KOÓS, *Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás*, 87.

67 RACZKY – ANDERS, *Settlement history*.

68 DOMBORÓCZKI, *A Körös-kultúra*. DOMBORÓCZKI, *Settlement structure*, 75–127. DOMBORÓCZKI – RACZKY, *Excavations at Ibrány-Nagyerdő*, 214.

69 NAGY et al. *Evolution and environment*, 277.

70 KALICZ – MAKKAY, *Die Linienbandkeramik*, 43, 101. VIZDAL, *Zemplin*. LICHARDUS, *Studien zur Bükker Kultur*, 112. ŠÍŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 138. RACZKY, *Chronological Framework*, 235. RACZKY – ANDERS, *Settlement history*, 40–41. PIATNIČKOVÁ, *Current state of research*, 241. PIATNIČKOVÁ, *The Eastern Linear Pottery Culture*, 173. HREHA – ŠÍŠKA, *Bukovohorská kultúra*, 127.

71 CSENGERI, *Late groups*, 502.

72 CSENGERI, *Settlements*, 230, Table 1.

73 CSENGERI, *A bükki kultúra*.

74 CSENGERI, *Late groups*, 505, Figure 3.

style.⁷⁵ Graves from stage IV of the Linear Pottery culture from the site of Polgár-Ferenci-hát are similarly dated: 5320–5030 BC.⁷⁶

Settlement features of the Tiszadob group

The features uncovered over the studied area were divided into three groups. The first group included ground plans of two above-ground houses, one associated with the Tiszadob group (feature 2/97, Košice-Galgovec III) and the second with the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional phase (feature 1/97, Košice-Galgovec I). A large sunken feature with a hearth (feature 9/97, Košice-Galgovec III) from the Tiszadob group dominates the second group of features. Feature 8/2000, with an oven, and another large feature, 9/2000, belong to the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional phase. Other features are represented by smaller settlement pits from all three periods.

Vegetal remains in the form of both carbonized and non-carbonized seeds, cereal cymes, wild grasses and charcoals of wood have been found. In daub, imprints mainly of wood and wild-growing plants were found. Charcoals⁷⁷ was mostly from oak (*Quercus* sp.) and were used for dating. The vegetal remains document the cultivation of einkorn wheat (*Triticum monococcum*) and emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccon*). Only fragments of animal bones were preserved in the clay loam, and they have been identified as bones from cattle.⁷⁸

Above-ground houses

Feature 2/97 (Košice-Galgovec III) is an above-ground house of the Tiszadob group, NE-SW oriented and 3.9 x 5.6 m in size (Figure 3). Daub imprinted with 4 and 18 mm diameter stakes suggest that the feature had wattle-and-daub walls. The bottom of feature 2/97 reached 40 cm below the level of the terrain and was not specially modified. A hearth formed an important part of the feature. The fill of the feature contained a large amount of sherds from thin-walled as well as thicker pottery and lithic industry. Charcoals from oak (*Quercus* sp.) discovered in the hearth was dated by AMS ¹⁴C to 6260±35 BP, 5258±35 BC.

The second house is feature 1/97 (Košice-Galgovec I), which belongs to the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional stage. The size of the feature was 4 x 4.5 m and its bottom was sunken by 12–26 cm. Postholes were not detected in or near the feature, but its fill contained daub with imprints of stakes which might have come from its walls. There were also ceramic sherds and lithic industry remnants.

Very few houses of the Tiszadob group are known. Their above-ground features can be represented by three ground plans indicated by daub, under which there were hearths. The features were uncovered at the Peder site in the Košická kotlina basin.⁷⁹

75 CSENGERI, *Settlements*, 230.

76 RACZKY – ANDERS, *Neolithic enclosures*, 280.

77 HAJNALOVÁ, *Výskumná správa archeobotanická č. VS 13937/98*. HAJNALOVÁ, *Výskumná správa archeobotanická č. VS 13939/98*. HAJNALOVÁ, *Výskumná správa archeobotanická č. VS 14497/2001*. HAJNALOVÁ – MIHÁLYIOVÁ, *Archeobotanické nálezy v roku 1998*, 72–78. HAJNALOVÁ – MIHÁLYIOVÁ, *Archeobotanické nálezy v roku 2000*, 77–81.

78 We would like to thank M. Nývltová Fišáková for identification.

79 LAMIOVÁ-SCHMIEDLOVÁ, *Römerzeitliche Siedlungskeramik*. ŠÍŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 40–42, 161–162.

Features with hearths and ovens

Many Neolithic settlements contain features used for production or farming activities. Two features containing hearths or ovens were also studied in Košice-Galgovec.

Feature 9/97 (Košice-Galgovec III) with a hearth is associated with the Tiszadob group. It is the largest feature at the site. It was disturbed by features of the Piliny culture from the Bronze Age and by construction works. A 9.8 m long segment with maximum depth of 220 cm has been preserved. The fill of this feature, especially 10–15 cm above the bottom, comprised a layer of sherds, daub, lithic artefacts and animal bones. In the northeastern part of the feature, there was an oval-shaped hearth, 150 x 94 cm in size and 36 cm thick. Oak charcoals from the hearth has been dated by AMS ¹⁴C to 6260±35 BP, 5258±35 BC.

In 2001, feature 2/2001 of the Tiszadob group was investigated as part of a research project at the western edge of Košice-Galgovec I.⁸⁰ It was a quadrangular pit with rounded corners, 140 x 130 cm in size and 23 cm deep. At the bottom, there was a loam layer mixed with a considerable amount of daub and charcoals.⁸¹ Half of the feature's ground plan was marked by daub and it strongly resembled features identified as ovens uncovered in 2001 at the site of Košice-Červený rak and associated with the Bükk culture.

Feature 8/2000 (Košice-Galgovec I), from the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional stage, was also large: 8 x 9 m. In its southern part, the deepest part extended over an area of 4.4 x 3.1 m and was 95 cm deep. The bottom and the bottom parts of walls were made up by alternating layers of red-burnt clay and charcoals. Above this, numerous sherds – mainly from thick-walled vessels – and daub with preserved imprints of twigs with diameters of 1.5–1.6 cm were situated. We assume that an oven was situated in the deepest part of the feature and the daub came from its dome. Numerous pieces of pottery, clay artefacts, daub, lithic tools and artefacts and animal bones were also found in other parts of the feature. Settlement pits with hearths belonging to the Tiszadob group were found in Lubotice-Šarišské Lúky (previously Prešov-Šarišské Lúky).⁸² In Šarišské Michal'any, destroyed remains of an oven (feature 223) in an open area were detected,⁸³ similar to feature 2 in Prešov-Šváby.⁸⁴ A description of the destroyed remains of an oven with a dome from Kapušany was published by F. Blahuta.⁸⁵

Sunken features

Sunken pits are the most common features in settlements of the Tiszadob group.⁸⁶ Sunken pits of various sizes and shapes, partly destroyed by construction works before the investigation, were also the most numerous features at the site of Košice-Galgovec I-III. They contained pottery, chipped lithic industry and daub. Features from the transitional stage include feature 9/2000 (Košice-Galgovec I): a large pit detected in

80 BÉREŠ – NOVÁK, *Nález obsidiánového jadra z Košíc*.

81 HREHA, *Neolitické nálezy z Košíc*, 137, Figure 5.

82 ŠIŠKA, *Sídlisko z mladšej doby kamennej*, 84–87. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 45, Figure 8.

83 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 168.

84 BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA, *Výskum na sídlisku s bukovo-horskou kultúrou*, 465–470, 497–500. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 164.

85 BLAHUTA, *Bukovo-horské sídlisko*, 10, Table IV.

86 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 46–49.

the profile of the PEMA building. It was unevenly sunken, 9 m long and had uneven bottom 1.2 m deep. The feature contained daub, pottery sherds, lithic industry, lithic artefacts, animal bones and charcoals on its bottom.

During the investigation at the site of Košice-Galgovec I in 2001, a clay exploitation pit (feature 7/2001) and a storage pit (feature 6/2001) with walls conically widening towards the bottom were discovered.⁸⁷

Pottery of the Tiszadob group

The investigations in 1997 and 2000 at the site of Košice-Galgovec I-III brought to light 13,545 sherds, together with several restored vessels. Among them, 7,196 sherds belong to the Tiszadob group. 5,801 sherds were classified into the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional stage; most of them have decoration typical of the Tiszadob group.

The pottery finds were classified according to type, decorative motifs and thickness of walls, the latter being defined as thin-walled pottery (1–6 mm), medium-thick pottery (6–10 mm) and thick-walled pottery (11–27 mm). The thin-walled pottery with decoration, which quickly reflected changes in styles, was important for the classification of sherds into the Tiszadob group.

The Tiszadob thin-walled pottery was made of finely washed clay with small pieces of broken sherds and mica used as a temper. The surface of the vessels was polished, even burnished. Pottery shapes with thicker walls typically had small stones and broken sherds added to the clay mass. Walls of thick-walled vessels also contained organic material, most frequently chaffs, grains, parts of cereals and weeds.⁸⁸ The surface of these vessels was coarser and had lower quality finish.

The large amount of pottery suggests local production and its decoration documents highly developed aesthetics of its creators. The surface of most thin-walled vessels – but also those with medium-thick walls – was covered with finely engraved ornamentation. The number of engraved lines varied from one to seven. The engraved decoration started with rows of straight or slightly wavy lines under the vessel's rim and the same above its bottom. The space between these motifs was covered with an ornament consisting of straight, oblique, vertical, arcuate and zigzag lines or meanders (Figure 6: 6). As the amount of Bükk elements increased in the transitional stage, one increasingly finds incisions under rims of bowls instead of engraved lines (Figure 6: 5). Engraved decoration on the inner surface of bowls was rather frequent. The above-mentioned types of linear decoration are the main features of the Tiszadob group and are represented at all sites from its territory.⁸⁹

Rounded bowls with flat (Figure 4: 1) or slightly inverted mouths and flat bottoms (Figure 4: 2) were the most common type of thin-walled pottery. A suggestion of quadrangular-shaped mouths and bodies are visible on the restored bowls. The shape is sometimes emphasized by small protuberances incorporated into the decoration at the bowls' maximum diameter. Larger bowls with protuberances or perforations below mouths are independent shapes (Figure 5: 1).

87 BÉREŠ – NOVÁK, *Záchranný výskum. HREHA, Neolitické nálezy z Košíc*, 138.

88 HAJNALOVÁ – MIHÁLYIOVÁ, *Archeobotanické nálezy*, 73.

89 ŠÍŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 84–90. PIATNIČKOVÁ, *Problematic of Linear Pottery*.

Analogous shapes are used for decoration of bowls from Peder in the Košická kotlina basin,⁹⁰ from Kapušany in Šariš,⁹¹ from Šarišské Michalany,⁹² Ľubotice-Šarišské Lúky⁹³ and Fintice.⁹⁴ They are also known from the Tiszadob environment in northeastern Hungary, the sites of Tiszavasvári-Paptelekhát,⁹⁵ Tiszavasvári-Józsefháza,⁹⁶ Hajdúnánás-Eszlári út.,⁹⁷ Tiszalök-Hajnalos.⁹⁸

Conical bowls and bowls on tall, rounded (Figure 5: 2), sporadically bell-shaped pedestals or small bowls on conical pedestals (Figure 6: 7) were also frequent. The mouths of conical bowls were sometimes lugged. Similar shapes are known from Peder,⁹⁹ Kapušany,¹⁰⁰ Šarišské Michalany¹⁰¹ and Ľubotice-Šarišské Lúky.¹⁰²

Hemispherical bowls, S-profiled bowls, deep bowls with barbotine, cups (Figure 6: 4) and small vessels occurred less frequently. A bowl of the Tiszadob group from Kapušany has a distinct undecorated shape.¹⁰³ The same applies to a small bowl from the site of Tiszalök-Hajnalos.¹⁰⁴ In Kapušany, slightly S-profiled bowls with engraved decoration also occurred.¹⁰⁵ Bowls with barbotine were discovered in Kapušany¹⁰⁶ and Šarišské Michalany,¹⁰⁷ as well as in feature 7/2001 in Košice-Galgovec I.¹⁰⁸ Pottery with medium-thick walls was decorated with wider and shallow grooves, creating an ornament with wider spacing. The ornamental style follows from the previous Barca III group.

Pottery shapes occurring mainly with medium-thick walls included vases with cylindrical or conical necks. Spouted vessels had identical shapes. Both vessel types were sometimes decorated with an ornament of finely engraved lines. Vase necks from Košice-Galgovec were usually shorter than in vases from Ľubotice-Šarišské Lúky¹⁰⁹ and Kapušany,¹¹⁰ which tended to have taller decorated necks. Spouted vessels were

90 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, Figure 28, Table 30: 14.

91 BLAHUTA, *Bukovohorské sídlisko*. BLAHUTA, *Archeologický profil Šariša*, 95–119.

92 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, Tables 32: 1, 3, 5–7, 10.

93 ŠIŠKA, *Sídlisko z mladšej doby kamennej*, 88, Tables VII: 12, 16, 18, 23, 24; VIII: 24. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, Figures 23: 6; 6: 24–26.

94 PIATNIČKOVÁ, *The Eastern Linear Pottery Culture*, Pl. 2: 2, 5; 4: 3, 4.

95 KALICZ – MAKKAY, *Die Linienbandkeramik*, Table 77: 15.

96 KALICZ – MAKKAY, *Die Linienbandkeramik*, Table 94: 11.

97 RACZKY – ANDERS, *Neolithic enclosures*, 280, Figures 12: 1, 3.

98 FÜZESI, *Tiszalök-Hajnalos*, Figure 2: 1.

99 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, Table 30: 13.

100 BLAHUTA, *Bukovohorské sídlisko*, Tables XVIII: 4; XXIII: 1–3.

101 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, Table 32: 13.

102 ŠIŠKA, *Sídlisko z mladšej doby kamennej*, 85, Tables VI: 2, 3; X: 10.

103 BLAHUTA, *Bukovohorské sídlisko*, Table XX: 1.

104 FÜZESI, *Tiszalök-Hajnalos*, 50, Figure 3: 4.

105 BLAHUTA, *Bukovohorské sídlisko*, Tables XIX: 4; XXI: 2.

106 Ibidem, Table XXVIII: 2. BLAHUTA, *Archeologický profil*, Figure on p. 101: 3.

107 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, Table 33: 6.

108 HREHA, *Neolitické nálezy z Košíc*, 138, Figure 9: 1.

109 ŠIŠKA, *Sídlisko z mladšej doby kamennej*, Tables VIII: 19–21; IX: 26. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, Figure 22.

110 BLAHUTA, *Bukovohorské sídlisko*, 1959, Table XVIII: 3. BLAHUTA, *Archeologický profil*, Figure on p. 101: 4.

also found at the latter two sites, Lubotice-Šarišské Lúky¹¹¹ and Kapušany.¹¹² A spout with perforations¹¹³ is known from Košice-Barca I.¹¹⁴ Spouted vessels have also been found at the Hungarian sites of Tiszavasvári-Keresztfal,¹¹⁵ Polgár-Nagy Kasziba¹¹⁶ and Hajdúnánás-Eszlári út.¹¹⁷

Specific pottery shapes which could have been used in cultic rituals include vase-shaped vessels depicting human faces, known as face-decorated vases. Five fragments of such vessels were found in three features of the Tiszadob group in Košice-Galgovec (Figure 7). Face-decorated vases appear in Eastern Slovakia in the Tiszadob group and continue in the Bükk culture. Similar finds have previously been discovered in Šarišské Michal'any, in settlement pits and in the Tiszadob cultural layer.¹¹⁸ Their design is close to the finds from Košice-Galgovec. From Šarišské Michal'any, we have 36 other sherds depicting human faces belonging to the subsequent Bükk culture settlement of the site.¹¹⁹ Similar items are also known from Bükk culture finds in the caves of the Slovenský kras karst – Domica¹²⁰ and Ardovo.¹²¹ In Western Slovakia, we come across depictions of human faces on pottery made by the Želiezovce group,¹²² which was contemporaneous with the Bükk culture in Eastern Slovakia.

