

Civitas nostra Bardfa vocata

Správa mesta Bardejov v stredoveku (1320 – 1526)

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Civitas nostra Bardfa vocata

The town administration in Bardejov
in the Middle Ages (1320 - 1526)

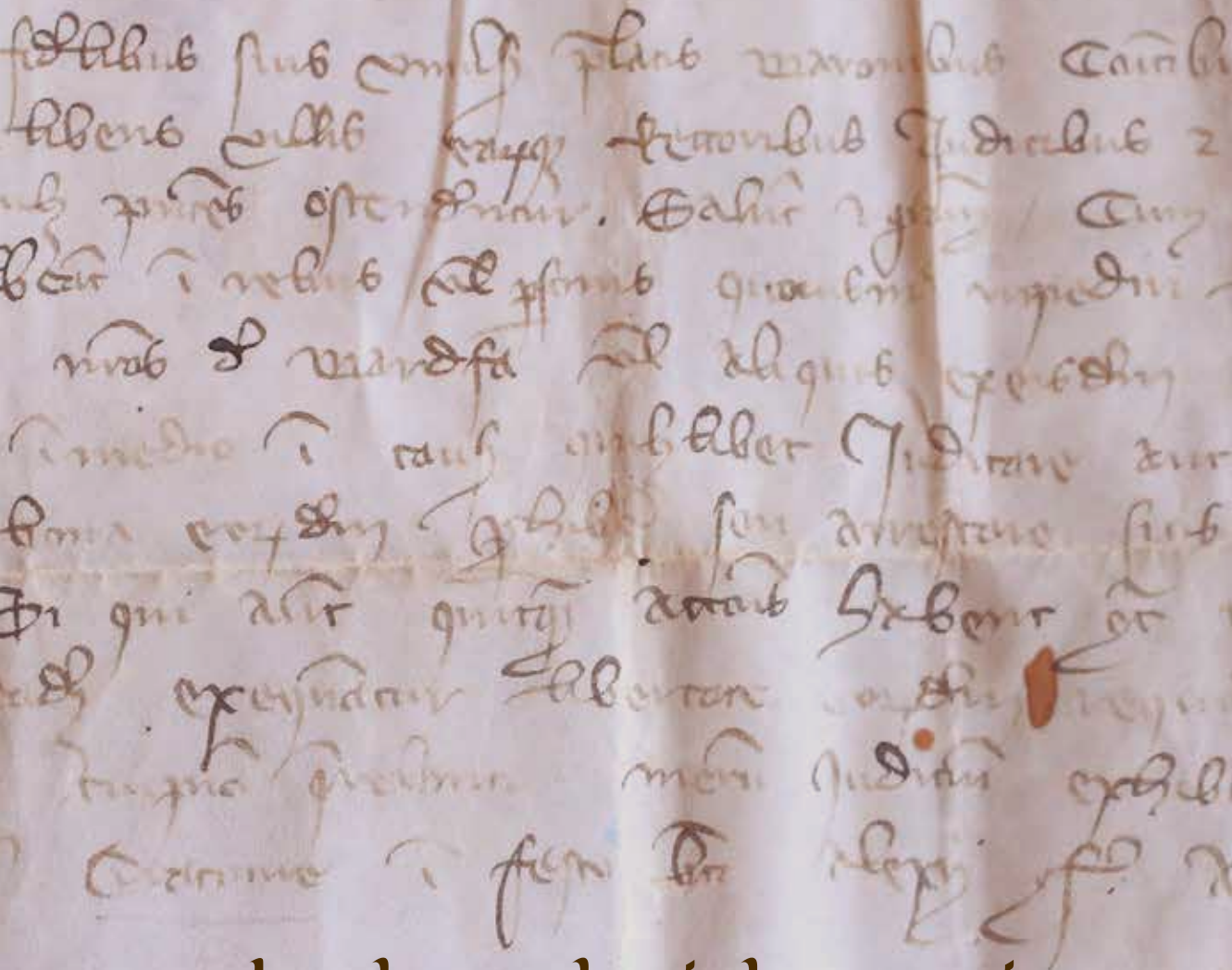
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Od šoltýsa k richtárovi (1320 - 1376)



