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REGISTERS OF CITIZENSHIP AS A SOURCE OF URBAN MIGRATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL BARDEJOV²

Rejestry obywatelstwa jako źródło migracji miejskiej w późnośredniowiecznym Bardejowie

Abstract: This study examines urban migration based on an analysis of the registers of citizenship in the late medieval town of Bardejov. While these records provide valuable insights, they also present several limitations. The author examines the conditions for acquiring citizenship, the place of origin, and the occupations of the individuals listed in the registers. In addition, the study focuses on the migration of scholars and traces the careers of newcomers who became town notaries in Bardejov.

Keywords: migration, citizenship, late medieval towns, Kingdom of Hungary, Bardejov

Abstrakt: Niniejsze badanie analizuje migrację miejską na podstawie rejestrów obywatelstwa późnośredniowiecznego Bardejowa. Choć źródła te dostarczają cennych informacji, mają również pewne ograniczenia. Autor omawia warunki uzyskania obywatelstwa, miejsce pochodzenia oraz zawody osób wpisanych do rejestrów. Ponadto badanie koncentruje się na migracji uczonych i śledzi kariery przybyszów, którzy zostali notariuszami miejskimi w Bardejowie.

Słowa kluczowe: migracja, obywatelstwo, późnośredniowieczne miasta, Królestwo Węgier, Bardejów

Introduction

The registers of citizenship (*ius civile*) are a key source for research into the social and occupational structure of the inhabitants of medieval towns. As the Czech historian Jaroslav Mezník has noted, their value lies in their ability to reflect the urban population in

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motion.³ In the case of the late medieval town of Bardejov, the registers of citizenship have been preserved in two forms: a separate register from the years 1432–1450, which is kept in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest⁴, and a register from 1462–1488, which is part of a municipal book, stored in the State Archive of Prešov, Archive Bardejov.⁵ Both were published and edited by Stanisław A. Sroka.⁶ These registers have not yet been thoroughly researched, but some of the data has been used by the probe method.⁷

When it comes to urban migration, citizenship registers present several limitations. Their primary function was not to document migration, but to record individuals who met the requirements for acquiring citizenship.⁸ Although there is a link between migration and citizenship, it is not as straightforward as is sometimes assumed. As Maarten Prak has noted, citizenship was “a formal status in an urban, i.e., local, context, which provided citizens with a range of rights and duties...”⁹ Citizenship was a prerequisite for guild membership, participation in elections and holding public office in the city. It could be acquired by birth or by purchase.¹⁰ An individual could settle in a city and live there for a long time before being admitted to the community of citizens, and a significant number of newcomers never fulfilled the conditions for citizenship.¹¹

In this respect, the register does not provide information on how long a citizen had lived in the city before acquiring citizenship, nor on the proportion of newcomers who acquired citizenship compared to the rest of the migrants.¹² The main shortcoming of this source is its inability to capture the property status of newcomers or the extent of their integration into urban society.¹³ In addition, it is important to acknowledge the possibility that the registers did not cover the full range of new citizens, leaving some individuals undocumented.¹⁴

³ M. Musílek, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní. Sociální svět Starého Města pražského ve 14. století*, Praha 2015, p. 124.

⁴ Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Clma 124.

⁵ Štátny archív Prešov, pracovisko Archív Bardejov (hereafter ŠA PO, AB), Magistrát mesta Bardejov (hereafter MMB), no. 431.

⁶ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí do meštianskeho stavu v Bardejove z rokov 1432-1450 a 1462-1488*, in: *Studia historica Tyrnaviensia IX-X*, ed. M. Dobrotková, Kraków 2010, pp. 349-381.

⁷ M. Marek, *Polski hostia v mestách na Slovensku v stredoveku*, in: *Od Zjazdu w Wyszehradzie do Grupy Wyszehradzkiej*, ed. R. Kowalski, Nowy Targ 2017, pp. 33-42; idem, *Vplyv prisťahovalectva na etnické pomery stredovekých miest na Slovensku*, „Mesto a dejiny”, 2/2013, no. 1, pp. 6-24; S.A. Sroka, *Średniowieczny Bardów i jego kontakty z Małopolską*, Kraków 2010, pp. 157-232; M. Fedorčáková, *Sociálne a hospodárske väzby medzi bardejovskými mešťanmi a mešťanmi z Malopoľska a Sliezska v prvej polovici 15. storočia*, „Res gestae”, 6/2018, pp. 69-84; eadem, *Civitas nostra Bardfa vocata. Správa mesta Bardejov v stredoveku*, Košice 2021, pp. 72-82.