Depictions of faces are more frequent in northeastern Hungary in the Tiszadob group, the Bükk culture, and the contemporaneous cultures of Szilmege and Esztár.¹²³ Their most extensive use falls within the end of the Tiszadob group and the beginning of the Bükk culture.¹²⁴ These types of vessels were found in Füzesabony-Kettőshalom, Tiszavasvári-Paptelekhát, Sájoszentpéter,¹²⁵ Mezőzombor,¹²⁶ Polgár-Nagy Kasziba¹²⁷ and Garadna-Elkerülő út., settlement 2.¹²⁸

A fragment of a miniature altar – “a bench” with engraved white-encrusted decoration – was classified as an artefact with cultic content. A small boat-shaped vessel with engraved and white-encrusted decoration, a miniature bowl with engraved decorations and remains of black coating, and a sherd from a hanging vessel were classified as rare pottery sherds. Artefacts called “benches” are known only from the

111 ŠIŠKA, *Sídliisko z mladšej doby kamennej*, 87, Table VIII: 6.

112 BLAHUTA, *Bukovohorské sídlisko*, Tables XXV: 10; XXVIII: 7. BLAHUTA, *Archeologický profil*, Figure on p. 101: 6.

113 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 152, Table 31: 3, 8.

114 HÁJEK, *Zur relativen Chronologie*, 59–76.

115 KALICZ – MAKKAY, *Die Linienbandkeramik*, Tables 48: 1–3.

116 RACZKY – ANDERS, *Neolithic enclosures*, 275, Figure 5: 2.

117 *Ibidem*, 280, Figure 12: 5.

118 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 107–110, Figures 39, 40.

119 HREHA – ŠIŠKA, *Bukovohorská kultúra*, 71, 72.

120 LICHARDUS, *Studien zur Bükker Kultur*, 57, Figure 17.

121 *Ibidem*, 58, Figure 18: 4; Tables 6: 2; 7: 1. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, Table 26: 10.

122 PAVÚK, *Kultúry staršieho a stredného neolitu*, 20–64. KUZMA, *Plastika železovskej skupiny*, 429–252.

123 KALICZ – MAKKAY, *Die Linienbandkeramik*, 61–64, Figure 3; 4.

124 RACZKY – ANDERS, *The internal relations*, 159.

125 KALICZ – MAKKAY, *Die Linienbandkeramik*, 61, 62, Figure 3: a, b, c.

126 KALICZ – KOÓS, *Újkőkori arcok edények*, Figures 1; 2.

127 RACZKY – ANDERS, *Neolithic enclosures*, 275, Figure 5: 1.

128 CSENGERI, *Settlements*, 230, Table 1.

Bükk environment in Šarišské Michaľany.¹²⁹ A fragment of a hanging vessel from the Tiszadob group has been found on the same site.¹³⁰

Thick-walled pottery was represented by barrel-shaped and conical pots, plate-like pots and clay pads. Pots often had a row of perforations under their rims and various protrusions on their bodies. Storage jars were the most massive shapes. Two types of storage jars were found: i) conical storage jars with perforations under the rims and protrusions on the body (Figure 5: 3), and ii) larger storage jars with conical-shaped necks separated from the bodies by dimpled plastic tapes. Necks of storage jars were smooth or with dimpled decoration (Figure 8: 1, 2), bodies were dimpled, with barbotine or without decoration, or with more massive dimpled protrusions, or with attached short dimpled tapes of various shapes.

Clay ornaments

Together with clay vessels, clay ornaments were also found, including rings that were probably used as bracelets, pearls (Figure 6: 1–3) and discs with perforations which might have been used as pendants. Such artefacts have been found in many sites of the Tiszadob group. A clay pearl was found in Košice-Galgovec I, feature 7/2001, and has been identified as belonging to the Tiszadob group.¹³¹ Clay pearls¹³² and bracelets¹³³ have been found in Ľubotice-Šarišské Lúky and a larger quantity of fragments of clay bracelets has been found in Sečovská Polianka.¹³⁴

Lithic industry and other lithic artefacts

Chipped lithic industry, polished lithic industry and lithic artefacts including plaquettes and upper and lower grinding stones have been found in features associated with the Tiszadob group and in collections. Out of 971 examples, 581 artefacts belong to the Tiszadob chipped lithic industry and 331 artefacts belong to the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional stage. The chipped lithic tools of the Tiszadob group were made of imported stone processed in the area of the settlements. This is evidenced by the occurrence of cores (Figure 9: 13–16, 18, 19), hammerstones and a predominance of flakes. The leading raw material was limnosilicite (58.97 %), which is known to be present in the Slanské Vrchy hills (Banské and other types¹³⁵), i.e. it is a local raw material. Obsidian (36.23 %) from sources near the Zemplínske vrchy hills was another regional raw material¹³⁶ used in the settlements of Košice-Galgovec.

Due to the Tiszadob group's advance towards the Šarišské podolie hills, obsidian (65.38 %) is more common than limnosilicite (34.62 %)¹³⁷ at the Ľubotice-Šarišské Lúky site. At the Tiszadob settlement in Šarišské Michaľany, radiolarite prevails (10

129 ŠIŠKA, *Plastika bukovohorskej kultúry*, 280, Figures 2: 20–22.

130 ŠIŠKA, *Grabung auf der neolithischen und äneolithischen Siedlung*, 440, Table II: 9. ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 85, Table 32: 9.

131 BÉREŠ – NOVÁK, *Nález obsidiánového jadra z Košíc*, 34.

132 ŠIŠKA, *Sídlisko z mladšej doby kamennej*, 89, Tables VIII: 12, 13.

133 ŠIŠKA, *Sídlisko z mladšej doby kamennej*, 89, Table VIII: 8.

134 JENČOVÁ, *Sídlisko kultúry s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 80, obr. 6: 9; 7: 19; 8: 6.

135 KAMINSKÁ, *Die Nutzung von Steinrohmaterialien*, 81–106. KAMINSKÁ, *Sources of raw materials*, 99–110.

136 KAMINSKÁ, *Význam surovínovej základne*, 19. PŘICHYSTAL – ŠKRDLA, *Kde ležel hlavní zdroj obsidiánu*, 215–226. BAČO et al. *Occurrences of Neogene Volcanic Glass*, 207–230.

137 KOZŁOWSKI, *The lithic industry*, 377–410.

artefacts) over obsidian (6 artefacts). Radiolarite is a local raw material found in the Torysa River basin. Its sources are located in the klippen belt in Kamenica, Milpoš and Hanigovce. Due to weathering of siliceous rock, this mineral ends up in the Torysa riverbed and is carried southwards to the Hornád River.¹³⁸

Obsidian started to prevail in the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional stage in Košice-Galgovec, while limnosilicites became the second most frequently used raw material. Other regional raw materials, such as menilithic chert, silicified sandstone and radiolarite, were used only sporadically.

Rocks from remote areas, e.g. Volhynian flint from the Dnester River valley and Jurassic Kraków flint from the territory of Poland, are found only very occasionally. These raw materials are also rarely represented in the industry from Šarišské Michaľany.¹³⁹

In the typological composition of the chipped lithic industry, blades and retouched blades prevail (Figure 9: 1–4, 6, 8–11). Other tools used in everyday activities in households, such as end-scrapers (Figure 9: 7), burins (Figure 9: 12), perforators, side-scrapers (Figure 9: 17), notches and splinter pieces, are rarely represented. Sickle blades occurred as well (Figure 9: 5).

There was an unusually low number of polished lithic artefacts, mainly tools for wood processing. They included one damaged horseshoe adze and a fragment of a flat axe. Low numbers of polished industry items have been documented at other Tiszadob sites as well. There is a single unfinished small radiolarite axe from Šarišské Michaľany.¹⁴⁰ Lithic axes have also been discovered in Kapušany.¹⁴¹

Lower grindstones (Figure 10) made mostly of shale and upper grindstones provide evidence for the production of flour from cultivated cereals. Fragments of lower grinding stones have also been found at the Tiszadob settlement in Sečovská Polianka.¹⁴² Other lithic artefacts, namely flat grinding stones, were used for processing plant foods and grinding mineral pigments, most probably hematite, several lumps of which have been discovered.

The Bükk culture

The Bükk culture is a distinct Middle Neolithic culture of Eastern Slovakia and northeastern Hungary. It was spread over the original territory of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture (Východoslovenská nížina lowland, Košická kotlina basin, Šarišské podolie hills and Gemer region). It also reached Spiš and, in form of imports, penetrated the adjacent territories, mainly Central and Western Slovakia.¹⁴³ It settled not only lowland areas, but also moved to the higher-altitude sites and caves of the Slovenský kras karst.¹⁴⁴

The Tiszadob group, which preceded the Bükk culture, had the strongest impact on the latter culture's origin.¹⁴⁵ In Hungary, a model proposing the contemporaneity of

138 KAMINSKÁ, *Význam surovínovej základne*, 20. KAMINSKÁ, *Sources of raw materials*, 100, Figures 3; 4.

139 KACZANOWSKA – KOZŁOWSKI – ŚIŠKA, *Neolithic and Eneolithic chipped stone industries*, 38–41.

140 *Ibidem*, 41.

141 BLAHUTA, *Bukovohorské sídlisko*, 9.

142 BUDINSKÝ-KRIČKA, *Neolitické sídlisko*, 32–33. JENČOVÁ, *Sídlisko kultúry s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 81.

143 ŚIŠKA, *Architektúra neolitickej osady*, 187–204.

144 LICHARDUS, *Jaskyňa Domica*. LICHARDUS, *Studien zur Bükker Kultur*. ŚIŠKA, *Die Bükker Kultur*, 245–292.

145 ŚIŠKA, *Sídlisko z mladšej doby kamennej*, 92. KALICZ – MAKKAY, *Die Linienbandkeramik*, 43, 101. ŚIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou*, 138. PIATNIČKOVÁ, *Current state of research*, 245. PIATNIČKOVÁ, *The*

the Tiszadob group and the Bükk, Eszátár and Szakalhát cultures is used.¹⁴⁶ In Slovakia, a subsequence of the Linear Pottery culture (Tiszadob and Raškovce groups) and the Bükk culture is used.¹⁴⁷

Finds from feature 2/97 in Košice-Galgovec I belong to the early stage of the Bükk culture. The result of dating is 6310±40–35 BP, 5300–5210 and 5285±42 BC. This dating suggests an overlap between the beginning Bükk culture and the disappearance of the Tiszadob group. Similarly dated traces of the Bükk culture have also been found Domic cave – 5210–4850 BC and 5350–5220 BC.¹⁴⁸ Dating of the Bükk culture at Šarišské Michalany is 5230–5016 BC;¹⁴⁹ the date 5170±84–5016±9 BC applies to the late stage of the Bükk culture.¹⁵⁰

Dates obtained for the Bükk feature from Košice-Galgovec I are rather high, but similar to the dating of Hungarian sites from the cultural horizon of the Szakálhát-Esztár-Bükk culture, i.e. 5260–4880 BC.¹⁵¹ For a more precise explanation of the beginnings of the Bükk culture in Eastern Slovakia, more data from other sites will be necessary.

The Bükk culture settlement features

Features of the Bükk culture over the area of excavations from 1997, 2000 and 2001 are represented by sunken shapes with various functions and uses. Based on their shape and construction, some features can be identified as ovens, while others are common settlement pits whose purpose cannot be determined exactly. Together, they create an important Bükk culture settlement structure.

Remains of plants, preserved in form of carbonized and non-carbonized seeds, cereal cymes, wild-growing grasses and charcoals of plants, were found in samples of floated loam from several features. Charcoals from hearths were mainly from oak (*Quercus* sp.) and they were used for dating. Wood from maple (*Acer* sp.), beech (cf. *Fagus sylvatica*) and ash (*Fraxinus* sp.) was also used.

Vegetal remains confirmed the cultivation of einkorn wheat (*Triticum monococcum*), emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccon*), barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and peas (*Pisum sativum*). Fragments of animal bones indicate cattle breeding. The diet was complemented with fish, whose scales were discovered in the fill of the Bükk feature 2/97 (Košice-Galgovec I).

Ovens

Sunken features, subsequently classified as ovens, were uncovered at the site of Košice-Červený rak while monitoring works associated with the construction of OPTIMA I Shopping Centre in 2001. 17 features were studied in the southern part of the building site.¹⁵²

Eastern Linear Pottery Culture, 173.

146 RACZKY – ANDERS, *Settlement history*, 40–41.

147 ŠIŠKA, *Kultúra s východnou lineárnu keramikou*, 116–117. HREHA – ŠIŠKA, *Bukovohorská kultúra*, 127.

148 GRADZIŃSKI et al. *Age of black coloured laminae*, 39–45.

149 STADLER et al. *Status of the Austrian Science Fund Project*, 47.

150 HREHA – ŠIŠKA, *Bukovohorská kultúra*, 131.

151 HERTELENDI et al. *Radiocarbon chronology*, Table 1.

152 KAMINSKÁ – NOVÁK, *Sídliskové nálezy bukovohorskej kultúry*, 82, Figure 61. HREHA, *Neolitické nálezy z Košíc*, 137, Figure 4.

Six of them (features 10–13, 16a and 17a/2001) are considered to be kilns for firing pottery. They were rectangular, with rounded corners, approx. 150 x 70 cm in size, with bowl-shaped bottoms 30–35 cm deep. The edges of the features were lined with a 5–10 cm wide layer of terracotta-red burned clay. Their bottoms were covered with pebbles, mostly quartz, which were cracked due to firing. There was a 3–5 cm thick layer of charcoal under them.¹⁵³ We cannot make a statement regarding the question of the chronological procedure of building the kilns, because we lack relevant dating, but it is probable that they were built in a relatively short time interval. Finds of Bükk pottery from other features in Košice-Červený rak and features from Košice-Galgovec I from 1997 and 2000 belong to the early stage of the Bükk culture.¹⁵⁴ Thirteen ovens from Horné Lefantovce belonging mainly to the Želiezovce group, which was contemporary with the Bükk culture in Eastern Slovakia, represent their analogies.¹⁵⁵ Sunken features with hearths and ovens were found in farming or production features associated with the Eastern Linear Pottery and Bükk cultures.

Sunken features

Settlement pit 2/97 (Košice-Galgovec I) is an important feature. It was partly damaged by earthworks. The preserved part had oval ground plan of 140 x 120 cm; its walls were convex, widening towards the flat bottom which was 65 cm deep. In the dark brown soil of the feature's fill, there were sherds of pottery, chipped lithic industry, vegetal remains, charcoal and fish scales. Numerous large pieces of daub with imprints of stakes and chipped wood at least 10 cm wide were also discovered.¹⁵⁶ AMS ¹⁴C dating obtained from oak is extremely important: 6310±40–35 BP, 5282±42 BC.¹⁵⁷

Remains of other two features (3/97 and 4/97 Košice-Galgovec I) were uncovered in the profile of the road, 30 cm below the topsoil. They were remains of oval pits with slightly convexly widened walls which narrowed above the flat bottom. A small number of sherds, chipped lithic industry, daub and charcoal were found in them. The third feature, 10/2000, disturbed pit 9/2000. In the profile of the PEMA construction, we uncovered a 1.25 m long part of the feature, with walls obliquely sloping towards a bowl-shaped bottom 0.85 m deep. It contained distinctly decorated pottery of the Bükk culture, daub and charcoal.

At the site of Košice-Červený rak, there were 13 (1–9, 16, 17/2001) settlement pits of the Bükk culture of various sizes, mostly only shallowly sunken.

Pottery of the Bükk culture

At the site, we studied four Bükk culture features concentrated at the site of Košice-Galgovec I in which 584 pottery artefacts were found. Sherds with decorative motifs of the Bükk culture also occurred, though in smaller numbers, in features from the Tiszadob-Bükk transitional stage.

153 KAMINSKÁ – NOVÁK, *Sídliskové nálezy bukovohorskej kultúry*, 83.

154 KAMINSKÁ, *Košice-Galgovec*.

155 BÁNESZ, *Neolitické pece z Horných Lefantoviec*. In: *Archeologické rozhledy*, 470–482, 501–502. BÁNESZ, *Neolitické pece z Horných Lefantoviec*. In: *Študijné Zvesti AÚ SAV*, 21–46.

156 HAJNALOVÁ, *Výskumná správa archeobotanická č. VS 13937/98*. HAJNALOVÁ – MIHÁLYIOVÁ, *Archeobotanické nálezy v roku 2000*, 73.