Listina kráľovnej Alžbety, matky uhorského panovníka Ľudovíta I. Veľkého, ktorou potvrdzuje právomoci mestského súdu súdiť mešťanov v kauzách, ku ktorým došlo mimo územia mesta. ŠA PO, AB, MMB, LL, sign. 23.

Dedičné richtárstvo a počiatky mestskej samosprávy v Bardejove

Počiatky mestskej samosprávy v Bardejove súvisia s jeho vývojom a mestotvorným procesom v 14. storočí. Písomné zmienky o severných oblastiach uhorského pohraničia dokazujú, že Bardejov bol v 13. storočí významnou kráľovskou dedinou.⁵² O správnych štruktúrach na jeho území v období pred udelením mestských výsad nemáme žiadne priame informácie.⁵³ Až listina kráľa Karola I. z roku 1320 prináša relevantné údaje o vývoji Bardejova a najstarších orgánov samosprávy a súdnictva na jeho území.⁵⁴ Tento vývoj šiel ruka v ruke s procesom dosídľovania lokality (a širšieho okolia) obyvateľstvom nemeckého pôvodu, ktorého počiatky môžu siahať do prvej tretiny 13. storočia, dokázateľne do jeho prvej polovice.⁵⁵ Listina z roku 1320 predstavuje legislatívne zavŕšenie tejto etapy vývoja Bardejova, pričom okolnosti jej vydania, práva a povinnosti miestnej komunity aj špecifická lokovania Bardejova boli predmetom doterajšieho výskumu.⁵⁶ Z neho vyplýva aj to, že lokačná listina pre Bardejov sa líši od lokačných listín vydávaných v Šariši najmä tým, že komunita hostí tu vystupuje ako adresát výsad a povinností na prvom mieste v listine, pred vymenovaním výsad lokátora Vavrince.⁵⁷

Pre skúmanie počiatkov mestskej správy v Bardejove je kľúčovou osoba lokátora a dedičného richtára Vavrince. Jeho právomoci nad miestnym obyvateľstvom sú široko koncipované a týkajú sa súdnictva sporov a trestných činov vrátane krádeže, podpaľačstva a vraždy.⁵⁸ To umožňovalo dedičnému richtárovi vynášať rozsudok smrti, išlo teda o kompetencie tzv. vyššieho súdnictva. Udelenie týchto právomocí bolo v staršej literatúre vnímané ako výnimočné a motivované strategickou polohou Bardejova v pohraničí.⁵⁹ V kontexte dosídľovania Šariša však boli právomoci v oblasti vyššieho súdnictva udeľované aj dedičným richtárom menej významných lokalít, často šľachtickými zemepánmi.⁶⁰ Z tohto pohľadu je vymedzenie súdnych právomocí

⁵² HUDÁČEK, Boli Nemci, s. 136. ULIČNÝ, *Dejiny osídlenia*, s. 22 – 24. HUDÁČEK, Bardejov, s. 79.

⁵³ Podľa P. HUDÁČKA mohol byť Bardejov strediskom poľovného revíru Arpádovcov (lovecký dom) a kostol sv. Egídia mohol byť kráľovskou kaplnkou. Tomuto postaveniu by zodpovedala aj správa sídliska. HUDÁČEK, Boli Nemci, s. 143.

⁵⁴ ŠA PO, AB, MMB, LL, sign. 17. JUCK, *Výsady*, s. 94 – 95.

⁵⁵ HUDÁČEK, Boli Nemci, s. 148 – 149.