⁸ M. Nodl, *Sociální aspekty pozdně středověkého městského přistěhovalectví*, in: *Colloquia Mediaevalia Pragensia. Sociální svět středověkého města*, ed. M. Nodl, Praha 2019, p. 7.

⁹ M. Prak, *Citizens without Nations. Urban Citizenship in Europe and the World, c. 1000-1789*, Cambridge 2018, p. 35.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 30-31, 34.

¹¹ I. Benyovsky Latin, *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: The Newcomers and the City (An Introductory Study)*, in: *Towns and Cities of The Croatian Middle Ages*, eds. I. Benyovsky Latin, Z. Pešorda Vardić, Zagreb 2020, pp. 11-33.

¹² M. Nodl, op. cit., pp. 15-18.

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ Ibidem, pp. 15-16.

Ius civile

Ius civile was one of the most important privileges an individual living in a city could possess.¹⁵ Cities required the fulfillment of various conditions to obtain citizenship, the most common being the ownership of property within the city.¹⁶ In addition, one could acquire *ius civile* and integrate into the civic community by marrying a citizen's daughter or widow.¹⁷ Other conditions included the obligation to pay municipal taxes, obey the laws of the city, and maintain moral behaviour.¹⁸

As the historian Katalin Szende points out, the acquisition of citizenship was a two-way process: on the one hand, the resident sought to improve his social and economic position, and on the other, the city encouraged population growth and certain occupational groups, while simultaneously regulating the process by setting conditions.¹⁹ At this point, we can observe the role of the city in moderating the flow of migrants and their activities once they had settled, by applying social and economic regulations to the newcomers, who were often regarded as foreigners in relation to the native citizens.²⁰

At the center of my analysis are two registers from the years 1432–1450 and 1462–1488. The first register contains 175 individuals; the second 166. The place of origin is documented for 35% of individuals in the first register and 27% in the second.²¹ This presents a major challenge for migration research, as the data are of limited value. Another limitation is that both registers cover relatively short time spans – 18 and 26 years, respectively. This limited timeframe does not allow for a comprehensive analysis of long-term migration trends in urban development. In this study, however, I will focus on analyzing the place of origin and occupation of new citizens, with an emphasis on the migration of scholars and their social advancement within urban society.

An important part of the acquisition of *ius civile* was the oath-taking ceremony, through which the resident symbolically and ritually became a member of the civic community.²² The oath that the new citizen had to swear was recorded in the registers. In addition to the standard phrase “XY suscepit/acquisivit/obtinuit *ius civile*” the entries often include a promise to obey the laws of the city, sometimes with stylistic variations, or a promise not to act against them.²³

¹⁵ M. Musílek, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, op. cit., p. 118.

¹⁶ K. Szende, *Polgárnak lenni. A polgárjog megszerzésének elvei és gyakorlata a későközépkori Sopronban*, „Urbs. Magyar várostörténeti évkönyv”, 1/2006, pp. 85–86.

¹⁷ M. Musílek, *Die Neubürger in Chemnitz im 15. Jahrhundert – das Einnahmenmanual als Zeugnis der Migration in der Stadt*, in: *Wahlheimat Chemnitz. Migration als Historisches Phänomen*, Chemnitz 2019, p. 24.

¹⁸ Idem, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, op. cit., p. 119.

¹⁹ K. Szende, *Polgárnak lenni*, op. cit., p. 86.

²⁰ M. Karbić, *Forenses, aduene, and novi concives nostri in the Medieval Urban Settlements of the Sava-Drava Interamnium*, in: *Towns and Cities of The Croatian Middle Ages*, eds. I. Benyovsky Latin, Z. Pešorda Vardić, Zagreb 2020, pp. 37–38.

²¹ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijati*, op. cit., pp. 354–381.

²² K. Szende, *Polgárnak lenni*, op. cit., p. 87. The oldest written records of oaths appear in the urban area of Bardejov in the 17th century. P. Benka, *Mestské prisahy v Bardejove v ranom novoveku ako prameň kultúrnych a sociálnych dejín*, „Historický časopis”, 66/2018, no. 1, p. 28.

²³ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijati*, op. cit., p. 354.