157 STADLER et al. *Status of the Austrian Science Fund Project*.

Bükk pottery included thin-walled, medium-thick and thick-walled vessels. In terms of design, they are similar to Tiszadob group vessels. The clay used for their production contains mineral temper and broken sherds. The surface of the vessels is burnished. In the case of one partly restored bowl (Figure 11: 3), it was coated with red-brown clay smear. Pottery shapes are less variable. Among the finds of thin-walled pottery, bowls were prevalent – usually rounded, less frequently hemispherical. There were also conical bowls and conical pedestalled bowls. Conical bowls in Bükk pottery material are known from Zemplínske Kopčany¹⁵⁸ and Ražňany.¹⁵⁹ Pedestalled bowls occurred in Kašov¹⁶⁰ and also in Hungary at the Sajószentpéter-Kövecses site.¹⁶¹

Vases and beakers/cups were less frequent. Most sherds came from conical or barrel-shaped pots. There were also sherds from storage jars. More rarely, clay pads were found.

Rows of incisions were situated below the rims of bowls and on the body, complemented with ornaments composed of arcuate or zigzag lines (Figure 11). Other decorations included engraved lines, hatched triangles, spirals, incisions, dimples, plastic protrusions, plastic dimpled tapes and perforations under the rim. These decorative motifs occur on the Bükk pottery from Lubotice-Šarišské Lúky,¹⁶² Zemplínske Kopčany,¹⁶³ Čierne Pole,¹⁶⁴ Šarišské Michaľany¹⁶⁵ and Ardovo cave,¹⁶⁶ and can be described as typical decoration of the pre-classical stage of the Bükk culture.¹⁶⁷ These motifs are also represented at the early Bükk culture sites at Sajószentpéter-Kövecses¹⁶⁸ and Tiszavasvári-Paptelekhát.¹⁶⁹

The vessels do not have burnished surfaces, and the negative ornament typical of the Bükk culture in its classical stage was not used to decorate them. Angular arcuate lines, known as gothic windows, did not occur either. Based on the character of its decoration, this pottery represents the beginning of the Bükk culture.

Decorative clay artefacts were represented by a single pearl.

Lithic industry and other lithic artefacts

Eighty-eight chipped lithic industry and four other lithic artefacts – 92 partly published lithic artefacts altogether – have been found in Bükk culture features.¹⁷⁰

In terms of the raw material composition of the chipped lithic industry, obsidian strongly prevails (84.10 %) over limnosilicites (15.90 %). Only one core was discovered; flakes made up almost half of all finds; more than 20% were blades and 28% were

158 ŠIŠKA, *Die Bükker Kultur*, 261, Tables X: 6; XI: 4; XII: 4.

159 KARABINOŠ et al. *The contribution of finds*, 337–349.

160 ŠIŠKA, *Keramika a datovanie neolitickej dielne v Kašove*, 70, Figure 2: 10.

161 CSENGERI, *A bükki kultúra*, 31–46, Figure 5: 3.

162 ŠIŠKA, *Sídlisko z mladšej doby kamennej*, 90, Table XII: 7.

163 ŠIŠKA, *Die Bükker Kultur*, 264, Figure 17: 1.

164 Ibidem, Tables II: 4, 23, 26; III: 3; V: 4, 5.

165 HREHA – ŠIŠKA, *Bukovohorská kultúra*, Table CXXII: 4.

166 LICHARDUS, *Studien zur Bükker Kultur*, Figure 27: 4.

167 ŠIŠKA, *Die Bükker Kultur*, 264.

168 CSENGERI, *A bükki kultúra*, Figure 5: 7.

169 KALICZ – MAKAY, *Die Linienbandkeramik*, 176, Table 66: 9.

170 KAMINSKÁ – KACZANOWSKA – KOZŁOWSKI, *Stone Industry from Košice-Galgovec*, 5–29.

tools. Among the tools, retouched blades, sickle blades, retouched flakes and a splinter piece were identified.

Other lithic artefacts included one example each of a plaquette, a pad, an upper grindstone and an artefact from a drilled hole of a lithic tool. The situation at the Bükk culture settlement in Šarišské Michaľany is different: polished artefacts were produced there.¹⁷¹

Conclusion

According to our current knowledge, settlement of the microregion in the southern part of Košice started at the beginning of the Middle Neolithic with the advance of bearers of the Szatmár culture from northeastern part of Hungary northwards along the Hornád River basin. As a result, the oldest – Proto-Linear – stage of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture was created at the site of Košice-Červený rak on the left-bank terrace of the Myslavský potok stream, dated to 5540–5410 calBC. In the stage of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture that followed – represented by the Barca III group – development of independent regional groups in the Košická kotlina basin started. Barca III group settlements have been detected over a wider area, mainly in the residential area of Košice-Barca. Known sites include the eponymous settlement of Košice-Barca III, on the right-bank terrace of the Myslavský potok stream, as well as Košice-Barca-Svetlá III, Košice-Barca-Gyilkos and Košice-Šaca. In the wider surroundings, there are sites at Čečejevce, Valaliky-Všechsvätých, Ždaňa and Blažice. The later stage of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture, the Tiszadob group, is characterised by stabilized settlement on the terraces of the Myslavský potok stream at the sites of Košice-Galgovec I-III and Košice-Červený rak, as well as sites further afield. Small settlements probably consisted of several above-ground houses with farming features and adjacent fields and pastures. Their inhabitants cultivated cereals and bred cattle, and manufactured household goods, including the production of pottery and lithic tools. The timescale of Tiszadob group settlements falls within the period 5300–5140 calBC.

Tiszadob group settlements in the southern part of the Košická kotlina basin spread northwards and westwards. They moved to the territories of Šariš and Gemer, where they also arrived in the caves of the Slovenský kras karst. Tiszadob group sites have also been documented on the periphery of the Východoslovenská nížina lowland and in the region of Horný Zemplín.

The Tiszadob group greatly influenced the emergence of the Bükk culture, with which it was – as suggested by dating – partly contemporary. The Bükk culture feature in Košice-Galgovec I is dated to 5300–5210±42 calBC. With the Bükk culture, Neolithic development in the Košická kotlina basin and the whole area of Eastern Slovakia ended. In the following period, the Late Neolithic, the previously intense settlement of the Košice microregion was interrupted. Distinct resettlement of the region is associated with the cultures of the Eneolithic.

Translated by Mgr. Viera Tejbusová

¹⁷¹ KACZANOWSKA – KOZŁOWSKI – ŠIŠKA, *Neolithic and Eneolithic chipped stone industries*, 114.

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Figures

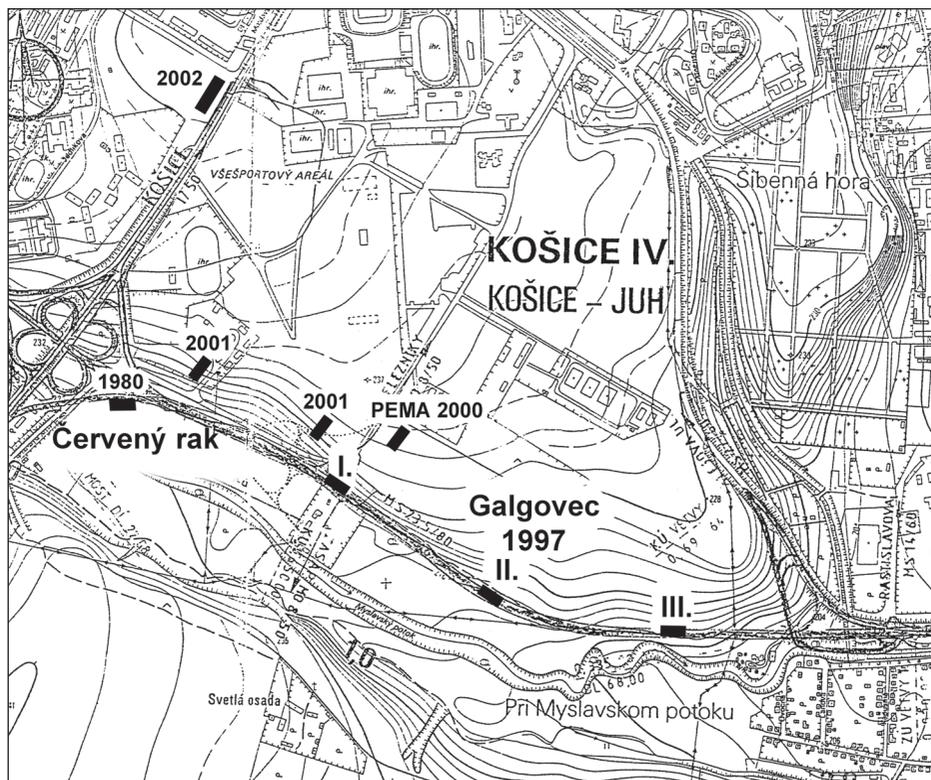


Figure 1: Map of the southern part of Košice with the years of excavations on the terraces of the Myslavský potok stream

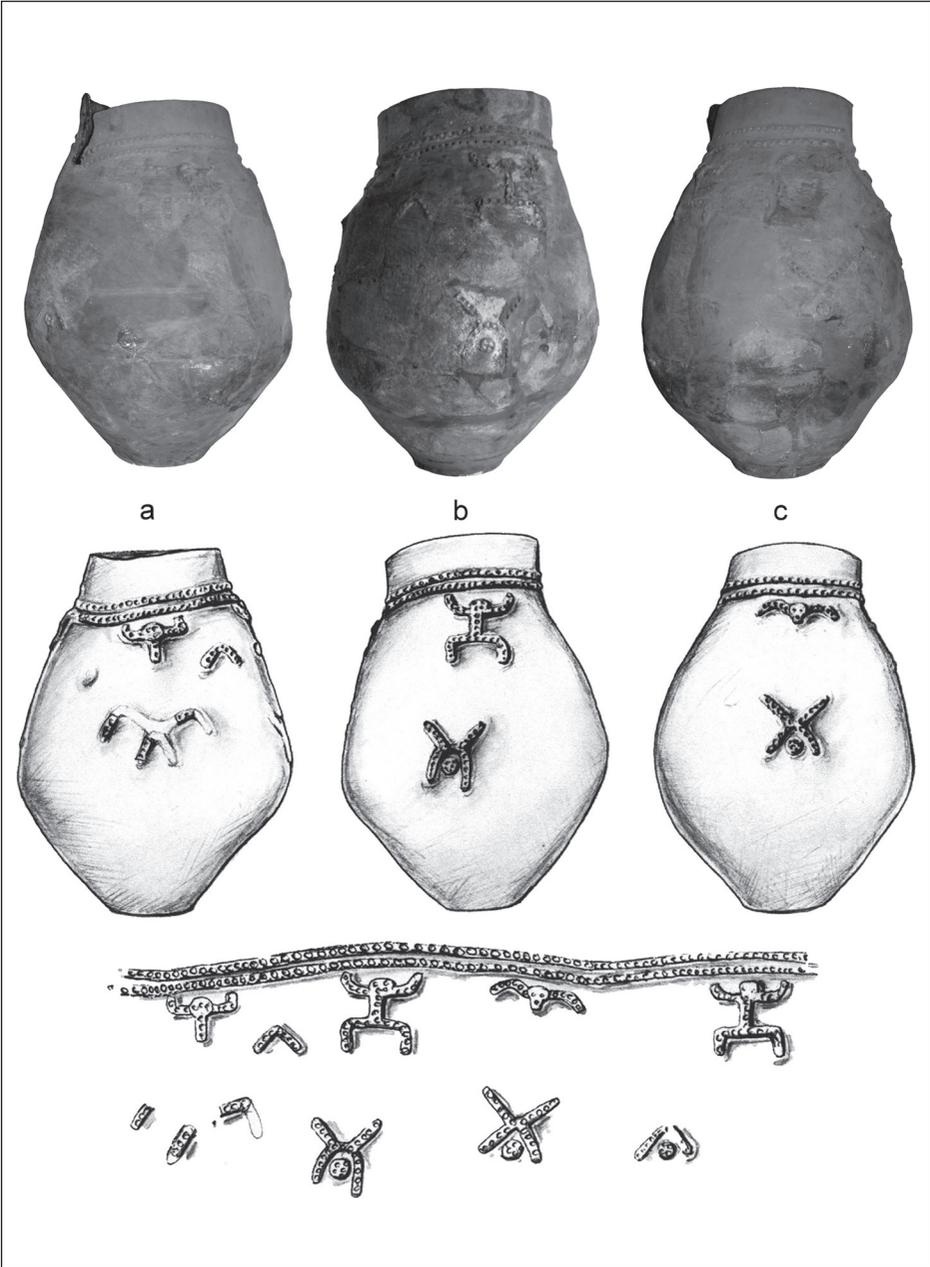
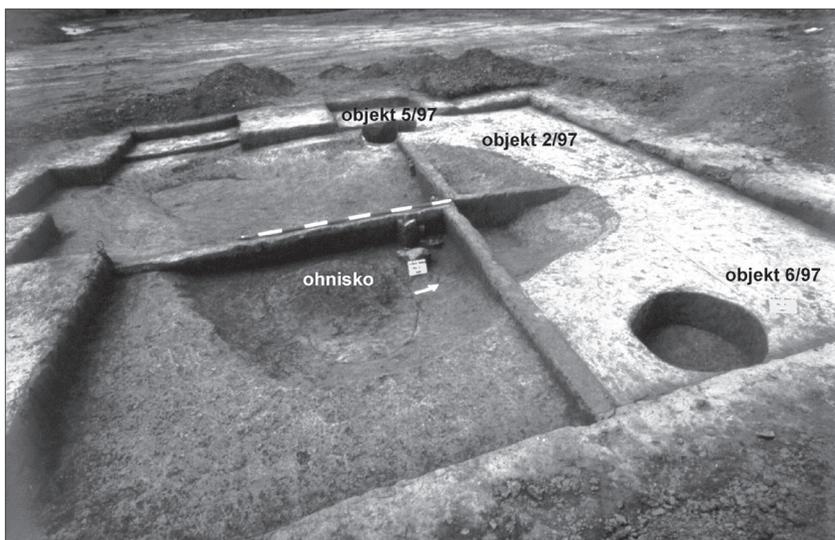
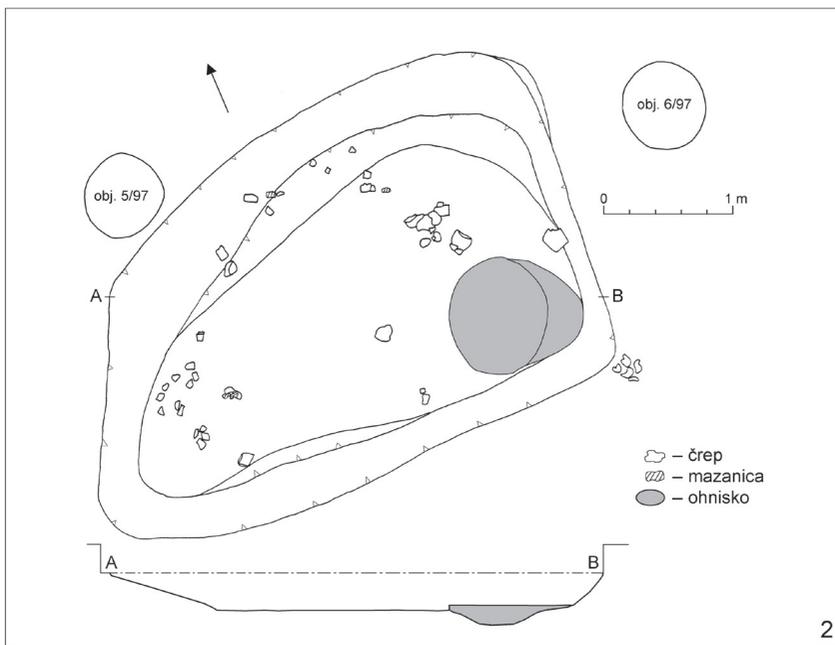


Figure 2: Košice-Červený rak. Storage jar with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs, Proto-Linear stage (after KAMINSKÁ – KACZANOWSKA – KOZŁOWSKI, *Košice-Červený rak*, and NAGY et al. *Evolution and environment*.)