⁵⁶ ULIČNÝ, K dejinám Bardejova, s. 23 – 36. HUDÁČEK, Bardejov, s. 81 – 82. RÁBIK, *Nemecké osídlenie*, s. 130 – 131. RÁBIK, *Villam locare*, s. 140 – 141. MAGDOŠKO, *Mestský status*, s. 53 – 55.

⁵⁷ RÁBIK, *Villam locare*, s. 141.

⁵⁸ „Statuimus eciam, ut omnes causas et earum articulos, tam furti quam incendii, homicidii et omnium aliorum, quocunque nomine censeantur, Laurencius, filius Laurencii, eo quod dictam civitatem nostram populosam efficiet, cui iudicatum eiusdem in filios filiorum et heredum successorum contulimus, iudicabit iuris ordine et decernet.“ JUCK, *Výsady*, s. 94.

⁵⁹ ULIČNÝ, K dejinám Bardejova, s. 32 – 33.

⁶⁰ Napríklad šoltýsovi v dedine Šindliar. RÁBIK, *Villam locare*, s. 145. Podobné príklady v iných lokalitách uvádza: SOKOLOVSKÝ, Leon. *Správa stredovekej dediny na Slovensku*. Bratislava: AEP, 2002, s. 70.

Novú etapu vo sfragistickom a heraldickom vývoji mesta predstavuje udelenie erbu panovníkom Ladislavom V. dňa 5. júna 1453.⁴²⁸ Erbovou listinou udelil panovník mestu právo pečatit červeným voskom, podľa vzoru košickej erbovej listiny.⁴²⁹ Po vydaní erbovej listiny nechalo mesto vyhotoviť dve pečatidlá majstrovi Mikulášovi z Olomouca.⁴³⁰ Odvtedy mesto používalo pri pečatení písomností pečať z červeného vosku s vyobrazeným erbom mesta a kruhopisom: *Sigillum*maius*civitatis*bartphe*terre*hungarie*.⁴³¹



⁴²⁸ ŠA PO, AB, MMB, LL, sign. 702. NOVÁK, *Pečate miest a obcí*, s. 54. MYSZKOVSKÝ, *Bártfa város legrégibb*, s. 136.

⁴²⁹ RÁBIK, Vladimír. Erbové listiny pre mestá a mestečká na Slovensku v stredoveku. In: *Zborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského – Historica: zborník k 65. narodeninám profesora Leona Sokolovského*. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2015, roč. 49, s. 192.

⁴³⁰ NOVÁK, *Pečate miest a obcí*, s. 54.

⁴³¹ HUDÁČEK, Bardejov, s. 89.

Listina richtára a mestskej rady Bardejova z r. 1497. Na listine sa nachádza prítlačaná mestská pečať z červeného vosku s vyobrazeným mestským erbom. ŠA PO, AB, MMB, LL, sign. 3303.

Okrem vydávania listín a vedenia úradnej korešpondencie začalo mesto viesť mestské knihy od druhého decénia 15. storočia. Najstaršou zachovanou mestskou knihou je daňový súpis z roku 1413.⁴³² Od 20. rokov 15. storočia začalo mesto viesť evidenciu účtov. V porovnaní s najstaršími mestskými knihami iných miest na území Slovenska (Bratislava – r. 1364, Košice – r. 1394, Trnava – r. 1394)⁴³³ sa s knihou, ktorá by mala charakter hlavnej, pamätnej mestskej knihy, stretávame v Bardejove až v 30. rokoch 15. storočia, ako na ňu odkazuje záznam z roku 1439.⁴³⁴ Keďže záznam spomína notársku zmluvu Františka Witheho, ktorá je zapísaná v knihe v súčasnosti evidovanej ako *Záznamová kniha mesta Bardejov*, predpokladáme, že práve táto kniha spĺňala funkciu hlavnej pamätnej knihy mesta.⁴³⁵ Jej obsah tvorí agenda pokonaní civilného súdnictva, záznamy testamentov a register novoprijatých mešťanov.