In 1433, Nicholas, called *iudex*, promised to “live honorably and not act against the honorable customs of the city.”²⁴ This was in line with broader expectations of honorable birth and marital status, which were conditions not only for citizenship but also for membership of guilds.²⁵ Proof of an honorable life was often required in the form of a certificate. The town of Bardejov itself issued such certificates to citizens who had moved elsewhere. One such document from 1464, issued by the town judge and council of Bardejov for officials in the Silesian town of Nysa, confirmed that Augustine Cramer was of honorable birth and had been born to married parents in accordance with church regulations.²⁶

While property ownership was generally considered a prerequisite for citizenship, not all cases recorded in the register reflect the immediate acquisition of property. In some instances, *ius civile* was granted conditionally, with a deadline by which the individual had to acquire property in the city. For example, John, son of Paul, was required – on pain of a fine – to either acquire the right to inherit property in the town or to marry within one year.²⁷ Similarly, Paul Schadek from Žmigród, who became a citizen of Bardejov in 1436, was obligated to secure an inheritance within a year.²⁸ In another case, Nicholas Gobel from Kurima acquired citizenship, but the scribe added a clause stating that the town of Bardejov would not intervene on his behalf if he was legally challenged by anyone from Kurima for leaving without selling or renouncing his house.²⁹ This reflects legal and customary practices in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, where individuals who wished to relocate had to settle debts, resolve any legal disputes and formally sell their property before leaving.³⁰ As a resident of the market town of Kurima, Nicholas Gobel was likely subject to similar regulations, but failed to comply, leading to potential legal complications that the town of Bardejov was unwilling to address on his behalf.

Another condition appears in the case of Nicholas from Biecz, who was granted citizenship on the condition that he arrive in Bardejov eight days before Shrove Tuesday and remain there for a year and a day, paying a prescribed fine.³¹ The requirement for new citizens to reside in the town for a certain period of time can also be found in the legal codes of other towns.³² The process of acquiring citizenship often included a time limit within which the individual had to fulfill the established criteria. It was common practice to allow a period of a year and one day to meet these conditions. However, some cities, such as Sopron, occasionally applied shorter deadlines.³³

In addition to swearing the oath and paying a fee, newly admitted citizens were required to present testimony from trusted individuals. These guarantors (*fideiussores*) played a key

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 355.

²⁵ M. Fedorčáková, *Spory o čest', rituály násilia a konflikty v stredovekom Bardejove*, „Forum Historiae”, 16/2022, no. 2, pp. 27-30.

²⁶ ŠA PO, AB, MMB, no. 1541.

²⁷ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 351.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 357.

³⁰ L.S. Gulyás, *1514 as a Turning Point? Migration of Serfs in Hungary, Before and After the Prohibition of Serf-Moving*, „Studia Historica Nitriensia”, 28/2024, no. 2, p. 359.

³¹ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 360.

³² M. Musílek, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

³³ K. Szende, *Polgárnak lenni*, op. cit., pp. 95-96.

role in the admission process. Research in other cities suggests that there were often strong social ties between new citizens and their guarantors, often based on membership in the same guild or involvement in the same craft.³⁴ The register examined confirms this pattern in several cases. In 1439, three weavers acted as guarantors for Nicholas Weintlant, a linen weaver from Krosno.³⁵

The role of guarantors is also significant in relation to their position within the town's administrative bodies. In Bardejov, the outer council (*quingaginti viri*), later known as the *centum viri*, was responsible for electing the town judge and council, as well as overseeing their administration and financial affairs.³⁶ As Alžbeta Gácsová has noted, in the 1430s the *quingaginti viri* consisted of the wealthiest and most respected men in the city.³⁷ Members of this body often appear in various sources as *fideiussores*, reflecting their honorable and influential status in urban society.³⁸ A comparison of the *ius civile* register with the records of the *quingaginti viri* confirms this overlap. For example, Augustine Susmundt, who served as guarantor for Nicholas Czarny of Biecz in 1438, was recorded as a member of the outer council in 1437.³⁹ Susmundt was a merchant who traded in linen and cloth on foreign markets and was one of the wealthiest citizens of his time.⁴⁰ A similar case is that of Close Mennel, who acted as a guarantor for Nicholas Weintlant in 1439.⁴¹ Mennel also appears in the *quingaginti viri* register of 1437 as a member of the outer council.⁴² There is no doubt that the practice of guarantorship was based on social relations between established citizens and newly admitted citizens, reflecting the patron-client relationship.⁴³

Citizens from the surrounding area and abroad

Analysis of the register of citizenship shows that the places of origin of new citizens can be divided into three categories: settlements within 30 km of the city,⁴⁴ settlements further away within the Kingdom of Hungary, and places abroad. The area closest to the city (30 km) includes 13 villages and one market town (Kurima). The more distant area encompasses villages, market towns, and royal cities within the Kingdom of Hungary. Among those coming from abroad, most of the new citizens originated from towns in Lesser Poland and Silesia – regions located along major trade routes that maintained strong economic and social ties with Bardejov.