1



2

Figure 3: Košice-Galgovec III, feature 2/97, Tiszadob group. 1 – photo of the feature with a hearth and features 5/97 and 6/97 nearby; 2 – groundplan and profile of the feature

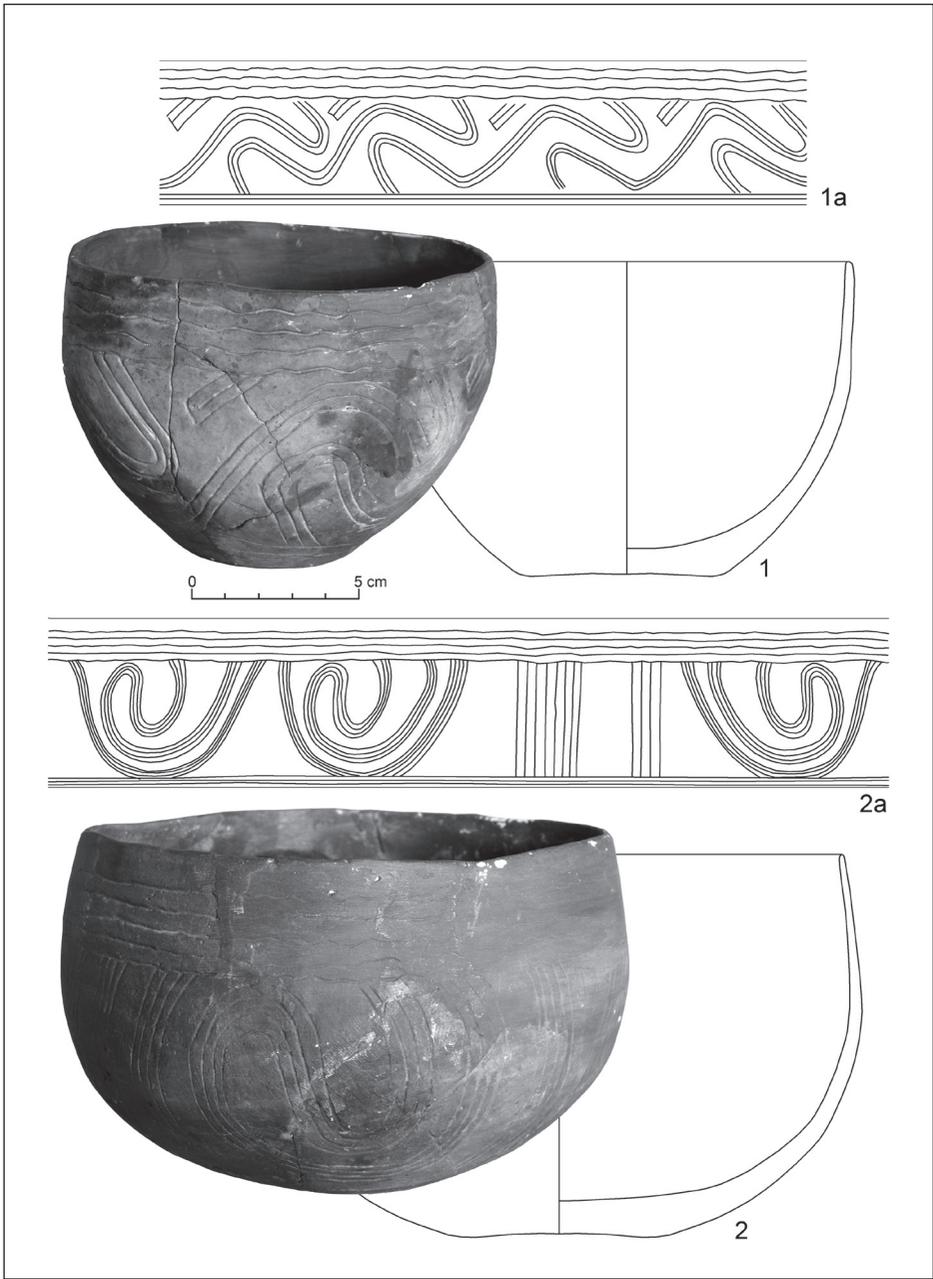


Figure 4: Košice-Galgovec III, feature 9/97, Tiszadob group. 1, 2 – rounded bowls with engraved decoration

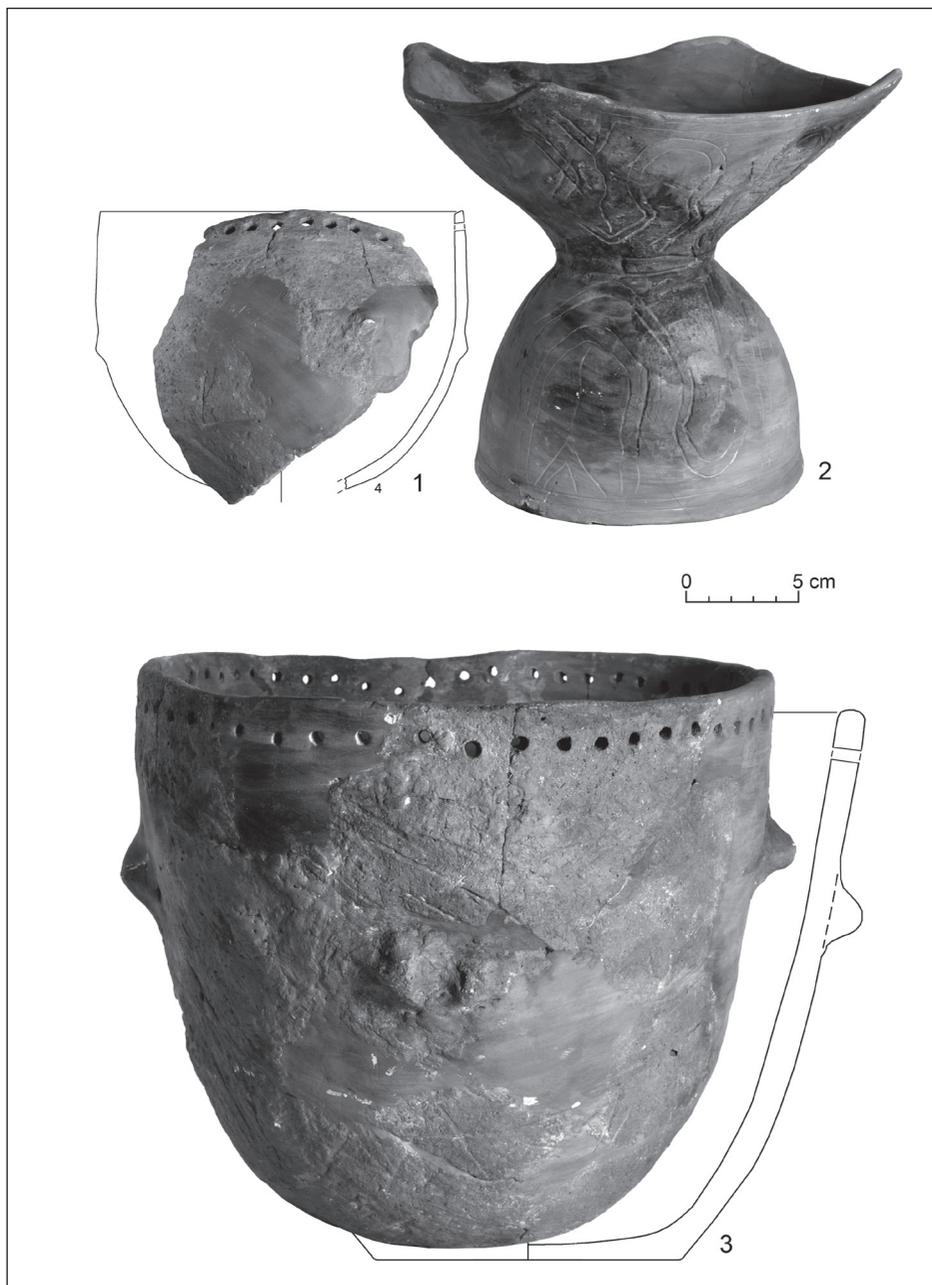


Figure 5: Košice-Galgovec III, feature 9/97, Tiszadob group. 1 – fragment of a bowl; 2 – pedestalled bowl with engraved decoration; 3 – restored storage jar

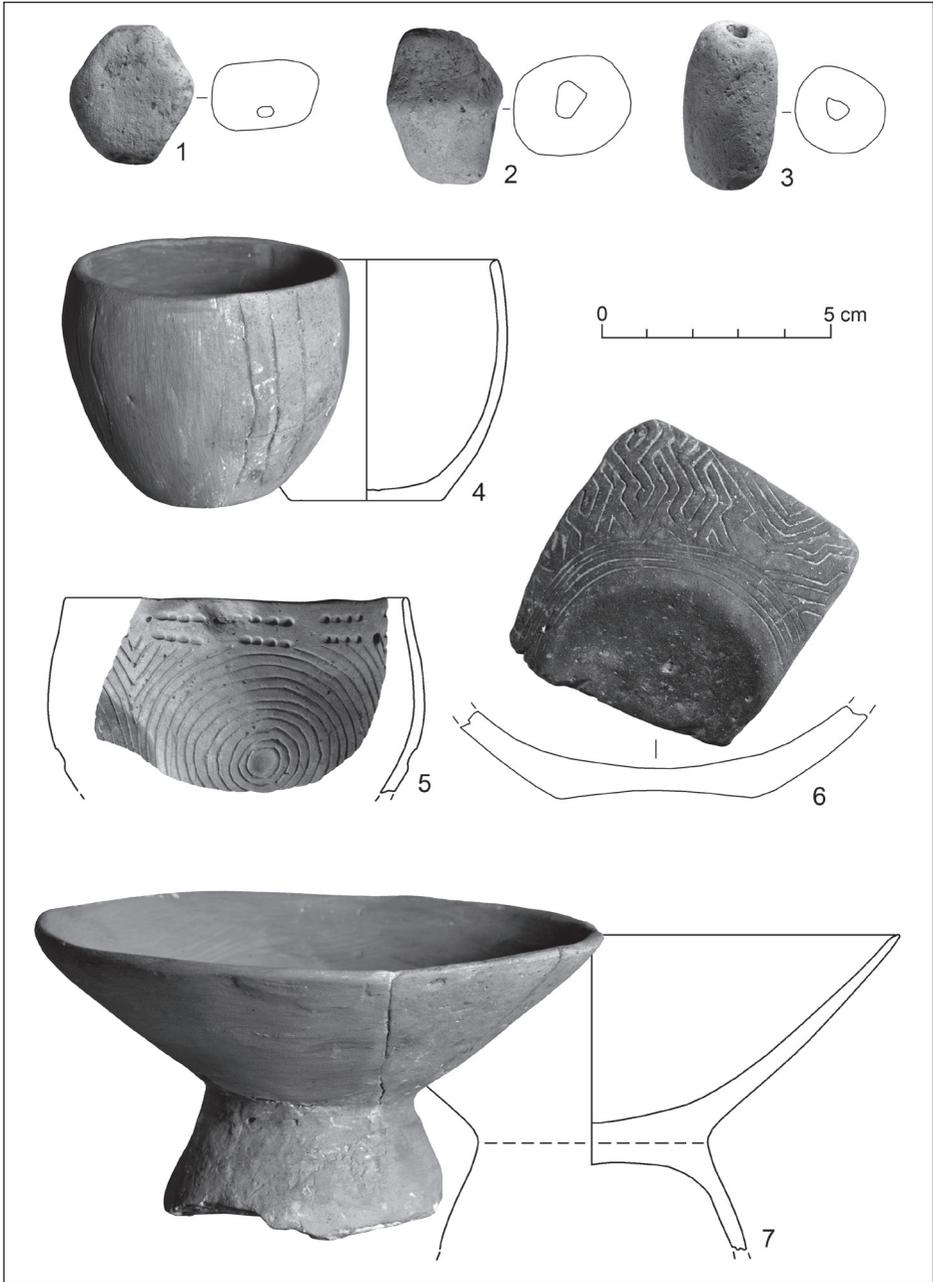


Figure 6: Košice-Galgovec III, feature 9/97, Tiszadob group. 1, 3 – clay pearls; 4 – cup; 5 – fragment of a bowl with engraved concentric circles; 6 – fragment of a bowl decorated with engraved meanders; 7 – small pedestalled bowl

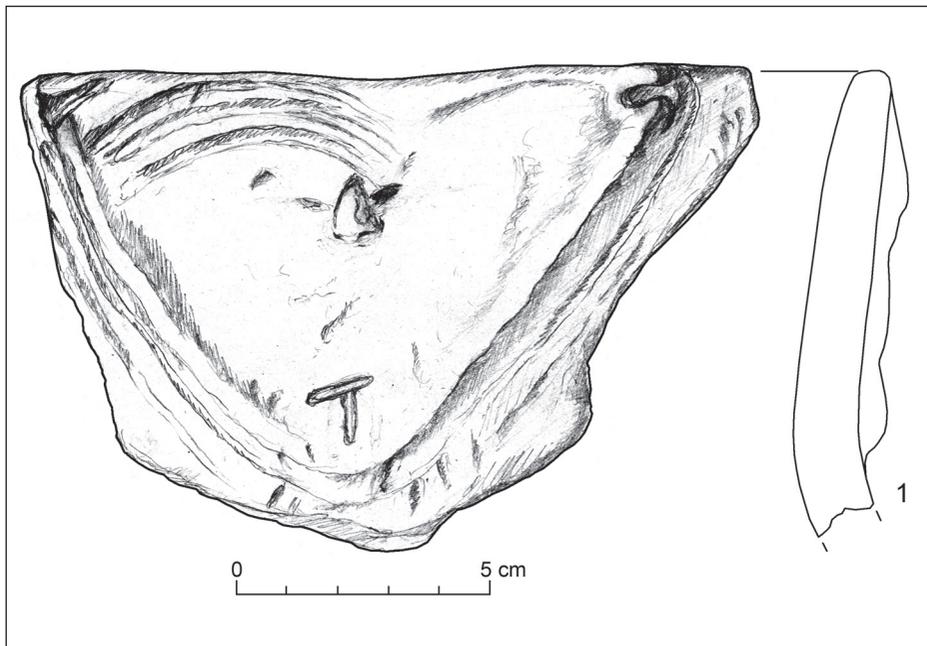


Figure 7: Košice-Galgovec III, feature 9/97, Tiszadob group. Sherd from the neck of a vase-shaped vessel with a depiction of a human face