Od počiatku vedenia mestských kníh sa stretávame so špecializovanými mestskými knihami (daňové súpisy, účtovné registre, súdne knihy mesta).⁴³⁶ Približne od polovice 15. storočia sa od účtovných registrov odlišili hlavné účtovné knihy mesta, ktoré zaznamenávali príjmy a výdavky za dlhšie časové obdobie. Tieto knihy obsahujú každoročne evidované zoznamy richtárov a členov vnútornej a vonkajšej mestskej rady,⁴³⁷ čím spĺňajú aj ďalšie funkcie (evidenčnú, pamätnú). V takejto podobe boli vedené aj v 16. storočí a so zreteľom na ich formálne znaky (písmo, väzba, spôsob vyhotovenia) ich môžeme považovať za hlavné mestské knihy. Zo systému účtovných kníh sa na konci 40. rokov 15. storočia oddelili účty farnosti v podobe samostatnej *Účtovnej knihy kostola sv. Egídia v Bardejove*.⁴³⁸ Aj najvýznamnejšie duchovné bratstvo v Bardejove si viedlo od roku 1483 vlastnú účtovnú knihu.⁴³⁹ Okrem týchto kníh sa v mestskej kancelárii viedli registre vína, plátna, stočných poplatkov, registre obilných desiatkov a iné.

Z jazykového hľadiska prevládala v mestskej kancelárii latinčina. Od 40. rokov 15. storočia sa do popredia dostávala nemčina a v období intenzívnych kontaktov mesta s J. Jiskrom a bratríckymi veliteľmi sa značná časť písomnej komunikácie viedla v češtine.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³² ŠA PO, AB, MMB, K, sign. 917.

⁴³³ HUDÁČEK, Pavol. Pamätná kniha mesta Sabinova (*Liber annalium*) z roku 1446. In: RÁBIK, Vladimír (ed.). *Litteris ac moribus imbutus*. *Studia historica Tyrnaviensia*, 2014, roč. 16, s. 237. LEHOTSKÁ, Vývoj bratislavskej, s. 225. LEHOTSKÁ, Darina. K počiatkom vedenia mestských kníh na Slovensku. In: *Historické štúdie*, 1959, roč. 5, s. 325 – 326.

⁴³⁴ „*Conventionem et rationem notarii require in libro memoriali*“ FEJÉRPATAKY, *Magyarországi városok*, s. 469.

⁴³⁵ ŠA PO, AB, MMB, K, sign. 431.

⁴³⁶ HUDÁČEK, *Pamätná kniha*, s. 238 – 239.

⁴³⁷ ŠA PO, AB, MMB, K, sign. 1660; sign. 1669; sign. 1683; sign. 1694; sign. 1700.

⁴³⁸ ŠA PO, AB, MMB, K, sign. 1649.

⁴³⁹ *Účtovná a členská kniha spolku Confraternitas Matris Misericordiae*. ŠA PO, AB, MMB, K, sign. 1678.

⁴⁴⁰ ŠEDIVÝ, *Stredoveké mestá*, s. 107 – 108.

Conclusion

The work submitted presents the results of research into the municipal authorities in Bardejov in the Middle Ages from 1320 to 1526. Research focused on issues related to the development of the municipal administration, individual institutions, and their competencies and activities in various areas of urban life.

In the development of the town administration in Bardejov in the Middle Ages, we can distinguish two stages – that with a hereditary town judge (1320 to 1376) and the period of elected self-government. The ancestral reeve (*scultetus*) resulted from the conditions of Bardejov's location at the beginning of the 14th century. The location deed granted to the hereditary reeve and the inhabitants of Bardejov by King Charles I of Anjou shows that in the case of Bardejov it was a well-developed community that declared its own rights in the first instance, before the rights and obligations of the reeve, Laurence. This corresponds to the terminology of the royal charter granting Bardejov the status *civitas*. From the point of view of the administrative and judicial competences of the reeve, Laurence and his successors, we can state that they corresponded to the competencies granted to the hereditary reeve. It is worth mentioning in particular the power of what can be termed the higher judiciary (for major cases), which authorized the hereditary town judge and his successors to try all offences and pass death sentences.