³⁴ M. Musílek, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, op. cit., p. 122.

³⁵ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 360.

³⁶ M. Fedorčáková, *Civitas nostra*, op. cit., p. 89.

³⁷ A. Gácsová, *Spoločenská štruktúra mesta Bardejov v r. 1437*, „Historický časopis“, 10/1962, no. 1, pp. 46-47.

³⁸ M. Fedorčáková, *Civitas nostra*, op. cit., p. 96.

³⁹ L. Fejérpataky, *Magyarországi városok régi szamadáskönyvei*, Budapest 1885, p. 614.

⁴⁰ A. Gácsová, *Spoločenská štruktúra mesta Bardejov v 15. storočí a v prvej polovici 16. storočia*, Bratislava 1972, p. 169.

⁴¹ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 360.

⁴² L. Fejérpataky, op. cit., p. 614.

⁴³ M. Musílek, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, op. cit., pp. 180-183.

⁴⁴ The radius within which serfs usually moved was 20-30 km. L.S. Gulyás, op. cit., pp. 356-357.

The fact that the inhabitants of villages and market towns moved to the city reflects its position as a central settlement in relation to the countryside.⁴⁵ The migration of serfs to Bardejov is documented in numerous records of disputes with the nobility, especially with the owners of the neighboring estate of Makovica.⁴⁶ These disputes highlight the tensions surrounding the mobility of serfs and the impact of urban growth on adjacent noble territories. The villages listed in the citizenship register (Table no.1) belonged either to the Bardejov estate or to neighboring noble estates. Seven citizens came from the villages within the Bardejov estate, while fifteen originated from villages under noble ownership.

In the process of defining the boundaries between the city and its noble neighbors, some villages became the subject of disputes, such as Kľušov, Richvald, and Hertník.⁴⁷ The city also founded villages on its own territory, such as Lukavica and Mihaľov, as well as others that disappeared during the Middle Ages.⁴⁸

Other villages from which new citizens came were located within 30 km of Bardejov and belonged to the nobility (Malcov, Gaboltov, Koprivnica, Abrahámovce). In many villages in the immediate vicinity of Bardejov, where resettlement under German law took place in the 14th century, the German inhabitants of Bardejov acted as locators and held the office of reeve.⁴⁹ This is connected with the relatively high number of new citizens with the surnames iudex, Richter, or Schultis. These people may have been village officials or members of the families of former officials who sought the social advancement in the urban society (Table no. 2).

Some of the newly admitted citizens came from market towns, with the largest number statistically coming from Stropkov in 1473–1474.⁵⁰ In 1471, following the conquest of the town by the Polish army, some inhabitants died while others fled and sought refuge in Prešov and Bardejov. Six inhabitants of Stropkov appear in the Bardejov tax register of 1472 as tenants of local citizens.⁵¹ A year later, in 1473, eleven migrants from Stropkov were granted Bardejov citizenship, with another granted the following year.⁵² This suggests they were able to fulfill the requirements for citizenship relatively quickly after settling in the city, although there is no additional information on guarantors or conditions for acquiring citizenship. It is also possible that there were more war refugees who settled in Bardejov as a result of the conflict than are recorded in the registers.

Among the other market towns represented in the register, Kurima stands out. Located 18 km south-east of Bardejov, Kurima had close social ties with the urban environment of Bardejov. At the time the registers were compiled, Kurima belonged to the Makovica estate

⁴⁵ M. Nodl, op. cit., pp. 49–50.

⁴⁶ M. Marek, *Vplyv prístahovalectva*, op. cit., pp. 13–14.

⁴⁷ P. Hudáček, *Komunikácia mesta Bardejov s majiteľmi makovického hradného panstva*, in: *Stredoveké mesto ako miesto stretnutí a komunikácie*, eds. J. Lukačka, M. Štefánik, Bratislava 2010, pp. 239–265. V. Rábik, *Nemecké osídlenie na území východného Slovenska v stredoveku (Šarišská župa a slovenské časti žúp Abovskej, Zemplínskej a Užskej)*, Bratislava 2006, pp. 123–131.

⁴⁸ V. Rábik, op. cit., p. 125.

⁴⁹ V. Rábik, op. cit., pp. 123–131.

⁵⁰ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., pp. 370–373.