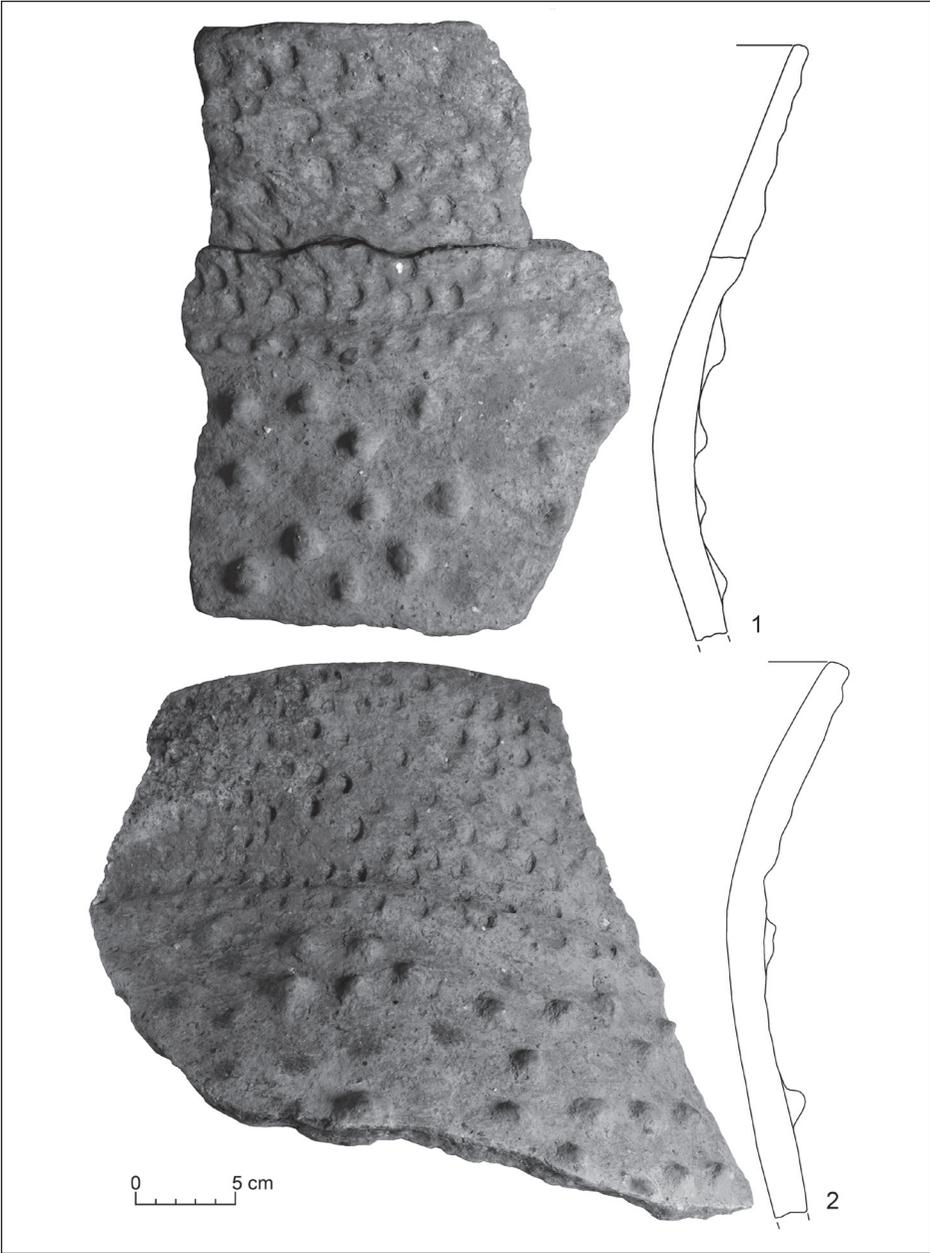


Figure 8: Košice-Galgovec I, feature 8/2000, Tiszadob-Bükk transitional stage. 1, 2 – sherds from storage jars with conical-shaped necks decorated with dimples, dimpled plastic tapes and barbotine

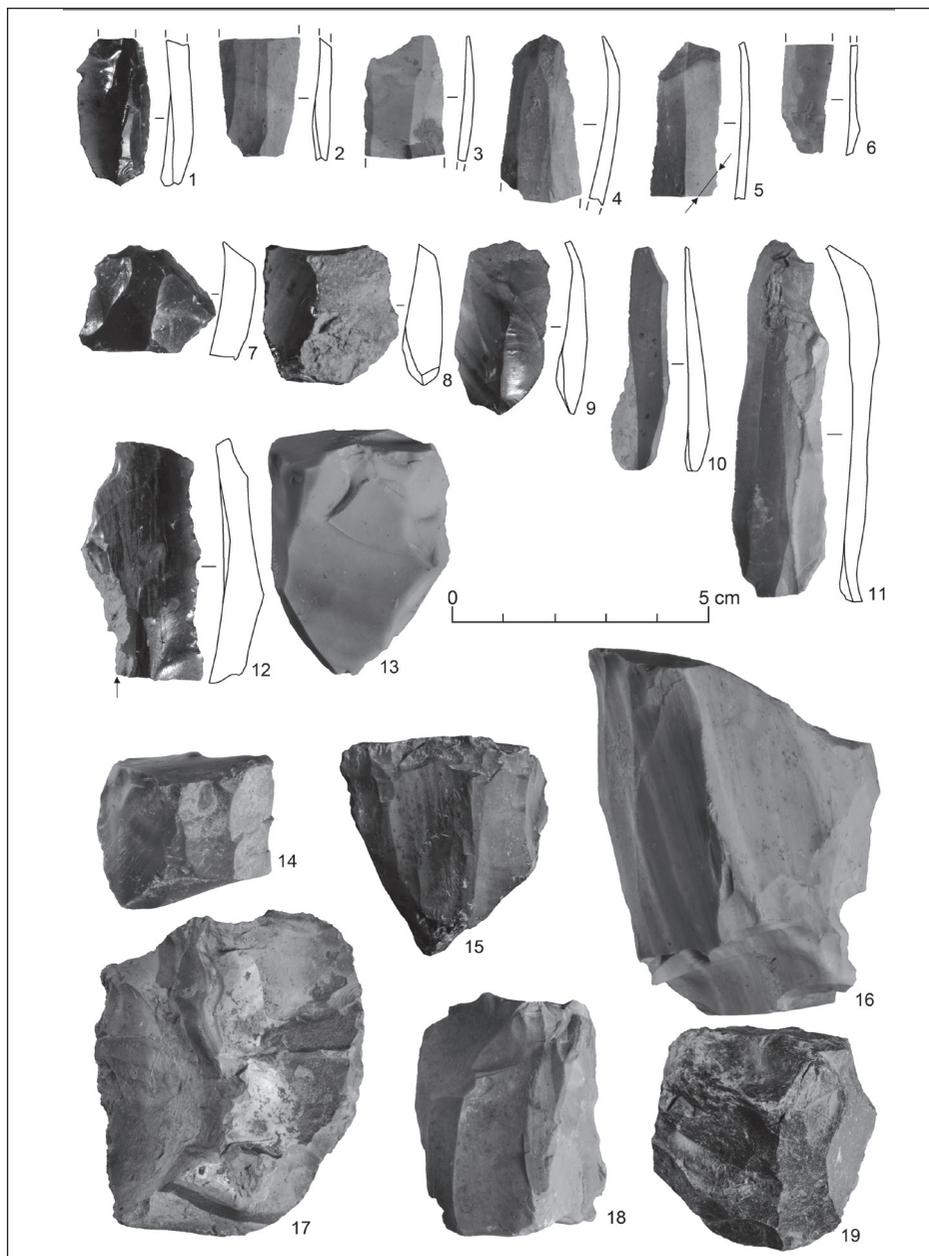


Figure 9: Košice-Galgovec III, feature 9/97, Tiszadob group. Chipped lithic industry. 1 – retouched blade, 2–4, 6, 8, 9, 11 – blades, 5 – sickle blade, 7 – end-scrapers, 12 – burin, 17 – side-scraper, 13–16, 18, 19 – cores. Raw material: 1, 7–9 – obsidian, 2–5, 10, 11, 14–19 – limnosilicite of the Banské type, 6, 13 – limnosilicite

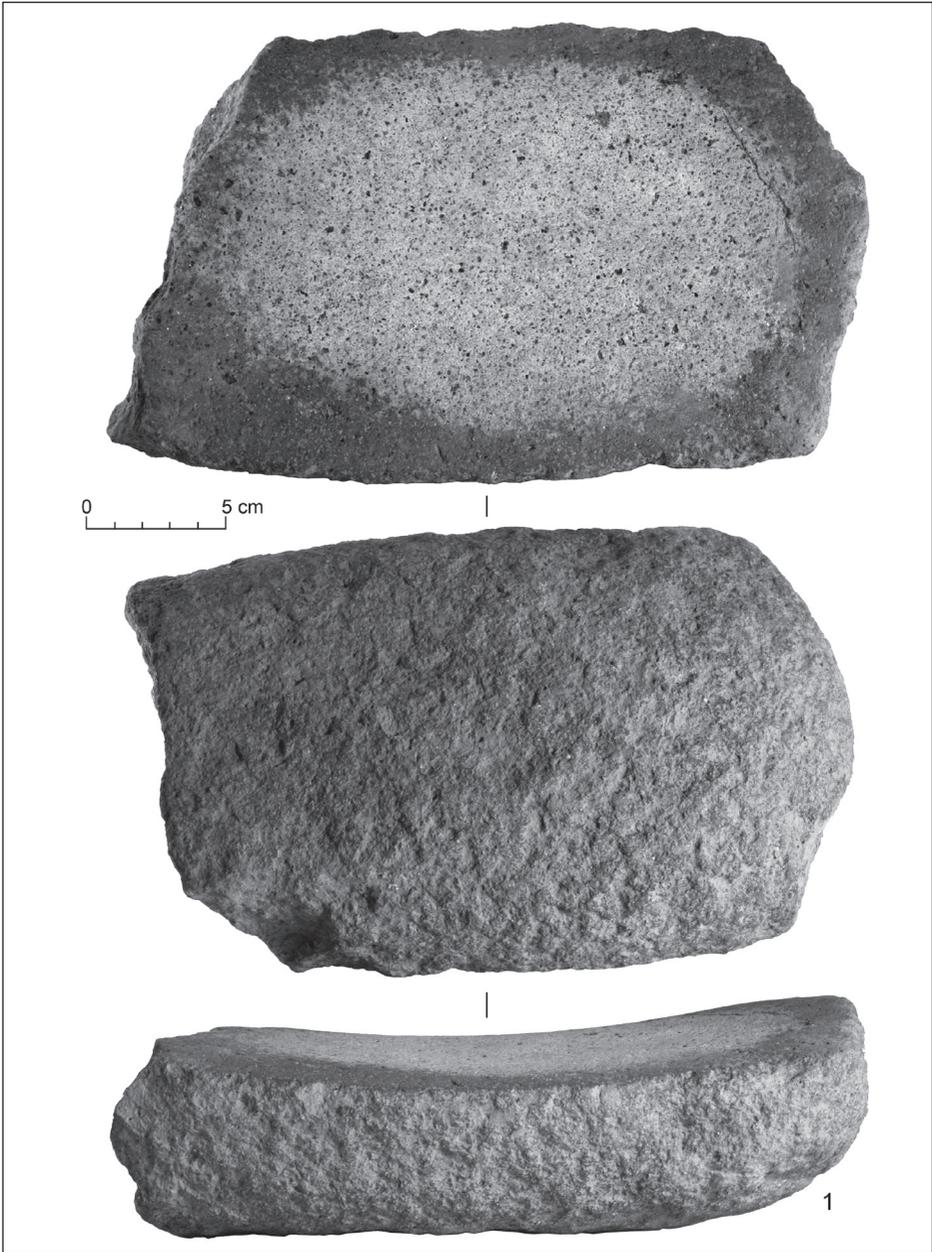


Figure 10: Košice-Galgovec III, feature 9/97, Tiszadob group. Lower grinding stone – granite

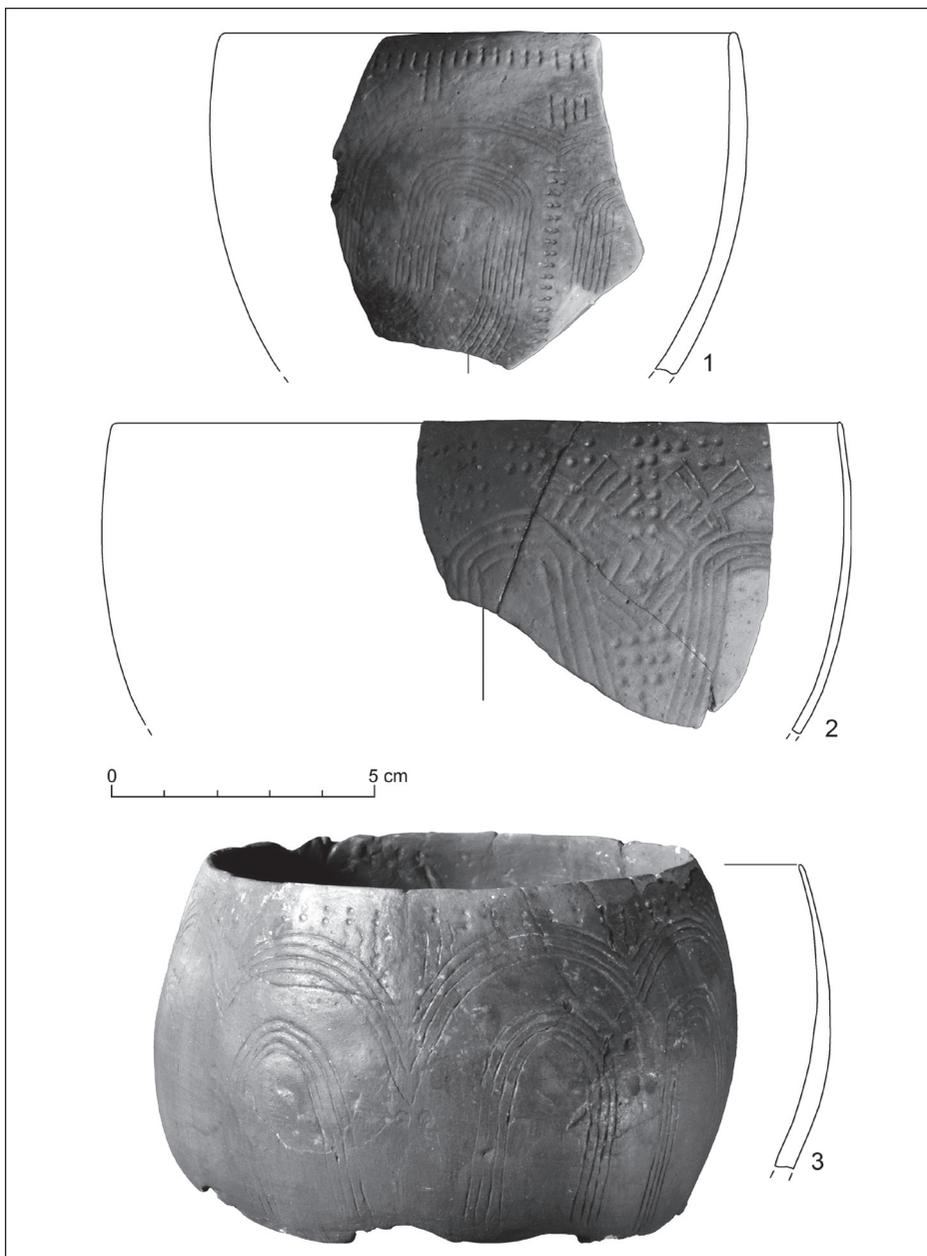


Figure 11: Košice-Galgovec I, feature 10/2000, Bükk culture. 1–3 – decorated hemispherical bowls

Digital Monument Reconstruction in Architectural Studies: Synthesis of Research on the Previously Unknown Form of the Palace in Łobzów (Cracow) from the Period of the Rule of John III Sobieski

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The former palace in Łobzów, which currently houses the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology, has an exceedingly rich architectural history. Since the Middle Ages, it has gone through a series of changes that have significantly altered its form each time. Thanks to modern digital reconstruction technology, it was possible to recreate all of its architectural phases in the form of 3D models on the basis of archaeological studies and the analysis of historical materials. The models were then used to reconstruct the most probable appearance of the building during the period when the Polish king John III Sobieski lived there. Determining the most probable state of the palace's preservation during King Sobieski's rule, which had not been investigated thus far, was possible only because of the combining of traditional research methods with modern technology.

Keywords: Łobzów Palace. Digital Reconstruction. Monument Protection. Architectural History. John III Sobieski.

Introduction

This text is a synthesis of studies on the architectural history of the former summer residence of Polish royalty in Łobzów near Cracow. From the beginning of its existence, this palace enjoyed great interest from Polish kings, who often preferred to stay here, among quiet natural surroundings, rather than in the Royal Castle on the Wawel Hill. The building currently houses the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology. The study, based on an analysis of archival materials and an analysis of historical sources (iconographic, topographic and written) utilized the digital reconstruction of buildings using 3D models. The models prepared during the study were collected and compared so as to perform a comparative analysis intended to determine the palace's appearance during the period when it was used as John III Sobieski's residence, who rebuilt it after the Swedish Deluge. Previously, the form it was given after this reconstruction and its degree were not known. The main course of the project is to create a complete digital documentation of all architectural phases of the palace in Łobzów, from the Middle Ages to the twenty-first century.

The former palace in Łobzów is located in Cracow in the present-day district of Krowdrza at 1 Podchorążych Street and currently houses the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology. Its contemporary form is the result of a remodelling project undertaken in the second half of the nineteenth century by Austrians, who adapted it into a Cadet School. The palace's architectural history is immensely rich. Its roots date to the Middle Ages and the rule of Casimir the Great, who sited his *fortalicium* (fortalice) here.¹ Since that time, each subsequent period brought

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sweeping changes to the building's form, architectural style and, partially, even its function. Relatively much is known about each of them, primarily thanks to depictions of Cracow's panoramas and other iconographic or written sources.