The hereditary judiciary as a type of administrative establishment is often perceived in the case of urban settlements as an institution that did not allow for an adequate development of important rights and freedoms in urban communities. In the Middle Ages, a number of towns in what is now the territory of Slovakia developed in this way, each of which had specific conditions of development. As Bardejov's example shows, a hereditary judiciary did not hinder the dynamic economic and social growth that took place in the decades following the issuing of the settlement deed. Undeniably, the interest of the Angevin rulers in strengthening the border area and developing trade with the Kingdom of Poland was a very important factor here. Bardejov, although administered by the hereditary town judge, was too important for the Hungarian rulers to allow a decline either socially or economically. This was matched by the granting of important privileges, the construction of walls and the overall completion of the urban structure, which took place in the first decades of the second half of the 14th century. In the case of Bardejov, we see the strong influence of the monarch in the retention of several powers (for example the half-tithe and the election of parish priest) and finally in the way in which the office of hereditary judge itself was removed.

Almost all the preserved documents of the period to the end of the 14th century emphasize the hierarchical relationship of the monarch to his town, but they reveal very little about the hereditary judges and significant representatives of the local community. We can observe a gradual development towards the emancipation of the town community, which undoubtedly existed at the time of the publication of the settlement deed,

yet its representatives and, especially, their power to represent the town before the monarch with regard to the judiciary only gradually came into being from the middle of the 14th century. It is probable that in this last third, the newly emancipated urban elites did not want to accept the power and privileges of the hereditary judges, all the more so if there was a decline in the actual administration of this institution.

Only morsels of information have been preserved about the origin of the representatives of the hereditary judiciary in Bardejov. Given the influence of the monarch described above, it can be assumed that they were nobles who could also have come from the monarch's court familiars. This is borne out by the title *comes*, used in the case of the hereditary chief judge of Bardejov, Henry. Further information on the property ownership, social origins and family ties of the Bardejov reeves is minimal. We are also unable to determine whether the office of hereditary judge was held by members of one family during the period under review. At the end of this stage of the town administration, the office of hereditary town judge in Bardejov underwent social and economic crisis, the powers of the reeve were abused and these reasons, communicated by representatives of the town community, led to its definitive abolition by the monarch and to a financial settlement between the various parties.

The transition from hereditary fortune to elected self-government was the result of several factors. The inclusion of Bardejov in the category of free royal towns and the adoption of the legal customs of Buda and Košice resulted in the organization of the town administration and the establishment of a variant of annually elected councillors (*iurati cives*), headed by a town judge (*iudex*). At the end of the 14th century, the town council had eight members; from the 15th century, the model of a twelve-member town council with a town judge was applied. Precedence in the city council was according to rank with new members of the town council placed last. A record from 1467 reports on the system of the election of the town judge and the town council. It is more than likely that it reflects certain changes that had occurred in contrast with the previous period. We can only assume that at the beginning of the free election of the town judge and the town council, these representatives of the town were elected by the town community or through selected eminent men. From the 15th century, the collective electoral and control powers of the entire community of burghers passed to the elected body of the council of elders. The electoral system itself became closed in the second half of the 15th century, following the example of Buda, and changes in personnel in positions among the council of elders and town council took place during the month of January.

The town judge and the councillors had competencies in the areas of justice, administration, the town's economy and the representation of the entire town community. They were authorized to issue documents on matters of the town and its burghers. As town envoys, they took part in diplomatic negotiations, where they spoke on behalf of citizens and defended the interests of all the city's inhabitants.