⁵¹ V. Rábik, op. cit., p. 44. M. Marek, *Vplyv prístahovalectva*, op. cit., p. 15. Archives Hungaricana, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/view/199335/?pg=24&bbox=224%2C-607%2C2159%2C578> (accessed 10.05.2025).

⁵² S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., pp. 371–373.

and was a well-developed market town with advanced self-governance, diplomatic activity, and a remarkably high-quality seal as early as the beginning of the 15th century.⁵³ However, only two new citizens from Kurima are recorded in the registers. The first was Nicholas Gobel, who was granted citizenship in 1436 and appears on the list of the outer council in 1437.⁵⁴ It is likely that he had lived in Bardejov for some time before becoming a citizen, as becoming a member of the outer council required one to be a *pater familiae*, own property, and be considered an honorable man.⁵⁵ The second was Nicholas Wagner, who acquired *ius civile* in 1441.⁵⁶ The connection between the elites of Bardejov and Kurima, as well as their economic and social interactions, has not yet been thoroughly researched but can be assumed.

From the category of Hungarian free royal or mining towns, the registers record two cases of citizenship acquisition – one from Košice and one from Kremnica. Košice played an important role among the royal cities in the eastern part of present-day Slovakia. The relationship between Košice and Bardejov is documented by extensive correspondence. At the level of urban elites, links can be documented through marriages between prominent families from both cities.⁵⁷ However, there are no other documented cases of Košice inhabitants acquiring Bardejov citizenship in the registers. The economic and social development of Košice in the second half of the 14th century was so significant that Košice outstripped the surrounding cities in terms of population, economy, society, and culture. This is also reflected in the connections between the elites of Košice and those of Kraków, Nuremberg, and Buda.⁵⁸ From this perspective, Bardejov was not an equal partner to Košice, but this did not preclude the existence of economic and social ties between the inhabitants of these two cities.

A larger group of places of origin includes cities and market towns in Lesser Poland and Silesia. Bardejov maintained intensive economic and social contacts with this region.⁵⁹ Kraków, Biecz, Żmigrod, Krosno, Grybów, Nowy Sącz were destinations where Bardejov merchants transported their goods, which naturally fostered economic and social ties. For example, Nicholas, a former schoolmaster from Biecz, worked as a notary in Bardejov. Another notary in Bardejov, Peter Bochner, also came from Biecz.⁶⁰ Another resident of Biecz who acquired Bardejov citizenship was Šimko, son of Hirzmann.⁶¹

Kraków held a special position in Bardejov's long-distance trade. The main commodities traded between Kraków and Bardejov were textiles and wine.⁶² Between 1417 and 1434, twenty people from Kraków and five from Nysa were involved in various economic and

⁵³ ŠA PO, AB, MMB, no. 72.

⁵⁴ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 357. M. Fedorčáková, *Civitas nostra*, op. cit., p. 91.

⁵⁵ D. Magdoško, *Samospráva mesta Košice v stredoveku*, Košice 2017, p. 125.

⁵⁶ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 362.

⁵⁷ M. Fedorčáková, *Civitas nostra*, op. cit., pp. 67.

⁵⁸ D. Magdoško, *Najstaršia elita mesta Košice: richtári a prisažní do roku 1370*, „Kultúrne dejiny”, 12/2021, no. 1, pp. 27–28; idem, *Samospráva mesta Košice*, op. cit., p. 99; Z. Noga, *Vzťahy medzi Krakovom a Košicami v 16. storočí*, in: *Košice v súradniciach európskych dejín*, eds. M. Hajduová, M. Bartoš, Košice 2014, pp. 155–161.

⁵⁹ F. Kyrk, *Związki handlowe i kulturalne miast Małopolskich ze Słowacją w XV i XVI stuleciu*, „Historické štúdie”, 41/2000, pp. 9–32; S.A. Sroka, *Średniowieczny Bardiów*, op. cit., pp. 128–156.

⁶⁰ L. Fejérpataky, op. cit., p. 400, 403, 467.

⁶¹ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 360.