Historical outline: overview of studies on known states of the palace's preservation across the centuries

The beginnings of the history of the Łobzów residence date back to 1357. It was then that King Casimir the Great took a particular liking to the village of Łobzów. He ordered his *fortalicium* to be built here.² The erection of the structure was closely tied with the founding of Stary Łobzów and Nowy Łobzów in 1357 by Casimir the Great. Supposedly, the two villages were to form an economic infrastructure for a complex of buildings that guarded the Młynówka Królewska, a river that was a part of Cracow's water system during the period. The castle, described with the term *fortalicium*, together with similar fortresses throughout the region, belonged to the outer defences of the royal city. The form of the palace in this period is not known, but it is conjectured that its exterior and interior were not luxuriously furnished, so that the local population would not feel anxious about the king's presence. A hypothetical discussion of the *fortalicium*'s appearance is possible on the basis of trace source materials and analogous *gord*³-like complexes. The primary element of the complex was a three-storey residential tower with a square-shaped plan. This was an element used in all knightly residences in the fourteenth century.⁴ Due to the shape of the terrain at the time (simple and flat), it appears logical that the floor plan of the entire layout could also have been based on a square. This would also be aligned in comparison with other castles founded by Casimir, such as Lanckorona or Skawina.⁵ The entire layout was most certainly surrounded by a wall and a moat, which could have been flooded thanks to the waters of the nearby Młynówka river.⁶

Together with Maksymilian Szpyt, the author attempted to finally determine the location of Casimir's *fortalicium* on the oldest known panorama of Cracow from 1536.⁷ These studies partially confirmed the supposition that the building survived to the fifteenth century in the form of a ruin, as its timber elements had fully deteriorated and only the masonry elements survived. It was possible that the original form of the residence erected by Casimir the Great was wooden and that only later remodelling projects gradually converted it into a masonry structure or, most probably, one with masonry ground floors and upper stories made of timber.⁸ There is a hypothesis that the oldest tower had two storeys, but it is impossible to prove this without locating the palace on the panorama of 1536.⁹

1 SZPYT – PIKULSKI, *Obscure fate*, 122.

2 GRABOWSKI, *Kraków i jego okolice*, 214.

3 medieval Slavic fortified wooden settlement

4 TOMKOWICZ, *Teka Grona Konserwatorów*, 116.

5 BOGDANOWSKI, *Królewski ogród*, 11–13.

6 HRYNIEWICZ, *Royal Residence in Lobzow*, 56–60.

7 PIKULSKI – SZPYT, *An attempt at establishing*, 84.

8 RAŃCZKA, *Przemiany Krajobrazu*, 25.

9 PIKULSKI – SZPYT, *An attempt at establishing*, 86–87.

In the fifteenth century, the palace often changed hands, yet none of its owners made any major modifications to its architectural form.¹⁰ The residence had slowly turned into a ruin, until it became the property of King Stephen Báthory. In 1585, he commissioned the complete remodelling of the building by the Italian architect Santi Gucci.¹¹

The contract between Stephen Báthory and Santi Gucci, "a royal mason",¹² which stipulated the construction of a "new home"¹³ in Łobzów is a document that allows us to familiarize ourselves with the scope of the palace remodelling project.¹⁴ The contents of this document stipulate that, once completed, the building was to have seven rooms on the ground floor and seven rooms on the first floor.¹⁵ We know very little about the appearance and state of preservation of the fortalicium in Báthory's time. However, we do know that the ruler decided to site his own residence here, incorporating what had been left of Casimir's fortress into his own, thereby showing respect to the historical architectural tissue which had already been considered the legacy of an outstanding ruler.¹⁶ The king initially intended the new building to be merged with the "old tower", as stipulated in the contract. This was probably performed by using covered arcades. The term "old tower" was probably used to denote the oldest surviving part of the structure, the remains of the fortalicium's masonry tower.¹⁷

The death of Anna Jagiellon, who took particularly good care of the palace after the death of Stephen Báthory, put an end to this stage in the residence's architectural history.¹⁸

It was the remodelling performed during the rule of the Vasa dynasty at the end of the sixteenth and the start of the seventeenth century that gave the residence the form of the Baroque palace known from historic panoramas of Cracow. Sources state¹⁹ that the activity of Sigismund III and later his son Władysław IV in Łobzów was divided into a number of stages, each intended to further extend the building, as initiated by Stephen Báthory, while also implementing distinct elements of Vasa architecture.²⁰

During the first stage of work on the Łobzów palace in the years 1594–1595, Sigismund III Vasa commissioned the extension of the eastern wing so as to add more rooms, ultimately "merging" the remains of the fortalicium's tower with the building's substance. The decision concerning this extension was dictated by the necessity to prepare the palace for the birth of Sigismund III's son, Władysław IV, who was born in 1595 in the palace some months after construction work was completed. A double-bay layout was used in the new wing. From a courtyard-facing hall that

10 SZPYT – PIKULSKI, *Obscure fate*, 123.

11 FISHINGER, *Santi Gucci*, 142.

12 "murarzem królewskim"

13 "nowego domu"

14 FISHINGER, *Santi Gucci*, 142–143.

15 KIESZKOWSKI, *Biuletyn Historji*, 11.

16 SINKO, *Santi Gucci*, 24.

17 KIESZKOWSKI, *Biuletyn Historji*, 14.

18 *Ibidem*, 15.

19 *Ibidem*, 12.

20 GRABOWSKI, *Kraków i jego okolice*, 215.

originally belonged to Stephen Báthory's building one could now enter four rooms on the first floor and a spacious chamber and chapel on the second floor.²¹

One of the most significant changes in the history of the summer residence in Łobzów was made in the years 1602–1605, as a result of the adding of a new, single-bay wing from the south, "adding" it to Báthory's gallery, which now became an internal loggia open towards the courtyard.²² Thus, the frontal facade of the building ultimately lost all elements of Renaissance architecture, taking on the austere and simple appearance typical of Baroque palaces that we know from many of Cracow's panoramas. This facade, built as designed by Giovanni Trevano, is characterized by a main axis highlighted by a shallow avant-corps flanked by rusticated lesenes that are two stories high, as well as a rustic entrance portal that has survived to this day.²³ Window openings were placed quite densely and lesenes were placed underneath first-floor windows. In addition, Trevano decided to use a protruding crowning cornice and to highlight facade corners using rustication.²⁴

In the years 1655–1657, the palace was heavily damaged by the Swedish army. After this period there is a gap in known source materials as to its state of preservation. It is certain that during the reign of August II Łobzów remained a royal residence.²⁵ It is known that August II visited it on 31 July 1697 prior to his coronation, as there were Swedes at Wawel Castle. However, August II's reign saw the gradual end of the palace's restored glory.²⁶ The palace was gradually deteriorating for the remainder of the eighteenth century. Descriptions from 1736 and 1744 clearly illustrate the condition of the palace, which was unfit for the hosting of August III in Cracow. They mention leaks in the roof, dilapidated pavilions and overgrown gardens. Eighteenth-century sources state that the eastern wing, which had remembered the period of Casimir the Great's *fortalicium*, was in the best condition, along with a stairwell and an adjoining chapel.²⁷

The first iconographic source presenting the state of the palace after the Swedish Deluge is dated to the start of the nineteenth century. In 1809, Zygmunt Vogel and Jan Zachariasz Frey made a print depicting the Łobzów residence in a ruined state. It remained in this condition until 1802, when it became the property of Austrian authorities which commissioned an in-depth survey of the ruins and a design for its adaptive reuse as a Cadet School. The print by Vogel and Frey and the Austrian survey provided a basis for the building of a precise digital model of the residence's ruins.

21 STALA, *The royal residence*, 56.

22 KIESZKOWSKI, *Biuletyn Historji*, 17.

23 STALA, *The royal residence*, 58.

24 KIESZKOWSKI, *Biuletyn Historji*, 18.

25 BOGDANOWSKI, *Królewski ogród*, 28.

26 RAŃCZKA, *Przemiany Krajobrazu*, 44.

27 RAŃCZKA, *Królewski Łobzów*, 15.



Figure 1: Insertion of the digital reconstruction of the Łobzów palace ruins as at the start of the nineteenth century onto the print by Jan Zachariasz Frey and Zygmunt Vogel; authors: Piotr Pikulski, Maksymilian Szpyt.

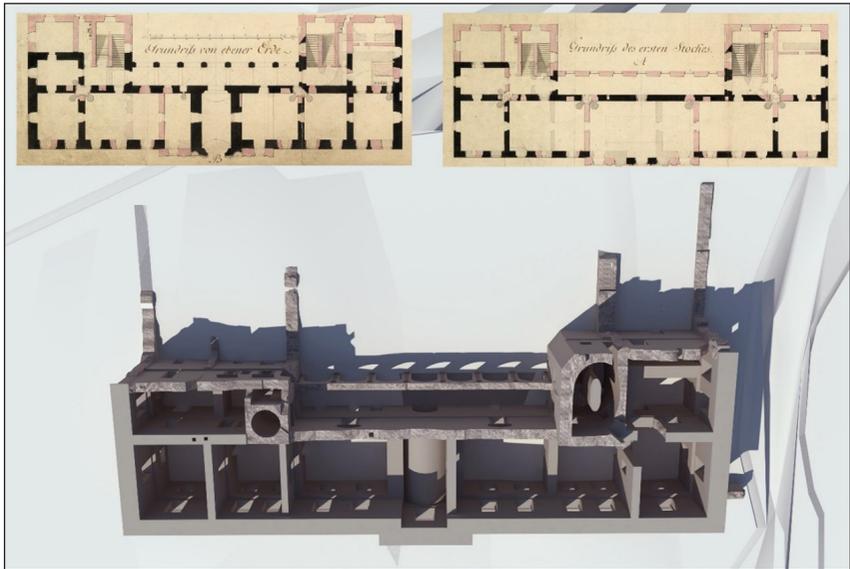


Figure 2: Digital model of the ruin as at the beginning of the nineteenth century, compared with the Austrian survey which was the primary information source for its preparation; authors: Piotr Pikulski, Maksymilian Szpyt.

Discrepancies visible when comparing digital models of the Vasa-period form of the palace, the last state from before the Swedish Deluge that is known, and its nineteenth-century ruin, the first known state after its destruction by the Swedes, provide grounds for a theory that the palace could have been subjected to extensive remodelling between these two periods.

As reported by surviving historical sources, John III Sobieski lived in the Łobzów palace with his family and it was the place from which he departed to the Relief of Vienna.²⁸ Archaeological research and archival studies performed by the author provided a basis for the hypothesis that the Łobzów residence was rebuilt by the hetman who would go on to be King of Poland in a form that differed from the one known before the damage wrought by the Swedes.

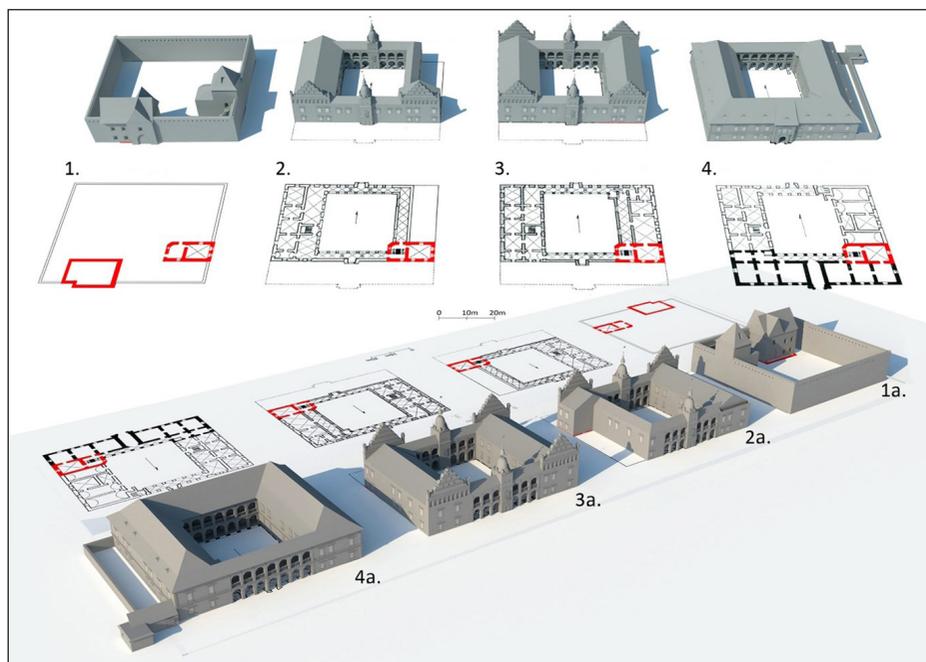


Figure 3: Comparison of the remodelling projects performed on the palace in Łobzów in the form of 3D models: 1, 1a – Casimir the Great’s fortalicium; 2, 2a – the extension by Santi Gucci commissioned by Stephen Bathory; 3, 3a – extension by Sigismund III Vasa; 4, 4a – the remodelling by Giovanni Trevano commissioned by Władystaw IV Vasa, the supposed location of the remains of Gothic walls from the period of Casimir the Great has been marked in red; author: Piotr Pikulski.

28 SZPYT – PIKULSKI, *Obscure fate*, 120.



Figure 4: Reconstruction of the substance of the Łobzów palace after its remodelling by Władysław IV Vasa, the final known form of the palace before the damage inflicted by the Swedish army; author: Piotr Pikulski.

Damage inflicted on Cracow during the Swedish Deluge

To determine the degree to which Sobieski had interfered with the substance of the Łobzów palace, it was necessary to identify the damage that the Swedes inflicted on it during their invasion of Poland in 1655. Historical sources speak little of the palace itself, yet we can find information fragments about what happened to it during the siege of Cracow. Most probably, and quite paradoxically, the fate of the Łobzów residence was sealed by the fact that on 28 September 1655 King Charles Gustav made it his quarters, where he had intended to prepare plans for the siege of Cracow.²⁹ Out of tactical considerations, the Swedes refrained from damaging it and were content with looting and plundering the royal residence. It was only when the Poles began to forcibly resist the Swedish occupation that they started a massive campaign of destruction and terror in retaliation. Sources mention that any city, village or castle whose residents resisted the Swedes was sacked and razed or blown up afterwards.

In the case of Łobzów, there is mention of "great ruin being inflicted upon it"³⁰ by Charles Gustav in retaliation for the armed resistance of the Poles.³¹ There are

²⁹ LEPSZY, *Polska w okresie*, 440.