The judiciary was one of the most important competencies of the town judge and the councillors. Already in the period of the hereditary reeve, the competences of the reeve in the field of justice had been extended to cases where members of the extra-urban population had committed serious offences in the city and within its boundaries (known as the "right of the sword" of 1365). If a burgher from Bardejov committed an offence outside the town or if he was part of a dispute there, he had the right to be tried before his own town court (Queen Elizabeth's decree of 1374). This right did not apply to serious offences, which were subject to the judicial authorities operating in the territory. There were also cases of an extraordinary territorial extension of the powers of the Bardejov town council to the whole county, but these were temporary provisions concerning the capture of criminals and bandits during the wars.

The town judge and the town council adjudicated over the entire town population in civil and criminal matters, and residents of other social status (nobility, serfs) in cases where they committed offences in the town or against the town and the townsfolk. The inhabitants of the town had the right and obligation to be tried before the town court, which was the court of first instance. The second-instance, appellate body, was the court of *magister tavarnicorum*; at the beginning of its functioning, the town of appellate instance became Košice. The annual meetings of the town council were held on announced dates during the year (*iuditium bannitum*). The judicial activity of the town council was not completely separated from the administration, as borne out by records of various types of proceedings during the sessions of the town court or the town council. The town court was chaired by the town judge and in his absence he was represented by a selected member of the town council or a deputy town judge. The practice of representing the chief judge in his judicial powers led to the creation of a "*protunc*" function of the town judge. The deputy town judge had similar powers at the sessions of the municipal court. It was a temporary function which the town judge could entrust to a number of people during one term of office and which was not identical to the "*protunc*" function.

In addition to their participation in the sessions of the municipal court, the senators also acted in the administration as persons of trust, before whom the townsfolk could make statements concerning inheritance proceedings, property proceedings and economic transactions. The senators supervised the town's economy, with administration divided into individual town facilities. These were mainly strategic town facilities such as the granary, mills, fulling mill and a taproom. The administrators of the church and the monastery were drawn from the ranks of seniors. Chosen councillors, together with the town judge, took part in diplomatic trips. The town judge and the councillors were the supreme holders of power and authority in the town environs. These attributes were publicly demonstrated in various ways.

One of the symbols of the power and authority of the town authorities was the town hall, a place where the judge and the town council met in their deliberations, exercised their competencies and administered all aspects of town life. Another form of the expression of power was in the rituals and ceremonies that accompanied the election of town dignitaries or their induction into office. These were liturgical celebrations, prayers, the taking of an oath after taking office or the ceremonial admission of an adept to the office of a town notary.

The occupation of the highest positions in the town administration was almost exclusively tied to belonging to the town's elite. The fundamental precondition for social growth in the urban environment was the acceptance of *ius civile*. From this point on, the factors of the social and economic growth of individuals or families were very individual, as shown by investigation into the social conditions of selected Bardejov families. In the case of families whose members held positions in the town administration, strategies leading to the social rise and maintenance of the elite position of a family can be observed. One of them is the filling of positions of the collective bodies of the town administration by family members, and the repeated or lifelong holding of the position of councillor or senior. Another strategy was a policy of marriages which strengthened ties with representatives of town elites in other towns (Košice and Cracow). To rise into the town's elite was also possible outside family ties, but involved a limited group of migrant intellectuals and scholars who used positions in the town administration (rector of the city school, town notary) to achieve the rank of councillor or town judge.

The person of the town notary (*notarius, Stadtschreiber*) held several positions: he was the dignitary responsible for the functioning of the town chancery and the issuing of documents. He participated in meetings of the town council and the town court and kept written records of them and he had sole authority to keep records in the books of the town. In addition, he acted as a diplomat who, together with the judge and selected councillors, conducted diplomatic negotiations, often at the highest level. Municipal notaries working in Bardejov were graduates of universities in Central Europe (Cracow and Vienna) and almost all occasionally provided the services of a notary public. In terms of the structure of the town administration, the town notary represented the incorporation of the broader sphere of employees of the town administration and its upper, management element, which was represented by the town judge and the town council.