⁶² Idem, *Średniowieczny Bardiów*, op. cit., pp. 113–128.

property transactions in Bardejov.⁶³ However, current research does not suggest that Bardejov was particularly attractive to Kraków merchants or craftsmen for permanent settlement, and no citizens of Kraków origin are recorded in the registers.⁶⁴ Other sources confirm the existence of family ties between the Bardejov elite and Kraków merchants.⁶⁵ On the other hand, there are few documented cases of Bardejov citizens acquiring citizenship in Kraków. Only nine residents of Bardejov became citizens of Kraków, and only one of them achieved significant social advancement.⁶⁶

The professions of new citizens

The register of new citizens can also be explored by analyzing their occupations. Membership in a guild required the acquisition of citizenship. There is evidence of various guilds operating in medieval Bardejov, including those of linen weavers, tailors, brewers, furriers, potters, coopers, carpenters, saddlers, blacksmiths, locksmiths, cobblers, and armorers.⁶⁷ The analysis of the distribution of crafts among newly admitted citizens shows that the most numerous were wool workers, shoemakers, linen workers, tailors, weavers, and coopers.⁶⁸ Furriers, blacksmiths and butchers also appear, though in smaller numbers.⁶⁹ Focusing on the most important sector of the city's economy – the textile industry – we find that, in addition to linen workers, several individuals employed in bleaching plants also acquired citizenship. Among them were Nicholas, *famulus albatoris*, who became citizen in 1436; John Bleicher in 1437; and another John Bleicher in 1442.⁷⁰

In addition to craftsmen, a notable group among the new citizens consisted of servants. This group included two servants employed by the city and six individuals in the service of members of the town elite. These servants were hired by wealthy citizens and developed relationships of loyalty and trust with their employers, which could lead to social advancement.⁷¹ The register records servants working for the town judge or members of the town council.⁷² The role of a town servant was significant within the municipal administration. These individuals were entrusted with diplomatic responsibilities, such as delivering documents during negotiations, and occasionally participating in meetings with nobles or church dignitaries.⁷³ It is therefore not surprising that this position could serve as a pathway to social advancement. It was not uncommon for some servants to own property in the city, as evidenced in 1461, when the town council bought a house from a servant named Jacob.⁷⁴

⁶³ M. Fedorčáková, *Sociálne a hospodárske*, op. cit., p. 75.

⁶⁴ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 373.

⁶⁵ Idem, *Šredniowieczny Bardiów*, op. cit., p. 119. M. Fedorčáková, *Sociálne a hospodárske*, op. cit., p. 76.

⁶⁶ S.A. Sroka, *Šredniowieczny Bardiów*, op. cit., pp. 113–118; D. Żurek, *Migracje z miast kraju szaryskiego do ośrodków małopolskich (XIV–XVI w.)*, in: *Hranice a pohraničia II.: ambivalentný charakter pohraničných území*, eds. P. Švorc, L. Harbuľová, A. Chlosta-Sikorska, Prešov 2019, p. 79.

⁶⁷ S.A. Sroka, *Šredniowieczny Bardiów*, op. cit., pp. 76–81.

⁶⁸ Idem, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., pp. 354–381.

⁶⁹ Ibidem.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 357, 359, 362.

⁷¹ M. Musílek, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní*, op. cit., pp. 183–186.

⁷² S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 358, p. 369.

⁷³ M. Fedorčáková, *Civitas nostra*, op. cit., pp. 114–115.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 115.

A distinct area of migration involved the mobility of professionals. In certain fields of urban infrastructure and economy, Bardejov relied on specialists from outside the region. One such example is a water and sewage master from Kraków, who was hired in the 1420s to construct a water supply system in Bardejov.⁷⁵ Nicholas of Kraków is mentioned in the accounts in 1429, and a contract for water and sewerage works with him is documented in 1436.⁷⁶ Other sources reference a barber named Markus from Kraków and a bathhouse operator, John Magyerlin from Przemyśl, who worked at the Bardejov spa.⁷⁷

Migration of scholars

Educated individuals seeking professional opportunities and social advancement also appear in the registers. Among them there are three notaries and three university graduates holding the title of Bachelor of Arts, who later served as town notaries.⁷⁸

There is no doubt that the position of the town notary was one of the most important in medieval urban society, especially considering his competences in municipal administration, legal procedures, and the development of urban literacy. Educated individuals were among the first professionals employed in the service of the town. They received regular remuneration for their work and secured their position within the municipal structure through formal election.⁷⁹ In late medieval urban society, the position of town notary became a powerful stepping stone for social advancement into the upper echelons of urban society. During this time, university education gained increasing significance for this position, at least the title of *baccalaureus* was expected, and legal training was typically required.⁸⁰

Although the mobility of educated people was not part of the broader patterns of mass migration, it did increase in the late Middle Ages and was closely linked to the phenomenon of *peregrinatio academica*.⁸¹ Information about the movement of notaries or scribes can be found in various municipal records, including marginal notes in municipal books, title pages, and covers of documents, where city notaries recorded their names *pro memoria*.⁸² Another important point is that a notary continued to be identified in urban society by his profession, name, and place of origin long after settling in the city.⁸³

It is evident that university education became an important factor in social mobility in late medieval towns. However, most of the educated individuals did not come from the lowest strata of medieval society but rather from backgrounds similar to their future roles in town

⁷⁵ M. Fedorčáková, *Správa mestských zariadení a mestskí zamestnanci v Bardejove do roku 1526*, „Mesto a dejiny”, 5/2016, no. 1, p. 15.