³⁰ "doznaniu przez niego wielkiej ruiny"

³¹ GRABOWSKI, *Kraków i jego okolice*, 216.

mentions of stripped flooring and marble column cladding, which was crushed and sold to craftsmen. The Swedes most probably treated Łobzów in the same as they had the castles in Tenczyn, Lanckorona, Pieskowa Skąta, Lipowiec, Tyniec and Ojców and the palace in Niepołomice. Each was looted and then almost entirely or partially razed or blown up.³² Here it should be mentioned that the destruction was wrought in a period when the occupying forces had the upper hand over the Poles. In 1657, during their retreat from Poland, King Charles Gustav issued an official command to his forces to destroy everything in their path. It was never a decision made by individual commanders, but a blanket order to the entire army.³³

There can be no doubt that it was during the Deluge that the palace had been stripped of its arcade courtyard, whose ruins are mentioned by, among others, A. Grabowski, who quoted Miechowita's accounts of his travels across Poland.³⁴

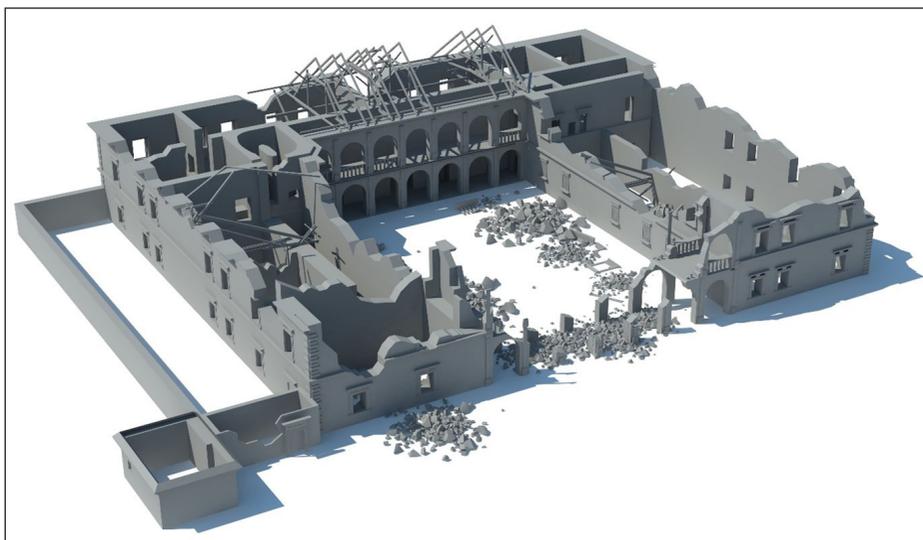


Figure 5: The probable condition of the Łobzów residence after the damage inflicted by the Swedish army during its invasion of Poland in the years 1655–1657. The figure presents the theoretical state of preservation of the palace after the demolition of the back arcades of the courtyard, which led to the collapse of some of the building's roofs and decks. The building was most certainly set alight, which caused the collapse of the remaining roofs and decks between storeys. The southern wing was most probably the least damaged due to its solid foundations, the fact that this section featured thick walls from the Middle Ages and the fact that this wing was the latest and therefore the most durable section of the palace; author: Piotr Pikulski.

Most probably, the palace was not blown up but rather set alight after being sacked and having some of the columns of its arcade courtyard hacked to pieces, causing it to partially collapse. One of the more significant consequences of this was the collapse of

32 SIKORA, *Szwedzi i Siedmiogrodzianie*, 119.

33 LEPSZY, *Polska w okresie*, 440.

34 GRABOWSKI, *Kraków i jego okolice*, 405.

the palace's roof, which, after its timber structure had burnt down, could not support its remaining weight and fell upon the interior of the palace, completing the destruction caused by the demolition of some of the courtyard's marble columns. This must have resulted in the collapse of some of the decks above the ground floor of the south wing. The stairwells could also have been damaged during this event.

Unknown activity by John III Sobieski at the Łobzów palace: digital reconstruction of the building's substance

Previously, it was believed that the nineteenth-century ruin on Vogel and Frey's print and that described in the Austrian survey from 1820 was what remained of the damage done by the Swedish army. However, as argued by J. W. Rączka: "John III Sobieski uplifted Łobzów from ruin after its destruction by the Swedes, and had the garden arranged to French tastes".³⁵ It is known that in 1665 the residence was still a ruin, but that Sobieski gradually rebuilt it. In the years 1683–1684, the palace was restored and was the site from where crown troops began their march to the Relief of Vienna in July 1683. It was also where Sobieski returned from his victory over the Turks, bringing to Łobzów the tent of Kara Mustafa himself. Most probably, the damage inflicted by the Swedes was so severe that Sobieski decided to renovate only a part of the building – the frontal section from the south, and fragments of the east and west wings, leaving the northern section and the arcade courtyard as they had been, in ruin.

Sources claim that when John III Sobieski became king, the costly construction of the palace in Wilanów and work on the Royal Castle in Warsaw forced the ruler to downscale his plans for the Łobzów residence and merely conserve it, and even to demolish some of its more deteriorated elements and use their materials on those projects.³⁶ This is corroborated by a letter that Augustyn Locci, the architect and builder of Wilanów, sent to the king, in which he mentioned receiving "an entire column from Łobzów, and stated that no one knows what this stone is, as it is not local marble, but I know that it is Maro granito d'Egisto".³⁷

What is certain is that Sobieski first saw the palace in ruin, with its eastern and western wings and the northern arcade wing severely damaged. Only the southern wing was suitable for extensive renovation, yet even here one could not avoid the complete reconstruction of the roof, destroyed during Swedish looting and razing. The remaining wings of the building required reconstruction instead of renovation, which Sobieski, then a Great Hetman of the Crown, could not afford. Because of this, he had to make a decision as to how to separate the renovated southern section from the preserved ruins of the eastern and western wings. Defining the places where the palace, as renovated by Sobieski, was "separated" from the ruins of its side wings is possible by analysing the digital reconstruction of the palace ruins as they were at the start of the nineteenth century. The efforts undertaken by Sobieski to restore the palace in Łobzów to its former glory and uplift it from ruin must surely be acknowledged as much more than mere renovation. The damage caused by the Swedes was extensive and although the building was not completely destroyed, many of its elements required reconstruction and partial remodelling.

35 RĄCZKA, *Przemiany Krajobrazu*, 36.

36 KIESZKOWSKI, *Biuletyn Historji*, 18–20.

37 *Ibidem*, 20.

Thanks to having analysed the fate of the palace both prior to and after its reconstruction by Sobieski, it was possible to compare the resultant digital models of its individual architectural phases and superimpose them upon one another, creating the most probable image of the palace from its period as Sobieski's home. The uneven damage seen on the model of the nineteenth-century ruin confirms the hypothesis that Sobieski opted for only a partial reconstruction of the residence, leaving the side wings in disrepair so they could slowly deteriorate. Due to his only renovating the south wing, the building started to deteriorate once again after the king's death. This process progressed unevenly, hence the relatively good condition of the frontal section on the nineteenth-century print. Compared to the rest of the building that can be seen on the nineteenth-century print.

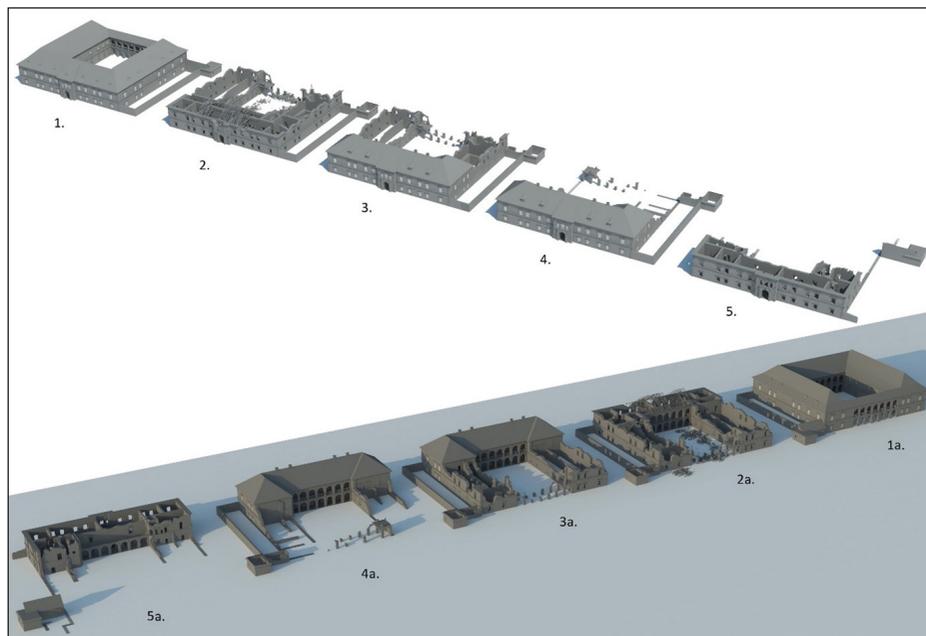


Figure 6: Comparison of digital models of the Reconstruction of the Łobzów palace, which led to the recreation of the state of the building's preservation during the period of John III Sobieski: 1, 1a – state during the reign of Władysław IV Vasa and the remodelling by Giovanni Trevano; 2, 2a – state from the period of the building's destruction by the Swedish army during the Deluge; 3, 3a – the reconstruction by John III Sobieski after the damage inflicted by the Swedes; 4, 4a – the reconstruction by John III Sobieski, state of preservation from the final years of the king's reign, when practically all remains of the side and northern wings were dismantled so as to reclaim construction materials for use on the Wilanów Palace; 5, 5a – nineteenth-century ruin. The progressive destruction of the north, east and west wings of the palace can be clearly seen on the image; author: Piotr Pikulski.

Another difficulty that Sobieski must have encountered during work on the restoring of the Łobzów residence for use was the matter of a new roof. As it used only small fragments of the side wings (a greater section of the east wing and a smaller section of the western wing), it was necessary to design a completely new roof geometry. Here, it

can be said with a great deal of certainty that Sobieski could have given this task to his trusted Cracow-based court engineer Piotr Beber, who was most probably the author of the palace's reconstruction. Beber was famous for his talent at rebuilding damaged buildings, and specifically specialized in roof designs. Due to the assumption that it was Beber who designed the roof for the renovated palace, it can also be assumed that he used ceramic tiles as its surface layer, which he used the most often (he used it for the roofing in his design for the city hall building in Żółkiew) and which was much cheaper than copper sheets.³⁸

It is certain that the frontal facade of the palace was not subjected to any major changes, as evidenced by the coat of arms of the House of Vasa on the entrance portal above the gate, still visible on nineteenth-century prints. In this case, the drawing by Józef Brodowski, depicting the facade from the front, is an invaluable source of knowledge about its appearance. It is on its basis that the authors were able to recreate the appearance of the building's facade in such detail.

The new side wings must surely have had traces left upon them after the walling-in of openings that had previously acted as doors connecting the entire eastern and western walls with the southern section. After Sobieski's remodelling, formerly interior walls became external walls, enclosing the new wings of the palace.



Figure 7: The Łobzów palace after its reconstruction by John III Sobieski, digital reconstruction of the probable state of the building's preservation ca. 1684, during the return of the king from the Battle of Vienna, view from the south, with the remains of the side wings and the arcade courtyard visible in the back; author: Piotr Pikulski.

38 PIKULSKI – STALA, *Royal palace in Łobzow*, 115.



Figure 8: The Łobzów palace after its reconstruction by John III Sobieski, digital reconstruction of the probable state of the building's preservation ca. 1684, during the return of the king from the Battle of Vienna, view from the north, with the remains of the side wings and the arcade courtyard that had been destroyed by the Swedish army visible; author: Piotr Pikulski.



Figure 9: The Łobzów palace after its reconstruction by John III Sobieski, digital reconstruction of the probable state of the building's preservation from the final decade of the seventeenth century, after the gradual demolition of the remains of the eastern, western and the entirety of the northern wing so as to obtain materials that could be used in the construction of the Palace in Wilanów; author: Piotr Pikulski.

Conclusion

It is certain that the reconstruction presented above is the most precise state of preservation of the palace in the state after Sobieski's interference that can be determined. Based on its analysis, it is possible to state that Sobieski must have rebuilt the front of the building and fragments of its eastern and western wings to a degree that made them habitable, leaving the northern section and the arcade courtyard in a damaged state. The uneven deterioration of the ruins can be seen as evidence of this. In the front section, the only significant deterioration is the lack of a roof, which is a normal phenomenon, as the timber roof frame decayed more quickly over time. The place of the clear "severing" of the eastern and western wings can be seen as evidence that the king deliberately gave up on the previously enclosed form of the building with a square courtyard at the centre, accidentally contributing to the definition of the new form of the palace that has survived to this day.

The damage done by the Swedes was considerable, but there is no evidence to suggest they blew up the building (at least in its entirety). There are only mentions of them tearing away the flooring and generally devastating the interiors and walls, as well as of arson. Therefore, it can be assumed that Sobieski did not have to rebuild a complete ruin. However, his task involved something equally essential: he had to restore the palace to its former glory. To do so, the king had to make numerous key decisions during the works, concerning, among other things, how to rebuild the roof, how to pick major architectural details, which materials to use and how to decorate and finish the interiors.

It can be stated with certainty that the Łobzów palace as rebuilt by Jan Sobieski, the future king of Poland, considerably differed in form from that of the period of Trevano's remodelling, and the king himself considerably contributed to how the residence has been perceived in later years and the present.

Finding archival materials from the reign of Jan III Sobieski would make 3D reconstructions much more accurate, but archival inventories from 1665 and 1692, mentioned by Jan Rączka and Bogusław Krasnowolski, described the entire grange and gardens, not focusing sufficiently on the palace itself. Digital reconstruction of the gardens is the next planned stage of research.³⁹

SketchUp Pro software was used to create the digital models shown in this paper. This software made it possible to import any archival architectural plans or iconographic materials into the 3D environment. It also allowed colour samples to be taken from them, in order to recreate the individual materials used during the construction of the palace. Parameters that could not be read from archival drawings (for example, floor heights) had to be found in archival inventories.

During the study, the method of the reconstruction using digital models of individual architectural phases of the summer residence in Łobzów and their subsequent comparison with the intent to discover a new, previously unstudied form of the building, can contribute to a significant enhancement of our knowledge concerning architectural and archaeological research of historical structures that have long since ceased to exist.

39 RĄCZKA – KRASNOWOLSKI, *Królewska rezydencja*, 86.

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REVIEWS

REVIEWS

THE FATE OF SLOVAK JEWS IN THE LOCAL
PERSPECTIVE: REVIEW OF A HISTORY OF
JEWISH COMMUNITY IN DOLNÝ KUBÍN

JAKOBYOVÁ, Barbora – NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard.
Dejiny židovskej komunity v Dolnom Kubíne
[A History of The Jewish Community in Dolný
Kubín]. Bratislava: Izraelská obchodná
spoločnosť na Slovensku, 2018, 240 pp. ISBN
978-80-971954-4-1

The publication *Dejiny židovskej komunity v Dolnom Kubíne* [A History of The Jewish Community in Dolný Kubín], was released in 2018 as the result of the cooperation of Slovak historians Eduard Nižňanský (Comenius University in Bratislava) and Barbora Jakobyová (Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences). Eduard Nižňanský is one of the leading specialists in Holocaust research in Slovakia. He is the author of many publications and papers related to the topic of the Jewish Community in Slovakia. His research interests also include antisemitism in Slovakia and propaganda. An integral aspect of his interest is research into the Jewish Community from a regional perspective, and this can also be seen in *Dejiny židovskej komunity*.

The book is oriented primarily around the regional and local perspectives and conditions and contexts. As authors mention in the introduction, the book is part of a project documenting the life of the Jewish community in several Slovak towns (including Bratislava and Komárno, among others). The work is divided into two parts. One is written for English-speaking readers, and serves a very useful function of sharing important information about the Holocaust with non-Slovak readers.

The book is richly structured. It has ten chapters, not including the introduction. In the first two chapters, the authors briefly summarize the most important knowledge about the life of Jewish community in the town before the year 1918 and in the interwar period, focussing on a number of aspects. They present the most important legal norms affecting the lives of the Dolný Kubín Jews and explore several other factors through which it is possible to reconstruct the community's activities in the city, such as the organization of Jewish religious life

and the activities and expansion of Jewish associations in the town. The section related to the economic influence of the Jews in the city is of particular importance. It is well known that great part of contemporary anti-Semitism in the region was attributed to the nature of Jewish dominance in the economic life of Hungarian or, from 1918, Czechoslovak cities. The authors show how and why this stereotype became established in the opinions of the majority of the population. The second chapter is enriched by statistics and several tables which help to create a more plastic image of the influence of Jews (mainly regarding the actual influence of Jews in the economic life of the city).

The following chapters paint a picture of Jewish life at the beginning of the non-democratic authoritarian regime, a period framed by the rise of Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana (HSĽS) in October 1938. This new period was characteristic by the escalation of repressive measures against selected groups of inhabitants, but mainly against the Jews. The third chapter devoted to the period up to 14 March 1938 focuses mainly on depicting the political atmosphere between the events in Munich and the creation of the Slovak State, as well as on the depiction of basic undemocratic measures by the new autonomous government. The authors follow the details of hard measures adopted by government against the Jewish Community in November 1938 closely connected to the failure of foreign policy negotiations of the government. The unsuccessful negotiations resulted to the loss of great part of the Slovak territory.¹ In this respect, the authors make a good point when they highlight the connection between the First Vienna Award and the expulsion of Jews into the territory of no one,² which was to compensate for a certain feeling of frustration among the highest state officials about the loss of the territory. The authors pay attention not only to the basic regulations governing this relocation, but also note how they were applied in the case of Dolný Kubín. Both parts of the chapter are

1 First Vienna Award took a place on 2 November 1938 and caused the loss of the south territory of Slovakia (area of 10 423 km²).