In addition to the town judge and the town council, there were other collective bodies in the town: the community of burghers (*communitas civium*) and the outer council (*centum viri alias seniores*). The community of burghers originally created all burghers with full powers, having the right to choose the judge, the town council and the parish priest and most probably having the power to comment on important issues concerning the wider town community.

At the beginning of the elected town administration, the judge and the town council were elected from among them. The community of burghers was the addressee of town privileges and also appeared in the titles of some documents issued by representatives of the town. From the 15th century, the influence and importance of this body declined, as the towns governed by *ius tavernicale* adopted a closed system of elections of self-governing bodies according to the Buda model. The competencies of the entire full community of townfolk were taken over by a body termed the elected municipality or the outer council. In the first half of the 15th century, in Bardejov this body was called "the fifty men", and from the second half, in connection with the changes that took place in Buda and subsequently in other cities, it was renamed "the one hundred men". The number of *seniores* in Bardejov ranged from 60 to 80 men. The exact criteria on the basis of which a citizen could become a *senior* are not known. We know that they were wealthy, esteemed men and fathers of families in the community, including the representatives of guilds. The individual town districts and suburbs were represented in the outer council. The most important competence of the outer council was the election of the town judge and the town council, which always took place in January on the feast of St Agnes. Previously, the old town council had submitted the previous accounts into the hands of the outer council. The newly elected town judge and councillors then appointed a new outer council. The head of the outer council was a senior, called the "head and chief of the seniors" (*seniorum principalis et caput*). In the Bardejov environment, the naming of spokesmen or tribunes did not take place in practice. Functions in the outer council were most likely to be for life. Senior citizens did not have such significant competencies in the town judiciary and administration as the town judge and the town council. Despite this, there were situations where the town judge and the town council consulted with senior citizens or presented them with matters on which to comment. Seniors participated in the taxation of the town's population and they acted as administrators of some municipal facilities together with councillors. They acted as trustworthy witnesses in the statements of citizens regarding property, inheritance proceedings and testamentary bequests and as guarantors in legal proceedings.

In addition to the elected town dignitaries (senators and seniors), other representatives of the town administration were employed by the town. This meant that a town employee performed services for the town on the basis of a closed contract and received a salary for them. In contrast to town employees who performed their activities at a lower level of the town administration, the town advocate (*procurator*) had a specific position. A letter of attestation authorized him to represent the town in any litigation before the secular and ecclesiastical courts. Other town employees were craftsmen (carpenter, blacksmith), shepherds, wardens of hunting grounds, carters, weavers of wool, shearers and cloth cutters. The vineyards were managed by winegrowers and during the grape harvest the town employed workers, carters

and guardians of the vineyards. An innkeeper and waiters worked in the town tap-room (inn). Among the town employees, the master of the town's water supply and sewers (*Roermeyster*) held an important position. His task was to build the town's water supply and sewerage system, and carry out its maintenance and repairs. Master craftsmen from Cracow worked at the beginning of the construction of the water supply system in the town. From the middle of the 15th century, this position was held by local master craftsmen. Another important and specialized town employee was an artillery master (*pixidarius, bombardista*). His knowledge and skills were so important to the town that incorporated into his contract were provisions on the exclusiveness of his work for the town. An artillery master also participated in the representation of the town and performed tasks in town diplomacy. Other paid positions in the town administration related to the defence of the town and signalling functions were guards, heralds, a bell ringer and a clockmaker. The defence of the town was provided by a mercenary company with a captain, but they cannot be considered town employees in the true sense of the word. In the area of the judiciary, the town employed people who served as a constable, a court messenger, a patrolman and an executioner. The town itself borrowed the executioner from other towns for the carrying out of capital punishment: there is no mention of an executioner's permanent residence in the town. Sometimes the executioner also performed the services of dog-catcher.