⁷⁶ Ibidem.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, p. 16.

⁷⁸ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, p. 360, 365–366, 368, 379, 376.

⁷⁹ K. Szende, *Trust, Authority and the Written Word in the Royal Towns of Medieval Hungary*, Turnhout 2018, pp. 126–127.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, p. 126.

⁸¹ A. Dincă, *A Biographical Sketch of an Itinerant Notary Public: Valentinus Demetrij de Tirnavia (active 1425–1465)*, „Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia”, 22/2022, no. 1, p. 105.

⁸² A. Bartosewicz, *Urban Literacy in Late Medieval Poland*, Turnhout 2017, pp. 223–225.

⁸³ M. Fedorčáková, *Civitas nostra*, op. cit., p. 80, p. 185.

hierarchy.⁸⁴ From the mid-15th century onward, the University of Kraków became the preferred destination for students from the Hungarian Kingdom, attracting also students from the counties of Šariš, Spiš, and Zemplín.⁸⁵

When we examine the origins and educational backgrounds of scholars who pursued careers in municipal administration as notaries or schoolmasters, we encounter a highly diverse picture. Educated individuals first appear in the sources from the second half of the 14th century – a development that parallels trends observed in other Hungarian towns.⁸⁶ In many cases, we know little beyond their names and honorifics, such as *magister* or *litteratus*. However, the available information becomes more detailed in the 15th century. Some of these educated professionals came from distant regions beyond the borders of the Hungarian Kingdom. Each case represents a valuable individual story, though broader reconstructions of their lives and careers are only possible in select instances. It is even more challenging to determine whether these individuals came to Bardejov at the beginning or end of their careers, what they accomplished within the city administration, their social and economic backgrounds, how they advanced socially, or which social networks they were part of.

A few examples from the examined registers of citizenship help illustrate the role of educated newcomers in the urban community. One such case is Nicholas, a former *rector scholarum* in the town of Biecz.⁸⁷ After three years of residence in Bardejov, he acquired citizenship and became the town's notary in 1438-1439.⁸⁸ Another educated individual recorded in the register is Leonard of Uničov, who not only served as town notary but also acted as an ambassador, playing a crucial role in securing Bardejov's coat of arms in 1453.⁸⁹ He is known as the author of the earliest recorded love song in the Slovak language and was closely associated with John Jiskra.⁹⁰ Another educated figure mentioned in the register is Balthazar Feuchtter, who became a citizen of Bardejov in 1463.⁹¹ A graduate of the University of Vienna, he served as Bardejov's town notary from 1466 to 1473.⁹² His successor, Michael Lanng from Eschenbach, was also a graduate of the University of Vienna, suggesting a possible social or academic connection between the two. Michael Lanng's career and social ascent are relatively well documented. He acquired *ius civile* in 1481 and married the daughter

⁸⁴ D.L. Sheffler, *Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany. Regensburg, 1250-1500*, Leiden–Boston 2008, p. 209.

⁸⁵ B. Kelényi, *Hungarian academica peregrinatio in the Middle Ages (1100-1526)*, in: *Universitätsstudium und Gesellschaft in Mitteleuropa vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. K. Ozóg, M. Zdanek, Kraków 2017, pp. 141-143.

⁸⁶ It is Nicholas, evidenced in 1376, 1385, and 1392, documented as *litteratus* and *magister*. M. Fedorčáková, *Civitas nostra*, op. cit., p. 72, p. 184. For comparison with other towns, see: K. Szende, *Trust, Authority*, op. cit., pp. 121-126.

⁸⁷ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 359.

⁸⁸ M. Fedorčáková, *Medzi radnicou a kostolom: mestská škola v Bardejove v stredoveku*, „Mesto a dejiny”, 6/2017, no.2, p. 51.

⁸⁹ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 365. M. Fedorčáková, *Prejavy mestskej kolektívnej identity a individuálnych identít v neskorostredovekom Bardejove*, in: *Stredná Európa v premenách času 1*, eds. M. Hurbanič, M. Ivančík, D. Zupka, Bratislava 2023, p. 504.