2 "The territory of no one" is the territory ceded to Hungary in November 1938.

functionally connected and allow the reader to understand local events within the context of national ones. However, the reconstruction of these events is largely constrained by the surviving archival materials, which are limited in number and quality. As a result, the focus of much of this chapter is primarily on the situation at the national level.

Despite these limitations, the authors highlight the relevant factor of deportation activity “from below”. Although the HSEŠ could not yet rely on the local authorities during this period, the example of Dolný Kubín demonstrates that the employees of the still extant “democratic” Czechoslovak state administration were willing to accept and implement regulations that were outside the bounds of the constitution.

The atmosphere of the months from autumn 1938 to March 1939 is depicted through several archival sources. The anti-Semitic mood in the town started to rise during the first months of 1939. The authors identified that in these months, the first public anti-Semitic demonstrations occurred.

The following parts of book aim to present the life of Jewish community in the town in the first years of Slovak Republic 1939–1945 existence. The chapter *The Jewish Community in Dolný Kubín between 1939 and 1941* includes a brief description of events which led to the formation of the new state. The introduction of a contemporary typology of antisemitism is also an integral part of this chapter. It is necessary to point out that antisemitism had been present in central Europe (in Slovakia too) for centuries. The chapter also includes an overview of the legislative framework adopted in first years of war, although this aspect of the research is not well connected with the regional specifics. The emphasis is on legal measures from the national perspective; specific measures in Dolný Kubín are omitted. Probably due to the lack of archival material, the impacts of the adopted legal framework on the life of Jewish Community in the town are discussed only in descriptive way. The subsequent sections are focused on the functional connections between regional archival sources and the knowledge gleaned research concerning anti-Jewish policy at a national level. The authors present several examples of efforts

by the Jewish community to adapt to the new situation in Dolný Kubín.³

Although several examples can be found regarding interventions and decisions at the local level, the book does not primarily focus on the role of local political actors in the repressive policy towards its Jewish population. Only a few indications can be found in the section dedicated to local interventions in policy relating to the housing of Jews in the city. The authors found no sources dealing with the relocation of the Jewish minority to the periphery (as was the case in larger cities) so they can assume inaction on this issue among the local political leaders.

The chapter on *Aryanisation of Jewish Businesses* is dedicated to the analysis of this mechanism in Dolný Kubín. Aryanisation included despoiling the entrepreneurial, immovable and movable property of Jews. This part of the book is extremely valuable in terms of uncovering the mechanisms of Aryanisation at a local level. Last but not least, the value of this chapter lies in the author’s analysis of archival sources, which allowed them to reconstruct several cases of Aryanisation, behind which are hidden real human stories. Based on the example of Dolný Kubín, the authors confirm the fact that the “political” reliability of the candidate in the Aryanisation of companies played an important role. The practical consequence of the Aryanisation and liquidation of Jewish property was the impoverishment of the Jews, leading to existential problems.

This played an important role in the deportations that began in the spring of 1942 and ended in the autumn of the same year, as is stated at the start of the chapter about the deportations of Jews. The authors propose a causal link between the pauperization of the Jewish population and these deportations, and suggest that it also explains the close cooperation between the moderate and radical wings of the Party in the organization of transportation out of the territory. The next part of the chapter describes the technical preparation and implementation of the deportations generally, followed by a case

3 The good example of that is the creation of the school for Jewish children excluded from the state schools. The Jewish school was provided in the former law office of Dr Július Meisl.

study on the preparations made in the case of Dolný Kubín. The authors show how the local authorities took an active part in the preparations and transportation, and their activities cannot be considered as mere blind obedience to orders. Several sources confirm that, in addition to active participation, local political actors were also responsible for the fate of the deported members of the Jewish community, as the lists of those transported were decided by the district commission, which in several cases acted beyond scope permitted by the national regulations.

The chapter *The "Peaceful Years": 1943-1944* describes the life of the Jewish community in Dolný Kubín in the years 1943–1944. The authors recall that the remaining Jews still lived in fear of the resumption of transportation. The description of the atmosphere is completed by several ridiculous examples of their position in the city, for example, regarding evidence of the debts deported Jews owed to the city. The sale of Jewish real estate was still going on. A part of the chapter follows the Jews' participation in the Slovak National Uprising in August 1944.

The last chapter is focused on a brief summary of life of the survivors of the Holocaust in Czechoslovakia after the end of the war. Despite the fact that a new wave of anti-Semitism arose in the country, it seems there is no evidence of this in Dolný Kubín. The new era should have been a new start for members of Jews community. However, despite the efforts of several members of the Jewish community in city, their previous existence was not restored spiritually, culturally or economically. As evidence for this, authors cite the fate of the synagogue; the gradual decay of the building led to it being rebuilt as a cinema in the 1960s.

The main text is followed by a list of the literature and sources consulted, including rich archival material. The publication is supplemented by several appendices which summarize, in particular, the number of Aryanised and liquidated Jewish companies. What the publication may be missing is a conclusion or evaluation of the entire work and the archival research. Ultimately, the publication could be improved if the authors summarized their findings and went further to contextualise them in terms of the national situation. It would certainly not

harm the publication and would improve on its current significant descriptive character. Nevertheless, in general, it can be said, that the book represents a valuable probe into the life of Jewish communities in Slovakia, based on the example of a small town such as Dolný Kubín. Despite some of the shortcomings mentioned, it can be considered a good and fair treatment of this topic from a regional perspective.

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A BOOK REVIEW OF *POTRIANONSKÉ KOŠICE*

FICERI, Ondrej. *Potrianonské Košice. Premeny etnických identít obyvateľov Košíc v medzivojnovom Československu [Košice Post-Trianon. Ethnic Identity Changes of Inhabitants of Košice in Interwar Czechoslovakia]*. Bratislava: VEDA, Vydavateľstvo SAV, 2019, 336 pp. ISBN 978-80-224-1737-2

Ethnic identities of the inhabitants of central European border cities were marked by a complex set of factors during the first half of the 20th century, which is why they consistently present an attractive topic for social scientists. The East Slovak city of Košice that currently borders three states is certainly no exception. Censuses from the beginning of the 20th century show that Hungarians and Slovaks were the two largest ethnic groups in Košice, but Germans, Jews, Roma and others were represented as well. The city could thus be characterized as a melting pot of languages, cultures and religions, as well as social classes. This phenomenon was further exacerbated by the gradual changes occurring in state formations, as well as the four ethnic-national changes that Košice underwent in the first half of the 20th century, the most important out of these being the creation of the first Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 and the subsequent signing of the Treaty of Trianon. As a result, the ethnic identity of Košice's inhabitants became one of the most discussed topics in Košice's urban history within both Slovak and Hungarian national historiographies. Central to the academic debate are the attempts by authors from both

countries to “nationalize” or lay claim to the city, associating it with whichever side the author identifies with.

The latest contribution to the Košice controversy is the monograph *Potrianonské Košice* [*Košice Post-Trianon*] written by the historian Ondrej Ficeri. Ficeri has previously authored or co-authored several publications about Košice, most notably, the monograph *Košice v slovenskej historiografii* (2016) [*Košice in Slovak Historiography*]. In *Potrianonské Košice*, Ficeri presents an innovative attempt to settle the ongoing debate, with the ambition to resolve question of the ethnic identity of Košice's population in a way that could be acceptable for both Slovaks and Hungarians. The book comprises four chapters, and reader can find helpful information on the historical context of the topic in the introduction. The first chapter, *Termíny, Koncepty, Teórie* [*Terms, Concepts, Theories*] is dedicated defining the key terms of the work and presenting the fundamental concepts and theories applied in the book. Ficeri subjects polyvalent and ambiguous terms, such as *nation*, *nationality*, *ethnicity* and *ethnic identity*, to a brief examination of their genesis and the manner of their usage in the past (pp. 43–48). He also specifically distinguishes the term *identification* as an analytical tool. He then goes on to set out the conceptual framework of his book, which is based on the selected parts of the constructivist theories of ethnic politics by the American political scientist Kanchan Chandra (pp. 52–59). Chandra divides the concept of ethnicity into two groups: ethnic structure and ethnic practice. As Ficeri states, the focus of his research is the relationship between these two concepts and it is this decision that makes his research so original.

In the following two core chapters, *II. Etnická prax a štatistika* [*Ethnic Practice and Statistics*] and *III. Etnická prax a politika* [*Ethnic Practice and Politics*], Ficeri proves that ethnic identities are not fixed, as traditionally assumed in the relevant historiographies, but change over time, and are often the product of political and economical phenomena. At the beginning of the second chapter, the author analyses the ethnic genesis of Košice and declares the city, before the Treaty of Trianon, to be one of the centres of Hungarianization in the non-Hungarian-speaking regions

of Hungary (p. 75). The chapter is then divided into two chronological parts, the first dealing with Hungarian population statistics (up to 1918) and the second with Czechoslovakian statistics (after 1918). In the first part (pp. 75–124) Ficeri explains why Hungarianization was so successful in Košice, basing his argument on a complex set of geographical, historical, social and political factors. In the second part, he analyses the sudden shifts in proclaimed nationalities as captured by Czechoslovak officials. Based on Chandra's conceptualization, he identifies five major areas of transformation of ethnic identity, depending on the mechanism of said transformations (pp. 124–229). The final chapter is dedicated to presenting selected demographic indicators associated with ethnicity and the migratory movements of the inhabitants of Košice, according to the 1930 people's survey. Ficeri managed to create a database using an analytical method based on data from permanently settled and temporarily absent inhabitants of Košice in the city's nine residential areas. This chapter is highly technical: the author uses various equations which can be difficult to understand even for historians with a background in historical demography. In fact, the low comprehensibility of the text is one of the biggest shortcomings of *Potrianonské Košice*. Although it is a work of scientific character aimed at a relatively targeted audience, readers might have better experience with the book were it not for the overcomplicated sentence structure and the use of scientific terms that sometimes sound forced. However, Ficeri balances this out not only with several tables, graphs and schemes but also with a summary conclusion. The book is also suitably complemented by a functional and attractive graphic appendix.

Despite these shortcomings, the contribution of this award-winning book (*Potrianonské Košice* has recently been awarded a Prize for Scientific Literature from the Slovak Literary Fund) is significant thanks to its alternative and very original approach to the issue of changes of national identity within populations that live in ethnically diverse areas. A Hungarian translation of the book is expected.

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**KNOWING THE CAPITAL IN THE NEW
PERSPECTIVE: REVIEW OF WAR AND
BRATISLAVA**

SZALAY, Peter – BOGÁR, Michal –
HABERLANDOVÁ, Katarína – BARTOŠOVÁ,
Nina – KRIŠTEKOVÁ, Laura. *Vojnová Bratislava
1939–1945 [War and Bratislava 1939–1945]*.
Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2020, 336 pp.
ISBN 978-80-569-0131-0

Urban history, as a specific field, is the subject of research not only by historians, but also by urban planners and architects. It is not surprising that the latest publication to focus on the history of Bratislava in the years 1939–1945 comes from a team of architects and urbanists. As the authors state in the introduction, *Vojnová Bratislava 1939–1945 [War and Bratislava 1939–1945]* is a free continuation of the book *Moderná Bratislava [Modern Bratislava]*, published in 2014. The book follows the history of the city's architecture in the interwar period. The main theme of the publication is architecture, but it cannot be reduced to a simple description of this art. The authors provide a decent overview of the most important social and political events that influenced the development of Bratislava.

Vojnová Bratislava is the result of cooperation between several authors. Most of them work at Department of Architecture of Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. By way of introduction, it should be mentioned that the book has the character of popular science literature. Its aim is to summarize known knowledge rather than present new empirical research. This does not, however, detract from the quality of the work, which offers a new perspective on the development of the capital city and also offers new information, mainly on the topics of housing and infrastructure. The modern design of the book will certainly please.

The work is divided into ten chapters, providing a comprehensive view of the city in the WWII period. The main focus is on the material aspects of Bratislava, with a focus on new construction and expansion of the city. The authors do not omit a brief overview of the political situation in the country, which largely determined the development of the city. The plastic picture

of the prevailing atmosphere in the city can also be assessed positively. The authors work with contemporary articles, recordings and photographs, complementing each chapter. The central point of interest lies not only in the architecture itself, but in the happenings in the public space as well.

In the first two chapters, authors Peter Szalay and Michal Bogár focus on the topic of the manifestations of public space. They highlight specific urban spaces, such as squares and streets, with reference to the performative character of public space. Their interpretative inspiration seems to be from performative studies, in seeing the public space as a stage. One section of chapter 2 is devoted to the issue of new offices in the city. A lack of public buildings was one of the major issues in many Slovak towns in the selected period.

In Chapter 3, *Nenápadná architektúra nemeckej menšiny [Inconspicuous Architecture of the German Minority]*, author Peter Szalay examines the construction activities of the German minority in Bratislava and follows their impact of the activity on Bratislava's urban development. One good example is the construction of "German houses": multifunctional centres with a social, political and cultural function, built in Bratislava, but also in other regions (for example region of Spiš or in the wine-growing villages near the capital).

Chapter 4, *Mesto v zázemí [The City in the Background]*, focuses on the activities of several Slovak architects in Bratislava. Also authored by Peter Szalay, it explores the cultural life of capital. The chapter consists of several subsections, varying in content, overall creating the impression of disparate whole.

Chapter 5, *Holokaust v Bratislave [Holocaust in Bratislava]*, is more compact. This topic has been extensively covered in Slovak historiography but is not possible to omit it, even in a work focusing mainly on architecture. Indeed, this perspective brings new insights, so far overlooked in previous works. The authors, Peter Szalay and Michal Bogár, draw attention to the hierarchy of public space and track the expulsion of the Jews from the central parts of the city. One section is devoted to the plans to demolish the district concentrated around the old Jews

Street. Another interesting section is given over to the story of the architect Steiner, who, even in times of the transportation of Jews, managed to create a studio with several Jewish architects and engineers.

Chapter 6, *Plánovanie mesta* [*City Planning*], is devoted to several large projects that are already known to the professional and lay public. The most important points that the author, Michal Bogár, highlights are that the urban planning is driven by pragmatic motivations, and that the ideological background of construction should not be overestimated.

Chapter 7, *Každodennosť vojnovej metropoly: Bývanie, šport a vzdelávanie* [*The Everyday Life of a War Metropolis: Housing, Sports, Education*] by Katarína Haberlandová reflects upon a topic which is not well known. I wish to highlight that these aspects of urban space are very important for the daily life of city inhabitants and I consider it useful to bring to the fore topic like this.

Nina Bartošová, author of Chapter 8, describes the capital from the point-of-view of building industry and infrastructure. From the perspective of an architect, she interprets several well-known facts concerning the economic boom in the first years of WWII, focusing on the largest industrial companies in the city. The section of the chapter reflects on the city's road network and the traffic situation, considering it beneficial. But the conclusion of this chapter, which is vague and artificial, is a bit disturbing.

The chapter entitled *Vojna v meste* [*War in the City*], compiled by Laura Krišteková and Peter Szalay, captures the impact of

the war on the construction of war-related infrastructure in the capital. They briefly describe the construction of civilian shelters or the "Festung Pressburg", a defence system intended to protect the city from the arrival of the Red Army. The authors also deal with several buildings in the city that belonged to the army.

The final entry, Chapter 10, we be described as a kind of epilogue. The authors Peter Szalay and Michal Bogár turn their attention to the events that took place in the city after it was handed over to the Red Army. The chapter focuses on events from an architectural perspective, but we can find several links referring to efforts at an interdisciplinary view of the topic. Sections devoted to construction activities and the renewal of infrastructure in the city are mixed with those reflecting on the symbolic level of changes in the public space. These changes were connected with the renewal of Czechoslovakia and associated ideological paradigms.

The work closes with a bibliography, register of objects and short biographies of its authors. Despite the fact that the book belongs to the realm of popular science literature, the lack of a conclusion could be considered a weakness. Nevertheless, I evaluate this work positively. The authors manage to create a compact whole, enabling the readers to get know the city of Bratislava from a new perspective.

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