In the field of culture and art the town acted as patron and commissioner of works of art. The artists who worked in this field were employed by the town like other town employees. Their role involved making works of art or architectural work. The town's musicians, an organist and trumpeters, were retained on a permanent basis.

A separate category of town employees were town servants (*famuli civitatis*). Their competencies differed, some servants being heavily involved in town diplomacy. As the town did not have any professional diplomats in this area, the town judge, senators and notary took part in diplomatic missions and negotiations. Their journeys led to the monarch, from the dignitaries of the royal court most often to the treasurer and *magister tavarnicorum*. The monarch most often asked the town delegates to pay taxes, convene an assembly or celebrate the life of the royal family. In addition to talks at the highest level, town delegates participated in meetings of the court of *magister tavarnicorum* and meetings of representatives of eastern Slovak towns (Košice, Prešov, Levoča and Sabinov). There were also written contact and the exchange of messages between towns. At a lower level, the tasks of town diplomacy were performed by servants, messengers, runners, waggoneers and, last but not least, spies.

The relationship of the town to the structures of ecclesiastical administration was defined by town privileges and town patronage law. The most important rights and obligations of the town were related to the free election of the parish priest, the surrender of the tithe and the administration of churches and ecclesiastical institutions. In the ecclesiastical sphere, the town established the office of church fathers (*vitrici ecclesiae*), who were in charge of the administration of the church of St Egidius and the monastery church of St John the Baptist. Their main competence was financial economic management and the submission of the annual accounts of the institutions entrusted with them. A parish clergyman headed by a parish priest worked in the town. The town priest was initially chosen by the community of burghers, later by the town judge and the town council. At the end of the 14th century, this power was pre-empted by the monarch, contrary to the town's privileges, who subsequently confirmed to the town community the free choice of parish priest. The town's right of patronage in the selection of a candidate for the position of parish priest was limited to the act of presenting the candidate to the diocesan bishop. The parish priest was the administrator of the town parish, which formed a separate economic entity. His duties concerned spiritual and liturgical life in the town. In relation to the other clergy in the parish, the parish priest had the power to accept a cleric for a vacant benefice or to release him. The rector of the school was also subject to the authority of the town priest. It was the duty of the town priest to feed the rector of the school, the preacher and the chaplains. The parish priest of Bardejov occasionally held the position of vice-archdeacon. Together with the pastors of the surrounding villages, they founded the town fraternity of the Mother of Mercy, which they administered in its beginnings. The chaplains, together with the town priest, provided for the spiritual needs of the town population, they served holy mass and administered the altar funds. At the end of the Middle Ages, priests for individual ethnic groups (Slovak, German) also worked in the parish.

A member of the clergy could also work in the town school as a teacher or rector of the school. During the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, this post was secularized, but the town school was still ideologically, economically and architecturally connected with the church. The town's patronage over the local parish was reflected in securing and financing the needs of the parish priest and other clergy. Care for sacred buildings and the school meant regular financing and ensuring the maintenance and architectural reconstruction of these buildings. In addition, the town took financial care of the Augustinian monastery and the monastery church, the hospital of the Holy Spirit and St Leonard's with hospital churches, property and staff.

Vendelín Jankovič, as the author of a chapter on the medieval history of Bardejov in a monograph from 1975, stated that the town administration did not show special features and peculiarities in comparison with other towns in the Kingdom of Hungary. This statement could confirm a very general view of the town administration as a structure established solely by a decree of the monarch or by the adoption of town law. As the results of previous research show, the self-governing development of the town was largely determined by the individual conditions and interests of the people who lived in it. The town administration thus appears as a structured organism, strongly connected with town society and influenced by its development. For this reason, the topic of the municipal administration is important for the research of town history, and I believe that its elaboration in the monograph presented here will serve as a starting point for further research.

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