⁹⁰ P. Benka, *Mesto a jazyk. Bardejov v ranom novoveku*, Bratislava 2019, pp. 88-89.

⁹¹ S.A. Sroka, *Registre prijatí*, op. cit., p. 366.

⁹² M. Fedorčáková, *Civitas nostra*, op. cit., p. 185.

of Peter and Veronika Mager, one of the most prominent families of the city's elite.⁹³ Later, in 1488-1489, he held the position of town judge.⁹⁴

An interesting record of a newcomer who became a town's notary is preserved in the municipal book, where Francis Withe and Leonard of Uničov recorded their contracts (*conventiones*) in verse.⁹⁵ While the primary purpose was to confirm the contractual agreement between the city and the notary – including provisions for salary, accommodation, and other benefits – the document also reveals “the migration history” of town notaries, especially that of Leonard of Uničov, who refers to himself as “*Morawus tardus de Hwnyczow Leonardus*”.⁹⁶ His formal acceptance by the town judge and council on the feast of Saints Fabian and Sebastian was marked by a formal urban ceremony. This remains a unique and exceptional record among Hungarian towns.

Conclusion

The analysis of citizenship registers provides valuable insight into the social structure and origins of newly admitted citizens. This group consisted primarily of individuals who had acquired property in the city, artisans seeking admission to guilds, and residents pursuing social advancement into the urban elite. Only a few of those recorded in the registers appear to have arrived in Bardejov shortly before obtaining *ius civile*, a pattern more common among artisans or itinerant scholars. Others had lived in the city for varying lengths of time before being granted citizenship. In terms of occupational distribution, textile and leather crafts dominate, reflecting the importance of the textile industry as the Bardejov's primary economic sector. Among the places of origin, settlements in the surrounding area and towns in Lesser Poland and Silesia are frequently represented, indicating strong economic and social contacts. However, the register analysis does not support the identification of consistent migration trends, with the exception of the influx from the market town of Stropkov, where war-related events prompted migration to Bardejov. The occupational data further reveal that, apart from textile and leather craftsmen, there was a remarkable number of servants and judges from neighboring villages, who acquired citizenship. The itinerant scholars recorded in the registers represent educated individuals who viewed positions such as town notary or schoolmaster as pathways to social advancement.

Table no. 1 Places of origin of new citizens in Bardejov

Localities within 30 km	Number of newcomers	Other localities in the Kingdom of Hungary	Number of newcomers	Localities outside the Kingdom of Hungary	Number of newcomers
Hertník	1	Košická Belá	3	Novy Korczyn	1
Kuríma	2	Stropkov	16	Morava	1
Malcov	1	Kremnica	1	Dzierżoniów	1
Gabolto	4	Krásna Lúka	1	Biecz	2

⁹³ S.A. Sroka, *Średniowieczny Bardiów*, op. cit., p. 211.

⁹⁴ M. Fedorčáková, *Civitas nostra*, op. cit., p. 182.

⁹⁵ ŠA PO, AB, MMB, no. 431. D. Škoviera, *Veršovaná zmluva Leonarda z Uničova s bardejovským magistrátom*, „*Studia Historica Tymiaviensia*”, 16/2014, p. 314.

⁹⁶ ŠA PO, AB, MMB, no. 431. M. Fedorčáková, *Civitas nostra*, p. 74-75.

Localities within 30 km	Number of newcomers	Other localities in the Kingdom of Hungary	Number of newcomers	Localities outside the Kingdom of Hungary	Number of newcomers
Richvald	1	Podolíneč	1	Žmigród	1
Kľušov	3	Moldava	2	Žagaň	1
Kobyly	1	Košice	2	Kłodzko	2
Koprivnica	1	Vranov	2	Wrocław	2
Bardejovská Nová Ves	2	Sabinov/Sibiu	2	Krosno	2
Abrahámovce	1	Plaveč	1	Łviv	1
Zlaté/Kunchelová	2	Rožňava	1	Szprotawa	1
Dlhá lúka	1	Cluj	1	Wschowa	1
Raslavice	1			Grab	2
Ludisdorf*	1			Passau	1
				Uničov	1
				Kalisz	1
				Pilzno	1
				Gorlice	1
				Chorosno	1

Table no. 2 New citizens of Bardejov from families of village officials

Name	Acquiring of citizenship
Nicholas iudex	1433
George, judge of the village of Gaboltov	1439
Peter Richter	1440
The judge of the village of Malcov	1441
Peter Schultis	1450
Martin Schultis	1472
The judge of Vaniškovce	1477

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